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FORAS FEASA AR EIRINN

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AN ATHAR SEATHRUN CÉITING, OLLAMH RÉ DIADHACHTA.

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM

The Earliest Period to the English Invasion.

BY THE REVEREND GEOFFREY KEATING, D.D.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE ORIGINAL GAELIC, AND COPIOUSLY ANNOTATED,

BY JOHN O'MAHONY.

WITH A MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE ANCIENT CLANS, AND A
TOPOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX.

"Non immerito hæc insula *Ogygia*, id est, perantiqua a Plutarcho dicta fuit; a profundissimâ enim antiquitatis memoriâ historias suas auspiciantur, adeo ut præ illis omnis omnium gentium antiquitas sit novitas et quodammodo infantia."—CAMDEN, BRITANNIA.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY P. M. HAVERTY,
No. 110 FULTON STREET.

1857.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1857, by
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ALPHEO
VICTORINO
VIRABILI

TO

WILLIAM DESMOND O'BRIEN, ESQUIRE,

32 SCHERMERHORN STREET, BROOKLYN,

This Book

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS FRIEND,

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IT is now nearly eighteen months since the translator of the following work was requested, by his friend, Mr. Haverty, of New York, to undertake the revision and annotation of Dermot O'Connor's English version of the Reverend Dr. Keating's History of Ireland, which that spirited and patriotic Irishman was then about to re-publish, in order to have it in his power to satisfy the frequent and urgent demands for copies of their ancient national historian, made upon him by his countrymen who have been exiled to these United States of America. With this request, he rather too readily complied, deeming that the former translation, which he had not then read attentively for several years, would be found sufficiently true to its original for a work intended for popular use; and trusting that some knowledge of the language, antiquities and ancient usages of his native land, which he had acquired in studying ancient Gaelic writings, to amuse his idle hours, whilst living at home in Ireland, would have enabled him both to rectify any mistakes there might have been in O'Connor's version, and to explain any obscure allusions to historic persons and events, and to ancient tribes and obsolete usages, now forgotten by the mass of the Irish public. Upon these suppositions did he make light of the proposed work, and he was thereby led to deceive himself, as well as his publisher, both as to the size of the book itself, and as to the amount of labor and length of time that might be consumed in its preparation for the press. Hence arose its premature announcement in the Irish newspapers of New York—an announcement for which the translator, not the publisher, is to blame. However, upon comparing some manuscript copies of the *Foras Feasa Ar Eirinn* with the previously published translation, Dermot O'Connor's English was found so unlike what Dr. Keating actually wrote, that he considered that he would be rendering his fellow-exiles a service of very questionable utility, unless he should give them an entirely new version of the entire history. Again, when the work had been already begun, it was found that in order to make it intelligible to the majority of the Irishmen of the present day, who unfortunately can only read the history of their country in a foreign tongue, it would be necessary to make the explanatory notes much more copious than had

been originally contemplated, for Dr. Keating wrote in an age when Irish tradition was still alive amongst his readers, and when it would have been idle to explain matters which are now either forgotten or misunderstood. This was another cause of delay and embarrassment. The translator had not immediately at his command a sufficient number of reliable authorities for his comments upon his author; and, as he was resolved to depend as little as possible, either upon his recollection of what he had formerly read, or upon his own conjectures, he was compelled to suspend his work until he had procured the books which he deemed requisite for that purpose. In this he has experienced some difficulties, but he at length partially succeeded, through the aid of Mr. Haverty, who sent to Ireland for several valuable works, and through that of some patriotic Irishmen living in America, who lent him the use of their libraries.

It may appear not a little presumptuous in the present writer to have undertaken a labor of so much importance to ancient Irish history, as the translation and annotation of Dr. Keating's historic work—more especially as his acquaintance with the duties of authorship is so very slight, that he doubts whether he have the smallest possible vocation or capacity for making useful and readable books. He must also say, that though he had once taken a mournful pleasure in zealously studying the language and history of ancient Eri, amid the glens of his native Gaulties, still the remotest idea of ever seeing his name upon a title-page never once entered his mind, though many were the vain day-dreams in which he had indulged, whilst dwelling under those mist-clad hills. Since then he has pursued the study at fitful intervals, through several changes of scene and condition, but never with any other object than the gratification of his filial love towards his father-land. Under these circumstances, some apology is necessary for his present intrusion upon the reading public. He trusts that the following will be deemed sufficient:—He knew that in case he refused to edit this work, an American reprint of the former translation would have been published nevertheless; and as no one who knew anything of Gaelic literary antiquities seemed about to undertake its correction, thought it better that a faithful, though not all-perfect version, should be edited by him, than that the former unintelligible and useless production should be again imposed upon Irishmen, under the popular name of Dr. Keating—a publication that has tended to bring that author's name into unmerited disrepute, and to injure the study of Irish history amongst those who cannot read our ancient documents in the original Gaelic. Whilst conscious, then, of his own incompetence to do full justice to his subject,

he thought that he would be able to give his exiled countrymen something more like what Dr. Keating wrote than what has been so long before the public under his name; and that, if he failed in presenting them with a good book, he would, at least, present them with one that might not be positively mischievous. Shall he have succeeded even thus far, he will not deem that his time and labor have been thrown away.

The chief design with which this book has been translated and annotated, has been to make the author's meaning perfectly understood by the majority of its readers, and to give the latter some insight into the manners and customs of the ancient times of which he treats. Should this design be accomplished, the translator and editor will rest perfectly content with what he has done. Throughout the work it has also been a desired object with him, to fix the minds of the disinherited sons of the Clanna Gaedhail, wherever scattered, upon that green land which is their ancestral birth-right, so that they may never forget that Ireland is their proper home, and that it is they themselves, not the land-jobbers who now devour its people and its fruits, that have any just claim to possess its soil. Their restoration to such birth-right has been the aim of his most longing and fondest ambition, since first he began seriously to consider their present fallen condition, and for that end he will strive until he shall have ceased to think. This he would have the object of the ambition of all true Irishmen. However successful and honored either themselves or their children may become, either in this or in any other foreign land, he would have them consider themselves but as sojourners therein. That sacred isle where their forefathers lie piled many feet deep in hallowed mould, side by side with the saints who illumined Ireland in the days of her glory, and with the martyrs who cast a halo round her declining fortune, should be ever regarded by them as their promised land, or, as an Irish saint of the olden time has it, the land of their resurrection. He would have them always consider themselves what a contemporary bard described the expatriated Irishmen of former times,—

“Deoraidhthe siora gan sgith gan sos
Mianaid a d-tir 's a n-duthchas.”

In English—

“Always exiled, restless, homeless,
Longing for their fatherland.”

Such have been the translator's great objects, and not either literary fame or pecuniary profit. Had the latter been his object, he might have attained it long since, in as far as it is attainable by him, with not half the labor or consumption of time. A new,

a literal translation of Keating, with but few notes, might have ere now commanded as ready a sale as any the present work will ever have. It could have also been got out with half the expense, and less than half the mental toil. Neither has his object been literary fame, for if it had, he would have delayed the publication for, perhaps, another year, in order both to render his work more perfect, and to finish off much of the explanatory matter which is here presented to his readers in a rather crude and unpolished, though, he trusts, sufficiently plain and intelligible shape. But his engagements with his publisher, and the patrons of the work, would not allow him any further respite, and he has thence been forced to place his book in the hands of the printer, in a condition that does not quite satisfy himself in a mere literary point of view. This, however, costs him but little regret, for of all the descriptions of honest fame, that of a literary man is, perhaps, the one he least covets, not through any want of due appreciation of the high mission of men of literary genius and talent, who can teach great truths to their fellows in appropriate language, but because his own ambition does not tend that way, and, perhaps, because it is the species of fame that is most beyond his reach. For this reason, were it possible that another name besides his would have satisfied the immediate patrons of this book, as well as his own, he would willingly have relinquished all of praise or of censure that may be attached to its authorship, to that other man, while he would have nevertheless labored with equal zeal and assiduity in the work of its production.

Many persons will no doubt feel disappointed at the style and manner in which the book has been written and edited. From the premature praises which some of his friends have bestowed upon the literary and linguistic attainments of the editor, some amongst the literary world may have been led to expect more from his pen than he has had either the time or the ability to give them. Such persons will certainly find much to condemn and criticise in the following pages. But upon this point he is not exceedingly solicitous. The book is not specially designed to please literary people. It is more designed for the purpose of conveying, in plain and simple terms, certain information about the country and usages of their ancestors, to those of the translator's own race and kindred who have not much time to devote to the perusal of books, and whose early opportunities have not enabled them to become critics in the elegancies of a language which has been forced upon them by their enemies. Provided these latter understand him thoroughly, he cares little for the opinion of the critics.

There is also another class to whom this translation may not prove altogether satisfactory—that is, to students of the Gaelic language. It will not in every instance serve these for the purpose of a *verbatim* glossary upon Dr. Keating's original text. Such it undoubtedly should have been made, were it found possible in every instance to have rendered the full and exact meaning of all Irish phrases by a word-for-word version into English. As it is not always possible to do this, and as the student class forms but a very small portion of those for whose use the work is intended, it has been preferred, in every instance where a *verbatim* version would either obscure the meaning or destroy the force of the original, to render the idiomatic phrases of the Gaelic by equivalent English ones. An entirely word-for-word translation from any one language into another, is scarcely ever perfectly true to its original. From a language so elliptical as the Gaelic, into English, which is so opposite to it in this and in many of its other peculiarities, it is hardly practicable. For this reason, it has seemed more desirable to translate the history so as to make it easily understood by the general reader, rather than so as to save the mere student of language from the trouble of consulting his dictionary. Should the latter need such a work, he will find it in that part of Keating's History which has been already published by Halliday, and in several recent publications, where the word-for-word system has been adhered to, but where the full meaning and force of the original has not been always expressed in English of equivalent import. Such works are invaluable to the scholar, but often unintelligible to the general reader. It is chiefly for the latter that the translator has worked; but in the performance of his task he has striven to be always as literal as was consistent with clearness, and in no instance has he either amplified or curtailed the language of his original, without giving due notice thereof. To the best of his own ability and comprehension he has made Dr. Keating speak as if that writer were giving his narration in the English tongue. He considers the version here given to be true to his text, and he trusts that even the Irish student will find it sufficiently so. Many imperfections may, however, be found therein. For some of these the editor's inexperience is possibly to blame: others have been the result of the haste with which it has been hurried from his desk to the press, and of the fact that he has been compelled all through it to write against time—to consult his various authorities, to correct proofs, and at the same time arrange new matter for the printers. Thus he has never been able to see any large portion of his work before him at one time, soon enough to remedy several of its manifest typographi-

cal and verbal errors. Those that are friendly disposed may also allow him some indulgence from the fact that, from the commencement of his work to its close, he has not had the assistance of any one person learned in the Gaelic tongue; so that, in those instances where he could not resolve his doubts from written or printed authority, he has been compelled to depend entirely upon his own judgment, and upon his memory of what he had formerly learned either orally or from books. He may also find some excuse in the fact that he has not had an opportunity of comparing a sufficient number of manuscript copies of the *Foras Feasa Ar Eirinn*, and that none of those of which he has had the use, were much more than one hundred years old. Being isolated from all Irish scholars, and unassisted even in the most minor details of his undertaking, he has found his duties much more onerous and perplexing than they could possibly be to a man living in Ireland.

The historical and topographical notes are drawn from many sources. Copious quotations have been made from the Annals of the Four Masters, and from the learned commentaries of Dr. O'Donovan upon those venerable annalists; and also from several of the other works edited by that accurate and scrupulous antiquarian. This he has repeatedly acknowledged in the notes, but should he have anywhere omitted such acknowledgment, he here states that he has been almost everywhere indebted to that erudite author for the location and modern names of the various places mentioned in this history. By him he has also been guided in many of the notes inserted, relative to several of the ancient Irish septs. Copious quotations have been also made from O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, Moore and others. Wherever matter deemed explanatory or confirmatory of the text was found in any published authority, it has been freely inserted. Some few of the philological and etymological notes are original. So are all those relative to the social and political state of Ireland in past and present times. Whatever be the value or the good taste of the translator's remarks upon such subjects, he alone is responsible therefor.

Should this book fall into the hands of any of the enemies of the Irish name and race, or into those of certain good folk of the Irish themselves, who would fain have us forget and forgive the wrongs perpetrated upon those from whom we have drawn the source of our existence, and still daily inflicted upon our brethren, they will no doubt say that this is the work of a political partizan. But, upon that subject, it is hoped, that there can be no second opinion possible. If it be the mark of a partizan to be thoroughly Irish in heart and soul;—to love men of Irish name

and blood more than men of any other;—to abhor the destroyers of his nation and kinsmen, who are also the desolators of his own paternal hearth, with a hatred that neither time nor distance can mitigate;—then is this the work of a most undoubted partizan. And again, if an ardent desire to perpetuate like feelings amongst the men of his nation be the part of a partizan, then has he edited this book in a spirit of thorough partizanship. However, though he does hate the present hostile garrison that holds his country in thralldom as heartily as if he had lived in the days of Seaghan O'Neill, he still denies that he has in any one instance allowed his partialities to cause him to torture historic fact to bear out his own theories or opinions—neither has he in any one particular swerved from the truth of history, as he has understood it. To some well-meaning friends of the Irish people, and to some good souls of the Irish themselves, he deems it necessary to say this much—he begs that they will excuse him if he shall have curdled the lactine fluid in their kindly breasts, by any occasional infusion of gall which he may have pressed into these pages. From the enemies of the Irish nation, he asks no indulgence: he would himself show none to them. He has spoken a few of his real sentiments with regard to them and some of their institutions—institutions which he regards as so many hideous abominations, and which he ardently hopes to see one day swept from off the face of this earth.

It must not, however, be understood that it is his desire to stir up any hostile feelings of nation, race or religious belief amongst his readers by any remarks made either here or elsewhere throughout these pages. He is himself actuated by no such feelings. Nations have been too long made the instruments of the enslavement of their neighbors by cunning tyrants, who banded them against one another merely because they chanced to dwell on different sides of some sea, river or mountain, or because they spoke different dialects. He has, it is true, a strong partiality towards the natives of the Irish soil, and his heart glows with a more kindly heat towards men of ancient Gaelic names—this is part of his instinct;—but he can also hold out the free hand of brotherhood to the Frank and the Saxon. It is only when he becomes an instrument of tyranny that hostility should be felt towards any of one's fellow men. In Ireland, more especially, the foreign element has become so absorbed in the aboriginal, that it would be as just to think of avenging the wrongs of the Danaan or the Belgian upon their Spanish conquerors, as it would be those of the latter upon the followers of Earl Strongbow. These have long since merged into the Gael—so have some of the descendants of the more

recent conquerors of them all, the Cromwellians and Williamites of later days. The oppressed natives of Ireland, of whatever name, creed or blood, represent the ancient rights of its aboriginal inhabitants. Their village tyrants, though some of them be of Gaelic name and blood, and a few of them even of the national faith, are now the only foreign enemy. They represent William of Orange, Cromwell, Elizabeth, and Strongbow—they represent also the pirate sons of Miledh, and even now they “grind the faces of the poor and beat the people to pieces,” as mercilessly as ever did tyrant plunderer of old. They still walk in the blood-stained track of the robbers who preceded them. It may be some day theirs to make full though tardy retribution, for those crimes that were perpetrated long ago, as well as for others of more recent date—for ruthless oppressions still in course of daily perpetration, as well as for those that have not been yet begun.

In the early part of this undertaking, it was the editor's intention to have devoted more space to the annotation of the genealogies of the Irish clans than circumstances have allowed him to do. This he regrets much; for it is a subject of very great interest to men of Irish name and race, and indeed to all readers of Irish history; for that history is essentially one of tribes, who were to a great extent independent of one another, and the fortunes and ramifications of each tribe of them must be considered separately before the whole history of the Irish people can be well understood. It was, however, found that no comprehensive view of those tribes could be given in a volume of any moderate size, without suppressing much of the explanatory matter which had been already printed. Besides this, no materials could be found here in America, for giving any full information about all the tribes that occupy a prominent place in the annals of Ireland. For these reasons, it has been thought more advisable in this publication, to give the genealogies of whatever Gaelic septs were found in those copies of Keating, which were accessible to the translator, with but few comments of his own thereupon, and to add to them as many pedigrees of the more distinguished branches of each, as he could find in any reliable record within his reach. Want of room, and want of materials for their annotation, has also caused the suppression of the genealogies of many of the Anglo-Norman septs—such as the Geraldines, Burkes, Butlers, Barries and others, which are found in several manuscript copies of our author. These, as well as a more full account of those now given, shall be published in a future edition, should the present one meet with the approbation of the Irishmen living in America.

Many of the notes written upon the history itself, have also been suppressed. This will be discovered by the reader as he gets into the book; for perhaps one-fourth of it had not been yet printed, when it was discovered that if the annotations were to be continued as copiously as at first, the work could not be published in less than two volumes of the present size. This also has been a source of regret to the translator; for though he knows that several of his notes are unnecessary to the better read of his readers, he is still aware that some, even of the most trite amongst them, are needful to those by whom he would more particularly make his subject understood, namely, to those Irishmen who have had neither time nor means to read many books.

Amongst the suppressed matter was also a comparative vocabulary of the Greek, Latin, and Gaelic languages, showing the several affinities, verbal, derivational, and grammatical, of the latter with the two former. This was compiled a few years since in Paris, at the request of a French savant. But, though it had been already referred to in the notes, and might possibly give some useful suggestions to the philologist, it was considered to be of little interest to popular readers, and for that reason was made to give place to the Topographical Appendix, which gives the location of the ancient Irish clans, and in some manner serves as a guide to the map that is published herewith.

The appendix just referred to has been almost entirely taken from the notes upon Connellan's edition of the Four Masters. The map itself is the same as the one already published therewith, Mr. Haverty having purchased the original plate for the illustration of the present translation. Neither the appendix nor the map are what should have been chosen, had there been sufficient time and sufficient materials at hand for making out others. The appendix is loosely arranged, and not sufficiently accurate in detail. The map indeed is minute, and generally correct enough in its location of the various Irish and Anglo-Irish races: it has been found that in all instances, where immediate investigation has been possible, that those several races did at some period of Irish history, occupy the positions in which they are placed thereon. But it is, nevertheless, historically deceptive and incorrect, inasmuch as it represents the Irish nation at no one period of its existence. Generally speaking, the septs set down upon it did not occupy the same relative positions at any special epoch. It is, however, perhaps as good a map as could be given, if the object were to represent at one view, the places possessed by the ancestors of the people forming the vast majority of the present Irish nation, from the earliest times down

to the reign of the English queen, Elizabeth. To do accurately what is there attempted, would have required a series of historic maps. As such a series is not immediately available, the present one is given as the best that could be procured under the circumstances.

The next matter to be alluded to is the method which has been adopted in spelling many of the Irish personal and local names. The reader will find them here written in a manner somewhat different from that in which they are usually seen in books printed in ordinary characters. This has been chiefly caused by the suppression of the adventitious letter *h*, whereby the variations which some of the Irish consonants undergo in the composition and inflection of words, is most frequently expressed in those modern publications which are not in the ancient Irish character. The euphonic rule called *Cael re cael agus lethan re lethan*, which requires that a vowel of the same class with that which precedes a consonant ending any one syllable of a word, should begin the next succeeding syllable of the same. The latter rule is perfectly useless to one who does not understand the euphonic system of the Gaelic language, and it is not found always observed in our older manuscripts. In English it both stretches out the words to an extravagant size, and gives a wrong notion of the quantity of many of their several syllables. The rule has also little or nothing to do with the radical elements of which the words are composed. The use of the adventitious *h*, after silent or aspirated consonants, has been considered much more objectionable still. It has been repeatedly found that the insertion of this parasite character in positions, where it is not employed in modern European languages, and where in Irish the change of sound is merely expressed by a dot placed over the consonant so affected, does but prevent one, who can only read English, from any attempt at the pronunciation of those words in which it is found—or if such person should make any attempt to pronounce them, the result is as unlike the real Irish sounds as it is possible to conceive. The reader is disheartened at his attempt, and he soon forgets a mass of characters that seem as meaningless to him as would Chinese symbols. This is, perhaps, one of the chief reasons why modern Irishmen of ordinary education, find so little pleasure reading the history and antiquities of their country. It gives one but little pleasure to read about persons and places whose names one can neither articulate, nor remember. For this reason those two modern practices have been suppressed in the following volume, and the names have been therein presented to the reader as nearly as possible in their ancient simplicity of form.

Some friends of the translator have suggested to him to write down those names according to their modern pronunciation, as has been already done by Halliday, in that part of the *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* translated by him. But he rejected this suggestion, because his compliance therewith would have destroyed the radical and elementary forms of many of the names, while it could give no standard of pronunciation universal in its application, for, at the present day, the Irish of different provinces, and often of different parishes, vary very much from each other in the sounds they give to the same combinations of letters. He holds also that the component parts of our ancient names are certain historic and ethnographic landmarks of history, which should not be destroyed, as they may one day serve as important guides to scientific inquirers into the origin of the races that have colonized Ireland. They have then been mostly written in the oldest and simplest form in which they have been found—a form which is generally that which is most easily articulated by English organs of speech—and all those variations which are considered by the writer to have been the consequences of more modern dialectic variations, have been mostly disregarded. It is also the editor's suggestion to the Irishman who has not learned to read his own language, to pronounce such names as if they were English, giving their full force to all the letters. This will be much better than not to pronounce them at all; and by doing so, one cannot perhaps vary much more from their true primitive sounds, than do the Irish themselves in the Gaelic which they now speak. The most usual modern pronunciation of several of the more important ones, will frequently be found given in italics, either immediately after the names themselves or in the notes. It was, indeed, intended at first, in order to satisfy all parties, to have added a table at the end of the book, confronting the ancient with the modern and more usual forms, and representing as nearly as possible the pronunciation of the latter. But the unexpected size of the work has caused its suppression, with much other matter.

It will also be seen that the ancient diphthong, *ae*, and triphthong *aei*, have been introduced in place of the modern *ao* and *aoi*. The vowel *i* is also invariably used at the end of words in place of the now more frequent *e*. This has been done in order to prevent it from being made silent, as it usually is in such situations in English. It is no innovation, for they are used indiscriminately one for the other, in such positions, in our best manuscripts. The final *e* has, however, been retained in situations where it is nearly silent in modern Irish, that is, after the aspirates *dh* and *gh*, as in such words as *Osraidhe*, *Rudhraidhe*,

Oirníghe, &c., pronounced, *Osree* and *Rooree*, *Oarnee*, &c.,—the two former being written, *Osraide*, *Rudraide*, suppressing the silencing *h* after the letter *d*: the combination *gh* has been retained; for at the end of words and syllables it is usually silent as in English. The same remark applies to *dh* wherever it is used therein.

The letter *c* being always pronounced hard in Irish, has been replaced by *k*, wherever it occurs before the vowels *e* or *i*, for in such position its primitive sound has been so much corrupted by the English, that it now assumes the power of *s*. Had *c* been here used in writing such words as *cill*, *cell*, *Cearnach*, *Ceth* and *Cellachan*, the English reader would undoubtedly call them *Sill*, *Sell*, *Searnach*, *Seth* and *Sellaghan*, instead of *Kill*, *Kell*, *Kearnach*, *Kellaghan*, and *Keth*. This substitution is, however, scarcely an innovation, for the Irish *c* and the English *k* are but different outward forms of the same letter. It has been preferred to do this, rather than to change the radical vowel in such instances.

G also is always sounded hard by the Irish, as in English *gird*, *get*, *begging*, *Gilbert* and *girl*, but never as in the words *gem*, *ginger*, *George*, and *German*. This the reader will please to bear in mind, for the translator has not felt at liberty to strengthen its force by the introduction of the vowel *u*, in such cases, as is sometimes done in the English and other tongues. In Irish words, the combination *ch* always represents a hard guttural sound, just as the Scotch pronounce it in the word *loch*, or as the Irish pronounce *gh*, in their patois of the language of their tyrants, in the corrupted form *lough*. The rigidity and dryness of the vocal organs of some persons, may prevent them from mastering this sound. Those that are so unfortunately tongue-tied, may call the *ch* of the Irish *k*, if they will; but they should never give it that hybrid articulation which it has in the words *church*, *chest*, *Chichester*, *such*, &c.

Before *e* or *i* the letter *s* is pronounced by the Irish like the English *sh*; and *sh* sounds like a single *h*. It may also be here remarked that no Gaelic word begins with an aspirated or silenced letter in its primitive form, though the use thereof in its combinational and grammatical inflections.

Before concluding these preliminary remarks, the editor begs to return his thanks thus publicly, to the following gentlemen, who most kindly and generously lent him the use of their Irish libraries, while engaged at his task. Foremost amongst them, his gratitude is due to his friend, William Desmond O'Brien, Esq., Civil Engineer, now residing at 32 Schermerhorn street, Brooklyn, whose library has not only furnished him with a copy of

Dr. O'Donovan's Translation of the Four Masters, and several rare, though most necessary, books upon Ireland, but without whose genial encouragement the work might not possibly have been ever undertaken.

To James Slevin, Esq., of Philadelphia, he is likewise most thankful. This patriotic gentleman, whom the editor has not yet had the pleasure of knowing personally, generously placed his whole library at his command, upon the first announcement of his intended publication. To him he has been indebted for several volumes of the valuable and expensive works published by the Archæological and Celtic Societies of Ireland.

To Laurence Verdon, Esq., of New York, his thanks are also due, for the use of many scarce and valuable works upon Ireland, which that gentleman has collected together with a patriotic and most praiseworthy zeal.

The following gentlemen have furnished the editor with valuable copies of the *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn*, in the original Gaelic. Michael Sheehan, Esq., now of New York, but formerly of Kanturk, in the County of Cork, lent him a very perfect copy of his author, to which reference is more fully made in one of the notes. This, with several other Irish manuscripts, compiled by his family in former days, have been brought out by him to this country as memorials of his household gods. This most useful and seasonable aid to his undertaking, was received through the agency of James Michael Sheehan, Esq., Barrister-at-law, also of New York, the son of the above-named gentleman. To them both he thus publicly returns his thanks.

Another fragmentary, but very correct manuscript copy of the same work, was forwarded to him by John H. Maume, Esq., of Hyattsville, Miami Co., Ohio, without any solicitation on the editor's part. Unfortunately this copy wants many pages, both in the middle and end, a thing much to be regretted, for some entries have been found therein which the translator has not met in any other; especially one with regard to the battle of Magh Rath. To Mr. Maume he feels very grateful for the ready zeal with which he forwarded this valuable document.

To Mrs. O'Dwyer, of New York, he likewise feels singularly grateful for a complete, though more modern copy of the work—a copy in remarkable accord with Halliday's edition, as far as that translator went with his publication—and for some other Irish manuscripts, which were the property of her deceased husband, John O'Dwyer, Esq., late of this city, but formerly of Feathard, in the county of Tipperary, Ireland.

Lastly, though not with least grateful feelings, the editor

returns his thanks to Patrick Martin Haverty, Esq., No. 110 Fulton street, New York, who has generously run the somewhat serious risk of publishing this expensive and venturesome, as well as first literary attempt of a writer hitherto unknown to his countrymen as such. In this he has not been actuated by the ordinary considerations of commercial speculation. His love of Ireland, and his personal friendship for the author, have been the sole motives of the zeal which he has displayed, both in getting out the work, and in preparing the way for its success. It is unnecessary to give further expression here to his feelings towards so valued a friend. But he trusts, whatever be the merit or demerit of the following translation, and whatever be its fate, that the Irishmen of America will never forget what they already owe to Mr. Haverty for those volumes of the literature of their country, with which he has heretofore presented them; and he hopes that, under his auspices, Irish national works will find, at this side of the Atlantic, that encouragement which they unfortunately now lack at home.

Engrossed by the work of translation, in examining original documents, and in searching the various authorities whence he has drawn his notes, as well as being pressed as to time, the editor could not possibly have devoted any adequate attention, either to the drawing up of a personal memoir of Dr. Keating, or the collecting of materials therefor. On this account he has had recourse to his talented friend, Michael Doheny, Esq., to whose pen he owes the following eloquent discourse upon the life and times of that historian. This gentleman he considered singularly qualified for that task, both from his intimate acquaintance with the county of Tipperary, of which Keating was a native, and from his close connection with the family from which the venerable doctor had sprung. The memoir itself he has not yet had an opportunity of perusing, but from the zeal with which it was undertaken, the pure patriotism and great talents of his friend, he feels certain that it will prove an interesting ornament to the book, as well as a useful and faithful introduction to the person and times of its author. It may thus make some counterpoise to literary readers for whatever there is rough and unfinished in the style of what has been written by the restive and unpracticed hand of him who has now translated and edited the FORAS FEASA AR EIRINN.

JOHN O'MAHONY.

40 SUMMIT STREET, BROOKLYN,
July the 18th, 1857.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is to be further observed, that Dr. Keating introduced many Latin quotations into the body of his work, immediately after which he has given their translation in the Gaelic, or Irish tongue. The Latin of these quotations has, in the present version, been transferred to the notes, whilst their translation into English has alone been retained in the text. Of the exactness with which the Latin of these extracts has been written down by Keating's transcribers, there has been no means of ascertaining, neither has it been possible to point out the particular parts of the authors quoted, where they are severally to be found. The works themselves have not been accessible to the translator.

It is to be further observed, that where the modern pronunciation of Irish names is shown, it is usually given in italics and in brackets, immediately after the word itself. In one or two instances it has been forgotten to italicize them, but this the reader can easily perceive.

J. O'M.

MEMOIR

OF THE

REVEREND GEOFFREY KEATING, D. D.

THE materials for a memoir of Doctor Keating are meagre and unreliable. No two of the fragmentary accounts of his life, heretofore published, agree even in the date of his birth or the place of his education. This seems discreditable to Ireland. That so distinguished a scholar and eminent a divine has undoubted claims to a high place in the annals of the country, and a grateful recognition in the memory and traditions of the people, admits of no question. He has done eminent service, and yet no one can point to where he was born or where he lies. Nor is this apparent forgetfulness owing to a want of appreciation in his own time or afterwards. The ruthless hand of "British civilization," laudably zealous to eradicate every vestige of "Irish barbarism," and especially the Celtic tongue, destroyed with diligent haste every relic of national literature it could clutch. The remainder were, for the most part, hid, where they were inaccessible for generations, or buried, where they never have been, and never will be, seen. Long before then, the "Statute of Kilkenny," in its wisdom, provided and enacted, that the Irish alphabet was a "felony," and the teaching thereof "præmunire." We are not informed how many, or whether any, incurred the dreaded penalty of "præmunire," but this may be owing to the difficulty of finding "facile judges," and "well affected juries," for the "Statute" was long before the time when that notorious casuist, Sir John Davies, learned the true value of these "*institutions*." In his day, it may be safely inferred, that to frame an indictment under the "*Statute*," would baffle even his ingenuity, for no one was left who could identify the "felony," or remotely comprehend what constituted "præmunire." Those who cherished the Irish tongue, taking with them whatever literary treasures they possessed, hid themselves in the depths of the forests, with wolves for their companions, where British civilization went howling on their track as if they were veritable beasts of prey.

Hence it is that we know so little of Geoffrey Keating, who was himself compelled to quit the haunts of men and take refuge with the beasts of the woods. Hence it is, too, that good men of a later day, unable to discover the sources of his information, have rejected his authority. Even Moore discredited it, mainly on the ground, that its early sources flow in confluence with the fabulous and impossible. This objection is the chief one urged against him; and yet it lies with greater force against Livy's grand hymn of Roman Story, against Herodotus, the father of profane history, and against the fountain of Grecian literature and first source of Grecian history, the matchless song of Homer, wherein truth and fable, fact and miracle, wrestle with each other even as men wrestle with the Gods of Olympus. It may be urged against all history of ancient origin. The shadows of Romance becoming instinct with tradition colored the early literature of the middle ages and imparted to it its most attractive

charm. Even in our own time, and in this hard republic, the traditions and superstitions of the red man begin to tinge our historic literature. Perhaps this topic is unsuited for discussion here. It is introduced to shew that the objection is untenable. Doctor Keating merely gives as current traditions what modern criticism rejects as fabulous; and such traditions, fabulous or not, are indispensable to the true understanding of the character and customs of a people—and the true delineation of their history.

But the objection is not of so much importance in itself as in its tendency to discredit the historian when he comes to deal with facts. Some of these facts, seemingly improbable, were disputed with vehement zeal. But the contradictions have been of late refuted by positive proof. Through the generous efforts of the Archeological and other kindred societies, Irish manuscripts, of great age and undisputed authority, have been brought to light which prove incontestably many of the disputed facts in Keating's history. Modern Irish learning is now so ripe in discernment, that it can distinguish the age of a manuscript by its style. Some, of these mentioned, are cotemporaneous with occurrences deemed fabulous in Keating, and they fully corroborate him. They not only prove his accuracy, but attest his vast erudition and application: for to translate, to collate and compare, so as to make them a chain of conclusive evidence, has for a quarter of a century tasked the energies, not of one, but of several of our most eminent scholars and assiduous workers. If we further consider *their* facilities, *their* leisure, *their* advantages and opportunities, and the circumstances which surrounded Keating, our astonishment at his achievement must be indeed great. Those circumstances, as will appear, account for the confusion that, in many places, characterises his narrative. It is evident such confusion results from a defect of accurate data. But his sincerity is unimpeachable, and so well established is his authority that in reconciling any slight difference between the "annalists," John O'Donovan, the most gifted Irish scholar of our day, or perhaps any other, reconciles them by quoting Doctor Keating. This is especially so with regard to the annals of the four Masters, which were concluded in Doctor Keating's time. It is impossible he could have seen them, and yet nearly all their facts and his are identical, and where they are not, there are in many instances higher authorities on his side. There is no doubt then, that when the history of Ireland comes to be written in its fullness, Doctor Keating's authority, where he speaks positively, will be unquestioned.

It is now time we should say what we can of the subject of this memoir personally. Doctor Keating himself traces his lineage to the distinguished family of that name, whose various branches held high rank and large possessions in the Counties of Wexford, Kildare, Carlow, Waterford, Tipperary and Cork. According to the traditions of the family, adopted and, so to say, legalised by the books of Heraldry in Ireland, the founder of the house, whose original name is now unknown, was one of the pioneers of the Norman invaders, who kindled the beacon fire that lit the way of Fitzstephens into Cuan and Bhanileh. The story goes, that as he lay by his watchfire, a wild boar chancing to prowl that way, was proceeding to attack him, until frightened by the sparkling of the fire, when he fled in dismay. The watcher, thus providentially saved, adopted for his crest a wild boar rampant, rushing through a brake, with the motto, "fortis et fidelis," and his name became, we are not told how, Keating or Keting, from the Irish words, "*Cead tinné*," "first fire."

As early as the year 1179, only ten years after the landing of Fitzstephens, we find the name "Halis Keting," a subscribing witness to a grant to Dunbrody Abbey by Henry de Mountmorencie. This fact, in the absence of other evidence, would be sufficiently conclusive, against the assumption that Keating was a corruption of the Norman name, "Etienne," for no such corruption had taken place at that early date, nor did the invaders hold familiar intercourse with the Irish.

As Dermid Mac Murchad arrived in Ireland, from his exile, a year before the landing of Fitzstephens, and was accompanied by Welshmen, and as he was anxiously expecting the arrival of his auxiliaries, nothing would be more natural than that one of those Welshmen should be employed as a watcher for their coming, and, on his success, should be rewarded by the perfidious prince himself with the title and distinction of "Cead tinne."

"Halis Keting" was undoubtedly the founder of the house. He received large grants of land. His principal estate and residence was Baldwinstown, in Wexford. His descendants, being in connection, if not kindred, with the Geraldines, extended their sway over many counties, and were distinguished for hospitality and courage. His Narraghmore in Kildare, the residence of one of the family, has remained famous to our own day for its "Cead mile failte," which was known all over the island.

Kindling the fire, that lit the foeman's way, was by no means a cherished title to Irish gratitude. But, in process of time, many of the Normans, as was proverbial of the Geraldines, became nationalized, and in defiance of the "Statute of Kilkenny" London edicts and other devices of "British civilization," entered into the honored relations of fosterage and gossiped with the Irish. Nay, sometimes they went the audacious length of intermarrying, being so rude of taste as to prefer some "silver tongued" Irish beauty to the haughtiest Norman dame. Among these were the Keatings, who, on many an occasion, proved themselves formidable opponents to London law and King bishops.

In the reign of Henry VII., James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, stormed Dublin Castle, and held it for months against the Government. He was afterwards dislodged and attainted, and Parliament, in furtherance of civilization, enacted and ordained that no person born in Ireland should ever thereafter be Prior of Kilmainham; a salutary enactment which became a precedent in practice with the English garrison in Ireland ever since. During the "rebellion" of the great Earl of Desmond, the Keatings of Carlow did such good service in his cause that the whole sept, branch and name, were attainted. How it fared with the Tipperary families, with whom the Doctor is more immediately connected, we have no record of. Possibly that, being under the protection of Ormond, and holding their estates in his palatinate, they took no part for or against their kinsman of Desmond.

Geoffrey Keating was born when Gerald of Desmond held regal sway in his "Kingdom of Kerry," and opened asylums for monk and priest in his manifold strongholds, in open defiance of the "Statutes in such case made and provided," and in still more daring defiance of the frowns and menaces of his "well beloved and gracious mistress." The date of Keating's birth is fixed by some at 1570 and by some at 1581, and his birthplace at Burgess and Tubrid respectively. Both places are in the parish of Tubrid, near Clogheen, and not far from Nichols-town or Shanbally, the principal seats of the Keating family in Tipperary. The exact locality is of little importance, and the date 1570, may be assumed as correct, for otherwise he would have been but a mere child when sent away from Ireland, and it would be impossible for him to have acquired a perfect knowledge of the Irish language. His parents, we are told, were in affluent circumstances. But the fact, that their names have not been preserved, leads to the conclusion that the "reformation" extended its civilising influence to them and that they held their possessions in a quasi incognito.

Geoffrey Keating was sent to school at a very early age; but his proficiency at that time, or what were his particular studies, we are without any account of. As, however, the Irish and Latin were the languages of the "schools," it is to be presumed he first mastered the difficulties of his native tongue and became familiar with its complex construction. His works, too, considering that he spent the best years of his youth and manhood abroad, abundantly testify that the study of Irish engaged his earliest attention. His opportunities for acquiring

a thorough knowledge, not only of Irish but of the classics, were, in his part of the country, numerous and easy of access. The Irish schools yet flourished in despite of the destructive tendencies of the "reformation." There was, at that time, a famous school at Cahir, protected, perhaps, by one of the Ormonds, who had his residence there, where, in all likelihood, young Keating spent his early years. In the absence of any testimony, of his progress, let us glance briefly at the Irish school, as an institution of the country at that day, and for ages before.

The early literary history of Ireland stands out in proud distinction from that of any other country in Europe. While the revel of the Goth profaned the Roman forum, and he stabled his steeds in the Coliseum, the pilgrims of learning, from every darkened land, found shelter, sustainment, and inexhaustible sources of information, in Ireland. When this noted distinction of hospitality and learning took its date, we are not precisely informed. Bede, the truest British historian, does ample justice to the superior claims of Ireland in that regard. Long before his time, he asserts, such was the fame of the Irish schools, that when a person of note was missed from Great Britain or the continent, it was concluded, as a matter of course, that he had "gone to Ireland in search of learning." This was long anterior to the discovery of the art of printing, when even a limited scholarship bespoke a life of toil and assiduous devotion.

Originally, the school was, in Ireland, a state institution. It had wide foundations and an ample inheritance. The teachers were held in high estimation and ranked next to royalty. In process of time the Church lent its influence to the advancement of learning. Every monastery was a college, where pupils, from all lands, received not only a solid education but sumptuous entertainment. It mattered not whence they came or whither they were bent. The college hall and college hospitality were open to all comers.

These institutions flourished at the time of the invasion. They attracted the attention of the most refined of the Normans, and, after a while, commanded their support. They endowed abbeys and gave large grants for the maintenance of education. The secular clergy too, were, according to the new system, obliged to dispense a third of their incomes on purposes of learning. No doubt the Norman monks and professors perverted their office in many an instance, by ignoring the Irish tongue and defaming the literature of Ireland. But the schools flourished; and, when the nobles of the Pale entered into relations of gossip and marriage with the natives, the schools once again became nationalised. In the reign of Edward VI., nothing was more common than monasteries of English foundation, from which the English tongue was excluded. Hence, the Norman youths found it indispensable to learn the former language.

On this state of things supervened the "Reformation." Its natural effect was, to make the schools more Irish. So also did it affect the lords of the pale, who remained faithful to the old religion. For the old faith and tongue, at once proscribed alike, they risked land, liberty and life. But when the abbeys were confiscated and Queen's bishops usurped the sees, the schools, though at first stoutly defended, were in many places driven from their ancient seats to find shelter in the desert. The bold Earl of Desmond long upheld them in their integrity. Ormond, too, although the inveterate foe of the Geraldine, permitted, or at least connived at, them in his palatinate; not as of yore, connected with monasteries, or as state institutions, but scattered over the country in buildings erected by individual bounty on the model of the ancient College Hall. These were numerous in Tipperary when Keating was a boy.

It did not need then, or thereafter, that the student should confine himself to a school near his home. He may proceed whither he pleased, where the fame of the teacher, in the science or language he studied, invited him; and he was sure to be, not only the welcome, but the prized guest of whatever family he honored by accepting its hospitality. Often, long thereafter, when the pale parliament made and ordained it "treason," was this hospitality religiously ob-

served. The Irish student, in the darkest days, found a home and a school—were it even in the bowels of the earth—to fit him for a ministry, in the fulfillment of which he had to brave death on the scaffold. France, Spain, Italy and Germany, either opened and endowed colleges, or allowed them to be founded on their territories by Irish princes for the Irish ecclesiastical student, wherein his life was consecrated to a mission of martyrdom in his native land.

Geoffrey Keating having acquired the necessary information in the Irish school, was at the age of sixteen (1586) sent to one of these foreign colleges—we are not with any certainty informed which—to complete his studies and be admitted to the priesthood.

Even through the long and desolating period of persecution, then begun, the Irish school survived. In many counties, as late as the end of George III's reign, there were famous classical schools in which the English tongue was never heard. And down to our own day, literary hospitality continued unimpaired. The ablest masters, classical and scientific, have taught thousands of students, who for years were entertained with the most lavish kindness in the houses of the farmers in the districts around the school, of late a barn or deserted dwelling of mud wall and thatched roof. In Tipperary, Waterford and Limerick, it was usual to have two of these "scholars," living for four and five consecutive years with a family, and treated with extreme courtesy and tenderness. Such was the devotion of this class not only to "scholars," but scholarship, that in the first cycle of this century there was scarcely a farmer of any competency who did not give one son, and sometimes all his sons, a classical education, without any reference to their intended professions or pursuits.

But what nor persecution, nor war, nor confiscation, nor the scaffold, had been able to effect, has been accomplished by the poor law of 1842 and the famine of 1846-7. The true Irish schools and the honored custom of hospitality attendant on it, under the baneful influence of London law and London pestilence, have passed away. Charity has become mercenary, and hospitality warped, under the pestilent influence of "British protection," now, alas! not only endured but begged for.

This is, perhaps, digressive; and yet it seems needful as illustrative of the system of education in which Keating took his first lessons, and in the spirit of which, his work is conceived. The perils that beset the school in his time, and the destruction that afterwards swept over it, sufficiently account for the fact that so little is known of his early life and studies. Nor can he, his works, or the circumstances of his time, be thoroughly understood or estimated, without tracing somewhat in detail the marked events in the progress of "Reformation," giving color and vitality to the thoughts and efforts of the era. They were cotemporaneous with Keating's youth, manhood and age, and must have stamped their impress on his feelings and aspirations. No doubt he was informed of the more hideous atrocities that darkened the track of "reform;" and no doubt they influenced his generous design to preserve the monuments of Irish learning which the besom of "reformation" was so busy in sweeping from the face of the earth. Let us therefore leave the student to his studies for a time, to follow the march of "reformation" and "British civilization."

The former owed its birth in England to Henry VIII. He had been styled and ordained "defender of the faith," for the Pope, who conferred the distinction, paid no attention to the warning, "put not your faith in princes." Like many another guardian, Henry betrayed his ward and abandoned the faith he "defended," for a faith that defended *his* crimes. He was not, however, a fanatic or a bigot. He changed his religion to suit his lusts, with the same indifference with which he would change his dress. His reign, his life, his death, were one round of licentiousness. He did little in Ireland, save to cause an act to be passed, "suppressing" the monasteries. But this seemed intended as a bait to the turbulent lords of the Pale, whom he hoped to conciliate by the pros-

pect of a division of the abbey lands, as the monasteries flourished even as though they never were "suppressed." Theretofore, his ancestors held dominion in Ireland as a fief of the Pope; and now, as the Pope refused to minister to his infamies, he resolved to cast off, at the same time, his spiritual authority and the title which his predecessors, Kings of England, usurped in his name. Accordingly, *his* Parliament duly enacted him "King of Ireland," upon nine-tenths of which neither King nor Parliament dared to set foot.

There was scarcely anything done towards "reforming" the Irish, in the reign of Edward VI. His counsellors confined their operations to "reforming" the book of Common Prayer, the orthodoxy of which *his* Parliament duly enacted. Edward reigned but a few years, and was a mere child; and on Mary's accession the acts affecting the Catholics were immediately repealed. Thus, when Elizabeth came to the throne, which event, *so auspicious to Ireland*, crowned the glory of the year 1558, there were no penal laws on the Irish Statute book.

Of all the turbulent times through which "Reformation" sped its mission, the reign of Elizabeth was emphatically the red reign. It was the reign of rapine, tears and blood. It trafficked in treason and generated the spy. It governed by subornation, fraud and lies. It stimulated "rebellion" for the pleasure and profit of crushing it in its own blood. It sowed turbulence to reap confiscation. The spirit of Elizabeth was dark and daring. She was equally crafty and inexorable. She, at first, affected to conciliate the Pope. The Pope and College of Cardinals had promulgated a decree, pronouncing the marriage of Henry and her mother null. Her dearest object was to procure the reversal of this terrible judgment, for she knew that in the minds of almost all the sovereigns of Europe at the time, the throne of England was, in her person, occupied by a bastard. Her overtures to the Pope were earnest and pressing, but finding that he rejected them, she resolved to overthrow an authority she could not suborn. For this project Ireland presented the fairest field, for while eradicating "popery" she may be able to carry her conquests over the whole of the island. Her ambition, capacity and daring were boundless, and were well seconded by the craft of her counselors. At the same time, her acts were frequently distinguished by queenly generosity. She loaded with her bounty the Irish princes who abdicated their chieftancy and patrimony to take estates and titles at her hands. She pardoned with grace and distinguished by princely favors those who had defied her power. In granting titles and estates to an Irish chief, she imposed no condition and suggested no change of religion. These details she left to her counselors. If vengeance she entertained, it was for them to execute it. They were men of no faith and no scruples. They did the dirtiest work with a relish. They sent the spy around to suborn the petty chief and submit to him the dazzling allurements that awaited his treachery to his rightful prince. And since was she to receive him graciously and bestow on him precious favors as well as broad dominions, as the meed of his treason. Thus, while treachery was the life-blood of her power and the sole means of extending her conquests in Ireland, she invested it with munificence and a captivating generosity.

Her success in subornation was not equal to her ambition. It halted far in rear of her impetuous desires. If a degenerate sire took a beggarly earldom at her hands, many a time did he right sorely rue it; for his son or some other having good title to the wand of chieftancy, clutched the sword and truncheon to assert the privilege of his clan. She therefore determined to try confiscation. Accordingly, she summoned a Parliament, and Sydney, the very man who two years previously presided over the Parliament that exultingly repealed all previous penal enactments, presided also over this one, that enacted laws far more penal. Elizabeth's Parliament, held in Christ Church, Dublin, in 1559, "provided" that the "reformation" should be established in Ireland, six counties of which were at the time governed by the Queen—that he or she who

refused to renounce any "foreign power," that is the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, should, for the first offence, forfeit land and goods; for the second, incur the penalties of "praemunire;" and, for the third, those of high treason. This Parliament was chiefly remarkable for the fact, that it proscribed itself; for most of the members, being Catholics, had three times, at least, asserted the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, for which crime, according to their own law, they should be hanged and quartered. The truth is, no one supposed the law would be enforced, and there is reason to believe that assurance was given to that effect. However this may be, as soon as the policy of subornation began openly to fail, prosecutions were commenced against priests and priest harborers, which Gerald of Desmond would not brook in his domain. He would shelter, save and honor, priest and bishop, at his own good pleasure, so help him God and his trusty blade. Vicissitudes of a startling nature followed, until we find Desmond in open revolt for the liberties and religion of the pale. The fortunes of this war we have not space to relate. Enough to say, that after various successes, ruin overtook the champion of Catholicity at last, and the cause he espoused, set—at least in the South—in blood.

When the banner of Desmond went down, and his head, cut off by vulgar hands, was staked on London bridge—where it long grinned at Saxon churls and upstart prelates, who came that way to gaze at the ghastly spectacle—the Queen's minions and "undertakers," among whom were parcelled the broad lands of Desmond, began to work their wicked will in Ireland on priests and people. Witches and priests were the special objects of the persecution. The former, Coxe informs us, were condemned by "the laws of nature;" but whether it was by the laws of nature, or man, or beast, the latter were doomed, he does not condescend to tell. We know, indeed, that the laws of the pale were sound on such business; for did they not "make and provide" that it was high treason "a third time" to deny the divine authority of Elizabeth as the head of God's church on earth? But to wait for the third denial was work too slow in these days, and so the executioners decided that the first denial was, in "intendment of law," the third, and thus were enabled to hang, quarter, and disembowel for the first offence. Patrick O'Hely, bishop of Mayo, and Cornelius O'Rourke, a priest, were put to the rack, had their hands and feet broken by hammers, and needles thrust under their nails, (though for these more refined tortures the law neglected to make special provision,) and finally they were hanged and quartered. John Stephens met the same fate, "for that he said mass for one Teigne McHugh." The priests of Munster fled to the mountains, where they ministered to their flocks in caverns, and where ruin often overtook them at dead of night and in the midst of the sacrifice, for British "*Christianity*" prowled round their watch-fires and baptised them of the new creed in their own blood. Dermot O'Hurly, of Cashel, having been consecrated by the Pope on the apostacy of Myler McGrath of that See, endeavored to fulfil his functions by secreting himself at the residences of the chiefs and nobles, who whatever may be their outward professions were true to the old creed and old cause. While O'Hurly was sojourning with the baron of Slane in Meath, he was espied, "recognised," the English books say, by the chief justices (spies were high functionaries at that time), who swiftly informed Adam Loftus, then Chancellor, of the prey he had set for him. The baron hearing his guest was betrayed, either connived at, or effected, his escape; but receiving a message from the Chancellor to deliver the bishop to him in irons, such was his terror that he pursued the fugitive, and overtaking him at Carriek on Suir, arrested, and delivered him up with his own hand. And needful it was for him to do so, for otherwise his head would give ghastly warning to all "priest harborers," from the summit of Dublin Castle. Threats, tortures, and offers of rewards, were in turn tried on O'Hurly, but tried in vain. After about a year of imprisonment and torments on the morn of holy Thursday, ere it was yet dawn, he was hanged outside the city walls. Terrible retribution for the

act of that other archbishop of the same see, Donchad or Donatus, who was first to recognise the spurious title of Henry II. to the unfortunate Kingdom of Ireland.

When the current of murder ran the reddest, there pined in the dungeons of Dublin Castle a kidnapped youth—red Hugh O'Donnell—who longed for the hill sides of Tirconnell and the head of those clans that followed the banner of his race. There was a Queen's O'Donnell in his stead, who exercised false sway under a perjured title. But well the young chief knew, that in the first glance of his eye, the traitor's hold would melt like snow in the glance of the summer sun. Before he was twenty years of age he made good his escape through a sewer to the Liffey, thence to the Wicklow mountains, where one of his comrades perished of cold and hardship; and thence, over flood and field, to Dunganon Castle, where red Hugh O'Neil was already meditating vengeance on the accursed foreigners. Short was the O'Donnell's stay to recruit his wasted strength. He hied him to Tirconnell, where high festival and rejoicing greeted the rightful chief, who was at once invested with his wand of chieftaincy. They who harbored the English and countenanced the "Queen's O'Donnell," soon felt the edge of his steel, and, in a single campaign, not a traitor was left within the broad borders of Tirconnell. The Deputy and Council, then so busy in murdering the priests of Munster, did not find it an easy matter to make shire land of Tirowen and Tirconnell, while the flags of the "red hand" and the O'Donnell waved above them; and many a time did the banner of England go down by the Blackwater and Lough Swilly. After years of raid and rout and vengeance, lone on disloyal chieftains; after a truce or two, and battles fatal to the Queen, her forces, greatly augmented of late, under command of Bagnall, met those of Tirowen and Tirconnell, led by their princely chiefs, at Beal an athena buidhe, near Portmore. O'Neil had vengeance of his own to wreak that day, and O'Donnell burned to brand on the Queen's minions the indignity her jailors' fetters had marked on his youthful limbs. The armies clashed, and fierce and hot was the encounter. Bagnall fell, his host was utterly routed, and left some thousands dead on the field. Tirowen and Tirconnell now owned no stranger lord, and their rightful chieftains held high festival in their ancient halls, and their rightful clergy ministered, in church and abbey, of the ancient faith.

On O'Donnell's return home, Hugh of Tirowen marched 7,000 men across the Pale on a pilgrimage to the Holy Cross in Tipperary. Small fear was there that any pimping chief justice would spy the prelates in his train. At the Holy Cross he met James Fitz Thomas, whom he created the Desmond. The real object of O'Neil's visit was, to inspire the Munster chiefs, who were then making feeble head in the fastnesses of Muskery, under the lead of O'Neil's Desmond and McCarty More. But Tirowen needed her good swords to defend her own borders, and Munster was left to its fate and the tender mercies of Sir George Carew. Sad fate surely, this! for Sir George was of the true stamp of a British civilizer. When baffled on the field, craft and falsehood did for him instead. The "Sugan Earl," as he with great unction styles the Desmond, repeatedly defeated his armies and burned his castles. Having tried all means to endeavor to persuade the Earl's Irish followers to betray him, he had recourse to this notable expedient. When the fortunes of the Earl waned, he was in the neighborhood of one Dermot O'Connor, who was married to his sister. Carew addressed a letter to the Earl, in which he congratulated him on his returning loyalty and besought him, that as a proof of his sincerity, he would bring him O'Connor, either living or dead. The letter, as it was intended, fell into the hands of O'Connor, who was so enraged at what he supposed treason, that he contrived to get the Earl into his hands, and kept him in one of his strongholds in chains. Sir George, indeed, says in his "*Pacata Hibernia*," that the whole plot was concocted between him and O'Connor, through the management of Lady

Margaret, O'Connor's wife. He was afterwards rescued, and O'Connor's castle of Lyshin was sacked. But the fortunes of Fitz Thomas do not concern the subject of this memoir.

The Spanish auxiliaries, so long expected by the northern chiefs, and promised by the King, were now at last prepared to embark. Unfortunately for Spain and Ireland, the command of this force was conferred on Don Juan d'Aguila. The Irish chiefs urged the necessity of secrecy and despatch, and above all insisted upon the landing being effected in the north, where a junction could be formed too formidable to be attacked, and where the allied armies might become accustomed to each other and their respective discipline and mode of warfare. These reasons would seem to leave no choice to the Spanish commander. His own safety and that of his command, as well as the exigencies of the object in view, alike demanded it. Yet was he not alone indifferent to these considerations, but, either through treachery or vanity, or perhaps both combined, he so conducted his operations that it was thoroughly known, not only to Sir George Carew, but to the English Council, that his destination was Kinsale. So satisfied were both of his intention, that they concentrated a force of over four thousand men near that town.

All this time the northern chiefs were not informed of D'Aguila's purpose. They were not even aware that the expedition was prepared. They heard nothing from or of Don Juan, until he arrived at, and was surrounded in, Kinsale. On his first landing he took possession of Dunbuoy, the castle of Kinsale, and the islands in the Bay, in the name of the King of Spain. To this his operations were confined. He then suddenly shut himself up in the town.

When the news reached the northern princes, although conscious of the fatality of Don Juan's course and the desperate position in which he was placed, they flew at once to his assistance. By unexampled marches in mid-winter, they made their way south. The President attempted to intercept O'Neil, and sent a large force to oppose him. A sudden frost enabled O'Neil to traverse the mountains in the north of Tipperary, and both chiefs arrived together before Kinsale, in sight of the English camp. An engagement was precipitated by misdirection or mischance, only the second day after a forced march of near three hundred miles. It occurred at break of day, and only half the Irish forces were engaged, when a rout took place in the confusion and darkness. O'Donnell took no part in the action; and such was his chagrin, and indignation at Don Juan's conduct and inactivity during the combat, that he took advantage of the presence of a Spanish brig then in the harbor, to embark for Spain and impeach Don Juan before the King. He left his brother in command and proceeded on his way, never alas! to return.

Both armies reached the north in safety, and such was the terror inspired by the name of O'Neil, that it was left to him to dictate the terms on which he would accept pardon and a coronet from the English Queen.

D'Aguila at once surrendered not only Kinsale but the other fortifications which he had received from the Irish chiefs. The castle of Dunbuoy had, however, a small garrison of Irishmen who refused to surrender. The desperate defence made by this little band, and the savage ferocity that marked the sack of the place, are unexampled in history.

And here ended the liberty of Ireland, her nationhood and her name. But ere the closing scene, indeed before his coronet was given to O'Neil, Elizabeth was called to her last account, and James of Scotland had mounted her throne.

Early in James' reign (1610), Geoffrey Keating returned to Ireland. War and fagots had then given place to facile judges and suborned juries, under the guidance of that renowned easuist, Sir John Davies. By this time Keating was forty years of age, twenty-three of which were spent in a foreign college, most likely Salamanca. Other places are mentioned, but the great probability is, that he studied, and, as it is asserted, taught, at Salamanca; for the intercommunication

with Spain at that time was more frequent than with France. Spain was, in fact, the principal refuge for the exiled Irish, and his opportunities for preserving his practical knowledge of his native tongue, were far greater there than elsewhere out of Ireland. It is probable, too, that he there, from time to time, received old manuscripts from bards and shannachie's, who shared the flight of the O'Donnell or followed him into exile. This would account in some degree for the general accuracy of his history, for we are told, that in his researches through Connaught and Ulster, the bards who had stolen to the hills to live with wild beasts, repulsed him, as owning a strange name and belonging to the race of the hungry undertakers who then preyed on the green fields of their inheritance.

Although James had in 1607 revived Elizabeth's conformity act, it does not appear that the Catholics of Munster, at least in that part under the sway of the Ormonds, suffered any actual persecution. Indeed, so far back as 1602, Sir George Carow held an assize at Limerick, Cashel and Clonmell, where he did vengeance on the restive of these parts whom he could lay hands on. But he found that a great number had fled to the Ormonds, two baronies in North Tipperary; and meeting the Earl of Ormond at Clonmell, "he did move him" to go with him into these parts to assize them at his leisure there. But "the Earl did entreat him to satisfie himselfe concerning that busines, for he would undertake it." He did not undertake it, however, and the great pacificator thus communes in that regard: "which I thinke had bene immediatelic performed had not the immature deathe of his most vertuous lady (the lamentable tydings whereof were brought to him at Clonmell, oppressing his aged heart with immeasurable sorrow) caused the same for a time to be deferred."

Immediately on Keating's return he was appointed curate to the very reverend Eugene Duhy, in his native parish. On the first Sunday of his ministry, as he was proceeding to vest himself, the vicar requested him to delay mass. After some time he asked the cause, and was informed it was to accommodate a wealthy family who had not yet arrived. He refused to sanction this practice, and proceeded with the sacrifice. He was glad to learn thereafter, that the family were of his own kindred, who took good care to be punctual in future. How long he continued fulfilling the duties of the ministry in Tubrid, we are not informed. His fame as a preacher extended far, and numerous and even fashionable audiences gathered to hear him. The building of the church at Tubrid engaged his care, and under the circumstances of the time, this labor must have extended over years. He also wrote during his mission a theological treatise, called "cochair sgiath an aifrin," a Key to the Shield of the Mass, a work it is said of rare merit. He wrote at the same time, a treatise on practical piety, called "Tri bir ghaoithe an bhais," the Three Winged Shafts of Death. These works are not translated, and we have no doubt they would be valuable accessions to the description of literature to which they belong.*

* Besides the works mentioned in the text, Doctor Keating has left a great many lyrical compositions of considerable merit. They are distinguished above the productions of his time by simplicity and purity of style. They all breathe of the writer's intense devotion to Ireland, her language, her traditions and her history. They are scattered through the miscellaneous manuscripts which yet abound in Ireland. One is selected for publication here; simple, beautiful and brimfull of tenderness, as an example of the Doctor's powers and taste in this species of composition. It is an address to a letter he had just written to some friend in Ireland, from his retreat at Salamanca. Here is the poem. It is headed—

SLAN LE II-ERINN—*Farewell to Ireland.*

Mo bheanacht leat a scribhinn
Go h-luis aolbhain ealza
Is trnagl! nach leor damh a beanna
Gidh gnath a d-teanna dearga.

Slan da h-nisla a's d'a h-olreacht
Slan go ro bheacht d'n ciceiribh
Slan da banvneachtalbh eafne
Slan d'a saeithibh le h-eigsibh.

Mo shlan d'a maghalbh mine
Slan fa mhille d'a enoacalbh
Mo chion d'on le ta lute
Slan da linnibh a s d'a lochalbh.

Had not his missionary labors been interrupted, the probability is, that "Keating's History" never would have been written. The duties of the priest would not allow the necessary leisure to the historian. The circumstances that compelled his flight are variously related. One version is, that in a sermon fashionably attended, he so severely reprov'd a certain vice, that a Mrs. Moklar, a dashing beauty, resented it as a personal exposure of her criminal levity. Burning with rage, she flew to the President, who was one of her admirers, and invoked at his hands the vengeance of the "conformity act." Another version is, that while he was absent in search of materials for his history, a squire of his neighborhood seduced the daughter of a parishioner, whom Keating denounced unsparingly on his return, and thus incurred the peril of the law.

That which is certain is, he fled. It is equally certain, he was protected from the blood-hounds of the law. Fidelity among the Irish people is a virtue often sorely tested and never found wanting. This and this alone accounts for the magnitude of the task he accomplished under circumstances of so much peril. "British civilization," though it had then made rapid strides, did not reach that acme of perfection in espionage it has since attained. The forests were large, and in many instances inaccessible, and filled with bold outlaws whom nothing

Slan d'a eolltibh fa, thorthaibh
Slan fos d'a corralthaibh iascaeh,
Slan d'a moitibh a's d'a bantaibh
Slan fos d'a raithaibh a's d'a riasgaibh.

Slan o'm chroidhe d'a euntaibh,
Slan fos d'a tuarthaibh troma
Soraid d'a tulchaibh aonaich*
Slan uaim d'a eraobuaibh eroma.

Gidh gnath a foirne fraochehdra
Ann inis naomhtha neamhoched
Siar tar chromchladhuibh nadlean
Bier a scribbin mo Bheanachth.

TRANSLATION.

My blessing with thee, letter,
To beauty-fretted Erin;
Would I could see her highlands
Though crimson dyes oft wearing.

Fond blessings to her nobles,
And priesthood holy, fonder,
Her maidens and her sages
Who o'er her pages ponder.

Best wishes to her truest,
Her blue of bluest mountains,

My love to these within her,
Her lakes and linn and fountains.

Her woods with berries drooping,
Her sparkling pools with fishes,
Her moors and meadows greenest,
To these my teeming wishes.

My heart's best memories to her
Broad bays and surest harbors,
Her yellow harvest bending,
Her songs in blending arbors.*

Though passionate the people
In the saints' meekest island,
Athwart the billows rearing
My blessing bear to Ireland.

The "farewell" is published in Hardiman's *Minstrelsy*, vol. 2, with a translation by Mr. Dalton.

The translation here given is literal, or at least as nearly so as is compatible with the measure, rhythm, and structure of the original, which are all preserved. There are in both original and translation, the exact same number of lines, rhymes, feet and syllables, an identity which had for its object to give an idea of the complex structure of Irish verse.

* "Tulchaibh aonaich."—The translation of this line, "Her songs in blending arbors," is a departure from the literalness, if the word be allowable, otherwise preserved throughout, for the words mean "Fair meetings." By "fair meetings," as used by the poet, we are not to understand the crowd of buyers and sellers and idlers congregated at a fair, but conferences of the bards, which were usual at stated times, and continued nearly to our own time. The translator has seen a song of a Munster bard, of the last century, written to commemorate one of these poetic festivities, held at Croom, in the County of Limerick. The bards met, and sang and feasted under summer foliage, on a woodland slope overlooking the silver Maig; and the poet does ample justice to the enchanting loveliness of the spot. He also describes the festivity

of the bards, who no doubt had a right merry carouse, such as Moore sings of—

Delicious days of whim and soul
When mingling lore and laugh together,
We leaned the book on pleasure's bowl
And turned the leaf with folly's feather.

It was this description of the Croom meeting which suggested the translation.

The Maig has tasked the genius and fired the enthusiasm of more than one of the children of song. Its scenery has been immortalized by Gera'd Griffin, the truest, most sensitive and tenderest of our later bards, whose pictures of its loveliness are as glowing as his imagination and as truthful as his heart.

but an army would dare to encounter. And notwithstanding the devices of "artful Cecil," the country then lacked that noblest institution; of the nineteenth century, a rural police. In fact, therefore, he might, as is alleged, have written or completed the history in Aherlow woods, now one of the loveliest mountain valleys in Ireland. The glen of Aherlow, as the place is called, extends along the northern base of the Galtees, a distance of twelve miles from the village of Bausha to Galbally. It is sheltered at the north by the low range of the Clan William mountains. It was theretofore the asylum of "Rebels," who mayhap had thrice denied the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth, which, on one occasion, they sorely rued, for they received a friendly visit from Carew and his retinue of hangmen, the object and achievement of which he thus describes :

"The president directed his forces into east Clan William, and harassing the country, killed all mankind that were found therein; thence we came into Arloghe woods, where we did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corne or cattle."

Aherlow was accessible from the Tubrid side through the gorges of the Galtees, and no doubt a man sentenced as Keating must have been by the fidelity of his people, might live there for years, not only in safety but comparative comfort. Nor were its solitude and quiet unsuited to the labor of the historian. There is no good reason then to question the story that hallows the scene. The tradition has long survived the wood, and all traces of the hiding place. The rich sheen of the meadow and the golden hue of the harvest gladden the Glen of Aherlow now. But those who dwell there, love to recall the gloomy memories of that gloomy time, and by many a fireside is whispered lowly in the olden tongue the bloody raid of Carew's gallows tree, and then, more loudly and exultingly, the inviolability of Keating's retreat. This fact has become the "genius loci" or spirit of the spot, and even though we could dissipate the spell with which it has invested that lovely vale, where so oft we roamed exulting in the strife and freedom we had fondly hoped for, we would not touch with disturbing hand a tradition so characteristic of those mournful times. But there is no reason to doubt its truth, and we hold that Doctor Keating either wrote the whole or a great part of the "*Foras feasa ar Erin*," in the woods of Aherlow. Being unable to fix the date of Keating's separation from his duties or that of the commencement of his history, or whether he ever again returned to the ministry, we shall glance briefly at the history of his family from his time downward.

Early in the reign of Charles I. Sir Edward Everard or Fethard was married to the daughter of John Keating, of Nicholstown. His brother Richard Keating's daughter was married to Wall, of Coolnamuck, on the right bank of the Suir, two miles from Carrick. The sole male representative of these Keatings died at Annapolis, in Maryland, towards the close of the last century. Contemporaneous with them was Michael Keating, of Shanbally, who was married to Lord Dunboyne's sister. John Keating, his son, was married to Miss Kearney, of Kappagh. He was cotemporaneous with the Doctor and his nearest relative. This John was called the "baron" and "knight of the leece." He had issue Michael, Maurice and Bryan. Michael married the sister of Lady Ferrand, and left issue one son, who was Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; but whether he left any issue we cannot say. Maurice married Miss Mandeville of Ballydine, on the left bank of the Suir, above Coolnamuck. The name of Mandeville is on the muster roll of William of Normandy and that of the barons of Rummymede, and in the family Ballydine was an inheritance for 600 years. Whether Maurice Keating has left any male issue, we cannot say. Bryan Keating was married to Ann, the daughter or grand-daughter of Roger Sheehy, of Dromcolloher. He had issue John, Roger, Henry, William and George Sheehy Keating. John left no issue, Roger only one daughter, the late Mrs. Nixon, of the county of Meath. Henry married a Miss Singer, sister of the fellow of that name of

Dublin College. He joined the army and rose rapidly. He commanded the attack on the Isle of Bourbon; and on the news reaching England, was made major-general. He was afterwards appointed governor of the Isle of France, created baronet, and invested with the order of the Bath. He died recently, and left two sons, James Sheehy Keating, captain in the guards, and Henry Sheehy Keating, M. P. for Reading.* This gentleman is unquestionably the truest representative of the family now living, for fame speaks him fair and faithful to the kindly and generous attributes of his race. George left one son, Henry George, who lately lived near Mallow, and if alive is perhaps the only male representative of the family in Ireland. William, the youngest of these brothers, fell in a duel. Bryan Keating's daughters, Ann, Jane, Catharine and Theodosia, were married—Jane to Mr. Therry, whose eldest son is now judge in Sidney; Catharine to Morgan O'Dwyer, of Cullen, whose eldest son is John Keating O'Dwyer, of Limerick, and Theodosia to Edward Sheehy, of Ballintubber, whose eldest son is Roger Sheehy, of Liskennett, county Limerick.

Robert Keating of Garranlea, claims a relationship with this family, but what it is, or whether he has any, does not appear.

Thus there seems but doubtful conjecture, that there is, at least in his proper rank and position, one representative of the male line of the Keatings in Ireland. The Doctor's History, after all, is their noblest monument. It is, in truth, "perennius ære."

But what is stranger, the high families that entered into alliance with the Keatings of old, are nearly extinct. The Everards held princely sway in their feudal hold at Fethard, whose walls, yet standing, attest its strength and their grandeur. The last of this race was the Archbishop of Cashel, who died in 1823. The Mandevilles are seen no more at Ballydine, and that ancient patrimony has passed away from the name for ever.† The last of the Kearuys fell in a duel at Cashel nearly a century ago, and Coolnamuck lately passed into the hands of John Sadlier, the suicide. The last of the Dunboynes was Bishop Butler, who abandoned creed and crozier to take a wife and title. He is buried in the old Augustinian Abbey, in Fethard. His monument is extremely simple, but extremely beautiful. It is a mournful record of his times, for it testifies that he repented of his "reformation," and renounced the new creed and title on the bed of death.

Of Doctor Keating's later life or death, no record remains, except the inscription on the old ruins at Tubrid. The date, as will be seen, in the copy given below, is 1644. This inscription indicates that Doctor Keating was never parish priest, for the designation "vicar" is added to the Rev. Mr. Duhý's name. But we are left to conjecture whether the date is that of the consecra-

* Henry Sheehy Keating has, since the above was written, been appointed Solicitor General for England.

† The first of this family that settled in Ireland, was Sir Philip de Mandeville. He obtained large grants of land, extending nearly from Carrick to Clonmell, on the left bank of the Suir, from Henry II. The castle of Ballydine, built by him, was the residence of the head of the house for over six hundred years. Towards the close of the last century, Thomas Mandeville, being himself childless, and at variance with his brother James of Yesterland, sold Ballydine to John Scott, then Solicitor General, and afterwards Earl of Clonmell. To him also he disposed of Orchardstown and Cahirelough, estates held in right of his wife, daughter of James Hackett of Chibs Court. His representatives are James Hackett Mandeville of Ballyquirkeen, and his nephew, also James.

Another branch of the family is represented by the Reverend Nicholas Herbert Mandeville, of Balleyna Castle, on the Anner, near Clonmell.

Thomas of Orchardstown, cousin of his namesake, the disinheritor of Ballydine, also married to one of the Hacketts, left issue Francis of New Castle, and James, who adopted his mother's name and the arms of her family. He entered the East India service and rose to high rank. A large family now inherit his name and fortunes in the East. Mary Hackett, the sister of Major General Hackett and F. Mandeville of New Castle, was married to Thomas, eldest son of the above James Mandeville of Yesterland, whose issue were John, the father of James, jun., and James H. Mandeville of Ballyquirkeen. The latter is married to Jane, daughter of Daniel O'Mahony of Kilbenny, by whom he has a large family.

tion of the church or of the inscription. If the latter, then it may be possible that Doctor Keating lived, as Mr. O'Donovan is inclined to believe, until 1650. Otherwise it is undoubted that he was dead in 1644, for beyond all question he was dead when the inscription was written, although by some incomprehensible mode of reasoning, the author of the life prefixed to Halliday's translation concludes, that the request to pray for his soul and those of the others, whose bodies lay buried in the church, was conclusive proof that he was then living.

We are informed that the church was built by "leave of Parliament," and this "leave" must have been obtained in the early part of Charles I.'s reign: and assuredly the church must have been finished before 1644, when Cromwell's generals were desolating the north with sword and flame; and when that desolation surged in blood over the devoted fields of Tipperary, it left the church in Tubrid, like other churches, a blackened ruin. For a time, between 44 and 46, Cromwell's banditti were checked by the band of Owen Roe O'Neal. Once again the flag of the red hand dawned on the gladdened fields of Tirowen and the flood of the Blackwater. He met Munroe at Benburb, and with a force inferior in numbers to that general's veterans, utterly routed him. Munroe's retreat was a flight, and he left nearly four thousand of his "roundheads" dead on the field. O'Neil was preparing to pursue him, when, fatal order! he received the Nuncio's commands to repair to Kilkenny. In 1647 or 8, he was marching at the head of the confederate army in pursuit of Cromwell, then on his way to Clonmell, when at Tandaragee the bowl of the assassin laid in death this last hope of Erin. Had Doctor Keating lived in these times, he would leave some record of the ruin that swept over Munster.

In his preface, he says that he was then an old man. In the manuscript copy from which the following translation has been made, and for which the translator is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Michael Sheehan, now of New York, and late of Kanturk, Co. Cork, Ireland, a postscript is appended, dated 1629. This date clearly establishes 1570 as that of his birth, which would leave him then nearly sixty years of age. There is reason to believe, too, that Mr. Sheehan's manuscript is very old, and is a copy of the original, and was very carefully compared with it. It has been traced to the possession of the Rev'd Mr. O'Keefe, nearly contemporary with the historian.

In closing this brief and uncertain memoir, let us be permitted to hope, that those who may be in possession of authentic records relative to Doctor Keating, will communicate the same to some person who can use it, so as that they may fix such facts and dates in reference to the great historian as can be known.

We subjoin the Tubrid inscription, most fervently joining in the prayer it invokes.

NEW YORK, *July 4th*, 1857.

INSCRIPTION.

Orate pro animabus Rev. Patris Eugenii Duhuy, vicarii de Tubrid, et D. Doctoris Keating, hujuscense celi fundatorum nec non et pro omnibus aliis tam sacerdotibus quam laicis, cujus corpora in eodem jacent.

A. D. 1644.

Pray for the souls of the Reverend Father Eugene Duhuy, vicar of Tubrid, and the learned Doctor Keating, the founders of this church; and also for those of all others, whether lay or clerical, whose bodies are therein interred.

A. D. 1644.

THE "DION-BHROLLACH;"

OR,

PREFACE OF DR. KEATING.¹

WHOEVER sets before him the task of inquiring into and investigating the history and antiquities of any country, ought to adopt the mode that most clearly explains its true state, and gives the most correct account of its inhabitants. And, because I have undertaken to write and publish a History of Ireland, I deem myself obliged to complain previously of some of the wrongs and acts of injustice practiced towards its inhabitants, as well towards the Old Gauls² (Anglo-Irish), who have been in possession of the country for more than four centuries since the English invasion, as towards the Gaels,³ who have owned it for nearly three thou-

¹ Dr. KEATING styles his preliminary discourse "Dion-bhrollach," (*Deen-vrollagh*), a compound term, meaning, literally, "a guard for the breast." It may be here translated either "van-guard" or "breast-work." Our author was fond of such compound titles. Thus he styles his history "Foras-Feasa ar Erin," i. e., "a historic knowledge of Eri," a term compounded of *Foras*, history, and *Fios*, knowledge. His cleverest and most carefully-written work, which he composed in defence of his national religion, he called the "Eochair-Sciath an Aifrinn," (*Oghir-Skeeah an Affrinn*), i. e., "The key-shield of the Mass;" meaning thereby, an explanatory defence of the Holy Sacrifice.

² *Gauls*.—The Irish designated the earlier Anglo-Norman and British invaders that had settled amongst "Sen-Ghaill," (*Shan-Ghoill*), i. e. "Old Gauls" or "strangers." These settlers were also called "Strongbowians," from their leader, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, and Strigul, who had received the nickname of "Strongbow," from his expertness in archery. These early colonists soon adopted the

manners and habits of the Irish, with whom they quickly amalgamated, and they became, as the English writers of the day said of them, "*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*," i. e., more Irish than the Irish themselves. A marked distinction was therefore made between them and the "Nuadh-Ghaill" (*No-ghoill*), or later invaders. They never called themselves "Sasanaigh," or Saxons, nor was that hated term ever applied to them by the natives. They are always styled either "Brethnaigh" (*Brehnigh*), i. e., Britons or Gauls, as here. The term "Gall" or "Gaul" was not given to them as a generic name, though the vast majority of them were, in truth, Gallo-Normans by descent. They were so-called, merely, because they were "strangers." Thus we shall see the Irish calling the Scandinavian searovers, "Finn-Ghaill" and "Dubh-Ghaill," (*Doo-ghoill*), i. e., "Fair and Black Strangers," though they, certainly, were not of the Gallic nation.

³ *Gael*.—In more ancient Irish manuscripts, this word is found written "Gaedal," or, with the aspiration, "Gaedhal." It is now universally spelled "Gaodhal," for the moderns, by a

sand years. For there is no historian that has written upon Ireland, since the event just mentioned, who does not strive to vilify and calumniate both the Anglo-Irish colonists and the Gaelic

corrupt innovation, always replace the "ae" of the ancients by "ao." Throughout this work, the form "Gael," shall be used in translating the word, wherever it is used in a national or generic sense. It has been received into the English language under this latter form, which represents pretty nearly its *modern* pronunciation. The editor rejects the form "Gadelian," because it disguises the diphthong "ae," which he considers an essentially radical element of the word, while it does not at all add to the facility of its pronunciation in English. He thinks the name of kindred origin with "Gaetulus," or "Gaetuli," a name by which a nation of northern Africa was designated by the Romans.

This is the true national or generic name of that portion of the great Celtic family, which inhabits both the Scottish highlands and Ireland. The manner in which it has been introduced into English has misled many learned inquirers into comparative etymology, leading them to fancy that it had some relationship with the word, "Gallus," or "Gaul," other than that of most total opposition. To add to the errors already broached upon the subject, Dr. O'Brien, in remarking on the letter "a," in his Irish Dictionary, has devoted a large space to proving that these two most antagonistic words, "Gaedhal" or Gael, and "Gall," or Gaul, were originally derived from the same source, and had been in the beginning applied to one people. His object in this forced, and, I am sorry to think, willfully deceitful attempt, was, apparently, to support some of the wild etymological fantasies of General Vallancey, and antiquarians of his school. Though the Doctor's reasons are beneath criticism, and perfectly ridiculous to any one who knows even a little of the Gaelic language, in which the words are as hostile to each other as *friend* is to *foe*, or as *black* is to *white*, or as any two terms can possibly be; still, I am induced to notice his imposition here, by the fact that he

has thereby misled some really learned and truth-seeking writers, both at home and on the Continent. Moore quotes him as an authority upon what he calls the *adventitious letters interpolated by the Irish Bards*. The learned Thierry has been led by him to suppose that "Gallus," "Celta," "Gaul," &c., and "Gaedhal" or "Gael," were but dialectic variations of the same original appellation. As a basis for his assumption, Dr. O'Brien makes the following assertion, which, after his own etymological researches, he must have known to be unfounded. Having remarked upon that property of the Gaelic tongue, by which no two or more vowels coming together can form distinct syllables, he goes on to say: "For which reason our bards or versificators, who frequently wanted to stretch out words, by multiplying their syllables, according to the exigency of their rhymes, devised the method of throwing in between the two vowels an adventitious consonant (generally a 'd' or 'g' aspirated by 'h'), in order to stretch and divide the two vowels into two different syllables. As this consonant was quite foreign to the natural frame of the word, so it entirely corrupted and disguised its radical form and structure."

Now, I deny that our bards did devise any such method for "stretching out their rhymes," and I challenge examples, from any correctly-written manuscript, that will show that the letters he would style adventitious do not belong either to the *radical frame* of the word, or to its *regular grammatical inflection*. The proof that the letters are not adventitious may easily be had, by comparing the words in which they occur with their *cognate terms* in other Indo-European dialects; in some one of which the letters, mortified or silenced in Irish, will ever be found fully sounded. The truth seems to be, that these aspirations or silencings of medial and final letters, were *the peculiar mode of corruption by*

natives. We have proofs of this in the accounts given by Cambrensis, Spenser, Stanchurst, Hanner, Camden, Barclay, Morrison, Davis, Campion and all the writers of the New Gauls

which the Gaels *dissimilated* their tongue from the "Lingua prisca," or primitive language of the Japetic tribes of Europe and Asia. Whether that *essential difference* and one or two other minor ones, was caused by either Semitic, Uralian, or Finnish admixture, is a question that well merits the investigation of the comparative philologist. It would favor our Phœnician theories, did these peculiarities belong altogether to the *Gaelic*, but they pervade the whole family of the tongues called *Celtic*.

To the candid etymologist, the retention of such silent letters, in the written and in the poetic language, will not seem to be *innovations*. He will rather consider it a *proof of the resistance given by the Irish ollamhs and bards to the linguistic corruptions of the vulgar*. For, if these ollamhs and bards did innovate, how is it that, isolated, as they undoubtedly were, from the learned of the world, they always chanced to hit upon the proper radical letter that should be inserted in order to make the *written word* correspond in outward appearance with its Greek, Latin, or Sanscrit cogener? Are we to suppose that these ollamhs and bards, whose education was purely local and professional, were skilled in the very recent science of comparative philology? Are we to believe all that the venerable Keating has transcribed for us of the royal schoolmaster, Fenius Farsa, and of that universal savant, Gaedal, son of Ethor? And yet we must either do that, and allow a knowledge of comparative philology to our bards and shanachies, of which the most learned amongst modern philologists might feel proud, or we must allow that these silent and aspirated letters, which pervade the whole frame-work of the Gaelic tongue, are not adventitious. But, it is much casier to allow that these letters were pronounced at the time, when the words in which they occur were first committed to writing, and that

the Ollamhs, Druids and Bards preserved their orthography thus unaltered, notwithstanding the changes which the spoken language underwent from popular corruption. This is no place to cite many examples of the class of words I mean; for such I refer the reader to the erudite work of M. Pietet, upon the Analogies of the Sanscrit with the Celtic tongues.

Unluckily for Dr. O'Brien's assumption, the cogener of the word we spell "Gaedal," but pronounce "Gael," is still preserved in a neighboring Indo-European language. In the Cimbric or Kimric, i. e. the Welsh, the Irish or Gaels, are called "Guydhill," with the "dh" as fully pronounced as the "th" in the English word "whither." Now, our Cimbric neighbors were not first taught our name from books. They must have heard our forefathers, when first brought into contact with them, call themselves Gaedail or Guydhill, sounding the radical "d" fully. Otherwise, they would not have known that such a letter existed in writing. Their own language is subject to all the aspirations and mortifications of letters that ours is, but they write their words as pronounced, heedless of radicals. Hence, without abiding too closely to the date which the bards give as the time, when

"Mhedh's sons first heard dread Ocean
His music beat on Eri's shores,"

we must still put back the epoch, when Gael and Cimber met in western Europe, to an extremely remote period, that is, to some period when the "d" was fully sounded in Gaedal. That it was not so sounded, when our Scottish kinsmen of Alba left us, some fourteen hundred years ago, we have living testimony. The Highlander aspirates or silences the same letters, in the same words, as the Munster-man. It has taken some thousand years and odd centuries, to make a slight dialectic and euphonic difference between Scotch and Irish Gaelic. It must have taken another, at least, equal period to make the

(English), who have treated of this country. So that, when they speak of the Irish, one would imagine that these men were actuated

with difference that exists between the, nevertheless, closely-allied languages of Wales and Ireland. This one example is, in itself, irrefragable evidence that *Gædal* is no corruption of *Gallus*, even were our own ollamhs silent on the subject. If the natives of the country, called *Gallia* by the Latins, were the same as the Gael, their relationship must be proved by something better founded than the accident by which *Gædal* has been corrupted, so as to have a faint resemblance in sound to *Gaul*. In the common Irish this day spoken, "Gael" means a "kinsman," while "Gal" means a "foreigner." In the Welsh and the Armoric Breton, also, "Gal" or "Gal" means foreign. In the old Anglo-Saxon, its kindred term "Wallise" meant, stranger; hence "Welsh" or "Wallise" came to be applied to the British inhabitants of *Cambria*. The German form of the word "Welsch" means foreign also—Italy is their "Welschland" or "Foreigners' land." The word is seen less disguised in the name of the "Walloon" guards, so famous on the Continent, and in that of the people called "Walli." But why multiply examples?

Finishing thus that the word means *foreign* in all the languages where any form of it occurs, the editor holds, until further proof be adduced in support of the common opinion, that the ancient Celtic inhabitants of modern France and of northern Italy—the "*Gallia*" or "*Welschland*" of ancient Rome—*did never call themselves Galli at all*, but that "*Gallus*" perhaps meaning in old Latin what "*Gall*" means in Gaelic, and what the word, though in more disguised costume, means in every European tongue where it is found, the old Itali called their invaders from beyond the Alps "*Galli*," because they were "Strangers;" and that the name continued to be applied to the people to whom it had been most particularly given, after it had lost its primitive and more extended meaning. So of the Anglo-Saxon "*Wallise*;" its English form, "*Welsh*," has lost its more gene-

ral signification, and it is now forced as a national name upon the *Cimbri*, whether they will have it themselves or not.

The editor here instances a few of the host of words affected by the same deliquescent or *melting* influence to which this radical word "*gædal*," which was, *perhaps*, more anciently "*Gædalus*," "*Gædulus*," *Γαιτυλος*; and *Γαιθυλος*, has been subjected, viz: "*Amha*" and "*amhain*," i. e., *a river*, pronounced vulgarly *ow* and *owin*, but poetically *anna* and *awwin*; in Latin, "*amnis*," "*Aedhar*," i. e., *the upper air*, vulgarly pronounced *air*, poetically *aighar*; in Latin, "*aether*;" and Greek *Αιθηρ*, "*Aeimhinn*," i. e., *pleasant*; vulgarly pronounced *eeng*, poetically *eevinn*; in Latin, "*amœnus*," "*Bodhar*," i. e. *deaf*, vulgarly pronounced *bowr*, poetically *boghár*; in Welsh, "*byddar*;" and in English "*bother*." "*Cladhamb*," i. e. *a sword*, vulgarly pronounced *do've*, poetically *d'ghá'v*; in Latin, "*gladium*;" and in English, "*glai've*." "*Cumhar*," i. e. *foam* or *a wave*, vulgarly pronounced *coor*, poetically *cúv'ar*; in Latin, "*spuma*;" and in Greek, *χρῦμα*. "*Feighil*," i. e. *to watch* or *guard*, vulgarly pronounced *file*, poetically *féyíl*; Latin, "*vigilo*." "*Gabhar*," i. e. *a goat*, vulgarly pronounced *gowr*, poetically *g'v'ar*; Latin, "*caper*." "*Medhon*," i. e. *the middle*, vulgarly pronounced *me'one*, poetically *mégh'ón*; Latin, "*medium*;" and English, "*middle*." "*Oghar*, i. e. *pallid*, vulgarly pronounced *our*, poetically *ogh'ar*; Greek, *ωγρος*. "*Saeghal*," i. e. *an age, life*, vulgarly pronounced *sayl*, poetically *saigh'al*; Latin, "*Sæculum*." "*Samhail*" and "*amhail*," i. e. *like*, vulgarly pronounced *s'wil* and *ow'l*, poetically *s'wv'it* and *á'wv'it*; Latin, "*similis*;" Greek, *αμα* and *ομοος*; and English, "*same*;" and the suffix, "*some*." "*Uabhan*" and "*namhan*," i. e. *fear*, vulgarly pronounced *oon*, poetically *oo'van*; Greek, *φοβον*. "*Umhal*," i. e. *humble*, vulgarly pronounced *ool*, poetically *oo'val*. *Uadhach*, i. e. *an udder*, vulgarly pronounced *oogh*, poetically *oo'hagh*; in Greek, *ουθαρ*.

by the instinct of the beetle;⁴ for it is the nature of this animal, when it raises its head in the summer, to flutter about without stooping to the fair flowers of the meadow, or to the blossoms of the garden, though they were all roses and lilies; it bustles hurriedly round, until it meets with some loathsome ordure, and it buries itself therein; so with the above-named writers, they never allude to the virtues and the good customs of the old Anglo-Irish and Gaelic nobility, who dwelt in Ireland in their time; they write not of their piety or of their valor, of what monasteries they founded—what lands and endowments they gave to the Church—what immunities they granted to the ollamhs,⁵ or learned doc-

In fine, this list might be extended to a much greater length, did space allow. Did I quote monosyllabic words, where the *final* letters are silent or mortified, it might be swelled to from six hundred to a thousand radical words. It is this peculiar tendency of the Celtic vocal organs to mortify or silence certain letters, that caused the great number of silent letters found in the Celto-Latin of France, that is, the modern French—a much less portion of which is derived directly from the Romans than is generally supposed.

The editor has dwelt longer upon this subject than is usual in a note, but he deems its importance to be an ample excuse; for, not only does a good deal relating to the filiation of the Irish and Scottish Gaels depend upon the retention or rejection of the radical “d” in this particular case, but the, perhaps, much more important, question of the possession of a knowledge of letters by the Irish Druids and Bards from the very earliest times, can, in his opinion, be incontrovertibly proved by the existence of those very silent letters, of which he has given examples, when supported by *strict propriety* and *close analogy* with other, often far distant languages (such as the Sanscrit, for instance), with which they are invariably used. The maintainers of the truth of the ancient tradition, that tells us of the uninterrupted use of letters among our ancestors, should rest that much disputed question upon the *internal structure of our ancient written language alone*. With the modern Irish and Alban Scotch on the one

side, and the Sanscrit, that had perhaps ceased to be a vulgar tongue before Homer composed his *Iliad*, and consequently the purest and most perfect specimen of the ancient Japetian tongue, on the other; with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Slavic, Cimbro-Celtic or Welsh, and the various dialects of our own Ibero-Celtic, as connecting links between the two extremes, such evidence can be brought in support of the tradition of our own bards on the subject, as must convince any really learned and candid philologist of its being founded upon reality. By the silent, aspirated or mortified letters, and certain other accidents, what I may call the *stratified* history of the Irish tongue, written upon its very core by Nature's own hand, and its successive stages of formation, can be traced up to its primitive parent or parents in the East, with scarcely less certainty than the history of the earth's formation can be traced from the varied strata that compose its shell.

⁴ *The Beetle*. This idea is also found in Lope de Vega, the Spanish dramatist and poet. An ancient Latin naturalist has said of this insect, “perit odore rosæ,” i. e., “the odor of the rose kills it.”

⁵ *The Ollamhs (Ollaves)*, or learned doctors, were the members of the literary and scientific professions. In pagan times, they were presided over by the Arch-Druid. They comprised the Druids Brethemhs (*Brehave*), i. e. Brehons or Judges, the Bards, Historians, Physicians, and Musicians. Each order of these was presided over by an *Ardr-Ollamh*, or chief doctor.

tors of Ireland—their bounty to the ecclesiastics and prelates of the Church—the relief they afforded to orphans and to the poor—their munificence to men of learning, and their hospitality to strangers: insomuch that it may be said with truth, that they were not at any time surpassed by any nation of Europe, in generosity and hospitality, in proportion to the abilities they possessed. Witness the meetings of the learned which they convened (a custom unheard of amongst the other nations of Europe); so that such was the force of generosity and liberality amongst the old Anglo-Irish and Gaels of Ireland, that they were not satisfied with distributing their bounties to those that claimed them, but they also gave public invitations to all persons to come and partake of their favors, in order to find a wider scope for their desire of bestowing treasures and presents. And yet nothing of all this can be found in the English writers of the time; but they dwell upon the customs of the vulgar, and upon the stories of ignorant old women, neglecting the illustrious actions of the nobility, and all that relates to the ancient Gaels that inhabited this island, before the invasion of the Anglo-Normans.

Let us see did any nation in Europe oppose the Romans with more valor than they did in their defence of Alba or Scotland. They forced the Britons to build a wall between Britain and Scotland, in order to protect themselves from the incursions of the Gaels; and, although there was constantly an army of Romans, amounting to 52,000 foot and 200 horse, kept to defend that wall, together with 30,000 foot, and 1,300 horse for guarding the coasts and harbors of the country against the Scots and Piets, nevertheless, according to the Chronicle of Samuel Daniel, the Gaels used to pass over the wall and ravage the country, in spite of that large army. Cormac MacCulinan⁶ also tells us, in his Psalter, that, in consequence of the ravages committed in Britain by the Gaels, and the "Cruithnigh," called also Piets, the Britons murdered their Roman governors three times, as a peace-offering to those plunderers. We can also understand, from Geoffry of Monmouth, how great was the strait into which the Gaels had reduced the Britons, in the time of their King Vortigern, who was forced thereby to take into pay the Saxon Hengist and his German army. We also read, in the Chronicle of Samuel Daniel, that the Romans had built fourteen fortresses in Britain, in order to resist the Scots and Piets, who continued to disturb that country, in spite of the Roman power, from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Valentinian the Third,

⁶ *Cormac, son of Culinan*, Archbishop of Cashel, was proclaimed king of Munster A. D. 902. He was the compiler of the famous Psalter of Cashel.

namely, for a space of 500 years; for it was in the year of our Lord 447, that the Romans deserted their British province. A contest arose before that time between Theodosius and Maximus, which obliged the latter to bring a great body of Britons with him to Armorica,⁷ which is now called Little Britain (Bretagne), in France; and, he having expelled the former inhabitants, gave that country to his British soldiers, whose posterity retain it to the present day.

There are some authors among the ancients, that make false statements with respect to the Irish, particularly Strabo,⁸ who asserts in his third book, that the Irish live upon human flesh. My answer to this charge is, that Strabo has lied, in thus asserting the Irish to be cannibals. For, nowhere in our ancient records do we read of any person, that eat human flesh, except Ethni Uathach,⁹ daughter of Crimthann, son of Enna Kinnsealach, king of Leinster, who was nursed in the Desies of Munster, where she was fed on the flesh of infants, in hopes of her arriving the sooner at maturity; for it had been prophesied, that the fosterers of this lady should receive land from the man, to whom she should be married; and she was married to Aengus, son of Nadfraech, king of Munster, as shall be noticed hereafter in the body of the history. The reader must understand, when our Shanachies would not conceal this shameful fact, so disgraceful to a daughter of a king of Leinster, and wife of a king of Munster, that they would not fail to expose it in people of inferior rank, if such a practice ever prevailed in this country; therefore Strabo is false, in asserting it to be a *custom* in Ireland to eat human flesh, when

⁷ *Armorica* is now called Bretagne. It lies on the northwestern coast of France. The rural inhabitants still almost universally, speak a dialect of the Celtic tongue, closely akin to the Welsh or Cimbrie. They are a brave, simple people, obstinately attached to their old habits and customs. They are moral and devoutly Catholic, and, mostly, fervid royalists. The invasion, here referred to, was not one of extermination, as might be here understood; the old Armoricians were the same people as themselves, and the exiled Bretons did but amalgamate with their own kinsfolk. The Bretons are supposed to represent the ancient Belgæ of Gaul. In 1800 there were said to be some three millions speaking the Breton language. In all France and Spain, it was then supposed that there were some ten mil-

ions speaking Celtic dialects. But from this must be deducted the Basque or Guipuseoan, which is not now held to be Celtic. Bretagne has given many distinguished men to France, among whom was the celebrated poet, Chateaubriand.

⁸ *Strabo*, a geographer, who flourished in the days of Augustus and Tiberius. His geography, written in Greek, to which our author here alludes, is much celebrated.

⁹ *Ethni*.—In admitting the possible truth of this disgusting and improbable story, Dr. Keating shows how rigidly he interpreted the canon, he quotes a little below, defining the historian's duties. It is, however, most likely, an idle slander thrown at the Munster tribes by their enemies, and taken hold of by some strolling story-teller. Dr. Keating did not sufficiently remember the fact,

we can find but one solitary instance of it in our traditions, and even that occurred in the days of Paganism. My answer to St. Jerome,¹⁰ who makes the same assertion, in writing against Jovinian, is, that he must have had his information from some vender of lies, and that it should not be credited to the prejudice of the Irish. Solinus,¹¹ in his twenty-first chapter, tells us that *there are no bees in Ireland*; and goes on to state, that the male children, for the first month after birth, receive their food from the point of a sword. He also says that the Irish, when they have killed an enemy, are wont to bathe themselves in his blood; but it is evident from our own history that every word of this is false. Pomponius Mela,¹² speaking of the Irish, in his third book, calls them "a people¹³ ignorant of every virtue." Many other ancient foreign writers have spoken of Ireland in the same rash, disparaging manner, on the authority of lying rumors; but, no credit should be given to their statements, for they were themselves utterly ignorant on the subject; wherefore Camden, when giving down the testimonies of these men with regard to Ireland, makes use of the following remark: "We have," says he, "no witnesses upon these matters, who are worthy of credit."¹⁴ It is evident from the same Camden, that it was false to assert that there were no bees in Ireland; for in describing this country, he says, himself, that "such is the quantity of bees, that they are found not only in hives, but also in the trunks of trees and in holes in the ground."¹⁵

We shall now give a few of the falsehoods of the English authors, who have written upon Ireland. As these men have followed in the footsteps of Cambrensis,¹⁶ we shall begin by

that critical discrimination, also, was one of the historian's duties.

¹⁰ *St. Jerome*, or Hieronymus, a native of Pannonia, was distinguished for his zeal against heretics. He wrote with great eloquence and elegance of style. In the instance here referred to, he does not seem to have much regarded the armory whence he took the weapon wherewith he felled his enemy. He died A. D. 420, aged 91.

¹¹ *C. Julius Solinus* wrote in the 1st century. His work is called Polyhistor.

¹² *Pomponius Mela* was a native of Spain. He was the writer of a geography, and flourished about A. D. 45.

¹³ *Omnium Virtutum ignari.*

¹⁴ *Horum quæ commemoramus dignos fide testes non habemus.*

¹⁵ *Apum est tanta multitudo, ut*

non solum alvearibus, sed etiam arborum et terræ cavernis reperiuntur.

¹⁶ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, i. e. Gerald the Welshman, or Cambrian. This first British calumniator of the Irish nation was an Anglo-Norman ecclesiastic, who came over to Ireland A. D. 1185, in the train of King John, whose tutor he had previously been. He was the brother of Philip de Barri, one of the earliest of the Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland, and founder of the Anglo-Irish sept of the Barries. Giraldus was the son of a Norman nobleman by a Welshwoman. He wrote many works, but that entitled the Conquest and Topography of Ireland is the one to which our author alludes. The falsehoods of Cambrensis have been ably refuted by the Irish antiquary,

bringing his lies home to Cambrensis himself. This man asserts, that King Arthur received a tribute from Ireland, and that the place where he imposed that tribute was in the city of Leon, in the year of our Lord 519. Campion, also, makes the same statement, in the second chapter of the second book of his chronicle, where he adds, that one *Gilla-Mara* was king of Ireland at that time. But, notwithstanding that both the author of Polychronicon and Geoffrey of Monmouth, with some other English writers, make mention of a Gilla-Mara as king of Ireland, yet I challenge any one of them or their followers to produce a single poem or passage in the records or traditions of the Irish, in which there is any mention or account of any person named Gilla-Mara's having been ever king of this country, unless by that name they mean Murkertach or Murtough Mor Mac Erea, who was the cotemporary of King Arthur, and was very powerful both in Ireland and Scotland. This Murkertach sent his six brothers into Scotland, and one of them, Fergus Mor Mac Erea, was the first king of the Scottish race in Alba (Scotland). Then, it was by the Scots and Picts that King Arthur himself was killed. This Fergus, whom I have just mentioned, was, as I state, the first king of Alba of the Scottish race; for though Hector Boethius,¹⁷ in his history of Scotland, reckons thirty-nine kings of that country before him, still not one of these predecessors of his were of the Scottish nation. There is also a mistake contained in the assertion that Fergus, son of *Fearchar*, king of Ireland, was the first Scottish king of Scotland; for, there never was a king of Ireland named Fearchar, and therefore no son of such Fearchar could be king of Scotland, as Hector Boethius states. Now, though had it pleased Murkertach Mor to place his brother, Fergus Mac Erea, on the throne of Scotland, still Murkertach is himself styled "*Rex Scotorum*," meaning that he was king of the Scots, both in Eri and Alba, i. e. Ireland and Scotland. Hence, it is not to be supposed, that so powerful a monarch should pay tribute to King Arthur.

Speed¹⁸ says in his Chronicle, that the Irish king was not tributary to King Arthur; but, that a friendly league of mutual aid in their wars subsisted between them; so that if one of them was oppressed by enemies, it was incumbent on the other to help him with an allied force: this Speed calls "*jus belli socialis*," i. e. an obligation of alliance in war. Such is the present alliance be-

Dr. Lynch, of Galway, who lived during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., in an able work, written in Latin, and styled "Cambrensis Eversus," i. e. "Cambrensis overthrown"

¹⁷ *Hector Boece*, or Boethius, was a

Scottish writer, who wrote the history of his country in Latin. He was born at Dundee, 1470, and died about 1550.

¹⁸ *John Speed*, an English historian and geographer, lived between A.D. 1556 and 1629.

tween the King of Spain and the Emperor; for each is bound to send aid to the other, whenever his necessities require it; yet, we are not by this to understand, that the Emperor pays any tribute to the King of Spain, or the King of Spain to the Emperor. In like manner, if there existed any similar treaty between King Arthur and Murkertach Mac Erea, King of Ireland, by which they were bound to assist each other mutually in the time of danger, it is not thence to be inferred that either was tributary to the other. The truth of this opinion is more fully confirmed by what Nubigenis says, in the twenty-sixth chapter of the second book of his history: there, in speaking of Ireland, he says that "Hibernia¹⁹ (Ireland) never lay under any foreign sway." Even Cambrensis himself agrees with this opinion in his twenty-sixth chapter, where he tells us that "from the²⁰ beginning Hibernia remained free from the incursions of foreign nations." From these testimonies it is clear, that neither King Arthur nor any other foreign prince ever possessed the sovereignty of Ireland, until the English invasion. It is not to be supposed, that the Britons could have laid claim to any authority in this island, when the Romans themselves never dared to set their hands upon it: and so far was it from Ireland's being subject to the Romans or to any other stranger, that Camden,²¹ in his book, called *Britannia Camdeni*, gives the following testimony: "When the Romans²² had extended their empire on all sides, many, no doubt, came over here (to Ireland) from Spain, Gaul, i. e. France and Britain, in order to escape from the intolerable yoke of the Romans." From this, it may be understood that the Romans not only never came to Ireland, but, that the people of other countries found there an asylum, and were protected by the Irish. The same Camden says again, in confuting the opinion of those, who imagine, that it was likely that the Romans extended their domination to Ireland: ²³ "I can scarcely bring my mind to believe, that this country had, at any time, fallen under the dominion of the Romans."

Cambrensis says, in his ninth chapter, that it was customary with Irishmen to take the widows of their deceased brothers in marriage. He also says, that it was not the custom to pay tithes in Ireland, before the arrival of Cardinal Papiron. This, how-

¹⁹ Hibernia nunquam externæ sub-
jacenti ditioni.

²⁰ Hibernia ab initio ab omni aliena-
rum gentium incursu libera, permansit.

²¹ *William Camden*, the celebrated anti-
quary, was born in London, A.D.
1551. The first edition of his "*Britan-
nia*," appeared in 1586.

²² Dum suum Romani imperium un-

dique propagassent, multi proculdubio
ex Hispania, Gallia, Britannia hic se
repperunt, ut iniquissimo Romanorum
jugo colla subducerent.

²³ Ego animum vix inducere possum,
ut hæc regionem in Romanorum po-
testatem ullo concessore tempore cre-
dam.

ever, is false, as will be seen hereafter in the body of the history, and as I shall soon make appear in this preface. In treating of the natural curiosities (wonders) of Ireland, this writer says also, that there is a well in Munster which makes one gray upon washing one's hair therein, and that there is another well in Ulster, which prevents grayness. Yet there are no such wells now in Ireland, nor do I think that there were any such in the country in the days of Cambrensis. He sets down these wonders, but to give a color to his other falsehoods.

Cambrensis says also, in his twenty-second chapter, that when the nobles of Ireland ratify their alliances, in the presence of a bishop, they kiss the relics of the saints, and drink of each other's blood, though, while doing so, they are ready to betray and murder one another. My answer to him here is, that there is no poem or passage, tradition or old writing, history or annals, that bears him out in this malicious statement. Now, it is a well-known fact, that the antiquaries were bound, on pain of losing their degree of "Ollamh" or Doctor, not only not to conceal any such evil custom, if it existed in Ireland in their day, but also to commit it to writing. Hence, it is manifest that Cambrensis has told us a wilful lie in this matter. Again, in his tenth chapter, this man says, that "the Gaels are an *inhospitable* race."²⁴ But in order to answer this charge, I have only to quote from the narrative of Stanihurst, who speaks of the hospitality of the Irish in the following terms: "*They²⁵ are truly a most hospitable people, and you can pay them no greater respect, nor can you gratify them more in anything, than in freely and voluntarily frequenting their houses.*" From this statement we may infer, without leave of Cambrensis, that at their tables at least, they are a generous and hospitable people.

Cambrensis, elsewhere, says that it was the wife of the king of Meath, that eloped with Diarmaid na n-Gall²⁶ (Dermott of the English); yet this is not true, for, it was the wife of Tighernan O'Ruairc, king of Brefni, and daughter to Murcadh mac Flainn son of Maelsechlainn, king of Meath, that made that elopement. The lady's name was Derborgaill. He again asserts that the rivers Suir, Nore, and Barrow rise in the mountain called Slieve-Bloom; but this is another misstatement; the Barrow, it is true, takes its rise on the eastern point of Slieve-Bloom, but the Suir and Nore flow from the side of Slieve Aldiun,²⁷ called also Slieve

²⁴ Est autem gens hæc inhospita. i. e., "They are an inhospitable people."

²⁵ Sunt sane homines hospitalimini neque illis ulla in re magis gratificare potes quam vel ponte ac voluntarie eorum domus frequentare.

²⁶ Diarmaid na nGall, or Dermot of

the Strangers. He was so called from having brought over the English.

²⁷ *Slíabh Aldiúin* (*Slieve Aldiune*), is now called Greim an Diabhail (*Grime an Deel*) i. e. the Devil's Bit. It was otherwise called Beàrnán Eli, or the Gap of Eli.

Bearnan, (*the Devil's Bit Mountain*,) in the territory of the Ui-Carin²⁸ (*Ikerrin*).

He also says, in this same work upon Ireland, that the king of ²⁹Kinèl-Conaill, that is, the O'Donnell, used to be inaugurated in the following manner:—"All the inhabitants of his territory being assembled on a high hill in his domains, a white mare was killed and put to boil in a large cauldron, in the middle of a field: when it was sufficiently boiled, the king used to lap up the broth with his mouth like a hound or dog and eat the flesh out of his hand, without using a knife or any other instrument to cut it; he then divided the rest of the flesh amongst the assembly and afterwards bathed himself in the broth." This is plainly an impudent falsehood of Cambrensis, *for the annals of Ireland explicitly record the mode of inaugurating the kings of Kinèl-Conaill*. The ceremony was performed thus: The king being seated on a hill, in the midst of the nobility and gentry of his own territory, one of the chiefs of his nobles stood before him, bearing in his hand a straight, white wand, which he presented to the king, telling him, at the same time, "to receive the sovereignty of his country and to preserve equal and impartial justice between all portions of his dominions." The reason why the wand was straight and white was, to put him in mind that he should be unbiassed in his judgments and pure and upright in all his actions. I wonder much how Cambrensis could have had the hardihood to invent such a lie, as that quoted above, and I am confident, that it was through pure malice alone, that he set it down in his book. For it is a well-known fact, that that tribe has been distinguished for godliness, piety and religion, and that several of its members who had taken orders, ended their days in sanctity and devotion. It has also produced a great number of Saints, amongst whom were Saints Columkille,³⁰ Baeithin, Adamnan and many others, too numerous to mention here. It is also incredible, that the nobles of Ireland would have allowed the king of Kinèl-Conaill to observe that barbarous custom, which Cambrensis relates, at a time when the Catholic faith had already flourished amongst them, from the time of St. Patrick to the English invasion, (about 700 years.)

²⁸ *Ui Carin* (*ee-carrin*) or Ikerrin, a district of ancient Eli, but now a barony of North Tipperary. It was, in former times, the tribe-land of the clan of O Meachair, now written O'-Meagher and Maher, in English. This sept as well as the O Carrolls and the other Elians, were descended from Cian or Kian, the third son of Olild Olum. "Ui" is the nominative plural of "O" or "Ua," which means descendant. Ui

Carin was the tribe name of the O Meachairs.

²⁹ *Kinèl-Conaill*, i. e. Race of Conall and Tir Conaill, i. e. the land of Conall, so called from Conall Gulban, the ancestor of the O'Donnells, O'Dogherties, and their correlative clans, was the ancient name of the county of Donegal.

³⁰ For particulars relative to these saints, see the body of the history.

And, for that reason also, I again assert, that Cambrensis has broached here a downright lie, as unwarrantable as it is ³¹malicious.

Spenser³² says, in his Chronicle, that Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, and Edgar, king of Britain, exercised a jurisdiction over Ireland, as we read in the thirty-third page of his history. But, this assertion cannot be true, for the records of Ireland are directly against him, and besides, the British writers themselves confess, that the Saxons have left them no old writings or coins, from which they could obtain a knowledge of the history of those times that preceded the arrival of the last-mentioned nation; thus Gildas,³³ an ancient British writer, tells us that the old monuments and coins, and, consequently, the ancient history of the Britons, had been destroyed by the Romans and Saxons. Samuel Daniel³⁴ agrees with Gildas upon the same point, in the first part of his Chronicle, so also does Rider, in his Latin Lexicon, when treating of the word *Britannia*. The latter writer says, moreover, that Britain has not been called *Britannia* from Brutus, for, if it were, the name should be *Brutia* or *Brutica*. And it is more than probable, if the name were derived from Brutus, that Julius Cæsar, Cornelius Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, Bede³⁵ or some other old writer, would have mentioned the derivation. Thus, as the British authors knew not whence came the name of their own country, it is no wonder that they should be ignorant of many things in its ancient history. We should not, then, be surprised to find Spenser equally destitute of knowledge upon these same subjects.

But, it is a matter of surprise, that this writer should undertake to trace the genealogies of some Irish noble families, and take

³¹ Dr. Keating is particularly indignant that Cambrensis, himself in holy orders, should malign a house that had given so many ornaments to the Catholic faith, and such valiant champions to the Cross, as that of Kinèl-Conaill.

³² *Spenser*. This was the famous English poet, who wrote the "Fairie Queen." He was sent to Ireland in 1580, as Secretary to Lord Wilton de Grey. There, he obtained the Castle of Kileoleman, on the Blackwater, in the county of Cork, with 3,000 acres of land, as the reward of his services. These formed a portion of the estates of the vanquished Earl of Desmond. Spenser enjoyed his share of the spoils of that ruined nobleman, for a while, in tranquillity; but the war of Tyrone caused him to fly, in haste to London, where he died in 1598, without having recovered his Irish plunder. The work

of his upon which our author animadverts, is one entitled "A View of the State of Ireland," which Spenser presented to Queen Elizabeth.

³³ *Gildas* was a British or Welsh ecclesiastic, who wrote a history of his nation in Latin, in the first half of the sixth century.

³⁴ *Samuel Daniel* was an English poet and historian, born A.D. 1562. He was appointed Poet Laureat at the death of Spenser.

³⁵ *Bede*, usually styled the Venerable Bede, was an Anglo-Saxon monk. He lived a quiet, studious life, and died at the monastery of Wearmouth, in A.D. 735. He wrote several works, amongst which his Anglo-Saxon history is now the most valuable. He is considered one of the most respectable of Saxon authorities.

upon him to assert that they are of English extraction. He specially points out seven noble surnames of the Gaelic nobility, as of foreign origin: these are the MacMahon's (of Ulster), the clans of Sweeny, Sheehy, Maenamara, Cavanagh, Toole and Byrne. He says that the name MacMahon has come either from *Ursa* (Fitz-Urse), or Bear, English surnames; and, as the words "*ursa*," "*bear*" and *Mahon* are of the same signification, that, consequently, it is from the English house of Bear or *Ursa* (Fitz-Urse), that the MacMahons of Ulster are derived. My answer to this assertion is, that it is just as reasonable, from the etymology of the word, to conclude that the MacMahons³⁶ of Thomond, or the O'Mahonics³⁷ of Carbery, should descend from the English Fitz-Urscs, *Ursas* or Bears, as the MacMahons of Ulster; and, since the former do not draw their origin from any English source, neither do the latter. But the fact is, the MacMahons³⁸ of Ulster are descended from Colla Dà Crioch, son of

³⁶ *The Mac Mahons*, in Irish *Mac Mathghamhna*, (*Mahouna*) of Thomond, were princes of Corca-Basginn, now the baronies of Moyarta and Clonderlaw, in the county of Clare. They are the elder representatives of Brian Boromha or Born, being descended from Mathghamhain (*Mahowin*), son of Murkertach Mor, King of Ireland, from A.D. 1110 to A.D. 1130. Murkertach was the son of Tordelbach, son of Tadhg (*Tigue*), son of Brian the victor of Clontarf. Diarmaid, the uncle of Mahon, succeeded his elder brother Murkertach, as chieftain of the Dal-g-Cas tribe, and as King of Munster, but not as sovereign of Ireland. From that time the O'Briens, who are descended from Diarmaid, held the sovereign power in North Munster, and the children of his elder brother, the monarch Murkertach, had to content themselves with the principality of Corca-Basginn.

³⁷ *The O'Mahonics of Carbery* were anciently chieftains of the Eugenic tribe, called the "Ibh Echach Mumbhan," (*Eev-Avagh Moon*), and kings of Rathlenn, a district lying along the rivers Bandon and Lee, in the county of Cork, extending from the sea to the bounds of the county of Kerry. They, also, derive their family name, O'Mathghamhna, from a person named Mathghamhain or Mahon. This Mahon was King of Desmond, A.D. 1015. He was

son of Kian, son of Maclmuadh, who had been also king of Desmond and son-in-law to Brian Boru. It was this Kian that commanded the Eugenicians of Desmond at Clontarf. The tribe of the Ibh Echach, (consisting of the O'Mahonys and O'Donoghoo's,) branched off from their correlatives, the Mac Carthics, O'Sullivan's, &c., at Cas son of Core. Core was King of Munster in A.D. 380, and was the rival of Niall of the nine hostages, for the monarchy.

³⁸ *The Mac Mahons* of Ulster derive their name from a similar personal appellation, namely, from Mathghamhain, son of Laidgnea, a chieftain of Fermanagh, who was killed, according to the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1022. These Mac Mahons were formerly chieftains of the present county of Monaghan, and sometimes kings of Oirghialla and Ullidia. The name is often found with the prefix "O" instead of "Mac" in our ancient annals. They were amongst the bravest and most distinguished of the northern tribes. Our annals speak of their chieftains so frequently, that, what Spencer has said of their foreign extraction, is utterly absurd. Our bards and shanachies never could lose sight of chieftains, so distinguished as they were, amongst the princely clans of Colla.

The very usual Irish name, Mathghamhain or Mahowin, from which the

Eocaidh Duiblén, son of Carbri Lifficar, of the line of Erimón or Heremon. Of the second family, the "Clann Suibhni," (called Sweenies, or MacSweenies,⁴⁰ in English) he says, that they are of an English house, called Swyne; but "*Suibhni*" (of which Sweeny is but a recent corruption) and "Swyne," are totally distinct words, and, consequently, the MacSweenies cannot be a branch of that English family. They are in reality descended from the O'Neills. He says, also, that the MacSheehies⁴¹ are of Anglo-Norman extraction; but in this, too, he errs egregiously, for it is well known they are of the line of Colla Uais, and that they owe their name to Sithach, pronounced *Sheehagh*, son of Ecdon, son of Alasdran, son of Domnald or Donald, from whom the Clan Donald (*i. e.*, the MacDonalds) of Ireland and Scotland take their name. He makes a similar assertion with regard to the Macnamaras,⁴² and says, that they are Anglo-Normans, and

above three families, so widely distinct in their genealogies, derive their surnames (which all three mean the same thing), is said to be an old Irish term for the animal called a "bear." The editor, however, has never heard or seen it used in that sense, and he, therefore, doubts it. The Saxon name "Bear" and the Norman one "Fitz Urse," being similar in signification, led Spenser to make his unfounded imputation of Saxonism upon the Mac Mahons of Ulster.

⁴⁰ *The Mac Sweenies* settled early in Tirconnel, and there branched into three great families, namely: "Mac Suibni Fanaid," who dwelt at Bathmullah Castle, east of Lough Swilly; "Mac Suibni of Boghanech," now the barony of Banagh, and "Mac Suibni na Tuath," or of the Battle-axes, Lord of Tuatha Torraighe (*Tooha Torree*), a territory near Tory Island, off the north-west point of Donegal County. The Mac Sweenies were standard-bearers and marshals to the O'Donnells. They were famous throughout Ireland as leaders of those heavy-armed infantry soldiers, called Galloglasses. A branch of the family settled in the County of Cork in the Thirteenth century, as commanders of these soldiers, under the Mac Carthies of Desmond. This branch of the family had castles at Clodagh, near Macroom, and at Castlemore, in Parish of Moviddy. They were famous for their hospitality, and one of them

erected a large stone near the Castle of Clodagh, with an Irish inscription, inviting travellers to repair to the house of Edmond Mac Sweeny for free entertainment. Some of this family have taken the conjecture of Spenser for truth, and have actually chosen to revel in the smoothly Saxon, but rather porcine patronymic of "Swyne." Others, with a better taste, modify the name to Swayne; but all the old and respectable branches of the Sept write the name "Mac Sweeny," or simply, "Sweeny."

⁴¹ *The Mac Sheehies* of Antrim were also famous as Chieftains of Galloglasses, and obtained possessions in various parts of Ireland, as sword-lands from the powerful toparchs into whose service they entered. A branch of them became captains to the Earls of Desmond, in the Fifteenth century. They formed the body-guard of these powerful noblemen. Several descendants of the sept have changed their name to "Joy." Sithach (*Sheehagh*), comes from "Sith" (*Sheehi*), which means "peace" or "quietness."

⁴² *Macnamara*. The powerful Dalcassian sept of "Mac Conmara," *i. e.*, son of Cumara, takes its name from a descendant of Conall, of the Swift Steeds, who was King of Munster in the Fourth century. Their tribe-land was called Tricha-kead-*ui-casin* (*Triha-kaid-ee-cashen*), and forms the present barony of Tullagh, and part of that of Bun-

that they came from the family of "Mortimer," in Normandy. But in this, also, he makes an unfounded assertion, for it is clearly known that the family of Macnamara (in Irish, Mac-Com-mara) takes its name from a progenitor, whose name was "Cumara." The proper surname, or rather tribe-name, of this clan is "Sil-Aedha" (*Sheel Haya*), and they are of the descendants of Casin (*Casheen*), son of Cas, son of Conall of the Swift Steeds, and of the line of Eber. He says, that the following surnames, likewise, are derived from Great Britain, namely: the "Sil Brainn" (*Sheel Brinn*), i. e. the Byrnes, the "Tuathalaigh" (*Toohalaigh*), i. e. the Tooles, and the "Caemhanaigh" (*Kaivanaigh*), i. e. the Kavanaghs; but, the evidence he brings forward in support of this conjecture is entirely fallacious, for he merely strives to derive these three names from words in the British language. In the first place, he says, that *brin* means *woody*: now, admitting that the word *brin* does mean *woody*, still the name of the "Brannaigh," i. e. the O'Brainns or Byrnes, is not derived from that word *brin*, but from a warrior, whose name was "Brann" or "Brand." Secondly, he says, that the word *tol* is the same as *hilly*, and that it is from that word the "Tooles" are called, but Toole merely is an English corruption of O'Tuathail⁴⁴ (*O'Toohill*), which these Tuathalaigh have had from one of their progenitors, a chieftain named "Tuathal" (*Toohal*). Thirdly, he tells us, that in British, *Kaevàn* means *strong*, and that it was from this word *Kaevàn*, that the "Kavanaghs" have had their surname. My answer to him here is, that, in Irish, the word "Caemhàn" (*Kaevàn*), means a person that is "Caemh" (*Kaevè*), i. e. *gentle*, or *handsome*.⁴⁵ The O'Kavanaghs, however, have taken their name from Domnald Kaem-

ratty, in the County of Clare. Their tribe-name was "Clann Cullein." Their origin is the same as that of the O'Briens and Mac Mahons of Thomond, of which kingdom they were the hereditary grand-marshals. "Cumara" means a "hound," or rather, a "wolf-dog" of the sea, and metaphorically, a sea-champion. The wolf-dog was the most noble animal of prey that Ireland produced. Hence, "Cu" came to signify a hero, just as "lion" did in more southern latitudes.

⁴⁴*Sil Brainn*—The O'Brainns, or Byrnes, have their name from Brann Dubh, i. e. "the dark Brann," who was king of Leinster in the seventh century. Their origin is the same as that of the two Septs that follow. Their orig-

inal territory was called Ui Faelain, which comprised the northern half of the present County of Kildare. Driven thence by the Anglo-Normans, they fixed themselves in the mountains of Wicklow, and continued with their correlatives the O'Tooles, to be long the terror of the invaders of their ancestral homes. The word "Brann" or "Brand," whence comes O'Brainn, means "raven" in Gaelic.

⁴⁵*O'Tuathail*—The O'Tooles were also anciently seated in Kildare, where their territory was called Ui Muiredhaigh (*Ue Murray*). Driven thence by Walter de Riddlesford, they settled in Ui Mail, in the country of Wicklow, the territory in which Glendalough is situated. "Tuathal," the name of their immediate an-

hànach, or Donald Kavanagh, son of Diarmaid na n-Gall, and that Donald himself received the soubriquet *Caemhànach* from his having been educated at Cill-Caemhàin (*Kill-Kaivauin*), or Kaevan's Church, in the lower part of Leinster. According to its pedigree, this clan is a branch of the O'Kinselaghs. Moreover, these three tribes are of Gaelic extraction, according to our ancient history. They are all three of the posterity of Cathaeir Mor (*Caheer More*), king of Ireland. It is a wonder to me, how Spenser could have had the presumption to handle subjects of which he was in such utter ignorance, unless, as he was a poet, he allowed himself a poet's license, composing fictions, as was usual with him and other men of his class, inventing unreal tales, and adorning them with elegant language, in order to amuse and deceive his readers.

Stanihurst⁴⁶ tells us that Meath was the portion of Ireland that belonged to Slàngì,⁴⁷ son of Dèla, son of Lòch, but this is not true; for, according to the "Book of Conquests," Meath contained in the time of Slàngì, but one canton, or "tuath," in the neighborhood, Uisnech (*Ushnagh*), and so it continued until the time of Tuathal, the Welcome. And where he asserts that it was from the above-named Slàngì that the town of Slane had its name, inferring thence that Meath was the portion he obtained from his brothers, he might with more justice have stated that the province of Leinster was his share, and that the river Slany, which flows through the middle of that province to Loch-Garman or Wexford, was called after him; and he might have said, also, that it was from him that Dumha-Slàngì⁴⁸ received its name—this fort is also called Dinn-Rìgh (*Deen-REE*); it is situated on the western bank of the Barrow, between Carlow and Leighlin. He might have further informed us, that this was his fortified residence, and that it was there that he died.

It is no wonder that Stanihurst was ignorant of these matters, for he had never seen those Irish records, whence he might have obtained a knowledge of the ancient history of the country. I

cestor, means "lord." It is pronounced, "Toohal." The O'Tuathails were among the most noble of the Leinster sept. Some of this race now write the name Toole, others Toohill, and others again Tuthill.

⁴⁵ *The O' Cavanaghs* and O'Kinshelaghs were called the Ui Feilmedha (*Ee Feilmaa*). Their territory comprised the present counties of Carlow and Wexford. The Mac Davy More, or Mac Damore, the Mac Uadòg, now Maddock and Vaddock, the O'Murphies,

etc., were branches of the Ui Feilmedha.

⁴⁶ *Stanihurst* was the son of an Anglo-Irish lawyer of Dublin. He entered as student at Oxford in 1563. Some time after he married, but his wife having died, he entered holy orders in after life. He died in 1579.

⁴⁷ *Slàngì* was the first king of the Fir-Bolgs. He was also, according to our annals, the first king of Ireland.

⁴⁸ *Dumha Slàngì*, i. e. "The Mound of Slàngì." Pr. *Duwa Slàngì*.

am also of opinion, that he did not take much trouble in inquiring after them; for he appears so utterly ignorant of Irish affairs as to assert, that Ros-Mac-Triuin⁴⁹ lies in Munster, and that Meath was one of the five provinces, or "fifths"—an assertion in opposition both to Cambrensis himself, who does not reckon Meath one of the provinces, and to the "Book of Conquests of Ireland." In his apportionment of Ireland, he says, that the English possessed the one-half, and that the other was divided between the Anglo-Irish and the Gaels. He also asserts, that the meanest peasant of the English pale would not condescend to form a matrimonial alliance with the noblest Gaelic family in Ireland; the words he uses in his Chronicle are these—"The⁵⁰ meanest peasant, that lives in the English province, would not give his daughter in marriage to the most noble prince amongst the Irish."

Now, I would ask Stanihurst here, if the peasants of the English pale be more noble, more honorable or more loyal to the crown than the illustrious Anglo-Norman earls of Ireland, than the earls of Kildare,⁵¹ for instance, who married into the families of MacCarthy-Reagh,⁵² O'Neil, and other noble Gaelic septs; or than the earls of Ormond,⁵³ who are allied to the O'Brien's, the MacGilla-Patricks⁵⁴ (Fitz-Patricks), and the O'Carrolls;⁵⁵ or than the earls of Desmond, who are related to the MacCarthy-Mores;⁵⁶ or than the earls of Connaught,⁵⁷ who are closely connected with the O'Ruaircs. I shall not here cite the many viscounts and barons, who are thus connected with the Gaels; they are each man of them of, at least, as noble an extraction as any peasant

⁴⁹ *Ros Mic Triuin* was the ancient name of Old Ross, in Wexford.

⁵⁰ *Colonorum omnium ultimus qui in Anglica provincia habitat, filiam suam vel nobilissimo Hibernorum principi in matrimonium non daret.*

⁵¹ *The Earls of Kildare* and the Earls of Desmond were the chiefs of the noble sept of the Geraldines or Fitz-Geralds.

⁵² *Mac Carthy Reagh*, in Irish, "*Mac Carthaigh Riabhach*" (*Mac Caurha Reevagh*) i. e. Mac Carthy the Grey. Mac Carthy Reagh had his chief residence in Carbery. This was one of the great septs into which the Clan Carthaigh split up after the English invasion.

⁵³ *The Earls of Ormond* were chiefs of the Butlers or Le Botilers, one of the most nobly descended amongst the Anglo-Norman septs of Ireland.

⁵⁴ The *Mac Gilla Patricks*, now Fitz Patricks, were the ancient princes of Ossory, a district in Kilkenny nearly coex-

tensive with the present diocese of that name.

⁵⁵ *The O'Carrolls*, in Irish *O'Cerbhail* (*O'Kerwill*), descended from the Iberian stock of Kian, son of Olild Olun, were the chief sept of the ancient principality of Eli, which comprised the north of the present county of Tipperary, and the south of the King and Queen's counties.

⁵⁶ *The Mac Carthy Mores* chief seat was in Kerry, to which the ancient kingdom of Desmond or Des-Mumha had in later times been reduced. The kingdom of Desmond, thus reduced, held together until the reign of Elizabeth, when Mac Carthy More exchanged his kingly title for the Earldom of Clan Carthy.

⁵⁷ *The Earls of Connaught*. By the Earls of *Connaught* are here meant the De Burgos, or Burkes, Earls of Clanrickard.

colonist that ever dwelt within the English pale. For⁵⁸ my part I can see no reason why these nobleman should not contract marriage alliances with the Gaelic nobility of Ireland, unless that, through an humble opinion of their own blood, they did not deem themselves worthy of forming connection with so noble and so ancient a race.

From the injustice of the account which Stanihurst gives of the Irish, I think that the man's testimony should be rejected altogether. Besides this, it was at the instances and suggestion of other persons,⁵⁹ who hated the Irish people, that he misrepresented this nation so calumniously. I do likewise, verily believe that the hatred of everything Irish was the first nourishment⁶⁰ he eat, immediately on his arrival in England, and that he kept digesting it till his return to Ireland, when he cast it forth upon his country in his writings. It is instance enough

⁵⁸ The venerable Doctor seems to have been here actuated by the same enthusiastic admiration for antiquity and purity of race, that animated one of our modern bards, when singing the glories of the noble tribe whence he has himself sprung :

"Heroes of history, phantoms of fable,
Charlemagne's champions and Arthur's Round
Table—

O, but they all a new lustre might borrow,
From the glory that hangs round the name of
Mac Caurha!"

—
Montmorency, Medina, unheard was your rank,
dy darked-eyed Iberian and light-hearted Frank;
And your ancestors wandered, obscure and un-
known,
By the smooth Guadalquiver and sunny
Garonne :

Ere Venice had wedded the sea, or enrolled
The name of a Doge in her proud Book of Gold;
When her glory was all to come on like the mor-
row,

There were chieftains and kings of the clan of
Mac Caurha!"—*D. F. McCarthy.*

⁵⁹ By *other persons* are meant the English officials, and the greedy plunderers in their train. Stanihurst, Cambrensis, Spenser, and the still viler herd which Keating lashes in his preface, were the Castle-hacks of their day, then employed to apologize and find lying pretexts for the direct robbery and murder of the Irish nobility and people, just as a like herd is actually employed, now that the Irish nobility is nearly all either extinct or reduced to poverty, in finding excuses for the indirect robbery of the landless nation—for cheating the poor out of their last penny, and

for killing by famine, as the sword and the gibbet can no longer be used indiscriminately. The trade in official calumny, likewise, still flourishes, as of old, in Dublin Castle. Lies are still the most efficacious bullets that can be cast against those that would compel the heirs of the upstart adventurers, that usurped the places of our patriarchal chieftains, to disgorge the plunder they have fed on too long, and to restore *their own tribe-lands* to the clans of the Gael and the Shan-Gaul. Dr. Keating is mild with the suborners, though sufficiently severe upon the suborned. He was a rigid royalist, this venerable old Gaul, and came of a loyal race. The House of Stuart, too, now sat upon the English throne, and the Irish Catholics flattered themselves with the delusive hope, that their revered old faith—that of St. Patrick and St. Columkille—would be restored by the descendants of the martyred Mary of Scotland. There was, then some reason for our author's not wishing to aim his blows at those who stood too near, what he considered, the *sacred* person of his sovereign. We must bear with him for the weakness. He belonged to an age different from ours, and to a different school.

⁶⁰ *Nourishment.* The original is somewhat more figurative. It has it, "was the first breast," or, rather, "nipple he sucked," alluding to his "alma mater," Oxford.

of the hatred he bore to Ireland, to point out the fact that he blames the English colonists for not having expelled the Gaelic language from the country, at the time when they had driven out the people, that had owned the land before themselves, to which he adds the ⁶¹remark that, "however excellent a language the Gaelic may be, whosoever acquires a taste for it, acquires at the same time a taste for the evil habits of those who speak it." What must we understand from this, but that this Stanihurst bore so much malice to the Irish natives, that he was sorry that the Anglo-Normans, in their conquests from the Gaels, had preferred to act the part of Christians,⁶² rather than of heathens.

⁶¹ In making this suggestion, Stanihurst meant both to signalize the proneness of the Anglo-Normans to adopt Celtic habits and customs, and to afford an excuse for plundering what the newly-imported Saxons called the degenerate English, as well as the native Irish.

⁶² The line of distinction here attempted to be drawn, between the extent of guilt in national spoliation and murder by wholesale, as practised by Christians and as practised by Heathens, will scarcely stand the test of sound logical morality. There can be no doubt but that William, the Bastard of Normandy, was as great and as ruthless a monster of crime, as any Hengist or Attila could be, and, though professing Christianity, as anti-Christian in his acts as Pontius Pilate or as Herod. The difference between the conduct of the nominally Christian, and that of the avowedly Pagan conqueror of England was not caused by their difference of belief. It sprung from their different necessities. Hengist was followed by a whole nation, with their wives and children. He had to provide settlements for the serfs, as well as for the masters—for the clowns, as well as for the nobles; and, for this reason, he had to expel the poor man from his humble homestead, as well as the rich man from his castle and domain. William, on the other hand, was followed by a feudal army, mostly unencumbered with children or with wives. Of that army he had to provide but for his nobles, knights, and men-at-arms. The soldiers of inferior rank were little inclined to settle down in the

homesteads of the Saxon churls; and, besides, there were no more of them in his army, than were wanted to guard the persons and man the castles of the incoming nobility. This nobility wanted tenants and serfs to till the lands they had won by the sword, and who could be found fitter for this duty than the serfs of the Saxon nobility that preceded it? It was not, then, William's *interest*, or that of his followers, to extirpate all the vanquished Saxons. He would thereby, in mercantile phrase, destroy the value of his new acquisition. He then spared the vanquished, *as far as he found it needful for his own and his followers' interest*—the very reason for which Hengist is said to have exterminated the Celtic Britons.

In Ireland the very same thing occurred, and for a like reason. The early Norman settlers (*Dr. Keating's kinsmen, for whom he here indirectly apologizes*), did not find it their interest to exterminate the Gaels. They were, therefore, satisfied with their submission. The lovely daughters of the Iberi and the Celts soon captivated their hearts, and the children of those steel-clad warriors became thoroughly Irish in a single century. Had our author written a few years later, he needed not to have gone up to the pagan Hengist for a contrast. He would have seen the part of Hengist attempted to be played over again by that *soi-disant* Christian saint, Oliver Cromwell, in favor of the *canaille* of plebeian canters, whom he was forced to get rid of by quartering in the homes of the Irish, both people and gentry. Though he,

For, whoever conquers a country in a Christian manner, is satisfied with the submission and allegiance of the vanquished inhabitants, and with sending colonists of his own people to dwell in the land amongst them; but it is the practice of a man, who subdues a country after the manner of a heathen, to exterminate the conquered natives, and to send a new race in their stead, to dwell in the land that has yielded to his force. The man, indeed, that makes a Christian-like conquest, never extirpates the language of the country he reduces to his sway. Thus, the Norman William did not extinguish the Anglo-Saxon tongue, when he had subdued the Anglo-Saxon nation, for he allowed the people who spoke the language to remain on their native soil, and hence it is that the Saxon tongue is spoken by the inhabitants of England to this day. But Hengist, the Saxon chieftain, conquered the Britons after a heathen manner, for he swept them⁶³ from off the face of the land of their birth, and planted colonists of his own nation in their places; thus he completely eradicated the British dialect, by banishing all those by whom it was spoken. It is a conquest exactly like this latter, that Stanihurst wished to see perpetrated upon the Irish; for it is impossible to destroy any language, without extirpating those whose language it is. Now, finding how anxious he was to expel the Gaelic speech, we may well infer that he desired the extermination of the Gaels themselves, and that consequently he held them in hatred, for which reason, all that he asserts with regard to Ireland is utterly unworthy of belief.

too, was merciless as Hengist or as William, and anti-Christian as Nero or as Maximin, yet it was not a difference of religion, that caused his conquest to differ so much from those made by the Geraldine, the Butler, the De Courey, or the De Burgo; it was entirely caused by the different class of soldiers, for whom he and they had respectively to provide. They had but to provide for professional warriors and for gentlemen—for men, in fine, who did not want to cultivate their conquered lands themselves. Cromwell had to provide for a ruffian mob, swept from the purlieus of the English towns, to whom the ownership of even a small patch of land was a god-send of which, until then, they had never dared to dream.

⁶³ This fact is very much to be questioned. Any evidence, drawn from the extinction of the Celtic language in England, must be fallacious. There are great

numbers of words, both in the old Saxon, and, consequently, in the modern English, that bear a close resemblance to the British and Irish. Many English words also, supposed to be derived from the Latin and Norman French, may have come from the British. In grammatical structure, with the exception of that want of the future tenses of verbs, which is the *great characteristic* of all Teutonic tongues, as well as of the modern English, and of that freedom from that dilapidation of the radical consonants—the *Celtic characteristic*—which both the old and the new Saxon enjoy, and to which the British is subject, it is questionable whether the other syntactic forms of the old Saxon have not a nearer resemblance to those of the modern Welsh, than to those of its own English progeny. It is possible, then, that the two peoples may have amalgamated.

This Stanihurst likewise finds fault with the district brehons,⁶⁷ i. e. the judges, and with the physicians⁶⁸ of Ireland; but, it is a matter of surprise to me, how he could presume to censure them, for he was acquainted neither with the men themselves, nor with the language in which their scientific works were written; for, he was utterly ignorant of Gaelic, in which tongue their treatises upon the Brehon law, and upon physic, were written. He was, therefore, incapable of reading these works, whether upon law or physic, in the original dialect in which they were written, neither could he understand them, if read to him by another; for this reason, I think, when he abuses these two professions, that he is exactly in the position of a blind man, who would pretend to give a preference to the color of one piece of cloth beyond that of another. Then, as it is impossible for a blind man to form any judgment between the colors of two pieces of cloth, not being able to see either, so it was also impossible for him to form any opinion upon the two sciences above mentioned, for he never understood the books in which they were written, neither could he understand the *ollamhs* or doctors who professed them, for they spoke only in Gaelic, which was their natural tongue, and of that he was most thoroughly ignorant.

He likewise censures the harpers⁶⁹ of Ireland, of whom he

⁶⁷ *Brehon*. This word is called in Irish "Breithemh," (*brehav*;) it makes "Breithemhain," (*Brehavain* and *Brehooin*), whence comes the English form "brehon." Upon this order, to which whole septa were attached, the reader will find fuller information, when our author comes to treat of them more especially. The root of "Breithemh" is "breth" (*breh*), i. e. "a judicial sentence," whence also come "Breithemhnas," (*brehownas*), i. e. "judgment." Numerous manuscript compilations of the "Breithemhnas" or Brehon Law still exist. The erudite Dr. O'Donovan, and his learned colleague, Mr. Eugene Curry, are now said to be preparing a translation of these laws, to be published by the Irish Archaeological Society.

⁶⁸ A physician is called "liagh" (*leah*) in Irish, and the healing art was thence named "leighes" (*lyas*). There are many tracts upon the medical art, still extant in Gaelic manuscript. Dianeccht (*deean-kaight*) was the Irish god Æsculapius or god of physic. Each great tribe had its particular sept of physicians, generally of noble extraction,

and of the same blood with the chieftain. The O'Callanans were the most distinguished medical sept among the Desmond clans, and it is remarkable, that, even to the present day, this sept has never been known to be without having physicians amongst its members. "Ollamh re leighes" (*ollave re lyas*) meant medical doctor, among the Gaels.

⁶⁹ The Irish had two kinds of harp, one of which they called "clairsech" (*clawrshagh*) and the other "cruit" (*kryth*). The former is supposed to have been most used for martial strains, and for the songs of triumph and of joy, the latter for the softer lay of love and sadness. The man who performed upon the latter instrument was called "cruitiri" (*crythirih*), whilst the player on the clairsach, was called "clairseoir" (*claarshore*). Oirfidech (*oer-fee-dagh*), was the general name for a musical performer, in Gaelic; his art was called "oirfides" and "oirfidecht" (*oer-fee-daght*); ceol (*ke-ole*), was the general name of music. There were "Ollamhs ré ceòl," i. e. "Doctors of Music," as well as the "Ollamhs ré

asserts, that they know nothing of music. But, it is more than probable, that he was himself no judge of any music⁷⁰ at all. Certainly, he could be no judge of this our Gaelic music of Eri, for he knew nothing of the rules that appertain to it. One would think that this Stanihurst never considered, that Ireland was a region apart, forming, as it were, a little world in itself, and that the nobles and *ollamhs*, or learned professors, that dwelt in it of old, had instituted systems of jurisprudence, physic, poetry, and music, which were peculiar to themselves, and that these systems were governed by certain special rules of their own, which have always continued to be observed in this land; under such circumstances, it was very bad taste in the man to give utterance to the rash judgment above cited, and so presumptuously condemn the Irish music. I wonder much that he had not read the nineteenth chapter of Cambrensis, in which he so praises the music of the Irish—but, perhaps, he wished to outdo even Cam-

Leighes," above mentioned. The "Ollamh rē Filidhecht" (*filleeaght*) was the "Doctor of Poetry;" the Doctor of Law was styled "Ollamh rē Dlighe" (*dlee*), and the Doctor of History was called "Ollamh rē Senchas."

⁷⁰ *Music.* In poesy, history and music, which were closely allied amongst our ancestors, the most distinguished amongst the professor castes were, in Ulster, the O'Cleries, the Mac an Bhaids (*yard*), or Wards, the MacConways, the O'Gnives, the O'Slevins, O'Husseys, O'Donnellies, O'Dalies, O'Mulligans, O'Farrellies and O'Curneens; in Connaught and Meath, the O'Macleanaries, Mulconries, or Couries, the MacFirbisses, the O'Duigenans, the O'Dugans, the O'Higgins, and O'Cooffes. The O'Dunns and MacKeoghs, were the chief bards of Leinster; the MacGraths, the O'Dinneens, the MacBruodins or Brodies, the MacCurtins, and MacGowans, and some of the O'Keefes, in Munster. The O'Dalies were found distinguished as poets in all parts of Ireland. "In music the ancient Irish were highly celebrated. It is stated in the Chronicle of Hanmer, p. 197, that in the latter end of the eleventh century, about A. D. 1098, Griffith ap Conan, Prince of Wales, who had resided a long time in Ireland, brought over with him, to

Wales, '*divers cunning musicians, who devised in manner all the instrumental music upon the harp and crowth that is there used, and made laws of minstrelsy to retain the musicians in due order.*' Thus it appears that the famous Welsh bards were indebted for their knowledge of the harp chiefly to the Irish. The Irish in former ages were the most famous harpers in Europe, and continued eminent in the art down to modern times." Turlough O'Carrolan, our last very eminent harper and composer, died in the year 1738. There were many other eminent bards, harpers and musical composers in Ireland in the eighteenth century, as Cormac Comman, Thomas O'Connellan, and his brother William. Roger and Echlin O'Kane, Cahir MacCabe, Miles O'Kelly, Charles Fanning, Edward MacDermod Roe, Hugh O'Higgins, Patrick Kerr, Patrick Moyne, and others, all in Ulster and Connaught.—In Meath and Leinster, Cruise, O'Carroll, Murphy and Empson, were distinguished harpers. Interesting accounts of the Irish minstrels and bards are given in the works of Walker (*Irish bards*), Beauford, Miss Brooke, Ledwith, Bunting Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, (*a work no reading Irishman should be without.*—Ed.) *Notes to Connellan's Tour Masters.*

brensis in misrepresenting and calumniating everything Irish. For there is nothing for which the latter writer so commends the Irish people, as for the Gaelic music; in the chapter, just referred to, he says: "In their musical instruments⁷¹ alone do I find any laudable industry amongst this people; in these they are incomparably skilful, beyond all other nations."

Here follows the description, which he gives in the same chapter, while praising the Gaelic music.

"Its melody," says he, "is filled up and its harmony is produced by a rapidity so sweet, by so unequal a parity of sound, and by so discordant a concord."⁷² From this testimony alone, forced from the hostile Cambrensis, we might conclude that it was grossly untrue of Stanihurst, to assert that there was no harmony in the Irish music. Neither is he to be believed, when he states, that the Irish musicians were nearly all blind men; for, it is well known that there were more musicians in Ireland who had their sight than were blind, at the time when he was writing his history; so it has been ever since, and so it is at present, as all our cotemporaries can bear witness.

The reader must remember, that, when writing his history of Ireland, Stanihurst was laboring under three great defects, that should forever disentitle him to the respect due to a competent historian. In the first place, he was too young to have had time to examine the antiquities of the country, of which he wrote. Secondly, he was utterly ignorant of the language, in which the records and ancient traditions of that country and its inhabitants were preserved; so that it was not possible that he could have known anything of the former condition of Ireland. The third defect he labored under, was his sordid ambition; he was inspired by the hope of obtaining preferment from those who had suborned him to malign the Irish nation in his writings. His writings on this subject are also unworthy of credit, from the fact that, afterwards, when he was about becoming a priest, he had himself promised a recantation of all the malignant falsehoods which he had written about this country, which recantation is, as I can learn, now printed and published in Ireland.⁷³

Stanihurst tells us also that the Irish, when engaged in battle, or in any hostile encounter, used to cry out *Pharo, Pharo*,⁷⁴ in a

⁷¹ In musicis solum instrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis istius diligentiam, in quibus pre omni natione quam vidimus in comparabiliter est instructa.

⁷² Tam suavi velocitate, tam dispari paritate, tam discordi concordia, consona redditur et completur melodia.

⁷³ From this remark, one might think Dr. Keating was not himself in Ireland when writing his preface. The editor does not know, whether the recantation here mentioned has been ever published.

⁷⁴ *Pharo*. The Irish war-cry "farrah," may either be the Gaelic equivalent for the Saxon "hurrah," or as Dr. Keating

loud voice. This word, which he calls *Pharo*, he would derive from "Pharaoh," the name of the ancient Egyptian kings. But the fact is not so; the cry is "Faire O" (*Farr'o*) and it means *beware*, thus telling the other parties to defend themselves, if they can; just so, the Frenchman says *gardez, gardez*, which means the same thing when he sees his neighbor in danger.

Doctor Hanmer⁷³ hands down in his chronicle that Bartholinus was the leader of the Gaels on their arrival in Ireland; by this Bartholinus, he, of course, means Partholan. But, according to the history of Ireland, there were more than seven hundred years between the coming of Partholan to Ireland and the invasion of the sons of Miledh (i. e. the Gaels). For, Partholan landed in Ireland about three hundred years after the Deluge, and it was one thousand and eighty years after the deluge when the sons of Miledh arrived therein. In this matter, according to the opinion of Camden, more credence is to be given to the ancient traditions of Ireland than to any conjecture of Hanmer. The learned Camden speaks thus upon the subject: "Ancient⁷⁶ tradition must be respected in all such matters;" and truly, if we are to pay respect to any historic tradition on account of its antiquity, then is the history of Ireland worthy of the most special respect." On this subject Camden again says, in his *Britannia Camdeni*, when referring to Ireland,⁷⁷ "This island was not undeservedly called "Ogygia" or "the most ancient" by Plutarch.⁷⁸ The reason he assigns for this opinion is because "they"⁷⁹ (that is the Irish) "deduce their history from memorials

here suggests, it may have meant "gardez" or "beware." "Aboo," a word which the Editor thinks formed upon "buaadh" (*booa*), i. e. "victory," was another war-cry of the Irish, thus the O'Neills had their "Lamh derg abu" (*laav darg aboo*), i. e. Red hand aboo: the O'Brien's "Lamh laider (*Laudir*) abu," i. e. Strong hand aboo.

The Anglo-Irish Normans adopted the cry "abu," with other Celticisms; thus the cry of the great Earls of Desmond was "Crom aboo," from their castle of Crom, in the County of Limerick; that of the Earls of Kildare was "Shanet aboo," from their castle of Shanet; the Ormonds shouted Butleir-ech (*Butlayragh*) aboo, and the De Burgos, or Burkes, of Connaught, "Gall Riabhach (*Gaul Reevagh*) aboo," i. e. the "Grey Stranger aboo."

⁷³ Dr. Meredith Hanmer wrote his

chronicle in Drogheda, in 1571. It was addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

⁷⁶ In his *detur sua antiquitate venia*.

⁷⁷ Non immerito hæc insula *Ogygia*, id est, perantiqua a Plutarcho dicta fuit.

⁷⁸ A profundissima enim antiquitatis memoria, historias suas auspicantur, adeo ut præ illis omnis omnium gentium antiquitas sit novitas aut quodam modo infantia.

⁷⁹ *Plutarch* was a native of Chaeronea, a city of Beotia, in Greece, and born of a respectable family. He flourished in the reign of the Roman Emperor Trajan, by whom he was made Consul and Governor of Illyricum. Plutarch was distinguished as a philosopher, as well as a writer. The greatest and most esteemed of his works, are his "Lives of Illustrious

derived from the most profound depths of remote antiquity: so that, compared with that of Ireland, the antiquities of all other nations is but novelty, and their history is but a kind of infancy." From this learned authority also, it may be judged how much more the ancient records of Ireland are to be relied on than Doctor Hammer, who never even saw them.

The same author (Hammer) again asserts that a king of Lochlainn,⁸⁰ i. e. Denmark, was the sovereign of Ireland at the time of the birth of Christ. But for such an assertion he had not the slightest foundation; for, the ancient records tell us that Christ was born during the reign of the monarch Crimthann Niadh-Nair.⁸¹ It is somewhat astonishing that a man like Hammer, an English Saxon, who had never seen, and who, if he had, could not comprehend the ancient writings of our country, should pretend to know what king ruled it at the time of the Saviour's birth, when it was out of his power to name even the king that ruled Great Britain itself at that epoch. For, Samuel Daniel, Gildas, Rider, Nennius,⁸² and many old British authors, who have written the history of their country, confess that they possess but very scattered fragments of the ancient history of Great Britain, because, say they, the Romans and the Saxons carried off and destroyed their old traditional writings; thus, there now remains to them nothing but surmise and conjecture, concerning the more ancient transactions of the Britons. This gave occasion even to the learned Camden to remark, that he knew not the period, at which the Picts settled in North-Britain, and that he did not even know whence the British island had received the name Britannia:

Men," which are distinguished for the wonderful skill and impartiality with which he depicts his heroes. Plutarch died A.D. 140.

⁸⁰ *Lochlainn* (*Lochlin*) was the Gaelic name for all those countries called indiscriminately Scandinavia, that is, for Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, &c. If the word were pure Gaelic, it should mean the "Country of Lakes." The name appears older than the Gothic occupation of these countries, and resembles those names given by the Tuatha De Dananns to the British and adjacent isles. Its nominative is "Lochlainn" (*Lochlin*), and its genitive *Lochlann*. To correspond exactly with "Eri" and "Alba" (*Ireland and Scotland*) &c., in declension, its nominative should be "Lochla." But the editor has observed, in modern Gae-

lic, a tendency to make a nominative of the dative of some feminine nouns, thus, "Tigh," the dative of "Teach," *a house*, is now used as nominative. He thinks, that it is owing to a like tendency that *Lochlainn*, and also *Britain*, i. e. *Britain*, and a few other local appellations, differ, in their nominatives, from words with which they agree in all their other cases.

⁸¹ *Crimthann Niadh-Nair*, is pronounced *Criffann Neeah-noir*.

⁸² *Nennius* was an ancient British writer, who wrote the history of his nation in Latin. He lived about the fifth century. An old translation of his work into Irish has been recently published, with the original, by the Irish Archeological Society. Dr. Keating had most probably a copy of this translation by him,

hence he is forced to give us his conjecture like other less learned writers. Now, many of the ancient transactions of his own country being thus uncertain and obscure to so learned a man, it is little wonder that they should be still more so to Hanmer, who must consequently have been in still greater ignorance of the ancient affairs of Ireland; wherefore, his authority is not to be credited, when he asserts that Ireland was ruled by a king of Denmark at the time of Christ's birth.

He asserts, also, that St. Patrick,⁸³ the Apostle of Ireland, was

⁸³ For information upon St. Patrick, the reader is referred to the body of this history, and the notes thereon. I here transcribe a description of Patrick's Purgatory and Loch Derg, where it is situated, from Mr. Owen Connel-la's notes to his translation of the Four Masters.

"The lake called Lough Derg is situated in Donegal, on the borders of Fermanagh and Tyrone, in the parish of Templecarne, sometimes called Termonmagrath, part of which forms the parish of Pettigo, in the diocese of Clogher. The lake is very large and beautiful, and contains many fine islands. This lake was anciently called Fionn Loch, that is, the Fair or White Lake; but it got the name Loch Derg, or the Red Lake, from a monster said to have been slain there by St. Patrick, the blood of which tinged the lake of a red color. In the latter end of the fifth century, about A.D. 490, St. Dabeoc founded a monastery on an island in Lough Derg, and it became a priory of Augustinian monks. The island was called, in after times, St. Fintan's island, from Fintan Munna, a celebrated saint in the seventh century, who was of the race of the Connallians, of Tirconnell. On the island was formed a cave or cell, called St. Patrick's Purgatory, which became celebrated as a place of penance and pilgrimage. Various accounts are given as to the time this place, called the Purgatory, was founded. Some ascribe its institution to St. Patrick himself, in the fifth century; while others are of opinion that it was first instituted in the ninth century, about A.D. 850, by a monk named Patrick, one of the priors of the island; but

Lanigan considers it was not established till the eleventh or twelfth century. St. Patrick's Purgatory became famous as a place of pilgrimage, and in former ages was resorted to by vast numbers of pilgrims, not only from all parts of Ireland and Britain, but even from the continent. It is recorded in Rymer's *Fœdera*, that in 1358, King Edward III. granted to Malatesta Ungarus, a Hungarian knight, and to Nicholas de Beccario, a nobleman of Ferrara, in Italy, a safe conduct through England, to visit St. Patrick's Purgatory; and in 1397, King Richard II. granted a like conduct to Raymond, Viscount de Perilleux, knight of Rhodes, with a train of twenty men and thirty horses. The monastery of Termondabeog, at Lough Derg, was subject to the great abbey of Armagh, and was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul; three great festivals were annually held at the abbey, on the 1st of January, the 24th of July, and the 16th of December, in honor of the patron and founder, St. Dabeoc, who is buried there. The abbey continued to be of great note to the seventeenth century, but in A.D. 1632, by order of the lords justices, Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount of Ely, and Richard Royle, Earl of Cork, the abbey and other buildings on the island of Lough Derg, were demolished, and the friars expelled, by Sir James Balfour and Sir William Stuart, who were deputed for that purpose. Some ruins of the old abbey still remain, and it still continues as a place of pilgrimage, but in modern times the place of performing penance has been removed from Saint's Island, to another near it called Stain Island. Lough Derg, to the present

not the first who planted the Catholic faith in Ireland, and that it was not he that discovered Patrick's cave in the island, where his Purgatory is situated; for, he says that it was another Patrick, an abbot, who lived in the year of our Lord 850. But there is no truth in what he says on the subject, as may be proved from St. Cæsarius, who lived about six hundred years after Christ, and, consequently, two centuries and a half before that second Patrick lived in this country. This holy writer says, in the thirty-eighth chapter of his twelfth book, entitled *Liber Dialogorum*,⁶⁴ "Let whosoever has any doubt of purgatory go to Scotia, and enter the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and, thenceforth, he will no longer question the pains of purgatory." From this quotation, it is evident that St. Patrick's Purgatory was not originally

day, is visited by vast numbers of pilgrims. The time of performing the penance is from the 1st of June to the 15th of August. The chieftains of the ancient Irish, amidst all their fierce feuds amongst themselves, and their sanguinary conflicts of centuries with foreign foes, were still a religious race, and imbued with a great love of literature; and their kings, princes, and chiefs founded and amply endowed a vast number of ecclesiastical and literary establishments, abbeys, colleges, and great schools; as those of Armagh, Downpatrick, Bangor, Derry, Donegal, Clogher, Clones, Devenish, Fenagh, Boyle, Cong, Mayo, Clonfert, Louth, Monasterboycce, Mellifont, Slane, Kells, Ardbraccan, Trim, Clonard, Clonmacnois, Rahau, Fore, Kildare, Clonenagh, Tallaght, Glendalough, Leighlin, Ferns, Lismore, Cashel, Holycross, Ross, Roscrea, Iniscathay, Aran of the Saints, and others. Of these famous seats of piety and learning amongst the ancient Irish, many venerable ruins still remain, but of many more, even their very ruins have disappeared, destroyed by the hand of time, or the still more destructive violence of fanaticism and war. The most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Ireland were Lough Derg, Armagh, Downpatrick, and Derry Columbkille, in Ulster; Croagh Patrick mountain, in Mayo; Aran of the Saints, off the coast of Galway; the seven churches of St. Kieran, at Clonmacnois, and of St. Kevin, at Glendalough; Kildare, of St. Bridget, and Holycross, in Tip-

perary. Many of the Irish kings and princes are recorded to have gone on pilgrimages to the abbey founded by their countryman, St. Columbkille, at Iona, in the Hebrides." The "patrons," which are still kept up, in memory of their ancient local saints, by the peasantry of certain Irish parishes, are remnants of this pious custom of our ancestors. They are now, however, but little frequented; for, during the persecution of the Irish church, their celebration could no longer be, with safety, superintended by the people's clergy. They, thence, became scenes of much disorder, and fell into disuse, having been, in many instances, discouraged by the priesthood. But few attend them now, for devotion's sake. In some instances they have even been turned into *fairs* for the purpose of worldly traffic by the Mammon-worshippers that now own the soil of the Isle of Saints. A modern Irish "patron" can then give no picture of what these celebrations were in olden days, when the clergy of the parish presided thereat, and when the patriarch-chief of the district kept the evil-disposed within the bounds of decorum. For some likeness of them, one must have recourse to those orderly and decorous *fêtes* that are still held in Catholic countries on the European continent, on the festival days of the saints.

⁶⁴ Qui de purgatorio dubitat Scotiam pergat, et amplius de pœnis purgatorii non dubitabit.

discovered or invented by the Patrick of whom Hanmer speaks, but that it was instituted by St. Patrick, the Apostle. For, how could the second Patrick possibly have discovered or invented it, when we find it spoken of by St. Cæsarius, two hundred and fifty years before that second Patrick flourished? Besides, both our ancient records and our oral traditions aver that the purgatory was originally instituted by St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. From these testimonies, it appears clearly that Hanmer has himself invented the above malignant falsehood, hoping thereby to lessen the respect which the Irish entertain for the cave of the Purgatory.

This man makes another unfounded assertion in his twenty-fourth page, where he states that Finn ⁶⁵MacComhail was descended

⁶⁵ *Finn MacComhail*—This was less audacious than the unscrupulous attempt, made by MacPherson and the Scotch writers of his day, to rob Ireland of this hero. The mind of Ireland then lay so prostrate, that the arch impostor never contemplated the publication of any original Irish documents, that would make patent his base theft. As nobody now believes in the imposition, but persons that do not read books, I shall not waste space in confuting it here, but refer the reader to the simple history of that chieftain and his army, found in the following pages—a history which, notwithstanding some exaggerations of detail, every successive inquiry on the subject, as well as every ancient document that has been brought to light from time to time, has proved to be substantially correct. I here subjoin the following quotation from the greatest and most learned Irish antiquarian of modern, or, perhaps, of ancient times: “This is the celebrated champion called Fingal by MacPherson, and Fin Ma Cumhail by the Irish, of whom Mr. Moore has the following remarks in his History of Ireland: ‘It has been the fate of this popular hero, after a long course of traditional renown in his country, where his name still lives, not only in legends and songs, but yet in the most indelible of scenery connected with his memory, to have been all at once transferred, *by adoption*, to another country (Scotland), and start under a new but false shape, in a fresh career of fame.’

“This celebrated warrior, who had two grand residences in Leinster, one at Alnheim, now the hill of Allen, in the county of Kildare, and the other at Magh Ellé, now Moyelly, in the King's County, was son-in-law of King Cormac, and General of his standing army, which, as Pinkerton remarks, seems to have been in imitation of the Roman Legions. The words of this critical writer are worth quoting here:

“‘He seems,’ says he, ‘to have been a man of great talents for the age, and of celebrity in arms. His formation of a regular standing army, trained to war, in which all the Irish accounts agree, seems to have a rude imitation of the Roman legion in Britain. The idea, though simple enough, shows prudence; for such a force alone could have coped with the Romans, had they invaded Ireland. But this machine, which surprised a rude age, and seems the basis of all Finn's fame, like some other great schemes, only lived with its author, and expired soon after him.’—*Inquiry into the History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 77.

“The bands of Kerns and Galloglasses, supported by the Irish chieftains of later ages, may have been imitations of these more primitive Fians, who are still so vividly remembered, while the Kerns and Galloglasses are nearly forgotten.”—*Dr. O'Donovan's Notes to his Translation of the Annals of the Four Masters*.

from the Scandinavians, of Dania or Denmark; but this again is altogether false, for the Irish annals explicitly tell us, that he is descended from Nuadath or Nuadh Neet, king of Leinster, and of the royal line of Erimon, son of Miledh. He further asserts, that the person, whom some authors call Gilla-Mara, was son of the king of Thomond, but it is enough for our purpose, that we have already confuted this falsehood. It was through ridicule, I suppose, that Hanmer gave down the battle of Finn-Traigh or Ventry, malevolently insinuating a traitorous calumny against our antiquaries, and hoping thereby to persuade his readers, that the historic records of Ireland are unworthy of credit, as being all of the same character as the battle of Ventry. Yet, it is well understood, that our historians never considered the tale called the⁶⁶ *Cath Finn-Tragha*, or the Battle of Ventry, as a true narration, but they positively held it to be a fabulous romance, or Fenian tale, which had been composed merely for amusement. I give the same reply to everything which he has related concerning the Fiann.⁶⁷ It is untrue of him, also, to say that Slangi, son of Déla, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years; for, according to our historic accounts, he reigned but one single year. It is in like manner untrue of him, to assert that the Archbishop⁶⁸ of Canterbury exercised a jurisdiction over the clergy of Ireland, from the time of St. Augustine⁶⁹ downwards. For, it is also

⁶⁶ The "*Cath Finn-Tragha*" (*cah-finn-traw*), or Battle of Ventry, is a bombastic and totally ridiculous tale, that is never referred to by any of our Shanachies. It seems intended for a sort of nursery tale.

⁶⁷ *Fiann* (*Fécan*). The army, or rather, the military order of which Finn was the chieftain, was called the "Fiann of Eri." He was styled "Flaith Feinne na Shuagh" (*Flah-Fayni na Sleo*), i. e. Prince of the Fiann of Hosts. Some think the word *Fiann* comes from "Phœnician." It possibly may. It is, however, just as likely to come from the same origin with *Fadhaeh* (pr. *Fecagh*) i. e. a *hunt*, and to mean an order of hunters. Thus the name of a member of that modern German light cavalry corps, "*Jäger*," means *hunter*. The "*Fianna*," (pr. *Fecanna*), seem to have done nothing but hunt and fight. From some of the Fenian tales and poems one might imagine that they monopolized all the *game* as well as all the fighting of Eri in their day. *Feinnidhe* (*Fay-*

nee), i. e. a *Fenian warrior*, may then be synonymous with the more common term "*Fiadhaidhe*" (*Feeaghuee*), the Latin "*venator*," or the German "*jäger*," and have no relationship at all with the word Phœnician.

⁶⁸ The reader will find this subject treated of more fully in the sequel.

⁶⁹ St. Augustine, or Austin, is the Apostle of the English. By English we must, however, understand the Anglo-Saxons, for the Britons were Christians long before his time. St. Augustine flourished about the close of the 6th century. He was originally a monk at Rome. Pope Gregory I. sent him, with forty of his confraternity, to convert the English. Their exertions were crowned with success, and St. Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. He must not be confounded with the great writer and father of the Church, the African St. Augustine, who lived in the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries.

clearly proved, by Irish history, that the Archbishop of Canterbury never exercised any such jurisdiction, until the days of William the Conqueror; and, even then, he but exercised it over the clergy of Dublin, Wexford, Cork and Limerick; and it was the clergy of these dioceses themselves that gave him that jurisdiction, through affection towards the Norman French, who were descended from the same Scandinavian, called otherwise Norman stock, with themselves; they were also prompted to this act by their enmity towards the Gaelic race. I am, however, of opinion, that this jurisdiction was never exercised by more than three Archbishops of Canterbury, namely, by Rodolph, Lanfranc and Anselm. Thus, it is a gross misstatement, on the part of Hanmer, to say that the clergy of Ireland were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury from the time of the monk St. Augustine. It is also falsely asserted by him, that one Mureadh MacCochlain (Murrough MacCoghlain) was king of Ireland in the year of our Lord 1166; for it is certain that Roderick O'Connor was the person in possession of the sovereignty of Ireland at that time, which was but four years anterior to the English invasion. He says, in like manner, that St. Comgall,⁹⁰ the abbot of Bennchor or Bangor, in Ulster, or rather in Ulidia, was born in Great Britain; but this is not the truth, for, we read in the life of that saint, that he was born in Dalaradia, in the north of Ulidia⁹¹ or Uladh, and that he was descended from the Gaelic tribe called the Dál-Araidhe, from which the territory of Dal-Araidhe or Dalaradia had received its name. The reason why Hanmer wished to make Comgall out a Briton, was because that saint was the founder of the above-mentioned monastery of Bangor in Ulster, which was the mother of all the monasteries in Europe, and because he had founded another monastery, called also Bangor, in Britain, near Westchester. If Hanmer could have made his readers believe that Comgall was a Briton, he would either have made the great fame of the monastery of Bangor, in Ulster, contribute to the glory of the British, from the fact of Comgall's being their countryman, or he would have stolen the illustrious distinction, earned by the Ulidian Bangor, and given it altogether to the British monastery that bore the same name.

⁹⁰ *St. Comgall* founded his monastery of Bennchair, or Bangor, in the present barony of Ards, and county of Down, in the year 554, or, according to some entries, 558.

⁹¹ *Ulladh (Ulla)* comprised the present county of Down, and part of the county of Antrim. It was also called Dal-Araidhe (*Daul Arree*.) i. e. "the

sept of Araide," from Fiacha Araidhe, King of all Ulster, in A.D. 240. Magennis or MacÆngusa was the surname of the chief family of the Dal-Araidhe. According to O'Dugan, the families of O'Gairbhith and O'Amhith, now O'Garvey and O'Hanafey or Hanvey, held the chieftaincy in more early times.

Hanmer further states, that the saints, Fursa, Faelan and Ultan, were illegitimate sons of the king of Leinster; but, according to the history of the Irish saints, they were the sons of Aedh Bannan,⁹² king of Munster. It is so with all the other lies, which Hanmer tells in writing of Ireland, but I shall cease to pursue them any further, for it would be too tedious to confute them all.

A writer, named John Barelay, makes use of the following remarks, in writing upon Ireland: "They,"⁹³ says he, speaking of the Irish, "erect slight cabins, about the height of a man, which are used in common by themselves and their cattle." From the pains this man takes in describing the huts and dwellings of the humbler rustics, and the more worthless of the rabble, I am of opinion that he may be not unjustly classed with the vile beetle, since he stoops in this manner to give a description of the hovels of poor and wretched creatures, while he takes no trouble to mention or describe the palace-like and princely mansions of the earls and other noblemen of Ireland. I also deem, that no credit, as a historian, should be given either to him or to any other person, who follows his footsteps in the same path. Hence, I altogether reject the testimony of Phineas Morison,⁹⁴ a person who has given a ludicrous description of Ireland; for, notwithstanding his fluent style and his command of the English tongue, I think that it was not possible for his ready pen to transcribe all the malignity he would fain express; for this reason, I deem his calumnies unworthy of any confutation; for the historian, who professes to give a true account of the inhabitants of any country, ought to set forth their good qualities, as well as their bad ones. But Morison has utterly disregarded this rule, which every historian should observe in his narratives. Prompted as well by the wickedness and malevolence of his own heart, as by the suggestions and commands of others, who entertained the same evil dispositions towards Ireland, he has completely overlooked those good qualities which Irishmen possess. According to Polydorus, in his first book, styled "*De Rerum Inventoribus*," the following canons should be rigidly observed in writing any history: First, "NOT TO DARE TO ASSERT ANYTHING FALSE;"* and, secondly,

⁹² *Aedh Bannan* was the founder of the Eugenian sept, O'Muirchertaigh, now spelled as pronounced, O'Moriarty. Previous to the English invasion, the O'Moriarties were seated west of Sliabh Luachra, in the present county of Kerry. This king died, according to the Four Masters, in 613. For particulars of the Saints of this tribe, here mentioned, see the notes upon their names farther on.

⁹³ *Fragiles domos ad altitudinem hominis excitant sibi et pecoribus communes.*

⁹⁴ Particulars of the hired calumniators, Barelay, Morison and Campion, would but fatigue our readers.

* Nobody could have abided more closely by this canon than Dr. Keating himself. His great fault lies in having adhered too closely and with too little discrimination to what he consid

"NOT TO DARE TO CONCEAL ANY TRUTH," so that there may be no suspicion of partiality or enmity attached to the work. He says, moreover, that it is incumbent upon a historian to describe the customs and modes of living, the councils, words and actions of every class of people inhabiting the country of which he has undertaken to write, and to describe them fully, whether they be good or bad. Now Morison, in omitting to set forth the good qualities of the Irish, has flagrantly transgressed the foregoing historical canons, and, consequently, the work which he has written has no right whatever to be styled a history. Whoever would make a close survey of the rude manners of the lower classes, and search out their faults, might fill up a volume therewith; for there is no nation in the world without its low rabble. Witness the churlish mob of Great Britain, the boors of Flanders, the lazy canaille⁶⁵ of France, the worthless fellows of Spain, the ignoble vulgar of Italy, and the meaner sort of every other nation, amongst all of whom many rude and evil customs prevail. Yet, these nations are not to be indiscriminately condemned for the partial rudeness of some amongst their inhabitants; and, whoever attempts to stigmatize them for it, is, in my opinion, altogether unworthy to be called a historian. This, Morison has done towards the Irish nation, and it is therefore I deem it wrong to give him the respect due to a historian. Of Campion, likewise, I must say the same thing.

⁶⁶ Camden says, that it is customary in Ireland for the priests to take up their abode in the churches, surrounded by their children and concubines, drinking and feasting therein. My reply to Camden on this point is, that it was not until after Henry the

ered as sanctioned by ancient authority. Persons, ignorant on the subject, condemned Dr. Keating as a fabricator, when his book first appeared in an English dress. It is now clearly proved that he invented nothing.

⁶⁵ *Cavaille*. In the original this word is "Fainidhe," (*Faunee*), a word which the editor thinks intended to represent the French "Faineant." The latter word does not, however, express the doctor's meaning. Had our author lived in modern times, he could not have spoken with such contempt of the "Fainidhe" of France. They have achieved for themselves a fame, be it for good or ill, more lasting than that of the paladins of Charlemagne, the knights of Arthur's table, or the followers of the conquering William.

⁶⁶ This argument was scarcely needed. Camden did not mean the Catholic priesthood, who had remained true to the Ancient Irish Faith. He but meant to signalize the abuses of the priests of the State religion, which was his own. Those carnal renegades, who, following in the footsteps of Maelmuiri or Miler Magrath, were then desecrating the holy altars of their sires, and insulting their ashes, and who, by their vices, were disgracing even that new religion, founded by the most kingly and most chaste of apostles, to which they fled as to an asylum for all species of wanton irregularity. No, Camden, who is honest enough for an English writer of his day, did not mean the Irish priesthood.

Eighth had changed his religion, that the Irish clergy began this impious custom, and even then, and since then, it has been practiced by those clergymen alone, who followed the dictates of their own corrupt passions, and rebelled against their lawful superiors. Camden himself, speaking on the same subject in another place, bears me out in this answer: "If any,"⁹⁷ says he, "dedicate themselves to religion, they govern themselves with a religious austerity, that is truly wonderful, in watching, praying, and in mortifying themselves by fasting." Cambrensis, likewise, has left us his opinion upon the Irish clergy: speaking of them he says, "The clergy"⁹⁸ of this country are sufficiently commendable for the regularity of their lives, and, amongst the other virtues for which they are conspicuous, their chastity stands eminently distinguished." Hence, it may be inferred, that that evil custom which Camden mentions, did not prevail amongst the whole of the Irish clergy, but only amongst that lustful and reprobate band, who broke through their vows, and that left the Church in schismatical disobedience to their ecclesiastical superiors. Even Stanihurst agrees with this opinion, in his History of Ireland, written in the year of our Lord, 1584: "The Irish,"⁹⁹ says he, "are, for the most part, extremely religious." From these testimonies, it appears clear that the profane practices, noticed by Camden, were not common in Ireland, and that, as I have just said, they only prevailed amongst those who had broken through their vows.

Camden says, again, that no great respect is paid to matrimony in Ireland, except in the great towns; but this is false, and it is also a great calumny upon the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman nobility of Ireland, for most of these dwell in the rural districts. I must, however, confess that, in this as in every other country, there are some persons who are enslaved by their passions, and who are unrestrained by their spiritual superiors; still, it is unjust in Camden to condemn and reproach the Irish who dwell in the rural districts, for a crime that is not common amongst them. For if one or two, or even a few individuals amongst them, be prone to vice, the whole rural population of the country is not to be defamed upon their account. And, to those writers who say, that a matrimonial contract for one year was common in Ireland,

⁹⁷ *Se qui religioni se consecrant, religiosa quadam austeritate se continent, vigilando, orando et jejuniis se macerando.*—This might have shown our author that the people's clergy were not alluded to by Camden.

⁹⁸ *Est autem clerus satis religione commendabilis, et inter varias quibus*

præluet virtutes, castitas prærogativa præceminet.—If historic scandal speak truth, they differed somewhat in this respect from some of the Normans, who were sent to reform their abuses by the help of the sword.

⁹⁹ *Hibernici etiam magna ex parte sunt religionis summe colentes.*

I answer that it is quite certain that such contracts were never made, except by profane and irreligious people, who rebelled against their spiritual guides. For which reason, this charge should not be cast as a general infamy upon the whole Irish nation, when it was only practiced by a few indocile and intractable individuals.

Campion says, in the sixth chapter of the first book of his history, that the Irish are so credulous that they deem whatever their superiors tell them to be true, however incredible it may appear to others. As a proof of this, he relates a very stupid fable, which I here repeat: "There was once," says he, "a certain licentious prelate in Ireland, who was able to impose anything upon his people. This prelate having but a scanty stock of ready money, and hoping to receive a supply from his flock, told them that, within a few years past, St. Patrick and St. Peter had had a quarrel about an Irish Galloglass,¹⁰⁰ whom St. Patrick wished to introduce into heaven, but that St. Peter, enraged thereat, struck St. Patrick on the head with the key of Heaven, and fractured his skull. In consequence of this story the prelate received the contribution that he required from the people." In reply to Campion, I must say that, in this place, he appears less in the character of the historian than of the juggling mountebank, vending ridiculous squibs from off a stage. For, how could any Irish Christian believe that St. Patrick could get his skull broken, having died more than a thousand years ago. Besides, every one knows that the key of St. Peter means his authority, and that it is no key of iron. I do not consider any more of this man's falsehoods worth taking up; he, himself, confesses, in the epistle prefixed to his work, that he had spent but ten weeks in writing his history of Ireland.

The following character of the Irish has been given by Master Good, an English priest, who conducted a school in Limerick, in the year 1566: "They are,"¹⁰¹ says he, "a people of robust bodies, of great agility, of a brave and exalted mind, of a penetrating and warlike genius, prodigal of life, patient of labor, cold and hunger, of amorous propensities, most hospitable to strangers, constant in love, implacable in enmity, credulous, greedy of fame, and impatient of reproach or injury." Stanihurst, also, gives

¹⁰⁰ *The Galloglass*, in Irish Gallòglach, (*Gaul-oguelagh*.) i. e. Foreign mercenary or soldier, was the heavy-armed foot soldier of the Irish, during first centuries after the English invasion. They got the prefix *Gall*, because they were, perhaps, armed and equipped after the Norman fashion.

¹⁰¹ Gens hæc corpore valida, et imprimis, agilis, animo fortis, et elata, ingenio acris et bellicosa. vitæ prodiga, laboris et frigoris et inediæ patiens, veneri indulgens, hospitibus perbenigna, amore constans, inimicis implacabilis credulitate levis, gloria avida, contumeliæ et injuriæ impatientis.

the following testimony in their favor: "In labor, they are the most patient race of all mankind, and their spirits are seldom cast down by any difficulties."¹⁰²

Spenser allows that it was from the Irish that the Saxons first received the alphabet, from which admission we may infer that the Saxons had no knowledge at all of letters, until they had been taught by the Irish.

John Davies¹⁰³ condemns their customs, sanctioned by the laws of the Irish Brehons. The first is, "that the Tanist¹⁰⁴ should suc-

¹⁰² In labore ex omni hominum genere patientissimi, in rerum angustis raro fracti.

¹⁰³ *John Davies*. This is that Sir John Davies, employed as Attorney-General and as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, in the reign of James the First. He wrote a work upon the State of Ireland, to which reference is here made. Davies was raised to the Chief Justiceship of England, for his services in Ireland, but he died immediately after, in 1626.

¹⁰⁴ "Tanist," in Irish "Tanaiste," (*Tanist*.) was the term applied to the successor-elect or heir apparent of a king or chieftain. The Tanist was elected during the lifetime of the chieftain, and succeeded him immediately upon his death. The word "tanaiste," means *second*, in Irish, though some will derive the word from "tan," or "tanas," a *country*. It has some resemblance in form, to the Anglo-Saxon term, "thane," a *lord*. Sir John Davies states, in the tracts here referred to, "that by the law of Tanistry, the chieftains of every country and the chief of every sept, had no hereditary estate in their lands, but merely held them for life, and the inheritance rested in no man, and when the chieftains died, their sons, or next heir, did not succeed them, but their Tanists, who were elected, and who mostly purchased their election by the strong hand: when any one of the sept or tribe died, his portion (*land*) was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to the sept, and gave every one a share according to his seniority." The following quotation upon this subject, is from the "Ogygia" of the

venerable O'Flaherty: "A successor was nominated for the prince, in his lifetime, to fill the throne after his demise. As, suppose his son or brother, or most respectable relation. They denominated him *Coimree*,—a word derived from the finger on which the ring is worn, which comes nearest the middle in situation and length. This "Tanist" (or heir apparent) was second to the prince in rank and authority; and from this the title of Tanistry-law, is derived by Davis and Ware. Each of the candidates of the family is called *Righ Damhna* (*Red-downa*) or heir presumptive, which is royal; that is, a subject, (*damhna*) qualified to receive the royal form. But if he was attached to any liberal or mechanical art, (i. e. *was candidate for such*), he was styled *Adhbhar*, (*Auvar* or *Owar*), only, which also denotes matter; that is, matter disposed to be instructed in the rudiments of such an art."—*Notes on Connellan's Four Masters*.

From these quotations, a d, indeed, from all that has come down to us on the subject, it appears that the Irish clans were in themselves species of petty republics. That the chieftain was, in reality, but the elected chief magistrate, or rather, the *public steward*, during his lifetime, of the lands of his whole paternal kindred, who constituted, in Celtic countries, the *people*. This elective system of government by patriarchal chieftains, prevailed amongst all the Celtic race, while the law of hereditary succession, or primogeniture, prevailed amongst the Teutonic nations. It is but faintly apologized for here, by Dr. Keating, and has been universally condemned

ceed to the chieftaincy, in preference to the son of the late lord of the land ;" the second is, " that partition of the estate between

by all who have written in English upon the subject, and, of course, by those wisacres, the political economists. It is questionable, however, if the preserving of property in the hands of a few, or its transmission to the descendants of its first acquirer, continue forever to be one of the most serious objects of all legislation, whether the Tanistry and Gavelkind did not in their day, carry out that very object, as efficiently, at least, as the Teutonic law of primogeniture as now established in Great Britain. Even when Keating wrote, many of the direct descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and of Eogan Mor, of Magh Léna, of Ulid Olum, of Cormac Cas, of Core, and of Niall, of the Nine Hostages, still held, or had but recently been robbed of large portions of the properties acquired by their kingly ancestors, some thousand years before. How many of the direct descent of William of Normandy, of the proud Plantagenets, or the despotic Tudors, were then numbered amongst the property owners of Great Britain? How many of the present aristocracy of England, can find their names inscribed in the "Doomsday Book?" How many, in fine, of the Cromwellian stock, will another century of prodigality and debauch, of horse-races and gambling, closed by another famine year, leave upon the rent-roll of Ireland? But the Gaelic race still continues to flourish, impelled, perhaps, though unconsciously to itself, by the powerful impetus given to it at its first start by those very institutions of Tanistry and Gavelkind. In Ireland, this race has already swept away the peasant colonists, with whom William of Orange so thickly dotted its land. It is, even now, fast reconquering the ownership of its ancestral fields by the sword of industry, and it may retain them long, if it but shun the Saxon institution of primogeniture.

The institutions of Tanistry should

not be blamed for these faults, that were *universal* in the ages when it flourished. Did not our tribes increase and multiply under it exceedingly, notwithstanding the occasional lopping off of many a goodly sapling from its trunk, by the sword of ambition? The parent tree but flourished the more vigorously for these timely prunings, which, after all, were but the fashion of their day in every European land. Has the law of primogeniture done as well towards keeping the institution called family, together, and the homestead standing? If the Gaelic institutions and Tanistic law had been allowed to develop themselves, and then failed in their object, as signally as Saxon institutions and the law of primogeniture are likely to do we might then be unreserved in their condemnation. The Tanistic institutions were put down by foreign violence, before they could have become remodeled by modern civilization. Then, before we condemn them, we should give them credit for what they really did do in these rude and bloody ages; we should also look round and ask ourselves what, with all the advantages of a civilized age, has been done, even for the "family," by that system which has replaced them—I do not say for "the masses," for that is glaring to all.

¹⁰⁵ *Gavelkind*. According to Coke, this term originated in the phrase *gave all kinds*, but this etymology has all the appearance of a pun upon the word. The term is used in English law, in which it is applied to that distribution of the chattel or movable property of an intestate relative, that takes place amongst his nearest of kin. The word is decidedly of Gaelic origin. With our ancestors, it was called "Gabhail Cine," (*Gavauil Kinni*), from "Gabhail," a *taking* or *sharing*, and Cine, (*Kinni*), a *family* or *kindred*. The Irish Gavelkind differed somewhat from the English; for with the former the lands were divided as well as the movables, and they were only divided amongst

kinsmen, called gavelkind¹⁰⁵ by the English, by which the land is equally divided between them ;" the third custom is, "the receiving of an eric¹⁰⁶ or fine for murder." In answer to him, I must observe that there is no country in which the laws and customs do not vary according to the changes which take place in the situation of its affairs. So these three customs¹⁰⁷ were not established by the Brehon law of the land, until the Irish fell into wars and conflicts in every part of the country, killing,¹⁰⁸

the male kinsmen in the *paternal line*. The females could inherit no lands amongst the Gaels. They received their "Spré," or portion in cattle, goods or money. According to the English gavelkind, everything called chattel is divided between males and females indiscriminately. It has been seen by the former note, that this law regarded not merely *children* of a deceased parent, but all the members of the "kin," or tribe, and that constituted in Ireland the *people*. The present occupiers of the lands of our tribes should not, then, rest too secure in their occupation. from the fact that most of the direct descendants of the *last* chieftains who held these lands are now extinct ; or from the fact that English law has attained their blood. They were not, in their own right, *landowners*. They were the mere *temporal stewards* of their kinsmen, and the poorest O'Neill or O'Donnell, O'Brien or MacCarthy, had as much *ownership* in the broad lands of Tirone or Tireonnell of Thomond or of Desmond, as those renegade chiefs that bartered their kingly titles for English coronets. It was not, then, a *few Gaelic landlords* that were robbed by the English settlers. It was the *whole Gaelic nation*. And as time surely, cannot make sacred the possessions acquired by crime, the Gaelic tribe-lands of Eri shall never want direct heirs, while the blood of Gaedal, the Green, flows in the veins of one man of the indestructible and fruitful progeny of Miledh of Spain—ever longingly anxious to

"Spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend the prey."

¹⁰⁶ *Eric*. Under the Brehon laws, various crimes were compromised for by a fine, called "eric." This mostly

consisted of cattle counted by "cumhals," each "cumhal" (*cuval* or *cool*) being three cows. These fines varied from 3 cows to 300, and sometimes to 1,000, or more, according to the nature of the crime and the rank of the parties.

The practice of punishing murder and other crimes by fine, prevailed, also, among the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Franks, Saxons and Britons. It appears that criminals did not always get off on payment of the "eric." Instances are recorded of malefactors being mutilated, hanged or beheaded for certain heinous crimes, by order of the Irish chiefs.—*Notes to Connellan's Four Masters*.

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Keating is mistaken in what he says here. These three customs seem to have, at all times, been the very essence of Celtic polity.

¹⁰⁸ These killings were not much greater than what was going on in England, France, and throughout Christendom, during the middle ages. They were more wholesome by far, and the clans were even thriving and multiplying in spite of them. They would probably have wrought their own cure in good time, had strangers not been sent to prevent them. Englishmen, who point to the feuds, combats and murders that were but too prevalent amongst our clans, should recollect the wars between the successors of their own French conqueror William ; the bloody strife between the Empress Mathilda and Stephen de Blois ; the contest that existed between Henry the Second and his pious progeny ; their wars of the Roses, during all which, the mass of their people were puppets in the hands of their French masters ; and, lastly, their revolutionary and religious wars, down to a sufficiently recent period. To

robbing and despoiling one another. Then it was that the nobles and ollanhs of Ireland, considering the calamities that were approaching, from these general dissensions throughout the island, thought fit to establish the three customs mentioned above. First, they considered it expedient that the Tanist should succeed to the deceased, in order that every tribe in Ireland might, at all times, have a captain at its head, who was capable both of leading its warriors to the field, and of protecting the lands and properties of its members; for, if the son were put into his father's place, he might probably happen to be under age, and on that account, incapable of defending his territory, or tribe-land, from being destroyed by enemies. Neither was it possible to dispense with the existence of the second custom in Ireland at that time, namely, that of Gavelkind, or the division of the land amongst kinsmen; for otherwise the rent of each country would have been insufficient to pay the number of soldiers necessary for its defence; but, when the land was once divided amongst the kinsmen, the man who had the smallest share thereof, was likely to be as active in the defence of the common inheritance, according to his capabilities, as the ruling chieftain himself. Again, it was impossible at that time to avoid establishing the *eric*, i. e., the punishing of murder by a fine; for, the man who had committed a murder, might find protection in a neighboring territory. On this account, as the friends of the murdered man could not cause his slayer to make any expiation or atonement in his own person, they made his kindred answer for his crime, in order to punish him through them. Now, as his relatives were not privy to the murder, it were unjust to shed their blood; but a fine was laid upon them, and thus the murderer was punished in the persons of his nearest friends. It was somewhat uncandid in John Davies, to find fault with the Brehon laws of Ireland, on account of this regulation, for a similar custom prevails amongst the English down to the present time. As to the other two customs, it was then impossible to dispense with them in Ireland, and, therefore, the Brehon legislation of the country is not to be censured on their account; for, though they are unsuited to Ireland in its present state, still they were unavoidable at the time when they were established.

Camden tells us, that the Irish nobility maintained their own judges, antiquaries, poets and musicians, whom they also endowed with land for their support, and that the persons of these, as well as their cattle and patrimonies, were free from all tribute to their

one that will look at the state of ancient Ireland thus relatively and comparatively, I doubt if she will be found to have had more than her own share of the general slaughter then going on everywhere.

chieftain. He speaks of them in the following terms: "These chieftains have lawyers of their own, whom they call brehons"¹⁰⁹ or

¹⁰⁹ *Brehons*. "Bardism and Brehonism, as well as Druidism, the religious system of the Celtic nations, Gauls, Britons and Irish, prevailed in Ireland from the earliest ages. After the introduction of Christianity, the Druids or Pagan priests became extinct, but the Bards and Brehons continued in the Christian as well as in the Pagan times. It appears probable that Brehonism was the Law system of the other Celtic nations, and that it prevailed amongst the Gauls and Britons, who were Celts, as well as amongst the Irish. In Cæsar's Commentaries it is stated that amongst the Edui, one of the nations of Gaul, the title of the chief magistrate or judge was Vergobretus, and that he was annually chosen, and had the power of life and death. The term Brehon, in Irish *Breitheamh*, signifies a judge, and O'Brien, in the preface to his Irish Dictionary, showing the analogy between the Irish language and that of the Gauls, both of which were Celtic tongues, considers that the term which Cæsar latinized Vergobretus, was in the Gaulish or Celtic *Fer-go-Breith*, signifying the Man of Judgment, or a Judge, and it has the same signification in the Irish from *Fer*, a man, *go*, of or with, and *Breith*, judgment; therefore it appears the *Vergobretus* was the chief Brehon of Gaul. The Brehons were the judges and professors of the law, and in ancient times they delivered their judgments, and proclaimed the laws to the chiefs and people assembled on the hills and raths on public occasions, as at the Conventions of Tara, and other great assemblies. In the Dissertations of Charles O'Connor, and in O'Reilly's Irish Writers, accounts are given of many famous Brehons and chief judges who flourished from the first to the eighth century, as Sen, Moran, Modan, Conla, Fithil, Fachtna, Sencha, the three brothers named Buraehans or O'Burechans, &c.; these eminent men formed and perfected a great code of laws, which, from their spirit of equity, were designated *Breithe Neimhidh*, sig-

nifying *Celestial Judgments*. The most renowned of these Brehons for the justice of his judgments was Moran, son of Cairbre-Kenn-Cait, king of Ireland in the first century, and he is represented in his office of chief judge of the kingdom, as wearing on his neck a golden ornament called *Ilhan Morain*, or Moran's collar, which is described in Valancy's Collectanea, and it was fancifully said to press closely on the neck of the wearer, and almost choke him, if he attempted to pronounce an unjust judgment. The Brehons, like the Bards, presided at the inauguration of kings, princes, and chiefs, and, as the judges and expounders of the laws, had great power and privileges in the State, and extensive lands were allotted for their own use. Each of the Irish princes and chiefs of note had his own Brehons, and the office, like that of the Bards, hereditary in certain families. Amongst the chief Brehon families were the following: The MacEgans, hereditary Brehons in Connaught, in Leinster, and in Ormond; the O'Dorans, Brehons to the MacMurroghs, kings of Leinster; the MacClancies of Clare, Brehons to the O'Briens, kings of Thomond, to the Fitzgeralds, earls of Desmond, and other great families in Munster. The O'Hagans of Tullaghoge, in Tyrone, Brehons to the O'Neils, princes of Tyrone. The O'Breslins of Donegal, Brehons to the O'Donnells, and to the Maguires, lords of Fermanagh. In the Tracts of Sir John Davies an interesting account is given of O'Breslin, the Brehon to Maguire; Sir John, who was attorney-general to king James I., having proceeded to various parts of Ulster about the year 1607, together with the judges and chancellor, to hold assizes, on coming to Fermanagh they required to know the tenure by which Maguire held his lands, and having sent for the Brehon O'Breslin, who was a very feeble old man, he came to the camp, and the judges having demanded his Roll, he at first refused to show it, but at length, on the lord chancellor taking an oath

judges; their own historians, to record their exploits; their physicians, their poets, whom they style bards; and certain lands are assigned to each of these, and each of them is of a distinct family or tribe, viz., the brehons of one tribe and name, the antiquaries or historians of another, and so of the rest; and these instruct their children and relations, each in their proper science, and thus they all have successors continuously in their several professions." From these words of Camden, it is evident that the Irish had established a good arrangement for the preservation of their liberal arts; for collegiate lands were assigned to every tribe of professors, as a maintenance for those who applied themselves to the cultivation of science, in order that they might not be turned away from its pursuit by poverty. And, moreover, the man who was the most eminent in the science cultivated by any particular tribe, was always the person upon whom the chieftain bestowed the mastership "ollamnacht" (*ollownacht*) of the lands of that tribe. Hence, it came to pass, that each member of these tribes strove to attain to eminence in his art, in hopes of obtaining the position of chief ollamh, or professor, before the rest of his tribe. It was, also, the more easy to cultivate science in Ireland, on account of immunities and protection granted by the chiefs to the lands, persons and properties of its professors. Thus, notwithstanding the contentions between the Gaels and Anglo-Normans, neither the ollamhs nor their pupils were ever disturbed or molested, or at all impeded in the cultivation of their respective branches. We read in the Sixth Book of Julius Cæsar, that the same privileged or *termonn* lands were possessed by those Druids,¹¹⁰ who went from the west of Europe to teach in Gaul or France—a custom which, I think, they brought with them from Ireland.

I shall pursue the opinions of those Englishmen no longer,

that he would return it safe, the old Brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, and gave it to the chancellor. The Irish MS. was well written, and, having been translated for the judges, it was found to contain an account of the rents and tributes paid to Maguire, which consisted of cattle, corn, provisions, hogs, meal, butter, &c.; but Davies says he lost the copy of the roll at Dublin."—*Connellan's Four Masters*.

Habent hi magnates suos juridicos, suos Brehones vocant; suos historicos qui res gestas describunt; medicos, Poetas, quos Bardos vocant, et citharedos, et certæ et singulæ familiæ; Scilicet Brehoni unius stirpis et nominis, historici alterius, et sic de cæteris, qui suos

liberos sive cognatos in sua qualibet arte erudiunt; et semper successores habent quibus singulis sua prædia assignata sunt.

¹¹⁰*Termonn lands* were certain portions of land set apart for religious or scientific purposes; they enjoyed great immunities, and were free from tribute of the chief. The lands assigned to the *biadh-tachs*, (*bectaghs*), or keepers of houses of public hospitality, were also styled "termon lands;" so were the church lands. "Termonn" seems to be the same word with the Latin 'terminus,' a *boundary*. The editor cannot say if the word be pure Gaelic, but it is just as likely to be so as not, if analogy can prove anything.

though there still remain many things written by them, that might be confuted. The greater part of those who have written malevolently of Ireland, had no foundation for their calumnies, other than the lying tales of persons who hated the Irish nation, and who were most ignorant of its history; for, it is evident that the regular professors of Irish history never cared to give them any insight on the latter subject; thus, they could not possibly know anything either of the traditions or ancient state of the country.

Cambrensis, who undertook to give a correct account of everything, appears to have received a medley of fables from some dunce or blind man, for he has said nothing of the conquest of the Tuatha-De-Dananns, who possessed Ireland one hundred and ninety-seven years, during which time nine kings of their nation ruled the island. Where he has set about giving down the conquests, he mentions that of Kesair (Kassir) as the first, yet our antiquaries have never considered that as a conquest, though they have spoken of it in their books. Hence, I think, that the man had no other motive in compiling his History of Ireland, than to misrepresent both the natives of Ireland of his own day and their ancestors. Besides, he had but a very short time to make his researches in Irish antiquities, having spent but a year and a half in the country previous to his return to England. As his work was not completed within that time, he left it to the care of one of his companions, named Bertram Verdon. Therefore, I trust that every impartial reader, who may peruse my confutations of Cambrensis and those Englishmen who have followed in his footsteps, will give more credence to my exposition of their falsehoods than to the idle stories which they have all related. For I am now advanced¹¹¹ in years, while many of them were young when they wrote. I have seen and can understand our principal historic books in the original tongue, but they have both never seen them, and if they had, they could not understand them.

It is not through partiality towards any class of people in the world, nor is it at the instance of any man, in the hope of being rewarded by him, that I propose writing a History of Ireland; but, because I deemed it not right, that so honored a country, having such noble inhabitants, should be let sink into oblivion, through the want of a historic account of its ancient affairs. I do also conceive, that my testimony upon Irish affairs ought to be the more readily admitted, from the fact that I therein treat

¹¹¹ *For I am now old.* Dr. Keating finished his work in 1629; he died in 1650. Dr. O'Donovan says, in his notes to the "tribes and customs of the Hy Fiaichrach," that it is probable that he inserted many passages into his work

during the period that elapsed between that date, and hence it has arisen that some copies of his work contain many facts not contained in others. This passage appears to have been written towards the end of his life.

more particularly of the Gaels; and, if any man deem that I give them too much credit, let him not imagine that I do so through partiality, praising them more than is just, through love of my own kindred, for I belong, myself, according to my extraction, to the Old-Gallic¹¹² or Anglo-Norman race. I have seen that the natives of Ireland are maligned by every modern Englishman who speaks of the country, notwithstanding the praises which all historians agree in bestowing upon its soil. For this reason, being much grieved at the unfairness those writers have shown towards Irishmen, have I felt urged to write a history of Ireland myself. If, then,¹¹³ a true account were given of the natives of Ireland, they would be found as praiseworthy as any people in Europe, in these three qualities, namely, in valor, in learning, and in a steady adherence to the Catholic faith. I shall not here boast of the great number of our Irish saints,¹¹⁴ because every European

¹¹² *Old Gallic.* For particulars of the Rev. Doctor's extraction, see his life, prefixed to this work.

¹¹³ Our author had good reason to feel proud of his country at that time. Though the strength of the Irish nation was nearly broken down at home, by an incessant war of more than three centuries, still, the sons of Ireland were rendering her name illustrious throughout Christendom by their deeds in arms, and by their heroic persistence in the cause they deemed the true one. They were fast falling, it is true—these noble old Gaels and Shan-Gauls—but they were falling, still striking at their merciless foe, and expending their last strength in avenging, as they could not prevent, the overthrow of their religion and country. When banished abroad amongst the stranger, the Irishman of that day was not ashamed of his country or his race. He did not seek to disguise the time-hallowed name of his ancestors, that told of “deeds of the days of old,” by giving it a foreign form, or desecrate it by tacking a Saxon suffix to its end. Alas! there are not a few that do so now, and that envy the happy possessors of some Scraggs or Scrubbs, Griggs or Briggs, some Mubbs or Sudds, Ketch or Fetch, or some other equally mellifluous and suggestive appellation.

¹¹⁴ *Saints.* Of the ancient Irish saints, who gained for our Island one of its

most distinguished appellations, the reader will find many interesting particulars in the course of this history. In Dr Keating's age Ireland had again to feel proud of her saints and martyrs. The following holy bishops and priests were among the many spiritual sons of the saints of olden times that had then but recently cemented the walls of the Irish church with their blood:—Richard Creagh, or O'Mael Craebhaigh, (*mail crai-vie*.) archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland—Dermot O'Hurly, archbishop of Cashel—Edmund Magauran, or MacGabhran, archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland—Patrick O'Hely, bishop of Meath—Redmond O'Gallagher, bishop of Merry—Cornelius O'Duan, or O'Dubhain, bishop of Down and Connor—Rev. John Travers, M. M.—Rev. Owen Mac Eogain, or MacKeon, M. M.—Rev. Cuconnacht or Connatus O'Ruaire—Rev. Hugh O'Mulkeran—Rev. John O'Mahony, S. J.—Rev. Gelatius O'Cullinan, lord abbot of Boyle—Rev. Dermot MacCarthy—Rev. Dominick O'Callan or Cullen—Rev. Bernard MacMoriarty—Rev. Donatus MacCried or MacReed—Rev. Patrick O'Locharn—Rev. Lewis, or Lngaidh. O'Labertaigh or O'Laverty—Rev. Connatus, or Corconnacht, O Keenan—Rev. John MacComan—Rev. Bernard O'Carrolan—Rev. Daniel O'Harean—Rev. Patrick O'Dwyer—Rev. ——— O Dwyer—

author confesses, that Ireland produced more saints than any other country in Europe. It is also acknowledged, that the empire of learning prevailed so widely in Ireland, that swarms of learned men were sent forth therefrom to France, Italy, Germany, Flanders, England and Scotland, as is clearly shown in the preface of the book, written in English, which contains the lives of Saints Patrick, Columb-kille and Bridget. As to the National Records¹¹⁵

Rev. Donatus O'Lainin or O'Looney—Rev. Thomas Fitzgerald. See *O'Sullivan's Historia Catholica Ibernica*, Lib. ii., Cap. iv. I refrain from adding to this bright array. I have given enough to show that the Isle of Saints did not forfeit her well-earned title, when the hour of her trial had come.

Comparatively few of the Gaelic priesthood had been found to follow in the footsteps of the apostate Maelmuiri MacCraith, (Miler Magrath,) the first king-made bishop of Cashel, who still lives unenviably in popular fame as Maelmuiri Mallaigh (*mal-wirri mal-lihi*) or "Miler the Accursed."

¹¹⁵ *Records*. Of those records many very ancient compilations are still in existence. Several of them were published in 1824 by the Rev. Mr. Charles O'Connor, of Balenegar, a lineal descendant of the last king of Ireland.—His work, in four large and closely-printed quarto volumes, is called "*Berum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," i. e., *the Writers upon Irish affairs*. This great work is written in Latin, and very scarce; it is, therefore, unfortunately, not accessible to general readers. It contains various learned original dissertations and translations of many of the Irish annalists, such as the Four Masters; the Annals of Innisfallen; the Annals of Tighernach, of Ulster, of Boyle, &c. The greatest and most accessible compilation of Irish annals is, undoubtedly, that contained in the annals of the Four Masters, published a few years since by Messrs. Hodges & Smith, of Dublin, and literally translated and most learnedly and judiciously annotated, by Mr. John O'Donovan. The work is in seven large quarto volumes. Its high price has hitherto placed it out of the reach of many of those to whom

its contents would give the most interest. However, the patriotic and spirited publishers have now a cheaper edition in press, which, it is to be hoped, will be found in the hands of every Irishman who can read, and who loves his fatherland.

An immense number of Irish works in manuscript still remain extant but unpublished, in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, the British Museum, the Library of Oxford, and in other public and private libraries of England and Ireland. The library of the Vatican is said to contain a vast number; so do the libraries of Spain, France, Germany, &c. These manuscripts were carried thither, formerly, by the exiled nobility and clergy of Ireland. Some say, that the libraries of Denmark contain curious and most ancient Irish manuscripts, carried off by the Sea Rovers, in the 9th, 10th and eleventh centuries. This, however, is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. The Irish antiquaries of the present time have little of popular support; and their funds are so limited, that they cannot afford such distant explorations, especially whilst the field of their labors continues so very ample at home, and the laborers are so few.

The handwriting of the oldest manuscripts, *whose date has stood the test of critical examination*, has been proved to be more than one thousand years old. No other European nation can produce anything near so old in its vernacular tongue. In these old manuscripts there are compositions *so interlined with glossaries, which have themselves long ceased to be intelligible to the vulgar*, that no candid antiquary can avoid assigning the *remotest antiquity* to the compositions themselves. It is now impossible

of Ireland, we must admit them to be of good authority, because they were examined and approved every third year at the Feast or Convention of Tara, in presence of the nobles, clergy and ollamhs of Ireland. In proof of this, the following original documents are still to be seen in this country, namely, the Psalter of Cashel,¹¹⁶ written by the holy Cormac Mac Culinan,

to fix their exact date, otherwise than by our own annals, the surest guide, after all. The sceptic who will go farther for proof, may come near it by induction. We know the number of years it has taken to render the compositions of King Cormac of Cashel, or the bards and shanachies of the age of Brian, unintelligible, and how far unintelligible, to the modern Irishman. We may thus, pretty nearly, determine how long it took to render the compositions attributed to Amirghin, King Cormac MacArt, or Dallan Forgail, unintelligible to the uneducated Irishman of the days of King Cormac, son of Culinan, or of Brian of the Tributes.

Dr. O'Donovan tells us, that some of the works here cited, are not now accessible to the society of which he is the great ornament; but we must hope, however, that they will yet be found either on the Continent or in some private hands. Some of them may be in the hands of illiterate persons, who do not know even their titles. The vicissitudes of our race have been so great, that many of the descendants of those that were learned and noble, even so late as Dr. Keating's day, are now sunk very low in the scale of worldly position and education. In the hands of such some valuable manuscripts do still remain. They cling to them as to the household gods of their family—as mystic witnesses of other and better days.

I cannot conclude these remarks upon Irish records, without noticing the valuable translation of that part of the annals of the Four Masters, which relates to the transactions in Ireland since the English Invasion, made by Owen Connelan, Esq., with valuable annotations by Philip MacDermott, Esq., which was published in 1846, by Mr. Bryan Ger-

aghty, of Dublin. This work is of moderate price. In its notes it contains nearly all that has been published of the Bardic History of Ireland. From this work copious extracts will be found in this work.

¹¹⁶ *The Psalter of Cashel*, an ancient Irish MS., partly in prose and partly in verse, was compiled in the latter end of the ninth century by the celebrated Cormac MacCulinan, archbishop of Cashel and king of Munster. The Psalter of Cashel was compiled from the Psalter of Tara, and other ancient records, and contained the history of Ireland from the earliest ages to the tenth century; and to it, according to Dr. Lanigan and others, some additions were made after the death of Cormac, bringing the work down to the eleventh century, as in the catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh, to that period; and it is stated by O'Halloran, in his History of Ireland, that the Psalter of Cashel was also called the Book of Munster, and that he had in his possession a copy of it, continued by some anonymous writer down to the reign of Mahon, king of Munster, in the latter end of the tenth century; and he also says, that the Psalter refers more particularly to the history of Munster, and the kings of the race of Heber. Keating quotes many passages from the Psalter of Cashel, of which he had a copy; and Ware mentions it as extant in his own time, and held in great estimation, and that he had got collections from it; Colgan, Dr. O'Connor, and Bishop Nicolson, also give accounts of this celebrated work; and in O'Reilly's Irish writers, at the year 908, he states that a large folio MS. in Irish, preserved in the library of Cashel, was transcribed from the Psalter of Cashel, which was extant in Limerick in the year 1712. The original Psalter of

king of the two provinces of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel; the "Book of Armagh,"¹¹⁷ the Book of Cluain-Aidnech-Fintan,¹¹⁸ in Lix; the *Saltair na Rann*,¹¹⁹ written by Ængus Cèlè Dè, or the *Culdee*,¹²⁰ the Book of Glen-da-loch,¹²¹ the Book of Rights,¹²²

Cashel, long supposed to be lost, is stated to be deposited in the library of the British Museum in London, and copies of it are said to be in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in the duke of Buckingham's library at Stowe; but it is to be observed that there is much uncertainty as to those statements; however, with respect to the contents of the Psalter of Cashel, the greater part of it is to be found in the Books of Leacan and Ballymote.—*Notes to Connellan's translation of the Four Masters.*

¹¹⁷ *The Book of Armagh.* The Book of Armagh, a MSS. of the 7th century, on vellum, in Irish and Latin, contains a Life of St. Patrick, and his Confession, or a sketch of his Life written by himself; also a Life of St. Martin of Tours; a copy of the Gospels, and other matters. This Book is mentioned by St. Bernard, in his Life of St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh; it was a precious relic, preserved for ages in a silver shrine, which was lost; and in modern times it was contained in a case of leather, of elegant workmanship. This venerable Book was kept for many centuries in the family of MacMoyre, near Armagh, who were specially appointed for its stewardship; but, about the year 1680, it was taken to London by Florence MacMoyre, who being in great poverty, sold it for £5 to a Mr. Brownlow, and it is still in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Brownlow of Dublin. An account of the Book of Armagh is given by Ware, Ussher, and Dr. C' Connor, and copious extracts from it have been translated and published in that learned work, the *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, by Sir William Betham.

¹¹⁸ *The Book of Cluain-Aidnech-Fintan*, i. e. the "Book of Clonmogh," a monastery near Mountrath, in the Queen's county, erected by St. Pintan. Keating elsewhere calls this the *Annals of Cluain-Eidnech*. This manuscript,

which was one of great importance, is now unknown.—*O'Donovan's Notes to the Book of Rights.*

¹¹⁹ *Saltair na Rann*, translated by Dr. Lynch "*Salterium Rythmorum*," i. e. the Metrical Psalter. "A copy of this, on vellum, is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin."—*Dr. O'Donovan's Notes to the Book of Rights.*

¹²⁰ "*The Feilire, or Festi logy of Ængus Cèlè Dè*, a celebrated writer of the eighth century, who was abbot of Clonmogh, in the diocese of Leighlin, and Queen's county, and who was a native of Dalaradia, in the county of Down, in Ulster; he was a man of great learning, and his work is one of the most important now extant on the Lives of the ancient Saints of Ireland, but it has never been translated or published; there are copies of it in the libraries of Trinity College, and of the Royal Irish Academy."—*Connellan's Notes to the Four Masters.*

¹²¹ *The Book of Glen-da-loch.* A considerable portion of the Book of Glen-dalough is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

¹²² *The Book of Rights*, called in Irish *Leabhar-na-g-Cearl*, was first written in the fifth century by St. Benin, or Benignus, the successor of St. Patrick, as archbishop of Armagh; but the work was afterwards enlarged, with many additions made by other writers to the twelfth century. It gives an account of the Rights, Revenues, and Tributes, of the monarchs, provincial kings and princes. It forms a very valuable record of ancient laws and regulations in Ireland. Copies of it are in the libraries of Trinity College, and of the Royal Irish Academy, and there was also one in the library of the late Sir William Betham.—*Connellan's Notes to the Four Masters.*

This work was published by the Celtic Society of Dublin, in 1847, with a translation and most valuable notes by

written by St. Benen or Benignus, son of Sesgnen; the Uidhir¹²² of Kiaran, written in Cluain-mic-Nois; the Yellow Book of Moling;¹²⁴ and the Black Book of Molaga. The following works are contained within the foregoing compilation, namely, the Book of Conquests;¹²⁵ the Book of the Provinces;¹²⁶ the Book of Reigns;¹²⁷ the Book of Epochs;¹²⁸ the Book of Synchronisms;¹²⁹ the Book of Topography;¹³⁰ the Book of Pedigrees¹³¹ of Women;

Dr. O'Donovan. It is one of the most useful works upon Irish antiquities yet published, and gives a clearer insight into the civil polity and the internal relations of the Gaelic tribes with one another, than can be gained from any modern book published upon the subject. It is most valuable, also, from its defining the local position of the various tribes, from the 6th to the 10th century.

¹²² The *Uidhir Chiarain* (*Ueer-Keeravin*) is now called *Lebhar na h-Uidhre* (*Lavar or Leour na heerie*). A considerable portion of this MS., in the handwriting of Maelnuiri MacCuinn na mBocht, is now preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.—*O'Donovan*.

Upon it the following note is made in the annotations to Connellan's Four Masters: "The *Leabhar na-Huidhre*, still extant, is an ancient Irish MS. written on vellum, transcribed from an old record in the eleventh century by Maolmuire, a learned scribe of the abbey of Clonmacnois. It is considered a very valuable work, and contains, amongst other interesting matters on Irish history and antiquities, a very curious account of the cemeteries and sepulchers of the pagan kings of Ireland."

¹²⁴ The Yellow Book of St. Moling and the Black Book of St. Molaga, are now both unknown.—*O'Donovan*.

¹²⁵ The Book of Conquests, in Irish *Lebhar Gabhala* (*Leour or Lavar Gavala*) is called, also, *The Book of Invasions*. Of it, an account is given in O'Reilly's Writers, at A. D. 1632. It was chiefly compiled by the O'Cleries of Donegal, in the beginning of the 17th century, at the monastery of Lisgoole, in Fermanagh, under the patronage of Bryan Roe Maguire, first baron of Enniskillen. This book was compiled

from numerous records, and the works of the bards, &c., and gives an account of all the ancient colonies that peopled Ireland and made conquests in the country, as the Partholonians, Nemedians, Fomorians, Firbolg, or Belgians, Danans, Milesians and Danes. This great work contains vast information on Irish history and antiquities, and there are copies of it in Trinity College and other libraries in Dublin, and there was also one in the library of Sir William Betham.—*Notes to Connellan's Four Masters*.

¹²⁶ *The Lebhar na g-Coigedh* (*Leour na Gogueh*.) i. e. the Book of the Fifths, or Provinces, contains the genealogies of all the Gaelic families and tribes in each province.

¹²⁷ *The Book of Reigns*, in Irish "Reim Bioghraidhe" (*Raim Reerce*), i. e. the "Royal Series," or Catalogue, was written in the 11th century, by Gilla Caemhghin (*Guilla Keeveen*), or Gilla-Kevin, a celebrated antiquary and bard of the eleventh century.

¹²⁸ *Leabhar na n-Aes* (*Leour na naisse*), i. e., the "Book of the Ages."

¹²⁹ The Book of Synchronisms, i. e. *Lebhar Comh-Aimserechta* (*Leour Covimsheraghta*). This was written by Flann of the Monastery.

¹³⁰ *The Book of Topography*, in Irish *Leabhar Dinm-Seuchas* (*Deen Shanaghas*), was originally composed in the 6th century, by Amergin, chief bard to the monarch Dermot, at Tara; but many additions have been made to it by later writers. This celebrated work gives an account of noted places, as Fortresses, Rathes, Cities, Plains, Mountains, Lakes, Rivers, &c., and of the origin of their names, and contains much interesting information on ancient Irish history and topography. Copies of it are in various libraries, and a copy

the Book of Etymology;¹⁵² the Uraicept¹⁵³ or Grammar of Kennfaela, the Learned; the Amra¹⁵⁴ or *Elegy on St. Columbkille*, written shortly after the saint's death, by Dallan Forgail. Besides the Chief Books, or Books of the First Class, there are many historic tales to be seen in Ireland, such as the Battle¹⁵⁵ of the Plain of Moeruinhi; the Deaths¹⁵⁶ of the Heroes, the Battles of Crina,¹⁵⁷ Finncora,¹⁵⁸ Ros-na-Righ¹⁵⁹, Magh-Lena,¹⁶⁰ Magh¹⁶¹-Rath, Magh-Tualaing,¹⁶² and a multitude of other historic tales that I shall not mention here.

The historic records of Ireland must be considered of still

of the original, contained in a vellum MS. of the 9th century, was in the library of the late Sir William Betham.—*Notes to Connellan's Four Masters.*

¹⁵¹ *The Book of the Pedigrees of women*, i. e. Lebhar Bain-senchas (*Leour Banshanagh*).

¹⁵² *The Book of Etymologies*, i. e. "Coir na n-Annamu." The most famous work extant in the Gaelic tongue upon etymology, is the Sanasan Chormaic or Cormac's Glossary, originally contained in the book called the Psalter of Cashel. It is the work of Cormac MacUlinan, the king-bishop of the two Munsters.

¹⁵³ *The Uraicept of Kennfaeladh*, styled "Foghlamtha," (*Fowlamha*) i. e. the learned. Kennfaeladh MacOilla, i. e. son of Olioll or Olild, called by the Four Masters "a paragon of wisdom," died in A. D. 677. He lived at Daire Lurain, now Derryloran, in the county of Tyrone. The "Uraicept na n-Eigges (*Urrikept nan Aigges*), i. e. "the grammar of the learned," was not composed by him. It was first composed by either Forchern or Ferchertni, sages of pagan times. Kennfaeladh is said to have but amended it. Perhaps it was revised to suit it to the altered idiom of his day.

¹⁵⁴ *The Elegy Columkille*, in Irish "Amhra Cholúim Cillí" (*Owra-Collim Killi*), by the celebrated chief bard Dallan Forgail, has recently been published by the Celtic Society with annotations by Dr. O'Donovan. The common Irish word "amhran" (*owrawn*), a song, is a diminutive of "ambra," which being itself a derivative form, must come from the root "amar" or "amhar."

¹⁵⁵ *Cath Muighe Mucruimhe*, (*Cah Moy Mocrivvie*), i. e. the Battle of the Plain of Mucruimhi. Of this and the other battles and events commemorated in these tales, the reader will find the particulars in the following pages. I give here but the pronunciation of the titles of the works.

¹⁵⁶ *Oighedh na g-cradh*, (*Eeyeh na gu-ra*), i. e. the Tragic Fate of the Knights.

¹⁵⁷ *Cath Crinna*, or Crionna, (*Cah-Crecna*), i. e. the Battle of Crina.

¹⁵⁸ *Cath Finncoradh*, (*Fincora*), i. e. the Battle of Finncoradh.

¹⁵⁹ *Cath Ruis na Riogh*, (*Cah rush na ree*), i. e. the Battle of Ros na riogh.

¹⁶⁰ *Cath Muighe Lena*, (*Cah Moy-layna*), i. e., "the Battle of Moylena."

¹⁶¹ *Mueghe Rath* (*Moy Rawh*), i. e. the Battle of Magh Rath.

¹⁶² *Magh Tualang* (*Moy Toolang*), i. e. the Battle of the Plain of Tualang.

Numerous copies of the species of semi-historic compositions here alluded to still exist, in every possible variety of dialect, from that now spoken, up to the most ancient known. They were, in fact, the *historic romances* of their day; but, though much interwoven with extravagant fiction and often very florid and exaggerated in style and language, according to our modern ideas, still, recent researches have proved many of them to be historically correct in the *main facts* they record. The correctness on this point, of such of them as have been translated, and critically scrutinized, has been most satisfactorily proved, not only by the concurrent testimony

greater authority when we consider that there were formerly more than three hundred *ollamhs of history* in this country, whose sole business it was to preserve the traditions of the nation, and who were maintained by the noblemen of Ireland for that pur-

of our simple and strictly unadorned annals, but by the exactitude with which they describe local scenery, the sites of ancient royal residences, forts, artificial lakes, mounds, tombs of heroes, cemeteries, sites of battles, &c., the remains of which still exist, luckily for our ancient history, that is yet to be written. The recent Ordnance Survey of Ireland has unintentionally done us this good. It has summoned up the shades of the heroes of olden time from the cairn and the cromleac, from the rath, the cathair, and monumental mound, where they so long have slept, to bear testimony to the truthfulness of their faithful Shanachies. It has established landmarks to guide future historians in their selections from our written records.

When Greek bards tell us of the tomb of Achilles, of Cyclopean Tiryns, or of Thebæ, of the hundred gates, and her countless car-borne warriors, we must surely believe that the hero of the Iliad fought and fell beneath the Trojan walls, that neither the Cyclopean nor Egyptian cities were creations of exalted fantasy, when we find the sepulchral mound of that swift-footed chieftain still rearing its head there, where the bards described it, upon the Phrygian shore—when we see that time-scouring fortress, built by the lightning-forgers, still frowning from its Argolic height, and when we find wondrous Egypt, of monumental story, still proclaiming unquestioned, her olden magnificence.—Why then question the truth of the Gaelic bards, when they tell us of the deeds of Partholan, the civilizer, and of his predecessors, the hunters of Kical, the short-legged—when they sing of the Pomorian rovers, of the warlike Nemedians and Belgians, of the Mystic Danaans, that each in their turn succeeded as conquerors of Eri, or of our own paternal ancestors, the sons of Miledh of Spain? Do not the monuments at Tor-Inis and at Ailech-Neid—do not

the pyramids by the Boyne and the remains at Tara, Talti, Cruacha, and at Emain Macha, more than sufficiently bear out the truth of the main facts, recorded by those bards of these old races? Can any Zoilus of history now rob us of our traditions by unfair and one-sided criticisms upon the narrations of our Shanachies, or can any pilfering MacPherson again attempt to steal our bards and our heroes, and, by a literary swindle, attempt to impose them on the world as the natives of his own land?—Some of our documents have at length been published and translated, so that all may see and read them; and ancient monuments are found to be still in existence, that agree exactly with the descriptions given of them in these same documents. Let the critics and the cavillers, then, read and compare facts, and appeal no longer to scholastic prejudice and conjectural suppositions. I would but refer to the “Antiquities of Tara Hill,” written by that most critically severe and most learned of antiquarians, Dr. Petrie, and to his “Round Towers,” or to the “Battle of Magh Rath,” and the various recent publications of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Societies, or to even that one volume of the Ordnance Survey, published by the English Government, in order to convince the most sceptical inquirer, if he will only take the trouble to read the books,—that is, if he be not uncan-did and prejudiced as well as sceptical, and be neither too unintelligent to form an opinion nor too lazy to learn. The publication of the historic romances that still remain to us, would be of the greatest utility to the Irish historian, not only from their explaining and giving reasons for many of the bald facts recorded in the annals, but from the insight they give into the manners and customs of our ancestors. It is from them alone that the future historian of Ireland, in her younger

pose; and that the records compiled by them were examined, and sanctioned periodically by the nobility and clergy. They must receive additional credit from their great antiquity, as well as from the fact that they had never been interrupted or destroyed by the tyranny of foreigners. For, although the Scandinavians continued for a long time to occasion troubles in Ireland, still, there were so many ollamhs employed in recording its history, that the principal part of its annals have been saved, though these Northern pirates carried off a great number of historic books. But, the other nations of Europe were not equally fortunate in this respect, for the Romans, Gauls, Goths, Vandals, Saxons, Saracens, Moors, and Scandinavians destroyed their traditional records in their several incursions. But, none of these plunderers had ever conquered Ireland, even according to Cambrensis,¹⁴³ who tells us that Ireland had been always free from the incursions of any enemies by whom its history or antiquities could be destroyed—a thing that was not the case with any other European nation. For this reason also, do I conceive, that the traditions of Ireland are more worthy of credit than those of any country in Europe. Add to this the fact, that it had been repeatedly arranged, and expurgated, first by St. Patrick, and then by the holy clergy of the Irish nation.

The reader must, however, observe that I have made some change in the number of years assigned to the reigns of some of a few of the pagan kings of Ireland; thus departing from the “Reim Righraidhe” (*Raim Reeree*), or “Royal Catalogue,” and several of the poems composed thereon. My reason for this is, because I do not find them to agree in the number from Adam to the birth of Christ with any foreign writer whatsoever of authority: and again, because there appears an improbability in the number of years allotted to some of them; for instance, Siorna, (Sheerna,) the long-lived, to whom is assigned a reign of an hundred and fifty years. Notwithstanding this, we read in the old Book of Conquests, that this Siorna was one hundred years old before he assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, so if I made him reign one hundred and fifty years more, no one would believe

days, can learn how to portray his characters in appropriate costume, and present them to his readers in lifelike lineaments. It is also a strange fact connected with Gaelic literature, that our writers should have expended nearly all their genius for hyperbole in these prose tales now spoken of. Their metrical compositions or “duans,” are singularly simple in language and chaste in meta-

phor. The inflated style seems to have been engrossed by the *Sgeil Fiannaid-hechta* (*Sgeil Fecccaigha*) or prose romance; and even of the latter, the earlier versions are nearly free from the extravaganza that pervaded too many of those of more recent date.

¹⁴³ Hibernia ab initio ab omni alienarum gentium incursu libera perman-sit.

me. Therefore, I allow him but twenty-one years, in which I am borne out by a poem upon his reign; the propriety of this change must be obvious to the reader. Again, though Cobthach Cael-Breagh (*Cowhagh Kael Braw*) is made to reign fifty years, yet we must allow him but thirty; for, Moriath, the daughter of Scoriath, king of Corea Duibni, fell in love with Maen, otherwise called Labraidh Loingsech, whilst he was in exile, and she married him on the death of Cobthach, after which she bore him several children. Now, if Cobthach had reigned fifty years, this lady must have been sixty, previous to her bearing children to Labraidh Loingsech; as such could not be the fact, it was impossible for Cobthach to have reigned fifty years.

I would in like manner, and for similar reasons, change the dates of the reigns of some of the other kings that ruled Ireland before the introduction of the Faith. Yet, I do not attribute the discrepancy in dates, that causes me to do this, to any want of knowledge on the part of the antiquaries; for I think it was more owing to the ignorance of the transcribers, whose only science was penmanship.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, since the time that the governments

¹⁴⁴ *Penmanship.* Of this art, as practiced in Ireland during the days of her freedom, the earliest authenticated specimen extant is said to be the Book of Kells. It is thus noticed in a recent essay upon the Historic literature of Ireland, and the publications of the Archæological Society, published in Dublin in 1851: "This venerable and splendid volume is now preserved among the manuscripts of the University of Dublin." "Ireland," says a late English writer, "may justly be proud of the 'Book of Kells.' This copy of the Gospels, traditionally asserted to have belonged to St. Columba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence, far excelling, in the gigantic size of the letters in the frontispiece of the Gospel, the excessive minuteness of the ornamental details, the number of its decorations, the fineness of the writing and the endless variety of initial capital letters, with which every page is ornamented; the famous Gospels of Lindisfarne, in the Cottonian Library. But this manuscript is still more valuable on account of the various pictorial representations of different scenes in the life of our Saviour, delineated in a style totally unlike that of every other

school, and of which I believe the only other specimens are to be found in the Psalter of St. John's College, Cambridge, and at St. Gall; the latter, however, being far inferior in execution to those in the 'Book of Kells.' The various readings of this manuscript are as important as its ornamental details, and in it is to be found the celebrated passage asserting the divinity of the Holy Ghost, which has hitherto been considered as unique in the Silver Gospels, at Vercelli. It occurs in St. John iii. 5, 6, (fo. 297, v.) These words were struck out by the Arians, and Father Simon asserted that there was no Latin manuscript in existence in which they were to be found."—*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, by I. O. Westwood, F.L.S. London, 1845. This learned writer also tells us, that "at a period when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and other parts of the Continent—namely, from the fifth to the end of the eighth century—a style of art had been established and cultivated in Ireland, absolutely distinct from that of all other parts of the civilized world. There is abundant evidence to prove that in the sixth and seventh centuries

of Ireland fell into the hands of strangers, the Irish have left off the triennial examination of their historic records, which they had been more anciently accustomed to make, and the ollamhs also, have been negligent and careless in the preservation and correction of the annals, since they lost the "termonn" lands, and other immunities that they formerly received from the Gaels for keeping up their history. Besides, there has been such incessant dissensions between the Gaels and their foreign invaders, since then, that the ollamhs¹⁴⁵ have been discouraged from periodically examining and amending the ancient records, as was their wont.

Should any one wonder at the disagreement between some historians in the computation¹⁴⁶ of the time, from Adan to the birth of Christ, he will, perhaps, get over his surprise, if he will but consider that but few European authors are of accord, in

the art of ornamenting manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, and especially of the Gospels, had attained a perfection in Ireland almost marvellous, and which in after-ages was adopted and imitated by the Continental Schools visited by the Irish missionaries. *Several of the finest fac-similes given by Astle as Anglo-Saxon, are from Irish manuscripts; and thus Sylvestre, who has copied them, has fallen into the same error; whilst Waley, Casley, and others, appear never to have had a suspicion of a classic school of art in Ireland.* This venerable volume is credibly believed to have been the companion of Columba or Colum-Cilli, the Irish saint, who first spread the light of the truth through the Pagan district of Scotland."

¹⁴⁵ *Ollamhs.* Against no class of her people did the English law rage with more violence than against the bards and Seanachies; and none were hunted down more relentlessly by the bloodhound myrmidons of our tyrants. In fact, it was necessary for the perpetration of their wholesale plunder, and for the imposition of *feudal landlordism*, in the place of the *tribe-ownership* of the Gaels, that the members of the free class should not be reminded of their ancestral rights, by hearing their pedigrees recited by the professional historians. They would fain have them forget that, as tribes-men, each individual was as

noble as his chieftain, and had as full a right to his portion of the common inheritance. They were not the serfs or boors of any lord of strange blood. They obeyed their ruler as the elected representative of their common ancestor. For this purpose did they hunt down our Seanachies, and for this, seek to destroy all our written records, and worse than all, for this reason did they seek and do still seek to demoralize and brutalize our noble race. In this latter they have, in some instances, been but too successful. Ignorance, want and hunger, are fearful brutalizers of humanity. Still, enough of the old nation has remained pure and undefiled, and may yet elevate those to their natural manhood and to a noble brotherhood as freemen. It rests with time to prove whether the base and merciless tyrants have succeeded in destroying our birth-rights, and whether, stranger robbers as they are, they shall continue forever to enjoy in peace the green land, which is our national inheritance, and whether they shall be allowed forever to grind down our brethren between the hard millstones of ignorance and want. Perhaps, after all, so blind are the ways of men, they have but prepared an instrument for their own fearful punishment.

¹⁴⁶ *Computation of Time.* A Dr. O'Conner has the following observations upon this subject in his notes to the

their calculations of the same time. As an instance of such disagreement amongst the best of writers, I here give down the computations of the following distinguished authorities:

Hebrew Authors.		Greek Authors.		Latin Authors.	
Baa'sederhelm,	3518	Metrodorus,	5000	St. Jerome,	3941
The Talmudists,	3784	Eusebius,	5199	St. Augustine,	5351
The New Rabbins,	3760	Theophilus,	5476	Isodorus,	5270
Rabbi Nason,	3740			Orosius,	5199
Rabbi Moses,	4058			Beda,	3962
Rabbi Levi,	3786			Alphonsus,	5984
Josephus,	4192				

Since these writers disagree so much in their Chronology from Adam to the birth of Christ, it is not surprising that there should be some discrepancies amongst Irish Antiquarians upon the same point. Yet, I have not met with any computation amongst them more correct than that of those who reckon 4,052 years from the Creation to the Incarnation, wherefore, in giving the dates of our monarchs, in their proper places in the margin of this work, I intend to follow whatever received authority comes nearest to this number.

It may seem surprising to some persons that I should quote so

Annals of the Four Masters, in the Stowe catalogue, p. 114, No. 2:—“The Europeans had no chronology before the conquest of Darius the Mede, by Cyrus, 58 years before Christ. The chronology we now have of more ancient times is technical, and has been brought to a great degree of accuracy by Pelagius and Usher. Polybius says that Ephrus, the disciple of Isocrates and historian of Cumæ, was the first who attempted to reduce chronology to a regular science, in the time of Philip of Macedon, about 350 years before Christ. The Arundelian marbles, which were composed sixty years after the death of Alexander, take no notice of Olympiads. There are no fixed epochs in Herodotus or Thucydides. Timæus of Sicily, who flourished in the 129th Olympiad, or about the middle of the 3d century before Christ, was the first who attempted to establish an era, by comparing the dates of the Olympiads, Spartan Kings, Archons of Athens and Brestresses of Inon, which he adapted to one another, according to the best of his judgment. Where he left off, Polybius began.”

The accuracy of ancient dates being considered apocryphal, we are driven, says Dr. O'Donovan, “to regard the catalogue of kings, given by Gilla-Caemain and others, as an attempt at reducing to chronological order the accumulated traditions of the poets and seanachies of Ireland. But that a list of Irish monarchs was attempted to be made out, at a very early period, is now generally admitted by the best antiquarians. Mr. Pinkerton, who denies to the Irish the use of letters before their conversion to Christianity, still admits the antiquity of their list of kings.” “Foreigners,” he remarks, “may imagine that it is granting too much to the Irish, to allow them lists of kings more ancient than those of any other country in modern Europe; but the singularly compact and remote situation of that island, and its freedom from Roman conquest, and from the concussions of the fall of the Roman empire, may infer this allowance not too much. But all contended for is the list of kings, so easily preserved by the repetition of bards at high solemnities, and some grand events of history; for,

many *ranns*¹⁷ or stanzas from the *Senchas* (or *Shanghas* as now pronounced) in proof of my history; but they must remember that the authors of our history composed the greater part of their works in verse. It was thus, they considered, that it would be less subject to adulteration or change; thus, they also thought, would the historic students be better able to commit the recorded

to expect a certain detail and regular order in the Pagan history of Ireland were extravagant."

It is highly probable that the earlier Irish annalists and *Seanachies* had arranged their chronology after the same manner as *Timæus*, by comparing the various genealogical tables, and the historic "*duans*." The translator holds that the Irish Sacerdotal and Bardic castes had always possessed copies of these rolls and *duans* in written or inscribed characters. Dr. O'Donovan has, in his opinion, given too much to modern scepticism, and to that criticism that will allow no civilization to western Europe, but what came from Greece or Rome, when he admits the possibility of the Pagan Priesthood of Ireland's having only received the use of letters in the days of *Cormac MacArt*.—Were the silent letters all pronounced in the days of that king? Unless they were, he does not know how, unless by divine and special inspiration, the Irish system of orthography could have been arranged since then, without the aid of the comparative etymologist. In truth, modern science is over vain of its acquisitions. It is scarcely credible that the priesthood of any Caucasian nation that left the East after they had been first made known, could ever have entirely lost the use of letters. The Irish written tongue shows by internal evidence, that the men who had the guardianship of its traditions, never did lose that science. The masses might have been, and were, no doubt, ignorant and savage enough, but the priests could scarcely have been so. Even the former could not have been so degraded and ignorant as they are to-day, in this age of progression. Modern men of science, and Englishmen, more especially, are most anxious

to make their progenitors out to have been naked savages. The "*Barbari*" could not, however, have been savages. No savages could have met the disciplined legions of Rome. A regiment of the inhabitants of the most civilized of any of the cities of modern Europe, would be an overmatch for an army of savages. Is there any trustworthy evidence that any nation of white men was ever discovered in a totally savage state? I, of course, do not mean that state of savagery that is produced by the tyranny of one class of white men over another. Such as those victims of monopoly, the law-made and rum-made savages of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who are sunk by their civilized fellow-*Christians*, far beneath any ancient Briton or Gael ever imagined by poet or by painter. Sunk far below the level of the Red Hunter of the American wilderness, and of the brave Kaffir, of South Africa. More wretched than even Negro or Hottentot, or than any other specimen remaining of the "*Prisca gens mortali-um*."

¹⁷ *Ranns*.—In a former note mention has been made of the great simplicity of the style of these "*ranns*," or "*duans*," as contrasted with the historic romances. The word "*rann*," anciently "*rann*," means "*stanza*," or *division*. It comes from "*rann*," *divide thou*. It may have some analogy with the English "*rant*," and, through "*rung*," which translates it when applied to the division or steps of a ladder, with "*stave*," which translates its meaning when applied to a poetic stanza. Both the word "*stave*" and "*rann*" may have originated from having such stanzas formerly scored on "*rungs*," or "*staves*." That Irish character called *oghams* (*ovam*) seems to have been specially invented for that purpose.

facts to memory. It was from having been compiled in metrical stanzas that the title of *Saltair na Temrach*, i. e., "Psalter of Temhair" or Tara, was given to that first class record that was preserved in the custody of the Irish monarch's own chief Ollamh: for the same reason was the title of *Saltair Casil*, i. e., "Psalter of Cashel," given to the chronicle of Cormac Mac Cullinan, and that of "*Saltair na Rann*" to the Chronicle of Aengus, the Culdee: for the word *Sailm* means a Psalm, that is, a poem or verse, so "*Saltair*" means a "psaltery," that is, a book containing many poems or verses. Since then the very marrow of the historic transactions of the Irish is preserved in such *duans*¹⁴⁸ or poems, I have deemed it right to rest upon their authority in writing this History.

Some people are amazed at the fact that it should be possible for any person to trace his pedigree¹⁴⁹ up to Adam. My answer to these is, that, for the Gaels, it was not difficult to do so; because from the time of Gaedal or Gael, their great ancestor, these Gaels or Gaedalian constantly had their Druids, who were employed in preserving their genealogies and in recording their exploits, during their several migrations, and even until they arrived in Ireland; as shall be seen from the following history. Besides, they were a nation fond of science, for it was by his science that Niul, the father of Gaedal obtained all his wealth. Moreover, the preservation of their genealogies was rendered the more easy, by their having remained for so long a period in possession of the same country and by the excellence of those ordinations for preserving their traditions, which I have already mentioned. The

¹⁴⁸ "*Duan*" (*doan*), means a "poem." The poet Burns, and some others, have made the word English. It shall be used sometimes in this translation. "*Laeidh* (*lay*), is also an old Irish word for a piece of poetry. The English word "*lay*" translates it exactly; the word is pure Gaelic and is found in our oldest books.

¹⁴⁹ The reader is referred to the third part for observations upon the Gaelic pedigrees. They constitute, probably, the most authentic portion of our history. The freedom of each tribesman, and his share in the tribe-land, depending upon his being able to prove his descent from the common ancestor of the tribe, it was not possible that it been could have forgotten or corrupted. In the same manner, the freedom of the *whole* tribe depended upon its being

able to trace its pedigree to the ancestor of the Gaelic nation. A tribe could not lose its pedigree with impunity. There were too many of its kindred tribes watching to seize its lands in default of title, nor could a stranger-tribe usurp the pedigree of another older tribe. Too many interests would be euroached on by such usurpation, and it would of course be resisted. The female children being excluded from the inheritance of lands, was another great means of preserving the pedigrees pure from foreign admixture. Dr. Keating is not happy in his allusion to the Saxon pedigree, which he has given. The Saxon cared little for long descent. Harold, their last king, was of the race of serfs. No such thing could by any possibility happen among the Gaels.

following specimen is from a British author, who traces the genealogy of a king of Britain up to Adam. From it, the reader may perceive that it may be possible for the Gaels to do the same thing. The name of the author is Asserus, and that of the king is Aelfred or Alfred.

Aelfred, son of	Cynric, son of	Geada, son of
Aethelwolf, son of	Creoda, son of	Cactwa, son of
Egbert, son of	Cerdic, son of	Beawa, son of
Aethelmund, son of	Elesa, son of	Sceldwea, son of
Eafa, son of	Gewis, son of	Heremod, son of
Eowa, son of	Brond, son of	Itermod, son o
Ingild, son of	Belde, son of	Hathra, son of
Coenred, son of	Woden, son of	Ihuala, son of
Ceolwald, son of	Frithilwald, son of	Bedwig, son of
Cudam, son of	Frealaf, son of	Japhet, son of
Cuthwin, son of	Frithilwulf, son of	Noah, son of
Ceaulin, son of	Fingodwulf, son of	

I think that there is no fair and impartial reader who may have to examine into the History of Ireland, but will be satisfied with what I have stated in this prefatory vindication: but if he be not content with what I have here said, it would, perhaps, be beyond my abilities to give him satisfaction. I therefore take my leave of him, and beg of him to excuse me if I have been extravagant in anything that I have said in this book, for if there be aught that is reprehensible therein, it is not through malice that I have inserted it, but through want of knowledge.

Your very humble,

And ever faithful friend,

JEFFREY KEATING.

P.S. The following history is divided into two volumes. The first of these contains the events that took place in Ireland from the days of Adam to the arrival of St. Patrick. The second treats of the events that happened from the arrival of that saint, down to the invasion of the English—in as far as I have been able to gain a knowledge of the said events.

In the year of our Lord 1629.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO PREFACE.

1. "*The Culdees.* The name *Culdee*, in Irish *Ceile De* (*Kaili Dai*), is derived from *Ceili*, a servant, and *De*, of God, and therefore signified a servant of God, or holy man. By the Latin writers they were called *Colidei*, *Culdei*, and *Kelidei*, and sometimes *Deic lae*. The *Colidei* or *Culdees* are mentioned by *Cambrensis* and various other ancient writers, and by several Scotch Historians they are mentioned as monks in Scotland as early as the fourth and fifth centuries; but the statements of *John of Fordun*, *Hector Boetius*, and others, are entirely contradicted by the learned *Lanigan*; *Smith*, in his *Life of St. Columkille*, and *Jamieson*, in his *History of the Culdees*, have maintained that they were *Columbian monks*, or members of that order instituted by *St. Columkille*, at *Iona*, in the *Hebrides*, and also in various parts of *Ireland*; and they have represented these *Culdees* as a very strict and religious order in those early times, from the sixth to the twelfth century; but *Lanigan* shows that these statements are erroneous, and that the *Culdees* were not mentioned by the *Venerable Bede*, or any other ancient ecclesiastical writer, as *Columbian monks*, nor in the works of *Usher* or *Ware*, or in the five *Lives of Columkille* published by *Colgan*. *Lanigan* considers that the *Culdees* were first instituted in *Ireland* in the eighth or ninth century. *Aongus*, surnamed *Ceile De*, a celebrated Irish ecclesiastical writer of the eighth century, author of

Lives of Irish Saints, etc., is supposed to have been a *Culdee*. The *Culdees* are mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and of *Ulster*, at A.D., 920, in which it is recorded that *Godfrey*, king of the *Danes of Dublin*, plundered *Armagh*, but he spared the churches and *Colidei*. It appears from *Lanigan* and other authorities, that the *Culdees* were not, strictly speaking, monks, neither were they members of the parochial clergy, but were a description of secular priests called secular canons.—attached to cathedrals or collegiate churches, called *prebendaries*; and although bound by rules peculiar to themselves, they belonged to the secular clergy, and are to be distinguished from the canons regular, or communities of monks who sprung up at a much later period, and officiated in the chapters of cathedral churches. The *Culdees* officiated as secular clergymen in the cathedrals, sung in the choir, lived in community, and had a superior called prior of the *Culdees*, who acted as precentor, or chief chaunter. The principal institution of the *Culdees* was at *Armagh*. According to *Usher* and others, there were *Culdees* in all the chief churches of *Ulster*, and some of them continued at *Armagh* down to the middle of the seventeenth century. The *Culdees* had priories and lands in various parts of *Ireland*, particular at *Devenish Island*, in *Fermanagh*, and at *Clones*, in *Monaghan*, both in the diocese of *Clogher*; also at *Ardracran*, in

Meath. Giraldus Cambrensis gives an account of the Colidei who lived on an island in a lake in North Munster, which island was called by the Irish Inis-na-inbeo, or the Island of the Living, from a tradition that no person ever died on it; it was afterwards called Mona Incha, and was situated about three miles from Roserea, in the bog of Monela, in Tipperary. In the time of Cambrensis, this island was a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Thence their residence was afterwards removed to Corbally, a place near the lake, where the Culdees became canons regular of St. Augustine. Though the Irish Culdees were generally clergymen, yet some pious unmarried laymen joined their communities. There were also Culdees in Britain, particularly in the north of England, in the city of York, where they had a great establishment called the Hospital of St. Leonard, and were secular canons of St. Peter's cathedral, as mentioned in Dugdale's Monasticon. They got some grants of lands in A.D. 936, in the reign of Athelstan, and continued at York at least down to the time of Pope Adrian IV., who confirmed them in their possessions. In Wales there were Culdees, as mentioned by Cambrensis, in the Island of Bardsey, off that coast. In Scotland, the Culdees were more celebrated than in Ireland, had numerous establishments, and continued there from the ninth century to the Reformation. According to Chalmers, in his Caledonia, the Culdees of Scotland are not mentioned in history till about the commencement of the ninth century, in the year 800 or 815, and their first establishment was at Dunkeld, under the bishop of that see, and they were afterwards placed, about A.D. 850, at St. Andrew's, where they had their chief establishment for many centuries. It is stated by Buchanan, that Constantine III., King of Scotland, who died in 943, spent the last five years of his life in religious retirement amongst the Culdees of that city. Chalmers states, that before the introduction of the canons regular at St. Andrew's, in the twelfth century, the Culdees alone acted as secular canons in

cathedrals, and as dean and chapter in the election of bishops, and that thenceforth both orders were joined in that right, till A.D. 1272, when it was usurped by the canons regular; and he also says, that the Culdees of Brechin continued for many ages to act as dean and chapter of that diocese. According to Jamieson, the Culdees of St. Andrew's elected the bishops of that see down to the election of William Wishart, in 1271, when the power was abrogated. But in those early times it appears that the bishops of many sees in Scotland were of the order of Culdees."—*Notes to Connellan's Translation of the Four Masters.*

2. The following notices of some of the best known of the works upon ancient Irish history, to some of which Dr. Keating will be found frequently referring in the course of this work, are here given down for the reader's greater convenience. They are chiefly extracted from the work last quoted:

3. "*The Psalter of Tara* was a record of the chief events in Ireland, from the most remote times, compiled by order of the illustrious king Cormac, in the 3d century, and from this was chiefly composed, in the latter end of the 9th century, by Cormac Mac Culinan, Archbishop of Cashel, the great work called the *Psalter of Cashel.*"

This work is supposed to be lost, or to have been carried off by the Danes.

4. "*The Annals of the Four Masters* were compiled chiefly by the celebrated O'Clerys of Donegal, and are one of the most important works ever written on Irish history; they comprise the Annals of Ireland from the earliest ages to the 17th century."

We have already spoken of the elegant edition of these Annals, published by Messrs. Hodges & Smith, and of the faithful translation and erudite notes by Dr. O'Donovan, with which they are accompanied.

5. "*The Book of Kells*, considered to have been written by St. Columkille, in the 6th century, was preserved for many ages at the Columbian monastery of Kells, in Meath, and is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It

contains a manuscript of the four gospels, and is illuminated with decorations of surpassing beauty."

This MS. can scarcely be called an Irish historical work. Still, from its very great antiquity and rare elegance of penmanship it deserves to be mentioned here, were it but as a specimen of the state of that art in Ireland in the 6th century.

6. *The Book of Leacan*, so called from being composed at Leacan, was compiled by the Mac Fírbíse, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and is one of the greatest and most authentic works on Irish history and antiquities. It is a very voluminous MS., written on fine vellum, and comprises the history of Ireland from the earliest ages to the fifteenth century. The original book of Leacan is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

7. *The Book of Ballymote*, so called from having been in the possession of the Mac Donoghs, at their castle of Ballymote in Sligo; or, according to others, from having been partly composed at the monastery of Ballymote, was compiled in the latter end of the fourteenth century, chiefly by Solamh O'Droma, or Solomon O'Drom, and Manus O'Duigenan, learned antiquaries and historians. Tomaltagh Mac Donogh, lord of Tírerill and Corran, in Sligo, was the patron of these learned men; and the Book of Ballymote remained a long time in possession of this family, but was purchased from one of the Mac Donoghs, in the year 1522, by Hugh Duv, son of Hugh Roe, son of Níall Garv O'Donnell, of Donegal, the price given for the book being *one hundred and forty milch cows*. The Book of Ballymote is a large folio MS. on vellum; it contains the ancient history of Ireland from the earliest period to the end of the fourteenth century, and is considered a very authentic work and of great authority. The original is deposited in the library of the Royal Irish Academy; and a copy of it, with a full account of its contents, was made by the translator of these Annals as Irish Historiographer, and is deposited in the Royal Library at Windsor.

8. The O'Duigenans of Kilronan, in the county of Roscommon, composed a learned MS. work on Irish history, often quoted, and called the *Book of the O'Duigenans*, and also assisted in the compilation of the Annals of the Four Masters.

9. *The Book of Hy Maine*, generally called the Book of the O'Kellys, was compiled partly by the O'Dugans, hereditary bards and historians to the O'Kellys, and partly by Faolan Mac an Gobhan or Smith, a learned historian, who is mentioned in O'Reilly's Irish Writers at A.D. 1423. This Book of Hy Maine is a voluminous MS. on vellum containing a vast deal of curious and interesting information on the history and antiquities of Ireland.

10. *The Annals of Boyle*. The abbey of Boyle, in Roscommon, a celebrated Cistercian monastery, was founded in the twelfth century, and amply endowed by the Mac Dermotts, lords of Moylurg; it was long eminent as a seat of learning and religion, and its remaining ruins show its former magnificence. The Annals of Boyle were composed by the monks of that abbey, and are considered as a most authentic record of the ancient history of Ireland.

11. *The Leabhar Breac Mac Aodhagáin*, or Speckled Book of Mac Egan, an ancient MS. often quoted by our historians, and containing much curious information, the original of which is in the Royal Irish Academy, was composed by the Mac Egans of Duniry, in Galway, learned Brehons and historians.

12. *The Cronicon Scotorum*, an ancient work, composed at Clonmacnois, written in Irish, and continued to 1150, contains much information on the ancient history of Ireland.

13. *The Annals of Tigearnach*, compiled in the 11th century by Tigearnach, abbot of Clonmacnois, whose death is recorded in the Four Masters, and in O'Reilly's Irish Writers, at A.D. 1088; he was one of the most learned men of that age, and his Annals are considered as one of the most authentic works on ancient Irish history; they contain the history of Ireland, from the reign of

Kimboath, king of Emania, and monarch of Ireland, who flourished about 350 years before the Christian era, down to the death of the author, in the 11th century; and, according to O'Reilly, they were continued to the 16th century by Augustin Mac Gradian, or Mac Craith, a monk of the abbey of All Saints, on Lough Ree, in the river Shannon, and county of Longford. O'Reilly says there is a copy of these Annals in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The Annals of Tigearnach are partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and have been published in Latin by Dr. O'Connor, in the *Rerum Hib. Scriptores*.

14. *The Book of Annals of Bally Mac Manus* was the celebrated work on Irish history and antiquities, called the *Annals of Ulster*, of which a Latin translation was made by the learned and Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor, and published in his great work, the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*. The compiler of these annals was Cathal, or Charles Maguire, an eminent ecclesiastic and learned man, who collected and compiled those Annals at Senaid Mac Manus, a place situated in the county of Fermanagh; hence these Annals have been sometimes called *Anna's Senat-uses*, or *Senatensian Annals*, and sometimes the Annals of Bally Mac Manus. The Annals of Ulster contain the history of Ireland from the first to the latter end of the fifteenth century, being carried down to the time of the Author's death; but some additions were afterwards made to them, and they were continued to A. D. 1541, by the learned Roderick O'Cassidy, archdeacon of Clogher, according to Ware's Writers.

15. *The Annals of Ulster* were compiled in the fifteenth century, by Cathal or Charles Maguire, a native of Fermanagh, an eminent and learned ecclesiastic, who was dean of Clogher, a canon of Armagh, &c., and whose death is recorded at the year 1498, in the Annals of the Four Masters. These Annals, after the death of the Author, were continued to 1541, by Roderick O'Cassidy, archdeacon of

Clogher. The Annals of Ulster are written, partly in Irish, and partly in Latin, and contain the history of Ireland from the first to the sixteenth century, and are considered very authentic, giving a concise account of the various events. There are copies of these Annals in several libraries in England, and in Dublin, and they have been published in Latin, from the fifth to the twelfth century, namely, from A. D. 431, to A. D. 1131, in Dr. O'Connor's *Rer. Hib. Scriptores*.

16. *The Books of Ulster and of Oir-giall*, copies of which are contained in the Books of Leacan and Ballymote, give an account of the ancient history of Ulster, its kings, princes, chiefs and clans, and contain much important information.

17. *The Book of Lismore*, a large ancient Irish MS. folio, on vellum, which was accidentally discovered in the castle of Lismore, where it still remains, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. It was composed at the ancient college or monastery of Lismore, and contains much valuable information on Irish history and antiquities, as lives of SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columkille; accounts of *Sunhain* and Antichrist; the history of David, son of Jesse; also accounts of the battles of Ceallachan, king of Cashel; the battles of Crinna, Gawra, &c.; and likewise the life and conquests of the Emperor Charlemagne; a history of Lombardy, &c.

18. *The Book of Glendubhough*, said by O'Riley to be in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is an ancient work on the history of Leinster.

19. *The Book of Kilkenny*, an ancient work, is often quoted by Colgan, in his Lives of the Irish Saints.

20. *The Book of Leinster*, which is contained in the Books of Leacan and Ballymote, and a copy of it in the library of Trinity College, gives the ancient history of Leinster, and its kings, princes, chiefs, and clans.

21. The Annals of Innisfallen were compiled by the monks of the abbey of Innisfallen, an island in the lakes of Killarney. Innisfallen was founded by

St. Finian in the sixth century, and became famous as a seat of learning. These annals commence at A. D. 252, and end A. D. 1320. They relate chiefly to Munster. The original of them is in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and copies are in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, and others. Dr. O'Connor has published them, with a Latin translation, in his "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores."

The Book of Munster is at large upon Irish history, but chiefly relating to the province whence it has its name. It gives an account of its kings, chiefs, and principal clans; its ancient laws, customs, arts, agriculture, etc. Copies of it are contained in the book of Leacan and Ballymote.

The Book of Fermoy, compiled by the monks of the abbey of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, a large work on vellum, containing valuable information, was recently in the possession of Wm. Monk Mason, Esq., of Dublin.

22. *The Topographies of O'Dugan and O'Heerin.* Seagan O'Dubhagain, or John O'Dugan, died in 1372. He was the historian of the O'Kellies, chiefs of Hy Maine. Gilla na Naemh (*Gilla na Nave*) Oh-Uidhirin (O'Heerin), who died in 1420, continued O'Dugan's work. These works, which are in verse, may be considered a sort of Doomsday book of Irish history. They were compiled from personal inspection of the various places of which they treat. Large use is made of the translation of these poems by Mr. Owen Connellan, as given in his *Four Masters*, in explanation of the maps attached to this history.

23. The *Annals of Connaught* is an ancient work, compiled by the O'Mael-Connaires, historians of that province, about the fourteenth century. Dr. Drummond, in his *Prize Essay* on the poems of Ossian, states that Mac Pherson, the celebrated author of Ossian's Poems, on visiting Oxford, was shown the above-mentioned Irish MS. as containing the Poems of Ossian, a single word of which he was not able to read.

24. *The Wars of Thomond*, styled,

Cahreim Thoirdealbhaigh (Cahraim Horailig), or, a Catalogue of Torlogh's Battles, contains, as stated in O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, at A. D. 1450, an account of the battles of Torlogh O'Brien, and of the wars of Thomond, from the landing of Henry II. in Ireland, to the death of Robert de Clare, A. D. 1318. This work was written by Rory Mac Craith, in the fifteenth century, the original of which, on vellum, was lately in the library of Sir William Betham.

25. Another sometimes quoted by Keating, is the *Leabhar Gearr*, or *Short Book*, an Irish MS. of some note, but now, it is feared, lost.

I shall conclude these notices of Irish works by the following remarks, taken from the same mine of Irish historical information—I mean the notes to Connellan's *Four Masters*.

"There are still existing vast collections of ancient and valuable Irish MSS. in various libraries in Ireland, as those of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the Royal Irish Academy; also in many private libraries, particularly in that of Sir William Betham. In various libraries in England there are great collections of Irish MSS., as in those of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, of the British Museum, and of Lambeth in London, and in the library of the Duke of Buckingham, at Stowe, there is an immense and most valuable collection. In the libraries on the Continent there are also collections of Irish MSS., particularly at Rome, Paris, and Louvain, and in the libraries of Spain and Portugal, and it is said that there were Irish MSS. in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which were carried off by the Danes from Ireland, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A vast number of Irish MSS. were destroyed, particularly during the wars of Elizabeth and Cromwell; Webb, in his *Analysis* of the *Antiquities* of Ireland, says, 'it was, till the time of James I., the object of government to discover and destroy all remains of the literature of the Irish, in order the more fully to eradicate from their minds every trace of their ancient independence.'"

In the Pagan times, many works of note are recorded, and, according to Charles O'Connor, it is stated by Duaid Mac Firbis, the learned antiquary of Leacan, that St. Patrick burned no less than 180 volumes of the Books of the Druids at Tara. As Tara was in the early ages the seat of the Irish monarchy, there were many of the chief Bards consequently connected with Meath, and an account of various eminent Bards, who flourished in Meath and Ulster in the Pagan times, is given in O'Reilly's Writers. The most celebrated of these were Adhna, Athairne, Forchern, Ferceirtne, and Neide, all of whom flourished about the beginning

of the Christian era, at the Court of Emania, under Concovar Mac Neasa, the celebrated king of Ulster. Oisín, or Ossian, in the third century, was one of the most celebrated of the Irish Bards, and many poems attributed to him are still extant; some of the Ossianic poems have been translated, but many remain in manuscript, and it is to be observed, that they are very different from Ossian's Poems published by Mac Pherson, who claimed the Irish Bard as a native of Scotland; but Mac Pherson's Ossianic Poems, though containing much poetical beauty, are chiefly fictions of his own."

FORAS FEASA AR EIRINN;°

OR,

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK I.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DIFFERENT NAMES THAT WERE GIVEN TO IRELAND
DOWN HERE.

1. The first name given to Ireland was “Inis-na-ffidbadh” (*Inish-na-Veevah*) i. e., The Isle of Woods; and the person that gave it this name was a champion of the people of Nin¹ the son of Pél, who was sent by him to explore Ireland, and who, on his arrival, found the country one unbroken forest, except Magh-nelta² (*Moy-nelta*) alone.

2. The second name was “Crioich-na-ffuinedach” (*Creeagh-na-*

* Pronounced, *Forras Fass' ar Air-inn*.—Eiré, anciently, Eiri and Eri, the Gaelic name of Ireland, is declined in the following manner, viz.: *nom.* Eiré, *gen.* Eirenn, *dat.* and *abl.* Eirinn. In the older writings the forms are Eri, Erend, and Erind. The more modern Irish nearly always substitute two “n’s” for the old form “nd.” Mana, the Irish name of the Isle of Man, follows the same form of declension, viz.: *gen.* Manann or Manand, *dat.* and *abl.* Manainn or Manaind. *Mumha*, now called Munster, *Ara*, the name of certain islands on the Irish coast, *Alba*, Scotland, and several other names of countries and localities, are of similar formation. I here note as a fact worthy of the attention of scientific inquirers into the

origin of the various tribes that colonized the west of Europe, that most, if not all of the local names of this declension, date from a period previous to the Scoto-Milesian or Gaelic invasion. The pure Scoto-Milesian names are mostly composed of short descriptive sentences, each component word of which maintains its form unchanged, and preserves its full grammatical value;—*ex.*: *Bailé-atha-cleath*, i. e., *the-town-of-the-ford-of-hurdles*, in English, Dublin. Those names which make their oblique cases in “nd” or “nn” seem to be of Pelasgic origin.

¹ i. e., Ninus, the son of Belus.

² *Magh-n-Elta*, i. e., the Plain of the Flocks.—This plain extended from Benn-Edar, now the Hill of Howth,

vunnayagh) i. e., the Country of the Remote, i. e., the Extreme Land, from its being at the end, i. e., *fuinedh*, or extremity of the three parts of the world then known.

3. The third name was "Inis-Elga,"³ i. e., the Noble Island. It was during the time of the Fer-Bolgs that it was usual to call it by this name.

4. The fourth name was "Eri" (*Airi*), which, according to a certain author, it received from Aeria, an old name of the island now called Creta or Candia. He is of this opinion because the posterity of Gaedal Glas inhabited that island for some time after Sru, son of Esru, son of Gaedal, had been banished out of Egypt. Acré was also one of the names of Egypt, whence the Gaels or Gaedalians had emigrated. However, it is the common opinion of our historians, that it received the name from a queen of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, whose name was Eri. This was Eri, daughter of Delbath, the wife of Kéthor, who was styled Mac Grèni, (i. e., son of Grian or the Sun,) and who was king of Ireland when the sons of Miledh invaded it.

5. The fifth name of Ireland was "Fodla" (*Fola*), so called from Fodla, who was also a queen of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, and who was the wife of Mac Kèact, (i. e., son of the Plough,) whose real name was Téthor.

6. The sixth name it received was "Banba,"⁴ from Banba, another queen of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns. She was the wife of Mac Coill, whose real name was Téthor. These three kings of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns held the sovereignty of Ireland alternately every third year; and the reason why the island is more frequently called Eri than Fodla or Banba, is because it was the husband of the woman named Eri that was king of Ireland during the year in which the sons of Miledh arrived therein.

7. The seventh name is "Inis-Fail." It was the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns that gave it this name, from a stone they brought

near Dublin, to Tallaght. The famous battle-field of Clontarf formed part of it.

³ *Inis Elga*. This and the foregoing can scarcely be considered as having ever been distinctive proper names of Ireland. They must be classed with such figurative appellations as the "Island of Saints," applied to it in the middle ages, and the "Emerald Isle" of the present day.

⁴ *Eri, Fodla* and *Banba* were probably the real ancient names of Ireland. The story of the three queens has all the appearance of an allegory, and may

mean that the country sometimes called "Eri," and sometimes "Fodla" and "Banba," was ruled alternately by the above-named three kings, about the time of the Milesian invasion. The Gaelic Shanachies could not, apparently, explain those antique terms from their own traditions or language, and instead of an explanation or etymology, they have left us a myth. The probability is that the early colonists of Ireland called the island each after the country or nation whence they had emigrated thereto, as colonists very frequently do.

to Ireland themselves, called *Lia Fail*,⁵ otherwise the Stone of Destiny. This is the "saxum fatale," i. e., Stone of Fate, of which Hector Boethius speaks in his History of Scotland. This was an enchanted stone; for, whenever the men of Ireland were assembled at the Great Council of Tara, to elect a king over them, it used to give forth a loud cry beneath the person whose right it was to obtain the sovereign power. But it has emitted no cry since the time of Concobar; for when Christ was born, all the false idols of the world were struck dumb. Here follows a quotation from the poet Kinæth,⁶ which proves that Ireland received the name Inis-Fail from this stone:—

"From this stone, now beneath my feet
Men have named our Isle of Fál;
And Eri, between both swelling seas,
Has thence been called the Plain of Fál."

8. The eighth name was "Muich-Inis"⁷ (*Mooih-Innish*), i. e., the Isle of Mist or Fog. This name was given to it by the sons of Miledh, before they succeeded in making their landing on its shores. For, when they had reached the mouth of Inber-Slangi, which is now called the bay of Loch-Garman (in English, Wexford Bay), the Tuatha-Dè-Dananms came against them with their

⁵ The "Lia Fail" was the stone upon which the kings of Ireland were inaugurated. It was placed upon a mound on Tara Hill, where, according to the opinions of the learned antiquarians, Drs. Petrie and O'Donovan, it still remains. The generally-received tradition will, however, have it that Fergus Mac Erea, who was the cousin of Murkertach, then king of Ireland, brought it with him to Scotland in the sixth century, in order to render his inauguration as king of the latter country more august.

O'Flaherty gives a different version of the story. He says that it was not sent to Scotland until the ninth century, when Aedh Finliath, king of Ireland, sent it to his father-in-law, Kenneth Mac Alpin. The latter king is said to have placed it in the Abbey of Seone, where it was preserved as the inauguration stone of the Scottish kings until 1296, when Edward I. carried it off to England, as a trophy of his conquest of Scotland. By him it was placed under the coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey, and there it still remains.

Notwithstanding the circumstantial nature of the above account, I think that the recent researches of Drs. Petrie and O'Donovan have all but proved that the real Lia Fail was never sent to Scotland at all, and that it still maintains its upright position upon its sacred mound, and thence looks down upon a fallen nation. The stone in Westminster, is probably an imposition.

⁶ *Kinnaeth O'Hartigain* was a celebrated bard—sage or file, who lived in the tenth century. Several of his poems are found in the Book of Invasions.

⁷ *Muich-Inis*. In Dermot O'Connor's translation, this word is rendered "Hog's Isle," which, in Gaelic, would be Muic-Inis (Muck-Innish), without aspirating the final "c" of *Muic*. Halliday translates it the "Isle of Vapors, or Mists." I have followed the latter, because I deem his version the more *likely*. No name could suit Ireland better at certain seasons of the year, than this fanciful one, the "Isle of Mists."

Druids and practiced magic enchantments upon them, so that the invaders could only perceive the island lying before them in the likeness of a mist or dense fog. Hence they called the land Muich-Inis.

9. The ninth name was "Scotia."⁸ It was given to it by the sons of Miledh in honor of their mother, whose name was Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Nectonibus; or, they called it Scotia because they were themselves the "Kiné Scuit," i. e., the progeny of Scot, from Scythia.

10. The tenth name was "Hibernia."⁹ It was the sons of Miledh that gave it this name also. Some, however, say that Ireland received the name Hibernia from a river of Spain, which was called Iberus (now the Ebro). Others say that it was so named from Eber, son of Miledh; but the holy Cormac Mac Culinain is of opinion that it received the name from the word "iber," i. e., western.

11. The eleventh name is "Juvernia," according to Ptolemy, or "Juverna," according to Solinus; "Ierna," according to Claudian; and "Vernia," according to Eustathius. But I think, myself, that there is no meaning in the distinctions made by these authors. The forms they give seem mere variations of the word "Hibernia." As they knew not whence this word was derived, each of them gave his own conjecture thereupon, whence proceeded the above alterations of the name.

12. The twelfth name was "Irin,"¹⁰ according to Diodorus Siculus.

13. The thirteenth name was "Irlanda."¹¹ It was so called, in my opinion, from Ir, son of Miledh, because Ir was the first

⁸ *Scotia*. This was the name by which Ireland was most frequently called by later Latin and early Christian writers. Though the Irish Gaels called themselves Scots in their own tongue, they do not appear ever to have applied any Gaelic form of the name *Scotia* to the land they dwelt in. The same remark applies to the Gaels of Scotch Highlands.

⁹ *Hibernia* was its most usual and most ancient Latin name. The name is most likely another form of *Iberia*, a name of Spanish origin. The *Clanna Ebir* or *Iberians*, being the inhabitants of the south of Ireland, must have come soonest into contact with the Romans, and thence the latter called the country after the name of the race they found dwelling in it.

¹⁰ *Irin*, or more correctly, *Iris*, with

"*Iernis*," (a name which it is called in the "*Argonautics*" of Onomacritus, a Greek poem written five hundred years before Christ;) and *Ierne* are merely Greek variations of *Eri* and its oblique cases, *Erend* and *Erind*. *Iernis*, perhaps, exhibits the word in its most ancient and perfect form.

¹¹ *Irlanda*, whence the modern English name *Ireland*, was the name by which it was known to the Northmen and the Saxons. The name may possibly be derived from *Eri*, but as the tribe of "*Ir*," anciently ruled the north-east of Ireland, and came first into contact with the Gothic nations, it is probable that Ireland owes the foreign title "*Irlanda*," to the *Irians*, of Ulster, as it may, perhaps, that of *Hibernia* to the *Iberians*, or tribe of *Eber*, of Munster.

of Miledh's sons who was buried beneath Irish earth. Hence they named the country after him. "Irlanda" is the same as the "Land of Ir." We give the more credence to this, because the Book of Armagh tells that "Ireo" was one of the names of the island. "Ireo" means the grave of Ir, i. e., "Uaigh Ir."

14. The fourteenth name was "Ogygia,"¹² according to Plutarch. "Ogygia" signifies the Very Ancient Isle. This is a name that is most applicable to Ireland, because it is a very long time since it was first inhabited, and because its historians have a perfect and authentic knowledge of its ancient history, consecutively, from its earliest times down to the present.

¹² *Ogygia*. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, tells us, that while studying in Egypt he was informed by the priests of Sais, of the famous Atlantic Isle. That this island was placed beyond the pillars of Hercules, in the Atlantic ocean, and that its inhabitants, nine hundred

years before Solon, had lorded it over Lybia as far as Egypt, as well as over Greece. Lord Bacon deems the narration founded on facts; Sir Isaac Newton has taken some pains to elucidate it.—*O'Halloran*. This was the fabled Atlantis of antiquity.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL DIVISIONS THAT WERE MADE OF IRELAND.

1. PARTHOLAN divided Ireland into four parts, between his four sons. The first part he gave to the son whose name was Er; it comprised all the land from Ailech-Neid,¹ in the north of Ulster, to Ath-Cliath (now Dublin) in Leinster. To Orba, his second son he gave all the country lying between Ath-Cliath and the Great Island² in Barrymore. He gave the third division to Fergann; it extended from the Great Island of Barrymore to Ath-Cliath-Medraide,³ near Galway. He gave the fourth portion to him whose name was Fergna; it extended from Medraide to Ailech-Neid.

2. Beóthach, Simeón and Britán, three chieftains of the race of Nemedh, divided Ireland between them into three parts. Beóthach took from Tor-Inis⁴ to the Boyne; Simeón took from the

¹ *Ailech* or *Oileach Neid* (pr. El-lagh Naid), i. e., the stone fort of Niad, lies near Londonderry. It is remarkable for its Cyclopean fort, the ruins of which still exist. It is now called Grianan or Greenan Ely, i. e., the palace of Ailech.

² Now Great Island, in Cork harbor.

³ Pronounced *Ah-Cleeah-Meiree*. It is now called Clarin's Bridge, near Galway.

⁴ Now Tory-Island.

⁵ Belach Conglais (*Bellagh Conglais*), i. e., the road or pass of Conglas or Cu-Glas, near Cork.

Boyne to Belach-Conglais⁵ near Cork, and Britān took all from Belach-Conglais to Tor-Inis, in the north of Connaught.

3. The five sons of Dēla son of Lōch, divided Ireland between them into those five parts which are still called the five "Coigi" or Fifths. This was the most permanent partition of Ireland that was ever made, as we shall quickly show. Cambrensis confirms this division, in the account which he gives of the country; his words are: "Into five almost equal parts this country was anciently divided; viz. the two provinces of Munster (Thomond and Desmond) Leinster, Ulster and Connaught." The five chiefs of the Fer-Bolgs, who governed these Fifths or provinces, were, Slangi, Gann, Sengann, Genann and Rudraide. Slangi possessed the province of Leinster, from Drogheda⁷ to the Meeting of the Three Waters.⁸ Gann ruled the province of Eocaidh Abra-Ruadh,⁹ extending from the Meeting of the Three Waters to Belach-Conglais. Sengann possessed the province of Curaidh Mac Dari from Belach-Conglais to Luimnech (now Limerick); Genann held Connaught, from Limerick to Drobaeis,¹⁰ (*Droveesh*;) and Rudraide ruled Ulster from Drobaeis to Drogheda.

Though some of our antiquaries mention a tripartite division of Ireland amongst the three sons of Kernad Milbeòl, kings of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, I do not believe that there was any division of Ireland between them; but I am of opinion that those princes held the sovereignty alternately for one year, as we mentioned above, when showing the reason why this country is more frequently called Eri than either Fodla or Banba.

4. It is the opinion of some antiquaries that the following was the manner in which Ireland was divided between Eber and Erimhon: the whole country southward, from Dublin round to Galway, with Esker-Riada¹¹ for its internal boundary, belonged to Eber, and all from that northward belonged to Erimhon. No such division, however, took place, as we shall show hereafter, but the island was apportioned thus: the two provinces of Munster were assigned to Eber; the provinces of Connaught and Leinster to Erimhon, and the province of Ulladh or Ulster to Eber, son of Ir, son of Miledh; and a certain number of the nobles that came with them were received by each of these princes into their respective territories.

⁵ In quinque enim portiones fere æquales antiquitus hæc regio divisa fuit; videlicet, in Momoniam duplicem, borealem et australem, Lageniam, Ultoniam et Conaciam.

⁷ *Drogheda*—In Irish, Droiched Atha (*Droched-áha*), i. e., the Bridge of the Ford.

⁸ In Irish, Cumar-na-tri-n-niscedh, (Kummar-na-dree-nishka), that is, the

confluence of the rivers Suir, Nore, and Barrow, near Waterford.

⁹ Pronounced Oghce Avra Rua, i. e. Eocaidh of the Red Brows.

¹⁰ *Drob aeis*, now Bundrowes, in the county Leitrim.

¹¹ *The Eisgír Reada* (*Es'hkiv-Reeda*) or "Bridge of Riada," was the name of a chain of low hills, running from Dublin to Galway.

5. Kermna and Sobarki made an equal partition of Ireland between them, viz.: from Inber Colpa¹² near Drogheda, to Limerick, in Munster, northward, belonged to Sobarki, who built in his own portion a fortress called Dun-Sobarki;¹³ Kermna took the southern half, and in it he erected a stronghold near the sea, called Dun-Kermna,¹⁴ which is at this day called Dun-Mic-Patrick, in the Courcies' country.

6. Ugani Mor divided Ireland into twenty-five parts, among his twenty-five sons, as we shall mention hereafter, in giving the series of reigns.

7. Conn of the Hundred Battles and Mogh Nuaghat (*Mow-Nooath*), divided Ireland equally between them. All from Galway to Dublin northward, Eskir-Riada being the boundary, was assigned to Conn, whence it came that the northern part of the country was called Leth-Cuinn, or Conn's half, and the southern Leth-Mogha, or Mogh's half.

Although I have set down these seven divisions in their place, according to the chronological order of the several conquests, I shall, however, return to the common division of the country which has remained since the time of the Fer-Bolgs; because, as above mentioned, this division made by the five sons of Dèla, son of Lòch, continues unchanged to the present day.

These five provinces, or fifths, met at a large stone at Uisnech¹⁵ (*Ushnagh*) until the arrival of Tuathal the Welcome, in Ireland, who cut off a part from each province and formed Meath thereof, which he assigned as mensal land for the monarchs of Ireland, as we shall make appear when we come to treat of Tuathal's reign.

¹² *The Inber* or *Estuary of Colpa*, now the mouth of the Boyne.

¹³ Pronounced *Doon-Sowarki*, or *Sovarki*. This fort was erected on an insulated rock on the coast of Antrim. It is now called Dunseverick, and lies three miles east of the Giants' Causeway.

¹⁴ *Dun-Kermna* was situated near Kinsale, the country round which was

called Courcies, from the descendants of the famous Norman knight, John De Courey, whose patrimony it became soon after the English invasion. The De Courcies, barons of Kinsale, hold the oldest title in the Anglo-Irish peerage.

¹⁵ *Uisnech*, now "Usny" or "Ushnagh" hill, parish Kildare, barony of Rathconrath, co. Westmeath.—O'D.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.—OF THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE PROVINCES.

1. *Of Midhe (now Meath).*

I SHALL begin with Meath, and describe its territory first; because, according to the usage of the Gaels, it was the mensal land of the Irish Sovereigns, and exempt from the laws, governments, and taxation of every prince in Ireland, except the Sovereign Prince¹ alone. According to our records it contains eighteen "Tricha-Kéads,"² i. e. cantons or districts, and thirty baili,³ i. e. townships, in each canton, twelve ploughlands⁴ in each township, and six-score acres in each ploughland, so that every canton contains 360 ploughlands. According to this, there are 6,480 ploughlands in all Meath.

It is called Meath,⁵ or Midhe, because it was from the "meidhe" or neck of each province, that Tuathal the Welcome, or the Legitimate, took it; or, from Midhe, son of Bratha, son of Degath, the

¹ *Sovereign Prince*, i. e. the *Ard-Righ* (*Aard-Rec*), i. e. High or Arch King. In Ireland, the term "Righ," the Gaelic form of "Rech," or "Rex," long preserved its primitive signification, i. e. ruler. It was applied not alone to the "suzerain" of the nation, but also to the chieftains of the ruling tribes. So it was in ancient Greece and Italy. The widely-ruling Agamemnon was a Grecian "Ard-Righ."

² *Tricha-Kead* (*Trigha-Kaid*). Some translate this word "barony," but to call it so is a flagrant anachronism. It comprised thirty Ballybetaghs.

³ *Baili* (*bally*). These were not the divisions now known as "townland." Each "baili-biatach" contained several townlands. The term was applied to a tract of land sufficient to support a "biatach." The biatachs (*beetagh*s) were a class of men whose duty it was to keep houses of general hospitality. They seem also

to have been a kind of extensive farmers.

⁴ *Ploughland*, in the original "Seis-rech Férainn (*Sheshragh Arring*). This is the division of land now generally known by the name "baili" (*bally*) or townland, which, according to the fertility of the soil, usually contains from 300 to 600 English acres. It is small in rich soil, and large in poor. *Baili* is also the Gaelic name for a town. The apportionment of the Irish soil into these "bailtē" (*balti*) is lost in the remotest antiquity.

⁵ The derivation is possible. But the first derivation here given is a mere guess, and not a good one. Why not derive the name from some word akin to "medius," *anglice*, "mid," and, in Irish, "medon," or "meadhon?" It is the *mid*-land of Ireland. The second etymology is barely possible.

Arch-druid of the sons of Nemedh, by whom the first sacred fire⁶ was kindled in Ireland after the arrival of the Nemedians. The sons of Nemedh granted the district round Uisnech to this Arch-druid, and from him it received its name. At that time there was but one district or canton, so called. It continued so until the time of Tuathal the Welcome, who cut off a portion of each province, and thus extended Meath over eighteen cantons.

These are the boundaries of Meath, as laid down by Tuathal the Welcome, viz., from the Shannon eastward to Dublin, from Dublin to the river Rye,⁷ from the Rye westward to Cloncouragh, thence to French Mills' Ford,⁸ thence to Clonard, thence to Tochar-Carbri,⁹ from that to Geshil, to Drumcullin, to the river Cara,¹⁰ and so to the Shannon northwards, to Loch-Ribh (*Lough Ree*), all the islands in which belong to Meath, and all the Shannon as far as Loch-Bo-Deirg (*Lough-Bo-Derg*), and from Loch-Bo-Deirg to Mochil, thence to Athlone, thence to Upper Scariff, to Drumlahan,¹¹ from that to Moy, and so onward to Clones, to Loch-da-cn, to Knowth, to Dufferin, to the Pool at the Blind Man's Ford on Sliabh-Fuaid,¹² to Magh Cosnamaigh,¹³ near Killeavy,¹⁴ to Snamh-Egnachar¹⁵ to Comber (County Down), and thence to the Liffey, as the poet says :

“ From Loch-Bo-Deirg to Birra,
From Sena¹⁶ eastward to the sea,
To the *comar*¹⁷ of Cluain-Irard¹⁸
And to the *comar* of Cluain-Ard.”

Of the eighteen districts or cantons in Meath, thirteen are con-

⁶ *Sacred Fire*, i. e. the fire sacred to Bèl, one of the gods of the pagan Irish. The Hill of Uisnech was a famous seat of druidic worship.

⁷ *The Rye* water falls into the Liffey at Leixlip.

⁸ Now, Frankford.

⁹ *Tochar-Carbri*, i. e. the causeway or bog-pass of Carbri, now Ballintogher. Frankford, Geshill, Drumcullin and Ballintogher are in the King's co.

¹⁰ The *Amhain-Cara* is probably the Little Brosna, flowing from Loughcouragh, between Frankford and Birr, into the Shannon.

¹¹ *Drom-Lethon* is on the borders of Leitrim and Cavan.

¹² *Fuaid's Mountain* is situated in the co. Armagh.

¹³ *Magh Cosnamaigh*. The name is un-

known to the translator. Its situation is sufficiently pointed out by the parish of Killeavy, in Upper Orior, co. Armagh.

¹⁴ *Killeavy*, in Irish, Cill-t-Sleibé-Cuillinn, i. e. the church of Slieve-Gullion, an old church in a parish of same name, in the co. Armagh.—O'D.

¹⁵ Perhaps Snamh-Aighnech (*Snaueinagh*), now Carlingford Loch.

¹⁶ *Sena*, otherwise *Siona*, is pronounced “Shenna” and “Shinna,” and is the Irish name of the Shannon. It makes “Senann” and “Senainn” in its oblique cases; hence *Shannon*, the English form.

¹⁷ *Comar* signifies the junction or meeting.

¹⁸ *Cluain-Irard*, i. e. Irard or *Erard's Park* or *Close*, was the old name of Clonard, on the southern border of Meath.

tained within Meath proper, and five within Magh-Breagh or Breigia, as the poet tells us:

There are thirteen Cantons in Midhe,
Thus all our bards have told us,
And five in fertile Magh-Breagh—¹⁹
The sages well remember it.

The extent of Midhe I shall point out,
And of the beauteous plain of Breagh—
We know that it reaches to the sea,
From the Sena of fair fields.

The men of Tebtha²⁰ guard its northern frontier
With those of Carbri,²¹ of well-won fights—
Famed for sages and for bards,
The men of Breagh dwell thence to Casan.

Meath was afterwards divided by Aedh Oirvide, King of Ireland, between the two sons of Doncadh, son of Donnall, who had been his predecessor on the Irish throne. Olild and Conco-bar were their names: to one of them he gave the western part, and the eastern to the other. In the latter portion is situated the royal seat of Temair or Tara. This division has remained to their posterity ever since.

2.

Of the Divisions of Connaught.

The province of Conacht extends from Limerick to Bundrowes. It contains 900 Baili-Biatachs or townships. It has thirty cantons or Tricha-Kéads, each of which contains thirty townships; there are twelve ploughlands in each township, and 120 acres were contained in each ploughland, making 10,800 ploughlands in all Connaught.

It received the name "Conacht," in English Connaught, from a trial of magic that took place between two druids of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, whose names were Kithnellach and Conn. Conn, by his druidic skill, covered all Connaught with snow, and thence the name "Connachta" was given to the province, as if "Cuinn-shnechta,"²² (*Cuinn-nechta*.) otherwise, "Snechta-Cuinn," i. e. "Conn's Snow." Or, as others say, its inhabitants were

¹⁹ *Magh Breagh*, pronounced *Moy-Brā*, extended from Dublin to Drogheda, along the sea coast; its extent inland has not been exactly laid down.

²⁰ *Tebtha* (*Teffu*) or Telfia was an extensive district, comprising the north-west of Meath.

²¹ *Carbri*—called otherwise *Carbri-Gabra* (*Gaura*). It was situated in the co. Longford.

²² *Cuinn-Shnechta*. This etymology is

a mere pun on the word. "Connacht" is probably derived from some chieftain named Conn, by adding the very common Gaelic suffix, "acht," to his name. Just as the Kianacht in Ulster was formed from Kian; and in Munster, the Eoganaacht from Eogan, &c., all formed in the same manner, as "righacht," kingdom, from "righ," a king, and a host of similar derivatives.

called "Connachtaigh," from the words "Cuinn iochta," i. e. "Conn's posterity," because it was the race of Conn that inhabited the country, namely, the progeny of Eocaidh Muighmeodan, who was descended from Conn²³ of the Hundred Battles.

Eocaidh Feidlech divided Connaught into three parts, between three persons: to Fidaich, son of Fiach, he gave all the land from Fidaich²⁴ (*Feeagh*) to Limerick; to Eocaidh Alat he Irrus-Domnann (now Erris in Mayo), extending from Galimh, (now Galway,) to the river Duff and to Bundrowes; to Tinni, son of Curaidh, he gave Magh Sainb,²⁵ and the old districts of Taiden as far as Temhair-Brogha-Niadh (*Tuvir-Brow-Neeah*), and Cruachain was its royal residence.

3.

Of the divisions of Uladh or Ulster.

The province of Ulster, from Bundrowes to the mouth of the Boyne, (from Drobacis to Inber Colpa,) contains thirty-five or thirty-six cantons, 1,080 townships or Baili-biatachs, making 12,960 ploughlands in the whole province. It was called Uladh (*Ullah*), from the word Oll-Shaith (*Oll-hah*),²⁶ great treasure, thereby implying the great wealth of the territory in fish and cattle. Or, perhaps it was called Uladh from Ollamh Fodla;²⁷ the following quotation supports that latter opinion :

" Ollamh Fodla, brave in the fight,
From him all Uladh has its name.
The noble Feis of the tribes at Temhair
By him was first ordained."

There were formerly two royal seats in Ulster, Eman-Macha²⁸ and Ailech-Neid.

4.

Of the divisions of Laighen²⁹ or Leinster.

The province of Leinster, from the Strand of Inber Colpa to the Meeting of the Three Waters, consists of 31 cantons and 930 townships. There are 11,160 ploughlands in all Leinster.

²³ *Conn.* It was called Connacht long before the time of this monarch.

²⁴ *Fidaich.* This place is unknown to the editor. Fidaich's portion comprised within it the present co. of Clare.

²⁵ *Magh Sainb.* This was, perhaps, the plain called otherwise Magh Samh, now the parish of Innishmaccsaint, in the county of Fermanagh. This was the eastern division, containing the royal seat of Connaught, in which was the royal seat of Cruachain, or Cruacha, now Ratheroaghan, near Bal, co. Rosecommon.

²⁶ *Oll-Shaith.* A silly pun on the name.

²⁷ *Ollamh Fodla.* This is very unlikely. Ollamh Fodla (*Ollav Fola*), i. e. the Ollamh or Sage of Fodla, or Ireland, was an honorary title given to this prince, whose real name was Eocaidh. A derivative from Ollamh would assume a very different form.

²⁸ *Eman Macha.* Now Navan Fort, near Armagh.

²⁹ *Laighen (Lyea).* It is more probable that these lances, if the resemblance in sound be not accidental, were called

It was called "Laighen," from the broad, blue lances which the dark-haired Gauls brought with them to Ireland when they came over with Labraidh³⁰ Loingscech, for *Laighen* is the same as "Slegh" (*Shleh*), i. e. a lance. These lances, being remarkable for their broad polished heads, imposed this name on the province, after Cobthach³¹ Cael-Breagh had been killed by them at Dinn-Righ.³² The following quotation records this fact:

"Two thousand and two hundred Gauls,
Brought their broad lances from afar—
From these lances, without doubt,
The land of Laighen has its name."

There were two royal seats in Leinster, namely, Dinn-Righ and Nàs-Laighen.³³ In these its kings dwelt.

5.

Of the divisions of the Province of Eocaidh Abra-ruadh.

The province of Eochaidh Abra-ruadh, from Cork and Limerick to the Meeting of the Three Waters, contains 35 cantons, in which there are 1,050 townships, making 12,600 ploughlands in all East Munster. The kings of this province had two royal seats, in which they usually dwelt, namely, Dun-Grott³⁴ and Dun-Iascaigh.³⁵

6.

Of the division of Coigi-Conrigh, or the Province of Curaidh.

The province of Curaidh, son of Dari, from Belach-Conglais, near Cork, and from Limerick to the western coast of Ireland, contains 35 cantons, in which there are 1,050 townships, making 12,600 ploughlands in all West Munster. The two royal seats of the kings of this province were Dun-Clari³⁶ and Dun-Eocair-Maighe.³⁷

from the nation or tribe that introduced them. Laighen, or Lagenia, seems to be one of those old names, given by their predecessors, for which the Gaelic bards have coined such awkward etymologies.

³⁰ i. e. Labraidh (*Lavrai*), the mariner.

³¹ *Cobthach*. Pronounced Coffagh, or Cowhagh Kael-bra.

³² *Dinn-Righ* (*Decn-ree*), i. e. the "Fort of Kings," is situated in the townland of Ballynoekan, about a quarter of a mile south of Leighlin Bridge, to the west of the Barrow. Nothing remains of the palace but a moat, measuring 236 yards in circumference, on which the king of Leinster's royal house evidently stood.

³³ *Nas Laighen* (*Naus Lyen*) is now called Naas.

³⁴ *Dun-Grott* (*Doon-Grod*) was situated near Gabbally, by the northern base of the Gaulty mountains.

³⁵ *Dun-Iascaigh* (*Dooncesky*) occupied the site of the present castle of Cahir, county Tipperary. *Dun-Iascaigh* may be rendered by "Fishfort." It was situated on an insulated rock in the river Suir.

³⁶ *Dun-Clari*, or *Dun-Glari*. This was apparently that *Dun-Glari* which, according to Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes to *Leabar-na-g-ceart*, was situated in the townland of Farrannacarriga, parish of Ballynacourty, barony of Coreaguiny, county Kerry. There

These two divisions of Munster were ruled by two tribes, namely, the posterity of Darini (*Darinni*), and the posterity of Dergthini (*Derkinni*), until the time of Olild Olum of the race of Dergthini, who, having banished Mac-Con, of the race of Darini, seized upon both provinces himself, and settled the government of them upon his own issue, leaving the posterity of his eldest son, Eògan (*Owen*) Mor, and that of Cormac Cas, his second, to succeed alternately to the sovereignty of both provinces of Munster.

The four royal seats, above mentioned, were the places where the kings who ruled Munster usually resided, until the reign of Core, son of Lugaidh. It was in Core's time that Cashel first became known. The place that is now called the Rock of Cashel was then called Sith-Drom³⁸ (*Shee-Drom*); the same place was also called Drom-Fidbaide (*Drom-Feeveeh*), i. e. "the Woody Ridge," from the numerous woods that surrounded that hill in the time of Core. About that time two swine-herds came to feed their hogs in the woods round the hill, namely, Kilarn, who was swine-herd to the King of Eli,³⁹ and Durdari, swine-herd to the king Museraide-Thiré,⁴⁰ i. e. Ormond. When these herds had remained on the hill about a quarter of a year, there appeared to them a figure as brilliant as the sun, whose voice was sweeter than any music they had ever heard, as it was consecrating the hill, and foretelling the coming of St. Patrick. When the swine-herds had returned to their homes, they related what they had seen to their masters, and thus the story soon reached Core, son of Lugaidh. As soon as this prince had heard it, he came at once to Sith-Drom and built a royal fort thereon, which he called Lis-na-Laechraide,⁴¹ i. e. "the Fort of heroes." When he had become king of Munster, he used to receive his royal "cios," i. e. tribute, upon the rock now called Carrick-Patriek, wherefrom, that rock was thence called Caisel or Cashel, for *Caisel* and *Cios ail*⁴² mean the same thing, "ail" being another name for *carraig*, i. e. a rock, "*Cios ail*" (*Kees-al*) signifies "*the tribute rock*."

7.

Of the sub-divisions of Munster.

When the posterity of Olild Olum got possession of the two Munsters, they divided them into five parts, which they called

is another fort of the name on the boundary between the townlands of Glenbrohann and Glenlara, barony of Coshlea and county Limerick.

³⁷ *Dun-Eochair-Maighe* (*Doon-Oghir-Moy*), it is now called Bruree (*Brugh Riogh*). It lies near Croom, in the county of Limerick.

³⁸ i. e. Fairy Hill.

³⁹ *Eli* comprised the modern baronies of Eli-O'Carroll, Kings county, and Eliogarty, or Eli-O'Fogarty and Ikerrin, county Tipperary.

⁴⁰ Pronounced *Mooskree-Heeri*, now called the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, county Tipperary.

⁴¹ Pronounced *Liss-na-Laeghree*.

⁴² This is another etymological pun.

the Five Munsters. The first part, called Thomond,⁴³ extends, in length, from Cuchullin's⁴⁴ Leap to the great road or Belach-Mor in Ossory,⁴⁵ and, in breadth, from Sliabh-Ectighe (now Slieve Anghty) to Sliabh-Eblinni⁴⁶ (now the Felim Mountains). Although all that tract, from Sliev-Anghty to Limerick (i. e. the county Clare), was anciently part of Connaught, nevertheless, Lugaidh Menn, son of Ængus Tírech, son of Fer-Corb, son of Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, made sword-land, (i. e. a conquest) of it, and added it to Munster. This tract was called the "Rugged Land of Lugaidh," and it was held free from all rent or tribute to the kings of Ireland. The second part, called Ormond,⁴⁷ extends, in length, from Gabran (now Gowran, in Kilkenny), to Cuamchoill⁴⁸ (now Cleghile) near Tipperary; its breadth is from Bearnan-Eli (now Barnane on the Devil's Bit Mountain) to O'Bric's Island (on the coast of Waterford). The third part is Middle Munster;⁴⁹ its extent is from Sliabh-Eblinni to Sliabh-Caein (now Slieve-Reagh, county of Limerick). The fourth division, called Desmond,⁵⁰ extends from Sliabh-Caein, southward, to the sea. The fifth, called West-Munster,⁵¹ extends from Luachair-Degaidh (now Slieve-Lougher in Kerry), westward, to the sea; and its breadth is from Glenn-na-Ruachta (now Glenaught) to the Shannon.

The two provinces of Munster or Mumha (*Mooa*), have received this name from "Mo,"⁵² which signifies "greater," be-

"Caisel" is obviously cognate with the Latin "Castellum." Its diminutive "Caisleau" (*Cashlawke*) is the term now used to translate the Gallo-Roman word "castel" and English "castle." Caisel is another form of "Cathair," i. e. Castrum. It must not be inferred from this that the Gaels received these words from the Latins. All that can be said is that both had them from a common Indo-European source.

⁴³ *Thomond*. In Irish "Tuadh-Mhumha," (*Thoorvooa*.) It means North Mumha, or Munster.

⁴⁴ In Irish "Léim Concullainn." The mouth of the Shannon was so called.

⁴⁵ *Belach-mor-na h-Osraide*, i. e. the Great Road of Ossory. This, according to Dr. O'Donovan, was the great south-western road of Ireland. It extended from the southern side of the hill of Tara, in the direction of Ossory.

⁴⁶ *Sliabh-Eblinni*. Now Sliabh Feidhlimidh, or Felim Mountain, situated on the borders of the county Tipperary, ad-

joining the barony of Coonagh, county Limerick.

⁴⁷ *Ormond*. In Irish, "Urmhumha" (*Ur-rooa*), i. e. East Munster, as if "Oir-Mumha."

⁴⁸ Pronounced *Kawhill*.

⁴⁹ In Irish, Meodhan-Mhumha, (*Meon-rooa*.) This tract, extending from the Felim Mountains to Slieve-Reagh, took in most of the county of Limerick.

⁵⁰ In Irish, "Deasmhumha" (*Dass-ooa*, or *Dass-rooa*), i. e. South-Munster.

⁵¹ Ir. Iar-Mhumha (*Eer-rooa*).

⁵² This is another instance of those silly puns, given as Etymologies, upon which I have already commented in some of the foregoing notes. If anything, founded upon merely circumstantial evidence, could prove, in contradiction to the bardic traditions, that the Nation or Nations, who imposed such names as this and similar ones upon Irish localities, did not speak the Gaelic dialect, such awkward attempts to explain their etymologies, through that

cause they are of *greater* extent than any of the other provinces of Ireland; for there are thirty-five cantons in each of them, which is *more* than there are in any of the others. For, though we have reckoned thirty-six in Ulster, yet it contained but thirty-three until the kingdom was divided into provinces. Then it was that Carbri Niafer, king of Leinster, gave up three cantons of his own country to Ulster, namely, from Loch-an-Choigidh to the sea, in consideration of receiving the daughter of Concoibar mac Nessa⁵³ in marriage, as shall be told hereafter in the body of this history.

In all Ireland there are 185 Tricha-Keads or cantons, which contain in all 5,550 townships, or Baili-Biatachs, in the whole of which there are again 66,600 ploughlands. The reader must, however, understand that the acre, according to the old Gaelic measurement, was twice or three times as large as that used by the strangers at the present time.

SECTION II.—OF THE NUMBER OF ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS IN IRELAND.

There are four Archbishops in Ireland, viz.: the Archbishop of Armagh,⁵⁴ Primate of all Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Archbishop of Tuam.

The following bishops are under the Primate: the bishop of

tongue, might well do so. The names of localities, that are of undoubted Gaelic origin, are perfectly significant at the present day, and it needs but little philological knowledge, to enable an Irishman to tell what they mean, for they mostly explain themselves, being nearly all *short, descriptive sentences*, as already remarked. Whenever they assume a more compound or synthetic form, their roots are easily seen by taking away the usual affixes or suffixes, by means of which ordinary Gaelic compounds are formed. If the names, "Midhe," "Uladh," "Mumha," "Laighen," and, perhaps, "Connacht," were of this latter class, our Seanaichies would not have left us such unsatisfactory conjectures thereupon. It was, perhaps, such groundless guesses as these, that threw an air of impossibility over the traditions of the early Gaelic migrations, by turning the *Cine Scuit*, i. e. *the descendants of some body called Scot*, into "Scythians," and bringing "Goths" into Spain and Africa at a time when these latter were, probably, still located in the central plains of Asia, and possibly, long before any of the Gothic or Germanic races had penetrated into Europe. In all likelihood, the Gaels called themselves "*descendants of Scot*," in these early times, for the sole reason that made branches of the same nation call themselves, and better known in after times, *descendants of Niall, Brian, or Donnald*, and for no other, i. e. O'Neills, O'Briens, or O'Donnells.

⁵³ *Concoibar*. Commonly called "Connor MacNessa." This famous King of Ulster lived about the commencement of the Christian era.

⁵⁴ *The Archbishop of Armagh*. The See of Armagh, founded by St. Patrick in the 5th century, is the *primate* or metropolitan See of all Ireland. Its immediate jurisdiction extends over

Meath, called by Camden the bishop of Ail-na-Mirenn,⁵⁵ i. e. Uisnech, for Ail-na-Mirenn, i. e. the "boundary stone," is the name of a large stone at Uisnech, so called from its being the boundary stone between the provinces, from each of which a part had been taken to form Meath; it was also called the stone of the "fifths" or provinces; the bishop of Dun-Da-Leth-Glass⁵⁶ or

the greater part of the county of Armagh, with parts of Louth, Meath, Tyrone and Londonderry. It has ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the sees of Meath, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Raphoe, Derry, Down, Connor and Dromore.—*Connellan's Four Masters.*

⁵⁵ *The Bishop of Ail-na-Mirenn*—that is, of Meath. "The ecclesiastical divisions of ancient Meath were as follows: it contained several small bishops' sees, namely Clonard, Duleek, Ardbraccan, Trim, Kells, Slane, Dunshanghlin and Kilskyre, in Eastmeath, with Fore, Usnagh and Killere in Westmeath. The diocese of Meath comprehends almost the whole of the counties of Meath and Westmeath, and a large portion of the King's county, with parts of Kildare, Longford, and Cavan, being nearly co-extensive with the ancient kingdom of Meath."—*Id.*

⁵⁶ *The See of Clonmacnois*, in Irish, Cluan Mac Nois, signifying, according to some accounts, "the retreat of the sons of the noble," either from the great numbers of the sons of the Irish nobility who resorted to its college for education, or, from many of the Irish princes having their burial places in its cemetery. An abbey was founded here in the sixth century, by St. Kieran the Younger, on lands granted by Dermot, the son of Carroll, monarch of Ireland, and it became one of the most celebrated seats of learning and religion in Ireland in the early ages. It was formed into a bishop's see, and the cathedral was erected in the twelfth century by the O'Melaghlin, kings of Meath, who conferred most extensive endowments of lands on the abbey and see. A city and college were also founded here, and the place maintained its literary and religious celebrity for many centuries; but having been repeatedly devastated by the Danes, during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, and frequently

ravaged by the English, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and its cathedral and churches having been finally demolished by the barbarian soldiers of the English garrison of Athlone, in the reign of Elizabeth, it has fallen into utter decay. But its ancient greatness is amply demonstrated by the magnificent and venerable ruins of the cathedral and seven churches, and of a castle, together with two beautiful round towers, some splendid stone crosses, and other antiquities which still remain. It contains one of the most ancient and extensive cemeteries in Ireland, and was the burial-place of many of the Irish kings and princes, as the O'Conors, kings of Connaught, of whom Torlogh O'Conor, monarch of Ireland in the twelfth century, together with his son Roderick O'Conor, the last Milesian monarch of Ireland, were buried in its cathedral, and also many of the O'Melaghlin, kings of Meath; the O'Kellys, princes of Hy Maine; the Mac Dermotts, princes of Moylurg, and several other ancient and noble Irish families. Clonmacnois, called the Iona of Ireland, is beautifully situated in a lonely retreat on the banks of the Shannon, and though now part of the King's county, the diocese originally formed part of the ancient kingdom of Meath, and was united to the see of Meath in the latter end of the sixteenth century. In the abbey of Clonmacnois was written the celebrated work called the Annals of Tigernach, by that learned abbot, in the eleventh century; together with the Book of Clonmacnois and various other ancient Irish MSS."—*Id.* By the English Church, Clonmacnois has been united to the see of Meath; by Catholic Church, it has been united to that of Ardagh.—*Ed.*

⁵⁶ *The Bishop of Dun-da-leth-glass* (Doon-daw-lah-glass), or Down. The see of Down, in Latin Dunum, was

Down; the bishop of Clogher;⁵⁷ the bishop of Connor or Cuinniri;⁵⁸ the bishop of Ardagh;⁵⁹ the bishop of Raphoe;⁶⁰ the bishop of Rathlugh;⁶¹ the bishop of Dal-Móchair;⁶² the bishop of Derry.⁶³

founded by St. Caelann in the fifth century. The bishops of Down are also styled bishops of Ulidia or Uladh. This diocese comprehends the greater part of the county of Down, with a small portion of Antrim. The see of Dromore, founded by St. Colman in the sixth century, now forms part of that of Down. At Newry, a great Cistercian abbey was founded by Murkertach Mac Lochlainn, (*Mac Loughlin*), king of Ireland, in the twelfth century. A mitred abbot presided over it, who held episcopal jurisdiction over the lordships of Mourne and Newry. This abbey was named, in Irish, that of "Iubhar Chinn Traighe" (*yoor-keen-troy*), i. e. *Of the yew at the head of the strand*. The famous abbey of Bangor, in Irish "Bennoir," founded by the great St. Comgall or Congal, in the sixth century, lay also within the present diocese of Down. "The cathedral of Downpatrick was for many centuries decorated with beautiful marble statues of our three great saints, Patrick, Columkille and Bridget; but in the reign of Henry VIII., A. D. 1538, the lord deputy, Leonard Grey, having invaded Ulster, plundered and burnt the town and cathedral of Downpatrick; and he and his barbarian soldiers broke and defaced the statues of SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columkille. Representations of the statues of the three saints from Messingham's *Florilegium* are given in a plate prefixed to the life of St. Patrick by Jocelyn, a Cistercian monk of Furness abbey, in Lancashire, written in the twelfth century, translated from the original Latin by Edmund Swift, and published in Dublin at the Hibernia press in the year 1809."—*Id.*

⁵⁷ *The Bishop of Clochar (Clogher)*. At present the diocese of Clogher comprehends the whole of the county of Monaghan, the greater part of Fermanagh, portions of Tyrone and Donegal, and a small part of Louth. Its bishops were, in former times, fre-

quently styled bishops of Oirgialla. In the thirteenth century, the greater part of Louth was separated from Clogher, and added to Armagh. In this diocese lies the abbey of Devinish Island, in Loch Erne, found by St. Molaisi, or Lasarian, in the sixth century, which was celebrated for many ages as a seat of learning and religion. Some of its venerable ruins still remain, and among them an ancient round tower in perfect preservation. The seat of the diocese is at Clogher, in the county of Tyrone. This see was founded by St. Macartin, in the fifth century.—*Id.*

⁵⁸ *The Bishop of Cuinniri (Quinnierie), or Connor*. The diocese of Connor was founded in the fifth century, by St. Ængus Mac Nissi, who became its first bishop and abbot. It comprehends almost the whole of the county of Antrim, with small portions of Down and Derry. It is composed of the following ancient bishopricks, Cuinniri, Airtbirmuigh (*Arhir-moy*), Cill-maidh (*Kill-roo*), Cuirraithen (*Cool-Rahen*), now Coleraine, Rechram and Rathsithe (*Rau-Sheehie*).—*Id.*

⁵⁹ *The Diocese of Ardagh*, founded by St. Mel, in the fifth century, whose bishops were also called bishops of Conmacni, from a district in Leitrim so denominated, comprehends, at present, nearly the whole of the county of Longford, and some parts of Westmeath, Roscommon, Leitrim, Sligo and Cavan.—*Id.*

⁶⁰ *Diocese of Raphoe*. Founded by St. Eunan, whom Lanigan considers to have been the same person as Adamnan, the celebrated abbot of Iona, in the seventh century, who was a native of Tyrcounell. This diocese comprehends the greater part of the county of Donegal.—*Id.*

⁶¹ *Rath Lugh*, otherwise Rathlure—See Derry.

⁶² *The Bishop of Dal-Mochair*. This see has not been identified by the editor.

Under the archbishop of Dublin⁶⁴ are the bishop of Glenda-

⁶⁵ *The Bishop of Derry.* A monastery was founded in the sixth century, by St. Columkille, at a place called *Doire Calgach*, that is the Oak Wood of Calgach, which St. Adamnanus, abbot of Iona, in the seventh century, in his *Life of St. Columkille*, translates *Ryboratum Colgachi*. It was also called *Doire Caluim Cille*, or the Oak Wood of St. Columkille, or anglicized to Derry Columkille, and gave its name to the city and county of Derry. This abbey was long famous as a seat of learning and religion, and its abbots were also styled bishops. In the twelfth century a regular bishop's see was formed at Derry, to which was afterwards annexed the see of Ardsrath, or Rathlure. A. D. 1164, Muiredach Mac Lochlainn, king of Ireland, erected a cathedral at Derry, which, together with the abbey and other ecclesiastical establishments, was destroyed by the English, under Sir Henry Mowbray, in the reign of Elizabeth. *The diocese of Derry* comprehends the greater part of the county of Londonderry, with nearly half of Tyrone, and a large portion of Donegal, and a very small portion of Antrim. To Derry has been united the ancient diocese of *Ardsratha* on the river Derg, now the parish of Ardstraw, in Tyrone, was an ancient bishop's see founded by St. Eugene, in the sixth century. Ardsrath afterwards got the name of Rathlurig, or Rathlure, from St. Lurie or Lurac, to whom its church was dedicated. The see of Ardsrath or Rathlure, at an early period, was transferred to Maghera, in the county of Derry, and afterwards annexed to Derry in the twelfth century. The bishops of these sees were styled bishops of Tir Eogain or Tyrone, or bishops of Kinel Eogain.—*Id.*

The following important see, not named by Keating, lies within the archiepiscopal province of Armagh, the ancient see of *Kdmore*, founded by St. Feidlimidh or Felim, in the sixth century. The bishops of Kilmore were in early times styled *Bishops of Brefney*, of *Hy-Briune Bref-*

ney, and sometimes of *Tir Briune*, a name latinized by Ware to *Triburna*. The diocese comprises almost the entire of the county of Cavan, with the greater part of Leitrim, a large portion of Fermanagh, and a small portion of Meath.—*Id.*

⁶⁴ *The Archbishop of Dublin.* St. Livinus is mentioned by Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, as the first bishop of Dublin, in the beginning of the seventh century; and he states, that having gone on a mission to preach the Gospel in Flanders, he suffered martyrdom there. In the eleventh century, from A. D. 1038 to 1084, Donatus and Patrick, both Ostmen, or Danes, were bishops of Dublin. These, and some other bishops and archbishops of Dublin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, received their consecration from the archbishops of Canterbury, and were in canonical obedience bound to the metropolitan see of England; but in A. D. 1162, Laurence O'Toole, the celebrated archbishop of Dublin, was consecrated by Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, and the custom ceased of the archbishops of Dublin going for consecration to Canterbury. Gregory, who was consecrated in A. D. 1121, was in A. D. 1152, the first who got the title of archbishop of Dublin, from Cardinal John Paparo, the Pope's legate at the council of Kells, those prelates being until the twelfth century only styled bishops of Dublin. The see of Ferns was in the seventh and eighth centuries the chief see of Leinster; but during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, Kildare was made the metropolitan see of that province; and hence the bishops of Ferns and of Kildare were in those times styled by the Irish writers bishops or archbishops of Leinster; but in the twelfth century, Dublin was constituted the metropolitan see of Leinster, and the bishops styled archbishops of Dublin, and sometimes archbishops of Leinster. And in the beginning of the thirteenth century, A. D. 1214, under Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, the

loch;⁶⁵ the bishop of Ferns;⁶⁶ the bishop of Ossory;⁶⁷ the bishop of Leighlin,⁶⁸ and the bishop of Kildare.⁶⁹

ancient see of Glendalough was united to Dublin; but the archbishops of Dublin being all English, their authority was not acknowledged by the Irish, who had for many centuries afterwards their own recognized bishops of Glendalough, and the union of the two sees was not peaceably and fully established until the latter end of the fifteenth century. From the twelfth to the eighteenth century remarkable contests and controversies were carried on between the archbishops or Armagh and of Dublin respecting the primacy, each of the archbishops claiming precedence; but the claims of Armagh to the primacy were finally conceded, the archbishops of Dublin being styled primates of Ireland, and the archbishops of Armagh primates of all Ireland. The ablest arguments on the subject, demonstrating the superior authority of Armagh, and its right to the primacy, are contained in the *Jus Armacanum*, published in 1728, a most learned work, written in Latin by Hugh Mac Mahon, Archbishop of Armagh. Another remarkable circumstance connected with the diocese of Dublin may be mentioned, namely, that from the eleventh century to the present time it contains two cathedrals, those of St. Patrick and Christ Church, of which it is said only another instance is to be found in any see, namely, at Saragossa, in Spain. *The United Dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough* comprises the greater part of the county of Dublin, together with a great part of Wicklow, and parts of Wexford, Kildare, and Queen's county. It contains within it, the following ancient sees: *At Cluan-Dolcain*, now Clondalkin, near Dublin, St. Cronan Muchua in the seventh century founded an abbey, which was of note for many centuries, and its abbots were styled bishops. *At Tamhlacht*, or Talaght, near Dublin, a monastery was founded about the sixth century, and St. Maolruan is mentioned as its first bishop in the eighth century. It was celebrated as a seat of learning and

religion, and its abbots down to the twelfth century were styled bishops. *At Finglas*, near Dublin, a monastery was founded in the sixth century by St. Cainneach, or Kenny, from whom Kilkenny derived its name, and the abbots of Finglas were to the eleventh century styled bishops. *At Swords*, near Dublin, an abbey was founded in the sixth century by St. Columkille, which was long celebrated, and its abbots were styled bishops down to the twelfth century. *At Lusk*, in the county of Dublin, an abbey was founded in the fifth century by St. Maculind, and he and his successors to the twelfth century were denominated abbots and bishops of Lusk. All the above-mentioned small sees were annexed to the see of Dublin, in the twelfth century.

⁶⁵ *The see of Glendaloch* was founded by St. Caoimgin, or Kevin, in the sixth century. The name in Irish is *Glendaloch*, signifying the valley of the two lakes, it being situated in a beautiful valley containing two lakes, and surrounded with magnificent mountains in the county of Wicklow. Glendalough has been called by Latin writers *Episcopatus Bistagniensis* or the Bishopric of the two Lakes; and by Pope Lucius III. it is mentioned as *Episcopatus Insularum*, or the Bishopric of the Isles. The diocese of Glendalough, in ancient times, comprised the county of Wicklow, and a great part of the county of Dublin. Glendalough, in the ancient times, was a celebrated seat of learning and religion, and contained a large city; but being repeatedly ravaged by the Danes, during the ninth and tenth centuries, and by the English in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it fell into complete decay; but its former greatness is sufficiently demonstrated by the extensive ruins of a cathedral and seven churches, a round tower, and other interesting antiquities, which still remain.

⁶⁶ *The Bishop of Ferns*. The See of Ferns was founded by St. Moeg, in the latter end of the sixth century. The

Under the archbishop of Cashel⁷⁰ are the bishop of Killaloe;⁷¹

name Moeg, in Irish Maodhog, is Latinized Maidocus, also Aedanus and Aidanus, and anglicized Moeg, or Maidoc, also Aidan or Edan; Giraldus Cambrensis says "Sanctus Aidanus qui et Hibernice Maidocus dicitur." The celebrated St. Moeg, or Aidan, was a native of that part of Brefny now called the county of Cavan, and founded there the abbey of Dromlane; he afterwards went to Britain, and studied some time under St. David, bishop of Menevia, in Wales, and on returning to Ireland, Brandubh, king of Leinster, granted him the territory about Ferns, where he founded the cathedral and see of Ferns, and died at an advanced age, on the 31st of January, A. D. 632. The see of Sletty was the chief see of Leinster, in the fifth and sixth centuries; but in the beginning of the seventh century, Ferns was made the metropolitan see of that province; hence the bishops were styled bishops of Leinster; and Ferns continued to be the chief see until the beginning of the ninth century, when Kildare was constituted the metropolitan see and continued so till the twelfth century, when Dublin was constituted archiepiscopal see of Leinster. In the Lives of St. Moeg, quoted by Colgan and Lanigan, it is stated that a great synod in Leinster, the king Brandubh, with the clergy and people, decreed that the archiepiscopal see of Leinster should be that of St. Moeg. Ferns, called in ancient times *Farna Maodhoig*, or Ferns of Moeg, became a great city, and was the chief residence of the kings of Leinster, but fell into decay from its repeated ravages by the Danes, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The diocese of Ferns comprises nearly the whole of the county of Wexford, with small portions of Wicklow and Queen's county.—*Id.*

⁷⁰ *The Bishop of Ossory.* The See of Ossory was first founded at Saiger, now the parish of Seir-Kieran, near Birr, in the King's county; and was so called from Kieran of Saiger, a celebrated saint who founded a church there in the beginning of the fifth cen-

tury, and who was called St. Kieran the elder, to distinguish him from Kieran of Clonmacnois, who lived at a later period. The see of Saiger was afterwards transferred to Achadbo (*Aghavo*), in the barony of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's county, where a celebrated monastery was founded by St. Canice, in the sixth century. The see of Aghaboe continued to be the seat of the diocese of Ossory, to near the end of the twelfth century, when it was removed to Kilkenny, and called the see of Ossory; and the bishops of Ossory were in early times styled bishops of Saiger, and sometimes bishops of Aghavoe. The diocese of Ossory comprehends almost the whole of the county of Kilkenny, with the barony of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's county; and the parish of Seir-Kieran, in King's county, being nearly co-extensive with the ancient principality of Ossory.—Clonenagh, in the Queen's county, had a celebrated monastery founded in the fifth century by St. Fintan, and its abbots were also styled bishops; it was annexed to the see of Leighlin.—*Id.*

⁷¹ *The Bishops of Leighlin.* The See of Leighlin. A monastery was founded here in the beginning of the seventh century by St. Gobban, and shortly after, St. Molaise, who was also called Laserian, made Leighlin a bishop's see. In A. D. 630, a great synod of bishops and clergy was held at Leighlin, to regulate the time for the celebration of Easter. The abbey of Leighlin became celebrated under St. Laserian; and it is stated that at one time it contained fifteen hundred monks. The Diocese of Leighlin comprises the whole of the county of Carlow, a considerable part of the Queen's county, with some portions of Kilkenny and Wicklow. *The See of Sletty.* A church was founded at a place called Sleibhti, by St. Fiech or Fiechus, a celebrated disciple of St. Patrick, in the fifth century. Sletty was situated in Hy Kinsellagh, near the river Barrow, about a mile from the present town of Carlow, on the borders of the Queen's county; it

the bishop of Limerick;⁷² the bishop of Innis-Cathaigh,⁷³ *i. e.* Innis-

gives name to a parish in that county, and the ruins of an ancient church still remain. St. Fiech made Sletty a bishop's see, and in the fifth and sixth centuries it was the chief see of Leinster, but was afterwards annexed to Leighlin—*Id.*

⁶⁹ *The Bishop of Kildare.* The monastery of St. Bridget was the first religious foundation at Kildare, and the place became celebrated as a seat of learning and religion; a great town or city grew up there, and an episcopal see was founded in it in the latter end of the fifth century, St. Conlaeth being appointed its first bishop; his successors were styled bishops and abbots of Kildare, and some of them designated bishops of Leinster. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, Kildare became the metropolitan see of Leinster. Kildare was long celebrated as a seat of learning and sanctity, but in the ninth and tenth centuries, from the repeated devastations of the Danes, the place fell to decay; and much more destructive were the wars of later times; but the magnificent ruins of the ancient cathedral, with a most beautiful round tower, and some fragments of splendid stone crosses which still remain, amply demonstrate its former greatness. At Kileullen in Kildare, an abbey was founded by St. Iserenus, in the fifth century, and its abbots were styled bishops down to the twelfth century, at which time it was annexed to the see of Kildare. The Diocese of Kildare comprises the greater part of the county of Kildare, with a great part of the King's county, and a considerable portion of the Queen's county.

⁷⁰ *The Archbishop of Cashel.* The Archbishops of Cashel were styled by the old Irish writers, bishops of *Leth Mogha*, and bishops of Munster. According to some accounts, St. Patrick founded the see and held a synod at Cashel, attended by Ailbe of Emyly, Declan of Ardmore and other saints. A. D. 1101, Murtogh O'Brien, king of Munster, according to the annals of Inisfallen, convened a great synod

or assembly of bishops, clergy, and nobility at Cashel, in which he assigned over to the see and its bishops that hitherto royal seat of the kings of Munster, which was dedicated to God, St. Patrick, and St. Ailbe; and, according to the same annals, in A. D. 1127, Cormac Mac Carthy erected a chapel there, called from him Teampull Chormaic or Cormac's chapel, which in the year 1134 was consecrated at a great synod of the bishops, clergy and nobility of Munster, held at Cashel for that purpose. A. D. 1169, Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond, erected a new church or cathedral at Cashel, which he amply endowed. There are still remaining on the rock of Cashel many interesting antiquities, as Cormac's chapel; a round tower and the magnificent ruins of the ancient cathedral. The Diocese of Cashel comprises the greater part of the county of Tipperary with small portions of Limerick and Kilkenny; and the archiepiscopal see of Cashel has jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical province of Munster.—*Id.*

⁷¹ *The Bishop of Killaloe.* The See of Killaloe, in Irish Cill-da-Lua, or the church of Lua, got its name from St. Lua, or Molua, who founded a church there in the sixth century. The name of Killaloe is latinized Laonia, and it became a bishop's see in the seventh century, the first bishop being St. Flannan, a disciple of St. Molua, who was consecrated at Rome by Pope John IV., A. D. 639. St. Flannan was the son of Torlogh, king of Munster, who endowed the see with extensive lands, and was interred in the cathedral. The abbey and see of Killaloe were amply endowed by the O'Briens, kings of Thomond, who erected the cathedral, in which many of them were interred. The ancient see of Roscrea, in the county of Tipperary, was in the twelfth century united to Killaloe. The bishops of Killaloe were sometimes styled bishops of Thomond. Birr had a celebrated abbey founded by St. Brendan, in the sixth century, and its abbots were styled bishops: it was annexed to the see of Kil-

Cahy; the bishop of Kilfemora;⁷⁴ the bishop of Emly;⁷⁵ the bishop of Roscrea;⁷⁶ the bishop of Waterford;⁷⁷ the bishop of Lismore,⁷⁸

laloë. The Diocese of Killaloe comprehends the greater part of the county of Clare, with a large portion of Tipperary, and parts of Limerick, King's and Queen's counties, and Galway. *Id.*

⁷² *The See of Limerick* was founded in the sixth century by St. Munchen, who became the first bishop. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, several of the bishops of Limerick were Danes, a colony of that people possessing the city at that period. In the twelfth century a new cathedral was erected by the O'Briens, kings of Thomond, who amply endowed the see. The Diocese of Limerick comprises the greater part of the county of Limerick, with a portion of Clare.—*Id.*

⁷³ *The bishop of Inniscathy*. The See of Inniscathy was founded in the fifth century by St. Patrick, and St. Senan, bishop and abbot of Inis-Cathy, is mentioned as his successor. Inis-Cathy is an island situated near the mouth of the Shannon, and its ancient monastery was a celebrated seat of religion in early times, and continued for many years a great place of pilgrimage. The ancient see comprised some adjoining districts in the counties of Limerick and Clare, and was annexed to the see of Limerick in the twelfth century.—*Id.*

⁷⁴ *The Bishop of Kilfenora*. The See of Kilfenora, according to Lanigan, (vol. ii. p. 197,) was founded by St. Fachna, or St. Fachman, and the bishops were also styled bishops of Penabore, and sometimes bishops of Corcomroe, all of which names were applied to this see. A celebrated Cistercian monastery was founded and endowed at Corcomroe, in the twelfth century, by Donal O'Brien, king of Limerick, and his son Donough Cairbreach O'Brien, prince of Thomond. The Diocese of Kilfenora comprises only the baronies of Burren and Corcomroe, in the county of Clare, being the smallest in Ireland. Kilfenora is called "Kill-Finnabharach" (*Kil-inncouragh*), in Gaelic.—*Id.*

⁷⁵ *The See of Emly* was founded in

the fifth century by the celebrated St. Ailbe, who was called the Patrick of Munster, and patron of that province. Emly was in ancient times a considerable city, and called "Imle.h Iul hair" (*Inlagh y-ar y ovar*), which signifies Emly of the Yew Trees, and sometimes Imleach Ailbe, or Emly of St. Ailbe. The bishops of Emly were sometimes styled bishops of Munster, as it was in early times the metropolitan see of that province. The see was united to Cashel in the sixteenth century, A. D. 1578. The diocese of Emly is but small, and comprises parts of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick.—*Id.*

⁷⁶ *Roscrea*, in Tipperary, was an ancient bishop's see, founded by St. Cronan, in the latter end of the sixth century, and was in early times annexed to Killaloe.

⁷⁷ *The Bishop of Waterford*. The See of Waterford was founded by the Danes of that city, in the latter end of the eleventh century; and Malchus, a Dane, who was a Benedictine monk of Winchester, was appointed its first bishop, A. D. 1096, and consecrated by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. The bishops of Waterford were styled by the old writers, bishops of *Port Laigne*, the ancient name of that city. The patron saint of the diocese is O'teran, or Odran.

⁷⁸ *The Bishop of Lismore*. The See of Lismore, in Waterford, was founded in the beginning of the seventh century by St. Carthach, who was also called Mochuda. The see of Ardmore having been annexed to Lismore in the twelfth century, both were annexed to the see of Waterford in the fourteenth century, A. D. 1363, by Pope Urban V. Lismore, from the fame of its university, became an extensive city, and had no less than twenty churches. The Diocese of Lismore comprises the greater part of the county of Waterford, and part of Tipperary; and the Diocese of Waterford comprises the city of Waterford, with a portion of the county.

the bishop of Cloyne;⁷⁹ the bishop of Cork;⁸⁰ the bishop of Ross;⁸¹ i. e. Ros-O'Carbri, and the bishop of Ardfert.⁸²

Under the archbishops of Tuam⁸³ are the bishops of Kill-mac

⁷⁹ *The Bishop of Cloyne.* The See of Cloyne was founded in the latter end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century by St. Colman, a disciple of St. Finbarr of Cork. Cloyne is called, in Irish, "Cluain-Uamha," (*Cloinn Oovv.*) signifying the retreat of the Cave. The Diocese of Cloyne comprises a third part of the county of Cork.—*Il.*

⁸⁰ *The Bishop of Cork.* "The see of Cork was founded by St. Barr, called, also, Fin-Barr, in the beginning of the 7th century. It comprises the city and a large portion of the county of Cork."—*Il.*

⁸¹ *The Bishop of Ross.* "The see of Ross was founded in the beginning of the 6th century by St. Fachnan (*Faghanan*). It was anciently called 'Ros alitri,' i. e. the Plain of Pilgrimage, but in modern times it is called Ross Carberry. Ross had formerly a college and a Benedictine monastery. It was celebrated as a seat of learning, and was attended by students from all parts of Ireland, and even from Britain. The diocese of Ross is very small. It is co-extensive with the ancient district of Corca-Luighe (*Luce*). It has been generally united to the see of Cloyne, but sometimes to that of Cork."—*Il.* (For a few years past the Catholic church of Ross has been governed by its own bishop; the State church is now united to that of Cork.)

⁸² *The Bishop of Ardfert.* The see of Ardfert was founded, according to some accounts, by St. Ert, or Ere, in the latter end of the 5th century, but Dr. Lanigan is of opinion that St. Brendan was its chief founder, in the 6th century; to him its cathedral is dedicated as patron saint of the diocese, which is sometimes called "Ardfert Brendain," to distinguish from another see of the same name. It was also called the arch-diocese of "Iar-mumhan," (*Eer Moon*), or West Munster. It is now sometimes called the diocese of Kerry. *Aghadoc*, an ancient bishop's see, situated round the abbey of

Innis-fallen, and lakes of Killarney, was in very early times annexed to Ardfert. This united diocese is very large, comprising all Kerry and a small portion of the county of Cork. The following were also distinguished sees in Munster. It is not out of place to put them down here. *Tir-da-glas*, now the parish of Terryglass, in the barony of Lower Ormond, county of Tipperary, had a celebrated monastery, founded by St. Columbia in the sixth century, and some of its abbots were styled bishops. This place was long eminent as a seat learning and religion, but was destroyed by the Danes in the tenth century." *The see of Ardmore*, in Waterford, was founded in the fifth century, by St. Declan, who was of the tribe of the Desies, (i. e. O'Faelans and O'Bries,) and who, having studied at Rome, became highly distinguished for learning and sanctity. Ardmore was united to Lismore in the latter end of the twelfth century."—*Il.*

⁸³ *The Archbishop of Tuam.* "The see of Tuam was founded in the beginning of the sixth century by St. Iarlath, or Jarlath. Tuam is mentioned by the Irish writers as Tuaim-da-ghualann. The ancient sees of Mayo, Cong, and Enachdune, were afterwards annexed to Tuam, and its bishops were often styled bishops of Connaught. The diocese of Tuam comprises the greater part of the county of Galway, and about one-third of Mayo, with a large portion of Roscommon. The suffragan sees under the archbishopric of Tuam are those of Achonry, Killala, Elphin, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, Kilfenora, and Galway."—*Il.*

⁸⁴ *The Bishop of Kilmacduagh.* The See of Kilmacduagh. A monastery was founded in the present barony of Kiltartan, county of Galway, in the seventh century, by St. Colman, the son of Duach; hence it was called *Cil Mac Duach*, signifying the church of the son of Duach, which became a bishop's see and gave its name to the diocese. The bishops of Kilmacduagh in ancient

Duach,⁸⁴ the bishop of Mayo,⁸⁵ the bishop of Enach-Duin,⁸⁶ the bishop of Kill-iarthar,⁸⁷ the bishop of Roscommon,⁸⁸ the bishop of Clonfert,⁸⁹ the bishop of Achonry,⁹⁰ the bishop of Killalla, the bishop of Kill-Monuach, the bishop of Conaninn,⁹¹ the bishop of Elphin.⁹²

times were often styled bishops of *Ui Fiachra Aidhme*, which was the ancient name of their episcopal district.

⁸⁴ *The Bishop of Mayo.* A monastery was founded at Mayo in the seventh century by St. Colman, an Irishman, who had been bishop of Lindisfarne, in Northumberland; but, leaving England, returned to his own county and founded this monastery, chiefly for the use of English monks, whom he had brought over with him. A college also was founded here, which was long famous as a seat of learning; being founded chiefly for the use of the Saxons, it was called Magh-co-na-Saxon (*Moyona Saxon*), or Mayo of the Saxons. Some say that Alfred, king of Northumberland in the seventh century, had been educated at Mayo; by other accounts, it would appear that Alfred the Great had also been educated there. Mayo became a bishop's see. It was annexed to Tuam in the sixteenth century.—*Id.*

⁸⁵ *The Bishop of Enach-Duin.* Enach-Duin is now the parish of Annadown, in the county of Galway. St. Brendan died here A. D. 676, and was buried at Clonfert-Brendain. "Enach-Duin" means the marsh of the Dun (*Doon*). It is situated on the east bank of Loch Corrib, in the barony of Clare.—*Id.*

⁸⁷ *The Bishop of Kill-iarthar*, i. e. the western church, not identified by the editor.

⁸⁸ *The Bishop of Roscommon.* "St. Coman founded an abbey in the sixth century, which was called from him Ros-Comain. It afterwards became a bishop's see, but was united at an early period to the see of Elphin."—*Id.*

⁸⁹ *The Bishop of Clonfert.* "The see of Clonfert. A monastery was founded at Clonfert, in the present barony of Longford, county of Galway, by St. Brennan, or St. Brendan, in the sixth century, and it became a bishop's see, and was long celebrated as a seat

of learning and religion. The diocese of Clonfert comprises a considerable part of the county of Galway, with part of Roscommon, and a small portion of the King's county."—*Id.*

⁹⁰ *The Bishop of Achonry, or Achad-Courri.*—"The see of Achonry was founded in the sixth century, by St. Finian, bishop of Clonard in Meath, who placed over it his disciple St. Nathi. The bishops of Achonry were styled also bishops of Laigni (*Lueenie*), which was the old name of the territory in which that see was situated. This diocese comprehends a large portion of the county of Sligo, with a considerable portion of Mayo."—*Id.*

⁹¹ *The Bishop of Killalla, Cill Aidhe, or Cill Ellaidh.*—"The see of Killalla was founded by St. Patrick in the fifth century. Its bishops are sometimes styled bishops of 'Tir Anahlgaidh' (*Teer Awlee*), or Tirawley, and sometimes of 'Tir Fiachra' or Hy Fiachra Muaidhe (*Mocee*), to distinguish it from Kilmacduach, which was also called the see of Hy Fiachra Aidhni (*Eynie*). The diocese of Killalla comprehends a great part of the county of Sligo, and some portion of Sligo."—*Id.*

These sees have not been identified by the editor.

⁹² *The Bishop of Elphin or Elin-Finn.*—"The see of Elphin. A church was founded at Elphin, Roscommon, by St. Patrick, in the fifth century, who placed over it St. Asicus, one of his disciples, and made it a bishop's see. The bishops of Elphin in ancient times are sometimes styled bishops of East Connaught. The diocese of Elphin comprises the greater part of the county of Roscommon, with considerable portions of the counties of Sligo and Galway."—*Id.*

To the above may be added the modern see of Galway.

"The diocese of Galway, which comprises the city of Galway and some

According to Camden, it was in the year of our Lord 1152 that the four archbishops were appointed in Ireland.

I have enumerated above many bishops that do not now exist, and for whom there are no sees, they having been abolished or united under one bishop; thus Lismore and Waterford are under one bishop, so also are Cork and Cloyne under one bishop, and many others in like manner.

SECTION III.—OF THE SITUATION OF IRELAND.

Ireland is situated thus: Spain lies to the south of it, France to the south-east, Great Britain to the east, Scotland to the north-east, and the Atlantic Ocean to the north-east and east. According to Maginus, in his notes on Ptolemy, its form approaches that of an egg: its breadth is four degrees and a half of the zodiac or solar circle. The same writer tells us that the longest day in the most southern part of this country is sixteen hours and three-quarters, and in the most northern part, the longest day is eighteen hours. The length of Ireland is computed from Carn-O-Neid to Cloch-an-Stacan, and its breadth from Inber-Mor to Irrus-Domnan.

The reader must understand that it is not through neglect that I here omit speaking of the number of counties, cities or towns in Ireland, but because Camden and the chronicles of later English have given a full account of them; neither is this a proper place for speaking of them, until we come to treat of the invasion of the island by those strangers by whom they were arranged.

adjoining districts, anciently formed part of the diocese of Enachdune, but was afterwards presided over by an ecclesiastic who had episcopal authority, and was elected by the tribes under the title of warden. The wardenship was instituted in the fifteenth century, in A. D. 1484, by Pope Innocent VIII.; and the wardens of Galway continued till the year 1831, the first year of the pontificate of Gregory XVI., who abolished the wardenship and erected it into a bishop's see."—*Id.*

Ardcarne, in the barony of Boyle,

and county of Roscommon, was also a bishop's seat in ancient times. An abbey was founded here in the sixth century by St. Beoidh or Beoy, and it became a bishop's see, which was also at an early period annexed to the see of Elphin. *Drumcliff*, in Sligo, was also the seat of a bishop. "A monastery was founded here by St. Columkille, in the sixth century, and was long famous as a seat of learning and religion. It became a bishop's see, its abbots having received the episcopal dignity."—*Id.*

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE CREATION OF OUR FIRST FATHER, ADAM.

FIRST of all, Adam was created on the sixth day of the world's age. In the fifteenth year of Adam's age, Cain and his sister Calmana were born. In the thirtieth year of Adam's age, Abel and his sister Delbora were born. And when Adam had lived an hundred and thirty years he begat Seth, according to the Hebrew computation, as we read in the Polychronicon.

THE GENEALOGY OF NOAH TO ADAM.

Noah was the son of Lamech, son of Mathusalem, son of Enoch, son of Jareth, son of Malaleel, son of Cainan, son of Enos, son of Seth, son of Adam. All those that survived the deluge were descended from Seth, for the whole race of Cain was drowned beneath the Flood. The length of time from Adam to the Flood was, according to the Hebrews, 1656 years, whereupon the bard has left us the following distich :

“The first period of pleasing life,
From Adam to the deluge,
Was six years and fifty clearly told
Above six hundred and a thousand.”

Another antiquary thus agrees with the same computation :

“Six years and fifty and six hundred, as I count it,
And one thousand, I reckon from Adam to the Flood.”

A third records the fact in these terms :

“There were sixteen centuries in full
Added to fifty years and six
(What I recount I know without error)
From the world's beginning to the flood.”

Here follow the ages of all the men from whom Noah sprung, in the direct line. Adam lived 930 years, Seth 912, Enos 905, Cainan 910, Malaleel 895, Jareth 962, Enoch 365, Mathusalem 969, Lamech 777, Noah 950.

When God saw that the posterity of Seth had transgressed his will (for he had commanded to make no alliances or marriages with the race of the impious Cain, and they observed not that command), he sent the Deluge to drown all mankind, except Noah and his wife, Cova, and his three sons, Shem, Cham, and Japhet, and their three wives, Olla, Olliva, and Ollivana, because Noah had not mixed with the seed of Cain, and was a righteous man.

When the Deluge had dried from off the earth, Noah apportioned the three divisions of the world between his three sons, as the poet says :

“ In Asia Shem fixed his seat,
Cham and his children dwelt in Afric,
The noble Japhet and his sons
Were they that dwelt in Europe.”

Shem had seven-and-twenty sons, amongst whom were Arphaxad, Ashur and Persius, and from his seed came the Hebrews. Cham had thirty sons; of them were Cush and Canaan. Japhet had sixteen, amongst whom were Gomer and Magog, as the bard records :

“ Thirty sons of famous deeds
Sprang from Cham Mac Noah,
Seven-and-twenty sprang from Shem
And fifteen from Japhet.”

Many of the nations of northern Asia are sprung from Japhet, and from him are descended all the inhabitants of Europe.

The Scythians are of the race of Magog son of Japhet, and especially those nations that colonized Ireland after the Flood, previous to the sons of Miledh, as I shall hereafter show.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BEFORE THE FLOOD.¹

First Legend.

SOME of our Shenachies say that three daughters of the wicked Cain were the first that dwelt in Ireland. In testimony of this,

¹ The stories of the invasions of Ireland before the Flood, are, possibly, remnants of Druidic Mythology, adapted to suit their own ideas of Revealed History, by our converted antiquaries, when the Pagan traditions of Ireland were subjected to expurgation, as we shall see hereafter. They may also be pure inventions of later times. But, as we, at present, know almost nothing of the amount

we have the following "rann," or distich, which occurs in the poem which begins, "I found in the Psalter of Cashel," &c.

"Three fair daughters of Cain,
With Seth the son of Adam,
Were they that first saw Banba;
I here recount their adventure."

The Book of Drom-Snechta² tells us that Banba was the name of the first of these women, who took possession of Ireland before the Flood, and that it is from her the island has received its name of Banba. There came over in all fifty women and three men. One of these men was named Ladra, and from him Ard-Ladran³ has its name. These people lived forty years in the country, until a plague came upon them, whereupon they all died in one week. From that time, Ireland remained without a single human being to inhabit it, until the Deluge came.

Second Legend.

Others will have it that Ireland was first discovered by three fishermen, who had been driven thither by a storm, from off the coast of Spain. Being pleased with the island, these men went home for their wives, but, on their return to their discovered land, the Deluge came upon them at Tuath-Inber,⁴ and they were all drowned. Their names, as handed down by a poet in the following *rann*, were Capa, Laighni (*Loinié*), and Luasad.

"Capa, Laighni and generous Luasad
Came hither one year before the flood;
Of the Island of Banba of fair women
With hardihood they took possession."

Third Legend.

Another account will have that Kesair (*Cassir*), daughter of Bith⁵ (*Bih*), a son of Noah, was the person that arrived in Ire-

of knowledge anciently possessed by the nations called Celtic, except through Irish tradition, it would be just as rash to scout these and similar tales altogether, as forgeries of the Christian bards, as it would be to build any theory upon them. Until all the documents and tales that relate to Pagan Ireland be published, and critically annotated, it will be impossible to form any decided opinion with regard to them.

² *Drom-Snechta*, i. e. Snowy Hill.

³ *Ard-Ladran*, i. e. the Height of

Ladra or Ladhra (*Lara*, and *Loira*), is supposed to be Ardamine, on the east coast of the county of Wexford, where a curious moat still exists: see *O'Donovan's note*, p. 3, *Annals of the Four Masters*.

⁴ *Tuath-Inber*, (*Thooih-inver*), i. e. North Harbor. The editor has not been able to fix its position.

⁵ *Bith*, gen. *Betha*, means life, i. e. modern Gaelic. This name occurs several times in our primeval legends.

land before the Flood. Upon this event, a poet has sung the following *rann*.

“ Kesair, daughter of Bith the long-lived,
 Fosterling of Saball, son of Ninuall,⁶
 Was the first brave woman that steered
 To the Isle of Banba before the Deluge.”

If it be desirable to know, what brought her to Ireland, the following was the reason of her coming:—Bith had sent to Noah to demand a place in the Ark for himself and his daughter Kesair, in order that they might be saved from the Deluge, but Noah denied him his request. Upon this Bith, Ladra, Fintann and Kesair took counsel together as to the measures they should adopt; “Take ye my advice,” said Kesair, “We shall,” said they; “Then make ye application to an idol⁷ and forsake the God of Noah.” Upon this, they betook themselves to an idol, who advised them to build a ship, but he could not tell them the time, at which the Deluge was to come on. They then fitted out a ship and put to sea. The persons that went on board were Bith, Ladra, Fintann, Kesair, Barran and Balba, (*Balva*). They were at sea for seven years and a quarter, at the end of which time they put into harbor at Dun-nam-bare, in the territory of Corca-Duibni,⁸ on the fifteenth day of the moon, as the bard recounts.

“ And where they made their landing
 Was at Dun-nam-bare,—that female band—
 At Cul-Kesrach⁹ in the district of Carn,
 On the fifteenth, on the day of Satharn.¹⁰”

Kesair landed in Ireland forty days before the deluge, as the bard thus sings—

“ Twice twenty days before the Flood,
 Came Kesair into Eri,
 With Fintann, Bith, and Ladra, from the sea,
 And fifty beauteous damsels.”

⁶ Ninuall. We shall see this name occurring again, when we come to treat of the early genealogy of the Gaels.

⁷ In the original, Laimh-Dhia, *pr. laiv-yea*, i. e. a hand-god or god made with hands.

⁸ Dr. O'Donovan thinks that Corca-Duibni is an error of the transcriber for Corca-Luighe, and that the place here meant is Dunamark, in the parish of Kilcomoge, barony of Bantry, and county of Cork: see note p. 3, *Annals*

of the Four Masters. Corca-Duibni is now called Corcaguiny, a barony in the county of Kerry. Corca-Luighe (*Looce*) comprised the west of the county of Cork.

⁹ *Cul-Chesrach*, i. e. the hill or ridge of Cesair or Kesair. O'Flaherty imagines this to be a Coolcasragh, that lies near Knockmea, in the county of Clare.

¹⁰ *Dia Sathairn*, (*Dea Sahirn*,) i. e., the day of Saturn, is the Irish name of Saturday.

Another bard agrees with the above, in the following *rann*—

“ Kesair came from the East,
Daughter of Bith was she,
With her fifty damsels
And with her three men.”

Ard-Ladran is called after Ladra. He was the first man that died in Ireland, according to those who say that no people dwelt in Ireland before the Flood, but Kesair and those that came with her. Sliabh-Betha¹² is called after Bith; and, from Fintann¹³ is called Fert-Fintainn in Tipperary, near Loch-Deirg-Deire.¹⁴ From Kesair is called Carn Kesrach¹⁵ in Connacht. From Dunnam-bare they proceeded to the Meeting of the Three Waters, where the Siuir,¹⁶ Feoir,¹⁷ and Berba¹⁸ join their streams. There they divided the fifty damsels between them. Fintann took Kesair and seventeen women for his share; Bith took Barran and seventeen more, and Ladra took Balba with sixteen others, and brought them with him to Ard-Ladran, where he died. Upon this Balba and her sixteen women returned to Kesair, who informed Bith of the matter, whereupon Bith came to Fintann, and they again divided the sixteen women in equal portions between them. Bith took his own share to Sliabh-Betha and there he shortly died. Bith's women then came to Fintann, but the latter, however, fled before them out of Leinster. Upon this Kesair, with the whole band of the women, retired to Cuil-Kesrach, in Connaught, and she broke her heart through grief for the flight of her husband and the deaths of her father and brother. This happened but six days before the Deluge. As a record of this, the bard has left us the following *rann*—

“ And such, when their hour was full,
Were their deaths after their wanderings—
There was but one single week
Thence unto the forty days.”

The reader must observe that I do not give down this occupation or invasion by Kesair, as true history, nor do I so give down either of the other occupations, spoken of above. I have recounted them here, merely because I found them mentioned in

¹¹ Literally “the first dead man of Eri.”

¹² *Sliabh Betha*. It is now called Slieve-Beagh, and lies on the confines of Leitrim and Fermanagh.—O'D.

¹³ i. e., *Fintann's grave*. It lies near Loch Derg, an expansion of the Shannon between Killaloe and Portumna.

¹⁴ Now “*Lough Derg*.”

¹⁵ i. e. *The Carn of Cesar or Kesair*. The *Leabhar Gabhala (Leour Gavaula)* of the O'Cleries places this upon the banks of the river Boyle.

¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ Pronounced *S'hoir, Feore, and Berba* or *Barroo*. These rivers are now called the Suir, Nore and Barrow. They meet a little below Waterford.

ancient books; and, moreover, I cannot conceive how our antiquaries could have obtained those accounts of persons that arrived in Ireland before the Flood, if it were not from those aerial demons who were their fairy followers¹⁹ in Pagan times, or, unless they had found them engraved²⁰ upon some rocks, that remained after the Flood had subsided. For, it is not to be asserted that the Fintann or Fintan²¹ who lived after the Flood was the same person that lived before it, because to say so would be contradictory to the Scriptures, which tell us that all mankind perished in the Deluge, with the exception of the eight persons who were saved in the Ark; and among these we know that Fintann was not. The evidence, then, of those antiquaries who maintain that Fintann lived through the Deluge, is false. These writers say that four persons remained alive, during that time, at the four opposite points of the world, namely, Fintann, Feron,²² Fors²³ and Andòid.²⁴ It must, however, be observed, that this opinion is not entertained by our best historians. For which reason, a certain author has inserted the following lay in our history, in order to show that it does not accord with the truth of revealed faith to say that either Fintann or any of the other three just mentioned, could have lived after the pouring forth of the Flood.

“The names of the four who practiced justice,
And whom God saved beneath the Flood,
Are Fintann, Feron, Fors, the mild and just,
And Andòid, son of Ethòr.

¹⁹ *Fairy Followers.* In the original “*Lenanaibh Sidhe.*” The Lenan Sidhe (*Lenanm Shee*) was a species of supernatural being, supposed to be attached to the ancient Celtic chieftains, and to other distinguished characters of Irish story. Many of the Irish warriors were fabled to have had lovers amongst the fair daughters of this aerial race. The modern Benshee, still supposed to be attached to certain old Irish families of noble origin, is a remnant of this wild and poetic superstition. The aerial mistress of some warrior, long gone beyond her solicitude, continues to renew the dirge of her departed lover, at the approaching deaths of his descendants.

²⁰ This opinion had been first surmised by Giraldus Cambrensis.

²¹ Dr. O'Donovan gives the following note upon Fintan, in his translation of the Annals of the Four Masters, vol. 1. “According to a wild legend preserved

in the *Leabhar-na-h-Uidhri*, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, this Fintan survived the Deluge, and lived till the reign of Dermot, son of Fergus Ceirbheoil, having, during this period, undergone various transmigrations; from which O'Flaherty infers that the Irish held the doctrine of Metempsychosis.” This Fintan is still remembered in the traditions of the country as the Methusalem of Ireland; and it is believed in Connaught that he was a saint, and that he was buried at a locality called Kilfintany, in the south of the parish of Kilcommon, barony of Errisand, county of Mayo. Dr. Hanmer asserts that the fable gave rise to a proverb common in Ireland in his own time, “*If I had lived Fintan's years I could say much.*”

²² ²³ ²⁴ *Feron, Fors, Andòid.* Of those personages, the editor has found no further information than is given above.

Fors he set apart in the Eastern clime,
 Feron was preserved in the cold North,
 Fintann lay safe near the setting sun,
 And Andoid in the South.
 Though Shenachies count up these,
 Yet the sacred Canons hold that none,
 Bat Noah and his sons, with him in the ark,
 And the wives of these, got safety for their lives."

Hence, we are not to infer that either Fintann, or the other three we have named, lived through the Deluge and after it. Yet if any historian, in support of these falsehoods, should assert that Fintann and those others were really drowned in the Deluge, but that God restored him to life again, in order to preserve the history and the experiences of these ancients, not only to the time of St. Patrick, but to that of St. Finnèn²⁵ of Magh-Bili,²⁶ I cannot conceive how an event so miraculous could be unknown to all Europe; for, in the time of Finnèn, and often since, numbers of distinguished divines and philosophers, and other learned persons, were continually going to the most famous countries of Europe to instruct both the clergy and the people, and to teach in the universities. It is absurd, then, to suppose that none of their disciples would have left us any notice or mention of Fintann, when we have still extant so many of their writings upon other subjects. Besides, I do not find mention of this Fintann in any of the Chief Books, whose authority is undoubted; hence, I conclude that the whole story of his surviving the Deluge is but a romantic fiction.

I do not, however, insist that there might not have existed, at the time of St. Patrick's coming into Ireland, some very old and venerable man, who had lived through many centuries before that time, and that this man gave that apostle an account both of everything he remembered himself, and of all the traditions

²⁵ *Finnèn*. The name of this saint is otherwise written Findian, Finnian, Finnia and Findianus. "He was son of Fintan son of Finloch of the Clanna Radraighe (or Irians) of Ulster. He was a philosopher and an eminent divine, who first founded the college of Clonard in Meath, near the Boyne, where there were one hundred bishops, and where, with great care and labor, he instructed many celebrated saints, among whom were the two Kiarans, the two Brendans, the two Columbs, viz., Columbkille and Colum Mac Crimthainn, Lasserian, the son of Nadfraech, Canice, Mobheus Rodanus, and many others not here enumerated. His school was in quality a

holy city, full of wisdom and virtue. According to the writer of his life, he obtained the name of Finnèn the Wise. He died on the 12th of December, in A.D. 552, or according to others in 563, and was buried in his own church at Clonard." Thus Dr. O'Donovan states in his Notes on the Four Masters, and adds that St. Finnèn's festival is set down at the 12th of December, in the O'Cleries' Calendar and in the "Feiliri" or Festiolog of Aengus.

²⁶ *Magh-Bili* (*Moy-Villi*) now Mowille. This church stood a short way from the head of Strangford Lough, about a mile north-east from Newtownards.

he had received from his ancestors concerning the past ages. I do think, that there was some such kind of personage in those times, and that it is he that is called Tuan,²⁷ son of Carell, by some historic writers, and, according to others, Roanus, i. e. Caeilti, son of Ronan, who had lived more than three hundred years, and who related many ancient traditions to St. Patrick. Now, it is this Caeilti that should properly be styled Roanus or Ronanus; for we do not find in any book on Irish history, that Fintann was ever called by either of these names. Nevertheless, Cambrensis calls him Roanus, along with all the other misrepresentations contained in his lying history. As this author wrote the name *Roanus* in his Chronicle, in place of *Ronanus*, so every English writer, who has treated of Ireland since his time, has written Roanus as one of the names of Fintann, in imitation of Cambrensis. As these men have had no authority for their false histories of Ireland, other than Cambrensis, they have looked upon the man as the guide-bull of their herd, and followed blindly in his track ever since. It is also more reasonable to consider, that Caeilti was the person called Ronanus, because some old authors enumerate amongst the writings of St. Patrick a work entitled "*Historia Hiberniæ ex Roano sive Ronano*," i. e. "A History of Ireland from Roanus or Ronanus." We know that it is the surname of the author that is usually prefixed to a work, as is evident to every person that is in the habit of reading books.

It is not true of Hanmer to assert in his Chronicle, that the Irish hold these stories of Fintann, whom he also calls Roanus, in high estimation—those tales which say that this person had been submerged beneath the Flood, and that he lived after it for more than two thousand years—that he at length met with St. Patrick, from whom he received baptism, and to whom he revealed many ancient events—that he died about one year after the saint's arrival, and that he was buried in Loch-Ribh (*Lough-Ree*), in Ormond, where, he says, there is a church dedicated to him by his own name; and, he finally asserts, that his name is to be found amongst those of the Irish saints. But it is evident to us, that no historian ever spoke of, much less committed to writing, any such story as what Hanmer recounts; for he confounds the traditions related of three distinct persons in this narration of his, namely, of Fintann, called Roanus by Cambrensis; of Caeilti²⁸

²⁷ *Tuan* was fabled to have been once the nephew of Parthoian by his brother Starn, and, having gone through various metamorphoses, to have been again restored to the human form, in the guise of the son of Carell, king of Uladh, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century. Tuan, son of Carell, was

evidently some holy and venerable sage, and some hold him to have been a saint, and to have been buried at Tamhlaet, a parish church in the district of Moghdorn or Mourne, and county of Down, where his name was long held in veneration.

²⁸ *Caeilti*. This was the foster-son and favorite of the famous Irish warrior, Finn

Mac Ronain, who was baptized by St. Patrick, and who told the saint many traditions; and of St. Ruadan,²⁹ (now pronounced Ruan,) to whom was dedicated the church of Lothra (*Lohra*), near Loch-Derg-Dere, or Lough-Derg, and not near Loch-Ribh, as Hanmer states. But I shall lose no more time in tracing up the falsehoods of Hanmer, or of his authorities. Finally, I am convinced that it was by mistake that Cambrensis wrote the word Roanus, rather than Ronanus or Ronan; and that thus the word has remained without correction by his followers down to the present day.

Mac Comhal, whom MacPherson calls Fingal. Some poems exist purporting to be dialogues between Caeilti and St. Patrick, in which are given many curious anecdotes of the ancient state of the country, its inhabitants and their social habits. Of this character, also, are the celebrated poems of Oisín or Ossian, the son of Finn, and friend of Caeilti, so distorted by MacPherson. The battle of Gabra or Gaura, where the Fenians were nearly all slain, was fought about A.D. 296, at which time both Oisín and Caeilti must have been very old men.—O'D.

O'Halloran says, in his history, that it is recorded in the *Psalter of Cashel*, that the druid Modarúith, lord of the territory of Fernaighe Feni, now the baronies of Fermoy and Condons, in the county of Cork, boasted to Fiacadh Mullethan, king of Ieth-Mogha, A.D. 260, that he remembered the reigns of nineteen kings of Ireland.

The occurrence of such exaggerations, as those here noticed by the honest Dr. Keating, and other similar and less poetic ones, with which he afterwards, with too rigid and indiscriminate regard for what he found in the writings of the Shenachies, should not

induce a thinking mind to reject the more ancient Irish tradition as fabulous in the main facts it hands down. Our ancient history would, in truth, have a much more suspicious appearance without them. They are, perhaps, remnants of the early superstitions of the heathen ancestors of the Irish nation, modified so as to be less repugnant to the traditions of Christianity.

²⁹ *St. Ruadan*, of Lothair (*Lohir*) or Ruadhan Lothra. This was the St. Ruadhan who laid the famous curse upon Tara in the reign of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeól, or Dermot, son of Carroll. After Diarmaid, who died A.D. 565, there reigned no king at Tara. A bard has recorded the circumstance in a rann, of which the following is a translation:—

“From the reign of brown Diarmald,
Son of Fergus, son of Kerbeól,
From Ruadan's judgment on his house,
There reigned no king in Temhair.”

St. Ruadan was abbot of Lohra, in the barony of Ormond and county of Tipperary. From these and similar tales, some antiquarians have asserted that the Druids believed in the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.—OF THE FIRST COLONIZATION¹ OF IRELAND AFTER THE DELUGE.

THE first possession taken of Ireland after the Deluge, as given by some of our antiquarians, and as we read it in the *duan* or poem that begins thus, "I found in the Psalter of Cashel," I do not consider worthy of the name of a colonization, because no stay was made in the island. The poem recounts the fact as follows:

"Adna, son of Bith² the wise,
A warrior sent by Nin MacPèil,³
First came our Èri to explore
And pull⁴ the grass of Fìdh-Inis.

Some of this grass he bore away,
And homeward went to tell his tale.
This was the conquest, full, complete,
Of shortest spell that Èri knew."

This messenger is said to have landed in Ireland about one hundred and fifty years after the Flood; but as he made no stay in the country, I do not deem that his expedition ought to be considered an invasion or occupation. Therefore, I am of opinion

¹ The Gaelic word "Gabhail" (*ga-vauil*), literally means a *taking possession of* or *seizing*; hence it comes to signify a conquest, &c.

² *Kesair's* father was also called Bith.

³ i. e. Ninus, son of Belus. Belus, by some supposed to be the same as Nimrod, was the founder of the Assyrian empire (the first empire known), about 2233 years before Christ, and immediately after the dispersion of mankind from before Babel, which took place about 114 years after the Deluge. Ninus extended his empire over the whole of Western Asia, and, perhaps, over a great part of Europe. He was

the husband of the famous heroine queen Semiramis, who succeeded him on the throne, and continued his conquests. The empire founded by Belus flourished for over a thousand years. The pagan Irish worshipped the sun under the name of Bèl or Belus. Hence comes *Bèltaini*, interpreted *Teini Bhèil*, or Bel's fire, the Irish name of the month of May. Belus was also worshipped as a god by the Phœnicians, Babylonians, Greeks, &c.

⁴ The custom of pulling a tuft of grass, or carrying away a portion of the soil, is still one of the usages observed in taking possession of lands and tenements in Ireland.

that the invasion by Partholan, may be more appropriately termed the first colonization after the Deluge.

SECTION II.—THE INVASION OF PARTHOLAN⁵ HERE. A. M. 1978.

Ireland remained desert for three hundred years after the Flood, when Partholan, son of Sera, son of Sru, son of Esru, son of Framant, son of Fathacta, son of Magog, son of Japhet, came and took possession of it, as a bard has handed down :

“ After the Flood three hundred years,
(A tale most true I tell you)
All virgin Eri desert lay,
Till came the noble Partholan.”

From this reckoning, I think it was in the two-and-twentieth year before the birth of Abraham, that Partholan arrived in Ireland; that is, in the year of the world 1978, as a bard again tells us in the following verse :

“ There were eight-and-seventy, clearly told,
One thousand and nine hundred years,
From the days of Adam, virtuous and fair,
To the birth of Abraham, our father.”

It is impossible that the opinion of those who say, that Partholan landed in Ireland, one thousand years after the Deluge, can be correct, while they allow that he arrived in the island in the time of Abraham; and, when we find that Abraham was but the eighth in descent from Shem, son of Noah, counting Shem himself amongst the number. For it is very improbable, that there should have been no more than seven generations, in more than a thousand years after the Deluge: hence, I deem the first opinion truer than the latter. For which reason, we may conclude that the time of Partholan's arrival was about three hundred years after the Deluge.⁶

We find that Partholan had set out from Migdonia,⁷ or the

⁵ The modern Irish pronounce this name *Pawrholone*.

⁶ Keating, in his chronology, follows the Hebrew computation, which makes but 1656 years to have elapsed from the Creation to the Flood. In this he follows the annals of Clonmacnoise, and several Irish historical poems. The Annals of the Four Masters, taking the Deluge to have happened A.M. 2242, make A.M. 2520 the date of

Partholan's invasion, or 278 years after the Flood.

⁷ *Migdonia* was a maritime country of ancient Macedonia, now part of Turkey in Europe. It is not easy to tell what country is here concealed under this Latinized form of *Graig Medhónach* (*Graig Mayónagh*). It may simply mean “central,” or “middle Greece,” or it may mean “Mæonian Greece.” It is not now easy even to tell the exact

Middle of Greece, steering his course through the Mediterranean Sea;⁸ that he sailed towards Sicily, and then, having left Spain upon his right, that he at length reached Ireland. He had been two months and a half on sea before he got into port at Inber-Skèni,⁹ in the west of Munster, on the fourteenth day of the month of May, as the bard records:

“On the fourteenth day, on the day of Mars,¹⁰
 Their gallant ships they safely moored
 In the clear blue waves of our fair land,
 In the harbor of Skèni of brightest shields.”

The crew, that landed with Partholan in Ireland, was composed of his wife, Delgnaid, and his three sons, Rudraide, Slangi, and Laiglinni, with the wives¹¹ of the latter; and these were accompanied by one thousand warriors. It is so that Nennius relates the event, and thus we read it in the Psalter of Cashel.

The place where Partholan fixed his dwelling, was at Inis-Saimer,¹² near Erni, a place which was so called from Saimer, the name of a hound that belonged to Partholan, who killed it in a fit of jealousy towards his wife Delgnaid, who had been guilty of an illicit intrigue with one of her own slaves, whose name was Todga. When Partholan had rebuked her for this evil deed, the lady, instead of striving to appease him, insisted that her angry lord deserved more blame himself for the disgraceful act than she did. “Think you, Partholan,” said she, “that one may leave honey near a woman, or sweet milk near a child, or food near a generous man, or fleshmeat near a cat, or tools and instruments near a mechanic, or man and woman in a desert place, and that they will each keep clear of the other?” Here follow the words of the lay that records the fact:

“Choice honey near a woman leave; leave sweet milk near a boy;
 To generous heart leave food in trust; trust flesh meat to a cat;
 Shut up the cunning artisan in shop with store of tools;
 Or leave a young pair all alone, and deem you run no risks.”

countries, the Gaels vaguely comprehended under the term *Greig*. Partholan was possibly of the race of those early colonizers, whom the West of Asia sent forth in the heroic ages, and who, perhaps, first disseminated letters, and commerce, and agriculture throughout southern Europe. The country here meant was most likely the ancient “Mœonia,” otherwise “Lydia,” in Asia Minor.

⁸ In Gaelic, *Muir Toirrian*, which some translate the “Tyrrhenian” or Tuscan Sea, i. e. Mare Tyrrhenum.

The Tuscans or Etrurians were styled “Mœonide,” i. e. Mœonians.

⁹ *The inver* or estuary of s-kèni, now the bay of Kenmare, al. Inbher Scèine, (*Inver-Scainie*).

¹⁰ *The Day of Mars*, in Irish, “*Dia Mairt*,” is our vernacular name for Tuesday.

¹¹ The wives of Partholan’s three sons here named, were Nerba, Kichba and Kerbnad, al. Nerbha, Cicchbha and Cerbnad.

¹² *Inis Saimer*, is a small island in the river Erne, at Ballyshannon.—O’D.

When Partholan heard this impudent retort, he seized her favorite hound, and dashing it against the ground, he killed it. This was the first instance of jealousy that happened in Ireland after the Flood.

Seventeen years after Partholan took possession of Ireland, the first of his followers died; he was named Feda, the son of Tortan. It is from him that Magh-Feda¹³ (*Moy-Fà*) has received its name.

The reason why Partholan had migrated to Ireland was, because he previously had slain his own father and mother, hoping thus to have been able to usurp the government from his brother. It was in consequence of these parricides, that he had been forced to fly to Ireland; but God sent a plague upon his posterity in vengeance thereof, and by it nine thousand of them were killed in one week at Benn-Edar (the Hill of Howth.)

Some authors reckon another colonization, namely, that made by Kial,¹⁴ son of Nil, son of Garb, son of Uadmor; and his mother was named Lot Luaimnech, and that they had dwelt in Ireland for over two hundred years, living by fishing and by fowling. Upon Partholan's arrival in the island, these previous possessors gave him battle on the plain of Magh-Itha.¹⁵ Here their chieftain Kial fell, and his Fomorians¹⁶ were destroyed by Partholan. Irrus-Domnan¹⁷ was the place where Kial and his followers had landed. His fleet consisted of six ships, each of which contained fifty men, and as many women, as the bard recounts:

“The seventh people, that possessed
The beauteous Eri of high plains,
Came with curt Kial, the short-legged,
To the fair fields o'er Inber Domnan.”

¹³ *Magh Felha* or Fea was the name of a plain in the barony of Forth and county of Carlow.

¹⁴ The Annals of the Four Masters call this man Cical Grigenosach, son of Goll, son of Garbh of the Fomaraigh, and they say that he came to Ireland a few years after Partholan. It is, however, more probable that this short-legged chief of a people “living by fishing and fowling,” lived in Ireland before Partholan, as Keating and the *Lebhar Gabhala* tell us. There are traces of such a people—a people of perhaps Laponic type, in Ireland, and they it was that probably left those stone implements improperly called “Celts.”

¹⁵ *Magh-Itha* is the name of a plain in the barony of Raphoe, along the river Finn, and county of Donegal.—O'D.

¹⁶ *Fomorians*. Some say that “Fomaraich” means simply “pirate.” Others will have it, that the Phœnicians were the people to whom the term was applied, while others again think that the Fomaraigh came from the regions that afterwards sent forth the people called Normans and Danes. In the latter case, they must have been Finns or Laps, who, perhaps, were the predecessors of both Celts and Teutons in Western Europe, for in those times, it is not likely that there were any Gothic or Teutonic nations in North-western Europe. It is remarkable that the Welsh, Gaelic and Breton resemble the Uralian dialects in one or two important points, wherein all three differ from their kindred Indo-European tongues.

¹⁷ Now Erris, in west Connaught.

“Three hundred men that band did number,
That came from the clime of Uadmòr,
But short their sway had lasted,
When in one week they were laid low.”

Seven lakes burst forth¹⁸ in Ireland in the days of Partholan, namely, Loch-Mesc,¹⁹ in Connaught, which overspread Magh-Lergna; Loch-Con,²⁰ which burst forth over the land three years after the battle with Kical, and Magh-Cro was the name of the plain it overwhelmed; Loch-Dechet²¹ burst forth twelve years after Partholan's occupation; and one year after that, Slangi, the fourth chieftain of his people, died, and was buried on Sliabh-Slangi.²² A year after the latter event, the eruption of Loch-Laighlinn,²³ in the territory of Ui-Mac Uais, of Breagh, took place. Laighlinn was the fifth of the nobles that had come over with Partholan; and it was when they were digging his grave that the last named lake sprang forth; hence they called it Laighlinn's lake, or Loch-Laighlinn. Next year Loch-Ectra²⁴ broke out, between Sliabh-Modurn²⁵ and Sliabh-Fuaid,²⁶ in Orgiall; after this Loch-Rudraide²⁷ burst forth, and in it Rudraide, the chieftain from whom it was called, was drowned; in the same year happened the eruption of Loch-Cuan.²⁸ Partholan, upon arriving in Ireland, found but three lakes and nine rivers therein. The lakes were Loch-Luimnigh,²⁹ in Des-Mumha, or Desmond; Loch-Foirdemain,³⁰ near Traigh-Li (Tralee), in Munster, and Finloch-Kera,³¹ in Irrus-Domnan, in Connaught, of which the bard says:

“Three wide and wondrous lakes,
And nine delightful rivers,

¹⁸ *Burst forth*, “Do Bhrúcht,” is the word used by our ancient chroniclers. Most modern Irish antiquaries understand the phrase to be a figurative method of expressing the discovery of these lakes, by the exploring colonists. To suppose anything else would lead one back to those fabled times of classic legend, when, as poets sang, Sicily was torn from Italy, and some great Atlantis sank beneath the ocean.

¹⁹ Now Lough Mask, a large and beautiful lake in the county Mayo.—O'D.

²⁰ *Loch Con* is in the barony of Tirawley and county of Mayo.—O'D.

²¹ *Loch Dechet* or *Techet* is now Lough Gara, between the counties Roscommon and Sligo.—O'D.

²² *Sliabh-Slangi* was the ancient name of Sliabh Domhamghairt (*Slieve Dowangart*), now Slieve Donard.—O'D.

²³ *Loch Laighlinn* is not known. Ui Mac Uais Breagh is a district in Eastmeath.—O'D.

²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ *Loch Ectra*. Dr. O'Donovan says that there is no remarkable lake between those mountains but Loch Mucnamha, near Castleblaney. Sliabh Modurn (*Mourne*). It is in the barony of Cremourne, county Monaghan. Sliabh Fuaid, is situated near Newtown, Hamilton county, Armagh.

²⁷ *Loch Rudraide*. The mouth of the river Erne, county Donegal, was so called.—O'D.

²⁸ *Loch Cuan*, now called Strangford Lough, county Down.—O'D.

²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ *Loch Luimnigh* was Limerick harbor, *Loch Foirdemain*, Tralee bay, and *Finloch Kera*, Lough Carra, in Mayo.—O'D.

Loch-Fordremain, Loch-Luimnigh
And Finnloch, close by Irrus."

The following are the nine rivers, namely, the Buas (now the Bush), between Dal-Araide³² and Dal-Riada,³³ or Ruta; the Berba (now Barrow); the Rurthach, or Lifi (now Liffey), between the Ui-Neill and the people of Leinster; the Laei (now Lee), in Munster, running through Muscraide (now Muskerry) to Cork; the Sligech (now Sligo), Saimer (otherwise the Erna), and Muaidh (now Moy), in Connaught, in the territory of the northern Ui-Fiächrach (Ee-Feechragh); the Modurn or Mourne, in Tirone, and the Bann between Lee and Eli, as the bard informs us in the *duan*, which begins, "Adam, parent source of hosts:"

"The Laei, Buas, Banna, the strong Berba,
The Saimer, Sligech, Modurn, Muaidh,
And Lifi, in Laighen, likewise—
These are the elder rivers."

About four years after the eruption of Murthol,³⁴ Partholan died, in the old plain of Magh-n-Elta of Edar, and there he was buried. The reason why it is called the *Old Plain*, i. e. *Sen-Magh*, is because no wood ever grew upon it, and the reason why it is called Magh-n-Elta, i. e., "the plain of the flocks," (i. e., *elta*.) is because that was the place where the fowl of Eri used to come to bask in the sun.

Partholan died about thirty years after his occupation of Ireland. Some of our antiquarians will have it that event happened in the year of the world 2628, but I judge from what I have shown above, that there were only 1986 from the Creation of the world to the death of Partholan. There are others, again, that say, that only twenty years intervened between the death of Partholan and the destruction of his people by the plague; but, the general opinion is against them; for it says that Ireland remained desert, but thirty years after that catastrophe, until Nemedh came to take possession of it: as the poet relates in the following verse:

"During thirty years, full told
It lay desolate, without warriors brave,
When all its hosts died in one week
In flocks upon Magh-n-Elta."

We are told by the holy Cormac Mac Culinain, that there

³² ³³ *Dal Araidhe (Daul Arree)* was co-extensive with the present county Down, and Dal-Riada with the county Antrim.

³⁴ *Murthol*. The Annals of the Four Masters call this "Murthol Brena," or "the inundation of Brena." Brena appears, it would seem, to have been an old name for the present Strangford Lough

were three hundred years from the coming of Partholan to the destruction of his people, and this account is confirmed by the bard Eocaidh O'Floinn (*O'Flinn*), where he says :

“ Three hundred years, we know well,
Over those lovely, fertile fields,
Ruled that polished, prudent race,
In Eri, the ancient and the august.”

It must also be seen, from all we have said, that those are not to be believed either, who say that more than five hundred years intervened between the death of Partholan and the destruction of his people by the plague; neither are we to suppose, that after the country's having been inhabited, as they assert, for above five hundred years, the number of its people could amount to no more than five thousand men and four thousand women.

The following was the division made of Ireland by the four sons of Partholan, Er, Orba, Ferann and Fergna, chieftains that had four namesakes³⁵ amongst the descendants of Miledh; here, then, is their division, as recorded by Eocaidh O'Floinn,³⁶ *Ard-Ollamh re Filidecht*, or Arch-Poet of Ireland.

“ FOUR gallant sons of warlike deeds,
Four princely sons had Partholan,
Who shared between them, uncontrolled
And without grudge, the lands of Eri.”³⁷

³⁵ These namesakes were the four sons of Eber Finn, son of Miledh, who ruled Ireland conjointly from A. D. 2755 to A. D. 2756. The names are, apparently, allegorical in both instances, and refer to the arts and institutions established in Ireland during its occupation by the Partholans and Eberians, the memory of which has been thus enigmatically and succinctly preserved in Druidic rann. I here give the meanings of these four words, from O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, viz.: 1. “Er” or “Ear,” *sub. head, adj., great*; 2. “Orba,” *sub. inheritance, land patrimony*; see also “Forba” and “Forbadh,” *id.*; 3. “Ferann” or “Fearann,” *land, a farm, i. e. a distinct portion of land*. 4. “Fergna,” *chieftainship, seniority, and “Ergna,” which is the same word without the digamma, knowledge*. The allegory then might mean, that these sons, born to Partholan, in Ireland, were the laws and customs he established amongst the hunters and fishers, he found dwelling in it, viz.: 1st. Head, i. e., govern-

ment. 2d. Inheritance of property. 3d. Distinct apportionment of land. 4th. Seniority or chieftainship, i. e. *distinction of rank*.

³⁶ The celebrated chief-poet, Eocaidh O'Floinn, flourished in the 10th century. Many of his compositions remain. The post of “Ard-ollamh re Filidecht,” (*Ard-Ollavre fillegh*), i. e. chief-doctorship of poetry, was one of the earliest regular institutions of the Gaels.

³⁷ This division has been before given, and the modern names of the boundary points shown, viz.: 1st, from Ailech or Ellagh, near Derry, on the north coast, to Ath-Cliaith or Dublin; 2d, from Dublin to Ard-Nemidh, i. e. the hill over the Cove of Cork, on Great-Island; 3d, to Medraide, i. e. Clarin's Bridge, near Galway, and thence again to Ailech. It is to be remarked that no internal boundaries are laid down. The *interior* was still apparently unknown, the Partholans occupying but the coasts.

Their division was not hard for these—
 The isle of Eri, an unbroken forest—
 Few then the dwellers in each *lis*,³⁸
 Each man well knew his proper share.

Er, the eldest, bright was his happiness,
 Pleasant his share, long held in peace—
 From Ailech-Neid, land without deceit,
 To the rich Ath-Cliath of Laighen.

From Ath-Cliath Laighen, Leap³⁹ of Ler,
 To the tall isle of Ard-Nemidh,
 A fair, rich soil was Orba's share—
 Free from strife—strong was his rule.

From the ford where Nemidh met his death,
 To Medraide of wide territories,
 A fair and faultless tract,
 Was the large domain of Ferann.

Long is the tract from far Medraide
 To Ailech-Neid of customs good,
 A powerful lordship, of fearless sway,
 This plenteous land fell to Fergna.

On Eri's soil (no tale of falsehood this)
 Were born these champions named.
 A noble race of endless fame—
 Gentle as warlike were the FOUR."

Here follow the names of Partholan's husbandmen, Tòthact, Tarba, Trèn, Imhas, Cùl, Dorcha and Damh.⁴⁰ His four oxen were Liag, Leg-magh, Imari and Ethrighe. Beòr was the name of the first person that received people at free hospitality, or entertainment, in Ireland. Breòga, son of Senboth, was the first

³⁸ *Lis* or *lios*, gen. *lesa*, is the most usual name for those circular earthen forts, one or two, and sometimes three of which are to be found, still to be traced in almost every *Baili* or town-land in Ireland.

³⁹ In the original, *Leim Lir*. Halliday translates these words, "great the coast." We cannot find that the words could bear that construction. Besides, Ler's Leap might have been as appropriately applied to the mouth of the Liffey, as "*Leim Choncuillainn*" or Cuchullainn's Leap, to that of the Shannon. We shall meet, further on, with a celebrated personage called Manannan, son of Ler.

⁴⁰ These names of Partholan's husbandmen, &c., tend to confirm one, as to the allegorical nature of the names of his followers. They are most of them ordinary Gaelic words, and expressive of certain appropriate attributes, viz.: amongst those husbandmen, *Tothacht*, i. e. "digging;" *Turbha*, i. e., "profit;" *Trèn*, i. e. "strength," &c. Amongst the oxen are *Leg-mhagh*, i. e., "lay the field;" *Imari*, i. e. "ridge;" and *Ethrighe*, i. e. "furrow." The names of his three Druids, signify *knowledge*, *information*, and *inquiry*. The names of his merchants, "*Bibal*" and "*Bebal*," would seem to point to the East, where he traded.

man, that first introduced single combat into Ireland. Samaliliath was the first to introduce the drinking of ale. Fios, Eolas and Fochmart were Partholan's three druids;⁴¹ Mucha, Meran and Muncnican were his three champions; Bibal and Bèbal were his two merchants: he had ten daughters and ten sons-in-law.

⁴¹ *Draeidh*, (*Dhree*), is the Gaelic form of the word "Druid." The pagan priests of the Celtic nations were thus designated. The term is generally derived from some word kindred to the Greek *δρυς*, and Irish "dair," "an oak tree," from their usually performing their rites in sacred groves of that tree. It is, however, more appropriately derived from some word like *δραω* "to make;" thus *ποιητης* a "poet," from *ποιεω* "to make," for the

word meant "prophet," "poet," and "sage," as well as "priest." Thus, its relation to *drècht* (*drayaght*), an old Irish name for "poesy," would be the same exactly as that between *ποιημα* and *ποιητης*. *Drècht*, seems a contracted form of *draeid echt* (*draeaght*), i. e. "druidism." This latter derivation we have observed to be the conjecture of some learned continental philologists. It seems the more likely.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE SECOND COLONIZATION OF IRELAND, I. E., THE CONQUEST BY THE SONS OF NEMEDH, OR THE NEMEDIANS, AND OF THEIR BATTLES DOWN HERE.

IRELAND remained waste for the space of thirty years after the extinction¹ of the race of Partholan, until Nemedh, son of Agnaman, son of Pamp, son of Tath, son of Sera, son of Sru, son of Esru, son of Framant, son of Fathacta, son of Magog, son of Japhet came and settled therein. It is to be remarked that all those that formerly invaded Ireland, are of the posterity of Magog,² except Kesair alone, if it be indeed true that that

¹ Partholan and his people died at "Tamlact Muintiri Partholain," now Tallaght, within three miles of Dublin.

It is not very likely that all the Partholians could have been destroyed. We must rather understand the fact here recorded, to mean that the plague had so weakened them, that their Fomorian or Aboriginal enemies had subdued or banished these early civilizers.

² This, though the common opinion of our Shenachies, is most improbable.

In fact the old names of the country and its rivers and mountains, go far to disprove the similarity of origin and language here asserted. The preservation of their genealogies was, it is true, an essential institution of the Gaelic polity—in fact, the man or tribe whose *pedigree* was forgotten, lost his or its liberty thereby—but the Gaelic Shenachies, had no interest in handing down the pedigrees of the *earlier* tribes. We shall even see them hereafter making laws to prevent any such transmission.

heroine ever occupied the island. It is at Sru, son of Esru, that the genealogies of Nemedh and Partholan separate; and at Sera that the generations of the Fir-Bolgs, Tuatha-Dè-Dananns and the sons of Miledh or Milesians diverge from one another. All these nations spoke the "Scot-Bèrla" or Scottish tongue. This is evident from the fact that when Ith, son of Breògan, came to Ireland, he communicated with the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns in that tongue, and through it both he and they found out, that they were each of them of the posterity of Magog. Some assert, that Nemedh was descended from Adla, a son whom Partholan had left behind him in the East.

The course³ Nemedh took in his voyage to Ireland from Scythia, was through that narrow sea that comes in from the ocean, which narrow sea is called the "Mare Euxinum" (i. e. the *Euxine*, now the *Black Sea*).⁴ It is the boundary between the north-west part of Asia and the north-east part of Europe; the Riphean (*Ural*) Mountains are also, according to Pomponius Mela, on the north-west boundary of Asia, between the sea just mentioned and the Northern Ocean. He left the Riphean Mountains on his right, until he got into the North sea, and then he left Europe on his left, until he reached Ireland.⁵ The following was the strength of his fleet and the number of his host, to wit, thirty-four ships, with a crew of thirty in each ship. The leaders of these were Nemedh and his four sons, Starn, Iarbanel the Prophet, Anind and Fergus Leth-derg (Fergus of the Red Side).⁶

Four lakes burst forth in Ireland in Nemedh's time. These are Loch-Brenannon,⁷ Magh-Asail, in Ui Niallain; Loch Munremar,⁸

³ The course here vaguely pointed out, was the one that might have been taken by the Ciubri or Kimri, i. e. the Northern Celts, if, as some antiquaries suppose, these were descendants of the Cimmerii of the Palus Mæotis, now the Sea of Asoph. The name of the Cimmerii, is still faintly preserved in that of the "Crimea."

⁴ The Euxine or Black Sea is here obviously confounded with the Baltic; that is, the point from which the Nemedians first started towards the North, with that whence they sailed from directly for Ireland. The Euxine has no direct communication with the ocean, but the Baltic has, and agrees fully with this description.

⁵ The Gaelic Bards were certainly no geographers, or they would not have made this colony sail over land from the Cimmerian to the Cimbric Peninsula, i. e., from Crimea to Denmark. Part

of the voyage, however, might have been performed in boats, up the Volga or the Don. The error of a single word or a few words, would have caused the mistake. The main facts, as to the traditionary account of Nemedh's migrations, can scarcely be impugned thereby. Dr. Keating was so rigid a respecter of antiquity that he neglected to look at his map. With the exception of the *sail* by the Riphean mountains, the description of the migration is exactly what might be expected. The Scandinavians, and other nations, must have traced nearly the same route in after times.

⁶ Medu, Macha, Yba, and Kera, were the wives of these chieftains.—*Four Masters*.

⁷ *Loch Brenann*, appears to have been another name for Loch Cal, now Lough Gall, in the barony of West Oneilland, in the county of Armagh,

on Magh-sola; and, ten years after the landing of Nemedh, Loch-Darbrech⁹ sprang forth, and also Loch Anind, over Magh-Mor, in Meath; Loch-Anind was thus called, for it burst forth over the land when they were digging the grave of Anind. It was of these lakes that the bard sang the following *rann* :

“ Four lakes of waters wide
Burst over the great Fodla—
Loch-Darbrech, Loch-Brenann, fair
Loch-Munremar, Loch-Anind.”¹⁰

The wife of Nemedh died in Ireland, in the twelfth year after her arrival in the country, and previous to the death of Anind, son of Nemedh. Macha was this lady's name; and she was the first that had died since the landing of Nemedh's colony therein. It is from her that Ard-Macha (i. e. Macha's height, now Armagh) has its name.

Nemedh built two royal *raths* (i. e. forts) in Ireland, namely, Rath Kinneich,¹¹ in the Ui Niallain, and Rath Kimbaeith,¹² in Senni. It was the four sons of Madan Munremar, of the Fomorians,¹³ that built Rath Kinneich in one day; their names were Bog, Robog, Rubni and Rodan. Nemedh slew them the next morning in Doiri Lighe,¹⁴ lest they should take it into their heads to pull down the rath again, and he buried them where they fell.

Nemedh cleared twelve plains of wood while in Ireland; here follow their names: Magh-Kera,¹⁵ Magh-Nera,¹⁶ Magh-Culi-Toladh,¹⁷ Magh-Luirg,¹⁸ in Connaught; Magh-Tochair, in Tyrone; Lee-Magh,¹⁹ in Munster; Magh-Bresa,²⁰ in Leinster; Magh-Lugaidh,²¹ in Ui Tuirtri,²² Magh-Seridh,²³ in Tebtha (Teffa); Magh-

or it may be the Fretum Brennese, otherwise Loch Cuan, now Strangford Lake, whose eruption has already been recorded.—O'D.

⁸ *Loch Munremar* is now called Lough Ramor, near Virginia, in the county of Cavan.—O'D.

⁹ *Loch Darbrech*—now Lough Derryvaragh, a large and beautiful lake, near Castlepollard, county Westmeath.—O'D.

¹⁰ *Loch Anind*—now Lough Ennell, near Mullingar.—O'D.

¹¹ *Rath Kinneich*, or Cinneich, unknown.—O'D.

¹² *Rath Kimbaeith*, the name is now obsolete. Magh Semhni (*Moy Shevni*), was in the county of Antrim. Rinn Semni (*Reen Shevni*), was the old name of Island-Magee.—O'D.

¹³ This would show that the Fomorians inhabited the country still.

¹⁴ *Doiri Lighe*, i. e. “the oak wood of

Li,” now. It was very probably in the territory of the Fir Lii, on the River Bann.—O'D.

¹⁵ *Magh-Kera*, i. e. the Plain of Kera, in the barony of Carra, and county of Mayo.—O'D.

¹⁶ *Magh-Nera*, unknown to editor.

¹⁷ *Magh-Culi-Toladh*, (*Moyculli-Tola*), a plain in the barony of Kilmaine, and county of Mayo.—O'D.

¹⁸ *Magh-Luirg*, now Moylurg, in the county of Roscommon.—O'D.

¹⁹ *Lee-Magh*, unknown to editor.

²⁰ *Magh-Bresa*. The Four Masters have it Magh-Brensa. Not known to editor.

²¹ *Magh-Lugaidh* (*Moy Looee*), i. e. the Plain of Lugaidh, a district round Lough Neagh.—O'D.

²² The *Ui Tuirtri*, who gave their name to this district, were descended from Fiacra Tort, the grandson of

Semni,²⁴ in Dal-Araide, Antrim; Magh-Murthemni,²⁵ in Breàgh; and Magh-Macha,²⁶ in Orghiall.

Nemedh defeated the Fomorians in three battles. These people were mariners of the race of Cham, who, sailing from Africa, fled to the islands of the west of Europe, in order to make settlements for themselves therein, and thus avoid the descendants of Shem; for they feared lest the latter should enslave them, in consequence of the curse pronounced by Noah against their progenitor, Cham. In this manner they imagined that, by making their settlements in far distant lands, they might be allowed to live in security, remote from the oppression of the children of Shem. For this reason did they come to Ireland, where they were routed by Nemedh in the three battles, as above stated, namely: in the battle of Sliabh-Bladna (now *Slieve Bloom*, in Leinster); and the battle of Ros-Fraechain,²⁷ in Connaught, wherein fell Gann and Gennan, two Fomorian chieftains; and in the battle of Murbolg, in Dal-Riada, or the Ruta. In the latter conflict, Starn, son of Nemedh, fell by the hand of Conaing, son of Fael ar, at Lethed-lact-Moighe (*Léid-lucht-Moy*). A battle was, also, fought between them at Cnamh-Ros,²⁸ where there was a great slaughter of the Irish, who were led on by Arthur, a son of Nemedh, who had been born to him in Ireland, and by Ibeau, son of Starn, son of Nemedh.

After this Nemedh died of a plague, at the island of Ard-Nemidh,²⁹ in Ui Liathain,³⁰ in Munster, which is now called Barrymore Island. With him there perished two thousand of his people, men and women.

After the death of Nemedh, his children and people had to endure great tyranny and oppression in Ireland from the Fomorians, in vengeance for those battles mentioned above, where the latter had been routed by Nemedh.

King Colla Uais. The word "ui," pronounced "ee," means "grandsons" or "descendants;" it is the nominative plural of "o," the common prefix of Irish surnames.

²³ *Magh-Seridh*, said to be Kenanus, now Kells, between the two Tefias, in Meath.—O'D.

²⁴ See note on *Rath Kimbaeith*.

²⁵ *Magh-Murthemni* (*Moy Murhevni*), was in Louth.

²⁶ *Magh-Macha*, i. e. the "Plain of Macha," was near Armagh.

²⁷ *Ros-Fraechain*, is now called Rosreahan, in the barony of Murreesk, and county of Mayo.—O'D.

²⁸ *Cnamh-Ros* (*Cnaw Ross*), i. e. the

"wood of the bones," probably Camross, county Carlow.—O'D.

²⁹ "*Oilean Arda Nemedh*" (*Illavn-urda-nervie*), i. e. the Island of Nemedh's Height, was the old name of Great Island in Cork Harbor, upon which the town of Cove stands.

³⁰ *Ui Liathain*, (*Ee Lecharin*), was O'Lehan's country. The Irish Sépt from whom the district received its name, are now universally called Lyons. They are still numerous round their ancient tribe-land. Their country was afterwards called Barrymore, from the family of the Norman De Barries, who conquered and possessed it in after times.

Conaing, son of Faear, from whom is called Tor-Conaing,³¹ off the northern coast of Ireland, and who kept a fleet and resided at Tor-Conaing, now Tor-Inis, or Tory Island, with More, the son of Dèla, exacted the tribute of Ireland from the Nemedians. The amount of this tribute was two-thirds of their children, corn, and cattle, which had to be presented to those two chieftains every year, on the eve of Samhain³² (All-hallows), upon the field of Magh-Kedni,³³ between Drobaeis (Bundrowes) and Erni. The place received the name of Magh-Kedni, from the frequent usage of paying that tribute thereon. The Fomorians imposed still another tyrannical exaction on the children of Nemedh, namely, three measures³⁴ of cream,³⁵ flour and butter, which were to be sent from every hearth to More and Conaing, at Tor-Inis; and this tax was levied throughout Ireland by a female steward, named Liag; in testimony whereof, a bard has spoken this verse :

“The tax they then laid on
Was three well-filled measures—
A measure of cream from richest milk,
A measure of the flour of wheat.
The third tax, not great, we deem,
Was a measure of mellow butter.”

At length, anger and impatience seized the men of Eri, by reason of that tribute and taxation, and they rose up to give battle

³¹ *Tor-Conaing*, or Conaing's Tower, was situated on Tory Island, off the north-west coast of Donegal. A long account of its destruction, is given in the Book of Invasions, i. e. the “Lebhar Gabhala.”

³² *Samhain*, now pronounced *Savvin* and *Sawin*, is the old Irish name for the first of November. It is fancifully derived by our bardic etymologists from the words “Samh-Shuan” (Sav-hooan) i. e. the rest of *Samh*, or the Sun; or from “Samh-Fuin,” (Savvin) i. e. the end of *Samh*; for then the “Samhradh,” (*Sowrah* and *Savrah*), one of two great divisions into which the pagan Irish divided their year, ended. This division commenced on the “La Beltaini” or May-day. The other division was called the Gamhradh (*Gavrah*), or Season of Gamh. Besides these, the Irish year was divided into the four seasons: “Erach,” *Spring*; “Samhradh,” *Summer*; “Foghmhar,” (*Fovar* or *Foar*), *Harvest*, and “Geimhred,” (*Guireh*), *Winter*. Samhain was a famous festival amongst the heathen Irish. Then

the famous Druidic fire, whence all the hearths in Ireland were to be lighted, was kindled at Tlaetga, now Athboy, in the Munster portion of Meath. It was the custom to extinguish all the private hearths in the island, on the night previous. The customs still observed on Hallow-Eve are remnants of the ceremonies anciently practiced in honor of the Rest of Samh.

³³ *Magh-Kedni* lay on the borders of the present counties of Donegal and Fermanagh, between Lough Erne and the sea at Bundrowes. The derivation here hinted at, from “cedna” *the same*, is extremely forced.

³⁴ The original has “*tri lan Shuaisde*.” “*Shuasad*” is now universally applied to the implement called a shovel: “*liach*” is the term used in the bardic rann quoted farther on. It means some such flat wooden vessel as that still used by the Irish milkwomen for skimming milk and making up butter.

³⁵ By “cream,” cheese is most probably meant.

to the Fomorian. These people were called *Fomaraigh*,³⁶ because they were folk that committed "robberies," i. e. *foghla*, upon the "sea," i. e. *muir*; hence the term *Fomaraeh* means "pirate," or "robber of the seas," i. e. "Fo muirib." The clans of Nemedh were now led on by three brave warriors, namely: by Beóthach, son of Iarbanèl the Prophet, son of Nemedh; and by Fergus Leth-derg (Redside), son of Nemedh; and by Erglan, son of Beóan, son of Starn, son of Nemedh, with whom were his two brothers, Manntan and Iarthact. Their numbers amounted to thirty thousand on sea and thirty thousand on land; as the bard thus records:

"Three score thousand, a bright array,
Upon the land and on the water;
Such were the hosts, that left their homes
Of Nemedh's clans, to raze that tower."

They then demolished the tower or fortress upon Tor-Inis, and there Conaing fell, with his children and kindred. However, More, son of Dèla, arrived soon afterwards at Tor-Inis, from Africa, with a force of sixty ships. Upon this, the clans of Nemedh fought the Fomorian again upon the same ground. In this second battle, they nearly all either fell by the hands of each other, or were drowned; for they did not perceive the tide coming in upon them, such was the intensity of the fight. More, son of Dèla, escaped with a small portion of his people, and with them he took possession of the island. Of the host of the Nemedians, engaged in that fight, there escaped but the crew of one ship, containing thirty warriors, amongst whom were three chieftains of Nemedh's own blood, namely, Simeòn Bree, son of Starn, son of Nemedh; and Ibath, son of Beóthach, son of Iarbanèl the Prophet, son of Nemedh; and Britán Mael, son of Fergus Leth-derg, son of Nemedh.

Upon escaping from that conflict, they formed the resolution of leaving Ireland, and thus fleeing from the slavery, to which the Fomorian had reduced them. They were seven years preparing for their emigration. Each of the above-named chiefs prepared a separate fleet, and a certain portion, both of the children of those that had arrived in Ireland with Nemedh and of his own descendants, embarked on board these fleets, under their respective

³⁶ *Fomaraigh*, or, with all its aspirations, "Fomharaigh;" (*Fovarib* and *Fovarig*) is the plural of "Fomaraeh." It is idle to speculate upon the etymology of the name. That here given is purely fanciful, and very far-fetched. The people were probably the Aborigines or earliest inhabitants of Western Europe, and may have occupied the Atlantic

shores, from the Dofrefield or Norwegian Alps to Mount Atlas. At the time this history now treats of, the race of Cham were lords of powerful empires in Egypt and Canaan, while the race of Shem were still but obscure shepherds, so that the reason, given a little before for the wanderings of this people, cannot be admitted.

leaders. Others³⁷ remained after them in Ireland. Amongst them were ten warriors, left to rule the remnant of the Nemedians, that staid behind under the thralldom of the Fomorians. These continued to dwell in the island, until the arrival of the Fer-Bolgs.

Simcòn Brec, son of Starn, son of Nemedh, one of those three chieftains, proceeded with his followers to Greece,³⁸ that is, to that part of it called Thrace, and here again they fell into bondage. It is from this Simcòn Brec that the Fir-Bolgs are descended, as shall hereafter be shown. The second chieftain went to the north of Europe,³⁹ namely, I bath, son of Beothach. However, some of our historians say, that Beotia was the country to which he went, and that it is from him the Tuatha-de-Dananns are descended. The third chieftain, Britan Mael, son of Fergus Lethderg, proceeded to Dobar⁴⁰ and Iar-Dobar,⁴¹ in the north of Alba (Scotland). There he dwelt himself, and there likewise dwelt his posterity after him. The number of vessels that these Nemedian chieftains took with them, counting ships,⁴² barks,⁴³ curraghs⁴⁴ and barges,⁴⁵ was one thousand and thirty in all.

And Britan Mael and his posterity continued to dwell in Alba, as we have just mentioned, and there they remained until the Cruithnigh, or Picts, were sent from Ireland to take possession of that country in the days of Erimhon. And the holy Cormac Mac Culinan tells us, in his Psalter, that it is from this same Britan that the island Britannia or Great Britain has received the name which it bears to the present day: and the records of Ireland agree with him in this, according to the *duan* which begins—
“Adam, parent, source of hosts.”

The stainless Britan passed over the sea,
Generous son of Fergus Lethderg,
All the Brethnaigh of victorious fame
From him are, without falsehood, sprung.

Another bard bears out the same fact, where he says—

³⁷ We see here that this, probably the earliest of the Celtic colonies, did not become extinguished by the Fomorians. They occupied a portion of the island to themselves, until the arrival of their kinsmen the Fer-Bolgs enabled them to triumph over their enemies.

³⁸ This return to Greece is improbable. It means, perhaps, that he went back to some of his Celtic kinsmen, now flowing in successive waves from the East and over-spreading the continent of Northern and Central Europe.

³⁹ The discrepancy here to be observed is obviously the result of the con-

fusion of the traditions of two distinct nations, that might have amalgamated in Lochlin or Scandinavia and thence invaded Ireland.

⁴⁰ ⁴¹ The localities here meant by Dobar and “Iar” or West Dobar, are unknown to the editor.

⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ The terms here used for the different species of vessels mentioned are “long,” a ship; “bairc,” a bark; “currach,” a curragh, or wicker canoe covered with hides, and “naemhog,” (*navogus*.) a diminutive of “naei,” or “naemh,” a ship, which I translate barge.

“ Britan Mael, the son of princes,
Noble the trunk whence he spread;
The son of the Red-sided Chief from Leg-Magh,
From whom all the Brethnaigh are sprung.”

It is more reasonable to believe this than to suppose that Britain has received its name from Brutus;⁴⁶ for, if it were, in all likelihood, the word would be “Brutania.” Besides, the name was still further obscured by the sons of Brutus, as we see by Geoffrey of Monmouth, for, according to him, Loegrus,⁴⁷ the son of Brutus, called the part of Great Britain that fell to his own share, Loegria; and Camber, his second son, named his division of the island, Cambria;⁴⁸ Albanactus⁴⁹ again, the third son, called the portion that fell to himself, Albania.

And the remnant of the Nemedians that remained dwelling in Ireland, after those three chieftains mentioned above, was sorely oppressed from time to time by the Fomorians, until the return of the descendants of Simeon Brec, son of Nemedh, from Greece. Two hundred and seventeen years elapsed from the arrival of Nemedh to that of the Fer-Bolgs, as the bard relates :

“ Seventeen years had passed, and two hundred,
(In this tale there is no false reckoning.)
From Nemedh's coming from the East
Across the seas, with his tall sons,
Until the sons of Starn arrived
From the dreary, rugged Greig.”—(Greece?)⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Some of the old British chroniclers tell us that Britain had its name from a Trojan chief named Brutus.

⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ *Loegria* comprised the eastern portion, comprising most of what is now called England. *Cambria* comprised Wales, Cumberland, Northumberland. These names are evidently corruptions of Kimri, Cimbri, Kimmreii, or Cimnerii. The Welch still know themselves only as “Kimri.” It was the

Saxons that first applied the term “Wallise,” or “Welsh” to them, which means *Strangers*, as heretofore shown. Albanactus is clearly a modification of the Gaelic word “Albanact,” i. e. the *country of the Albanachs* or natives of Alba.

⁵⁰ The bard could not surely have meant Greece by this description. It is more applicable to some northern clime.

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE CONQUEST BY THE FER-BOLGS.

WHEN the posterity of Simeòn Brec had dwelt for some time in Greece, it was found that their people had multiplied exceedingly. Then the Greeks (*Grègigh*) subjected them to severe hardships and bondage, obliging them to dig up mould and to carry it in sacks (*bolgs*) of leather, in order to lay it upon rocky heights, and thus render their soil capable of yielding crops. In consequence of this bondage, grief and weariness and a hatred of the Greeks seized upon them, and they, thereupon, resolved to leave such hard task-masters. Then five thousand of them came together, and they made barks¹ of the leathern sacks or bags, in which they were wont to carry the mould; or, as the Book of Drom Sneeta tells us, they stole the ships of the king of the country. Then, these descendants of Simeòn Brec returned to Ireland, about two hundred years after the occupation of the island by their ancestor Nemedh.

Here follow the names of the chiefs, that led them on their return to Ireland, viz., Slangi, Rudraide, Gann, Genann and Sengann. These were the five sons of Dèla, son of Lòch, son of Tecta, son of Tribuadh, son of Otorb, son of Gostenn, son of Ortheet, son of Simeòn, son of Erlgann, son of Beoan, son of Starn, son of Nemedh. And their five wives were Fuad, Edair, Anust, Cnuca and Libra; the bard thus records their names:

“Of Slangi Fuad was the wife—no lying tale—
Edair the wife of warlike Gann,
Anust the wife of Sengann of spears,
Cnuca the wife of the bright Genann,
Libra the wife of Rudraide of song.”

These five chieftains of the Fer-Bolgs divided Ireland between them into five parts, as we have heretofore stated, in speaking of

¹ Such barks could not carry them far. The tradition may possibly have reference to some incident in the migration of the Belgian tribes, through the north of Thrace. Such vessels as the above might have been used in the passage of the Danube, or some other large river.

the third apportionment made of Ireland; the bard records the fact thus:

The five chieftains of that host,
Divided Banba into five Fifths—
Genann, Rudraide, (a bright list,)
Gann, Sengann and Slangi.

It was these five sons of Déla and their followers, that were called the Fer-Bolgs,² Fer-Domnans³ and Fer-Galeòns.⁴ They were called Fer-Bolgs (i. e. Bag-men), from the leathern sacks they used in Greece. The Fer-Domnans were called from the "depths" or "pits," (i. e. *doimhne*,) in which they had to dig for the mould, which the Fer-Bolgs then carried to the rocks, where they were to lay it. In like manner, the Fer-Galeòns were so called from the *javelins*, i. e. "gai," with which they were armed, in order to defend the others while at work.

The reader must understand that this conquest by the five sons of Déla is reckoned but one conquest, for they all effected their landing in Ireland in one week, viz. Slangi on Saturday at Inber-Slangi; Gann and Sengann on the Tuesday after, at Írrus-Domnan; (*in Mayo*) Genann and Rudraide on the next Friday, at Tract-Rudraide;⁵ the people of Slangi were those called Fer-Galeòns; the Fer-Bolgs were those commanded by Gann and Sengann; the people of Genann and Rudraide were those designated

² *Fer-Bolg*, in the plural *Fir Bolg*, i. e. "Men of Bolg." This people was evidently a portion of the nation of the Belgæ, so renowned for their valor amongst the ancient inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, who were of Kimro-Celtic and not of Germanic origin. *Bolg* is certainly a corruption of *Belg*, or *vice versa*. We meet many analogous commutations of the vowels "e" and "o" in Irish. Thus the word now universally written "ole," i. e. bad, is frequently found written "ele" in old manuscripts. The tale that Keating here recounts from the *Shenachies*, was manifestly coined in order to account for the forgotten origin of the national name. *Bolg* means also "a bow," "the belly," or any "bulging protuberance." The origin of the name is, in truth, lost in remote antiquity, and can never be more than guessed at.

³ *Fer-Domnans*. The "*Fir-Domhnan*," (*Fir-Downan*), i. e. the "Men of Domnan," or *Domna*, were, it is equally manifest, a sept of the *Damnonii*,

portions of which people are placed by ancient geographers in Gaul, Britain and Ireland. We find them also called *Damnii* and, *perhaps*, *Daunii*. In Britain, their chief seat was Devonshire, to which, it is supposed, they left their name, the aspirate "mh" being pronounced "v" and "w" in Gaelic, viz., "Downan" or "Downan."

⁴ *Fer-Galeòn*. The *Fir-Galeòn* may possibly have been a portion of the Galli of the Romans and *Γαλατοι* of the Greeks; or they may have been but a sub-tribe of the Belgæ, as is here stated. Their name seems derived from "Gal," battle. The derivations given in the text are absurd. A conquering nation would not perpetuate the memory of its degradation in the names of its tribes.

⁵ *Inber-Slangi*. Inver Slangi, i. e. Wexford harbor, at the mouth of the river Slangi, now Slane.

⁶ *Tract-Rudraide*. The strand of Rooree, in Ulster.

Fer-Domnans. Our historians say that Inber-Domnan,⁷ in the north-west of Connaught, was the place where the two latter chiefs landed with a third of the forces, and that the place has been called Irrus-Domnan from them. Notwithstanding these distinctions, the five sons of Dela and all their host are commonly called Fer-Bolgs. Thirty-six years was the duration of the Fer-Bolg rule in Ireland. Before them no person possessed the island that could be properly called a king of Ireland. Upon this fact some bard has composed the following verse :

For sixteen years and twice ten,
The Fer-Bolgs ruled one-half⁸ of Banba,
Then came the conquering Tuatha-Dè
And seized the whole of Eri.

⁷ Some say that the *Inber-Domnan*, or Damnonian harbor, where the Fer Domnans landed, was Arklow, a little to the south of Dublin. It was long after, before they gave their name to Irrus Domnan in Connaught, to which the Damnonii had been driven from Leinster by the increasing power of the Gaels.

⁸ *One-half*. This would make it appear, that some other nation or nations continued powerful in Ireland during

the Belgian rule. These may have been the Fomorians, and that remnant of the Nemedians that had remained in Ireland when their kinsmen had emigrated. Even of the Parthololians, some portion might have still held parts of the island. From the short duration of their rule, it is clear that the Fer-Bolgs did not constitute the bulk of the inhabitants, when the Danaans arrived.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE FIRST KINGS THAT REIGNED IN IRELAND DOWN HERE.

SLANGI, son of Dèla, son of Lòch, was the first monarch of Ireland: he reigned one year, and died at Dinn-Righ,¹ otherwise called Dumba-Slangi.

RUDRAIDE, son of Dèla, reigned two years, until he was killed at Brugh² on the Boyne.

GANN and GENNAN reigned four years, until they died of the plague at Fremhuinn,³ in Meath.

¹ *Dinn-Righ*, i. e. "the hill of kings," otherwise called Dumha Slangi, i. e. "Slangi's Mound." This was a very ancient seat of the kings of Leinster. It is situated, as before shown, on the banks of the Barrow, in the townland of Ballyknockan, near Leighlin Bridge. —*O'Donovan*.

² *Brugh na Boinne*, a place on the River Boyne, near Stackallan Bridge.

³ *Fremhain*, now Frewin, is the name of a lofty hill arising over the western shore of Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, in the parish of Portlemon, County of West Meath.

SENGANN reigned in Ireland five years, at the end of which he was slain by FIACADH KENFINNAN.

FIACHAD KENFINNAN son of Starn, son of Rudraide, son of Dela, held the kingdom of Ireland for five years, until he fell by the hand of Rinnall, son of Gennan, son of Dela. In his time, the men of Ireland were fair-haired. It was thence he had received the surname Kenfinnan, i. e. fair-haired.

RINNALL, son of GENNAN, son of Dela, reigned over Ireland six years, until he fell by the hand of Obghen, at the battle of Craebh.⁴

OBGHEN (or Fidbghen), son of Sengann, son of Dela, reigned four years, when he fell by the hand of Eocaidh, son of Ere, on the plain of Murthemni, in Louth.

EOCAIDH, son of Ere, son of Rinnall, son of Gennan, held the kingdom of Ireland ten years. During this king's reign, there was no wet or tempestuous weather in Ireland, nor was there any unfruitful year. In his time, likewise, all oppression and illegality was suppressed in the island, and it was then that fixed and distinct laws⁵ were first established in this land. He fell in the battle of Magh-Turedh, by the hands of the three sons of Nemedh, son of Badraici, whose names were Kesarb, Luam and Luachra. He was king of the Fer-Bolgs when the Tuatha-Dè-Danannus invaded Ireland; and his wife was named Talti, daughter of Magh-Mor, king of Spain. This lady was buried at a place which has been ever since called Talti (*Teltown in Meath*), from her.

Nuadath Arged-lanlh (i. e. *Nuadath, the Silver-handed*), was now king of the Tuatha-De-Danann nation. Between this prince and Eocaidh, son of Ere, there was an obstinate battle at Magh-Turedh, in which Eocaidh⁶ and the Fer-Bolgs⁷ were routed, and ten⁸ thousand of the latter were slain, between Magh-Turedh⁹

⁴ There are several places of this name in Ireland. It is not easy to tell which is here meant.

⁵ According to O'Flaherty, the pentarchical government was fully established during the reign of this king. He tells us that Mell, descended from Slangi, ruled Leinster; Sreng, of the race of Sengann, and Orsus, of that of Gennan, reigned in Thomond; Kerb, son of Brian, son of Rudraide, was King of Ulster; Slangi Finn, of Connaught, and Alla of Desmond.

⁶ According to the *Lebhar Gabhala*, Eocaidh fled from the battle and was pursued and overtaken on the Strand of Traigh Eothaili (*Traih Oullii*), near Ballysadare, in the present county of Sligo, where he was slain. The cairn

where he was interred is described as one of the wonders of Ireland, in the *Mirabilia Hibernia*, in the Book of Ballymote. This cairn still exists, and, although not high above the level of the strand, it is believed the tide can never cover it.—*O'D. Four Masters*.

⁷ The annals of Clonmacnoise, say, that one hundred thousand of the Fer-bolgs were slain, "which was the greatest slaughter that was ever heard of in Ireland, at one meeting." From the monuments of the battle still existing, it is quite evident that great numbers were slain.—*O'D. II.*

⁹ *Magh-Turedh (Moy Turc't)*,—otherwise called Magh-Turedh Conga, from its proximity to Cong. The site of the battle is still pointed out in the

and the strand of Eóthail. In this battle, Nuadath lost his hand, from which wound he was seven years under cure, and had, in the end, to get a silver hand¹⁰ fitted on; hence he obtained the epithet, *Arged-lamh*, or "Silver-hand." The small remnant of the *Fer-Bolgs* that escaped from that battle, fled¹¹ before the *Tuatha-Dè-Dananns*, so that *Aran*, *Isla*, *Rachlin*, the *Hebrides*, and many other islands, were colonized by them. In these they dwelt until the establishment of the pentarchical government in Ireland, at which time they were driven out of the Isles by the *Cruthnigh* or *Picts*, whereupon they made application to *Carbri Niadfer*, king of *Leinster*, and from him they received a tributary territory. But it came to pass that they could not support the heavy rent laid upon them in this subject soil, and that they were, for that reason, forced to apply to *Medb* and *Olild* (queen and king of *Connaught*), from whom they obtained a free territory. It is this, that is called the *Migration of the Sons of Uadmor*, for *Aengus*, son of *Uadmor*, was their king in the East. It is from this people, also, that the territories in which they dwelt, have received the following names, viz.: *Loch-Kimi*,¹² from *Kimi Cethir-Kenn*; *Rinn-Tamhain*,¹³ in *Medraide*; *Loch-Cathra*,¹⁴ *Rinn-Bera*,¹⁵ *Moilin*,¹⁶ *Dun-Aengus*, in *Aran*; ¹⁷ *Carn-Conaill*, in the district of *Aidni*; *Magh n-Adair*,¹⁸ from *Adar*, the poet, son

parish of *Cong*, barony of *Kilmaine*, and county of *Mayo*, to the right of the road as you go from *Cong* to the village of *Neal*. There is a detailed but legendary account of this battle in MS., in the handwriting of *Gilla Riabhaich O'Cléri*, preserved in the library of the *British Museum*.—*O'D. Four Masters*.

¹⁰ "It is stated in the battle of *Magh-Turedh* and other accounts of the *Tuatha-De-Dananns*, that *Credni Kerd* made a silver hand for this *Lugaidh*, and that *Diankèet* fitted it upon him, after which, *Miach*, son of *Diankèet*, to excel his father, took off the hand and infused feeling and motion into every joint and vein of it. In *Cormac's Glossary*, the name *Diankèet*, is explained *Deus Salutis*, i. e. *Dia na h-ice*, i. e. the God of healing.—*O'D. Id.* *Dian Kèet*, appears to have been the *Esculapius* of Irish mythology.

¹¹ The *Belgic* colony must not be considered to have been extirpated by this defeat. They were merely subdued, as the *Gaels* were afterwards by the *Anglo-Normans*. They long ruled as *Kings* in *Connaught*; and even in

St. Patrick's time, we find them still numerous in Ireland. It is even likely that the majority of the *Irish* people are to this day, maternally at least, sprung from the *Belgic* and *Nemedian* Celts, and that their language is that now known as *Gaelic*.

¹² *Loch-Kimi*, otherwise *Loch Kimbi*, now *Loch Hacket*, in the county of *Galway*.

¹³ *Rinn-Tamhain* lies near *Medraide*, or *Clariu's Bridge*. It was the name of a peninsula south of *Galway*.

¹⁴ *Loch Cathra*. *O'Flaherty* calls it *Loch Kutra*, now *Loch Cooter*, county *Galway*.

^{15 16} According to *O'Flaherty*, *Rinn-Bera*, *Moilin*, and *Carn-Conaill*, were in *Aidni* (*Eyni*), now the barony of *Killartan*, in the South of *Galway*.

¹⁷ *Ara*. The Isle of *Aran*, at the mouth of *Galway Bay*.

¹⁸ *Magh-Adair*, otherwise *Magh-n-Adhair* (*Moy Neyer*), was the name of a plain in the barony *Tullagh*, county *Clare*. Upon it at the *Bili Maighe n-Adhair*, i. e. "Tree of *Magh Adair*," the *Kings* of *Thomond* were

of Uadmor; Magh n-Asal,¹⁹ Magh-Maein,²⁰ from Maen, son of Uadmor, and Loch Uair, from Uar, son of Uadmor. Thus, we see that forts (dūns) and scaboard isles were owned by them, until the time when they were driven out by Cuchulainn and Conall Kernach and the Ulstermen. Our history does not mention the building of any raths (i. e. forts), during the occupation of Ireland by the Fer-Bolgs, neither does it record the eruption of any lakes or the clearing of any plains from wood. Some antiquarians say, that the three ancient tribes, not of the Gaelic stock, who are still in Ireland, are descended from the Fer-Bolgs: these are the Gabraide²¹ (*Gawree*) of the Suea (now the River Suck) in Connaught; the Ui Tairsigh,²² in Ui Failgi (now Offaly), and the Galcòns of Leinster.²³ Such are the migrations of the Fer-Bolgs so far, according to the learned antiquary, Tanaide O Mael-Conari (O Mulconry or Conry), in his *duan* which begins with the following *rann*:

“The Fir-Bolg dwelt here awhile,
In the great isle of Miledh’s sons—
Five chieftains of them hither came—
Their names I know full well.”

inaugurated in after times. The phrase is said to mean, the “Plain of Worship.” If so, the poet Adair must have had nothing to do with the naming of it. It was a famous seat of Druidic worship.

¹⁹ “*Magh-Assail*. Assail was the ancient name of a district lying round Cnoc Droma Assail, now Tory-Hill, near Croom, in the county of Limerick.”—O. D.

²⁰ *Magh-Maein*, (*Moy Meen*), otherwise called Maen-magh. is, according to Dr. O’Donovan, the rich plain lying round Loughrea, in the county of Galway.

²¹ *Gabraide*. This Belgic tribe was otherwise called Gamanradi. Dr. O’Donovan tells us in his Notes to the Tribes and Customs of the Ui Fiachrach, that “The Gamanradhi were a fierce and warlike tribe of the Fer-Bolgs, seated in Erris in the first century.”

²² The “Ui Tairsigh,” are unknown to the editor.

²³ For the Galians or Fir Galcòn of Leinster, see further on. The Galians of the Fer-Bolg race are to be distinguished from the Galenga of the Milesian stock, who were descended from a Munster chieftain named Cormac Galeng.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST¹ OF IRELAND BY THE TUATHA-DE-DANANNS, DOWN HERE.

THE Tuatha-Dè-Dananns are the progeny of the third Chieftain of the race of Nemedh, who had emigrated from Ireland after the demolition of the tower of Conaing. They are then descended from Ibaath, son of Beòthach, son of Iarbanèl the Prophet, son of Nemedh.

According to some antiquarians, Beotia² (*Bothnia?*), in the north of Europe, was the country where they had been recently dwelling; but others will have it, that they had been sojourning in the Athenian territory, where the city of Athens (Aithné) is situated. Now, the reader must understand, that, as Pomponius Mela tells us, both Beotia and the city of Athens are situated in that part of Greece called Achaia. It was there that they had

¹ The Four Masters give this event under A. D., 3303.

² This absurd mistake must have originated in the ignorance of some transcriber, in copying a contracted manuscript. The traditions of two nations are perhaps confounded in the obscure records of the Tuatha-De-Dananns. We have seen part of the Nemedian nation taking refuge in Lochlin from the oppression of the Fomorians. It is not an improbability to suppose, that they there were joined by a Danaan or Greco-Pelasgian tribe, with whom they amalgamated, and who led them back to the land whence they had been exiled. I see no reason to doubt the fact, that these Danaans were Greeks, i. e. "Danai," or to search for any other origin for them than what our traditions hand down, and their own name corroborates. That they were not Phœucians, the names they imposed upon the places where they dwelt, fully prove to any one who will fairly examine their structure.

Eri, Alba, Mana Ara, Mumha, &c., with their peculiar mode of forming their oblique cases in "nd" or "nn," so like those Greek forms "ας," "ις" and "υς," making the genitive in "ντος" and "ννος" seems to claim for them a Pelasgic origin. Many of the names of the older Greek colonies, are of this form. "Danann," in their own name looks like a word of the same class, and may mean "of Dana." So do the genitives "Bretan," "Lochlan," "Laigheu," i. e. *Britain, Scandinavia, Leinster*, and "Ulladh," which in old books is found to make "Ullinn," in its oblique form. Why may not the great Pelasgic nation have sent a branch towards the North-west, as well as towards the South-west, and left the name of Dania or Denmark to the cold Cimbric Chersonese, as a trace of their sojourn therein, and as a puzzle to their Gothic successors, and thus bewildered Celtic Shenachies also in the endeavor to approximate Bothnia and Bœotia.

learned their magic science (*Druidism*) and their arts, so that they had become most expert in every heathen practice.

While they dwelt in this region, it happened that a large fleet came from Syria to make war upon the people of the Athenian territory, in consequence of which they were engaged in daily battles; and the very men of the Athenian party, who had been slain on the field of battle on one day, were the same that used to maintain the fight next day for their friends against the Syrians. This was all effected by the magic arts of the Tuatha-De-Dananns; for they used to send demons into the bodies of the slain Athenians, quickening them by means of their heathen lore. However, when the Syrians perceived that the corpses of those, whom they had slain on the field of battle, stood up to fight them again on the next day, they entered into council with their own soothsayer (*druid*). Whereupon, this soothsayer told them, to set a guard upon the field of slaughter, and to drive a stake of cornel wood (*mountain ash*) through the dead body of every one of those that were wont to revive, to do battle against them; and he told them also, that those bodies would be immediately turned into worms, if it were by demons that they had been quickened, but that they would not become corrupted all at once, if they had been really revived. The Syrians, then, came to the fight next morning and obtained a complete victory. Upon this, they drove the cornel stakes through the bodies of the slain, before mentioned, and they were converted into worms immediately. After this, they fell upon the inhabitants, pursuing them with unresisted slaughter. As to the Tuatha-De-Dananns, when they saw the natives of the land thus vanquished by the Syrians, they all fled out of the country, through fear of those invaders. And they stopped not until they reached the regions of Lochlinn (Scandinavia), where they were welcomed by the inhabitants,³ on account of their many sciences and arts. The leader in this migration was Nuadath, the silver-handed, son of Ectach, son of Edarlanh, of the line of Nemedh. Here, indeed, they even obtained possession of four cities, or at least leave to dwell in them and to instruct the youth of the country therein. The names of these four cities are Falias, Gorias, Finias and Murias. The Tuatha-De-Dananns placed four sages in these, for the purpose of disseminating the sciences and the various arts, amongst the youth of the nation that received them. The names of these four sages who taught the sciences, were the following: Morfios was the name of the man

³ These were undoubtedly Kimrie or Cimbric Nemedians, (a name which seems to be the same with that of the Nemeti of Belgic Gaul,) and the Finnish or Laponic aborigines, perhaps.

We have seen Nemedh sailing originally from this land for Alba and Eri, and have seen his descendants returning thereto, when expelled from Eri by the Fomorians.

who taught in the city called Falias; Erus in that called Gorias; Semias taught in Murias, and Arias held his school in Finias. When they had remained a long time in these cities, they passed over to the north of Alba (Scotland), where they continued seven years in Dobar and Iardobar.

This people possessed four talismans of high power, which they had brought with them from the above-mentioned cities; namely, a Stone from Falias, which was called the Lia-Fail, and which possessed the property of roaring under every king of Ireland, upon his election, which it continued to do until the time of Conobar; as we have heretofore mentioned. It was also called the Stone of Fate, for it was its destiny, that a man of the Scotie nation, that is, of the blood of Miledh of Spain, should possess the sovereignty of that country wherein it should be placed. Thus we read in Hector Boethius, in his History of Scotland, in which he says:

“The race of Scot, a noble tribe,
Unless the prophecy be false,
Have a right to sovereign power
Where they shall find the Lia-Fail.”

The Scotie nation was so persuaded that the stone possessed this power, that Fergus Mor mac Erea, when he had conquered Alba and had determined to proclaim himself its king, sent an embassy to his brother Murkertach Mor mac Erea, son of Eocaidh Munreinar, of the line of Erimhon, then king of Ireland, requesting him to send it to him, in order that he might be saluted king of Alba sitting thereon. Thus the stone came into his hands, and he was, in fact, saluted king of Alba thereon. He was the first man of the race of Scot, that was styled king of Alba; and though some of the Picts or Cruithnigh had been called kings of Scotland before him, yet there was not one of them who was an independent sovereign, having been all successively under tribute to the kings of Ireland, and especially from the time of Erimhon, son of Miledh, by whom the Picts were sent from Leinster, to inhabit Alba or Scotland, down to the reign of this Fergus, as we shall tell hereafter, in treating of the reign of Erimhon. As to the stone above mentioned, the Alban Scots kept it carefully for many successive ages, until it at length fell into the hands of the English, where it remains to this day, under the throne upon which the king of England is crowned, having been forcibly carried off from the Abbey of Seone by king Edward the First. Now the prediction regarding the stone has been verified in our

⁶ Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,

Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

own times, in the case of our present king Charles (as it had been already in that of his father James); for he is descended from the Scotie race, through Mani, son of Core, son of Lugaidh of the line of Eber, son of Miledh. Thus, a man of the Scotie blood has been crowned, even king of England upon this stone.⁶ The second talisman brought by the Tuatha De-Dananns into Ireland, was the Sword of Lugaidh Lamfada (or Lugaidh of the long hand). It was from Gorias they brought this. The third talisman was the Spear that Lugaidh used in battle. This they brought from the city of Finias. The fourth talisman was the Cauldron of the Daghdá, brought from the city of Murias. Here follows a confirmation of the matters we have just narrated, as it is read in the Lebar Gabala (*or Book of Invasions*) in this *duan* or poem down here:

THE LAND of talismans, Sacred Dana,⁷
Was where they learned their science,
And became skilled in wizard lore,
And Druid rites, and Devilcraft.

The fair Iarbanèl, a prophet true,
Was son of Neunedh, son of Adnaman—
To this gray hero, mighty in spells
Was born Beòthach of wild deeds.

The clans of Beòthach, undying in fame,
After much toil and weariness,
Arrived, a large and mighty host,
With crowded ships in Lochlin.

There, four cities of great renown,
They held with sway supreme
In these, they blandly taught in schools
Each learned art and science fair.

Falias, Gorias, the bright
Finias, Murias of great deeds,
Of these proud cities were the names—
Their fame was like a bursting flood.

Morfios, Erus, the tall,
Arias and Semias, the severe,
Were the sages of these cities high—
To name them is a pleasing task.

Of Falias, Morfios was the sage,
The generous Erus taught in Gorias,
Semias in Murias, southern city,
While fair-haired Arias taught in Finias.

⁶ See note upon the name "Inis Fail," where this tradition has been proved doubtful.

⁷ It has been here assumed that the

word Danann, in the phrase Tuatha-De-Danann, to be in the genitive case, and translated accordingly.

They brought four talismans from afar,
 These chiefs of Dana's Sacred Tribes,
 A Sword, a stone, a copper cauldron,
 And a spear to strike down warriors tall.

From yon Falias came the Lia-Fail,
 Which was wont to roar 'neath Eri's king ;
 The Sword^a of Lugaidh, the long-handed,
 Most precious store was brought from Gorias.

From Finias, far away o'er sea,
 They brought the Spear^b of strong Lugaidh ;
 From Murias, the Daghdá's wondrous Cauldron—¹⁰
 A powerful treasure and an awful.

O King of Heaven, King of weak mankind,
 Protect me, King of the royal spheres !
 Thou who hast patience with the hates
 And with the littleness of mortal TRIBES."¹¹

When the Tuatha-De-Danann had remained seven years in the north of Scotland (or Alba), they passed over to Ireland and landed in the north of this country, on a May Monday. They then burned their ships, as the bard relates in the following *rann* :

“ Each warrior burned his ship,
 For he had reached the noble Eri—
 It was a sad sight to view
 The smoke of the ships as they burned.”

After this, the Tuatha-De-Danann, surrounded themselves with a magical mist for three days, so that none of the Fer-Bolgs could perceive them until they had reached Sliabh-an-Iarainn,¹² (*Slieve aneerinn*.) Thence they send an embassy to king Eocaidh, son of Ere, demanding of him either to deliver up the sovereignty of Ireland to themselves or to give them battle in its stead. Upon this, the battle of Southern Magh-Turedh (*Moy-Tureh*) was fought by the Fer-Bolgs against the Tuatha-De-Dananns. The Fer-Bolgs were broken in that fight, and ten thousand of them fell therein, as has been already told. There were thirty years between this engagement and the battle of North Magh-Turedh,¹³ as the bard thus observes,—

⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ For a more particular account of these talismans, see appendix.

¹¹ This duan begins and ends with the word “Tuath.” In the first instance, it means “country,” in the latter, “of tribes.” It is very usual for Gaelic duans to begin and end with the same word.

¹² *Sliabh-an-Iarainn*, i. e. the Iron Mountain, now Slieve-an-ieren, in the county of Leitrim.

¹³ “*Magh-Turedh*. This name is now applied to a townland in the parish of Kilmactranny, barony of Tírreall and county of Sligo. There are very curious monuments still to be seen on this battlefield.”—*O'D.'s Notes to the Four Masters*.

There was a long tale founded upon this battle, as well as upon that of South Magh-Turedh. Balor Bemenn, or Balbeimnech, i. e. of *stout blows*,

“ We know, that thirty years had passed,
From the fight at South Magh-Turedh,
To the fight of North Magh-Turedh,
In which fell Balar of the great host.”

Some antiquaries say, that the nation, of whom we are now treating, were called Tuatha-De-Danann from Brian,¹⁴ Iuchar and Iucharba, the three sons of Dana, daughter of Delbaeth, son of Elathan, son of Niadh, son of Indae, son of Allae, son of Tath, son of Tabarn, son of Euda or Enna, son of Bathach, son of Ibaath, son of Beðthach, son of Jarband, son of Nemedh. These three, namely, Brian, Iuchar and Iucharba, were so very famous for their great skill in all Heathen arts, that the whole of the Tuatha (i. e. Tribes) would have themselves called after them. Here follows a quotation which asserts that these three personages were the three gods (*Dèe*) of Dana.¹⁵ We read it in the *duan* commencing, “ Hearken, ye sages without stain.”

“ Brian, Iucharba and the great Iuchar,
The three gods of the Sacred Race of Dana,
Fell at Mana,¹⁶ on the resistless sea,
By the hand of Lugaidh, son of Ethlenn.”

It is also from Dana, the mother of these three, that we call those two hills in Luachair Degaidh in Desmond (*Slieve Loughra in Kerry*), the Paps of Dana.

Other antiquarians will have it that they received the name Tuatha-De-Danann from having been divided into three orders or castes. The first of these was called the “ Tuath:”¹⁴ it was to it that the rank of nobility and chieftainship belonged; even to this day the word “ Tuathach,” is synonymous with “ Lord.” And this is the more credible, from the fact that Bèchoill and

the leader of the Fomorians, was killed therein by a stone thrown at him from a sling by the son of his own daughter, namely Irigáill Lamfala. Kethlenn, the wife of Balar, fought with desperate valor, and wounded the Dagha, who afterwards became king of the Dananns. Nuadath of the Silver-hand, Ogma, and several other Danaans of note, were killed. In it also fell the heroine Kethlenn. The battle had been brought about by the intrigues of Bres, son of Elathan, who had been monarch of Ireland while Nuadath's hand was under cure. He fell himself therein, and his fall gave the victory to the Dananns.

¹⁴ *Brian, &c.* Upon these names and the following, nearly all of which are

mythological or allegorical, I will offer but little comment. Their enigmatical meaning was evidently not understood by the Gaelic bards, who handed them down. To attempt their solution now, while all that relates to this mystic people is so very obscure, would lead to a wide and too wild a field of conjecture for the limits of these notes. Let the reader form his own judgment thereupon.

¹⁵ *Dana.* I write this name *Dana* in English, for such I conceive to be its nominative form.

¹⁶ *Mana*—the Isle of Man.

¹⁷ *Tuath* means also a “ tribe,” a “ district,” a “ country”—the country in opposition to the town, &c.

Danann, two of their heroines or female rulers, were styled the *Ban-Tuathachs*,¹⁸ or, in English, the "female chiefs." It is thus the bard designates them in the following *rann*—

"The beloved Bèchoill and Danann,
Killed were these two *Ban-tuathachs*—
The evening of their magic came at last
Through the pale demons of the air."

Those of the second caste were called "Dèe;" and these were their Druids, (i. e. *the priests and diviners*.) The third caste, called Danann, was composed of such as were devoted to the arts, for "dan" (*dawn*) and "cèrd" (*caird*) mean the same thing, i. e. art or handicraft: thus they were named Dananns from their "dans" or arts.¹⁹

Here follows an enumeration of the most famous and noble persons of the Tuatha-De-Dananns, viz., Eocaidh the Ollamh, called The Daghdha, Ogma, Alloid, Bres and Delbaeth, the five sons of Elathan, son of Niad; and Manannàn, son of Alloid, son of Delbaeth; the six sons of Delbaeth, son of Ogma, namely Fiacadh, Ollamh, Indaei, Brian, Iuchar and Iucharba; Aengus Aedh, Kermad and Midir, the four sons of the Daghdha; Lugaidh, son of Kian, son of Diankèct, son of Esarg, son of Niad, son of Indaei. Gobnenn, the smith; Credni, the artist; Diankect, the physician; Luctan, the mason, and Carbri the poet, son of Tura, son of Turell; Begreo, son of Carbri Cat-kenn, son of Tabarn; Fiacadh son of Delbaeth, with his son Ollamh; Caicer and Neetan, the two sons of Namath; Eocaidh Garb, or the Rough, son of Duach-Dall; Sidomall the son of Carbri Crom, son of Elemar, son of Delbaeth; ERI, FODLA²⁰ and BANBA, the three daughters of Fiacadh, son of Delbaeth, son of Ogma, and Erin daughter of Edarlamh the mother of these women. The following are the names of their three goddesses, viz., Badb,²¹ Macha and Morighan.²² Bèchoil and Danann were their two "ban-tuathachs"

¹⁸ *Ban-tuathach* (*Bantooahagh*), is by some understood to mean sorceress. The succeeding *rann* seems to support this meaning.

¹⁹ The explanations above given of the national name of this people are most unsatisfactory. No doubt they had been divided into three orders or castes, but still that does not explain the name. The editor thinks that the following is the translation of the phrase, viz., "the Good" or "Sacred Tribes of Dana." Thus he takes "Dè," the second word in the sentence, to be a form of the common Irish prepo-

sitive adjective "Dègh," anciently "Dech," and now pronounced *Di* and *Dui*. Thus we say "Dègh-Mhuinter," (*Di-vuinter*), *good people*, "Deigh-bhen" (*Di-van*), a good or a beautiful woman, Danann is the only part of the sentence that, in his opinion, is generic, or that refers to the origin of this people.

²⁰ *Eri, &c.* From these Ireland is said to have received its three names, as above seen.

²¹ *Badb*, or *Balib* is pronounced "Bibe."

²² *Morrighan*, (*Mòr-reen*), i. e. *the great queen*.

(*ban-toohaghs*) or chief ladies. Brighid²³ (*Bree-yith*) was their poetess. Fè and Men were the ladies or "ban-tuathachs" of their two king-bards, and from them Magh-Femen²⁴ in Munster has its name. Of them also was Triathri Tore, from whom Tretherni in Munster is called. Cridinbèl, Brunni and Casmael were their three satyrists.

It was this nation that vanquished the Fomorians in the battle of North Magh-Turedh, and that had previously conquered the Fer-Bolgs, in the battle of South Magh-Turedh.

OF THE KINGS OF THE TUATHA-DE-DANANN.

NUADATH,²⁵ styled Argedlamh²⁶ or the Silver-handed, son of Ectach, son of Edarlamh, son of Ordan, son of Indaei, son of Al-laei, son of Tath, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years, until he fell in the battle of North Magh-Turedh by the hands of Elathan, son of Delbaeth, and of Balar, styled of mighty blows, the grandson of Niad.

BRES,²⁷ son of Elathan, son of Niad, son of Indaei, son of Allaei, ruled the kingdom of Ireland for seven years.

LUGAIDH, surnamed Lamfada, i. e. the Long-handed, son of Diankeet, son of Esarg Bree, son of Niad, son of Indaei, reigned as king of Ireland for forty years. It was this Lugaidh that first instituted the Assembly or Fair²⁸ of Talti (*Aenach Tailtinn*), as

²³ *Brighid*, otherwise Brighitt, i. e., "arrow of fire," was the Druidic goddess of poetry.

²⁴ *Magh-Femen*, otherwise Magh-Feimhen (*Moy Faiven*), is now called the barony of Iffa and Offa East, in the county of Tipperary. Slievenaman was anciently called Sliabh na mBan Feimhen, or the mountain of the women of Femen.

²⁵ *Nuadath*, the chief of this colony, is not placed in the book of Invasions as the first monarch of the Dananns. He was incapacitated from sitting on the throne, by the loss of his hand at Magh-Turedh; for at this, as at every period of Irish history, any corporal defect was a sufficient cause for exclusion from the monarchy. His cousin Bres was then the first king of Ireland, inaugurated on the famous Lia Fail. When furnished with the artificial hand of silver, Nuadath claimed the kingdom, and Bres was forced to resign, after a reign of seven years. It was

the intrigues of Bres with the subject Belgians and Fomorians, that led to the battle of North Magh-Turedh, where both himself and his rival lost their lives. O'Flaherty calls Bres himself a Fomorian.

²⁶ "*Arged-lamh*," i. e. Silver Hand, was perhaps originally intended nothing more than to express his bounteous and generous spirit. In course of time a popular fable was founded thereupon.

²⁷ *Bres* is set down before Nuadath by all our other Irish authorities. The Four Masters set down his reign thus—"The age of the world 3304—the first year of the reign of Bres, son of Elathan; for the Tuatha-de-Danann gave him the sovereignty, after they gained the battle of Magh-Turedh, while the hand of Nuadath was under cure."

²⁸ "This fair, at which various games were celebrated, continued down to the time of Roderic O'Connor, the last king of Ireland. The remains of a large

an annual commemoration of Talti, daughter of Maghmor, king of Spain, who had been at first the wife of Eocaidh, son of Erc, the last king of the Fer-Bolgs, but was afterwards married to Eocaidh Garb, a chieftain of the Tuatha-De-Dananns. It was by this lady, that Lugaidh-Lanfada had been fostered and educated until he became fit to bear arms. For this reason, Lugaidh instituted the games of the Fair of Talti, in remembrance and honor of her name. These games, which resembled those called Olympic in Greece, were celebrated for a fortnight before and a fortnight after Lammas; and it is from this commemoration, so inaugurated by him, that the calends of August are called Lughnasa (Loonasa), i. e. the "Nasadh" or memorial of Lugaidh; this is the day on which is now celebrated the feast of St. Peter's Chains (*Aug. 1st*). He fell at last by the hand of Mac Coill, at Caen-drom.²⁹

THE GREAT DAGHDA,³⁰ son of Delbaeth, son of Niad, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seventy years. He died at Brugh, of the effects of the wound he had received from the shaft cast at him by Kethlenn,³¹ in the battle of (North) Magh-Turedh. Eocaidh Ollathar was his real name.

DELBAETH, son of Ogma³² the Sun-sage, son of

earthen rath and traces of three artificial lakes, and other remains, are still to be seen there. To the left of the road as you go from Kills to Donaghpatrick, there is a hollow called 'Lag an Aenaig,' i. e. the hollow of the fair, where, according to tradition, marriages were solemnized in pagan times. Teltown was, until recently, resorted to by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling and other manly sports."—*O'D.'s Notes to the Four Masters.*

²⁹ *Kaendrum*, i. e. "the fair ridge," or "hill," was an ancient name of the hill of Usnagh, in Westmeath.

³⁰ *Daghda*. In the account of the Tuatha-de-Dananns, preserved in the book of Leean, it is stated that the Daghdha Mor (i. e. the Great Good Fire, so called from his military ardor), was for eighty years king of Ireland, and that he had three sons, Aengus, Aedh and Kernad, who were buried with their father at Brugh-na-Boinne, where the mound called "Sidh an Brogha" (*Sice an Vrowa*) was raised over them as a monument. Aengus an Bhrogha was considered the presiding fairy of the Boyne until recently. For some account of the monuments which anciently existed

at Brugh na Boinne, see Petrie's Round Towers. The monuments ascribed by the ancient Irish writers to the Tuatha-de-Dananns still remain, and are principally situated in Meath, near the Boyne, as at Drogheda, Dowth, Knowth and New Grange. There are other monuments of them at Cnoc-Aine and Gnoc-Greine (*Knockany* and *Knockgrany*), in the county of Limerick, and on the Pap mountains, *Da cich Danainne*, in the south-east of the county of Kerry. These monuments are of the most remote antiquity, and prove that the Tuatha-de-Dananns were a real people, though their history is so much wrapped up in fable and obscurity."—*O'D.'s Notes to the Four Masters.*

The Daghdha was one of their most famous magicians. He might have got his title from having been priest of the "Great Good Fire," i. e. the Sun.

³¹ *Kethlenn*, the wife of Balor Balbeimnech the Fomorian, and the grandmother of Lugaidh Lanfada, who slew Balor in the same battle. Inis Kethlenn, now Enniskillen, is called after the heroine. See *O'D.'s Notes to the Four Masters*, p. 23.

³² *Ogma Grian Eiges* (*Owma Green*

Delbaeth, son of Niad, was king of Ireland for ten years, at the end of which he died by the hand of his own son, Fiacadh.

FIACADH, son of Delbaeth, reigned ten years, and then was killed by Eogan, at Ard-Bree.

MAC COLL, MAC KEACT, and MAC GRËNI, the three sons of Kermad Milbeòl³³ or Milbèl, son of the Daghdà, reigned thirty years. Some antiquarians say, that these kings divided Ireland into three parts between them, and that each of them ruled his own share independently. So a certain historic bard tells us, in the following verse:

“ Mac Coll, Mac Kèact and Mac Grèni,
Those chieftains of proud deeds,
Into three parts divide her soil,
Though countless the hosts of Eri.”

Nevertheless, there was no such division of the country between these kings, but each of them held the sovereignty alternately for one year, as we have before observed, in speaking of the names of this island. They were all three killed in the battle of Talti or Taltenn (*now Telltown in Meath*).

The reason why these three sons of Kermad were called Mac³⁴ Coill, Mac Kèact and Mac Grèni, was because Coll (*the hazel tree*), Kèact (*the plough*), and Grian (*the sun*), were the three gods they adored. Coll,³⁵ then, was the god of Mac Coill, but Ethor was his real name, and Banba was his wife. Mac Kèact, too, Kèact³⁶ was his god, Tethor his name, and Folla his wife. Mac Grèni, lastly, had Grian for his god, Kèthor was his name, and Eri his wife. The proper name of Manannàn,³⁷ likewise, was Orbsen;

Aigess), i. e. “Ogma, learned in the Sun.” This name is mythological. Ogmius was the Apollo or God of Eloquence of the Gauls. Ogham by (*Owam*), is the name of the Mystic Druid alphabet of the Gaels, of which some say that this Ogma was the inventor.

³³ *Mil-Bheol (Mil-veol, Mil-vail*, i. e. “Honey Mouth,” i. e. “the eloquent or sweet-voiced.

³⁴ *Mac Coill*. Some understand “Mac” to mean “priest,” in these titles. It is however far-fetched.

³⁵ *Coll* was apparently a name for the divinity who presided over fruit-bearing trees, the Irish Pomona. The word is now applied to the hazel.

³⁶ *Ceacht* would seem to mean here the divinity presiding over agriculture, i. e. the Celtic Ceres. *Ceachta (Kayghta)*, is the common Irish name for the plough. *Cam-Ceachta*, i. e. the crook-

ed plough, is the usual name for the constellation Ursa Major. Cormac’s Glossary, also, in explaining the name Dian Kecht, tells us that “Ceeht” or “Ceacht” means medicine likewise.—See note upon *Diankect* given above.

³⁷ This Manannan is a personage famous in Irish legendary mythology. He would seem to have presided over the sea and the tempests. Of him O’Flaherty makes the following mention. “The merchant Orbsen was remarkable for carrying on a commercial intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain. He was commonly called Manannan Mac Lir, that is, Manannan (*Minksman*), from his intercourse with the Isle of Man; and Mac Lir, (*son of Ler*), i. e. offspring of the sea, because he was an expert diver; besides, he understood the dangerous parts of harbors; and from his prescience of the change of

and it is from him that Loch-Orbsen (*now Lough-Corrib*) is called, for it was when they were digging his grave that this lake burst over the land. It was of these people, that the following historic lay was sung :

“ Ethor was lordly—glory gained he—haughty the man—
 Coll was his God—O³⁸ of bright Daghdá—Banba his wife.
 Tèthor was bold—strong the fight—ruthless smote he—
 Fodla his wife—great deeds he wrought—in Kèact he believed.
 Kethor was comely—beauteous his form—generous was he—
 Eri his wife—queen of bounty was she—Grian was his God.
 Manannan, from the lake—son of Ler, of the endless expanse—
 Orbsen his name—after a hundred fights—the man found Death.”³⁹

According to the Psalter of Cashel, the Tuatha-De-Danann held the sovereign power in Ireland for two hundred years, less

weather, always avoided tempests. But he fell in a battle at Moy Cullin (*Magh Ullinn*), on the banks of the spacious lake Orbsen, which falls into the bay of Galway by the river Galway, having been run through by Ullinn, grandson or *Nuad* or *Nuadath*, monarch of Ireland, by his son Thady (*Tadg*). The place of the engagement was called after Ullinn, and the lake (Lough Corrib), after Orbsen.

³⁸ O is here to be understood in its literal sense; that is, “Grandson.” This word is otherwise written “*fa*.”

³⁹ The language and style of this mystic lay belongs to the most ancient class of Gaelic composition. Its allusions, with the exception of those that may be contained in the hidden meaning of the proper names themselves, are sufficiently explained by what went before. To pursue them further, would lead into an endless labyrinth of conjecture.

Of this Colony, the learned Dr. O'Donovan makes the following judicious remarks: “From the many monuments ascribed to this colony by tradition and in ancient Irish historical tales, it is quite evident that they were a real people; and from their having been considered gods and magicians by the Gaidhil or Scoti, who subdued them, it may be inferred that they were skilled in arts which the latter did not understand. Amongst these was Danann, the Mother of the Gods; Buannan, the goddess that instructed heroes in mili-

tary exercises; the Minerva Irish. *Badhbh (Boive)* the Belona of Irish; *Abortach*, the God of Music; *Nèd*, the God of War, and *Nemon* his wife; *Manannan*, the God of the Sea; *Diancècht*, the God of Physic; *Bright*, the Goddess of Poets and Smiths, &c.”

It appears, from a very curious and ancient tract written in the shape of a dialogue between St. Patrick and *Caoilti-MacRonain*, that there were very many places where the Tuatha-De-Dananns were then supposed to live as sprites or fairies, with corporal or material form, but endued with immortality. The inference naturally to be drawn from these stories is, that the Tuatha-De-Dannans lingered in the country for many centuries after their subjugation by the Gaidhil, and that they lived in retired situations, where they practiced abstruse arts, which induced the others to regard them as magicians. So late as the third century, *Ainë*, daughter of *Eògabal*, a lady of this race, was believed to be resident at *Cnoc-Ainë*, in the county of Limerick, where she was ravished by *Oluid Olum*, king of Munster.

It looks very strange that our genealogists trace the pedigree of no family, living for the last thousand years, to any of the kings or chieftains of the Tuatha-De-Dananns, while several families of the *Fir-Bolgie* descent are mentioned as in *Hy-Many* and other parts of Connaught.—*Notes to Four Masters*.

by three, that is for one hundred and ninety-seven years, in all.
Here follows a *rann*, quoted in proof of this reckoning:

One hundred years and ninety-seven,
This reckoning is most true,
The Tuatha-Dé-Danann strongly reigned
Over Eri in supreme sway.

END OF THE FIRST TRACT.

PART II.¹

CHAPTER I.

OF THE TRACING OF THE SCOTIC RACE TO ITS FOUNDER, JAPHET.

To enable us to trace the Scotie race to its root, that is, to Japhet, we must observe that his two sons, Gomer and Magog, were the most distinguished of his offspring. Moses, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, where he gives the genealogy of the race of Japhet, tells us that Gomer had three sons, whose names were Aschenez, Riphath, and Togarmah; but he does not specially mention the sons of Magog by their names. Besides, as it is on the historians of the tribe of Scot, that it is peculiarly incumbent to trace the lineage of the princes sprung from Magog, and, particularly those of the race of Fenius Farsa, we shall here set down a detailed account of the descendants of Magog, according to the Book of Invasions, which is called (*the Book*) of Drom-Snecta,² an authority which existed before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland.

This states that Magog had three sons, namely, Baath, Ibaath, and Fathacta. From Baath descended Fenius Farsa, the ancestor of the Gaelic nation. From Ibaath sprang the Amazons,³ Bactri-

¹ *Part II.* The present division of the *Foras Feasa*, is headed Book I, Part II, in Halliday's edition, and in one of three MSS. from which this translation is made. In the other two, which are the more ancient and correct, no such heading is found.

² *Drom-Snecta.* This book is unknown to modern Irish scholars. It has possibly been lost, since Keating's time. Drom Snecta, i. e. *the Saowy Ridge*, is now called Drumsnat, co. Monaghan, where there was once a monastery, founded by St. Molua.

³ *Amazons.* The Amazons were a famous nation of antiquity, who flourished in Asia Minor (Turkey in Asia), previous to the Trojan war. They ex-

tended their empire from Cappadocia, eastwards, along the Euxine or Black Sea, and thence to the Caspian, and northwards again to the river Tanais or Don. Their women were fabled to have monopolized the trade of arms. Penthesilia, one of their queens, came to assist Priam at the Trojan war, where she was slain by Achilles. The Amazons were said to have founded Smyrna, Ephesus, and several other distinguished cities of Asia Minor.—Some of the adventures attributed to the ancestors of the Gaels, must have taken place within their territories, or rather, within the territories assigned to them by primeval tradition, if they took place anywhere.

ans,⁴ and Parthians;⁵ and from Fathaeta came Parthoian, who was the first colonizer of Ireland after the Deluge, as well as Nemedh, son of Agnaman or Adnaman, and, consequently, the Fer Bolgs, and Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, as we have mentioned above, in giving an account of their conquests of the island. Of the race of this Fathaeta, too, came Attila, who subjected Pannonia to his sway, and who continued long to harass the Roman Empire, and who laid waste and depopulated Aquileia, and made many invasions into Germany. From Scythia, too, and of the race of Magog, was Zeliobes, king of the Huns,⁶ who made war upon the Emperor Justinian. Hence, too, came the Longobardi⁷ or Lombards, and the Hungarians and Goths.⁸ From Scythia came the

⁴ *Bactrians.* The country of the Bactrians lay to the east of Persia. They seem to have been originally of the same race with the Persians. They claimed the great Persian lawgiver, Zoroaster, as their first king. They bordered upon that indefinable region which the ancients called Scythia.

⁵ *Parthians.* This indomitable nation fixed its dwelling south-east of the Caspian Sea, on the north-western borders of Persia proper. They were, in the beginning, undoubtedly, the same people as the Persians, of whose name Parthian is but a dialectic variation. The Parthians were said to be of Scythian origin, as in truth they might, for their ancestors (as, perhaps, the ancestors of all mankind) were originally "Scythians," i. e. "Nomads," living in tents, as the Arabs and Tartars do still. The Teutonic or Germanic nations of Europe are, with considerable probability, supposed to be descended from portions of the Parthian or Persian people, who had proceeded northwards and westwards on the track of the Celts and Kimri, in search of new settlements, or, perhaps, to avoid the yoke of their brethren, who began to build themselves towns, and who had changed the "Scythic" for a more settled mode of living.

⁶ *Huns.* The Huns were originally a Tartar race of Mongolian type and origin, speaking a language resembling somewhat those of the Semitic races, and akin to the tongues spoken by the Finlanders and Laplanders in the north of Europe. The Huns who invaded

the Roman empire, came from the north of the Great Wall of China. The great family of languages, one of which is spoken by the Huns, i. e. the Hungarians of the present day, is styled Uralian by philologists. If the word "Scythic" be equally applicable, as a title implying national descent, to the Scots, the Huns, and the two next mentioned nations, it might, without losing much of its distinctive significance, be exchanged for that of Adamite or Noachic.

⁷ *Longobardi.* These people, otherwise called Lombards, were a Germanic nation of the Saxon race, who in A. D. 568, conquered a settlement in the north-east of Italy. The pure Saxon type, whence they sprung, may be still seen in the north-west of Germany and the south-eastern shires of England.—Fair-haired Scythians, such as they must have been, could not have participated in the blood of the Mongolian Huns since the days of Nimrod, who, according to Pinkerton, was, it would seem, not only a Scythian and Scot, but also a Goth.

⁸ *Goths.* The Goths or Gothi, who are also called Gothones and Gythones, were, like the last-mentioned, a Teutonic or Germanic nation. They first appear in history under the name of Gots, a people of European Scythia, dwelling near the borders of Thrace. A dialect of the Gothic language, as spoken in the fourth century, has been preserved in the translation of the Bible made by Ulfilas, styled the "Liber Argentus," or Silver Book. If

Dauni,⁹ from whom Daunia, in Italy, which is now called Apulia, has its name. The Turks,¹⁰ also, came from Scythia. But, in short, Buchanan, an investigator into the ancient history of the world, asserts, after Epiphanius,¹¹ that the Scythians obtained

it be Scythian, it differs from the Scythian of the Huns, as represented by the modern Hungarians, and also from the Scythian of the Turks and Tartars, as widely as any one language can.

At a period supposed, with good reason, to be long subsequent to the Celtic and Cimbric or Kimric occupation of Northern and Central Europe, a portion of the Gothic nation settled in Scandinavia, and gave the name of Gothia to a province of Sweden, and Gothland to an isle in the Baltic Sea. Still more recently, in A. D. 452, another portion of the same race conquered Spain, and gave the name of Gotalaunia or Catalonia to one of its provinces. Many of the geographical and historical impossibilities recorded by our later bards and Shenachies, of the wanderings and adventures of the early colonists of Ireland previous to their several arrivals in that country; and more especially of the Gaelic or Scotie colony, are justly attributed to the Latinizing of the "Gaethlacimh" or "Gèthlacimh" (*Gaithluceve*) and "Gaethluidhe" (*Gaithluce*) the early pagan bards, by "Gothia" and "Gothi." According to the learned O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, "Gaethlacimh" meant "Gaetulia," a country of Northern Africa. That it did so, is evident both from the form of the word itself and from the descriptions given of its situation in our old historic *duans*.

When the Irish or Scots, after their conversion, came first into close contact with continental Europe, they found the "Gothi" settled in Spain, and without any other authority than the identity of the two first consonants of their name with those of the name of the "Gaethluidhe," they might have concluded, that those were the people with whom their remote ancestors had contended for the masterdom, both of that country and Northern Africa. Hence came the Gaelic rule in Gothia (Gaethlacimh), during eight generations, and their impossible voyage thither from

Egypt by the way of Crete, and thence northwards through the Buxine, Caspian, and the narrow sea by the Riphean Mountains, leading into the ocean, which Dr. Keating so naively repeats to us a little further on.

⁹ *Dauni*. This people settled in Apulia before the Trojan war, came, as we are told, originally from Illyricum, a country lying along the Eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea or Gulf of Venice. They were ruled by Daunus, son of Pilumnus and Danaë, when the Grecian hero Diomedes came to plant his colony amongst them. They were themselves probably of the Pelasgic, that is, of the Greek race. Their ancestors were Scythians, of course, for, at this early period, European Scythia must have extended southward as far as the Grecian frontier. The modern provinces of Croatia, Bosnia, and Slavonia comprehend the ancient Illyricum. They are now inhabited by Slavonic tribes; tribes of rather recent Scythian origin, and differing extremely from all the Scythians yet mentioned.

¹⁰ *Turks*. The Turks of Europe are a branch of a nation of Nomadic Tartars from the region of Asia, north of the Persians, by whom they were anciently called Touranians. They are men of repulsive aspect, according to European notions, and the majority of them still continue to dwell in tents, and lead migratory lives—the only points in which they can be said to resemble those other Scythians already spoken of, with, perhaps, the exception of the Huns.

¹¹ *Epiphanius*, Bishop of Salamis, wrote in the second century. His works contain some valuable historical fragments. The *universal dominion* spoken of by him in the passage here referred to, can only mean that founded by Nimrod, or his son Ninus, in Assyria. Thus we have another family of the human race included under the denomination of Scythian, and see Scythia ex-

universal dominion shortly after the Flood, and that their sovereignty existed until after the captivity of Babylon; and the same authors inform us that other nations received institutions, laws and ordinances, from the Scythians, and that they were the first people, who rose to dignity and glory after the Deluge. Johannes Baronius, in the ninth chapter of the second book of his History of the Manners of all Nations, says that the Scythians were never subjected by any other power, while Josephus tells us, that the Greeks designated Scythia by the name of Magogia. Johannes Nauclerus informs us, that there were many of the Scythian descent, that performed very glorious exploits. Herodotus bears testimony to this in his fourth book, where he mentions, that the Scythians repelled Darius disgracefully from Scythia. Justin also bears testimony to it, where he proclaims the greatness of the actions performed by the inhabitants of Scythia. These are the words of this author: "The Scythians remained always free from all foreign subjugation. They repelled Darius, king of Persia, disgracefully from Scythia; they slew Cyrus with his whole army; they destroyed, in like manner, Zopiron, the general of Alexander the Great, with all his forces. They had heard, indeed, of the Roman power, but never felt it."¹² From these words it may be understood that the Scythians retained their great valor and courage to this author's time.

Scots—The Gaels, so called from Scythia.

It is also asserted, in the first book of the Polichronicon, that it is from this Scythia¹³ that the descendants of Gaedal Glas are

tending its bounds southward to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Pinkerton, in his endeavor to prove that his favorite Gothic race were the earliest rulers of the world, and the cream of humanity ever since, quotes several ancient authorities to prove that the "Scythic," by which he would have understood the Gothic empire, lasted from the Deluge to the building of the Tower of Babel. What that Scythic empire means may be collected by comparing the words of Eusebius, quoted also by him, with the traditions of Holy Writ. Eusebius says: *Σχυθισμος απο του πυργου αχρι του κατακλυσιμου*, which he correctly translates, "From the Deluge to the building of the Tower of Babel *Scythism* prevailed." But this, surely, does not mean that there was a Scythic (as he would have

it a Gothic Empire) previous to Nimrod. Its obvious meaning is, that the mode of life called "Scythism" prevailed over the earth immediately after the Deluge. Scythia must then have comprehended the whole inhabited world. Neither Gaels, nor Goths, nor Greeks had then distinct existence as nations of men; Jew and Gentile were alike Scythian, or, if it so be, Gothic.

¹² *Seythae ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti aut invicti manserunt; Darium, regem Persarum, turpi ab Scythia summoerunt fuga; Cyrum, cum omni exercitu, trucidarunt; Alexandri Magni ducem Zopirona, pari ratione cum copiis universis deleverunt; Romanorum audire sed non sentire arna.*

¹³ *Scythia.* This extensive region comprised, within the better known

called Scots; and as far as I know, it is not more proper to call the people of Gallic extraction who are now dwelling in Ireland, "Goill," i. e. Galli or Gauls, from Gallia or France, whence they derive their origin, than to name the Gaelic nation Scots from Scythia, the country whence they had sprung. And this is the reason why those of the posterity of Fathaeta, son of Magog, who obtained sovereignty in Gothia, Thrace and Achaia, namely, Partholan, son of Sera, with his people; Nemedh, son of Agnaman, from whom the Nemedians have their name; the Fer-Bolgs and the Tuatha-De-Dananns, are all named Scythian Greeks (Gregaigh Scitia), because Scythia was the land from which they had first migrated in the beginning; and I likewise think, that the reason why the posterity of Gaedal, son of Niul, son of Fenius Farsa, are more especially called Scots, is because it was this Fenius Farsa here mentioned, and his descendants, that obtained the sovereignty of Scythia. Niul was the youngest son of Fenius, and did not obtain any portion of his father's territories, whence he could name himself and his descendants, though Fenius himself, and his own brothers, had previously got for their shares

periods of ancient history, all the countries in Europe and Asia, contained in the modern Russian Empire, including Poland, and all the region known as Great Tartary therewith. In addition to this, it contained, in Europe, the centre and North of Germany, and the whole of Scandinavia, and extended, apparently, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Danube, the Black Sea, the borders of Persia, the Himalaya Mountains and China to the Northern Ocean. In still earlier times, it comprised a great part of Asia Minor. It was inhabited, or rather roamed over by numerous and, as before shown, widely distinct races of men. Inasmuch that the term Scythian must cease to have any precise meaning, as indicative of any peculiar race or breed of human beings. The Scythian region was the backwood region of antiquity, and was constantly narrowing its limits as men settled down in fixed dwellings, and dropped their primeval usage of dwelling in movable tents. So that when we read of Scythian conquests in ancient times, we can only understand thereby that some people yet leading a pastoral or nomadic mode of life conquered some others that had already given up its "Scythic" habits. Some

derive the word Scythian from a root akin to the Greek *σχεδαω*, the English "scatter," or the Irish "Sgeith" (*Skeh*). If so, it would be equally applicable to all the tribes scattered from before Babel. Its being akin to the national name of the "Goths" or the "Getæ" is very doubtful, (though they certainly were a "Scythic" people), and its immediate kindred with that of the Scots is scarcely less so. The Gaels do not appear to have ever taken any of their names from any country they had dwelt in. All their names are ancestral; and as the names of Scot and Scota occur more than once in their genealogy, we may rest satisfied, that it was from some of the persons so denominated they took the name, and not from Scythia, a name which, to borrow a comparison from a learned opponent of Gaelic tradition, who would make the Scots out to be Goths not Gaels, seems to have been applied with as little discrimination by the writers of antiquity to all the nomadic tribes of Europe and Central Asia, as the term Indian is applied at the present day at once to the wild red men of America, and to the polished natives of Hindostan.

countries, from which both themselves and their respective races were designated. On this account Niul enjoined his posterity to name themselves after Scythia, and to keep alive the memory of their original home, by forever calling themselves Scots; for, they had received no laud as their inheritance, Niul having been left no other possession by his father but the knowledge of the sciences and of the various tongues; for the undivided sovereignty of Scythia had been left to the eldest son.

Gaedal not the Son of Argus or of Cœrops.

Some Latin authors say that Gaedal was the son either of Argus¹⁴ or of Cœrops,¹⁵ who reigned over the Argivi; but that cannot be true, for St. Augustine tells us that that family began to reign about the time that Jacob was born, that is, about four hundred and thirty-two years after the Flood; and again, the same author informs us, that the sovereignty of that family lasted but two hundred and fifteen years; from which it follows, that the rule of the Argive line terminated about six hundred and sixty-seven years after the Deluge. It is impossible, then, that the last-mentioned facts can be true, if we admit that Gaedal was descended from Argus or Cœrops, for Hector Boetius, in his History of Scotland, and all the books that treat of the conquests of Ireland, assert that the Gaels were in Egypt, at the time that Moses ruled the Children of Israel in that land. The Book of Conquests informs us, moreover, that it was about this time that Scota, daughter of Pharoah Cingris, bore Gaedal or Gael to Niul, son of Fenius Farsa, son of Baath, son of Magog. The time that Moses began to govern the Children of Israel in Egypt, was about seven hundred and ninety-seven years after the Flood; and, according to this computation, there were about three hundred and forty-five years from the time of Argus or of Cœrops, until Gaedal was born. It is, then, impossible, that the latter could have been the son of either of those kings. It is also false to assert, that it was from Greece that Gaedal went into Egypt; and that the reason why it was said, that it was from Scythia he went thither, was because, according to a certain author, it was from Setin¹⁶ that he had emigrated, and hence they say that Scythia is the same as "iath na Seach" (*ceah na Skagh*), i. e. "the land of thorns." But "iath," when it means "land," terminates in "th" or "dh;" and also, in writing the word Scythia, there is no "c"

¹⁴ *Argus* was the fourth king of Argos, a city founded by Inachus, about 1856 years before Christ.

¹⁵ *Cœrops* was the founder of the Athenian nation. He was a native of

Egypt. He led his colony to Attica about 1556 years before the Christian era.

¹⁶ *Setin*. It is unknown to the editor what place is here called by this name.

in the middle of the word, as would be necessary in a compound word of the supposed formation; neither does Scythia terminate in a "dh" or "th." Hence it is an unfounded conjecture to suppose, that Scythia could mean "the land of thorns," according to any Gaelic etymology.

It is also a very weak proof of the Gaels having drawn their origin from Greece, to argue that there exists a resemblance between the Irish and the Greeks in their manners, customs, and games, and that they must be, consequently, derived thence; for every colony that came and occupied Ireland, since the Deluge, had set out from Greece, except those of the Gaels and Nemedians. Partholan had set out from Migdonia;¹⁷ the Fer-Bolgs from Thrace, and the Tuatha-De-Dananns from Achaia, near Beotia and the city of Athens. For which reason, though the Gaels did not observe any of the manners and customs of the Greeks, on their arrival in Ireland, still they might have acquired them from such of the Tuatha-De-Dananns and Fer-Bolgs, their predecessors, as yet remained in the country, although they had never been in Greece themselves, nor their founder Gaedal, nor any of his forefathers.

CHAPTER II.

HERE FOLLOWS AN ACCOUNT OF SOME FACTS RELATIVE TO
FENIUS FARSA, THE GRANDFATHER OF GAEDAL.

FENIUS FARSA,¹ having become king of Scythia, determined to acquire a perfect knowledge of the various languages that had sprung long before his time from the confusion of tongues at the

¹⁷ *Migdonia*, perhaps *Mæonia*, i. e. "Greig Medhonach" (*Graig Maydnagh*)

¹ *Fenius Farsa*. Fenius Farsa, otherwise Farsaidh, was possibly the same as that Phoenix who, according to the fragments attributed to Sanco-niathon, was the second of the Phœnician kings. Grecian legend tells us, that Phoenix was the son of Agenor and the brother of Cadmus, the founder of Thebes in Beotia, and also the inventor, or rather the introducer of

letters into Greece. This is rather a remarkable coincidence with the bardic account given of our great ancestor Fenius. The name Fenius itself, coupled with the legend attached to it, prove at least the intimate connection of our remote progenitors with the Phœnicians. The universality of the tradition regarding him, and the fact that his descendants, who, as before said, never took any but ancestral names, calling both themselves and a dialect of their language Fëinni (*Fuinne*) from

Tower of Babel, which Nimrod, through pride, had spent forty years in erecting; for, from the time of Adam until the confusion of tongues at the Tower, there had been but one universal language known amongst mankind. This language is called *Goir-Tighern* (*Gor-teeyern*), as the bard tells us in the following verse:

“ *Goir-Tighern*,² that tongue was called,
Used by the gifted sons of God,
And by all great Adam's seed,
Ere Nimrod reared his fatal Tower.”

This language the Latin writers call the “*Lingua Humana*,” i. e. the Human Language. But when Nimrod, with his kindred, were attempting to erect the Tower, their language was confounded, in order to prevent their finishing the structure which their pride had prompted them to begin; and the original language, received from Adam, was taken from all that were concerned in building it. It was, however, retained by Heber, the son of Selah, and by his tribe, and, from him, it has been called Hebrew.

The principal motive that induced Fenius to go dwell on the plain Shenaar with his school, was in order that he might there be constantly in intercourse with those whose native language was the Hebrew, and thus, that both himself and his school might obtain a full and perfect knowledge of that tongue. But, when Fenius had, as we have mentioned, resolved upon becoming a perfect master of those various tongues, he dispatched, at his own expense, seventy-two persons of learning to the several countries of the three parts of the world that were then inhabited. These he commanded to remain abroad seven years, so that each of them might learn the language of the country in which he was to reside, during that time. Upon the return of these men to Scythia³ at the end of the seven years, Fenius set out with them to the plain of Shenaar, bringing with him a great number of the Scythian youth, having left his eldest son, Nenual, to rule in his stead, as the poet⁴ relates in the following duan :

him, prove that he was a real personage, whenever and wherever he did live. The epithet “*Farsa*” or *Farsaidh*,” is usually rendered by “sage.” It may, however, be a form of “*Persa*” i. e. Persian, or of “*Parthian*.”

² *Goir-Tighern*. This name means the “*Word*” or “*Call of the Lord*.” It is compounded of the words “*goir*,” *call*, and “*tigherna*” (*teeyerna*), “*a lord*.”

³ *Scythia*. The country from which Fenius came, may have lain some-

where on the borders of the Euxine Sea. Perhaps between the Caspian, and Euxine, in the neighborhood of Colchis. There are two adjacent countries in that region, whose ancient names, *Iberia* and *Albania*, bear a striking resemblance to *Hibernia* and *Alba*, genitive *Alban*—names of the adjacent countries Ireland and Scotland—but chance does sometimes work out strange coincidences.

⁴ *The poet*. The author of the ensuing lay was (*Macl-Muiriri Othna*)

Fenius set out from Scythia
 With his great host—
 A glorious hero, wise and learned,
 Strong, triumphant.
 There was but one tongue in the world
 When they began it—
 There were full twelve tongues and thrice twenty
 When they were scattered.
 A great school of learning formed sage Fenius
 For every science—
 A divine hero, sage and learned
 In all language.

Our Shenachies tell us that sixty years had passed, from the building of the Tower of Babel to the time when Fenius came southward with his school, from Scythia, to the plain of Senaar, as a poet thus recounts:

“Thrice twenty well-told years had passed,
 (’Tis thus our sages tell the story),
 When Fenius from the north came down,
 Since haughty Nimrod reared his tower.”

Fenius then founded a school for the various languages on the plain of Senaar, near a city which the Book of Drom-Sneeta calls *Athenæ*,⁵ as the bard thus tells us:

“On Senar’s plain, when the Tower was strown,
 The earliest school was held;
 There sages taught in every tongue—
 To Athens thence has science sped.”

Hither all the youth of the neighboring countries came to receive instruction in the various tongues, from him and his professors. The three sages that held the chief direction of this great school were Fenius Farsa, from Scythia; Gaedal, son of Ethòr, of the race of Gomer, from Greece; and Caei, the Elo-

called otherwise Mael-Muiri of Fathan. He died, according to the Four Masters, in 884. In the book of Invasions he is described as a “truly learned and skilful poet,” whose works are distinguished for loftiness of thought and strength of expression. Three valuable historical poems by Mael-Muiri are preserved in the books of Invasions and Lecan.—*Hardiman’s Irish Minstrelsy*.

⁵ *Athenæ*. The ensuing “rann,” which has not been given in Halliday’s edition, does not bear out the construction given to it in Keating’s prose, to

wit, “near a city called *Athenæ*.” Its exact words are, “I g-cathair *Athenæ iar Sin*,” i. e. verbatim, “In the city of *Athenæ* after that.” It is not known whether there was any ancient city called *Athenæ* in that quarter, but there was one called “Scythopolis,” i. e. the Scythian city—a name that might be rendered into modern Gaelic by “Cathair” or “Baile na Sgot,” or Scotbhailé (*Ball’ na Skot* or *Scotvallí*), i. e. the town of the Scots. The Greek *πολις*, the Latin “villa,” and the Gaelic “baili” or “baile” (*baill’y*), are words derived from a common root.

quent (or the Just), from Judea, or Iar, son of Nemha, as others call him, and as the bard thus relates :

“The names of those three learned sages
To you I quickly can reveal—
Gaedal, the son of the worthy Ethòr,
Fenius, and Iar the son of Nemha.”

Another poet records the names of these sages thus :

“Fenius, sage of the flowing tongue,
Gaedal and Caei, of truthful words,
Were the three chiefs of this scholar band,
That followed the true paths of the authors.”

These three inscribed the alphabets of the three principal languages upon wooden tablets, namely: the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. Thus we are informed by Kennfaela, the learned in the Uraicept or Grammar, which he wrote in the days of St. Columbkille. The same author says that Nin mac Peil, or Ninus, son of Belus, son of Nimrod, was monarch of the world at that time; and he further informs us, that it was about this time that Niul, son of Fenius Farsa, was born; and that Fenius continued twenty years president of the school, in order that his son might become perfectly skilled in the various languages. As, according to some of our historians, it was in the forty-second year of the reign of Ninus, son of Belus, that this great school was established by Fenius Farsa on the plain of Senaar, I judge that he continued there for ten years of the reign of Ninus, and ten years after that king's death, before he returned to Scythia; for, all historians agree, that he spent twenty years presiding over his school, previous to his return to his kingdom. I am also of opinion, that it was about two hundred and forty-two years after the Flood, that this school was founded by Fenius, on the plain of Senaar; for I find by the computation of Belarmine,^o in his Chronicle, that it was in the year of the world 1856, that Ninus, son of Belus, began his reign, which would leave, according to the Hebrew computation, which Belarmine followed, sixteen hundred and fifty-six years from the beginning of the world to the Deluge. To this we must add the forty years of the reign of Ninus, that had been spent before Fenius began his school; so that, according to this reckoning, he founded his school two hundred and forty-two years after the Flood, and spent twenty years in gov-

^o *Belarmine.* Cardinal Belarmine, Catholicity, the “Eochair Sciath an Arfriinn,” must have made him well conversant with the works of this learned and distinguished prelate.
Dr. Keating's own work in defence of

erning it; that is, ten years of the reign of Ninus, and ten afterwards. Then, at the end of these twenty years, Fenius returned to Scythia and founded other schools of learning in that country, and he set Gaedal, son of Ethor, as president over them.

Fenius then commanded Gaedal, son of Ethor, to regulate and arrange the Gaelic, or Irish language, into the five dialects,⁷ in which we find it at the present day, to wit: the *Bèrla Fèni*⁸ (*Bairla Faineh*), *Bèrla na ffiledh*⁹ (*velleh*), the *Bèrla Edarsgartha*¹⁰ (*adarskarha*), the *Bèrla Thebide*¹¹ (*Thaibee*), and the *Gnath-Bèrla*¹² (*Gnah-vairla*), and to name them all in common from himself. Thus it is from Gaedal, son of Ethor, that our language is called "*Gaeidilg*"¹³ (*Gaylga* or *Gueelga*) in English, Gaelic or Gaedalic, and not from Gaedal Glas, the ancestor of the Gaels, as some imagine. It was also, through friendship for this Gaedal,¹⁴ son of Ethor, that Niul, son of Fenius Farsa, gave the name of Gaedal to the son he had by Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Cingris; thus we are informed by the learned Kennfaela in his *Uraicept*.

⁷ *Dialects.* At this period the Gaelic, as afterwards spoken in Ireland, could have had no separate or distinct existence. It is itself, though extremely ancient, but a dialect of the Pelasgic or Japethian tongue of Europe, formed thereon by the admixture of some foreign element, as shall be seen by the vocabularies, which, if space allow, shall be given at the end of this work. The arrangement of the Gaelic into dialects must then be understood, merely to refer to the introduction of letters amongst his nation by Fenius, through the agency of Gaedal, son of Ethor—that is, by some person whom the Gaels call by that name.

⁸ *Bèrla Fèni.* The Fenian dialect may be called the sacred language of the Irish. Many tracts written therein are still in existence.

⁹ *Bèrla na ffiledh.* This might be more appropriately called a style than a dialect. The phrase means the language of the poets, i. e. the *Filès* (*filleh*) or Bard-sages.

¹⁰ *Bèrla Edarsgartha.* "Edarsgartha" may mean either *intermediate* or *selected*. It is a word of recent formation, compounded of "edar," or "idir," *between*, and sgartha (sgarha), *divided* or *separated*. The participle of the verb "sgar," *divide*, &c.

¹¹ *Bèrla Thebide.* This was the phy-

sicians' dialect, according to some authorities; others will translate it the "Theban dialect."

¹² *Gnath Bèrla* means the vulgar or usual language. It may be translated, Common Language. To these, some add the "*Bèrlagar na Saer*" (*Bairlaggar na Sayre*), or Dialect of Artisans, which is still in use amongst some old-fashioned masons in Ireland. It contains many old words, bearing a close affinity to the Eastern languages, such as that of "Aes," a *man*, to the Hebrew "Aish." A vocabulary of it should be made out, before it becomes altogether extinct. "Saer," the Gaelic for "Artisan," and more especially for "mason," means, also, "freeman."

¹³ *Gaeidilgè.* The fact here stated is very improbable. The language must have had its name from the same source with the nation that used it.

¹⁴ *Gaedal.* Of the derivations here given for this name, the Gothic and Irish ones are entirely inadmissible. They are, like most of the derivations of Irish names recorded by Dr. Keating, mere puns. The derivation from "Gadol" is possible and natural, if the name be of Semitic origin. If, however, it be Japethian, the root must be some word like either "Gaed," "Gaeth," or "Gèth," upon which it could have been formed by the simple addition of the

It is a disputed question amongst authors whence this word Gaedal is derived. Buchanan says that it comes from the words "goethin," i. e. "noble," and "al" i. e. all, and that it thence means "all noble;" or from the Hebrew word "gadöl," i. e. great, because Gaedal, son of Ethor who, the first that bore the name, was *great* in learning, in wisdom and in the languages. But our own shannachies tell us, that he was called Gaedal from the Irish words "gaeith" and "dil," i. e. lover of wisdom; for "gaeith" means "wisdom," and "dil" means "loving" or "fond;" thus the Greek called a sage *philosophos*, i. e. a philosopher, or a "lover of wisdom."¹⁵

To return to Fenius, we are not told that he had any more children than his two sons, Nenual and Niul. So the bard tells us in the following verse:

"Two sons had Fenius (the truth I tell),
Nenual and our father Niul;
Niul was born by the eastern Tower,
Nenual in Seythia of bright shields."

When Fenius¹⁶ had reigned over Scythia for twenty years, after his return from the plain of Shenaar, finding himself near his

regular Celtic suffix "al," just as "Tamal," *awhile*, is derived from "Tam," *time*. "Gaeth" means in Irish the *wind*, a *dart*, *arrow*, &c. It may even be a synonyme for "Scot," which, also, in one of its acceptations, is said to mean an arrow. However, the original derivation of the man's name is of no moment, as whatever be its primary root, it cannot determine his nation.

¹⁵ *Wisdom*. This is, also, a very common acceptation of the sound expressed by the above characters, i. e. *Gaih* or *Gueh*. It must, however, come from some source perfectly distinct from those of "Gaeth" (*gayh*), the wind, which seems cognate with the English "gust," and "ghost," and of "gaeth," otherwise "gai," an *arrow*, *shaft*, *javelin*, &c.

¹⁶ *Fenius*. Of this ancient sage, O'Flaherty gives the following account: "Fenisius, Fenius, Parsaidh, or Phoenius, the great grandson of Japhet, by his son, Magog, and the progenitor of the Irish of the Scottish line, from whom they are called Fenii, Fenisii, Phoeni, and Fenisiaë, was the first inventor of the Scottish letters. He is

reported to have newly formed the Irish language, or to have selected it from the languages then just dispersed, in the school held on the plains of Senaar, composed of those sages learned in the seventy-two tongues. Therefore it is called Bêrla Tebide, which, according to some, means the "selected language." . . . We are, indeed, advised by the mythology of the ancients to infer from this that Fenius was one of leaders of families after the confusion of tongues, and that the language that fell to his posterity was reduced by him into a literary form . . . For, to compose a language at that time, would but serve to increase the confusion and intricacy. On this account only is he said to have formed one—because he eternized it by the gift of letters, and corrected and improved it by grammatical rules. The mythologists, concealing truths beneath the guise of fiction, have told us that men were made by Prometheus, and that the enchanting strains of Orpheus and Amphion obliged the trees to quit their ancient plantations, and the rocks themselves, animated by the sound of the lyre, to flock to build

death, he bequeathed the sovereignty of Scythia to Nenual, his eldest son; but to Niul, his youngest son, he left nothing but the advantages to be derived from his disseminating and teaching the knowledge which he possessed of the sciences and of the various languages in the common schools of the kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE TRAVELS OF NIUL FROM SCYTHIA TO EGYPT, AND OF HIS ADVENTURES THERE TILL HIS DEATH.

WHEN Niul¹ had spent a long time in teaching the public schools in Scythia, the fame of his learning and wisdom had gone forth into all countries, insomuch that Pharaoh Cingris,

the walls of Thebes. They tell us of wild beasts divesting themselves of their ferocity, and of other monstrous and incredible things, because by their wisdom and eloquence these men had civilized and humanized the rude manners of their fellows. Thus Horace says :

“Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque
Deorum,
Cædibus et victu foedus deterruit
Orpheus.
Dictus ab hoc lenire tigres, rapidosque
leones :
Saxa movere sono testudinis et prece
blanda
Ducere quo vellet.”

IN ENGLISH.

Orpheus, sacred prophet of the gods,
From carnage and from horrid meals
A rude and savage race deterred.
And hence, we sing, that with his
lyre's
Soft music bland, he tigers fell
And bounding lions gently tamed ;
That his sweet voice and thrilling
notes
Moved sluggish rocks to leave their
beds
And hear his high commands.

¹ *Niul*. This name would seem to be the prototype of “Niall,” a name that afterwards became so frequent among the descendants of this patriarch, and that is still preserved among his descendants in its genitive form in the surnames, “O'Neill” and “MacNeill,” and, in their Anglicized forms, “Nelson” and “Neilson,” as well as in the Christian name Neale. The “Unelli,” an ancient tribe of Armoric Gaul, must have derived their name, that is, “Ui Neill,” or *descendants of Niall*, from an ancestor called by this appellation. He must, however, have lived ages before Niall of the Nine Hostages, who ruled Ireland from A.D. 380 to A.D. 406, from whom the Irish “Unelli,” or “Ui Neill,” are sprung. The Niul of Gaelic tradition may refer to that ancient king of Thebes, who, according to the Greek, gave his name to the river Nile, which had been previously called Ægyptus. We are now, and we shall be for yet a long while, in the mythological ages of the Gaelic, as well as of all Human History, with the sole exception of that which has been transmitted by Holy Writ. We must, then, expect to find primeval facts either largely interwoven with poetic fiction, or disguised in mythic language. We

king of Egypt, induced by the fame of his knowledge, sent to invite him to Egypt, in order to get him to instruct the Egyptian youth in the sciences, and in the various tongues, as the poet tells us in the following *rann* :

“The fame had reached King Forond,
With great glory,
Of Niul Mac Fenius, who knew all
The tongues of mankind.”

Niul then came to Egypt² with Pharaoh's messenger, and that king bestowed upon him the land called Capaciront,³ or Campus Cirit, near the Red Sea. He gave him, also, his own daughter, Scota, in marriage, as Gilla-Kaemhan tells us, in the poem that begins with the line “Gacdal Glas, from whom the Gaels are sprung:”

“He then went into Egypt,
And reached the potent Forond,⁴
And married Scota,⁵ not scant of beauty,
The lovely child of generous Forond.”

should then neither accord them too implicit a belief, nor reject them altogether. We are, in truth, in those Homeric times, over which the olden poets have thrown a magic veil. But we should bear in mind, that the Homeric bard was esteemed an inspired prophet as well as a poet—that he had a sacred character to maintain, and, perhaps, a sacred mission to fulfil. He must, then, have taken care to have had real personages and real facts for the groundwork of his lay. The principles he enunciated must have been founded upon eternal truth. The sons of the Muses had not yet run wild, and assumed to themselves the license of coining persons and things without end. His mental eye must be dim, indeed, who would judge of them by the concocters of modern fiction. Then, a fair and candid narrator of the early adventures of the ancestors of the Gaels, as of all other nations, should, at least, say with the great Roman historian: “Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem, poeticeis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, ea nec refellere nec affirmare in animo est.”

² *Egypt*. According to Justin, Epiphanius, Eusebius, and the Chronicon

Paschale, the Scythians (*that is, a nation they call by that name, the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, perhaps*), invaded Egypt from their original seat, 3,660 years before the Christian era. The settlement of Nial (*Nœul*) in Egypt, may possibly be connected with that event.

³ *Capaciront*. This territory is said to have been situated in Lower Egypt, near Heliopolis or the *City of the Sun*, now called Matarra.

⁴ *Forond*. This name is otherwise written “Foronn,” for, as before stated, the “nd” of the ancients is always replaced by “nn” in modern Gaelic.

⁵ *Scota*. Here we first meet with a form of word akin to “Scot,” in the name of this great progenetrix of the “Scotic” nation. The name is hereafter derived by Keating, from “Seytha,” i. e. a *Scythian woman*, and he adds that she was so called from her husband's nation. A more natural and poetic one would be from “Sgoth,” (*Sköh*), a *blossom or flower*, like the Latin name “Rosa,” or the English “Rose.” The aspiration of the final “t” in “Sgoth,” a flower, which causes the word to be pronounced “Sgoh,” can scarcely militate against this etymology; for it is not likely that in the earlier stages of our language it was

When Niul had thus married Scota, he established schools at Capaciront, and therein disseminated the sciences, and the various languages, amongst the youth of Egypt. It was there that Scota gave birth to Gaedal, son of Niul.

It may, perhaps, appear strange to some people, that Niul, who was the fifth in descent from Japhet, should have lived in the time of Moses, when a period of seven hundred and ninety-seven years had elapsed from the Deluge to the time that Moses took upon him the leadership of the children of Israel. But my answer to them is, that it is not incredible that Niul might have lived some hundred years; for, in those days, men lived a long time. For instance, Eber, or Heber, son of Salah, the fourth in descent from Shem, son of Noah, lived four hundred and sixty years, and Shem himself, who lived for five hundred years after his son Arphaxad had been born, as we read in the eleventh chapter of Genesis: therefore, it is not incredible that Niul should have lived from the forty-second year of the reign of Ninus, son of Belus, to the time of Moses, as we have mentioned; and it is still less to be wondered at, that Niul should have lived up to that time, if we may believe Marianus Scotus, who says that it was three hundred and thirty-one years after the Deluge, when the language of mankind became confounded at Babylon. Now, as we have already said that Niul was not born for a considerable time after that confounding of the tongues at Babylon, we may give credit to what the authors of the history of the Scotia nation say of the age in which he lived, and believe them as to the fact, of his having been really born cotemporary with Moses in Egypt.⁶

But, to return to Niul; it was during the time that this sage dwelt at Capaciront, near the Red Sea, and after his wife, Scota, had given birth to Niul, that the children of Israel escaped from Pharaoh, and marched to the Red Sea, when they pitched their tents not far from the residence of Niul. When Niul had been

so aspirated. In words of undoubtedly common etymology, we find, even in modern Gaelic, that the radical letters are sometimes aspirated, and sometimes not—ex. “Sgacith” (*Skuech*), a flock, drove, or band, and “Sgata” (*Skotta*). —*Id.*

⁶ *Niul and Moses cotemporaries.* Our antiquaries have been sorely puzzled to reconcile the legend that makes Niul, son of Fenius, the sixth in descent from Noah, cotemporary with Moses, who was, according to Sacred History, the sixteenth from the patriarch of man-

kind. But the investigation of such subjects can lead to no satisfactory results. The links connecting our ancestor Fenius or Phœnix, (*from whom we are called Feni*), with Noah, may either have been lost, or his name may have represented a fact, not a man. Some names also may have been misplaced on the genealogical tree. The Gaels must then rest satisfied, that the same dark abyss that separates every other human race, except the chosen seed, from the favored builder of the ark, should separate theirs likewise.

told that the Israelites were in his neighborhood, he went to meet and have discourse with them, so that he might learn who they were. Aaron met him outside the camp, and told him of the children of Israel's adventures, and of Moses, and of the testifying miracles wrought by God upon Pharaoh and his host, by reason of the bondage of the Israelites. Upon this Niul and Aaron formed a friendship and alliance. Niul asked the Israelite if his people had enough of food and provisions with them, and at the same time told him, that all the corn and wealth he possessed himself were at the service of the fugitive host. The night then came on, and Aaron returned to Moses, and informed him of the offers made to him by Niul. Niul likewise went home to his own people, and told them all that he had heard concerning the Children of Israel.

Upon that same night a serpent chanced to bite Gaedal, Niul's son, while he was swimming, and his life was endangered thereby. Others will have it that the reptile came out of the desert, and bit the child in his bed. Niul's household advised him to bring the boy to Moses, which he does without delay. Moses thereupon prays to God; lays the rod he held in his hand upon the wound, and it was immediately healed. Moses then foretold that no venomous creature should have any power in any country the posterity of that youth should dwell. And this prophecy has been fulfilled in the isle of Crete, or Candia, where some of his posterity remain, in which island, as in Ireland, no venomous serpents can exist; for, although, according to some authors, we have had some serpents in Ireland before St. Patrick's time, I am yet of opinion that they were not venomous. I am likewise inclined to think, that infernal demons are meant by those serpents spoken of in the life of St. Patrick. Some of our historians tell us, that Moses *locked* the bracelet (*flesg*) he had on his own arm round the neck of Gaedal, and that such was the reason of his being styled Gaedal Glas (for "*glas*" is the Gaelic for a "*lock*.") In those days every chieftain wore a "*flesg*," or bracelet, on his arm, as a mark of his dignity as "*Kenn Fedna*" (Kenn Faana), or head of a sept. Hence, at this day, the head of a tribe is called in Irish a "*flesgach nasal*" (*flesgagh oosal*), i. e. a "*noble bracelet-bearer*." It is also said, that it was from the poison of the serpent that adhered to the neck of Gaedal, that he got his surname of *glas* (which means also livid or bluish green). In proof of this, as well as of his having been healed by Moses, the following verses have been handed down to us by the bards:

¹ *Glas*. Would not "*glas*" be applicable to the complexion of the Gaetullian or Moor? Could it be translated by "*fuscus*," *swarthy*? Even epithets like this may sometimes guide the ethnologist.

“The livid Gaedal, could men say
To that bright and comely hero?
The fact whence came his surname *Glas*,
Few are those that know its story.

“Whilst bathing in the swelling wave,
Was generous Gaedal, son of Niul,
By baleful reptile he was smote,
With wound most difficult of healing.

“The ‘livid’ spot, aye, marked the man,
Though Moses well his wound had healed—
By this some sages understand,
That Gaedal thence was surnamed ‘Livid.’

“No serpent nor vile venom’d thing,
Since then can live on Gaelic soil—
This blessing that great son of light
To Gaedal, with his bracelet, gave.

“Another heirloom to the youth
Left Moses, that great wonder-worker—
No bard nor stranger⁹ since has found
A cold repulse from son of Gaedal.”

Others again tell us that Gaedal was styled “*Glas*” from the “blue-green” color of his arms and vesture. In support of this opinion, a bard has left us the following rann:—

“To mighty Niul *Scota* bore,
A son whom nations claim as father.
The man was named, Gaedal the Green,
From his green arms and his vesture.”

It is from this Gaedal that all the Gael or Gaedalian are called; it is thus the bard tells us the fact in the following rann:—

⁸ *No serpent.* This and the following verse have been omitted by Halliday, but Dermot O'Connor has given a version of them. The editor has found them in two of his manuscript copies, and has deemed it right to give them in his text, because they relate to a remarkable fact with regard to lower animal life in Ireland. Would that it were equally so with regard to human life! For, though it is corroborated by the other tradition, which says that

it is also a remarkable fact, even in this material age, when all that is poetic seems to vanish before “iron wonders,” that the serpent is fast fleeing from the presence of the sons of Gaedal in the transatlantic wilds.

⁹ *No bard nor stranger.* No one that knows anything of Irish or Scottish history will deny that this heirloom was held in the highest veneration by the Gaels. Exceptions have been seen, it is true, amongst persons bearing Gaelic names, but these must be deemed either mongrels or “tods i’ the fauld,” for they have not the mark of Gaedal upon them.

“At St. Patrick’s command
Vipers quitted that land,
Yet he’s wanted again in our Island;”

“ Feni,^o from Fenius they are called—
 Not forced the meaning—
 From Gaedal Glas, we call them Gaels,
 And Scots, from Scota.”

Others do, however, assert that Gaedal's mother was called Scota, because his father Niul was of the Scotie race from Scythia, where, according to them, it was the custom to call women after their husbands.” You must now understand, that this woman was not the same Scota who was the wife of Galamh, called Miledh of Spain, and who bore him six sons. For the mother of Gaedal was the daughter of Pharaoh Cingris—the same that held the Israelites in bondage; but the Pharaoh whose daughter was married to Miledh, was the fifteenth Pharaoh after him, and he was styled Pharaoh Nectonibus.

But Niul now informed Moses, that the anger of Pharaoh Cingris would be directed against himself for the welcome he gave to the Children of Israel. Then Moses said to him, “ Come thou with us, and when we shall have reached the land which God has promised us, thou receive a portion thereof; or, if thou wilt, we shall give up the fleet of Pharaoh into thy hands to embark thereon, and remain at sea until it be seen how it shall end between Pharaoh and our host.” Niul adopted the latter counsel.

A thousand armed men were then sent to seize the fleet, and it was delivered into his hands. He then embarked thereupon and thence witnessed the deeds of the ensuing day, to wit, the opening of the sea before Moses and the Children of Israel and its closing up after they had passed, upon Pharaoh and his host, by which the latter were all drowned. They amounted to threescore thousand foot and fifty thousand horse, as we are informed by

^o *Feni.* In these four lines are contained all that can perhaps ever be known of the origin of these three names, upon which so much idle disquisition has been made, and so much learning wasted. That the last conquerors of Ireland before the Normans, called themselves “ Feni,” “ Gaedhail,” “ Scuit,” and other names hereafter to be met with, from the personal names of their ancestors, can be proved by the invariable practice of their descendants in more recent and better known times. “ Carthaigh,” the genitive of “ Carthach,” is not unlike Carthage. Still we are not, on the strength of that rather close resemblance, to argue that the “ Clann Carthaigh” or Mac Carthies,

came originally from the rival of ancient Rome, when we know that they have taken their name from Carthach, son of Saerbretach, a Munster prince, who was burned in his house by the O'Lonnargans in the tenth century, and that previously they were called Eoghanigh or Eugenians, and Dergihini before that again, and then Iberians or Eberians, Milesians, Brigantes, Scots, Gaels, and Feni. About as well-founded as the derivation above mentioned have been all the theories broached upon the national names of Scot, Gael, and Feni.

¹¹ The fact here mentioned of having women called after their husbands, or rather after their husband's country, is at variance with all known history.

Ectgus O'Cuanain¹² Arkinnech (archdeacon of Roscrea), in the following verse, taken from the duan that begins thus—"O, man that believest not truth:"—

"There, sixty thousand men on foot,
With fifty thousand cavalry,
A storm of the strong Red Sea
Engulphed all right suddenly."

We have mentioned above, that it was in the seven hundred and ninety-seventh year after the Flood that Pharaoh was thus overwhelmed with his host.

Now, when Niul had seen Pharaoh and his forces thus drowned, he continued to dwell in the country himself; for he felt no longer afraid, after the destruction of that king. There his children and progeny grew, until they were fit to bear arms. Niul died some time after this, and Gaedal, son of Niul, and his mother, took possession of his territories.

After this, a son was born to Gaedal, in Egypt, and he was named Esru; and again, in progress of time, a son was born to Esru, and he called him Sru,¹³ and they continued to hold the same territory, and to dwell therein.

As to the Egyptians, another Pharaoh, styled Intur, or An Tuir, took possession of the sovereignty upon the drowning of Pharaoh Cingris in the Red Sea. In like manner was every king that reigned over Egypt called, also, Pharaoh, from the time of the above-mentioned Pharaoh Cingris, so drowned, down to Pharaoh Nectonibus, the fifteenth king after Cingris, who was called Pharaoh.

¹² *Ectgus O'Cuanain*. He was otherwise called Isaac, and was Bishop of Eil and Ros-Crè, now Roscrea. He died in A. D. 1161. The name "O'Cuanain," is now spelled "Coonan."

¹³ *Esru—Sru*. These names have some resemblance to the Scriptural ones Reu, Serug, and Ashur. They

have been also likened to the Egyptian Osiris and Siris. The Nile was called Siris by the Æthiopians. Osiris was an ancient Egyptian king, who, having reformed his subjects at home, went forth to spread civilization over the earth. He was deified after his death.

CHAPTER IV.

OF PHARAOH INTUR'S BANISHMENT OF THE CHILDREN OF GAEDAL FROM EGYPT; AND OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND OF THEIR ADVENTURES THEREAFTER DOWN HERE.

PHARAOH INTUR¹ and the Egyptians, in time, remembered their old grudge to the descendants of Niul and the family of Gaedal, namely, their resentment for the friendship the latter had formed with the Children of Israel. They, then, made war upon the Gaels, who were thereby compelled to exile themselves from Egypt. With this account Thomas Walsingham agrees, in the book called *Hypodeigma*, where he states that, "When the Egyptians had been drowned in the Red Sea, those of their countrymen who survived, drove out a certain chieftain of the Scythian nation, who lived among them, that he might not assume sovereignty over them. Banished with his tribe he came to Spain, where he resided many years, and where his posterity grew numerous, and that thence he came at last to Ireland."

Know, reader, that this chieftain was Sru, son of Esru, son of Gaedal, and not Gaedal himself, notwithstanding the false assertion of Hector Boethius; and also, in contradiction to the modern English writers, who suppose that it was Gaedal himself, that led the migration to Spain; for, according to the truth of Irish history, which we should rather trust to in this matter, it is a fact that it was in Egypt that Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Cingris, gave birth to Gaedal; and in that land he resided until his death. Nor, as others assert, was it from Greece that he had come thither, but from Scythia. And although the author we have just quoted, does assert that it was to Spain that the Gaelic prince, mentioned above, had come, yet the fact was not so, for it was to Scythia that he went; and it was the fifteenth generation from him, namely, Bratha, son of Dègatha, that first reached Spain. Here follows a quotation from the antiquary, Gilla-Cæmhan, in proof that it was Sru, son of Esru, that was leader in this emigration from the land of Egypt:—

Pharaoh Intur. The epithet applied to this prince is found written "an tuir," (*an tooir.*) i. e. of the Tower, in the manuscript copies. It may refer to the founder of some of the Pyramids

“Sru, son of Esru, son of Gaedal,
Grandfather of our learned host,
’Twas he from home that wended northward
Over the Red Sea’s stormy wave.

“Four vessels then contained his household
Upon the Red Sea’s stormy wave;
The number in each wooden dwelling
Was four and twenty wedded pairs.”

Observe that it was Sru, son of Esru, that was the leader of this migration, until they had reached the isle of Crete, where he died.

His son Eber Scot² then assumed the chieftainship of the people, until they arrived in Scythia. For that reason, a certain author says that Eber Scot was the leader of their emigration, and that it was from this chieftain’s surname, “Scot,” that the Gaels or Gaedalian are called the Scotie race. Some authorities tells us that the word “Scot” means *archer*, and that he got the surname from the fact, that there was no bowman superior to him in his day, and thus, from the word’s having been given as a nickname to this chief, that it continued to be applied to his posterity, who practiced the use of the bow as a common weapon, in imitation of their ancestors, until a very late period, that is within our own memory. But I do not adopt the opinion of this author, for I find that most antiquarians believe, that the reason for calling the Gaedalian the Scotie race, is because they had drawn their origin from Scythia.

The reader must understand that Moses and Gaedal were cotemporaries, and therefore that Gaedal was fourscore years of age when Pharaoh was drowned, and that the fourth generation from his birth, namely, Eber Scot, son of Sru, son of Esru, son of Gaedal, was then in existence, when the children of Gaedal emigrated to Scythia.³

Some historians tell us that there were four hundred and forty years, from the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, until the arrival of the Children of Miledh in Ireland; so a bard relates in the following lay :

² *Eber Scot*. This is most probably the ancestor from whom the Scottish name is derived. The translator thinks that the epithet means “wanderer,” which he deems of the same signification with Scythian. “Scuit” is the nominative case plural, and the genitive singular of Scot, being formed therefrom by what Irish grammarians call “irregular

attenuation.” The regular form is “Scoit.”

³ We see our author here puzzled in endeavoring to reduce into chronological order the dim traditions, that tell of the Fenian sojourn in the land of Egypt. He even contradicts what he has before told us of Gaedal’s being yet but a child, when Moses fled out of Egypt.

“Forty years above four hundred,
 (You know I tell no idle tale,)
 There were, since came the tribes of Dana
 Across the straits of the great sea,
 Till Miledh's sons first heard dread Ocean
 His music beat on Eri's shores.”

However, according to the computation made in the Book of Invasions, there were but three hundred years, less by seventeen, from the time that Moses took the command of the Children of Israel in Egypt, until the sons of Miledh invaded Ireland; for Moses assumed his sovereignty over the Children of Israel, in Egypt, at the end of seven hundred and eighty years after the Flood; and, according to the time allowed by Irish history to the several occupations of Ireland, it was at the end of one thousand and eighty years after the Flood, that the sons of Miledh took possession of this island. The Book of Invasions states, that it was at the end of three hundred years after the Flood, that Partholan landed in Ireland, and that his posterity held possession of the country for three hundred years after his time. Then Ireland continued waste for thirty years, until the race of Nemedh arrived therein. This people again ruled the island for two hundred and seventeen years. After them the Fer-Bolgs held possession of the land for thirty-six years; and, lastly, the sway of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns lasted for two hundred years, wanting three. Now, the summing up of the whole of these periods gives us one thousand and eighty years, from the Flood to the landing of the sons of Miledh in Ireland. And if from this calculation there be deducted the seven hundred and ninety-seven years there were from the Flood to the authority which Moses received over the Children of Israel, it is evident that there was from that time to the arrival of the children of Miledh in Ireland, but three hundred years, less by seventeen. Therefore the above-quoted opinion must be false, when it asserts that it was at the end of four hundred and forty years after the Children of Israel passed through the Red Sea, that the sons of Miledh reached Ireland.

Migration of the Gaels to Crete, under Sru, son of Esru.

Some antiquarians assert that the direction taken by Sru, son of Esru, and his followers, was through the Red Sea, south-eastwards,⁴ into the ocean, and thence eastwards, leaving Tapra-

⁴ *South-eastwards.* The ancients asserted that Asia was circumnavigable, and Dr. Keating, whose geographical knowledge does not appear to have much exceeded that of the days of Ptolemy, relates this tradition, without even hinting at its impracticability. Notwithstanding the form in which the tradition has come down to us, it may yet refer to some important fact that

bana⁵ and Asia on their left, and then northwards, leaving Asia still on their left, until they rounded it at the north;⁶ thence they proceeded westward, until they reached the extremity of the Riphean mountains, in the north-west part of Asia, and got into the narrow sea, that leads southward, separating Europe from Asia, and they thus arrived at Scythia. However, this was not the route that Sru took in his voyage from Egypt to Scythia, with the crews of his four ships, each containing thirty men, but from the mouth of the Nile, through the Mediterranean to Crete,⁷ which is now called Candia, where he dwelt for some time, and then died. In this island he likewise left some of his posterity,⁸ who remain there to the present day; and hence it happens, according to our ancient historians, that no venomous reptile can exist in that island, just as is the case in our own island.

Migration of the Gaels to Scythia under Eber Scot, son of Sru.

From⁹ Crete they emigrated to Scythia, under the guidance of Eber Scot. Now, whosoever may assert that it would be impossible to reach Scythia from Egypt in ship or vessel, should

took place during the time the Fenians stayed in Egypt—such as to the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, the expeditions of Bacchus to the East, or to those of Osiris, Hercules, or Sesostris. The Gaels have just as much right to their versions of the exploits of these heroes as other nations—especially as it is most likely they wended their way slowly to Ireland by Crete, the Mediterranean Islands, Northern Africa and Spain, while the pure Celts and Cimbri were proceeding thither overland, through European Scythia.

⁵ *Taprabana.* Taprobané, which is here meant, was the name by which the island of Ceylon was known to the ancients.

⁶ *At the north.* The old maps would make it appear, that the Northern Sea-board of Asia ran in a north-westerly direction from China to the Baltic Sea. This would make narrow seas of the mouths of the Volga, the Ural or the Don. Indeed, the "Narrow Sea, proceeding southward," so often spoken of, must mean the Sea of Azof.

⁷ *Crete.* Crete, or Creta, is now called Candia. It is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean. It is the

southernmost of all the Greek Isles. It was famed for its hundred cities, and for the laws of Minos. Jupiter was fabled to have been educated in Crete. It was also famous for the Corybantes, or priests of Cybele, whose worship was introduced from Crete into Phrygia, in Asia Minor. The connection between Crete and Asia Minor was intimate; hence we meet with a Mount Ida in Crete, and a Mount Ida in the Troade.

⁸ *Posterity.* The race of Fenius must have colonized many lands during its long passage from Egypt to Ireland. Their traditions during this period should consequently belong to many nations besides the Irish; in fact, we seem to read the migrations of that Iberian race, which planted its roots so widely in Italy, Sicily, and Spain, &c., and which sent its last and remotest offshoot to our island. No venomous serpent exists in Crete.

⁹ The Scythia of Fenius Farsa and his posterity, to which the wanderer, Eber Scot, migrated, might have been in Asia Minor. It could not have lain far from the borders of that country.

consider that, according to the extent of Scythia as it then existed, the Tanais or Don is mentioned as one of the rivers of Scythia, in the respectable history of Herodotus, who states in his fourth book, that "the river Tanais divides Asia from Europe, and it is reckoned as one of the rivers of Scythia."¹⁰

When the Gaels had settled in Scythia, a war broke out, in time, between them and their kinsmen, the descendants of Nenual, son of Fenius Farsa. This warfare, which was for the sovereignty of the country, continued for seven years, until Agnon, son of Tath, the fifth in descent from Eber Scot downward, succeeded in killing his cousin Refloir, son of Rifill, of the house of Nenual, who was then king of Scythia, as Gilla-Caemhan tells us in the following verse:

" Refloir and the stainless Agnon
Seven years contended for the throne,
Till king Refloir fell with glory
By Agnon's fortune-favored hand."

Expulsion of the Gaels from Scythia—Their Wanderings—Caicher's Prophecy—Sojourn in Gothia.

Now, concerning the children of Refloir: this king had two sons, named Nenual and Refill. These princes collected an army against the posterity of Gaedal, to banish them utterly out of the country. Upon this the Gaels assembled together and left the Scythian land in a body, passing through the country of the Seared-breasts,¹¹ who are called Amazons, to the border of the Caspian Sea. There they took shipping and landed on an island in the Caspian, where they stayed for one year. Their leaders upon this emigration were Agnon and Eber, the two sons of Tath,

¹⁰ Tanais flumen dividens Asiam ab Europa, enumeratur inter flumina quæ apud Scythas sunt.

¹¹ *Seared breasts.* It was fabled that the Amazons seared or burnt off the right breast of their female children, in order that they might be able to throw the javelin with more force. This fable is founded upon the resemblance in sound between the word Amazon, which is not Greek, and the Greek words "a," without, and "μαζα," a breast. The process would prevent the desired effect. Their country, as before shown, lay from Cappadocia and the Euxine to the Caspian Sea, and, rounding the eastern angle of the Euxine, it reached the Palus Mæotis on the north-west. The-

miscyra, on the Euxine Sea, at the mouth of the Thermodon, now the Termeh, a famous river of Cappadocia, was the capital city of the Amazons. From the route here traced, the Scythia of Eber Scot must have been south of Paphlagonia. Cilicia, which had received its name, according to the Greek mythologists, from Cilix, the brother of Phœnix (Fenius?), would accord with the Scythia of the Irish bards. Classic mythology tells us that Phœnix, Cilix, Cadmus and Europa (from whom Europe is called), were the children of Agenor, king of Phœnicia, and brother of Belus, who founded the Assyrian Empire, about 2,000 years before the Christian era.

son of Agnaman, son of Beògaman, son of Eber Scot, son of Sru, son of Esru, son of Gaedal. Agnòn had three sons with him on this migration. These were named Ellod, Lamfinn, and Lamglas.¹² Eber, son of Tath, had two sons, namely, Caicher and King. Agnòn died in the Caspian island, just mentioned.

At the end of the year the wanderers left the island. Upon this voyage, their host was led by six chieftains. They formed the crews of three ships. In each ship were threescore persons, and every third man had a wife with him. They then steered along the strait leading from the Caspian, westwards,¹³ for the narrow sea that comes in from the Northern Ocean; and when they had reached that sea, a storm came upon them, by which they were driven upon an island in the Pontic Sea, called Caronia,¹⁴ where they abode for one year and three months. It was in this island that Eber, son of Tath, and Lamglas died.

They emigrated thence under four chieftains, namely, Ellod, Lamfinn, King, and Caicher. They now met Mermaids or Sirens¹⁵ at sea, who began to sing soft music to the sailors as they passed them, by which means they intended to lull them to sleep, and then to fall upon and destroy them. Caicher the Druid, found a remedy for this danger by melting wax¹⁶ into the ears of the men, by which they were prevented from hearing the music of the sorceresses.

¹² *Lamfinn and Lamglas.* These names signify the "Fair Hand," and the "Blue" or "Green Hand." The Irish pronounce them *Lauwinn* and *Lauwlass*.

¹³ *The Strait leading Westwards.* It is idle to speculate upon the route here traced, as it is evident the later narrators of the tradition knew nothing of the geographical position of the localities of which they treated. The lower bend of the Wolga might have brought them westwards to within a short distance of the Don, by which they could have got in to the *Pontic*, that is, the Euxine Sea, through the *Narrow Sea*, i. e. the *Palus Macotis*, or *Sea of Azof*.

¹⁴ *Caronia.* There were several places in Asia Minor that might be assimilated to this name. Caria, or some Caria colony, was possibly meant. The boundaries of this country varied extremely at different times. It was also called Phœnia, from a Phœnician colony settled there. Caria is now called Adinelli. It is true that Caria

is not on the Pontic Sea, but then the mention of the "*mairdiuchoin*" (*mur-yoogh'in*), i. e. mermaids, or sirens, as their next, would show that the wandering clan of Eber Scot sailed from Caronia into the Mediterranean, which they could not so readily do if that place lay in the Pontic Sea.

¹⁵ *Sirens.* The sirens were fabled sea nymphs of such melodious voices that all who heard them forgot everything else in attending to their enchanting song, and at last died through want of food. Their Irish name was *mairdhuichoin* (*mur-yoog'in*). The story of the sirens was so universal during the heroic ages, amongst all peoples, that the Irish bards had no need to borrow it from the Latins or Greeks. The sirens were said to dwell in a small island off Cape Pelorus, in Sicily. This shows the direction in which our Scots, or wanderers, were then steering.

¹⁶ *Wax.* This story is also told by Homer, of Ulysses. It was apparently one of the wonderful yarns of the primitive mariners, and said of all those

Thus they continued their voyage, until they had reached the point¹⁷ of the Riphean mountains, in the North, where they cast anchor and landed. It was here that Caicher prophesied to them, that they should find no fixed settlement to dwell in, until they had landed in Eri; mentioning, at the same time, that it was not themselves, but their posterity, that were destined to possess that land.

From this point they then wandered, until they came to Gothia, where Lamfinn had a renowned son, who was named Eber Glun-Finn,¹⁸ i. e. Eber of the white-knee. For thirty years they abode in Gothia, and there some of their race remain to the present day. In testimony of this Gilla-Caemain has left us the following rann:

“The skilful, truthful race of Gaedal
Dwelt thirty¹⁹ years in that land,
And some of them abide still yonder,
And there shall dwell 'till earth's last doom.”

But some others of our historians are of opinion, that one hundred and thirty years was the period that the Gaels dwelt in Gothia, to wit, from Eber Glun-Finn to Bratha, son of Degatha or Degh-fatha,²⁰ son of Ercadh, son of Alloid or Ellod, son of Nu-

that made distant voyages. As the Phœnicians were the first mariners, it must have originated with them, and from them most likely the Gaels received it.

¹⁷ *Riphean Mountains, in the North.* This is evidently in contradiction with what has gone before. We have seen them get into the Narrow Sea, or Sea of Azof, from the east, thence they were driven by a storm into the Pontic Sea, and land in Caronia: we next see them in the neighborhood of Sicily, where the sirens were said to be. As we are never told that they got back again into the Narrow Sea, their course must have been still southward, and the point of the Riphean Mountains in the north, if it be not altogether imaginary, can only mean the Northern Pillar of Hercules, or Mount Calpe, now Gibraltar, which lies opposite Abyla, on the African coast, which was the Southern Pillar of Hercules. The translation or version of the “Gaerthluighe” (*Gayhtuee*) of Gaelic legend into “Gothia,” by some bard who had received a smattering of Latin, was the origin of

the absurdities here recounted. To bring the clan of Eber Scot to a land that could not have been called “Gothia” for ages after, our poets following the track of this dabbler in Latin, fancied that the Sea of Azof was connected with the Northern Ocean, by a Narrow Sea by the Riphean Mountains, which existed only in their imaginations.

¹⁸ *Eber Glun-Finn.* This is the third time we meet with the name Eber, amongst the Gaelic chieftains. Lamfinn's own name, also, was probably Eber, for “Lamfinn,” i. e. “Fair Hand,” was most probably an epithet given for the sake of distinction.

¹⁹ *Thirty.* “Trichad” (*Threeghād*) *thirty* may have been written by mistake for “tri chād” (*three ghayd*) three hundred, and led to the discrepancies discussed in the next paragraph.

²⁰ *Degh-fatha.* This word means “good cause” or “good fate,” i. e. prosperous. With all its aspirations, it is written “Degh-flathia,” (*Dayaha* or *Dyaha*.)

adath, son of Nenual, son of Ebric,²¹ son of Eber Glun-Finn, who was born in Gothia, son of Lamfinn, who was the first of their chieftains that came to that country. Now, as so many generations could not have passed by in thirty years, I am convinced that the latter opinion is the true one. There are other historians, again, who assert that the Gaels resided in Gothia for three hundred years. But this assertion cannot be true, for we have seen above, that according to the dates of the several invasions, there were not three hundred years in full from the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, to the landing of the sons of Miledh in Ireland. Then the opinion last mentioned cannot be correct; for the Gaels went through the whole of their wanderings in less than that time, to wit, from Egypt to Crete or Candia, from Crete to Scythia, from Scythia to Gothia, from Gothia to Spain, from Spain to Scythia, from Scythia to Egypt, from Egypt to Thrace, from Thrace to Gothia, and from Gothia to Spain, and finally from Spain to Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE MIGRATIONS OF THE GAELS FROM GOTHIA TO SPAIN, &c.

BRATHA, son of Degatha or Degh-Fatha, the eighth in descent from Eber Glun-Finn, i. e. of the White-Knee, emigrated from Gothia, near Crete and Sicily,¹ to Spain, in the South of Europe, with the crews of four ships, as Gilla-Caemhain tells us in the following verse :

²¹ *Ebric*. The aspirated form of this name is "Ebhric" (*Aivric*). It is otherwise written, *Febhric* (*Faivric*). It is clearly a derivative from Ebher or Eber (*Aiver*), a name already become frequent amongst the Clan of Eber the Scot.

¹ *Gothia* near *Crete* and *Sicily*. We here see the great mistake of having translated "Gaethluighe" by "Gothia," to which it has but slight resemblance, even in letters. We have seen Lamfinn leading the Clan of Eber from the neighborhood of the Caspian and Euxine Seas, and the land of the Amazons—in fact, from the very region of the

Eastern Iberi, through the Pontic Sea to the quarter of the sirens (Sicily), and leaving them in Gaethluighe, under his son Eber Glun-Fin, and in that same Gaethluighe, near *Crete* and *Sicily*, we now find them again, under his ninth descendant, Bratha. Hence it is obvious that "Gaetulia," not Gothia, must be the country meant, and that our "Clanna Ebir" were all this time spreading themselves in Northern Africa and Southern Europe, in the region of the Western Iberi. The following is the learned and venerable O'Flaherty's opinion on this subject :

"Therefore Lamfinn, having left

“Degatha’s son, our honored Bratha,
His host from Crete to Sicily
Brought in four stout, swift-sailing vessels,
And thence to Southern Hispany.”

It is from this our Bratha, that Bragantia, in Portugal, (or *Port-na-n Gall*,) where lies the present dukedom of Braganza, has received its name.

These are the four chiefs that accompanied Bratha in his voyage to Spain, namely, Oghi and Ughi, the two sons of Allod, son of Nenual, with Mantan and Caicher. There were fourteen wedded couples, and six hired soldiers in each ship. Upon their landing they gave three defeats to the previous inhabitants of the country, that is, to the posterity of Tubal, son of Japhet. But a sudden plague came upon the sons of Allod, so that they all perished, with the exception of ten.

Breògan, son of Bratha, establishes his sway in Spain—Founds Brigantium.

However, they soon multiplied again, and Breògan,² son of Bratha, was born. This was that Breògan who shattered the power of Spain, in so many fights. It was he also that founded or built Brigantia,³ near Corunna, and Breògan’s Tower in Corunna itself.

Seythia, and his father having died on the voyage thence, settled in Gaethluighe, where a son was born for him, named Eber Glun-Finn, of whom the bard has sung :

Genar go n-oirðhere in sin
Do Lamhfhinn mhac Aghnomhain,
Ehber Glun-finn, glan a bhrìgh
Sen-athair folt-ehas Fhobhrìgh.

In English.

In that land gloriously was born
To Lamfinn, son of Agnomhan,
The white-kneed Eber of bright sway,
The curly-haired grandsire of Febric.

“Some will have this country Gothia, though it is everywhere called Gaethluighe by our writers. Gothia has not the smallest resemblance to the word; and to translate it so, inverts the order of history. Gothia is an island in the Baltic Sea, of no antiquity. Galatia is not unlike it, in sound, but that name of the country of the Asiatic Galli is much more modern. * * * I am really of opinion that those people, whom our writers have called Gaethluighi, are Gaetulians, descended from

the first inhabitants of Africa, whose king, Iarbas, granted Byrsa, the ground whereon Carthage was built, to Dido.”

² *Breògan*. From this chieftain the Gaels are said to have taken the name “Clanna Breògain,” latinized “Brigantes.” The name may be otherwise written, “Brègan,” the long “e” being commutable with eò in the Irish language. Thus we say “fer” (*fair*) and “feòr” (*feòre*), i. e. *grass*, indiscriminately. Breòghan (*Breòhan*) is derived either from “brìgh” (*bree*) strength, or from “brèò,” *fire*, and not from “brugh” (*broo*) or “brog” (*brugg*), a *dwelling*, as some have supposed, in guessing at the etymology of the name of the Brigantes.

³ *Brigantia*. Brigantium was the name by which this city was known to the Romans. To it they added the title “Flavianum” or “Flavian,” from the family-name of one of their emperors, in order to distinguish it from other cities of the Brigantes, one of which is now called Bregentz, in the Tyrol. The Brigantium founded by Bre-

“ Many conflicts, many wars
Upon the proud host of Esbain,
Broke Breògan of the battle’s din,
The builder of Brigantia.”

This Breògan had ten sons, namely, Breòga, Fuad, Murthemni, Cuailgni, Cuala, Bladh, Ebleò, Nar, Ith and Bili, (*Billeh.*) In memory of these Gilla Caemhan made the following rann:

“ Breògan’s ten sons, whose fame shall live,
Were Brègha, Fuad, Murthemni,
Cuailgni, Cuala, with Bladh, the brave,
Eblind and Nar and Ith and Bili.”

Galamh,⁴ who is called “Miledh Esbaini,” i. e. the hero of Spain, in Gaelic, and in Latin, Milesius, was the son of the Bili here named. Now, although Bili be the last named of the sons of Breògan in the list here given, still our ancient authors all assert that he was the eldest son of this chieftain.

Miledh of Spain, or Milesius, i. e. Galamh, son of Bili, son of Breògan.

When, then, the race of Breògan had increased and multiplied, and had acquired the masterdom of nearly all Spain, there was born to Bili, son of Breògan, a renowned son, of most glorious deeds, and he was then called Galamh; but he has been since styled Miledh of Spain. This youth was seized with the desire of sailing to Scythia, in order to visit his kinsmen and to do them service, in a fleet well manned with the young men of Spain. Having resolved upon this voyage, he equipped thirty ships, in each of which he placed its requisite crew of warriors. He then launched his fleet upon the Mediterranean Sea, and sailed directly North-east⁵ by Sicily and Crete, until he arrived at Scythia. When he had reached the Scythian land, he sent word to Refloir, son of Neman, who was then king of Scythia, and who was descended from that Refloir, son of Rifill, whom we have mentioned heretofore. When Miledh appeared before the king, he got a kindly welcome, and in time he was made general

ògan is now called Betanzos. It is situated in Galicia, on the Bay of Corunna, about five leagues south of the latter city. It is named Cathair Bhreòghain (*Cáhir Vreòwinn*), i. e. Breògan’s Fortress, by some Irish writers.

⁴ *Galamh.* The name “Galamh” (*Galav*) may mean the same thing as “Miledh” (*Meeleh*), i. e. hero or warrior,

derived from “Gal,” *battle, bravery, &c.*, by the addition of the suffix “mh”—just as “brethemh” (*brèhèv*), a judge, is formed from “breith” (*brèh*), *judgement.*

⁵ *North-east.* This route would have taken him to Phœnicia or Cilicia direct.

of the Scythian army, and he received in marriage a daughter of the king, whose name was Seng, and who bore him two sons named Donn⁶ and Arech Februadh. Now, when Miledh had dwelt for some time in Scythia, his success against the tyrants and robbers of that country was so great, that he became very much beloved by the inhabitants. When King Refloir perceived this, he was seized with fear, lest Miledh might rise up against himself, and strive to deprive him of the kingdom of Scythia. For this reason he plotted the death of Miledh, notwithstanding the fact of his being his own son-in-law. But Miledh heard of the plot, and thereupon seized upon a favorable opportunity, and put King Refloir to death first.

He then called together and assembled his own faithful followers, and put out to sea with the crews of threescore ships. And he steered straight over the Mediterranean Sea, until he reached the mouths of the Nile. There he landed, and sent an embassy to Pharaoh Nectonibus, letting him know of his arrival; and the king sent ambassadors of his own to meet Miledh, and to conduct him to his presence. And when Miledh appeared before the king, he was made welcome to the land, and a territory was granted to him and his people to dwell thereupon. It is in record of this voyage of Miledh, from Scythia to Egypt, that Gilla-Caemhan composed the following *rann* :

“ Miledh, the sire of our goodly clans,
Slew King Refloir, the well-befriended.
Then hastily fled he yon hostile land,
And found other fields by the bounteous Nilus.”

The reader must here observe, that the two sons which Seng, daughter of Refloir, had borne to Miledh, namely, Donn and Arech Februadh, accompanied him in his voyage to Egypt, their mother having previously died in Scythia.

At this time, there was a great war between Pharaoh and the king of Ethiopia. Pharaoh made Miledh the commander of his army, when he had estimated his bravery and valor, and sent him to meet the forces of Ethiopia therewith. There then ensued many engagements and conflicts, between the forces under the command of Miledh and those of the Ethiopians. In these he was so successful that his fame and renown spread through all na-

⁶ *Donn*. This chieftain, the eldest son of Miledh, was otherwise called Eber Donn, i. e. the Brown Eber, to distinguish him from his brother, Eber Finn, i. e. the Fair Eber, Miledh's eldest son by Scota, the Egyptian princess. Both Donn and his brother,

Arech Februadh (Aragh Fevrooh), were afterwards lost off the coast of Ireland. “Februadh” may mean *red-browed*, or it may be a contracted form of “Eber” or “Febrie ruadh,” i. e. the red Eber.

tions, whereupon Pharaoh gave him one of his own daughters to wife. This lady was called Scota, from being the wife of Miledh, who was of the Scotie race. She bore her husband two sons in Egypt, namely, Eber Finn and Amerghin.

As soon as ever Miledh had landed in Egypt, he sent twelve of the young men that had accompanied him, to learn the principal arts of Egypt. Thus each of them had become expert in his own particular profession, by the end of the seven years that Miledh resided in the land of the Pharaohs.

Miledh at length remembered him, that the druid Caicher had prophesied long before, to his ancestor, Lamfinn, that Ireland was the land in which it was destined that his posterity should obtain a lasting sovereignty. Upon this he fitted out three ships, supplied them with crews, and took his leave of Pharaoh. He then set sail from the mouth of the Nile, into the Mediterranean, and landed on an island near Thrace. It is called Irena,⁷ and there it was that Ir, son of Miledh, was born. Thence he sailed to an island⁸ called Gothia, in the strait leading into the northern ocean. There he made some stay, and there it was that Scota bore him a son, namely, Colpa, styled the Swordsman. Thence he set sail into the northern strait which separates Europe from Asia, and passed onward, leaving Europe on the left, to the west, until he reached Cruthin-tuath,⁹ i. e. the land of the Cruthnigh or Picts, which is called Alba. He plundered the coasts of that country, and thence sailed along the coast of Great Britain, leaving it on the right, until he reached the mouth of the river Røn (i. e. the Rhine); thence, sailing westward and southward, he leaves France on his left, and at length lands in Biscay.¹⁰

⁷ *Irena*. Samothrace may be the isle meant. This isle was peopled by Pelasgians, Thracians, and Phœnicians. It was famed for its religious mysteries. Its soil was deemed sacred, and hence it was an inviolable asylum to all fugitives. From this possibly comes the name Irena, which means peace, i. e. "εἰρηνη," given to it in the text. Miledh may well have put in there in this, which seems to have been a piratical expedition of his.

⁸ *An island*. Here, again, we have "Gothia" put for "Gaethluighe," and Spagerracke for the Straits of Gibraltar.

⁹ *Cruthin-tuath*. This name is pronounced *Chrúh-in-tooah*, and the inhabitants of the land so-called are styled Cruthnigh (*Cruthnig* or *Cruthnigh*). The name is prematurely applied in this instance, if the account given of the

arrival of the Cruthnigh in the British Isles, during the reign of the Irish king Erimhon, be correct. "Cruthnech" (*Crúhnagh*) is the nominative singular of Cruthnigh.—It is to be noted, that the termination "igh" (*ih* and *ig*), when ending a word, applied as a national or family-name, throughout this translation, is to be taken in the plural; that is, if it has no Irish nominative, such as "O," "Mac," "Ui," "Clann," &c., before it; in the latter case it is used in the genitive singular. The nominative singular of all such words ends invariably in "ach" or "ech" (*agh*). These terminations correspond with the "us" and "i" of the Latins, and the "ος" and "οι" of the Greeks.

¹⁰ *Biscay*. A province in the north-west angle of Spain, lying on the Atlantic Ocean, and bordering on France,

Now, when he had arrived in this land, his kinsmen come to bid him welcome, and they tell him that the Gothi, and several other foreign nations, were harassing both their country and all Spain. Upon hearing this, Miledh summoned his own partisans throughout Spain, and when they had come together he marched with them, and with the forces he had brought with him in his fleet, against the foreigners and the Gothi, and routed them in fifty-four battles, and thus drove them completely out of Spain. After this, both he and his kinsmen, the sons of Breógan, son of Bratha, held the sovereignty of the greater part of that country.

Miledh had now thirty-two sons, as the bard informs us, in the following verse:

“Thirty sons and two
Had Miledh, the white-handed,
Of these there came, we know,
But eight brave sons to Eri.”

Twenty-four of these sons had been born to him of concubines, before he had left Spain for Scythia. The other eight were born of the two wives, who had been successively married to him. Seng, daughter of Refloir, king of Scythia, bore two of them to him in Scythia, namely, Donn and Arrech Febrúadh, and Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Nectonibus, bore the other six, namely, two in Egypt, Eber Finn and Amerghin, Ir on the sea of Thrace, Colpa of the Sword, in Gothia, Arannán and Erimhòn, in Galicia.

As the bard has sung in the following lay:

“Those sons of Galamh of bright smile,
Of him called Miledh of Esbain,
Eight victors in a thousand fields,
Say, what land saw those heroes' birth?”

from which it is separated by the Pyrenees. It is inhabited by a people speaking a language peculiar to themselves, that is, completely different from any tongue in Europe whose forms have yet been investigated by competent persons. If these people be the representatives of the old Iberi, the idiom of the Gaels must certainly have been lost in that of the Celts, who inhabited Ireland before them. To any scholar, who can understand the Irish language, and can read the old traditional fragments of history remaining extant there-

in, there can be no doubt but that the Gaels, Scots and Iberi were all of one and the same stock. It only remains to prove to what race of men the latter people belonged. This can now be done by comparative etymology alone. Any person who presumes to pronounce against the Irish tradition on this subject, without having made a scientific comparison of the Basque and Gaelic, and without finding out whether the Basques are really the Iberi, is here but an ignorant pretender, whatever be his learning on other matters.

“ Red-browed Arech and warlike Donn
 Were born both on Scythian soil—
 In Egypt’s sunny clime were born
 The fair-haired Eber and Amerghin.

“ And Ir, that brave beyond compeer,
 Was born off the Thracian shore—
 The swordsman, Colpa, first saw light,
 When Miledh camped in Gaethlia’s¹¹ glens.

“ At Breògan’s lofty tower were born
 Arannàn and great Erimhòn,
 The youngest of those faultless braves,
 Whose worth has swelled the voice of song.”

Now, when the children of Breògan, son of Bratha, had thus increased, they were of sufficient strength and numbers to cope with any power in Spain. Not satisfied, however, with the greatness of their power there, they resolved upon extending their sway over other lands. They had also another motive for this. There was, at that period, a scarcity of food in Spain, which had lasted for twenty-six years; it was caused by the great drought of the seasons. They were prompted to it, also, by the number of conflicts they had to maintain with the Gothi,¹² and the several other foreign nations, with whom they had to contend for the sovereignty of Spain. They then held council as to what country they should invade, and as to whom they should send to reconnoitre it. Upon this, they resolved to choose Ith, son of Breògan, son of Bratha, who was both a valiant champion and an intelligent man, well instructed in the sciences, to reconnoitre the isle of Eri. The place where they adopted this counsel was the Tower of Breògan, in Galicia. Thus it happened that they sent Ith to Eri. It was not, as some assert, that he had seen it, like a white cloud, on a winter’s night, from the top of Breògan’s Tower. There had been an acquaintance and intercourse, long previous to this, between Eri and Esbain; for we have seen that Eocaidh, son of Ere, the last king of the Fer-Bolgs, had married Talti, daughter of Maghmor, king of Esbain. They had been, then, in the habit of mutually trading

¹¹ *Gaethlia’s*. The word used in the original old *duan* quoted above, is “Gaethluighe.” It shows where Miledh was, when he was said to be in Gothia.

¹² *Gothi*. Here, again, we meet the “Gaethluigh” of the Pagan bards, transformed into “Gothi.” Spain was, no doubt, then subject to the invasion of African hordes, as it has been often

since. These “Gaethluigh” might be Gaetulian mercenaries of the Phœnicians or Carthagenians. The latter nation nearly always carried on its wars by mercenaries. Could the Gaetulian nation be a branch of the Gaels themselves? “Gaedhalach” (*Gaylagh*), *Gaelic*, differs but very slightly from “Gaethalach” (*Gayhalagh*), Gaetulian.

one with the other, and of exchanging their wares and valuables, long before Ith, son of Breògan, had been born. Thus the Esbainigh (or Spaniards) knew Eri, and the Erinigh knew Esbain, long before Ith, son of Breògan, had come into existence.

Ith, son of Breògan, visits Ireland—His death.

Ith then got his ship ready, and manned it with one hundred and fifty men. He then set sail and landed in the north of Ireland, having cast his anchor in the swampy harbor of Magh-Itha.¹³ As soon as he had landed, he sacrificed to Neptuneus,¹⁴ the god of the sea, and the demons gave him evil omens. Then some of the folk of the country came to meet him, and they accosted him in the "Scot-berla,"¹⁵ or Scotie tongue, that is, in the Gaelic or Irish, and he answered them in the same language, telling them that he was of the race of Magog, as well as they, and that the Scotie was his native language as well as theirs.

Our historians infer, from this passage in the Book of Conquests, that the "Scot-berla," called also the Gaelic, was the native tongue of Nemedh and his people, and consequently of his descendants, the Fer-Bolgs, and accordingly of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns. This, indeed, is credible, from what we stated above, to wit, that it was Gaedal, son of Ethor, that regulated and arranged the Scotie language, at the command of Fenius Farsa; and that from him, as we have said before, the Scotie tongue is named Gaedilgi or Gaelic. Now, this Gaedal had been teaching his schools in Scythia, before Nemedh had emigrated from Scythia to Eri, or Ireland; and, as the "Scot-berla" was the general

¹³ *The Swampy Harbor of Magh-Ith.* There was a place called Slebhna Maighe n-Itha (*Slebhna* or *Slebhna Moye n-Itha*) near Loch-Febail, now Lough Foyle. Perhaps the mouth of the Finn was so called. The name means the "Slimes," or, rather, "Slippings of the plain of Ith."

¹⁴ *Neptuneus.* Irish etymologists have derived the name Neptuneus from the Gaelic words "naemh" (*naemh*), *sacred*, and "Tonn," a *wave*, as if "Naemh-thonn" (*Nayphonn*). The etymology is fanciful, but not likely.

¹⁵ *Scot-Berla.* It is not necessary to suppose that the Gaels and Tuatha-Dè-Dananns spoke the same language in order to account for Ith's converse with that people. He had been chosen for the leader because he was "an intelligent man, well instructed in the sci-

ences." Whether his kinsmen spoke Celtic or not (for Celtic is here meant by Scot-Berla), he must have known a language then universal in Western Europe, to have merited the title given him in the text. The name Eðirsgèl or Eðirsgèol, whence the O'Driscoll's or O' h-Eðirsgèoil, who were amongst the most distinguished of Ith's descendants in the latter times, have taken their surname, signifies interpreter. It was a name very frequent amongst the tribe in ancient times, and may have been originally taken in commemoration of Ith's *having acted as interpreter* between his kinsmen and the Irish. Ith has been called a Phœnician. If he was, Eðirsgèol might bear the construction of "double-tongued" applied to the Phœnicians and Tyrians of old.

language of Scythia, when Nemedh migrated thence, our antiquaries infer, that the Scotie language was the proper language of Nemedh and his people on their arrival into Ireland, and thence of all his posterity. It was also that of the sons of Miledh, whose native tongue has ever been the "Scot-bèrla," from the time that Niul first left Scythia to the present day. Ristard Craebach¹⁶ (Richard Craagh), Primate of Ireland, agrees in this opinion, in the book which he has written on the origin of the Gaelic tongue and nation. He speaks thus on the subject: "The Gaelic tongue has been constantly used in Ireland, from the arrival of Nemedh, six hundred and thirty years after the Flood, unto the present day."¹⁷ From what we have now said, it will not seem improbable, that it was in the Scotie tongue that Ith and the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns held converse together.

As to Ith, he first asked them both the name of the country itself, and who they were that held the sovereignty thereof. Upon which, the folk, whom he had met, told him that the kings, who then held its sovereignty, were the three sons of Kermad

¹⁶ *Ristard Craebach*. Properly, Ristard O'Mael-Chraebbaigh (*O'Mayl-chrayv'e*). This distinguished prelate and Catholic martyr, whose name has been already mentioned in the notes on the preface of this work, was in his youth reared to the profession of merchant, which was that of his father. While in a Spanish port, whither he had gone on a mercantile voyage, the ship to which he was attached foundered in the harbor, and all its crew perished with it, except the young O'Mael-Craevic, who escaped the catastrophe by having come ashore to attend the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Struck by his preservation, he renounced the world, studied for the priesthood, and was in due time ordained a member of that body. Becoming distinguished for his piety, zeal and great literary attainments, he was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, as a man well fitted to console and support his Catholic countrymen under the grievous persecution then raging against them by order of their merciless foreign tyrant, Elizabeth of England. The holy prelate soon fell into the hands of the minions of that ruthless enemy of Ireland and of Ireland's Church. By them he was sent prisoner to England, where he long languished in chains. Not being

able to force him into a denial of his ancestral faith, his heretic enemies, finding no fault in the man, sought to trump up a false accusation against him, of which his jailer's daughter was to have been the instrument. By this plan they hoped to take away his life under the cover of English law. But when his young and beautiful accuser was brought into court and placed upon the bench, either struck with the august appearance of the prelate or frightened at the awful crime they were forcing her to commit, she became silenced, and refused to utter a word against him. When urged to speak by her wicked suborners, she but bore testimony to the purity and sanctity of their victim, and declared that she would not bear false witness against him, even were she to forfeit her life for her adherence to truth. His wicked persecutors being thus disappointed, and their thirst for Catholic and Irish blood being still unslaked, sent O'Mael-Craevic back again to his dungeon, where he soon rendered up his spirit to him whose faithful minister he had been.—See *O'Sullivan's Historia Catholica Ibernica*.

¹⁷ Gallica locutio est in usu in Hibernia, ab adventu Nemedi, anno 630 a Diluvio, in hunc usque diem.

Mil-beól, son of the Daghdha, who reigned alternately year about, as we have mentioned heretofore, and that these princes were then at Ailech-Neid, in the north of Ulster, and also that they were then in contention about the wealth of their ancestors. Having heard this, Ith sets forth to meet them, attended by two-thirds of the crew that had manned his ship, and when he had arrived in the presence of the sons of Kermad, from whom he received a courteous welcome, these princes explain to him the cause of their dispute. He, upon his part, told them that it was stress of weather that had forced him to land, and that he meant to make no delay, but to sail back immediately to his own home.

Upon this, as the Danann kings found Ith to be both a learned and experienced man, they made him their judge in the dispute that was between them. His decision then was, that the disputed wealth should be divided into three equal parts, and that each should receive one of them as his share. He then began to praise Eri, declaring that it was wrong for them to be at strife with one another, while their country was so abounding in honey and in fruit, in fish and in milk, in vegetables and corn, and while its air was of so happy a temperature, between heat and cold. He added, that if the country were divided into three parts between them, that it were more than sufficient for the maintenance of them all. Ith then took his leave of them, and marched with his hundred warriors towards his ship.

But the sons of Kermad had taken account of the praises bestowed by Ith upon the clime and soil of Eri; and they, thereupon thought if he should reach his own country, that he would bring back with him a numerous host, in order to make a conquest of the isle. They then resolved to dispatch MacCoill in pursuit of him, with a host of one hundred and fifty men; and these overtook Ith. Ith thereupon placed himself in the rear of his people, and thus brought them to northern Magh-Itha. Here there was a general conflict between Ith's band of Gaelic warriors and those of MacCoill. Ith was mortally wounded in the fight, but his companions bore him to his ship, and he died at sea, on the voyage homeward, and was buried in Spain, his corpse having been first exposed to the sons of Miledh, in order to incite them to wreak vengeance upon the sons of Kermad for his death.

It is the opinion of some historians that Drom-Lighen¹⁸ was the place where Ith was slain, and that Magh-Itha was the place of his burial; but the foregoing account is the more generally received, and the more likely to be the true one.

¹⁸ *Drom-Lighen*. This place is situated in the county of Donegal. The word is pronounced *Drum-Leen*.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE INVASION OF IRELAND BY THE SONS OF MILEDH OR
MILESIUS, AND OF THE COUNTRY WHENCE THEY HAD COME
THITHER.

HECTOR BOETHIUS asserts, in the third chapter of his History of Scotland, that Eber and Erimhòn were the sons of Gaedal. But this cannot be true, for Cormac Mac Culinan tells us, in his Chronicle, that Gaedal was the cotemporary of Moses. It is asserted in the Book of Conquests, also, that it was at the end of two hundred and eighty-three years after the drowning of Pharaoh, that the sons of Miledh arrived in Ireland. Therefore Gaedal could not be the father of Eber and Erimhòn. It is also seen that Gaedal was not their father, by King Cormac's enumeration of the generations from Galamh, who is called Miledh Esbaini, or the Hero of Spain.

Here follows the pedigree of Galamh, called Miledh of Spain, or Milesius, according to the holy King Cormac Mac Culinan :

GALAMH, son of	FEBRIC GLAS, son of	SRU, son of
BILI, son of	EBER GLUN-FINN,	ESRU, son of
BREGAN or BREGAN,	son of	GAEDAL GLAS,
son of	LAMFINN, son of	son of
BRATHA, son of	AGNON or ADNON,	NIUL, son of
DEGATHA, son of	son of	FENIUS FARSA, son of
ARCADIH, son of	TATH, son of	BAATH, son of
ALLOID, son of	EOGAMHAN, son of	MAGOG, son of
NUADATH, son of	BEOGAMHAN, son of	JAPHET, son of
NENUAL, son of	EBER SCOT, son of	NOAH.

*The Scotch or Albanian Gaels of the same Origin with the
Gaels of Ireland.*

On reading the History of Hector Boethius, one might suppose that the Gaels or Gaedalians of Alba (Scotland) are sprung from some Gaedal different from the Gaedal who was the progenitor of the Gaels of Eri (Ireland). I, however, rest satisfied with what John Major, a respectable Scotch author, says upon the subject, when he tells us that the Gaels of Scotland have descended from the Gaels of Ireland. He speaks in the following

manner: "For this reason I assert, that the Scotch are descended from the same stock as the Irish, whatever be the source whence the latter nation has come."¹ Bede agrees in this opinion, where he says, in the first chapter of his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, that "in the course of some time after the Britons and Picts, Britain received a third race into its Pictish division or portion; a race that came from Hibernia under the leadership of Rheuda, and which seized upon a fixed settlement for itself amongst the Picts, either by friendship or by arms, of which they hold possession to the present time."² Hence we must understand, according to Bede, that it was from Ireland that the Scotie nation emigrated to Alba under their chieftain Rheuda; that its posterity has existed there ever since, and that they are the people who are now called Scots. Humfredus,³ a British, that is a Welsh author, speaks in the following manner upon the same subject: "They are certain themselves, and so are all others, that they (the Scots) are the progeny of the Irish, and that they are called by the same appellation, namely, 'Guidhil,' by the people of our nation,"⁴ i. e. by the Brethnaigh or Welsh. Cambrensis says, in the tenth chapter of the third division of the book, which he wrote describing Ireland, that it was in the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland, that the six sons of Muredach, king of Ulster, went to Scotland, where they acquired power and supremacy, and that it was about that time that *Scotia* was first imposed as a name upon *Alba*. He also tells us that it was from these six sons of the king of Ulster, that the "Albanaigh" or Albanians, are called the Scotie race. The following are his words, in speaking of these princes: "And therefore, it is from them that the Gaels of Scotland have descended, and that they are specifically called the Scotie race, even unto the present day."⁵ Thus, according to all we have shown, two things asserted by Hector Boethius in his History of Scotland, are false: the first is his supposition that Gaedal was the father of Miledh; and the second is his supposition that it was from some other Gaedal⁶

¹ Dico ergo, a quibuscunque Hiberni originem duxerunt, ab eisdem Scoti originem capiunt.

² Procedente autem tempore Britannia, post Britones et Pictos, Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui duce Reuda de Hibernia egressi, vel amicitia, vel ferro, subimet inter eos sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicant.

³ *Humfredus*. Called otherwise Humphrey of Gloster.

⁴ Scotos Hibernorum prolem, et

ipsi et omnes optime norunt, eodemque nomine a nostratibus, silicet "Guidhil," appellantur.

⁵ Gens ab his propagata specificato vocabulo Scotica vocatur in hodiernum.

⁶ *From some other Gaedal*. This question, so long a subject of dispute between the Irish and Scotch, is now set at rest forever in favor of the Irish tradition. Indeed, during the height of the discussion, the most learned of the Scotch antiquarians saw that they could not, in the face of history and of

besides that hero, who was the ancestor of the sons of Miledh, the conquerors of Ireland, that the Gaels of Scotland are descended.

The Gaels did not come to Ireland from Gallia, i. e. France.

Buchanan,⁴⁹ a Scotch author, asserts in his History of Scotland, that France was the country whence the sons of Miledh had

existing facts, deny that the Scots of Ireland and the Scotch Highlanders were the same race. Not being able to draw a line of distinction between the two divisions of the Scotie nation, Pinkerton, and some others, set about proving that those Scots, who were the ruling caste in Ireland about the Christian era, and who were so distinguished throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, for their learning and piety, as well as the ruling castes in the Scotch Highlands, were *Goths*, not *Gaels*. For this assertion, his most plausible proofs are the resemblance between the words "Scot" and "Goth," and that of both words to the name "Scythian," which he would monopolize for the Gothic race, to the exclusion of all other nomads. He endeavors to make out his Goths to be the types of all that is noble in humanity, and the Gaels the types of all that is vile. The Scots, forsooth, were a Gothic race, who, having conquered the Gaels, adopted the language, habits and customs of their vassals, and even allowed the latter to coin Gaelic pedigrees for them; thus forgetting the pride which conquering races always feel, in a desire to assimilate themselves to the vanquished, while the latter were, as he tells us, immeasurably their inferiors. The mere fact, that such a supposition is contrary to all that is known of human nature, is sufficient to expose its utter absurdity. When garnished with a sufficient quantity of Greek and Latin quotations, such assertions might pass current, at a time when there were no Irish documents published by which fair and unbiassed men might test the truth of the guesses made by the virulent enemies of the Celtic or Gaelic race (if the latter be Celtic). As such documents have, since then, been pub-

lished, the editor would not deem it worth while to notice the slanderous and malignant, though sufficiently learned work, in which Pinkerton has endeavored to prove the Scots to be Goths, were it not that Moore, who might have known better, has adopted that abusive man's opinion, in his history of Ireland. He adopts it, however, with this rather important difference, namely, he makes out those Scotie Goths to be a barbarous race, who destroyed a civilization that existed in Ireland, previous to their arrival therein. Now, all that is known of Irish History, and all that has been published of the literary remains of our race, proves that no men sprung from strange conquerors could have engrafted themselves upon the genealogical tree of the "Clanna Gaedail," even if it would, without having first completely destroyed all Gaelic tradition and Gaelic law. There was absolutely no place for men of foreign blood amongst that people, and it needs but very little reflection, after studying its antiquities, to be convinced, that it would have been as difficult for a strange people to have come into Palestine and called itself the thirteenth tribe of Israel, as it would have been for Goths to have come into Ireland, while the Brehon usages were in force, and to have called themselves Gaels. To discuss, then, whether the Scots or the Gaels, the Eberians or the Fenian were the nobler or more civilized race, is about as reasonable as to discuss the question whether Eri, Hibernia or Ireland be the nobler and more fertile island. What is said of Scot is said of Gael, Brigantian, Eberian, and Fenian—they all mean one and the same thing.

⁴⁹ Buchanan. George Buchanan lived between the year 1506, and 1581.

come hither, and for this he gives what he considers to be two reasons. The first of these he deduces from the fact that France was formerly so populous, that the part of it which was called Gallia Lugdunensis,⁸ could of itself furnish three hundred thousand fighting men,⁹ and that it was therefore likely, that it had

Though he had been patronized by Queen Mary of Scotland, he joined the party of the traitor Murray, against his royal mistress. As a reward for this, he was appointed tutor to king James the First, by rebel Protector. Buchanan's history of Scotland, written in Latin, is styled "Rerum Scotticarum Historia." His style rivals that of the classic Latin writers in elegance. His History has, however, been condemned by critics for the legends with which it is interwoven. But it is questionable if that be so great a fault. A historian is scarcely at liberty to reject a legend because he does not understand its meaning, unless its falsehood be manifest. Hypercriticism often overshoots its mark, and rejects traditions as fabulous altogether, which may be but truths clad in the language of hyperbole, and which, upon more extended information, may afford most useful collateral evidence to the historic inquirer.

⁸ *Gallia Lugdunensis*. The division of Gaul, called this name by the Romans, was that more especially called "Celtica" or "Celtic." It comprehended the whole of the centre of modern France, extending from Helvetia or Switzerland, which was part of it, to Normandy, and from Gallia Belgica or Belgium, to the Atlantic ocean. It received the name "Lugdunensis" from the city of Lugdunum, now Lyons, which was its capital. Lugdunum is evidently a latinized version of a Gaelic compound formed out of the words "Lugh" or "Lugaidh," a man's name, and "dun," a *fortress or town*, as if, "Lugh-Dhun" (*Loo-ghoon*), i. e. "Dun-Luighche" (*Doon-Luecagh*), or *Lughaidh's town*. The correctness with which the Roman writers preserve radical letters in their Celtic names, should go far to prove, either that the aspirating and silencing of those letters was not then usual among the Celts, or that

the Romans took down these names from written documents. No modern writer, upon hearing a Celt of modern Gaul pronounce the word "Lyons," or an Irish Celt pronounce Lugh-Dhūn (*Looyoon*), could think of latinizing either by Lugdunum. The district of Corca-Luighe (*Corca-Looe*), and several other places in Ireland, are called after persons called Lugaidh, which was one of the names most frequent amongst the Gaels. There was another Lugdunum on the Rhine. It is now called Leyden. It lay in the land of Germans. In the land of the Batavi, called a Germanic race, lies also Dunkirk, whose name is said to mean the "Kirk," or church of the "dunes" or *duns*. "Dun Cuire" (*Doon Kyrk*), i. e. *Core's dun or fort*, would suit as well. Core is a man's name of frequent occurrence among the Irish Celts. There lay another Lugdunum in Gascony. It is now called St. Bertrand.

⁹ *Three hundred thousand fighting men*. The immense armies that the Celtic countries sent forth in former times, should in themselves, were there no other evidence on the subject, confute those English writers who assert the savagery of the Celtic race. Neither Gaul nor Britain could have supported or reared the multitudes of warriors that both nations opposed to the Romans, unless several of the arts of civilized life, and especially agriculture, were extensively practiced amongst them. All Western Europe, taking in the British Isles, would not be too large, as a *hunting ground*, for three hundred thousand warriors. But, English writers, wanting to vilify the victims of their countrymen, and thus to extenuate the robberies and cruelties practiced upon the Irish Celts, will see nothing but savagery in the whole Celtic race, forgetting that the greatest nation of antiquity—their own mistress and the mistress of the world in the

sent forth some such hordes to occupy Ireland, as were the tribes of the Gaels. My answer to that reason is, that the author himself knew nothing of the specific time at which the sons of Miledh arrived in Ireland, and that he was, consequently, perfectly ignorant as to whether France was populous or waste at that epoch. And even though that country were as populous as he states, when the sons of Miledh came to Ireland, it does not thence follow, that we must necessarily understand that France was the country whence they had emigrated. For why should France be supposed to have been more populous at that time than was Spain, the country whence the sons of Miledh really did come? Therefore it is easily understood, that this reason, brought forward by Buchanan as a proof that the sons of Miledh originally came from France, is but a very silly one. The other foolish argument he adduces in support of his conjecture that France was the country that sent forth the Milesian colony to Ireland, is drawn from the fact that some French and Gaelic¹⁰

sciences of jurisprudence and war—trembled, while yet in all its youthful vigor, at the bare mention of the Celtic name—forgetting, also, that this great nation was itself chiefly composed of Celtic elements, and that its type was Celtic, rather than Saxon.

¹⁰ *French and Gaelic words.* Dr. Keating uses the term *French*, both here and on several other occasions, for *Gallie*, as he also uses the name “France,” repeatedly, where “Gaul” or “Gallia” would have been the more appropriate phrase. The argument he enters into above, is idle. The languages of Wales, Bretagne, and Ireland, prove that the tribes by whom they were originally spoken, were of the same race. These languages are all radically the same, and there are few native words in any one of them, as at present spoken, that have not their cognate terms in the others. All the grand features of their grammatical construction are also extremely alike. This alone should prove that the same nation originally colonized the three countries. Dr. Keating, himself, has already brought the Nemedians, Fer-Bolgs, and Tuatha-Dè-Danann, to Ireland, by the way of Britain. These nations must have formed the basis of the Irish people. Allowing this does not at all militate against the fact that the Gaels, who

were in after times the ruling race in this country, had come direct from Spain. The Iberi, themselves, might either have been southern Celts, and spoken a language akin to that of the Gauls and Britons, or they might have been a branch of some race speaking a dialect of the Italic or Latin. In neither of these cases would they have much altered the structure of the language spoken by their predecessors; for even to the Latin of the classic authors, the vast majority of the Gaelic words bear nearly as close a resemblance in their written structure, as do those of the modern French, which is said to be the undoubted daughter of the Latin. Then, if these Gaels or Iberians spoke a Semitic tongue—as we find they were but nine hundred warriors in all—their speech must have been soon lost in that of the previous natives. There is also ample evidence—closely as the Celtic of the Gaels resembles that of the Cimbri—that some strange element has caused the essential differences that exist between the two. Whether that strange element came from Phœnician, Danaan, or Iberian mixture, is not beyond the reach of scientific discovery. To show the similarity between the Celtic and Latin dialects, a vocabulary is given in the appendix to this work. It is given be-

words are similar, such as "Dris" and "Dun,"¹¹ and some few others like them, that happen to be the same in the French and the Gaelic. My answer to this second argument is, that there are words from every written language in the fourth division of the Gaelic, which is called the "Bérla Thébide" (*Bairla Thaibee*), and that it has been so ever since the time of Fenius Farsa; and hence, there are words found in it from the Spanish, the Italian, the Greek, the Hebrew, the Latin, and from every other chief tongue, as well as from the French. Therefore, the fact that there are a few words the same in Gaelic and in French, affords no proof whatever that the Gaels had come from France. I am even of opinion, that these few had been introduced into France from Ireland. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because I find that Julius Cæsar says in the sixth book of his Commentaries, that it was from the British Isles that the Druids used to come to France, where they became judges or brehons, and received Termon lands, immunities, and honor from the nobles of that country. It is also very likely that it was from Ireland, more especially, that these Druids were wont to go to France; particularly, as Ireland was at that time the very fountain-head of Druidism, and consequently the Gaelic was the language of these Druids. Or, even if they went thither from Anglesea, the Gaelic was still their native language; for, it is well known that it was the idiom spoken in that isle. So Ortellius tells us, who in speaking of the isle of Anglesea, says, "they use the Scotie tongue, or the Gaelic, which is the same." Accordingly, when those Druids were giving instructions in Gaul, it is very likely that the Gallic youth, in their converse with them, picked up some words of Gaelic which have continued in use ever since in the French language.¹²

Caunden says, in the book called "Britannia Camdeni," that the Druids used to instruct their pupils more by word of mouth than by writings. There is another reason, too, why it should not

cause the editor is under the impression that the old language of Spain must have closely resembled the latter tongue; and because he conceives, as he has heretofore stated, that it represents the most ancient and the purest form of the Japetic of Western Europe.

¹¹ *Dris* and *Dun*. These words are Breton, not modern French. "Dris" means a *brier*, and "dun" a *fort*. "Dunc," the French name for a "*sand-hill*" or *down*, is more likely to be cognate with the Irish word "Dumha" (*Dūna* or *Dooa*), a *mound* and also a *sand-hill*.

¹² *French Language*. All through this argument our author confounds the modern French with the Gallic or Celtic of old Gaul. The relation of the French and Irish is close enough, but it is through the Latin and Cimbric that it must be traced. The relation of the Gallic, as represented by the modern Breton with it, is direct, nearly all the pure Breton words being found in Irish. In Keating's time, no scientific comparison had yet been made between them.

be wondered at, that some Gaelic words are to be found incorporated in the French, which is, on account of the great intercourse that existed between the Irish and the French; for the Book of Invasions tells us, that a daughter of the king of France was the wife of Iugani Mor, who was "Ard-righ," or Monarch of Ireland; and it also tells us, that this same Iugani went to France in order to impose his yoke upon that country. Crimthann, son of Fidach, of the line of Eber, who was also a king of Ireland, went likewise to France in order to impose his dominion thereon. And again, Niall of the Nine Hostages, went to make a conquest of France, where he was slain at the river Lugair (the Loire), by Eocaidh, son of Enna Kenselach, as some historians mention. Dathi, son of Fiachra, also, another monarch of Ireland, went to subdue France, and was killed by lightning, in the east of that country, close by the Alps. Cornelius Tacitus tells us, also, that there was a frequent intercourse and a trade between Ireland and France. Then, according to what we have just stated, it is no wonder that there should have been a reciprocal borrowing of words between the Gaelic and French tongues. Therefore, the second conjecture of Buchanan is, also, most feeble. A third surmise made by him upon the same subject is likewise founded upon a false assumption, when he says that the customs and usages¹³ of the Irish and French are alike. Now, whoever reads the book, which Johannes Baronius has written upon the manners and customs of all nations, will clearly find therein, that the manners and customs of the Irish and French are not similar at present, nor were they formerly.

The Gaels did not come to Ireland from Great Britain—Friendly relations of the Britons and Gaels—The Brigantes of Britain a Gaelic race, that went thither from Ireland.

Some of these modern English, when they write about Ireland, assert, that it was from Great Britain that the sons of Miledh first came hither; and the reason that they give for this opinion is, the great number of words that are alike in the British (Welsh) and the Gaelic. My answer to such an argument is, that

¹³ *Manners and usages.* The usages and manners of the Frankish portion of the French nation, are here confounded with those of the Gallic. The manners and customs of the Bretons in the north-west, and of the Gallo-Romans and Gascons in the south of France, resemble those of the Irish more than they do those of the Teutonic nations. What Dr. Keating

himself says of the Welsh, a little further on, applies with equal force to Bretons of France. Our author's mistakes on this subject, show that he could not have been educated in France, as some have supposed: for, in that case he would not have made those mistakes. His authority, Johannes Baronius, spoke of the Franks, not the Gauls.

the fact they cite affords no proof, at all, that the Gaelic nation came originally from Britain. For such similarities there are two causes. The first of these causes is the fact, that the Gaelic was the native language of Britan Mael, son of Fergus of the Red Side, son of Nemedh, and that it is from him that Britain has its name, according to Cormac Mac Culinan and to the Book of the Invasions of Ireland: it was in Britain also that he resided, and his posterity, likewise, until Erimhòn, son of Miledh, sent the Cruithnigh, otherwise called Picts, to share Alba with them: Brutus¹⁴ the son of Sylvius, came in upon them afterwards, if some of their own chronicles be true: next came the Romans; then the Saxons and Danes, or Lochlannaigh; and last of all, William the Conqueror and the French: so that it is no wonder, after so many tyrannical conquests by foreign races, that the Scot-Berla, the native tongue of Britan and his progeny, should have been at length suppressed. However, the little remnant of it, that still remains unextinguished and that has not been altered since the time of Britan, is exactly the same as the Irish or Gaelic.

The second reason why it is no wonder that many words should be alike in British and in Irish, although it were not from Britain that the sons of Miledh came, is because Ireland was the harbor of refuge, to which the Britons used to flee during the time of the several oppressions, which they suffered from the Romans and the Saxons, or from the tyranny of any other nation that weighed heavily upon them. At such times, crowds of them, with their families and followers, used to retreat to Ireland, where they received lands from the Irish nobility, during the time of their sojourn. While in exile here, their children must undoubtedly have learned the Gaelic language. There are still in Ireland many towns and localities, which have received their names from these exiles; such as, "Graig na m-Brethnach"¹⁵ (*Graig-nam-rannagh*), "Dun na m-Brethnach" (*Doon-nam-rannagh*), and others. When these Britons returned home to Britain, it is possible that they had many Gaelic words in use amongst them, which they might have afterwards introduced into their own language. From all we have said, it must be seen that, although there be some words alike in the British and Gaelic tongues, it by no means follows as a necessary consequence

¹⁴ *Brutus*. Some of the old British Chroniclers say that Britain was conquered by a Brutus, son of Sylvius, who, according to them, was of Trojan descent. The probability is, that the name "Britain" or "Bretain," as well as "Eri" and "Alba," was imposed

by some people whose idiom differed from those of both Britons and Gaels. Both attempts to give a reason for the name of Britain, are mere guesses.

¹⁵ *Graig na m-Brethnach*. These names are now corrupted into "Dunmanway" and "Graigenamanna."

thereof, that Britain must be the country, whence the sons of Miledh came to Ireland.

Some may support the opinion, here contradicted, by saying that the Britons and the Gaels resemble each other in manners and customs; for, as the Gael is prompt in sharing food without payment, so is the Briton; as the Gael loves antiquaries, poets, bards, and players on the harp, so does the Briton love those that practice these same professions; and they resemble each other in many more of their usages. But this resemblance is, however, no proof that the Gaels came from Britain: it is rather, as we have said before, a much stronger proof that the Britons dwelt for some time in Ireland. Hence, it cannot be understood, from any of the foregoing reasons, that it was from Great Britain that the sons of Miledh came originally to Ireland.

But it can be asserted, with truth, that a portion of the progeny of Breògan (or Brègan), went to dwell in Great Britain, to wit: some of the descendants of the chieftains of the children of Breògan (i. e. the Brigantes), that had come, with the sons of Miledh, into Ireland. The following are the names of these sons of Breògan, to wit: Breoga, Fuad, Murthemni, Cualgni, Cuala, Ebleo, Bladh, and Nar. It is more especially from the progeny of these chieftains that, according to Irish historic tradition, the people called Brigantes are sprung. This must be the more readily received as true, from the fact that Tomasius, in his Latin Dictionary, says that the Brigantes, that is, the children of Breògan, are an Irish people.¹⁶ Again, Florianus de Campo, a Spanish author, says, when speaking of the history of Ireland, that the Brigantes are Spaniards by their origin, and that it was from Spain they had emigrated both to Ireland and to Britain.

All that we have asserted concerning the intimacy of the British and Irish, and of Ireland's having a harbor of refuge to the former nation, will be the more readily believed, when Carodoc, a British author, is found stating in his Chronicle, as well as Abian and many other writers of that people, that num-

¹⁶ *Progeny of Breògan.* The fact of this colony of Gaels having settled in Britain, will account for those Gaelic names of localities in Britain, from which some English antiquarians argue that this nation dwelt in that country before the present British or Welsh—that is, such names as “Ceitir Gydilod,” i. e. (*the fortress of the Gaels*), and some others. Those ancient names of rivers, mountains, &c., which the learned Llyud says are inexplicable in Welsh, but which he deems significant

in Irish, are most probably, like “Eri,” “Sena,” “Alba,” “Mana,” and many others of that class, equally inexplicable by the aid of either tongue; for so close do these languages resemble each other, both in their simple radicals and their mode of forming derivatives, that it is not easy to conceive the existence of many such names. Upon critical examination, by persons well versed in both idioms, such names will probably be found to be neither Gaelic nor Welsh.

bers of the British princes and nobles were wont to come to Ireland, where they were kindly received and entertained, and where they were granted lands to dwell upon, as we have above stated. Dr. Hanmer makes specific mention of some of them in his Chronicle. First, he says, that Edwin, son of Athelfred, banished to Ireland a king of Britain (i. e. Wales), named Kadwallin, in the year of our Lord 635, and that he was there kindly received, and that he got reinforcements from the Irish, whereby he regained his own kingdom. He also states that Harold and Conan, two British princes, came from Britain to Ireland in the year of our Lord 1050, and that they were there affectionately received and protected by the Irish. Again, he tells us that Algar, Earl of Chester, came fleeing from Britain to Ireland, in the year of our Lord 1054, and that the Irish sent back an army with him, whereby he recovered his territory. Some time after, in the year of our Lord 1087, another British prince, named Blethin Ap Conan, fled to Ireland, and received hospitable entertainment during his sojourn therein. And it was thus that an alliance and an intimacy was continually kept up between both nations. In Hanmer's Chronicle, also, we read that Arnolph, Earl of Pembroke, married the daughter of Murkertach O'Briain, then king of Ireland, in the year of our Lord 1101, and that his second daughter was married to Magnus, son of Harold, king of the Isles. In the time of Henry I., king of England, also, there was, according to the same author, a Prince of Britain (Wales), named Griffin Ap Conan, who was in the habit of boasting frequently, that his own mother was an Irish woman, and that his grandmother was also of that nation, and that he had himself been born and educated in Ireland. There was also, in the time of Henry II., another Prince of Britain, named Biridus, son of Goneth, whose mother was an Irish woman. There must, therefore, have been much intercourse and friendship, as well as many family connections, between the Britons and the Gaels. Hence it is not surprising to find such a number of similar words in the languages of these nations, and that their manners and customs should so closely resemble each other, although the Gaels had never derived their origin from Great Britain.

Camden tells us, that the Brigantes (i. e. children of Breògan), inhabited the following parts of Great Britain, namely, the territory of York, Lancaster, Durham, Westmoreland, and Northumberland. It is certain that these Brigantes went thither from Ireland, as we have stated above, notwithstanding the opinion of Camden, who asserts that Ireland received its first inhabitants from Britain. On such a point, we should give more credit to the historians of Ireland, upon whom it was obligatory to investigate and transmit to posterity every event that ever happened

in this country, than to the mere conjecture of a man like Camden, to whom the History of Ireland had never communicated its secrets, and from that History alone could he derive any accurate knowledge of the affairs of Ireland.

Falsehood of Cambrensis in asserting that the sons of Miledh of Spain invaded Ireland by the permission of Gurguntius, king of Britain.

Cambrensis says, that it was by the permission of the king, who then ruled Great Britain, that the sons of Miledh came to Ireland from Biscain or Biscay; and he says, also, that they were towed after him to the Orcaes, and that he thence sent a host with them to Ireland, that they might inhabit it, upon the condition that both themselves and their posterity should be subject to him and to the king of Great Britain forever; and the name Cambrensis gives to this king is Gurguntius,¹⁷ son of Pelin. My answer to this assertion of Cambrensis is, that it is an evident falsehood. For, whoever will read the Chronicle of Stow, will find, that there were little more than three hundred years from the reign of that Gurguntius over Great Britain until the invasion of Julius Cæsar, in the eighth year of the reign of Casibelaunus, king of that same country; and in the same author we read, that there were only about thirty-two years from Julius Cæsar to the birth of Christ; so that, according to the calculation of Stow, there were not four hundred years in full from the time of Gurguntius to the birth of Christ. Now, the holy Cormac, son of Culinan, and the Book of the Invasions of Ireland, states that it was about one thousand three hundred years before the birth of Christ that the sons of Miledh arrived in Ireland. The Polychronicon agrees with them in this computation, where it treats of Ireland. It speaks thus: "there are about one thousand eight hundred years from the arrival of the Hibernenses until the death of St. Patrick."¹⁸ This is the same as to say, that the sons of Miledh came to Ireland one thousand three hundred years before the birth of Christ; for, subtract the four hundred and ninety-two years from the birth of Christ to the death of St.

¹⁷ *Gurguntius*. This homage of the Spanish freebooters to a British king, was fabricated by Cambrensis, for the purpose of giving a forged title of sovereignty over Ireland to his masters, the Norman robbers. Of such description were the State lies of the Middle Ages; for, unfortunately for mankind, people then thought—nay, many are

still besotted enough to believe, or knavish enough to pretend, that triumphant crime, murders, robberies, rapes, and such other *faits accomplis*, can give lawful title to one's neighbor's goods.

¹⁸ *Ab adventu Hibernensium, usque ad obitum Sancti Patricii, sunt anni mille octo centi.*

Patrick, from those one thousand eight hundred years, that the Polychronicon counts, as having intervened between the arrival of the sons of Miledh in Ireland and the death of St. Patrick, and there will thus remain, one thousand three hundred and eight years, from the arrival of the sons of Miledh in Ireland to the birth of Christ: so that the Polychronicon, the holy Cormac, and the Book of Invasions, are in perfect accord with one another. And, if we deduct the number of years that Chronicle of Stow allows, from Gurguntius to the birth of Christ, from the Chronology of Polychronicon, of Cormac Mac Culinan, and of the Books of the Invasions, as it records the time from the coming of the sons of Miledh into Ireland to the birth of Christ, it will clearly appear that the Children of Miledh were in Ireland more than nine hundred years before his Gurguntius began to reign in Great Britain. From all this, it is manifest that Cambrensis has written a downright falsehood upon the subject, for which he had no authority, when he stated in his Chronicle that it was this Gurguntius that invited the sons of Miledh to the Orcades, and that sent them thence to Ireland. For how could Gurguntius have sent them thither, when we find, according to all the authorities we have cited here, that he was born nine hundred years subsequent to the arrival of the sons of Miledh in Ireland.

*The Clans of Breògan resolve to avenge Ith—They are mustered by the sons of Miledh.*¹⁹

When the Sons of Miledh and the whole posterity of Breògan had heard of the treachery perpetrated by the sons of Kernad upon Ith, son of Breògan, and upon his companions, and when they had seen his body, mangled and dead, they resolved to invade Ireland, in order to wreak vengeance upon the sons of Kernad, and to wrest that kingdom from the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, as a punishment for that foul deed.

Some historians say that it was from Biscay, that the sons of Miledh set sail for Ireland, from a place that is called Mondaca, near the mouth of the River Verindo. The reason why they think so is, because Miledh was king of Biscay²⁰ after he had been

¹⁹ *Sons of Miledh.* The reader must not forget, that the sons of Miledh (*Meeleli*) were themselves one of the clans of Breògan, their father having been the grandson of that chief through Bile or Bili, (*Billeh.*) his eldest son.

²⁰ *King of Biscay.* The chief objection to this tradition lies in the fact, that the Biscayan is not a Celtic dia-

lect, while the Irish is. It has not, however, been proved that there do not exist striking and peculiar resemblances between the two tongues. Neither is it proved that the son of Miledh spoke Celtic. The fact, before noticed, that "Galambh," one of the names of their founder, may mean the same thing as "Miledh," in Latin, "Miles," would show that the

driven by the overwhelming force of foreign invaders, from the heart of Spain into that country, which was secure from foreign attack by its numerous forests and hills and natural strongholds. But this is not the common opinion of our own historians, who tell us, that the Milesian invaders set out on their expedition from the Tower of Breògan in Galicia.²¹ And this latter account I consider to be the true one. For we read in the Book of Conquests, that it was at the Tower of Breògan,²² they first formed the resolution of sending Ith to explore Ireland, and that it was there that Lugaidh, the son of Ith, landed when he returned from Ireland with his father's dead body, to exhibit it to the sons of Miledh and to the descendants of Breògan. For this reason, I am of opinion that they set sail for Ireland, from that same place, Miledh having died a short time before. Her husband being thus dead, Scota came to Ireland with her children, as Spain was then a bone of contention between the natives and the many foreign tribes, who had come from the north of Europe to conquer that country.

But to return to the sons of Miledh, these chieftains mustered an army for the invasion of Ireland, both to wreak vengeance upon the sons of Kermad for the murder of Ith, and to seize upon that kingdom for themselves. Their entire fleet numbered

name of this chieftain of the "Clann Ebr Scuit" had been translated into two languages. The number of words perfectly synonymous and of distinct origin, which are contained in the Irish tongue, prove in themselves that it is made up of more than one language. Original tongues contain but few synonyms.

²¹ *Gallicia*. This is on every account the more probable tradition. The Galæci, who formerly inhabited this Spanish province, are said to have been of Celtic blood. Keating cites his Irish authorities for it, while the former has all the air of a guess made by some foreign writers. The people of the Asturias, which lies between Galicia and Biscay, do not speak a language so widely different from Gaelic. Theirs is called a Latin dialect, though they, as well as the natives of Biscay, boast of having never mixed with foreigners. Both Galicia and the Asturias are countries of narrow fertile plains and high precipitous mountain ridges, and would afford the Gaels almost as secure natural strongholds as the Biscayan re-

gion. The Asturias were in after-times the stronghold of the Cid, the great hero of Spanish romance.

²² *The Tower of Breògan* is supposed to have been situated at the place now called Coranna, which is situated about midway between Cape Finisterre and Cape Órtegal, in Galicia. There exists still in this city a lofty tower, whose origin is lost in the mists of remotest antiquity. Local tradition says, that it was built as a pharos or lighthouse by the Phœnicians, during their occupation of Spain.—Could our Milesians have fled out of Spain before these Phœnicians or their Carthagenian successors, or could they have been a Spanish tribe transported to Ireland by either of these people, for the purpose of protecting their commerce? The fact that all the fragmentary evidence that has reached us, prove the Gaels to have been inferior in civilization to the Danaans, whom they conquered, militates against the supposition that they were real Phœnicians, for at that time the Phœnicians were one of the most civilized nations of the earth.

thirty ships, in each of which there were thirty warriors,²³ without counting their wives and their attendants. The number of chieftains who held command was forty, as we read in the following duan, composed by Eocaidh O'Floinn:—

“Of the chieftains of that fleet, in which²⁴
Came hither Miledh's sea-borne sons,
I can recall the number well,
And name their names, and tell their fates.

“Fuad, Eblind, Brêga, Bladh the bland,
Lugaidh,²⁵ Murthemni of the lake,
Bres, Buas, with Buadni's machless might,
Donn, Eber, Erimhòn and Ir.

“Amirghin, Colpa, without guile,
Eber,²⁶ Arech, Arannàn,
Cuala, Cualgni, the warlike Nar,
Muimni, Luigni, with Laigni.

“Fulman, Mantan, Bili the mild,
Er, Orba, Ferann, Fergend,²⁷
En, Un, Etan, Gosten the bright,
Sobarki, Sedga, Surghi.

“Palap, son of great Erimhòn,
And Caicher, son of Mantan—
Full ten and thirty chiefs in all
Came to avnge steed-loving Ith.”

Here follow the names of these captains more in full:—Brêga or Breòga, son of Breògan, from whom Magh-Breàgh in Meath

²³ *Thirty warriors.* The multiplication of this number by 30, the number of the ships, will give 900 as the whole of the effective force that accompanied the sons of Miledh in this expedition. Their conquest of the Danaans with so small a number is inexplicable, except we understand that the native Belgæ or Ferbolgs, and the Nemedians, had helped them, and had perhaps even called them over against their Danaan masters. The fact that we find the Belgian, Crimthann Sciathbèl, placed as ruler over Leinster by Erimhòn, immediately after the conquest, goes far to corroborate this supposition.

²⁴ The metrical roll of the Brigantian chiefs, of which the above is a translation, has not been given in Halliday's edition. The translator has found it in two of his manuscript copies.

²⁵ *Lugaidh.* Of all the posterity of

Breògan here named, with the exception of the sons of Miledh themselves, that of Lugaidh, son of Ith, was the only one that continued to maintain a distinguished position in Ireland down to later times. From him are descended the Corea Luighe, of South Munster, of which the O'Driscolls, O'Cowhigs and O'Learies, of the county of Cork, were the chiefs. From him, also, descended the Mac Clanchies, of Connaught, but not those of Clare. The latter draw their origin from the Dalcassian tribe.

²⁶ *Eber*, i. e. Eber, the son of Ir, not Eber Finn his uncle.

²⁷ *Fergend*, otherwise Fergna, son of Eber Finn. The name Eblind, in the first line of the duan, is elsewhere written Eblinni and Ebleo. From him the Felim Mountains are called Sliabh Eblinni, (*Sleeve Eyelinnie.*)

is named; Cuala, son of Breògan, from whom Sliabh Cualann is named; Cualgni, son of Breògan, from whom Sliabh Cualgni is named; Bladh, son of Breògan, from whom Sliabh Bladma is named; Fuaid, son of Breògan, from whom Sliabh Fuaid in Ulster has its name; Murthemni, son of Breògan, from whom is called Magh Murthemni; Lugaidh, son of Ith, who came to Ireland to avenge the death of his father; and it is from him that we call the South of Munster Corca Luighi; Ebleo or Eiblinni, son of Breògan, from whom Sliabh Eiblinni, in Munster; Buas, Bres, and Buadni, the three sons of Tighernbard,²⁸ son of Brighe; Nar, from whom is named Ros Nàr on Sliabh Bladma; Sedga, Fulman, and Mantan; Caicher and Surgi, son of Caicher; Ir, Orba, Ferann, and Fergna, the four sons of Eber; En, Un, Ètan, Gosten and Sobarki, whose father we do not know; Bili, son of Brighe, son of Breògan; the eight sons of Miledh of Spain, namely, Donn, Arech Februdh, Eber Finn, Amirghia, Ir, Colpa of the Sword, Erimhòn, and Arannàn, the youngest; four sons of Erimhòn, Muimni, Luigni, Laigni, and Palap; and one son of Ir, namely, Eber. Irial the Prophet, son of this same Erimhòn, here mentioned, was born in Ireland.

Arrival of the Gaels in Ireland—Their victories over the Danaans Tuatha-Dè-Dananns.

As to the Children of Miledh and their fleet, no account is given of them, until they got into port at Inber Slangi, which is called the Bay of Loch Garman at the present time. Here the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns mustered their host and assembled round about them; and they threw a magic mist over the heads of their invaders, so that the island lying before them, seemed to assume the shape of a hog's back; and thence some people apply the term "Muic-Inis,"²⁹ that is, "Hog-Island," to Ireland. The children of Miledh were then driven away from the shore by the Druidic spells of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, so that they had to sail all round Ireland, before they again got into port, at Inber

²⁸ *Tighernbard*, otherwise Tighernbhard (Teeyernvard), meaning "lord-bard," i. e. noble bard.

²⁹ *Muic-Inis*. This has been translated "the Isle of Mist" in another place. The rather dull fable recounted above, originated in the identity of the radical letters which compose the Irish words "muc" (muck), a hog, and "mùch" (*mooch*), a mist or obscurity. In our old MSS. the "h" is rarely used in aspirating consonants, its place

being usually supplied by a dot or other mark placed over the aspirated letter. Thence may have sprung this fable, either through simplicity, or through a stupid love of the wonderful on the part of some interpreter of our old MSS. Nothing is otherwise more natural, than that the Gaels should have missed the harbor of Wexford in one of those dense fogs so usual on the Irish coast, and have been then driven all round the island by a storm.

Skèni, in the west of Munster. And, when they had landed here, they marched to Sliabh Mis³⁰ (*Slive Mish*), and there they are met by Banba, with her band of female attendants, and with her Druids. Amirghin³¹ asks her name. "Banba is my name," replied she, "and from me is this island called Banba." Thence they marched to Sliabh Eiblinni, and there they are met by Fodla; and Amirghin asks her her name. "Fodla is my name," replies she, "and from me is this land called Fodla." They march thence to Uisnech (*Ushnagh*) in Meath, and here again they are met by Eri; and the poet-sage asks her her name. "Eri is my name," replies she, "and from me is this land called Eri. In remembrance of these meetings with the three queens of the Danaans, we find the following verse in the duan, which begins—"Let us sing the first source of the Gaels:"—

"Banba on Sliabh Mis, with her host
In terror trembled—
Fodla on Sliabh Eblind³² fainted—
Eri, on Uisnech."

The three ladies just mentioned, were the queens of the three sons of Kermad. And some of our historians tell us, that Ireland was not possessed by these sons of Kermad in three separate divisions, but that each man of them, in his turn, possessed the sovereignty of the entire Island, every third year; and that the name of the queen of him who then ruled it, was more especially given to the country during the year of his reign. Here follows a quotation in reference to this alternation of the kingly power amongst them:

"The regal sway came to each king
In his turn, each third year—
Eri, Fodla, and Banba bright,
Were these brave warriors' wives."

Then, the sons of Miledh marched on to Temhair, (*Tavir* or *Táwir*), which is now called Tara, and here they were met by the three sons of Kermad, attended by their host of magicians. The sons of Miledh, thereupon, demanded of the sons of Kermad, either to give them battle for the sovereignty of the land, or to resign their rights quietly to them: and the latter answered, that they would abide by the decision of the invaders' own brother

³⁰ *Sliabh Mis* is a mountain in the barony of Troughanacmy and county of Kerry.

³¹ *Amirghin*, otherwise *Aimhirghin*, (*Averyin* or *Avereen*.) son of Miledh, was the chief bard of the invaders. It

appears that he was also their high-priest and judge.

³² *Sliabh Eblind*, i. e. the *Felim* Mountains, on the borders of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick.

Amirghin; and they added, that, if he pronounced an unjust judgment, they would kill him by magic. Amirghin, then, gave judgment against the sons of Miledh, and decided, that they should return either to the harbor of Skèni,³³ or to that of Slangi, and that they should set out nine waves³⁴ or *tonns* to sea, and if they could then make a landing, in spite of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, that they should possess the sovereign sway of the country. The Tuatha-Dè-Dananns were satisfied with this decision; for they hoped by means of their Druidic magic, that they could prevent their enemies from ever again making a landing on the island.

The sons of Miledh then returned to Inber Skèni, where they got on board their ships, and they sailed out to sea, to the distance of nine waves, as Amirghin had ordered.

Upon this, when the Druids, of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, saw them upon the sea, they raised a destructive tempest by their magic arts, and thus stirred up a dreadful commotion of the waters. And Donn, son of Miledh, exclaimed, that the tempest had been raised by magic. "It is so," said Amirghin. Then Arannàn, the youngest of Miledh's sons, clomb the mast, but a sudden squall came on, and the young chief was flung down upon the deck of the ship, and was thus killed. After this, the rolling of the rough tempest separates the vessel, which carried Donn from those of his companions, and he is soon drowned, and the whole crew of his ship with him; they numbered four-and-twenty warriors, and five chieftains, namely, Bili, son of Brighi, Arech Febrúadh,³⁵ Buan, Bres, and Buadni; with them were twelve women, and four servants, and eight rowers, and fifty youths in training. They were lost at the Sand-hills, which are called "Donn's House," in the west of Munster. It is from this Donn, son of Miledh, who was drowned there, that they are now named "Tech Dhoinn," (*Tagh yoinn,*) i. e. "the House of Donn." In remembrance of Donn, and of the nobles who were then drowned with him, Eocaidh O'Floinn has composed the following *rann*:

"Donn, with Bili, and Buan, his wife,
Dil and Arech, son of Miledh,
Buas, Bres, and Buadni, the renowned
Were drowned at bleak Sand-hills."

And of Ir, son of Miledh, also—the ship that bore him was separated by the storm from the rest of the fleet, and it was

³³ *Inber Skèni*, now Kenmare River. Otherwise Inbher Sgeine (*Inver Skainie*). Inber Slangi, i. e. Wexford Bay.

³⁴ *Nine waves*. It is not easy to know what is meant by *nine waves*. "Tonn" or "tond," though its most usual acceptation is a *wave*, may have been also

a name for some description of measure.

³⁵ *Arech Febrúadh*. This champion was brother of Donn. They were the eldest sons of Miledh (*Meelch*), having been, as we have seen born to him in Seythia, by Seng, daughter of Nerual.

driven ashore in the west of Munster, and here Ir was himself drowned, and he was buried at Skelg Michil,³⁶ (*Skellig Meeheel*), as the author last cited, thus relates :

“ Amirghin, the poet-sage of our men,
Fell in the fight at Bili Tenedh,
And Ir was drowned at Skelg of Schools—
We lost Arannán in the harbor.”

Erimhón leaves Ireland on his left, and sails onward, with a portion of the fleet, until he reaches Inber Colpa, which is now called Droiched-Atha, (*Drohed awha* or *Drogheda*.) This estuary is called Inber Colpa, because Colpa, of the Sword, son of Miledh, was drowned therein, as he was landing from the ship, which carried his brother Erimhón. Hence it appears clear, that five of Miledh's sons had perished, before they wrested the sovereignty of Ireland from the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, as the bard also recounts in the following *rann*:

“ Five of these chiefs were sunk in the wave,
Five of the stalworth sons of Miledh,
In song-loving Eri's capacious bays,
Through Danaan wiles, and Druidic spells.”

As to the other portion of the sons of Miledh, namely, Eber and the crews of his division of the fleet,³⁷ they made good their

³⁶ *Skelg, al Sgeilg Michil*, i. e. Michael's rock, now called the Sgeilig Isles, off the coast of Kerry. Skellig was called “of Schools,” because in the early Christian ages its monastery was a famous seat of learning.

³⁷ *The fleet*. Nennius, a British writer who flourished about the year 850, says that the sons of Miledh came to Ireland with a fleet of 120 *cinli*. Mageoghegan, in his translation of the annals of Clonmacnoise, says that the sons of Miledh arrived in Ireland 1029 years before the birth of Christ. As his authority for this he refers to Calogh O'More, but he adds, that Philip O'Sullivan says, in his work dedicated to the King of Spain, that they arrived in Ireland 1342 years before the birth of Christ, which, up to his (O'Sullivan's) time, 1627, made 2,969 years. See *O'Donovan's Four Masters*. The Four Masters who adopted the system of chronology that makes the Deluge to have happened in the year of the world 2242, while Keating adopted the com-

putation of the Septuagint, which sets down that catastrophe as having happened A. M. 1656, give A. M. 3500 as the year of the landing of the Gaels in Ireland. These annals record the latter event thus :

“The age of the world 3500. The fleet of the sons of Miledh came to Ireland this year to take it from the Tuatha-Dè-Danann.” According to the computation of the Hebrews, followed by our author, this invasion took place in A. M. 2736. This seemingly great discrepancy results chiefly from the different systems of chronology adopted by each. The real difference between them in the period from the Flood to the Milesian amounts but to 178 years, which is neither very great nor very surprising in the bardic computations of such remote times, when in the comparatively recent but all important event of the birth of our Redeemer, the vulgar computation is still four years behind the real time. “Tous les historiens et critiques ecclésiastiques,

landing at Inber Skèni. Three days after his landing, he met Eri, the wife of MacGrèni, upon Sliabh Mis. Here the battle of Sliabh Mis was fought between him and the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, and in it fell Fàs, the wife of Un, son of Ughi; and from her the vale by Sliabh Mis is named Glenn Fais,³⁸ (*Glen Faush*), as the bard tells us in the following *rann*:

“O vale of Fàs, thy name tells truth!
No man can grudge it or gainsay—
Of Fàs, the heroine, it speaks,
Who fell within thy depths, Glenn Fais.”

In that same battle fell Scota, the wife of Miledh; and she lies buried near the sea, at the north side of that vale; and it is to record her death, and to point out her grave, that we extract the two following *ranns* from the lay we have just now quoted:

“In that fight too, (no hidden ta’e!)
Queen Scota met her doom and died;
Her beauty and her brightness fled,
She fell, at length, in yonder vale.

“And hence it comes, that towards the north,
Lies Scota’s grave³⁹ in yon cool glen,
Beside the mount, close by the wave—
She scarcely shunned the ocean’s path.”

That was the first battle, fought between the sons of Miledh and the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, as we find recorded in the same lay:

“The first battle of Miledh’s far-famed sons,
When hither they came from the proud Espain,
Was fought at Sliabh Mis—’twas a fearful fight—
It is history now—it is lore for sages.”

The two heroines, just mentioned, namely, Scota and Fàs, and Uar and Ethiar, their two most distinguished Druids, were the

reconnaissance aujourd’hui, que Jésus Christ naquit quatre ans avant l’époque, qui, dans les siècles d’ignorance, fut prise pour le point de départ de l’ère chrétienne;” i. e. all ecclesiastical historians and critics now acknowledge that Jesus Christ was born *four years* before the time which during the ages of ignorance was taken as the starting of the Christian era. *A Delavigne’s Manual for Bachelors of Arts, adopted by the University of France.* This date has been proved by medals and by astronomical calculations. No one will dare to doubt that great event on account

of the above mistake in its date. We should then be careful how we doubt any of those historic events, recorded by our own Shanachies for some disagreement in the dates of any events, when they have otherwise left historic traces after them upon the national memory.

³⁸ *Glenn-Fàs.* The Four Masters call this place Glenn Faisi, (*Faushi*). It is now called Glenofaush, and is situated in the townland of Knockatee, parish of Ballycaslane, barony of Troughanacmy and county of Kerry.—O’D.

³⁹ *Scota’s grave.* This heroine’s

most renowned of the Gaelic nation, that fell in that battle. And, although three hundred of themselves were slain, still they slaughtered one thousand of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, whose vanquished host was forced to betake itself to the paths of the routed. Eri, the wife of Mac Grèni, follows her defeated forces and she goes to Talti, and tells her tale to the sons of Kermad.

But the sons of Miledh remained upon the field of battle, burying those of their people that were slain, and, more especially, those two druids that had fallen in the conflict, as the bard tells us :

“ ’Twas morning when we left Sliabh Mis—
We there met slaughter and repulse
From the royal Daghdha’s sons.
With their stout battle blades.

“ By hardihood we gained that fight,
Over those island Elves of Banba—
Ten hundred champions lay in heaps
At our feet, of the Tribes of Dana.

“ Six fifties of our warlike band,
Of our dread army from Espain,
Were slain upon that blood-stained field—
Two sacred priests fell there likewise.

“ Uar and Ethiar of the steeds—
Well-loved that bold and dauntless pair !
Gray flags now mark their lonely beds—
In their Fenian mounds we laid them.”

Now, eight of the chieftains of the Milesian host perished at sea, by the Druidic enchantments of the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, namely, Ir, at Skelg Michil; Arannàn, who fell off the mast, and Donn, who was drowned, with five other chiefs, at the Sand-hills. Eight noble ladies, also, had now fallen; two of these had been lost with Donn, namely, Buan, the wife of Bili, and Dil, the daughter of Miledh, who was both the wife and the sister of Donn; Skèni, the wife of Amirghin, was drowned at Inber Skèni, and it is from her that the estuary in Kiarraide (*Keeree*), which we have just named, has been called; Fial, the wife of Lugaidh, son of Ith,⁴⁰ died through shame, because her husband

grave is still pointed out in the valley of Glenn Scoithin, townland of Clahane, parish of Annagh, in the last-named barony and county. See *O'Donovan's Four Masters*. Glenn Scoithin (*Skóheen*) means the “vale of the little flower.” Scoithin is here obviously a diminutive of “Scota,” and the “t”

being aspirated, it proves that the name “Sgota” meant, as heretofore suggested, not “Seythian woman,” but was the Gaelic synonyme for Rosa or Flora, usual names of women.

⁴⁰ *Fial, the wife of Lugaidh, son of Ith. Lugaidh Mac Itha (Looe Mac Ith) is called “Ced laid h-Er,” i. e.*

had seen her naked, as she was coming in from swimming, and from her that estuary has been called Inber Fèli⁴¹ ever since; again, Scota and Fàs were slain in the battle of Sliabh Mis; two others died also, to wit, the wives of Ir and of Murthemui, son of Broëgan. And these are the eight ladies⁴² and the eight chiefs, of the host of the Children of Miledh, that were lost, from their first arrival in Ireland, until they fought the battle of Talti.

Here follow, according to the Book of Conquests, the names of the seven most noble women that came to Ireland with the sons of Miledh; Scota, Tèa, Fial, Fàs, Libra, Odha and Skèni. I here subjoin the record, which a bardic historian has left us upon this subject. In it he tells who the husband of each woman was, and who they were, whose husbands were alive at the time of their arrival in Ireland:

“The seven⁴³ chief ladies that hitherward came,
Most honored by the Sons of Miledh,
Were Tèa and Fial and fair-formed Fàs,
Libra and Odha, Scota and Skèni.

“Tèa was the spouse of Erimhon of steeds
And Fial was the loved spouse of Lugaidh of lays;
And Fàs was the spouse of stout Un, son of Ugh,
And Skèni the spouse of the bard-sage Amirghin.

“And Fuad’s fair spouse was Libra the blooming;
And widows of heroes were Scota and Odha.—⁴⁴
Now these are the ladies, remembered in story,
That hitherward came with the children of Miledh.”

“the first or most ancient poet of Ireland” in an old copy of the Book of Invasions, which was lately preserved in the library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stow, and which contains some pieces attributed to him. One of these is a dirge for his wife Fial (*Feal*). In it the bard represents himself as “seated on a cold stormy beach, overwhelmed with sorrow, for a lady had died. Fial her name. A beauteous flower. Being unveiled, she saw a warrior on the shore. Great and oppressive was her death to her husband.” See *Hardiman’s Irish Minstrelsy*. The language of the poem, from which the above quotation was made, is most ancient, even the gloss with which it is interlined, is no longer intelligible to one who is acquainted only with the modern Gaelic.

⁴¹ *Inber Feli*. Otherwise Inbher

Feile (Inver Faylie), the mouth of the river Fealè or Feal in Kerry.

⁴² *Eight chiefs*. Colpa of the Sword has not been enumerated amongst these. The number lost must then have been *nine* not *e ght*.

⁴³ *Seven chief ladies*. Dil, i. e. *beloved*, and Buan, i. e. *constant*, the wives of Donn and Bili, are left out of this enumeration.

⁴⁴ *Odha*. Otherwise Odbha (*ova*), styled here a widow, had been the wife of Erimhòn, son of Miledh, whom he had repudiated in favor of Tea, daughter of Lugaidh, son of Ith. “It is stated in the Book of Lecan and in the *Lebhar Gabhala (Leour Gavau’a)* of the O’Cleries, that Heremon had put away Odha, the mother of his elder children, Muimni, Luigni and Laigni. Odha, however, followed her children to Ireland, and died of grief from being

As to the children of Miledh, those of them that had landed with Eber and had fought the battle of Sliabh Mis, now marched on to Erinhòn, to Inber Colpa, and, when they had joined their forces there, they challenged the three sons of Kernad and the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns to meet them in a pitched battle. They then came to a general engagement at Talti,⁴⁵ and there the children of Kernad were completely vanquished by the sons of Miledh; so that Mac Grèni fell by the hand of Amirghin, Mac Coill by that of Eber, and Mac Kèact by that of Erinhòn. And thus the bard records it:

“ The bright Mac Grèni was laid low
In Talti, by Amirghin,
Mac Coill by Eber, hand of gold ;
Mac Kèact fell by Erinhòn.”

And their three queens were also killed, namely, Eri, Fodla and Banba; as the bard tells us in the rann which here follows:

“ Fodla was slain by the boastful Etan,
Banba was slain by the victor Caicher,
Eri, the bounteous, fell by Surgli—
Of these famed heroines such was the dire doom.”

The greater part of the Danann host was slain at that same time. And as the forces of the sons of Miledh were pursuing their routed foes towards the North,⁴⁶ two of their own chieftains were slain in the chase, namely, Cualgni, son of Breògan, who fell at Sliabh Cualgni, and Fuad,⁴⁷ son of Breògan, who was slain at Sliabh Fuad.

repudiated by her husband, and was interred at Odba in Meath, where her children raised a mound to her memory. This name, from which, according to O’Dugan, the district of O h-Aedha (O’Hay) or Hughes in Meath, has its distinctive title, is now obsolete. It would be anglicised Ovey.”—See O’Donovan’s *Four Masters*.

⁴⁵ *Talti*. Called oftener Tailtenn, now Teltown in Meath.

⁴⁶ *Towards the North*. The Danaans very probably directed their flight towards the stronghold of Ailech Neid, near Derry.

⁴⁷ *Cualgni and Fuad*. The Carlingford Mountains in the county of Louth, were called Sliabh Cualgni (*Sleeve Coolgnie*). Sliabh Fuad (*Sleeve Food*) lies in the county of Armagh.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE PARTITION OF IRELAND BETWEEN THE CHILDREN OF MILEDH.

EBER AND ERIMHÒN,¹ ARD-RIGHA.²

A. M. 2736.³ WHEN they had expelled the Tuatha-Dè-Dannans, and reduced all Ireland beneath their sway, Eber and Erimhòn divided the conquered country between them. According to some of our antiquarians, the following was the division they then made; namely, the part that lies north of the Bòinn (Boyne), and the stream of Bròn, fell to the share of Erimhòn, and what lies south of that boundary, as far as Tonn Clidna,⁴ fell to Eber. The poet-sage mentions that partition in the following manner:

“The northern half ('twas a faultless share)
Was the portion of king Erimhon;
Through many a tribe ran its prosperous bounds,
From the stream of Bron⁵ to the Boinn's fair river.

¹ *Eber and Erimhòn.* These names are spelled Eibher and Eireamhòn (*Aiver* and *Airivòne*) in modern Irish. Eber is also sometimes spelled Emher and Eimhear: the aspirated labials “mh” and “bh,” being almost alike in sound, one is often found put for the other in the middle and end of words. In the Four Masters this word is most usually spelled Emher. But the old Latin name “Hibernia” or “Ibernia,” as well as the more general mode of spelling the name itself, are sufficient evidence that “b” is the proper radical.

² *Ard-Righa*, i. e. Arch King, “ard-righa” (*Aurd-Reegha*), is the plural of “ard-righ” (*Aurd-Ree*).

³ The Four Masters give A. M. 2501 as the year of this joint accession to the sovereignty of Ireland, which they thus record: “The age of the world 2501. This was the year in which Erimhòn

and Emher assumed the joint sovereignty of Ireland, and divided Ireland into two parts between them.”

⁴ *Tonn Clidna*, i. e. the wave of Clidna or Cliodhna (*Cleena*). Tonn Clidna lay in Gladore Harbor, on the Coast of Kerry. It is used here for the whole of the sea that washes the south coast of Ireland. Clidna, daughter of Genann, became one of those mythological beings called in Ireland “Dæine Sidhe” (*Deengh Sheeh*) or “fairy people.” In fairy tales she is usually styled “Cliodhna na Cairgè Leithe” (*Cleena na carginc lay hie*), i. e. Clidna of the Gray Crag or Rock. According to Hardiman, Clidna was one of the queens of the Munster fairies.—See *Irish Minstrelsy*.

⁵ *The B on.* The editor has not identified this stream. It lays somewhere in the west of Ireland.

“And Eber, the conquering son of Miledh,
Took for his portion the southern half—
His just lot lay from the Boinn's cool stream,
To the Wave of Genann's daughter.”

Five of the principal leaders of the host of the children of Miledh then went with Erimhón into his division of the country, and they received lands from him, upon which they erected duns (*doons*), each upon his own portion. The names of these five chieftains were Amirghin, Gostenn, Sedga, Sobarki and Surghi. Here follow, also, the names of the royal raths that were erected by Erimhón and by his five chieftains; in the first place, Rath-Bethaigh⁶ was erected by himself at Argedros,⁷ on the banks of the Feòir (Nore) in Ossory; Amirghin built Turlach of Inber Mor;⁸ Sobarki built Dun Sobarki;⁹ Dun-Delgindsí¹⁰ was erected by Sedga, in the district of Cuala; Gostenn erected Cathair-an-Nair¹¹ (*Cahir-an-nar*), and Surghi built Dun-Edair.¹²

The following were the five, that went with Eber; namely, Caicher, Mantan, Eu, Ughi and Fulman. These, also, erected five royal raths. Firstly, Rath Eòmhain¹³ was erected by Eber in Laignen-Magh¹⁴ (*Lyn-Moy*); Caicher erected Dun-Inn¹⁵ in the west of Ireland; Mantan erected the Cumdach Cairgi Bladraide¹⁶ (*Coodagh Cargui Bloiree*); Eu, son of Oighi, raised the rath of Ard-Suid,¹⁷ and Fulman the rath of Carraig Fedaigh.¹⁸

⁶ *Rath-Bethaigh*. Now Rathbeagh, in a parish of the same name, barony of Galnwy and county of Kilkenny.—O'D.

⁷ *Argedros*, otherwise Airgead-ros, i. e. the Silver Wood. A woody district, in ancient Ossory, lying along the banks of the Nore, was thus denominated.—O'D.

⁸ *Turlach of Inber Mor*. The Four Masters call this place “Tochar Inbhir Mhoir” (*Toghar Invir vore*), i. e. the causeway of Inber Mor. Inber Mor was the old name of the Mouth of the Avoca or “Abhain Mor” (*Quin More*), at Arcklow, county of Wicklow.

⁹ *Dun Sobarki*. Dr. O'Donovan says that this fort, of which notice has been already given, was not built during the reign of Eber and Erimhón, for Sobarki or Sobhairce, (*Sowarki*), after whom it was called, did not flourish for some time afterwards.

¹⁰ *Dun-Delgindsí*, i. e. the Fort of Delg-Innis. Delg-Innis was the old name of Dalkey, island near Dublin.

¹¹ *Cathair-an-Nair*. The Four Masters say that this fort was on

Sliabh Modhuirn (*Sieve Mourne*), a range of heights near Ballybay, county of Monaghan.

¹² *Dun-Edair* was built upon Benn Edair, now the Hill of Howth, near Dublin. It was otherwise Dun-Chrimhthainn (*D'on Criffinn*).

¹³ *Rath Eòmhain*, called Rath Uamhain by the Four Masters. Dr. O'Donovan conjectures that it is Rath-howen in the county of Wexford.

¹⁴ *Laignen-Magh*, i. e. Leinster plain.

¹⁵ *Dun-Inn*. This is called Dun-Ardimmi by the Four Masters; it is now unknown.—O'D.

¹⁶ *Cumdach Cairgi Bladraide*, i. e. the building on the rock of Bladraidhe. The only name like Bladraide is Blyry, in the barony of Brawney, co. Westmeath.—O'D.

¹⁷ *Ard-Suid*. This hill is situated about half a mile to the north-west of the old church of Donaghmore, near the city of Limerick. The ruins of a castle now occupy the site of the rath.—O'D.

¹⁸ *Carraig Fedaigh*. As Un was

Other historians tell us that the following was the partition made of Ireland by Eber and Erimhòn: the two Munsters were assigned to Eber, and Leinster and Connaught formed the territory of Erimhòn. The principality of Ulster was given to Eber, son of Ir, son of Miledh, and to some others of the chieftains, that came over with the children of Miledh; and the territory of Corea Luighe (*Corca Looee*), in South Munster, was given to Lugaidh, son of Ith; that is, to the son of their grand-uncle. This latter account I deem the more correct, for Rath Bethaigh (*Rah-Báihie*), which was the chief residence of Erimhòn, was situated in Leinster, and also because the posterity of Eber originally dwelt in Munster, while those of Erimhòn dwelt in Leinster and Connaught, and the posterity of Rudraide, son of Sithrighé (*Sheehree*), a descendant of Eber, son of Ir, were the original possessors of Ulster. It is from this Rudraide, I have just named, that the real Ultonians are called the "Clanna Rudraide," or clans of Rudraide, and thus are denominated, likewise, all those of their progeny that went into any of the other "fifths" for the purpose of acquiring lands or of making conquests; such as the migration of the children of Rudraide into Leinster, that is, the settlement of the race of Conall Keárnach in Læighis¹⁹ (*Lueesh*); and the progeny of Fergus Mac Roigh, who settled in Conmacni²⁰ in Connaught, and in Corcomruadh²¹ and Kerry,²² in Munster; and the family of Dubidir,²³ the progeny of Carbri Cluthecar, son of Cucorb, of the race of Labraidh Loingsech; and the family of Rian,²⁴ of the race of Cathaer Mor, who had migrated from

one of the two chieftains seated in Connaught, it is conjectured that this is Rahoon, in Irish, Rath Uin, near the town of Galway.—O'D.

¹⁹ *The race of Conall Keárnach.* These were the Ó'Mordhas (*O Mora*) or *O'Mores* and their kindred clans, settled in Leix or Læighis in the Kings and Queens counties.

²⁰ *Conmacni.* These were the descendants of Conmac, son of the famous Ulidiam Champion, Fergus Mac Roigh. "There were three territories called after Septs of this name in Connaught, namely, Conmacni Kinèl Dubhain, now the barony of Danmore in the north of Galway; Conmacni Mara, now the barony Ballynahinch, in the north-west of the same county; Conmacni Culi Toladh, in the south of the county of Mayo."—*O'Donovan.*

O'Flaherty mentions a Conmacni of Magh Rein in Brefsy, in the north

of the county of Longford, of which the O'Ferralls were chiefs, and a Conmacni of Muintir Eolais, in the south of Leitrim, whose chieftains were the Mac Rannalls, now generally written Reynolds and Magrannell.

²¹ *Corcomruadh*, now Corcomroe in the county of Clare. The O'Connors, Corcomroe and the O'Loghlinns of Burren, are here meant.

²² *Kerry.* The Ciarraidhe (*Keeree*), from whom this county had its name, are descended from Ciar, another son of Fergus Mac Roigh. Their chief Clans were the O'Connors Kerry, and their relatives.

²³ *The family of Dubidir*, otherwise Dubhir. Our author refers to the O'Dwyers, chiefs of Kilmemanagh, in the county of Tipperary. This clan was of the race of Erimhòn.

²⁴ *The Family of Rian*, i. e. the O'Macil-Rians or O'Ryan's, chieftains

Leinster into Munster. But it was long after Eber and Erimhòn had made their partition of Ireland, that these tribes removed from their native territories into other parts of Ireland. It is well known that it was in the time of Muredach Tirech, that the three Collas, with their kinsmen, left Connacht in order to make conquests, from the tribes of Uladh, from whom they then forcibly wrested a large portion of their territory, namely, Modurn,²⁵ Ui Mic Uais,²⁶ and Ui Crimthainn;²⁷ and there many of their posterity still remain; such as Raghnaid,²⁸ Earl of Antrim, descended from Colla Uais (*oosh*), the Maguires, Mac Mahons and O'Hanlons, with their several branches, descended from Colla Dà Crioch. In the days of Cormac, son of Art, also, the Dèsiés,²⁹ a family of the line of Erimhòn, came into Munster, and got lands therein. Again, in the reign of Fiacaídh Mul-lethan, king of Munster, Carbri Muse, a gentleman of the line of Erimhòn, brought a poem to Fiacaídh, and received, as a reward for his verses, all the land that lies from Slighe Dala (*Slee Dawla*), i. e. from Bèlach Mòr, in Ossory, to Cnoc Aní Cliach,³⁰ as we read in the book of Armagh. From this Carbri Muse it is, that the Ormonds have got the name of Muscraíde³¹ (*moosree*). It was not

of Uaithe, now the baronies of Owney Beg, in the county of Limerick, and Owney, in that of Tipperary.

²⁵ *Modurn*, now Cremonre in Monaghan. A mountainous district in Ulidia, also received the name of Modurn (properly Mugdorn) or Mourne, from a tribe of the descendants of Mughdorn Dubh, son of Colla, who emigrated thither in the reign of Nial the Haughty, son of Aedh, son of Magnus Mac Maghthamhna, or Mac Mahon.—O'D.

²⁶ *Ui Mic Uais*, now Moygish, in West Meath.

²⁷ *Ui Crimthainn*, otherwise called *Ui Cremhthainn* (*ce Creffinn*). The barony of Slane, in Meath, was thus called, from the "Ui" or descendants of Crimthainn, son of Fiach, son of Degaidh Duiru, son of Rocadh, son of Colla Da Crioch.

²⁸ *Raghnaid*, otherwise Reginald Mac Donald. According to Irish history the Mac Donalds of Scotland, from whom the Mac Donalds of Antrim are sprung, are the descendants of Colla Uais.

²⁹ *Dèsiés*, i. e. the O'Faclans and O'Brics, of the territory now called the

county of Waterford, which was styled *Desi Mumhan* (*Dwishi Moon*), to distinguish it from the Desies in Meath, now called Deece.

³⁰ *Cnoc Aní Cliach*, now Knoekany in the county of Limerick.

³¹ *Muscraíde*. There were six districts called by this name, which have been anglicised Muskery. 1. Muscraíde Mitani, or Muscraíde Uí Floinn, i. e. the Muskery of O'Flinn, now Musgrylyn, which comprises 15 parishes in the north-west of the county of Cork. 2. Muscraíde Luachra (*Looghra*) the ancient name of the district, in which the Blackwater of Munster has its source. 3. Muscraíde Tri Maighe, i. e. of the three plains, in the present barony of Barrymore, co. Cork, the territory of O'Donegan. 4 and 5. Muscraíde Breoghain and Muscraíde Uí Chuire (i. e. O'Quirk's), now the barony of Clanwilliam in the south-west of the county of Tipperary. 6. Muscraíde Thiri (*Heerie*), now the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county last named. The termination "raíde" or "raidhe" (*ree*) in this and similarly formed names, is patronymic. The attempt of Dr. O'Brien

long after this that some of the progeny of Eber, namely, the descendants of Cormac Galeng, came into Connaught, and from them sprung the Galenga³² and the Luighni³³ (*Loonie*), of whom are the O'Haras and O'Garas of the Northern Half. And so it was with every other person and *kindel*, or kindred, that migrated from their native territories into other parts of Ireland, and not by reason of the partition made between Eber and Erimhòn. I am, consequently, of opinion, that the last-cited account of that partition is the correct one; for it is not to be supposed, that Erimhòn would have built his first royal *rath* in the part that had fallen to Eber's lot, namely, that of Rath Bethaigh, in Arge-dros. I then deem that he built it in his own portion, and that, consequently, the territory of Leinster belonged to him, as the latter tradition tells us.

There came also to Ireland, amongst the followers of the sons of Miledh, a learned bard-sage or "file" (*filleh*) named Kir, son of Kis, and likewise a harper of harmonic tunes, whose name was Onaci (*onee*); and Eber said, that these should dwell with himself, while Erimhòn insisted that they should abide with him; but they at last arranged the disputed point by casting lots; whereupon, the musician fell to the lot of Eber, and the bard to that of Erimhòn. In commemoration of this contest, the following verses are found in the Psalter of Cashel:

- " Lots then they fairly cast
For these two men of wondrous science;
The southern chief thus got
The harper skilled in harmony.
- " To the northern chieftain fell
The bard of the mighty song;
Hence comes our peerless sway
In the bardic lay and melodious tune.
- " Sweet-stringed tunes, rhymes smoothly flowing,
In the north and the south of Eri,
Shall reign for aye, till the day of doom,
As the bards have sung in the Senchas."

to derive the name from "Mus," *pleasant*, and "Crioeh," a *district*, is visionary. — See Dr. O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Ceart*.

³² *Galenga*. The Galenga of Connaught, which is now called the barony of Gallen, in the county of Mayo, with the exception of Coolcarney, was the territory of O'Gara or O'Gadhra. Morgallan in Meath, the territory of O'Leochain or Loughan, sometimes barbarized to "Duck," was also called from this race. Its present name is a corruption of Gallenga Mora, i. e. the

great Galenga. In West Meath, near the Liffey, lay the Galenga Bega (*begga*), or Lesser Galenga, whose chiefs took the name of O'h-Aengusa, now Henessy. Both of the Meathian Galenga were dispossessed by Sir Hugh de Lacy, shortly after the English invasion. — See O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, p. 148.

³³ *Luigni*. The territory of the O'h-Adhras, or O'Haras, is the present barony of Leyny, in the county of Sligo. This district was also comprised under the name Galenga.

With the sons of Miledh, there had come over likewise four-and-twenty servile laborers, who, soon after their arrival, cleared twenty-four plains of wood, and these plains were named after themselves. Here follow their names: Aidni, Ai, Asal, Mèdi, Morba, Midi, Cuib, Cliu, Kera, Keir, Slàn, Leghi, Lifi, Lini, Lighen, Trèa, Dula, Adar, Ariu, Desin, Dela, Fèa, Femenn and Sera. And the plains they had reclaimed are distinctively known by the names of these laborers, down to the present day. Tea, daughter of Lugaiddh, son of Ith, who was the wife of Erimhòn, caused an edifice to be built for her at Liath-drom (*Leeh-drom*), which is now called Temhair (*Tavvir*); and it is from Tea, daughter of Lugaiddh, that that hill got the latter name, to wit, "Teamhair," i. e. "Mùr Tea,"³⁴ (the edifice or wall of Tea.)

Eber and Erimhòn had reigned conjointly for one year, when a dispute arose between them about the ownership of the three most excellent hills in Ireland, namely, Drom-Clasach,³⁵ in the territory of Màni; Drom-Bethaigh,³⁶ in Maen-magh, and Drom-Finghin,³⁷ in Munster. This dispute brought on a battle between

³⁴ *Mùr Tea*. Such a derivation would neither be in accordance with the genius of the Gaelic language, nor with Gaelic usage, which are both adverse to such concrete names. Temhair is evidently a name older than the Milesian colonization, and, if it be not itself a root, it is formed on some such root as "Temh" or "Teamh," by the simple addition of the suffix "air" or "ir," just as "Cuingir," a *tam*, is derived from "Cuing," a *yoke*, "lasair," a *blaze* or *flame*, from "las," *light thou*. It seems of the same class with "cathair," "lathair," "laidir," "socair," and a number of similarly formed words, whose immediate roots are not found in Gaelic. According to Dr. O'Donovan, Temhair was common as a woman's name in Ireland, and it was applied to more hills than Temhair in Meath, as Temhair Lnachra (*Tavvir Looghru*) in Kerry, and Temhair Bhrogha Níadh (*Tavvir Vrow Neca*) in Leinster. He tells us that in Cormac's Glossary, it is stated that the "temhair" of a house means a bower, boudoir or balcony, and that the "temhair" of a country means a hill, commanding a pleasant prospect. This interpretation tells of a root akin to that of "*θεσπια*," a prospect or sight, which is "*θαω*," or "*θεσπια*," to view, to admire, &c.

Applied either to a woman, hill, bower or house, it would thus be of the same meaning with the Latin "*speciosa*," derived from "*specio*," to view, i. e. *beautiful*. It is most likely a Danaan name.—If it were compounded of the words "Tea" and "Mùr," it would make "Teamhùir" (*Tavvoir*) in the genitive case, and not "Teamhrach" (*Tavragh*), like "lasair," gen. "lasrach" (*lassir gen. lasragh*), and cuingir gen. "cuingreach" (*cungir gen. cungragh*). The rule, "*Derivata patrum naturam verba sequuntur*" applies to the Gaelic as well as other tongues.

³⁵ *Drom-Clasach* is a long ridge, situated in Ui Mani, in Galway, between Lough Ree and the River Suck.—O'D.

³⁶ *Drom-Bethach* was the name of a remarkable ridge of hills, extending across the plain of Maenmagh, near the town of Loughrea, in the county of Galway.—O'D.

³⁷ *Drom-Finghin*. This name, pronounced Drum Fincen, i. e. Fincen's Ridge, is still in use, and applied to a long range of high ground dividing Decies-within-Drum from Decies-without-Drum, in the county of Waterford. It extends from Castle Lyons, in the county of Cork, to Ringoguanagh, on the south side of the Bay of Dungarvan.

Eber and Erimhòn, which was fought at Brugh-Bridain,³⁸ in Ui Failghi, at Tòchar, between the two plains, in the district of Gesill. Eber was vanquished in this battle, and he was slain himself therein, with three of the chiefs of his people. The names of the latter were Surghi, Sobarki, and Gostenn. A bard gives us the following account of their contest:

“ Tall Eber and brave Erimhòn
Shared Banba's realm without a grudge
For one year, free from war or spoil,
Till fell ambition seized their wives.

“ His wife told Eber of the fights,
That if she owned not the smooth hills,
Of Clasach, Bith and fair Finghin,
She'd stay no night in Eri.

“ Then Eber fell, that angust man,
By Miledh's son, brave Erimhòn,
In Gesill's land he got his wound,
At morn, upon Magh-Smerthaimn.”

The bard Tanaide³⁹ has also left us the following verses upon the same event:

“ Sages of Banba, land of glory,
Know ye and can ye tell the cause,
Why that great battle dire was driven
By Erimhòn o'er Eber's might ?

“ I shall myself reveal the cause,
Whence sprung that fratricidal war—
’Twas for three solitary hights
That loveliest were in Eri found—

“ Drom-Finghin and Drom-Clasach bright,
And Drom-Bethaidh in Connacht—
For these three hills—oh, tale of woe!—
Was done that deed of slaughter.”

³⁸ *Brugh-Bridain*, i. e. the Town of Bridain. The Four Masters call this place Bri-damb, i. e. the hill of oxen. In the description of this battle, it is stated that there were many mounds at this place, in which Eber and the other chiefs slain in the battle were interred. The name of the *Tochar or Causeway between the two plains* is still preserved in that of Ballintogher, i. e. the Town of the Causeway, in the parish and barony of Geshill, in the King's County. *Ui Falghi*, or O'fally, was the territory of O'Conor Falghi, descended from

Rosa Falghi, or Rosa of the Rings, son of the monarch Cathair Mor.

³⁹ *The bard Tanaide (Tànee)* O'Mulconry, or Mael-Conari. The clan of the O'Mulconries produced two Arch-Ollamhs of Connaught, of this name, viz. Tanaide Mor, Arch-Ollamh, A.D. 1270, and Tanaide, who died Arch-Ollamh in A.D. 1385. The Four Masters record the death of another distinguished member of this bardic family, named Tanaide, son of Maelin, in 1446. The editor cannot say which of these bards is here cited.

ERIMHON, ARD-RIGIL.

A. M. 2737.⁴⁰ Erimhòn, having already reigned one year in copartnership with Eber, now took upon him the full sovereignty of Ireland which he held for fourteen years after his brother's death. The latter fell at Argedros, according to some authorities. Thus a bard tells us in the following rann :

“ For fourteen years, as I have heard,
King Erimhòn sole monarch reigned,
After the fight at Argedros.
Where noble Eber slaughtered fell.”

But, notwithstanding this, it is the common opinion of historians, and, as I think, the true one, that Eber was slain at the battle of Gesill, as I have related above, and not at that of Argedros.

It was in Erimhòn's time that the following events took place, namely: the battle of Cùl-Caichir,⁴¹ a year after the death of Eber, and it was there that Caicher, a chieftain of Eber's people, was killed by Amirghin, son of Miledh. In a year after that, Amirghin himself fell by the hand of Erimhòn, at the battle of Bili-Tenedh,⁴² in Cula Breàgh. It was in this year that the three Brosnachs⁴³ of Eli burst forth over the land, and the three Uinsenns⁴⁴ (*uinshens*) of Tir-Olilla. Three years after this, Fulmàn and Mantàn, two chieftains of Eber's party, fell by Erimhòn, at the battle of Bregan,⁴⁵ in Fremhain.

Eight lakes burst over the land in the reign of Erimhòn, namely, Loch Buadaigh,⁴⁶ Loch Bagha,⁴⁷ Loch Rèin,⁴⁸ Loch Finn-

⁴⁰ *Erimhòn's* reign commenced, according to the Four Masters, in A. M. 3502.

⁴¹ *Cùl-Caichir*, unknown.—O'D.

⁴² *Bili-Tenedh*, or Bile Teinedh (*Bileh Tinnch*), is said to be the place now called Coill an Bhlé (*Coill an villedh*), in English, Billywood, in the parish of Moynalty, barony of Lower Kells, and county of Meath.—O'D. Hardiman, in his Irish Minstrelsy, gives some short poetic pieces attributed to Amirghin, who was slain at this place. Amirghin was surnamed Glun-gel, i. e. Fair Knee. He was slain in the second year of Erimhòn's reign.

⁴³ *Three Brosnachs*. The Four Masters say *nine*. There are at present but two rivers known by this name in Eli. The others must be tributary streams.—O'D. The Four Masters re-

cord, also, the springing forth of nine rivers called “Righe,” in Leinster, during this reign.

⁴⁴ *Three Uinsenns*. Tir Olilla is the barony of Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo; but there is no river now called Uinsenn (*Unshon*) therein.—O'D.

⁴⁵ *Bregan in Fremhain*. The Four Masters called this, Bregan in Femhen. The latter is a plain in the south-east of Tipperary. Fremhain, now Freoin, is in West Meath.—O'D.

⁴⁶ *Loch Buadaigh*, i. e. the Lake of the Victor, not known.—O'D.

⁴⁷ *Loch Bagha*, now Lough Baah, near Castle Plunket, in the county of Roscommon.—O'D.

⁴⁸ *Loch Rèin*. This name is still applied to a small lake in Magh Rèin, in the county of Leitrim.—O'D.

Maighe,⁴⁹ Loch Grèni,⁵⁰ Loch Riach,⁵¹ over the plain called Magh-Macín, Loch Da-Caech,⁵² in Leinster, and Loch Laegh,⁵³ in Ulster. In the third year after this, Un, En, and Etan were slain by Erimhòn, in the battle of Comhari,⁵⁴ in Meath, and their sepulchral mounds were raised at the same place. In the same year the three Sucks⁵⁵ burst over the land in Connaught.

Some historians tell us that it was Erimhòn that divided Ireland into five "fifths," or provinces, amongst some of his chieftains, after the death of his brother Eber. First, he gave the "fifth" or province of Leinster, to Crimthann Sciathbèl, a nobleman descended from the Fer-bolgs. The province of Munster he gave to the four sons of Eber, namely, Er, Orba, F'erann, and Fergna. He gave the province of Connacht to Un, son of Ughi, and to Etan, two chiefs who had followed him from Spain. In like manner he left the province of Ulster to Eber, the son of his brother Ir.

The Cruithnigh or Picts.

It was in the reign of Erimhòn, also, that the Cruithnigh,⁵⁶ that is, the Picti, a host that had emigrated from Thrace, came to Ireland; and, according to Cormac Mac Culinan, in his Psalter, the cause of their leaving Thrace, was because Policornus, the king of Thrace,⁵⁷ sought to violate a beautiful marriageable damsel, who was the daughter of Gud, the head chieftain of the Picts, while her nation were at free quarters in his country. When Gud and his Cruithnigh perceived that the king had an intention to violate the damsel, they slew him and then left the

⁴⁹ *Loch Finn-Maighe* is now called *Loch Fenvoy* and *Garadice Lough*. It is situated on the barony of *Carrigallen*, and county of *Leitrim*.—O'D.

⁵⁰ *Loch Grèni*. The Lake of *Grian* (a woman's name), now *Loch Graney*, in the north of the county of *Clare*.—O'D.

⁵¹ *Loch Riach*, now *Lough Reagh*, near the town of *Loughrea*, in the county of *Galway*.

⁵² *Loch Da-Caech*, an old name of *Waterford Harbor*.—O'D.

⁵³ *Loch Laegh*, now called *Belfast Lough*.

⁵⁴ *Comhari*, called *Comhairi* in the *Four Masters*, is now called *Kilcomeragh*. It lies near the hill of *Uisnech*, in the barony of *Moycashel*, in *West Meath*.

⁵⁵ *The three Sucks* are the rivers still called the *Suck* and its tributaries, the *Sheffin* and the *River of Clonbrock*, in the county of *Galway*.

⁵⁶ *Cruithnigh*. Many etymologies have been given for this name. To the editor it seems to be a dialectic variation of "*Brethnaigh*," i. e. *Britons*. The *Gaels* often use the letter "c," or "g," where the *Britons* use "p," or "b." Thus the *Gaels* say "*eenn*" (*kenn*), for the *British* "*pen*," a *head*, and "*mac*" for the *British* "*map*" or "*mab*," a *son*.

⁵⁷ *Thrace*. It were well that our author gave the *Celtic* name of the country, which he calls *Thracia* or *Thrace*. The modern name "*France*" is used a little further on for "*Gallia*," by a gross anachronism.

country. They then passed from land to land, until they reached France, and there they got military quarters and lands from the king of France, upon which they built the city, which is called Pictavius, from the name of their nation, that is, from the Picts or Cruthnigh, who founded it. But, as soon as the king of France heard the fame of the damsel's beauty, he resolved to make her his mistress. When Gud was told of this, he fled, with all his people, and set out, with his daughter, for Ireland; but, while they were at sea, the damsel died, and they then got into port at Inber Slàngi. Bede agrees with this account of their migration, but he says that it was in the north of Ireland that they landed. It is thus that he expresses himself in the first book of his History of the Saxon Church: "It is said that the Pictish race chanced to come to Ireland, in a few long gallies, over the ocean, driven by the winds outside all the coast of Great Britain, and that they landed upon its northern coast, and finding the Scotic nation settled there before them, they asked for a settlement for themselves, likewise; but they did not obtain it."⁵⁸ However, it was not in the north of Ireland that they landed, but at the end of Inber Slàngi, and in the Harbor of Wexford, as we have mentioned. Here they were met by Crimthann Sciathbél,⁵⁹ who was

⁵⁸ Contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu ventorum fines omnes Britannix Hiberniam pervenisse, ejusque Septentrionales oras intrasse atque inventa ibi gente Scotorum, sibi quoque in partibus illis petuisse locum, nec impetrasse potuisse.

⁵⁹ *Crimthann Sciathbél*. By thus finding this Firbolgic chief ruler of one of the richest parts of Ireland, and in close alliance with the king of the Gaels, but a few years after the conquest of Ireland, we may infer that the former nation was still powerful in the country. In fact, one might judge that the Gaels then, and for ages after, maintained their pre-eminence, as the Norman knights did in more recent times, by setting one portion of the nation against the other. More than 1000 years after this time, we shall find the Gaels still a minority of the nation, when, during what is called the Attacottic war, they were all but exterminated by the subject races, combined for a moment under Carbri Cat-Kenn. The Belgian, Crimthann Sciathbél, at this time very probably divided the

sovereignty of Ireland with Erimhòn, if he were not its real king, and Erimhòn and Eber leaders of his foreign auxiliaries. Crimthann's race has perished, as well as that of the Danaans, and no record remains of either but what it has pleased their conquerors to hand down. The Danaans, though driven from Tara and Meath by the battle of Talti, must have still maintained their sway at Ailech Neid, near Derry, as we may infer from some dim glimpses we shall again get of them in that quarter of Ireland. Neither were those more early colonists, the Fomorians, yet extinguished. They shall again appear in our history. Ireland must then have been at this time inhabited by various tribes of distinct origins. The Iberian who had come slowly by the Mediterranean coasts of Africa and by Spain, leaving many colonies on his way, has met on the extreme verge of the old world the Nemedian and Belgian, or Fer-bolg, whom we have traced thither by another route, from nearly the same eastern home. Neither can go farther, and one must of necessity exterminate the other.

the ruler of Leinster, under Erimhôn, at that time, and he formed an alliance with them. The chieftains of their fleet were Gud and his son Cathluan⁶⁰ (*Cahloolan*). And the motive that induced Crimthann to form an alliance with them, was because certain chiefs of the British nation, who were called the "Tuatha Fidga,"⁶¹ were then extending their sway over the Fotharts,⁶² on both sides of the mouth of the river Slangi. These were a people of whom each man carried poisoned weapons, so that whatever wound they inflicted, whether large or small, no remedy could avail the wounded man, or save him from death. Crimthann had heard that there was a learned Druid amongst the Cruthneans, who was named Trosdan, that could give him and his people a remedy against the poison which the Tuatha Fidga bore upon their weapons; and he asked Trosdan what remedy he should have recourse to against the poisoned weapons of those people we have named. "Get milked," said Trosdan, "one hundred and fifty white and hornless cows, and let their milk be thrown into a pit in the midst of the field where you have been wont to fight these people, and then challenge them to meet you in battle upon that same ground; and let every man of your people that shall receive a wound, bathe himself in the pit, and he shall be healed from his poisoned wound." Crimthann then did as the Druid had told him, and he challenged the Tuatha Fidga to meet him in battle at Ard-lemnacta (*Ard-lewnaghta*), and there he routed them with dreadful slaughter. From this fact it has come, that that hill has been called the battle of "Ard-lemnacta," (i. e. New-Milk-Height,) ever since, as the bard has recorded in the following lay:

⁶⁰ *Cathluan*. Caledonia, the old Latin name of Scotland, is derived by some antiquaries from this chief.

⁶¹ *Tuatha Fidga*, otherwise *Tuatha Fiodhgha* (*Tooha Feeya*). These words might be translated "savage tribes," i. e. "Tuatha" *tribes*, and "Fiodhgha" or "Fidga," *wild or savage*—an adjective formed from "Fiodh" or "Fidh" (*Feeh*)—a wood. So the Latins formed "Silvestris," (whence comes the English word "savage," through the old French "salvage,") from "sylva," a wood.

⁶² *Fotharts*. From the description given above, it is to be understood that the baronies, or Forth and Shelmaher in Wexford, were the districts where the Tuatha Fidga were settling. The ancient Fotharta (Foharta) were, how-

ever, of much wider extent. There was the Fothart Arbrech, in the north-east of the Kings county; the Fothart Oirthir Lifi, in Wicklow; Fothart Osnadech, or Fotharta Fea, in Carlow, now the barony of Forth in that county; and Fothart an Chairn, in Wexford. They received their name, according to Irish tradition, from Eocaidh Finn Fothart, the brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles. O'Nolan was chief of the Fotharts of Carlow, O'Lorcan or Larkin of the Fotharts of Wexford, which position they maintained until the English invasion. The other Fotharts were early extinguished. The name is prematurely applied here, if it be derived from the brother of Conn, but that chief may just as likely have received his surname from the district.

- “ Ard-lemnact, in yon southern land,
Each learned sage must learn the cause,
Why that height received the name
Now borne by it, since Crimthann reigned.
- “ Crimthann Sciathbèl caused that name,
That he might save his warriors true,
And heal them from the baleful wounds
Of their most fierce and savage foes.
- “ Six Cruthneans, whom God had sent,
Had come to him from Thracia's land,
Solèn, Ulpra, Nectan the famed,
Aengus, Lethan and Throsdàn, sage.
- “ To these God granted, by their lore,
To heal the tortured warriors' wounds,
And save them from the poisonous pangs
Of the rude giants' weapons fell.
- “ A cure the Cruthnean found for them,
That Druid wise, as well he might,
Thrice fifty hornless snow-white cows
Were milked together in one pit.
- “ And then they joined in desperate fight,
Close by the pit that held the milk ;
And there, in battle brave went down,
Those monster pests of Banba's height.”

But after this, the Piets, with Gud and his son Cathluan at their head, proposed to themselves to make a conquest of Leinster. But, when Erimhòn heard thereof, he mustered a numerous host, and came against them. Upon this, as they saw that they were not strong enough to meet him in battle, the Cruthneans made a peace and a friendly league with him. Erimhòn then told them, that there lay another country to the north-east of Eri, and he counseled them to go and dwell therein. The Cruthneans then requested of Erimhòn to give them some marriageable women from amongst the widows of those warriors, who had been killed in the expedition from Spain. Thus Bede informs us in the first book of his History of the Saxon Church. And they gave the Sun and Moon as their sureties, that the kingly power in Cruthen-tuath⁶³ (*Cruhen-tooah*), which is now called Alba, should be held by the right of the female, rather than by that of the male progeny, unto the end of life. Upon this condition Erimhòn gave them three women, to wit, the wife of Bres, the wife of Buas, and the wife of Buadni. Cathluan, who was now their head chieftain, took one of these for his own wife. They then set sail for Cruthen-tuath (i. e. Pict-land), and Cathluan conquered the sovereign

⁶³ *Cruthen-tuath*, i. e. Pict-land.

power in that country, and he became the first king of Alba of the Cruthnean race, as we read in that duan contained in the Psalter of Cashel, which begins thus: "Hearken, ye sages of all Alba." It makes the following mention of the present subject:

"The conquering Cruthnigh seized that land,
When driven thither from Erenn-magh;⁶⁴
And ten and sixty far-famed kings
Of these did reign o'er Cruthen-clar.⁶⁵

"Of these, Cathluan was the first—
(I now but briefly name their story.)
The last king of that race, who reigned,
Was the hardy hero Constantin."

However, the druid Trosdàn, and the five other Cruthnean sages mentioned in the lay first quoted, remained in Ireland after Cathluan, and they there received lands, in the plain of Breagh (*Bredà*), in Meath, from Erimhòn.

In the fourteenth year after the death of Eber, Erimhòn died, at Argedros, on the bank of the Feoir or Nore; and it was there, also, that he was buried. In the same year, the river, which is called the Ethni⁶⁶ (*Enniè*), burst forth over the land, in Ui Neill,⁶⁷ and the river called Fregobal⁶⁸ (*Frewol*) burst over the land, between Dal Araide and Dal Riada.

MUIMNI, LUIGNI AND LAIGNI, ARD-RIGHA.

A. M.⁶⁹ 2752. The three sons of Erimhòn succeeded their father in the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for three years. Muimni, Luigni, and Laigni, were their names; and they reigned jointly until the death of Muimni, upon Magh-Cruaghan⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Erenn-Magh*, i. e. the Irish Plain or Field. The termination *magus*, so frequent in old Gallic names, as in "Rotomagus," Rouen, as if Roth or Ruadh-mhagh, seems formed from the Gaelic "magh," i. e. a plain. Erenn-magh might be Latinized, Erinomagus. In forming compound and derivative words, the Celts silenced or aspirated one of the meeting consonants, in order to avoid that harsh grating of discordant elementary sounds, that is so frequent in northern tongues. The Latins and Greeks either threw in a vowel between them for a like purpose, or dropped a final "s."

⁶⁵ *Cruthen-Clar*, i. e. the Cruthnean Plain. Clar means a board, table, or plain.

⁶⁶ *Eithni*, now the River Inny, which

falls into Lough Ree, south-west of Ballymahon, in West Meath.

⁶⁷ *Ui Neill*, i. e. the land of the Ui Neill, or descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of whom the O'Neills of Tyrone were but a sept.

⁶⁸ *Fregobal*, now the Ravel Water in the county of Antrim, which flows out of the small lake called Aganunican, in the parish of Dunaghy, flowing through Glenravel, until it joins the Dungonell river. Dal-Araide extended from Newry to this river; Dal-Riada comprised the remainder of Antrim.—O'D.

⁶⁹ A. M. 3517.—*Four Masters*.

⁷⁰ *Magh-Cruaghan* is, possibly, in the county of Roscommon. Ard Ladran is supposed to be Ardamine, in Wexford.

(*Moy-Croohan*), and until Luigni and Laigni were slain by the sons of Eber, in the battle of Ard-Ladrann.

ER, ORBA, FERANN AND FERGNA, ARD-RIGIA.

A. M.⁷¹ 2755. Er, Orba, Ferann and Fergna, the four sons of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for one single year,⁷² at the end of which they were slain by Irial the Prophet,⁷³ in revenge for the death of his two brothers.

IRIAL THE PROPHET, ARD-RIGII.

A. M. 2756. Irial the Prophet, son of^o Erimhòn, then held the sovereignty for ten years; for his three elder brothers had left no off-spring after them. Besides this, Irial, upon coming to the throne, gained glory and supremacy by having slain the four sons of Eber—Er, Orba, Ferann and Fergna, in vengeance for his two brothers, whom those kings had slain. Sixteen plains were cleared of wood in the reign of Irial, namely: Magh-Rechet, in Leix;⁷⁴ Magh-n-Eli,⁷⁵ in Leinster; Magh-Comair;⁷⁶ Magh-Seli, in Ui Neill; Magh-Sanais, in Connaught; Magh n-Inis, in Ulster; Magh-Lungi and Magh-Mide, in Kianacta; Magh Tect, in Ui Mac Uais; Magh-Feramaighe, in Oirghialla; Magh-Fothain, in the western districts; Magh-Coba, in Ibh-Echach; Magh-Cuma, in Ui Neill; Magh-Culi-Feda; Magh-Riada; Magh-Dairbrech, in the Fotharts of Dairbrech, in Leinster. Irial the Prophet, son of Erimhòn, erected seven royal raths,⁷⁷ likewise, in

⁷¹ A. M. 3519.—*Four Masters*.

⁷² *One single year*. The *Four Masters* say that these princes reigned but half a year, A. M. 3519.—*Four Masters*.

⁷³ *Irial the Prophet*, in Irish, Irial Faidh (Faul). "Faidh," is synonymous with "Vates."

⁷⁴ *Magh-Rechet, in Leix*. This plain lay in the present barony of Portnabinnich, adjoining the Gréat Heath, near Maryborough. It is now called the Manor of Morett.—O'D.

⁷⁵ *Magh-n-Eli*, in Leinster, now Moyelly, a townland in the parish of Kilmannaghan, barony of Kilcoursey and Kings county. It was famous as the residence of Finn Mac Cumhail, in the 3d century.

⁷⁶ *Magh-Comair*, probably the plain round Cummar near Clonard in Meath. *Magh-Seli*, i. e. the Plain of the Sele,

also in Meath. *Magh-Sanais*, unknown. *Magh-n-Inis*, the barony of Lecale, county of Down. *Magh-Lungi* and *Magh-Mide*, in Kianacta, that is, in the north-west of Londonderry. The *Four Masters* call the former *Magh-Lughna*. *Magh-Tect*, in Ui Mic Uais, or Moygoosh, unknown. *Magh-Feramaighe*, now the barony of Farney in the county of Monaghan. *Magh-Fothain*, in Orior, co. Armagh. *Magh-Coba*, in Iveagh, co. Down. *Magh-Cuma*, unknown. *Magh-Culi-Feda*, probably in the district round Lough Fea, in Farney. *Magh-Riada*, was situated in the Kings co. *Magh-Dairbrech*, i. e. the plain of the Oaks, lay near the Hill of Croghan, in the same county.—O'D.

⁷⁷ *Seven royal raths*. 1. *Rath Kimbaeith*, was the name of one of the forts at Eman Macha. There was another

Ireland, during his reign, namely: Rath Kimbacith, at Eman, Rath Croeni, on Magh-Inis; Rath Bachall, in the Latharna; Rath Conkeda, in Semni; Rath Mothaigh, in Degh-Carbad; Rath Buirech, in Sleeta; Rath Locait, in Glascarn. The year after, the three rivers called the three Finns,⁷⁹ burst over the land in Ulster. The year following, Irial gained four battles. The first of these was the battle of Ard-Innaith,⁷⁹ in Tebtha (*Teffa*), in which Stirni, son of Dubh, was slain; the second was the battle of Tenn-Magh, which Irial fought against the Fomaraigh, and in it fell the Fomorian king, whose name was Eetghi Eekenn;⁸⁰ the third was the battle of Loch-Magh,⁸¹ in which fell Lugh-Roth, son of Mogh-Febis;⁸² the fourth battle was that of Cul-Marta,⁸³ where the four sons of Eber were vanquished. It was in remembrance of these acts, that the duan, which begins with the following verse, was composed:

“ Irial, youngest son of the king
Of the land of Fodla, queen of ringlets,
Reigned at Sliabh Mis, reigned at Macha,⁸⁴
A victor in four hard-won fights.”

In two years afterwards, Irial died at Magh-Muaide,⁸⁵ and was buried at that same place.

ETHRIAL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2766.⁸⁶ Ethrial, son of Irial the Prophet, son of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty years. In his

fort of the name near Island Magee, co. Armagh. 2. *Rath Croeni*, unknown. 3. *Rath Bachall*, otherwise Bacain, in Larne, co. Armagh. *Rath Conkeda*, perhaps in Island Magee, which was formerly called Rinn Semni. 5. *Rath Mothaigh*, now Ryemohy, barony of Raphoe, and county of Donegal. 6. *Rath Buirech*, otherwise *Rath Buirg*, unknown. (Sleeta is called Sleetmagh by the Four Masters.) 7. *Rath Locait*, unknown.—O'D.

⁷⁹ *Three Finns*. The Finn, flowing through Raphoe, co. Donegal, was one of these, the others were, perhaps, its tributaries.

⁸⁰ *Ard Inmoith*, otherwise Ard Inmacith. The Four Masters call the chief slain in this battle “ of Fomhor,” i. e. of the Fomorian nation. The name Ard Innaith, as well as the following one Tennmagh, is obsolete.—O'D.

⁸¹ *Eetghi Eekenn*, otherwise Eochaidh, Each-cheann, i. e. Eochaidh. the

Horse-Chief, or the Horse-headed. Eochaidh, seems derived from “Ech,” a horse, and if so, it corresponds closely with the name Equitius.

⁸¹ *Lochmagh*, probably Loughma, near Thurles, co. Tipperary.—O'D.

⁸² *Mogh-Febis*, otherwise Mofemis, a chief of the Fer-Bolgs.—O'D.

⁸³ *Cul Marta*, not known. The Four Masters set down this battle as having been fought in the first year of his reign. Keating has set it last, through carelessness.

⁸⁴ *Reigned at Sliabh Mis reigned at Macha*, i. e. ruled the whole of Ireland, from north to south.

⁸⁵ *Magh Muaide*, perhaps the plain of the River Moy, flowing between Mayo and Sligo, but the name was also applied to a plain near Knockmoy, six miles south-east of Tuam, which is probably the place meant.—O'D.

⁸⁶ A. D. 3530.—*Four Masters*.

time, seven plains⁸⁷ were cleared of wood in Ireland, namely: Tenn-Magh, in Connaught: Magh-Lighat and Magh-Belaigh, in Ui Turtri; Magh-Gesilli, in Ui Falghi; Magh-Octair, in Leinster; Loch-Magh, in Connaught, and Magh-Rath, in Ibh Echach. When this king had spent twenty years as sovereign ruler of Ireland, he was slain by Conmael, son of Eber, in the battle of Raeri,⁸⁸ in Leinster.

CONMAEL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2786.⁸⁹ Conmael, son of Eber Finn, son of Miledh of Spain, reigned thirty years. He was the first king⁹⁰ of the race of Eber. This Conmael fought five-and-twenty battles⁹¹ against the progeny of Erimhon. Here follow the names of nine of these battles: the battle Ucha, the battle of Cnucha, the battle of Eli, the battle of Sliabh-Betha, the battle of Gesill, where Palap, son of Erimhon was slain, the battle of Sliabh Modurn, where Semroth, son of Inboth, fell, the battle of Cleri, the battle of Loch Lein, in which Beirri fell, and the battle of Aenach Macha,

⁸⁷ *Seven Plains.* 1. *Tenn-Magh*, unknown. 2. *Magh-Lighat*, otherwise Lugadh, unknown. 3. *Magh-Belaigh*; Ui Turtri, was in Antrim, but the name of this plain is now unknown. 4. *Magh-Gesilli*, was situate in the barony of Geshill, Kings county. 5. *Magh-Octair* unknown. 6. *Lochnagh*, is said by the Four Masters to be in Conall. 7. *Magh-Rath* called otherwise Magh Roth, a plain in the county of Down, whose position is determined by the village of Moira.—O'D.

⁸⁸ *Raeri*. This place is now called Raeri Mor, in Iregan, barony of Tinnehinch, in the Queens County.—O'D.

⁸⁹ A. M. 3550.—*Four Masters.*

⁹⁰ *The first king.* Conmael, otherwise Conmael (*conayl*), is styled the first king of the Eberians, by the northern antiquarians of the Erimonian race, as they do not allow the title of Ard-righa, his brothers Er, Orba, Ferann, and Fergna, or Fergend. It is probable, indeed, that these names are apocryphal, as before remarked of their four namesakes, the sons of Partholan. The same may be said of the three sons of Erimhon, Muimbni (*Mooiovie*), Luighni, (*Looinie*), and Laighni, (*Loinie*),

who are said to have immediately succeeded that conqueror on the Irish throne. All the Eberian clans trace their pedigrees to Conmael; all the Erimonian to Irial Faidh, i. e. the Prophet, through Ethrial, the preceding monarch.

⁹¹ *Five and twenty battles.* The names of these battles have not been given in Halliday's edition. They are found, however, in two MSS. in the translator's possession: viz. 1. *Ucha*, not known. 2. *Cnucha*, famed in after times for a battle fought there by Lugaidh Mac Con, is probably, Castleknock, on the river Liffey. 3. *Eli*, in the south of the Kings co. and north of Tipperary. 4. *Sliabh Betha*, on the borders of Monaghan, and Fermanagh. 5. *Gesill*, already located. In it fell Palap son of Erimhon. 6. *Sliabh Modurn*, in Cremorne, co. Down. 7. *Cleri*, perhaps Cape Clear, co. Cork, or Clare Island, co. Mayo. 8. *Loch Lein*, now, Killarney Lakes. This battle was fought against the Ernai, and Martinci, Ferbolgie tribes. 9. *Aenach Macha*, i. e. the Fair of Macha, otherwise Eman Macha, near Armagh.

where Conmael himself was slain by Eber, son of Tighernmas, of the race of Erimhon.⁹² And he was buried on the southern side of Aenach Macha, on the spot which is called Fert Conmaeil (i. e. Conmael's grave), to this day.⁹³

TIGHERNMAS, ARD-RIGIL.

A. D. 2816.⁹⁴ Tighernmas, son of Follomhan,⁹⁵ son of Ethrial, son of Irial the Prophet, son of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for fifty years. This Tighernmas defeated the posterity of Eber in twenty-seven battles;⁹⁶ such as the battle of Eli,

⁹² The Four Masters tell us, that the name of another of his battle-fields was Carnmor, in which fell Olalach, who was probably Follach, father of Tighernmas, called Follamhan, by Keating.

⁹³ *Conmael* was the youngest son of Eber Finn, and had been but a child when his father was slain. He was, solemnly inaugurated on the Lia Fail, according to O'Halloran, who also quotes the following panegyric upon him, from the Psalter of Cashel: "He it was that killed Ethrial, son of Irial the Prophet, with his own hand, in revenge for his father's blood. He it was that fought *forty-five* battles against the children of Erimhon, that slew Palap, the last survivor of Erimhon's sons, and that won the name of Conmael, or Prince of Chiefs, because he was superior to all others of his own time." There was much rivalry in olden time, between the northern and southern tribes, as to the glory of the kings of their respective houses, who ruled Ireland. Hence the discrepancy of our authorities as the number of this king's battles. We may, however, conclude that he was a real king of Ireland, from the fact that the antiquaries of the Ui Neill, *whose interest it was to contest the right of the Eberian's to the Irish throne*, and lessen their glory, have never questioned his reign. In such matters, the unwilling testimony of enemies is more reliable than the partial memoirs of friends. The rivalry between the northern and southern antiquarians continued long after their patrons had ceased to have a kingdom

to contend for; it can even be traced in the writings of antiquarians of a very recent date.

⁹⁴ A. M. 3580.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁵ *Follomhan*, otherwise Follach.

⁹⁶ *Battles*. 1. *Eli*, otherwise Elli and Elui, a district in Antrim, between the rivers Bann and Bush. 2. *Magh Tect*, unknown. In this battle fell Rocorb, son of Gollan. 3. *Lochmagh*, i. e. the plain of the Lake, situation uncertain. In this fight fell Dagarni, son of Goll, son of Gollan. (This and the last-named chief were apparently either Fer-Bolgs or Fomorachs.) 4. *Cul-Ard*, lies in Lecale, co. Down. 5. *Cul-Fraechain* unknown. 6. *Ath-Gort*, in Semni, lay somewhere near Island Magee. 7. *Ard Niadh*, i. e. the "Hill of the Hero," unknown. 8. *Carn Feradaigh*, probably Seefin, barony of Coshlea, in the south of the co. Limerick; in the battle fell Feradach, son of Rocorb, son of Gollan, from whom the Carn is called. 9. *Cluain Cuas*, i. e. the Field of the Caves, now Cloncoose, barony of Granard, co. Longford. 10. *Congnaid*, in Tuath Ebha (*Toohaiva*), at the foot of Binbulbin, barony of Carbery, co. Sligo. 11. *Cluain Muresg*, or Mursgi, somewhere in Brefni. 12. *Cul-Fabair*, or Fobair, lay on the east side of Loch Corrib, co. Galway. 13. *Loch Lughdach* (*Lough Loodagh*), i. e. Lugaidh's Lake, now Corrane Lough, in the barony of Iveragh, co. Kerry. 14. *Cul*, now Coole, in the parish of Rathbeagh, on the Nore, co. Kilkenny. 15. *Reabh* unknown. The Four Masters give the following battles as fought by this king, which are not named in our

the battle of Magh-Tect, the battle of Loch-Magh, the battle of Cùl-ard, the battle of Cuil-Fraechain, the battle of Ath-gort, the battle of Ard-Niadh, the battle of Carn-Feradaigh, the battle of Cluan Cuas, the battle of Congnaide, the battle of Cluain Murisg, the battle of Cùl-Fabair, and seven battles at Loch Lughdach, the two battles of Cuil, at Argedros, the battle of Rèabh, where the greater part of the descendants of Eber were slain by Tighernmas. Nine lakes⁹⁷ burst over the land in the time of Tighernmas, namely: Loch Kè, and Magh-Sulcair was the name of the plain over which this lake flowed; Loch-n-Allinni, in Connaught; Loch n-Lairn; Loch n-Uair; Loch Saigleinn, and Loch-Gabair, in Meath and Breagh; Loch-Febail, in Tir-Eògain (*Tverone*), and in this lake was submerged Febal, son of Lodan,⁹⁸ and Magh-Fuinuside (*Moy Fineshee*), was the name of the plain over which it flowed; Dubh loch, in Ard-Kianacta; and Loch-Dabail (*Loch Dowil*), in Oirghialla. And then, also, sprang the three black rivers⁹⁹ of Ireland, namely, the Fubna, the Callan, and the Torann.

This same Tighernmas was the first that discovered gold ore in Ireland; and Iucadan¹⁰⁰ was the name of the artist that refined the gold for him. It was in the Fotharts,¹ east of the Liffey,

text, viz.: 1. *Comar*, not identified. 2. *Cnamh-Choill*, i. e. the Wood of Bones, in Connaught, now Cuil-Cnamha, (*Cool Knaw*), in the east of Tírerah, co. Sligo. There are two places of this name in Munster. 3. *Cul Feda*, not identified. 4. *Eli*, not identified, there are many places of the name. 5. *Berre*. Two other battles at Argedros. Three battles against the Fer-Bolgs and two against the Ernai.—*O'Donovan's Four Masters*.

⁹⁷ *Nine Lakes*. 1. *Loch Kè*, now Lough Key, near Boyle, co. Roscommon. 2. *Loch n-Allinni*, now Lough Allen, co. Leitrim. 3. *Loch n-Lairn*, now Lough Iron, on the western boundary of the barony of Corkaree, co. West Meath. 4. *Loch Uair*, now Lough Owl, near Mullingar, co. West Meath. 5. *Loch Saigleinn*, now Lough Sheelin, on the borders of Cavan, Longford, and Meath. 6. *Loch Gabair*, is now dried up, but its site is still called Loch Gabhair (*Lough Gowr*), in Irish, and in English Lagore. 7. *Loch Febail*, otherwise Loch Febhail, now Loch Foyle, on the north coast of Ireland. 8. *Dubh-loch*, i. e. "the Black Lake;" Ard Kianacta, is now called the barony of Ferard, co. Louth. 9.

Loch Dabail, was the old name of a Lake near Armagh.—O'D.

⁹⁸ *Febal, son of Lodan*, was one of the Tuatha-De-Dananns, of whose expulsion from Ailech Neid and the north of Ulster, we have not yet heard. By Tir Eogain is here meant Inishowen, in the north of Londonderry.

⁹⁹ *The three black rivers*. The Fubna is probably the river now called Una, in Tyrone; the Callan is the River Callan, in Armagh; the Torann is unknown, if it be not the River Touro near Youghal.

¹⁰⁰ *Iucadan*. O'Flaherty styles this artist Iucadan of Cualann. The Four Masters also call him an artist of the men of Cualann. According to Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes to *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, Cualann lay in the north of the present county of Wicklow, adjoining the county of Dublin, and was, in latter times, coextensive with the modern half barony of Rathdown.

¹ *Fotharts*. The "Fotharta Oirter Liff" (*Foharta irhir Liffy*) were also in Wicklow. The district last described seems to have formed part of them. Gold is still found in Wicklow mountains.

that it was smelted. It was also in the time of Tighernmas that cloths were first dyed purple and blue and green, in Ireland. It was in his time, likewise, that ornaments, fringes and borders, were first used by the Irish upon their dresses.² In like manner, it was he that first established it as a custom in Ireland, that there should be but one color³ in the dress of a slave, two in that of a peasant, three in that of a soldier or a young nobleman, four in that of a brughaidh (*brooce*, i. e. a keeper of a house of public hospitality), five in that of a district chieftain, and six in that of a king or queen.

Tighernmas, and three-fourths of the men of Eri with him, died at Magh-Sleect,⁴ on the eve of Samhain (All-Hallows), while worshipping Crom Cruaidh,⁵ the Arch Idol of Ireland. For it was this Tighernmas that first began to offer idolatrous worship to Crom Cruaidh, in Ireland, about one hundred years after the arrival of the Gaels, just as Zoroaster⁶ had done in Greece. It is

* *Dresses.* Mageoghegan, in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, says that Tighernmas was the first who caused standing cups to be made, that refined gold and silver, and procured his goldsmith to make gold and silver pins, to fasten men's and women's garments about their necks, and also that he was the first that invented the dyeing of colored (i. e. particolored) cloths in Ireland.

² *Colors.* The Four Masters and O'Flaherty ascribe the establishment of this latter custom to the next succeeding monarch, Eocaidh Edgothach, or Eadgadach. O'Halloran says that the latter king merely put in force the law enacted by his predecessor.

⁴ *Magh Sleect*, otherwise "Magh Sleacht" (*Moy Slaught*) i. e. the Plain of Prostration. This plain lay in the barony of Tullyhaw, and county of Cavan. Crom Cruach, the chief idol of the Pagan Irish, stood near a river called Gathard, in this plain, and St. Patrick erected a church near it, called Domhnach-mor (*Downaghmore*). According to the Dinn Senchas, this was the principal idol of all the colonies that settled in Ireland, and they were wont to offer it the firstlings of animals and other offerings.—See O'Donovan's *Four Masters*.

⁵ *Crom Cruaidh*, otherwise Crom Croach and Crom Cruach. O'Flaherty

says, that this idol was the prince of all the idols of Ireland, and that it had its station, previous to the subversion of idolatry, in Moy Sleuct, where the Irish kings and nobility used to adore it with the highest veneration and with peculiar rites and sacrifices. Jocelyn, in his life of St. Patrick says, that it was an idol embossed with gold and silver, and that it had ranged on either side of it, twelve brazen statues of less distinction. He further tells us, that when St. Patrick saw this idol from a distance, standing near the river Gathard, and threatened to strike it down with his staff; that it fell towards the West, its face having been turned to Temoria or Tara (i. e. south-east), and that the impression of the staff was found on its left side, though it had never left the hand of the man of God. The twelve smaller idols were then buried up to their necks in the earth. In commemoration of this destruction of idolatry, it is thought that the last Sunday in summer is called Domhnach Crom-duibh (*Downagh Crom-duiv*), i. e. the Sunday of the black Crom.—See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*.

⁶ *Zoroaster.* Of the age of this philosopher little is known. He is supposed to have been the first teacher of the doctrines of the Eastern Magi, and is by some said to have been a king of Bactria, where he was renowned as a lawgiver and reformer. He admitted

also from the prostrations⁷ (or sacrifices) which the men of Ireland were wont to offer thereon to this idol, that the above-mentioned plain of Magh-Sleect, which is in Brefsni, has its name.

Some antiquarians tell us, that Ireland remained without a king⁸ for ten years after the death of Tighernmas, and that it was Eocaidh Faebair-glas, son of Connacl, that assumed the sovereignty next after him. But they are not true in this; for the "Reim Righraide" or Royal Catalogue, says that Eocaidh Edgothach, of the race of Lugaidh, son of Ith, was the king who succeeded him on the throne.

EOCAIDH⁹ EDGOTHACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2866.¹⁰ Eocaidh Edgothach,¹¹ son of Dari, son of Congal, son of Edamhan, son of Mal, son of Lugaidh, son of Ith, son of Brcogan, held the sovereignty for four years, until he fell by the hand of Kernna, son of Ebric.

no visible object of adoration but Fire, and his system was far removed from the gross idolatry of Greece and Rome. Numbers of his followers are still found in Persia and India. Dr. Keating is wrong in bringing him to Greece, and in coupling his name with idolatry. It shows in how vague a sense the word "Greig" (*Graigie*) was understood by Irish writers. Fire seems also to have been the grand object of worship in Ireland, as far as can be judged from the scanty evidences that remain on that subject.

⁷ *Prostrations.* The word "Sleect" is translated "genuflection" by Dr. O'Donovan. Some have translated it "slaughter;" but the word, which is still in frequent use, can scarcely bear so strong a construction in Gaelic.

⁸ *Without a king.* The Four Masters give Tighernmas a reign of seventy-seven years, and say that after his death there was an interregnum of seven years, and that Eochaidh Edgothach then succeeded as monarch.

⁹ *EOCAIDH I.* Eochaidh (*Oghie*), *gen.* Eeach (*Aghagh*) and some others are names of such frequent recurrence in the list of our monarchs, that it is deemed useful to designate them by numbers in these notes. It means *horseman* or knight, being derived from "each" (*agh*) a *steed*, plural "Eocha" (*ogha*).

¹⁰ A. M. 3664.—*Four Masters.*

¹¹ *Edgothach (Aidgohagh).* He was called by this name, say some of our annals, because he introduced into Ireland the "Il-brecta" (*Il-braghta*), or law for distinguishing rank by the various colors of persons' garments; while others, who attribute that law to Tighernmas, say that he but enforced its practice. The word is derived from "Edach" (*Aidagh*), clothes, and "guth" or "gotli" (*goh*), a *shade* or *distinction*. On this law Mr. Moore has made the following remarks: "In the reign of Achy (Eocaidh), a singular law was enacted, regulating the exact number of colors by which the garments of the different ranks of society were to be distinguished. These regulations are curious; not only as showing the high station allotted to learning and talent, but as presenting a coincidence rather remarkable with that custom of Patriarchal times, which made a garment of many colors the appropriate dress of kings' daughters and princes. For a long period, indeed, most of the Eastern nations retained both the practice of dividing the people into different casts and professions, and also, as appears from the regulations of Gianschid, king of Persia, this custom of distinguishing the different classes by appropriate dresses. From the parti-colored garments worn by the ancient Scots or Irish, is derived the national

KERMNA AND SOBARKI, ARD-RIGHA.

A. D. 2870.¹² Kermna and Sobarki, the two sons of Ebric, son of Eber, son of Ir, son of Miledh, ruled the kingdom of Ireland for forty years, and these were the first kings of the Ulidians.¹³ They made a partition¹⁴ of Ireland between them; and the boundary line between their shares, ran from Inber Colpa, near Drogheda, to Luimnech Mumhan (*Limnagh Moon*), now Limerick. North of this line lay the dominions of Sobarki, and on them he built the *dun* or fortress called Dun Sobarki. The southern part belonged to Kermna, and on it he built Dun Kermna, which is now called Dun Mic Phadraig, in Courcies' country. Sobarki was slain by Eocaidh Menn, the son of a Fomorian king, and Kermna¹⁵ fell by the sword of Eocaidh Faear-glas, in the battle of Dun Kermna.

EOCAIDH FAEBAR-GLAS, ARD-RIGH II.

A. D. 2910.¹⁶ Eocaidh Faear-glas, son of Conmael, son of Eber Finn, son of Miledh of Spain, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty years. He was called Eocaidh¹⁷ "Faear-glas" or Eocaidh of the "blue-green edge," because blue-green and sharp-edged were his two javelins. He vanquished the race of Erimhon in the following battles,¹⁸ namely: the battle of Lua-

fashion of the Plaid, still prevailing among their descendants in Scotland." He adds in a note, that "a similar fancy for parti-colored dresses prevailed in Gaul," for which he quotes Diodorus Siculus, who describes the Gauls as wearing garments "*flowered with all varieties of color—χρωμασι παντοδαποις διηυθισμεμενους.*" That part of the dress which they called braceæ, or breeches, were so called from having been plaided; the word "brac" (*brec*) signifying in Celtic, speckled or parti-colored. Tacitus, also, in describing Cæcina, as dressed in the Gaulish fashion, represents him with trousers and a plaid mantle—*versicolore sago, braceas tegmen barbarum indutus*. And again he says: "Thus Jacob made Joseph a coat of many colors (Gen. xxxvii. 3), and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 18), had a garment of many colors, for with such robes were the kings' daughters, that were virgins, apparelled.

¹² A. M. 3668.—*Four Masters*.

¹³ *Ulidians*, i. e. the posterity of Ir, son of Miledh, who were the first Gaelic possessors of Uladh (*Ulla*) or Ulster.

¹⁴ *Partition*. This partition has been before treated of.

¹⁵ *Kermna*. He is called "Cermna (*Karmna*) Finn," i. e. "the Fair," by the Four Masters. "Sobarki," otherwise "Sobhairce," is pronounced *Sowarkie* and *Sowarkie*.

¹⁶ A. D. 3708.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁷ *EOCAIDH II*. Styled *Faebhar-ghlas* (*Fair-loss* or *Favor-loss*). He is called *Faebhar-dhery* (*Favor-yarg*), or, of the Red Blade, by the Psalter of Cashel.

¹⁸ *Battles*. 1. *Luacair Deagaidh*, otherwise "Luachair Deaghaidh" (*Looghair Dea* or *Die*), now Slieve Longhra, near Castleisland, co. Kerry. 2. *Fosadh Da Ghort* (*Fossa daw ghort*), i. e. the Dwelling of the Two (tilled) Fields, unknown. 3. *Cumar ttri n-uiski* (*Cummar dree nishki*), the Meeting of the Three Waters, near Waterford. 4. *Tuaim Dreagain* (*Tooim Draggain*) or *Tuaim Dro-*

cair Degaidh, in Munster; the battle of Fosaigh-Da-Gort; the battle Cumar-tri-n-uiski or the Meeting of the Three Waters; the battle of Tuain-Dregain, in Brefni; the battle of Drom Liathain. The following plains¹⁹ were cleared of wood by him while he ruled Ireland, namely: Magh-Smethrach, in Ui Falghi; Magh-Laigni and Magh-Luirg, in Connaught; Magh-Lemna; Magh-Ninair; Magh-Fubna and Magh-Da-Gabail, in Oirghialla. This Eocaidh fell at last by Fiacaidh Labranni, in the battle of Carman.²⁰

FIACADH LABRANNI, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 2930.²¹ Fiacaidh Labranni,²² son of Smirgoll, son of Enboth, son of Tighernmas, son of Follomhan, son of Irial the Prophet, son of Erimhon, held the kingdom of Ireland for twenty-four years, or for thirty-six,²³ as other historians relate. It was in his reign that the following three rivers²⁴ sprung forth, namely: the Flesg, the Maing, and the Labrann. From the latter of these Fiacaidh received his surname, "Labranni," i. e. of the Labrann. In his time, also, Loch Erni²⁵ burst over the land, and the plain which it overwhelmed was called Magh-Ghenainn.

con, now Tomregan, near Ballyconnell, on the borders of Cavan and Fermanagh. 5. *Drom Liathain* (*Drum Lee-havin*), is probably Drom Lethan (*Drum Lahan*), now Drumlane, co. Cavan.—O'D.

¹⁹ *Plains*. 1. *Magh-Smethrach* (*Moy Smarragh*), in Offallyis, unknown. 2. *Mag-Laigni* (*Moy-Lineh*); the Four Masters have Magh n-Aidhni (*Moy-Nineh*), a district in Galway. 3. *Magh-Luirg* (*Moy-Lurrig*), now the plains of Boyle, co. Roscommon. 4. *Magh-Lemna* (*Moy-Lewna* or *Levna*), a district lying eastwards of Clogher, in Tyrone, along the river Blackwater; it was otherwise called Closach. 5. *Magh-Ninair*, called also *Magh n-Inir*, unknown. 1. *Magh-Fubna*, probably the plain of the river Oona, in Tyrone. 6. *Magh da Gabail* (*Moy daw Gowal*), in Oirghialla.—O'D.

²⁰ *Carman*, now Wexford. Hence comes Loch g-Carman (*Lough Garman*), i. e. the Lake of Carman, or rather Carma, now Wexford Bay, which Moore, in his History of Ireland, would have to mean the "German lake."

²¹ A. M. 3728.—*Four Masters*.

²² FIACADH I., otherwise "Fiacadh

Labhrainni" (*Feegha Lavrinnie* or *Lowrinnie*).

²³ The Four Masters agree with Dr. Keating in stating that this monarch reigned but twenty-four years.

²⁴ *Three Rivers*. 1. The Flesg, now the Flesk, a river flowing through Magnily, in the south-east of Kerry. 2. The Maing, now the Maine, flowing through Troughanaemy, in the same county. 3. The Labrann, otherwise Labhrann (*Lavrann* or *Lowran*). Halliday translates this, the Larne, but Dr. O'Donovan thinks that this river lay in the same region with the other two, and was that now called the Cashen River, in Kerry. See *Four Masters*.

²⁵ *Loch Erni*, now Lough Erne, co. Fermanagh. The Annals of the Four Masters say that Fiacaidh fought a battle against the Ernai, (a Sept) of the Ferbolgs (on the plain) where Loch Erne (now) is. After the battle was gained from them, the lake flowed over them, so that it was from them the lake is named, i. e. "a lake over the Ernai" " (*Loch tar Ernai*)." —O'D.

It was the son of this monarch, who was called Aengus Oll-buadach,²⁶ that routed the Cruthnigh (Picts) and the ancient Britons, who dwelt in Alba, in many battles. It was he, likewise, that first brought Alba under the dominion of the Gaels, although the latter had claimed a right of tribute from that country, ever since the days of Erimhon, son of Miledh. It was about one hundred and fifty years after the conquest of Ireland by the children of Miledh, that Alba was brought under the Gaelic sway and compelled to pay rent to the Irish monarchs, by Aengus Oll-buadach. This Fiacaídh fought four battles²⁷ against the posterity of Eber, namely: the battle of Fargi, the battle of Gallaidh, the battle of Sliabh Fémhenn, and the battle of Bèl-Gadan; in which last he was himself slain by Eocaidh Mumho.

EOCAIDH MUMHO, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2954.²⁸ Eocaidh Mumho,²⁹ son of Mogh Febis, son of Eocaidh Faear-Glas, son of Connael, son of Eber Finn, son of Miledh of Spain, reigned over Ireland for twenty-one years, until he was slain by Aengus Oll-mucaídh, in the battle of Cliach.³⁰

AENGUS OLL-MUCAIDH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2975.³¹ Aengus Oll-mucaídh,³² son of Fiacaídh Labranni,

²⁶ *Aengus Oll-buadach*. Oll-bhuadhach (*Ull-vooghagh*), means all victorious, being derived from "Oll," all and "buadh," victory. The surname is also spelled, "Oll-mhuchach" (*Ull-vooghagh*), which would mean, all extinguishing, being a compound of "oll" with Much (*Moogh*), which signifies to extinguish. Oll-mhucaídh (*Ull Vuckee*), translated "of the Great Swine," another form of the surname, but which should rather mean *swinish*, either abounding in swine or all *swinish*, is a title very unlikely to be given to a conquering hero, although, as O'Flaherty instances, the distinguished Roman family of the Porci, may have taken its surname from "porcus," a Swine.

²⁷ *Battles*. 1. Fargi, unknown. In this battle, fell Mofebis or Mogh Febis, son of Eocaidh Faear-glas. 2. Gallaidh, called also Gathlach, now probably Gayly, in the barony of Iraghtionor, co. Kerry. 3. Sliabh Fémhenn, otherwise Sliabh Fémhenn (*Sleeve Faivinn* or *Fewinn*), is now called Slieve-na-man, co. Tipperary. The present local name of this mountain, "Sliabh na n-ban

fionn," i. e. *the Mountain of Fair Women*, is a corruption of "Sliabh na m-ban Fémhenn," i. e. *the mountain of the women Fémhenn*. According to local tradition, the women of this mountain were enchanted beauties, contemporary with Finn Mac Cumhail in the 3d century. 4. Bèl Gadan, now Bulgadan, in the parish of Kilbreedy Major, near Kilmallock, co. Limerick.—O'D.

²⁸ A. M. 3752.—*Four Masters*.

²⁹ EOCAIDH III., otherwise Eochaidh Mumha (*Oghee Moo* or *Muv*). This is the prince from whom some legends derive the Irish name of Munster. It is, however, more probable that he derived his surname from that principality, as before suggested. If the word "Mumho" were at any time Gaelic, some reason would have been given for its having been applied to this King. The most probable meaning to assign to his name and title is "the knight" or "horseman of Mumho" i. e. of Munster.

³⁰ *Cliach*. The district round Knockany, co. Limerick, went by this name.

³¹ A. M. 3773.—*Four Masters*.

³² AENGUS, called "Aengus Oll-

of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty for eighteen yaris,, or, according to some authorities, for twenty-one. He was called Oll-mucaidh, from "oll" *great*, and "muca"³³ *swine*; because he possessed the largest swine in Ireland in his day. By him were fought the following battles,³⁴ namely: the battle of Cleri, the battle of Sliabh Calgi, where Baskenn fell; the battle of Magh-En-Sgiath, in Connaught; the battle of Glas Fraechàin, where Fraechàn the Prophet fell; and he gained fifty battles over the Cruithnigh and the Fer-Bolgs and the inhabitants of the Orcades. Three lakes,³⁵ burst forth in his reign, namely: Loch Ain-bethi, in Oirghialla; Loch Salkedain and Loch Gasan, in Magh Luirg. The following plains³⁶ were reclaimed from wood in his reign,

mucadha" (*Aineesse Ollvuckee*), in the Four Masters.

³³ *Muca*. This derivation must have originated with some facetious Munster Shanachie, who not being able to deny the power and victories of Aengus, gave this somewhat ridiculous version to his title of "all subdaing," in order to please his patrons of the line of Eber, the enemies and rivals of the posterity of Aengus. Dr. Keating has too readily adopted many such coarse jokes as real derivations. "Dr. Keating, indeed," says the learned O'Flaherty, "was a man of profound reading in the antiquities of his country, but he acted like that man amongst the seasons of the salad, who threw all sorts of herbs into it promiscuously without choice or selection."

³⁴ *Battles*. *Cleri*, perhaps Cape Clear, battle of *Sliabh Calgi* (*Sleeve Calguy*), in Corcabaskin, was fought against the Martini, a Belgian tribe. It is thought that the mountain of Callain, in Ibrickan, co. Clare, is the place here named, as Ibrickan formerly was included in Corcabaskin (*which probably had its name from the Bascend or Baskenn here named*). 3. *Magh En-Sgiath* (*Moy Ainskeel*), i. e. "the plain of the One Shield," unknown. 3. *Glas*, otherwise *Ros Fraechar*, in the barony of Murrenk, in Mayo. Aengus also fought the battle of *Quirki* (not identified) against the Martini; and the battle of *Carn Rebeda*, (not identified,) the battle of *Cuil Ratha*, in South Munster; the battle of *Sliabh g-Cna*, now *Slieve Gna*, in the parish of Seski-

nan, in the Desies of Waterford, against the Ernai; and the battle of *Ard-Achad*, (perhaps *Bellahoe Lough*, co. Longford,) in which fell *Smirgoll*, son of *Smethra*, king of the Fomorians.—O'D.

³⁵ *Lakes*. 1. *Loch Ain-bethi*, (*Ain-behi*), probably *Bellahoe Lough*, on the confines of Meath and Monaghan. 2. *Loch Salkedan*, or *Loch Sailech*, i. e. "the Lake of Willows," not identified. 3. *Loch Gasan*, in the barony of Boyle, not identified. We shall soon cease to hear of these burstings or springings forth of lakes and rivers, whatever meaning our Pagan bards and Druids attached thereto. It has been before said, that the discovery of those lakes might be what is thus recorded; so might, in like manner, either the conquests of the districts in which they lay, or their exposure to view by the clearing of the plains in their vicinity. If there be any foundation for these traditions, it must be some of these. The Four Masters record an eruption of the Sea, in this reign, between *Eba* (*Magherow*), and *Ros Ketti* (*the Rosses*), on the coast of *Sligo*.

³⁶ *Plains*. 1. *Magh Glenná Dercon*, i. e. the plain of the Valley of *Acorns*, unknown. 2. *Magh Aensgiath*, unknown. 3. *Magh Culi Cael*, a narrow plain situated in the barony of *Banagh*, in the west of *Donegal*. "Bogani" in the text should be "*Boganech*." 4. *Ael-magh*, i. e. the plain of *Lime*; there are many districts called *Calraidhe* (*Calree*), where this plain might be situated. 5. *Magh Muicromh*, lay in *Galway*, immediately to the west of

namely: Magh-Glenna Dercon, in Kinel Conaill; Magh-Aein-Sgiath, in Leinster; Magh-Culi Cael, in Bogani; Ael-Magh, in Calraide; Magh-Mucromhi, in Connaught; Magh-Luacra Degaidh and Magh-Arcoill, in Ciaraide Luacra.

Aengus Oll-mucaidh was finally slain in the battle of Sliabh Cua, by Enna, son of Nectan, a Munsterman. However, some historians tell us that Enna Argthech was the man that slew him, in the battle of Carman;³⁷ and this tradition is more likely to be the true one, according to the duan that begins with the verse, "Aengus Oll-mucaidh was slain." The Reim Righraide or Royal Catalogue, likewise, bears out the latter tradition.

ENNA ARGTHECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2993.³⁸ Enda³⁹ Argthech, i. e. Enda the Despoiler or Plunderer, son of Eocaidh Mumho, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-seven years. He was the first that made silver shields⁴⁰ in Ireland. He had them made at Argedros, and bestowed them upon the Irish chieftains. He fell by the sword of Rothechtach, son of Maen, in the battle of Raigni.⁴¹

ROTHECTACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3020.⁴² Rothechtach,⁴³ son of Maen, son of Aengus Oll-mucaidh, of the line of Erimhon, reigned over Ireland for twenty-five years, and then was slain by Sedna, son of Artri, at Rath-Cruachan.⁴⁴

SEDNA, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3045.⁴⁵ Sedna,⁴⁶ son of Artri, son of Ebric, son of Eber, son of Ir, son of Miledh of Spain, held the monarchy of Ireland

Athenry. 6. *Magh-Luchair Degaidh* (*Mog Looghra Dea*), lay near Castleisland, co. Kerry. 7. *Magh-Arcoill* lay in Kerry also, but its precise situation is unknown.

³⁷ *Curman*, now Wexford. It is here the Four Masters say that he was slain, and by Enna Argthech.

³⁸ A. M. 3791. *Four Masters*.

³⁹ ENNA I. This name is otherwise spelled "Enda." His surname is pronounced *Arriaggagh*.

⁴⁰ *Silver Shields*. This might mean shields, ornamented or embossed with silver. For an account of the various presents made by the Irish kings to

their nobility. See the *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan.

⁴¹ *Raigni* was the name in Ossory, called also Magh Raigni, whence the king of that country was sometimes called "Righ Raigni," (*Rec Roynie*).—O'D.

⁴² A. M. 3817.—*Four Masters*.

⁴³ ROTHECTACH I., otherwise *Roi-theachtach* (*Rohaghtogh*).

⁴⁴ *Rath Cruachan*, now Rathcroghan near Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon.

⁴⁵ A. M. 3843.—*Four Masters*.

⁴⁶ SEDNA I.

for five years, at the end of which he was slain by his own son, at Cruachain, upon his return from his marine expedition.⁴⁷

FIACAIDH FIN-SGOTHACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3050.⁴⁸ Fiacaidh⁴⁹ Fin-Sgothach, son of Sedna, of the line of Ir, ruled Ireland for twenty years. He was called "Fin-Sgothach," or, *of the wine flowers*,⁵⁰ because in his time there were wine-producing flowers, i. e. "Sgotha fina" (*Skōha feena*) in Ireland, which the people used to press into cups. Fiacaidh was slain by Munemhon, son of Cas Clothach.

MUNEMHON, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3070.⁵¹ Munemhon,⁵² son of Cas Clothach, son of Ferrarda, son of Rotheectach, son of Ros, son of Glas, son of Nuadath, son of Eocaidh Faear-glas, son of Conmael, son of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for five years. Munemhon was the first, who ordained that collars of gold⁵³ should be worn round

⁴⁷ *Marine Expedition.* Perhaps piratical expeditions, were the better translation; the original is "dubh-loingess," (*Doo-lingess*.) i. e. *black fleet*.

⁴⁸ A. M. 3848.—*Four Masters.*

⁴⁹ FIACAIDH II., otherwise Fiachadh (*Feezha*).

⁵⁰ *Wine flowers.* Halliday translates the words "Sgotha fiona" by "a shower of grapes," a construction that it can scarcely bear. There is a tradition, that a species of beer was formerly extracted from heath flowers, in Ireland, but the probability is, that this reference is made to the invention of some drink which was pressed from the natural fruits of the country. Finns-gothach, (*Fecnskoghagh*.) might be a corruption of Finn Sgothach, and have reference to his "Finnghail" (*fineel*), or parricide. *To lop off*, is one of the meanings of the word "Sgoth."—The Four Masters tell us, that every plain in Ireland, abounded in flowers and shamrocks, in the time of Fiacaidh. These flowers, moreover, were found full of wine, so that the wine was squeezed into bright vessels. Dr. O'Donovan says that "finns-gothach," i. e. *of white flowers*, is the more likely reading, and adds, as a reason, the remark that "wine was then probably un-

known in Ireland," forgetting, apparently, that this country must have been then "well known" to the Phœnicians, and that that nation of merchants would not have forgotten so tempting a commodity as wine, in their trade with the natives, even supposing the latter to have been mere savages. Wine, too, is as old, if not older than Noah, and it is not likely that any of his posterity would have so soon forgotten its name. To those that think, with the editor, that the race of Eber Scot had come to Eri, immediately from a vine-bearing region, the occurrence of the word "fion" or "fin" does not seem premature. The name, with but slight variations, is found in the Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages, whence we may infer that its Phœnician was also not remote from the Gaelic "fion." It is certain the word was in use before the Gaels left the common cradle of all mankind.

⁵¹ A. M. 3868.—*Four Masters.*

⁵² MUNEMHON, otherwise Muineamhon, (*Muneron*.) Cas Clothach, (*Clohagh*.) i. e. Cas the Renowned. The Four Masters say that Munemhon had assisted Fiacaidh I. in killing his father.

⁵³ *Collars of Gold.* Numbers of such golden collars or "torques," (in

their necks by the noblemen of Ireland. He died of the plague, at Magh-Aidni.⁵⁴

ALLDERGOID, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3075.⁵⁵ Alldergoid,⁵⁶ son of Munemhon, son of Cas Clothach, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. It was in the time of Alldergoid that the Irish noblemen first began to wear rings of gold upon their hands. This monarch was slain by Ollamh Fodla, in the battle of Temhair.

OLLAMH FODLA, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3032.⁵⁷ Ollamh Fodla,⁵⁸ son of Fiacaidh of the Wine-flowers, son of Sedna, son of Artri, son of Ebric, son of Eber, son of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years,⁵⁹ at the end of which he died within his own walls. This prince got the name of "Ollamh Fodla" or "Sage of Ireland," because he proved himself to be an "Ollamh" in wisdom and in intellect, by the laws and regulations which he instituted in Ireland during his reign. It was he that first established the Convention of Temhair or Tara, as the bard thus tells us :

Irish *tore*), have been discovered in Ireland. (See *Walker on The Dress of the Ancient Irish*). They are of most elaborate workmanship, and if manufactured at home, betoken a great advancement in the art of working metals.

⁵⁴ *Magh-Aidni*, in the south of the county Galway.

⁵⁵ A. M. 3873. *Four Masters*.

⁵⁶ ALLDERGOID, or Faldergoid. The Four Masters spell this name "Faildeardoid," which (if, as some say, it be derived from "fail" *a ring*, "dearg" or "derg," red, and "doid," *a hand*) should be pronounced, Fanlyargode.

⁵⁷ A. M. 3883.—*Four Masters*.

⁵⁸ EOCAIDH IV. Ollamh Fodla, the name by which this earliest legislator of the Gaels is best known, was but an honorary title. His real name was Eocaidh. "Among the numerous kings," says Moore in his *History of Ireland*, "that in this dim period of Irish history pass like shadows before our eyes, the Royal Sage Ollamh Fodhla (*Ollave Fola*), is almost the only one

who, from the strong light of tradition thrown round him, stands out as a being of historical substance and truth. It would serve to illustrate the nature and extent of the evidence with which the world is sometimes satisfied, to collect together the various names which are received as authentic on the strength of tradition alone; and few, perhaps, could claim a more virtual title to this privilege than the great legislator of the ancient Irish, Ollamh Fodhla."

⁵⁹ *Thirty years*. The Four Masters give him a reign of forty years; so do some MS. copies of Keating. The number in the text is that given by Halliday, in his version of our author; and the editor, finding him supported by one MS. and by Dermot O'Connor's translation, has adopted it from him, as he wishes to follow that judicious translator upon all dubious points relative to Keating's text. However, O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, and most other authorities, assign to Ollamh Fodla a reign of forty years.

“Ollamh-Fodla, skilled in the fight,
 ’Twas he that built the Ollamhs’ hall;
 This mighty king of happy reign
 First instituted Temhair’s Feast.”

The Convention of Tara⁶⁰ (or the “Feis Temhrach,”) was a great general assembly, somewhat like a parliament, to which the nobles and ollamhs of Ireland were wont to repair every third year, about the time of the feast of Samhain,⁶¹ in order to renew and establish laws and regulations, and to give their sanction to the annals and historic records of Ireland. At it an especial seat was assigned to each of the Irish nobility, according to his rank and title. There was, also, assigned thereat, an especial seat to each of the chieftains of the bands of warriors who were retained in the service of the kings and lords of Ireland.

It was likewise a sacred and established usage, that the man who committed a rape or robbery, or who struck or attempted to strike another with any hostile weapon, at the Convention of Tara, should inevitably suffer death; and neither the king himself, nor any other person, had the power of pardoning his crime. And, furthermore, it was the usage of the men, who were to form this convention, to spend six days previous to its sitting, to wit: three days before and three days after the Samhain, in feasting together, and in making peace, and establishing mutual friendly relations between them. Eocaidh O’Floinn speaks of the usages practised at the Convention of Temhair, in the following historic lay:

“Each third year Temhair’s Feast was held;
 There righteous laws and rules were made,
 And usage old in force upheld
 By Eri’s proud and mighty kings.

“King Cathair,⁶² sire of many clans,
 Once called high Temhair’s noble Feast,
 And thither came, well pleased thereat,
 All Eri’s chiefs, at his command.

“Three days ere Samhain’s sacred rites,
 And three days after (usage good),
 Spent there that proud and daring host
 In banqueting and revel gay.

⁶⁰ *The Convention of Tara.* The term “Feis Temhrach” (*Fesh Tavrach*), is translated “*Temorensia Comitia*” by Dr. Lynch and by O’Flaherty; but it is called “*Cena Teamra*” in the Annals of Tighernach, and translated, The Feast of Taragh by Mageoghegan (*see O’D.’s Four Masters.*) It seems to have

been both a feast and a convention, from Dr. Keating’s description of it.

⁶¹ *Samhain*, i. e. All-Hallows; pronounced *Sowin* or *Sawin*.

⁶² *CATHAER.* This king’s name is prematurely introduced. He did not live for some centuries after Ollamh Fodla.

“Thence theft was driven and murder dire,
During those brief and happy days ;
None weapon bared, none treason wrought,
No brawl was raised, nor insult flung.

“The man, who wrought one deed of these,
Was deemed an impious, outlawed wretch ;
No gold his forfeit could redeem—
His life was doomed, his head accursed.”

FINACTA, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2112.⁶³ Finacta,⁶⁴ son of Ollamh Fodla, son of Fiacaidh of the Wine-flowers, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for fifteen years. He was called Finacta⁶⁵ or “Fin-Shnechta” (*Feenaghta*), i. e. “Snechta Fina” (*snaghta feena*) or “snow of wine,” from a shower of wine snow⁶⁶ that fell during his reign. He died at Magh-Inis.

SLANOLL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3143.⁶⁷ Slànoll, son of Ollamh Fodla, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, ruled Ireland for fifteen years.⁶⁸ He was called “Slanoll” from the great health enjoyed by the men of Ireland during his reign ; for “slan” is the same as “healthy,” and “oll” means “great.” It was in the house of Midh-Cuarta (*mee-coorta*), at Temhair, that he met his death ; and some say that nobody knew what disease⁶⁹ it was that took him off.

GEDHI OLL-GOTHACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3143.⁷⁰ Gèdhi Oll-gothach, son of Ollamh Fodla, of

⁶³A. M. 3923.—*Four Masters*.

⁶⁴ELIM I. or FINNACTA I. We are told by the Four Masters, that Elim was this Prince's real name. They give him a reign of twenty years, and add that he died of the plague in Magh-Inis, now the barony of Lecale, co. Down. O'Halloran calls him Fionn.

⁶⁵FINACTA. Dr. O'Donovan considers this derivation legendary, “because,” says he, “Finnachta,” or “Finnshnechta,” was very common as the name of a man among the ancient Irish, denoting *niveus*, or snow-white. The name is still preserved in the surname O'Finneachta, in English, Finaghty.”

⁶⁶*Wine-snow*. Red snow is not unfrequent in northern latitudes at the present day. This fable may have originated in the occurrence of some such phenomenon in Ireland. The

Four Masters say that this snow blackened the grass.

⁶⁷A. M. 3923.—*Four Masters*.

⁶⁸*Fifteen years*. The Four Masters say 20, and those of Clanmacnoise 26.

⁶⁹*What Disease*. “He was found dead, but his body did not change. He was afterwards buried ; and after his body had been forty years in the grave, it was taken up by his son, i. e. Oilioll (Oild) Mac Slanuill ; and the body had remained without rotting or decomposing during that time. This thing was a great wonder and surprise to the men of Ireland.”—*Four Masters*. His having died in the house of Midh-Cuarta, seems to argue the tranquillity and the firm establishment of the dynasty of Ollamh Fodla on the Irish throne.

⁷⁰A. M. 3960.—*Four Masters*.

the line of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seventeen years.⁷¹ He was called Gedhi Oll-gothach⁷² (*Gayeh Oll-gohagh*) because the voice, i. e. "guth" (*guh*) of every man in Ireland was great or loud, i. e. "oll," during his reign. He fell by the hand of Fiacaidh, son of Finacta.⁷³

FIACADH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3160.⁷⁴ Fiacaidh,⁷⁵ son of Finaeta, son of Ollamh Fodla, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-four years,⁷⁶ and then fell by Berngal, son of Gèdhi.

BERNGAL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3184.⁷⁷ Berngal, son of Gèdhi Oll-gothach, son of Ollamh Fodla, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, ruled Ireland for twelve years, and then was slain by Olild,⁷⁸ son of Slanoll.

OLILD, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3196.⁷⁹ Olild,⁸⁰ son of Slanoll, son of Ollamh Fodla, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, reigned over Ireland sixteen years, and then was slain by Siorna Saegalach.

SIORNA THE LONG-LIVED, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3212.⁸¹ Siorna, or Sirna the Long-lived,⁸² son of Dian,

⁷¹ *Seventeen years.* The Four Masters allow him but twelve.

⁷² *Oll-gothach.* In the *Dinnsenchas* it is stated that Erimhòn, son of Miledh, was also called Gedhi Oll-gothach, and for a similar reason; but these accounts are clearly legendary, because the cognomen *oll-gothach* was evidently applied to these monarchs from the loudness of their own voices, and not from any peculiarity in those of their subjects.—*See O'D.'s Four Masters.*

⁷³ *Son of Finacta.* We here see discord break out in the house of Ollamh Fodla, and pave the way to its downfall. Fiacaidh was his nephew.

⁷⁴ A. M. 2972.—*Four Masters.*

⁷⁵ FIACADH III. He is surnamed *Finn-ailechas* (*Finnalkass*) by the Four Masters, which state that it was by him that *Dun-culi-Sibrinni*, now called *Cenannas* (*Kenannus*) or *Kells*, in *East-Meath* was built, and that wherever his habitation was placed, *Kenannus* was his name. They also state "that it was

by this king, that the earth was first dug in Ireland, that water might be in wells;" and that "it was difficult for the stalk to sustain its corn during his reign." The latter observation is a figurative mode of expressing the goodness of his rule and the prosperity of the country during its continuance.

⁷⁶ *Twenty-four.* The Four Masters say twenty.

⁷⁷ A. M. 3992.—*Four Masters.*

⁷⁸ *Slain by Olild.* Olild was aided in this civil war by Siorna, son of Dian, who was thus preparing his own way to the throne.

⁷⁹ A. M. 4004.

⁸⁰ OLILD I. In the person of this monarch, we see the supremacy wrested from the race of Ir. He was the seventh king of that line, that had now uninterruptedly ruled the kingdom of Ireland, for more than a century.

⁸¹ A. M. 4020.—*Four Masters.*

⁸² SIORNA THE LONG-LIVED. Siorna Saegalach (*Siorna Saegalagh*) is called

son of Rothectach, son of Maen, son of Aengus Oll-mucaidh, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, which he held for twenty-one years.⁸³ He was surnamed "Saeg-

son of Dian, son of *Deman*, in the Four Masters, whence it is to be inferred that Deman may either have been another name for Rothectach, or that Keating has erred in stating this king's pedigree.

⁸³ *Twenty-one years.* The Annals above named say that his reign lasted for the incredible period of *a century and a half*. Dr. O'Donovan makes the following remark in his notes on these Annals, upon that extravagant statement: "The great length of this monarch's reign is evidently legendary, or rather a blunder

of transcribers. O'Flaherty refers to the Book of Lecan to show that he lived 150 years." That record, in part, almost agrees with the ancient poem cited by Keating, inasmuch as it makes him reign but twenty years.—*See O'Donovan's Four Masters.* That he neither lived nor reigned any very extraordinary number of years, can be proved by comparing his pedigree with those of his predecessor and successor. It will be seen thereby that it exceeds the former by four generations, while it coincides exactly with the latter.

1. MILEDH OF SPAIN.

2 Eber. K.	2 Ir.	2 Erimhon. K.
3 Conmael. K.	3 Eber.	3 Irial. K.
4 Eocaidh II. K.	4 Ebric.	4 Ethrial. K.
5 Nuadath.	5 Artri.	5 Follomhan. K.
6 Glas.	6 Sedna I. K.	6 Tighernmas. K.
7 Rosa.	7 Fiacaidh II. K.	7 Enboth.
8 Ferarda.	8 Ollamh Fodla. K.	8 Smirgoll.
9 Munemhon. K.	9 Slanoll. K.	9 Fiacaidh I. K.
10 Alldergoid. K.	10 Olild. K.	10 Aengus I. K.
11 Cas.		11 Maen.
12 Falbi.		12 Rothectach I. K.
13 Roan.		13 Dian.
14 Rothectach II. K.		14 Siorna. K.

The attributing of such an incredible age to the present monarch, may have resulted from making him the grandson of Rothectach I., son of Maen, who was slain by Sedna I., the grandfather of Ollamh Fodla, nearly 200 years before. The Four Masters show us that he was grandson *Deman* through Dian, without telling whether Deman was son, grandson, or great-grandson of Rothectach I. But it is useless to endeavor to reconcile such discrepancies in the records of so remote an age; for we are still in the dark ages of Irish mythology. We do not even know the man's real name; for, the one recorded means nearly the same thing with his cognomen (being derived from "Sir" (*Sheer*), long or eternal), and consequently it must have been given to him

when he had already become remarkable for his unusual longevity. It is nevertheless clear, that Siorna's accession to the throne and the restoration of the line of Erimhòn in his person, marked an important epoch in Irish primeval history, and that he was a great and powerful monarch. The Four Masters speak of him in the following terms: "It was this Siorna that wrested the government of Temhair from the Ulta (Ulstermen), i. e. the race of Ir. It was he that revenged upon them the death of Rothectach, son of Maen, whom they had slain at Cruachain; so that Berngal and Olild (his predecessors) fell by him. It was he that gained over the Ulstermen the battle of Arkeltair (one of the names of the large rath at Downpatrick);

alach" or the "Long-lived," from the longevity of the men of his day. He fell at Allinn,⁸⁴ by the hand of Rothectach, son of Roan, as the bard tells us in the duan which begins with the verse, "Eri, proud isle of kings," viz :

"Siorna held the reigns of power
For full thrice seven years,
Then fell amidst his slaughtered host
At Allind⁸⁴ by Rothectach."

ROTTECTACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3233.⁸⁵ Rothectach,⁸⁶ son of Roan, son of Falbi, son of Cas Kèd-cangnech, son of Aldergoid, son of Munemhon, son of Cas Clothach, son of Ferarda, son of Rothectach, son of Ros, son of Glas, son of Nuadath Degh-lamh, son of Eocaidh Faebarglas, son of Conmael, son of Eber, son of Miledh of Spain, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years, at the end of which he was burned up by lightning, at Dun Sobarki.

ELIM, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3240.⁸⁷ Elim,⁸⁸ son of the last king, Rothectach, and of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland but for one year, for he was slain by Gialleaidh, son of Olild Ol-caein.

the two battles of Sliabh Arbrech (unknown); the battle of Kenn-duin, in Assal (near Croom, co. Limerick); the battle of Moin Fochmigh, in Ui Falghi (*Offaly*), over the Martini and Ernai; the battle of Luachair (in Kerry); the battle of Clari (in the co. Limerick); the battle of Samhain (now Knock-sowna, not far from Bruce, co. Limerick); the battle of Cnock Ochair (unknown). An attack was made by him upon the Fomorians, in the territory of Meath. It was by him was fought the battle of Moin Trogaide (*Mone Trowee*), in Kianaeta (co. Londonderry), when Lugair, son of Lugaidh, of the race of Eber, had brought a force of the Fomorians into Ireland with their king, Kesarn by name. Siorna drew the men of Ireland to make battle against them at Moin Trogaide. As they were fighting the battle, a plague was sent upon them, of which Lugair and Kesarn perished, with their people,

and a countless number of the men of Ireland with them."

⁸⁴ *Allind* or *Aillim*, was the old name of a large rath on the hill now called Knockaudin, near Killellen, co. Kildare.

⁸⁵ A. M. 4170.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁶ ROTTECTACH II. It was by this Rothectach that chariots drawn by four horses were first used in Ireland.—*Id.* He was a very good king.—*Annals of Clonmacnoise*.

⁸⁷ A. M. 4177.

⁸⁸ ELIM II. He was surnamed Ollfinsucta (*Olfenaghta*), because, according to some, "snow with the taste of wine fell during his reign;" others say that he was called so because it snowed continually that year. Both are mere guesses of later writers to account for the cognomen which means "of the great white snow."—*See O'D. P. M.*

GIALLCALIDH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3241.⁸⁰ Giallcaidh (*Gweelghee*) son of Olild Ol-cacin, son of Siorna the Long-lived, of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for nine years, and then was slain at Magh-Muaide⁸⁰ by Art Imlech (*Imlagh*).

ART IMLECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3250.⁸¹ Art Imlech,⁸² son of Elim, son of Rothectach, son of Roan, son of Falbi, son of Cas Ked-cangnech, son of Alldergoid, of the line of Eber, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for twenty-two years,⁸³ at the end of which he was slain by Nuadath Finn, of Fál.

NUADATH FINN-FAIL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3272.⁸⁴ Nuadath Finn-Fail,⁸⁵ son of Giallcaidh, son of Olild Ol-cacin, son of Siorna Saegalach, of the line of Erimhòn, ruled Ireland seventy years, or for twenty, according to others. He was slain by Bresrigh, son of Art Imlech.

BRESRIGH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3292.⁸⁶ Bresrigh,⁸⁷ son of Art Imlech, son of Elim, son of Rothectach, of the line of Eber, ruled Ireland for nine years. During that time he vanquished the Fomorians in many battles. At last he was himself defeated and slain, by Eocaidh Apthach, at Carn Conludin.

EOCAIDH APHACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3301.⁸⁸ Eocaidh Apthach,⁸⁹ son of Finn, son of Olild, son of Flann Ruadh, son of Rothlan, son of Martin, son of Sith-kind, son of Riaghlan, son of Eocaidh Brec, son of Lugaidh, son of Ith, son of Breogan, was monarch of Ireland for one year. He

⁸⁰ A. M. 4186.

⁸¹ *Mag-i-Muilde (Moy-Mooee)*; either the plain of the river Moy, in North Connaught, or one near Knockmoy, co. Galway.

⁸² A. M. 4187.—*Four Masters*.

⁸³ ARR I. O'Halloran states that this was a very warlike prince, and that he built seven large duns, which he surrounded by ditches filled with water.

⁸⁴ *Twenty-two years*. Twelve years, according to the *Four Masters*.

⁸⁵ A. M. 4199.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁶ NUADATH I.

⁸⁷ A. M. 4239.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁸ *Bresrigh*. Bresrigh, (*Brassree*) means King Bres. He is called simply Bres, (*Brass*) by the *Four Masters*.

⁸⁹ A. M. 4248.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁰ EOCAIDH V. The annals of Clonmacnoise state that he was captain of the late king's guards.

got the surname, "Apthach," from the great number of people that died in Ireland during his reign. For, during that time a plague came upon the people of Ireland every month, by which multitudes of them were carried off. Hence was he called Eocaidh Apthach, for "apthach" (*appagh*) is the same as mortal or deadly. He was slain by Finn, son of Bratha.

FINN, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3302.¹⁰⁰ Finn, son of Bratha, son of Labraidh, son of Carbri, son of Ollamh Fodla,¹ of the line of Ir, ruled Ireland twenty years,² and then was slain by Sedna Innaraigh.

SEDNA INNARAIGH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3322.³ Sedna⁴ Innaraigh, son of Bresrigh, son of Art Imlech, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty years. He was called Sedna "Innaraigh," or Sedna "of the wages;" because he was the first king that gave wages to soldiers in Ireland. Simeon Brec caused him to be torn limb from limb.

SIMEON BREC, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 2342.⁵ Simeon Brec,⁶ son of Aedan Glas, son of Nuadath Finn-Fail, of the line of Erimhòn, ruled the Irish nation for six years, when he was vanquished by Duach Finn, who caused him to be torn asunder, in order to revenge his father's death.

DUACH FINN, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3348.⁷ Duach Finn,⁸ son of Sedna Innaraigh, son of Bresrigh, son of Art Imlech, of the line of Eber, held the sov-

¹⁰⁰ A. M. 4249.—*Four Masters*.

¹ *Ollamh Fodla*. The posterity of that great lawgiver had now given no monarch to Ireland for a century and a half. His accession and that of his predecessor, of the line of Ith, show that the rival races of Eber and Erimhòn had considerably weakened their strength in contending for sovereignty.

² *Twenty years*. Some say *thirty*. The *Four Masters* say *twenty-two*.

³ A. M. 4290.—*Four Masters*.

⁴ SEDNA II. The phrase "d'amh-saibh" (*d'awssiv*)," which is translated, *to soldiers* in the text, is by some understood, in this case, to mean people in general. If the word "anhas" can

bear the latter meaning, Sedna might have got his cognomen "Innaraigh" (*Innarree*), from his having encouraged commerce amongst his people. The annals of Clonmacnoise say that "this Sedna was a worthy and a noble king, and the first that rewarded men with chattel in Ireland." O'Halloran states that "he wrote a code of laws for the military, which was a standard for many succeeding ages."

⁵ A. M. 4291.—*Four Masters*.

⁶ Simeon Brec, i. e. the spotted or speckled Simeon.

⁷ A. M. 4297.—*Four Masters*.

⁸ DUACH I. The *Four Masters* say that he reigned ten years.

ereignty of Ireland for five years, and then fell by Muredach Bolgrach.

MUREDACH BOLGRACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3353.⁹ Muredach Bolgrach,¹⁰ son of Simeon Brec, son of Aedan Glas, of the line of Erinhòn, ruled Ireland for four years, and then was slain by Enna Derg.

ENNA DERG, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3357.¹¹ Enna Derg,¹² son of Duach Finn, son of Sedna Innaraigh, of the line of Eber, held possession of the sovereignty of Ireland for twelve years. He was called Enna Derg (that is, Enna the Red), from the redness of his complexion, i. e. of his face. It was in his reign that money was first struck in Ireland, at Argedros. He, and great numbers of people besides, died of the plague at Sliabh Mis.

LUGAIDH IARDONN, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3369.¹³ Lugaidh Iardonn,¹⁴ son of Enna Derg, son of Duach Finn, of the line of Eber, reigned over Ireland for nine years. He was called Lugaidh Iardonn, or Lugaidh the Dark-brown, from the dark-brown color of his hair; for "iar-dhonn" (*eer-yonn*) is the same as "dubh-dhonn" (*duv-yonn*), i. e. *dark-brown*. He was slain by Siorlamh, at Rath-Clochair.

SIORLAMH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3378.¹⁵ Siorlamh, son of Finn, son of Bratha, son of Labraidh, son of Carbri, son of Ollamh Fodla, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh of Spain, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for sixteen years. He was called Siorlamh,¹⁶ (*sheerlam*) from his extremely long hands, for they reached the ground when he stood erect. He was slain by Eocaidh Uarkeas (*oghee-oorkess*).

⁹ A. M. 4307.—*Four Masters*.

of this name is Lughaidh (*Looee*).

¹⁰ MUREDACH I. This name is now pronounced *Murreeagh*. The *Four Masters* say that Muredach reigned a year and a month.

¹⁵ A. M. 4329.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁶ *Long-hands*. The title, Siorlamh, would be more applicable in a figurative than a material sense. In the latter case, "lamh-flhada" (*Lauvadda*), or "Fad-lamhach, (*fadlauvagh*), should have been the term used. The story of this monarch's monstrous hands has all the appearance of being built upon a forced etymology given to his name.

¹¹ A. M. 3308.—*Four Masters*.

¹² ENNA II. This name is otherwise spelled Enda, and sometimes Edna, or Eadhna.

¹³ A. M. 4320.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁴ LUGAIDH I. The aspirated form

EOCAIDH UARKEAS, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3394.¹⁷ Eocaidh Uarkeas,¹⁸ son of Lugaidh Iardonn, son of Enna Derg, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twelve years. He was surnamed "Uarkeas," from a sort of rude wicker boats, (covered with hides,) that he was wont to carry with him in his fleets; for "ceas" (*kass*) is of the same meaning as canoe, or rather wicker boat. Now, this prince had spent two years at sea, whilst an exile from Ireland, and had been wont, during that time, to put bands of his followers into these wicker boats, for the purpose of plundering the coasts of whatever countries he touched upon, and of bringing off the booty therein to his fleet; and thus, from these "ceasa" (*cassa*) the surname Uarkeas was attached to him. He was slain by Eocaidh Fiadmuini and Conaing Beg-eglach.

EOCAIDH FIADMUINI AND CONAING BEG-EGLACH, ARD-RIGHA.

A. M. 3406.¹⁹ Eocaidh Fiadmuini²⁰ and Conaing Beg-eglach, the sons of Duach Temrach, son of Muredach Bolgrach, son of Simeon Brec, of the line of Erimhòn, held the joint sovereignty of Ireland for five years. The former of these princes was called Eocaidh Fiadmuini, (*Feemonie*) i. e., Eocaidh the Hunter, because he was extremely addicted to the pursuit and chase of wild beasts and game, in the wildernesses and forests. This Eocaidh fell by Lugaidh, son of Eocaidh Uarkeas.

LUGAIDH LAMH-DERG, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3411.²¹ Lugaidh Lamh-derg²² (*Looe Larv-yarg*), son of Eocaidh Uarkeas, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. He was called Lamh-derg, or Red-hand, because there was a red stain or spot on one of his hands. This Eocaidh was slain by Conaing Beg-eglach, or Conaing the Fearless.

CONAING BEG-EGLACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3418.²³ Conaing Beg-eglach, son of Duach Temrach,

¹⁷ A. M. 4344.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁸ EOCAIDH VI. The explanation given above for the surname "Uairechas" is very questionable. The word is not at all formed like a regular compound. It is a derivative form.

¹⁹ A. M. 4356.—*Four Masters*.

²⁰ EOCAIDH VII. The Four Masters call this prince and his brother the sons of Congal Cosgarach, i. e. Congal

the Vanquisher, whence Dr. O'Donovan conjectures that this was an *alias* name for Duach Temrach, or Duach of Tara.

²¹ A. M. 4362.—*Four Masters*.

²² LUGAIDH II. It is more likely to suppose that this prince was styled Red-Hand, from his bloody deeds, than for the reason which Dr. Keating has given.

²³ A. M. 4388.—*Four Masters*.

the son of Muredach Bolgrach, of the line of Erimhón, ruled the kingdom of Ireland for ten years. He was styled, "Beg-eglach," or the Fearless, because the slightest shade of fear never seized him in any fight. He was also a man of great prowess in the conflict, as the bard has sung in the following rann:

"Conaing, in conflicts of bright blades,
Who never dreaded mortal man,
Reigned for ten years o'er North and South,²⁴
And then he fell by Art Mac Lugaidh."

ART, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3438.²⁵ Art,²⁶ son of Lugaidh Lamh-derg, of the line of Eber, held the kingdom of Ireland for six years, and then he was slain by Duach Laghrach, son of Fiacaidh Tolgrach, and by Fiacaidh himself.

FIACAIDH TOLGRACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3434.²⁷ Fiacaidh²⁸ Tolgrach, son of Muredach Bolgrach, son of Simeón Bree, of the line of Erimhón, possessed the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years, and then he was slain in Borinn,²⁹ by Olild Finn, son of Art.

OLILD FINN, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3441.³⁰ Olild³¹ Finn, son of Art, son of Lugaidh Lamh-derg, son of Eocaidh Uarkeas, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for nine years, at the end of which he fell by Argedmar and by Fiacaidh, and by Duach, son of Fiacaidh, in the battle of Odba.³² Upon this, the Munstermen mustered under Eocaidh, son of Olild Finn, and under Lugaidh, son of Eocaidh Fiadmuini, so that they banished Argedmar beyond the sea, for the period of seven years.

EOCAIDH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3450.³³ Eocaidh,³⁴ son of Olild Finn, son of Art, son of Lugaidh Lamh-derg, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty

²¹ *O'er North and South.* In the original, "for gach leth," i. e. "over each half." The Four Masters say that he reigned twenty years.

²² A. M. 4389.

²³ ART II.

²⁴ A. M. 4395.—*Four Masters.*

²⁵ FIACAIDH IV. The epithet "Tolgrach," may mean proud or warlike, i. e. "Tolgtha." The Four Masters say that Fiacaidh reigned ten years.

²⁶ *Boirinn*—now called Burrin, a barony in the north of the county of Clare.

²⁷ A. M. 4405.—*Four Masters.*

²⁸ OLILD II. Olild reigned eleven years.—*Id.*

²⁹ *Oidb* (oidb) lay in Meath.

³⁰ A. M. 4416.—*Four Masters.*

³¹ EOCAIDH VIII. Ani-Clíach, (*Aw-nie-Cleeagh*), where Eocaidh was slain, is now called Knockany, in the county

of Ireland for seven years. And he did not yield the kingdom to Argedmar; but he made a peace with Duach Laghrach, which lasted until Argedmar returned from his banishment, when both, the latter chieftain and Duach Laghrach, combined their strength against Eocaidh, who fell by their hands, about that time, at the fair of Ani-Cliach.

ARGEDMAR, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3457.³⁵ Argedmar,³⁶ son of Siorlamh, son of Finn, son of Bratha, of the race of Ir, son of Miledh, held the kingdom of Ireland twenty-three years, when he fell by the hands of Duach Laghrach, and of Lugaidh, son of Eocaidh, son of Olild Finn.

DUACH LAGHRACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3480.³⁷ Duach Laghrach,³⁸ son of Fiacaidh Tolgrach, son of Muredach Bolgrach, son of Simeon Bree, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for ten years. He was called Laghrach (*Loyragh*), i. e. the Vindictive, or the Quick-avenging, from the word "laghra" or "ladhra" (*loyra*), which means, speedy vengeance; for he never indulged or pardoned any person, who had committed a deed of injustice, but made him render immediate retribution for his crime. It was thence that he acquired that surname. He was slain by Lugaidh Laghdi.

LUGAIDH LAGHDI, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3490.³⁹ Lugaidh Laghdi,⁴⁰ son of Eocaidh, son of Olild Finn, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years, after which he was slain by Aedh Ruadh, son of Badarn.

Limerick. The Annals of Clonmacnoise say that Argedmar and Duach came upon him unawares, at the fair, and there slew both him and many of the chieftains of Munster.

³⁵ A. M. 4423.—*Four Masters*.

³⁶ ARGEDMAR. This prince's name means "abounding in silver," i. e. "airgedmhar" (*Arguedvar*). The last cited authorities give him a reign of thirty years. O'Flaherty tells us that Argedmar had five sons: 1. Badarn, father of Aedh Ruadh; 2. Diman, father of Dithorba; 3. Fintan, father of Kimbaeth; 4. Fomor, from whom descended Rudraide, progenitor of the tribe of Rudraide, and Cas, from whom descended almost all the kings of Ulster

from Macha's death to the accession of Rudraide, A. M. 3792.

³⁷ A. M. 4453.—*Four Masters*

³⁸ DUACH II.

³⁹ A. M. 4469.—*Four Masters*.

⁴⁰ LUGAIDH III. With the aspirations, this king's name is spelled "Laghaidh Laighdhe" (*Loee Lawee*): the surname is otherwise spelled Læghidha (*Layha*), and its most probable meaning is "heroic," derived from "laech," a hero. Keating, in attributing the story of the fawn to this Lugaidh, confounds him with another chief of the same name and nearly similar surname, who lived about six hundred years after him, that is, with Lugaidh Laighdhé, son of Dari Doimhthech (*Duivhagh*), father of Mac-

The "Coir Anmann," or Book of Etymology, says that this Lugaidh Laghdi was one of the five Lugaidhs who were the sons of Dari Doimthech.⁴¹ What that book tells us is, that a certain Druid had prophesied to Dari Doimthech, that he should have a son, named Lugaidh, to whom the sovereignty of Ireland was destined; and that, after this, five sons were born in succession to Dari, each of whom he named Lugaidh. When these sons had grown up, Dari went to the same druid and asked of him which of his five Lugaidhs was to gain the kingdom of Ireland. "Go," said the druid, "on to-morrow, with thy five sons to Talti, and there will come a beautiful fawn into the fair, and the whole assemblage, and thy sons also, will immediately start upon her track; and then, whichever of thy sons may overtake and kill that fawn, it is he that shall be monarch of Ireland." Upon the morrow, the fawn came into the fair, and the men of Eri and the sons of Dari set off in chace of her, until they had thus reached Benn-Edair, where a magic mist was thrown between the men of Eri and the sons of Dari. The latter continued the chace thence to Dal-Moscorb⁴² of Leinster, where Dari overtook the fawn and killed her; and it is from that fawn that he has been styled "Lughaidh Laighdhe" (*Looe Lawe*), otherwise "Lughaidh Laeghdha" (*Layha*), i. e. Lugaidh of the fawn, or "laegh" (*layh*).

This is that Lugaidh, of whom the following wild fable⁴³ is related. It is told that, being once hunting in a wilderness, he met with a certain deformed hag, upon whom there was a magic mask; that this hag became his mistress, and that she afterwards took off her magic mask and then appeared to him in the form of a most beautiful young woman. By this hag, who became the mistress of Lugaidh Laghdi, Ireland is allegorically meant, inasmuch as he at first endured much pain and trouble on her account, but afterwards came into the enjoyment of much pleasure and happiness. Now, notwithstanding the fact that the "Coir Anmann" says that a certain Lugaidh Laghdi was the son of

niadh (*Macneeah*), and grandfather of Lugaidh, styled Maccou, who was king of Ireland, according to Keating, from A. D. 182 to A. D. 212. The confusion must have resulted from the extravagant love of the Irish bards for alliterative epithets, or Keating's carelessness.

⁴¹ *Dari Doimthech* was otherwise called *Dari Sir-chrechtach* (*Sheer-chraghtagh*), i. e. *the incessant plunderer*, or *the widely-plundering*. From him the Corca Luighe took the name of *Darini*, or *Dairfhini*, i. e. the "finè" or tribe of *Dari*. He was cotemporary with *Dergthini* (*De kinn*), otherwise called *Corb*

Olum, from whom the rival tribe of *Dergthini* took their title. According to the pedigrees of the Eberian tribes, *Dergthini*, or *Corb Olum*, was the sixteenth in descent from the present monarch.

⁴² *Dal Moscorb*—called otherwise *Dal Mescorb* and *Dal Mesincorb*. A sept along the east of the present county of Wicklow, was thus denominated.—O'D.

⁴³ For the poem, upon which this fable is founded, see the Genealogy of the Corca Luighe, published in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society for 1849, Appendix A., p. 66.

Dari Doimthech, still I do not suppose that it was the same Lugaídh Laghdi,⁴⁴ who was king of Ireland, that is mentioned in that work, and also notwithstanding the Druids having prophesied, that Lugaídh Laghdi, son of Dari Doimthech, should be king of Ireland.

AEDH RUADH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3497.⁴⁵ Aedh Ruadh,⁴⁶ son of Badarn, son of Argedmar, son of Siorlamh, son of Finn, son of Bratha, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and reigned for twenty-one years, at the end of which he was drowned at Esrúadh.⁴⁷

DITHORBA, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3518.⁴⁸ Dithorba, son of Deman, son of Argedmar, son of Siorlamh, son of Finn, son of Bratha, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, assumed the sovereignty, and reigned over Ireland for

⁴⁴ *The same Lugaídh Laghdi.*—In fact, the poem upon which the fable is founded expressly states, that Lugaídh Laighdhe, or Laeghdha, son of Dari Doimthech, never became king of Ireland. Neither, according to it, did the enchanted lady become his mistress. She is therein made to say to him :

"I say to thee, O mild youth,
With me arch-kings cohabit;
I am that majestic slender damsel,
The sovereignty of Alba and Eri.
To thee I have revealed myself to-night;
That is all; but with me thou shalt not cohabit;
Thou shalt have a son, honored in him,
He is the man with whom I shall dwell.
The name of thy son, the mode is good,
Shall be Lugaídh Mor; he shall be a royal son,
For we have been longing much for him,
He shall be a druid, a prophet, and a poet."

⁴⁵ The prophecy which Dari told to them regarding Maceo, the comely, was:
'*Maceo shall gain the hill of B'eagh (Tara),
With Alba and Delightful Eri.*'"
Genealogy of Corca Luighe, pp. 75, 76.

This extract, from that ancient poem, proves that Lugaídh of the Fawn was never king of Ireland, and that there was no foundation whatever for making Lugaídh III. son of Eochaidh VIII., to be the son of Dari Doimthech.

⁴⁶ A. M. 4470.—*Four Masters.*

⁴⁷ AEDH I. This king, Aedh Ruadh (*Ayh Rooa*), or Aedh the Red, ruled al-

ternately, with his two successors, for periods of seven years each. They thus kept the sovereignty in their possession for 63 years. Keating, by a strange license, sets them down as having reigned, each 21 consecutive years. The Four Masters make Aedh resign the kingdom at the end of seven years, "for," say they, "there were injunctions upon him to resign it to Dithorba at the end of that time; and on Dithorba, also, to resign it to Kimbaeth; and so in succession to the end of their lives. The reason they made this agreement, was because they were the sons of three brothers."

⁴⁷ *Esrúadh*, otherwise Es or Eas-Aedha Ruadh (*Assayrooa*), i. e. the Waterfall of Red Aedh, is now called Assaroo, or the Salmon-leap, a cataract on the river Erne, at Ballyshannon. As each of Aedh's colleagues had possessed the sovereignty twice, for their periods of seven years, and as he was himself in possession of it for the third time when he died, it must appear clear that Keating has antedated his death by twenty-eight years.

⁴⁸ A. M. 4477.—*Four Masters.* The commencement of Dithorba's first septennial period.

twenty-one years, until he fell in Corann, by the three Cuans,⁴⁹ namely, Cuan Mara, Cuan Moighi, and Cuan Slebi.

KIMBAETH, ARD-RIGH

A. M. 3539.⁵⁰ Kimbaeth, son of Finntan, son of Argedmar, son of Siorlamh, of the race of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-one years (or for twenty-eight years,⁵¹ according to some others), and then he died of the plague at Ard-Macha.

, MACHA MONG-RUADH, ARD-RIGHAN.⁵²

A. M. 3559.⁵³ Macha Mong-Ruadh (of the red tresses), daughter of Aedh Ruadh, son of Badarn, son of Argedmar, son of Siorlamh, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, then assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, which she held for seven years, until she was slain by Rectaidh Righ-Derg.

It was in her time that Emhain Macha was built. The following is the reason why it was called Eman Macha, to wit: there were then three kings reigning over the Ulta (Ulidians), namely, Aedh Ruadh, son of Badarn, from whom Esruadh has been called; Dithorba, son of Deman, dwelling at Uisnech, in Meath; and Kimbaeth, son of Finntan, at Finnabair;⁵⁴ and it was at the house of this latter prince that Iugani Mor, son of Eocaidh Buadach, was reared. These princes reigned in alternate succession, each for the period of seven years, until they had all three enjoyed the royal power three times. And the first of them that died was Aedh Ruadh, who left no posterity after him but Macha, who was his only daughter. Upon her father's death, Macha claimed her right to the alternate succession, as his representative, but Dithorba and his sons replied, that the sovereign power

⁴⁹ *Three Cuans*.—These were his three nephews, according to O'Flaherty. It was after his banishment into Connaught, by Macha, that he fell by their hands. Cuan Mara, means Cuan of the Sea; Cuan Slebi, or Sleibhi (*Slaivie*), Cuan of the Mountain; and Cuan Moighi (*Woye*), Cuan of the Plain. Corann is in the county of Sligo.

⁵⁰ A. M. 4184.—*Four Masters*. The commencement of Kimbaeth's first septennial period.

⁵¹ *Twenty-eight years*. That is counting the seven years he reigned conjointly with Macha.

⁵² *Ard-righan*, i. e. Arch-queen, pronounced *Aurd-reegan*. This virago

was the only female that ever ruled the Gaelic nation. The subjects of Queen Medb, of Connaught, were chiefly *Fer-Bol'gs*.

⁵³ A. M. 4540.—*Four Masters*.

⁵⁴ *Finnabair*. There are four places of this name within the confines of ancient Meath. They are all now called Fennor, a name derived from the Irish "Fionnabhair" (*Finnooir*). 1st. There is Fennor on the Boyne, near Slane, in Meath. 2d. Fennor, in the parish of Ardcaith, also in Meath. 3d. Fennor, in Tebtha or Tefia, in Westmeath. 4th. Fennor or Fionnabhair na n-Inghean (*Finnooir-nan-inneen*), i. e. of the *damselfs*, in the parish of Donore, in Meath.

should never be delivered up by them into the hands of any woman. Upon this, there was a battle fought between them and Macha, in which Macha bore away the victory from them, and assumed the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. Then Dithorba died, leaving after him five sons, whose names were Baeth, Bedach, Bras, Uallach, and Borbeas; and these demanded the kingdom of Ireland for themselves, according to the usage of their forefathers, but, upon this, Macha replied, that she would not yield the sovereignty to them, but that she would give a battle in its stead. A battle then was fought between them, in which Macha was again victorious. The sons of Dithorba now fled for safety into dark and lonely forests; and Macha took Kimbaeth as her husband,⁵⁵ and as commander over her warriors. She then disguised herself as a leper, by rubbing the dough of rye over her face, and went, in person, in pursuit of the sons of Dithorba. These she found in a wild forest in Borenn,⁵⁶ cooking a

⁵⁵ *As her husband.* The Four Masters say that Kimbaeth reigned seven years, as the husband of Macha. O'Flaherty tells us that he was the first king that dwelt in Emhain Macha, which he built most superbly, and which afterwards became the residence of the Ulidian kings.

The building of Emhain forms an era or fixed point in Irish history. Thenceforth the dates of the events recorded, the reigns of the kings and their consecutive order, become less uncertain. Tighernach, who died in the year 1088, and who is the most accurate of the Irish annalists, says that all the monuments of the Scoti, to the time of Kimbaeth, are uncertain. "Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaeth incerta erant." With this O'Flaherty agrees, and he has shown in the second part of his *Ogygia*, that the periods of the Ulster kings, from Cimbaeth (Kimbaeth) to the destruction of Emania, are supported by accurate records; but he confesses that the periods preceding Cimbaeth is not so supported.—*O'Donovan's Notes to the Four Masters.*

Too much stress has been laid upon the above-cited admission of Tighernach, and many would reject the events recorded previous to the building of Emania, on the strength thereof. *Uncertain* they certainly are, as the historic events of every nation had been previous to

the adoption of a fixed system of Chronology; that is they are uncertain, in date, and uncertain in consecutive arrangement. There is also much uncertainty as to how far Mythologic legend and Druidic allegory have been blended with plain matter of fact. But these great features of our early history, that have left indelible impressions upon the national memory, and even upon the physical appearance of the country, are not to be rejected because Tighernach has qualified them as uncertain. The same phrase might be applied to the history of Rome, Athens, or any other antique nation. The existence of Romulus and Remus, and even the time they lived, are both very uncertain. It is, also, uncertain how far truth is blended with fable in the legends of Rhea Sylvia and of Lupa, but no person, except one who is of a frame of mind to doubt of his own existence, will deny that these represent real historic facts and persons; or that, however obscure their legends be in themselves, they represent those facts more truly and clearly than can now be done by substituting, in their stead, any other hypothesis, founded upon every-day experience. So it is of the events before Kimbaeth, and of many of those after his time.—*Ed.*

⁵⁶ *Borenn.* This forest lay, very probable, in a district called Borenn, in Ulidia.

wild boar. The sons of Dithorba then asked her the news, and gave her a portion of the meat. She upon this told them all that she had to communicate. After this, one of the brothers, charmed by the brightness of her eyes, followed her into a distant part of the forest, and there she left him bound in fetters. She then returned to the others, who, thereupon, demanded of her what had become of their brother. Macha replied, that he was unwilling to meet them, being ashamed of having been smitten by the bright glances of a leper. "He needed it not," said they, "for we have been all captivated by the beautiful lustre of your eyes." They then vie, one with the other, in paying court to the seeming leper, and she seems to listen to each of them, and thus she succeeded in alluring them into solitudes, where she bound them in fetters, as she had their brother. In this manner she was able to place them all in bonds, and to bring them tied together⁵⁷ to Emhain Macha, into the presence of the men of Uladh. She then asked the chieftains of Uladh what retribution she should exact from her captives. They with one accord declared that she should have them put to death. "Not so," said she, "for that would be against the law,⁵⁸ but let them be made slaves of, and condemned to build a fortress for me, which shall be forever henceforth the capital city of this province." Thereupon Macha took out the golden brooch which fastened her mantle round her neck, and with it she measured the site of the rath⁵⁹ or fortress, which the sons of Dithorba were to be compelled to build. Emhain,⁶⁰ then the rath was called (as if Eomhuin), for "eo" (*yo*) is a name for a brooch or pin, and "muin" (*mwin*) is the same as "braighe," (*brawee*) i. e. the neck; or it may be so called from Emhain Macha, the wife of Cronn, son of Adnaman, who was forced, while in a state of pregnancy, to run against the horses

⁵⁷ *Tied together.* O'Flaherty rejects this extravagant legend altogether. His words are: "We reject as fabulous the captivity of the sons of Dithorba, and that the building of Emania became the ransom of their liberty. Kimbaeth was the first founder of Emania, and was the first who resided there."--*Ogygia.*

⁵⁸ *Against the law.* The Brehon law did not sanction the putting of criminals to death.

⁵⁹ *The rath.* The name of this rath is now corrupted from the Irish "An Eamhain" (*an avwin*), to Navan Fort. It is a very large rath, situated about two miles to the west of Arunagh.

⁶⁰ *Emhain.* The derivation given

above, though sanctioned by Cormac's Glossary, is nothing more than one of those bardic puns already noticed. All that can be deduced from it is, that the meaning of the word "Emhain" had become obsolete, before such a guess had been made. In Magcoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, the following notice of Emhain occurs: "In the same (rath) she (Macha and the kings of Ulster, her successors) kept their palace and place of residence for the space of 855 years. It was built 450 before the birth of Christ, and was razed for spite of the Clanna Rudraide by the Three Collas, sons of Eocaidh Dublèn, who was son of Carbri Lificar."

of Concobar, king of Ulster, which she outran, and then at the goal gave birth to a son and a daughter. She gave her curse to the people of Ulster, whence it came to pass that they were continually afflicted with the pains of labor, during nine successive reigns, namely, from the time of Concobar to the reign of Mal, son of Rochraide.

RECTAIDH RIGH-DERG, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3566.⁶¹ Rectaidh Righ-Derg, son of Lugaidh Laighdi, son of Eocaidh, son of Olild Finn, son of Art, son of Lugaidh Lamh-derg, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty years. He was called Rectaidh Righ-derg (*Raghtai Reeyarg*), or Rectaidh of the Red Arm, because his upper arm was "red;" and it was Iugani Mor that slew him in revenge for his foster-mother,⁶² Macha Mong-Ruddh.

IUGANI MOR, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3586.⁶³ Iugani Mor, son of Eocaidh Buadach, son of Duach Laghrach, of the line of Erimhòn, ruled Ireland for forty years (or for thirty, according to other authorities). He was called Iugani Mor, or Iugani the Great, because his empire was great, for he had reduced all the western isles of Europe under his sway. He had twenty-five children, twenty-two sons and three daughters. When these children had grown up, each of them had his own distinct retinue of followers. And when they were making the free-tour of Ireland, it was their wont, that wherever one of them had quartered himself on any particular place, another should quarter himself there on the next; and thus, whithersoever they directed their march, they succeeded one another incessantly, until all the provisions of that district were consumed by themselves and their followers. When the men of Eri perceived this, they went to make their complaint to King

⁶¹ A. M. 4547.—*Four Masters*. The line of Ir, i. e. the race of Carbri, son of Ollamb Fodla, had, according to this authority, now ruled Ireland for 77 years, to the exclusion of the races of Eber and Erimhòn, when Rectaidh wrested the sovereignty from Macha.

⁶² *Foster-Mother*. It was Kimbaeth and Macha that had fostered Iugani Mor. "In those days," Mageoghegan tells us, "it was the custom to bring up noblemen's children in princes' and great men's houses, and forever after they would call them their fosterers

and love them as well as their own natural father."

According to O'Flaherty, Rectaidh of the Red Arm invaded Alba, which country he subdued by the aid of Fere and Iboth, his generals. But, he adds that the Fere, who fought under king Rectaidh, must not be mistaken for Fergus, son of Ere, who did not live for many centuries after. Whoever that Fere was, he obtained no permanent dominion in Alba nor did he transmit any possessions therein to his posterity.—*See Ogygia*.

⁶³ A. M. 4567.—*Four Masters*.

Iugani; and it was mutually agreed with him, that Ireland should be divided into twenty parts, and that one distinct part of these should be given to each of his children, and that none should be permitted to enter upon the portion of the other, as the bard records in the following rann:

“Of proud and august Iugani
All Banba was the plenteous dwelling—
In five-and-twenty even shares
His sons apportioned Eri’s lands.”

Here follow the names of the children of Iugani, and of the portion of land that each of them possessed; and first of the sons:

1. Cobthach Cael-Breàgh had his portion in Breàgh or Bregia. 2. Cobthach Murthemni, in Murthemni (or Louth). 3. Laegari Lore, in Lifi (by the river Liffe). 4. Fulni, in Febh (Magh Fea, in Carlow). 5. Nar, in Magh Nair. 6. Raighni, in Magh Raighni (in Ossory). 7. Narb, in Magh Nairb. 8. Kinga, in Argedros (on the Nore). 9. Tair, in Magh Tarra. 10. Triath, in Tretherni. 11. Sen, in Luachair (in Kerry). 12. Bard, in Cluain-corca-Oiché (in Ui Fidgenti). 13. Fergus Gnaei, in the land of the (Southern) Desies. 14. Orb, in Aidni (on the borders of Clare and Galway). 15. Maen, in Maen-Magh (in Galway). 16. Sanb, in Magh Aei (in Roscommon). 17. Mal,⁶⁴ in Cliu Mail (in Coshlea, county of Limerick). 18. Eocaidh, in Seol-magh (now the barony of Clare, in Galway). 19. Latharn, in Latharna (in Antrim). 20. Marc, in Midhe (or Meath). 21. Laegh, in Line (in Antrim). 22. Corand,⁶⁵ in Corann (in Sligo). Here follow the three daughters and their shares: 1. Ailbi, in Magh-Ailbi (in Kildare). 2. Faifi,⁶⁶ in Magh-Femen (Iffa and Offa, in Tipperary), and 3. Muresg, in Magh-Murisgi.

And it was according to this division, that rents and duties were paid to every king that reigned in Ireland, for the space of three hundred years, namely, from the time of Iugani to that of the provincialists or Pentarchs that flourished when Eocaidh Feidlech was king of Ireland; as the bard has sung in the following rann:

“Three hundred well-marked years had passed,
When five provincial chiefs arose,
Who, scorning his too partial rules,
Between them share Iugani’s land.”

By Eocaidh Feidlech, the Fifths or provinces of Ireland were divided amongst the following persons: 1, the province of Leinster

⁶⁴ *Mal*, otherwise, Muredach Mal.

⁶⁶ *Faifi*, otherwise called Aeifi.

⁶⁵ *Corand*, called Carbri in the notes Magh-Femen is also called Magh-Aeifi (*Moy Eefie*.)

he gave to Rosa, son of Fergus Fargi; the two provinces of Munster, he gave to Tighernach Tédbennach and to Degaidh; the province of Connacht he gave to three persons, namely, to Fidaeh son of Fiach, to Eocaidh Alat and to Tinni son of Curaidh. Nevertheless, the division made amongst the children of Iugani held good until all his sons had died out, without posterity, with the exception of two, namely, Cobthach Cacl-Breàgh and Laegari Lore, from whom two are descended all that now exist of the race of Erimhòn.

Iugani Mor was slain by his own brother, namely, by Badbhadh (*Boivgha*), son of Eocaidh Buadach, in Tellach-an-Cosgair.⁶⁷ But the fratricide enjoyed the kingdom of Ireland but one day and a half, when Laegari Lore slew him in vengeance for his father.

LAEGARI LORC, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3586.⁶⁸ Laegari⁶⁹ Lore, son of Iugani Mor, son of Eocaidh Buadach, son of Duach Laghraeh, of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for two years. Kesair, daughter to the king of France, the wife of Iugani Mor, was the mother of this king and of Cobthach Cacl-Breàgh. He was called Laegari Lore, because

⁶⁷ *Tellach-an-Cosgair*. O'Flaberty calls the place where Iugani was slain Kill-Droichead on the banks of the Boyne. The Four Masters record his death at A. M. 4606, "after he had been fully forty years king of Ireland, and of the whole of the west of Europe, as far as the Muir Toirrian (the Tyrrian, according to others, the Mediterranean sea). It was this Iugani that exacted oaths, by all the elements, visible and invisible, from the men of Ireland in general, that they would never contend for the sovereignty of Ireland with his children or his race." "Though the building of the royal palace of Emania," says Moore, in his History of Ireland, "was assumed as a technical epoch by chronologers, the accession of Hugony the Great (Iugani Mor) as he was called, proved, in a political point of view, an era still more remarkable; as, by his influence with the assembled States at Tara, he succeeded in annulling the Pentarchy; and moreover, prevailed on the four (five) provincial kings to surrender their right of succession to his family, exact-

ing of them a solemn oath, by all things visible and invisible, not to accept of a supreme monarch from any other line. For the Pentarchal government, this monarch substituted a division of the kingdom into twenty-five districts, or dynasties; thus ridding himself of the rivalry of provincial royalty, and at the same time widening the basis of the monarchial or rather the aristocratical power. The abjuration of their right of succession, which had been extorted from the minor kings, was, as might be expected, revoked on the first opportunity that offered; but the system of government established in place of the Pentarchy was continued down nearly to the commencement of our era; when, under the monarch Achy Feidloch (Eocaidh Fedleach), it was rescinded and the ancient form restored." By some, Iugani is supposed not to have altered the old division of the country, but to have subdivided each "fifth" into five minor districts.

⁶⁸ A. M. 4608.—*Four Masters*.

⁶⁹ LAEGARI II., otherwise, *Laeghaire* (*Layerie*).

the word "lore" means the same thing as "Finnghail" (*finneel*) i. e. parricide on account of his having committed a parricide, in murdering Badbeadh, son of Eoeaidh Buadach. It was thence that the surname Lore got attached to his name. It was by his own brother Cobthach Cael-m-Breagh that Laegari Lore was slain at Dinn-righ on the banks of the Berba (now the Barrow). Cobthach was pining away, through envy of Laegari's being in possession of the sovereignty of Ireland; and when Laegari had heard that he was unwell, he came to visit him attended by an armed guard. When Cobthach saw him, he said that it was a sad thing, that his brother should always be so suspicious of him, as not to come into his presence unless attended by armed men. "Nevertheless," said Laegari, "my next visit shall be made unattended by any such escort. He, thereupon, bid farewell to Cobthach. As to Cobthach, he advised with a Druid, who dwelt with him, as to how he should contrive to murder his brother. "What you have to do," said the Druid, "is to feign yourself dead, and to get into a litter, as if really so. Then let Laegari be informed thereof, and he will come to see you with few attendants, and upon coming into the place where you lie, he will lean over your body in lamenting you. Then stab him in the abdomen with your dirk, and, thus, he shall be slain by you. When Cobthach had accomplished the murder of Laegari, after this manner, he slew also Olild Ani, his brother's son, and then after perpetrating these deeds, he recovered his health. He also commanded a young child, the son of Olild Ani, to be brought into his presence, and there he forced him to eat a portion of the heart of his father and another of that of his grandsire. He also compelled him to swallow a mouse. In consequence of the disgust that seized the child at such usage, he lost his speech altogether; whereupon Cobthach permitted him to be carried away.⁷⁰

This child, who was called Maen, then went to Corea Dubni,⁷¹ where he dwelt awhile with Scorriath, the king of that country. Thence he passed to France,⁷² with nine followers, though some antiquaries say, that Armenia was the country to which he went. His followers having told that he was heir to the kingdom of Ireland, it came to pass, through that, that the French king made

⁷⁰ The Irish annals are silent about the horrible details of the manner in which Cobthach murdered his brother Laegari Lore and his nephew Olild, as well as about his disgusting cruelty towards Maen. The story recorded by Keating must, then, be regarded as the invention of some bard hostile to the Ui Neill race. It is not likely, that so cruel a monster, as Cobthach is here

represented, would have spared the child's life, if ever he had him in his power.

⁷¹ Corea Dubni, now Coreaguiny, in Kerry.

⁷² France is, as usual, used in this place most incorrectly for Gallia or Gaul. There was yet no country called France.

him a captain over his household guards; and he became very successful in this position; insomuch that his fame and glory were loudly spoken of in Ireland, and for that reason, many of the men of Ireland followed him to France, and remained there with him for a long time.

COBTHACH CAEL BREAGH ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3618.⁷³ Cobthach Cael Breagh, son of Iugani Mor, son of Eocaidh Buadach, of the line of Erimhòn governed the kingdom of Ireland for thirty years (or for fifty according to some people). He was called Cobthach Cael-Breagh from a severe distemper that preyed upon him through envy of his brother Laegari, who possessed the kingdom before him. A consumption had come upon him, so that all his flesh and blood wasted away, and that he became so lean, that people called him Cobthach, the slender, or thin, i. e. "cael." Then Magh-Breagh (*Moy Bra*) was the name of the place where he lay sick. It was thence that he got that name which signifies Cobthach "the lean man of Breagh." This Cobthach was killed by Labraidh Loringsech (*Lavrai Leengshagh*), son of Olild Ani, on a Christmas eve at Dinn-Righ. He slew him in vengeance for his father and his grandfather. On this deed, a bard has left the following verse:

"With full ranks came the sailor Labraidh
And slew gaunt Cobthach at Dinn-righ.⁷⁴
'Twas from his sea-borne Laignian host
That fair Lagenia had her name."

LABRAIDH LOINGSECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3648.⁷⁵ Labraidh Loingsech, son of Olild Ani, son of Laegari Lore, son of Iugani Mor of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for eighteen years,⁷⁶ at the end of which he was slain by Melgi Molbthach (*Melgui Molfagh*), son of Cobthach Cael Breagh.

The manner in which he was allured to return to Ireland was this: Morriath, daughter of Scorriath, king of the territory of Fer More, in West-Munster, had conceived a violent passion for him, which was inflamed by the greatness of his glory, and by the fame of his deeds. This lady equipped the harper Craftin,

⁷³ A. M. 4609.—*Four Masters*. Cobthach Cael Breagh reigned fifty years, according to the authority just cited. The name is pronounced either *Cowhagh* or *Coffagh*. It means victorious.

⁷⁴ DINN-RIGH. He was slain at this place in A. M. 4658, with thirty kings about him.—*See Four Masters*.

⁷⁵ A. M. 4677.—*Id.*

⁷⁶ *Eighteen years*. The *Four Masters* say nineteen.

an eminent musician, that flourished in Ireland at that time, and sent him to France after her lover, furnishing him with many valuable jewels for Maen (i. e. Labraidh) and with an impassioned lay, wherein she made known to that prince the strength of the love which she bore him.

When the musician had arrived in France, and had come into the presence of Maen, he played an enchanting, fairy strain upon his harp, and to it he sang the love-lay, which Morriath had composed for her hero. Thereupon, Maen became so delighted at seeing the musician Craftini, that he exclaimed, that both the lay and the melody were sweet to his ears. When his companions and Craftini had heard this, they prayed the king of France to give him an auxiliary force, in order that he might recover his own land. And that king gave him a sufficient host, to wit, two thousand two hundred warriors, and ships to transport them to Ireland. With these they set out upon the sea, and nothing further is told of them, until they get into harbor at Loch-Garman,⁷⁷ (i. e. Wexford.) Upon landing here, they were told that Cobthach was then at Dinn-righ, attended by a large number of the Irish nobles. Having heard this, Maen marched day and night upon Dinn-righ, which he took by storm, and put Cobthach and the nobles, who were in his company, to the sword.⁷⁸

A Druid, who was then in that fortress, demanded who had done that deed of slaughter. "The Mariner," (i. e. an loingsech,) replied a man without. "Does that mariner speak?" asked the Druid. He does, (i. e. labhraidh, *he speaks*,) replied the other; and from this circumstance the phrase "labhraidh loingsech,"⁷⁹ (*lavrai*, or *lourai leengshagh*,) which means "the mariner speaks," has ever since been attached as a cognomen to Maen. It was by

⁷⁷ Moore, guessing at the meaning of the name Loch Garman, (Wexford,) which is properly Loch g-Carman, i. e. the Lake of Carma, has translated it *the harbor of the Germans*, thus leading one to suppose that these auxiliaries of Labraidh were Germans; but, as from his ignorance of Irish he could form no judgment of his own upon the meanings of Irish words, this surmise of his must be held to be utterly valueless.

⁷⁸ The manner of Cobthach's death is differently told in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, translated by Maheoghagan. They relate that Cobthach, in the end, made friendship with Labraidh, whom he had long kept in banishment, and that he granted the province of Leinster to him and to his heirs forever;

and that, after this, King Cobthach was invited to a feast by his (grand) nephew, Laegari, and there was treacherously burnt, with thirty Irish princes, after a reign of *seventeen* years.

⁷⁹ *Labhraidh*. We have already met this word used as a proper name amongst the Gaels; and there is, then, no reason to suppose for it, in this instance, the absurd derivation above given. It is exactly of the same formation with the names "*cochaidh*" derived from "*ech*," *a horse*; *Fiachaidh* from "*Fiach*," *a raven*, *Lughaidh*, and several others. If the term be Irish, and come from the root "*labhair*," i. e. *speak thou*, it must mean, in its primary sense, *the speaker*, or *the eloquent man*.

this Maen that those broad blue lances, called "laighni,"⁸⁰ (*loynie*,) were first made in Ireland—"laighni," indeed, means the same thing as "slegha," (*shlähä*,) i. e. spears or lances, furnished with broad blue heads made of iron. And it is from these broad-headed lances, that the people of the principality of Galian or Galeon, which is now called Laighen, (*Loyen*,) or Leinster, have received the name of Laighnigh, (*Loynih*,) or Lagenians.

When Labraidh Loingsech had slain Cobthach Cael Breagh, and had established himself in the full possession of Ireland, he went in company with the harper, Craftini, to visit Morriath, his lady-love, who had sent this same Craftini after him to France; and he married her, and she continued his queen during his whole lifetime.

The reason why Maen, who is called Labraidh Loingsech, went to France, was on account of his relationship to the French king; for, as we have already said, the daughter of a king of France had been the wife of Iugani Mor and the mother of his sons, Laegari Lore and Cobthach Cael Breagh; and Labraidh Loingsech was the grandson of Laegari Lore; and it was through this relationship that he came to place himself under the protection of the French monarch. Another reason why he betook himself to France, rather than to any other country, was because there existed a special league of amity and friendship between the Lagenians and the French. Each of the provinces of Ireland had formed a similar league with some foreign country. Thus the Ui Neill were allied to the people of Alba, (i. e. the Scotch;) the Munstermen to the Saxons; the Ulstermen to the Spaniards; the Connaughtmen to the Britons, (i. e. the Welsh;) and the Leinstermen to the French. It is so that Seán (John Mac Torna O Mael-Conari, Chief Professor and Arch-Ollamh of the History of Ireland tells us, in the following verses:

" Friends like itself each tribe has found,
Though all our clans one kindred claim;
Thus Niall's race loves Alba's heights,
And Munster holds the Saxon dear.

" And Spain is loved by Uladh's tribes,
Now scattered wide through Eri's lands;
In Britons Connacht finds allies:
To France Lagenia turns for friends."

From these friendly relations between each of the provinces

⁸⁰ *Laighni*. *Laighe*, (*Loye*,) which seems to be the root of *Laighen*, is still used in parts of Ireland, as the name of the long narrow spade, used in that country. *Sleghan*, (*Sulaan*,) obviously a diminutive of *Slegh*, (*Shläh*,) is the name of a sharp-edged, spade-like, and rather formidable instrument, used by the Irish peasants in cutting peat or turf.

and the countries just mentioned, there sprung up a certain resemblance of manners severally between them, which had arisen from their alliances and mutual affection.

The reader must now be made aware, that all the true Lagenians, of the race of Erimhòn, are the descendants of this Labràdh Loingsiach, with the single exception of the clan of O'Nuallain, (or O'Nolan,) which is descended from Cobthach Cael Brèagh. The following are the principal family names amongst the Lagenians, to wit, O'Connor Falghi, with the branches that have sprung therefrom; O'Cavanagh; O'Toohill (or Toole); O'Brinn (or Byrne); Mac Gilla-Patrick or Fitzpatrick; O'Dunn; O'Dimasaigh (or Dempsey); O'Dwyer; O'Ryan; and all the Septs that trace their origin to any of these names. The chief part of the Leinster clans are descended from Cathacir Mor, (*Cáheer Morr.*) However, the clan of Mac Gilla-Patrick does not draw its origin from that king; for the race of Mac Gilla-Patrick branched off from the Lagenian stock at Bresal Brec, son of Fiacaidh Fobric, the fourteenth ancestor from Cathacir upwards. This Bresal had two sons, namely, Lugaidh Lothfínn and Conla. The principality of Leinster was divided between these two, and what lies from the Barrow eastwards fell to Lugaidh and to his posterity, and the part that lies westward, from the Barrow to Slighe Dala (*Shlee Dawla*) fell to Conla. Of these sons, and of this division made between, these chiefs we find the following testimony in the duan which begins thus, "The blessed Story of the Saints of Fàl:"

"Lugaidh and Conla, generous hearts,
Were the sons of mighty Bresal Brec;
From Conla of wounds the Osraide came,
And of Laighen, Lugaidh was the sire."

From Lugaidh descended the O'Dwyers also, who had branched off from the stock of Cathacir Mor, in the fifth generation before him. Cathacir Mor was the son of Feidlimidh Firurglas, son of Cormac Gelta-gaeth, son of Niacorb, son of Cucorb. Carbi Cluthear, from whom the O'Dwyers are sprung, was the son of Cucorb, the last named of these. Again, it was from Nathi, son of Crimthann, son of Enna Kennselach, the seventh generation from Cathacir downwards, that the O'Ryans sprang.

Cobthach Cael Brèagh was the other son of Iugani Mor, who left a progeny after him. From him are descended all the race of Coun, both those tribes that draw their origin from Fiacaidh Srabthini and Eocaidh Doimlèn, and every other kindred branch of the posterity of Conn, as we shall hereafter set down in giving the genealogy of the sons of Miledh.

⁸¹ It is related of Labraidh Loinsech, that his ears were shaped like those of a horse; on which account every person that cut his hair was instantly put to death, in order that neither he nor anybody else alive should be cognizant of that blemish. It was the habit of this king to get his hair cut once every year; that is, he was wont to get all the hair that had grown below his ears clipped off. Lots were cast, in order to determine the person who should perform this service, because the person upon whom that fell was put to death. The lot once fell upon the only son of an aged widow that dwelt near the king's residence. She, upon hearing thereof, instantly betook herself to the king's presence, and besought him not to put her only son to death, as he was the only child she had. The king then promised to spare her son provided he would keep secret whatever he might see, and would never disclose it to any one until the hour of his death. After this, when the youth had cut the king's hair, the burden of that secret so operated upon his mind and body, that he had to lie down on the bed of sickness, and no medicine could have any salutary effect on him. When he had been thus wasting away for a long time, a certain learned Druid came to see him, and told his mother that the burden of a secret, was the cause of her son's disease, and that he could never recover until he had told it to something. He then told the patient, that, though he was bound not to discover the secret to any human being, he might nevertheless go to the meeting of four roads, and, when there, turn to his right and address the first tree he met, and tell his story to it. The first tree he did meet with was a large willow, and to it he declared his secret. Upon this, the disease, brought on by brooding over his burdensome secret, was immediately dissipated, and he was perfectly well on his return to his mother's house. But it happened soon after, that Craftini broke his harp and had to go to look for materials for another. He chanced to hit upon the very tree to which the widow's son had told his secret, and from it he made him a harp. But when this harp was finished and put in order, and when Craftini commenced to play thereupon, it gave forth sounds which caused all that heard to think that it uttered the words "dá o fill for Labraidh Lorc,"⁸² which mean, *Labraidh the Mariner has the ears of a horse*; and, however often the harp was played upon, it gave forth the same sounds. Now, when the

⁸¹ This story resembles that told of Midas, an ancient king of Phrygia, which fable some explain by supposing that he kept a number of informers to report to him any seditious words spoken against him by his subjects.

⁸² *Da o fill for Labraidh Lorc.* This

line of obsolete Gaelic does not admit of the meaning given to it in the fable above related. It means, "Labraidh, the murderer, has two ears;" that is, if the antiquated word "o" mean an ear, in this instance.

king heard of this, he repented him of the numbers he had put to death, in order to conceal his deformity, and he forthwith exposed his ears to his household, and never afterwards concealed them. However, I consider this tale about him in the light of a romantic fable, rather than as true history.

MELGI MOLBTHACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3666.⁸³ Melgi Molbthach,⁸⁴ son of Cobthach Cael Breàgh, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for seventeen years, at the end of which he was slain by Mogh-Corb, son of Cobthach Caemh.

MOGH-CORB, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3673.⁸⁵ Mogh-Corb,⁸⁶ son of Cobthach Caemh, son of Rectaidh Righ-derg, son of Lugaidh Laighdi of the line of Eber, ruled Ireland for seven years. He was called Mogh-Corb for the following reason: As his son was one day driving in his chariot, it chanced to break down, and Mogh-Corb set it in order again. From having done this service for his son, whose name was Corb, he received the name of Mogh-Corb. He fell by Aengus Ollamh.

AENGUS OLLAMH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3680.⁸⁷ Aengus⁸⁸ Ollamh, son of Olild Braacan, son of Labraidh Loingsech, of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for eighteen years, and then fell by the hands of Iarann Gleò-fathach.

IARANN GLEO-FATHACH ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3698.⁸⁹ Iarann Gleò-fathach,⁹⁰ son of Melgi-Molbthach, son of Cobthach Cael Breàgh, of the line of Erimhòn, held the

⁸³ A. M. 4678.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁴ *Me'gi Molbthach* (*Melgie Mol-fagh*) i. e. Melgi the Praise-worthy or Laudable. From this Melgi is called Loch Melgi, now Lough Melvin, a beautiful lake on the confines of Fermanagh, Leitrim, and Donegal.—O'D.

⁸⁵ A. M. 4695.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁶ A. M.—*Mogh-Corb*, otherwise *Modh-Corb* (*Mow* or *Mo-Corb*). Mogh was not unusual as a proper name among the clans of Eber. The derivation above given for the name is silly and absurd. "Mogh" or "Mo" is said to mean a man, a workman, and a slave. Keating seems to give it the

latter meaning, i. e. *Corb's servant* or "slave," but then *chariot* is one of the meanings of "Corb," so "Mogh-Corb" may mean *the chariot-man* or *charioteer*, as "Fer-Corb," his son's name, most probably does also. "Modh" or "Mo," which is pronounced in the same manner, means *respect, esteem, honor, mode*, &c.

⁸⁷ A. M. 4702.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁸ AENGUS II. Styled Ollamh, i. e. the Sage or Doctor.

⁸⁹ A. M. 4720.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁰ *Iarann Gleo-fathach*, (*Eeran Gleo-fuwh-gh*), i. e. Iarann the purely wise, or (if "gleo" mean *battle*, and not

sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. He was called Iarann Gleò-fathach, because he was learned and wise. In the end he fell by Fer-Corb.

FER-CORB, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3705.⁹¹ Fer-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, son of Cobthach Caemh, of the line of Eber, ascended the throne of Ireland and reigned for eleven years, at the end of which he fell by Connla.

CONNLA CRUAIDH-KELGACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3716.⁹² Connla Cruaidh-kelgach,⁹³ son of Iarann Gleò-fathach, of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for four years, and then died at Temhair.

OLILD CAS-FIACLACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3720.⁹⁴ Olild⁹⁵ Cas-fiaclach, (i. e. of the Bent Teeth,) son of Connla Cruaidh-kelgach, of the line of Erimhòn, succeeded to the sovereignty, and reigned over Ireland for twenty-five years. He fell by Adamar Folt-caein.

ADAMAR, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3745.⁹⁶ Adamar Folt-caein,⁹⁷ son of Fer-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for five years, and then fell by Eocaidh Folt-lethan.

EOCAIDH FOLT-LETHAN, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3750.⁹⁸ Eocaidh⁹⁹ Folt-lethan, son of Olild Cas-fiaclach, son of Connla Cruaidh-kelgach, of the line of Erimhòn, as-

pure or clear in this instance) the skilful or knowing in the fight. Some write the name *Iarann-gleò Fathach*, which Dr. O'Donovan translates *Iron-fight, the cautious*. This, however, he does not sanction, saying that the *Leabhar Gabhala* and the best copies of Keating have *Ireco* (*eereryo*) as this king's name. The editor's MSS. have it as given in the text, to which he sees no objection. Halliday calls him *Ireco Fathach*, i. e. *Ireco the Wise*.

⁹¹ A. M. 4727.—*Four Masters*.

⁹² A. M. 4738.

⁹³ *Cruaidh - kelgach*, otherwise *Cruaidh - chelgach*, (*Crooi - kelgagh*) means the hardy and treacherous. He was also called *Connla Caemh*, (*kav*),

i. e. *Connla, the Comely*. The *Four Masters* give *Connla* a reign of twenty years.

⁹⁴ A. M. 4758.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁵ *OLILD II. Cais-fhiaclach* is pronounced *Cash-ecklagh*.

⁹⁶ A. M. 4783.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁷ *Folt-caein*, or rather *Folt-chaein*, (*folt-keen*), i. e. of the fine or beautiful hair.

⁹⁸ A. M. 4788.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁹ *EOCAIDH IX. Folt-lethan*, (*Folt-lùhàn*), the epithet applied to this king, means *the broad*, or rather *bushy-haired*. Some call him "*ailt-lethan*," i. e. the *broad-jointed*, which is a more appropriate compound.

sumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for eleven years,¹⁰⁰ when he was slain by Fergus Fortamhail.

FERGUS FORTAMHAIL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3761.¹ Fergus² Fortamhail, son of Bresal Breogamhain, son of Aengus Galini, son of Olild Bracaen, son of Labraidh Loingsech, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and reigned for twelve years. He was called Fergus Fortamhail, (*fortooil* or *Fortavwil*), i. e. Fergus the Intrepid, because he was a heroic, strong, and resolute man. He was slain by Aengus Tuirmech, of Temhair, (or Tara.)

AENGUS TUIRMECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3773.³ Aengus Tuirmech,⁴ son of Eocaidh Folt-lethan, son of Olild Cas-fiaclach, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years, (or for sixty according to others.) He was called Aengus Tuirmech, i. e. Aengus the Shameful, on account of the shame he felt at having had a son born to him by his own daughter, whom he had violated while in a state of intoxication. That son was Fiachaidh Fer-mara,⁵ (i. e. Fiachaidh, *the Man of the*

¹⁰⁰ *Eleven years. Seventeen years.—Four Masters.*

¹ A. M. 4805.—*Id.*

² FERGUS I. — Fortamhail, this prince's surname seems cognate with the Latin "fortis," and Irish "foirtil." He is elsewhere called Fortriun, (*Fortrioon*), i. e. the very powerful, a word derived from "tren" or "triuin," strong by prefixing the intensive particle "for." The Four Masters give him a reign of eleven years.

³ A. M. 4816.—*Four Masters.*

⁴ AENGUS III. "He was called Aengus Tuirmeach," say the Annals last cited, "because to him *are traced* (i. e. *tuirmidhear*) the nobility of the race of Erimhòn." Dr. O'Connor tells us that the word "tuirmeach" means *prolific*. O'Flaherty, also, quotes the following ancient Irish lines in support of this meaning: *Iodhón is cuige turmidhtear Leth Cuinn, Fir Alban, Dialriada agus Dailefiatach*, i. e. "For to him *are traced* the men of Leth Cuinn, the men of Alba, the Dal-Riada, and the Dal-Fiatach." The meaning given by Keating to the word "tuirmeach" is obviously one forced

upon it by some bardic punster, hostile to the line of Erimhòn, and who probably invented the scandalous and calumnious tale, here recited, for the purpose of depreciating that line. All the derivations given by our author (on the authority, it would seem, of Munster story-tellers) in support of the idle fables, with too many of which he has disfigured his narrative, fortunately carry their own refutation with them. They are most of them utterly hostile to the genius of the Gaelic tongue. The verb "tuirmigh," the passive form of which is "tuirmightear," or "tuirmidhtear," is formed regularly from the adjective "tuirmeach," in the same manner as "bailigh," *gather thou*, is formed upon "baileach," *tidy* or *collected*, and innumerable other derivative verbs, which are similarly formed from adjectives in "ach," and which may be formed therefrom *ad libitum*, as every Irish scholar understands.

⁵ *Fiachaidh Fer-Mara*. The Annals of Clonmacnoise make no allusion to Fiachaidh Fearnara's, (*Fecagha Farnarra*), being an incestuous offspring, but speak of Enos Twyrmeach (i. e.

Sea.) because he had been exposed to the mercy of the sea in a small boat, with many valuable jewels around him, as became the son of a prince. He was met by fishermen, who brought him ashore and put him to nurse. Aengus Tuirmech had likewise a legitimate son, named Enna Aighnech, and from him all the posterity of Conn are descended. Aengus was slain at Temhair, and hence he is called Aengus Tuirmech, of Temhair.

CONNALL COLLAMRACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3803.⁶ Conall⁷ Collamrach, son of Eadirsgéol of Temhair, son of Eocaidh Folt-lethan, son of Olild Cas-fiaclach, of the line of Erimhón, held the monarchy of Ireland for five years, at the end of which he was slain by Niadh Segamhain.

NIADH SEGAMHAIN, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3808.⁸ Niadh Segamhain,⁹ son of Adamar Folt-caein, son of Fer-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. He acquired the name of Segamhain (or Sedhamhain) from his having possessed greater wealth than any one else; for "Seghamhain" (*Shaavwin*) is the same as "Sech-mhacinech," (*Shagh-vucenagh*), and means "surpassing in wealth:" for during his time the wild does were wont to come and kindly yield their milk for him, like any common

Aengus Tuirmech) and his two sons as follows:

"Enos succeeded, and was a very good king. He left two goodly and noble sons, Enna Aynceagh (Aighnech) and Fiagha Ferwara. The most part of the kings of Ireland descended of his son Enna, and the kings of Scotland, for the most part, descended of Fiagha, so as the great houses of both kingdoms derive their pedigrees from them. He was of the sept of Heremon, (Erimhón,) and reigned thirty-two years, (the Four Masters say sixty,) and then died quietly in his bed at Taragh."—*O'Donovan's Notes to the Four Masters.*

⁶ A. M. 4876.—*Four Masters.*

⁷ CONALL I.—Collamrach, or Collambrach, (*Collowragh*, or *Collavragh*). This surname of Conall, is translated *Columnaris*, i. e. pillar-like, by O'Flaherty.

⁸ A. M. 4881.—*Four Masters.*

⁹ *Segamhain*, or *Seghamhain*, would,

by itself, mean wealthy, as it is regularly formed from "segh" or "scagh," (*Shaah*,) *worth, esteem, &c.* "Seaghdha," (*Shaagha*,) i. e. estimable, *beautiful, stately, splendid, or rich.* has much the same meaning as that given above to "seghamhain;" and as "amhain," the latter part of the word, is a very common suffix in Gaelic, it is silly and far-fetched to suppose it compounded of "Sech" or "Seach," (the Latin *Secus*,) and "maeinech," *wealthy.* The word "segh" means *a doe*, and also *a wild ox, a cow*, and even *milk*; hence, probably, to fable of the milking of does. As "dh" and "gh" are pronounced absolutely alike in modern Irish, and are indiscriminately substituted the one for the other, it is not easy to tell the exact radical to be used in this and similar instances. The Four Masters record the story of the does thus: "It was in the time of King Nia Sedhamain, that cows and does were alike milked."

cow whatsoever. This had been brought about by the magic powers of his mother, whose name was Flidais, (*Fleësh.*) This prince fell by Enna Aighnech.

ENNA AIGHNECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3815.¹⁰ Enna Aighnech,¹¹ son of Aengus Tuirmech, of Temhair, son of Eocaidh Folt-lethan, of the line of Erimhòn, ruled the kingdom of Ireland for twenty-eight years. He got the name of Enna Aighnech, from his hospitality and his bounties; for "aighnech" (*eyenagh*) is the same as "ogh," (*ō*) entire or perfect, and oinech (*innagh*) liberal or hospitable. Thus Enna Aighnech means "Enna the All-bounteous;" for he gave away everything that came into his hands. He fell by Crimthann Cosgrach.

CRIMTHANN COSGRACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3843.¹² Crimthann¹³ Cosgrach, son of Feidlimid Fortriun, son of Fergus Fortamhail, son of Bresal Bree, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland and reigned seven years.¹⁴ He was called Crimthann Cosgrach, (i. e. Crimthann the Vanquisher,) from the many victories he gained in all the battles and combats in which he had been engaged, until he fell by Rudraide.

RUDRAIDE MOR, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3850.¹⁵ Rudraide,¹⁶ son of Sithrighe, son of Dubh, son of Foghmor, son of Argedmar, son of Siorlamh, son of Finn, son of Bratha, son of Labraidh, son of Carbri, son of Ollamh Fodla, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, reigned over Ireland for thirty years, (or for seventy¹⁷ as others relate.) He died at Arged-glenn.

¹⁰ A. M. 4888.—*Four Masters.*

¹¹ ENNA III.—The derivation given for the epithet Aighnech looks suspicious. The Four Masters say that he reigned twenty-eight years; the Annals of Clonmacnoise allow him but ten.

¹² A. M. 4903.—*Four Masters.*

¹³ CRIMTHANN I. The modern and aspirated form of this name is Crimhthann (*Criffann*). It means a fox.

¹⁴ *Seven years.* Four years according to the Four Masters.

¹⁵ A. M. 4912.—*Four Masters.*

¹⁶ RUDRAIDE I. This king's name is spelled Ralfraidhe Mac Sithrighe, (*Rover Mac Shee'rce.*) in modern Irish.

¹⁷ *Seventy.* The Annals of the Four

Masters and most Irish authorities agree with this account. The former tell us, "that, after having been seventy years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he died at Arged-glenn, (i. e. the Silver-glen, situated in the modern barony of Farney, county Fermanagh.) It was by this Rudraide that the following battles were won throughout Ireland: The battle of Cuircé, (in Kerrycurrihy, county Cork;) the battle of Luachair, (in Kerry;) seven battles in Clu, (Clu-Mail, a district in Coshlea, county Limerick;) the battle of Glennamach, (*Glanowragh*, now Glanworth, county Cork;) the battle of Sliabh Mis, (in Kerry;) the battle of Boirinn,

INNADMAR, ARD-RIGH. .

A. M. 3880.¹⁸ Innadmar, son of Niadh Segamhain, son of Adamar Folt-caein, of the line of Eber, reigned over Ireland three years,¹⁹ and then fell by Bresal Bo-dibadh.

BRESAL BO-DIBADH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3883.²⁰ Bresal Bo-dibadh,²¹ son of Rudraide, son of Sithrighe, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, enjoyed the kingdom of Ireland for eleven years, until he fell by Lugaidh Luaigni.

LUGAIDH LUAIGNI, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3894.²² Lugaidh²³ Luaigni, son of Innadmar, son of Niadh Segamhain, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of Ireland for five years, until he fell by Congal Claringnech.

CONGAL CLARINGNECH ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3899.²⁴ Congal²⁵ Claringnech, son of Rudraide, son of Sithrighe, son of Dubh, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, ruled Ireland for fifteen years, and then fell by Duach Dalta Degaidh.

DUACH DALTA DEGAIDH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3914.²⁶ Duach²⁷ Dalta Degaidh son of Carbri or Ros-lethan, son of Lugaidh Lurigni, son of Innadmar, son of Niadh

(now Burrin in Clare;) the battle of Rén, (in Leitrim;) the battle of Ai, (Magh-Aei is in Roscommon;) the battle of Cuil Sellinni, (now Kilcooley, in the county and barony of Roscommon;) the two battles of Fortrag, (which is now unknown.) The Clanna Rudraide, (*Clanna Rooree*), or clans of Rudraide, and the most famous of the Red Branch Knights were descendants of this Rudraide Mor. O'Halloran says that he aided Massinissa in his wars against the Romans.

¹⁸ A. M. 4982.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁹ *Three years*. He reigned for nine years, according to the *Four Masters* and other authorities.

²⁰ A. M. 4991.—*Four Masters*.

²¹ *Bo-dibadh*, Bresal or Bresal Bo-dhibhadh. (*Beassal Bo-yeova*.) received his name from a murrain or cow-plague that devastated Ireland during his reign.

²² A. M. 5002.—*Four Masters*.

²³ LUGAIDH IV. Lugaidh Luaigne (*Looe Looine*) reigned for fifteen years.—*Id*.

²⁴ A. M. 5017.—*Four Masters*.

²⁵ CONGAL I. This king's surname is otherwise written "Claroineach," i. e. of the Flat or Broad Face. "Claringnech" means, of the Broad or Flat Nails. "He did many notable acts of chivalry, as there are volumes of history written of his hardiness and manhood."—*Annals of Clonmacnoise*. Congal was the grandsire of Naicis, Amli, and Ardan, the three sons of Usnach, whose tragic fate is related further on.

²⁶ A. M. 5032.—*Four Masters*.

²⁷ DUACH III. Surnamed Dalta Degaidh, (*Dya* or *Daa*.) i. e. the Fosterling of Degaidh.

Segamhain, of the line of Eber, held the kingdom of Ireland for ten years. The reason why he was called Duach Dalta Degaidh was the following: Carbri Losg-lethan had two sons; Duach and Degaidh were their names. There was a rivalry between them, as to which of them should be king of Ireland; for they were both qualified to be candidates for the royalty in mien, person, achievements, and valor. But Degaidh, who was the youngest of the two, sought to supplant Duach, his elder. When Duach had noticed this, he sent a messenger for his brother, and Degaidh thereupon came to the place where he was; and, as soon as he had done so, Duach had him seized, and caused his eyes to be thrust out. Hence he got the cognomen of "Dalta Degaidh," or Blinder of Degaidh.²⁸ As a record of this deed, some bard has left us the following verse:

"By treacherous wile was Degaidh lured
To come beneath his brother's roof;
And there that brother, Duach false,
Ungenerously thrust out his eyes."

This Duach fell by the hand of Factna Fathach, son of Cas.

FACTNA FATHACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3924.²⁹ Factna Fathach, or Factna the Wise, son of Cas, son of Rudraide, son of Sithrigh, son of Dubh, son of Foghmar, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty for sixteen years, and then fell by Eocaidh Feidlech.

²⁸ *Blinder of Degaidh*.—"Dalta" can scarcely admit of the forced meaning given to it, in this instance, by our author. It is the common Irish word used to express fosterling or *alumnus*, and it is to be questioned if a single other instance can be shown from Irish writings in which it has any reference to *blinding*. "O'Flaherty shows, from the Book of Lecan, from O'Duvedan's Book, and from Gilla-Caemhan's poem, written in the twelfth century, that Duach had no brother named Degaidh, but that he was called "Dalta Degaidh," because he was the Alumnus, or Foster son of Degaidh, son of Sen, of the Ernaans of Munster."—See O'Donovan's *Notes on the Four Masters*.

Fiachaidh Fermara, or the Mariner, son of King Aengus Tuirmeech, had a son named Olild Aronn, whose descend-

ants were called Ernaans, though quite different from the more ancient Ernaans of the Fer-Bolg race. These afterwards took the name of Dal-Fiatach in Ulster, and a branch of them, that migrated to Munster, took the name of Clanna Degaidh. The latter had been driven from Ulster by the Clanna Rudraide, while Duach was king of Ireland, and this king then gave lands in Munster to his foster-father Degaidh, son of Sen, son of Olild Aronn, who was their chief. After Duach's death Degaidh was declared king of Munster, and his posterity divided the sovereignty of that province for some ages with the Eberians. In those ages the Eberians ruled the South and the Degadians the North of Munster.—See *O'Flaherty's Ogygia*.

²⁹ A. M. 5042.—*Four Masters*.

EOCAIDH FEIDLECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3940.³⁰ Eocaidh³¹ Feidlech, son of Finn, son of Finnloga, son of Roighn n Ruadh, son of Esamhain, of Einhain, son of Blathacta, son of Labraidh Lore, son of Euna Aigneach, son of Aengus Tuirmech, of Tara, of the line of Erimh n, ruled the kingdom of Ireland for twelve years. Benia, daughter of Crimthann, was the mother of this Eocaidh Feidlech. He was called Eocaidh Feidlich, because he was for a long time addicted to sighing; for "feidhil," (*feil*), signifies "long," and "ech" (*ogh*), means a "sigh." Thus, feidhlech (feilagh), means "*long-sighing*;" for a sigh never left his heart since his sons were slain by him in the battle of Drom-Criaidh,³² until he died. These sons, Bres, Nar, and Lothar, were called the three Finnemhna (*Finnevna*, or *Finnewna*), from the word "amhaen"³³ (*awayne*), i. e. "not separate," or "not single;" and by it was meant, that none of them was born separately, but that they were all three born at the same time. Clothfinn, daughter of Eocaidh Uct-lethan³⁴ was the mother of these princes, and she had borne them at one birth.

Eocaidh Feidlech was the first that divided³⁵ and arranged Ire-

³⁰ A. M. 5058.—*Four Masters*.

³¹ EOCAIDH X. Feidlech, Eocaidh's distinctive appellation, could mean the *Watcher* or the *Vigilant*. The etymology by which it is made to mean *constant sighing*, is beneath criticism: the termination "ch" varied to "ech" and "ach" in compliance with an Irish euphonic rule, is of no more significance in Irish than "us" is in Latin.

³² *Drom Criaidh* (Drumerce), lies in West Meath. O'Flaherty discredits those who relate that the three Finns waged war against their father.

³³ *Amhaen*. This word is not Irish, at least it is not so in the sense above stated. Dr. O'Donovan says, in his annotations on the *Four Masters*, that this king's three sons, Bres or Bres, Nar and Lothar, were called the *three Finns of Einhain*, i. e. "na Tri Finn Emlna" (*na Three Finn Ewna* or *Euna*). This is natural, and according to the genius of the language. The above ridiculous pun is abhorrent to it. They had received the name, possibly, from having been fostered at Einhain Mahe.

³⁴ *Eocaidh uct-lethan*, i. e. Eocaidh

the Broad-Chested. O'Flaherty calls him Artur Uct-lethan.

³⁵ *Was the first that divided, &c.* Our author is inexact in the language he here employs, and he thereby contradicts what he has already stated several times. He should have said, that Eocaidh was the person who *restored* the pentarchy. O'Flaherty gives the following account, here abridged from his *Ogygia*, of the revolution effected during the reign of this king: "King Eocaidh, in the first year of his reign, instituted or rather revived the pentarchy. But we must not suppose that the pentarchy was then instituted for the first time, because it appears that there were five rulers over the five provinces, from the very beginning of the royalty. The Scots continued it, some of whom, as the Eberians and Lugadians (the descendants of Lugaidh, son of Ith), ruled the two Munsters. These had, it is true, been for some time intruded upon by the Ernaans, of the line of Erimh n, by whom they were driven into the western recesses of their country; but then, by a vigorous effort, they repossessed themselves

land into provinces, or pentarchates, for he apportioned Connaught into three parts, between three chieftains,³⁶ namely, Fidach, son of Fiach, Eocaidh Alat, and Tinni, son of Curaidh. To Fidach he gave the territory of the Fir-na-Craicibi, from Fidach to Luimnech; to Eocaidh Alat he gave Irrus Domnann, from Galimh to Dubh and Drobacis; and to Tinni, son of Curaidh, he gave Magh-Samb and the old districts of Taiden, from Fidach to Temhair-Brogha-Niadh (*Tavwis-Vrow-Necah*), in Leinster. The province of Ulster he granted to Fergus, son of Ledi; the province of Leinster to Rosa, son of Fergus Fargi, and the two provinces of Munster he bestowed upon Tighermach Tedbennach and upon Degaidh. And thus, during his reign, he had Ireland under his sole dominion and control, until he died at Temhair (Tara).

Some time after this, Eocaidh went into Connaught, and those three kings of its three divisions came to meet him. Of them, Eocaidh thereupon requested a site in Connaught whereon to build himself a royal residence amongst them. Eocaidh Alat and Fidach replied, that they would give him no such site, for they preferred sending him his rent to Temhair. But the third of these princes, Tinni, son of Curaidh, was willing that Eocaidh should have a place for his royal residence. Then Eocaidh gave his own daughter, Medb (*Meive* or *Maive*), as wife to this chieftain, and they made a friendly league with one another. The monarch next asked his Druids where he should build the palace, and they advised him to build it at Drom na-n-Druadh (*Drum-*

of their territories, which they thenceforth held uninterruptedly, and with redoubled power, down to the English invasion. The Ultonians maintained their full sway down to the destruction of Emania or Emhain, and Irian branch still longer, having become incorporated with the Erimonian Ernaans. Leinster had been ceded to the Erimonians; after some time Connaught fell under their rule, and at length Ulster. The political divisions of Ireland have been various, according to the will and the power of its various monarchs. However, they never totally abrogated the first five-fold division. In the Scotie dynasty we read of five partitions: 1st, one between Eber and Erimhòn; 2d, between Kermna and Sobarki, which lasted 100 years; 3d, that by Iugani Mor into twenty-five districts, which lasted 300 years; 4th, that of the pentarchs, of whom we are now treat-

ing, and 5th, the division between Con of the Hundred Battles and Eogan Mor, king of Munster. Three hundred years having now passed since the division by Iugani Mor, Eocaidh rescinded the form established by that conqueror, and appointed a pentarch over each province from amongst its ruling princes."

As a period of great disorder and bloodshed and confusion continued to devastate Ireland, daring, and long after Eocaidh's reign, it is fair to conclude, that he had been forced to restore the pentarchy, in order to place a check upon the turbulence of the local chieftains.

³⁶ *Three chieftains.* These three chieftains were Fer-Bolgs or Belgians, which nation still possessed Connaught. The partition of the province between them has been already treated of.

nan-rooah), i. e. The Druids' Hill, which is now called Cruachain.³⁷ The rath was then commenced by the Gamanraidhe,³⁸ from Irrus Domnan, and the dike of that fortress of Eocaidh was reared up in one day; as the bard thus informs us:

“ In one day was the tribe of Domnann
Forced to build up that earthen rampart ;
For that stern king of Fál, the festive,
No respite would allow his workers.”

They next built a dwelling within it, and Eocaidh granted the kingdom of Connaught to Tinni, son of Curaidh, to whom he then gave his daughter Medb in marriage. Shortly afterwards, Eocaidh Alat was slain by Tinni, who thereupon gave the kingdom of the Fer-Domnanns to Olild Finn. Medb bestowed the command of Rath-Eocaidh upon Cruacha Croiderg, her own mother; and it is from this Cruacha that the fort has received its present name of Rath-Cruachan (*Raw-Crooghan*), as the bard tells us in the following verse:

“ Once Drom na-n-Druadh, then Tulach-Aidni,
And next Rath-Eocaidh it was called ;
Rath-Cruachan last, from Cruacha Croiderg,
Who raised dire wrath throughout the land.”

Medb continued long afterwards to be the wife of Tinni, son of Curaidh, until he fell at Temhair by the hand of Monudir, who was also called Mac Kéaet. After the death of Tinni, Medb held the sovereignty of Connaught for ten years in her own hands, without allying herself in marriage with any publicly, though during this time she indulged in private amours, just as her inclination prompted her. She afterwards took Olild Mor, son of Rosa Ruadh, of Leinster, as her husband, and bore him seven sons, who were called The Seven Manes. It was Conall Keárnach that slew Olild at Cruachain, when he was an old man. Conall slew him by a cast of a javelin; and the men of Connaught pursued and killed him, in revenge for the deed.

There was, indeed, a long war, and continual hostility between the people of Connaught and the Ulidians during the time that

³⁷ *Cruachain*. We must not understand, from the building of this rath at Cruachain, by Eocaidh, that it was in his time that that locality became distinguished as a royal residence. It was celebrated long before his day. The rath of Cruachain, now called Rath Croghan, lies near Belanagare, in the county of Rosecommon, where still ex-

ist the remains of several earthen forts.

³⁸ *Gamanraidhe*. The Gamanraidhe or Gamanradi, were a fierce and warlike Belgian or Fer-Bolg tribe, seated in Erris or Irrus-Domnann, in the north-west of Connaught. This name is pronounced *Gowanree* and *Gavanree*.

Medb reigned over Connaught, and while Concoibar was king of Uladh. But, in order that the reader may understand the cause of this enmity that existed between them, I shall set down here the manner in which the children of Usnach, son of Congal Claringnech, were slain, in violation of the guaranties and sureties of Fergus Mac Roigh, of Cormac Conlingas, son of Concoibar and of Dubthach Dael-Uladh. Here follows a brief summary of the story :

*The death of the Sons of Usnach, down here.*³⁹

On a certain day, on which Concoibar had gone to partake of a feast at the house of Feidlimid, son of Dall, his own story-teller, the wife of his host gave birth to a beautiful daughter while the festivities were going on. Then Cathbaidh, who was present at that meeting, prophesied and foreboded for the girl, that great misfortune and loss was about to befall the province through her means. When the warriors heard this, they proposed to have her put to death immediately. "Let no such thing be done," said Concoibar, "for I shall take her with me and send her to be reared, so that she may in time become my own wife." The druid Cathbaidh then named her Dèdri.⁴⁰ Concoibar shut her up in a lonely fort, where he placed a tutor and a nurse to rear her; and there no one in the province dare go near her but her tutor and her nurse, and the spokeswoman of Concoibar, who was named Lebaream. Under these regulations she continued until she had become marriageable, at which period she excelled all the women of her time in beauty.

It happened once, upon a snowy day, that her tutor had killed a calf in order to dress it as food for her, and, when its blood had been spilled upon the snow, that a raven stooped down to drink of it. As soon as Dèdri had noticed this, she said to Lebaream, that she would like to have a husband, in whom were combined the three colors which she then saw before her; that is, having hair of the color of the raven, cheeks the color of the calf's blood, and a skin of the color of snow. "There is such a man as that," said Lebaream, "and his name is Naeisi, son of Usnach, now in the household of Concoibar." "O then, Lebaream," said Dèdri, "I beseech you to send him to speak with me, alone and unobserved." Lebaream, thereupon, went and told the matter to Naeisi, who, when he had heard it, came privately to meet Dèdri,

³⁹ *The sons of Usnach.* Literal translations of two ancient versions of the tale entitled, *The Death of the sons of Usnach or Uisnech*, (called *Usnoth* by Macpherson,) are to be found in the

volume of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*, published in 1808.

⁴⁰ *Dèdri*, otherwise *Dèirdre*, means alarm.

and she declared to him the greatness of her love, and begged of him to clope with her from Concobar. Nacisi consents thereto, though much against his will, through fear of Concobar. He then set out for Alba, accompanied by his two brothers, Andli and Ardan, and one hundred and fifty warriors, taking Dèrdri thither with him. In that country they got maintenance and quarterage from the king of Alba, until he had got tidings of Dèrdri's beauty, upon which he demanded her as a wife for himself. Nacisi and his brothers were seized with indignation at this, and they left Alba, retreating into an island in the sea, with Dèrdri, having previously had many conflicts with the people of the king.

But, when it was heard in Uladh, that the sons of Usnach were in such distress, many of the nobles of the province told Concobar that it was a sad thing that these warriors should be in exile on account of a wicked woman, and that he ought to send for them and have them brought home. Concobar consented to do this, at the request of his nobles, and he gave Fergus Mac Roigh, and Dubthach Dael-Uladh, and Cormac Conlingas, as guarantees that he would himself act towards them with good faith. Upon these conditions, Fergus Mac Roigh sent Fiacaidh, his own son, to the sons of Usnach; and this Fiacaidh brought back with him to Ireland, both them and their band of warriors, and Dèrdri; and no adventures are related of them until they had arrived upon the green of Emhain. Upon that green, Eogan, son of Durthaet, chieftain of Fernmaighe,⁴¹ met them with a large host, which he had brought with him, at the suggestion of Concobar, for the purpose of acting treacherously by them. As soon, then, as the sons of Usnach had come up, Eogan approached Nacisi as if to welcome him, and while seeming to do so, he thrust his spear through that warrior's body. When Fiacaidh, son of Fergus, saw this, he threw himself between Eogan and Nacisi; but Eogan made a second thrust with his spear and laid him dead by the side of his friend. After this, Eogan and his forces threw themselves upon the sons of Usnach and murdered them, and made a dreadful carnage of their people.

When Fergus and Dubthach had heard of the murder of the sons of Usnach, in violation of their sureties, they marched upon Emhain and came to an engagement with the forces of Concobar, in which Mani, the son of Concobar, fell, and three hundred of his warriors with him. They then pillaged and burned Emhain, and slew Concobar's women. They next mustered their partisans from all sides, and, accompanied by Cormac Conlingas, they marched into Connaught with a host that numbered three thou-

⁴¹ *Fernmagh*, now Farney, in Oirghialla.

sand warriors. There they were welcomed and received into pay by Olild and Medb. When they had reached that territory, they never rested a single night without sending out parties of pillagers to ravage and plunder Uladh. So they continued, until they had completely laid waste the territory of Cualgni,⁴² a deed whence sprung many misfortunes and afflictions to both provinces.

It was during this time that Fergus had an illicit intrigue with Medb, who bore him three sons at a birth, and their names were Kiar, and Core, and Conmac, as the poet tells us in the following verse:

“The fruitful Medb, in fair Cruachain,
Loved Fergus, who from foc ne'er turned,
And bore him three sons, tall and comely,
Named Kiar, and Core, and Conmac.”

It is from this Kiar that the Kiarraide Mumhan⁴³ (*Keeree Moon*) are called, and of his descendants are the O'Connors Kerry; from Core are descended the O'Connors Corecomroe;⁴⁴ and from Conmac are named all the Conmacni that are in Connaught. Whoever will read the poem which Lugair, the bard of Olild, composed, and which begins with the line, “The clans of Fergus, clans pre-eminent,” will clearly learn the great power and distinction of these three sons of Medb, in Connaught and in Munster—a thing that is also manifest from the number of districts that have been named from them in these two provinces.

But to return to Dèrdri, who was the cause of all we have just narrated: she remained a year with Concobar, after the slaying of the sons of Usnach; and though trifling it may seem to raise up her head or smile, still she was never known to do so during that time. When Concobar saw that no amusements or kindness could have any effect upon her, and that neither wit nor mirth could remove the lowness of her spirits, he sent for Eogan, son of Durthaet; and when Eogan had come into his presence, he said to Dèrdri, that, since he was himself unable to turn her mind away from sorrow, she must now spend some time with Eogan.

⁴² *Cualgni*—in the county of Louth. The famous tale called the “*Tain Bo Cualgni*,” i. e. the Cattle Spoil of Cualgni, has been founded upon the plundering of this district.

⁴³ *Kiarraide Mumhan*, i. e. the descendants of Kiar, i. e. Kiarraide of Munster. As before stated, O'Concobaire (*O'Concooir* or *O'Concovoir*) Kerry, was chief of this tribe. The O' Cahills, O'Dugains and O'Conways of South Munster, were also, according to O'Halloran, septes of

the Kiarraide Mumhan. The territory of this tribe extended from the harbor of Tralee to the mouth of the Shannon. From this tribe, whose country is otherwise called Kiarraide Inachra, the modern county of Kerry has its name.

⁴⁴ *Core mroe*. Besides the O'Connors Corecomroe, the O'Lochlius of Burren, in the north of Clare, are also descended from Core son of Fergus, and queen Medb.

She was then immediately placed behind Eogan in his chariot. Concobar went himself to attend them on their way; and, as they journeyed along, she kept continually casting looks of wild indignation at Eogan, who was placed before her, and at Concobar, who followed behind; for there lived not on the earth two persons that she hated more than she did them both. When Concobar noticed her looking thus alternately at Eogan and at himself, he said to her, in coarse ironical pleasantry: "Dèrdri, these are the glances of a sheep between two rams, that you are casting at me and at Eogan." When Dèrdri had heard him, she started up at his words, and jumping suddenly out of the chariot she dashed her head against a sharp rock that stood on the wayside before her, so that small fragments were made of her skull, and her brain immediately flowed out. Such was the origin of the banishment of Fergus⁴⁵ Mac Roigh, of Dubthach Dael-Uladh,⁴⁶ and of Cormac Conlingas; and such the death of Dèrdri.

As it was in the days of Concobar and of the Heroes, that Medb reigned in Connaught, and as she lived ten years after the death of Timi, son of Curaidh, her first husband, and was afterwards the wife of Olild Mor for eighty years, and again had been for eight years a widow after Olild's death, when she was slain by Forbaide, son of Concobar; I shall narrate here succinctly the death, with a few of the achievements of some of the most famous of the Heroes⁴⁷ that lived in her time. In the first place, I shall set down the substance of the adventures, whence came the death of Concobar, son of Factna Fathach.⁴⁸

The death of Concobar, king of Uladh down here.

As an incitement to warriors to act bravely in the fight, it was in those days the custom to give a mark of distinction, called the Badge of Heroes,⁴⁹ as a token of victory, to him who had proved himself the most valiant in single combat, and who had van-

⁴⁵ Fergus was styled Mac Roigh, i. e. son of Roigh (*Roe*), from his mother. His father was Rosa Ruadh, son of Rudraide Mor, king of Ireland. He had been elected king of Ulster upon the death of Fergus, son of Ledi; but he had scarcely reigned three years, when he was dethroned by Concobar Mac Nessa, and expelled into Connaught. His desire to recover his lost kingdom was, then, a stronger motive for his wars, than his wish to revenge the murder of the sons of Usnach.

⁴⁶ *Dubthach Dael-Uladh*, i. e. *Dubthach* the chaser or beetle of Ulster.

The name *Dubthach* (*Doothag* or *Duffagh*) means, the *dark man*.

⁴⁷ *The Heroes*. The "Curaidhthe na Craeibhe Ruaidhe" (*Curri'z na Creevie Rooe*), i. e. the Knights or Heroes of the Red Branch, were emphatically styled *Na Curaidhthe* (*Curri'hi*), or, *The Heroes*.

⁴⁸ *Son of Factna Fathach*. Concobar, or, as his name is more usually rendered, Connor, is generally styled *Mac Nessa*, from his mother. His father had been king of Ireland.

⁴⁹ *The Badge of Heroes*. "*Mir na g-Curadh*" (*meer na gurrath*), is thus

quished his adversary in the field of valor. From this custom there arose a dispute, in Eman, between Conall Keárnach Cuchullin, and Laegari Buadach, as to which of them should have the Badge of Heroes. Upon this, Conall sent for the brains of a valiant and mighty champion of Leinster, named Meskedair, whom he had himself slain in single combat. Then, when the brains of that warrior were exhibited, both Laegari and Cuchullinn gave up their contest with Conall, for they were convinced that neither of them had ever performed so great a deed of prowess or championship. It was also a custom in those times, for the warrior who had slain any champion of great renown, to take out his brains, and having mixed them with lime, to form a hard round ball thereof, which he was wont to exhibit at conventions and public assemblies, as a trophy of victory in feats of valor. Two fools, maintained by Conobar, took notice of the great estimation in which every one held the ball made of the brains of Meskedair, and thereupon stole it, on the next morning, from the Crimson Branch. There were, indeed, three houses in Emhain, in the time of Conobar, namely, the Warrior's Sorrow, the Crimson Branch,⁵⁰ and the Red Branch.⁵¹ In the first of these houses were the wounded, and thence it was called the Warrior's Sorrow,⁵² from the sorrow and affliction which the sick warriors experienced therein from the anguish of their wounds and other diseases. The second house was called the Crimson Branch, and in it were kept the arms and valuable jewels. The brains of Meskedair were also kept there, with other articles of value. The third house was called the Red Branch, and it was in this that Conobar and his warriors were wont to be served.

But, to return to the fools, when they had stolen the brains of Meskedair from the Crimson Branch, as I have just said, they went upon the green of Emhain, and began to toss the brains like a handball from one to the other, and they were thus engaged when Keth, son of Magach, a mighty warrior of the Connaughtmen, and a fierce wolf of evil to the men of Ulster,⁵³ came up, and succeeded in coaxing the fools to give him the ball of brains,

translated by Halliday, "'Mir,' literally means a *portion*, or *dividend*." The editor has not been able to ascertain what particular thing is meant by it in this instance.

⁵⁰ *Crimson Branch*—in Irish, "Craebh-Dherg" (*Craiv-yarg*). The word "derg" signifies *bright red*, or *scarlet*.

⁵¹ *Red Branch*—in Irish, "Craebh Ruadh" (*Craiv-rooa*). Ruadh is a duller and rather *browner red*. It is the term applied to red-haired people.

⁵² The *Warrior's Sorrow*—in Irish, "Broin-bherg" (*Bronn-varg*), from "bron," *sorrow* or *pain*, and "berg," a soldier or champion.

⁵³ *A wolf of evil to the men of Ulster*—*onchu nile ar Ultchaibh*. Keth was the brother of Ohild Finn, chief of the fierce Gamanraidhe of Irrus Domnann. The far-famed Fenian clan of Morna were the descendants of this Fer-Bolg warrior.

which he then brought off into his own country; and afterwards, whenever he came to do battle against the Ulstermen, he always carried the brains of Meskedair in his girdle, in hopes of bringing some calamity upon Uladh; for it had been prophesied, that Meskedair would be revenged after his death upon the Ulidians, and he supposed that this prediction would be verified by means of the ball of brains. For this reason did he carry it always about him, in hopes of killing some of the Ulster chieftains therewith.

Keth, then, soon went to plunder Ulster, with a numerous army, and drove off a large prey of cattle from the men of Ros;⁵⁴ but he was pursued by a great force of the Ulidians. The men of Connaught flock from the west, to the help of Keth, and Concohar comes from the east, to support the Ulidians. But when Keth heard that Concohar was in the pursuit, he sent to the women of Connaught, who were on a hill viewing the contending armies, and requested of them to entice Concohar to pay them a visit, as he knew him to be a man of gallantry and affability, and was also aware that the Ulidians would not allow their king to take part in the fight against his Connaughtmen. Now, as soon as Concohar was told that the women wished to see him, he proceeded alone from the hill where he was stationed, in order to visit them; while Keth, on the other side, came privately, and lay in wait in the midst of them, for the purpose of killing his uncautious enemy. Then when Concohar was coming close to the women, Keth arose, and placed the brains of Meskedair in his sling, in order to kill him; but when Concohar saw him, he retreated into the midst of his own people. But as he was entering the wood of Dori-da-baeth, Keth cast the brains at him from his sling, and struck him on the head therewith, so that his skull was broken by that cast, and the brains of Meskedair sank into his head. His people then came up to his relief, and rescued him from Keth. The physician Finghin Faithliag⁵⁵ was at once sent for, and when he had arrived, he said that the king would die immediately if the ball were taken from his head. Upon this, his friends exclaimed, "We prefer to have our king disfigured than that he should die." Finghin then effected his cure, but cautioned him never to give way either to anger or lust, and to avoid riding on horseback, and all violent exertions; for, if he did not, that the

⁵⁴ *The Men of Ros.* In Irish, "Fera Rois." The district of the men of Ros in question, lay in the barony of Farney, county Monaghan. The parish of Machaire Rois (*Maghe-ie Rush*), now Magheross, and the town of Carraig

Machaire Rois (*Carrig Maghe-ie Rush*), now Carrickmacross, are supposed to have been comprised within it.

⁵⁵ *Finghin Faithliag*, i. e., Finghin the skillful physician. Pronounced *Fineen Faw'leca*.

repulsive force of his own brain would cast out the ball, and that his death would ensue.

Some of our shannachies tell us that Concobar lived in this state for seven years, until the Friday on which Christ was crucified. Then, upon his seeing the strange changes in the heavens, and the darkness of the sun, while the moon was full, he demanded of Baerach, a Leinster Druid that attended him, whence came these unusual alterations in the appearance of the heavens and the earth. "It is Jesus Christ, the Son of God," said the Druid, "whom the Jews are this day putting to death." "How sad that is," said Concobar, "for, if I were now there present, I would slay all that are around my king, engaged in putting him to death." He then drew his sword, and having gone into a neighboring wood, he began to hack and cut the trees, exclaiming, that if he were among the Jews, such was the vengeance that he would wreak upon them. But then, from the violence of the passion that had seized him, the ball bounded from his head, and some of his brains followed it, and then he died upon the spot. Coill Lamrigh; in the territory of Ros, was the name of that wood.

When Concobar had thus died, the kingdom of Uladh was offered to any man who could succeed in carrying the body of Concobar to Emhain, without resting on the road. Upon this, one of Concobar's own servants, named Kenn Berraide, came forward, who, hoping to gain the kingdom of Ulster thereby, bravely lifted the body, and carried it as far as Ard Achadh, on Sliabh Fuaid, but at that place his heart broke, and he died. From that attempt has arisen the proverbial saying, "He aspires to the kingdom of Kenn Berraide," which is applied to one who ambitiously aspires to higher dignities than he can ever acquire.

But, although historic authors have handed down the above account of Concobar, and tell us that he lived in the time of Christ, yet, in truth, Christ was not born for a long time after Concobar. The fact of the story is, that Baerach, a Leinster Druid, foretold that Christ, the Prophesied One, the Son of God, would be begotten, take a human body, that he should be put to death by idols, and that through him should come the redemption of the human race from the bondage of the tempter. When Concobar had heard this, he was seized with the violent excess of anger of which we have spoken, through love of Christ; and he began to cut down the wood of Lamrigh, fancying the trees to be idols, and thus he died from his violent exertions. If any person may wonder how Baerach, or any other druid, who was a Pagan, could have foreseen the death of Christ, I would ask of him, why it should have been more possible for the Sibyls, who were also Pagans, to have prophesied Christ before his conception, than for

Bacrach, and others like him. Hence, the story is not to be discredited for any such reason.

Of the death of Keth, Son of Magach,⁵⁶ down here.

This Keth was a man of prowess. He continued, during his lifetime, to be the constant enemy and untiring plunderer of the Ulidians. He went into Uladh, on a certain day, for the purpose of wreaking vengeance and plundering, as was his wont, and there came down a heavy fall of snow. As he was returning, with the heads of three warriors, whom he had slain on his foray, Conall Keárnach came upon his track, and overtook him at Ath-Keith. There they fought, and Keth fell in the combat, whilst Conall was so sorely wounded, that he fainted away from the loss of blood. Upon this, Bèaleu Breffni, a Connaught champion, arrived upon the spot, and found Keth already dead, and Conall at death's point, and he exclaimed, that it was happy tidings to have two such ravenous wolves, from whom so much ruin had come upon Ireland, thus lying in that sad plight. "That is true," said Conall, "and in vengeance for all the misery I have ever caused to Connaught, kill me now." He said this, because he had rather than the sovereignty of Ireland, that some second warrior should wound him, so that no single champion of Connaught should have the glory of slaying him. "I will not kill thee," said Bèaleu, "for the state in which thou art is as bad as death; but I shall take thee with me, and heal thy wounds, and if thou recover, I shall fight thee in single combat, and shall thus wreak vengeance upon thee for all the woes and losses thou hast ever inflicted upon Connaught." He then placed him on a bier, and brought him to his own house, where he applied remedies to him until his wounds were healed.

But when Bèaleu saw that Conall was recovering, and that his former strength was returning to him, he was seized with fear, and prepared three champions, who were his own sons, to murder him treacherously in his bed at night. However, Conall suspected this whispered treason, and, upon the night fixed upon for its execution, he said to Bèaleu, that he should exchange beds with him, or that he would kill him. Upon this Bèaleu lay down in the bed of Conall, though sore against his will, and there he was forced to stay until the champions, his own sons,

⁵⁶ *Son of Magach.* He was thus called from his mother. Many of the Belgian or Damnonian kings of Connaught were sprung from Keth. His son, Sanb, sat on the throne of Connaught for twenty-six years. He succeeded Mani, the son of Queen Medb. The Connaught Belgians were supposed to have descended from Sengann and Genann, who were kings of Ireland previous to the Danaan and Gaelic invasions.

came to the bed where Conall usually slept, and killed their own father in his stead. When Conall perceived this, he rushed upon them and slew the whole three; and he beheaded both them and their father, and brought their heads with him, on the next day, in triumph to Eihain. It is in praise of this deed that we find the following handed down by the bards :

“ Amongst the feats of Conall Keàrnach⁵⁷
We count the famous Sack of Mana—
By his hand fell the three-sired Lugaidh—
Bèaleu's three sons he slew in Brefni.”

Such were the deaths of Keth, son of Magach, and of Bèaleu, of Brefni, with his three sons. And, although we might extol several other great deeds of Conall Keàrnach, we must, however, forego mentioning them at the present time.

The death of Fergus Mac Roigh, down here.

During the exile of Fergus in Connaught, he once happened to be with Olild and Medb at Magh-Aei, where their royal residence then was; and as they were one day walking on the bank of the lake that was near their fort, Olild requested of Fergus to enter the water and swim therein. Fergus complied; but while he was yet in the lake, Medb took a fancy to go and contend with him in swimming. Upon seeing her in the waves with Fergus, Olild was seized with jealousy, and he commanded one of his kinsmen, named Lugaidh Dall-Egeas, who attended him, to cast a spear at Fergus, with which he pierced him through the chest. The wounded Fergus came to land as soon as he had received the blow, and drawing the spear out of his body, he flung it at Olild, and transfixed a hound that stood at that king's chariot, and he then fell down and died immediately, and they buried him on the bank of that same lake.

It was this Fergus that killed Fiacna, son of Concobar, and the champion Gerrghenn, son of Nillaidh,⁵⁸ and Eogan,⁵⁹ son of Durthact, king of Fernmaighe, and many other heroes and war-

⁵⁷ *Conrll Kearnach*. This chieftain was one of the most famous of the Red-Branch knights. He was son of Amirghin, son of Cas, son of Factna, son of Cathbaidh, son of Kinga, son of Rudraide Mor, King of Ireland. All the tribes of the Irian race that have survived to latter times, trace their origin, either to Conall Keàrnach or to his cousin, Fergus Mac Roigh. Conall was the progenitor of the Mac Aengusas or Magennises, of the O'Dunlev-

ies, and their correlative sept, in Ulster, and also of the O'Mordhas (*O'Morra*) or Moores, of Leix, in Leinster, and all the clans of that stock. Conall was cousin to Concobar Mac Nessa, Cuchulainn, &c. His son Irial Glunmar became king of Ulster, after Glasni, son of Concobar, and the sovereignty of that province remained long in his family.

⁵⁸ *Nillaidh*, otherwise *Illadh*.

⁵⁹ *Eogan, son of Durthact*. This

rriors, whom we shall not mention here. It was he, also, that carried off the great spoils from Ulster, whence came so many wars and enmities between the peoples of Connaught and Ulster, so that the exiles, who went from Ulster into banishment with Fergus, continued seven, or as some say, ten years in Connaught, during which time they kept constantly destroying and plundering the Ulidians, on account of the murder of the sons of Usnach. And the Ulstermen, in like manner, wreaked vengeance upon them and upon the people of Connaught, and made reprisals for the booty which Fergus had carried off, and for every other evil inflicted upon both by the exiles and by the Connaught men, insomuch that the losses and injuries sustained on both sides were so numerous that whole volumes have been written upon them, which would be too long to mention or take notice of at present.

*The death of Laegari Buadhach,⁶⁰ i. e. *Laegari the Victorious,*
*down here.**

Concobar had a poet named Aedh, son of Anind, who had a criminal intrigue with Magain, that king's wife. When this was told to Concobar, he condemned the poet to be drowned in the lake of Laegari,⁶¹ and he was accordingly led thither for that purpose, at the command of the king. When the herdsman of Laegari saw them approaching the lake with this intent, he went and told his master that they could find no other place for drowning the poet in all Ireland but before his door. When Laegari heard this, he immediately rushed out, and as he did so, he dashed his head against the lintel of the door, so that he fractured his skull. Nevertheless he flung himself with fury upon the king's people, slew them all, and delivered the poet, and then died upon the spot.

*The death of Medb of Cruachain,⁶² *down here.**

When Olild had been slain by Conall Karnach, Medb went to dwell at Inis-Clotlrann, on Loch Ribh, and during her resi-

man was the murderer of the sons of Usnach. He, too, was of the Clanna Rudraide. His father was son of Falbi, son of Aengus, son of Rudraide Mor.

⁶⁰ *Laegari Buadhach*, otherwise *Laeghaire Buadhach* (*Layeri-Bocagh*). "Buadhach" is an adjective formed from "Buadh" (*boah*), victory. Laegari was a most distinguished knight of the Red-Branch.

⁶¹ *The Lake of Laegari*, probably an artificial lake, constructed near his

rath. The traces of many such lakes or ponds still remain in Ireland.

⁶² *Medb of Cruachain*. Of all the children of the monarch Eocaidh Fiedlech, "by far the most celebrated was Meadhbh or Mab, who is still remembered as the queen of the fairies of the Irish, and the Queen Mab of Spenser's Faery Queen, in which this powerful virago, queen and queen of Connaught, is diminished to a ludicrous size in her fairy state.—*O'Donovan*.

dence there, it was her wont to take a bath every morning in a spring that lay near the entrance to the island. When Forbaide, son of Conobar, had heard this, he came privately to the spring, and measured, with a line, the distance thence to the other side of the lake. He then brought the measure with him into Ulster, and there he used to thrust two stakes into the ground, and to each of them he fastened an end of the line. He then used to place an apple on the point of one of the stakes, and standing himself at the other, he made constant practice of throwing at the apple on the opposite one, until he succeeded in hitting it. This exercise he practiced continually, until he became so dexterous, that he never missed a single throw at the apple. Shortly after this there was a meeting of the people of Ulster and Connaught, on both sides of the Shannon, at Inis-Clothrann. Forbaide came thither from the east, in the assemblage of the Ulstermen; and one morning, while he stayed there, he saw Medb bathing, as usual, in the very same spring. He, thereupon, instantly placed a stone in his sling, and having cast it, he hit her full on the forehead, and she instantly died, having then enjoyed the kingdom of Connaught for ninety-eight years.⁶³

So far we have branched off into digressions about the heroes who were the cotemporaries of Medb; but we shall now return to the monarch Eocaidh Feidlech. This Eocaidh had three sons and three daughters. The sons were Bres, Nar, and Lothar, and Ethni Uathach, Clothra, and Medb of Cruachain, were the three daughters,⁶⁴ as the bard tells us in the following verse :

“ Three daughters had king Eocaidh Feidlech—
Loud swells their fame—
Ethni the Proud, and Medb of Cruachain,
And fair Clothra.”

We shall now go back to Conobar, and relate some facts respecting him. A daughter of Eocaidh Sulbuide, of Connaught, was his mother, and her name was Nessa; and it was from her

⁶³ *Ninety-eight years.* Mani Aithremhail (*Ahrewil*), one of the seven sons whom Medb had by Ollid Mor, succeeded her on the throne of Connaught. O'Flaherty discredits the long reign attributed to Medb. In fact he proves, by comparing the deeds in which she was concerned with those that happened during the lives of her cotemporaries, that she could not have lived so long. The poets would seem to have caused the extension of her life and reign over so long a period, in order to bring her into contact with he-

ros that flourished some time before, as well as some time after her time.

⁶⁴ *Three daughters.* O'Flaherty tells us, that he had six daughters, namely: Mumhain, Elie, Medb, Derdri, Clothra, and Ethni. Of these Mumhain and Ethni were both married to Conobar Mac Nessa, and to him the former bore a son name Glasni, who succeeded him as king of Ulster, the latter bore him Forbaide, the slayer of Medb. Of all six, strange tales are recounted in the Irish romances.

that he received his surname, (i. e. Concobar or Connor Mac Nessa). His father was Factna, styled Fathach or the Wise, son of Cas, son of Rudraide, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh. And when the provincial chiefs demanded that the exact bounds of each province (or rather pentarchy) should be fixed, Carbri Niafer, king of Leinster, in consideration of getting the daughter of Concobar in marriage, gave up to Ulster all the land that lies from Temhair (or Tara), and from Loch-an-Coigi, in Breagh, to the sea, a territory that contained three entire cantons or trichakeds of land, as the bard tells us in the following verse:

“ When Eri’s ‘ fiths’ were yielded up,
From sea to sea, to Pentarch sway,
By treaty Concobar then joined
Three cantons wide to Uladh’s bounds.”

Felim of the Bright Form, was the name of the daughter by whose means he acquired this addition of territory; and she soon after eloped lasciviously with Conall Kearnach from the king of Leinster.

With regard to Concobar, he had twenty-one sons, and in a fit of drunkenness he committed incest with his own mother, who bore him a son, who was named Cormac Conlingas. Cormac is the same as “ Corb-mac,”⁶⁵ i. e. *a son begotten incestuously*; and he was so called because Concobar had committed “ corba,” i. e. *incest*, with his own mother. It was in punishment of this crime that all his sons died without issue, except three, namely: Benna, from whom descended the Benntraide (*Bantree*); Lamha, from whom came the Lamhraide (*Lauvree*); and Glasni, whose descendants were the Glasraide (*Glossree*). But even of these there is not at this day a single descendant alive in Ireland.

The Battle of Aenach Macha,⁶⁶ fought by Concobar and his Kinsmen, down here.

Concobar, son of Factna the Wise, and his kinsmen, fought the battle of Aenach Macha, against Daball, the Hard-smiter, son of

⁶⁵ *Corb-mac*. This derivation is not probable. The word “ Corb,” if it enter at all into the composition of the proper name “ Cormac,” is most probably used in the sense of “ chariot,” which is one of its meanings. “ Cormac” was not then first applied as a proper name; and if its origin was as infamous as above stated, it would not have been a name of such frequent occurrence in our annals. We may then safely conclude that the above deriva-

tion was hunted out for it, either because Concobar’s incestuous offspring chanced to bear it, or that the whole story of the incest was built upon a malicious play on the letters of which the name is composed. If “ Cormac” have any meaning in Irish, it means “ son of the chariot,” or “ charioteer.”

⁶⁶ *A na Machcha*, i. e. the Fair Green, or Field of Assembly of Macha, at Emhain Macha, near Armagh.

the monarch of Lochlin. Innumerable was the host of the son of the king of Lochlin on that occasion, when he had come to make a conquest of Ireland. He landed in the territory of Uladh first, and immediately led his forces to the plain of Macha. The clans of Rudraide mustered round Concohar, in order to do battle against those strange pirates. Then Genann, the bright-cheeked son of Cathhadh, addressed his kinsmen and said, "Small is your host, O men of Uladh, and young and beardless warriors are you all." "What then shall we do?" exclaimed all. "Take," said he, "a quantity of wool, and bind it firmly to your faces, and the fear and terror of the foreign pirates will be increased thereby, for they will fancy you to be all hardy and well-proved champions." Those of the Ulidians who were without beards acted upon the council of Genann, and then they fought the battle, and vanquished the sea-robbers, and slaughtered their host. It is from that battle they are called Ulaidh (*Ullee*).⁶⁷

The Death of Conlaech,⁶⁸ son of Cuchulainn down here.

His death was caused by the following occurrence: Cuchulainn had formerly gone to learn feats of valor from Sgathach (*Ska-hagh*), a heroine that dwelt in Alba, and at that time there was a beautiful damsel in Alba, whose name was Aeifi (*Eefie*), daughter of Ardheim (*Aurdyaim*). This damsel fell violently in love with Cuchulainn, from his great fame, and having come to visit him she became his mistress. From this intimacy she soon proved pregnant. Cuchulainn then being about to return to Ireland, and having finished his gymnastic education under Sgathach, went to bid farewell to Aeifi, to whom he gave a chain of gold, which he charged her to keep until his son had arrived at manhood, and then to send the youth to himself, with that same chain of gold, as a token by which he could recognise him. According to other accounts, it was a gold ring that he gave her, and he charged her to send his son to him to Ireland, as soon as he became so full grown that his finger could fill it; and he also laid three sacred injunctions⁶⁹ (*gesa*) upon his son, before he should

⁶⁷ *Ullaidh*. An attempt to derive the name Uladh from "Olan" (*ullann*) wool.

⁶⁸ *Conlaech*. An ancient poem upon the death of Conlaech, has been translated by Miss Brooks, and published with the original in her *Irish Reliques*.

⁶⁹ *Sacred Injunctions*. These were called in Irish "*gesa*" (*gassa*), the plural of "*geis*" (*gu sh*), which means a *votive injunction* or *prohibition*. It

appears that all champions who were admitted to the order of chivalry, either took upon themselves or were subjected to these "*gesa*." Their exact nature has not been explained; but it would appear that, independent of the duties obligatory upon the whole order, each particular warrior had certain "*gesa*" peculiar to himself, by which he was bound either to perform or to refrain from certain acts. In the notes to the tragic tale of the Children of Usnach,

come to Ireland. The first of these was, never to give way to any champion or hero in the world. The second was, not to tell his name, through fear, to any warrior living. The third was, never to refuse to fight in single combat against the most powerful champion upon earth.

In time, the young man having grown up and increased in strength, and having learned the exercises of war and chivalry from Sgathach,⁷⁰ that instructress of champions, set out for Ireland, to see his father Cuchulainn. Upon his arrival, he found Conco-bar and the chiefs of Uladh met in assembly or convention at Tract-Esi. Conco-bar sent a warrior of his people, named Cunniri, to inquire who he was. Then, when this messenger had come into the presence of the youth, he demanded the latter's name. "I tell not my name to any single warrior upon the ridge of the earth," says Conlaech. Thereupon, Cunniri returned to Conco-bar, and repeated to him that insolent reply. Then Cuchulainn went to get an account of himself from the stranger; but he only received the same answer from Conlaech. A bloody combat then took place between them, and Conlaech was overcoming Cuchulainn,⁷¹ so that, although his hardihood and prowess had been great in all his former combats, he was now obliged to retreat into an adjacent ford, and to call upon Laegh, son of Rian of Gabra, for his spear, and with it he pierced Conlaech through the body, and thus killed him.

If, O reader, I were here to relate the death of Cuchulainn by

we are told that "such vows were inviolate among our heathen ancestors. Any warrior who broke them became infamous; and the vengeance of heaven was dreaded as the immediate consequence of their violation." This was the ancient chivalry of the Irish, upon which, perhaps, was grounded the more modern one of the middle ages. Those who were initiated into *the Order of val-ur*, a very ancient one in Ireland, were peculiarly bound by these *GESA* or *solemn injunctions*. "*Gesa nach ffulin gid fir-laccha,*" injunctions not resisted by true heroes, is a usual expression in our ancient tales; "*Cuirim foghesaibh thu*" (*Currim fo yassiv hoo*); I place thee under "*gesa*;" "*Is maing do chailles a ghesa*;" he is a wretch that loses his "*gesa*;" and numberless other similar phrases in our ancient stories and poems, show the awe in which these obligations were held by the old Irish.

⁷⁰ *Sgathach*. Others say that this

instructress of champions was no other than Aciú herself. Dun Sgathach, or the fort of Sgathach, was on the Isle of Sky, which, perhaps, has its name from this heroine.

⁷¹ *Cuchulainn*. Subaltam, the father of Cuchulainn (*Cooghullin*), was of the Erimonian race of the Ernaans of Ulster. By his mother Detkind, daughter of the Druid Cathbaidh (*Caffar*), he was closely allied to the clanna Rudraide, and through her also he was the first cousin of Concll Kearnach, whose mother was Fíneacmh, daughter of Cathbaidh, and of the three sons of Usnach, who were the children of her sister Ailbi. The annalist Tighernach calls Cuchulainn *F. rtissim s heros Scotorum*, i. e. the bravest hero of the Scots, and records his death in the second year of the Christian era. We are there told that at the age of seven he was initiated into the military order; that at seventeen he pursued

the sons of Calitin, and that of Ferdiadh,⁷² son of Daman, by Cuchulainn, and those of the seven Manics, the sons of Olild and Medb, and of many other brave champions not here mentioned, their recital would prove too vast and laborious an undertaking. But if you wish for a full account thereof, you may consult the Great Rout on Magh Murthemni, the Deaths of the Knights, the Cattle Spoil of Cualgni, or the Cattle Spoil of Regamhan, or the Red Raid of Conall Kearnach, or the Feast of Emhain, or the Cattle Spoil of Flidais,⁷³ or other tales⁷⁴ of this kind, still to be seen in Ireland, and you will therein find ample mention of both the above, and of many other knights and heroes besides, and of their enterprises and adventures.

Nevertheless, I deem that I should not pass over Curigh, son of Dari, in this history, nor should I omit to recount therein the cause of his death, for he was a mighty champion and a cotemporary of Conobar and the Heroes. Moran of Mana (the Isle of Man) was the mother of Curigh, son of Dari, as the bard informs us in the following rann :

“ Moran of Mana, of honor pure,
Was the child of Ir, son of Uinnsid ;
The sister of Eocaidh Ecebd she,
And mother of Curigh, son of Dari.”

There were three orders of champions then coexistent in Ireland; and neither before them nor since their time were there found any of the children of Miledh who were taller, more powerful, hardier, braver or more expert in feats of valor and chivalry than they; for the Fiann of Leinster was not to be compared with them. The first order of these was composed of the heroes or knights of the Red Branch, under Conobar. The second was formed of the Gamanraide (*Gowanree*) of Irrus Donnann, under Olild Finn; and the third was composed of the Clanna Degaidh in West-Munster, under Curigh, son of Dari.

the plunderers of Cualgni (when he slew Ferdiadh, son of Daman, the bravest of the Gamauraidhe of Irrus Donnann); and that at twenty-seven, he was slain by Lugaidh, grandson of Carbri Niaser, at the battle of Murthemni, in Louth. Some call his slayer Lugaidh, son of Curigh Mac Dari. Others say that Cuchulainn was slain by the sons of Calitin. His residence was at Dun-Dealgain, now called Dundalk.

⁷² *Ferdiadh, son of Daman.* This redoubted champion fell at Ath-Fhir-diaidh (*Aw'irdeea*), or Ferdiadh's Ford, now Ardee, in the county of Louth.

⁷³ *Flidais.* This foray was so called from Flidais or Flidhais (*Fleesi*), who became the wife of Fergus Mac Roigh, after the death of her first husband, Olild Dubh (*Duv*), chief of the Fir-Craebhe, one of the Belgian tribes of Connaught.

⁷⁴ *Tales.* Several versions of these tales, which are partly poetical and partly founded on fact, are still extant. Their publication would be a vast boon to the students of Irish antiquities. Dr. Keating has drawn from their pages all the episodes, which he has introduced into this part of his history.

The death of Curigh, son of Dari, down here.

The following was the adventure whence came the death of Curigh. The Heroes of the Red Branch, having mustered their forces, went to ravage Mana, a sea-girt isle not far from Scotland, where there was a great store of gold and silver with jewels and many other articles of price, and a beautiful marriageable damsel, who was the daughter of the lord of that island, and who surpassed all the women of her time in form and in feature, and her name was Blathnaid (*Blathnid*). When Curigh had heard that the Heroes were about going upon that expedition, he transformed himself by magic into a false shape, so that he might take part in the adventure. But when, under the guise of jugglers, they were about plundering the island, they judged that there would be great difficulty in taking the chief fortress, in which were Blathnaid and all the treasures, both on account of the strength of its fortifications and the number of the men that defended them. Then Curigh, who was disguised as a clown, in a gray garb, said that he would himself take possession of the fort for them, if he were only to get his choice of the jewels it contained. This was promised him by Cuchulainn, and they then attacked the fortress, with the clown in the gray garb at their head, who stopped the motion of an enchanted wheel that was placed in the gate of the rath, and thus let all the others in. They then plundered it and brought away Blathnaid and all the treasures it contained. They then returned to Ireland, and arrived at Emhain; and there, when they were dividing the treasury, the clown of the gray garb demanded his choice thereof, according to the promise made to him. "Thou wilt get it," said Cuchulainn. "Then," replied he, "Blathnaid is my choice of the treasury." "Take thy choice of all the other jewels except Blathnaid," said Cuchulainn. "I will take no exchange for her," said the clown in the gray garb. Then Curigh made an attempt to take Blathnaid off, and, surprising her unperceived, he bore her away under an enchanted (druidic) mask. When Cuchulainn perceived that the girl was missing, he guessed at once that it was Curigh that had taken her off, and he forthwith followed upon their track to Munster, so that he came up with them at Sulchoid⁷⁵ (*Sulloghod*), where the champions lay hold of each other; and they contend with valor and courage, until Cuchulainn was thrown down by Curigh, who then tied him neck and heels,⁷⁶ and left him

⁷⁵ *Sulchoid*, now Solloghod or Sallowhead, on the borders of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, not far from the town of Tipperary.

⁷⁶ *Tied him neck and heels*. Literally

"he inflicted on him the fettering of the five smalls, a Gaelic idiom, signifying that he bound his neck, wrists and ancles."—*Halliday*.

there bound as a captive, having first cut off his foe's hair⁷⁷ with his sword. Having done this, he took Blathnaid with him into West-Munster, while Cuchulainn was lying in his bonds. But Laegh, son of Rian of Gabra, soon came up and loosed Cuchulainn, after which they both proceeded thence to the north of Ulster, where they dwelt near the Peaks of Boirchi⁷⁸ for the space of one year, and they came not into the assembly of the Men of Ulster until Cuchulainn's hair had grown. Then at the end of the year, happening to be on the Peaks of Boirehi, he saw a great flight of black birds coming over the sea from the north, and when they had arrived at the land, he pursued them, and by a feat called "taith-bheim"⁷⁹ (*Táhvaim*), killed one of them with his sling in every territory he passed through, until he had killed the last black bird of them at the stream of Bron in West-Munster. On his return from the West, he found Blathnaid⁸⁰ alone near the Finn-glas, in Kerry, where Curigh⁸¹ had a fortified residence at that time. There a conversation then ensued between them, in which the damsel told him that there was not on the world's face a man that loved she more than him; and she begged of him to come during the ensuing season of Samhain (All-Hallows) with an armed host and carry her off by force or by wile; and, that he might the more easily accomplish this, she said that she should herself take care that Curigh should, at that time, have but few warriors or attendants around him. Cuchulainn, promised to come to her at the appointed time, and then took his leave and proceeded back to Ulster, where he related his adventure to Conobar.

In the meantime Blathnaid told Curigh that he ought to build for himself a stone fortress⁸² that should exceed all the royal res-

⁷⁷ *Cut off his hair.* He did this for the greater humiliation of his adversary. No Irish chieftain could appear in public without having his hair full grown. The Irish wore the hair long, and it was considered disgraceful for a freeman to appear in public with it cut short.

⁷⁸ *The Peaks of Boirchi.* The Benna Boirchi, or Peaks of Boirehi, are situated near the source of the river Bann in Ulster.

⁷⁹ *Tath-bheim.* In O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, this word is translated a *mortal blow*. It seems in this instance rather to mean a *flying shot*, or an *oblique cast*. The word "Tath," the first part of the compound, has many meanings, one of which is said to be *slaughter*, another *aside*.

⁸⁰ *Blathnaid.* This name is derived from "Blath" (*Blah*) a blossom or flower. It may mean the blooming.

⁸¹ *Curigh* is said to mean, the royal hero or wolf-hound, as if Curigh (*Cooree*) Cuchulainn means the wolf-hound of Uladh or Ulster, as if Cu-Ulainn.

⁸² *A stone fortress.* Curigh Mac Dari had his fortress upon the top of a high hill, situated between the bays of Castlemain and Tralee, in Kerry. The ruins of this fortress, which is yet called Cathair Chourigh (*Cahir Conry*) or the stone fortress of Curigh, still exist. It was a Cyclopean structure, of circular form, and the immense size of the stones of which it is composed may have given rise to the story of the dispersion of the Clanna Degaidh, by

ideneſs that were in Ireland, and that he might do ſo by ſending the clans of Degaidh to gather and collect all the upright ſtones in the kingdom for that purpoſe. Blathnaid's reaſon for this counſel was, in order that the clans of Degaidh might be diſperſed in diſtant parts of Ireland, far from Curigh, at the time when Cuchulainn was to come to carry her off. When Cuchulainn then heard that the clans of Degaidh⁸³ were diſperſed in this manner over Ireland, he ſet out privately, attended by an armed band, and we hear no more of him, until he had arrived at a wood near the reſidence of Curigh. When he had taken up his ſtation therein, he ſent her private word of his preſence there with an armed force. The reply ſhe ſent to him was, that ſhe would herſelf ſteal the ſword of Curigh, and then, as a ſign to him, that ſhe would ſpill a pail of new milk, which ſhe had in the fort, into the ſtream that flowed from it into the wood where Cuchulainn lay in ambush. In a ſhort time after he had received this meſſage, he perceived the ſtream becoming white from the milk, and, thereupon, he led his men ſtraightway to the dwelling, and they ſtormed the fort upon Curigh and ſlew himſelf therein, having found him alone and without arms. They then took off Blathnaid into Ulſter. Since that adventure the river has ever been named, Finn-glas (i. e. the white ſtream) from its having been made white by the milk.

But the bard of Curigh, whoſe name was Ferkertni, followed Blathnaid into Ulſter, in the hope of finding an opportunity of killing her in revenge for Curigh. When arrived in there, he found Conobar and Cuchulainn, and company around them, on the promontory of Kenn-Bera (*Kan-Barra*). Then, the bard, ſeeing Blathnaid ſtanding on the edge of a cliff, came up to her, and clasp- ing his arms around her, he flung both himſelf and her headlong down the precipice with a bound, ſo that they were both thus ſlain.

Curigh, in ſearch of the upright ſtones, i. e. pillar ſtones, at Blathnaid's deſire. The promontory of Loophead, on the oppoſite ſhore of the county of Clare, was formerly called "Léim Chonchulainn" or Cuchulainn's Leap, for that hero was fabled to have leaped acroſs the mouth of the Shannon, when on his way to attack Curigh.

⁸³ *Clans of Degaidh.* Of the tribe of the renowned Curigh Mac Dari, the Degadians or Ernaans of Munſter, ſeveral clans continued to hold a diſtinguiſhed place amongſt the ſepts of

West Munſter, down to a late period, notwithſtanding their ſubjugation by the Eberian chieftain, Eogan Mor, ſtyled Mugh Nuadath. Of that race came the late celebrated chief of the Ir- iſh people Daniel O'Connell. The Degadians were ſaid to be the reſtorers of military diſcipline and of the equeſtrian order in Munſter. The principal clans into which they branched, were the O'Falvies, O'Connells and O'Sheas of Kerry, the O'Flinns, and O'Donegans of Muſkery, the O'Cronaeanas, O'Corcorans, &c.

EOCAIDH AREMH, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3952.⁸⁴ Eocaidh⁸⁵ Aremh, son of Finn, son of Finnloga, son of Roighnèn Ruadh, son of Esamhan of Emhain, son of Blathact, son of Labraidh Lore, of the line of Erimhòn held the sovereignty of Ireland for twelve years. He got the surname "Aremh"⁸⁶ because he was the first that dug a grave in Ireland; for "Aremh" (*aurev*) is the same as "ar uaimh" (*ar ooiv*) that is *plough* or *dig a grave*. And at last this Eocaidh fell by Sidmall⁸⁷ at Fremhain⁸⁸ (now Frewin), in Tebtha.

EDERSGÈL, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3964.⁸⁹ Edersgèl,⁹⁰ son of Eogan, son of Olild, son of Iar, son of Degaidh, son of Sin, son of Rosin, son of Trèn, son of Rothrèn, son of Ardil, son of Mani, son of Fòrga, son of Feradach, son of Olild Eron, son of Fiacaidh Fer-mara, son of Aengus Tuirmech of Temhair, son of Eocaidh Folt-lethan, of the line of Erimhòn, held the monarchy of Ireland for six years, when he fell by Nuadath Nect, at Allinn.

NUADATH NECT, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3970.⁹¹ Nuadath Nect,⁹² son of Sedna Sithbach, son of

⁸⁴ A. M. 5070.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁵ EOCAIDH XI.

⁸⁶ *Aremh*. It may be assumed as almost certain, that "uaimh," a *grave*, does not enter into the composition of any part of this word. It is, most probably, the same as the modern word "oiremh" (*orrev*), a ploughman; that is, if the first syllable be short and it be derived from "är" *dig* or *plough thou*; if the first syllable be long, it would mean a *counting* or *enumeration*, (in which sense it is still in use,) and, possibly, a *person who counts* or *enumerates*. It is surprising that Dr. Keating, or his authorities with the obvious examples of the many Irish derivative words, formed by the addition of the suffix "emh" or "amh" (*av*) to a simple root, should have made so far-fetched a blunder. As well might he tell us that "breithemh" a *judge*, is derived from "breith" a judgment and "uaimh" (*ooiv*) a *grave*.

⁸⁷ *Sidmall*. The *Four Masters* say that Eocaidh Aremh, who was the brother of Eocaidh Feidlech, the last

king, "was burned by Sighmall, at Fremhain." They assign to him a reign of *fifteen*, while the annals of Clonmacnoise give him a reign of *twenty-five* years. Sidmall or Sighmall, his slayer, dwelt at Sidh-Nennta now Mullaghshee, near Lanesborough county, Rosecommon.

⁸⁸ *Fremhain in Tebtha*, now Frewin, a lofty hill on the shore of Lough Owel, in the townland of Watstown, parish of Porlemon and county of Westmeath.—*O'D.*

⁸⁹ A. M. 5085.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁰ *Edirsgèl*, otherwise, *Eidersgeòl*. This prince was of the Degadians of Munster. His father had been king of that province. Allinn, where he was killed, is now called Knockaulin, near Kilcullen, co. Kildare. According to the *Annals*, just quoted, he reigned five years.

⁹¹ A. M. 5090.—*Four Masters*.

⁹² NUADATH II. This king was the progenitor of the clann O'Bacisgni, who were called the Fianna or Fenians of Leinster and who became so cele-

Lugaidh Lotfinn, son of Bresal Brec, son of Fiacaídh Fobrec of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for half a year. He was called Nuadath Nect (i. e. Nuadath the snow-white), from the word "nix,"⁹³ which means snow; for the whiteness of his skin was likened to that of snow. This Nuadath fell by Conari Mor, son of Edersgèl, at the battle of Cliach in Ui Drona.⁹⁴

CONARI MGR, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 3970.⁹⁵ Conari⁹⁶ Mor, son of Edersgèl, son of Eogan of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty, or according to others, for seventy years.

The reader must now understand that the Ernaide⁹⁷ tribes of Munster are of the posterity of this Conari, as are also those of the Dal-Riada, of Alba; and that it was in the time of Duach Dalta Degaidh that the Ernaide came into Munster, whither, according to the Psalter of Cormac, son of Culinan, they had been driven by the tribe of Rudraide, which had vanquished them in

brated under his descendant, Finn, son of Cumbal, called Fingal by Macpherson, and vulgarly known as Finn and Fioun Mac Cool in Anglo-Irish patois. "Magh Nuadhat" (*Moy Nooth*), i. e. Nuadath's Plain, now Maynooth, in the county of Kildare has taken its name from this monarch. His name is commonly pronounced, *Nooa Naght*.

⁹³ *Nix*, or rather "necht," which may mean the same thing as "snecht" or "snecht" (*Shnaught*), i. e. snow.

⁹⁴ *Cliach in Ui Drona*, i. e. in the present barony of Idrone, county Carlow.

"After the fall of Nuadha (Nuadath), Conari levied a fine upon the Leinster people for the killing of his father, and they resigned for ever to the seven kings of Munster, at Cashel, that tract of Ossory extending from Gowran to Grian, as an atonement for the murder of that king, calling upon the heaven, earth, sea, land, sun and moon to witness their surrender."—*See Ogygia*.

⁹⁵ A. M. 5091.—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁶ CONARI I. "It was in the reign of Conari, that the Boinn annually cast its produce ashore, at Inber Colpa. Great abundance of nuts were annually found upon the Boinn (Boyne) and the Buais (Bush). The cattle were without keepers in Ireland in his reign, on account

of the greatness of the peace and concord. His reign was not thunder-producing or stormy. Little but the trees bent from the greatness of their fruit."—*Id.* It is thus that the Irish Annalists figuratively express the peace and plenty of their monarchs' reigns. Theophilus O'Flanagan in the volume of the Transactions of the Gaelic Society, heretofore cited, has published a fragment of an ode, usually sung at the inauguration of Irish kings, which shows what the ideas of our ancestors were upon this subject :

Seven true witnesses there are
For monarch's broken faith—
Falsely trampling upon right,
To drive the Senate from its hall;
To strain vindictively the law;
Defeats in battle;
Years of famine;
The failure of milk;
The blight of fruit;
The blight of corn.
These are the seven vivid lights
That show the perjury of kings.

⁹⁷ *Ernaide*, otherwise *Earnaide* or *Ernai*, and in English, *Ernaans*. The name properly belonged to a tribe of the Fer-Bolgs. The Degadians got it, very probably, from having fixed themselves in the Ernaan territory, in West Munster, where the Eberian king, Duach, seems to have placed his fosterer Degaidh.

eight battles. They afterward acquired great power in Munster, from the time of Duach Dalta Degaidh to that of Mogh Nuadath, so that, according to the Book of Munster, when the race of Eber gained the supremacy of that principality for themselves, they drove the Ernaans into the extreme territory of Ui Rathach,⁹⁸ and the isles of West Munster, and thus they remained until the time of Mogh Nuadath, by whom they were finally expelled.

Conari fell at Bruighin-Da-Dherg⁹⁹ (*Breen-daw-yarg*), by Angkel,¹⁰⁰ the Short-Sighted, grandson of Conmac, and by the sons of Donn Desa, of Leinster.

LUGAIDH RIABH-N-DERG, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 4000.¹ Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg (*Reevnarg*) son of the three Finn-Emna (*Finnavna* or *Finnnewna*) sons of Eocaidh Fredlech, son of Finn, son of Finnloga, of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for twenty years,² or as others say, twenty-six. Derborgaill, daughter of the king of Lochlin, was this Lugaidh's wife. He was called Riabh-n-derg (*Reevenarg*), i. e. "of the Red Circles,"³ from his having had a red circle round his neck, and another round his waist. For he was the son of the three Finns⁴ by their own sister, namely, Clothra, daughter of Eocaidh

⁹⁸ *Ui Rathach*, now Iveragh, in Kerry, pronounced *Ee Rawhagh*, and *Eevrawhagh*.

⁹⁹ *Bruighin Da Dherg* is situated on the river Dothair (*Dóhir*) now Dodder, near Dublin. Part of the name is still preserved in "Bothar-na-Bruighne" (*Boharnabreena*), i. e. the road of the "Bruighin" (*Breen*), or fort, a place well known on that River. It is otherwise called Briughen-da-Bherga (*Breen-davarga*.)

¹⁰⁰ *Ankel*. This Ankel or Aingcel, was called king of the Britons, because his mother was Bera, daughter of Ocha, prince of the Britons of Man. Dekell and Dartad were the names of the other principals in the slaying of Conari, by whom they had been previously banished for their misdeeds. They were aided by foreigners in the act. During Conari's reign, we are told by O'Flaherty that the kings of the Pentarehates or provinces were Coneobar MacNessa, in Ulster; Carbri Niafer, in Leinster; Olild and his queen Medh, in Connaught; Curigh MacDari, in North Munster; and Eocaidh Abradhruadh, son of Lucta (of the line of Eber), in South.—*See Ogygia*.

¹ A. M. 5166. Conari having reigned seventy years, was slain in 5161, after which Ireland remained five years without a king.—*See Four Masters*.

² Lugaidh V. He reigned twenty-five years.—*Id.*

³ *Red Circles*. What proof is there beyond the silly and senseless puns of which we have already seen so many, that "Riabh-n-derg," or "Sriabh-n-derg," as it is otherwise written, does mean of the red circles? The general nature of bardic derivations should teach us to be cautious how we accredit idle or malignant stories, that seem to have no other foundation than a forced and stupid play upon names and titles, whose meanings have long since grown obsolete. If it does mean of red circles (or of streaks, stripes, or streams, as analogy seems to argue), the most obvious supposition is, that it had its origin either in some peculiarity in his costume, if not in the red streams through which, during the interregnum of five years that succeeded the death of Conari the Great, he must have waded his bloody path to the throne.

⁴ *Son of the three Finns*. The impossibility of the first part of this coarse

Feidlech, whom they had violated in a drunken fit. This fact is recorded in the following verse, from which we learn that Clothra, who bore this Lugaidh to her brothers, bore also Crimthann Niadnar, to the same Lugaidh, her son. The verse runs as follows:

“Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg, of fair Crimthann
The father was, though yet his brother ;
And Clothra of the comely form,
To her own son was grandmother.”⁵

It was thought at that time, that the upper part of Lugaidh's person bore a likeness to Nar; that he resembled Bres, between the two circles, and that his lower extremities were like those of

and unnatural fiction confutes itself. The three Finns of Emhain, were slain, as we have seen, at the battle of Drom-Criaidh, during the reign of the grandfather of this Lugaidh, that is of Eocaidh Feidlech, who died, according to the authorities followed by Keating, forty-eight and-a-half, but according to the Four Masters, ninety and-a-half years before Lugaidh's accession to the throne. The probability is, that Eocaidh, whose grief for the death of his sons, Bres, Nar, and Lothar, called the Three Finns of Emhain, was notorious, got the name of his grandson, by his daughter, inserted in the Erimonian pedigree, immediately after those of his three sons, or that he willed that it should be so; for it is not probable that Lugaidh, who died in the prime of life, sixty-eight years, according to some, and one hundred and sixteen according to others, after his grandfather's death, was even born during the latter's lifetime. We shall hereafter see a better authenticated example of a similar insertion on the ancestral tree, in the case of the Eberians, where Olild Flann Mor, king of Munster, dying without issue, adopts his brother, Olild Flann Beg, as his son, and wills that he should be named as such in the pedigree of his tribe. We may here surmise, that after the destruction or expurgation of the Pagan records by St. Patrick and the early fathers of the Irish Church, the bards, having been left nothing but bald names and titles

to fill up the reigns of some of their ancient kings, coined idle stories thereupon, to which they often gave a malicious and calumnious coloring, in order to please the prejudices of their own tribes by depreciating those of their enemies. It is likely that those old names were as little understood a thousand years ago as they are now, and that they were mystic and enigmatical to the shenachies of that time, as they must, perhaps, ever remain to those of the present.

⁵ *To her own son was grandmother.* O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, confutes this repulsive assertion. He shows that, in order to believe it, we must suppose that King Lugaidh, who, as he proves to us had died in the prime of his life, should have lived on to about the age of eighty, at which advanced period of his existence a child should have been born to him by a woman, who should have then considerably passed her hundredth year; and, to demonstrate the absurdity and utter impossibility of the whole tale, he proves that, in order to maintain it, we must assert that Crimthann, the son so born, was mature enough to have engaged in warlike affairs at the age of *two years*. The same learned antiquary fully proves, that Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg could not have been born during his grandfather's lifetime, and, consequently, that he could not have been the son of the three Finns, who were slain early in his said grandfather's reign.

Lothar. Lugaidh ended his life by flinging himself upon his own sword; or he died of grief for his children.⁶

CONCOBAR ABRADH-RUADH ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 4020.⁷ Concoobar⁸ Abradh-ruadh, son of Finn the poet, son of Rosa Ruadh, son of Fergus Fargi, son of Nuadath Nect, of the line of Erimhòn, enjoyed the sovereignty of Ireland for one year. He was called Concoobar Abradh-ruadh (*Concovar Avra-roo*), from the red brows that overhung his eyes. He fell by the hand of Crimthann Niadnar.

CRIMTHANN NIADH-NAIR, ARD-RIGH.

A. M. 4023.⁹ Crimthann Niadh-Nair, son of Lugaidh Riabh-nerg, of the line of Erimhòn reigned over Ireland for sixteen years. He was called Niadh-Nair,¹⁰ (*Neca-Nair*), i. e. *the abashed hero*, because he was ashamed of his birth, having been the son of his brother, by their common mother.

It was this Crimthann that went on the famous expedition¹¹

⁶ *Children.* The Annals of the Four Masters simply say that "he died of grief;" the Clonmacnoise, that "he died of conceit he took of the death of his wife Dervorgil."

"King Lugaidh's wives were Crifanga, of North Britain, and Derborgalla, of Lapland, (Lochlin,) now called Denmark. Those who write that, being struck with sudden remorse for having committed incest with his mother, and being wearied with his life, he fell upon his own sword, have not considered that the son which she was said to have borne him was not posthumous, but was of an age to claim his birthright, a year after his father's death. Neither have they considered that Clothra must have been long past child-bearing, not only before the end, but long before the beginning of his reign. *The more probable opinion* is, that he pined away for the premature death of his wife, Derborgalla."—*O'Flaherty's Ogygia*. For the latter fact, this antiquary cites the authorities of Gilla-Caemhan, the Book of Lecan, the Annals of Tighernach, and those of Donegal.

⁷ A. M. 5192.—*Four Masters*.

⁸ CONCOBAR I.

⁹ A. M. 5193.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁰ *Niadh-Nair.* Sufficient evidence has been adduced in the notes upon the reign of this king's father, to prove the repulsive legend upon which this derivation is founded to be an idle and impossible, and perhaps a malicious, fiction—that is, if the legend be not itself built upon forced interpretations of the terms "Riabh-nerg" and "Niadh-Nair." In the following extract from Dr. O'Donovan's work, already so often quoted, will be found an explanation of this surname, that, though much more poetic, is perhaps much nearer to the truth.

¹¹ *Expedition.* The *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Cleries contains a poem of seventy-two verses, ascribed to King Crimthann himself, in which he describes the articles he brought into Ireland on this occasion. It begins "*Ma do codh an eachtra n-àn,*" i. e. "fortunate that I went on the delightful adventure." But no mention is made of the countries into which he went. It is fabled that he was accompanied on this expedition by his *Bainleannán*, or female sprite, named NAIR, from whom he was called NIADH NAIRI, (*Neca Naari*), i. e. Nair's hero, which is far more romantic than that disgust-

beyond the sea, and brought home with him several extraordinary and costly treasures, among which were a gilt chariot and a golden chessboard, inlaid with three hundred transparent gems, a tunic¹² of various colors, and embroidered with gold. He also brought off a victorious sword, ornamented with a variety of serpents, beautifully wrought thereon in refined gold; a shield, embossed with pure silver; a spear from whose wound no one could recover; a sling that never missed the mark; two hounds leashed together by a silver chain, worth a hundred cumhals,¹³ with many other treasures which we shall not name here.

In the twelfth year¹⁴ of this king's reign was born OUR SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST.

Crimthann's death was occasioned by a fall from his horse, which proved fatal in a short time; and others add, that this event took place at Dun Crimthann, near Benn Edar, (now Howth), about six weeks after his return from his expedition.

Extract¹⁵ from the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.

"The Age of Christ, 10. The first year of the reign of CARBRI KINNCAIT, after he had killed the nobility, except a few who escaped from the massacre in which the nobles were mur-

ing one given by Keating, obviously from some Munster calumniator of the race Heremon, (Erimhòn.) The following notice of this expedition is given in the Annals of Clonmacnoise :

"It is reported that he was brought by a fairy lady into her palace, where, after great entertainment bestowed upon him, and after having enjoyed the society of one another, she bestowed a gilt coach (chariot) with a sum of money on him, as a love token, and soon after he died. O'Flaherty [*See note (Nair) p. 294*] says that this Nair was Crimthann's queen."—*O'D.*

¹² *A tunic*, called otherwise "Cedach Crimthainn," i. e. Crimthann's cloak. It is evident that this cloak was celebrated in Irish romances.—*O'D.*

¹³ *Worth a hundred cumhals.* Another version of this story says, "which chain was worth a hundred 'cumhals.'" Cumhal (*Cūval* or *Cooal*) is translated *ancillis*, i. e. *female servants* or slaves, by Lynch. Other authorities say that a "cumhal" was of the value of four *sowc*.

¹⁴ The Annals of the Four Masters record this event thus: "The first year of the Age of Christ, and the eighth of the reign of Crimthann Niadhair." There is thus, relatively to Crimthann's reign, a discrepancy of four years between them and Dr. Keating. Irish authorities differ considerably as to the reign in which the birth of the Saviour took place, some arguing that it took place in that of Conari Mor, while others put it back as far as the reign of Factna Fathach.

¹⁵ *Extract.* Dr. Keating, for some unexplained reason, has misplaced the reign of Carbri Kenn-cait, in contradiction to all our antiquarians. As he has been decidedly mistaken in this, the editor, before continuing the Doctor's narrative, has deemed it right to insert in his text, the above-given extract, containing the reigns of three kings, so that the reader may not be set astray as to the regular order in which the Irish kings succeeded one another, during what seems to have been a most critical period in the existence of the

dered by the Athach-Tuatha.¹⁶ These are the three nobles who escaped from them at that time: Feradach Finn-fectnach, from whom are sprung all the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles; Tibradi Tirech, from whom are the Dal Araide; and Corb Olum, from whom are the kings of the Eoganachts, in Munster. And as to these, it was in their mothers' wombs they escaped. Baini, daughter of the king of Alba, was the mother of Feradach¹⁷

Gaelic nation. The translation here given is Dr. O'Donovan's, with some slight change in the spelling of proper names, which is made in order to agree with the system, with regard to such names, which has been hitherto followed in this work.

¹⁶ *Athach-Tuatha*, otherwise Aitheach-Tuatha (*Ahagh-Toohah*). "This name is usually latinized 'Attacotti.' Dr. O'Connor calls them the Giant Race; but Dr. Lynch and others, the Plebeian Race. They were the descendants of the Fer-Bolgs and other colonies, who were treated as a servile and helot class by the Scoti (or Gaels). In the *Leabhar Gabhala* (*Lavar Gavaula*) of the O'Cleries, a more detailed account of the murder of the Milesian nobility by the Fer-Bolgie plebeians is given, of which the following is a literal translation:

"The Attacotti of Ireland obtained great sway over the nobility, so that the latter were all cut off except those who escaped the slaughter in which the nobles were exterminated. The Attacotti afterwards set up Carbri Cat-Kinn, one of their own race, as their king. These are the three nobles that escaped from this massacre, namely, Feradach Finn-fectnach, from whom are descended all the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles; Tibradi Tirech, from whom are the Dal Araide; and Corb Olum, from whom are the nobles of the race of Eber Finn. These sons were in their mothers' wombs when they escaped from the massacre; and each of the three queens went respectively over sea. Baini, daughter of the king of Alba, was the mother of Feradach; Cruifi, daughter of the king of Britain, was the mother of Corb Olum, who was otherwise called Dergtimi; and Aini, daughter of the king of Saxony, was the mother of Tibradi Tirech. Evil,

indeed, was the condition of Ireland during the time of this Carbri, for the earth did not yield its fruits to the Attacotti after the great murder of the nobility of Ireland, so that the corn, fruits and produce of Ireland, were barren; for there used to be but one grain upon the stalk, one acorn upon the oak, and one nut upon the hazel. Fruitless were her harbors; milkless her cattle; so that a general famine prevailed during the five years that Carbri was in the sovereignty. Carbri afterwards died, and the Attacotti offered the sovereignty to Morann, son of Carbri. He was a truly intelligent and learned man, and said that he would not accept of it, as it was not his hereditary right; and, moreover, he said that scarcity and famine would not cease until they should send for the three legitimate heirs, to the foreign countries, namely, Feradach Finnfectnach, Corb Olum, and Tibradi Tirech, and elect Feradach as king, for to him it was due, because his father was killed by them in the massacre we have mentioned, whence his mother, Baini, had escaped. This was done at Morann's suggestion; and it was to invite Feradach to be elected king, that Morann sent the celebrated Udhacht (*ooaght*) or Testament. The nobles were afterwards sent for, and the Attacotti swore by the heaven and earth, Sun, Moon and all the elements, that they would be obedient to them and their descendants, as long as the sea should surround Ireland. They then came to Ireland, and settled each in his hereditary region, namely, Tibradi Tirech in the east of Ulster; Corb Olum in the south, over Munster, and Feradach Finnfectnach, at Temhair of the kings.'"—*O'Donovan*.

¹⁷ *Feralach*. Conn of the Hundred Battles, who was the ancestor of most of the royal tribes of Ulster and Con-

Finn-foctnach; Cruifi, daughter of the king of Britain, was the mother of Corb Olum;¹⁸ and Aini, daughter of the king of Saxony, was the mother of Tibradi Tirech.¹⁹

"The Age of Christ, 14. Carbri Catkenn, after having been five years in the sovereignty of Ireland, died. Evil was the state of Ireland during his reign; fruitless her corn, for there used to be but one grain on the stalk; fruitless her rivers; milkless her cattle; plentiless her fruit, for there used to be but one acorn on the oak.

"Son to this Carbri was the very intelligent Morann, who was usually called Morann Mac Maen.²⁰

"The Age of Christ, 15. The first year of FERADACH FINN-FECTNACH as king over Ireland. Good was Ireland during his time. The seasons were right tranquil. The earth brought forth its fruit; fishful its river-mouths; milkful the kine; heavy-headed the woods.

"The Age of Christ, 36. Feradach Finn-foctnach, son of Crimthann Niadhnair, after having spent twenty-two years in the sovereignty of Ireland, died at Temhair.

"The Age of Christ, 37. The first year of FIATACH FINN,²¹ son of Dari, son of Dluthach, in the sovereignty of Ireland.

naught, was his fourth descendant. The royal tribes (the Mac Morrourghs, &c.), of Ieinster, are not of his posterity, so that their ancestor must have escaped the slaughter, as well as the three chiefs named above.

¹⁸ *Corb O'um*. His fourth descendant was Olild Olum, ancestor of all the royal tribes of Munster. Some of the Heremonian Ernaans or Degadians of West Munster, the O'Falvies, O'Connells, O'Sheas, &c., must have likewise escaped the massacre of Magh-Bolg, for they are not of the race of any of those here mentioned.

¹⁹ TIBRADI TIRECH reigned over Ulster for thirty years. He was the ancestor of the Magennises and their co-relatives; but other Gaelic septa of the Irian stock, such as the O'Moores, the O'Connors Kerry and Corcomroe, &c., are not of his posterity, so that their ancestors must have also escaped.

²⁰ *Morann Mac Maen*. This fact of Morann Mac Maen's having been the son of Carbri Kenn-cait, and his having been the promoter of Feradach's elevation to the throne after his father's death, ought to have demon-

strated to Dr. Keating his mistake in placing Carbri's usurpation three reigns later than it really was. "Mr. Moore states in his History of Ireland, that the administration of this counsellor succeeded in earning for his king (Feradach) the honorable title of 'The Just,' and that, under their joint sway, the whole country enjoyed a hull of tranquillity as precious as it was rare;" but the O'Clery's assert (*in the tract last quoted*), that "Feradach proceeded to extirpate the Athach-Tuatha, or to put them under great rent and servitude, to revenge upon them the evil deed they had committed in murdering the nobility of Ireland.—O'F.

²¹ FIATACH FINN. The ancestor or father of this king was apparently not involved in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg. From him was descended the Dal-Fiatach, a warlike tribe seated in the present county of Down. Mac Donlevy, who offered such brave to Sir John De Courcy, in the 12th century, was head of the tribe. The editor's copies of Keating call this king Fiacaidh Finn, and his descendants Dal Fiacach.

“The Age of Christ, 39. This Fiatach Finn (from whom are the Dal Fiatach, in Uladh), after having been three years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed by Fiachaidh Finnfolaidh.

“The age of Christ, 40. The first year of the reign of FIACHAIDH FINNFOLAIDH over Ireland.

“The Age of Christ, 56. Fiachaidh Finnfolaidh, after having been seventeen years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed by the provincial kings at the instigation of the Athach-Tuatha, in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg.²² These were the provincial kings by whom he was killed: Elim, son of Conra, king of Ulster; Sanb, son of Keth Mac Magach, king of Connaught; Forbri, son of Finn, king of Munster, and Eocaidh Aukenn, king of Leinster. He left of children but one son only, who was in the womb of Ethni, daughter of the king of Alba. Tuathal was his (the son’s) name.

“The Age of Christ, 57. The first year of the reign of ELIM, son of Conra.

“The Age of Christ, 73. Elim, son of Conra, after having been twenty years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was slain in the battle of Achill,²³ by Tuathal Tectmar. God took vengeance on the Athach-Tuatha for their evil deed,²⁴ during the time that Elim was in the sovereignty, namely: Ireland was without corn, without milk, without fruit, without fish, and without every other great advantage, since the Athach-Tuatha had killed Fiachaidh Finnfolaidh in the slaughter of Magh-Bolg, till the time of Tuathal-Tectmar.”

²² *Magh Bolg*, i. e. the Belgian Plain, now Moybolgue, a parish in the south-east of Cavan, extending into Meath.—*O’D.*

²³ *Achill* or *Achilla*, the old name of the hill of Skreen, near Tara, in Meath.—*O’D.*

²⁴ *Evil-Deed*. That the slaughter of the Saer-Clanna, i. e. free clans or nobility of the Gaels, was not so general as represented verbally in the hyperbolic accounts given of the first insurrection of the plebeians, may be easily seen from the events recorded in our Annals and other records, as having taken place soon after. It is evident that the ancestors of the Leinster royal families, of the Dal-Fiatach of Ulster, the race of Conari Mor or the Ernaans of Munster, and several tribes throughout Ireland, of the races of the Irians,

Conall Kernach and Fergus Mac Roigh were not involved therein. The close alliance, also, in which the Irian, Elim Mac Conrach, (who was, also, of the royal stock of Miledh), with the plebeians, shows the partial nature of the slaughter committed by the oppressed races. It is likely, then, that the massacre, in both the insurrections above recounted, was confined to a few of the chieftains of the more dominant families of the Milesian tyrants of the Attacotti.—It is, indeed, questionable whether the vast majority of the present descendants of the Melesians would now qualify that struggle for freedom on the part of the unfree tribes by the name of *evil deed*. “Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.” *The times have changed, and we have changed our minds—or, it were time we had.*

Dr. Keating's History resumed.

FERADACH FINN-FECTNACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 4.²⁵ Feradach Finn-fectnach, son of Crimthann Niadh-Nair, son of Lugaidh Riabh-n-Derg, of the line of Erimhón, ruled Ireland for twenty years. (*Nair*,²⁶ *Taetheacch*, daughter of *Loich*, son of *Dari*, was the mother of *Feradach*.) He was called Feradach Finn-fectnach (*F'infughtnagh*), Feradach the Fair and Righteous, because justice and truth were upheld in Ireland during his reign. It was while he was monarch that Morann, son of Maen flourished. This was that impartial brehon who possessed the Collar of Morann.²⁷ It was the property of this collar, when placed round the neck of a brehon, about to deliver a false or unjust judgment, that it was wont to contract tightly round his throat, which it continued to compress, ever until he should deliver a righteous judgment. It had a like power in the case of the man who came to bear false witness, and squeezed his throat until it had forced him to acknowledge the truth. From this collar has come the old saying, which is used in wishing that the Collar of Morann were placed on the neck of him that comes to give testimony, in order that he might be forced to declare the truth. And the righteous Feradach died at Liatrum.

FIACHAIDH FINN, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 24.²⁸ Fiachaidh Finn ²⁹(from whom the Dal-Fiachach tribe

²⁵ A. D. 15.—*Four Masters*.

²⁶ *Nair*.—This important entry relative to the mother of Feradach and wife of Crumthann, the Hero of Nair, is found in a copy of Keating, transcribed in 1753 by William O'Siodhchain (William O'Sheehan), of Cul-an-Mhota (*Coolanvota*), near Kanturk, county of Cork, and approved of by the celebrated Munster antiquary and bard, Eoghan O'Caemh (Owen O'Keefe), which has been kindly lent to the editor by the transcriber's grandson, James Sheehan, Esq., of New York, barrister-at-law. It clearly shows whence king Crimthann, Feradach's father, had his surname "Niadh-Nair." It bears out the assertion of O'Flaherty heretofore cited, and confutes the repulsive etymology given to Crumthann's surname by our author, in treating of that monarch's reign. It also, in some measure, explains the origin of the ro-

mantic tale about that monarch's "Bainleannan" (*Bainleannan*) or fairy mistress, cited in the note upon his foreign expedition. (See note 11, p. 289).

²⁷ *Collar of Morann*, called in Irish, "Idh Mhorainn" (*ech-vorriun*), i. e. the Collar or Chain of Morann. "This chain is mentioned in several commentaries on the Brehon Laws, as one of the ordeals of the ancient Irish."—*O'D.* Feradach appointed Morann as his chief brehon or judge, immediately after his own accession to the throne. Some say that this judge was called Mac Macin, from his mother, in order to avoid the odium attached to the name of his father, the plebeian usurper Carbri Cat-Kenn, who appears to have been the Cromwell of Celtic Ireland.

²⁸ A. D. 37.—*Four Masters*.

²⁹ FIACHAIDH V., called otherwise, Fiatach (*Fectagh*). (See extract before given.)

is sprung), son of Dari, son of Dluthach, son of Desin, son of Eocaidh, son of Sin, son of Roisin, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for three years, and then fell by Fiacaidh Finnolaidh.

FIACAIDH FINNOLAIDH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 28.³⁰ Fiacaidh Finnolaidh,³¹ son of Feradach the Righteous, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-seven years. He received the surname of Finnolaidh, i. e. the white cows, from the whiteness of the greater part of the cattle of Ireland during his reign; for "Olaidh" or "folaidh" means the same thing as cow. (It was in the time of Fiacaidh Finnolaidh, that the masterdom of the world was enjoyed for two years by Titus Vespasianus,³² who destroyed the city of Jerusalem, in A. D. 40 (correctly 70), in vengeance for the blood of Christ. At that time the people of Titus were known to sell thirty of the Jewish race for one penny, because of the buying of Jesus by the Jews for thirty pence from Judas). The reader should be here informed, that according to Stow's Chronicle, there were some Scots dwelling in Alba in the year of our Lord 27, that is, when Fiacaidh Finnolaidh was king of Ireland, and before Carbri Riada was yet alive. It was by the plebeian tribes, or Athach-Tuatha of Ireland, that this Fiacaidh was treacherously murdered.

CARBRI KENN-CAIT, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 54.³³ Carbri Kenn-Cait³⁴ assumed the sovereignty of Ireland. He was the son of Dubthach, son of Rughri, son of Dithcon Uaridnach, son of Tath Tedmannach, son of Luigni Liathkenn, son of Oris Eclonnach, son of Erndolb, son of Rindal, who was called the son of the king of Lochlin, and who had come with Labraidh Loingsech to the fortress of Tuaim-Tennbaeth;³⁵ though others say that he was of the race of the Fer-Bolgs. He reigned for five years, and then died of the plague. He was

³⁰ A. D. 40.—*Four Masters*.

³¹ FIACAIDH VI. He was but seventeen years in the sovereignty, according to the *Four Masters*. The name is pronounced *Feegha Finnullee*.

³² *Titus Vespasianus*. This entry between brackets, is found but in one of the translator's MSS.

³³ A. D. 10.—*Four Masters*.

³⁴ CARBRI I. This is the monarch so unaccountably displaced by Dr. Keating. As being a usurper, he is not enu-

merated among the Irish kings by Tighernach, in his *Annals*. Neither does he enumerate as such Fiatach or Fiachaidh Finn, the predecessor of Fiachaidh Finnolaidh. He makes him but king of Emhain or Emania, for sixteen years, which is thought to be correct, though he was more powerful than the actual king of Ireland.

³⁵ *Tuaim Tennbaeth (Tooim Turvaith)* is another name for the royal Leinster fortress of Diun-righ on the Barrow.

called Carbri Kenn-Cait,³⁶ i. e. "cat-head," because his ears were like those of a cat, as a bard thus tells us:

"The hardy Carbri thus was formed,
Who Eri swayed from south to north,
Cat's ears upon his head he bore,
With cat-like fur those ears were decked."

The following was the manner in which the sovereignty of Ireland fell into the hands of Carbri. A treacherous plot was formed by the Unfree Tribes³⁷ or Athach-Tuatha (*Ahagh-Tuoha*) of Ireland against the king and nobles of that country. This plot they resolved upon putting into execution by means of a feast, which was to be prepared by them and given to the king and the nobles. Magh-Cro,³⁸ in Connaught, was the place where it was to be served. And they were three years getting ready for that feast, and during that time they laid up one-third of their property and their crops, as a provision therefor. Then the Free Tribes of Ireland came to partake of it, together with their three kings, namely, Fiachaidh Finnolaidh, king of Ireland, and his wife Ethni, daughter of the king of Alba; Feig, son of Fidach, the Short-sighted, king of Munster, and his wife was Berta, daughter of Gortniadh, a king of Britain; and Bresal, son of Ferb, king of Ulster, and Ani, daughter of a king of Britain, was his wife, and her father's name was Cannioll. There were three chieftains³⁹ over the Athach-Tuatha, or plebeians, likewise; namely, Monach, Buadh, and Carbri Cat-Kenn, (or Kenn-cait,) who was head over them all.

Nine days were spent in the enjoyment of that feast, and then the plebeians fell to killing the men of the Free Tribes of Eri, all of whom they slaughtered upon that spot, with the exception of

³⁶ *Kenn-Cait*. A more natural etymology would be *Ken*, i. e. King or Khan of the *Catti* or *Attacotti*, i. e. the Athach-Tuatha. "Cenn" (*kenn*) the Gaelic for "head," comes nearer to the English word "king" than the Saxon "Coning," the root usually given to it.

³⁷ *Unfree Tribes*, in Irish, "Dacr-Clanna," sometimes translated plebeians. The noble or free tribes were called "Sacr-Clanna."

³⁸ *Magh-Cro*, i. e. the bloody field, apparently another name for Magh-Bolg. Keating plainly confounds the persons and events, that took place in the first insurrection with those that happened in the second. Feig, son

of Fidach, was not the name of the father of Corb Olum, and his mother was called *Cruifi*, not *Berta*.

³⁹ The chieftains of the insurgents were, according to O'Flaherty, "Elim, king of Ulster; Sanb, king of Connaught; Lugaidh Allathach, great-grandson of Conari I., and grandfather of Conari II., king of North Munster; Forbri, son of Finn, of the line of Ith, king of south Munster; and Eochaidh Anken, son of Brandubh Brec, king of Leinster. He adds that "they murdered Fiachaidh at Temhair, and not at Magh-Bolg, as they contend who have penned the fabulous story of the preservation of Tuathal in his mother's womb."

the three children, yet unborn, of those three women above-mentioned, the wives of the three Irish kings. These ladies, then, escaped to Alba, where they bore three sons, named Tuathal Tectmar, (*Toohal Tughtvar*), Tibradi Tirech, (*Tibrädi Teeragh*), and Corb Olun.

With respect to Ireland, great famines, with failures of crops and many misfortunes, came upon the land; and so it remained ever until the three sons of those three kings, so foully murdered, had grown up and were able to bear arms. Then, when the men of Ireland had heard that these royal princes were yet living, they sent ambassadors to communicate with them, and to ask of them to return and resume the sovereignty of their forefathers; and they bound themselves by the sun and the moon to render them obedience, and to remain thenceforth ever faithful to their rule. Upon this the youth returned, and resumed the inheritance of their sires, and with them its usual happiness came back to Ireland, Carbri having died of the plague, as before mentioned.

ELIM, ARD-RIGH

A. D. 59.⁴⁰ Elim,⁴¹ son of Connra, son of Rosa Ruadh, son of Rudraide Mor, son of Sithrige, son of Dubh, son of Fomhor, of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty years, when he was slain by Tuathal Tectmar.

TUATHAL TECTMAR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 79.⁴² Tuathal Tectmar,⁴³ son of Fiacaídh Finnolaidh, son of Feradach Finn-fectnach, son of Crimthann Niadh-Nair, son of Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years. He received the surname "Tectmar," (*Taghtvar*), i. e. the Welcome or the Desired, (from "techt," (*taght*), a *coming* or arrival, by reason of the great prosperity that had *come* upon the land of Ireland during his reign. Fiacaídh Finnolaidh had no other child but Tuathal, of whom his wife, Ethni, daughter of the king of Alba, had been left pregnant at the time when she escaped from the massacre of Magh-Cro, in Connaught, where the Athach-Tuatha (*Ahagh-Tooha*) slaughtered Fiacaídh and the Free Clans of Ireland. Tuathal, then, was reared and educated in Alba, until he had reached his twenty-fifth year. Now, during that time, misfortune had spread over Eri; and, as the Athach-Tuatha were suffering many miseries, they entered into counsel with their Druids,

⁴⁰ A. D. 57.—*Four Masters*.

⁴¹ ELIM II.

⁴² A. D. 76.—*Four Masters*.

⁴³ TUATHAL I. Tectmar, or Teachtmhar, (*Taghtvar*), is translated, "the Legitimate," by Dr. O'Donovan.

in order to find out whence or by what means such evils had been brought upon the land, and how it might be rescued therefrom. The Druids replied, that all their woes had sprung from the foul treason which they had themselves perpetrated against their kings and against their Free Clans. They told them, moreover, that its wonted prosperity would never return to Ireland, until some man of the race of those kings, whom they had murdered should assume the sovereignty of their country.

It was about this time that the Athach-Tuatha had heard that Fiacaidh Finnolaidh had left after him a son, who was named Tuathal Tectmar. Upon this, large numbers of them take counsel together, and came to the resolution of sending ambassadors to Alba, to invite over that prince.

But, during all this time, a remnant of the Free Clans, namely, the children of Donn Désach, of Leinster, who were called Fiacaidh Casin and Finnmall, his brother, with six hundred followers under their command, were continuing, as plunderers, to lay waste the lands of Ireland, in vengeance for the treason which the Athach-Tuatha had practised upon their kinsmen.

When Tuathal Tectmar had heard this, both he and his mother, Ethni, set out for Ireland, attended by a numerous armed host, he being then twenty-five years old, and they landed at Irrus Domnan, where they were joined by Fiacaidh Casin and his band. Thence they marched to Temhair, (Tara,) where his party saluted Tuathal, king of Ireland.

Upon this, Elin, son of Connra, who had been sovereign of Ireland, by the election of the Athach-Tuatha, from the death of Carbri Cat-Kenn until that time, came to fight the battle of Achill against Tuathal. In that engagement, the strength of Athach-Tuatha was broken, and their king, Elin, was killed, and the greater part of his army was slaughtered. After this, the Unfree Clans were defeated by Tuathal, in twenty-five battles, in each of the five provinces of Ireland.

When he had thus broken down the power of his enemies by these defeats, and thereby emancipated the Free Clans of Ireland from the yoke of the Athach-Tuatha, Tuathal convened the General Assembly or Feis of Temhair, according to the usage of his predecessors; who had been wont to summon and bring together a general royal convention in the beginning of their reigns, in order to regulate the laws and usages of the country. Thither the nobles of the Gaels came to him from every province of Ireland, and there they elected him as their king; for he had freed them from the bondage of the Unfree Clans. And they then swore, by all the elements, to leave the sovereignty of Ireland to him and his children for ever, according to the promise formerly made to Iugani Mor.

It was then, also, that he was granted four portions of land, from four of the provinces, of which he constituted that territory which is now called Meath, as the peculiar domain of every monarch who should, thenceforth, rule Ireland. For, although the name of Midhe (*mæ*,) or Meath, had been applied to a district near Uisnech, ever since the days of the children of Nemedh, still it was not extended to those districts which were taken from the provinces, until the reign of Tuathal, by whom they were incorporated into a separate and distinct territory. Now, when Tuathal had united these four portions together, and called them all by the common name of Meath, he built four chief longphorts,⁴⁴ i. e. chief residences or capitals, therein, that is, a chief residence in each particular portion thereof.

TLACTGA⁴⁵ was thus built by him upon that portion of Mum-

⁴⁴ *Longphorts.* This word is compounded of "long," a house, and "port," a bank or embankment, i. e. a "port" or embankment for "longa" or houses. The word "long" means both a *house* and a *ship*, in the Gaelic tongue. It would appear, that among some of the tribes that colonized northern Africa in ancient times, there was one word, also, which served to designate a house and a ship. Taken in connection with the resemblance there is between the bardic tradition relative to the occupation of Northern Africa by the Clanna Gaedhail, descended from Eber Scot, the coincidence may not be altogether accidental; nor may it be out of place, here, to quote what the Roman historian, Sallust, has said on the subject of these races, on the authority of Carthaginian books, said to be those of the Numidian king, Hiempsal. The reader will compare it with what has been heretofore related on the same subject in this history and in the notes thereon:

"Africa was at first possessed by the Gaetulians and Lybians, a savage and unpolished people, who lived upon the flesh of wild beasts, or fed upon the herbs of the field like cattle; subject to no laws, discipline, or government; without any fixed habitation; wandering from place to place, and taking up their abode wherever night overtook them. But when Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans think he did, his army, made up of divers nations, hav-

ing lost their general, and many competitors arising for the command, dispersed, in a short time. Those that were Medes, Persians and Armenians, sailed over into Africa and took possession of those places that lie upon our sea (*the Mediterranean*). The Persians, however, settled near to the ocean; and they made themselves houses of their ships turned upside down, because there was no timber in the country, nor had they an opportunity of importing it from Spain, having no commerce with that nation, on account of its distance from them by sea, and their language, which was not understood there. These, by degrees, mixed with the Gelulians by intermarriages, and because they were continually shifting from place to place (*Scots or Scythians?*) trying the goodness of the soil, they called themselves Numidians (i. e. *pastoral wanderers*). The houses of the Numidian peasants, which they call *Mapalia*, are still like the hulls of ships, of an oblong form, with coverings, rising in the middle and bending at each end."

It is the opinion, and not an untenable one, of some of our antiquaries, that the tribe of Gaedal formed one of the nations that followed the above-mentioned Hercules of the Spaniards and Africans. Some will have him to have been, himself, the man our bards have named the Galamh or the Miledh of Spain.

⁴⁵ *Tlactga*, otherwise. Tlachlgha. (*Tlactga*). This ancient seat of the

ha, or Munster, which he had just annexed to his royal domain. It was there that the Festival of the Fire of Tlaetga was ordered to be held, and it was thither that the druids of Ireland were wont to repair and to assemble, in solemn meeting, on the eve of Samhain, for the purpose of making a sacrifice to all the gods. It was in that fire at Tlaetga, that their sacrifice was burnt; and it was made obligatory, under pain of punishment, to extinguish all the fires of Ireland, on that eve; and the men of Ireland were allowed to kindle no other fire but that one; and for each of the other fires, which were all to be lighted from it, the king of Munster was to receive a tax of a sgreball, that is, of three pence, because the land, upon which Tlaetga was built, belongs to the portion of Meath which had been taken from Munster.

UISNECH (*Ushnagh*), the second chief longphort or capital, he built upon that portion which he had taken from Comaught. It was there that the men of Ireland held that great meeting or fair which was called the Mordháil (*mòr-yauil*), or Great Convention of Uisnech. It was the usage to hold this fair in the month of May, and at it they were wont to exchange their goods and their wares and their jewels. At it, they were, also, wont to make a sacrifice to the Arch-God that they adored, whose name was Bèl (*bayl*). It was, likewise, their usage to light two fires to Bèl,⁴⁶ in every district of Ireland, at this season, and to drive a pair of each kind of cattle that the district contained, between those two fires, as a preservative to guard them against

Irish Pantheon or Festival of all the Gods, is now called the Hill of Ward, near Athboy, in the county of Meath. It is not likely that Tuathal was either the institutor of this feast or the founder of the temple of Tlaetga. Tlaetga was, apparently, a celebrated seat of druidic worship, long before his time. We must, then, understand him but to have repaired its old buildings, ruined or demolished during the Attacottic rebellions, and resuscitated its ceremonies, fallen into disuse during the period of disorder that immediately preceded his reign. The assertion of his having founded it, may have originated in his having included it in Meath and taken it under his own immediate protection, from being under that of one of the Munster pentarchs.

⁴⁶ *Bel*, otherwise spelled *Béal*. From what is here said, it would appear that Bèl (the same who was called Belus by the Latins, and Baal by the Hebrews),

was the king of the Irish gods; that is, their Jupiter. The sun was what they seem to have adored under his name. From the ceremonies observed with regard to the extinguishing and re-lighting of the private fires, on the occasion of this festival, it is probable that the ancient Irish were Fire-worshippers. The fires still lighted, in the more Gaelic parts of Ireland, on the eve of the 24th of June, may be traced to the ceremony above mentioned, as observed with regard to the cattle. When forbidden by the church to light fires in honor of their idol, the Irish transferred the practice from Bel's eve, which is the eve of the first of May, or Beltaine, to that of the 24th of June. We have heard Uisnech (now Usnagh Hill, in Meath), celebrated as a druidic seat, in the times of the Nemedians and Tuatha-Dè-Dananns; so that no more than its re-edification can be claimed for Tuathal

all the diseases of that year. It is from that fire, thus made in honor of Bèl, that the day, on which the noble feast of the apostles, Philip and James, is held, has been called Bèltaini or Bèaltaine (*Bayl'tinnie*); for "Beltaini" is the same as "Bèil-teinë," i. e. "Teinë Bhèil" (*Tinnie Vayl*) or Bèl's Fire. It was likewise ordained, that the king of Connaught should receive, as a tax, the horse and the garments of every chieftain that came to that Great Convention; for the ground upon which Uisnech is situated belongs to that part of Meath which was taken from Connaught.

TALTI⁴⁷ or TAILTEANN was the name of the third chief long-phort or residence constructed by Tuathal Tectmar. It was there that the men of Ireland were wont to contract marriage alliances and strike up friendly relations with one another. And most proper and becoming was the custom, observed at that meeting, namely, the men were on one side of the place of assembly, apart by themselves, and the women on the other, while their fathers and mothers were arranging all preliminaries between them, until the agreements and contracts were finally decided; as the bard relates in the following verse:

"No man came nigh those damsels bright,
Nor dame there heard soft sigh of lover;
In ranks apart each sex stood ranged,
Within the hall of sacred Talti."

Although it was Lugaidh Lamfada that first instituted the Fair of Talti in Ireland, as a solemn commemoration of his own foster-mother, Talti, daughter of Maghmor, king of Spain, who had been the wife of Eocaidh, son of Erc, the last king of the Fer-Bolgs, (as we have heretofore stated), when the same Lugaidh buried Talti beneath that mound, and when he convened that fair, as a solemn rite or memorial in honor of her; in memory whereof, the name Lughnasa (*Loonassa*) or "Nasa Lugha" is to this day given to the first of August, whereon is kept the feast of St. Peter's Chains; but, although the sacred mound of Talti had been in existence, and the solemn fair kept up ever since the days of Lugaidh Lamfada, still Talti was never erected into a royal residence until the days of Tuathal Tectmar. It was the king of Ulster that received the rent or taxes of this fair; for the ground, whereon Talti stood, formed part of that section of Ulster which had been annexed to Meath. The following was the amount of that rent or tax, namely, an ounce of silver from every couple that got married during the festival.

TEMHAIR was his fourth royal capital. It lies in that quarter of Meath which was taken from Leinster. We have already

⁴⁷ *Talti*, or Tailteann, now called Teltown, in Meath, as before stated.

told, that it was at this place that they were wont to celebrate the Feis Temrach (*Fesh Tavrach*) every third year, having first made sacrifice to all the gods at Tlaetga, as a preparation for that great convention. It was here, as we have also before said, that their laws and usages were ordained, and that the annals and historic records of Ireland were subjected to examination, in order that the Ard-ollamhs might write down all that had been sanctioned thereof, in the Roll of the Kings, which was called the Saltair Temrach (i. e. the Psalter of Tara); and, according to the chief book, just mentioned, neither law nor usage nor historic record was ever held as genuine until it had received such approval; and nothing, that disagreed with the Roll of Temhair, could be respected as truth.

I shall not here make special mention of the laws and usages enacted at the conventions of Temhair. It would occupy me too long; for the Law Books of the territorial brehons are filled up thereof. But, I shall, nevertheless, set down the usage that was ordained and observed at Temhair with respect to the arrangement of the nobles and the warriors, when they met together in the Banquet Hall, to partake of the public feast.

It was, then, the prescribed duty of every "Ollamh r  Senchas" or Doctor of History, in Ireland, to inscribe in the Roll of Temhair, the names of all such nobles as were lords of territories, each lord according to his rank and title; and every chieftain of those bands of warriors who were maintained at free quarters,⁴⁸ for the defence and guardianship of the lands of Eri, had his name, also, in that roll, by the Ard-ollamh. Of these nobles, both territorial lords and captains of bands of warriors, each man was always attended by his own proper shield-bearer. Again, their banquet-halls were arranged in the following manner, to wit: they were long, narrow buildings, with tables arranged along both the opposite side walls of the hall; then, along these side-walls there was placed a beam, in which were fixed numerous hooks (one over the seat destined for each of the nobles,) and between every two of them there was but the breadth of one shield. Up-

⁴⁸ *Free quarters.* These were the hired soldiery of that day. They were men of the Noble, or Free-tribes, who, finding their own territories too narrow for them, or being expelled therefrom, either by a more powerful clan or by domestic revolution, sold their swords to some chieftain for pay. He, having no money to pay them withal, generally quartered them upon his serfs, that is, he placed them at "buanacht" (*boonacht*) or quarterage, upon them. Hence, "buanaidhe" (*bonuce*) come to signify a hired soldier. The word was anglicized "bonnaght" during the Anglo-Norman wars. The word is, seemingly, derived from "buan," i. e. *lasting* or *durable*, so that even in its etymology it has some analogy (though probably accidental) with the Latin "solidarius" i. e. *hiring*, whence comes the English word "soldier."

on these hooks the Shannachie⁴⁹ hung up the shields of the nobles, previous to their sitting down to the banquet, at which they all, both lords and captains, sat, each beneath his own shield. However, the most honored side of the house was occupied by the territorial lords, whilst the captains of warriors were seated opposite them, at the other; the upper end of the hall was the place of the ollamhs, while its lower end was assigned to the attendants and the officers in waiting. It was also prescribed, that no man should be placed opposite another at the same table, but that all, both the territorial lords and captains, should sit with their backs towards the wall, beneath their own shields. Again, they never admitted females into their banquet halls: these had a hall of their own, in which they were separately served. It was, likewise, the prescribed usage, to clear out the banquet hall previous to serving the assembled nobles therein; and no one was allowed to remain in the building but three, namely, a shannachie, a "bolsgari" or marshal of the household, and a trumpeter, the duty of which latter officer it was to summon all the guests to the banquet hall by the sound of his trumpet-horn. He had to sound his trumpet three times. At the first blast, the shield-bearers of the territorial chieftains assembled round the door of the hall, where the marshal received from them the shields of their lords, which he then, according to the directions of the shannachie, hung up, each in its assigned place. The trumpeter then sounded his trumpet a second time, and the shield-bearers of the chieftains of the military bands assembled round the door of the banquet hall, where the marshal received their lord's shields from them, also, and hung them up at the other side of the hall, according to the orders of the shannachie, and over the table of the warriors. The trumpeter sounded his trumpet the third time, and, thereupon, both the nobles and the warrior chiefs entered the banquet hall, and there each man sat down beneath his own shield, and thus were all contests for precedence avoided amongst them.

The Boroimhe (Borivvie) or Boromha⁵⁰ Laighen (Borooa Loyen), i. e. the Leinster Tribute, down here.

It was this Tuathal Tectmar, of whom we are now treating, that, in vengeance for his two daughters, named Fithir and Da-

⁴⁹ *S'iannachie.* "Senchaidhe," of which this is an anglicised form, derived from "sen" (*shian*) old, properly means *historian*. Some translate it by *herald*, in describing the duties of that officer at the "Feis" of Tara or Tem-

hair. In that special case it is not misapplied, but it lacks propriety of costume, and is thence likely to lead to false notions.

⁵⁰ *Boromha.* This word is mostly translated *cow-tribute*, but it was not

rinni, first imposed the Boromha, as a permanent tax, upon the men of Leinster. At this time there reigned in Leinster a king who was called Eocaidh Ainkenn.⁵¹ This man had married Darinni, daughter of Tuathal Tectmar, and taken her to his residence at Magh-Lugadh, in Leinster. But, after some time, he came to Temhair, and having informed Tuathal Tectmar that Darinni was dead, he next demanded her sister Fithir, also, as wife; and Tuathal granted her to him; and he, thereupon, bore her off to his own dwelling. But when Fithir saw her sister alive, she fell dead through shame; whereupon Darinni, having come to make her lamentations over her betrayed sister, died herself upon the spot, of grief. It is in record of that event, that the bard has made the following verse:

“ Fithir and Darinni mild
Were conquering Tuathal's daughters ;
Through shame the gentle Fithir died—
For her Darinni died, through sorrow.”

When Tuathal heard of the death of these two ladies, he was seized with violent rage and indignation; and he sent ambassadors to the noble chieftains of Eri, to complain of the foul and treacherous act of the king of Leinster. Upon this, these nobles sent him aid in men and arms, in order that the might wreak ample vengeance for the deed. But then, as Tuathal was about to plunder and devastate Leinster, the Lagenians, not being able to meet him in the field, submitted to a fine, which was to be paid by themselves and their posterity after them, as a retribution for the death of his daughters, both to Tuathal himself and to every king of his race that should succeed him on the Irish throne. The following was the amount⁵² of that fine, which the

merely a cow-tribute; and if there be no authority for so translating it but the “sanasain” or etymologies of the Irish bards, of which we have seen so many absurd specimens hitherto, it is most uncertain whether the word “bo,” a cow, enter at all into its composition. The celebrated monarch, Brian, had his surname Boromha or Boroimhe (usually anglicized Boru), from having enforced the payment of the tribute now treated of.

⁵¹ *Ainkenn*, commonly spelled Aincheann. His first wife's name is otherwise spelled Dairfhine.

⁵² *The amount*. In the Annals of Clonmaenise, the amount of the boromha is stated as follows: “150 cows,

150 hogs, 150 coverletts or pieces of cloth, to cover beds withal; 150 cauldrons, with two passing great cauldrons, consisting in breadth and deepness five fists, for the king's own brewing; 150 couples of men and women in servitude, to draw water on their backs for the said brewing; together with 150 maids, with the king of Leinster's own daughter, in like bondage and servitude.”

O'Flaherty tells us that Eocaidh was beheaded by Tuathal, and his brother Ere set by him, as king of Leinster in his stead. They were both Damnoniau Belgians, or Fer-Bolgs.

people of Leinster were bound to pay, every second year, to the kings of Ireland, as a punishment for the death of the children of Tuathal, namely, three-score hundred cows, three-score hundred ounces of silver, three-score hundred mantles, three-score hundred hogs, three-score hundred wethers, three-score hundred brazen cauldrons; and the following, also, is the apportionment⁵³ that was made thereof, to wit, one-third to Connaught, one-third to the Oirghialla, and one-third to the Ui Neill. In the tale called the Boromha Laighen (*Borivvie Loien*), we find the following verses in record of these facts :

“ Three-score hundred kine they pay,
 Kine free from fault ;
 Three-score hundred ounces pure
 Of silver white ;
 Three-score hundred mantles fine,
 Of choicest woof ;
 Three-score hundred well-fed hogs
 Of highest price ;
 Three-score hundred wethers broaa,
 Of thickest fleece ;
 Three-score hundred cauldrons bright,
 Of copper red.
 One-third of these is Connaught's due
 By usage old ;
 One-third the bold Oirghialla claim ;
 One-third Clan Neill.”

This, then, was the tribute, which was called the Boromha of Leinster, and which continued to be exacted during the reigns of forty kings, from the reign of Tuathal to the time when Finnacta I. was monarch of that country, as the bard tells us :

“ Full forty monarchs' reigns had passed,
 When generous Finnacta was king ;
 They all the boromha had claimed,
 Since Tuathal dwelt at Tlactga.”

It was the holy saint Moling, that at length procured its final abolition. He persuaded Finnacta to promise to forego its exaction until *Monday*,⁵⁴ by which Monday he meant the Day of General Judgment, which is called the Monday of Eternity. The Boromha was sometimes submissively paid by the people of Leinster ; at others, they resisted its exaction. Thence arose many wars and

⁵³ *Apportionment.* “ One third of this tribute was paid to the kings of Ulster, until the destruction of Emhain, when it was transferred to the Oirghialla by Muredach, monarch of Ireland ; another third was paid to the kings of Connaught ; Tuathal distributed the remainder between the queen of Temhair and the king of Munster.”—*O'Flaherty.*

⁵⁴ *Monday.* “ According to the ancient historical romance called the *Boromha-Laighen*, St. Moling obtained its remission while the celebrated Ad-

conflicts between them and the monarch, in which countless multitudes fell on either side.

Tuathal Tectmar was at length slain⁵⁵ by Mal, the son of Rocraide.

annan was in Ireland; and, contrary to the latter's will, who wished that the Leinster men should pay to the race of Tuathal Tectmar, forever. It appears, however, that Moling's sanctity prevailed against the representative of Tuathal and his aristocratic relative, Adamnan, Abbot of Iona; for, by a singular use of the ambiguity of the Irish word "luan" (which means Monday, and also the Day of Judgment), in his covenant with the monarch, he abolished this exorbitant tribute—not till Monday, as the monarch understood, but till the Day of Judgment, as the saint intended. "It would be better," says a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*, "for the people of Leinster to have continued to pay the Borumean tribute to this day, than that their St. Moling should have set an example of clerical special pleading and mental reservation, in the equivocation by which he is represented to have procured the release from that impost." On this it may be observed, that if St. Moling was really guilty of this equivocation, his notions were not of a very lofty pagan character, and not at all in accordance with the doctrine of the Gospel and the practice of the primitive Christians; but it is to be suspected that the equivocation had its origin in the fanciful brain of the author of the historical romance called the "Boromha Laighen," who displays his own, not St. Moling's morality, in the many strange incidents with which he embellishes the simple events of history. We may easily believe that Adamnan wished that the race of Tuathal should remain forever the dominant family in Ireland; but were we to believe him to have been such a person as this story represents him to have been, we should at once reject as fictitious the character of him given by the Venerable Bede, who describes him as

'Vir bonus et sapiens, et scientia scripturarum nobilissime instructus,' i. e. a truly good and wise man, and one most remarkably learned in the knowledge of the Scriptures."—*O'D.'s Notes on the Four Masters.*

St. Moling flourished in the sixth century.

⁵⁵ *Slain.* "Tuathal Tectmar, after having been thirty years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed by Mal, son of Rocraide, king of Ulster, in Magh-Linc. Kenn-Guba is the name of the hill on which he was killed, as this quatrain proves.

'Tuathal, for whom there was fair,
Chief of Meath of thousand heroes,
Was wounded, that fair chief of Fremhain,
On the hill-side o'er Glenn-an-Gabann!'"
Four Masters.

Kenn or *Cenn-Guba*, i. e. the Hill of Grief, is now called Ballyboley Hill, in Kilwaughter Parish, near the place where the three baronies, Upper Glenarm, Upper Antrim, and Lower Belfast meet. Tuathal's monument is still to be seen on this hill, at a place now called Carndoo.—*O'D.*

"During the reign of Tuathal, there were appointed courts for the better regulation of the concerns of tradesmen and artificers; an institution, which, could we place reliance on the details relating to it, would imply an advanced state of interior traffic and merchandise. One fact, which appears pretty certain is, that previously to the system now introduced, none of the Milesian or dominant caste had condescended to occupy themselves in trade; all mechanical employments and handicrafts being left to the descendants of the old conquered tribes; while for the issue of the minor branches of the Milesians, were reserved the appointments in the militia (i. e. *fiann*) of Erin, and the old hereditary offices of antiquaries, bards, physicians and judges.—*Moore.*"

MAL, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 109.⁵⁶ Mal, son of Rocraide, son of Cathbaidh Finn, son of Gialleaidh, son of Finneaidh, son of Muredach, son of Fiacaoidh Finnamnas son of Irial Glunmar, son of Conall Kéarnach, son of Amirghin, son of Cas Trillsech, son of Cas, son of Factna, son of Cathbaidh, son of Kinga, son of Rudraide Mor, (from whom the clans of Rudraide are called), of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for four years,⁵⁷ when he fell of Feidlimidh Rectmar.

FEIDLIMIDH RECTMAR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 113.⁵⁸ Feidlimidh Rectmar, son of Tuathal Tectmar, son of Fiacaoidh Finnolaidh, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for nine years. Baini, daughter of Seal Balb,⁵⁹ the wife of Tuathal Tectmar, was the mother of Feidlimidh. He was called Feidlimidh Rectmar,⁶⁰ or Feidlimidh the Legal, by reason of the justice of legal decisions passed in Ireland during his reign; for he ordained and enforced during his own time, a law similar to that which is called in Latin the *Lex Talionis*,⁶¹ or Law of Like for Like, which requires that the criminal should be made to atone for his crime by suffering a punishment similar to the injury done to his neighbor, such as a head for a head, a cow for a cow, a hand for a hand, a leg for a leg, and so on, for every other injury besides. From that law it came to pass, that the men of Ireland became reformed in their habits during the reign of Feidlimidh. At last he died on his pillow.

CATHAEIR MOR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 122.⁶² Cathacir Mor, son of Feidlimidh Fir-urglas, son

⁵⁶ A. D. 107.—*Four Masters*.

⁵⁷ *Four years*. Tighernach does not give this Mal as monarch of Ireland, but makes the next king immediately succeed his father for nine years.

⁵⁸ A. D. 111.—*Four Masters*.

⁵⁹ *Scál Balb*, i. e. Scál the Stammerer. O'Flaherty calls him king of Finland, whose people the Irish, in early times, called Fomorians. May not "Lapland" be cognate with "Lochlain," the Irish for all Scandinavia? See how often the Gaels use the letter "c" for the "p" in other tongues, and *vice versa*, as "secht," seven, Latin "septem;" "cos," a foot, Latin "pes;" "Caisg," Easter,

Latin "Pasccha;" "clann" and "claud," children, Welsh "plant;" and "claud" or "clann," to plant, Latin "planto."

⁶⁰ *Rechtmar*, otherwise, Reachtmhar (*Raghtvar*), is an adjective, formed on "recht" (*raght*), i. e. law or justice, Latin *rectum*. It means *legal*; though some translate it the *Lawgiver*, in this instance.

⁶¹ *Lex Talionis*. The more general opinion is, that Feidlimidh abolished this cruel and barbarous law, and introduced the system of atoning for crimes by an *erat* or fine, in its stead.

⁶² A. D. 120.—*Four Masters*.

of Cormac Gellta-Gaeth, son of Niadh-Corb, son of Cu-Corb, son of Concobar Abradh-ruadh, son of Finn the Poet, son of Rosa Ruadh, son of Fergus Fargi, son of Nuadath Neet, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for three years. Cathaair Mor had thirty sons, as the bard records in the following verse :

“Thirty sons, a goodly clan,
Sprang from Cathaair of Cualan
These thrice ten chiefs of warrior mien,
Were strong, broad-branching stocks of heroes.”

However, there were twenty of those sons who left no offspring after them. These are the names of the sons whose progeny has survived: Dari Barrach,⁶³ Bresal Einech-glas, Fergus, Óild, Crimthann, Rosa Failghi, Eocaidh Temenn, Aengus, and Fiacaidh Bacheda. Though the latter was the youngest of Cathaair's sons, still it was his posterity that most frequently held the sovereign power in Leinster. O'Tuathail (O'Toole) and O'Brainn (O'Byrne), are of the race of Fiacaidh Bacheda; and Mac Mureada (Mac Murrough), is of the race of Bresal Belach, his son; O'Concobair Falghi (O'Connor Faly), O'Dimasaigh (O'Dempsey), Clann Colgain (Mac Colgan) and O'Duinn (O'Dunn), draw their origin from Rosa Failghi (*Rossa Faulyee*), as we shall set down hereafter, when tracing the genealogies of the children of Miledh. In the end, Cathaair fell by Conn of the Hundred Battles, son of Feidlimidh Rectmar.⁶⁴

CONN KED-CATHAICH, ARD-RIGIL.

A. D. 125.⁶⁵ Con Kēd-Cathach (*Kaid-Cūhagh*), son of Feid-

⁶³ *Dari Barrach*. From Dari, who was the second son of Cathaair, came the noble tribe of Ui Bairrchi, the chieftain family of which took the name of O Gorman or Mac Gorman, after the establishment of surnames. They were anciently seated between the Ui Drona and Ui Muredaigh, near the town of Carlow. Shortly after the English invasion, they were driven out of their original territory by Baron Walter de Bidlesford, who became master of all the territory round Carlow. After this, a party of them proceeded into Ulster, and another into Uaithni (*Ooney*), in Tipperary. From the latter place they again migrated into Thomond, now the county of Clare, and settled amongst the Dalcassians, in the territory of Ui Breccain (now Ibrickan), in the west of

that county, where the bard, Maellin Og Mac Bruaidedha (Brooidee), who was chief poet of Ui Fermaic and Ui Breccain, in 1563, has told us that they had then been supporting poets and feeding the poor for the last four hundred years. This family must be distinguished from the Mac Gormans of Clonmacnoise, called Mac Guinn nam-bocht.—*See Notes to Leabhar na g-Ceart*.

⁶⁴ According to the famous Will of Cathaair Mor, as published in the *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, Cathaair was slain by the Fian or Militia of Luaigni, in the battle of Talti. The Annals of Clonmacnoise say that “king Cathaair's army was overthrown and himself slain and buried near the Boyne.”

⁶⁵ A. D. 123.—*Four Masters*.

limidh Rectmar, son of Tuathal Tectmar, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty years, until, being taken unawares, he was treacherously slain, in the district of Temhair, by the contrivance of Tibradi Tírech, son of Mal, son of Rochraide, who was then king of Ulster. Fifty warriors, disguised as women, had been sent by Tibradi,⁶⁶ for the purpose of assassinating him; and Emhain Macha was the place whence they set out upon that treacherous design. Una, daughter of the king of Lochlin, was the mother of this monarch.

Partition of Ireland between CONN and EOGAN MOR, King of Munster, who was also called MOGH NUADATH.

This was that Conn from whom Mogh Nuadath, having vanquished him in ten battles, wrested the one half of Ireland. Sida, daughter of Flann, son of Fiacra, one of the Ernaans of Munster, was the mother of Mogh Nuadath.

The contest between these kings originated in the following manner: The Ernaans, of the posterity of Fiacaidh Fer-mara, of the race of Erimhòn, had gained supremacy, in Munster, over the race of Eber Finn; so that three chieftains of that tribe now held the sovereignty of all Munster between them. Their names were Lugaidh Ellathach, Dari Dorumar, and Aengus. But, when Mogh Nuadath saw that the supremacy of his native principality had been thus usurped by the race of Erimhòn, he proceeded to Leinster, where he had been fostered by Dari Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, and there he procured from his foster-father a numerous auxiliary force, wherewith to recover the kingdom of Munster, which was his birth-right. He then began by marching into Uí Liathain, in the south of Munster, where that Aengus, above mentioned, had established his sway. Him Mogh Nuadath vanquished and expelled from that country, so that he was forced to betake himself straightway to supplicate assistance from Conn, who gave him five catha (*cāhā*)⁶⁷ (battalions or legions), that is, fifteen thousand fighting men. With these Aengus marched upon the territory of Liathan,⁶⁸ and there, upon the height of Ard-Nemidh,⁶⁹ he was met by Mogh Nuadath, who routed him a second time, with great slaughter of his followers.

⁶⁶ *Tibradi*. The Annals of Clonmacnoise inform us, that when this prince had vanquished his enemies, he reigned quietly and prosperously for twenty years; but that then his own brothers, Eocaidh Finn and Fiacaidh Suighdi, sent a private message to Tibradi, king of Ulster, to come and attack him unawares, as he was prepar-

ing to hold the Convention of Tara; and that he, profiting by their suggestion, surprised and murdered the monarch on Tuesday, the 20th of October, A. D. 172 (correctly 173).

⁶⁷ *Catha*. The regular Irish Cath consisted of 3,000 fighting men.

⁶⁸ *Liathan*. Barrymore, co. Cork.

⁶⁹ *Ard-Nemidh*, or *Nemed's Height*,

After this victory, Mogh Nuadath expelled from Munster all of the Ernaans that refused to do him homage. From these events, a great war broke out between Conn and the Munster prince, in which the former was defeated in ten battles,⁷⁰ such as the battle of Brosnach, the battle of Sampait,⁷¹ the battle of Gri-an,⁷² the battle of Ath-luain,⁷³ the battle of Magh-Atha-Crioch,⁷⁴ where Fiacaídh Rígh-fada, son of Feidlimídh Rectmar, was slain, the battle of Asal,⁷⁵ the battle of Uisnech,⁷⁶ &c. This war then lasted ever until Mogh Nuadath had forced Conn to yield up one-half of Ireland to himself. All of Ireland that lies south of Ath-clíath and Galimh (i. e. Dublin and Galway, with the Eskir Riada for its boundary) was ceded to Mogh; and the name which that half got was LETH-MOGHA (*Läh-Mowa*), i. e. Mogh's Half, or Leth Eoghain (*Läh-owin*), from Eogan, who was called Mogh Nuadath. The northern half was called LETH-CUINN⁷⁷ (*Läh-Quinn*), from Conn Kéd-Cathach. It is in reference to this partition, that the bard speaks in the following verse:

“ Great Eogan, fortune-favored chief,
Soars high as Conn of the Hundred Fights—
These heroes twain, of glory bright,
Between them share green Eri's land.”

Another reason, also, is given for Eogan's having succeeded in wresting the half of Ireland from Conn. They say that a great famine, which lasted for seven years, came upon Ireland during the reign of Conn, and that, long before the time of scarcity had arrived, one of the druids of Mogh had forewarned him of the calamity that was impending over the whole nation.

now Great Island, on which is situated the Cove of Cork.

⁷⁰ *Battles.* Brosnach, the river Brosna, in Eli.

⁷¹ *Sampait*, unknown.

⁷² *Grian*, possibly Enoc-Greni (*Knock-Graine*), i. e. the Hill of the Sun, over Pallasgrean, barony of Coonagh, co. Limerick.

⁷³ *Ath-Luain*, i. e. the Ford of the Moon, now called Athlone.

⁷⁴ *Magh-Atha-Crioch*, unknown to the editor.

⁷⁵ *Asal*, a plain near Croom, County Limerick.

⁷⁶ *Uisnech*, in Meath.

⁷⁷ *Leth-Cuinn* and *Leth-Mogha*. “ This division of Ireland stood for one year after, until Owen More, *alias* Moynold, being well aided by his brother-in-law,

the king of Spain's son, and a great army of Spaniards, picked occasion to quarrel and fall out with the king, for the customs and shippings of Dublin, alleging that there came more ships of King Conn's side than of his side, and that he would have the customs in common between them; whereupon they were incensed mightily against each other, and met with the two great armies at the plains and Heath of Moylina, in the territory of Fercall, where the armies of Owen were defeated and himself and Fregus (*Fraech*) the king of Spain's son, slain, and buried in two little hillocks, now to be seen at the said plain, which are, as some say, the tombs of the said Owen and Fregus.”—*Annals of Clonmacnoise*.

Eogan, upon hearing it, determined to make preparation to meet the approaching season of want; and, for that purpose, he made use of venison and fish as his principal articles of immediate consumption as food, while he stored up his corn. Besides this, he expended upon corn all the rents and tributes that he received. He thus succeeded in filling up his granaries. Then, when the season of want had come, numbers of the people of Ireland had come to him from all sides, who submitted themselves to Eogan, and covenanted to pay him rents and tributes, as a compensation for their support during the time the famine lasted. So we read in the duan beginning with the line, "Great Eogan, fortune-favored chief," which speaks as follows:

"Eogan excelled the warlike Conn
 Not by the battles he had fought—
 More food the daring Eogan owned,
 More ships and herds and neighing steeds.
 A fearful famine smote the land,
 Though luck it brought to glorious Eogan,
 And men were known to eat their kind
 In awe-struck Eri's dreary dwellings.
 And when folk knew the plenteous store
 Of corn and meat that chief had hoarded,
 They bound themselves in vassal thrall
 'Neath Eogan's sway for sustenance."

Mogh Nuadath was known by four names,⁷⁸ to wit, Eogan, or Eoghan Fídh-Fétach (*Owen Fee-faytagh*), Eoghan Mor (*Owen More*), Eoghan Taighleach or Taidhleach (*Owen Toylagh*), and Mogh or Modh Nuadhat (*Mow Nooath*); as the bard tells us in this verse:

"By four auspicious names he is known—
 We call him Eogan Mor, the bounteous,
 And Eogan Fídh-fétach, far-famed,
 Eogan Taigleach and Mogh Nuadath."

Now, if you would learn the cause of each of the surnames enumerated in the above verse, you may read the Coir Annann (Etymology of Names), and you will find them explained therein.

Bera, daughter of Eber Mor, son of Midna, king of Castile, was the wife of Eogan Mor; and she bore him a son and two

⁷⁸ *Names.* This king of Munster is most generally called Mogh Nuadath (said to mean the *strong workman*), in order to distinguish him from his grandson, Eoghan Mor, or the Great, son of Olild Olum. The epithet "taighleach," or "taidleach," is interpreted *splendid*. The exact meaning of "Fídh-fétach" the editor has no means by him of ascertaining, and he is unwilling to hazard any guess of his own on the word.

daughters. Olild Olum was the name of that son, and Sgoth-niamh (*Skohneav*) and Caimnell were those of the two daughters: here is a quotation from a Shannachie in record of that fact:

“ Bera, mighty Eber’s child,
Was Olild Olum’s mother,
And mother of two damsels fair,
His sisters, Caimnell and Sgothniamh.”⁷⁹

And, furthermore, according to some historians, it was by Conn of the Hundred Battles, who made an attack upon him before dawn, that Eogan Mor was treacherously slain in his bed, as they were on the point of engaging each other in battle upon the plain of Magh-Lèna⁸⁰ (*Moy-Layna*).

This monarch was called Conn Kèd-Cathach, Conn of the Hundred Battles, from the hundreds of battles⁸¹ which he fought

⁷⁹ *Caimnell and Sgothniamh*. The first of these names means *torch* or *light*; the second is compounded of *Sgoth*, a *flower*, and *Niamh*, *splendor*.

⁸⁰ *Magh Lena* lay in the territory of Fera-Ceal, in the present Kings County, which comprised the modern baronies of Firecall, Ballycowan and Ballyboy. O’Mulloy was its chief. The evening before this battle, Conn observed to his council of war, that Eogan’s army was superior to his own in numbers and discipline, consisting of 27,000 Gaelic warriors, 2,000 Spaniards, and 1,000 other foreigners; and, therefore, he determined to attack his enemy that very night, or before light next morning. To this all his chiefs agreed, except Goll Mac Morna (Macpherson’s Gaul), the Fer-Bolg chieftain of the Fiann or militia of Connaught, who rose and said: “On the day that my first arms were put into my hands, I swore never to attack an enemy at night, by surprise, or at any disadvantage. To this day I have religiously adhered to that promise, and shall not break it now.” The attack was then made without him. The Munster men, though surprised, fought bravely, and Eogan and his Spanish cousin Fraech dealt death on every side. Conn is losing the fight; but, as it is now day, and he calls upon Goll with his Fianna to attack the king of

Leth-Mogha. The latter, now exhausted by wounds, soon falls under the sword of the chief of the Fiann, as does also the Spaniard Fraech. Goll’s warriors, upon this, raised the body of Eogan, pierced with wounds, upon their shields, and exposed it in triumph to the contending armies. But Goll saw it, and said: “Lay down the body of Munster’s king, for he died as a hero should.” The defeat and death of Eogan did not destroy the treaty of partition made between him and Conn. With the single exception of his successor, the Ithian Mac-niadh, the lineal descendants of this Eberian prince reigned uninterruptedly over Leth Mogha for more than a thousand years after his fall. We are told that Eogan’s children, being minors, the Munster clans elected Mac-niadh as their king, and prepared to renew the war: but that Conn made a peace with the latter chief, confirming the previous partition, and giving him his daughter Sadb in marriage.—See O’Halloran’s *History of Ireland*.

⁸¹ Conn reigned over Ireland for thirty-five years, according to the Four Masters, while Keating and others allow him but a reign of twenty. This discrepancy may be explained on the supposition that some of our annalists did not consider him as full monarch until after the death of his rival, Eogan.

against the pentarchs or provincial kings of Ireland, as the bard explains in the following verse :

“ One hundred fights in Mumha wide
 Conn Kèd-Cathach the just had fought,
 One hundred 'gainst the Ulta brave,
 And sixty fights 'gainst Laighen's sons.”

CONARI, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 145.⁸² Conari, son of Mogh Lamha, son of Lugaidh Ellathach, son of Carbri Crom-kenn, son of Dari Dornmar, son of Carbri Finnbar, son of Conari Mor, son of Edirsgèl of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years, when he fell by the hand of Nemedh, son of Sruib-kenn. Ethni, daughter of Lugaidh, son of Dari, was the mother of this monarch.

Of the descendants of this Conari, are the Dal Riada (*Daul Recada*) of Alba or Scotland, the Basgnigh⁸³ from Leim-Conculainn (*Laim Concullin*), and the Musgraide (*Moosgree*), as the bard says in the following verse :

“ The Alban Gaels, of Riada's line,
 The Basgnigh bold from Leim Conculainn,
 And Musgraide whom reproach ne'er reached,
 Are sprung from comeliest Conari (*Connerie*).”

ART AEINFER, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 152.⁸⁴ Art Aeinfer⁸⁵ (*Eenar*), son of Conn Kèd-Cathach, son of Feidhmidh Rectmar, son of Tuathal Tectmar, of the line of

⁸² A. D. 158.—*Four Masters*, Conari Ì.

⁸³ *Basgnigh*. This celebrated tribe inhabited the territories now known as the baronies of Moyarta and Clonderlaw, in the county of Clare. After the establishment of surnames, the chief families of them took the names of O'Baiskinn and O'Domhnaill or O'Donnell. On the increasing power of the Dalcassians, the Clan of Mac Mathghabhna (Mac Mahon, descended from Murkertach Mor O'Briain, king of Ireland) became chiefs of this country, and reduced the race of king Conari to comparative insignificance.—*See Notes to Leabhor na g-Ceart*. The O'Donnells and Mac Donnells, still so numerous in the counties of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary, are most probably the representatives of this ancient and warlike tribe; though some would fain make

them descend from one of the O'Donnells of the Kinèl-Conaill, planted in Munster during Cromwell's days. The great objection to this is, that the race of any such northern O'Donnell has not had time since then to have become so extremely numerous as the O'Donnells now are in those counties. Dr. O'Brien will have it that the O'Donnells of Coreobaskin are of the same stock as the Mac Mahons, they being, according to him, descended from the eldest son of King Murkertach, Donnall O'Briain, whose eyes had been put out by his unnatural uncle, Diarmaid, successor of Murkertach, as chief of the Dalcassians, and founder of the family of O'Brien. Conari had reigned *eight* years, according to the *Four Masters*, when he fell by the son of Sruibhgeann.

⁸⁴ A. D. 166.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁵ Art III.

Erimhón, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years. His wife was Míadb Lethderg (*Mive* or *Maive Lähjarg*), daughter of Conan of Cualann, and from her is called Rath-Meidbi (*Rauh-Meivie*), close by Temhair. The reason why he was called Art Aeinfer (*Kenar*), i. e. Art the Solitary, was because he was the only one of his father's sons that survived; for his two brothers, Conla and Crinna, were slain by Eocaidh Finn, the brother of Conn. Conn, indeed, had two brothers, namely, this Eocaidh Finn, and Fiachaidh Suighdi, and it was by their hands that those two brothers of Art fell, in testimony of which the following two verses have been recorded in our history :

“The brothers of the royal Conn
Were Eocaidh Finn and Fiachaidh Suighdi,
Who Conla slew and Crinna brave,
Conn's comely sons, their youthful nephews.

Thence Art abhorred proud Eocaidh Finn,
Remembering well his slaughtered brothers,
And called himself the Lonely Art,
Bereft thus of those kindly princes.”

Conn, indeed, had six children in all, namely, Art Aeinfer, Conla, Crinna, Macin, Saradh and Sadb (*Sara* and *Soive*); as is read in the duan, which begins with this rann down here :

“The names I know of Conn's six children,
Macin, Saradh, Sadb, Sil-Eoluim's mother,
And the heroes fair and bright of feature
Conla, Crinna, with Art the Lonely.”

As we have just said, Conla and Crinna were slain by Eocaidh Finn and Fiachaidh Suighdi.⁶⁵ Saradh was married to Conari, son of Mogh Lamha, to whom she bore the three Carbris, namely, Carbri Riada, Carbri Baschaein (*Boskeen*), and Carbri Musg. And it was the posterity of Carbri Riada that went to Alba (Scotland), and it is they that are called the Dal-Riada. For,

⁶⁵ *Eocaidh Finn and Fiachaidh Suighdi.* When Art succeeded Conari as monarch of Ireland, he banished his uncle Eocaidh Finn Fothart and his sons from Meath, because they had assassinated his brothers, Conla and Crinna, and had betrayed his father to the Ulstermen. Eocaidh being married to Uchdelbha (*Ughdelva*), the granddaughter of Cathacir Mor, proceeded into Leinster, and the king of that province bestowed upon him and his sons certain districts called by pos-

terity Fotharta, from Eocaidh's name. Of these the two principal were the barony Forth, in Carlow, and the barony Forth, in Wexford; and some others (*heretofore mentioned*). In all these his race became extinct or obscure at an early period, except in the Fortharta Fea, in Carlow, where O'Nolan, his descendant, retained considerable possessions till the seventeenth century.—O'D. Fiachaidh, the other brother of Conn, was the ancestor of the celebrated tribes of the Desies.

Eocaidh Munremar, one of the descendants of Carbri Riada, had two sons, named Erea and Eoleu. From Erea has sprung the Dal Riada of Alba; the Dal-Riada of Uladh, who are also called the Rutach,⁸⁷ and are the progeny of Eoleu.

Sadb (Sadhbh, *Soive*), her sister, the above-named daughter of Conn, was married to Mae-niadh, son of Lugaidh, a descendant of Lugaidh son of Ith; and she bore him a son named Lugaidh, who was also styled Mae-Con. Then, after the death of Mae-Niadh, she was married to Olild Olum, to whom she bore nine sons, seven of whom fell in the battle of Magh Moerumhi (*Moy Mockrivvie*), as Olild Olum himself has told us in the following verse:

“ Mac-Con has slain my seven sons,
How sad my bitter, piercing wail!
Eogan, Dubmercon, and Mogh-Corb,
Lugaidh, Eocaidh, Dithorba, Tadg!”

Cormac Cas and Kian (*Kecan*) were the names of the two sons of Olild Olum, that returned from the battle of Magh Moerumhi.

Now, although Olild Olum had nineteen sons in all, to wit, nine by Sadb, daughter of Conn, and ten by other women, nevertheless, none of them left any posterity after them, except three, as the bard informs us in the following verse:

“ Nineteen fleet sons that chieftain had
(The beauteous Olild Olum),
Of them, the clans of three survive,
From whom have sprung our free-born races.”⁸⁸

Children of Sadb, daughter of Conn, were those three who have left issue. The first of them was Eogan Mor, son of Olild Olum, who fell in the battle of Magh Moerumhi, by the hand of Bèinni Brit, son of the king of Britain. And the son of Eogan was Fiacaidh Mul-lethan, from whom have sprung the clan of Carthach (MacCarthy), the races of Sulliban (O’Sullivan), of Caemh (O’Keeffe), and of Kellachàn (O’Callaghan), with their kindred branches; and Munca, daughter of Dil, son of Da-Crega, the druid, was the mother of this

⁸⁷ *Rutach*, i. e. the Routi, in Antrim, is said to be a corruption of Dal-Riada.

⁸⁸ *Free-born races*. Olild-Olum was the founder of the Eberian sway in Munster, and from him sprung all the clans that, thenceforth, were able to lay claim to its sovereignty. He must have been both a great and an able

prince, to have established the supremacy of his race upon such solid foundations in times of such extreme convulsion; for his dynasty continued to rule the south of Ireland, in spite of intestine and external wars, from his own time down to the English invasion.

chief; and Ath-Isel,⁸⁹ on the Siuir, was the place where he was born; and he was called "Fiacaidh Fer-da-liach" (*Fceegha Fer-daw-lecagh*), i. e. Fiacaidh of the two doleful tales, for woeful were the two accidents that befel him, namely: the killing of his father on the field of Mocrumhi, shortly after his mother had conceived him, and the death of his mother, who expired immediately after giving him birth. Thence it was that the name, Fiacaidh Fer-da-liach, continued to be applied to him. Olild Olun speaks thus upon this subject, as we read in the Cath Muighe Mocrumhi (*Cäh Moye Mocruvie*), i. e. the battle of Magh Mocrumhi:

"Two woes to thee death wrought—
At once came two dire wails—
Thy sire and mother, both
To thee have caused great dole.

Thy sire and mother both—
Thy greatness in the bud—
The man was slain in fight,
The dame died in thy birth."

He was also surnamed Mæil-lethan; because, when the time of his birth had arrived, her father, the druid, had told Munca that her child should become a king if his birth were delayed for twenty-four hours; but that he should become nothing more than a druid, if born within that time. "Then," said Munca, "in hopes that my child may yet become a king, he shall not be born for these twenty-four hours, unless he pass through my side." She then went into a ford upon the river Siuir, that flowed by her father's dwelling, and there she remained stationary, seated upon a stone. And when the auspicious hour had arrived, she came forth out of the river, gave birth to her son, and then died immediately upon the spot. It was that son, then, that was named Fiacaidh Mæil-lethan; and he was so designated because the crown of his head (Mullach) was made broad (lethan) by the obstruction which his mother had given to his birth, by remaining sitting in the ford. Thus, the term "Mæil-lethan"⁹⁰ (*Muecl-lähän*), i. e. broad-head, has remained attached to his name.

The second son of Olild Olun, that left a progeny after him, was Cormac Cas, from whom have sprung the Dal-g-Cais (*Daul-gash*), the Siol-Aedha (*Shuel Aya*), that is, the clan of Mac Con-

⁸⁹ *Ath-Isel*, now Athassel, on the river Suir, still famous for its ruined abbey.

⁹⁰ *Mæil-lethan*. This ridiculous story is on a par with the many others al-

ready animadverted upon. As if a man could not have a broad or a large head, without assigning an impossible reason therefor.

mara (Mac Namara), and the Siol-g-Clannchadha (*Sheel-Glan-ghuce*) (Mac Clanchy). And it was to this Cormac that Olild Olum had left the heirship of Munster, before he learned that Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan had been born to Eogan Mor; but, when he had heard of this, the arrangement he made was, to leave the succession to his kingdom, immediately after his own death, to Cormac Cas, during that prince's lifetime, decreeing that the royal power should be possessed by Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan next after the death of Cormac, and that the kingdom should continue to be inherited, for ever, thus alternately, during each successive reign, by the descendants of Cormac Cas, and of Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan. For some generations, the kingdom of Munster was inherited according to this arrangement.

The third son of Olild Olum, who left a progeny after him, was Kian; and of his posterity are the clans of O'Kerbhail (i. e. O'Carroll), O'Meachair (i. e. O'Meagher), Oh-Eadhra (i. e. O'Hara), O'Gadhra (i. e. O'Gara or Guiry) O'Cathasaigh (i. e. O'Casey), and O'Conchabhair of Kiannacht (i. e. O'Connor of Keenight in Ulster.)

Olild Olum, who had a reign of sixty years, is the first king of the line of Eber, who is named in the Royal Roll (*Réim Righraidhe*), as having ruled the two provinces or pentarchates of Munster; for, previous to the banishment of Mac-Con by Olild, the sovereignty of Munster was possessed by two races, namely: the tribe of Darini, of the line of Lugaidh, son of Ith, from which sprang Mac-Con; and the tribe of Dergthini, of the blood of Eber, of which came Olild Olum. And, whenever the sovereignty of Munster was possessed by the tribe of Darini, the brehonship and tanistship was held by the tribe of Dergthini; and, again, when the kingly power was in the hands of the line of Dergthini, the tanistship and brehonship was the right of the former race. Thus it continued until Mac-Con's ambition⁹¹ soared beyond the brehonship of Olild Olum. For this was he

⁹¹ *Mac-Con's ambition.* In the twenty-first year of the reign of Art III., "the battle of Kennfebrat (*Kenfewrat*, now part of Sliabh Riaeh, near Kilmallock) was fought by the sons of Olild and the three Carbris, i. e. Carbri Muse, Carbri Riada, and Carbri Bascacain, against Dadera the Druid, Nemedh, son of Sroib-kenn, and the south of Ireland; where fell Nemedh, son of Sroibkenn, king of the Ernai of Munster, and Dadera, the Druid of the Darini. Dadera was slain by Eogan, son of Olild; Nemedh, son of Sroib-kenn, by Carbri

Riada, son of Conari II., in revenge for his own father. Carbri Musg wounded Lugaidh, i. e. Mac-Con, in the thigh, so that he was ever afterwards lame." — *See Four Masters.* After this defeat Mac-Con and his party applied for protection to the monarch Art, but finding none, he fled from the kingdom, accompanied by Lugaidh Laga, the brother of Olild Olum, who was displeased at the friendship that existed between the latter and Art Acinifer, who had caused the death of Mogh Nuadath, their father.

driven out of the country, and forced to spend some time in exile. During his banishment he made himself allies and friends, so that he was enabled to return to Ireland, accompanied by Beinni Brit, son of the king of Great Britain, and backed by a great force of foreigners. With these he challenged Art Aeinfer, king of Ireland, to a battle, in revenge for his support of Olild Olum. Upon this, both parties having mustered their forces, they prepared to contend in battle upon the plain of Mocrumhi, whither Art led his entire host, and whither, also, came the nine sons of Olild Olum, followed by the seven legions (i. e. cathas) of Munster, as auxiliaries to Art, while Mac-Con, with his foreigners, stood opposed to them in hostile array. The battle of Magh Mocrumhi was then fought, and, in it, Art and his forces were completely routed. There, also, that king himself was slain, by the hand of the stout champion, Lugaidh Laga, son of Eogan Taighleach, and brother of Olild Olild, for that warrior fought on the side of Mac-Con. Seven of the sons of Olild Olum likewise fell upon that field.

Olild Olum had been first named Aengus. The cause of his being called Olild Olum arose from the result of a criminal intercourse which he had with Aini, daughter of Ogamhal; for, as this damsel lay by Olild's side, his unwilling mistress, she completely bit off one of his ears from his head, in vengeance both for the violence to which he had subjected herself, and for his having slain her father shortly before. Thence he was called Olild Olum,⁹² which means, Olild of the Bare Ear; the latter word being derived from "o," *an ear*, and "lom," *bare*: and the cause why he was named Olild⁹³ (otherwise spelt, *Oilioll*)—which is the same as "oil, oll," that is, *great blemish*—was by reason

⁹² *Olum*. Dr. O'Connor considers this word to mean the same thing as "ollamh," i. e. a learned sage or doctor. But Dr. O'Donovan informs us that it is always written "olum" by our antiquaries, and understood to mean of the *bare ear*, thus tacitly admitting the truth of the horrible and disgusting story told above. The word, however, with all due deference to Dr. O'Donovan, is sometimes written "eolum," which, coming from "eol," knowledge, may well mean sage, and Dr. O'Connor be right after all. There is also strong presumptive evidence that "Olum," or "Eolum," whatever it means, was not acquired by Olild alone, amongst his family. If the Danaan Aini bit off his ear, some other fair Danaan or Belgian

must have bitten off the ear of his fourth ancestor, Corb Olum, or Dergtheini, likewise, which, however salacious the tribe may have been, is exceedingly improbable. This fact must go far to prove, that the surname "Olum" was hereditary. Can we believe that the misfortune of having an ear bitten off was so likewise?

⁹³ *Olild*. Whatever ground there be for believing that "Olum" means *bare ear*, there can be none for thinking that this name Olild was applied to the Munster king, as a dishonoring epithet. It was then already grown old as a proper name amongst the Gaels. It had been borne by numberless chieftains and warriors, and by three Irish monarchs, and several provincial kings

of three great personal blemishes with which he had met, and which stuck to him to the day of his death; for he was bare of an ear, he had black teeth, and his breath was foul. These blemishes were brought upon him in the following manner: immediately after losing his ear, as we have just told, through the vengeance of Aini, he was seized with a violent fit of rage, and, under its influence, he struck his spear through that damsel's body into the earth, so that the head of the spear was dashed against a stone, by which its point was bent. Olild, thereupon, took the spear-head between his teeth, in order to straighten its point, and the poison that was upon the blade, got thus into them, so that they became black all at once. Thence there also arose a foul odor from his breath, that contaminated him to his grave; for he had broken the three sacred injunctions (*gesa*), that had been attached to that spear. These were, never to allow its head to touch upon a stone; never to take it between the teeth; and never to use it in slaying a woman. Thus it happened, from his having violated these three sacred injunctions, that those three blemishes above mentioned came upon him, and that, from them, men called him Oilioll, which is interpreted "oil, oll," or great blemish.⁹⁴

LUGAIDH MAC-CON, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 182.⁹⁵ Lugaidh,⁹⁶ that is, Mac-Con, son of Mac-Niadh, son of Lugaidh, son of Dari, son of Fer-Ulni, son of Edbolg, son of Dari, son of Sithbolg, of the line of Lugaidh, son of Ith, son of Breogan, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty years. As we have above stated, Sadb, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was the mother of Mac-Con. Lugaidh, who was the son of Mac Niadh, was called by the nickname of Mac-Con, for

long ages before Olild Olum was born. Oilioll is a very modern way of spelling the word: in the old MSS. it is found written *Aileld*, *Alild*, *Oileld*, *Olild*, *Ailll*, &c. To suppose that it could mean anything disgraceful, is perfectly absurd. We may, then, set the whole tale down as a lying calumny, invented to depreciate the race of Eber, seeing upon what untenable foundations it has been built. The lady Aini, whom Olild is said to have so cruelly used, was a Danaan; her father, whom Olild had slain, is elsewhere called Eogabal. It is from her that the Hill of Knockany, near Bruff, co. Limerick, has its name. She is now traditionally

remembered as one of the Banshees of Munster.

⁹⁴ *Great blemish.* We have, a little before, seen Olild called "Olild Alainn Olum," i. e. beauteous Olild Olum; which it is not likely that the historic bard would have ventured upon, had he been of so offensive a presence, as this tale would make him. The grand objection to it is that, if he was so deformed, he could scarcely have maintained himself on the throne amongst a people so much taken by externals as the Gaels.

⁹⁵ A. D. 196.—*Four Masters.*

⁹⁶ Lugaidh V.

the following reason: when he was an infant in the house of his step-father, Olild Olum, the latter chief had a certain hound, which was named Elair Derg (Red Eagle). The infant Lugaidh happening, once, to creep to this hound upon his hands and feet, the animal took him kindly to its breast, and, thenceforward, it was found impossible to keep him away from his strange nurse. Hence he got the name of Mac-Con,⁹⁷ (i. e. son of the "cu" or wolf-hound).

Now, when Mac-Con had, as we have seen, gained great pre-eminence, after his return from banishment, and after winning the battle of Magh Moerumhi, where Art Aeinfer fell, he made himself master of all Ireland in the course of one week; and he enjoyed the sovereignty thereof for thirty years, as we read in the duan, which commences with the line, "Cnuca's hill,"⁹⁸ o'er Lifi's stream." The following are its words:

"In one week's time, (no humble glory!)
Brave Lugaidh conquered Eri's plains:
Subduing both her royal chieftains,
In those seven days he won her throne.

For thirty years, with strength unbroken,
Mac-Con, thence, held unrivalled sway;
But, then, the curly-headed hero,
Unvanquished still, by treason fell."

Now, this Mac-Con, of whom we are speaking, was not of the race of Enna Muncaein, of the line of Eber, although that statement is made in the duan which commences with the line "Comely Conari, son-in-law of Conn;" but he was descended of the line of Lugaidh, son of Ith, son of Breogan. Miledh of Spain, son of Bili, (*Billeh*), son of Breogan, and Lugaidh, son Ith, son of Breogan, were cousin-germans. So that, although the posterity of Lugaidh Mac Itha are of the Finé Gaedhal, (*Finneh Gayil*), still they are not of the Clanna Milidh, (*Clonna*

⁹⁷ *Mac-Con*. "This, however, is clearly the guess of derivation of a posterior age. The word *Mac-Con* would certainly denote *filius Canis*, but it might also be figuratively used to denote son of a hero; and as his father's name was *Mac-Niadh*, that is, son of a hero, it might not, perhaps, be considered over presumptuous in an etymologist of the present day, to reject the story about the greyhound bitch, and substitute a modern conjecture in its place."
—*Dr. O'Donovan*.

⁹⁸ *Cnuca's hill*. This is probably the place now Castleknock, near Dublin.

Keating has taken no notice of the remarkable battle that was fought here in the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, by that monarch, against his rival Eogan Mor. In it Eogan was defeated, and his ally, Cumhal, son of Trenmor, chieftain of the Fiann of Leinster and father of the celebrated Finn, or Fingal, fell therein, by the hand of Goll Mac Morna. Eogan had to fly thence to Spain, whence, returning with a powerful force, he soon retrieved his lost fortune, and forced Conn to divide Ireland with him.

Meeleh), or children of Miledh, but they are nevertheless their kinsmen, as a bard thus tells, in speaking of three of the clans of the children of Ith, in the following rann :

“ O Cobthaigh⁹⁹ of the festive horns,
Oh-Edirsgeoil¹⁰⁰ and O Floinn-Arda,¹
Clans whose ancestral tree ne'er fell,
Three clans out of the sons of Miledh.”

Here follow the names of the other clans that have sprung from the stock of Lugaidh, son of Ith ; to wit, O'Laegari,² (now O'Laery,) and O'Bari³ of Rinn-Muintiri-Bari, in Carbery ; Mac Flannchada,⁴ (now Mae Clanehy,) of Dartraide ; O'Cuirnín,⁵

⁹⁹ *O' Cobthaigh*. This clan, the members of which now call themselves Cowhig and Coffey, was formerly seated in the territories at present known as Barriroe east and west, in the county of Cork, where the former splendor of the clan is attested by the ruins of their feudal castles which still exist. Dr. Smith says, in his history of Cork : “ Almost on every headland of this barony were castles erected by the Irish, seven of which belong to the sept O'Cowhig, as Dundee, Dunowen, Dunore, Duneen, Duncowhig, Dunworley, and Dungoohy. The O'Cowhigs seem to have been in early times more powerful than their kinsmen, the O'Driscolls or O-h-Edirsgeoil, and O'Flynn or O'Floinn-Arda. They lay nearest to the English freebooters, were the earliest robbed, and fell soonest into obscurity. The progenitor, from whom they took their name, was called Cobthach Finn, son of Dungalach, the twelfth in descent from king Lugaidh Mac-Con. The word Cobthach means victor.

¹⁰⁰ *O-h-Edirsgeoil*. The territory of O'Driscoll, or O-h-Edirsgeoil, who in latter times was the most distinguished chief of the Corca-Luighe, originally comprised the entire of the diocese of Ross. But when the Eoganacht clans of O'Mahony, O'Donovan, O'Cullane, or Collins, and O'Sullivan were driven into this territory, after the English invasion, it was narrowed to the following parishes in the territory of Carberry, viz. : Myross, Glanbarahaue, Tullagh, Creagh, Kilcoe, Aghadown, and Clear Island.

¹ *O'Floinn-Arda*. The castle of Ardagh, midway between Skibbereen and Baltimore, was one of this chief's principal seats.

² *O'Laegari*. The chieftain of this sept of the descendants of Mac-Con was driven from the seabord of Corca Luighe about the time of the English invasion. After which he settled with his followers in the parish of Inchageelagh, or Iveleary, in the barony of Muskery.

³ *O'Bari*. This name is now sometimes confounded by English-speaking people with that of the Norman De Barry, or Barry. Their territory, still called Muintir-Bhairé (*Munter-vaurie*), lies in the parish of Kilcroghaue, county of Cork.

The O'h-Aeda (O'Hea), O'Dunlaing (O'Dowling), O'Dubhchonna (O'Doheny), O'Lonain (sometimes called Lannin, Lenane and Leonard), O'Idigh (Liddy), O'Duinín (Downing), and several other names still numerous in the south-west of Munster, are of this race.—*See Third Part*.

⁴ *Mac Flannchada, of Dartraide*. The territory of this Sept, which must be distinguished from the Dalcaasian Mac Clanchies, chief-brehons of Thomond, was comprised within the present barony of Rosselagher, co. of Leitrim. In Irish, the name is properly spelled Mac Fhlannchadha (*Mac Lonnághuae*), as being derived from a chief named Flanncaidh, the twenty-third descendant from Dari Sir-chrecltach, or Darini. They were called Dartraide, from Doighri, Dart, grandfather of this Flanncaidh.

(now O'Curneen,) and Mac Amhalgaidh,⁶ (*Mac Awley*), of Calraide;⁷ and Mac Allinn⁸ of Alba, (Scotland.)

This Mac-Con was the third chieftain of the line of Lugaidh, son of Ith, that won the kingdom of Ireland. The first king of this race was Eocaidh Edgothach, who, having ruled that country for four years, (from A.M. 2866 to A.M. 2870,) was slain by Kermna, son of Ebric; the second king was Eocaidh Aphach, son of Finn, who fell by the hand of Finn, son of Bratha, when he had reigned but one year, (A.M. 3301 to A.M. 3302); and the third king was this Mac-Con, of whom we are now treating. In testimony of these facts, the following verse has been left on record:

“ Three kings there sprung from tall Mac Itha,
Two Eocaidhs first, then rose proud Lugaidh,
Who, by his glorious deeds and battles,
Avenge our injured, dear Clan Itha.”

It was a poet, named Fercheas, son of Coman, that assassinated Mac-Con, with a species of javelin, called *rincné*, at the instigation of Cormac, son of Art, as the king stood with his back against a pillar-stone at Gort-an-oïr, near Derg-rath, in Magh Femhenn, to the west of Ath-na-Carbad, and while he was there engaged in distributing silver and gold to the poets and ollamhs of Ireland. When the poet Fercheas, son of Coman, who was dwelling at Ard-na-Geimleach (which is now called Cnocach), heard that Mac-Con was thus occupied, he entered the assembly with the others of his class, bringing the *rincné* with him. Then, when he had reached the presence of Mac-Con, he thrust his victim through the body with his weapon, until it met the pillar-stone, against which the prince had leaned his back, and, there-

O'Cuirmín. In latter ages, the head of this family resided at Inis-Moe, Locha Gilé, or Church Island, in Lough Gill, barony of Carbury, and county of Sligo. The O'Curneens were for many centuries hereditary poets to the O'Ruaires, princes of Breifne.

⁶ *Mac Amalgaidh.* This is evidently a mistake. The sept here called Mac Amalgaidh was a branch of the Ui Fiacrach, whose family name was O'Maeilfhina, now O'Mullany, and who succeeded the Ithian tribe of the Calraide as possessors of the Calraide of Magh h-Eleag, a district nearly co-extensive with the parish of Crosmolina, barony of Tirawley, and county of Mayo.

⁷ *Calraide.* There were several ter-

ritories known by this name, from having been possessed by branches of the tribe of the Calraide (*Colree*), which had taken its name from Lugaidh Cal, son of Dari Sir-Creehtach. In the genealogy of the Corea-Laighe, there are eight territories enumerated of this denomination.

⁸ *Mac-Allinns.* “ Certain it is that many illustrious houses in North Britain trace their origin to him (Mac-Con) through his son; as the Campbells, who, to this day, are called in the Erse tongue the Clanna Mhic-Cuin, i. e. the posterity of Mac-Con, the Mac Allens, &c.”—*O'Halloran.* “ Fothad Conann, son of King Mac-Con, was the founder of the Campbells.”—*O'Flaherty.*

upon, Mac-Con died immediately of the wound. Gort-an-oïr⁹ (*Gortanore*), that is, the field of gold, has been the name of that place ever since; and it has been so called, from the quantity of gold there distributed by that monarch to the bards and ollamhs of Ireland.

The reason why he had come into Munster was, because the druids had foretold, that he should not remain one half year more Ard-righ of Ireland, unless he had got possession of Temhair within that time. For this reason did he come into Munster, in order to solicit help from his brothers¹⁰ (by his mother Saub), the sons of Olild Olum. But they remembered their ancient grudge against him, for having caused the death of Eogan Mor and their other brothers, at the battle of Magh Mocrumhi. He was on his return from his fruitless suit, when he met his death in the manner just stated.

FERGUS DUBH-DEDACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 212.¹¹ Fergus¹² Dubh-dédach (*Dhoo-yaidagh*), son of Finneaidh, son of Ogamhan, son of Fiatach Finn, son of Dari, son of Dluthach, son of Déthsín, son of Eocaidh, son of Sin, son of Rosin, son of Trén, son of Rothren, son of Arndell, son of Mani, son of Forga, son of Olild Eronn, son of Fiacaidh Fer-mara, son of Aengus Tuirmech of Temhair, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for one year. He was called Fergus Dubh-dedach, that is, Fergus the Black-toothed, because he was disfigured by two great black teeth.

This Fergus was the man who had come between Cormac, son of Art, and the sovereignty of Ireland, when the said Cormac had been expelled by the Últa and Connactaigh, though he had given them his hostages, and had made a feast¹³ for them in the north of Breagh (*Breà*); at which feast an attendant on the king of Uladh placed a lighted torch beneath the hair of Cormac, by which it was greatly burned. Now, the persons who had com-

⁹ *Gort-an-oir*. This place is still pointed out, near the fort of Derg-rath, in the parish of Derrygrath, about four miles to the north-east of Cahir county, Tipperary. Cnocach is now called Knockagh, and is situated about three miles north-east of the same town. In the Leabhar Gabhala, it is called Ard Feirehis, i. e. the Hill of Fercheas.—*O'D.*

¹⁰ *His brothers*. His kinsmen were perhaps the better translation. Fiacha Macil-lethan, the grandson of Olild, was, probably, already king of Leth-

Mogha, while Cian, Olild's youngest son, still reigned over the Eilian territories. "Mac-Conn was killed," say the Four Masters, "after he had been expelled from Temhair, by Cormac, grandson of Conn."

¹¹ A. D. 226. *Four Masters*.

¹² FERGUS II. His father is elsewhere called Imchadh.

¹³ *A feast*. By this feast and these hostages, Cormac sought to purchase the support of the Ulidian tribes, in his struggle for the throne.

mitted this outrage¹⁴ upon Cormac, were the three sons of Finncaidh, son of Ogamhan, son of Fiatach Finn, namely: Fergus Dubh-dedach, Fergus Cas-fiaclach,¹⁵ and Fergus Folt-lebar.

Cormac, thereupon, went to solicit aid from Tadg, son of Kian, son of Olild Olum, who was then very powerful in the Elian territories. And the reply that Tadg gave him was, that he would give him aid, but that he should get lands in return therefor. "I shall give thee," said Cormac, "all the land that thou canst encompass with thy chariot on the day thou wilt have routed the Ferguses in battle." "Well, then," said Tadg, "I anticipate victory for thee, if thou canst but find that redoubted champion, Lugaidh Laga,¹⁶ my grandfather's brother, and canst bring him into the field with thee; for it is most probable that he will himself slay the whole three of the Ferguses. And Etharla, near Sliabh Grod, is the place where that warrior now is."

Upon hearing this, Cormac set out for Etharla,¹⁷ and there he found Lugaidh Laga, lying down in his hunting booth. Cormac then thrust his spear through the booth, and pricked Lugaidh Laga in the back. "Who wounds me?" cried the warrior. "It is I, Cormac Mac Airt," replied his visitor. "Thou hast good cause for wounding me," said Lugaidh, "for it was I killed thy father, Art Acinfer." "Award me an eric for the deed," said Cormac. "Thou wilt get a king's head on the battle-field," replied the champion. "Then," said Cormac, "give me the head of Fergus of the Black Teeth, the king of Uladh, who is now opposing my accession to the throne of Ireland." "That thou wilt get," said Lugaidh. Upon this the prince returns to Eli, to Tadg, son of Kian, and they both march, with a numerous force, to Brugh-mic-an-oigh¹⁸ (*Broo-mick-an-oe*), at Crinna-Chinn-Cumair, and there the battle of Crinna was fought, between Cormac and the three Ferguses.

Tadg had another motive for marching against the Ulta, for it was this Fergus, their king, that slew his father, in the battle of Samhain. But Tadg did not allow Cormac to take part in

¹⁴ *Outrage.* By the loss of his hair, Cormac was prevented from being inaugurated king of Ireland, as he was disqualified for that ceremony by being thus personally disfigured. The reader will remember something similar, in the tale of Cuchullainn and Curigh Mac Darí, already related.

¹⁵ *Fergus Cas-fiaclach*, i. e. Fergus of the Crooked Teeth. He was also styled Fergus Bot, or the Fiery; Fergus Folt-lebhar (*Folt-leowar*), i. e. Fergus of the Flowing Hair.

¹⁶ *Lugaidh Laga.* This warrior was the most redoubted, as well as the most fierce and savage champion of his day. His name is now pronounced *Looce Law*.

¹⁷ *Etharla*, now called Aharlow, a romantic glen lying north of the Gaulties, which were anciently called Sliabh Grod.

¹⁸ *Brugh-mic-an-oigh* is the name of a place on the River Boyne, near Stackallan Bridge.

the action, but he placed him on a hill, behind the field of slaughter, accompanied by an attendant or *gilla*, whilst he himself, aided by Lugaidh Laga, made head against the Ferguses. And then Fergus Folt-lebar was the first of the brothers that fell by the hand of the latter warrior, who immediately cut off his head, and proceeded with it to the hill where Cormac was remaining. But when Cormac saw that the armies were about coming to close quarters, what he did was, to put the clothes of Deilenn Druth, his *gilla*, or attendant, upon himself, and to dress the attendant in his own; for he was well aware that Lugaidh, when his warlike ire was roused, and when the battle-rage was upon him, could be trusted by neither friend nor foe.

When Lugaidh, then bearing in his hand the head he had cut off, came into the presence of the attendant, disguised as Cormac, he demanded, if that were the head of Fergus of the Black Teeth. "No," said the *gilla*, "but it is the head of Fergus the Long-haired, his brother. Hearing this, Lugaidh rushed back to the fight, and soon cut off the head of Fergus Cas-fiaclach. With this, also, he came to the hill where the *gilla* stood disguised as Cormac. "Is this the head of the king of Uladh," said Lugaidh. "No," replied the *gilla*, "but it is the head of the other of his brothers." Upon hearing this, Lugaidh dashed the head upon the ground, and returned to the fight a third time, and brought off thence the head of Fergus of the Black Teeth. He then demanded the same question as before of the *gilla*, who replied, that it was the head of the king of Uladh. Upon this, Lugaidh flung the head at him, and striking him therewith upon the breast, he killed him upon the spot by the blow. Immediately after, Lugaidh himself fell into a swoon, by reason of the quantity of blood which he had lost from his wounds.¹⁹

As to Tadg, son of Kian, he completely vanquished the host of Uladh, for he routed them seven times within that one day; having pursued them from Ath-Crinna to Glas-an-Era, on the side of Drom-Innasglainn,²⁰ as the bard Flannagàn tells us in the following rann:

"Tadg Mac Kéin, that gore-stained battle-axe,
Was seven times victor in one day,
And broke the routed ranks of Uladh,
From Crinna's ford to high Ard-Kéin."

¹⁹ Upon the slaughter of the three Ferguses, the Four Masters have preserved an ancient rann, of which the following is a translation:

"Upon one stone at Rath-Cro
Were slain the three Ferguses.

Then Cormac said, 'It is well done;
His hand has never failed Laga.'
Rath-Cro is near Slane, in the county of Meath.

²⁰ *Drum-Innasglainn*, now Drumiskin and Drumiskin, in the present county of Louth.

Tadg then, though he had received three spear-wounds, mounted his car, and ordered his charioteer to drive him towards Temhair, hoping to encompass its royal walls within the circuit to be made by his war-steeds within that day. They then drove straight upon Temhair, though Tadg had swooned several times, from the loss of the blood which continued to flow from his wounds. And when they had thus reached near to Ath-Cliath, Tadg addressed his charioteer, and said: "Have we yet taken in Temhair?" "We have not," said the charioteer: and Tadg, thereupon, killed him at a blow.

Soon after the slaughter of his charioteer, Cormac, son of Art, fell in with him, and seeing the three great wounds from which Tadg was suffering, he commanded his own physician to put a live chafer into one of them, a grain of barley into another, and the splinter of a spear-blade into the third, and then to cause the wounds to heal externally.²¹

In consequence of this treatment, the warrior wasted away in withering disease for a whole year, until Lugaídh Laga went to Munster in search of the Wise Surgeon, which physician came, at his request, and brought with him his three pupils. When these heard the groans of Tadg, upon their arrival at his dun (fort), the Wise-Surgeon,²² upon being informed by Tadg about his first sore, he demanded of the first of his three pupils, and said: "What is the cause of this sore?" "That is a sore caused by a sharp prickle," said the pupil, "and the prickle is an awn of barley." Next, when he had heard all about the second sore, he demanded of his second pupil what was its cause. "This is a sore caused by a live worm," said he, "for a live chafer has been put into the second wound." He was then told all about the third sore, and again asked of his third pupil what had caused it. "This is a sore whose cause is the point of a weapon,"

²¹ The extravagant and impossible story here told is evidently a calumny, invented in order to tarnish the glory of Cormac Mac Airt, who was one of the greatest and wisest of our pagan monarchs. It may be remarked, that the greater our monarchs and chieftains appear to have been, the more were they subject to such calumnies. Thus have Aengus Tuirmech, Conobar Mac Nessa, Crimthán Niadh-nair, Olíud Olum, and the great Cormac been each, in turn, most vilely defamed by the story-tellers of their enemies. The Four Masters relate that, "In the army of Cormac came Tadg, son of Kian, and Lugaídh to that battle; and it was as

a territorial reward for that battle that Cormac gave to Tadg, the Kiunnacta, which are in Magh-Breagh, as is celebrated in other books."

²² *Wise-Surgeon*. *Faithliagh* (*Fahleca*) is the term used in the original. This word is usually translated surgeon; but, as it was given as a *distinctive title* to this physician, the translator thinks it to be, in this instance, put by mistake, either for "Aith-liagh" (*ih leca*), which would mean a veteran or experienced physician; or for "faithliagh" (*fawleca*), a wise physician. O'Halloran calls him Finghin Faithliagh (*Fin-keen Fawleca*).

said the third pupil. Then the Wise-Surgeon entered the house where the patient was lying, and proceeded at once to place an iron plough-share in the fire; and there he left it until he had made it quite red, saying that he was preparing to operate with it upon Tadg. But when the latter saw him getting ready the red iron, in order to thrust it through his body, his heart trembled so violently within him, and his terror became so great, that he forcibly cast out from his several sores the grain of barley, the chafer, and the splinter of the spear-head. After this the Wise-Surgeon performed a radical cure of his wounds, so that Tadg became perfectly healed within a very short time after.

This warrior afterwards won large possessions in Leth-Cuinn; for Connla and Cormac Galengach were the sons of Tadg, son of Kian, son of Olild Olum, and from him have sprung the O'Haras, O'Gares, O'Caseys (of Breagh, in Meath), and the O'Connors Keenaught (i. e. the O'Connors of Ulster). The following are the territories that were possessed by his posterity, namely: the Galenga, both east and west;²³ the Kiannaeta,²⁴ both south and north; and the Luighni, both east and west.

But there were some other tribes of the blood of Eber, besides these, who had won territories in Leth Cuinn; such as the race of Cochlàn, son of Lorcan, son of Dathin, son of Tecari, son of Trèn, son of Sidhe, son of Anbili, son of Beg, son of Aedgan, son of Delbaeth, son of Cas, son of Conall Ech-luath, son of Lugaidh Menn, son of Aengus Tírech, son of Fer-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, son of Cormac Cas, son of Olild Olum. The territories acquired by these were the seven Delbna²⁵ (*Dällävna*),

²³ *Gallenga, east and west*, i. e. in Meath and in Connaught. Before explained.

²⁴ *Kiannaeta, south*. This territory extended from the River Liffey to near Drunskin, in the county of Louth (comprehending the barony of Ferrard, or Arda Kianaeta, in that county). Duleek, in Meath, is mentioned as in it. O'Cathasaigh, or O'Casey, of Saithni, in Magh Breagh, was one of its principal chiefs. He was dispossessed shortly after the English invasion, by Hugo de Lacy. This tribe must be distinguished from the O'Cathasaigh, or O'Caseys, of Coillti Mabinecha, whose territory lay on the borders of the counties of Cork and Limerick, near the town of Mitchellstown. The Kianaeta Breagh did not include Tara within their bounds. The northern Kianaeta, the tribeland of O'Connor of Glengiven, has been

already pointed out; so have the Luighni.

The importance of the services rendered by Tadg to king Cormac, are sufficiently attested by the largeness and fertility of the territory given to him as a reward for his valor; as is the bravery of his descendants by the number and extent of the territories won by them in Ulster and Connaught. The posterity of Kian did not, however, all migrate to these new districts; the chief part of his descendants ruled the Elian territory down to a late period. There is an ancient historic tale still extant, called the Cath Crinna, which minutely describes the battle of Crinna. "Some of its details are legendary, but it is true as to its main facts."—*O'D.*

²⁵ *Seven Delbna*. 1. O'Finnallain was the chief of Delbna Mor, now call-

namely: Delbna-Mor, Delbna-Beg, Delbna Edthartha, Delbna of Iarthar-Midhe (i. e. of the west of Meath), Delbna of Sith Nennta, Delbna of Cuil-Fabar, Delbna of Tir-da-loch, in Connaught.

Remember, reader, that it was Lugaidh Laga that slew Fergus of the Black Teeth, of whose reign we have just treated; and that where he slew him was at the battle of Crinna; and that it was at the instigation of Cormac Mae Airt that he did the deed.

CORMAC UL-FADA, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 213.²⁶ Cormac Ul-fada, son of Art Aeinfer, son of Conn Kèd-cathach, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, which he held for forty years. He was styled Cormac Ul-fada, either on account of his wearing a long beard,²⁷ i. e. "ulcha fada;" or from the phrase "Ula a bh-fad (*Ulla-vad*), which means far or remote from Uladh; for he had been for ten years banished from Ulster or Uladh, by the Ulidians, who had inflicted many evils upon him previous to his accession to the Irish monarchy.

And the mother of Cormac was named Ectach,²⁸ daughter of Olkètach, the Smith. And it was on the eve of the battle of Moerumhi, that he was conceived of Art by the Smith's daugh-

ed the barony of Delvin, county Westmeath; 2. O'Macil-challainn, or Mulholland, of Delbna Beg, now the barony of Demi Fore, in the same county; 3. Mac Cochlain, or Coghlan, of Delbna Ethra, or Edthartha (*Atharak*), now the barony of Garrycastle, Kings County; 4. O'Scolaidhe, of Delbna Iarthar Midhe (*Eerhar-Mee*), otherwise called Delbna Tenuhuigh (*Tenvoye*), which lay somewhere in Tebtha or Teffiá; 5. Delbna-Sithe-Nennta (*Sheehie Nennta*) was probably another name for Delbna Nuadath, which lay between the rivers Suck and Shannon, in the barony of Athlone, county Roscommon; this sept sunk early under the Uí Manú; 6. O'Fathartaigh (O'Faherty) was lord of Delbna Culi Fabair, which was situated on the east side of Lough Corrib; 7. Mac Conroi (now sometimes corrupted to King) was lord of Delbna of Tir-da-loch (i. e. the land of the two lakes), which lay between Loch Orbsen (Lough Corrib) and Loch Lurgan (the Bay of Galway). O'h-

Adhnaigh (now Hyney) was also one of the principal septs of the Connangh Delbna.—*See notes to the Leabhar-na-g Ceart.*

²⁶ A. D. 227. *Four Masters.*

²⁷ *Long-beard.* This is the least forced and the most probable explanation of the surname "Ul-fhada" (*Ulladda*). The second is silly, and unfounded in fact. O'Flaherty gives one scarcely better, though one seemingly more in accordance with historic events, i. e. that he was called "Ul-fhada" because he banished the "Ulta" once or twice to the Isles of Man and the Hebrides, far (fad) from their native "Uladh."

²⁸ *Ectach.* The Gaels were not the only race of conquerors that claimed the right by which Art is said to have got possession of this damsel, whose name Ectach (*Aightagh*), i. e. admirable, tells of her unusual attractions. Down to the last century a similar, and even more barbarous usage, under the name of *Droit du Seigneur*, was maintained in some of the most polished

ter, who was that king's dowered mistress; for, by a custom then prevailing in Ireland, whenever a king or nobleman had placed his affections upon the daughter a brughaidh (*brooe*), or biatach (*beeatagh*), and wished to make her his concubine or paramour, he had a perfect right to get possession of her as such, upon his presenting her with a sufficient dowry or marriage portion. It was thus that Art had acquired possession of Cormac's mother; for it was not she that was his married wife, but Medb Leth-derg (*Meive l h-yarg*), daughter of Conan of Cualann, after whom Rath-Meidhbhe (*Rawh-Meivie*, i. e. Medb's Fort), near Temhair, has been called.

Wonderful, indeed, was the vision which was then seen by Ectach, the mother of Cormac. She imagined, as she lay asleep by the side of Art, that her head had been struck off from her body, and that there grew out of her neck a large and stately tree, whose branches spread over the whole of Eri; and then, that a sea came and overwhelmed the tree, and laid it prostrate upon the earth; and afterwards, that another stately tree sprung out of the roots of the first, but that there blew a whirlwind from the west, which laid it low. When the damsel had seen this vision, she started from her sleep, and told its purport to Art. "It is true," said Art, "that every womans' head is her husband. I shall then be taken off from thee on to-morrow, in the battle at Magh Mocrumhi; and that stately tree that appeared to spring from thy neck, shall be a son whom thou shalt bear to me, and who shall rule all Eri as her king; and the sea that is to overthrow it, means the bone of fish which he shall swallow, and by which he shall be strangled. And the other stately tree, that seemed to spring from the roots of the first, means also a son who shall be born to thy son, and who shall likewise reign as king of Eri; and that whirlwind from the east that is to lay it prostrate, betokens a battle that shall be fought between him and the Fiann of Eri, and he shall be slain therein by the Fiann, but, from that day forth, all good fortune shall depart forever from the Fiann." And that vision was fulfilled, both in the case of Cormac and of his son Carbri; for it was by having made him swallow the bone of a fish that the "Siabrada" (*Sheevree* or *Sheevragha*), that is, the demons, stran-

nations of Europe. The facts that the offspring of such unions were not deemed *illegitimate*, and that the noble ravisher was forced by Brehon law to grant a dowry to the injured maiden, were attenuating circumstances that seem to have been either overlooked by the chivalrous Teutons, who are said to

have founded feudalism, or forgotten by their descendants.

The following events are recorded by the Four Masters as having taken place during the reign of Cormac, who, if not the very greatest, was one of the greatest monarchs that ever ruled Ireland.

gled Cormac; and Carbri Lificar fell by the Fiann at the battle of Gabra (*Gaura* and *Gavra*).

Some historians will have it that Ethni Tacbh-fada (*Taivǽda*), daughter of Cathacir Mor, was the wife of Cormac; but that assertion cannot be true, when we are told that she was also the mother of Carbri Lificar; for there were eighty-eight years from the death of Cathacir Mor to the accession of Cormac to the sovereignty of Ireland, namely: the twenty years that Conn had reigned; the seven years of the reign of Conari, son of Mogh Lamba; the thirty years of Art Acinfer; and the thirty years of Mac-Con; with the one year of Fergus Dubh-dédach, who immediately preceded the present monarch. But it is the truth to state that Ethni Ollamda, daughter of Dunlaing, son of Enna Niadh (*Næta*), was the mother of Carbri Lificar, and the wife of Cormac.

It was she that was the foster-child of Buikedh Brugh, a wealthy grazier, who dwelt amongst the Leinstermen, and whose wont it was to keep the cauldron of hospitality constantly on the fire, for the purpose of entertaining every one of the men of Ireland that might come to his house. Now this Buikedh Brugh was thus circumstanced: he was a man of abundant wealth, for he had seven herds of cattle, and in each herd of these there were seven-score of cows. With these he had large herds of horses, and of every other description of stock in like manner. Knowing this, the nobles of Leinster made a practice of coming to his house, attended by bands of their followers, and at their departure thence they usually took off with them—one party a drove of his kine; another a stud of his brood mares, with their colts; another a troop of his steeds. In this manner they soon stripped him of all his wealth, so that at last there remained in his possession but seven cows and a bull. With these, he stole away by night from Dun Buikidh, and betook himself, with his wife and his foster-child Ethni, to an oak-wood that lay near Kenannus (Kells), in Meath, at which place Cormac was wont to reside at that time. There Buikedh built him a hut, in which he dwelt with his wife and his foster-child; and there did Ethni serve and wait upon her nurse, and her foster-

A. D. 234. The eighth year of Cormac, Olild Olum, son of Mogh Nuadath, king of Munster, died.—A. D. 236. The battle of Granard (in Longford), by Cormac, against the Ulstermen. A battle at Ea, in Magh Ací—against Aedh, son of Eocuidh, son of Conall, king of Connaught. A battle at Eth; the battle of Kenn-Dari; the

battle of Sruth (Shrute, co. Louth), against the Ulstermen; the battle of Slihr Cualgú (co. Louth).—A. D. 237. The battle of Arth-Betha (probably Ballybay, co. Monaghan); the battle of Dunha, this year by Cormac.—A. D. 238. A battle at Aeil-tochadh thrice, and three battles at Dubhadh (Dowth, on the Boyne, co. Meath)—

father, as if she were their maid-servant. While they were thus situated, king Cormac chanced to ride out one day alone, for the purpose of traversing the lands that lay around his town; and, in the course of his ride, he came upon the beautiful maid Ethni, whom he espied milking the seven cows of her foster-father. And it was thus that she proceeded to perform her task: she had brought with her two pails, into one of which she milked the first half-draught from the cows, and then, taking the second pail, she milked the second half-draught therein. She then returned to the hut of her foster-father, and having left the milk within, she brought thence two other pails, and also a horn, which she held in her hand; with these she betook her to a stream that ran not far from the hut. and by means of the horn

A. D. 239. The battle of Allamagh (probably the plain of the river Ela, now Allo, co. Cork), and seven battles at Ebé (now Slieve Ilva, co. Clare).—A. D. 240 The battle at Magh Teet, and the fleet of Cormac sailed across Magh Rein (i. e. the plain of Rian, i. e. the sea) this year, so that it was on that occasion he obtained the sovereignty of Alba (Scotland).—A. D. 241. These are the battles of Cormac, fought against Munster this year: the battles of Berre; the battle of Loch Lein (Killarney); the battle of Luimnech (Limerick); the battle of Grian; the battle of Clasach: the battle of Muireag; the battle of Ferta, in which fell Eocaidh Taebh-fada, son of Olild Olum; the battle of Samhain, in which fell Kian, son of Olild Olum; and the battle of Ard-cam. The massacre of the girls at Clacín-ferta, at Temhair, by Dunlaing, son of Euna Niadh, king of Leinster. Thirty royal girls was their number, and a hundred maids with each of them. Twelve princes of the Leinstermen did Cormac put to death together, in revenge for that massacre, together with an exaction of the Borumha, with an increase after Tnathal. [“In times of Paganism we find in Ireland females devoted to celibacy. There was in Tara (Temhair) a royal foundation of this kind, wherein none were admitted but virgins of royal blood. It was called Chuain-Fert, or the place of retirement until death, as they never retired from the precincts of

the house from their first reception. The duty of these virgins was to keep constantly alive the fires of Bèl, or the Sun, and of Samhain, or the Moon. which customs they borrowed from their Phœnician ancestors. Dunlaing, son of Endeus, broke into this retreat, with a number of wretches equally abandoned, and not being able to violate the virgins, basely put them to the sword. Besides putting the principal perpetrators to death, Cormac obliged their successors to send thirty white cows, with calves of the same color, every year to Temhair, and thirty brass collars for these cows, and thirty chains to keep them quiet whilst milking.”—*O’Hal.*]—A. D. 248. The twenty-second year of Cormac, a battle, at Fochard Murthemni (now Faughard, near Dundalk), by Cormac, this year. The battle of Crinna Fregobail was fought by Cormac, against the Ulstermen, where fell Aengus Finn, son of Fergus Dubh-dédach, king of Ulster, with the slaughter of the Ulstermen about him.—A. D. 265. Kellach, son of Cormac, and Cormac’s law-giver, were mortally wounded, and the eye of Cormac himself was destroyed with one thrust of a lance, by Aengus Gaibh-uaiibthech, son of Fiacha Suighdhe, son of Feidhlimidh the Law-giver. Cormac afterwards fought and gained seven battles over the Deisi, in revenge for that deed, and he expelled them from their territory, so that they are now in Munster.

she filled one of the pails with the water which ran near the bank, and the other with that which ran in the middle of the stream. She again returned to the hut with her pails, and soon came forth a third time, bearing in her hand a sickle, for the purpose of cutting rushes. As she cut these, she took care to set every sickle-full of green rushes that were long, on one side, while she set the short rushes on the other. Now it also happened that Cormac, smitten with love for the maiden, had continued to stand by her while she was performing all of those offices; and he at length demanded of her, for whom she had made that careful selection of the milk, the water, and the rushes. "The person for whom I have made it," said she, "has a right to still greater kindness from me, if it were in my power to render it." "Of what name is he?" said Cormac. "Buikedh Brugh," replied she. "Is that Buikedh, the biatach (*beetagh*)," said Cormac, "that Leinsterman who is so famous throughout Ireland?" "It is," replied the maid. "Then thou art his foster-child, Ethni, daughter of Dunlaing," said the king. "I am," replied Ethni. "It has happened well," said Cormac, "for thou shalt be my only wife." "The disposal of me does not rest with myself," said Ethni, "but with my foster-father." Upon this, Cormac accompanied her to Buikedh, upon whom he promised to bestow rich presents, provided he got Ethni as his wife. Buikedh, thereupon, consented to give the maiden in marriage to the king; who, upon his part, granted the "tuath" or district of Oghrān, with store of cattle, and which lay near Temhair, to Buikedh, to possess during his lifetime. And then the marriage of Cormac was consummated, and she bore him a distinguished son, who was named Carbri Lificar.

This Cormac was, indeed, one of the wisest monarchs that ever possessed Ireland. Of this fact, let his *Tegag Righ*²⁹ (*Tag-*

²⁹ *Tegag Righ*. Copies of this work, ascribed to king Cormac, are yet extant in the Book of Leinster and in the Book of Ballymote; and translated extracts from it are given in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214, 215, and 231, 232.—*O'D.*

O'Flaherty says, that "Cormac's literary productions, still extant in manuscript, prove him to have been an able legislator and antiquarian: his laws, enacted for the public good, were never abrogated while the Irish monarchy lasted."

"It was this Cormac, son of Art, also, that collected the Chronicles

of Ireland to Temhair, and ordered them to write the Chronicles of Ireland in one book, which was named the Psalter of Temhair. In that book were entered the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the kings of Ireland with the kings and emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces with the monarchs of Ireland. In it was also written what the monarchs of Ireland were entitled to receive from the provincial kings, and the rents and dues of the provincial kings from their subjects, from the noble to the subaltern. In it also were described the boundaries and meares of Ireland, from

gask Ree), or Book of Precepts for Kings, which was transcribed by his son, Carbri Lificar, bear testimony, as well as the many other praiseworthy institutes, named from him, that are still to be found in the books of the Brehon Laws.

Cormac was also one of the kings that kept the most princely household, and that maintained the largest retinue of attendants, that ever held the sovereignty of Ireland. The truth of this fact may be learned from the account which the bard-sage of king Diarmaid, son of Kerbeol, namely, Amirghin, son of Amalgaidh, son of Mael-Ruadna, has given of the Hall of Mi-Cuarta, built and regulated by king Cormac himself, in the book called the Dinn-Senchas, written by the said Amirghin. However, it was long before the time of Cormac that the Hall of Mi-Cuarta was first founded; for we have seen that Slanoll, king of Ireland, died within its walls, many ages before the reign of the present king. This is, then, what must be meant, namely, that it was in Cormac's time that it was first converted into a banquet hall. It was three hundred feet in length, and thirty cubits in height, and, in breadth, it was fifty cubits.³⁰ In it there was a flaming lamp, and it was entered by fourteen doors. It contained one hundred and fifty beds, besides Cormac's own. One hundred and fifty warriors stood in the king's presence when he sat down to the banquet. There were one hundred and fifty cup-bearers in waiting; and the hall was provided with one hundred and fifty jewelled cups of silver and gold. Fifty over one thousand was the number of the entire household. It was upon the magnificence and goodness of Cormac that the bard composed the following verse:

“The monarch Art left but one child,
Cormac, the royal sage of Corann:
Rich gifts he dealt with bounteous hand—
A hundred clans have sprung from Cormac.”

Ten was the number of Cormac's daughters, and his sons were three, as the bard tells us:

shore to shore, from the province (*cuig-edh*) to the cantred (*tuath*), from the cantred to the townland (*baili*), from the townland to the traighidh (*trawee*) of land. These things are celebrated in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*. They are evident in the *Leabhar Dinnsenchasa*.”
—*Four Masters*.

³⁰ It is to be here remarked that the

dimensions here given of the Hall of Mi-Cuarta have been verified by modern researches made upon the spot; as have also the much more minute and elaborate descriptions of the several constructions at Temhair given by our antiquaries, bards, and by the writers of historic romance.—See *Petrie's Antiquities of Tura Hill*.

“Ten daughters the wise Cormac had,
With three most royal sons.
Three plunderers that wasted Clar
Were Dari, Carbri, Kellach.”

Dari was slain at Dubh-ros (*Doo-russ*), on the Boyne, in the plain of Breagh; and it was Aengus Gaeith-buailtech³¹ (*Ayneesse Guce-vooiltagh*) that killed Kellach, as the bard relates in the following verse:

“Famed Aengus of death-dealing spear
Slew Kellach, son of Cormac,
In Dubh-ros Dari; and Tadg Mac Kēin
Fell, near the Boyne, in smooth Magh-Breagh.”

In order that the events of this epoch may be the better understood, I shall give down here a short genealogical memoir of the following persons and tribes:

Settlement of the Fothartaigh³² and Laeighsigh in Leinster.

You must, in the first place, understand that Feidlimidh Rectmar (king of Ireland) had three sons, namely: Eocaidh Finn, Fiacaoidh Suighdi, and Conn of the Hundred Battles, as has been heretofore recounted. Of these, Conn and his posterity abode at Temhair, and possessed the sovereignty of Ireland. Eocaidh Finn went to dwell in Leinster; and it was in his time that Cu-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, was king of that pentarchate. It was, also, by this Eocaidh Finn that Laeighsech (*Luceshagh*) Kennmor,³³ son (or rather descendant) of Conall Keárnach, had been fostered and educated.

About the same time the Muimhnigh (*Muivnih* or *Mueenih*) or Munstermen held great sway in Leinster, so that they were in possession of the whole of Osraide (*Osree*) and of Laeighis³⁴ (*Lucesh*), as far as Mullach Masden. But when Cu-Corb saw

³¹ *Gaeith-buailtech*, i. e. spear or javelin-striking. He is elsewhere called Gaibh-Uaibhthech (*Guiv-ooiffagh*), i. e. of the terrible spear, which is a much more elegant compound.

³² *Fothartaigh*. The territories possessed by this tribe have been heretofore described. O’Nolan and O’Lorcain, now Larkin, are its chief representatives.

³³ *Laeighsech Kennmor*, i. e. Laeighsech of the Large Head. The chief-

tain here meant was Lugaidh Laeighsech (*Looce Luceshagh*), the son or descendant of Laeighsech Cennmor (*Kennmor*), the grandson (not the son) of Conall Keárnach.

³⁴ *Laeighis*. The name of this territory has been anglicized, Leix. It originally comprised the present baronies of East and West Maryborough, Stradbally, and Cullenagh, in the Queen’s county. The chieftain sept of the descendants of Lugaidh Laeighsech

the Munstermen gaining such supremacy in his principality, he demanded aid, wherewith to expel them out of Leinster, from Eocaidh Finn. The latter consented to his request, and assembled his partisans from all sides, so that he succeeded in mustering together a numerous army, over which he set his own foster-son, Laeighsech Kenn-mor, as general; then, having joined his forces to those of Cu-Corb, the Leinster king, he made head against the men of Munster, Laeighsech Kenn-mor holding the command of their united armies, as general-in-chief. Thus they succeeded in driving the intruders from Mullach-Masden (Mullaghmast) to the Berba (Barrow), where they gave them a great defeat, at Ath-Truisdin (*Awh-trushdeen*), near Athy, which is now called Ath-*ui-Berba* (*Awh-ech-Berba*). Thence they followed up the pursuit until they routed them again at Coirteni,³⁵ in Magh-Riada. From this place, also, they continued to pursue their enemies until they had given them a third great defeat at Slighe-Dala (*Shlee-dawla*), which is now called the Belach-Mor, or Great Road of Ossory. Thus was the pentarchate of Leinster relieved by those chiefs from the bondage of the Munstermen. In reward thereof, Eocaidh Finn got a grant of the Seven Fotharta-Laighen (*Foharta Luyen*), or Fotharts of Leinster, for himself and his posterity for ever. His *dalla* (foster-son) got a like grant of the Seven Laeighsecha (Leix) for himself and his progeny, as a warrior's fee, for his generalship in expelling the Munstermen from the places just mentioned. Besides this, the king of Leinster covenanted, both for himself and for his successors on the throne, that the back of every ox, and the ham of every swine slaughtered for his and their tables, should be given as a "curadh-mir" (*curra-meer*), or champion's portion, to the king of Laeighis; and that one of the battle-axe men of the king of Laeighis should be for ever maintained in the house of the king of Leinster, at this king's own expense, for the purpose of receiving that fee on the part of his chieftain, the said king of Laeighis. It was also one of the privileges of the latter king, to be one of the privy-council, or confidential advisers of the king of Leinster; and in public conventions he occupied the fourth place next to that king's person. It was he, also, that had the right of distributing all the presents made by the king of Leinster to his nobles and ollamhs; and every present made to that king himself had first to be placed in the hands of the lord of Laeighis, for it was through his ministry that all such

took the name of O'Mordha (*O'Mora*),³⁵ *Coirteni*. Magh Riada, where this place was situated, was the name of a plain in Laeighis or Leix. now O'Moore, from Mordha (i. e. majestic), the twenty-eighth in descent from Conall Kearnach.—*O'D.*

gifts were to be presented. The king of Leinster was also bound to retain in his pay seven of the followers of the king of Laeighis, who were to be in continual attendance on his person, for the purpose of putting on his armor, and of accompanying him on his expeditions. Upon his part, the king of Laeighis had no duty to pay, with the exception of seven oxen, which he was bound to send to the hunting-booth of the king of Leinster; but he was, nevertheless, bound to maintain seven-score of warriors at his own expense, for the service of the king of Leinster. He had also the privilege of leading the van of the Leinster army when entering a hostile territory; and in battle it was his right to hold the "béarna bhacghail" (*bàrna vayil*), or gap of danger.

In addition to these, the king of Laeighis was further bound to render aid to the king of the Fotharta, and to rise out with him in all his public conventions and general musterings. This was because Eocaidh Finn, son of Feidlimid Rectmar, that had fostered Leighsech Kenn-mor, from whom the Laeighisigh (*Luce-shih*) are descended. These usages were constantly maintained amongst their posterity until the English invasion.

The Settlement of the Desi (Daishie) in Munster.

With regard to Fiacaoidh Suighdi (*Fecaghai Suce*), the other brother of the monarch Conn, it was near Temhair that he had acquired a territory, namely, the Desi Temrach³⁶ (*Daishie Tavragh*), but he never succeeded in making himself monarch. He had, however, three sons, who were named Rosa, Aengus Gaeibuiltech and Eogan. Of these, Aengus Gaeibuiltech surpassed all the warriors of his day in prowess and daring.

At this time, a certain distinguished warrior fell under the enmity of Cormac Mac Airt, and there was found no person who would dare to be his security against the vengeance of the monarch, but Aengus Gaeibuiltech. The king then gave him Aengus, as guarantee for his safety; and Aengus took the nobleman under his especial protection. But it happened, soon after, that Kellach, son of Cormac, made that nobleman captive, in violation of the safeguard of Aengus, and put out his eyes, without even asking leave of the king, his father. When Aengus heard thereof, he marched straight to Temhair, attended by a numerous host, and there, by a cast of his dreaded spear, he slew Kellach, son of Cormac, as he stood behind his father in the palace, and at the same time wounded Cormac himself in the eye, so that he was thenceforward trusting to one eye. Cormac,

³⁶ *Desi Temrach*, i. e. the Desi of Deece, in the county of Meath. Tara or Temhair, now the barony of

upon this, immediately mustered a large army, and drove Aengus and his kinsmen into banishment.

Many, indeed, were the battles which this race of Fiacaidh Suighdi gave to Cormac, though he succeeded in driving them into Leinster, where they remained for one year. Thence they proceeded into Osraide, and finally they came to Olild Olum, whose wife, Sadb, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was a kinswoman of their own. Olild gave them the territory which they thenceforward called the Desi Mumhan²⁷ (*Daishi Moon*), or Desi of Munster; for the Desi Temrach (*Daishi Tavrach*) had been their native country, previous to their expulsion thence by Cormac. Those three sons of Fiacaidh Suighdi then divided their new territory between them in three parts.

Though some have called this tribe the posterity of Olild Eronn, and Ernaide, or Ernaans,²⁸ still they are not of the race that is so called, for it is the descendants of Conari, son of Mogh Lamha, that have been named Ernaide. It was, indeed, Core Dubinn, son of Carbri Musg, that was the author of bringing the race descended from Fiacaidh Suighdi into Munster; but it was the posterity of the latter, not the former, that were called Desi. And Aengus, son of Eocaidh Finn, son of Feidlimidh Rectmar, was their chieftain on their expedition to Munster, and in partnership with him were the three sons of Fiacaidh Suighdi, namely: Rosa, Eogan and Aengus Gaci-buailtech.

It happened that about this time Carbri Musg²⁹ had acquired great power in Munster, and that during his time misfortunes and failures of crops came upon that principality. Nor, indeed, was that to be wondered at, for it was through incest that Core had been borne to him by Dubinn, who was his own sister; for they were both the children of Conari, son of Mogh Lamha, and of Saradh, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles. When, then, the nobles of Munster had taken notice that misfortunes

²⁷ *Desi Mumhan.* This territory, in the latter times of Irish independence, comprised the present county of Waterford, where its name is still preserved in those of the baronies of Decies within and Decies without Drum.

²⁸ *Ernaans.* This name, as before stated, belonged originally to a Belgian or Danann tribe. It had been usurped, as we have seen, by the descendants of the Gaelic chieftain Olild Erann, of the line of Fiacaidh Fer-mara. Possibly a branch of the original Ernaans still occupied the glens and fastnesses of the Comarachs, and may have led to the

mistake above noticed by Keating. The likelihood is, that the Desi got the territory now called Waterford from the Iberians, for the purpose of finally subjugating its more early inhabitants.

²⁹ *Carbri Musg.* It does not appear, from the text, what immediate connection the story of Carbri Musg has with the Desi. We must not understand, that he was then king of Munster; but that he was, as here represented, a powerful chieftain, the numerous and extensive territories called Musgraide, or Muskery, from his descendants, bear convincing testimony.

had fallen upon their country during the rule of Carbri, they demanded of that chieftain, what it was that had taken its produce and good luck from their land. And Cormac answered them, and said, that it was an incest that he had himself committed with his own sister, namely, with Dubinn, and that she had borne him two sons, namely, Core and Cormac. When the chiefs of Munster heard this, they demanded to get the sons, in order that they might destroy them, by consuming them with fire, and then cast their ashes into the running stream. "Let that be done by you," said Dinach the Druid, "as far as Cormac is concerned; but let not Core⁴⁰ be killed by your hands. Let him be given to me, and I shall take him with me out of Eri." His request was granted him; and he took the child with him to Inis-Baei,⁴¹ where he found a vestal named Baei, under whose protection he placed him. With her he left him for a year, at the end of which he took him to Saradh, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who was his grandmother, by both his parents.

But to return to the Desi. They demanded of their soothsayers, if it were their destiny to find a place of shelter or of fixed residence in Munster; and the soothsayers answered them, and advised them to remain in that land. And they, moreover, said that the wife of Enna Kenn-selach, Conaing by name, was then pregnant, and that the child to be brought by her should be a daughter. That daughter they advised the Desi to demand in fosterage, telling them to give her full value in presents, in order to get her from her parents. The daughter was afterwards born, and she was fostered by the Desi, and Ethni Uathach⁴² (*Ethnie Oohagh*) was her name. She was fed upon the flesh of infants by the Desi, in order that she might the sooner become marriageable, because a distinguished druid had foretold, that her fosterers should receive lands from the man whose wife she should become. And upon arriving at maturity, she was wedded to Aengus, son of Nadfracch, king of Munster, who, as a reward for getting her to wife, bestowed upon the Desi, Magh-Femhen, that is, the district called the "trian" (*treacan*), or third

⁴⁰ *Corc*. This Corc became a distinguished chieftain in the course of time, and was the founder of several septa of the Eremonian Ernaans. Corca Dubni, now Coraguiny, in Kerry, has seemingly received its name from him.

⁴¹ *Inis Baei*, i. e. the Island of Baei. It is now called Bear Island, being in Bantry Bay. On it was situated, in aftertimes, O'Sullivan's castle of Dun-Baei (Dunboy), famed for its glorious

and ever memorable siege, in 1602, under its brave commandant, Richard, son of Ross, son of Conela Mageoghegan.

⁴² *Ethni Uathach*. The anachronism of this horrible legend is enough to prove it a fiction. Aengus Mac Nadfracich, the king of Munster, whose wife this Ethni is said to have been, did not reign over Munster for at least two hundred years after the settlement

of Cluain-mela (*Clooin-mella*), and the Trian-medonach (*Trean-veònach*), or middle third, after the expulsion of the Osraidigh (Ossorians) from these territories. Afterwards, both Aengus and Ethni were slain by the Leinstermen, in the battle of Kelloosna, four miles east of Leith-glenn (now Leighlin Bridge). For the race sprung from Fiacaidh Suighdi, called also the Desi, possessed at first but the territory which is known as the Desi Deskert (*Deshkert*), or Southern Desi, and which extends from the River Siuir southwards to the sea, and from Lis-mor to Kenn-Criadain (Credan Head). But when Ethni Uathach was married to Aengus, son of Nadfraech, king of Munster, then it was that this prince bestowed upon them the Desi Tuaiskert (*Tooishkert*), or Northern Desi, which extends from the above-mentioned River Siuir to Corca-Ethraeh (*Corë-ähäragh*), which is called Machari Caisil (*Maghera Cashil*), or the Plain of Cashel. O'Faelain, who came of that stock, was the king of the northern Desi, and where he had his *dun-phort* (or stronghold) was on the bank of the Siuir, at Innis-Lemnaeta⁴³ (*Innish-lewnaghta*); and that is the place that is now called Dun-Ui-Faelain (*Doon-ee-Aylawin*), i. e. the *dun* of O'Faelain. The posterity of another of the brothers possessed the southern Desi, and it was their chieftain that was styled O'Bric; and there he had his *dun-phort* in the south, by the sea-shore, at the place which is now called Oileán Ui Bhric (*Ilawn-ee-vrick*), i. e. O'Bric's Island.⁴⁴ The Desi continued thus divided into two septs until that of O'Bric became extinct, and then the chieftainship of the two territories fell to O'Faelain, whose posterity continued to rule them for a long period afterwards, until the Sil Ebir (*Sheel Aivir*), or Eberians, deprived them of the northern Desi; so that, upon the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, they held possession but of the southern Desi.

Understand, that it was Aengus Osraidech⁴⁵ (*Aineesse Osreeagh*), with his tribe, that had previously held the lordship of Magh Femhen,⁴⁶ called the Northern Desi, and that it was the tribe of Fiacaidh Suighdi that had expelled him and his followers from

of the Desi in that Fifth. He was the eighth in descent from Olild Olum, and the sixth from Fiacaidh Maeillethan, in whose reign the race of Fiacaidh Suighdi fixed in Waterford. The story is evidently a calumny, invented to detract from the glory of the descendants of the first Christian king of Cashel.

⁴³ *Inis Lemnaeta*, i. e. the Isle of New-milk. Its exact situation is unknown to the editor, as well as that of Dun-Ui-Faelain.

⁴⁴ *O'Bric's Island* lies near Bonmahon, in the county of Waterford.

⁴⁵ *Aengus Osraidech*, that is, Aengus the Ossorian. He is the ancestor of the Fitz-Patricks, and other correlatives.

⁴⁶ *Magh Femhen*, the barony of Iffa, east co. Tipperary. Cluain-mela, i. e. the Field or Park of Honey, now Clonmel, lay therein. Middlethird is also a barony in the same county.

that territory; and it is from the defeats which were given to him at those places, that *Cnoc-urlaide*⁴⁷ (*Cnoc-urluée*), i. e. the Hill of Slaughter, and *Mullach Aindeònach*⁴⁸ (*Mullagh-ingònagh*), i. e. the Height of Compulsion, in Magh Femhen, have received the names, which they bear to the present day. *Cnoc-urlaide*, indeed, from the *Urlaide*, or slaughter of the champions in the battle; and *Mullach-Aindeònach*, from the compulsory (*Aindeònach*) driving forth of the Ossorians.

*Cormac's war with FIACAIDH MAEIL-LETHAN,*⁴⁹ *king of Munster—*
The sons of that Prince—His death.

It came to pass about this epoch, that Cormac, son of Art, experienced a scarcity of meat and provisions, for he had expended all his rents, by reason of the multitude of the folk of his household. He thereupon consulted the *Ard-fedmannach* (*Ard-feimanagerh*), or high-steward of his domestic affairs, as to the measures to be adopted in order to supply his followers with sustenance, until the time had come round for again demanding his rents from the fifts or provinces. The advice which his high-steward gave him was, to muster a numerous army, and to march therewith straight into Munster, for the purpose of enforcing payment of the rents thence due to the king of Ireland. "For," said he, "these people pay rent to you but for one Fifth, while there are two Fifths in Munster, out of each of which a rent is justly due to the *Ard-righ* of Eri." Upon the advice Cormac determined to take immediate action; and forthwith he sent an embassy to *Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan* (*Feeagha Muellöhän*), who was then king of Munster, demanding from him the rent of the two Fifths. *Fiacaidh* sent him answer, that he would pay no more rent to him than had been paid to the kings, his predecessors. And, when this reply was brought to Cormac, he assembled a large army, and marched forward without halting until he reached *Drom-diamhari*⁵⁰ (*deeverrie*) which

⁴⁷ *Cnoc-Urlaide*. Unknown to the editor.

⁴⁸ *Mullach Angeònach*, now called *Mullaghingone* a townland in the parish of Newchapel, near Clonmel. It was otherwise called *Indeòn na-n-Desi*. (*Indeòn-na-Daishi*).

⁴⁹ *Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan*, the posthumous son of Eogan Mor, son of Olild Olum, killed at the battle of Moerumhi, succeeded his uncle Cormac Cas as king of Munster.

⁵⁰ *Drom-diamhari* is also called *Drom-damhari*. An ancient historic tale,

called *Forbais Droma-damhari*, i. e. the Encampment on *Drom-damhari*, has been founded upon this expedition. "It looks very strange that neither the Four Masters nor *Tighernach* make any special mention of Cormac's expedition into Munster. The truth is, the annalists of Leth Chuinn pass over the affairs of Munster very slightly, and seem unwilling to acknowledge any triumph of the king of that province over the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles; and this feeling was mutual on the part of the race of Olild Olum."—*O'D.*

is now called Cnoc-Loingi (Knocklong, county Limerick,) and there he pitched a stationary camp; and thither also marched Fiacaídh Macil-lethan,⁶¹ king of Munster, to meet him front to front. Now, Cormac was accompanied on that occasion by certain Alban (Scotch) druids, whom he set to practice druidic magic against the king of Munster, so that both men and beasts were in danger from a scarcity of water. This compelled the king of Munster to send for Mogh Ruith,⁶² the druid, then dwelling in Kiarraide Luachra (Kerry). And, when this druid had arrived, the king was compelled to bestow upon him two cantreds of land, namely, the territories called, at present, Condon's and Roche's countries; then Mogh Ruith, upon receiving this grant, unlocked the barrier that had been placed before the waters, and that had withheld them from the host of Munster. This he effected by hurling into the air a magic javelin, which he possessed; and, in the place where his shaft fell, there immediately burst forth a spring⁶³ of pure water, wherewith the men of Munster were relieved from the violent thirst that had till then oppressed them. Forthwith, the king of Munster flung himself and his refreshed warriors upon Cormac and his host, and drove the invaders out of his territories, without their having even withstood him in a battle or having taken off their spoils. He followed up his pursuit of them into Osraide, where he compelled Cormac to give him securities and pledges, as guaranties that he would send hostages to him from Temhair to Rath Naei, which is called Cnoc Rathfann⁶⁴ (*Knockraffan*), in order to make atonement for every injury that he had inflicted upon Munster in that invasion. It is in record of that contract, that some bard has composed the following verse:

“The good king Fiacaídh Macil-lethan
Owned full one-half of this wide land,

⁶¹ *Fiacaídh Macil-lethan* succeeded his uncle, Cormac Cas, as king of Munster. He seems to have been fully a match for his rival, Cormac Mac Áirt. The invasion here spoken of was apparently undertaken for the purpose of destroying the compact, made between Eogan Mor and Conn of the Hundred Battles.

⁶² *Mogh Ruith*. This druid was descended from Fergus Mac Roigh, and of the same race with the O'Connors, Kerry. The territory given to him by Fiacaídh, for his services on this occasion, was Fermaighe Feni (*Fermoye Faini*), now the baronies of Fermoy and Condons, county Cork. His de-

scendants took the names of O'Dubhagain, O'Dugain or Duggan, and O'Cosgraide, now Coskery, Coskran and Cosgrave.

⁶³ *A spring well*, which he is said to have caused to issue from the earth, is still pointed out near Knocklong, county Limerick.

⁶⁴ *Cnoc Rathfann*. The ruins of Fiacaídh's rath still exist on the townland of Knockraffan, a few miles to the east of Cahir, county Tipperary. It was situated on the river Suir, and became, some time previous to the English invasion, the chief seat of that branch of his descendants that took the name of O'Suillibain (O'Sullivan).

And strong Temhair sent hostages
To Rathfann's fort the bright Rath Naei."

This Fiacaidh had two sons, namely, Olild Flann Mor and Olild Flann Beg.⁵⁵ Of these, Olild Flann Mor died without issue, and thence all of the posterity of Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan that survive, are descended from Olild Flann Beg. It was upon this circumstance that the bard composed this verse, down here:

" Sons of great Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan
Were Olild Flann Mor, childless chief,
And Olild Flann Beg, happy sire,
Whose race now widely rules in Mumha."

Olild Flann Mor being thus without offspring, adopted,⁵⁶ as his son, his brother, Olild Flann Beg, to whom he left his personal wealth and inheritance, on the condition that both himself and his posterity should place the name of Olild Flann Mor on the genealogical tree, between that of Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan and his own. And it is so that it is found given down in the Psalter of Cashel, and in other ancient books; but we must not understand thereby, that Olild Flann Mor was the father of Olild Flann Beg; for the reason why the name of Olild Flann Mor was thus placed after that of Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan on the genealogical tree, was in order to fulfil that agreement, made between the two brothers, as we have just related.

It was Connla,⁵⁷ son of Tadg, son of Kian, son of Olild Olum, that treacherously murdered Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan at Ath-isel (*Awheeshel*), now Athassel, on the river Siuir. He was impelled to perpetuate that foul treason by the following motive. Whilst still a youth, and residing in the house of Cormac Mac Airt, king of Ireland, for the purpose of learning polite manners and acquiring skill in warlike exercises, he was attacked by some leprous disease, whereupon Cormac one day told him that it was his destiny to be cured thereof only by bathing himself in the blood of a king, adding that he should be healed of his disease, as soon as he had accomplished that deed. Soon after he had received this

⁵⁵ *Olild Flann Beg* eventually succeeded his cousin, Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, as king of the Southern Half of Ireland. It does not appear that his elder brother was ever more than king of Desmond.

⁵⁶ *Adopted*. From this it is evident that the custom of adoption was practiced amongst the Irish Tribes, and what is recorded here may serve to explain that strange expression, "Mac

na d-Tri Finn Emna," i.e. Son of the Three Firms of Emna, applied to the Irish monarch, Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg.

⁵⁷ *Connla*. There is much that is exaggerated and improbable in the narration of Fiacaidh's death. His cousin Connla, over whose native territory of Eli that king claimed sovereignty, had possibly other reasons for his treason than that here related, apparently from some historic romance.

advice, Connla went to visit his cousin, Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan, then king of Munster. And where this king was then abiding was at the rath of Rathfann, which is this day called Cnoc-Rafann, with his foster-mother, whose name was Rathfann. And when Connla presented himself at that place, he received a kindly welcome from his royal kinsman. Then, on a certain day soon after his arrival, Fiacaídh went forth along the banks of the Siuir, attended by a number of his household, and having Connla by his side, carrying his spear. When they had thus arrived at Ath-Isel, the king went into the water to swim. Then did Connla remember the advice of Cormac, and thereupon he advanced to the edge of the bank, whence, flinging his own spear at Fiacaídh as he was swimming, he thrust him through in the water, and thus slew him. Nevertheless, the king lived to reach the bank and save the life of Connla, commanding his household not to kill his treacherous relative and guest. Thus did Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan end his life.

FINN MAC CUMHAIL *and the* FIANN⁵⁸ NA H-ÉIRENN.

We have already related, on the authority of the Shannachies, that king Cormac had ten daughters, but of these we shall here speak of no more than two, namely, of Grainni,⁵⁶ who was at first the wife of Finn, son of Cumhal (*Cúval* or *Coal*), but who afterwards eloped with Diarmaid O'Duibne (*Deermid O'Duivnie* or *Dwynnee*); and of Ailbi (*Alvie*), daughter of Cormac, who also became the wife of Finn after the elopement of her sister.

Now, I hold it to be untrue for any person to assert that Finn and the Fiann (*Feeann*) never had existence. For, in testimony of their having really existed, we have still remaining those three proofs, whereby, with the single exception of what is recorded in Holy Writ, the truth of all historic facts are tried. These are, firstly, common oral tradition, handed down from father to son; secondly, ancient written documents, and thirdly, ancient landmarks and monumental remains. We have ever heard, and are constantly hearing it repeated from mouth to

⁵⁸ *Fiann*. This word is used in a collective sense, and must, throughout this work, be understood as *the order of men called the "FIANN" (Feeann)*. Its plural, "Fianna," means *bands or bodies of the Fiann*. An individual member of the order was styled "Feinidhe" (*Fainyee*).

⁵⁹ *Grainni*. According to the Fenian romance—"Toraidhech Dhiarmada's Grainni" (*Toreáight Yeermoda's Grannye*), i. e. the Chase after Diar-

maid and Grainni—this lady was not actually married to Finn. She eloped with Diarmaid from her marriage feast. Diarmaid O'Duibne, styled in ancient romances, "the dark haired Diarmaid of bright face and white teeth," was the Paris of the Fiann, without the effeminacy of the Trojan prince. By his race, he was of the Ernaide of Munster. He is represented as the most agile warrior of the Fiann.

mouth, that Finn and Fiann once had existence; and again, our ancient books record their adventures very fully; and we still have living witnesses of their existence in the ancient names attached to the localities, and the monumental remains, that have been called after them—such as Suidhe Finn (*Suce-Finn*), i. e. Finn's Seat or resting place, upon Sliabh-na-m-ban-bh-fionn,⁶⁰ (*Slieve-na-man-vynn*), which was so called from this hero, Finn O Baicisgni;⁶¹ and Glenn Garaidh (*Glen-garra*), i. e. Garaidh's valley, which is called after Garaidh Glun-dubh (*gloon-duw*), son of Morna, and which lies in Uí Fathaidh⁶² (*ee Fáhie*), and Leba Diarmoda is Grainni (*Labba-yeermotas-Granini*), i. e. Diarmaid and Grainni's Bed, in Uí Fiacrach Aidhni⁶³ (*EE Feeghragh Eynie*), which is now called Duithché Uí Sechnasaigh (*Dohee-Shaughnasy*), or O'Shaughnasy's country; and so likewise of numbers of other localities throughout Ireland.

But if any person should say, that a great deal of what has been told of the Fiann is incredible, in that I hold him to be perfectly correct. But, there was no country in the world in which men did not write untrue stories, in the days of Paganism. I could even point many stories of that kind, such as the Knight of the Sun and similar ones, that were composed even in the times of the Faith. Nevertheless, there is no country in which some true and credible histories were not written at the same time. In like manner, although many fabulous and romantic tales, such as the Cath Finn-Tragha (*Cáh-Finn-Troye*), or Battle of Ventry; the Bruighen Caerthann (*Bruen Cairhan*), or Fortress of Caerthann; the Imthecta an Ghilla Decair (*Imhaght an-yilla dacker*), or the Adventures of the Dissatisfied Clown, and such like, have been written upon Finn and the Fiann for pas-

⁶⁰ *Sliabh-na-m-ban-bh-fionn*, i. e. the mountain of the fair women, now Slievenaman, county Tipperary. The term "fionn," i. e. fair, now applied to this mountain, is thought to be a corruption of Femhenn (*Fewenn*), the old name of the territory where it is situated. Finn's seat upon this mountain, as well as upon the several mountain ranges in Ireland and Scotland, where places so called are found, probably received its name from the fact of that chief having been wont to make it his station, whilst his warriors were making their *battue* on the lowlands beneath.

⁶¹ *O'Baicisgni*, i. e. descendant of Baicisgni (*Bueeshkni*), son of the Irish monarch, Nuadath Nect, from whom the clan of Baicisgni, of which Finn was the hereditary chieftain, received its name.

⁶² *Uí Fathaidh*. There were two tribes in Connaught, of this name; one situated east of Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway; the other was located in Uí Mani, in the same county. The name is anglicized O'Fahy. There was also a tribe of this name in the barony of Iffa and Ofla, county Tipperary.

⁶³ *Uí Fiacrach Aidni*. The tribe-name of the O'Heynes, O'Shaughnessies, Mac Kilkellies, and their correlatives. Their territory lay on the borders of the counties of Galway and Clare. Those altar-tombs, composed of immense stones, so frequent in Ireland, are sometimes popularly but improperly called the Beds of Diarmaid and Grainni.

time's sake, it is nevertheless certain that some true and credible histories have been written of them likewise.⁶⁴

It is, also, proved that their persons were of no extraordinary size, compared with the men that lived in their own times, and, moreover, that they were nothing more than members of a body of *buanadha* (*boonagha*), or soldiers, maintained by the Irish kings, for the purpose of guarding their territories, and of upholding their authority therein. It is so that captains and soldiers are at present maintained, by all modern kings, for the purpose of defending their rule and guarding their countries.

The members of the Fiann lived after the following manner. They were quartered upon the people of Ireland from Samhain (All Hallows) to Beltani (May), and their duty was to uphold justice and to put down injustice on the part of the kings and lords of Ireland, and also to guard the harbors of the country from the oppression of foreign invaders. Then, from Beltani to Samhain, they lived by hunting and the chase, and by performing the duties demanded of them by the kings of Ireland, such as preventing robberies, exacting fines and tributes, and putting down public enemies, and every other kind of evil that might afflict the country. For performing these duties they received a certain fixed pay, just as a fixed stipend is at present given by all the kings in Europe, to the captains and officers that are employed in executing their commands.

However, from Beltani till Samhain, the Fiann had to content itself with game, the product of its own hunting, as its maintenance and pay from the kings of Ireland. That is, its warriors had the flesh of the wild animals for their food, and the skins for wages. During the whole day, from the morning until the night, they ate but one meal, of which they were wont to partake towards evening. About noon, it was their custom to send whatever game they had killed in the morning, by their attendants, to some appointed hill, where there should be a convenience of wood and moorland. There they used to light immense fires, into which they put a large quantity of round sandstones. They next dug two pits in the yellow clay of the moor, and, having set part of the venison upon spits to be roasted before

⁶⁴ *The tales* here mentioned, as well as all the other documents relating to the Fiann which still remain, are now in a fair way of being published by the Ossianic Society of Dublin. If the Irish public, both at home and in America, will only support that Society as it deserves, our Fenian literature will soon be placed within the reach of Irish students. Until these Tales of the Fiann, with the Ossianic Poems, be given to the public in a translated form, nothing like a correct picture can be drawn of the state of Ireland, during the days when Finn and his warriors flourished—days which may be said to constitute the heroic epoch of our history.

the fire, they bound up the remainder with sugàns, in bundles of sedge, which they placed to be cooked in one of the pits they had previously dug. There they set round them the stones which had been heated in the fire, and kept heaping them upon the bundles of meat, until they had made them seethe freely, and the meat had become thoroughly cooked. From the greatness of these fires, it has resulted that their sites are still to be recognized, in many parts of Ireland, by their burnt blackness. It is they that are commonly called "Fualacta-na-Fiann" (*Foolaghtana-veean*), that is, the Cooking-places or Kitchens of the Fiann.

As to the warriors of the Fiann, when they were assembled at the place where their fires had been lighted, they used to gather round the second of those pits, of which we have spoken above, and there every man stripped himself to his skin, tied his tunic round his waist, and then set to dressing his hair and cleansing his limbs, thus ridding himself of the sweat and the soil contracted during the day's hunt. Then they began to supple their thews and muscles by gentle exercise, loosening them by friction, until they had relieved themselves from all sense of stiffness and fatigue. When they had accomplished this, they sat down and ate their meal. That over, they commenced constructing their "fiann-bhotha" (*veean-võhã*), or hunting booths, and preparing their beds, and so put themselves in train for sleep. Of the following three materials, then, did each man construct his bed, namely, of the brushwood of the forest, of moss, and of fresh rushes. The brushwood was laid next the ground, over it was laid the moss, and lastly the fresh rushes were spread over all. It is these three materials that are designated in our old romances as the "Tri Cuileadha na-Fiann" (*Three quilkagha na veean*), that is, the Three Beddings of the Fiann.

Campion tells us in his Chronicle, that Finn, son of Cumhal, was the same person whom some authors have called Roanus. But this assertion of his is unfounded in fact; for you must understand that his father was Cumhal, son of Trëmmor, the fourth in descent from Nuadath Neet, monarch of Ireland, and that his mother was Muirrinn Mong-cacin, that is, Muirrinn of beauteous hair, daughter of Tadg (*Teigue*), son of Nuadath, the druid of the monarch Cathaer Mor.

Almha⁶⁵ (*Alva*), of Leinster, was the native inheritance of Tadg, son of Nuadath. It was from him that Almha fell into the possession of Finn, in right of his mother. It was the king

⁶⁵ *Almha*, otherwise *Ahnain* (*Alwin*). The site of Finn's fortress, at this place, is now called the Hill of Allen in the county of Kildare. The place is highly celebrated in the Ossianic Poems. In

the poem called the "Builli Oisin," i. e. the Rags of Oisin, occur the following verses, descriptive of Finn's dwelling at Almha :

of Leinster that gave him Formaeil na bh-Fiann⁶⁵ (*Formecl na veean*), where Luimnech Laighen (*Lymnagh Loyen*) is now situated.

Buchanan, in his History of Alba (Scotland), has called Finn a giant, telling us that he was fifteen cubits in height. But that statement is untrue; for it is evident from our ancient historic books, that he was of no extraordinary size beyond the men of his own time. It is also evident from them, that there were men in the Fiann who were more remarkable for their personal prowess, their valor, and for the size of their bodies than he. The reason, indeed, why he was made Righ-Feinneh (*Ree-Faineh*), or king of the Fiann, and set over the warriors, was simply because his father and grandfather⁶⁷ had held that position before him. Another reason, also, why he had been made king of the Fiann, was because he excelled his cotemporaries in intellect and in learning, in wisdom and in subtlety, and in experience and hardihood in battle-fields. It was for these qualities that he was made king of the Fiann, and not for his personal prowess, or for the great size or strength of his body.

In ordinary times, the host maintained as a standing army, under Finn's command, amounted to three "Catha" (*cāhā*), styled the Three "Catha" of the Gnath-Fiann (*Gnah-Feann*), or ordi-

"I feasted in the hall of Finn,
And at each banquet there I saw
A thousand rich cups on his board,
Whose rims were bound with purest gold.

And twelve great buildings once stood there,
The dwellings of those mighty hosts,
Ruled by Tadg's daughter's warlike son,
At Almha of the noble Fiann.

And constantly there burned twelve fires,
Within each princely house of these,
And round each flaming hearth there sat
A hundred warriors of the Fiann."

The fortress of Almha was at length destroyed, and its buildings burned, by Garaidh Mac Morna, chief of the Fiann of Connaught. Its destruction forms the subject of one of Oisín's lays. Some traces of its fortifications still exist upon the hill of Allen.

The resemblance of this name, Almha or Almhain, to Alba, the Gaelic name of modern Scotland, was laid hold of by Macpherson and his followers, in their surreptitious attempts to rob Ireland of Finn and his heroes. It is true that the aspirated forms, *m'h* and *bh* closely resemble each other in power, and that *Almha* or *Almhain* might be written *Albha* or *Albhain*, without causing any very perceptible difference in

the pronunciation of the words, which is either *Alva* or *Alwa*, *Alvin* or *Alwin*, and sometimes *Alloo'in*. But, unluckily for their imposition, the letter "b" is never found aspirated in Alba, the name of Scotland, either in the Erse or Irish tongues. Thus there is no *double entendre* possible on the subject.

⁶⁵ *Formaeil na b-Fiann*. The translator has not been able to determine where this Formaeil lay, which could have been granted to Finn by the king of Leinster. There was a Sliabh Formaeil, now called Sliabh O Fhóinn, in the county of Roscommon. There was another place of the same name in the county Tyrone. But neither of these were in Leinster. The place was most probably situated upon the Shannon, the lower part of which was formerly called Luimnech.

⁶⁷ *His father and grandfather*. Both Cumhal and Trenmor (*Trainmore*) had been chiefs of the Fiann before Finn. It was not, then, that chieftain who instituted the order, as some have imagined.

nary Fiann. In each "cath"⁶⁸ (*cāh*) of these, there were three thousand men. This was the case when the people of Ireland were at peace with one another; but whenever hostilities broke out between any of the nobles of Ireland and the Ard-rioh, or whenever it was found necessary to send forces to Alba, in order to support the Dal-Riada⁶⁹ against the Almhuraigh⁷⁰ (*alvoorih*), or foreigners, then there were usually seven "catha" placed under the command of Finn—so that he might have at his disposal a force numerous enough to enable him to afford aid to the Dal-Riada in Alba, and, at the same time, to protect Ireland from either foreign or domestic oppression.

Under Finn, the Rígh-Feinneadh, there were many chieftains.⁷¹ There was the cath-mhíledh (*cāh-veeleh*), in command of the "cath;" the Kenn-fedhna (*kenn-fuana*), over each band of a hundred men, like the captains of the present day; the "taisech-caegad" (*tuesagh-caegad*), or leader of fifty, and the "taisech-naenmhar" (*naymoor*), or leader of nine warriors. This arrangement resembled that practiced, at the same time, amongst the Romans; for, when ten files or ten ranks were made of the hundred men, there was a man whom they called the "taisech-naenmhar," set at the head of each rank. Hence, when we read in the histories of Ireland, or in our old romances, of any warrior of the Fiann, who is there styled "fer comblainn céd" (*fer cohlinn caid*), that is, a match for a hundred in battle, or of one styled a match for fifty, or for nine, or any other such term, we must not understand therefrom that such man was, in his own proper person, able to repel the attacks of either one hundred, or of fifty, or of nine armed men; we must merely understand, that the

⁶⁸ *Cath*, plural *catha*, is usually translated *battalion*. That term is, however, likely to lead to misconception as to the effective force of the *cath*. Legion would have given a better idea of the body of warriors composing it.

⁶⁹ *Dal-Riada*. The first permanent colony of the Scots (i. e. Gaels), under Carbrí Riada, the son of Conari II, by the daughter of Cunn of the Hundred Battles, had been already, for some time, seated in that part of modern Scotland now called Argyleshire, "which, taking the name of its princely founder, grew up, in course of time, into the kingdom of Dalriada; and finally, on the destruction of the Picts by Kenneth Mac Alpine, became the kingdom of all Scotland."—*Moore*.

⁷⁰ *Almhuraigh*. By these are under-

stood the Romans, and, perhaps, the Teutonic hordes. The presence of the Fiann in Scotland must have been frequent, for their names are scarcely less wedded to the Highlands of Alba than to those of Ireland.

⁷¹ *Chieftains*, i. e. officers. These officers are somewhat differently styled and arranged by other authorities, namely, 1st, the Rígh Feneidh, in supreme command; 2d, the Taisech Catha (*Tues'agh Catha*), or commander of a cath; 3rd, the Fer-comblainn-mhíle (*Fer-cóilann-veeleh*), or commander of a thousand; 4th, the Fer-comblainn-céid, or leader of a hundred; 5th, the Fer-comblainn-caegad, or leader of fifty; and 6th, the Fer-comblainn-naenmhar, or leader of nine.

warrior so styled was, with the band under his immediate command, a match for another warrior of like rank, commanding an equal number of men.

*The GESA*⁷² (*gassa*), i. e. *the sacred injunctions of the Fiann*.

There were four injunctions laid upon every person admitted into the order of the Fiann:

The first injunction was, never to receive a portion with a wife, but to choose her for good manners and virtues;

The second was, never to offer violence to any woman,

The third was, never to give a refusal to any mortal, for anything of which one was possessed;

The fourth was, that no single warrior of them should ever flee before nine champions.

Here follow the CONDITIONS, attached by Finn to the "Gradha Gaisgi" (gawa gashkie); or *Degrees in Chivalry, which each warrior was obliged to receive, previous to his admission into the Order of the Fiann.*

The first condition.⁷³ No man could be admitted into the Fiann, either at the Mordhail of Uisnech, the Aenach of Talti, or at the Feis of Temhair, until both his father and mother, his tribe and his relatives, had first given guaranties that they should never make any charge against any person for his death. This was in order that the duty of avenging his own blood should rest with no man, other than himself; and in order that his friends should have nothing to claim with respect to him, however great the evils inflicted upon him.

The second condition. No man could be admitted into the Fiann, until he had become a bard, and had mastered the Twelve Books of Poesy.⁷⁴

The third condition.⁷⁵ No man could be admitted into the

⁷² *Gesa*. These appear to have been the general vows of chivalry by which all members of the order were bound. In addition to them, each warrior had some particular "geis" (*guesh*), or vow, by which he was individually bound.

⁷³ *First Condition*. The object of this condition was designed to overcome those hereditary feuds, which were the cause of so much bloodshed amongst the Gaels, and to substitute the obligations of discipline for the ties of kindred.

⁷⁴ *Twelve Books of Poesy*. Perhaps

the twelve rules for bardic composition.

⁷⁵ *Third Condition*. The reason for this trial was to make sure, that the claimant for admission was competent to fill the post of Fer-comhlann-naemhar, or officer placed at the head of a file of nine men, in which position he was expected to ward off, from his filesmen, the javelins of an equal file of attacking enemies. The conditions that follow were designed to insure swiftness and lightness of foot, steadiness of hand, exactitude of personal adjustment, agility and obedience to orders.

Fiann, until a pit or trench, deep enough to reach to his knees, had been dug in the earth, and he had been placed therein, armed with his shield, and holding in his hand a hazel staff, of the length of a warrior's arm. Nine warriors, armed with nine javelins, were then set opposite him, at the distance of nine ridges; these had to cast their nine weapons at him, all at once, and then, if he chanced to receive a single wound, in spite of his shield and staff, he was not admitted into the order.

The fourth condition. No man was admitted into the Fiann, until—having had his hair previously plaited—he had been made to run through a thick wood, where, having given him but the odds of a single tree, placed between him and them, all the men of the Fiann started off at once in his pursuit, with full intent of wounding him. In this trial, they gave him but the odds or advantage of one tree, and if they came up to him they wounded him, and he was refused admission into the Fiann.

The fifth condition. No man was admitted into the Fiann, whose arms trembled in his hands.

The sixth condition. No man was admitted into the Fiann, if a single braid of his hair had been loosened out of its plait by the branches of the trees (as he ran through the wood).

The seventh condition. No man was admitted into the Fiann, whose footstep had broken a single withered branch in his course.

The eighth condition. No man was admitted into the Fiann, unless he could jump over a branch of a tree as high as his forehead, and could stoop under one as low as his knee, through the agility of his body.

The ninth condition. No man could be admitted into the Fiann, unless he could pluck a thorn out of his heel, with his hand, without stopping in his course.

The tenth condition. No man could be admitted into the order, until he had first sworn fidelity and homage to the Righ-feinneadh.

*Kiarnait*⁶—*Cormac builds his first mill—The sages, Fithil and Flaitiri.*

It happened, while Cormac, son of Art, was sovereign of Ireland, that some nobles of Uladh made a plundering expedition along the coasts of Alba, in which they fell in with Kiarnait (*Keernitt*), daughter of the king of the Cruthnigh (Picts), and carried her off with them, over the sea, in captivity. But when

⁶ *Kiarnait.* Some Irish antiquaries reject the story of this lady altogether. It must, however, have had some foundation, or Kiarnait could scarcely have become so celebrated as she is, in Irish song, as a paragon of beauty.

Cormac heard the fame of the beauty of Kiarnait, he made a public demand of her from the adventurers of Uladh. She surpassed all the women of her day in beauty, and for that reason Cormac loved her exceedingly. But when Ethni Ollamda, daughter of Dunlaing, who was Cormac's lawful wife, had heard that Kiarnait was in that king's possession, she determined that he should not have both herself and his paramour at the same time. She then forced him to deliver up to her own keeping the captive Kiarnait, of whom she made a slave, in which condition she was compelled to grind, with a quern,⁷⁷ nine pecks, or nine *keàrns*⁷⁸ of corn each day. Notwithstanding this bondage, Cormac contrived to meet his mistress in secret, and she soon became pregnant. When in this condition, she could no longer perform her appointed task at the quern. She, therefore, went privately to her lover, and told him of the state in which she was. Upon hearing it, Cormac sent to Alba for handicrafts-men, to construct him a mill, and they did build him a mill; and thus was Kiarnait released from the drudgery to which she had been condemned by Ethni. It was upon this subject that the bard composed the following verses:

“ Kiarnait, enslaved by Cormac's queen,
 One hundred men to feed from quern,
 Nine keàrns of corn each day should grind;
 Too rude a toil for her soft hands!

Then came to her the noble king,
 By stealth into her lonely chamber,
 And soon the lady fair conceived,
 And could no longer work at querning.

Conn's grandson then, with pity smote,
 Brought millwrights from beyond the sea.⁷⁹
 Thus great Mac Airt built his first mill,
 To save from toil his beauteous slave.”

⁷⁷ *Quern*. The use of this most ancient implement is scarcely yet obsolete in some of the rural districts of Ireland. Some eighty or one hundred years since, its employment was nearly universal amongst the agricultural population of that country. It was a species of hand-mill, composed of a shallow, circular trough of stone, with a pivot of hard wood in the centre, upon which was poised the miniature mill-stone—fitting loosely, but evenly, into the trough. In the upper stone were worked two holes; one, in its centre, for supplying the quern with corn; and another, more towards its circumfer-

ence, into which was inserted a perpendicular handle, whereby the machine was worked. It was usually turned by two persons, sitting opposite each other, and both holding the handle at the same time. The quern was usually from two to three feet in diameter. Its Irish name is *brō*, gen. *brōn*. Its introduction into Ireland dates from the remotest antiquity.

⁷⁸ *Keàrns*. This measure is sometimes translated quarter. Some deem that it received its name from its squared form, as if “Cetharn” (*Kāharn*) from “Cethair” (*Kāhīr*).

⁷⁹ *Millwrights from beyond the sea*.

It was also in the time of Cormac that the sage, Fithil (*Fíthil*), lived. It was he that was Ard-brethemh (*Ard-bréthav*), or chief-brehon to that sovereign. When Fithil⁶⁰ was on the point of death, he sent for his son, who was called Flaithri (*Fláthree*), and this Flaithri, also, was a wise and a learned man. To this son Fithil gave his blessing, and, at the same time, warned him to avoid three things most carefully—telling him that he would find it to his advantage to abide by his dying advice. These were: Never to undertake the education or fosterage of a king's son; Never to entrust any secret, in which there was any danger, to his wife; Never to elevate the son of a serf to a high position; And never to give his purse, or his treasure, into the safe-keeping of his sister.

But as soon as Fithil had died, Flaithri determined to test the wisdom of these three counsels. In order to make trial of them, he first received a son of Cormac Mac Airt as his foster-son, soon after which he took the child with him into a forest, where he gave him into the care of one of his own swine-herds, that dwelt within the depths of the wilderness, and he commanded this herd to conceal the boy carefully, until he should receive a certain particular token from himself. Thence he returned home to his own dwelling, and when there he counterfeited the appearance of being oppressed by great anxiety and grief. Upon this, his wife demanded the cause of his anxiety, and he answered that it was no light one. Then, when she saw that he continued to be weighed down by sorrow, she began to tease him incessantly, by obstinately demanding, what it was that caused his trouble of mind. He at length consented to reveal the cause of his sorrow to her, if she would only promise to keep the matter entirely secret. Upon this she solemnly swore to conceal whatever he might relate to her as his secret. "Then," said he, "I am rendered unhappy by reason of an unfortunate treason that I have committed, for I have slain my foster-son, the son of the king." Upon hearing this, his wife screamed loudly and called upon the

It is a disputed question, whether the Irish were acquainted with the use of the mill before the reign of Cormac Ul-fada. Its use must, however, have been familiar in South Britain in his day; for the Romans had been then, for a considerable time, masters of that country. Cormac may have sent to Britain for mechanics to construct a mill for him, at the suggestion of his foreign paramour, who had seen them in her own nation, and thus given origin to the legend above recounted.

⁶⁰ *Fithil and Flaithri*.—"These were successively Cormac's supreme judges; the former of whom was his instructor from youth to maturity; and the merited celebrity of the pupil reflects a splendor of fame on the great and respectable capacity of the master. But both Fithil and Flaithri have left monuments of their own to perpetuate their memory, some of which have endured, through many a miserable national vicissitude, to this day."—*Transactions of the Gaelic Society*.

folk of the house to bind up the parricide, for he had killed the young prince. Flaithri had, also, previously elevated to a high position the son of one of his own herdsmen, so that this person had now become a rich man. He had likewise, shortly after his father's death, given a portion of his treasure to be kept for him by his sister; so that not one of the four things, against which his father had warned him, might pass without its trial.

Now, when the herdsman's son found his benefactor in bonds, there was no one found who was severer against him than he, because by this he hoped to receive some of the inheritance of Flaithri from the king, who was determined upon his death. Finding himself in this difficulty, the sage sent a message to his sister, demanding of her to send him whatever treasure he had entrusted to her, in order that he might therewith make friends for himself around the person of the king. But when his messenger reached his sister, she denied that she had ever received any such treasure from him. When this news came to Flaithri, who was now on the point of being led to execution, he demanded to be led before the king, in order that he might communicate to him an important secret. When brought before the king, he told his sovereign that the young prince was safe and well, telling him, at the same time, to hold himself in bonds until his foster-son should be brought into his presence. Messengers were then immediately sent for the child, and when he had come from the swine-herd, who had had him in safe guardianship, and saw his foster-father still in bonds, he cried loudly, and kept weeping ever, until Flaithri was set at liberty.

The king then privately demanded of the sage, why he had allowed himself to be reduced to such an extremity. "In order that I might test the truth of four counsels given me by my father," said Flaithri. "In the first place, it is not prudent for any person to take upon himself the rearing of a king's son, lest he may be guilty of any negligence towards his charge, whence might result the injury or destruction of the foster-child, and the placing of the life or death of the foster-father at the absolute disposal of the king. Secondly, it is not according to the laws of nature that any of the general run of women could keep a dangerous secret; therefore, it is not prudent to entrust any such secret to one's wife. The third counsel which my father gave me was, never to elevate to high position and wealth the son of a serf, or a person of low degree, for it is the wont of such persons to be ungrateful for kindnesses they have received, and moreover, they feel sore that the knowledge of the meanness whence they had sprung, should be possessed by those that have elevated them. Good, also, was the fourth counsel which my father gave me, namely, never to give any treasure into the safe-keeping

of my sister, for it is the nature of women to make a spoil of whatever treasures may be given them in trust, by their relatives.”

Personal attendants of the Irish sovereigns.

It was ordained, during the reign of Cormac, that it should be obligatory upon every monarch that might, in future, rule over Ireland, to keep in constant attendance upon his person, ten officers, who were scarcely ever to leave his presence. These were, a prince, or chief of noble blood, a brehon, a druid, a physician, a bard, a historian, a musician and three stewards. The prince was the companion and champion of the king; the office of the brehon was to explain the the laws and customs of the country before the king; the druid's office was to offer sacrifices, and to draw omens and auguries, by means of his science and heathen arts; the physician's duty was to perform cures for the king, and queen, and the royal household; the bard was maintained for the purpose of praising, or of satirizing every one, according to his good or evil deeds; it was the historian's office to reord and preserve the genealogies, history and adventures of the nobles, from time to time; the musician's office was to play upon the harp, and to chant poems and songs before the king; and the three stewards had to wait upon the king, and supply his personal wants, for which purpose they had a numerous train of cup-bearers, butlers and other servitors, under their orders.

This custom was maintained in force from the days of Cormac, down to the death of Brian, son of Kenneidi, nor had any change been made in its arrangement, except that, when the kings of Ireland had received the Faith of Christ, they substituted, in place of the druid, a Christian priest, as a soul's-friend (or spiritual adviser), who duty it was to perform divine service, and explain the law of God to the king and to his household. Here follows a record, left by a Shannachie, upon this matter:

“TEN liegemen feal stand round the king,
Mongst them nor grudge nor rivalry—
I can recount their duties well,
Both sages, prince and officers.

The presence of each prosperous king,
A brehon, bard, and lord should grace;
For king whose court is shunned by these,
No rightful Fenian king can be.

A soul's-friend,⁸¹ to make known God's Word,
A shennehaide to set right all wrong,

⁸¹ *Soul's-friend*, i. e. an almoner or father-confessor. The Irish term is *anam-chara*.

With minstrel sweet to strike the chord.
All rightful Fenian kings⁵² maintain.

A learned leech fills the fourth place,
With skill to heal the body's ills ;
Three stewards close the honored band,
Which now I've named to Eri's hosts.

The king who holds not to this law
Shall fill no place on regal roll ;
Nor e'er shall dwell in Temhair's halls,
A king maintaining not these TEN."

King Cormac's religion⁵³—His resignation—Renunciation of Druidism—His Death and Burial.

In consequence of the righteousness of the deeds, judgments, and laws of Cormac, it resulted that God granted to him the light of the Faith, seven years before his death. For this reason did

⁵² *Fenian kings*, that is, a king according to the *Féinechas* (*Fainaghas*), i. e. the Constitutional Law of the Gaels, which was so called, either from the Brehon Laws having been composed in the *Béra Fèni*, or from the word *Feni* itself, which, as we have heretofore seen, was the most ancient tribe-name of the Gaelic or Gaedalic race.

"It was Cormac who composed the *Tegas-na-Righ*, to preserve manners, morals and government in the kingdom. He was a famous author in laws, synchronisms and history; for it was he that established law, rule and direction for each science, and for each covenant according to propriety; and it is his laws that have governed all that adhered to them to the present time.

"It was this Cormac, son of Art, also, that collected the chronicles of Ireland to *Temhair*, and ordered them to write the chronicles of Ireland in one book, which was named the *Psalter of Temhair*. In that book were entered the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the kings of Ireland, with the kings and emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces with the monarchs of Ireland. In it was also written what the monarchs of Ireland were entitled to receive from the provincial kings, and the rents and dues of the

provincial kings from their subjects, from the noble to the subaltern. In it, also, were described the boundaries and meares of Ireland, from shore to shore, from the province (fifth) to the cantred (*tuait*h), from the cantred to the townland (*bailé*), and from the townland to the *traighidh* (*troyeh*) of land. These things are evident in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*; they are evident in the *Leabhar Diunsenchas* (both extant)."
—*Fcur Masters.*

⁵³ *Cormac's religion.* Mr. Moore, in his History of Ireland, has made the following rather skeptical remarks upon the subject of this royal sage's conversion to the Christian Faith. They are here quoted, for the well-merited tribute thereafter paid to his love of justice: "That this prince was enlightened enough to reject the superstitions of the druids, and that, in consequence of his free thinking on such subjects, he had that powerful body opposed to him throughout the whole of his reign, there can be little doubt; but whether he substituted any purer form of faith, for that which he had repudiated, is a point not so easily ascertained. A circumstance recorded of him, however, shows how vigorously he could repress intolerance and cruelty, even when directed against a body of religionists to whom he was himself opposed. Amongst the ancient institutions of Tara, was a

he refuse to adore gods made with hands, and began, thenceforth, to pay homage to the True God. Hence, he is said to have been the third man that held the Faith in Ireland, previous to the arrival of Saint Patrick. The first of these was Concoobar Mae Nesa, who believed upon hearing of Christ's Passion from the druid, Bacrach; the second was Morann Mac Macin; and this king, Cormac Mac Airt, was the third.

Cormac's ordinary place of abode was at Temhair, after the usage of the kings, his predecessors. Here he continued to dwell until, as heretofore told, his eye had been destroyed by Aengus Gaèi-buailtech. Thenceforward he resided at Achail, in the House of Cleitech, or at Kenannus. For it was not deemed either honorable or auspicious, by the nobles of Ireland, that any king, who had been disfigured by a personal blemish,⁸⁴ should dwell at Temhair. For this reason did Cormac resign the king-

sort of College of Sacred Virgins, whose vocation it appears to have been, like the Dryads or fortune-tellers among the Gaels, to divine the future, for the indulgence of the superstitious or the credulous. In one of those incursions, of which the territory of the monarch was so often the object, the place where those holy Druidesses resided, and which bore the name of the 'Retreat until Death,' was attacked by the king of Leinster, and the whole of the sacred inmates, together with their handmaids, most inhumanly massacred. This brutal sacrifice the monarch punished by putting twelve of the Lagenian chieftains most concerned in it, to death; and exacting rigorously the Boarian tribute, from the province to which they belonged."

The direct testimony of the ancient historians of Ireland, in relation to Cormac's conversion, is much more authority than the mere conjectures of Mr. Moore. An ancient tract, in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, a work compiled in the twelfth century, which is quoted by Dr. Petrie, (in his *Round Towers*, p. 99.) speaks thus upon this subject: "Erin was prosperous during his time, and just judgments were distributed throughout it by him; so that no one durst attempt to wound a man in Ireland during the short jubilee of seven years; for Cormac had the faith of the one true God, according to the law;

for he said he would not adore stones, or trees, but that he would adore him who made them, and who had power over all the elements, i. e. the One Powerful God, who created the elements; in him he would believe. And he was the third person who had believed, in Erin, before the arrival of St. Patrick. Concoobar Mae Nesa, to whom Altus had told concerning the Crucifixion of Christ, was the first; Morann, son of Carbri Cinncait, (who was surnamed Mac Macin,) was the second person; and Cormac was the third; and it is possible that others followed on their track, in this belief." — *Senchas na Relec*, i. e. *History of the Cemeteries*.

⁸⁴ *A personal blemish.* "Where Cormac held his court was at Tara, in imitation of the kings who preceded him, until his eye was destroyed by Engus Gaibhuaiphæech, but he afterwards resided at Achail (the hill on which the shrine of St. Columkille is at this day), and at Cenannus (Kells), and at the house of Cleitech; for it was not lawful that a king, with a personal blemish, should reside at Tara. In the second year after the injuring of his eye, he came by his death at the house of Cleitech, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat. And he told his people not to bury him at Brugh (because it was a cemetery of idolators), for he did not worship the same god as

dom to his son, Carbri Lifear, to whom he also gave up the possession of Temhair, retiring himself to the royal houses of Cleitech and of Achail, both not far from the royal capital. It was in these that he composed his Tegasg Righ, or Regal Institutes, designed, as already told, for the purpose of teaching kings how it was right that they should act and comport themselves. From the time that Cormac gave up the sovereignty, he never, thenceforward, worshipped any but the True Heavenly God.

Upon a certain day, while Cormac was residing in the House of Cleitech, the druids set about the adoration of the Golden Calf in his presence, and the whole of those there assembled joined in the same worship, in imitation of their priest. The druid, Maelghenn, then demanded of Cormac why it was that he did not adore the Golden Calf and their other gods, like every other person. "I," said Cormac, "will offer no adoration to any stock or image, shaped by my own mechanic. It were more rational to offer adoration to the mechanic himself, for he is more worthy than the work of his hands." The druid then excited the Golden Calf, so that it bounded into their presence. "Hast thou seen that, Cormac?" said Maelghenn. "Whatever I may see," replied Cormac, "I will make no adoration to aught, save to the God of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell."

Soon after, a meal was prepared for the king, and he began to eat of a salmon from the Boinn. Thereupon the demons of the air came and attacked him, at the instigation of Maelghenn, the druid, and by them the king was slain.⁸⁵ Other accounts say that he was killed by a bone of a salmon, that had stuck in his throat and choked him; but he was engaged in eating of that fish when the demons had attacked him.

When he found the symptoms of death upon him, he commanded his relations not to bury his body at Brugh, on the Boinn, where several of the preceding kings of Temhair were

any of those interred at Brugh; but to bury him at Ros-na-Righ, with his face to the east. He afterwards died, and his servants of trust held a council and resolved to bury him at Brugh, the place where the kings of Tara, his predecessors, were buried. The body of the king was then thrice raised to be carried to Brugh, but the Boyne swelled up thrice so that they could not come; so that they observed that it was violating the judgment of a prince, to break through his testament; and they afterwards dug his grave at Ros-na-Righ, as he himself had ordered."—*II.*

⁸⁵ *The Four Masters* record Cormac's

death thus: "A. D. 266. Forty years was Cormac in the sovereignty of Ireland when he died at Cleitech, the bone of a salmon sticking in his throat, on account of the Siabhradh (genii) which Maelghenn, the druid, incited at him, after Cormac had turned against them, on account of his adoration of the true God, in preference to them. Wherefore a devil attacked him, at the instigation of the druids, and gave him a painful death."—The trick by which the druids turned the king's accidental death to their own advantage, needs no comment.—*Ed.*

laid. And then (when, contrary to his injunctions), the host was bearing him thither, the demons thrice opposed the progress of the funeral, by raising an immense flood before it, in the river; for these spirits did not wish to allow his body into an idolatrous cemetery, by reason of his having believed in the True God. But the fourth time, the men that carried the body entered with it into the swollen stream; but there the current of the Boinn swept off their burden, and bore it along to Ros-na-Righ. There the corpse was separated from the *fuad*, or bier, and thence the ford of Ath-fuaid (*Awh-fooid*), the ford of the bier, on the Boinn, has had its name. It was retained at that place, and a grave was made for it, and it was buried at Ros-na-Righ.⁸⁵

In the course of long ages after this, St. Columkille⁸⁷ visited Ros-na-Righ, and, discovering there the head of King Cormac, he buried it anew; and the saint remained upon the spot until he had said thirty masses over it and upon that spot was built a Christian church, which remains to the present day.

Ancient Cemeteries of the Irish Kings.

Formerly, in Pagan times there were two "primh-roilig"⁸⁸ (*preeve-relig*) or chief cemeteries in Ireland, and in them the greater number of the ancient monarchs of Ireland were buried. These were Brugh, on the Boinn, and Roilig-na-righ (*rellig-na-ree*), near Cruachain^{88*} (*crooghain*). It is evident, from the fact just nar-

⁸⁵ *Ros-na-Righ*, now Rosnaree, situated on the river Boyne, near the village of Slane, in the county of East Meath.

⁸⁷ *St. Columkille* was a lineal descendant of the monarch Cormac.

⁸⁸ *Two primh-roilig*. In the *Senchas na Relec* from which extracts have already been made, there are eight places enumerated, as the chief cemeteries of the Pagan Irish. At these places several of the monuments, mentioned in the ancient records of Ireland, are still in existence. Some of them, after remaining unknown or unnoticed for ages, have been recently identified from the references made to them in the writings of the Gaelic Shannachies—thus affording unquestionable proof of the truth of many of the more important facts related in the early history of this country. For the latter reason, and from its giving an explanation of some of the allusions made in the poem above cited by Dr. Keating, the re-

mainder of the *Senchas na Relec* is here given down, slightly abridged from the translation given in the learned work of Dr. Petrie:—"These were the chief cemeteries of Eri, before the Faith, viz: Cruacha, Brugh, Talti, Luachair Ailbi, Aenach Ailbi, Aenach Culi, Aenach Colmain and Temhair Erann.

Aenach Cruachan. In the first place, it was there the race of Erimhon, i. e. the kings of Temhair were used to bury until the time of Crimthann, son of Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg (who was the first king of them that were interred at Brugh), viz: Cobthach Cael-Breagh and Labraidh Loingsech, and Eocaidh Feidlech with his three sons, i. e. Bres, Nar and Lothar, and Eocaidh Aremh, Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg, the six daughters of Eocaidh Feidlech, i. e. Medb, Clothra, Muresg, Derbri, Mugain and Eli, and Alid Mac Mada with his seven brothers, i. e. Keth, Anlon, Doche, *et cetera*, and all the kings down to Crimthann; these were all buried at Cruacha.

rated, that Brugh on the Boinn was one of the burial-places of the kings of Ireland; that Roilig-na-righ, at Cruachain, was also another, is proved from the following lay of Torna Eiges (*Aiguess*):

“ A king of Fál's fair land rests here,
Dathi the brave, Fiacaídh's son,
O Crnacha! thou hold'st him concealed
From Gallic and from Gaelic men.

Why was it not at Brugh, that the kings of the race of Cobthach, down to Crimthann, were interred? Not difficult, because the two provinces, which the race of Erinhon possessed, were the province of Galeón (Leinster), and the province of Olnecmacht (Connaught). In the first place, the province of Galeón was occupied by the race of Labraidh Loingséach, and the province of Olnecmacht was the inheritance of the race of Cobthach Cael-Breágh; wherefore it (Connaught) was given to Medb before every other province. The reason why the government of this land was given to Medb is, because there was none of the race of Eocaidh (Feidlech) fit to receive it but herself, for Lugaidh (Riabh-n-derg) was not fit for action at the time. And, therefore, whenever the monarchy of Ireland was enjoyed by any of the race of Cobthach Cael-Breágh, the province of Connaught was his native principality. And for this reason they were interred at the Aenach of Cruacha. But they were interred at Brugh from the time of Crimthann Niadh-Nar to the time of Laegari, the son of Niall, except three persons, namely, Art the son Conn, and Cormac the son of Art, and Niall of the Nine Hostages.

We have already mentioned the cause why Cormac was not interred there. The reason why Art was not interred there is, because he believed the day before the battle of Muccramma (Moerumhi) was fought, and he predicted the Faith in Ireland, and he said his own grave would be at Dumha Derg-luachra, where Treoit (Trevet, in Meath), is at this day. When his body was afterwards carried eastward to Dumha Derg-luachra, if all the men of Eri were drawing it thence, they could not, so that he was interred at that place, because there was a Catholic

church to be afterwards built where he was interred.

Where Niall was interred was at Ochain (Ocha), i. e. *Och Caine*, so called from the sighing and lamentation which the men of Eri made in bewailing Niall.

Conari Mor was interred at Magh Feci, in Bregia (i. e. at Fert Conari): however some say that it was Conari Carpraige that was interred there, and not Conari Mor, and that Conari Mor was the third that was interred at Temhair, viz.: Conari and Laegari and . . .

At Talti the kings of Uladh were used to bury, viz. Ollamh Fodla with his descendants, down to Concobar, who wished that he should be carried to a place between Sleá and the sea, with his face to the east, on account of the Faith which he had embraced.

The nobles of the Tuatha De Dananns were used to bury at Brugh (i. e. the Daghdá with his three sons; also Lugaidh, and Oe, and Ollam, and Ogma, and Etan the Poetess, and Carpre, the son of Etan), and Crimthann (Niadh-Nair) followed them, because his wife Nar was of the Tuatha Dea, and it was she solicited him that he should adopt Brugh as a burial-place for himself and his descendants; and this was the cause that they did not bury at Cruacha—(* See note 10, p. 289, and note 26, p. 295, in refutation of the absurd and calumnious derivation given to the surname Niadh-Nair.—Ed.)

The Lagenians (i. e. Cathacir and his race, and the kings who were before them) used to bury at Aenach Ailbi. The Clan Degadh (i. e. the race of Conari and Erna) at Temhair Erann. The men of Munster, (i. e. the Derg-thini) at Aenach Culi and Aenach Colmain and the Connacians at Cruacha.

Beneath thee rests fierce Dungalach,
 Who captives led from eastern lands ;
 And Tuathal, Conn and Tumaltach
 In glory sleep within thy walls.

Of Eocaidh Feidlech's three fair sons,
 I sing the tombs beneath thy ramparts ;
 Where Eocaidh Aremh lies full low,
 Slain by the hand of Mael the mighty. (i. c. Sidmal.)

King Eocaidh Feidlech lies concealed
 Beneath thy mound, and beauteous Derbri,
 With Clothra, dame of high degree,
 And Medb, the heroine queen, and Muresg.

And regal Eri, Fodla, Banba,
 Three august ladies, bright and young ;
 In Cruacha dwell, from mortals hidden,
 Those queens of Dana's Sacred Tribes.

Kermad's three sons are laid on Sith-drum⁸⁹
 Long-handed Lugaith lies on Liath-drom,
 With the sons of Aedh, son of the Daghdá,
 Near whom lies tall and warlike Midhir.

Beneath thy pillar-stones are laid,
 Gaunt Cobthach and great Iugani,
 And Badbcha too—all regal chiefs—
 And here lies tall and haughty Olild."

EOCAIDH GUNATH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 253.⁹⁰ Eocaidh Gunath,⁹¹ son of Fiach, son of Imcaidh, son of Bresal, son of Siorcaidh, son of Fiacaidh Finn (from whom is called the Dal-Fiacach), son of Dluthach, son of Rosin, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for one single year, when he fell by Lugna,⁹² son of Fertri (otherwise by Lugaith, son of Aengus, son of Fertri).

CARBRI LIFICAR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 254.⁹³ Carbri⁹⁴ Lificar, son of Cormac Ulfada, son of Art Acinifer, son of Conn Ked-cathach, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty-seven years. The reason why

⁸⁹ *Sith Drum*. Perhaps Sidhe Truim, an ancient mound near Slane, in Meath. Sith Drum was, also, an old name for the Rock of Cashel.

⁹⁰ A. D. 267. *Four Masters*.

⁹¹ EOCAIDH XII. Tighernach does not allow this chieftain the title of king.

⁹² *Lugna*, called by some, Lugaith Menn, son of Aengus Finn, his own kinsman. O'Flaherty says that Eocaidh Gunnath was grandson of King Fergus of the Black Teeth.

⁹³ A. D. 268. *Four Masters*.

⁹⁴ *Carbri II*. According to the annals just cited, this monarch reigned

he was called Carbri Lificar was, because he had been reared near the River Liff (Liffey), of Leinster. Ethni Ollamda, daughter of Dunlaing, was his mother. It was by the hands of Simeon, son of Kerb, one of the Fothartaigh of Leinster, that he fell, at the battle of Gabra⁸⁵ (*Gowra*).

The following was the reason why the battle of Gabra was fought. Samhair, daughter of Finn, son of Cumhal, was the wife of Cormac Cas, son of Olild Olum; and she was the mother of Tinni and Conula. Through this relationship, Mogh Corb,⁸⁶ the

but seventeen years. He there is stated to have fought three battles against the Munster men in the 4th year of his reign (271), and four in the year following, in defence of the rights of Leinster.—A. D. 276, the 9th year of Carbri.—Angus Gaibuaibtech (chief of the Desi) was killed this year by the sons of Carbri, namely, Fiacaigh Sraibitini and Eocaidh Doimlèn. A. D. 283, the 16th year of Carbri.—Finn, grandson of Baesgni, fell by Achlech, son of Duibdrenn, and the sons of the Urgrenn, of the Luaigni of Temhair, at Ath-Brea upon the Boimn, of which it was said :

'Finn was killed, it was with darts,*
With a lamentable wound;
Achlech, son of Dubdrenn, cut off
The head of the son of Mochtamain.
Were it not that Caellit took revenge,
It would have been a victory after all his true
battles:

The three were cut off by him,
Exulting over the head of the royal champion.'"
—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁵ *Gabra*, otherwise called Gabhra Aichlá, from its contiguity to Achill, now the hill of Skreen, near Tara, in Meath. Gabhra, *Anglice*, *Gowra*, is now the name of a stream which rises in a bog in the townland of Prants-town, parish of Skreen, receives a tribute from the well of Neamhnach on Tara Hill, joins the River Skene at Nowthstown, and unites with the Boyne at Ardsallagh.—*Id.*

* "The following words were interlined in the text: i. e. *dona gáith ias-aich ro gonadh é*, i. e. by fishing gaffs he was wounded. It is stated in the Dublin copy of the annals of Inisfallen, that Finn Mac Cumhail, the celebrated general of the Irish militia, fell by the hands of Athlach, son of Dubdrenn, a treacherous fisherman, who (fired with the love of everlasting notoriety) slew him with his gaff at Rath-Breaghna, near the Boyne, whither he had retired in his old age to pass the remainder of his life in tranquility. This Athlach was soon after beheaded by Caellit Mac Ronaithe the relative and faithful follower of Finn.—*O'Donovan*.

⁸⁶ *Mogh Corò*. This prince was the principal opponent of the monarch, and not the Clanna Baesgni, or Irish Militia, as stated by modern popular writers. Since Eogan Taidhlech, or Mogh Nuadath, grandfather of Cormac Cas, had been murdered in his tent by Goll, son of Morna, at the battle of Magh Leana, the king of Munster cherished the most rancorous hatred against the Clanna Morna, who were a military tribe of the Fer-Bolgs of Connaught; and in order to be revenged of them, they formed an alliance with the Clanna Baesgni, another military tribe of the Scotie or Milesian race, the most distinguished chief of whom was Finn Mac Cumhail. Cormac Cas, king of Munster, married Samhair, daughter of this warrior, and by her had three sons—Tinni and Conula, of whom no account is preserved, and Mogh Corb, the ancestor of the celebrated Brian Boru, who inherited all the valor and heroism of his ancestor. After the death of Finn, Carbri disbanded and outlawed the forces of the Clanna Baesgni, and retained in his service the Clanna Morna only. The Clanna Baesgni then repaired to Munster, to their relative, Mogh Corb, who retained them in his service, contrary to the orders of the monarch. This led to the bloody battle of Gabra, in which the two rival military tribes slaughtered each other almost to extermination. In this battle Osgar, son of Oisín (Ossian), met the monarch in single combat, but he fell; and Carbri, returning from the combat, was met by his own relative, Simeon, one of the Fotharta (who had been expelled into Leinster), who fell upon him severely wounded, after the dreadful combat with Osgar,

son of Cormac Cas, aided Oisín (*Osheen*), son of Finn, his mother's brother, and the tribe of Baeisgni (*Bucesknie*) in opposition to the attacks made upon them by Carbri Lífear and Aedh Caemh⁹⁷ (*Aih Cuiv*), son of Garaidh Glun-dubh (*Garrai-Glooduv*), chief of the tribe of Morna. At that time, the tribe of Morna was in possession of the *buannacht* (that is, they formed the standing army of Ireland), and had been at enmity with Finn and the tribe of Baeisgni for full seven years. For this reason, the faction of Garaidh Glun-dubh set on Carbri Lífear and the pentarchs of Ireland to dethrone Mogh Corb, hoping thereby to succeed in procuring the banishment of the tribe of Baeisgni. And thence came the battle of Gabra.

FATHADH AIRGTHECH AND FATHADH CAIRPTHECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 281.⁹⁸ Fathadh⁹⁹ Airgthech (*Fähäh Arrikagh*) and Fathadh Cairpthech (*Carpagh*), both sons of Mac-Niadh, son of Lugaidh, and of the line of Lugaidh, son of Ith, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland. They reigned conjointly for one year, at the end of which, Fathadh Cairpthech was slain by Fathadh Airgthech. And, then, Fathadh Airgthech was himself slain by the Fiann¹⁰⁰ at the battle of Ollarba.¹

FIACAIDH SRAIBTINI, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 282.² Fiacaith³ Sraibhini (*Feegha Sraffinnie*), son of Carbri Lífear, son of Cormac Ul-fada, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty-three years, when he fell by and dispatched him at a single blow.

O'Donovan.

⁹⁷ *Aedh Caemh* was the last king of Connaught of the race of the Fer-Bolgs. Aedh and Mogh Corb both escaped from the bloody field of Gabra, but coming to an engagement soon after at Spaltrach, in Muskery, Mogh Corb fell by the hand of the king of Connaught. Poetic tradition will have it, that the warrior Caelti and the bard Oisín, alone of their kindred survived this fight at Gabra, and that they lived to recount the exploits of their companions in arms to St. Patrick in after times. It is the lays attributed to them that are called the Ossianic Poems, and upon them Macpherson built his famous forgery.

⁹⁸ A. D. 285. *Four Masters.*

⁹⁹ *Fathadh.* Some of our antiquaries did not count the two Fathadhs as

monarchs of Ireland; evidently because they regarded them as usurpers. They were the sons of the monarch, Mac-Con, and from their brother, Aengus Gai-fuilech, i. e. Aengus of the Bloody Spear, is descended the clan of Driscoll and its correlatives.

¹⁰⁰ *Fiann.* From this passage it would appear that some of this body still survived the battle of Gabra. According to O'Flaherty, the slayers of Fathadh Airgthech were of the Clanna Baeisgni, and apparently commanded by the warrior, Caelti, by whose hand this monarch fell.

¹ *Ollarba.* Now the River Larne, in the county of Antrim.

² A. D. 286. *Four Masters.*

³ *Fiacaith VII.* This monarch reigned thirty-seven years, according to other accounts.

the three Collas, in the battle of Dubh-Comar.⁴ Aeifi, daughter of the king of the Gall-Gaedhail⁵ (*Gaul-Gaeil*), that is, of the Foreign Gaels, was the wife of Fiacaidh Sraibhini and the mother of Muredach Tirech. And the reason why he was called Fiacaidh Sraibhini,⁶ was because it was at Dun-Sraibhini, in Connaught, that he had been fostered.

In order that the meaning of the following events may be the better understood, we shall set down here, from the Psalter of Cashel, both the cause of the battle of Dubh-Comar and a narration of the relationship that existed between the Collas and Fiacaidh Sraibhini. It is, then, at Carbri Lificar that the Oirghiallaigh, that is, the Clans of the Collas, separate from the clans of Niall, and from the Connachtaigh (*Connaughtih*) or Erimonians of Connaught. Now, Fiacaidh Sraibhini, son of Carbri Lificar, was the grandfather of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, son of Muredach Tirech, son of Fiacaidh Sraibhini. From the Muredach here mentioned, have sprung the clans of Niall and the men of Connaught. Eocaidh Dublein was also son of Carbri Lificar, and brother of Fiacaidh Sraibhini. This Eocaidh had three sons, namely: the three Collas, and from these are descended the Ui Mhic Uais (*ee-vic-Oosh*), the Ui Mhic Crimthainn (*ee-vic-Criffinn*), and the Moghdorna (*Mowrna*). The real names of the three Collas were, Carrell, Muredach and Aedh. Here follows a quotation from an ancient bard in testimony thereof:

“Of the Three Collas have you heard,
Eocaidh’s sons of highest fame,
Colla, Menn, Colla Da-crioch,
And Colla Uais, the Ard-righ?”

Their names, all three, I know full well—
Carrell and Muredach and Aedh;
By these was slain a mighty king,
On yonder fair, well cultured plain.

Carrell was Colla Uais, the king;
Muredach, Colla Da-crioch;
And glorious Aedh was Colla Menn.
Mighty were they beyond all braves!”

⁴ *Dubh-Comar*. This name signifies the “black confluence.” “It is quite evident that it was the ancient name of the confluence of the Blackwater and the Boyne.”—*O’D*.

⁵ *Gall-Gaedhail* may mean some portion of the Clanna Breogain or Brigantes, of Gaelic origin, settled in Britain or Gaul; but the name would be

equally applicable to any of the Gaelic septa then settled in Alba and the Hebrides.

⁶ *Sraibhini*. Other authorities assert that he received this cognomen from showers of fire (*sraib theini*), i. e. thunder storms, that occurred during his reign.

Oilech, daughter of the king of Alba, and wife of Eocaidh Dublcin, was the mother of the three Collas. It was these three Collas that perpetrated the parricide upon Fiacaídh Sraibtní, whereby the sovereignty of Ireland was lost forever to them and their posterity. The following was the occasion of that parricide: whilst Fiacaídh Sraibtní was sovereign of Ireland, he had a distinguished son, who was called Muredach Tírech; and this Muredach was the commander-in-chief of his father's armies, for the king himself was not allowed to enter the battle-field. Upon a certain occasion, Muredach had marched into Munster, attended by an army, whence he brought off hostages and spoils. At the same time the king, his father, chanced to be at Dubh-Comar, near Talti, attended by another host; and there he was accompanied by the three Collas, the three sons of his brother, who had led their forces to his aid to that place. Then, when the multitude heard of the successes that Muredach had obtained in Munster, they said in common that he was the presumptive king of Ireland. "What shall become of us," said the Collas, "if Muredach become sovereign after Fiacaídh?" "What we had better do," said they, "is to give battle to the old king, and when we have slain him, with his host, we shall easily overcome his son, whenever he may arrive." In the meantime, Fiacaídh was engaged in conference with a certain druid, named Dubcomar, and this druid addressed him in the following words: "O king," said he "if thou vanquish the Collas now, and slay them, no king of thy posterity shall ever reign over Ireland after thee." "Then," said the monarch, "I prefer rather to fall by the Collas myself, and to have the sovereignty of Ireland descend to my posterity, than to have them slain by me, and have the sovereignty of Ireland descend to their children." After this, the hosts were drawn up in battle array, and they charged one another from each side. But the army of Fiacaídh Sraibtní was routed in that engagement, and he was slain himself therein, just as the druid Dubcomar had prophesied to him.

COLLA UAIS, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 315.⁷ Colla Uais, son of Eocaidh Dublcin, son of Car-bri Lifear, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for four years; at the end of which, both himself and his brothers were driven by Muredach Tírech into banishment to Alba, where they received a military maintenance (*buannacht*) from the Alban king. For Oilech, daughter of Ugari, king of Alba, was the mother of the three Collas. The reason why Car-

⁷ A. D. 323. *Four Masters.*

rell was styled Colla Uais, that is, Colla the Noble, was because of the distinction which he had obtained beyond the other Collas, for he had held the sovereignty of Ireland, and the others had not.

MUREDACH TIRECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 319.⁸ Muredach⁹ Tirech (*Murreeagh Teeragh*), son of Fiacaídh Sraibtíni, of the line of Erimhon, held Ireland for thirty three years, and then he fell by Caelbadh, son of Crunn Dadraci. Muirrenn, daughter of Fiacaídh, king of Kinél-Eogain, was the wife of Muredach Tirech, and the mother of Eocaidh Muigh-medon.

As to the Collas, they were banished into Alba by Muredach Tirech, as we have related above. Three hundred warriors was the number of their host. The king of Alba received them with great respect, and gave them military maintenance, by reason of their great valor and hardihood. They remained with him for three years; after which they returned to Ireland, in hopes that Muredach would perpetrate a parricide (finghal) upon them, and that the sovereignty might fall to their posterity in consequence thereof.¹⁰ In coming from Alba, they brought over no stronger escort than a band of nine warriors with each of them. After landing, they made no delay until they arrived in the king's presence at Tenhair. "Have you brought me any news, my cousins?" said the king. "We have no sadder news to tell," said they, "than the deed which we have ourselves done, namely, the killing of thy father by our hands." "That is news we have already known," said the king; "but it is of no consequence to you now, for no vengeance shall be wreaked upon you therefore, except that the misfortune, which has already pursued you, shall not leave you." "This is the reply of a coward," said the Collas. "Be not sorry for it," replied the king. "You are welcome." After this they spent a long time in great friendship with Muredach, so that they became the commanders of that king's armies in war.

A. D. 331. *Conquests of the Collas in Uladh—Destruction of*
EMHAIN MACHA.

At last the king told them (the Collas), that it was time for them to conquer some territory, as an inheritance for their pos-

A. D. 327. *Four Masters.*

⁹ *Muredach II.* According to the last-cited authority, this king reigned but thirty years.

¹⁰ They had, it is said, been told by a druid, that if they could provoke their cousin, king Muredach, to slay them, the sovereignty of Ireland would fall to their posterity.

terity. "Of what territory dost thou wish that we should make sword-land?" said they. (There were not, in their own time, any warriors more intrepid than they.) "March into Ulster," said he, "for you have good cause of enmity with its people; for an attendant upon the king of Uladh once burnt the beard and hair of Cormac, son of Art, with a torch, in Northern Magh Breagh. When Cormac had become king of Ireland, an overwhelming force of the Ulstermen came against him, and having extorted hostages from him, they banished him into Connaught. After that a peace was made between Cormac and them, and they prepared a feast for him at Northern Magh Breagh, and it was on that occasion that a servant of the king of Ulster burned the hair of Cormac. Now, that deed is still unavenged."

After this, king Muredach furnished them with a numerous army, with which the Collas marched into Connaught. There the men of Connaught joined their standard, with a force consisting of seven *catha*. Thence they marched to the Carn of Achadh Leth-derg,¹¹ in Fermagh. From that hill, they fought seven battles against the Ulstermen, that is, a battle on each day during a whole week. Six of these battles were fought by the Connaughtmen, and the seventh by the Collas. In it Fergus Fogha,¹² king of Emhain, was slain, and the Ulstermen were finally routed. They were then pursued, with great slaughter, from the Carn of Eocaidh to Glen Righe.¹³ From the latter place, the Collas marched back upon Emhain, which they plundered, and then burned, so that Emhain has remained since then without a king to inhabit it.

The Collas next took the following territories from the Ulstermen, namely: Moghdurna,¹⁴ Ui Mic Crimthainn,¹⁵ and Ui Mic Uais. Colla Menn took possession of Moghdurna, Colla Da

¹¹ *Achadh-Leth-derg*. This place situated in the barony of Farney (Fermagh), co. Monaghan, is not yet identified.—*O'D.*

¹² *Fergus Fogha*, son of Fraechar Fortriu, was the last king of Uladh that resided at Emhain.

¹³ *Glen Righe*, that is, the vale of the Righe, now the Newry river. From this time, downward, the name Uladh is applied to the circumscribed territory of the Clanna Rudraide, narrowed by this conquest to the counties of Down and Antrim. "It was originally the name of all Ulster, but after the year 332, it was applied to that portion of the east of Ulster, bounded on the west by the Lower Bann and Lough Neagh, and by Glenn Righe."—*O'D.*

¹⁴ *Moghdurna*, properly Criche Moghdurna (*Creeagh Mourna*), now the barony of Cremorne, co. Monaghan. The O'Hanratties, in Irish, O'h-Innreachtaiigh, of the race of Colla Menn, were the ancient possessors of this territory. In O'Dubhagan's poem, the chief of this territory is called O'Machaiden. In after times, they were encroached on by the Mac Mahons.

¹⁵ *Ui Mic Crimthainn*, that is, the territory of the descendants of Crimthann, son of Fiach, son of Degaidh Durn, son of Rochadh, son of Colla Da Criche. In latter times, it appears that this name was confined to the barony of Slane, county Meath; but Keating could scarcely have meant it in that confined sense. From Colla Da-Criche,

Crioch (*Daw Creeagh*) of Ui Mic Crimthainn, and Colla Uais seized upon Ui Mic Uais.¹⁶

And, as before stated, it was by Caelbach, son of Crunn Badraei, that the monarch Muredach was slain.¹⁷

CAELBACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 352.¹⁸ Caelbach, son of Crunn Badraei, son of Eocaidh Coba, son of Lugaidh, son of Rosa, son of Imcaidh, son of Feidlimidh, son of Cas, son of Fiacaidh Araide, son of Aengus Gaibnenn, son of Fergus Foglas, son of Tibradi Tirech, son of Bresal, son of Ferb, son of Mal, son of Rocraide, of the line of Ir,¹⁹ son of Miledh, held the sovereignty of Ireland for one year. It was by Eocaidh Muigh-Medon,²⁰ that he was slain.

EOCAIDH MUIGH-MEDON, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 353.²¹ Eocaidh²² Muigh-Medon, son of Muredach Tirech, son of Fiacaidh Sraibtini, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. Mong-finn, daughter of Fidach, the wife of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, was the mother of Brian,²³ Fiacaidh or Fiaera,²⁴ Fergus and Olild. Carthann Cas-

whose territory it was, are descended the Mac Mahons of Monaghan, the Maguires of Fermanagh, the O'Hanlons of Orior, the Mac Camus, Mac Manus, the O'Kellies and O'Maddens of Ui Mani, in Galway, and their numerous kindred sept.

¹⁶ *Ui Mic Uais*, now Moygish, in West Meath. The descendants of the Colla Uais are the Mac Donalds of Antrim and the Isles of Scotland, with the Mac Dugalds, Mac Allisters, Mac Rories and their correlatives, and also the clans of Mac Sheehie, O'Flynn or O'Lyn of Moylinny, Mac Aedha or Magee of Island Magee, the O'Gnives, O'Kerin, and several others in Ireland.

¹⁷ *Slain*. He was slain by Caelbadh, son of Crunn, king of Uladh, at Port-righ, over Daball.

Daball was the old name of the Black-water of Ulster. Portrigh is thought to be the place now called Beurburb.—*See Four Masters*.

¹⁸ A. D. 356.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁹ *Of the race of Ir*.—Caelbadh, otherwise Caelbach, was of the blood of the Clanna Rudraide. O'Halloran says

that he was the last prince of the royal house of Ir (that is, of the Ulidians), that sat upon the Irish throne. After defeating Muredach, he marched straight to Temhair, and was there saluted king. However, Tighernach does not count him among the Irish monarchs. But his having been even partially acknowledged as such has its meaning in our history; it tells of a vigorous effort made by the Irians to recover the territory from which, by Muredach's aid, they had been recently expelled by the three Collas.

²⁰ *Muigh-Medon*. This surname is generally spelled either Muighmheadhain or Muighmheadhain, and is pronounced somewhat like *Mooivaaan* or *Moovedne*. Dr. O'Connor has translated it *Camporum Cultor*, i. e. tiller of fields; but Dr. O'Donovan says that this is a mere guess. The derivation recorded by Keating, he very justly styles a silly legend.

²¹ A. D. 353.—*Four Masters*.

²² EOCAIDH XIII.

²³ *Brian*. From this son sprung the several clans of the Ui Briain, of Con-

dubh (*Carhan Cas-dub*), daughter of the king of Britain, was his second wife, and by her he had Niall of the Nine Hostages. He was called Eocaidh Muigh-medon, because his head and breast resembled those of king Muredach Tirech, but his waist or middle (medon) resembled that of a slave (mogaidh), whose name was Mingadach.

It was against this king that the battle of Cruachain-Claenta was gained by Enna Kennselach,²⁵ king of Leinster; and there it was that Kednathch, the bard-sage (filé) of Eocaidh Muigh-medon happened to be made prisoner. But when Enna came up to where he was detained, he demanded of his people, why they had spared the life of the druid. "Whilst I live," said the druid, "thou shalt never gain victories from this hill, where I now stand." Upon this, Enna transfixed him with his spear; and, as the weapon passed through the druid's body, a laugh broke forth from Enna. "Ha!" said the druid, "that laugh is foul (salach); and this word foul (salach) shall be attached as a surname to thy posterity after thee, forever." Hence, the descendants of that chief have been called "Kinn-salaigh,"²⁶ that is, foul-heads, ever since.

Enna Kennselach was a very powerful prince in his day, as may be understood from the lay composed by Dubthach Ua Lugair, who was Ard-Ollamh of History in Ireland, at the time when St. Patrick came thither to propagate the Faith.

naught, namely, the O'Connors, kings of Connaught in after times, the O'Reillics and O'Ruaires, of Breifni; the O'Flaherties, Mac Dermotts, Mac Donoughs, and their kindred clans.

²⁵ *Fiaccadh*, more commonly called Fiachra, was the founder of the powerful tribes, known as the Ui Fiachrach, who were long the rivals of the Ui Briain for the sovereignty of Connaught. Their most powerful clans were the O'Dubhda, now O'Dowd, and O'Caemhain, now Keevan, princes of the Northern Ui Fiachrach, and the O'Heynes, O'Shanghnessies, O'Clerics, and Mac Kilkellies, and others, hereafter to be mentioned, of the Southern Ui Fiachrach.

²⁶ *Enna Kenn-Selach*. According to O'Halloran, the Leinster king was powerfully aided in this war by Lugaidh Lamb-derg, who was then king of Leth-Mogha and chieftain of the Dal-g-Cais. He tells us, that the cause of the war was the exaction of Boromha Laighen by the monarch, which Enna resisted, and, with the help of Lugaidh, defeated Eocaidh in fifteen battles.

According to the same authority, it was during this reign, that Lugaidh conquered, from the people of Connaught, that district which is now called the county of Clare, and made it the sword-land of his posterity.

²⁶ *Kinn-Salaigh*. The absurdity of supposing that any powerful tribe would, of its own accord, assume a surname affixed to it as a reproach, is enough to prove that the above cannot be the meaning of this. But the latter of its component parts is not "salach" (*sallagh*), which does mean foul or defiled; it is "selach" (*shellagh*), which, whatever be its exact sense in this instance, is a word of quite a different origin. A branch of his descendants have taken the name of O'Kinshellagh, from the surname of Enna. The Mac Murrroughs, kings of Leinster, the O'Cavanaghs, O'Murphies, O'Macil-Riain or O'Ryan, and the O'Dowlings of Leinster, with their several correlative branches, are sprung from this prince. A brother of his was the founder of the O'Byrnes and O'Pooles.

“A battle fought by Leinstermen,” is the first line of the lay; but of it, I shall here quote but the two following verses, which show the great power exercised by Enna during his own time:

“A fine was paid to Enna
From Mumha, with reluctance—
An ounce of gold from every lis,
Within the coming year.

“A fine was paid to Enna
From Leth-Cuinn, the hospitable—
A sgreball²⁷ from each hearth
In all its fair fortresses.”

And, according to the Psalter of Cashel, this Enna routed the clans of Conn in thirteen battles.

Eocaidh Muigh-medon died in Temhair.

CRIMTHANN, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 360.²⁸ Crimthann,²⁹ son of Fidach, son of Dari Kerb,³⁰ son of Olild Flann Beg, son of Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan, son of Eogan Mor, son of Olild Olum, of the line of Eber³¹ Finn, son of Miledh of Spain, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seventeen years. Fideng, daughter of the king of Connaught, was his wife.

It was this Crimthann that gained victories and extended his sway over Alba, Britain and Gaul, as the shannachie tells us in the following rann:

“Crimthann, son of Fidach, ruled
The Alban and the Irish lands:
Beyond the clear blue seas he quelled
The British and the Gallic might.”

It was also this Crimthann, that conferred the kingdom of Leth-Mogha, or Munster, upon his own foster-son, namely, upon Conall Echluath³² (i. e. Conall of the Swift Steeds), son of Lugaidh Menn.

²⁷ *A sgreball*—an Irish coin, worth three pence. Its aspirated form is “sgrebhall” *shrevall*, or *shrevül*.

²⁸ A. D. 366.—*Four Masters*.

²⁹ CRIMTHANN III. This prince reigned but thirteen years, according to the last-cited authority.

³⁰ *Dari Kerb*. This prince, who was the second son of Olild Flann Beg, left issue: 1st, Fidach, father of Crimthann, whose line became extinct; 2d, Fiacaidh Fidghenti, ancestor of the tribe called Ui Fidghenti, comprising the clans of Donovan, O’Colleain or Collins, O’Kinealy, O’Meehan, Mac Enciry, &c.;

and 3d, Eocaidh Liathanach, from whom sprung the Ui Liathain, consisting of the O’Liathain, now anglicized Lyons, and the O’h-Anamecda.

³¹ *Of the line of Eber*. No prince of this stock had been, now, monarch of Ireland during thirty-two reigns. Duach III, styled Dalta Degadh, the fifteenth progenitor of Crimthann, was the last prince of the line of Eber that had been saluted supreme king. He reigned from A. M. 3912 to 3922.

³² *Conall Ech-luath*. “On the decease of Eocaidh, who, after all, died peaceably at Tara, Crimthann, son of

The posterity of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan, felt offended at this gift, and they said, that Conall did not act the part of a good kinsman in accepting it whilst Core, son of Lugaidh, a man every way qualified to make a good king, was then to be found among the descendants of Fiacaídh. The dispute that thence arose, was left to the arbitration of learned sages, who decided that the kingship of Munster should, for that time, be possessed, first by Core, son of Lugaidh, for he was the elder representative of the race; and after him, that one of the descendants of Cormac Cas should succeed to the throne of Munster. Upon this, the race of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan gave securities and guarantees, upon their part, that they should allow the possession of the sovereignty of Munster to descend quietly to Conall Ech-luath, after the death of Core, or to Conall's son, should he himself be no longer alive. This decision was made in accordance with the will of Olild Olum, which ordained that the supreme power should be possessed alternately by each of these two families of his descendants, namely, by the progeny of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan and that of Cormac Cas. It was upon the above condition that Conall Ech-luath resigned the kingdom of Munster to Core.

This Core had a son,³³ who was named Cas Mac Cuire, from whom has descended the clan of O'Donnchadha, or O'Donoghoo Mor, from which again sprung O'Donoghoo of the Glen. From him are also sprung the clans of O'Maghamhna, or O'Mahony Finn, O'Mahony Roe, O'Mahony of Uí-Floinn-Laei, O'Mahony of Carbery, and O'Mullane.

Conall Ech-luath became, eventually, king of Munster, after the death of Core.³⁴ And Crimthann, son of Fidach, gave the

Fidach, son of Dari Kerb, of the race of Heber and Engenian line, through the great influence of his cousin, Lugaidh (king of Munster, of the Daleasian line,) was proclaimed monarch; and in return for this, on the death of Lugaidh, which happened soon after he had his son Conall Ech-luath (*Agh-looah*) appointed king of Leth-Mogha, to the great prejudice of his own family."—*O'Halloran*.

³³ *Had a son, &c.* His other sons were Nadfraech, from whom most of the succeeding kings of Desmond sprung; Mani Lemna, from whom descended the ancient Mor-mhaeir, or High Stewards of Lennox, in Scotland; and Car-bri Luachra, otherwise surnamed Cruthnech, or the Piet, from whom the O'Moriartics, chiefs of the Eoganacht of Loch Léin in Kerry, and the ancient

chieftains of the Eoganacht of Magh Gerghim, now called Marr, in Scotland, are derived.

Through the enmity of his stepmother, Dacla, Core had been banished by his father, and took refuge in Alba, where he married Mong-finn, daughter of Feradach, king of the Picts. Hence, probably, arose the settlement of some of his posterity in that country.

³⁴ *After the death of Core.* From the vagueness with which Dr. Keating has here expressed himself, some have imagined that he meant that Core died during Crimthann's reign. However, that inference by no means follows from our author's words. The fact that the Irish monarch appointed his friend, Conall (who was a powerful chieftain, as king of Thomond, and head of the Dal-g-Cais tribe,) as re-

hostages of the chiefs of Ireland, Alba, Britain, and Gaul, into the hands of his foster-son, Conall. Upon this fact Cormac, son of Culinan, has composed the following verses :

- “ Ech-luath received the Irish rents,³⁵
 Whilst Crimthann fought for foreign spoil,³⁶
 And, though he crossed not Mana's wave,
 No worthier king could tribute claim.
- “ What Fidach's son, great Crimthann, brought,
 Of captive Gauls from over sea,
 He gave into the red-glaived hand
 Of Conall, famed for fleetest steeds.
- “ Conall of Fleet Steeds made a tour
 Through all the tribes on Crimthann's part—
 Opposed at Dun-Liamna,³⁷ that chief
 In slaughtered heaps, left his proud foes.
- “ He owned Fert-Conaill on Magh-Femhenn,
 Drom-Cormaic, Ani, and Dun-g-Clair,
 Caisel's stronghold, Liamhain's great rath,
 Fair Dun-Kermna, Eocair-Maigh.”

The death of the monarch, Crimthann, was caused by Mungfinn, daughter of Fidach, his own sister, who gave him a poisoned drink at Inis-Dornglas, in hopes that the kingdom of

gent during his own foreign expeditions, by no means implies the previous death of the king of Leth-Mogha. Besides, it is opposed to the almost universal tradition which represents Core as the rival of the next king, Niall, for the Irish throne. Conall must have succeeded Core, some time during the reign of Niall.

³⁵ *All Eri's rent.* That is, he received them as Crimthann's representative. “ Before entering upon his foreign expedition, he appointed Conall, whose integrity he could depend on, as regent of Ireland.”—*O'Halloran.*

³⁶ *Foreign spoil.* In Cormac's Glossary, under the words *Mogh Erime*, it is stated that he extended his dominion over North Britain and Wales, where many places received names from his people. This passage, of which the following is a translation, is one of the most curious and important in Irish history :

“ At that time, the sway of the Gaels was great over the Britons ; they divided Alba between them in holdings, and each knew the habitations of his

friends ; and the Gaels did not carry on less agriculture on the east of the sea (channel), than at home in Scotia ; and they erected habitations and regal forts there ; thence is called Dinn Traduii, i. e. the triple-fossed fort of Crimthann Mor Mac Fidaigh, king of Eri, Alba, and as far as the Iccian Sea ; and thence is called Glastimber na-n-Gaedhal, i. e. Glastonbury of the Gaels, a large church which is on the brink of the Iccian Sea, &c. And it was at the time of this division, also, that Dinn Map Lethain, in British Cornwall (Bretan Corn), received its name, i. e. Dun mic Liathain ; for *map*, in British, is the same as *mac* (i. e. son). And they continued in this power for a long time after the arrival of St. Patrick.”—*See p. 340, Battle of Magh Rath, Additional Notes.*

³⁷ *Dun Liamna*, i. e. the Dun of Liamhain (*Leeavuin*) is situated in the west of the county of Wicklow. It was one of the residences of the kings of Leinster, and is now known as Dunlavan. The other places enumerated in this

Ireland would fall to her favorite son,³⁸ Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-Medon. Of the venom of that drink, king Crinthan soon died, at Sliabh oidhidh-an-righ³⁹ (*Shieev-ee-an-ree*), to the north of Limerick. Mung-finn, also, died herself, immediately, from the effects of that poisoned cup, for she had swallowed some of its contents, in order to induce her brother to drink thereof.

NIALL NA EI-GHIALLACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 377.⁴⁰ Niall⁴¹ Naei-Ghiallach (*Neeal Nee-yeallagh*), or Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eocaidh Muigh-Medon, son of Muredach Tirech, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-seven years. Carthann Cas-dubh (*Carhan Cas-dubh*), daughter of the king of Britain, was the mother of Niall. His first wife was Inné, daughter of Lugaidh. She was the mother of his son, Fiacaith. His second wife was called Roighnech (*Roenagh*), who bore him seven sons,⁴² namely, Lae-

verse were amongst the royal residences of Munster; their locations are elsewhere pointed out.

³⁸ *Her favorite son.* Her parricide had not the effect she desired. None of Brian's posterity ever sat upon the throne of Ireland, except Rudraide, or Roderick O'Connor, the last of its kings, and Tordelbach, or Torlough, the third last.

³⁹ *Sliabh-Oidhidh-an-Righ*, i. e. the mountain of the king's death. It is now called the Cratloe, or Glennagross mountain, in the barony of Bunratty, and county of Clare.

⁴⁰ A. D. 379.—*Four Masters.*

⁴¹ *Niall I.* "On the death of Crimthann, several candidates appeared for the succession. Enna (Kemselach), king of Leinster, the better to strengthen his interest, seized on the palace of Tara (Temhair), but soon after evacuated it. Core, king of Leth Mogha, solicited the suffrages of the princes and electors, but was opposed by the whole force of Leth-Cuinn. These dreaded the power of the Heberians, who, as kings of Southern Ireland, acknowledged no kind of dependence on the monarchs, and united, as one man, to support the claims of young Niall, who was accordingly elected. Core protested against the election, and appealed to the sword. Much blood was spilt on the occasion. But Torna, the

bard of Niall, at length interposed; a peace was thence concluded, and Core acknowledged Niall's election, delivering up his son, Carbri, with others of his nobles, as hostages. In return, he received, as presents (or as a fee), from the monarch, one thousand steeds, five hundred suits of armor, one hundred and ninety gold rings, and fifty gold cups. It was the custom of the Irish, that the acknowledged sovereign made presents to his former antagonist."—*O'Halloran.*

⁴² *Seven sons.* It appears that Niall had fourteen sons in all; however, none of them left posterity but the eight above mentioned: 1. Fiacaith, his son by Carthann, who was the ancestor of the septs of Mac Eochagain (Mageoghagan), and O'Machnuaidh (O'Mulloy); 2. Laegari, or Laeghairé (*Layerie*), from whom came the O'Coindelbhain (O'Kendelan or Quinlan), of Ui Laeghari; 3. Conall Crimthanni, ancestor of the O'Macilshechlainn (O'Melaghlín); 4. Mani, from whom descended Mac Catharnaigh (*Mac Caharny*), a name now changed to Fox, with O'Brien and Magawley. All these settled in Meath, and were called the Southern Ui Neill. After the establishment of surnames, they branched out into many sub-septs, amongst which were those called the Four Tribes of Temhair, namely, O'Hart, O'Regan, O'Kelly of

gari, Enna, Mani, Eogan, two Conalls and Carbri, as the poet says in the following verse :

“ Joyful the heart of Roighnech bright!
She bore Laegari, son of Niall,
Enna and Mani, of great deeds,
Eogan, two Conalls, and Carbri.”

ALBA for the first time receives the name of SCOTIA, or SCOTLAND
—Ireland called *Scotia Major*; Scotland, *Scotia Minor*.

The monarch, Niall, proceeded to Alba with a powerful army, for the purpose of strengthening the Dal-Riada, and of implanting the Scotie race in that country; for, at this time, they were acquiring supremacy over the Cruthnigh, who are called Picts. He was the first person that gave the name of Scotia to Alba, at the request of the Dal-Riada, and other tribes of the Kiné Scuit (i.e. the Kindred of Scot). He did so, however, upon condition that their country should be called *Scotia Minor*, or the Lesser Scotland, whilst Ireland should be called *Scotia Major*, or the Greater Scotland. It was through a pious esteem for Scota, daughter of Pharaoh Nectonibus, and wife of Galamb, who is called Miledh of Spain, from whom their nation had sprung, that the Dal-Riada preferred to give the name of Scotia to Alba, rather than that of Hibernia.

CAMDEN has asserted, in his *Britannia*, that *Scotia Minor* was the name of Alba, and *Scotia Major* that of Eri. He also informs us that it cannot be discovered by any ancient documents, that the Albanaigh, or inhabitants of Alba, had ever been called Scots, previous to the reign of the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, (A. D. 299–330.) Moreover, this learned author speaks of the Erennaigh, or natives of Eri, as *Scotorum Atavi*, that is, the Forefathers of the Scots; thus making known to us, that the Scotie nation, dwelling in Alba, had sprung from an Irish stock. He makes use of the following words in treating of this subject: “The Scoti,” says he, “came into Ireland, from Spain, in the Fourth Age.”⁴³

NENNIUS, a British author, cited by Camden, relates that it

Breagh (not the tribe O’Kelly of Ui Mani), and O’Conolly. The four other sons went into Ulster, where they gained wide territories; they were: 1. Eogan, from whom the tribes of Tyrone, namely, the O’Neills and their numerous correlatives; 2. Conall Gulban, from whom descend the Kinél Conaill, that is, the clan of O’Donnell and its kindred sept; 3. Carbri, whose pos-

terity formerly inhabited Carbury Gaura, in county of Sligo; the O’Ronains of that district are his descendants; 4. Enna Finn, his youngest son, some of whose posterity dwelt formerly in Tir-Enna, in Tir-Conaill, and others, as O’Braenan of Kinél Enna, near the Hill of Uisnech, in Meath.

⁴³ Scoti ex Hispania in Hiberniam quarta ætate venerunt.

was in the Fourth Age, that the Scots (that is, the Kiné Scuit), took possession of Ireland.

The ANNALS OF IRELAND, also, make it perfectly clear that Alba was the name of the country now called Scotland, down to the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages, when the Dal-Riada succeeded in getting it called Scotia, a name by which both themselves and their posterity have continued to call it ever since.

It is said to have received the name of Alba, or Albania, from Albanaetus, the third son of Brutus, for it was the portion, which his father gave to him as an inheritance. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Brutus had three sons, namely, Loegrius, Camber, and Albanaetus. Between these he divided the island of Great Britain. Loegrius called his division Loegria, from his own name; it is this region that is now called Anglia, or England. From Camber, that region which is now called Britain (Wales), received the name of Cambria. From Albanaetus, the third division was called Albania (Scotland).

*Niall Invades Loegria—Expedition to Armorica—St. PATRICK led thence into captivity, A. D. 388.*⁴⁴

From Alba, Niall marched with a numerous army into Loegria, where he made a stationary encampment; and thence he sent a fleet to Armorica, which is called Bretagne,⁴⁵ or French Britain, for the purpose of plundering that country. From this expedition two hundred nobly-born children were brought captive into Ireland; and amongst those captives was St. Patrick, then sixteen years old, and his two sisters,⁴⁶ Darerca and Lupida, with many others.

⁴⁴ According to the dates given in Keating, the year of the saint's captivity should be 386. The above is the more generally received epoch. When brought into Ireland, St. Patrick fell to the share of Milcho, a petty chieftain of the Dal-Araide, who sent him to feed his hogs upon Sliabh-Mis, now called Slemmish, in the county of Antrim. Here he remained in servitude for six years, during which time, as he tells us himself in these words, "My constant business was to feed the hogs. I was frequent in prayer; the love and fear of God more and more inflamed my heart; my faith was enlarged and my spirit augmented; so that I said a hundred prayers by day and almost as many by night; I arose before day in the snow, in the frost, in the rain, and

yet I received no damage; nor was I affected with slothfulness, for then the spirit of God was warm within me." Whilst here he perfected himself in the knowledge of the Gaelic tongue, and made himself familiar with the habits and usages of the people of whom he was destined to become the apostle, thus greatly diminishing the difficulties of his future mission. We are told that he escaped from servitude in the seventh year of his bondage; though some say that he was then released therefrom in accordance with a law, said to have existed in Ireland, which, like a similar Mosaic one, ordained that slaves should be set at liberty in the seventh year.

⁴⁵ *Bretagne*, called *Britannia* by the English.

⁴⁶ *His two sisters.* Darerca and Lu-

The Scots of the Early Ages of Christianity.

Numberless authors bear testimony that Scotia was properly one of the names of Ireland, and that the people called Scoti or Scots, were Irish.

JONAS THE ABBOT uses the following words, in his second chapter, in speaking of St. Columkille: "Columbanus," says he, "who is also called Columba, was born in Hibernia, which is now inhabited by the nation of the Scoti."⁴⁷

BEDE, also, in the first chapter of the first book of his History of the Saxons, tells us that Ireland was the native country of the Scots; here are his words: "Hibernia is the proper fatherland of the Scoti."⁴⁸ The same author, in writing about the saints, makes use of another expression that agrees with that just quoted: "St. Kilian," says he, "and his two companions came from Hibernia, the island of the Scoti."⁴⁹ From this it is evident that the Irish were commonly called the Scotie nation in the time of Bede, who lived about seven hundred years after Christ.

OROSIUS, who lived less than four hundred years after Christ, corroborates the same fact. He speaks thus in the second chapter of his first book: "Hibernia is inhabited by the nations of the Scoti."⁵⁰ Hence it is clear that this country, which is called Eri and Hibernia, was commonly denominated Scotia by the writers of his day.

SERARIUS, writing about St. Kilian, speaks in the following manner: "The holy Kilian was of the race of the Scoti."⁵¹ And again he speaks of "Scotia, which is also called Hibernia."⁵²

CAPGRAVIUS bears testimony upon the same subject, in the following words, which he employs in treating of St. Columba: "For Hibernia was anciently called Scotia, and from it sprung and emigrated the nation of the Scoti which inhabits the part of Albania that lies nearest to Great Britain, and that has been since called Scotia from the fact."⁵³

MARIANUS SCOTUS, an Alban (i. e. a Scotch) writer, bears

pita are enumerated amongst the Irish saints. The place of Lupita's servitude was the plain of Murthemni, in the county of Louth.

⁴⁷ Columbanus, qui et Columba dicitur, in Hibernia ortus est; eam Scotorum gens incolit.

⁴⁸ Hibernia propria Scotorum patria est.

⁴⁹ Sanctus Kiliannus et duo Socii ejus ab Hibernia Scotorum insula venerunt.

⁵⁰ Hibernia Scotorum gentibus colitur.

⁵¹ Beatus Kiliannus Scotorum genere

⁵² Scotia quæ et Hibernia dicitur.

⁵³ Hibernia enim antiquitus Scotia dicta est, de qua gens Scotorum Albaniam Britannicæ majori proximam, quæ ab eventu modo Scotia dicitur, inhabitat, originem duxit et progressum habuit.

similar testimony in writing on the subject of St. Kilian. Here are his words: "Although that part of Britannia which borders upon Anglia, and stretches towards the north, is at present distinctively called Scotia, nevertheless, the Venerable Bede shows that Hibernia was formerly known by that name; for he informs us that the nation of the Picti arrived in Hibernia from Scythia, and that they found there the nation of the Scoti."⁵⁴

CÆSARIUS, also, who lived less than six hundred years after Christ, gives us to understand by his words, that Scotia was a name of Ireland: "Let the man who doubts of Purgatory," says he, "proceed to Scotia, and there let him enter the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and thenceforward he will never doubt of the pains of Purgatory."⁵⁵ From this writer's words it must be understood that Scotia was a common name for Ireland at that time; for there is no place in Alba that is called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, whilst it is well known that there is a place so named in Ireland; and it is thence manifest that Ireland is the country which Cæsius calls Scotia.

SERAPIUS, in certain remarks which he makes in writing about St. Bonifacius, is in perfect accord with the above-cited writers. He says that "Hibernia, likewise, claimed Scotia as one of her names; but, however, because a certain part of the Scotie nation emigrated from this same Hibernia and settled in those parts of Britannia in which the Picti were then dwelling, and was there called the nation of the Dalreudini (Dal-Riada), from the name of its leader, Rheuda (Carbri-Riada), as the Venerable Bede relates; and because these Dalreudini afterwards drove the Picti from their homes, and seized upon the entire northern region to themselves, and gave to it the ancient name of their own race; so that thus the nation might remain undivided; in this manner has the name of Scotia become ambiguous; one, the elder and proper Scotia, being in Hibernia, whilst the other, the more recent, lies in the northern part of Britannia."⁵⁶ From the words of this author I draw three conclusions: the first conclusion is,

⁵⁴ Etiamsi hodie Scotia proprie vocatur ea Britannicæ pars, quæ ipsi Angliæ continens ad Septentrionalem vergit, olim tamen eo nomine Hiberniam vocatum fuisse ostendit venerabilis Beda, cum ex Scythia Pictorum gentem in Hiberniam venisse ait, ibique Scotorum gentem invenisse.

⁵⁵ Qui de Purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii intret, et de pœnis Purgatorii amplius non dubitabit.

⁵⁶ Hibernia Scotia sibi nomen etiam

vindicavit, quâ tamen ex Hiberniâ ista Scotorum pars quadam egressa est, in eâque Britannicæ orâ quam Picti Jam habebant, consererunt; hi quidem principio duce suo Rheuda Dalreudini dicti fuerunt, ut ait venerabilis Beda; postea tamen Pictos inde ipsos exegerunt, et totum illud latus obtinuerunt eique vetus gentis suæ nomen indiderunt; ita ut Scotorum gens una fuerit, sed Scotia duplex facta sit; una vetus et propria in Hiberniâ, recentior altera in Septentrionali Britannicæ parte.

that the Erennaigh or Irish, were, in strict truth, the real Scoti; the second is, that the Dal-Riada was the first race, dwelling in Alba (Scotland), to which the name of Scot was applied; the third conclusion is that Eri (Ireland) was the true ancient Scotia, and that Alba (Scotland) was the new Scotia, and also that it was the Kiné Scuit, or Tribe of Scot, that first called it Scotia.

BUCHANAN, an Albanach (i. e. Scotch) author, has a passage that agrees with the above, in the second book of his History of Scotland. He says that, "All the inhabitants of Hibernia were originally called Scoti, as Orosius points out; and our own annals tell us that there was more than one migration of the Scoti from Hibernia into Albania."⁶⁷ Hence it is to be understood that the Dal-Riada was not the only tribe that went from Ireland to dwell in Alba, but that numerous colonies besides went to make settlements therein from time to time.

Irish Invasions of Alba or Scotland—Irish Settlements therein.

We read in Irish history that the following persons made expeditions to Alba from time to time, for the purpose of making the conquest of that land.

First, Aengus Oll-mucach, son of Fiacaídh Labranni, made an expedition to Alba for the purpose of enforcing the payment of the head-rent due from the Cruthnigh to the kings of Ireland. This took place about two hundred and fifty years after the arrival of the children of Miledh in Ireland.

In like manner, Recta Rígh-derg made an expedition to Alba, long ages afterwards, in order to force the payment of his head-rent.

Carbri Riada⁶⁸ then invaded the north of Alba, with his host, for the purpose of making conquests therein. It is the posterity of this Carbri Riada that Bede has called the Dalreudini, that is, the Dal-Riada of Alba.

⁶⁷ Scoti omnes Hiberniæ habitatores initio vocabantur, ut indicat Orosius; nec semel Scotorum ex Hiberniâ transitum in Albaniam factum, nostri ut annales referunt.

⁶⁸ *Carbri Riada.* During the reign of Art (from A. D. 152 to 182) it was, that the eldest Carbri, son of Conari II, called Riada, or the Long Arm,* on account of his settlements so remote from each other as Kerry and Antrim, or the Route, as it is called, passed over

to Scotland, where, as Bede tells us, "by force or friendship he procured settlements for himself. From this leader Riada," says he, "their posterity are to this day called Dal Rendimh; *dal*, in their language, signifying a part." This is certainly the first regular Scottish or Irish settlement in Albany; not but that numbers of Irish must, from the close affinity between them and the Picts, have resided there from time to time for centuries before. This (settlement) is a fact upon which all our writers are unanimous.—*O'Halloran.*

* Or Long Reach? Riada is a contracted form of the words Rígh-fhada (*Ree-adda*.)

Mac-Con went to make the conquest of Alba and Britain; and it was thence that he came to fight the battle of Moerumhi, where Art Aenfer, king of Ireland, fell, so that Mac-Con then acquired the sovereignty of all Ireland himself.

Fathadh Canann,⁵⁹ son of Mac-Con, went to Alba at a subsequent period, and conquered an inheritance for himself therein. It is from him that the race of Mac Alind (Allen) and its correlative branches have sprung.

Again, Colla Uais and his brothers proceeded to Alba, and there acquired large possessions; and from this Colla Uais are sprung the Mac Donalds,⁶⁰ both of Alba and of Eri.

Crimthann, son of Fidaeh, went to make the conquest of Alba whilst he was monarch of Ireland.

And there, also, settled Erc, son of Eocaidh Munremar, son of Aengus Fert,⁶¹ one of the descendants of Carbri Riada. They are his descendants⁶² that are called the tribe Gabran or Kinél Gabhrain (*Kinnaile Gowrauin*), of Alba, and the Kinél Lodhairn (*Loarn*), Kinél Comhghaill (*Cowill*), Kinél Aengusa, and Kinél Conchriche (*Concreehi*) of the Isles.

⁵⁹ *Fathadh Canann*—the founder of the Campbells and their correlatives, as before stated.

⁶⁰ *Mac Donalds*. According to O'Flaherty, Somarli or Somhairli (*Soverlie*), the twenty-fifth descendant of Colla Uais, had two sons, Ranulph and Dubgall: from the latter came the Mac Dugalds or Mac Dowells. Ranulph begat two sons, Rudraide or Roderic, from whom the Mac Rories of the Hebrides are sprung; second, Dombnald or Donald, from whom the Mac Donalds have taken their name. From Sithach, son of Eocaidh Donn, one of the sons of this Dombnald, came the Mac Sheehies, in Antrim and in Munster. The Mac Donalds, earls of Antrim, are more immediately sprung from Dombnald, son of Aengus, son of the above-named Dombnald, who was king of the Hebrides and of Cantire, in the reign of James III, of Scotland.—See *Ogygia*. These races are of the royal of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

⁶¹ *Aengus Fert*. He is elsewhere called Aengus Fer. The Irish genealogists make him the seventh descendant from Carbri Riada. O'Flaherty conjectures that he was his grandson; but he is decidedly wrong. Ten generations is not too much to allow for the

time that intervened between the reigns of the father of Carbri Riada, Conari II, king of Ireland, who was slain about A. D. 152, to that of Loarn Mor, son of Erc, the first Scotie king of Alba, who conquered the throne in A. D. 503. The event alluded to did not occur for more than a century after Niall's reign. Keating records it again in its proper place. The above Erc was the founder of the Dalriadic kings of the modern Scotland. O'Flaherty informs us that this son, Loarn or Lodharr, with his brothers, Aengus and Fergus, obtained the command of the Dal-Riada, and took possession of the country of the Western Piets, A. D. 502; that their descendants held the royal dignity for the space of seven hundred and eighty-three years, from Loarn down to the reign of Malcolm IV, who was killed in 1285. Four hundred and forty-three years had then elapsed from the final conquest of the Piets by Kenneth I, and two hundred and eighty-one from Malcolm II, who was the first that assumed the title of King of Scotland.

⁶² *Descendants*. Those enumerated above are the four principal tribes sprung from the sons of Erc.

Mani Lemna,⁶³ son of Core, son of Lugaidh (of the race of Olild Olum), emigrated from Ireland to Alba, and acquired himself a territory there, which is still called Magh Lemna⁶⁴ (*Moy Lewna* or *Levna*). From it the "Mor-mhaer Lembna" (*Morc-vayor-Lewna*), or Great Steward of Lemhain had his title. It is he that is now styled the Duke of Lenox. It is also from the above-named Mani Lemna, or Mani of Lemhain, that the noble house of Lenox⁶⁵ has drawn its origin. From a brother of Mani Lemna, who was named Carbri Cruthnechan,⁶⁶ or Carbri of the Picts, came the Eoganact (*Owenaght*), of Magh Gerghenn (*Moy Gueryenn*), in the same country. But it was after the time of Niall of the Nine Hostages, that these went to make settlements in Alba.

It was, also, after his time that the six sons of Muredach,* son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, emigrated thither. These were known as the two Loarns, the two Aenguses, and the two Ferguses. Thus, it may be asserted of all the Gaelic tribes of Alba, that their nobles have sprung from the Gaels of Ireland.

However, we must consider as of Saxon, and not of Gaelic origin, those of the inhabitants of Alba that dwell nearest to England, across the borders of which they had been formerly driven by William the Conqueror, and who have continued in possession of the "Galldacht"⁶⁷ (*Gaullaght*), or lowlands of that

⁶³ *Mani Lemna*, i. e. Mani of Lemhain (*Levin* or *Larwin*). The river now called the Laune, in Kerry, is so denominated in Gaelic. It is possible the Mani had his surname from it, and that the name was then first transported to Scotland by him. His brother, Carbri the Piet, was styled also Carbri Luacra, from having been fostered in the district of Luachair, in Kerry. This renders it likely that both brothers had their surnames from the same locality.

⁶⁴ *Magh Lemna*. "Levinia, contracted into Lennox (as if Lemnacht), is situated near Dumbriton (Dumbar-ton), in Scotland, and has taken its name from the river Levinn (Lemhain), which washes it. This river, flowing from Loch Lomond, is called Leavuin, in the vernacular idiom, and the country is called Magh Levna."—*Ogygia*.

⁶⁵ *House of Lennox*. Donucadh, called also Duncau, Earl of Lennox, the last of the family, died, leaving no male issue, in the reign of Robert II, of Scotland. One of his daughters married Alan Stuart, a near relative of king Robert, and thus transferred the title to his posterity. From this Alan

was descended Henry Stuart, Lord Darnly, the father of James I, of England.—*See Ogygia*.

⁶⁶ *Carbri Cruthnechan*. From him was descended Canich, the Mor-mhaer of Marr, ancestor of ancient Earls of Marr, who fell by the side of Brian, at Clontarf.

* This is a mistake. They were the sons of Eocaidh Munremar, son of the Ere last mentioned. It was the last and most permanent settlement, and took place in A. D. 503.

⁶⁷ *Galladcht*, i. e. the district of the foreigners. There had been for some centuries previous to the above-mentioned event, a population of Teutonic (probably Danish) origin already settled in that portion of Scotland which lies between the rivers Tweed and Forth. The Gaels called the people dwelling in this district, Gaill or Gauls, which was their general name for all who were not Gaels, with the exception of the Britons and Picts, who are rarely so denominated. At the time of the conquest of England by William and his Gallo-Norman followers, and when Malcolm III. was king of Scotland, this Teutonic settlement received a large

country ever since. Besides these, there are some others that we shall point out a little further on. Stow gives us information upon this subject in the hundred and fifty-third page of his

accession to its numbers from the immigration of Saxon and Danish refugees from England, who were kindly received by the Scotch monarch. Augustin Thierry speaks thus upon the subject, in his *History of the Norman Conquest*: "The multitude of men of all ranks and conditions who, after a futile struggle against the invaders, expatriated themselves to Scotland, augmented the previous mass of Germanic population established between the Tweed and Forth. The kings who succeeded Malcolm were not less generous than he to these refugees; they gave them land and offices, and admitted them into their state councils, where gradually the true Scotie language, the Gaelic or Erse, was supplanted by the Anglo-Danish, spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland. By the same revolution, the Scotch kings discarded the patronymic surname, which recalled to mind their Celtic origin."

Having referred to the final subjugation of the Picts by Kenneth Mac Alpin, he says: "The nation of the Picts lost its name in its incorporation with the Scots; but it does not appear that the fusion was effected on unequal terms, as would, doubtless, have been the case had the conquered and the conquerors been of different race. The latter had not to undergo any slavery—any political degradation; serfage, the ordinary result of conquest in the middle ages, was not established in Scotland. Ere long, there existed north of the Forth but one people, and it early became a fruitless attempt to seek the traces of the idiom which the Picts had spoken in the time of their independence. At the period of the Norman invasion of England, there existed not the slightest vestige of the division of Scottish Gael* into two dis-

inct populations; the only national division observable in the kingdom of Scotland, was that between the men who spoke the Gaelic language, called also the Erse, i. e. Irish, and the descendants of the Teutonic colonists, whose idiom was alike intelligible to the English, the Danes and the Germans. This population, the nearest to England, though called Scottish by the English, had much closer affinity with the latter people (from resemblance of language and community of origin) than with the Scots of Gaelic race. The latter, who combined with a somewhat savage pride, habits of independence, derived from their organization in separate clans or tribes, had frequent disputes with the Teutonic population of the southern plains, and even with the kings of Scotland. The latter almost invariably found the southern Scots disposed to aid them in their projects against the liberty of the clans, and thus the instinctive enmity of these two races, the fruit of diversity of origin and language, turned to the profit of royal despotism. This experience, more than once highly profitable to the successors of Kenneth MacAlpin, gave them a great affection for the lowlanders of Scotland, and generally for men of English origin: they preferred these strangers to the men who descended from the same ancestry with themselves; they favored, to the utmost of their ability, the Scots by name, at the expense of the Scots by race, and received with the utmost cordiality every emigrant from England." Further on he tells us, that they gave to these foreigners offices and lands taken from the Gaels. As a just punishment for their tyrannical encroachments upon the ancient usages of their Gaelic kinsmen, the race of the Dal-Riada soon ceased to occupy the throne of ancient Alba;

* It is to be remarked, that in the above quotation the word *Gaels* is used in the sense of *Celt*. Thierry, being ignorant of the Gaelic tongue, thought it synonymous with *Gallus*, the name by which the Celts of Gallia were known. Having very learnedly shown that the Cruthlgh

were a Celtic people, he erroneously applies to them the name of an Iberic people, who, though the language they then undoubtedly spoke was a dialect of the Celtic tongue, have not yet been proved to have been of Celtic origin.—*Ed.*

Annals. He there tells us that William, king of Alba, was captured by Henry II, king of England, and then sent by the latter to the city of Rouen, in Normandy, as his prisoner. There he was kept in bondage by his captor until he was forced to pay a ransom of four hundred marks for his liberty. Then, when returning to his own country, at peace with the king of England, he took with him to Alba a number of young English nobles, from whom he had received kindness and friendship during his captivity. Upon these and their heirs after them, he bestowed lands and territories, which are possessed by many of their posterity to the present day. The following are the names of some of the families descended from those that followed him from England upon that occasion, namely: Balioll, Bruce, Rawley, Mowbray, Sinclair, Hangiford, Ramsey, Bissey, Boyce, Montgomery, Walley, Colley, Milley, Frazer, Graham and Gurley.⁶⁸ This immigration took place in the year of our Lord 1174.

Buchanan fully bears out all I heretofore asserted as to the original application of the names, Scot and Scotia. In the thirty-fourth page of the second book of his History of Scotland, he says: "Because the two nations, that is to say, the natives of Hibernia and the colonists that went forth from them to dwell in Albania, were both originally called by the common name of Scoti, in order to distinguish the one from the other, people began to name the former Hibernian Scoti, and the latter Albanian Scoti."⁶⁹ From these words of Buchanan two things must be understood: the first of these is, that Ireland was the country whence the Scots emigrated in order to colonize Alba; the next is, that Scoti, or Scots, was a common appellation of the Irish people from the beginning.

Inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain.

Previous to returning to Niall of the Nine Hostages, I here set down, in support of all I have hitherto advanced on the subject, last treated of, certain facts which have been extracted from the Chronicle of Stow; for I deem that what I shall hereafter relate of that monarch, on the authority of Irish history,

supplanted by their Norman guests, the Baliols, Bruces and Stuarts, the royal line of Kenneth Mac Alpin became extinguished or reduced to obscurity.

⁶⁸ The Editor is not sure that all the above names belong to the lowland Scotch. He thinks that some of them

have been misspelled or mistaken by Keating's transcribers.

⁶⁹ Principio, cum utrique, id est, Hiberniæ incolæ et coloni eorum in Albium missi Scoti appellarentur, ut discrimine aliquo alteri ab alteris distinguerentur, initio coepere alteri Scoti Hibernii, alteri Scoti Albani vocari.

will appear the more credible by reason of my transcribing these matters from the work of a foreign chronicler. Here is what Stow relates :

“A. D. 73. Mauritius Arviragus, being king of the Britons, Rughri, or Rogerus, king of the Piets, a people of Scythian origin, and accompanied by the Scots, invaded Britain for purpose of conquest, devastating that country with sword and fire. Whereupon, the above-named Mauritius gave them battle, and slew Rughri and numbers of his host therein. To those that survived this battle he gave a territory to inhabit, in the north of Alba. They, then, demanded wives⁷⁰ of the Britons, but were

⁷⁰ *Wives.* “The friendship, founded upon this early connection, was kept alive by continued intercourse between the two nations; and though the footing the Irish obtained in the third century, upon the western coast of North Britain, produced a jealousy which sometimes disturbed this small colony, the advantage derived by both nations from such an alliance, kept their fierce and feverish union unbroken. In addition to this, the pride that Ireland naturally felt in the task of watching over and nursing that germ of future dominion which she planted in North Britain, her kings and princes, eternally at war with each other, as naturally looked beyond their own shores for allies; accordingly, as in the case of the monarch Tuathal, who owed his throne to the aid of Pietish arms, we find the alliance of that people frequently resorted to as a means of turning the scale of internal strife. On the other hand, the hardy highlanders of Caledonia, in the constant warfare they waged against their southern neighbors, were no less ready to resort to the assistance of a people fully as restless and pugnacious as themselves, and whose manners and habits, from a long course of connection, were, it is probable, little different from their own. As some defence against these two hostile nations, the Romans had, at different intervals during the second and third centuries, erected those three great walls or ramparts on the northern frontier of their province, whose remains still continue to occupy the research and speculation of the antiquary. But the hostility of these

highlanders had, at the period we are now treating of, assumed a still more audacious and formidable character, and, about the middle of the fourth century, so destructive had become their inroads, that it required the presence of the son of Constantine to make head against, and repel them. Whatever differences their relative position, as rival neighbors, had given rise to, were entirely merged in their common object of harassing the Britons; whom a native historian describes as trembling with fear of a new visitation, while still fainting from the dire effects of the tempest which had just swept over them. To deliver the province from this scourge, one of the bravest of the Roman generals, Theodosius, was now appointed to the military command of Britain; and, after two active campaigns, during which he had to contend not only with the Piets and Scots by land, but also with their new allies, the Saxon pirates, by sea, he at length succeeded in delivering Britain from her inveterate invaders. To such daring lengths had some of the incursions into her territory extended, that, on the arrival of the Roman general, he found the Piets and their allies advanced as far as London and Kent. In all this warfare, the Scots of Ireland were no less active than their brethren of Albany; and it is, therefore, remarkable that the Roman commander, though fitting out a fleet to chastise the Saxons in the Orcaes, should yet have left Ireland, whose currachs wafted over such hostile swarms to his shores, still exempt from invasion. That his fleet chased, however, some of her vessels

refused; they next demanded them of the Irish, who granted their request." But what Stow recounts as then happening to Rughri, king of the Picts, is but what really happened long before his time, to that chieftain of the Picts, who took wives with him out of Ireland, in the days of Erimbòn, as we have heretofore mentioned; an event that occurred more than one thousand three hundred years before Mauritius held the sovereignty of Britain.

The same author says that it was in the above-mentioned year (A. D. 73), that Vespasianus was saluted emperor of Rome, and that the Monastery of Glastonbury was built. He also relates that the Emperor, who was named Aurelianus, lived about two hundred and seventy years after the birth of Christ; and that Pelagius, a Briton, first began to disseminate his heresy in the year of our Lord, three hundred and ninety-five.

About this time, the tribes of the Scots and the Picts were incessantly plundering and devastating Great Britain; whereupon, the Britons sent an embassy to the Emperor Honorius, to demand aid from him; but he did nothing more than send them a letter, in which he encouraged them to do the best they could towards aiding themselves by their own exertions. The result of this reply was, that the Britons lay for a long time subject to the oppression of the Scots and the Picts. Again they sent an embassy to Rome, to make their complaint of the hardships to which those invaders had reduced them. But upon this occasion the Romans sent to their relief an armed force, which consisted of a legion of effective men. Aided by this reinforcement, they met the Picts and Scots in many engagements. But the Romans at length got tired of the warfare, and told the Britons to build a wall or a dike between them and those bad neighbors of theirs, for that they themselves could not avoid returning to Rome.

Upon this the Britons, when forsaken by the Romans, constructed a dike or rampart of earth, extending from sea to sea, between themselves and the Scots and Picts.

But, when the latter nations had heard that the Romans had forsaken their British subjects, they broke through the dike and flung themselves upon the Britons, plundering and devastating their country. This forced the Britons to send an embassy to

into their own northern harbors, may be concluded from a passage of a poem of Claudian, which commemorates this war :

"Nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas velis audacibus undas."

The following lines, from the same

poem, describe briefly and picturesquely the signal triumph over the three hostile nations which Theodosius achieved :

"Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Oreades, inculit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

—*Moore's History of Ireland.*

Rome for the third time, begging not to have their enemies allowed to destroy them in such a terrible manner. Upon this, the Romans sent another legion to their relief, and by it several battles were fought against the Scots and Picts, after its arrival in Britain. In these engagements, great numbers of the despoilers were slain by the Romans, and the remainder were driven beyond the bounds of the wall or dike of which I have already spoken. The Romans then, having thus relieved their allies, told the latter that it was of no advantage to themselves to come to their assistance on any other expedition, and that they should therefore take counsel, and consider by what measures they might protect themselves from their enemies for the future. It was when the Romans had thus given them up, that the Britons commenced to build that wall of mason-work, which extends from sea to sea, between Britain and Alba. According to Bede, in the sixth chapter of the first book of his History of the Saxons, it was eight feet in thickness and twelve feet in height.

As soon as the Scots and Picts had heard that the Romans had now given up all intention of ever again coming to the aid of their British subjects, they mustered together a numerous army and marched towards the said wall, and forcing their way over it, they overran the whole of the land with fire and sword. They thus compelled the natives of that country to quit their cities and dwellings, and flee for safety into forests and wildernesses, where they had no food but the flesh of wild beasts which they took by hunting. It was then that the remnant of them that survived wrote piteously to the Roman Consul, named Aetius, supplicating his assistance, and telling him that they were hemmed in between their enemies; for those of them that took to the sea, fleeing from the enemy, were drowned, and those that turned away from the sea were slain by the enemy. So Bede informs us, in the thirteenth chapter of the first book of his History of the Saxons, where he repeats the words of the Britons, making their complaint to the Romans of the oppressions of the Scots and the Picts. The following are the words he there uses: "The Barbarians drive us upon the sea, the sea throws us back upon the Barbarians; so that, between them both, two species of deaths arise before us, for we are either slaughtered or we are drowned."⁷¹ Hence it is to be understood, that the tyranny exercised by the Scots of Ireland over the Britons was very great indeed.

Nennius, an old British historian, quoted by Speed in his Chronicle, relates that this oppression of the Britons by the

⁷¹ Repellunt Barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad Barbaros, inter hæc duo genera funerum oriuntur, aut jugulamur aut mergimur.

Scots and Picts lasted for forty years. Camden, who agrees with him, tells us, that "in the four hundredth year after the invasion of Cæsar, Britannia was delivered up to the barbarities of the Scoti and the Picti."⁷² The same thing may be learned from the words of Bede, in the fourteenth chapter of his above-cited fourth book, where, in speaking of the Irish, he uses the following terms: "Those audacious Hibernian robbers return to their homes, determined to come back hither again at no distant time."⁷³ This expression of Bede gives us plainly to understand, that the Irish were in the frequent habit of making plundering expeditions into Britain.

As to the Britons, they continued for a long time to be thus slaughtered and plundered by the Scots and the Picts, after the Romans had forsaken them. But this was not the only misfortune they had to suffer at that period; for the Pelagian⁷⁴ heresy was then leading the British people astray. To meet this evil, the Britons determined to address themselves to the Gallic clergy and ask of them to send prelates and preachers to their country from Gaul, in order to put down the Pelagian errors. The clergy of Gaul sat in council thereupon, and came to the resolution of sending two holy bishops to Britain for the purpose of disseminating the pure faith; these were Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus,⁷⁵ bishop of Troyes, who overcame the heretics soon after their arrival.

⁷² Anno 50 a Cæsaris ingressu Britannia Pietorum immanitate relinquuntur.

⁷³ Revertuntur impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum post non longum tempus reversuri.

⁷⁴ *Pelagian heresy.* In speaking as to the extent to which Christianity had been established in Ireland before St. Patrick's arrival, Moore makes the following judicious remarks respecting the native country of Pelagius, the founder of this heresy, and upon his disciple, Celestius: "Though unfurnished with any direct evidence as to the religious state of the Irish in their own country, we have a proof of how early they began to distinguish themselves on the continent, as Christian writers and as scholars, in the persons of Pelagius, the eminent heresiarch, and his able disciple, Celestius. That the latter was a Scot, or native of Ireland, is almost universally admitted; but of Pelagius, it is in general asserted that he was a Briton, and a monk of Bangor,

in Wales. There appears little doubt, however, that this statement is erroneous, and that the monastery to which he belonged was that of Bangor, or rather Banchor, near Carrickfergus. Two of the most learned, indeed, of all the writers respecting the heresy which bears his name, admit Pelagius, no less than his disciple, to have been a native of Ireland. A country that could produce, before the middle of the fourth century, two such distinguished men as Pelagius and Celestius, could hardly have been a novice, at that time, in civilization, however far from the rest of Europe she had hitherto remained." — *History of Ireland.*

⁷⁵ *Germanus and Lupus.* Shortly after his release from his captivity in Ireland, St. Patrick placed himself under the spiritual direction of the first of these prelates (called St. Germain by the French), "a man," says Moore, "of distinguished reputation in those times, both as a civilian and an ecclesiastic. In 429 (shortly previous to his

A. D. 474. Although we have shown that a continual war was waged by the Scots and Picts against the Britons down to the year of our Lord four hundred and forty-seven, when Vortigern⁷⁶ was king of the latter nation, still it was not until his reign that God, in vengeance for their evil passions, their pride and their sins, gave to those Scots and Picts a thorough mastery over them. Thus were they compelled to invite Hengist and Horsa to bring over an army of Germans to aid them against their victorious enemies. Of these Germans, God made scourges to punish their crimes, for by them have the Britons been deprived of the full sovereignty of the greater part of their country ever since.

The chronicles of Britain relate, as Stow sets down in the 53d page of his Annals, printed in London in A. D. 1614, that four hundred and eighty of the nobles of Britain were treacherously murdered by these German Saxons, and that Aurelius Ambrosius, then king of Britain, caused certain stones, which Merlin brought over from Sliabh-g-Clari, in Munster, to be reared as memorials upon the place where these nobles had been slaughtered; and that it was in that same place that he was himself interred. Its name, at that time, was Chorea Gigantum; its present name is Stonehenge,⁷⁷ and it is situated upon Salisbury Plain. The same author tells us that these stones had been originally brought from Africa by the Gaels; and Geoffrey of Monmouth, asserts that no two stones of those, there erected, had been brought from the same country. From this tradition, like-

mission to Ireland) we find him accompanying St. Germain and Lupus in their expedition to Britain, for the purpose of eradicating from that country the errors of Pelagianism."

⁷⁶ *Vortigern*. The incursions of the Scots and Picts compelled numbers of the Romanized Britons to flee for refuge to their kinsmen, the natives of Armorica, since called Gallie Britain or Bretagne, from them. The remainder elected over them a supreme king, whom historians call Vortigern, though this was seemingly but his title, being a British synonym of "Mor-tigerna" (*more-tecyerna*), *great lord*, which makes Mhor-tigherna (*Vore-teerna*) in one of its inflections. Some place his election in 445, others in 436. But his abilities were not equal to the difficulties of his position, and he had recourse to the suicidal measure of calling over the Saxons to his aid, from Germany. By the

assistance of these allies, Britain was at length relieved from the presence of her Scottish and Pictish ravagers. However, the Saxons soon took possession of the whole island to themselves, and either drove the effeminate Britons from the more fertile portion of the country, into Cambria, Cornwall, or, as is likely, reduced many of them to serfdom. The Saxons next made a private league with the Scots and Picts, and kept possession of their British conquest until they, too, were conquered in their turn by the French Normans.

⁷⁷ *Stonehenge*. The statement that this most remarkable druidic temple was erected at so late a period is, of course, erroneous. It must have been erected when druidism was in its most flourishing condition, and at least previous to the connection of Britain with the Romans.

wise, we may infer that the Gaels were in the habit of going on plundering expeditions to Africa, and consequently that they had extended their sway over other countries besides Ireland. If, then, any person be surprised at these matters, or disbelieve them altogether, let the blame thereof rest with himself for not having either seen or investigated ancient documents; for men are often ignorant of truths, because they have made no acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, as Macrobius remarks in the sixth book of his Saturnalia; he there says that we are ignorant "of many things which would not be concealed from us, if we would only give ourselves the habit of reading the works of ancient authors."⁷⁸

Then, when we state that the Scots and Picts had imposed a tribute upon the Britons, the reader, if he believe not our words, may go and read the Chronicle of Camden, and he will there find the following assertion: "The Britons were made tributary to the Scots and Picts in the year of our Lord, four hundred and seventy-six."⁷⁹ And when we tell that the Picts, in their turn, were overpowered by the Scots at the time that Kinneidi, son of Alpin, was King of Alba, about eight hundred and thirty-nine years after the birth of Christ, let him again read the Chronicle of Camden, and he will find the same fact recorded therein. Again, when we state that no foreign nation ever made the conquest of Ireland, with the exception of those races that succeeded one another as dwellers upon its soil from age to age, namely, Partholan, the Children of Nemedh, the Fer-Bolgs, the Tuatha-Dè-Dananns, and the sons of Miledh, it might possibly happen that some person would be found to disbelieve us, were we not able to refer him to a fact stated by Gulielmus Neubrigensis, where he speaks of Ireland, in the twenty-sixth chapter of his second book, he informs us that "Hibernia was never subjected to any foreign domination."⁸⁰ In like manner, if, in writing about Niall of the Nine Hostages, we shall state any fact of which the reader has never heard before, let him learn that we have both traditional and documentary evidence in support of every assertion that shall be made by us in relation to him.

The Place of St. Patrick's Nativity.

We read in a life of St. Patrick, which we found written upon vellum, in an ancient manuscript book, which also contains lives of St. Mochuda, St. Alban, and other saints, that he was by birth

⁷⁸ Multa ignoramus quæ non laterent, si veterum lectio nobis esset familiaris.

⁷⁹ Britanni facti sunt tributarii Scottis et Pictis, anno 476.

⁸⁰ Hibernia nunquam externæ subiacuit ditioni.

a Briton. The following are the words of this old book: "Patricius, a Breton,⁸¹ was born in the town of Emptor, in the Plain of the Tabernacles, and was sprung from devout and religious parents."⁸² Again, in the same place, our authority has the following statement: "When the Scoti of Hibernia, under their king, Niall of the Nine Hostages, had, in spite of the Roman Empire, widely devastated many provinces of Britannia, whilst Gratianus was emperor, they at first merely subdued the northern region of that country, but afterwards, having expelled the old inhabitants, the Hibernienses (i. e. Irish), took possession of the land and dwelt therein themselves."⁸³ We are there told, likewise, that from this event it came to pass that there were three kingdoms established in Great Britain, namely, Scotia, Anglia, and Britannia. The author of this life tells us, also, that it was whilst Niall was engaged upon this expedition, establishing the Dal-Riada in Alba, that an Irish fleet arrived at the place where St. Patrick was dwelling. The following are the author's words: "At this time a fleet from Hibernia plundered the country where the holy Patricius was abiding, and many captives were brought off thence, according to the wonted practice of the Hibernians; amongst these was the holy Patricius, and with him his two sisters, Lupida and Darerea. The holy Patricius was then led captive into Hibernia, in the sixteenth year of his age, and in the ninth year of the reign of Niall, king of Hibernia, who ruled triumphantly for twenty-seven years, and laid waste Britain and Anglia as far as the sea which lies between Anglia and Gallia."⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Breton*. The Latin *Brito* and the Gaelic *Brethmach* are thus translated, in accordance with the general and, seemingly, better-founded opinion, that the apostle of Ireland was a native of Armorica, now Brittany or Bretagne, in France. Probus says, in his life of this saint: "St. Patrick was a Briton (i. e. a Breton), of the village of Banave, in the district of Tiburnia, adjacent to the Western ocean, which village we find to have been in the province of Neustria (*Neustria*), which the giants are said to have formerly inhabited." The town of Emptor, mentioned in the quotation in the text, has perhaps originated in the ignorance of some transcriber or decipherer of the very ancient hymn, composed in Irish by his disciple, St. Fiech, upon the life of St. Patrick. The first verse of this hymn is:

ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ Genair Patraic i nem Thur, ḡḡḡḡ
ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ Asscadh ad fét hì sgùlabh; ḡḡḡḡ

Macán sè m-bhladahn dècc
An tan do bhreth fo dèraibh.

In English :

In holy Tours was Patrick born;
For thus 'tis told in story;
Scarce sixteen years his youth had known,
When he was led to slavery.

The blunder originated in mistaking the Irish words of the above verse here italicized, viz. *i nem Thur*, for *in Emptor*, or *Emptor*.

⁸² Patritius, Brito, natus in oppido Emptor in campo tabernaculorum ex parentibus devotis et religiosis ortus.

⁸³ Cum Scoti de Hibernia sub rege suo Niall Naei-ghiallach, diversas provincias Britanniae contra Romanorum imperium maultum devastabant, contumdere incipientes Aquilonalem Britannae plagam, tandem, cjectis veteribus colonis, ipsi Hibernienses eam occupaverunt et habitaverunt.

⁸⁴ Hoc autem tempore quaedam classis Hibernica deprædavit patriam in

From these words we must believe that Niall invaded Great Britain, and that he gained great power therein.

I am also of opinion, that the above-mentioned fleet had been despatched by Niall to plunder the coasts of Gaul, whilst he was himself extending his sway over Great Britain; and that a descent had been made upon that region of the Gallic coast, then called Armorica, but which is now known as Little Britain,⁶⁵ or Brittany. The fact that the mother of St. Patrick was the sister of St. Martin, who was bishop of Tours, in France,

quâ morabatur Divus Patricius, et, consueto Hibernorum more, multi inde captivi ducti sunt, inter quos erat Divus Patricius, ætatis suæ anno decimo sexto, et duo ejus sorores Lupida et Darerca: et ductus est Divus Patricius in Hiberniam captivus anno nono Neill, regis Hiberniæ, qui potentur 27 annos regnavit, ac Britanniam et Angliam usque ad mare, quod est inter Angliam et Galliam devastabit.

⁶⁵ Moore, who seems to have studied and examined, learnedly and impartially, the various conflicting testimonies with regard to St. Patrick's birthplace, agrees with the opinion expressed by Dr. Keating, and comes to the conclusion that he was a native of Armorica Gaul.—“Respecting his birthplace,” says he, “there has been much difference of opinion—the prevailing notion being that he was born at Aleluit, now Dunbarton, in North Britain. It is only, however, by a very forced and false construction of some evidence on the subject, that any part of Great Britain can be assigned as the birthplace of the saint; and his own Confession, a work of acknowledged genuineness, proves him to have been a native of the old Gallican, or Armorica Britain.* The country anciently known by this name, comprised the whole of the north-west coasts of Gaul; and in the territory

* Patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri qui fuit in vico Bonavem Taberniæ. Villulam Eon prope habuit, ubi captivam dedi.—*Confess.*

[That is, I had for my father one Calpornius, a deacon, who was formerly the son of Potitus, a presbyter, who dwelt in the village of Bonavem Taberniæ. He owned a small villa in the neighborhood, and it was there that I was made captive.] Dr. Lanigan has clearly shown that Bonavem Taberniæ was in Armorica Gaul, being the same town as Boulogne-sur-mer, in Picardy.

now called Boulogne, St. Patrick, if it appears, was born. That it was on the Armorica coast he had been made captive, in his boyhood, all the writers of his life agree; and as it is allowed, also, by the same authorities, that his family was resident there at the time, there arose a difficulty as to the cause of their migration thither from the banks of the Clyde, which the fact, apparent from his own statement, that Armorica was actually the place of his birth, disposes of satisfactorily. His family was, as he informs us, respectable, his father having held the office of Decurio or Municipal Senator; though, as it appears, he afterwards entered holy orders, and was a deacon. From a passage in the letter of the saint to Coroticus, it is supposed, and not improbably, that his family may have been of Roman origin; and the opinion that his mother, Conchessa, was a native of some part of Gaul, is concurred in by all the old Irish writers.”

The following pedigree of St. Patrick, set into Irish verse by Flann, Abbot of Monasterboice, in the 9th century, is given in the Annals of the Four Masters, and various other authorities:

“Patrick, Abbot of all Eri,
Was son of Calprann, son of Fotaide,
Son of Deissé, the praiseworthy
Son of great Cormac, son of Leibrúin,
Son of Ota, son of Orrie the good,
Son of Molric, son of Leo the lucky,
Son of Maximus, 'tis meet to name him,
Son of the tall and fair Eneretta,
Son of Piliast, best of men,
Son of Fereni, the serene,
Son of Britan,* that sea-otter
From whom the stalwart Britons sprung.
Coehnas was his modest mother;
Nemthor was his native town;
Of Mumha no small share had he,
From sorrow Patrick saved her sons.”

* That is, Britan Mael.

or Gaul, both prove the truth of this supposition of mine, and confirm what is read in the old Irish manuscripts, which contain lives of St. Patrick written in the Gaelic tongue, for these expressly inform us that Armorica was the country whence St. Patrick and his two sisters were taken off into captivity. It is also very likely, as Niall was then engaged in making the conquest of Great Britain, that the latter was the country whence he despatched his fleet to ravage the coast of Gaul, whence St. Patrick and those led off in his company into captivity were then dwelling. Besides the above, we learn from our ancient records, that Gaul did actually send its hostages to Niall. St. Patrick, I deem to have been one of these.

Niall's Last Expedition—His Assassination by Eocaidh, King of Leinster, on the banks of the River Loire.

As to the adventures of Niall, when he had exacted a multitude of hostages from the people of Great Britain, he returned to Ireland, accompanied by a numerous army, composed as well of British as of Irish warriors. He next set about mustering an additional force, and therefore sent word to Alba, to the chieftain of the Dal-Riada, commanding that prince to prepare to follow him forthwith, with a large body of men, into Gaul. He then sailed for that country himself, at the head of a powerful army. There, he was overtaken by the prince of the Dal-Riada, as he was plundering that portion of the Gallic land that lies along the river Loire. Now, some time previous to this, Niall had driven the king of Leinster, namely, Eocaidh, son of Enna Kenn-selach, as an exile into Alba, where he abode under the protection of Gabran, son of Domhangort. On the present occasion, when the chieftain of the Dal-Riada, who was this same Gabran, followed Niall into Gaul, Eocaidh, the banished king of Leinster, followed in his host, but yet he never ventured to go into the presence of the Irish monarch. There, whilst Niall was on the bank of the above-named river,⁸⁶ Eocaidh entered a grove that grew on the side opposite him, and then adjusted an arrow on his bow, wherewith he made a shot at his royal foe, and pierced him through the body with his shaft. Niall immediately died upon the spot, from the effects of that wound.

⁸⁶ *River.* Moore and others are of opinion that Niall was slain near Boulogne-sur-mer. If so, this river, which Keating calls Leor, could not be the Loire.

*Causes of the King of Leinster's Vengeance upon Niall—Invasion
of Ireland by Aedgan, King of Alba.*

The enmity between Niall and Eocaidh arose from the fact, that the Leinster prince had made an attempt to usurp the throne⁸⁷ of Temhair of the Kings, and supplant Niall in the monarchy. But, when he had seized upon the royal residence, and had held it for nine days in defiance of Niall, a certain learned druid came before him and declared, that it was not lawful for him to violate the *gesa*, or sacred restrictions of Temhair. "For," said he, "it is one of its *gesa*, that no king should take his seat therein, for the purpose of assuming the monarchy of Ireland, until he had first received 'Nasg Niadh' (*nask-neeah*) upon his neck." This was the same as to have said, that, previous to seizing upon the Irish throne, he should have first received the degree of Knight of Chivalry. For, as the Knight of Chivalry is styled *Miles Torquatus*, that is, warrior of the torque or collar, so also was the knight or champion styled "Niadh Naisg," which means the same thing, by the Gaels, when he had duly received the "nasg," that is the collar or chain of chivalry to wear upon his neck. "Niadh," indeed, means the same thing as champion, or warrior, and "Nasg" is the same as "slabhra," (*slowra*,) which means a chain. After hearing the druid's warning, Eocaidh retired from Temhair, and relinquished the royal dignity. Niall then came and took his seat at Temhair, and, having assumed the government of Ireland into his own hands, he banished Eocaidh to Alba; but, as we have stated already, this did not occur until many battles had been decided between them.

There was also another cause of enmity between them. For, when Eocaidh was returning to Leinster from Temhair, he visited the house of Laidkenn, son of Barkidh, the druid of Niall; and, whilst he was staying there, the son of the druid uttered some defamatory reflections upon him. Thereupon Eocaidh slew him on the spot. The druid, then, went to complain of the outrage to Niall, and entreated of him to come and wreak vengeance upon the Leinstermen for his son's death. Thus spurred on by the druid, Niall marched into Leinster with a numerous and imposing force, with the intention of devastating that province. When they had arrived in Leinster, the druid would not consent to Niall's receiving from the Leinstermen any gift or compensation, in cattle or otherwise, until they had first delivered

⁸⁷ *Usurp the kingdom.* This attempt was made during one of Niall's absences on his foreign expeditions. Enna, the father of Eochaid, had been one of

the royal candidates, that previously contended with Niall for the throne. He had also seized upon Temhair.

up the body of their prince into the monarch's hands. When this had been done, the druid caused Eocaidh to be tied to a pillar stone, which is still to be seen to the west of the Slangi,⁶⁶ between Kill-Brighdi (*Kill-Breddie*) and Tulach-O-Feidlin (*Tullagh-O-Feilin*), and that stone stands thus: it is both high and broad, and it is perforated near its summit. Eocaidh was then forced to stand up with his back placed against this stone, and they bound him thereto with an iron chain, with which they had girded him round the waist. The ends of this chain, they made fast by means of two loops. When the druid had got him into this position, he procured nine warriors, whom he sent to put him to death. But, when Eocaidh perceived his executioners approaching with intent to slay him, he made a sudden and vigorous effort, whereby he strained the chain, and broke the bolt wherewith its ends were fastened. He then rushed upon his assassins, some of whom he slew, and thus made his escape, so that no more was heard of him until he had arrived in Alba, where he placed himself under the safeguard of Gabran, son of Domhangort, as we have above recorded. And such was the second cause of the hatred which Eocaidh bore to Niall.

After this, whilst Eocaidh was living in banishment in Alba, it happened that the wife of Gabran, son of Domhangort, whose name was Inneenagh (*Inneenagh*), and his own wife Feidlin (*Feileen*), daughter of Eocaidh, son of Dathi, both became pregnant at the same time, and they were both brought to bed on the same night. The two women were then shut up together in the same house, in which no person was allowed to remain but themselves. Outside a guard was set upon them by Gabran. As to the women: the wife of Gabran brought forth a daughter, and the wife of Eocaidh twin sons. Then, for she had never borne any children but daughters, Gabran's wife entreated of the wife of Eocaidh to give her one of the twin sons, and the latter consented thereto. And when the household folk, who were on guard, had perceived that the children had been born, they demanded of their queen what description of child she had brought forth; and she made known to them that she had given birth to a son and a daughter, and that the wife of Eocaidh had given birth to a son. At this news they were all rejoiced; and a name was given to that son which the queen had received from the wife of the Leinster prince, and he was called Aedgan. And a name was also given to the other son of Eocaidh, and he was called Brann-dubh, son of Eocaidh. Eocaidh afterwards returned to Ireland, where he regained his kingdom of Leinster, and thither he also brought his son Brann dubh.

⁶⁶ *Slangi*. The river Slany, in Wexford.

After some considerable time, Gabran, chieftain of the Dal-Riada, who was also king of Alba, died, and Aedgan succeeded him as sovereign of that country. This Aedgan soon came to Ireland for the purpose of spoil and pillage, as well as of conquering the country, in right of his being one of the posterity of Carbri Riada. With him came a large force, composed of Albans, Saxons, and Britons. Upon landing, he first led his forces into Leinster, and began to pillage that principality. But Brann-dubh, son of Eocaidh, was now the king of Leinster, and to him Aedgan sent an embassy demanding hostages as securities for the payment of tribute to himself, and threatening, in case of refusal, to lay waste the whole of Leinster. Brann-dubh was in great trouble by reason of this message; but his mother told him to be of good cheer, for that she would herself turn Aedgan off his purpose. With this intent, she set out for the camp of the King of Alba, and, when arrived there, she demanded of him why it was that he had come to ruin Leinster. "Hag," said he, "I am not bound to give any excuse for my actions to thee." "If I am a hag," replied she, "thy own mother is a hag likewise. But I have a secret to communicate to thee." Upon this, Aedgan retired with her into a private place, and there she addressed him in these words: "O Aedgan," said she, "I have told thee that thy mother is a hag, if I am one. I now tell thee, that I am myself thy mother, and that Brann-dubh is thy brother. For this reason, send to Alba for the woman, who is supposed to be thy mother, and she will acknowledge, in my presence, that it was I that gave thee birth. Then, give up this devastation of Leinster, until she and I be brought face to face." Aedgan then did as she requested; and, when the two women were brought together, the Queen of Alba acknowledged, that it was the mother of Brann-dubh that had given birth to Aedgan. When that king had heard this, he bound the women to keep the matter inviolably secret, for fear that he might himself be compelled by the Dal-Riada to give up the sovereignty of Alba, should they come to know his true origin. Brann-dubh was then sent for, and a friendly alliance was struck between the brothers. After this, Aedgan left the country without committing any more depredations therein.

The Posterity⁶⁹ of Niall or the Ui Neill—Origin of the surname Naei-ghiallach.

As to the monarch Niall, of whose reign we have last treated; numerous, indeed, are the races descended from him at this day

⁶⁹ *Posterity of Niall.* The famous history, were all descended from the Ui Neill, so often mentioned in Irish eight sons of this Niall, who is often

in Ireland, all sprung from those eight sons of his, whom we have named heretofore. But I shall not enumerate them here, because I wish to treat of them at some length, in tracing the genealogy of the Children of Miledh.

The reason why this king was styled Niall Naei-ghiallach, was because he had received "naei gcill" (*nai gaile*), that is, nine hostages, from as many subject kingdoms. Of these, five were from the Fifts, or five provinces into which Ireland was divided, and four were from Alba. It was upon this subject that the bard composed the following lay :

"Son of the high and haughty Eocaidh
Was mighty Niall, the all-glorious,
Who gained the powerful sovereignty
Of Eri and Albania.

"One hostage from each Irish Fifth
He conquered by his victories.
Pledges of homage to his power,
From Alba came four hostages.

"The very hunters of the game
Heard his command in forests wild—
Through all those realms the sway was owned
Of knightly Niall Naei-ghiallach."

DATHI, ARD-RIGH

A. D. 404.⁹⁰ Dathi, son of Fiacaith, or Fiachra, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, son of Muredach Tirech, of the line of Erimhón, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-three years. Fia

styled the Great. It is to be remarked, that the name of O'Neill, which one sept of his posterity afterwards adopted, was not derived immediately from him, but from one of the descendants of his son Eogan. "His posterity," says O'Flaherty, "established and perpetuated the monarchy of Ireland on so permanent a basis, that almost all the following kings of Ireland were descended from him, besides many noble families and illustrious personages. Also, nearly three hundred of his descendants, eminent for their learning and the sanctity of their lives, have been enrolled in the catalogue of the saints." Of his foreign expeditions, Moore informs us that "it was against the incursions of this adventurous monarch, that some of those successes were achieved by the Romans, which threw such lustre around the military administration of Stilicho,

and inspired the muse of Claudian in his praise. 'By him,' says the poet, speaking in the person of Britannia, 'I was protected when the Scot moved all Ireland against me, and the ocean foamed with his hostile oars.* From another of this poet's eulogies, it appears that the fame of the Roman legion which guarded the frontier against the invading Scots, procured for it the distinction of being one of those summoned to the banner of Stilicho, when the Goths threatened Rome."

⁹⁰ A. D. 405.—*Four Masters*.

* "Totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit et infesto spumavit rem'go Thethis."

Thus well translated in the English Camden :

"When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,
And the ocean trembled, struck with hostile oars."

—*History of Ireland*.

(*Faile*), daughter of Eocaidh, was his first wife, and from her Cruachain-Feli has had its name. His second wife was Ethni, daughter of Orach, and she was the mother of Olild Molt. His third wife was called Ruadh (*Rua*), daughter of Artigh Uet-lethan, son of Fer-conga; this was the mother of Fiacaidh Elgach, in giving birth to whom she expired. Of the line of Dathi are the races of O'Sechnasaigh (*O'Shaughnessy*), O'Dubhda (*O'Dowda*), and O'h-Edhin (*O'Heyne*). Feredach was his first and real name. The reason why he was called Dathi, was because of the celerity with which he was wont to put on his armor; for *dathi* means the same thing as *tapa* or quick; therefore did that surname adhere to him.

And the manner in which Dathi was slain,⁹¹ was this; to wit, a

^a *Slain*. The manner of Dathi's death is told in the following manner in the genealogical memoir of his descendants, the Ui Fiachrach, compiled in Irish by the celebrated antiquary, Duaid Mac Firbis, and published by the Irish Archaeological Society; : "Dathi went afterwards with the men of Eri, across the Muir-n-Icht (i. e. *the Iccian Sea, between Gaul and Britain*), towards Leatha, until he reached the Alps, to revenge the death of Niall of the Nine Hostages. This was the time that Formenius, or Parmenius, king of Thrace, took up his residence in the Alps, having fled from his kingdom and retired thither, for the love of God, as a pilgrim. He erected there a circular tower of sods and stones, sixty feet in height, and he lived in the middle of the tower, eleven feet from the light, and he saw not a ray of the sun or other light.

"Dathi came to the tower. He was called Dathi, from his expertness at invading and shooting; for if there were one hundred persons shooting arrows or javelins at him, he would be protected against them by the activity of his hands in guarding; wherefore the name of Dathi clung to him. Feredach was his name when he went to the East, and it was on his expedition in the East, that he was called Dathi. When the king's people saw the tower, they went to demolish it, and they tore it down and plundered it. Formenius felt the wind coming to him, and God raised him up, in a blaze of fire, one thousand

paces from the tower of sods which he had built, and he prayed for king Dathi that his reign might continue no longer; and he also prayed that his monument or tomb might not be remarkable. The life of Dathi endured no longer than until he had the tower destroyed, when there came a flash of lightning from Heaven, which struck him dead upon the spot. Formenius then went one thousand paces down the mountain, and dwelt in another habitation. . . . Amhalgaidh, the son of Dathi, then assumed the command of the men of Eri, and he carried the dead body of his father with him. Dungal, Flangus, Tuathal, and Tumaltach, were the four servants of trust who carried with them the corpse of the king."

"The monument of Dathi, which is a small circular mound, with a pillar-stone of red sand-stone, is situated outside the enclosure (*of Rathcroghan*) at a short distance to the east, and may be at once identified, from the following notice of it, given by the celebrated antiquary, Duaid Mac Firbis (*in the tract just quoted*), in 1666:

"The body of Dathi was brought to Cruachan, and it was interred at Releg-na-Righ, where the most of the kings of the race of Erimhòn were buried, and where to this day the Red Pillar-stone remains as a stone monument over his grave, near Rath Cruachan, to this time, 1666.'"—*Petrie's Round Towers*.

Dathi is said to have been the last of the Pagan kings of Ireland. In his

flaming thunder bolt, shot from heaven, smote him upon the head whilst he was making conquests in Gaul. It was near the mountains called the Alps that he fell by the vengeance of God; for he had plundered the sanctuary of a holy hermit named Parmenius, who cursed him therefor. And when he had been slain after that manner, his people brought back his body to Ireland, and there buried it at Cruachain, in Roilig-na-righ.

reign, the king of Munster, or Leth was king of *North Munster*; and Brau-Mogha, was Nadfraech, son of Core; dubh, son of Eocaidh, son of Enna, Cas, son of Conall of the Fleet Steeds, was King of Leinster.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

FORAS FEASA AR EIRINN;^o

OR,

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK II.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

SANDERSON¹ has asserted in the first book of his work upon the Anglican schism, that the Irish, upon their conversion to the faith, immediately submitted both themselves and their possessions to the government and control of the Roman Pontiff; and that they had not ever acknowledged any supreme prince, except the Bishop of Rome, until the sovereignty of their country had fallen into the hands of the English. The following are this author's words: "From the beginning, immediately after their reception of the (Christian) religion, the Hibernians submitted both themselves and all their possessions to the sway of the Roman Pontiff, and they did never, up to that time (the English invasion), acknowledge any supreme sovereign of Hibernia, with the single exception of the Roman Pontiff."² But the falsehood of such an assertion is very evident, for the Psalter of Cashel not only tells us that Irial, the Prophet, did himself rule Ireland, as its king, but it also enumerates all the kings of his blood, who succeeded him on the throne, both previous to the planting of the Faith by St. Patrick, and subsequent to the time of that apostle. The following are its exact words: "Irial, the prophet, had a

¹ *Sanderson*. This was Dr. Robert Sanderson, Professor of Theology in the University of Oxford, and author of a learned and highly esteemed work upon the Protestant Reformation in England, styled, *De Schismate Anglicana*. He was a contemporary of Dr. Keating.

² Hibernia initio, statim post religionem acceptam, se snaque omnia in Pontificis Romani ditionem dederunt, nec quemquam alium supremum principem Hibernii; ad illud usque tempus Præter unum Pontificem Romanum agnoverunt.

reign of ten years, and fifty-seven kings of his royal blood reigned over Hibernia, previous to the propagation of the law of Christ in that country by Patricius; and, after the time of Patricius, there were fifty kings of the race of the same Irial.⁵ This account is confirmed by the ancient annals of Ireland, by the Reim Riogra, or Royal Roll, and by all our records. The Polichronicon speaks thus upon the same subject: "From the coming of the holy Patricius to the time of Feidlimidius, king of Munster, a space of four hundred years, their reigned thirty-three kings of Hibernia; but in the time of Feidlimidius, the Norvecienses (Norwegians), commanded by Turgesius, seized upon this land."⁶ From this it must be understood that there were kings over Ireland subsequently to the time of St. Patrick. Again, the same authority informs us "That from the time of Turgesius to that of Rodericus (Rudraide), king of Conacia (Connaught), the last of its monarchs, there reigned seventeen kings in Hibernia."⁷ The above testimonies clearly prove the untruth of the assertion, that Ireland had no kings of her own previous to the English invasion. In further confirmation of its falsehood, I will cite the thirty-sixth letter of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, which was written by that prelate to 'Murkertach (Murtough) O'Briain, king of Ireland. This letter is to be found in Dr. Usher's collection of the letters of the holy clergy of Ireland and England. He addresses it, "To the illustrious Moriardachus, by the grace of God, King of Hibernia."⁸ In the same collection we find a letter from Lanfranc, also, another Archbishop of Canterbury, to Tordelbach (Turlough) O'Briain, who was King of Ireland in A.D. 1074. He inscribes it thus: "Lanfranc, a sinner, and an unworthy Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, sends his benediction, with his service and prayers, to the magnificent Terdeluacus, King of Hibernia."⁹ Dr. Usher has also given us a letter from Henry the First, King of England, to Rodolphus, Archbishop of Canter-

⁵ Irial Propheta per decem annos in Hibernia regnavit, et, antequam regula Christi per Patricium seminata esset in Hibernia de semine ejusdem regis regnaverunt super Hiberniam quinquaginta septem reges, et, post Patricium de prole ipsius quinquaginta reges.

⁶ Ab adventu Sancti Patricii usque ad Feidlimidii, regis Memonie tempora, triginta tres reges per quadringentos annos in Hibernia regnaverunt; tempore autem Feidlimidii Norvecienses,

duce Turgesio, terram hanc occupaverunt.

⁷ A tempore Turgesii usque ad ultimum monarchum, Rodericum, Conacia regem, decem et septem reges in Hibernia regnaverunt.

⁸ Moriadacho glorioso gratia Dei, regi Hibernie.

⁹ Lanfrancus, peccator, et indignus sancte Dorovernensis ecclesie episcopus, magnifico regi Hibernie, Tordelvacho benedictionem cum servitio et orationibus.

bury, which affords still further evidence upon this question. It was written in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and twenty-three, at the desire of the King of Ireland, and requests the archbishop to confer degrees upon a certain priest, named Gregory, and to consecrate him Archbishop of Dublin. The following are Henry's words: "The King of Hibernia has made known to me, that, by his writ, and by the citizens of Dublin, this Gregory has been selected for bishop, and they that send him to you to be consecrated; wherefore I request of you to comply with their petition, and to complete his consecration without delay."⁸ The above-cited authorities must be decisive upon the question, and it must be acknowledged, in spite of Dr. Sanderson, that Ireland was ruled by her native kings⁹ previous to the English conquest.

⁸ *Mandavit mihi rex Hibernia per breve suum, et Burgenses Dublinæ quod elegerunt hunc Gregorium in episcopum et eum tibi mittunt consecrandum; unde tibi mando ut, petitionem eorum satisfacias, consecrationem ejus sine dilatione implas.*

⁹ *Kings, &c.* There are two fallacies contained in that assertion of Dr. Sanderson which Dr. Keating combats. The first is, that Ireland had no kings of her own, previous to her reception of that blessing from the English; the second is, that the Pope had previously been the acknowledged lord paramount of the Irish chieftains. The latter was a state lie of the English, invented for the purpose of justifying the robberies and murders perpetrated by Henry II, and his followers, who would fain have themselves considered as the representatives of the Pope's temporal authority over this island. For the former, however, the English divine had some foundation, if we but understand him to apply the word king, or supreme prince, in the sense in which it was generally understood in his days, and as it is understood at present. The Irish Ard-righ differed much, both in his relation to his subjects, and his right to the throne, from any public ruler, now called king. He might have said very truly, that the Irish had no kings like Henry VIII, or like his own immediate masters the Stuarts, but they had patriarchal rulers, called Ard-

righa, who claimed homage from the chieftains of all the tribes of the Gael, as the elected or accepted representative of the common ancestor of all the Free Clans. These Ard-righa could not transmit their authority to their children, and it is but rarely we find in the Irish annals any Irish Ard-Righ, or even chieftain of a clan, who was succeeded by the person who would have been considered his heir, according to the rule usually adopted in monarchial and aristocratical nations. The most powerful and bravest tribe had always the best chance of having its chieftain made monarch of the nation; and in each particular tribe, and even sub-tribe, the best and bravest man of the kin was always the most likely to be chosen as the leader of his relatives. His (the king's) reign was at an end as soon as he lost the support of the majority of the free tribes, of which his nation was composed. The chieftain was set aside, as soon as his conduct was no longer acceptable to the majority of the warriors of his tribe. Thus, both the regal, and chieftain power, depended upon the popularity of their possessors; and the latter were, in reality, nothing more than the tenants at will of their people. Such a state of things was far different from anything which Dr. Sanderson could have considered as monarchial.

"There was, indeed, in Erin, a chieftain

It is also untrue to assert that the Pope had any special title of sovereignty over Ireland, more than what he possessed over France, Spain, or any other Christian country, until the time of the Irish king Donneadh¹⁰ (Donough), the son of Brian of the Tributes. This prince made a pilgrimage to Rome about seventy-seven years before the coming of the English, and there, with the consent of the Irish nobles, he submitted his kingdom to the sovereignty of the Pope. The reason assigned for this act of submission was the continual dissensions and fratricidal wars¹¹ of the Irish chieftains. The act of Donneadh must not, however, be considered as any proof of the veracity of those writers, who say that the Emperor Constantine made a grant of the most western island of Europe to the Pope immediately after its inhabitants had received baptism. If such a grant were ever made, it could give no legitimate rights of temporal supremacy to the Sovereign Pontiff, inasmuch as neither Constantine himself, nor any of his predecessors in the Roman Empire, had ever acquired any title to Ireland. How, then, could Constantine, with any appearance of equity, grant to the Pope the sovereignty of a country to which he had no title himself? Neither did any of his successors at any time possess the right of making such a grant.

superior to all the rest, who was called the Great King (Ard-righ), or King of the Country, and who was chosen by a general assembly of the chiefs of the different provinces; but this elective president of the national confederation, swore to the whole nation, the same oath which the chiefs of the tribes swore to their respective tribes—that of inviolably observing the ancient laws and hereditary customs. Moreover, the share of the Great King, was rather the execution than the decision of general affairs, all of which were regulated in councils held in the air, upon a hill, surrounded by a deep ditch. Here the laws of the land, and here the disputes between province and province, town and town, and occasionally between man and man, were adjusted, though sometimes in a very tumultuous manner.”—*Thierry's Norman Conquest*.

¹⁰ *Donneadh, &c.* If Donneadh did ever so acknowledge himself the temporal vassal of the Pope, his act could be by no means binding on the Irish nation; in the first place, because *he had never been acknowledged as king by*

the whole of Ireland; and, secondly, because, even if he were really the national Ard-righ, such an act would have been a violation both of the duties of the office, of which *he was but the temporary tenant*, and of the oath he should have sworn, to maintain inviolate the ancient laws and customs of the Gael.

¹¹ *Fratricidal Wars, &c.* The eternal excuse of the apologist for English greed, and of the assertors of the unfitness of those races called Celtic, for self-government. These fratricidal wars could, at that time, have afforded no reasonable excuse for the perjured treason attributed to Donneadh. Wars equally bloody and fratricidal, then ensanguined almost every plain and valley in Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains. That chief's treason must have been the result of disappointed ambition alone. No authority to commit such an act could have been given him by the chiefs of the Free Clans of the Gael, for scarcely one half of these could be said to have ever acknowledged him as Ard-righ.

I shall have done with Dr. Saunderson's assertion by stating, that, even had we no authentic proofs on the subject, it is improbable to suppose that so large a country as Ireland could have remained without any king or ruler over it but the Pope, from the time of St. Patrick down to the invasion of Henry the Second.

LAEGARI, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 427.¹² Laegari,¹³ son of Niall Naei-ghiallach, son of Eocaidh Muigh-Medon, of the line of Erimhon, succeeded to the throne. He reigned thirty years; and his mother's name was Roighnech.

THE MISSION OF ST. PATRICK.

It was in the fourth year of the reign of this king, that St. Patrick was sent by the Pope Celestine to propagate the faith in Ireland. When St. Patrick had been led into slavery, in the ninth year of the reign of Niall, he was sixteen years old. He had then before him the eighteen years that Niall continued to reign, so that he must have been thirty-four years old when that monarch died. Add to these the twenty-three years during which Dathi, son of Fiachra, was king, and we find St. Patrick aged fifty-seven at the accession of Laegari. Laegari, again, had reigned four years before Patrick arrived in Ireland on his mission. Hence it appears that he must have been sixty-one years old when he began his apostolic labors. This should the more readily be believed from the fact that the book called *Martyrologium Romanum*, or the Roman Martyrology, bears out our computation, for it states that St. Patrick was one hundred and twenty-two years old when he died, which is the same as to say that he was sixty-one when he received his mission to Ireland as bishop, because it is well proved that he lived sixty-one years more in Ireland, preaching the faith, after which, he died, as I have just stated, in his one hundred and twenty-second year.

According to Bede, in his *Saxon Annals*, the Pope, St. Celestinus, had deputed a bishop, named PALLADIUS, to preach to the Irish, in the year of our Lord four hundred and thirty. He there says that, "In the year of our Lord four hundred and thirty, Palladius was sent as their first bishop to the Scots believing in Christ."¹⁴ This event occurred in the first year of the reign of Laegari, four years before the arrival of St. Patrick.

¹² A. D. 429—*Four Masters*. This date appears to be nearer to the time, even by Keating's own showing, where he relates, a little below, that Palladius came to Ireland in 430, the first year of Laegari.

¹³ LAEGARI II. This king's name is found spelled Laeghaire, Laoghaire and Lorghaire. Its vulgar pronunciation sounds somewhat like *Layerei*.

¹⁴ Anno quadingentesimo, tricessimo

dens his friends by his presence, and destines for the harvest of the Lord, which is ample, while the laborers are few, thirty bishops, whom he had collected from foreign parts, and whom he had himself consecrated.¹⁸

From this it may be seen, that a number of prelates arrived in St. Patrick's company, when he came to propagate the Faith in Ireland. We also read in our historical records that St. Patrick brought with him on his mission hither, as many Christians as he could find of the Scotie nation,¹⁹ and that learning was diligently cultivated, and that the Faith and the law were adhered to in Ireland, down to the arrival of the Northmen, for the space of four hundred years after the days of that apostle. It is also certain that money was coined at Ard-Macha (Armagh) and at Caisel (Cashel) in these days.

The above-mentioned Henricus Antiodorensis informs us, in his hundred and seventy-fourth chapter, that St. Patrick made an apportionment of Ireland, and, having estimated the extent of its territory, the number of its inhabitants, and their wealth, that he exacted the tenth part of all these for the use of the Church; namely, a tenth of its inhabitants, a tenth of its land, and a tenth of its cattle. Of the men he made monks, and of the women he made nuns; and for these he built monasteries, and allotted the tenth of the land and of the cattle for their maintenance. The following are that author's words, in speaking of the persons who were included in the tithe: "Thereupon, mak-

¹⁸ Benedictus Patricius itinere longo de regione longinqua peracto, et presentia sua suos exhilarabat, et triginta episcopos ex transmarinis partibus congregatos, et a se consecratos, in Domini messem, eo quod esset multa et operarii pauci, destinabat.

¹⁹ *Scotic Nation, &c.* Though the Faith of Christ was not established in Ireland before St. Patrick's mission, it is evident that the scattered congregations of Scotie Christians in that country had furnished some distinguished preachers of the Gospel, both for the home and foreign mission, previous to his time. Without citing the eloquent and learned heretics Pelagius and Celestius, already referred to in these notes, we are told that St. Mansuetus, an Irishman, the first bishop and patron of Toul, canonized by Leo XI, is said to have been a disciple of St. Peter. In the reign of Corm of the Hundred Battles, in the second century, Ireland sent forth the famous St. Ca-

thaldus, bishop and patron of Tarentum, in Italy, to preach the doctrine of Christ. St. Dermot and St. Liberias, Irish preachers, are mentioned as having disseminated the Gospel in various parts of Europe, previous to the fourth century. To these succeeded St. Albi, or Ailbhé, St. Kiaran, St. Declan and St. Ibar, who were the immediate precursors, or rather collaborators of St. Patrick, upon the home mission. It was not, then, difficult for the latter saint to have collected round him a certain number of pious Scots to aid him in the conversion of their own nation. The four saints first mentioned were educated and ordained in Rome, whence they returned to Ireland about A. D. 402. In St. Kiaran's Life we find that, when he was on his way homewards from Rome, he met St. Patrick, who was then journeying thither, and that the saints of God rejoiced.

ing monks of all the males and holy nuns of the females, he built numerous monasteries, and assigned the tenth portion of the lands and of the cattle for their support."²⁰ From these regulations, established by St. Patrick, it came to pass that in a short time, there could be scarcely found any corner, desert or remote spot that was not full of saints and holy persons. Hence it came to pass that amidst the nations of Christendom, Ireland got the distinctive title of the ISLAND OF SAINTS.

Nennius, a British author, speaking of St. Patrick, in his History of Britain, says, that "he founded three hundred and fifty-five churches, and consecrated an equal number of bishops; and that of priests he ordained three thousand."²¹

In the following verse, the bard-historian exactly agrees with Nennius as to the number of bishops ordained by our Saint;

" Five and fifty learned bishops
That holy man made consecrate,
With three hundred men of prayer,
On whom he sacred grades conferred."

Let whomsoever may be surprised at this great number of bishops in Ireland, contemporary with St. Patrick, read what St. Bernard says, in his life of St. Malachias, as to the practice in Ireland with regard to its bishops. He there says that, "The bishops are changed and multiplied at the will of the metropolitan or archbishop, so that no single diocess is trusting to one, but almost every church has its own proper bishop."²² After this statement of St. Bernard, no one can be astonished at the number of prelates mentioned above, for the Church was then in its bloom. The number of bishops there mentioned will appear less wonderful upon reading our domestic records. In them we find that every deanery in Ireland was formerly presided over by a bishop.

St. Patrick founds the Archiepiscopal Sees of Armagh and Cashel.

Our annals certify, moreover, that St. Patrick consecrated two archbishops in Ireland, namely, an Archbishop of Armagh, as Primate of Ireland, and an Archbishop of Cashel. The Primate of Armagh presided over the whole Irish Church, but his more especial charge was over the church of Leth Cuinn. The Arch-

²⁰ Omnes, ergo, mares monachos, feminas sanctas moniales efficiens, numerosa monasteria ædificavit, decimamque portionem terrarum ac pecudum, eorum sustentationi assignavit.

²¹ Ecclesias, 355 fundavit, episcopos ordinavit eodem numero; presbyteros autem usque ad tria millia ordinavit.

²² Mutantur et multiplicantur episco-

pi pro libitu metropolitani; ita ut unus episcopus non uno esset contentus, sed singulæ pene ecclesiæ, singulos haberent episcopos.

²² *Eogan and Conall.* These were both brothers of the monarch Laegari. They were the founders of the famous northern tribes of the Kinèl Eogain and Kinèl Conaill.

bishop of Cashel had the immediate government of Leth Mogha, but the Primate had precedence of him. The reason of this arrangement was, because, in St. Patrick's time, the sovereignty of Ireland was in the possession of the race of Erimhon, Laegari, son of Niall, being king. Hence both Eogan and Conall²³ and the other nobles of that race, who had received baptism from Patrick,²⁴ insisted that he should establish his primatial see in their own half of Ireland, so that it might hold a spiritual supremacy over the bishops of the other parts of Ireland, just as they themselves at that time held the temporal sovereignty. The race of Eber succeeded in getting the second principal church established in Leth Mogha, namely that of Cashel, because they had the sole right to rule Leth-Mogha, under the Irish monarchs, from the days of Conn of the Hundred Battles until that time.

Hence it has happened, that, in the ancient annals and records of Ireland, the Archbishop of Cashel is not only styled the Primate of all Munster, but also the Primate of Leth Mogha.²⁵

Another assertion made with respect to these times is that Imlech-Iubair²⁶ (*Imlagh Yooir*) was then the seat of an archbishop. But from this we can only understand, that the archbishop and

²⁴ "Having preached through all the provinces, and filled the greater part of the island with Christians and with churches, St. Patrick saw that the fit period was arrived for the consolidation of the extensive hierarchy he had thus constructed, by the establishment of a metropolitan see. In selecting the district of Macha for the seat of the primacy, he was influenced, doubtless, by the associations connected with the place, as an ancient royal residence—the celebrated palace of Emania (Emhain Macha) having stood formerly in the neighborhood of the eminence upon which Ard-Macha, or Armagh, afterwards rose. The time of the foundation of this See has been variously stated; but the opinion of those who place it late in his career, besides being equally borne out by evidence, seems by far most consonant with reason; as it is not probable that he would have set about establishing a metropolitan see for all Ireland until he had visited the various provinces and ascertained the progress of the Gospel in each, and regulated according their ecclesiastical concerns."—*Moore*.

The foundation of Armagh is recorded by the *Four Masters* in the following

terms, under the year 457: "Ard-Macha was founded by St. Patrick, it having been granted to him by Dari, son of Finneadh, son of Eogan, son of Niallan. Twelve men were appointed by him for building the town. He ordered them in the first place to build an archbishop's city there, and a church for monks, for nuns and for the other orders in general, for he perceived that it would be the head and chief of all the churches in Ireland." The Dari here mentioned was chief of the district called Crioch-na-n-Oirthir, now the Oriors. His uncle, Muredach, was the ancestor of the O'Hanlons. He was a descendant of Colla Da-Crioch.

²⁵ *Primate of Leth-Mogha, &c.* Soon after St. Patrick's arrival in Munster, a synod was called at Cashel, at which King Aengus Mac Nadfraeich presided. At it was decreed that St. Albi should rank as a second Patrick, and patron and Archbishop of Munster, and that St. Declan should be called the Patriek of the Desi, and their chief bishop.—*O'Halloran*.

²⁶ *Imlech Iubair*, i. e. the Holm, or Strath of the Yew, now Emly, on the borders of Tipperary and Limerick. Ware quotes the Life of St. Declan

his clergy were expelled from Cashel, had taken refuge for some time at Imlech-Iubair, during the violent oppression which the Northmen for a while exercised over Ireland, when Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruadna, was king of Meath, Niall Calli, king of Ireland, and Oleubar, son of Kinmaedh, of Munster, and when the pirate chieftain Turgesius tyrannized over the country. For it was not more likely to have Forannan, the Primate, expelled from Arnagh, with his clergy, and driven into exile in Munster, by that Norwegian tyrant, than for the Archbishop of Cashel, with his clergy, to have been driven from his episcopal seat by the same Turgesius, and forced to fly for safety to Imlach-Iubair, which was then surrounded by forests, morasses and quagmires, and to have remained there while the oppression of the foreigners lasted.

We do not find, then, in the Irish annals that there were any more than those two Archbishops, above-mentioned, in Ireland, until the time of Cardinal Johannes Papiron, who came to Ireland in the year of our Lord 1152, accompanied by Gilla-Criost O'Conari (Gilchrist O'Connery), Bishop of Lismore, who was the Pope's legate in Ireland at that time. However, in that year, a general council of the Irish Church was held at Kenannus

and the Life of St. Ailbhé (or Albi), to show that Emly was made the seat Archbishoprick of Munster in the lifetime of St. Patrick, and that Albi was constituted archbishop.—*O'D.*

In early times the titles of Bishop of Cashel, of Leth Mogha, of Munster or of Emly may have been indiscriminately applied to the metropolitan of the southern half of Ireland, and thus led to the seeming contradiction, for which Dr. Keating endeavors to account. It was so, that the King of Leth-Mogha was, likewise, styled King of Cashel or of Munster, indifferently.

“ St. Patrick having preached the Faith through Leinster, and settled bishops therein, entered Munster towards the close of the year 448, for he had hitherto put off his visitation of that province, aware that his precursors, Saints Albi, Declan, Kiaran and Ibar had made good progress in that principality; and so, indeed, they had, but the conversion of Aengus, its king, was reserved for St. Patrick. Hearing of his arrival in his territories, this king went out with joy to meet him, and brought him to his royal city, where both himself and all his family were

converted and baptized. Upon this, those saints, above-named, visited Aengus and St. Patrick, and they held a synod together at Cashel, where they made rules for the government of the Church. But the holy men had almost separated on account of some disputed points. Saints Albi, Kiaran, Declan and Ibar derived their commissions from the same source as St. Patrick himself, and had preceded him in point of time. They were, therefore, reluctant to yield obedience to his legatine authority. After some demur, the three first were induced to submit, but Ibar, with some obstinacy, adhered to his opinion, not willing that any but a native of Ireland should be acknowledged as its patron saint. However, even he was at last prevailed upon to submit, out of regard to the great labors of St. Patrick, and his extraordinary success. The diocese of Emly was, in this synod, conferred upon St. Albi; St. Declan was made bishop of Ardmore (in Waterford); St. Kiaran of Saighir (now Seirkeieran, in Ely-O-Carroll, King's County); and St. Ibar of Beg-Eri (now Begery, an island, close to the land, in Wexford Haven).”—*Life of St. Patrick.*

(Kells), in Meath, and at it archbishops were appointed and consecrated for Dublin, and Tuam, and then it was that each of these archbishops received the *pallium*, as I shall state hereafter, upon the authority of the annals compiled at Chrain-Aidnech.

Conversion of Aengus, son of Nadfraech, King of Munster.

In the reign of Laegari, son of Niall, while Patrick was sowing the Faith in Ireland, the principality of Munster was ruled by Aengus, son of Nadfraech. Upon Patrick's entering his dominions to preach therein, this Prince came to Magh-Femhenn, in the northern Desi, to welcome the holy man. Thence he brought him to his royal residence of Caisel (Cashel), situated in that part of the Eoganacht territory which is now called Trian-Medónach (Middletherd). The event is thus related in an old Latin life of the saint, which has fallen into our hands: "But as he was entering Momonia, the king of that country, Aengus Mac Nadfraeich, came to meet him on the plain of Femhenn, in the land of Desi, and led him joyfully into his royal city, by name Caisel, in the region of Eoganacht;²⁷ and there King Aengus believed and was baptized."²⁸ In the same place it is told that Patrick thrust the pointed end of his staff through the foot of Aengus upon that occasion. The fact is thus related: "As Patrick stood up and was giving his benediction²⁹ to the king in a standing posture, the point of his holy staff was fixed in the royal foot." It must be understood from this, that it was not through the foot of Eogan, son of Niall, the King of Ulster, that Patrick thrust the spear of his pastoral staff, but through that of Aengus, son of Nadfraech, King of Munster. With this account, even one of the learned antiquaries of Leth Cuin, namely, Torna, son of Muiris O Mael-Conari (Maurice O'Mulconry, or Conry), fully agrees, in the poem which begins with the line: "The bishop's blessing³⁰ on Eber's seed." The following are his words:

²⁷ *Eoganacht*. The several territories possessed by the descendants of Eogan Mor, eldest son of Olild Olum, were called by this name. The word is pronounced *owenaght*.

²⁸ Dum vero in Momoniam proficisceretur, venit obviam ei rex Momoniae, Aengus Mac Nadfraeich, in campo Feimin, in terra de Deisse eunqueduxit gaudens in ciuilem regalem, nomine Caisiol, quae est in regione Eoganacht, ibique credidit rex Aengus et baptizatus est.

²⁹ Cumque sanctus Patricius regem staudo benedixisset, cuspis baculi sancti in pede regis fixa est

³⁰ We are told in the Book of Rights,

that the following are the words used by the figure seen, as Keating has already told us, by the herdsmen Durdari and Kilarn, in the reign of Core, son of Lugaídh, when, "with a voice sweeter than the angular harp," it blessed the hill and place; and, predicting the arrival of St. Patrick, it said:

"Good, good, good, the man who shall rule
Caisel,
Walking righteously in the name of the Great
Father,
And of the Son of the Virgin,
With the grace of the Holy Spirit;
A comely, great, good bishop,
Child of life unto judgment,
He shall the noble Angelic Erl
With people of each order, of various grades,
To serve Christ the benign."

“Through the foot of Aengus—dire the wound—
The point of Patrick’s staff was thrust :
And the floor was flooded with his blood—
The fact is now no whispered tale.”

This Aengus had twenty sons and as many daughters. Of these he bestowed twelve of the sons and twelve of the daughters to God and to Patrick. Aengus, likewise, ordained that St. Patrick should receive a capitation tax from his people, to wit : a sgrebal, or three pence, from every person that received baptism in Munster. This tax was paid in the following manner, namely : five hundred sheep, five hundred pieces of linen, five hundred pieces of cloth, five hundred balls of iron, to be given every third year from the kings of Munster to the comharba (*coarba*), or successor, of St. Patrick. This rent continued to be paid down to the time of King Cormac, son of Culinan. It is also found in the Red Book of Mac Aedagain, that this Aengus, son of Nadfracch, maintained two bishops, ten priests and seventy-two young clerks, as part of his household, whose business it was to say mass, and to pray to God continually.

St. Patrick in Connaught.—The sons³¹ of Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon.—The Saint gives his blessing to Duach Galach.³²

It was while St. Patrick was planting the Faith in Ireland, and during the reign of Laegari Mac Neill, that the twenty-four sons of Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, flourished in Connaught, for they were the contemporaries of the monarch Laegari. As St. Patrick was proceeding on his mission, blessing Ireland as he went along, he arrived in their country, and he went to visit the man of these brothers who was their chief ; Eechen was his name. When this man saw the saint approaching, he mounted his horse, and commenced to lash him with his whip, and commanded his brothers to do the same

“The figure which appeared there was Victor, the angel of Patrick, prophesying his coming, and that the grandeur and supremacy of Ireland would be for ever in that place. Accordingly, the town is a metropolis to Patrick, and a chief city to the king of Eri ; and the tribute and service of the men of Eri are always due to the king of that place, i. e. Caisel, through the blessing of Patrick, son of Alplann.”—*Leobhar na g-Ceart.*

³¹ *The Sons, &c.* Of these sons, several were afterwards baptized by

St. Patrick. O’Flaherty tells us, that even the fierce Eechen himself eventually received the Faith. Most of the ruling Scotic septa of Connaught were sprung from the twenty-four sons of Brian. Notwithstanding the unpromising reception mentioned above, St. Patrick’s preaching in Connaught was crowned with the fullest success.

³² *Duach Galach.* This youth’s descendants did eventually become the royal race of Connaught. From him came the O’Connors, O’Reillies, O’Ruaires, O’Flaherties, &c.

thing, telling them to show no leniency to the clerk. The latter did as he told them, except the youngest, whose name was Duach Galach. This youth remained afoot, and went to meet the holy man, whom he welcomed, and to whom he paid respect and honor. After this, St. Patrick went forward into the chieftain's presence, and demanded of him if he were not Eechen; "For if thou art," said he, "I deprive both thee and thy brothers, who are here with thee, of good fortune and kindly power, with the exception of that youth who has shown kindness to me, and given me honor, for my Lord's sake. And the youth then said: "If I were either chieftain or king, I would do the will of Patrick." "If so," said Patrick, "I give thee a blessing—thou shalt yet be a king thyself, and the kingdom of Connaught shall be possessed by thy children after thee."

I have before shown, that Patrick arrived in Ireland in the four hundred and thirty-first year after the birth of Christ, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laegari, son of Niall, and that he spent sixty-one years therein, previous to his death. By adding together these numbers, it will be seen that he died in the year of our Lord four hundred and ninety-two. It was in testimony of this that the shannachie composed the following rann:

"Since Christ was born³³ (the reckoning's clear),
Four hundred years had passed and ninety,
And two years besides, full told,
When died our chief Apostle, Patrick."

³³ *Since Christ was born, &c.* The great age which the ancient rann here cited, and which nearly all our records would assign to the Irish apostle, Patrick, or Patricius, son of Calphurnius, has been disputed by some modern antiquarian critics. Mr. Moore conjectures that he died in 465, in the 78th year of his age. However, there are no valid grounds for disputing the age attributed to him by the ancient historic documents of Ireland. One hundred and twenty-two years, though a very uncommon, is by no means either an improbable or an unexampled duration for human existence. Several examples could be cited, where men had lived to about that age, even in modern times. Those historians think that it is St. Patrick the Apostle's death that is recorded, as that of Sen-Phatraice (*Shan-Phaudrig*), i. e. Senex Patricius, or Old Patrick, under the year 454, by some, and by others,

under 457. There is documentary evidence to show who the Sen-Phatraice there mentioned was. In the poem of Flann of the Monastery, as preserved in the Book of Lecan, which records the names of the members of St. Patrick's household, this Sen-Phatraice is called *Cend a Shruithi Senorach*, i. e. "the Chief of St. Patrick's Seniors." Then the Feilire, or Festiolog, of Aengus Celi Dè, a most venerable authority, tells us, that Sen-Phatraice was the tutor of our national saint. It is, indeed, not unlikely that there was more than one person dignified with the patrician title amongst the Roman ecclesiastics, of whom the son of Calphurnius was the head, and that, thus, the hypercritics were afforded a handle for their doubts of the veracity of the Irish annals in recording the time of the apostle's death. Succatius, or, as the Irish call it, *Succath*, was St. Patrick's baptismal name.

We read in the lives of St. Patrick, that he spent the sixty-one years passed in Ireland in the constant propagation and preaching of the Gospel, performing miracles, doing good works and showing the power of God. Of him, a certain author has said :

“ For three score years and one,
(Few are they that will not marvel,)
In Eri, with many works,
Did Patrick live, and preach the Gospel.”

And to whomsoever may assert, that this verse is not found in the Life of St. Patrick, I make known, that I have read in venerable historic records, that there were not less than sixty-four Lives written of our apostle, and that each of them was written independently of the others. For this reason, it is not to be wondered at, if, in some of these lives, we meet with miracles, and other facts, which are not to be found in the rest.

Expurgation³⁴ of the Pagan Records.

It was while Laegari was king, that Dubthach O'Lugair,³⁵ Fergus the Poet, and Rosa, son of Tirchin, submitted the Senchas,

When he was consecrated bishop by St. Germanus, he had it changed to Magonius; but it was not until the Pope, St. Celestinus III., had selected him for the Irish apostleship, that he received the title of Patricius, which meant nobleman of the Roman empire. It had been originally a title of hereditary nobility, instituted by Romulus, which none could claim but the members of certain privileged families of ancient Rome. During the decline of the Roman power, the emperors arrogated to themselves the right of conferring it upon whom they pleased, and it became a title of honor, wherewith high dignitaries of State were ennobled. The popes afterwards acquired the right of conferring the dignity. As it was the highest and most distinguished title of nobility then known, it was eagerly sought after by the princes of those barbarian hordes that were then dismembering the Empire of the Cæsars, and it must have, consequently, been also looked upon with respect, and, perhaps, with a certain degree of sacred awe, by the Scotie tribes of North Britain and Ireland, for they,

too, must have now known its importance. This will account for the wise policy of St. Celestinus in investing the Bishop Magonius with so high dignity, preparatory to his mission to the Irish nation.

³⁴ *Expurgation, &c.* “ The first object of their care was to purge the old archives of all that regarded heathen worship; it being considered the surest way for the truth of Revelation to abolish all traces of the hitherto prevailing superstition. On this occasion, we are told, that near two hundred volumes of our ancient literature were condemned, and committed to the flames, to the eternal, I will not say just, regret of posterity.”—*Transactions of the Gaelic Society.*

³⁵ *Dubthach O'Lugair.* He was the Arch-Poet of Ireland, in his day, and the first convert made by St. Patrick upon his arrival at Temhair. The apostle's first arrival at the Irish capital and the conversion of Dubthach are thus described by Mr. Moore: “ On their arrival at Slane, the saint and his companions pitched their tents for the night, and as it was the eve of the

that is, the Historic Tradition of the country, to St. Patrick, in order to have it purified and approved of by that saint. From this it came, that Laegari was induced to call a general convention,³⁶ at which the kings, clergy and bard-sages of Ireland were assembled together, for the purpose of rectifying the said national records. When this convention had met, its members selected nine of their number for the duty, to wit: three kings, three bishops and three ollamhs. The three kings were, Laegari, son of Niall, King of Ireland; Dari, King of Ulster; and Corc,³⁷ son of Lugaidh, King of Munster; the three bishops were, Patrick, Benen, and Cairnech; the three ollamhs, or doctors of history were, Dubthach, Fergus and Rosa, son of Tirchin. By these nine, the traditions were purified and set in order. It is the work which resulted from their labors, that is now called the *SENCHAS MOR*,³⁸

festival of Easter, lighted at nightfall the paschal fire. It happened that on the same evening, the monarch Laegari and the assembled princes were, according to custom, celebrating the festival of La Bealtinne, and, as it was a law that no fires should be lighted on that night, till the great pile in the palace of Tara was kindled, the paschal fire of St. Patrick, on being seen from the heights of Tara, before that of the monarch, excited the wonder of all assembled. To the angry inquiries of Laegari, demanding who could have dared to violate thus the law, his Magi or Druids are said to have made answer: 'THIS FIRE WHICH HAS NOW BEEN KINDLED BEFORE OUR EYES, UNLESS EXTINGUISHED THIS VERY NIGHT, WILL NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED THROUGHOUT ALL TIME. MOREOVER, IT WILL TOWER ABOVE ALL THE FIRES OF OUR ANCIENT RITES; AND HE WHO LIGHTS IT, WILL ERE LONG SCATTER YOUR KINGDOM.' Surprised and indignant, the monarch instantly dispatched messengers to summon the offender to his presence; the princes seated themselves in a circle upon the grass to receive him, and on his arrival, one alone among them, Here, the son of Degeo, impressed with reverence by the stranger's appearance, stood up to salute him. That they heard with complacency, however, his account of the object of his mission, appears, from his preaching at the palace of Tara, on the following day, in the presence of the King, and the States-General, and

maintaining an argument against the most learned of the Druids, in which the victory was on his side. It is recorded that the only person who, upon this occasion, rose to welcome him, was the Archpoet, Dubthach, who became his convert on that very day, and devoted thenceforth his poetical talents to religious subjects alone. The monarch himself, too, while listening to the words of the apostle, is said to have exclaimed to his surrounding nobles, 'It is better that I should believe than die;' and, appalled by the awful denunciations of the preacher, to have at once professed himself a Christian."—As will be hereafter seen, it is doubtful whether Laegari was ever really converted from idolatry.

³⁶ *General Convention, &c.* The Four Masters record this convention as having been held in A.D. 438, being the 10th year of Laegari's reign, and the 6th of St. Patrick's mission.

³⁷ *Corc.* He could not have been one of the number, for he must have been dead long previous to this reign. He was the grandfather of Aengus, the King of Munster, converted by St. Patrick.

³⁸ *Senchas Mor.* There are fragments, said to be of this work, still extant in the manuscript library of Trinity College, Dublin. Some hold that the work so called was a mixed compilation of laws and history; but some of the ablest of modern Irish antiquaries hold that it was a body

that is, the Great Tradition. The poem commencing with the words, "Amirghin Gluin-ghel," that is, "Amirgin the White-kneed," bears testimony to this event, as may be seen by the following verses:

"Nine sages framed the Senchas-Mor,
And with stern justice set aside
The falsehood of all Heathen myths,
When tested by their hallowed lore.

"Patrick, Benen,³⁹ Cairnech just,
Laegari, son of mighty Niall,
The poet, Fergus, of bright smile,
And Dari, King of Uladh.

"The King of Mumha, without stain,
Corc, son of red-handed Lugaidh ;
And Ros Mac Tírchim, skilled in language,
Was there, with wise Dubthach O'Lugair.

"These sages failed not in their task ;
The truthful Senchas they arranged ;
Correcting it with judgment meet,
From age to age since Amirghin."

Then, when the Senchas had been thus purified, the Irish nobles decreed that it should be given into the charge of the prelates of the Irish Church. These prelates gave orders to have it copied out in their principal churches. Some of the old books so written, or rescripts of them, survive to the present day, such as the Book of Armagh, the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Glendaloch, the Book of Ua Congbala, the Book of Clonmaenois, the Book of Fintann of Cluain Aidnech, the Yellow Book of Moling, and the Black Book of Molaga. Thenceforward, in order that no injustice should be done to any of the

of laws solely, and that it was it that was otherwise called the *Cain Phadraig* or Patrick's Law ; of which it was said, that no individual Brehon of the Gaels has dared to abrogate anything found in it. It is, however, quite as reasonable to conclude that the work likewise contained historic records, as Dr. Keating relates.

³⁹ *Benen*. This was St. Benen, or Benignus, the original author of the celebrated Book of Rights. He was of a Munster family, settled in the plain of Breágh, near Temhair, and descended from the famous champion Tadg, son of Kian, son of Oluid Olum. We are told that his father was a nobleman

named Sescenén, at whose house St. Patrick had staid, when journeying towards Temhair for the first time. On that occasion, Sescenén and his whole family were converted ; and his son, a boy, to whom St. Patrick gave the name Benignus, became so much attached to the saint, that he insisted upon going along with him. He afterwards became a distinguished missionary, and was deputed to various parts of Ireland, which St. Patrick could not visit in person. He became, in a special manner, the patron of Connaught. St. Benen eventually succeeded his spiritual father as Archbishop of Armagh.

Irish nobility, the substance of all the records contained in any of these books, was kept in the Psalter of Temhair, as I have heretofore stated, in treating of King Cormac, son of Art, and they were scrutinized and sanctioned at the Feis Temrach, or general convention of the nation, held at Temhair every third year.

Heathen Writers of Ancient Ireland.

In Pagan times, our principal historic authors, from time to time, were Amirghin Glun-ghel, son of Miledh of Spain; Sen, the son of Ughi, Brighitt (*Breeyth*), an authoress, from whom is derived the common expression "Briathra Brighdi," (*Breehra Breeidie*), that is, the Sayings of Brighitt; Connla Cacin-brethach that is, of mild judgment, a Connaught sage; Senchan, son of Cul, and Factna, his son; Senchan, son of Olild; Morann, the son of Maen; Fergus, of Fiannait, in Kiarraide Luachra (Kerry); Ferkertni, the Poet; Neidi, son of Adna; Athirni Amhnas; Fergus, the Poet, son of Athirni; Nera, son of Finncoll; Sedamas, son of Morann; Feradach the Just, a royal author upon wisdom; Fithil; Fergus the Poet; Dubthach O'Lugair; and Rosa, son of Tirchim. It was these three last-mentioned that brought the Senchas to St. Patrick, and submitted it to be examined and expurgated by him.

In Pagan times no person could hold the rank of Ollamh-re senchas, or doctor of history, who had been once discovered to have falsified a single fact. In like manner, no person could hold the rank of Breithemb, that is of doctor of law, or judge, who had once given corrupt judgment. In those times of Paganism, some of them were under religious prohibitions called GESA. Whenever Sen, the son of Ughi, delivered a partial judgment, blisters burst forth over his right cheek, and when his judgment was just, his cheek remained smooth. Connla of Mild Judgments never delivered a partial sentence, for he was a just man, according to the light of nature. Senchan, the son of Cul, never gave a false judgment, without having fasted three nights before. Whenever his son, Factna the Wise, gave a false judgment, if it were in the harvest, the fruit of the district where he rested that night fell to the earth; but if his judgment were true, then the fruit remained on the trees. But if the trees were in blossom when he gave the false judgment, the cows of the district slung their calves! Morann, the son of Maen, never gave judgment without his *Ilh Morainn*, that is, Morann's Collar, round his neck. I have already stated that this collar used to squeeze tightly round his throat, when he was about to deliver an unjust decree. Thus it was with many other Pagan authorities.

These *gesa* prevented them from either corrupting the traditions or the laws.

From what I have now said, it will be seen that the records of Ireland are as credible as those of any other nation, thus supported by the writings of ancient Pagan authors, and investigated by the holy clergy and prelates of the Irish Church.

The Feis Temrach held by King Laegari—Palaces of Temhair—Arrangement of the Grand Convention.

Laegari, son of Niall, convened this assembly, according to the usage of his predecessors, for the purpose of reforming the customs and laws of his kingdom, at the general convention of the nation. When the nobles and ollamhs of Ireland met together on such occasions, the Ard-Righ, or Sovereign King of Ireland, dwelt with his household, apart from the rest, in the Hall of Mi-Cuarta, which was specially reserved as his royal residence. Besides this, each of the provincial kings had a royal residence appropriated to himself, at Temhair. Thus the King of Munster had the Long-Muimnech (*Long-Mueenagh*). Long is synonymous with *tech*, as the poet shows in the following saying: "Not more churlish to a multitude is a bad house (*tech*) without inmates, than is a thronged mansion (*tong*)." And, hence, comes the word *longphort*, a town, i. e. a *port*, anglice, a fort, or embankment, on or within which there are houses, i. e. *longa*. The King of Leinster occupied the Long Laighnech (*Long-Loynagh*), or Leinster House. The King of Connaught's residence was called the Coisir-Connactach (*Coshir-Connaghtagh*), Connaught Banquet-House. The King of Ulster dwelt in the Echrais-Ulladh (*Aghrish-Ulla*), or Ulster House. Besides these, there were then three other chief buildings, at that time, at Temhair, namely: the Carcar-na-ngiall (*Curkar-nang-eéal*), the Stronghold of the Hostages, where the King of Ireland kept his prisoners; the second building was called Relta-na-b-filedh (*Railtana-villah*), that is, the Star of the Bards. In it the brehons, ollamhs and bards held their sittings, and here fines and cries were imposed upon those who violated the laws and customs of the nation. The third building was the Grianan-na-n-ingen (*Geeanawn-nan-inneen*), that is the Palace, or House, of the Ladies. The provincial queens resided in this, each in her own private apartments, though within the enclosure of the building.

But when the whole convention met to originate or confirm laws and rules for the nation, it held its sessions in the Tech-mi-cuarta (*Tugh-mee-coorta*), which was their hall of public deliberation. In that hall, the members of the convention sat after the

following order: the King of Ireland sat upon his throne in the centre of the assembly, with his face to the west; the King of Munster sat to the south of him, for the ends of the building faced east and west; the King of Leinster sat opposite him; the King of Connaught behind him, and behind the King of Connaught, again, sat the Ollamhs of Ireland. The King of Ulster sat at the King's right hand, to the north of him. A number of the real nobility of his own proper Fifth sat near each of these princes. The following rhymes have been composed by a bard-historian upon the above-mentioned arrangement;

“The Munstermen sit towards the south—
This doubtless right no man denies;
The Leinstermen, strong in their might,
Confront the Ard-righ, face to face.

“Behind the king, sit Connacht's men,
Near whom the truthful Ollamhs stay;
There, too, the King of Araide⁴⁰ sits,
In his own wonted, proper seat.

⁴⁰ *King of Araide*, i. e. of Dal-Araide. By this is meant the King of the province Uladh, or Ulidia, as reduced by the encroachments of the Oirghiallaigh. It is remarkable that, instead of the four provincial kings, mentioned in Dr. Keating's prose, there are five named in these bardic stanzas; and that, amongst the latter five, no King of Uladh is mentioned. We also find the King of Araide, who represented the ancient Ulidian Kings, driven out of his proper place, and the King of Oirghiall seated therein. This, while it proves that the verses were written subsequent to the dismemberment of Ulster by the Collas, about A.D. 331, seems also to argue that it was written previous to the establishment of the Kingdom Ailech, by the Northern Ui Neill, and the supremacy acquired by the latter tribe in Ulster. The arrangement given down in the prose is, indeed, that which was the usage whilst the Clanna Rudraide, of the line of Ir, flourished as lords paramount of all Ulster. The Kings of Connaught would seem to have occupied the least honored place in the States-General, perhaps because the supremacy of that Fifth was latest wrested from the Fer-Bolgs, by the race of Miledh.

The following benediction, pro-

nounced by St. Patrick upon Ireland and its inhabitants, is found in the Book of Rights, prefixed to the tract called, The Privileges of the King of Eri, at Temhair:

TRANSLATION.

THE BLESSING OF GOD upon you all,
Men of Eri, sons, women,
And daughters; prince-blessing,
Weal-blessing, blessing of long-life,
Health blessing, blessing of excellence,
Eternal-blessing, heaven blessing,
Cloud-blessing, sea-blessing,
Fruit-blessing, land-blessing,
Crop-blessing, dew-blessing,
Blessing of elements, blessing of valor,
Blessing of dexterity, blessing of glory,
Blessing of deeds, blessing of honor,
Blessing of happiness be upon you all
Lales, clerics, while I command
Th blessing of the men of Heaven;
It is my bequest, as it is a PERPETUAL
BLESSING.

ORIGINAL.

BENDACHT De foraihb uili,
Foraihb Erend, macaibh, mnathh,
Seo inghenaibh, faith-bhendacht,
Bal-bhendacht, bnan-bhendacht,
Slán-bhendacht, sar-bhendacht,
Sir-bhendacht, bendacht Nimh^é,
Nél-bhendacht, bendacht mara,
Mese-bhendacht, bendacht thire,
Toradh-bhendacht, bendacht drúchta,
Bendacht daití, bendacht galli,
Bendacht gaiscibh, bendacht gotha,
Bendacht gnimha, bendacht ordán,
Bendacht áini, foraihb uili,
Laechaibh, cleirchibh, eoin forongraidh,
Bendacht fer Nimhe;
Is mo ebert, ós bhithi-BHENDACHT.

“The right hand of strong Temhair’s King,
By well-known and unquestioned rule,
Belongs to Oirghiall’s favored men,
’Mongst them no rival claims a seat.”

It was over Laegari, son of Niall, that the people of Leinster and Crimthann, son of Enna Kennselach, gained the battle of Ath Dara.⁴¹ The king was made prisoner at this battle, but his enemies set him at liberty, upon his giving the Sun, Moon and Stars of Heaven as guarantees that he would never again demand the Boromha Laighen,⁴² or Cow Tribute of Leinster, from them. He, however, did not keep his oath. But in vengeance for his perjury, he was killed⁴³ by lightning at Grellach-Dabail, near the Liffey. Of his death; a poet says :

“Laegari, son of Niall, fell
Near Lifi’s stream of greenest banks ;
God’s vengeful elements, provoked,
His doom of death dealt to the king.”

The wife of Laegari⁴⁴ was Agneis, daughter of a chieftain of the Ui Liathain; and she was the mother of Lugaidh, son of Laegari,

⁴¹ *Ath-Dara*, i. e. the Ford of the Oak. This place was situated on the River Berba, or Barrow. The Four Masters record the battle as having been fought A.D. 457—the year of the foundation of Armagh, and of the death of Sen-Phatraice, the chief of St. Patrick’s Seniors.

⁴² *Boromha Laighen*. According to the historical tract which takes its title from this tribute, Laegari violated his oath in two years and a half after he had taken it, by making a foray into Leinster, where he seized a prey of oxen, at Sidh-Nectain, where the Boyne has its source; “but as he advanced to Cais the elements of God wreaked vengeance upon him, that is, the air forsook him, the sun burned him, and the earth swallowed him.”

⁴³ *Laegari Died, &c.* There is every reason to conclude that Laegari died a Pagan. In his notes upon the Four Masters, Dr. O’Donovan tells us, on the authority of an ancient historic tract, preserved in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, that it had been prophesied to him, that he would come by his death between Eri and Alba (Ireland and Scotland), for which reason he (unlike his father Niall) never went on any

naval expedition. But when he went a second time, without regard to his oath, with a great army, to demand the Borumha Laighen, and had reached Grellach-Daphill, by the side of Caisi. in Magh Liphí, between two hills called Eri and Alba, that he was there slain by the incensed elements. His body was carried thence to Temhair, and there interred, with his weapons upon him, in the south-east of the external rampart of Rath-Laegari, with his face turned towards the Leinstermen, as if fighting them. Laegari could not believe in the Christian religion, because he had made a promise to his father Niall that he would not swerve from Pagan customs. “For,” said that king, “My father Niall would never suffer that I should believe, but he commanded me to be buried in the high places at Temhair, as if in the midst of warriors standing up in battle.”

⁴⁴ *Laegari’s Wife, &c.* The miracle introduced in this place, if it was ever really wrought, is told, accompanied by such frivolous and unnecessary details, that it has all the appearance of being one of those extravagant fables with which story-tellers have disguised

whom we shall hereafter find on the Irish throne. This lady did not follow her husband's example, but had received the faith from St. Patrick. Patrick, on one occasion came to visit her, attended by his escort of priests. The queen welcomed them, and got food prepared for them; whereupon, her son Lugaidh commenced to eat of it ravenously. While he was thus engaged, a piece of meat stuck in his throat, by which he was choked, and he died immediately. The queen screamed, and threw her son upon the protection of Patrick. The saint then retired to a solitary house, whither he ordered the child's dead body to be brought to him. He there made fervent prayer to God, and remained alone with the body for three days and three nights, without meat or drink. On the third day, the archangel Michael came to him, in the shape of a dove, and told him it was the will of God to have his prayer granted, and the child restored to life. The dove then thrust its bill into the open mouth of the boy, who lay upon his back, and plucked the piece of meat from his throat. Then the boy Lugaidh recovered immediately, and the dove vanished unperceived.

When the queen heard that her son was alive again, she came joyfully to Patrick, and knelt at his feet to thank him. "Princess," said he, "it is not to me thou owest thanks for thy son, but to the archangel Michael, who has restored him to life." He then told her the meaning of his words. When she had heard

the lives of many of the fathers of the Irish Church—seemingly with no other object than the amusement of the ignorant-vulgar. Though Dr. Keating has transcribed but few of these in his history, he has still introduced but too many of such childish and incredible tales. If it did please the Almighty to suspend the ordinary routine of natural law, in order to facilitate the labors of these holy men, it is vain for us to search for the workings of the divine hand in many of the needless and objectless miracles, recorded in many of those romantic compositions composed by Irish story-tellers, with no higher object than that of many of the novelists of modern times—pastime. We need not, indeed, to have recourse to fabulous narratives in order to form an estimate of the wonderful fruits of the labors and preaching of St. Patrick and his disciples. It may be learned from the almost instantaneous springing up of the Irish Church. Compared with the slow progress made by Chris-

tian missionaries in other lands, St. Patrick might have applied the words of the Roman conqueror of the neighboring isle of Britain, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, to the moral conquest which he achieved in Pagan Ireland. The apostle is scarcely in his grave, when the country which he has converted is already famed throughout Christendom for the number of her schools of piety and learning; famed for the number of zealous missionaries she has sent forth to teach the saving truths of the Gospel to the barbarian conquerors of Europe, and famed, also, for her classic and scientific scholars—pioneers of that civilization that was destined to succeed the effete systems of Greece and Rome. Even in St. Patrick's lifetime, the Hibernian Scot Siedhuil (Shiel), called in Latin *Sedulius*, among other writings of merit, was the author of a Latin poem (the Paschale Opus), upon the life of Christ, from which the Catholic Church has selected some of her most beautiful hymns.—*See Moore.*

the manner in which the miracle had been performed, she took upon herself an obligation, to bestow a sheep out of every flock she owned, and a portion of each of her meals to the God's poor, every year she lived, in honor of Michael the Archangel. She also instituted the same practice throughout Ireland, as a custom amongst all those whom Patrick had converted to the Faith. From this event arose the custom of the Michaelmas sheep and the Mir-Mhichacil (*Meer-Veehail*), or Michaelmas Portion, which is observed in Ireland down to the present day.

OLILD MOLT, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 457.⁴⁵ Olild Molt,⁴⁶ son of Dathi, of the race of Erimhon, became king, and ruled Ireland for twenty years. His wife was Uctdelb (*Ughdelve*), daughter of Aengus, King of Munster. He was surnamed Molt, because when his mother, Ethni, daughter of Orach, was pregnant of him, she longed for the flesh of a wether, (called *molt* in Irish). For this reason, when he was born, one of her attendant ladies, named Fial, daughter of Eocaidh, gave him the surname Molt. It was in the reign of Olild Molt, that Amalgaidh,⁴⁷ son of Fiachra, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, King of Connaught, died, after a reign of twenty years. In it also died Muredach Munderg,⁴⁸ son of Fergus, son of Olild, who had ruled Ulster for twelve years. The Assembly of Temhair was held by King Olild Molt.

Assemblies of Cruachain and Emhain.

There were three great general assemblies of the States, customary in Ireland in former days, namely: the Feis of Temhair,⁴⁹ or Tara, the Feis of Cruachain⁵⁰ and the Feis of Emhain.

⁴⁵ A. D. 459. *Four Masters.*

⁴⁶ OLILD IV. The silly reason given for his surname Molt is very far-fetched and unlikely. If the word has had no other meaning than its modern one, wether, the son of Dathi acquired it, most probably, from some personal peculiarity. The term is even yet sometimes applied, as a nickname, to persons of a stout and compact, but rather undersized figure. Thus does Homer compare one of his heroes to "a thick-fleeced ram."

⁴⁷ *Amalgaidh.* His death is recorded in the Four Masters, under A. D. 449, in the reign of Laegari. From him Tir-Amhalghaidh, now Tirawley, in Mayo, has its name. Amalgaidh was the first Christian King of Connaught.

He was converted by St. Patrick, in person.

⁴⁸ *Muredach Munderg*, i. e. the Red-necked. He was of the Dal Fiatach tribe, and died in 479. He must not be confounded with Eocaidh Mmremar, i. e. the Short-necked, grandfather of Fergus Mor Mac Eirc and his brothers.

⁴⁹ *Assembly of Temhair.* Two assemblies of the States-General are specially recorded during this reign—one in 463, the other in 465. Olild appears to have been a wise prince. His predecessor having evidently died an unbeliever, he may, perhaps, be considered the first Christian King of Ireland.

⁵⁰ *Feis of Cruachain and the Feis of*

We have heretofore treated of the affairs transacted at the Feis of Temhair. The chief business done at the two latter was the examination of those persons, who exercised mechanical or laborious crafts in Ireland, such as the smiths, carpenters, or other handicraftmen. The ollamhs and nobles, assembled at those meetings, were wont to elect sixty persons of each craft out of those that presented themselves on these occasions; after this, they assigned to each man his own distinct district of Ireland, wherein to practice his calling; but, even then, it was not lawful for him to practice his craft, in such district, without having first obtained the consent of the Saei-ré-ceird (*See-ré-caird*), or Master Mechanic of his own craft, who presided over the district assigned to him; and without having been approved by said Master Mechanic, as fully competent to practice his craft, because "Bardcraft⁵¹ is similar to Handicraft."

The Lebar Iris calls Olild Molt, the King of the Scots. It was during his reign St. Benen, or St. Benignus, the Comhorba or successor of St. Patrick,⁵² died. It was, moreover, in his time that the Scots and Piets waged war against Ambrosius, King of Britain. Conall Cremthanni⁵³ died during his reign, as did, like-

Emhain. These must not be confounded with the great national festivals held, as before seen, at Tlachtga, Talti and Uisnech. The aentaighe (*ainthee*), or fairs, held at Emhain and Cruachain must have been respectively the provincial festivals of Ulster and Connaught. They seem improperly introduced here, in so much as Emhain had been destroyed centuries before the present reign, and the former glory of the line of Ir, son of Miledh, had long passed away. Connaught, too, was no longer held by her ancient Belgic kings. She had now become an apponage of the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

⁵¹ *Bardcraft, &c* In Gaelic, "Is inann lán is ceird"—seemingly an ancient legal maxim, which would mean that the members of the bardic and mechanical professions were governed by similar laws.

⁵² *Comharba of St. Patrick.* St Benen had succeeded St. Patrick as Archbishop of Armagh, upon the latter saint's retirement from that see in 455. The Gaelic word, Comharba, means ecclesiastical successor. As before stated, he was the original com-

piler of the Book of Rights, as the following verse of that ancient work testifies:

"Benen—a blessing on the man—
Is he who placed in Caisil's Psalter
The rents and senchas of each king,
That noblest walks the land of Mumha."

⁵³ *Conall Cremthanni*, the brother of Laegari, and the ancestor of the royal family of O'Mael-Sechlain, or O'Melaghlin, who bore the tribe name of Clann Colmain. Seventeen Irish monarchs descended from this Conall, who died in 475. In the year 464, his brother, Conall Gulban, founder of the Kinèl-Conaill, had been killed by the Masraide, an ancient tribe of Belgæ, or Fer-Bolgs, seated in Magh-Slecht, near Bally-Magauran, county Cavan, and in the next year, we are told, that Eogan, son of Niall, founder of Kinèl Eogain, died of grief for his brother Conall, and was buried at Uisci-Caein, now Eskakeen, in Inishowen, county Donegal.

"Of tears died Eogan, son of Niall,
(So loving was his kindly nature,)
For Conall of the hardy deeds,
He lies full low at Uisci-caein."

—See *Four Masters*.

wise, St. Iarlathi,⁵⁴ who was the third Archbishop of Armagh, after St. Patrick. Simplicius was then the Sovereign Pontiff.

Olild Molt fought the battle of Dumha-Caichir⁵⁵ against the Leinstermen, in which great numbers fell on both sides. Attacked by Lugaidh, son of his predecessor Laegari, who was assisted by Murkertach Mor Mae Erca, by Fergus Kerbeol, son of Conall Crenthanni, and by Fiachadh Lonn, son of Caelbadh, King of Dal-Araide, Olild was vanquished and slain, at the battle of Ocha,⁵⁶ of which the bard says:

“By Lugaidh and by Fiachra Lonn
And by the tall Murkertach Mor,
With whom was Fergus, free from faults,
Was slain the generous Olild Molt.”

It was twenty years after this battle of Ocha, that the six sons of Ere, son of Eocaidh Munremar, passed over to Alba. They were named the two Aenguses, the two Loarns and the two Ferguses.

Three hundred and seven years had passed between the time of Conobar, son of Nesa, and that of Cormac, son of Art; two hundred and four years from the time of Cormac until the battle of Ocha was fought; and it was twenty years after that event, when the sons of Ere migrated to Alba.

Duach Galach,⁵⁷ the youngest son of Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, was King of Connaught in the time of Olild. He reigned seven years, until he fell by the sword of Eocaidh Tirmearna.

LUGAIDH, ARD-RIGIL.

A. D. 477.⁵⁸ Lugaidh,⁵⁹ son of Laegari, son of Niall Naei-ghiallach, of the line of Erimhon, now mounted the throne of Ireland,

⁵⁴ *St. Iarlathi.* His name is also written Iarfhlaithé (*Eerlähie*). He did not die until the next reign, in 481. He must not be confounded with St. Iarlath, of Tuam. St. Patrick being still alive, had now seen two of his successors borne to their graves before himself.

⁵⁵ *Dumha Caichir*, i. e. Caicher's Mound. It is sometimes called Dumha Aichir. Locality unknown.

⁵⁶ *Ocha.* This place was situated near Temhair. “The memorable migration of the sons of Ere is marked by Irish annalists as having occurred twenty years after the great battle of Ocha, in which Olild Molt was slain. This battle itself, too, forms an epoch in Irish history, as the race of the Nials, on whom victory then declared, were, by the fortunes of that day's

combat, rendered masters of all Ireland.”—*Moore.* The chiefs who united against Olild on this occasion were his successor Lugaidh, Murkertach Mae Erca, Fergus Kerbeol, Fiachra, king of Dal-Araide, and Crimthann, king of Leinster. “It was of this battle Beg Mac Dé said:

“The great fight of Ocha was fought,
In which were cut off many legions,
’Gainst Olild Molt, son of Dathl,
O'er whom the tribe of Araide triumphed.”

—*See Four Masters.*

⁵⁷ *Duach Galach.* This was the youth to whom St. Patrick had given his benediction. It was Duach Tengumha, not Duach Galach, that fell by Eocaidh Tirmearna, several years later.

⁵⁸ A. D. 479. *Four Masters.*

⁵⁹ LUGAIDH VI. He reigned twenty-five years, according to some accounts.

which he held for twenty years. All this time Fraech, son of Finncaidh, was King of Leinster. In the reign of Lugaidh was fought the battle of Kell-Osna,⁶⁰ in Magh-Fea, in the county of Carlow, four miles west of Leighlin. In it fell Aengus, son of Nadfraech, King of Munster,⁶¹ after he had reigned thirty-six years; and with him was slain his wife Ethni Uathach, daughter of Crimthann, son of Enna Kennselach. They were slain by Murkertach Mor Mac Erc, and Olild, son of Dunlaing. It was of this fight that the poet has said :

“ Then died that branch, that spreading tree⁶² of gold,
Praiseworthy Aengus, son of Nadfraech,
By Olild's hand his luck went down,
On fell Kell-Osnadh's sloping field.”

After this, Fraech, son of Finncaidh, was killed at the battle of Granni,⁶³ by Eocaidh, son of Carbri. Felix the Third was then Pope, that is, in the tenth year of the reign of Lugaidh, son of Laegari. About this time, also, was fought the battle of Slemhain,⁶⁴ in Meath, by Carbri, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. St. Mochaei,⁶⁵ of Aendrom, died, and the battle of Kenn-Albi⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *Kell-osna*, or Kell-osnadh, is now Kellinst, and lies in the barony of Forth.

⁶¹ *King of Munster*. According to the old annals of Innisfallen, he was one of the five kings of the line of Eber, that the southern claimed as monarchs of Ireland, after the introduction of Christianity. It is evident, however, that he was never generally acknowledged as such, though he may have been called so by his own people, and have had more power in his own half of Ireland than the monarch had in his. The battle in which he fell was fought in 469.

⁶² *Spreading Tree*, &c. “ He is the common ancestor of the sept of Mac Carthy, O'Callaghan, O'Keefe and O'Sullivan, now so widely spread throughout Ireland, England and America, and even on the continent of Europe, where some of them bear coronets. If the saplings of the “spreading tree of gold” could now be reckoned in the countries in which they have pullulated, it would appear that they are vastly numerous, and that, as the multiplication of a race is a blessing, King Aengus has reaped the full benefit of the ‘*alma benedictio*’ imparted by St. Patrick, when he

baptized him at Cashel, and, by a singular mistake, put his faith to the trial by piercing his foot with his crozier.” — *O'Donovan*. Numerous, indeed, they are, but when will they remember that the altars of Cashel lie overthrown, that strangers possess the fertile fields of the Eoganachts, and that gaunt famine, more murderous by far than the swords of Leth Cuinn, spreads periodical desolation through the wretched homesteads of Leth-Mogha?—*Ed.*

⁶³ *Granni*. There were two battles fought at this place in the reign of Lugaidh. In the first, fought in 485, amongst the Leinstermen themselves, Finncaidh, lord of the Ui Kimselaigh, and father of Fraech, fell. The second, that above-mentioned, was fought in 492, against Murkertach Mac Erc.

⁶⁴ *Slemhain*. This battle was fought in 492. The Carbri, son of Niall, who gained it, was an obstinate Pagan, and an inveterate enemy of St. Patrick.

⁶⁵ *St. Mochaei*. He was a disciple of Patrick. He died in 496. Aendrom is now called Mahee Island—situated in Strangford Lough.

⁶⁶ *Kenn Albi*. Probably the name of some hill in Magh Albi, in the south of Kildare. The battle was fought in 494.

was fought in Leinster, by Carbri, the above-mentioned son of Niall; then, also, was fought the battle of Seghais,⁶⁷ where Duach Teng-umha, King of Connaught, was killed by Murkertach Mor Mac Erc, as the poet says in this verse:

“The battle of Dëlga, the battle of Mucrumha,
And the battle of Tuaim Druba,
And, with these, the battle of Seghais,
Wherein fell Duach Teng-umha.”

It was about this time that the battle of Lochmagh⁶⁸ was gained by the Leinstermen over the Ui Neill, and in it great numbers were slain on both sides.

Final Settlement of the Dal-Riadic Scots⁶⁹ in Alba.

A. D. 503. Shortly afterwards, Fergus Mor, son of Erc,⁷⁰ with the Dal Riada, emigrated to Alba, and seized upon its sovereignty.^{70*}

⁶⁷ *Seghais*. The old name of the Curleu Hills, near Boyle, on the confines of Roscommon and Sligo. “The cause of the battle was this, viz: Murkertach was a guarantee between the king and Eocaidh Tirmearna, his brother, and Eocaidh was taken prisoner, against the protection of Murkertach. In proof of which Kenuaeladh said:

“The battle of Seghais—
From woman’s wrath it sprung;
There, red gore o’er lances welled,
For Dulsech, Duach’s daughter!”

—*Four Masters*.

Dulsech was the wife of Murkertach Mac Erc, whom she excited to fight this battle against her own father, because he had imprisoned her foster-father.

⁶⁸ *Lochmagh*. The battle was not fought until 500.

⁶⁹ *Settlement of the Dal-Riadic Scots*. This migration is improperly entered at A. D. 498 in the *Four Masters*. It did not occur until the year 503, as Dr. Connor has shown (*Proleg. ad Ann.*, p. lxxxvi.) — See *Dr. O’Donovan’s note upon the event*, p. 160 *Four Masters*.

⁷⁰ *Erc*. He was the son of Eocaidh Munrembar, and King of the Dal-Riada. He had himself made a fresh Irish settlement in Alba in 440; but, it

would appear that the Scoto-Albanian colonists were, at the present time, oppressed by their neighbors the Piets. The reader must not confound this Erc, the Dalriadic chief, with Erc, or Erca, the mother of Murkertach, the next king of Ireland.

^{70*} *Seized upon its Sovereignty*. “The colony planted in those regions by Carbri Riada, in the middle of the third century, though constantly fed with supplies from the parent stock (the Dalriadians of Antrim), had run frequent risks of extirpation from the superior power of their neighbors and rivals, the Piets. In the year 503, however, the Dalriadian princes of Ireland, aided by the then all-powerful influence of the Hy-Nial family, were enabled to transplant a new colony into North Britain, which, extending the limits of the former settlement, set up, for the first time, a regal authority, and became, in a single century, sufficiently powerful to shake off all dependence upon Ireland.” — *Moore’s History of Ireland*.

“The Scots were of Irish origin; for, to the great confusion of history, the inhabitants of Ireland, those, at least, of the conquering and predominating caste, were called Scots. A colony of these Irish Scots, distin-

Death of St. PATRICK, the Apostle.

St. Patrick died" in Ireland, A. D. 493, in the fourteenth year of Lugaidh's reign, after having lived one hundred and twenty-two years on this earth, as I have heretofore shown.

gushed by the name of Dalriads, or Dalreudini, natives of Ulster, had early attempted a settlement on the coast of Argyleshire. They finally established themselves there under Fergus, the son of Eric, about the year 503, and, recruited by colonies from Ulster, continued to multiply and increase, until they formed a nation, which occupied the western side of Scotland," &c. — *Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland.*

⁷¹ *St. Patrick's Death.* "The age of Christ, 492. The fifteenth year of Lugaidh, Patrick, son of Calphronn, son of Potaide, Archbishop, First Primate and Chief Apostle of Ireland, whom Pope Celestine the First had sent to preach the Gospel, and disseminate religion and piety among the Irish, was the person who separated them from the worship of idols and spectres, who conquered and destroyed the idols which they had for worshiping, who expelled demons and evil spirits from among them, and brought them from the darkness of sin and vice to the light of faith and good works, and who guided and conducted their souls from the gates of hell, to which they were going, to the gates of the kingdom of heaven. It was he that baptized and blessed the men, women, sons and daughters of Ireland, with their territories and tribes, both fresh waters and sea inlets. It was by him that many cells, monasteries and churches were founded throughout Ireland, seven hundred churches was their number. It was by him that bishops, priests, and persons of every dignity were ordained, seven hundred bishops and three thousand priests was their number. He worked so many miracles and wonders, that the human mind is incapable of remembering or recording the amount of good which he did upon the earth. When the time of St. Patrick's death ap-

proached, he received the body of Christ from the hands of the holy bishop, Tassach, in the hundred and twenty-second year of his age, and resigned his spirit to heaven. There was a rising of battle and a cause of dissension in the province, contending for the body of Patrick, after his death—the Ui Neill and the Oirghialla, attempting to bring it to Armagh; the Ulta to keep it with themselves. And the Ui Neill and the Oirghialla came to a certain water, and the river swelled against them, so that they were not able to cross it, in consequence of the greatness of the flood. When the flood subsided, these hosts, i. e. the Ui Neill and the Ulta, united on terms of peace to bring the body of Patrick with them. It appeared to each of them, that each had the body, conveying it to their respective territories; so that God separated them in this manner, without a fight or battle. The body of Patrick was afterwards buried at Dunda-leth-glas, with great honor and veneration. And during the twelve nights that the religious seniors were watching the body, with psalms and hymns, it was not night in Magh-inis, or the neighborhoods, as they thought, but as if it were the full undarkened light of day."—*Four Masters.*

The Tassach mentioned in the extract, was the patron saint of Rath Colptha, now Raholp, near Saul, in the barony of Lecale, and county Down. Saul (in Irish, Sabhal Phadraig, i. e. Patrick's Barn,) was the first place where the saint had celebrated the Divine Sacrifice after his landing in Ireland. It was granted to him by the chieftain Dicho, his earliest convert, and having been consecrated by his first spiritual triumph, it continued to be his most favored retreat, unto his death. "No sooner had the news spread throughout Ireland that the great apostle was no more, than the

Lugaidh died soon after. He was killed by lightning, at Achadh-Farcha,⁷² for having violated the law of St. Patrick.

MURKERTACH MOR MAC ERCA, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 497.⁷³ Murkertach⁷⁴ Mac Erca, son of Muredach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, succeeded to the throne, and reigned twenty-four years. Erca, daughter of Loarn, or Lodharn, King of Alba, was his mother. In the beginning of this monarch's reign, St. Kiàran Mac an t-Saeir (*Mac an Theer*) was born. This saint was of the race of Core, son of Fergus Mac Roigh, of the line of Ir. About this time, also, was born the holy abbot St. Comgall (*Cowgal or Cowal*), of Bennchor, who had forty thousand monks under his rule and government, as we read in the Red Book of Mac Aedagain. This should be the more readily believed, as we read in a work of unquestioned authority, namely: in St. Bernard's Life of Malachias, that one of the disciples of the abbot St. Comgall, who had been sent on the mission from his monastery, had himself founded one hundred monasteries. St. Comgall was of the race of Irial, son of Conall Kearnach, son of Amirghin, of Clanna Rudraide, who were of the line of Ir, son of Miledh. His descent is thus recorded in a verse of the *Nacimh-shenchas*⁷⁵ (*Neev-hannaghas*):

clergy flocked from all quarters to Sabhul, to assist in solemnizing his obsequies; and as every bishop, or priest, according as he arrived, felt naturally anxious to join in honoring the dead, by the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, the rites were continued without interruption through day and night. To psalmody and chaunting of hymns the hours of the night were all devoted, and so great was the pomp and profusion of torches kept constantly burning, that, as those who describe the scene express it, darkness was dispelled, and the whole time appeared to be one constant day."—*Moore's History of Ireland.*

⁷² *Achadh Farcha*; i. e. the Field of Lightning; it lay in Meath. Lugaidh had insulted St. Patrick, and for it he is said to have been thus punished.

"Upon the awful Achadh Farcha
Died Lugaidh, son of Lægair,
Without praise in Heaven or here;
A flash of lightning smote him down."

—*Four Masters.*

⁷³ A. D. 504. *Il.* O'Flaherty introduces an interregnum of five

years after the death of the last monarch. The probability, however, is, that there was none; for Murkertach, who was the Hector of the Ui Neill, was then too powerful in Ireland to be kept from the throne. The Munster annalists, however, do not admit of his immediate accession to the royalty, but, about this epoch, would place the crown upon the head of Eocaidh, son of Aengus, King of Leth-Mogha, in his place.

⁷⁴ MURKERTACH II. Dr. Keating has called him elsewhere the brother of Fergus Mor, son of Ere, King of the Dal-Riada. He was, however, but the maternal cousin of that conqueror. It is this monarch, that is said to have sent the Lia Fail to Scotland; but whoever will judge his character by his deeds, must see the extreme improbability of supposing that so proud and warlike a champion would have parted with the sacred inauguration-stone of the kings of his race.

⁷⁵ *Nacimh-Shenchas*, i. e. the Saint-history.

“ Comgall of Bennchor, son of Sedna,
Whose soul no dread of death dismayed,
From Ulad's lordly race had sprung,
Of the blood of Irial, son of Comhall.”

The Emperor Anastasius died about this time; when, also, died St. Cainnech,⁷⁶ of Achadh-Bo [ahavo]. This saint sprung from the blood of Fergus Mac Roigh. About this time, was born Colam-Killi, or Columkille,⁷⁷ son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Connal Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages; and now, also, died St. Brighitt,⁷⁸ daughter of Dubhtach Donn, son of

⁷⁶ *St. Cainnech.* He did not die until A. M. 508. From him Kilkenny (in Irish, Cill Chainnigh, i. e. the Church or Cell of Cainnech,) has its name. His principal church was at Achadh Bo (*Aghabo*), and we are told that he had another at Cill Bighmonigh (now St. Andrews), in Alba.—*O'D.*

⁷⁷ *Columkille.* This saint was born about the year 531.

⁷⁸ *St. Brighitt*, or Brigid (*Breeyith*). St. Bridget, as her name has been commonly anglicized, one of the most venerated of the Irish saints, was, as is seen by the pedigree above given, descended of the tribe of the Fotharta of Leinster. Her death is thus recorded by the *Four Masters*: “The age of Christ 525, St. Brighit, virgin, Abbess of Cull-dara, died. It was to her that Cill-dara was first granted, and by her it was founded. It was she who never turned her attention from the Lord for one hour, but was constantly meditating and thinking of him in her heart and mind, as is evident in her own life and in that of St. Brendan, Bishop of Cluain-Ferta. She spent her time diligently serving the Lord, performing wonders and miracles, healing every disease and malady, until she resigned her spirit to heaven, on the first day of the month of February, and her body was interred at Dun, in the same tomb with St. Patrick, with honor and veneration.”

The institution of female monasteries, or nunneries, such as, in the 4th century, were established abroad by Melania, and other pious women, was introduced into Ireland, towards

the close of the 5th century, by St. Brigid; and so general was the enthusiasm which her example excited, that the religious order which she instituted spread its branches through every part of the country. She took the veil herself at a very early age, and was followed in this step by seven or eight maidens, who formed at first her small religious community. The pure sanctity of the virgin's life, and the miraculous gifts attributed to her, spread her fame more widely every day, and crowds of young women and widows applied for admission into her institution. This compelled her to found some one great establishment, over which she should herself preside. The people of her native province of Leinster requested her to fix upon their province as her residence. To this she assented, and a habitation was immediately provided for her, which formed the commencement both of her great monastery, and of the city of Kildare. The name of Kill-dara, or Cell of the Oak, was given to this mansion, from a very high oak tree that grew near the spot, of which the trunk still remained in the 12th century, no one daring to touch it with a knife. The honor of possessing her remains was contested not only by different parts of Ireland—the Ulstermen claiming that she was buried in Down, not at Kildare,—while the Picts and British Scots insisted that Abernethy was her resting place. But in no place was she honored with more devotion than in the Western Isles, where most of the churches were dedicated to her patron-

Dremni, son of Bresal, son of Dian, son of Connla, son of Art, son of Carbri Niadh, son of Cormac, son of Aengus Mor, son of Eocaidh Finn Fuathairt, son of Feidlimidh Rectmar, son of Tuathal Tectmar, of the line of Erimhon. She was then eighty-seven years old, according to some accounts ; according to others, seventy. She was the first abbess of Kill-dara (Kildare). Her genealogy is given down, after the following manner, in the bardic senchas :

“Brighitt was daughter of Dubthach Donn,
 Son of Dremni, son of Bresal of smooth hair,
 Son of Dian, son of Connla, son of Art,
 Son of Carbri Niadh, son of Cormac,
 Son of Aengus Mor, of high esteem,
 Son of Eocaidh Finn, whom Art detested,
 Son of wise Feidlimidh the Legal,
 The glorious Tuathal Tectmar's son.”

It was about this time that the body of St. Antonius, a holy monk, was miraculously discovered, and brought to Alexandria, where it was enshrined in the church of St. John the Baptist. Murkertach fought the following battles in one year,⁷⁹ according to what the historic bard tells us in the following rann :

“The fight of Kenn-eich, the fight of Almhain,
 (Those were great and glorious times)
 The pillage of the Cliachs, the fight of Aidni,
 And the fight upon Ailbi's blood-red plain.”

Shortly after fighting these battles, King Murkertach died,⁸⁰ in

age. the most solemn oath of the islanders was by her name, and the 1st of February, every year, was held as a solemn festival in her honor. The very name of these islands—Hebrides, as if *Ey Brides*—is said to mean the Isles of Brigid.—See *Moore's History of Ireland*.

⁷⁹ *In one year.* They were fought in 526, in the 23d year of his reign. Kenn-eich, i. e. the Hill of the Horse, is now called Kinneigh, on the borders of Kildare and Wicklow. The Cliachs were in Idrone, county Carlow. Aidni was in Galway ; and Magh Ailbi in Kildare.

⁸⁰ *Murkertach died.* He fell a victim to the vengeance of a concubine named Sin (*Sheen*, i. e. Storm), for whom he had abandoned his lawful queen, but whom he afterwards put away, at the

command of St. Cairnech. Having had her father and kindred, who were of the old tribe of Tara, slain by Murkertach in the battle of Cirb, or Ath Sigh, on the Boyne, she threw herself in his way, and became his mistress, for the express purpose of wreaking her vengeance upon him with greater facility. And the story states, that she burned the house of Cletty over the head of the monarch, who, scorched by the flames, plunged into a puncheon of wine, in which he was suffocated. Hence it was that he was both burned and drowned.—*O'Donovan*.

This doom had, it is said, been prophecied to him by St. Cairnech, in these terms :

“I am fearful of that woman,
 Round whom shall many tempests rage,
 For him who shall be burned by fire,
 And drowned by wine on Clettech's side.”

the palace of Cleitech. It was about this time that St. Albi, or Alveus, Abbot of Imlech, (now Emly),⁸¹ died. St. Baeithin,⁸² Bishop of Luimnech (Limerick), flourished about this time.⁸³

TUATHAL MAEL-GARB, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 527.⁸⁴ Tuathal⁸⁵ Mael-garb, son of Cormac Caech, or the Shortsighted, son of Carbri, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhon, succeeded to the throne, and held it for thirteen years. The reason why he was surnamed Mael-garb, i. e. bald and rough,⁸⁶ was as follows: Immediately after his birth, his mother, Comaein, daughter of Dall Bronnach, to fulfil some superstitious ceremony, struck his head against a stone, as an omen of good luck. The stone made a hollow trench upon his head, upon which no hair ever afterwards grew.

In Tuathal's reign died St. Mochta,⁸⁷ a disciple of St. Patrick, who is said to have lived three hundred years. In his reign was born St. Baeithin,⁸⁸ a disciple of St. Columkille. Baeithin and Columkille were brothers' sons. In his reign, also, died St. Mobi,⁸⁹ surnamed Berchan of the Prophecies. He was of the

⁸¹ *St. Albi of Imlech.* One of the fathers of the Irish Church, and chief patron of Munster. There is some uncertainty as to the time of his death. It is entered in the Irish annals both at the year 526 and 541, but neither can be the real date, if it be true that he had been converted, as is said, so early as A. D. 360. He died on the 12th of December.

⁸² *St. Baeithin, Bishop of Luimnech.* He is considered the founder of the bishoprick of Limerick.

⁸³ The accession of the successor of Murkertach is dated A. D. 527, in one of the editor's MS. copies. He adopts it because it agrees with the common opinion; though it contradicts the text, by making him reign 29 instead of 24 years. Of Murkertach the bard Kennfaeladh sung:

"The royal Mac Erc returns
Into the lands of the Uí Neill;
Blood reached the girdles in his battles,
With profit to the sons of Kian.
Nine times he beareth off nine chariots,
In memory long his fame shall live;
From Uí Neill he took hostages,
And hostages from Mumha's plain."

—*Four Masters.*

⁸⁴ A. D. 528. *Id.*

⁸⁵ TUATHAL II. He reigned but 11 years, according to some.

⁸⁶ *Bald and Rough.* Mael-garbh (*mael-garve*) may also mean the *rough chief*, for *mael* likewise signifies a lord or chief. The derivation above given is very silly.

⁸⁷ *St. Mochta*, or Mocteus, was one of St. Patrick's disciples, and Bishop of Lugh-mhagh (*Loo-vaa*), or Louth. The legends say that he lived for three hundred years, but Drs. Lanigan and Colgan, after careful examination of collateral facts, have reduced his age to 100, or 130 at most.

⁸⁸ *St. Baeithin.* He was a distinguished scribe, and became Abbot of I-Colm Kille, or Iona. His principal church in Ireland was Tech Baeithin (*Tagh Baiheen*), now Taughboyne, in the barony of Raphoe, county Donegal. His festival was kept on the 9th of June, on which day he died, in the year 598. He was son of Brenann, the uncle of Colum Kille.

⁸⁹ *St. Mobi.* He was called Mobhi, or Mobhai Claraingech (*Movee Clarin-gagh*), i. e. Mobi of the Flat Face. Some prophecies attributed to him, under the name of Berchan, are still extant. He

race of Fiacaídh Bacheda, son of King Cathaíir Mor. Comgall, King of Alba, died about this time. It was, likewise, in Tuathal's reign that the battle of Tortan, in Leinster, was fought, where Ere, son of Olild Molt, was slain. From this Ere came the Fir Kera.⁹⁰ About the same time, the battle of Sligeach⁹¹ (*Shliggagh*) was fought by Fergus and Donnall, sons of Murkertach Mac Erea. In it was slain Eogan Bèl, who had reigned over Connaught for thirty-five years. Odran,⁹² the Saint of Leitreach, died. He was of the race of Conari, son of Mògh Lamha. St. Kíaran Mac-an-t-Saíir⁹³ died in his forty-first year.

was Abbot of Glass Naidhen, now Glasnevin, on the bank of the Finn-glaisi, to the north of the river Liffey.

"In the 8th year of Tuathal, A. D. 535, the Abbey of Doiri-Calgaigh (Derry) was founded by the latter saint, the place having been granted to him by his own tribe, i. e. the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall."—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁰ *Fir Kera*, i. e. the inhabitants of the barony of Carra, or Cera (*Carra*), county of Mayo. They are not descended from an Ere, son of Olild Molt, whose race became extinct in his grandsons, Olild Inbanda, and Aedh Fortambhail, but from Ere Cul-bluidhe (*Cool-wee*), eldest son of Fiachra, son of King Eocaidh Muigh-medon. The three chieftain septa of the Fir-Kera were: O Tighernaigh (Tierney), O Gormghail, or Gormog, and O Muiredhaigh (O Murray).—*See Tribes and Customs of the Uí Fiachrach*.

⁹¹ *Sligeach*, i. e. the river Sligo. This battle was fought by the northern Uí Neill against Uí Fiachrach, in 537. "The latter were routed, and Eogan Bèl, their king, was slain; of which it was said:

"That fight with Fiachra's race, and Bèl
Was fought with sharp and vengeful blades;
Spear-goaded groaned the foeman's kine,
When that red fight o'er Crinder spread.
To the wide waves then Sligeach wafted
The blood of brave men and their bodies;
And borne from Eba were great trophies,
Round that grim head of Eogan Bèl."

—*Four Masters*.

But we are told in the life of his son, St. Kellach, that Eogan lived three days, or, according to others, a week, after being mortally wounded in

this battle, and that he ordered his people to bury his body on the south side of the Sligeach, in a standing posture, with a red javelin in his hand, and with his face turned towards Ulster, as if fighting with his foes. This having been done, the result is said to have been, that the Connaughtmen routed the men of Ulster while the body remained so placed, but the Ulstermen learning the talismanic cause of their defeats, disinterred the body of Eogan, and buried it on the north side of the Sligeach, at Aenach-Locha-Gili, with the face under, and thus regained their wonted courage.

⁹² *St. Odran*. He did not die until the 2nd of October, 548, in the next reign. He is the patron saint of Leitreach-Odhraín (*Lethragh Orauin*), now Latteragh, in the barony of Lower Ormond, county Tipperary. The name of St. Patrick's charioteer was also Odran, and he is venerated as the first martyr of the Irish Church, and the only saint of ancient times whose blood had been shed, for the Faith's sake, by an Irishman. St. Odran having heard that a chieftain of the Uí Failgí designed to waylay and assassinate the Irish apostle, on his way through the King's County, contrived, under the pretence of being himself fatigued, to induce his master to take the driver's seat, and so, being mistaken for St. Patrick, he received the murderous lance in his stead. He is the patron saint of Disert Odhraín, in Uí Failgí.

⁹³ *St. Kíaran Mac-an-t-Saíir*. This saint also died in the next reign. His death is entered in the *Four Masters* under the year 548, when he died, on

Beoidh was the name of his father, and Darerca⁹⁵ that of his mother, as he tells us himself in the following verse :

“ Darerca⁹⁵ my mother was,
No humble serf was she ;
Beoidh, the Saer, my sire was named
Of lauded Latharna sprung he.”

At this time the head fell off a cripple⁹⁶ at the fair, or assembly, of Talti, because he had sworn falsely by the hand of St. Kiaran. Some say that he lived, amongst the monks, for the space of five years without a head. Soon after, King Tuathal Macl-garb was killed by Maelmorda, son of Mathar,⁹⁷ at the instigation of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeòl, at Grellach Eithli.

the 9th day of September. He was the founder of Cluain-mic-Nois, now called Clonmacnoise, otherwise the Seven Churches, on the east side of the Shannon, in the King's County. He must be distinguished from St. Kiaran Saighri, the patron of Ossory, who was one of St. Patrick's precursors. St. Kiaran is said to have dwelt but seven months in Cluain-mic-Nois when he died.

⁹⁵ *Darerca*. This lady was of the race of Corc, son of Fergus Mac Roigh. Darerca was also the name of one of St. Patrick's sisters, or of one of those religious ladies who have been, perhaps, figuratively called his sisters by the Irish shannachies.

⁹⁶ *Latharna*. Beoidh has been called a Connaughtman by some writers. But that can scarcely be, if the reading, *Latharna*, in the verse above given, be correct. *Latharna* (*Laharna*) was the old name of the territory around the present town of Larne, anciently Inber Latharna, in the county of Antrim. Beoidh was probably of Pietish blood.

⁹⁶ *A Cripple*. “Do thuit a chenn de bhacach,” i. e. his head fell off a cripple, or halt person, is the phrase used by Dr. Keating. This person is called Abacuc by the *Four Masters*, who enter the singular event in these terms, under A. D. 539: “The decapitation of Abacuc at the Fair of Talti, through the miracles of God and Kiaran; that is, a false oath he took upon the hand of Kiaran, so that a

gangrene took him in the neck; that is, St. Kiaran put his hand upon his neck, so that it cut off his head.” This somewhat explains the origin of the extravagant legend above narrated. The disease of which Abacuc (possibly some notorious perjurer) died, whether the consequence of his impiety or not, was a perfectly natural one, if we allow a little to popular hyperbole.

⁹⁷ *Maelmorda, Son of Mathar*. In the *Four Masters* he is called Maelmor Mac Airgeadain, tutor of Diarmaid Mac Kerbeoil. Diarmaid having laid claim to the Irish throne, had been banished and outlawed by Tuathal, who offered a large reward to whomsoever might bring him his rival's heart. Diarmaid, upon this, took refuge in the wilds of Artibra, where Clonmacnois is now situated, and there he met with St. Kiaran, who had but lately come thither, from Inis Aingin, now Hare's Island, in the Shannon. While he was in this place, the saint prayed for the prince's success, and gave him his benediction. Thereupon, Maelmor, son of Airgeadan, seeing the prince's difficulties, besought him to lend him his black horse, for the purpose of going to Grellach Eilti, where Tuathal was about to have a meeting with some of his nobles, and of there slaying the monarch, in the midst of his people. Having procured the horse from the prince, Maelmor rode thereon to Grellach Eilti, and entered the host of Tuathal bearing a hound's heart on the point of his blood-stained lance. The

It was in the reign of Tuathal that Guairi, son of Colman, became King of Connaught, as the successor of Eogan Bel. At the time of his accession, it happened that the eldest son of Eogan Bel, who was named Kellach, was a disciple of St. Kiaran, and on the point of becoming a monk. But the friends of Eogan Bel allured this Kellach from the congregation of St. Kiaran, in order to make him their chieftain, in opposition to Guairi. But upon his coming out of the convent, St. Kiaran gave him his malediction, and prayed to God that a violent death might overtake him. Then, when the youth had been a sometime outside the convent, he understood that he had done ill in breaking through St. Kiaran's rule. He thereupon returned to his spiritual superior and made his submission, promising to remain at his disposal during his lifetime. St. Kiaran, upon this, gave him his blessing, but he said to him that he should, nevertheless, meet with a violent end. Kellach, then, remained in the congregation of St. Kiaran, until, in course of time, he was made bishop.⁹³ Having reached this dignity in the country, he took

multitude, imagining that it was the heart of Diarmaid that he carried, made way for him to the royal presence. Arrived there, he made an offer as if to present the heart to the king; but instead thereof, he transfixed the latter with his lance. Tuathal's guards immediately fell upon the assassin, and cut him down upon the spot; whereon the bard said;

"The fate of Maelmor was not slow,
The deed he wrought was wrong;
The mighty Tuathal he has slain,
Himself falls in that act."

—*Four Masters.*

Grellach Eithi, i. e. the Miry Place of the Does, where this deed was perpetrated, was at the foot of Sliabh Gamh, now Slieve Gamh, in the county of Sligo. *Eithi*, the word in the text, is incorrect.

⁹³ *A Bishop, &c.* Kellach, or rather St. Kellach, became bishop of Kilmore Moy, in Tirawley, but he was compelled to resign his bishoprick, and to retire as a hermit to Oilën Edgair, in Loch Conn, from fear of Guairi Aidni, who held him in mortal hatred. While he was living there in his hermitage, Guairi bribed four of his pupils, Mac Deoraidh, Maelcrouin, Maeldalua and Maelsenaigh, to murder him, and these

committed the foul deed in a wood that lay between Loch Conn and Loch Cullinn, in the south of Tirawley. As a reward for their services, these wretches were granted the whole territory of Tirawley by Guairi; and there they erected themselves the fort of Dan Finé. The second son of Eogan Bel, named Muredach, but who was also called Cu-Congelt, having come soon after to visit his brother, and not having found him, suspected that he had met with foul play, and after some search, discovered his body, mangled by ravens and wolves, in the hollow of an oak tree. He then carried the disfigured remains successively to the churches of Turloch and Lis Callain, but was refused admittance into either, through fear of Guairi. He at length buried it with due honors at the Church of Eiserecha. Having there chaunted a short dirge over his brother's grave, in which he vowed vengeance against his murderers, he assembled a band of 300 of his kinsmen and retainers, with whom he set out for Ui Mani, where he dwelt for a year. Thence he proceeded to Meath, where after some time, he married Acifi, daughter of Blathmac, King of Ireland. After some time he returned to

part with his younger brother, for whom he strove to gain partisans and friends, in his factious attempts to make himself King of Connaught. When Guairi had heard of his proceedings, he suborned three of Kellach's own trusted people to assassinate him. Thus was St. Kieran's prophecy fulfilled, for he had foretold that Kellach should die by violence.

DIARMAID, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 534.⁹⁹ Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeòl, son of Conall Cremthanni, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the race of Erimhon, acquired the kingdom of Ireland, and held it for twenty-two years.¹⁰⁰ His mother's name was Carbach, daughter of Mani, a woman of the Leinster people. In the reign of this prince, St. Tighernach,¹ Bishop of Cluain-Eois, died. He was of the race of Dari Barach, son of Cathair Mor. Then, also, died Olild, son of Muredach, who had been for nine years King of Leinster. Cormac, son of Olild, son of Eocaidh, the son of Dari Kerb, son of Olild Flann Beg, was King of Munster. In this time was fought the battle of Cuil Conari,² in Kera, by Fergus and Donnald, the two sons of Murkertach Mac Erca, where Olild Anbfann³ (*Anvann*) King of Connaught, fell, with his brother Aedh Fortamhail.⁴ In the reign of Diarmaid, there came a plague upon Ireland. It was called the Crom Connail,⁵ and many of the saints of Ireland died thereof, among whom was St.

Tirawley, which was his paternal inheritance, and procuring admittance, by the aid of a swineherd, into the fort of Dun Finé, disguised himself as a swineherd also, while the murderers of his brother were engaged in banqueting. He waited there until his enemies were stupefied with strong drink; then he sent word, by his friend the swineherd, to his armed band, which lay concealed in the neighborhood, and they, rushing into the fort, slew all the guards, and seized upon the four murderers. The guests, learning who it was that had thus disturbed them, were more pleased than grieved thereat, and finished their revelry in honor of the rightful heir. The assassins were hanged next day, and soon after Cu-Congelt obtained the hostages of Tir-Fiachrach and Tir-Amalgaidh, and compelled Guairi to live thenceforth in Tir-Fiachrach Aidni, in the south of that province, where his progeny ever

after remained.—*See Tribes and Customs of the Uí Fiachrach.*

⁹⁹ A. D. 539. *Four Masters.*

¹⁰⁰ *Twenty-two years.* Twenty years.

¹ *St. Tighernach.* He died in 548, on the 4th of April. Cluain Eois (*clooin Oash*) is now called Clones, situated in the county of Monaghan.

² *Cuil Conari.* This battle was fought in Carra, or Cera, co. Mayo, in A. D. 544.

³ *Olild Anbfann*, i. e. Olild the Weak. This chief is surnamed Inbanda by the *Four Masters*, and others. The epithet *Anbfann* could have scarcely been applicable to any man able to elevate himself to kingship in those days, when the strong hand was the only passport to power.

⁴ *Aedh Fortamhail*, i. e. Aedh the Valiant.

⁵ *Crom Connail.* This word is translated Fava Ictericia (the Yellow Jaundice), by Colgan.—*O'D.*

Mac Tail,⁶ of Kill Culinn. About the same time was fought the battle of Cuil, or Cuilni, where a great number of the Corcuighe^{6*} were slain, through the prayers of St. Mida,⁷ a pious and noble lady of the race of Fiacaídh Suighe, son of Feidlimídh Rectmar, whom these people had insulted.

Eocaidh, son of Counla, son of Caelbadh, son of Crun Badraei, son of Eocaidh Coba, King of Uladh,⁸ died about this time, having ruled over that principality for nine years. He was the first king of the Dal Araíde. Then, likewise, died the prophet St. Beg Mac De.⁹ St. Molua,¹⁰ the son of Sinell, son of Amirghin, son of Erniu, son of Duach Galach, son of Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, was born about this time; and the Bishop of¹¹ Achadh Cuiriri, and St. Nesan¹² the Leper, died. During the reign of Diarmaid, the church of Cluain Cluain-ferta¹³ was founded by St. Brendan, a descendant of Kiar, son of Fergus Mac Roigh.

⁶ *St. Mac Tail*, called otherwise Eogan, son of Corcran, died on the 11th of June, 548. He is the patron saint of Cill Cuillinn, now Old Killeculen, county Kildare. In the same year died St. Sinchell the Elder, a descendant of Cathaer Mor, whose feast was celebrated at Killeigh, in the King's County, on the 26th of March. And then, also, died St. Fíndén, or Finnen, or Finnian, of Cluain Eraird, called the Tutor of the Saints of Ireland, who founded the College of Clonard, or Cluain Erard, in Meath. St. Colum, of Inis Keltrach, an islet in Lough Derg, near the village of Seariff, co. Clare, is, also, recorded as having died of the Crón Conaill, during the year 548.

^{6*} *Corcuighe*. The name is also read Corcoiche, and Corea Oiche. They were a sept of the Uí Fídgenti, seated in the barony of Lower Connello, co. Limerick. Ó Macassy was their chief. Cuil, or Cuilni, has not been identified.

⁷ *St. Mida*. St. Ida, or Ita. Her monastery was at Cluain Credhail, now Killeedy (Kill Ida), an old parish church, about five miles south of New Castle, county Limerick. She became the patron saint of the Corcoiche. She died in 569. All the churches in Munster called Killeedy are named after this virgin. Her name is also spelled Idé, Ite, Midé and Mité.

⁸ *King of Uladh*. From this king were named the Uí Eathach Uladh (*Ee-Ahagh-Ulta*), dwelling in the present baronies of Upper and Lower Iveagh, county Down. They were Magennissses and their correlatives.

⁹ *St. Beg Mac De*. He died in 557. He is otherwise called Becc, son of Degaidh.

¹⁰ *St. Molua*. The first abbot of Cluain-ferta Molua, now Clonfertmulloe, otherwise Kyle, at the foot of Slieve Bloom, in Upper Ossory, Queen's co. He was otherwise called Lugaidh Mac h-Ui Oiché. His death is recorded at A. D. 605.

¹¹ *The Bishop of, &c.* There is possibly a mistake or omission made by Keating's transcribers. We find that St. Cathub, son of Fergus, Abbot of *Abhadh Chinn* (?) died on the 6th of April, 554.

¹² *St. Nesan*, patron of Mungret, near Limerick, died on the 25th of July, 551.

¹³ *Cluain Ferta*, i. e. the Lawn, or Park of the Grave. It is now called Clonfert, and lies in the county of Galway. The Church of Clonfert was erected in 553, according to some, in 562, according to others. This St. Brendan must not be confounded with his namesake and friend St. Brendan, of Birra. The feast of the former was held on the 16th of May; that of the latter, who was the son of Neman, of

Gabran, King of Alba, died about this time, and Gruaigi, son of Maelcu, King of the Cruthnigh,¹⁴ fought successfully against the Albanaigh, and routed them with fearful slaughter. It was about the same time that Fergus and Domnald, sons of Murkertach Mac Erea, fought a battle at Cuil Dremni,¹⁵ against Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeöl, where the latter was defeated, and most of his forces slain, through the prayers of St. Columkille; for the king had put to death Curnan, son of Aedh, son of Eocaidh Tirmearna, while under the protection of St. Columkille. God punished him therefor, by causing him to suffer this defeat. In further vengeance for his having offended the saint, Diarmaid was again defeated by Aedh, son of Brenann, King of Tebtha, at Cuil Uinsenn,¹⁶ in Tebtha, where great numbers of his people were likewise slain.

Soon after this, Columkille went to Alba to dwell at Aei-Colum-Killi,¹⁷ being then forty-three years old.

the race of Corb Olum, was held on the 29th of November.

It is said in the Life of St. Brendan, that he sailed for seven years in the Western Ocean, and had arrived at some land, that, if there be any truth in the story, must have been America.

¹⁴ *Cruthnigh, &c.* The contradiction implied here is explained by the fact that the Gaelic tribe of the Dal-Araide were about this time called Cruthnigh, for they were maternally descended from the Piets.

¹⁵ *Cuil Dremni.* This place is in the barony of Carbury, to the north of the town of Sligo. The cause of the battle was this: Curnan, son of Aedh, whose father was King of Connaught, had slain a nobleman during the Feis of Temhair, held by Diarmaid in the year 554. Knowing that, by ancient usage, his death alone could atone for the act, Curnan fled for sanctuary to St. Columkille; but Diarmaid would not allow such a national outrage to go unpunished, and, therefore, forced Curnan from the arms of Columkille, and had him put to death. In revenge for this insult put upon their kinsman, the chiefs of the northern Ui Neill, backed by Aedh Tirmearna, King of Connaught, the father of Curnan, attacked Diarmaid, and routed his forces, at Cuil Dremni.

¹⁶ *Cuil Uinsenn*, i. e. the corner, or angle, of the ash trees. Its situation has not been identified. Aedh, son of Brenann, was a friend and relative of St. Columkille. This battle was fought in 556.

¹⁷ *Aei-Colum-Killi*, otherwise I-Colum-Kille, or Iona. St. Columkille, who, it would appear, had excited his powerful relatives to fight these battles against the king, is said to have incurred the censure of the Irish Church for having caused so much bloodshed. This led to his mission, or banishment, to the Western Isles, where the glory he acquired by his energy and perseverance in converting the Piets, and by the purity of his life, soon dispelled any clouds that might have dimmed the lustre of his sanctity in the earlier part of his career. Besides this, we are not to imagine that the saint's hostility to Diarmaid had its origin altogether in personal, or family, or even in official pride. It is likely that Diarmaid, notwithstanding his friendship towards St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise, had still some leaning towards the usages of the Druidic worship. The fault, then, which caused the exile of the saint, may have had its source as much in overwrought religious enthusiasm as in the personal insult offered to him in either his capacity of churchman or,

And it was not long after when the battle of Moin Mor¹⁸ was gained in Alba, by the northern Clanna Neill, in which seven petty kings of the Cruthnigh fell by their hands. About this time died Colman Mor, son of Carbri, son of Dunlaing, who had reigned as King of Leinster for thirty years.

Guairi Aidni, King of Connaught.

In the seventeenth year of this reign, a recluse named Sinnach Cro, came to complain to King Diarmaid that Guairi, the son of Colman, had taken from her the only cow she possessed. Diarmaid, upon this, collected a numerous host, for the purpose of avenging this taking away of the holy woman's cow, perpetrated by the King of Connaught. He then immediately marched to the Shaannon, upon the further bank of which, Guairi had assembled an army to oppose him. Guairi now deputed St. Cumin Fada,¹⁹ son of Fiacaoidh, to request of Diarmaid not to pass the river for the space of twenty-four hours. "That is no such very great boon for thee to request of me," replied Diarmaid to the saint. "Thou mightest obtain a much greater one if thou hadst

of prince of the royal house of Niall. Such, at least, may be gathered from the following translated extract from a rhapsody said to have been composed by the saint, on the occasion of these disputes :

"Wilt thou not, O God, dispel
This fog that hovereth o'er our people;
This host which bath of life bereft us;
This host that around the cairns that reigneth.
Who plotteth against us, is born of the tempest;
But the Son of God is my Druid; refuse me
He will not.
He will aid me," &c.

By the "host around the cairns," he clearly alludes to the Pagan Gods, to whom the cairns were sacred, and by the "fog," to the magic spells practised in the army of Diarmaid. The king had, however, made his peace with the saint, previous to the latter's mission to the Hebrides, which commenced in A. D. 557.

¹⁸ *Moin Mor*. Keating places this locality in Alba, perhaps by a mis-translation of Adannan, who says that it was in Scotia; but by Scotia that ancient writer always meant Ireland. The Four Masters call it Moin-Doire-Lothair (*Mone-Dorrie-Lohir*). Both

names are supposed to be preserved in those of the town of Moneymore, co. Londonderry, and of Derryloran, the parish where it is situated. The Cruthnigh, above-mentioned, were not the Picts of Alba; they were the Gaelic Dal-Araide. By some annalists it is stated that the battle was fought by one faction of these Gaelic Cruthnigh, aided by the Ui Neill, against another. We have seen that the right of maternal succession was in use among the Picts; thus, many chieftains called Picts in our annals may be really of Gaelic origin paternally.

¹⁹ *St. Cumin Fada* was a man of great sanctity and of noble race. He was of the tribe of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, in Kerry, and son of a king of Desmond. He had been educated from his infancy by St. Ida, and was afterwards invited to Connaught by his maternal brother King Guairi, and there he was made Bishop of Clonfert. He died in the year 661, on the 12th of November. His name is found written Cuimin, Caimin, and also Cummian.

demanded it." The kings then remained as they were, on either bank of the river—Diarmaid on the eastern, and Guairi on the western—until the following morning. "I marvel, O Guairi," said St. Cumin, "at the smallness of this host of thine, here assembled, and at the greatness of that led against thee by thine enemy." "Know, then," said Guairi, "that it is not the number of warriors that gain battles, but that victory must fall as God willeth it; and as thou scornest our host, know that it is not comely forms but hardy hearts that win victories." Next day the battle was fought; the king with his forces on the one side, and Guairi, backed by the strength of Connaught and Munster, on the other. However, Guairi and his party lost the day, and many of the nobles of Connaught and Munster fell, and there was a great slaughter of their followers. It was through the prayers of St. Caimin,²⁰ who is honored at Inis Keltrach, that Guairi was defeated in this engagement, for that holy man had fasted for three quarters of a year in order that Guairi might be routed in battle. This St. Caimin was of the race of Fiacaith Bacheda, son of Cathair Mor. Guairi had indeed come to the saint, and paid him respect and homage, and had bowed himself down before him. But Caimin told him, nevertheless, that he could not escape from being worsted in battle.

After his defeat, Guairi came to a little monastery, where he found but one solitary female recluse, or nun. The woman, thereupon, asked him who he was. "I am one of the household guards of Guairi, son of Colman," replied he. "I am grieved," said the recluse, "that defeat should have overtaken that king, for his charity, benevolence and hospitality are greater than those of any man in Ireland—and that red slaughter should have fallen upon his people." The nun then went out to a stream that ran near her dwelling, and seeing a salmon therein, she returned joyfully to tell Guairi thereof. The king went out forthwith to the stream, and killed the salmon, and then returned thanks to God, for his being left trusting to a single salmon that night, notwithstanding his having often had ten beeves dressed in his house at a single feast.

On the morrow, Guairi went to meet his people, and asked their advice as to whether he should again give battle to the King of Ireland, or do him homage at the spear's point. The resolve

²⁰ *St. Caimin.* He is possibly that saint whose death is recorded under the year 664, as that of St. Cummin, Abbot of Clonmicnoise. Guairi and Diarmaid could not have lived in the same age. Guairi Aidni flourished, according to our annals, between

the years 622 and 662. No Irish annals that the editor has met with mention any engagement or meeting between these kings. The narration must, then, be either a pure invention, or the names and dates must have been falsified.

they (Guairi and his people) then took was to go to Diarmaid, and to offer him homage. The mode of his submission was this: the point of the king's sword or javelin was placed in his mouth, betwixt his teeth, while he had himself to remain on his knees. But while Guairi was thus placed, the king (Diarmaid) said privately to some of his people, "We shall now find out if it be through vain ostentation that Guairi performs such acts of extreme generosity;" and he told a certain Druid, who was one of his own people, to ask something from Guairi, in right of his science. But Guairi paid no heed to his request. A leper was next sent, to ask him for alms for God's sake, and Guairi gave the beggar the brooch that fastened his mantle, for he had then no other treasure about him. The leper left him thereupon, but one of the king's people met him, and deprived him of the gold brooch, which he brought to his master. The beggar returned to Guairi to complain of this outrage, and Guairi gave him the golden girdle that he wore round his waist; but the king's people took the girdle also from the poor man, who came again to complain of the outrage to Guairi, who was still holding the point of the king's sword between his teeth. But when that chieftain saw the poor man thus sad and harassed, a stream of tears at length burst from his eyes. "O Guairi," said the king, "is it through sorrow at being in my power that thou weepest thus?" "I give my word that it is not," answered Guairi; "but I am grieved that one of God's poor should have nothing more to get." Diarmaid then told him to arise, and said to him, that he should no longer remain subject to his discretion. That there was a God of all the elements above him, to whom he might do homage, and that such was all that he should ask of him. They then made peace, and Diarmaid invited Guairi to the fair of Talti,²¹ where he promised to proclaim him his successor to the Irish throne, in presence of the men of Ireland. After this, Guairi went to the fair of Talti, and provided a bag, or sack, of silver, for the purpose of making presents to the men of Ireland. But Diarmaid gave orders to those men of Ireland, that not one of them should ask a single present from Guairi on the fair. Two days had thus passed by, when Guairi asked Diar-

²¹ *The Fair of Talti.* Notwithstanding his Christianity, King Diarmaid seems to have been a stern maintainer of the ancient institutions of the Gaels, and which, it would appear, were tottering under the new order of things, being discountenanced by the Catholic clergy. Of his firmness in this respect,

we have seen an instance in the punishment of Curnan, Prince of Comaught. He held the Feis of Temhair twice during his reign; but the Church finally triumphed over him, and Temhair saw the nobles and kings of the Gaels for the last time assembled on her height in A. D. 554.

maid to send him a bishop, in order that he might make his confession, and receive the Last Unction. "Why so?" said Diarmaid. "My death is at hand," said Guairi. "How canst thou feel that it is so?" said Diarmaid. "I understand it," said he, "from the fact of my seeing the men of Ireland assembled together on one spot, without a single man of them coming to ask any bounty from me." Upon this, Diarmaid gave full scope to the bounties of Guairi, who, thereupon, immediately commenced making his gifts to every one that then asked them. And, if the tale be true, it is said that the hand wherewith he gave to the poor was longer than the one wherewith he gave to the learned. At that meeting, Diarmaid ratified his peace with his guest, in presence of the assembled men of Ireland,²² and the two kings lived in friendship thenceforward.

It happened Guairi had a holy person as brother, whose name was Mochua;²³ and once, when this brother had gone to make the Lent, at a spring of pure water, near Borenn, five miles to the southwest of Durlas Guairi, and without any person

²² THE DESERTION OF TEMLAIR, A.D. 554. This important revolution is left unrecorded by Dr. Keating. Mr. Moore, on the authority of our annals, records it in these terms:

"In the reign of this monarch, the ancient Hall, or Court, of Tara, in which, for so many centuries, the Triennial Councils of the nation had been held, saw for the last time her kings and nobles assembled within its precincts; and the cause of the desertion of this long-honored seat of legislation shows to what an enormous height the power of the ecclesiastical order had then risen. Some fugitive criminal, who had fled for sanctuary to the Monastery of St. Ruan (St. Ruadan of Lothair), having been dragged forcibly from thence to Tara, and there put to death, the holy abbot and his monks cried aloud against the sacrilegious violation; and, proceeding in solemn procession to the palace, pronounced a solemn curse upon its walls. 'From that day,' say the annalists, 'no king ever sat again at Tara;' and a poet, who wrote about that period, while mourning evidently over the fall of this seat of grandeur, ventures but to say, 'It is not with my will that Teamor is deserted.' A striking memorial of the Church's triumph on the

occasion was preserved, in the name of distinction given to the monastery, which was ever after, in memory of this malediction, called 'THE MONASTERY OF THE CURSES OF IRELAND.'"—This desertion of Temhair must have gradually led to the disintegration of the Gaelic nation. Its tribes can no longer be said to have had any common bond of union between them, any Pan-Gaedalon, where they could meet in harmony, and be reminded of their common origin. Patriotism, if it ever had existence amongst them, dwindled down to mere personal or family ambition, and henceforth they were the predestined prey of any warlike rovers that might choose to mix themselves up in their intestine quarrels. Thenceforth the Ui Neill, or Ui Briain had as little sympathy with the Eoganachts, or the Dal-e-Gais, as they had with the Saxon or the Dane.

After this desertion, each monarch chose the residence most convenient or agreeable to himself. The kings of the northern Ui Neill generally resided at Ailech, near Londonderry, and those of the southern first at Dun Torgeis, near Castlepollard, and at Dun-na-Sgiath, on the northwest margin of Lough Ennell, near Mullingar.

²³ *Mochua*. St. Mochua was Abbot

in his company but a single young clerk, for the purpose of answering the Mass for him. And both he and his clerk eat but one meal in the day, until night, and even then they eat but a small portion of barley bread and water-cresses, and some spring water with them. When they had passed the Lent in this manner until Easter Sunday, and when Mochua had finished the celebration of the Mass on that day, a longing for flesh-meat seized upon the young clerk, and he told the holy priest Mochua that he would go to Durlas, to Guairi, and get his fill thereof. "Do not," said Mochua. "Stay with me, while I pray to God to send thee meats." With this, the holy priest fell upon his knees, and he fervently prayed to God, begging of him to send meat to the young clerk. Now, at that very moment they were setting food upon the table at the house of Guairi; and it came to pass, through the prayers of Mochua, that the dishes of meat were snatched out of the hands of the attendants, and taken off the board of the table, and brought straight away to the wilderness, where St. Mochua was. Then did Guairi and his household take horse and pursue the dishes. When the viands arrived before Mochua, he commenced praying and magnifying the name of God, and told the young clerk to eat his fill of the meat. He then looked around, and saw the plain full of horsemen, and he said, that it was no advantage to him to have got the meat, with such a hunt after it. "There is no danger to you therefrom," said Mochua, "it is my brother Guairi and his household that are there; and I pray God not to let one of them pass that spot until you are satisfied." With that the feet of the horses were fastened to the ground, so that they could not leave where they were, until the young clerk was fully satisfied. Then Mochua prayed to God to set his brother, with his household folk, at liberty; and they, being loosed, came into Mochua's presence, and Guairi fell upon his knees before him, and asked forgiveness of him. "Fear not, brother," said Mochua, "but eat thy meal here." Guairi and his household then eat their meal, after which they bid farewell to Mochua.

The fact that the five miles of road between the well where Guairi then was is still called *Bothar-na-Mia* (*Bohar-na-Meess*), that is the Road of Dishes, seems to support the truth of this tale.

It was in the time of Diarmaid, son of Fergus, King of Ireland, that St. Becan lived. Some historians say, that Eogan Mor left another son besides Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan, named Diar-

of Balla, a village in the barony of the patron saint of the Ui Fiachrach
 Cianmorris, county Mayo. He was Aidni, and founder of the episcopal
 called, also, Mac Duach, and became see of Kilmacduagh.

maid, and from this Diarmaid the St. Becan who was honored at Kill Becain in Museraide Cuire, was descended. These historians say also that Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan had three sons, namely: Olild Flann Mor, Olild Flann Beg and Decluath. The following quotation testifies to the fact:

“ From Diarmaid great Saint Becan sprung
 (Let us the sons of Fiacaídh trace),
 A tribe whose rule wide cantons own—
 Of them was Decluath, and the Olilds twain.”

About this time Bresal, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus, that is, the King of Ireland's son, proposed to prepare a feast for his father at Kennanus, in Meath; but he set no value on anything that he had got ready for that purpose, as he had not an exceedingly fat piece of beef to set before his father. No such piece of meat was to be found in his neighborhood, except on a single ox, owned by a woman in orders, who lived at Kill Eleraide. Bresal at first civilly and humbly asked this ox from her, and offered to give her seven cows and a bull for that one animal. The woman refused, and then Bresal took off the ox without her leave, and killed it for his father's feast. But when the King of Ireland and his people were in the midst of their enjoyments of the festivity, the nun came and made her complaint to the monarch of his son Bresal. When the father had heard her complaint, he was seized with violent anger, and he declared that he would put Bresal to death, for outraging the black nun of Kill Eleraide. He then took Bresal with him to the brink of the river of Loch, and drowned him there. Immediately after the deed, he was seized with remorse and grief, and he went to St. Columkille to bewail his sad fate.

Columkille invited him to come with himself to Munster, to the venerable Saint Becan. Columkille and he then set out together for Kill-Becain,²⁴ north of Sliabh-Grot. Immediately upon arriving there, they found the holy man building a fence round his burial-ground, having his robe quite wet about him. As soon as Becan saw the king, he cried, “To the earth with thee, parricide.” Upon this, the king fell down upon his knees upon the ground. Then Columkille spoke, and said, “He has come to thee to beg for help to remedy the evil deed he has done, and also to beg of thee to pray to God to restore his son to life.” Hereupon, Becan prayed fervently to God three times, at Columkille's request; and thus the king's son, Bresal, was restored to life, through the prayers of the holy Becan, and the

²⁴ *Kill Becain*. It is now called Kill- of Clanwilliam, county Tipperary. peacon, and is situated in the barony

name of God was magnified, and the fame of St. Becan's holiness was spread by means of that miracle.

Guairi, son of Colman,²⁵ the above-mentioned King of Connaught, and contemporary of Diarmaid, happened to be on a certain occasion in company with St. Cumin Fada Mac Fiacadh, and St. Caimin, of Inis-Keltrach, in the church of that island, when the following conversation took place between them. St. Caimin asked the first question, "What is it, O Guairi, that thou wouldst most wish to possess?" Guairi replied, "I would have gold and treasure, for the purpose of bestowing them; and thou, O Cumin, what wouldst thou most wish to have?" "A load of diseases on my body," said St. Cumin. "And thou, likewise, O Caimin, what would be thy desire?" "A store of books," said St. Caimin, "for interpreting the truth to the people." And the three got their wishes, except that, at the end of his life, St. Caimin was cursed by St. Mochuda, and all his gifts were taken from him, if history has told truth.

Guairi, son of Colman, came to ravage Munster, with three battalions of the Connaught forces. Dima,²⁶ son of Ronan, son of Aengus, was then King of Cashel. Their forces met in Ui-Fidghenti, which is now called the plain of the county of Limerick. They fought a battle at Carn-Feradaig, where Guairi and his Connaughtmen were defeated, and an immense number of the latter, with six of their chiefs, were slain. The cause of Guairi's invasion was to assert his claim to all the land that lies between Sliabh Ectuide (*Slieve Aughty*) and Luimnech, which had anciently formed part of the lands of Connaught, until Lugaidh Menn, son of Aengus Tirech, son of Fer-Corb, son of Mogh-Corb, son of Cormac Cas, son of Olild Olum, having gained seven battles against the Connaughtmen, in which he slew seven of their kings, by the mere help of hired soldiers and boys, had made sword-land of all the country, that lies between Bearn-

²⁵ *Son of Colman.* According to the work of Duaid Mac Firbis, upon the Tribes and Customs of the Uí Fiachrach, Guairi the Generous, son of Colman, son of Cobthaeh, &c., was the ancestor of the O'Cleries, O'Heynes and Mac Kilkellies, but not of their kinsmen the O'Shaughnessies, who are there stated to be descended from Aedh, son of Cobthaeh, the brother of the aforesaid Colman, and to have derived their tribe name of Kinél Aeda from him.

²⁶ *Dima.* Here, again, we see the mistake of making Guairi the contemporary of Diarmaid. The battle

of Carn Feradaigh (now called Knockany) was not fought by Guairi until the year 622, when Falbi Flann was King of Cashel, or Leth Mogha, and Dima, chief of the Dal-g-Cais tribe, was King of Thomond. It is thus recorded in the *Four Masters*: "A.D. 622. The 12th year of Suibni, King of Ireland. The battle of Carn Feradaigh was gained by Falbi Flann over the Connaughtmen; wherein were slain Conall, chief of the Uí Mani, Mael-dubh, Maelruain, Maelduin, Maelcaigh and Maelbresail, and Guairi was routed from the battle-field."

na-d-tri-g-carbad,²⁷ at Carn Feradaigh, to Belach-Lucadi, and from Ath Boromha to Leim Conculainn. In remembrance of this, Cormac, son of Culinan, composed the following verse:

“It was that Lugaidh, that Red Hand,
That forced from Connaught, as a fine,
What land from Feradach’s old carn
Extends to Luchaid’s deed-famed ford.”

St. Columkille and St. Mochua²⁸ were contemporaries, and when St. Mochua, or Mac Duach, as he is otherwise called, was a hermit in the desert, his whole worldly wealth consisted of a

²⁷ *Bearna na d-tri g-Carbad*, i. e. the Pass of the Three Chariots. Belach Luchadi, now Lowhid, near the village of Tubbercondoney, barony of Inchiquin, county Clare. Ath Boromha, i. e. the Ford of the Tribute, is at Killaloe, and Leim Conculainn, or Cuchulainn’s Jump, is the promontory now called Loophead.

²⁸ *St. Columkille and Mochua*. It is more than doubtful whether those saints were ever contemporaries.

It is, indeed, to be regretted that Dr. Keating should have occupied his space with this and others of the foregoing silly tales, which he must have extracted from fabulous romances, as he has had no authority for them in Irish annals. As the Irish reader must feel anxious to hear something of the mission of St. Columba, or Columkille, who was, perhaps, the greatest man that Ireland produced in this age, but of whom Keating has given such dim glimpses, the following notices of that saint’s proceedings in Alba and the Albanian isles are here extracted in an abridged form from Mr. Moore’s History of Ireland: “Having obtained from his cousin Conall, then King of the Albanian Scots, the small island of Hy, or Iona, which was an appendage to the new Scottish kingdom, Columba, together with twelve of his disciples, set sail for that sequestered spot. After his landing, one of his first tasks was to expel some Druids, who had there established their abode; this secluded island having been one of the haunts of their priesthood, as the remains of their temples and monuments, still existing

among its ruins, testify. Having erected there a monastery and a church, he next directed his attention to the main object of his great Christian enterprise—that of exploring the wild region beyond the Grampian Hills, where no missionary before him had ever yet ventured, and of subduing to the mild yoke of the Gospel the hardy race there entrenched. The territory of the northern Picts then included all of modern Scotland that lies north of the Grampians, and there the residence of their king, Brude, was then situated, somewhere on the borders of Loch Ness. Hither the courageous saint directed his steps, but found the gates of the royal residence closed against him. However, by one of those miracles to which, in that all-believing age, every triumph of the Church is attributed, Columba is said to have made the sign of the cross on the gates, upon which they immediately flew open before him. The king, thereupon, came to meet and welcome him. His conversion was soon effected, in spite of the Magi; and in the course of this and other visits of the saint, the whole of Pietland became Christian. His apostolical labors were next directed to the Hebrides, throughout the whole of which the enlightening effects of his presence was felt. Wherever he went churches were erected, religious teachers supplied, and holy communities formed.” Thus, under the tutelage of this great and holy man, did these remote isles become the seat of learning and piety.

cock, a mouse and a fly. The use of the cock was to get him to rise betimes at midnight, to his matins. The use of the mouse was to prevent him from sleeping more than five hours, from daylight until night; and when he should desire to take more sleep, wearied out by his much praying, with his hands crossed, and by his many prostrations, the mouse was wont to come and scratch his ears, so as thus to awaken him. The fly's use was to walk upon every line he read in his psalter, and when he might cease chaunting the psalms, to remain upon the line where he stopped until he returned to it again. But it happened that his three treasures soon died, upon which the saint wrote a letter to St. Columkille, after the latter had gone to Aci (Iona), in Alba, in which he complained of the death of these animals. St. Columkille replied to this letter, and said, "Brother, thou must not wonder at the deaths of the animals which have left thee, for trouble exists only where there is wealth." I judge from this banter of these true saints, that they had no regard for worldly wealth—not like the folk of the present times.

After this, Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeol, was killed at Rath Beg,²⁹ in Magh Lini, by Aedh Dubh, son of Suibni, and he was buried at Cunniri.

FERGUS AND DOMNALL, ARD-RIGHA.

A. D. 556.³⁰ Fergus and Domnall,³¹ both sons of Murkertach Mor Mac Erea, son of Muredach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, ascended the throne, and reigned one year. Duisech, daughter of Duach Tengumha, King of Connaught, was mother of these princes. Fergus and Domnall gained the battle of Gabra Lifi,³² over the men of Leinster, and four hundred of the latter were slain therein. Deman, son of Carell, who had been ten years King of Ulidia, or Uladh,³³

²⁹ *Rath Beg.* A townland in the parish of Donegore, adjoining the parish of Antrim, county Antrim. His slayer, Aedh Duff, was king of Dal-Araide. "His head was brought to Chlain-mic-Nois and buried there, and his body was interred at Cunniri (Connor)."—*Four Masters.* He had requested before he expired that his head should be buried at Clonnaenaise, the monastery of his friend St. Kieran.

³⁰ A. D. 558. *Four Masters.*

³¹ FERGUS III., DOMNALL I. They reigned three years, according to some accounts.

³² *The Battle of Gabra Lifi.* This was fought somewhere on the river Liffey, and is entered at A. D. 559 in the *Four Masters.* The battle of Dumha Achair is also recorded as gained by these princes, in this year, over the Leinstermen.

³³ *Ulidia.* Henceforth Uladh, when it means the now narrowed territory of the Clanna Rudraide, shall be translated by Ulidia.—There are two townlands named Borenn (the place where he fell), in the county Down: one in the parish of Dromara, the other in Clonallon. He was killed in 565.

was killed by the boors of Borenn. Soon after, Fergus and Domnall both died.

EOCAIDH AND BAEDAN, ARD-RIGHA.

A. D. 557.³⁴ Eocaidh,³⁵ son of Domnall, son of Murkertach Mor Mac Erca, son of Muredach, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, ruled Ireland for three years, in partnership with his uncle Baedan, son of Murkertach. It was about this time that Carbri Crom, the son of Crimthann Sreimh, son of Eocaidh, son of Aengus, son of Nadfracch, who had been King of Munster for thirty years, died. It was this Carbri that fought the battle of Femhenn,³⁶ against Colman Beg, son of Diarmaid, in which Colman was defeated, and numbers of his followers slain. Carbri received the surname Crom (crooked), from having been educated at a place called Crom-glasi, as the bard tells us in the following rann :

“ ERECT was he from sole to crown,
And straight of limb was Carbri Crom ;
The surname ‘ Crom ’ to him was given,
For he was reared at Crom-glasi.”

Some historians say that it was about this time that St. Brendan of Birra³⁷ died ; though he is said by a popular tradition to have lived nine score years, as a bard informs us in the following rann :

“ Woe is he who striveth not for bliss !
Woe is he whose life-course runs not bright !
Full four score and one hundred years
This blessed saint on earth did dwell.”

After this, the battle of Tola and Fortola³⁸ was gained by Fiacaidh, son of Baedan, over the men of Eli and Osraide, and in it great numbers of the Elians and Ossorians were slain. About

³⁴ A. D. 562.

³⁵ EOCAIDH XIV., BAEDAN I. They reigned for two years according to others. In their reign died St. Molasi, or Laisrèn, founder of the monastery of Daimh-inis, i. e. Ox Island, now Devenish, in Lough Erne. He was son of Nadfracch, and must not be confounded with St. Molasi, or Laisren, of Leighlin, whose father was named Carcell.

³⁶ *Battle of Femhenn*, i. e. the plain of Femhenn, in South Tipperary. This battle was fought in 571.

³⁷ *Birra*. This place is still called

Birr, though an attempt has been made to change its ancient name to Parsonstown. St. Brendan of Birra died on the 29th of November, 571. In the Four Masters, the following strange entry is found with regard to him, under A. D. 563 : “ Brenainn of Birra was seen ascending in a chariot into the sky this year.”

³⁸ *Tola and Fortola*. Tola is now called Tulla, and it lies in the parish of Kinnitty, barony of Ballybritt and Kings County. This battle was not fought until the year 571.

this time died Conall,³⁹ son of Comgall, King of the Dal-Riada, having then reigned over Alba for sixteen years. It was this Conall that granted the Isle of Aei⁴⁰ (Iona), in Alba, to St. Columkille. Shortly after, Eocaidh and Baedan fell by the hand of Cronnan, son of Tighernach, King of the Kiannaughta of Glenn-Gemhin.⁴¹

ANMIRI, ARD-RIGHI.

A. D. 560.⁴² Anmiri, son of Sedna, son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall⁴³ of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, held the kingdom of Ireland for three years. Brightt, daughter of Cobthach, son of Olild, one of the Lagenians of Ard Ladrann, was his wife, and the mother of Aedh, son of Anmiri. He fell by the hand of Fergus, son of Niall, at the instigation of Baedan, son of Ninnidh, at Carraig-leim-an-eich.

BAEDAN,⁴⁴ ARD-RIGHI.

A. D. 563.⁴⁵ Baedan, son of Ninnidh, son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for three years. It was in the reign of Baedan that St. Brendan of Cluain-ferta⁴⁶ died. Aedh, son of Eocaidh Tirmearna, King of Connaught, was slain during that time, in the battle of Bagha.⁴⁷ Carbri Crom,

³⁹ *Conall, son of Comgall.* He died in the year 572; or, according to others, in 573.

⁴⁰ *Aei.* This name is also found written I and Hi. In Gaelic, it ought to be pronounced *Ee* or *Hec*. It is the island now called Iona or I-còim-kille, one of the Hebrides.

⁴¹ *Kiannaughta of Glenn Gemhin.* These were the descendants of Finncaidh Uallach, son of Connla, son of the redoubted champion Tadg, son of Kian, son of Olild Olum. They were the ancestors of the O'Connors of Ulster. Their territory is now called the barony of Keenaught, county Londonderry. The O'Connors are still numerous in Glengiven (Glenn Gemhin); which was the ancient name of the Vale of the River Roa, which flows through the centre of the northern Kiannaughta.

⁴² A. D. 564. *Four Masters.*

⁴³ *Son of Niall.* He is called son of Nellin, by other authorities. The name given to the place where Anmiri

fell, seems to be either a mistake of the transcribers or an oversight of Dr. Keating's.—It would appear, from the following verse quoted by the Four Masters, that Anmiri had made a destructive inroad into Munster, during his short reign:

"Fembhenn, while he was king
Was not without her deeds of strife;
Dark-red to-day her face appears
From Anmiri, the son of Sedna."

⁴⁴ *BAEDAN II.* This king reigned but one year, according to the last cited annals.

⁴⁵ A. D. 567. *Four Masters.*

⁴⁶ *Cluain-ferta.* This St. Brendan died on the 16th of May, 576, at Aenach-Duin, now Annadown, on the east bank of Lough Corrib; but he was buried at Cloufert.

⁴⁷ *Bagha.* Perhaps Sliabh Baghna, or Badbhagna, now Slieve Bawne, county Roscommon. This Aedh was not slain until 574. He fell by the Uí Briuin.

King of Munster, died about the same period; and then, also, died Baedan, son of Carell, King of Ulster; and, also, St. Ruadan,⁴⁸ of Lothair, a saint descended of the line of Olild Flann Beg, son of Fiacaídh Macil-lethan. Baedan, King of Ireland, was slain by the two Cumins, namely: by Cumin, son of Colman, and Cumin, son of Libren, at Carraig lemi-an-eich.⁴⁹

According to Bede, in the fourth chapter of the third book of his Saxon History, it was in the year of our Lord five hundred and sixty-five that St. Columkille proceeded to Alba⁵⁰ upon his apostolic mission.

AEDH MAC ANMIRECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 566.⁵¹ Aedh,⁵² son of Anmiri, son of Sedna, son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for twenty-seven years.

I have before stated that Brighitt (*Brecyith*), daughter of Cobthach, son of Olild, of the royal line of Leinster, was the mother of this prince. It was this Aedh that fought the battle of Bèlach Dathi,⁵³ where Colman Beg, son of Diarmaid, fell, with five thousand of his warriors, through prophecies of St. Columkille. It was, also, in this king's reign St. Senach,⁵⁴ the holy bishop of Cluain Eraird, died. About this time, also, died Feidlimidh,⁵⁵ son of Tighernach, King of Munster.

⁴⁸ *St. Ruadan*. This was the saint who had laid the famous malediction upon Temhair. His monastery, as above stated, was situated at Lorha, now a village in Lower Ormond, county Tipperary, six miles north of Burrisokean.

⁴⁹ *Carraig-lemi-an-eich*, i. e. the Rock of the Horse's Jump. There are many places of this name in Ireland. That here mentioned, may be Leim-an-eich-ruaidh, i. e. the Red Horse's Jump, now called Lemnaroy, county Londonderry.—*O'D.* The name of the persons by whom Baedan was slain, is written Comacini in other records.

⁵⁰ *Proceeded to Alba*. In the Annals of the Four Masters, this event is recorded as having taken place in 557, a little before which, as some will have it, he had been condemned by a Synod of the Irish clergy, for having excited his relatives to fight the battle of Cuil Dreimni, against King Diarmaid.

⁵¹ A. D. 568. *Four Masters*.

⁵² *AEDH II*. In the first year of his reign he slew Fergus, son of Nellin, in revenge for his father.

⁵³ *Bèlach-Dathi*. The place of this fight is called by others Docté, Bèlach Feda and Bèlach-an-fhedha. It is now known as Ballaghanea, in the parish of Lurgan, county Cavan. It would appear, that St. Columkille's hostility to the Southern Ui Neill did not end with the life of the monarch Diarmaid.

⁵⁴ *St. Senach*. He died in the year 587, bishop of Cluain-Eraird or Iraerd, now Clonard, in Meath.

⁵⁵ *Feidlimidh, son of Tighernach*. His death is entered, under the year 586, in the Annals of the Four Masters, in these terms: "Feidlimidh, son of Tighernach, King of Munster, died." Dr. Brien would make him out to have been but king of Desmond, or South Munster; "but this," says Dr. O'Donovan, "is one of his intentional falsifications, in order to detract from

Great convention of Drom Keth —Threatened banishment of the Bards—Attempt to lay a tribute upon the Dal-Riada of Alba —Captivity of Sganlan Mor—St. Columkille.

It was by Aedh, son of Anmiri, that the Great Convention of Drom Keth was called together.

At it were assembled the most distinguished persons amongst the nobility and clergy of Ireland. For summoning this great convention, Aedh had three principal causes.

THE FIRST CAUSE was his resolve to banish the *Filedha*⁵⁷ (*Fillee*), or Poets, out of Ireland, on account of the greatness of their numbers, and of the difficulty there was both in governing themselves, and in satisfying their demands; for the train attendant upon the Anruith, that is, the person who was next in rank to the Ollamh in the *Filedhaecht* (*Filleeaght*), or Poetic Order, was fifteen. So that, about that epoch, nearly one third of the men of Ireland,⁵⁸ belonged to the Poetic Order, all of whom were wont to quarter themselves upon the other inhabitants, from the season of Samhain to that of Beltaini. On this account, Aedh considered them to be too heavy a load upon the land of Ireland, and, therefore, did he propose to expel them from the country. He had, also, another motive for desiring their expulsion. It was for their having had the audacity to demand the gold brooch⁵⁹ that fastened the royal mantle of Aedh. This was a brooch that each king was wont to leave as an heirloom and precious relic

the ancient importance of the Eoganachts." Aedh Uargarb, son of Crimthann, the grandfather of this Feidlimidh, was the immediate founder of that Eoganacht sept, which afterwards took the name which has been anglicized O'Mahony. Iacgari, son of Crimthann, brother of the said Aedh Uargarb, was the founder of the sept now called O'Donoghoe. Feidlimidh is also recorded as King of Munster in the Annals of Ulster, which record his death under A. D. 589, as follows: *Mors Feidlimidh mic Tighearnaigh regis Mumhan*. The death of Feidlimidh, son of Tighearnaich, King of Munster.

⁵⁷ *Drum-Keth*. The place where this convention was held, is now called Daisy Hill, near the River Roe, not

far from Newtown Limavaddy, county Londonderry.

Our Annals are not in accord as to the exact date of the convention. The Annals of Clonmacnoise record it, under the year 587. The true year was 590.

⁵⁷ *Filedha*. The plural of *Filé* (*Filleh*), i. e. a Member of the Literary or Poetic Order.

⁵⁸ *Men of Ireland*. By men of Ireland, in the original, *Fir Eireann*, we must understand the men of the Free Clans, or the Saer Clanna of Ireland.

⁵⁹ *Gold Brooch*. For a description of the gold brooch or *delg oir* with which the ancient nobility of Ireland fastened their *falling* or mantle, the reader is referred to Walker on the Dress of the Ancient Irish.

to his successor. It was, indeed, their impudent demand of the broach that more immediately excited Aedh to expel them; so that he had banished them all to the Dal Riada, in Ulster.

They, that is the Fíledha, or members of the Poetic Order, had been previously banished, for their overbearing conduct and unjust judgments, in the days of Concobar⁶⁰ Mac Nesa, King of Ulster. At that time, all the Fíledha of Ireland were assembled together in one place, and at their meeting there were found to be one thousand Fíledha, who were each followed by a band of attendants. They were then making up their minds to go settle in Alba. But when Concobar heard it, he deputed Cuchulainn to detain them, and gave them maintenance for seven years with himself, as the bard thus relates:

“ To Uladh wends that thronging host,
To Concobar of crimson glaive;
And Uladh’s king, for seven full years,
Maintained those exiled sons of song.”

After that, the Fíledha spread themselves anew throughout Ireland, and they were not again molested until the time of Fiacaídh,⁶¹ son of Baedan, King of Ulster, nor from the time of Fiacaídh to that of Maelcaba,⁶² son of Deman, son of Carell, King of Ulster; nor from the time of Maelcaba to that of Aedh, son of Anmiri. Three times did the men of Ireland refuse to maintain the Fíledha, and each time of these did the Ulta uphold them.

At the time of their first banishment, when Concobar gave them maintenance for seven years, their number, as I have just said, amounted to one thousand.

At the time of their second exile, when they were supported for one year by Fiacaídh, son of Baedan, their number was seven hundred, and at their head was Eocaidh Rígh-Eiges (*Ree-Aiguess*),⁶³ as the bard has said in the following rann:

⁶⁰ *Concobar*. This king reigned over Ulster, as we have seen, about the period of the birth of Christ. He continued, during his whole reign, the munificent patron of the Bardic Order.

⁶¹ *Fiacaídh*. He flourished in Ulidia, from A. D. 571 to 622, consequently, must have been the protector of the Poets upon the present occasion. He is also called Fiachna.

⁶² *Maelcaba*, otherwise Maelcobha, was the son of Fiachna, and was King of Ulidia in 646. Fiacaídh may also have had a brother named Maelcaba,

for, what Keating records in this instance as two distinct events seems to have constituted but one.

⁶³ *Rígh-eiges*, i. e. King-Poet. Eocaidh Rígh-eiges was but another name for Dallan Fergaill, who was the Chief Poet of Ireland in the time of Aedh. He was a disciple of St. Columkille, and the author of the famous *amhra*, or hymn, called *Amhra Choluim Cille*. Two of Dallan’s odes are given with metrical translations, in Hardiman’s Irish Minstrelsy.

“ Eocaidh, sage of righteous laws,
To Fiacaidh, Baedan’s son, repairs,
And there the King-sage welcome found,
And there his bards found maintenance.”

The third time they were exiled, they numbered twelve hundred around Dallan Forgail and Senchan.⁶⁴ It was at that time that they were supported by Maeleaba, King of Ulster, as the bard has thus told us in the duan from which the extracts last quoted have been made :

“ When Maeleaba of minstrels reigned,
In yonder Iubar-kinn-tragha,⁶⁵
Twelve hundred bards then shelter found,
Beside his tall north-eastern Yew.

“ To them Maeleaba of the Head⁶⁶
Gave maintenance for three bright years ;
And till Doom’s pale Day may the generous chiefs
Of Deman’s shapely sons still reign.”

THE SECOND CAUSE that he had for calling the convention of Drom-Keth was his desire to place a tribute upon the Dal-Riada of Alba,⁶⁷ for they had, up to that time, been subject to pay no rent to the King of Ireland, with the exception of their having had to raise an army to assist him in his wars, both by sea and by land, and their being subject to pay erics to the Irish Ard-righ, as St. Colman,⁶⁸ son of Comghellach, has laid down, and as he tells us himself, in the following rann :

⁶⁴ *Senchan*. He became the successor of Dallan as Chief Poet. He is otherwise known as Senchan Torpest. His dirge over the body of his Master, Dallan, has been published in the work last mentioned.

⁶⁵ *Iubar-kinn-tragha*, i. e. the Yew Tree at the Head of the Strand. This is the Gaelic name of the town now called Newry, county Down. The word Newry is a corruption of “ An Iubhar ” (*An yewr*), i. e. the Yew Tree. With aspirations, the whole name reads Iubhar-chinn-tragha, and is now pronounced somewhat like *Yoor-Keen-Tiraw*.

⁶⁶ *Of the Head*, i. e. the Head of the Strand. The original is *Maeleabha an Ching* ; but the editor thinks that *Ching* has been written by mistake for *Chinn*.

⁶⁷ Mr. Moore seems to have under-

stood that the territory, sought to be placed under tribute on this occasion, was that of the Dal-Riada of Antrim, whom Aedgan or Aidan, as chieftain of the race of Riada both in Ireland and Alba, would set free from the jurisdiction of the Irish monarch. However, it is not likely that such a demand would have been then made in the very height of the Ui Neill supremacy. It is much more likely that the disputed point was really what Keating represents it, and that Aedh sought to revive the sway exercised by his ancestor, Niall, over North Britain.

⁶⁸ *St. Colman*. We are told that this question had been left to St. Columkille’s decision, but that he declined the task of arbitration on account of his known friendship towards Aedgan, the Dal-Riadic King. It was then committed to St. Colman, a man deep-

“ A land force they are bound to raise,
 A fleet on sea they're bound to launch ;
 And, by my wise and just decree,
 They fines shall pay for kindly blood.”

THE THIRD CAUSE of the convention of Drom-Keth, was in order to depose Sganlan Mor,⁶⁹ the son of Kennfaeladh, from the principality of Osraide, or Ossory, for having refused to pay to the monarch Aedh, head-rent, and to instal Illann, son of the said Sganlan, as prince of the Ossorians, in his stead, for he had consented to pay the said head-rent. And such were the three causes for assembling the great convention of Drom Keth, as the bard-sage tells in this verse, down here :

“ That Congress had three aims in view—
 His crown from Sganlan Mor to wrest ;
 On Riada's tribes a rent to place ;
 From Eri's land her bards to drive.”

The following are the names of the Kings of the Fifts, and the Lords of Cantons that came to that convention : Crimthann Kerr, king of Leinster ; Illann, son of Sganlan, son of Kennfaeladh, king of Osraide ; Maelduin, son of Aedh Bennan, king of West Munster ; Guairi, son of Colman, king of Clan Fiachra, North and South ; Finghin, son of Aedh Dubh, son of Crimthann, king of all Munster ; Raghallach,⁷⁰ son of Uada, who was king over the Tuatha Taeidin, and over Brefni Ui Ruairc, as far as Cliaban Moduirm ; Kellach, son of Keárnach, son of Dubh-Dothra, king of Brefni Ui Raghallaigh ; Conall Kenn-bagair, or Kenn-maghair, king of Tir Comaill ; Fergal,

ly versed in legal and ecclesiastical science, who, on the grounds that the territory of the Dal-Riada was an Irish province, gave his decision against Aedgan.—*See Moore.*

⁶⁹ *Sganlan Mor.* This is not the Sganlan Mor, son of Kennfaeladh, son of Feradach, who died king of Osraide in 642, and is the ancestor of all the sept's of the Fitz Patricks. It was a cousin-german of his, whose father's name was also Kennfaeladh, but whose grandfather was named Rumann, and was the brother of Feradach.

⁷⁰ *Raghallach.* He was an ancestor of the O'Connors of Connaught, but not of the O'Raghallaigh or O'Reillies of Brefni Ui Raghallaigh (Cavan.) They are descended from

another chieftain named Raghallach, who was son of Cathalan, son of Maelmorda, the 11th descendant from Fergus, the common ancestor of the O'Connors, O'Reillies, and O'Ruaires. His territory, as here stated, comprised the present counties of Roscommon and Leitrim.—*Cliaban Moduirm* was probably on the borders of Cricioch Modurna, now Cremorne, in Monaghan. *Kellach* was chieftain of the Ui Briuin Brefni. In Guairi, Raghallach, and Kellach, we see the representatives of the three great tribes of the descendants of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, who had partitioned Connaught between them, having supplanted the old Belgian tribes of the Gamhanraide, the Fir Craicibi and the Tuatha Taeiden.

son of Maelduin, king of Ailech;⁷¹ Guairi, son of Congal, king of Ulidia; the two kings of Oirghiall, namely, Daimhin,⁷² son of Aengus, who ruled the country from Clochar Desa⁷³ to Finn-cairn, upon Sliabh-Fuaid, and Aedh, son of Duach Galach, who ruled from Finn-cairn ou Sliabh-Fuaid to the Boyne.

When St. Columkille, who was then in Alba, heard of the calling together of that General Assembly, and had learned the three motives for which it was about to be held, he set out from Aei to Ireland, attended by his congregation of clerics. The number of these that accompanied him was forty priests, twenty bishops, fifty deacons, and thirty clerical students, as the Amhra-Choluim-cilli, or Hymn of Columkille, relates in the following verse:

“Forty priests his host then numbered,
And twenty bishops of high power,
With thirty youths, and fifty deacons,
For chanting psalms of endless praise.”

It is possible that some readers may disbelieve what I am here about to state, namely, that the bishops of Alba acknowledged the supremacy of the abbots of Aei, in ancient times; but let them read the fourth chapter of the fifth book of Bede's History of the Saxon Church, where he has spoken of the primatial authority of the Island of Aei over Alba, in the following terms: “It was always the custom of this island to have a consecrated abbot for its primate, to whose rule all the province, and, by an unusual arrangement, the very bishops themselves are bound to be subject, after the example of its first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a priest and a monk.”⁷⁴ And it is evident that Columkille was the first teacher that acquired the primatial authority in Aei, from what Bede recounts in the tenth chapter of the eighth book of the same history:

⁷¹ *Ailech*. This was at this time a new principality, founded by the Northern Ui Neill, and so called from the ancient stronghold of Ailech, near Derry, which they had made their royal residence.

⁷² *Daimhin*. Daimhin Damhairgitt, whose real name was Carbri, is the ancestor of the Mac Mahons of Monaghan. He could not have been at this convention, for he had died in 560. Indeed, some others of the chiefs, named in the list above given, could not have been at Drom-Keth—they having either died before it took place, or having lived too long after it.

⁷³ *Clochar Desa*. Now Clogher, county Tyrone. *Sliabh Fuaid* lies in Armagh, as heretofore located. Ulster was, at this time, divided into four principalities, or rather into five, if we would count amongst them the Dal-Riada of Antrim, represented by Aedgan, King of the Alban Scots.

⁷⁴ Habere autem solet (inquit) rectorem Semper abbatem et presbyterum, ejusque juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi (ordine inusitato) debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbiter extitit et monachus.

“Columba,”⁷⁵ says he, “was the first teacher of the Catholic Faith to the Picti, north of the mountains, and the first that built a monastery in the Island of Hia, which was long held venerable by the numerous nations of the Scoti and Picti.” From these words of Bede it must be understood that St. Columkille, or Columba, was the first teacher that went to propagate the Faith among the Picti of the north of Scotland, and that, for that reason, not only the priests and the monks did homage to the abbots of Aei, but the bishops, also, acknowledged his supremacy, because it was St. Columkille that had given them the light of the Faith for the first time. Hence it happened that some bishops accompanied St. Columkille, as his attendants, to the convention of Drom Keth.

St. Columkille came to Ireland with a waxed cloth upon his eyes, in order he might not see the Irish soil; for when St. Molasi had banished him to Alba, for a penance, he bound him never to set his eyes upon the Irish soil, to the day of his death; and from this it came, that he kept a waxed cloth constantly upon his eyes while he remained in Ireland, and never removed it until his return to Alba. It was in remembrance of his having thus fulfilled the penitential sentence which St. Molasi had laid upon him, that the latter saint has himself left the following verse:

“Though Colum from the east had come,
Ship-wafted hither o’er the sea,
Still nought on Eri’s earth he saw,
While at her council he remained.”

According to the ancient book called the Uighir Chiarain, the reason why St. Molasi had laid upon St. Columkille this penitential sentence, which had thus compelled him to emigrate to Alba, was to make the latter do penance for his having been the cause why three battles had been fought in Ireland; for he was the instigator of the battles of Cuil-Dremni, Cuil-Feda and Cuil-Rathain.

The battle of Cuil-Dremni arose out of the following event: At a Feis of Temhair, held by Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeòl, King of Ireland, a certain nobleman had been slain by Curnan, son of Aedh, son of Eocaidh Tirmearna. This Curnan, Diarmaid put to death, for having killed a nobleman at the said Feis, in violation of the law and sanctuary thereof. But before he fell into the king’s hands, Curnan had fled to the protection of the two sons of Murkertach Mac Erca, namely, Fergus and

⁷⁵ Columba erat primus doctor Fidei quod in Hiæ insula, multis diu Scoto-Catholicæ transmontanis ad aquilonem Pictorumque populis venerabilis nem, primusque fundator Monasterii mansit.

Domnaill. These princes placed him under the protection of St. Columkille. However, in spite of this protection, Diarmaid put him to death, for having violated the sacred rights of Temhair. Thence it happened that St. Columkille mustered the northern Clanna Neill, in order to avenge the violation of his protection. Thus was Diarmaid with the Connaughtmen⁷⁶ routed at the battle of Cuil-Dremni, and there that king was vanquished, through the prayers of St. Columkille. The Black Book of Molaga gives another reason for the battle of Cuil-Dremni; namely, the partial judgment which had been given by Diarmaid against St. Columkille, when a copy of the Gospel having been privately copied from a book belonging to St. Fintan,⁷⁷ the latter had claimed as his own property the copy which had been transcribed from his own book. St. Columkille also laid claim to the copy, upon the grounds that he had himself transcribed it. Both parties then selected the king as adjudicator between them; and Diarmaid thereupon adjudged that, as every calf belonged to its own proper cow, so did every copy belong to its parent book. Such is the second cause assigned for the battle of Cuil-Dremni.

The reason why St. Columkille had instigated the battle of Cuil-Rathain⁷⁸ against the Dal Araide and the Ulta, or Ulidians, was because, when some contention had arisen between that saint and St. Comgall, those tribes had shown partiality towards St. Comgall, and severity towards St. Columkille.

St. Columkille had instigated the battle of Cuil-Feda against Colman, son of Diarmaid, because he had felt insulted by Cumin, son of Colman's having killed Baedan, son of Ninnidhi, King of Ireland, at Leim-an-eich, in violation of his own protection.

Now, when St. Columkille arrived in Ireland, from Alba, accompanied by his holy priests, and when he was approaching the place where the convention was held, the queen, that is the wife of Aedh, son of Anmiri, told her eldest son, Conall, son of Aedh, "not to show the slightest respect either to the *coirrchleirech*⁷⁹ himself or to his gang." And when St. Columkille

⁷⁶ *Connaughtmen*. This would seem a mistake. The King of Connaught was against Diarmaid at Cuil-Dremni; still a portion of the Connaught people might have sided with him. Diarmaid's own clan, the Southern Ui Neill, were natives of Meath, not Connaught.

⁷⁷ *St. Fintan*. His name is also written Finnen and Finian. "After this battle, the Monarch and Saint Colum made peace; and the copy of the book, made from St. Finnen's Manuscript, was left to him. This

Manuscript, which is a copy of the Psalter, was ever after known by the name of *Cathach*. It was preserved for ages in the family of O'Donnell; and has been deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, by Sir Richard O'Donnell, its present owner." — *O'Donovan*.

⁷⁸ *Cuil-Rathain*. Now called Coleraine in Ulster.

⁷⁹ *Coir-chleirech*. This compound epithet is a term of contempt applied to clergymen, who have been silenced

had been told of this opprobrious language, he said, "With my full consent that queen, with her waiting maid, in the shape of two herons, may continually hover around yon ford, beneath me, until the Day of Doom." This quotation from the *Amhra* repeats the words of Columkille;

"Oh, she may soon a heron be,
(Twas so the outraged cleric spake,)
'In heron shape, her handmaid, too,
'Tis meet may share her lady's fate."

The reason for transforming the waiting maid into a heron as well as her mistress was, because it was she, that had been sent by the queen with the above-mentioned message to Conall, wherein he was told "to show no respect to the *coirr-chleirech* or to his gang." Many people will still tell us, that this is the reason why there are two herons ever since constantly seen on the ford, near Drom-Keth.

or degraded from their rank. The first part of the word, which in its primary form is *Cor*, means a turn, change, or twist, &c. But *Corr* (now *Coirr-iasg*), which differs scarcely at all from *Cor* in pronunciation, means a heron, or (as the Irish peasants improperly call that bird), a crane. The legend recounted by Keating, makes the saint play upon the double meaning of the term used by the queen, as if she had called him, the heron-clerk or crane-clerk. It would appear, that previous to his going to Alba Columkille had been severely censured (some say excommunicated) by the Irish clergy, with St. Molasi at their head, in consequence of the bloodshed caused by him in the above-mentioned battles. It is to that censure the Irish queen is made to allude upon this occasion. Mr. Moore thinks that though an attempt might have been made to excommunicate him previous to his leaving Ireland, still, that it was made upon some trivial grounds, and for some light and unimportant proceedings. Irish history, however, shows that there were serious grounds for the "breth aithrige" (*bréh aihree*), or penitential sentence pronounced upon the future apostle of the Picts, by St. Molasi; and that in the pride of his manhood, he had sometimes confounded

the antagonistic characters of Christian priest and Irish chieftain. Previous to the battle of Cuil Dremni, Columkille is recorded to have said to King Diarmaid, "I will go unto my brethren, the races of Conall and Eogan, and I will give thee battle in revenge for this unjust sentence thou hast given against me, respecting the book, and in revenge for the killing of the son of the King of Connaught, while under my protection." It is not, in truth, surprising that the haughty spirit, from which such threats emanated, should have called down the censure of the fathers of the church; and the meekness with which the Irish prince, when convinced of his error, submitted to the sentence of his spiritual superiors, proves the truth and sincerity of the man; and it should add to rather than derogate from the lustre of the sanctity of his subsequent career. The idol of the most powerful tribe in Ireland, he might have caused a schism in the infant Irish church, resisted his sentence for a time, were he any mere political ecclesiastic. But instead of doing so, he leaves his high position in his native land, and devotes himself to a life of missionary labor, amongst remote and hostile tribes.

As to St. Columkille, upon his arrival at the place of assembly, he found that the household of Conall, son of Aedh, son of Anmiri, was that which was nearest to himself. And when Conall saw the clerics approaching, he sent thence nine persons of the rabble of his household against them; and these flung lumps of clay at the strangers, so that the holy men were bruised and bespattered with mud. St. Columkille asked who they were that beat him and his people so. He was told, in reply, that it was Conall, son of Aedh, that had urged the rabble to that act. He then caused thrice nine bells to be rung upon the spot, against Conall, who forthwith received the saint's malediction, and was deprived thereby of prosperity, royalty and lordship, prudence, memory and intellect. And from those bells tolled against him on that occasion, he has ever since been called Conall Clogach, or Conall of the Bells.

St. Columkille then went towards the high place occupied by Donnall, son of Aedh, and that prince rose up to meet him, and made him welcome; and, having kissed him on both cheeks, he placed him in his own seat. For this kindness, St. Columkille blessed Donnall, and prayed to God that the kingdom of Ireland might fall to his lot; and so it afterwards came to pass, for Donnall held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirteen years previous to his death.

St. Columkille, accompanied by Donnall, next proceeded to the household of the king. The latter was, thereupon, smitten with fear, by reason of what had happened to the queen, and to her waiting maid; and when St. Columkille came into his presence, he was received with a welcome. "My welcome consists in compliance with my demands," said St. Columkille. "Thou wilt get it," said the king. "Then," said St. Columkille, "the compliance I require of thee consists in granting me the three petitions which I am about to ask of thee, namely: to continue to maintain the Filedha, whom thou art about to expel from Eri, and to set Sganlan Mor, the King of Osraide, free from the bondage in which thou holdest him, and not to insist upon laying a tribute upon the Dal-Riada of Alba." "I do not wish," said the king, "to continue to maintain the Filedha, so extreme is their insolence, and so great are their numbers, for the Ollaih has an attendant train of thirty followers, and the Anruith has a train of fifteen; so of the members of the other degrees of that order downwards, each person has his special number of attendants allotted to him, according to his rank, so that now almost one third of the men of Ireland are members of the order." St. Columkille agreed that it was but right to set aside a great many of the Filedha, on account of their excessive numbers; but he told the king that he ought himself to continue to maintain a

Filé, as his Ard-ollamh, according to the usage of the kings that preceded him; and that each pentarch king should also maintain an Ollamh, and each lord of a canton and chief of a district likewise. This plan was finally adopted, at St. Columkille's suggestion, and King Aedh gave it his royal sanction. It was to commemorate the benefit then conferred by St. Columkille upon the Poetic Order, that Macl-ruithin composed the verse which follows;

“The bards from banishment were saved,
By holy Colum. of just laws;
Each lordship shall maintain a bard,
For thus it was that Colum said.”

The result of the arrangement then made by Aedh, son of Anmiri, and St. Columkille was, that each king of Ireland was bound to maintain his own special Ollamh, and that each pentarch king and district chieftain was bound to maintain one likewise. Each of the Ollamhs was, by special right, entitled to get a tract of land from his own lord, free of all rent; and, moreover, the members of the Poetic Order were entitled to universal freedom and sanctuary from the men of Ireland, in the lands, persons and worldly goods of each individual Ollamh of them. It was also then ordained that the said Ollamhs should be granted certain distinct public estates in land, where they could give public instruction, after the manner of a university; such as Rath-Kenaid,⁶⁰ and Masraide, on Magh Slecta, in Brefni, where any of the men of Ireland could get free instruction in the sciences, that is, any one that wished to acquire a knowledge of history, and of the sciences then known in Ireland.

At that epoch, the Ard-Ollamh of Ireland was Eocaidh Eiges (*Aghee Aequess*), son of Olild, son of Erc. It was he that was called Dallan Forgail, and he then sent forth certain Ollamhs, whom he set over the Fifts (Principalities) of Ireland; such as Aedh Eiges (*Ayeh Aigues*) over the districts of Breagh and Meath, Urmael Ard-Eiges over the two Munsters, Senchan, son of Uailfertach, over the principality of Connaught, Ferferb, son of Muredach, son of Mongan, as Ard-Ollamh of Ulster. There was also one Ollamh appointed in every canton, subject to these Ard-Ollamhs, and they held free lands under the respective chiefs of these districts, and they had the right of sanctuary therein, as I have said above. The rewards, also, which each of them was to receive for his poems and songs were fixed according to law.

⁶⁰ *Rath-Kennaid*. This place is in Meath, and is now called Rathkenny. Its modern Gaelic orthography is Rath Cheannaigh. Masraide (*Masree*), was

situated in the celebrated Magh Slecta or Magh Sleachta, near Ballymagauran, county Cavan.

The second request that St. Columkille demanded of Aedh was to set Sganlan Mor, son of Kenn-facladh, King of Osraide, at liberty, and to send him home to his own country. This request, was refused by the monarch. "I shall importune thee no further," said St. Columkille; "but, if it be the will of God, Sganlan Mor shall loose the thongs of my shoes to-night at my midnight devotions."

The third request that St. Columkille demanded was to grant indulgence to the Dal-Riada, and not to pass over to Alba on any plundering expedition against them, for the purpose of forcing them to pay tribute; "For," said he, "it is only lawful to demand chief-rent from them, and hostings upon land and upon sea." "I will not remit it," said the king, "until I shall have gone to visit them myself." "Then," replied St. Columkille, "I here declare them for ever free from thy yoke;" and this turned out to be the fact.

After this, St. Columkille, and his train of clerics, bid farewell to the monarch and to the members of the convention.

The Book of Glenn-da-loch says that Aedgan,⁸¹ son of Gabran, son of Domhangort, King of Alba, had attended this convention, and that he took leave of the Irish monarch at the same time with St. Columkille. The same book says, that the convention sat for the space of a year and one month, arranging rights and the laws of taxes, and cementing friendly relations amongst the men of Ireland.

As to St. Columkille, when he had finally taken leave of the assembly, he set out for Dubh-Eglais,⁸² in Inis-Eogain. And, afterwards, when the night had come upon the place of the convention, a bright and fiery flame descended upon the guard, that kept the cell where Aedh held Sganlan Mor in bonds, tied down by twelve chains of iron. Thereupon, the guards were exceedingly frightened, and they immediately gave their faces to the earth, amazed at the greatness of the light they saw. And a bright ray of light came to Sganlan in the cell where he was lying, and a voice spoke to him from out of the blaze, and said, "Arise, Sganlan, and cast thy chains away, and leave thy

⁸¹ *Aedgan*. "On the death of Conal, King of the British Scots, in the year 572-3, Aidan, son of Gawran, succeeded to the throne; and it is mentioned, as a proof of the general veneration in which St. Columba was held, as well by the sovereigns as by the clergy and the people, that he was the person selected to perform the ceremony of the inauguration, on the accession of the new king. It is rather remarkable, that a learned

writer upon church Antiquities, Martene, refers to this inauguration of Aidan, by St. Columba, as the most ancient instance he has met with, in the course of his reading, of the benediction of kings in Christian times." — *Moore's History of Ireland*.

⁸² *Dubh-Eglais*, i. e. the Black Church. St. Columkille's Church, at Derry, is here meant. It was otherwise called *Duibh-regles*.

dungeon, and come out, and place thy hand in mine." Sganlan then came out, the angel going before him. And the guards heard them, and asked who was there? "Sganlan," replied the angel. "If it were he," said they, "he would not tell." And now, when St. Columkille was at matins, it was Sganlan that unloosed his shoes, as he passed over the *crann-sainghail*, or railing of the sanctuary. And when St. Columkille asked who it was? he was answered by Sganlan, who told that it was he. And when the saint questioned the chieftain further, Sganlan cried out, "Drink," and could utter nothing but "drink, drink," so great was his thirst; for they were wont to feed him with salted meat in his dungeon, and gave him no drink therewith; and in remembrance of the frequency of his repeating the same cry for drink, in answer to St. Columkille, the latter left an impediment in his speech, which became hereditary amongst the kings of his race, who ruled Osraide after him.

Then St. Columkille told St. Baeithin to give three drinks to Sganlan, whereupon Sganlan told him of the miraculous manner of his escape, as related above. Then St. Columkille commanded Sganlan to set out for Osraide. "I dare not," said the chieftain, "for I am afraid of Aedh." "Thou needest not fear him," said St. Columkille; "take my pastoral staff with thee, for thy protection, and leave it with my convent, at Dur-mhagh,⁸³ in Osraide." Upon this, Sganlan set out for Osraide, and while he lived he enjoyed the chieftaincy of his own land, for Aedh did not dare to give him any trouble thenceforth, through fear of St. Columkille. In gratitude to that saint for having liberated him, Sganlan, after his return home, fixed an impost of one sgrebal, that is, of threepence, upon each hearth in his principality, from Bladma⁸⁴ to the sea, which was to be paid every

⁸³ *Dur-mhagh*; otherwise, *Dar-mhach Cholum Cilli*, i. e. the Oak-field of Columkille. This place is now called Darrow, and lies in the north of the King's county. It is improperly said to be in Osraide or Ossory, for it lay in the south of ancient Meath. Its site had been granted St. Columkille, by Brendan, King of Tebtha, not long after that saint had founded the Monastery of Doiri-Calgaigh, or Derry, in his native territory. It appears that St. Columkille visited Dur-mhagh in person, during his last stay in Ireland. Mr. Moore says, that during this sojourn, "Columba visited all the various religious establishments which he had founded, passing some time at his favorite Monastery at Dairmogh,

(or Dur-mhagh); and devoting himself to the arrangement of matters connected with the discipline of the church;" and further, "after accomplishing all the objects he had in view in visiting Ireland, he returned to his home in North Britain—to that 'Isle of his heart;' as in some prophetic verses, attributed to him, Iona is called—and there, assiduous to the last in attending to the care of his monasteries and numerous churches, he remained till death closed his active and beneficent course."

⁸⁴ *Bladma*. Slieve Bloom, in the King's county, to which the territory of the Southern Ui Neill, or ancient Meath, also extended.

year to the community of St. Columkille, at Dur-mhagh (*Dur-vaa*), in Osraide, as we read in the Amhra Coluim Cilli, which repeats the promise made by Sganlan to his deliverer, in the following verse ;

“ My kin and tribes to thee shall pay,
Though numberless they were as grass,
A sgrebal from each hearth that lies
From Bladma's summit to the sea.”

St. Columkille, moreover, gave his blessing to all the Ossorians, on condition that they and their chieftains should be obedient to himself and to his congregation at Dur-mhagh, from time to time, in paying that impost, which Sganlan Mor then fixed both upon them and upon their descendants, as we thus read in the Amhra ;

“ My blessing rest on Osraide's sons,
And on her daughters sage and bright ;
My blessing on her soil and sea,
For Osraide's king obeys my word.”

The baptismal name of this St. Columkille, of whom we are speaking, was Crimthann. Axal was the name of his guardian angel, and Demal was the attendant demon that was wont more especially to trouble and tempt him, as we thus read in the Amhra ;

“ Crimthann O Cuinn,⁸⁵ of purest deeds,
Was Columkille's baptismal name,
Axal his angel guard was called,
And Demal was his demon tempter.”

The name Columkille was given to him from the following circumstance : when he was a boy, under the instruction of St. Finnen, of Magh-Bili,⁸⁶ he was wont to be let out into the village for one day in the week, to play with the boys of his own age.

⁸⁵ *Crimthann O'Cuinn* ; pronounced somewhat like *Criffann O'Kuceng*, i. e. Crimthann, descendant of Conn. It has been remarked, that it formed no inconsiderable part of this saint's personal advantages, that he was descended from this father of many kings.

⁸⁶ *St. Finnen of Magh-bili*. St. Finnen was called, of Magh-bili, now Moyville, near the head of Strangford Lough, about a mile to the north east of Newtown Ards, from a celebrated church which he founded there.

Magh bhili (*Moy Vili*) means, the plain of the aged tree ; so called, perhaps, from some ancient tree venerated there in the times of Druidism. St. Finnen was also the founder of the famous college of Clonard, or Cluain-Irard, where St. Columkille had studied. “ Of the different schools where he had studied, the most celebrated was that of St. Finnian at Clonard. There had already, in the time of St. Patrick, or immediately after, sprung up a number of ecclesiastical seminaries

He had this privilege from his being of royal blood. Then, at his usual hour for getting out, on the appointed day, the boys of the canton used to assemble together to meet him; and as they used to stand waiting for him at the monastery gate, they were in the habit of crying out, as soon as they saw him approaching, "Here the *Colum Cilli*"⁵⁷ (that is, the dove of the cell, or church,)

throughout Ireland; and besides those of Ailbe, of Ibar, of the poet Fiech at Sletty, there appears to have been also a school at Armagh, established by the Apostle himself, and entrusted, during his life-time, to the care of his disciple, Benignus. At the period we have now reached, such institutions had multiplied in every direction. But by far the most distinguished of them all, as well for the number as the superior character of it, was the long renowned seminary of St. Finnian of Clonard. In this school, there are said to have been at one time three thousand scholars."⁵⁸—*Moore*.

⁵⁷ *Colum cilli*, i. e. the Dove of the Church; in Latin, *Columba cellæ*. Colum is the Irish synonyme for *Columba*. Cell (*kell*), otherwise *cill* (*kill*), was one of the names by which the Irish designated a church. Hence the frequent occurrence of *kill*, its anglicized form, in the names of places.

"The name of this eminent man, though not so well known throughout the Latin Church as that of another Irish saint, Columbanus, with whom he is frequently confounded, holds a distinguished place among the Roman and other Martyrologies; and in the British Isles will long be remembered with traditional veneration. In Ireland, rich as have been her annals in names of saintly renown, for none has she continued to cherish so fond a reverence as for her great Columbkille; while that Isle of the Waves, with which his name is now inseparably connected, and which through his ministry became the "luminary of the Caledonian regions,"* has far less reason to boast of her numerous tombs of kings, than of those heaps of votive pebbles, left by pilgrims on her shore,

marking the path that once led to the honored shrine of her saint."—*Moore's History of Ireland*.

The death of St. Columbkille is recorded, in the following terms, by the Four Masters of Donegall, the last of the hereditary historians of his race, the royal tribe of Kinèl Conaill. "A. D. 592. The 25th year of Aedh. Colum Cille, son of Feidlimidh, apostle of Alba, head of the piety of the most part of Eri and Alba, died in his own Church, in Hi in Alba, after the 35th year of his pilgrimage, on Sunday night precisely, the 9th day of June. Seventy-seven years was his whole age, when he resigned his spirit to Heaven, as is said in this quatrain:

"Saint Colum lived devoid of sight
For three years in Dulbh-regles;
Angel like, he left this world,
After seventy years and seven."

Dallan Forgaill composed this on the death of Colum Cillè:

"Like cure of leech without avail,
Like marrow sundered from the bone,
Like song of harp without the *ceís* (kaish),
Are we thus severed from our prince."*

Moore records it thus:

"The description given of his last moments, by one who received the details from an eye-witness, presents a picture at once so calm and so vivid, that I shall venture, as nearly as possible, in the words of his biographer (St. Adamnan), to relate some particulars of the scene. Having been forewarned, it is said, in his dreams of the time when his death was to take place, he rose, on the morning of the day before, and ascending a small eminence, lifted up his hands and solemnly blessed the monastery. Returning from thence, he sat down in a hut ad-

* Dr. Johnson.

* Irish glossographers are not agreed as to the meaning of this word.—*O'D.*

comes forth to meet us," and of raising up their hands for joy. When the holy abbot, St. Finnèn, heard that the children had so named him *Colum Cilli*, he understood that God willed that he should be always called by that name, which had come into the mouths of those innocent children, and that his baptismal name of Crimthann should be forgotten.

Such changes often happened with the names of holy men. St. Moechuda is another instance of it. His baptismal name was Carthach. There was St. Caenhan, also, the disciple of Patrick, whose first name was Mac Neisi; and then there was St. Patrick himself, whose baptismal name was SUCCATH, or SUCCATIUS, and to whom St. Germanus gave the name of MAGONIUS, when he confirmed him, and upon whom the Pope, St. Celestinus, conferred, lastly, the name of PATRICIUS, preparatory to his mission to Ireland, to propagate the Faith therein.

Again, there was St. Finnbar, the patron saint of Cork, whose baptismal name was Luan. So it happened to many others of the same class. Hence we cannot be surprised or astonished to learn that Columkille was not the baptismal name of the saint of whom we have been speaking, though it was his usual one, for the reason mentioned above.

You must also understand, reader, that St. Columkille was really a thorough Irishman, both by birth and lineage, and that both his parents were Irish, and that he was not a Scotchman of Alba, though some Scotch, that is Albanach, writers would claim him as their own countryman. But it is clear that he was altogether Irish, both by his father and his mother, for we read in the *Nacimh-shenchas Erenn*, or the History of the Irish Saints, that Feidlimidh, son of Fergus Kenn-fuda, son of Conall Gulban, son of the Irish Ard-Righ, Niall of the Nine Hostages, was his father. The bard-historian bears the following testimony to these facts, in the duan which begins with the line, "The saint-history of the saints of Inis Fail:"

joining, and there occupied himself in copying part of the Psalter, till, having finished a page with a passage of the thirty-third Psalm, he stopped and said, 'Let Baithen write the remainder.' This Baithen, who was one of the twelve disciples that originally accompanied him to Hy, had been named by him as his successor. After attending the evening service in the church, the saint returned to his cell, and, reclining on his bed of stone, delivered some instructions to his favorite attendant, to be communicated to the brethren. When the bell rang for

midnight prayer, he hastened to the church, and was the first to enter it. Throwing himself upon his knees, he began to pray—but his strength failed him; and his brethren, arriving soon after, found their beloved master reclining before the altar, and on the point of death. Assembling all around him, these holy men stood silent and weeping, while the saint, opening his eyes, with an expression full of cheerfulness, made a slight movement of his hand, as if to give them his parting benediction, and in that effort breathed his last."—*History of Ireland.*

“ Colum Killi, of the land of Conn,
Was son of Feidlimidh, most noble,
The son of Fergus, fierce in the fight,
Son of bright Conall Gulban, great.”

It is also made clear by the Amhra, that St. Columkille was equally Irish by his mother's side, for it is stated in that hymn, that Ethni, daughter of Dima, son of Naci, of the line of Carbri Niafer, King of Leinster, was his mother. Here follows the verse of the Amhra, which records the fact :

“ The lady Ethni, nobly born
Of royal Carbri's ancient race,
Mother of Colum, the divine,
Was daughter of Dima, son of Naci.”

St. Columkille had mortified his body so much by fasting, praying and prostration, that he became so emaciated by the severity of religious discipline, that his ribs appeared through his robe whenever the wind blew upon him through the wooden walls of his cold unplastered hut, as he laid himself down to rest upon the sand, which formed his only bed, as we are told in the following verse :

“ With spirit pure he slept on sand,
And as he lay on that rude bed,
Beneath his robe his ribs' lean shape
Stood out against the wind's chill blast.”

This saint lived to the age of seventy-four years, according to Dallan Forgail, in Amhra Coluim Cilli, a poem, which poem was written by that bard shortly after St. Columkille's death ;

“ Whilst Colum stood on this fair earth,
He quelled his passions by stern toil,
For Heaven he left this carnal world,
When seven and seventy years he saw.”

Forty-three years of that time he spent in Ireland, after which he lived thirty-four years in Alba, as the same Amhra informs us in the following verse :

“ Three and forty years of these,
'Midst toil and care, he spent in Eri,
And four and thirty full told years,
From Eri driven, he dwelt in Alba.”

The following are the names of the places where St. Columkille made his abode, namely: in Aei, or Iona, of Alba; in

Doiri, or Derry, and in Dun-da-leth-glas, or Down, in which last he was buried, as he himself has told, in the poem where he declares his love for these three places :

“ My spirit's peace in Ia bides,
My heart's affection Doiri holds,
My dust beneath that stone shall rest
Where Brighitt⁸⁸ and great Patrick lie.”

Whenever St. Columkille was saying mass, or preaching, or chanting the psalms, his voice could be heard at the distance of a mile and a half away, and no evil demon could bear to listen to its sound, without fleeing before it, as the Amhra tells, in the following verse :

“ The sound of holy Colum's voice
Rose high above his sacred choir,
At fifteen hundred paces heard,
His thrilling tones swelled clear and grand.”

There was a priest in Tir Conaill in the days of St. Columkille, who had built a temple, which he adorned with precious stones, and placed an altar of crystal therein ; and he had set up images representing the Sun and the Moon in that temple. Shortly afterwards a great swoon came upon that priest, and therein a demon came and bore him off through the air. But when they were passing over the place where St. Columkille then was, he looked up and saw them over his head, and, thereupon, he made the sign of the blessed cross above him in the air, and the priest immediately fell down to the earth, at the feet of St. Columkille.

⁸⁸ *Where Brighitt, &c.*—Neither St. Columkille nor St. Brighitt were originally buried in Down. The shrine of the latter was in “ Kildare's Holy Fane,” and that of the former in his own church in Iona. It is said that, during the ninth century, both their remains were removed to Down, in order to avoid the pirate Danes. But, though some portion of their relics may have at some time been brought to Down, and placed in the tomb of St. Patrick, it is very improbable that their whole remains were ever translated thither. The reason given for such transfer is untenable ; for Down was as much exposed to be plundered by the Danes as either Kildare or Iona. The taking up of their bodies, and their transfer into shrines, by Sir John De Courcy, after

his conquest of Ulidia in 1186, has all the appearance of a impious and fraudulent attempt at establishing his new dominion by practising upon the pious credulity of the vanquished Irish, giving them to understand that Providence, by so honoring his reeking hands, had given special sanction to his ruthless and bloody deeds. Hence, considerable latitude of meaning must be allowed to the old verse quoted above by Dr. Keating, as also to the following oft-repeated Latin lines, which are found in *Cambrensis* :

“ In burgo Dunno tumulo tumultantur in uno
Brigida, Patritius, at que Columba pius.”

Which may be thus translated :

“ In the burgh of Dun, laid in one tomb,
Are Brighitt, Patrick and the pious Colum.”

In remembrance of this rescue from the hands of the demon, and in gratitude to the saint therefor, the priest dedicated his temple to Columkille. He then entered the order of Monks, and lived a holy and pious life thenceforth.⁶⁹

It was in the reign of Aedh, son of Anmiri, that St. Columkille died. The reader must understand that this Colum of whom I am speaking was Colum, son of Feidlimidh, son of Fergus; for the Red Book of Mac Aedagain, and the *Naeimhshenchas Erenn*, or History of the Irish Saints, tell us that there were many holy men and women in Ireland whose names were alike. For these authorities relate that there were twenty-two saints in Ireland of the name of Colum, and that St. Columkille was the first of them, and that it was in memory of the sanctity of St. Columkille that this name was given to each of them. There were fourteen Irish saints named Brendan, or Brennan, and of these were St. Brendan of Birra and St. Brendan of Ard-ferta; of the name of Kiaran, there were twenty-five saints, amongst whom St. Kiaran of Cluain-mic-Nois, St. Kiaran of Saighir, St. Kiaran of Tibraid-Naci, and St. Kiaran of Kill-Finnaide, were the most distinguished. There were thirty-two saints called Aedgan, seven called Barrfinn, and amongst them the holy St. Barrfinn, or Finnbarr of Corcach, (Cork.) This St. Finnbarr was son of Amirghin, son of Dubh-daimhin, son of Ninnidh, son of Eocaidh, son of Carbri Ard, son of Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, King of Ireland. There were seventeen holy bishops, and seven hundred persons in religious orders in the community of Corcach, under St. Finnbarr. There were fifteen saints of the name of Brighitt. Of them was St. Brighitt, daughter of the Leinsterman Dubthach, whose fame has extended throughout all Europe. It is certain that she was descended from Eocaidh Finn Fuathairt, the brother of the renowned Conn of the Hundred Battles, as we have shown heretofore, when tracing the genealogy of St. Brighitt. Here follow the names of the fourteen other holy persons, besides St. Brighitt of Kill-dara, who were called by this name. St. Brighitt, daughter of Dima; St. Brighitt, daughter of Mianach; St. Brighitt, daughter of Boman; St. Brighitt, the daughter of Enna; St. Brighitt, daughter of Colla; St. Brighitt, daughter of Ectar Ard; St. Brighitt of Inis-Brighdi, or Inis-bride; St. Brighitt, daughter of Diamara; St. Brighitt of Rath-Brighdi, St. Brighitt of Sith Mani, St. Brighitt of Senboth, St. Brighitt of Fiadnait, St. Brighitt, daughter of Aedh; St. Brighitt, daughter of Long.

⁶⁹ This legend of the miraculous rescue of the heathen priest from the fangs of the fiend, though in itself extremely incredible, if taken literally, seems to tell of vigorous efforts on the part of St. Columkille, in the suppression of idolatrous worship, not yet entirely extirpated from the land in his day.

It was in the reign of Aedh, son of Anmiri, of whose reign we are treating, and of Aedgan, son of Gabran, who was then very old, that the Gaels lost the possession of Manainn.⁹⁰ It was in his reign also that St. Caineel,⁹¹ Bishop of Achadh-Bo, died at the age of eighty-four years. This saint was descended from Fergus Mac Roigh. It was then also that Colman Rimidh fought the battle of Slemhain⁹² against Domnall, the son of the monarch Aedh. The battle of Cuil-cael⁹³ was also fought about that time by Fiacaoidh, son of Baedan, and in it Fiacaoidh, son of Deman, was defeated, and his people were slaughtered. Sometime after that, Conall, son of Suibni, gained a victory over the three Aedhs in one day. They were Aedh Slanni, Aedh Buide, King of Ui-Mani, and Aedh Roin, King of Ui-Failgi. The battle took place at Bruighin-da-Cogadh⁹⁴ (*Breen-da-cuyga*), as the bard has recorded in this rann:

“Too great came that red woe
On all the realms of Eri!
Aedh Slanni of the brave host
Aedh Roin and Aedh Buide!”

There were continual hostilities between the two Fiacaoidhs,⁹⁵ of whom I have spoken a little higher up, namely, Fiacaoidh,

⁹⁰ *Manainn*, i. e. the Isle of Mana or Man. The editor does not find any record of this event elsewhere, in the authorities available to him. It must relate to some temporary conquest of Man by the Britons or Picts, as it is not probable, if the Gaels totally lost the possession of Man at so early a period, that the Gaelic language would have survived there down to the present century. O'Flaherty tells us that in the year 584, King Aidan, (Aedgan, King of the Dal Riada), *conquered* Man. By Gaels, then, we may understand the Hibernian Gaels, or Irish, who might have lost that isle to their Alban kinsmen. “Aedgan, son of Gabran, the seventh king of the Dal-Riada, of Alba, died in 606, at Cantire, aged 78 years.”—*O'Flaherty*.

⁹¹ St. Caineel, otherwise Canice, the patron saint of Cill-Chainnigh, or Kilkenny, did not die until the next reign, on the 11th of October, 598.

⁹² *Slemhain*.—This battle was not fought until the third year of the reign of the succeeding kings. It was fought, say the Four Masters, against Conall

Cu, son of Aedh, son of Anmiri, and Conall was defeated. This was the man who was called Conall Clogach, and who had insulted St. Slemhain, is now called Slewén, and is a townland near Mullingar, county Westmeath.

⁹³ *Cuil-cael*, i. e., the narrow corner or angle. It lies at Down or Antrim. The above-mentioned battle was not fought until 597.

⁹⁴ *Bruighin-da-Cogadh*. It is situated in the barony of Kilkenny West, and county Westmeath. The battle here recorded, did not take place for six years after the death of Aedh, son of Anmiri. It was, in fact, the engagement where his successors, Aedh Slanni and Colman Rimidh, were slain.

⁹⁵ *Two Fiacaoidhs, &c.* The names of both of these rival chieftains are also written Fiachna. They were cousins, being both descended, one as grandson and the other as great grandson, from Muredach Munderg, king of Ulidia of the Dal-Fiatach tribes, who died in A. D. 974.

son of Deman, and Fiacaidh, son of Baedan. Through the prayers of St. Comgall, it happened that the victory oftenest remained with the son of Baedan. When the son of Deman reproached the saint with this, the latter asked him whether he would prefer to live for a certain time and to vanquish his enemies, and, then, to go to hell, or to be killed himself and to go to Heaven. To this the son of Deman replied, that he would prefer to vanquish his enemies, so that the deeds of slaughter, and the achievements, performed by him upon them, might become a subject of common discourse continually among future men, in their public assemblies, from age to age. St. Comgall was displeased with the choice he had made. But the other Fiacaidh preferred Heaven and defeat, and those he got through the prayers of St. Comgall.

Patron Saints of the Gaelic Tribes.

It was usual, indeed, for each great tribe of Gaelic nobles to have a particular guardian saint of their own. In testimony of this fact, I give the following example: thus, St. Caeimghin (*Kaiveen*), of Glenn-da-loch, was the patron of the Tuathalaigh and Brannaigh;⁹⁶ St. Maedog of Ferna, of the Kennselaigh;⁹⁷ St. Moling, of the Caenhanaigh;⁹⁸ St. Fintan of Cluain-Aidneeh, of the Sil Morda;⁹⁹ St. Cainnech of Achadh-bo, of the Osraide;¹⁰⁰ St. Sedna, of the Sil Briain of Etharla;¹ St. Gobnait, of the Musgraide Mac Diarmada,² St. Colman, of the Ui Mac Coilli,³ and of the rest there was not a territory or tribe in Ireland that had not its peculiar male or female patron saint, to whom it was wont to give more especial honor and respect. But there were certain other saints more universally honored than those I have just mentioned; such as St. Finnen of Magh-Bili, St. Kieran of Cluain-mic-Nois, St. Comgall of Bennchor, St. Fingin of Cuinchi, St. Baethin of Luimnech, St. Bright of Kill-dara, St. Albi of

⁹⁶ *Tuathalaigh and Brannaigh*, i. e. the Leinster septs descended from Tuathal and Brann, namely, the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes. Their patron saint is now better known as St. Kevin.

⁹⁷ *Kennselaigh*, i. e. the O'Kenshelaghs, &c. Ferna is now anglicized Ferns.

⁹⁸ *Caenhanaigh*, i. e. the O'Cavanaghs, otherwise Mac Murrroughs.

⁹⁹ *Sil Morda* (Sheel Mora), i. e. the progeny of Morda, to wit, the O'Moores and their kindred clans.

¹⁰⁰ *Osraide*, i. e. the Mac Gilla-Patricks and their correlatives.

¹ *Sil Briain Etharla*, a branch of the O'Brians, seated as Aharlow, co. Tipperary, were thus designated: pronounced, *Sheel Vreein Aharla*.

² *Musgraide Mac Diarmada*. This tribe was located in the county of Cork. O'Flynn, O'Hea, O'Donegan, O'Cullenan, &c., were the chief names adopted by the septs of

³ *Ui Mac Coilli*. This tribe was located in the district around Youghal, in the south-east of the county of Cork, to which district it has left its present name of Imokilly. O'Keily, O'Glassin, and O'Bregan, were chiefs of the tribe.

Imlech, and St. Patrick; as Aengus Keli De relates in the book which is called *Psaltair na Rann*. Here is what he says therein:

“ Colum throws his shade o’er the children of Niall—
 ’Tis the shade of no bramble.
 Of all tribes of the Ulta Fimnen is the safe-guard—
 The sage of Magh-bile.
 Of the clansmen of Connacht, Kiaran is the warden,
 Though not of their kindred.
 Comgall saves the sons of his own Dal-Aradi,
 The noble, the famous.
 The virgin protectress of Laighen, is Brighitt,
 The brightest, the purest.
 The chieftains and people of Mumha, the fertile,
 Are shielded by Albi.
 The Arch-Saint of Eri, by clerics surrounded,
 Is patron of patrons;
 And on Doom’s awful Day shall the broad shield of Patrick
 O’er all be uplifted.”

It was while Aedh, son of Anmiri, was king of Ireland, that St. Colman of Ela⁴ died. Brann-dubh, son of Eocaidh, son of Muredach, son of Aengus, son of Feidlimidh, son of Enna Kennselach, was then king of Leinster for one year. It was by him, and by the Leinstermen, that Aedh, son of Anmiri, was slain at the battle of the Pass of Dun-bolg.⁵ It was also said that it was the Leinstermen themselves that slew Brann-dubh, at the battle of Cam-cluain; or that it was Saran Saebh-dere, the Airchinnach⁶ of Senboth-Sini that killed him, as the bard relates in the following verse:

“ Saran Saebh-dere,⁷ a guide indeed,
 The Airchinnech of Senboth Sine,
 (No false or dark suspicion this.)
 ’Twas he killed Brann-dubh, son of Eocaidh.”

⁴ *St. Colman, of Ela.* He was the son of Beogna, and was otherwise, Mac Ui Selli, Abbot of Lann Ela, now Lynally, in the King’s County. He did not die until the 26th of September, 610, in the third year of the reign of Maelcoba.

⁵ *Dun-bolg.* This place is situated south of Dunboyke, near Hollywood, co. Wicklow. The monarch had invaded Leinster for the purpose of avenging his son Comusgach, whom the Lagenians had slain. For a full and interesting account of this battle, and the cause which led to it, the reader is referred to the notes of Dr. O’Donovan upon the Four Masters.

⁶ *Airchinnech.* The word is sometimes

anglicized *Erenagh*, and often means the superior of a religious establishment. It is, however, more frequently applied, as in this instance, to the heads of certain septs, or families of laymen, to whom the wardenship and support of certain churches were entrusted in those early times. Senboth Sini (*Shanboh-Sheenie*) is now called Tempull Senbotha, in English, Templeshanbo, at the foot of Mount Leinster, Co. Wexford.

⁷ *Saran Saebh-dere*, i. e., Saran of the Evil Eye. Brann Dubh was slain in the year 601, in the reign of Aedh Uairidnach. The place where Brann Dubh fell is called Damh-Cluain, i. e. Ox-park, by other writers.

AEDH SLANNI AND COLMAN RIMIDH, ARD-RIGHA.

A. D. 593.⁸ Aedh Slanni, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeol, of the line of Erimhòn, ascended the throne of Ireland, and reigned for six years in partnership with Colman Rimidh, son of Murkertach Mac Erea. Mogan, daughter of Cu-carann, son of Duach, of the Connacians, was the mother of Aedh Slanni; and Ethni, daughter of Brendan Dall, also of Connacht, was his wife, and she bore him six sons, namely, Diarmaid, Donnadh, Maelbresail, Maelodair, Conall, and Olild. He was surnamed Slanni, because he was born on the banks of the river Slanni, or Slany.

It was during the joint reign of these sovereigns, that Gregory the Great, the Pope of Rome, sent St. Augustine, with a number of holy clergymen, to propagate the Catholic Faith in Britain.

Colman Rimidh fell by the hand of Lochan Dilmann, and Aedh Slanni fell by that of Conall Guth binn, son of Suibni.

AEDH UARIDNACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 599.⁹ Aedh¹⁰ Uaridnach, son of Domnall, son of Muredach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, succeeded to the monarchy, and reigned twenty-seven years. His mother was Brightt, daughter of Orea, son of Ere, son of Eocaidh. The reason why he was surnamed Uaridnach, was from his having been subject to cold pains, which so afflicted him, that, when the fit came upon him, he would give the world's treasure to get a moment's relief therefrom. For Uaridnach (*ooreenagh*) is the same as "idhna fuara" (*ena foora*), that is, cold pains.

In this king's reign the battle of Odba¹¹ was fought by Aengus,

⁸ A. D. 595.—*Four Masters.* AEDH III. This prince and his colleague were both slain at the battle of Loch Semdidhe, now Lough Sewdy, nearly midway between Athlone and Mullingar. This is what Keating has recorded, under the preceding reign, as the battle of Bruighiu-da-cogadh. The Four Masters quote an ancient verse, of which the following is a translation, in reference to that day of blood:

"What is kingship, what is law?
What is potent sway o'er chieftains?
Behold, Colman Rimidh, the king!
Lochan Dilmana slew him!
Unwise counsels then prevailed
Amongst the youths of Tnath Turbi;*

By Conall's hand Aedh Slanni fell,
Aedh Slanni himself has slaughtered Suibni."

It was then that Conall also slew Aedh Roin, King of Ui Failghi, and Aedh Buide, King of Ui Mani; and in reference to these deeds were the verses heretofore quoted by Keating, composed.

⁹ A. D. 601.—*Four Masters.*

¹⁰ AEDH IV. The Four Masters, O'Flaherty, and O'Halloran, allow this monarch to have reigned but seven years; while all the copies of Keating accessible to the editor, assign him a reign of twenty-seven.

¹¹ *Odba.* This battle at Odba, in Meath, was fought in 607.

* A bardic name for Breagh, in Meath.

son of Colman, and in it fell Conall Laeigh-Breagh, son of Aedh Slanni. The king of Ireland himself, fell in the battle of Da Ferta.¹²

MAELCOBA, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 626.¹³ Maelcoba, son of Aedh, son of Anmiri, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for four years.¹⁴ Craeisech, daughter of Aedh Finn, King of Osraide, was his wife. He fell by the hand of Suibni Menn, at the battle of Belgadan.¹⁵

SUIBNI MENN, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 630.¹⁶ Suibni Menn, son of Fiacaigh, son of Feradaeh, son of Murkertach, son of Muredach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the race of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirteen years. It was in the reign of this monarch that St. Caeimghin,¹⁷ or Kevin, of Glenn-da-loch, died, aged six score years; that is, Caeimghin, son of Caemlogha, son of Caeimfedá, son of Corb, son of Fergus Laeigh-derg, son of Fothach, son of Eocaidh Lamh-derg, son of Mesincorb, of the line of Labraidh Loingsech. It was about this time, also, that Aedh Bannan, king of Munster, died. And about the same time was born St. Adannan, son of Ronan, son of Tinni, son of Aedh, son of Colum, son of Sedna, son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. He became abbot over Aei-Colum-Killi, in Alba. Suibni Menn was killed by Congal Claen,¹⁸ son of Sganlan of the Broad Shield.¹⁹

DOMNALL, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 643.²⁰ Domnall,²¹ son of Aedh, son of Anmiri, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirteen

¹² *Da Ferta*. It is also called Ath Da Ferta, i. e. the Ford of the two Graves. Its situation is not known.

¹³ A. D. 608.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁴ *Four years*. Three years.—*Id.*

¹⁵ *Belgadan*. The place where he fell is also called Sliabh Toadh (*Slieve Toa*), of which name there is a mountain in the barony of Banagh, co. Donegal.

¹⁶ A. D. 611.—*Four Masters*.

¹⁷ *St. Caeimghin*. He died, according to the Irish Annals, in 617–618, in the seventh year of Suibni; which shows that the date in the text is considerably in advance of the true time.

¹⁸ *Congal Claen*. This chief must be distinguished from Conall Claen, or Cael, the next monarch but one. For the slaying of Suibni, he was restored to his ancestral kingdom of Ulidia, by Domnall, the next succeeding monarch.

¹⁹ *Broad Shield*; in Gaelic, Sgiath-lethan (*Skeea-láhan*). In some copies he is called Sgiath-sholais (*Skeea-hullish*), i. e. of the Bright Shield.

²⁰ A. D. 624.—*Four Masters*.

²¹ DOMNALL II. He reigned for sixteen years, namely, from 624 to 629.—*Id.*

years, as Columkille had prophesied for him. It was this Domnall that fought the battle of Dun Kethrin,²² against Congal Claen, where he was himself defeated, and great numbers of his people slain. In the reign of this Domnall, died St. Fintann,²³ who was surnamed Monabas, and also St. Mochua²⁴ and St. Molasi,²⁵ Bishop of Leithglinn; it was then, also, St. Cronan²⁶ died. In his reign, also, St. Carthach, who was otherwise called St. Mochuda, was exiled from Rathain²⁷ to Lismore. St. Mochuda was of the line of Kiar, son of Fergus Mac Roigh.

*Expulsion of St. Mochuda, otherwise St. Carthach, from Rathain.—
Foundation of Lismore.*

This saint having gone on a pilgrimage from Kiarraide to Rathain, built a monastery at the latter place, in which he placed a community of monks to live with him therein. They led so pious a life in this house, it was said an angel was wont to hold conversation with every third man of them. Thus the society of Rathain became distinguished for preëminent holiness, and its glory and renown increased exceedingly. On this account, the holy men of the Ui Neill race met together in a large number, and they sent a message to St. Mochuda, ordering him to quit Rathain, and to return to his own country, namely, to Munster. Mochuda answered the messengers that came with this intimation, and said that he would never desert Rathain, until he were expelled therefrom by the hand of a bishop or a king. When these words were told to the holy men of the Clan of Niall, they demanded of Blathmac and Diarmaid Ruadnaidh, the two sons of Aedh Slanni, who were themselves of the clan of Niall, to go and expel Mochuda and his monks by force, from their monastery at Rathain. And at the instigation of these people, the two

²² *Dun Kethrin* is a stone fort, built in the Cyclopean style, on the summit of a conspicuous hill in the parish of Dunboe, in the north of Derry. It is now called the Giant's Sconce.—*O'D.* This battle was fought in 624.

²³ *St. Fintann.* This saint was otherwise called Munna (Monabas), and was the founder of the monastery of Tech-Munna, now Taghmon, in Wexford. He died on the 21st of October, 636.—*O'D.*

²⁴ *St. Mochua* was a disciple of the celebrated St. Comgall, of Bennchor. He died in 637, Abbot of Balla, now Bal, a village in the barony of Clan-

morris, co. Mayo. His festival was kept on the 30th of March.

²⁵ *St. Molasi* was otherwise called Dolasi Mac hUa Imdac, and also Laisrén. His festival was celebrated on the 18th of April, at Leighlin.

²⁶ *St. Cronan*, called Mac Ua Laeghde, Abbot of Cluain-Mic-Nois, died on the 18th of July, 637.

²⁷ *Rathain*, i. e. the Ferny Land. It is now called Rahen, a townland containing the remains of two ancient churches, and situated in the barony of Ballycowan, King's County. St. Carthach's expulsion thence took place in the year 631.

chiefs proceeded to Rathain, attended by a number of the northern clergy. And when St. Mochuda had heard of their approach, he sent a young nobleman, a Piet or Cruithnech, of Alba, whose name was Constantine, and who was then a lay monk in his convent, to ask the chieftain to give him a respite of one year, before expelling him and his companions from the monastery of Rathain; and they thereupon gave him the time he required. When the year thus granted had expired, the same chieftains returned, escorted by the same train of clergymen; and when they had arrived at Rathain the second time, Blathmac sent a clergyman to St. Mochuda, to beg of him to leave the monastery. Upon this Mochuda again sent Constantine, his former messenger, to Diarmaid and Blathmac, to entreat a respite from them for another year. To this they likewise consented, though much against their will. When the third year had at length come, the same nobles and clergymen are set on by the plunderers of the Ui Neill, to come and finally expel St. Mochuda from Rathain. And when they had arrived at Rathain, with that intent, they, with one accord, appointed Diarmaid Ruadnaidh and the Airchinnech of Cluain-Aengusa, with an armed force under their command, to lead Mochuda prisoner out of the country. When these had come to the church, the Airchinnech entered thereinto, but Diarmaid remained without at the threshold of the door. And when St. Mochuda heard that Diarmaid was standing outside the door, he went forward to bid him welcome, and he invited him to enter the church. "I will not," said Diarmaid. "Is it that thou art come to take me out of this monastery?" said St. Mochuda. "Yes," said Diarmaid, "though I do not say that I will do it; for I am sorry to have come upon that design, by reason of thy great holiness and dignity." "To God be glory in heaven and upon earth," said St. Mochuda; "and to thee be power and royalty, and the sovereignty of Ireland; and may good fortune follow thy race after thee. And now when thou shalt return to thy companions, the young men who are there will call thee Diarmaid the Ruthful; and they will fix that epithet upon thee as a mark of reproach. But that title shall yet become a glory to thee, and to thy progeny after thee." Upon this Diarmaid returned to the companions he had left. Blathmac immediately asked him why he had not laid hands upon Mochuda. "I would not attempt it," replied Diarmaid, "and I did not intend it." "That was surely a tender-hearted act," said Blathmac. And when the assembled youths had heard these words, they applied the term used by Blathmac, namely, "ruadnaidh" (*rooance*), or "ruaidhnech" (*rooinagh*), which means ruthful or tender-hearted, as a nickname to Diarmaid, and

thence his descendants have been styled Sliocht Dhiarmada Ruadnaidh²⁸ (*Shloght Yeermoda Roonce*) ever since.

As to Blathmac, he, with a body of men, went to the monastery, and there seized upon St. Mochuda, drove him and his community out of their convent with hostile force. St. Mochuda then laid a malediction upon Blathmac, and set forth with his community of monks, performing works and miracles on his way, until he reached the territory of the Desi. On his arrival there, the king of the Desi came forth to meet him, and to pay him deference and honor; and he placed himself, body and soul, under the Saint's protection. He then went with him to Dun Sginni, which is now called Lis-mor,²⁹ and there St. Mochuda and his community fixed their abode. He built a church there, and the place became famous and honored, and thenceforth continued long to be glorious as the seat of piety and of learning. Such was the expulsion of St. Mochuda from Rathain to Lis-mor.

*The Battle of Magh Rath*³⁰—*The Standards and Battle Array of the Gaels.*

It was Domnall, son of Aedh, son of Anmiri, king of Ireland, that won the battle of Magh Rath, wherein fell Congal Claen,³¹ who had been ten years king of Ulidia. And it may be easily learned, from the history that is called the Battle of Magh Rath, that the military array in which the Gaelic armies were wont to be drawn up, for the purpose of engaging in the conflict of battle, was exact and well ordered. For it is there read, that the whole host was wont to be placed under the command of one captain-in-chief, and that, under him, each division of his force

²⁸ *Stiocht Dhiarmada Ruadnaigh*, i. e., the posterity of Diarmaid the Merciful or Charitable.

²⁹ *Lis-Mor*, i. e., the Great Fort, now called Lismore, in the county of Waterford.

³⁰ *Magh Rath*.—This was the name of a plain in Ulidia, that is, the present county of Down. Its position is still pointed out by the village of Moira. This great and important battle was fought, according to the accurate annals of Tighernach, in the year 637. In it Congal and his Ulidians were aided by a large auxiliary force, composed of Scots of Alba, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, led on by tried chieftains of their respective nations.

³¹ *Congal Claen*, i. e., Congal of Wry-eyed. He is also called Congal Caech, i. e., of the defective sight; for he had lost an eye. He was grandson of Fiachna, or, as Keating calls him, Fiacaídh, son of Baedan, of whose contests with Fiacaídh, son of Deman, we have read, under the reign of Aedh, son of Anmiri. He sought in this battle, by means of foreign aid, to recover the former supremacy of his family over ancient Uladh, which comprised all Ulster, from which his ancestors had been driven into Ulidia or modern Uladh, which comprised little more than the present county of Down, by the encroachments of the Uí Neill and the Oirghaalla.

obeyed its own proper captain; and besides, that every captain of these bore upon his standard his peculiar device or ensign,³² so that each distinct body of men could be easily distinguished from all others by those shannachies, whose duty it was to attend upon the nobles when about to contend in battle, and that those shannachies might thus have a full view of the achievements of the combatants, so as to be able to give a true account of their particular deeds of valor. It was for such purpose that Donnall, son of Aedh, king of Ireland, was attended by his own shannachie, when he was about to engage in this battle of Magh Rath. And when he was marching against Congal, and when the hosts were in view of each other, we find Donnall, whilst the armies were yet on the opposite banks of a river, making inquiries of his shannachie about each particular one of the standards in the host of his enemy, and the device thereupon; and the shannachie explained them to him, as we read in the duan which begins with this line, "How bravely Congal's host comes on," in which occurs the following verse upon the standard of the king of Uladh himself:

³² *Device or Ensign*; in Gaelic, *Suaithentas (soolentas)*. It is evident from all the ancient Irish accounts of battles, that the Gaels carried standards to distinguish them in war, from the very dawn of their history; but it is not certain when they first adopted armorial bearings, though it is probable that they not only used banners, distinguished by certain colors and badges, at a very early epoch, but also armorial bearings or escutcheons. However, no regular heraldic escutcheon for a Milesian family has been as yet discovered anterior to the reign of Elizabeth. It is probable that the Irish families first received the complex coats of arms they now bear from England; retaining on the shield, in many instances, the simple devices which their ancestors bore on their standards, such as the Red Hand of O'Neill, the Cat and Salmon of O Cathain (O'Kane), with such additions as the king at arms thought proper to introduce after the Anglo-Norman system of heraldry. The following are translations of ancient Irish verses, descriptive of the manner of devices or bearings by which the Gaelic Septs were wont to be dis-

tinguished in battle. Their originals may be found in the notes to the Battle of Magh Rath, from which also what has just now been said upon this subject has been taken in an abridged form.

Bearings of O'Dochartaigh (O'Doherty).

"With might advance the ranks of Conn
Dochartach's clan, to join the fight;
His battle blade of golden cross
Upon their chieftain's banner gleams:
A lion and bloody eagle stand
On glistening sheet of satin white
'Tis hard to check his plundering foray;
The onslaught of his clann is dreadful."

Bearings of O'Suilleabhain (O'Sullivan) in the Battle of Caislinn.

"I see, borne valiantly over the plain,
The flag of the race of the noble Finghin;
'Tis his spear with a venomous adder entwined,
His warriors are all fiery heroes of might."

Bearings of O'Lochlin, of Burrin in Clare.

"In the host of O' Lochlin,
On bright satin seen,
In the van of his battles
To guard in the fray.
Was an oak old and fruitful,
(A chief its meet ward,
And, eke, a blue anchor,
With gold cable bound."

—See Note H. P. 343, *Battle of Magh Rath.*

“A yellow lion upon green satin,
The standard of the Craebh-Ruadh,
As borne by noble Conobar,
Is now by Congal borne aloft.”

It was, indeed, long before this time, that the Gaels (that is, the descendants of Gaedal), had adopted the custom of bearing distinctive devices upon their standards, after the example of the Children of Israel, who had already practised this usage in Egypt, whilst Gaedal himself was still living in that land, and when the children of Israel were marching through the Red Sea, with Moses for their captain-in-chief.

In the reign of Domnall also, the following saints died, namely, St. Mochua,³⁴ of the line of Olild, son of Cathacir Mor, whose memory was held sacred at Tech Mochua, in Læighis; St. Mochuda,³⁵ St. Comdan,³⁶ son of Da-Kerda; and St. Cronan,³⁷ Bishop of Caendrom. And Domnall, son of Aedh, died.³⁸

CONALL CLAEN AND KELLACH, ARD-RIGHA.

A. D. 656.³⁹ Conall Claen⁴⁰ and Kellach, sons of Maclcaba, son

³³ *Craebh Ruadh*.—Congal was the chief representative of the ancient Clanna Rudraide, of the line of Ollamh Fodla, and of Ir, son of Miledh. He was more immediately descended from Irial Glunmar, son of the famous Red Branch Knight, Conall Kearnach, and therefore appropriately bore the standard of the Craebh Ruadh, or Red Branch.

³⁴ *St. Mochua*.—The death of St. Mochua, of Balla, has been recorded a little above. Besides him, Mochua, son of Lonan, died in 657, and Mochua, son of Ust, in 668.

³⁵ *St. Mochuda*. A. D. 636. “The 13th year of Domnall, St. Mochuda, Bishop of Lismor, and Abbot of Rathain, died on the 14th of May.”—*Four Masters*. It is evident from entries in the annals just quoted, that there was a religious establishment at Lismore previous to the time of St. Carthach, or Mochuda; but it was remodelled and erected into a bishopric by this saint previous to his death. Maechtraigh was the name of the prince of the Desi, who granted Lismor and a considerable tract of land lying along the river Neimh (*Nev*), now called the Blackwater, in Munster, to

St. Carthach. Lis-mor, in a short time, acquired an extraordinary celebrity, and was visited by scholars and holy men from all parts of Ireland, as well as from England and Wales.

³⁶ *St. Comdan*.—The death of a Comdan Mac Cuthcanné is recorded at the year 663.

³⁷ *St. Cronan*.—St. Cronan Beg, Bishop of Aendrom (not Caendrom), an island in Strangford Lough, died on the 7th of January, 642.

³⁸ *Died*.—He died at Ard Fothadh, a fort on a hill, near Ballymagrorty, barony of Tir-Aeda, now Tirhugh, and county of Donegal, after a lingering sickness. He was the ancestor of the sept of the Kinél Conaill, that afterwards took the names of O'Maeldoraídh (O'Muldory) and O'Canannain, and who, previous to the rise of their kinsmen, the O'Donnells (who are descended from Lugaidh, the grand-uncle of this monarch, and brother of Anmiri, king of Ireland), were the most powerful families of Tir-Conaill.

³⁹ A. D. 640. *Four Masters*.

⁴⁰ CONALL II.—The proper surname of this prince is *Cael*, i. e., *the Slender*. It is so that he is designated in the Irish Annals.

of Aedh, son of Anmiri, of the line of Erimhòn, became kings, and reigned conjointly for thirteen years.⁴¹

In their reign Cuana,⁴² son of the king of Fermuighe (*Fermoy*), who was styled Laech Liathmani, that is the Hero of Liathmain,⁴³ died. This Cuana was a cotemporary of Guairi,⁴⁴ son of Colman; and there was a rivalry in hospitality and liberality. On this rivalry, two fools, named Conall and Comdan, composed between them the following rann:

“Guairi, Colman’s son, bestows
Whatever gift first meets his hand;
What each likes best to each is dealt
By Cuana, Liathmain’s generous chief.”

In Conall’s reign, also, that Raghallach, son of Uada, who was twenty-five years king of Connaught, was killed by Macl-Brighdi, son of Mothlachan, and his slaves.

This Raghallach entertained the most violent hatred and envy towards the son of his elder brother, lest he might attack him and deprive him of the kingdom of Connaught, but he found no opportunity of killing his brother’s son, so that a withering disease came upon him; for he could not eat through hatred of his nephew. When he lay thus languishing, he sent for his nephew to come to see him. But the nephew understood the treachery of his uncle, and therefore took the precaution to collect an armed escort, attended by which he went to visit his relative, Raghallach; and, before coming into the presence of the king, he told his attendants to keep their swords drawn beneath their mantles. But when Raghallach perceived this, he said, “Alas!

⁴¹ *Thirteen years.*—They reigned for seventeen years, according to other authorities.

⁴² *Cuana.*—“A. D. 640. Cuana, son of Ailcen (*Alken*), chief of Fera-Maighe, died.”—*Four Masters*. This Cuana was a descendant of the celebrated Druid and hero, Mogh Ruith, who had received a grant of the territory now called Fermoy, in the county of Cork, from Fiacaídh Macil-lethan, king of Munster. Of his race are the O’Dugans and O’Cosgrans, who were the chiefs of all this territory, until encroached on, first by the Eóganacht sept of O’Keeffe, which, in its turn, was encroached by the Roches and Condons and Flemmings. These last were dispossessed by the troopers of Cromwell, whose descendants still hold possession of the inheritance of the child-

ren of Mogh Ruith. Cuana is generally called the son of Caillein.

⁴³ *Liathmain.*—The place meant here is now called Cloch Liathmaini, in English Cloughleefer, a townland in the parish of Kilgullane and barony of Condons, lying about two miles west of Mitchelstown, co. Cork.

⁴⁴ *Cotemporary of Guairi.*—Guairi Aidni, whom we have seen so unaccountably displaced by Dr. Keating, under the reign of Diarmaid I., son of Fergus Kerbeol, did not die for twenty-two years after Cuana, his rival in liberality. The death of this Raghallach occurred in 642. He was, as before stated, an ancestor of the O’Connors of Connaught, and the immediate predecessor of Guairi, son of Colman. He reigned over Connaught for twenty-five years.

the man that is dearest to me on earth, and whom I wish to make my heir, does not trust me, though I am on the point of death! When the nephew heard this complaint, his heart smote him sorely, and he came alone to visit his uncle on the morrow. Thereupon, Raghallach's men fell upon the incautious nephew, and slew him on the spot. Raghallach then immediately got up from his sick bed, and commenced to feast joyfully and free from care.

After Raghallach had killed his nephew, after the manner just related, his wife, Muirenn, demanded of her Druid whether any danger hung over her husband arising from that act. The Druid replied, that, as Raghallach had killed his relative, so should both his and her death soon come from one of their own children, and he told her, moreover, that it was from the child, then in her womb that their deaths should come. She immediately told this to Raghallach, who commanded her to have the child killed as soon as it should be born. Muirenn soon after gave birth to a daughter, which she gave to one of her swineherds, with orders to kill it. But, when the herd saw the infant's face, his heart softened towards it, and he put it back into the same bag, and brought it secretly to the door of a religious woman, who dwelt in his neighborhood, and he left the bag hung upon one of the arms of a cross that stood near her door. The nun soon after came to the bag and found the infant therein; and she loved it exceedingly, and she educated it piously; and there was not in her time any child in all Ireland more beautiful than her fosterling. The fame of the child, now grown to maidenhood, soon reached Raghallach, and he hastily sent a messenger to her foster-mother to demand to have the girl given up to himself. The nurse, however, did not consent to his demand, but, nevertheless, her fosterling was torn away from her by violence. When Raghallach saw the maiden, his heart lusted violently for her, and he made her the companion of his bed. His own wife, Muirenn, got jealous thereupon, and she went to complain to the king of Ireland of her husband's infidelity. The scandal of that evil deed soon spread throughout all the land, and the saints of Ireland were sorrowful by reason thereof. St. Fechin⁴⁵ of Fobar, came in person to Raghallach to reprehend him, and many saints came in his company to aid him in inducing the prince to discontinue his criminal amour. But Raghallach despised their exhortations. Whereupon they fasted against him, and as there were many other evil-minded persons besides him in the land,

⁴⁵ *St. Fechin.*—St. Fechin (*Fzhin*), 664, of the mortality called the *Buide* Abbot of Fobar, now Fore, in West-Conaill. Conaill. math, died on the 14th of February,

they made an especial prayer to God, that for the sake of an example, he should not live out the month of May, then next to come on, and that he should fall by the hands of villains, by vile instruments, and in a filthy place; and all these things happened to him after the following manner, within the course of the following month of May.

A hunted deer, which had been previously wounded, landed upon an islet where Raghallach lay in wait. When the deer had come near him, Raghallach seized his javelin, and made a cast with it at the animal, which he transfixed. The deer, nevertheless, got off, and Raghallach pursued the game in his boat. When arrived at a short distance from the lake, the deer was met by some serfs who were cutting turf, and these killed him and divided the carcase between them. In the meantime Raghallach came up and threatened them for their division of the deer, and commanded them to deliver up the venison to himself. The boors determined to kill him thereupon, and they immediately fell on him with their spades and other implements, so that he was slain by their hands, and thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the saints. Muirenn,⁴⁶ his wife, had died before him through jealousy of her own daughter.

About this time was fought the battle of Carn-Conaill⁴⁷ by Diarmaid, the son of Aedh Slanni, wherein fell Cuan, son of Amalgaidh, after having reigned over Munster for ten years. In the same engagement fell Cuan, son of Conall, King of the⁴⁸ Ui

⁴⁶ *Muirenn*. It would seem that Muirenn survived her husband, from certain ancient verses quoted by the Four Masters, in reference to the death of Raghallach. The following is a translation of these verses, and from them it may be judged that those by whom that chieftain was slain was not all of mean condition, though possibly they were of the Daer Clanna or subject tribes;

"Raghallach, son of Uala, fell
Transfixed from off his milk-white steed.
His fall hath Muirenn well bewailed;
His fall hath Cathal well avenged.
Cathal is this day in battle,
Though kings have bound him to a peace—
Though Cathal, this day, has no father,
His father hath been well avenged!
Estimate his dreadful vengeance,
From the story of his on-slaughts;
For he has slain six men and fifty,
And he made sixteen plundering forays.
I had my share, as well as any,
In wreaking vengeance for Raghallach;
And my hand now grasps the grey beard
Of Mothlachan's son, Mael-Brighdi."

⁴⁷ *Carn Conaill*.—This battle was fought by Diarmaid Ruadnaidh, against Guairi, King of Connaught, who was therein aided by those Munster princes mentioned in the text. It was, in all likelihood, this Diarmaid, and not Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeol, that was the vanquisher of Guairi, on the occasion heretofore prematurely recorded by Keating, where he has transmitted that strange legend of the manner after which the defeated King of Connaught made his submission to the victor. Carn Conaill is supposed to be the place now called Ballyconnell in the parish of Kilbencanty, near Gort, in the ancient territory of Ui Fiachrach Aidni. The battle was fought in the year 645.

⁴⁸ *Ui Fidghenti*.—A large tract in the county of Limerick. The Ui Fidghenti from whom it had its name are now represented by the O'Donovans, O'Callanes or Collins, &c.

Fidghenti, and Talamonach, King of the Ui Liathain.⁴⁹ It was through the prayers of the community of St. Kieran of Cluain-mic-Nois, that Diarmaid gained that battle; and consequently, upon his return from that fight to Cluain-mic-Nois, he bestowed upon the church of that place a tract of country as an altar sod. That district is now called Liath Manchain.⁵⁰ It was at Cluain-mic-nois that Diarmaid willed to have himself buried, when he should die.

At this time died St. Fursa,⁵¹ of the line of Lugaidh Laga, brother of Olild Olum, and St. Mochellog,⁵² who was honored at Kill Mochellog. The latter saint was of the race of Conari, son of Edirsgéol. After that, Kellach, half King of Ireland, fell at Brugh, on the Boyne, and Conall was killed by Diarmaid, son of Aedh Slanni.

DIARMAID AND BLATHMAC, ARD-RIGHA.

A.D.⁵³ 669. Diarmaid⁵⁴ Ruadnaidh and Blathmac, sons of Aedh Slanni, of the line of Erimbhön, reigned conjointly over Ireland for seven years. It was in their reign that the battle of Pancti was fought by Hossa, in which fell the King of Sagsa, or Saxonland, with thirty of his lords. It was then that St. Ultan⁵⁵ died,

⁴⁹ *Ui Liathain*, that is, the territory of the clan of O'Liathain, now called Lyons. Talamonach, the name of the chief here mentioned, is also written Talamhnach (*Tallowmagh*).

⁵⁰ *Liath Manchain*.—The situation of this tract is now pointed out by the ruined church of Liath Manchain, (called Lemanaghan by the English). It lies in the barony of Garrycastle, and King's county. Tuaim Eire, i. e. Ere's Mound, was one of its ancient names. *Altar Sod*, in Gaelic, *fod re altoir*, means glebe or church land.

⁵¹ *St. Fursa*.—He preached for some time in Britain. Of him, Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, writes: "That holy man, Fersæus, came hither from Ibernia. He was renowned for his preaching and for his knowledge, and was sprung from the noblest race among the Scoti, but he was much more ennobled by the qualities of his mind than by his blood." He died about the year 650. His festival was held on the 16th of January.

⁵² *St. Mochellog* was the founder of Cill-Mhochellog (*Kill-voghellogue*), now the town of Killmalloch, county Limer-

⁵³ A. D. 657. *Four Masters*.

⁵⁴ DIARMAID II. This prince and his brother reigned for eight years.—*Id.*

⁵⁵ *St. Ultan*. He was styled Mac hUi Conga, and was Abbot of Cluain-Iraid. He died 664, of the mortality called the Buide Conaill, i. e. the yellow plague. The following saints are recorded as having also died of this scourge in the same year; St. Fechin, Abbot of Fobar, on the 14th of February; St. Ronan, son of Berach; St. Aileran the Wise; contemporary with him was St. Manchán of Liath-Manchain, or Tuaim-Eire, and St. Cronan, son of Silni. Another St. Ultan, surnamed Mac Ui Concobair, the first bishop of Ard-Breacain, now Ardbraccan in Meath, whose festival is set down on 4th of September, on which day he died in 656. The annotations of Tirechan on the Life of St. Patrick are stated to have been taken from the mouth of Ultanus, first bishop of the Dal Concobair of Ardbraccan. He lived to an extreme old age, and it is stated that he educated and fed with his own hands all the children who were without education in Ireland.—*O'D.*

and also St. Maedog,⁵⁶ son of Sedna, son of Erc, son of Feradach, son of Fiacaídh, son of Amalgaid, son of Muredach, son of Carthann, son of Erc, of the line of Colla Uais, to wit, the saint who was honored at Ferna. Then also died the holy St. Cumin Fada,⁵⁷ son of Fiacaídh; and Macnach, son of Finghin, King of Munster. And Diarmaid and Blathmac both died of the plague which was called the Buide-Conaill.⁵⁸

SECHNASACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 676.⁵⁹ Sechnasach (*Shaghmasagh*), son of Blathmac, son of Aedh Slainni, of the line of Erimhon, succeeded his father and uncle as King of Ireland, and reigned six years.⁶⁰ In the reign of this prince the battle of Fert⁶¹ was fought between the Ulidians and the Cruthnigh, where numbers were slain on both sides. St. Baethin,⁶² Abbot of Bennchor, died in this reign.

⁵⁶ *St. Maedog.* This saint had died long before this reign, in the year 624. He is now usually called St. Mogue by the Irish peasantry, who sometimes improperly translate his name by Moses. His first name was really Aedh, of which Aedhog (*Ayogue*), as well as Aedhan (*Ayaun*), or Aidan, are diminutive forms. Maedog or Maedhog (*Mayogue*) is a name of affection; the pronoun *Mo*, my, being prefixed Aedog, as has happened in the case of many of the names of Irish saints, such as Mochua, Mochuda, Molasi, &c. St. Maedog was the founder of the bishoprick of Ferna, now Ferns, on the river Bann, about five miles north of Enniscorthy, county Wexford. His feast is on the 31st of January.

⁵⁷ *St. Cumin Fada.*—He was bishop of Cluain-Ferta Brenainn or Clonfert, and died on the 12th of November, which is his festival, in 661. He was, as before stated, the half-brother (by his mother) of Guairi, King of Connaught; paternally he was of the tribe of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, in Kerry.

⁵⁸ *Buide Conaill.*—“This plague is mentioned by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, who writes that in the year 664, a sudden pestilence (called the yel-

low plague) depopulated the southern coast of Britain, and extending into Northumberland, ravaged the country far and near, and destroyed a great number of men.” He also states that it did no less harm in Ireland, where many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were, at that time, either studying theology or leading monastic lives, the Scoti supplying them with food and furnishing them with books and their teaching gratis.—*O'Donovan.*

⁵⁹ A. D. 665.—*Four Masters.*

⁶⁰ *Six years.*—Five years.—*Id.*

⁶¹ *The battle of Fert.*—“A. D. 665. The battle of Fersat was fought this year between the Ulidians and the Cinthin, where Cathasach, son of Laireine was slain.”—*Id.*

Fert, as in the text, is clearly a mistake for Fersat. The place meant is Belfast, whose present name is a corruption of Belach Feirsti, i. e. the Pass of the Fersad, a word which literally means a spindle, but which is also applied figuratively to a sand bank formed in the estuary of a river, where the tide checks the current of the fresh water.—*O'D.* The people here called Cruthnigh were the Dal Araide race.

⁶² *Baethin.*—He died in 665.

Sechnasach ended his reign and life by being killed by Dubduin of the Kinél Carbri.⁶³

KENNFAELADH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 682.⁶⁴ Kennfaeladh, son of Blathmac, son of Aedh Slanni, of the line of Erimhón, succeeded to the throne and held it for four years. In his reign the monastery of Bennchor⁶⁵ was burned by foreign marauders, and the persons that composed its religious community were slaughtered.

This place had its name of Bennchor from the following circumstance: Bresal Bree, a King of Leinster, once made a plundering expedition to Alba, with a numerous force, and brought thence a large prey of cattle as booty with him to Ireland; and when he had landed with his forces he made an encampment at the place that is now called Bennchor, and there his people killed many of the oxen for their food so that the plain was strewn over with the *benna*, that is, with the horns of the cattle, and hence came the name of Magh Bennchor or the Plain of Horns. Long afterwards, when the holy Abbot Comgall had founded a monastery in the same place, he commanded that the building should be called from the place where it was built. Hence it became known as the Monastery of Bennchor. Soon after the burning of this monastery by these foreign pirates, Kennfaeladh, King of Ireland, was killed by Finnacta Fleadach, son of Donncaadh, at the battle of Keltair.⁶⁶

⁶³ *Kinél Carbri*.—That is, the race of Carbri, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, seated at this period in the barony of Granard, county Longford, but whose descendants afterwards settled in and gave their names to the present barony of Carbury, county Kildare, and also to the barony of Carbury county Sligo.

"It was of Sechnasach this testimony was given :

"Full of bridles and horsewhips is
Sechnasach's dwelling-place—
That spoil-teeming, plentiful
Fortress of Blathmac's son."

—*Four Masters*.

⁶⁴ A. D. 670.—*Id.*

⁶⁵ *Bennchor*.—The place then burned was not the monastery of Bennchor, or Bangor, in Ulster; but it was Bangor in North Wales, which, having been founded by missionaries from the Irish Bennchor, took its name from the par-

ent institution. It is seen both from the annals of Ulster and those of Clonma-noise, that it was the British monastery that was burned in the reign of Kennfaeladh: "A. D. 671. The burning of Bennchor of the Britons."—*Ann. Ul.* "A. D. 668. Bangor in England was burned."—*Ann. Colon.* The Irish monastery, founded by the great St. Comgall, who died on the 10th of May, in the year 600, was still unprofaned by the foreign spoilers. The name of Bennchor is rather frequent in Ireland, and is mostly anglicized Banagher. It is derived, as Keating states, from *benn*, signifying a horn, peak, crest, or pinnacle, or rather it is more immediately derived from its adjective *bennach* by the addition of the suffix *ar*.

⁶⁶ *Keltair*.—"He was slain in the battle of Aircealtair (*Arkeller*), at Tigh Ua Mainé (*Tee oo Mani*)."—*F. M.* The scene of this fight is supposed

FINNACTA, ARD-RIGH.

A. D.⁶⁷ 686.—Finnacta⁶⁵ Fleadach, son of Donnecadh, son of Aedh Slanni, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years.⁶⁹ This King had the surname of Fleadach, that is, the Hospitable, or Festive, or from the number of festivals and public entertainments that took place in Ireland during his reign. St. Colman, bishop of Inis-bo-finni,⁷⁰ died in his reign, as did St. Finan,⁷¹ who was honored at Ard-Finain; of the race of Fiachaidh, Macil-lethan, was this St. Finnan; and about the same time St. Arannan also died. It was Finnacta that defeated the Leinstermen at the battle of Loch Gabar,⁷² where many of them fell by his forces. It was in his reign that Kennfaeladh the Learned⁷³ died. And it was then also that Dungal, son of Sganlan, King of the Cruithnigh or Piets, and Kennfaeladh, King of the Kiannachta of Glenn-Geimhen, were burned by Maelduin, son of Maelsitricc, in Dun-Kethirinn.⁷⁴ In this reign also the Britons made an incursion into Ireland according to Bede, in the twenty-sixth chapter of the fourth book of his History. He there informs us that a chieftain of the forces of the King of the Saxons, named Bertus,

to be pointed out by a place now called Attymany, in the parish of Clonkeen Kerrill, barony of Tiaquin, and county of Galway.

⁶⁷ A. D. 674. *Four Masters.*

⁶⁵ FINNACTA II. His name and surname are pronounced *Finnaghita Flaugh*. Finnacta is sometimes spelled *Finnshneachta* which has almost the same pronunciation, and is thus made to signify *snowwhite*, or rather white snow. But the editor surmises that such spelling was adopted in order to support an etymological pun upon the name, and that word is nothing more than a simple derivate from *Finn*, i. e. fair.

⁶⁹ *Seven years.*—His reign lasted for twenty years according to the annals above cited.

⁷⁰ *St. Colman of Inis-bo-finni.* He died on the 8th of August, 674. *Inis-bo-finni*, i. e. the Island of the White Cow is now known as Bophin Island, and is situated off the west coast of Mayo. The ruins of St. Colman's church are still to be seen on this island. From Loch Bo-finni, i. e. the Lake of the

White Cow, situate thereon, it is fabled that an enchanted cow, from which it has its name, is seen periodically to emerge.

⁷¹ *St. Finan of Ard-Finain.*—He is the patron saint of Ard-Fhinain (*Ardeenain*), now the town of Ardfinnan, county Tipperary. The festival of St. Finan, son of Eranan, is entered in O'Clery's calendar at the 12th of February. He died in 674.

⁷² *Loch Gabar.*—Now Lough Gower, or Logore, near Dunshaughlin, in Meath. This battle took place in 675.

⁷³ *Kennfaeladh the Learned.*—"A. D. 677. Cennfaeladh, son of Oilíoll, a paragon of wisdom, died."—*Four Masters.* This sage lived at Derryloran, in Tyrone, as it is stated in the preface to the *Uraicept na n-Eigean*, which work he is said to have amended.—*O'D.*

⁷⁴ *Dun Kethirinn.*—Now the Giant's Scence, in the parish of Dunbar, county Londonderry, as already stated. This event happened in 679, in the sixth year of Finnacta's reign, according to the *Four Masters.*

landed in Ireland in the year of our Lord, six hundred and eighty-four, and that they plundered a great portion of the country. Bede laments that evil deed in the following words: "Bertus devastated an innocent nation, and one that had always proved most friendly to the English race."⁷⁵ Against them was fought the battle of Rath Mor in Magh Lini,⁷⁶ where Cumusgach, King of the Cruthnigh (the Dal Araide), was slain, and a great number of the Gaels fell with him. The Britons then also made an expedition to the Orcades and plundered those islands. Some of them landed in the east of Leinster likewise, and having plundered the properties both of the church and of the laity, they returned to their homes, when they had committed great depredations and destruction. St. Adannan made the following verse on Finnaeta, when that king, had remitted the Boromha⁷⁷ or cow-tribute at the request of St. Moling;

" Finnaeta, Donncaadh's son, remitted,
At Moling's prayer, a mighty tribute ;
Thrice fifty hundred kine, with spancel's,
And with each cow her calf was given."

Finnaeta was killed soon after this by Aedh, the son of Dluthach and by Conall, the son of Congal, at Grellach Dolraith.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Bertus vastavit gentem innocentem misere et nationi Anglorum amicissimam." This quotation from the venerable Bede refers to the invasion of Magh Breagh by the Saxons, which took place in June, 683, according to the Four Masters, but in 684, according to Bede, in which latter authority it is said that Bertus or Beretus was the general of Egfrid, King of Northumbria.

⁷⁶ Rath-mor in Magh Line.—Now Rathmore, a townland on which there is an ancient rath or earthen fort, in the parish of Donegore and county of Antrim. This battle was fought in 680, three or four years before the invasion of Magh Breagh, by the Saxons. The foreigners who were there defeated were more probably Saxons than Britons. In the year after the invasion of Magh Breagh, St. Adannan, Abbot of Iona, was sent to England to request a restoration of the captives taken therein. The Northern Saxons received him with great honor on the

occasion, and granted him everything he requested.

⁷⁷ *The Boromha remitted.*—"That iniquitous tax upon the people of Leinster, which through forty successive reigns had been one of the sources of national strife, was at length remitted at the urgent request of St. Moling, Archbishop of Ferns (Ferna), by the pious King Finnaeta for himself and his successors for ever."—*Moore.*

If there be any truth in the opposition of St. Adannan to the remission of the Boromha, by his relative, King Finnaeta, the above quoted verses must be understood in an ironical sense.

⁷⁸ *Grellach Dollraith.*—This is supposed to be the place still called, in Irish, Grellach, but Girly in English, which lies two miles south of Killa, in Meath. The battle was fought in the twentieth year of Finnaeta's reign, and not in the seventh, as Keating has it. Bresal, the monarch's son, fell with him.

LOINGSECH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 693.⁷⁹ Loingsech, son of Aengus, son of Domnall, son of Aedh, son of Anniri, of the line of Erimhón, ascended the throne of Ireland and held it for eight years. In this reign St. Adamnan came from Alba to Ireland⁸⁰ to preach. It was then, also, that St. Moling⁸¹ of Luachair died; and that the plain of Murthemni was devastated⁸² by the Britons. During this reign a great pestilence raged amongst the cattle⁸³ in Saxon-land and in Ireland. This was followed by a great famine which lasted for three years, during which time, it is said, that people were forced to eat one another. It was about this time, also, that St. Egbert went to preach in Alba. Muredach Macil-lethan,⁸⁴ King of Connaught, died, whilst Loingsech was monarch. It was then, also, that the Ulidians fought the battle of Magh-Cullinn⁸⁵ against the Britons, and in it great numbers of those marauders were slaughtered. About this time, likewise, died St. Adamnan,⁸⁶ Abbot of Aci, or Iona, in his seventy-seventh year.

⁷⁹ A. D. 694.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁰ St. Adamnan came to Ireland in 697. It appears from Bede that his principal object in visiting his native land on this occasion was to preach to the people about the proper time of keeping the Easter.

⁸¹ *St. Moling died*.—He died in 696, on the 13th of May. He erected a church at a place then named Ros-broc, but now Tigh Moling, i. e. Moling's House, in Irish, and in English, St. Mullin's, where his festival was celebrated on the 17th of June.

⁸² *The Plain of Murthemni devastated*.—“A. D. 695. The second year of Loingsech. The devastation of Murthemni by the Britons and the Ulidians.—*Four Masters*.”

⁸³ *Pestilence amongst the cattle*.—This event seems misplaced. A similar pestilence is thus recorded by the *Four Masters* to have visited Ireland during the last reign. “A. D. 684. The 11th year of Finnaetha, a mortality upon all animals in general throughout the whole world, for the space of four years, so that there escaped not one out of the thousand of any kind of animals. There was a great frost in this year, so that the rivers and lakes

of Ireland were frozen, and the sea between Ireland and Alba was frozen so that there was a communication between them on the ice.” Florence of Winchester notices this plague in his annals at the year 685. “A great pestilence seized upon Britannia, and laid it waste with wide-spread destruction.”—The *Annals of Ulster* record a pestilence such as Keating speaks of, as having taken place in 799.

⁸⁴ *Muredach Macil-lethan*, i. e. Muredach of the Broad Head. He was son of Fergus, son of Raghallach, son of Uada. It was from him that the *Sil Muireadhaigh* (*Seed Murray*), (i. e. Seed of Muredach) consisting of the O'Connors (of Connaught), the Mac Dermots, Mac Donoughs, O'Beirnes, O'Flanagans, Mageraghties, O'Finnaghties, took their tribe-name. He was otherwise called Muredach of Magh Aci, in Roscommon. He died in the year 700, in the seventh year of Loingsech.

⁸⁵ *The battle of Magh Cuillinn*. A plain near Sliabh Cuillinn, now Slieve Gullion, co. Armagh.

⁸⁶ *Died St. Adamnan, &c.*—This celebrated man was of same family as St. Columkille and St. Baethin, i. e. of the

It was now that the Saracens marched with a large army to Constantinople, which city they besieged for three years, after which period they withdrew their forces without having succeeded in taking it.

The battle of Corann⁸⁷ was fought by Kellach, son of Raghallach, who had been seven years King of Connaught, against Loingsch, King of Ireland, and in it the latter was defeated and slain.

CONGAL KENN-MAGHAIR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 701.⁸⁸ Congal⁸⁹ Kenn-Maghair, son of Fergus Fanaid, descended from Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhón, became King of Ireland, and reigned for nine years. It was this Congal that burned Kill-dara, destroying both the ecclesiastical buildings and the houses of the laity. But this evil deed soon brought a sudden death upon himself.

FERGAL, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 710.⁹⁰ Fergal, son of Maelduin, son of Maelsitricc, son of Aedh Uaridnach, of the line of Erimhón, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seventeen years.⁹¹ Cact, the daughter of Maeleoba, King of Kinèl Conaill, was his mother.

About this time a battle was fought by the Dal Riada against the Britons, at a place called Cloch Minuire, where the Britons were defeated with slaughter. About this time, also, Nectan,

Kinèl Conaill. He was son of Ronan, son of Tiuni, son of Aedh, son of Colman, son of Sedna, son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. After having been twenty-six years Abbot of Iona, he died on the 23d of September, in the year 703, or, according to Tigernach, in 704. Of Adamnan's works we have still remaining, his *Life of Columba*, or *St. Columkille*, written in the purest style of Latin then in use; which Pinkerton calls the completest piece of biography that all Europe can boast of during the whole of the Middle Ages; and his *Description of the Holy Places of Judea*, which he presented King Alfred. These have been published; but there are other tracts, both in prose and verse, written by him in his native tongue, which lie still in manuscript.

⁸⁷ *The battle of Corann*—Corann is now a barony in Sligo. The three sons of the monarch were slain with their father in that fight.

⁸⁸ A. D. 702.—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁹ CONGAL II.—He was called Kenn-maghair, from a place of that name, now anglicized Kinnaweer, situated at the head of Mulroy Lough, barony of Kilmacrenan, and county of Donegal. He reigned but seven years, according to the above cited Annals, which say nothing of his having burned Kill-dara and its churches. But it would seem from them that he had gone into Leinster, in the year 705, to reinforce the lately abolished Boromha, and that he had obtained his demand from that territory.

⁹⁰ A. D. 709.—*Four Masters*.

⁹¹ *Seventeen years*—Ten years.—*Id.*

King of Alba, expelled a convent of Monks beyond the limits of his realm for having reprehended him for his evil deeds.

It was in this king's reign that those three showers⁹² fell, whence Niall Frasach had his surname. He was called Frasach, because he was born during the *frasa* or showers, as we shall relate at the reign of Niall Frasach himself. Those showers consisted of a shower of honey at Fothain⁹³ Beg, a shower of silver at Fothain Mor, and a shower of blood in Magh-Lighen. About this time was fought the battle of Almain⁹⁴ between Fergal, the monarch of Ireland, and Murcadh son of Brann, King of Leinster. Fergal's forces amounted to twenty-one thousand men in this engagement, while but nine thousand followed the King of Leinster to the field, in addition to the eight score of chosen champions that formed his royal body-guard. Nevertheless, the Monarch of Ireland was routed, and two hundred and sixty-nine of his men ran mad, and according to some accounts, three thousand two hundred of them were left dead on the field. Other authorities hand down that the number slain amounted to seven thousand. The reason why this misfortune came upon the King of Ireland was, because as he was marching to the battle field of Almain with the intention of fighting, some of his people went to plunder a little church called Killin, and thence they brought away a solitary cow which they found in possession of the hermit of that church. Whereupon the hermit cursed the King and his army; and it was in consequence of his curse that this extraordinary misfortune fell upon them, and that the King himself was slain among the rest, as we have just told.

FOGARTACH, ARD-RIGH.

A.D. 727.⁹⁵ Fogartach, son of Niall, son of Keàrnaeh Sotal, son of Diarmaid, son of Aedh Slanni, son of Anmiri, of the

⁹² *Three showers.*—This singular and perhaps partly enigmatical record, is found entered under the year 716, in the Four Masters, and under 715 in the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

⁹³ Fothain is also written Othain. It is now called Fahau, by the English, and lies near Lough Swilly, county Donegal.

⁹⁴ *Almain*, now Allen, a celebrated hill in the county of Kildare.—“A.D. 718. After Fergal, son of Maelduin, had been ten years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he was slain by Duncadh, son of Murcadh, and Aedh, son of Colgan, an heir presumptive to the sovereignty. The number which the race

of Conn brought to this battle, was 21,000; and the number brought by the Leinster men was 9,000. Of the death of Murcadh was said :

‘Duncaith, the noble Murcadh’s son,
And Aedh Mae Colgahn, of red swords,
Slew Fergal of the vallant fights,
On storied Almain’s hard-fought field.’

... Seven thousand was the number that fell on both sides between them.”
—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁵ “A.D. 719. Fogartach, son of Niall, son of Keàrnaeh Sotal (the Proud) was in the sovereignty of Ireland this year, until he fell in the battle of Delgean, by Kineath, son of Irgalach.”—*Four Masters*.

line of Erimhòn, reigned over Ireland for one year. He was killed by Kinaeth, son of Irgallach, in the battle of Belgi.⁹⁶

KINAETH, ARD-RIGH.

A.D. 728.⁹⁷ Kinaeth, son of Irgallach, son of Conaing Currach, son of Conall, son of Aedh Slanni, of the line of Erimhòn, ruled Ireland for four years. It was in the reign of this king that the relics of St. Adamnan were brought from Alba to Ireland. After that event, the battle of Drum-Kiarain⁹⁸ was fought by Flathbertach, son of Loingsech, against Kinaeth, son of Irgallach, where Kinaeth, King of Ireland, fell, and many of his people were slain around him.

FLATHBERTACH, ARD-RIGH.

A.D. 732.⁹⁹ Flathbertach, son of Loingsech, son of Aengus, son of Donnall, son of Aedh, son of Anmiri, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for seven years. Muirenn, daughter of Kellach, was the mother of this king. According to Bede, it was in this king's reign that the battle of Drum-derg was fought in Alba between Drust and Aengus, two kings of the Picts. It was in his reign, also, that the battle of Fochart¹⁰⁰ was gained in Murthemni by Aedh Ollan, and the

⁹⁶ *Belgi, or Beilge.* The situation of this place has not been identified. Belgi seems to have been written by mistake for Delgi, or Delgen. The name is also written Cenn Delgthen. (*Kenn Delkenn*).

⁹⁷ A.D. 720. *Four Masters.*

⁹⁸ *Drum Kiarain.* "A.D. 722. After Kinaeth, son of Irgalach, had been three years in sovereignty over Ireland, he fell in the battle of Drom Corcrain, by Flathbertach, son of Loingsech."—*Ib.* Drum Kiarain, the name which Drum Corcrain has been called in the text, is, in some copies, written Drum Carran. Its situation has not been identified.

⁹⁹ A.D. 723. *Ib.*

¹⁰⁰ *Fochart*, now Faughard, county Louth. The battle of Fochart was not fought until the third year of the reign of Aedh Ollan, or Allan, the next succeeding monarch. "A.D. 732. The battle of Fochart was fought by Aedh Allan and the Clanna Neill of the north against the Ulidians, where Aedh Roin, King of Ulidia, was slain, and his head was cut off on Cloch-an-

Chomaigh, i. e. the stone of decapitation, in the doorway of the church of Fochart; and Concadh, son of Cuanach, chief of Cobha, was slain, and many others along with him. The cause of this battle was the profanation of the church of Kill-Conna by Ua Seghain, one of the people of Aedh Roin. Congas, Comorba of St. Patrick, composed this quatrain to incite Aedh Allan to revenge the profanation of the church; for he was the spiritual adviser of Aedh, so that he said:

"Say unto the cold Aedh Allan
That I've been wronged by feeble men,
For Aedh Roin outraged me last night,
At Kill Cunna of music sweet."

Aedh Allan then collected his forces to Fochart, and he composed these verses on his march to the battle:

"Kill Cunna, church of my soul's friend,
For thee this day I march a field;
Aedh Roin shall leave his head with me,
Or I with him shall leave my own."

—See *Four Masters.*

Kill Cunna is now called Killoony, in the parish of Ballyclog, barony of Dungannon, county Tyrone.

clans of Niall against the men of Ulidia. Aedh Roin, King of Ulidia, was slain in this battle, after a reign of thirty years, and there, also, fell, Concadh, son of Cuanach. Two years after this engagement, Flathbertach, son of Loingsech, King of Ireland, died a penitent at Ard Macha.

AEDH OLLAN, ARD-RIGH.

A.D. 739.¹ Aedh Ollan,² son of Fergal, son of Maelduin, son of Maelsitricce, of the race of Erimhòn, obtained the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for nine years. The mother of this prince was Brighitt, daughter of Orea, son of Carthann. In the reign of this Aedh was fought the battle of Belach Feli,³ between the Munstermen and Leinstermen, and many fell therein on both sides, and amongst them was Kellach, son of Faclair, King of Osraide. Cathal, son of Finguini, King of Munster, gained the victory in that battle. After this, Aengus, son of Fergus, King of the Picts, routed and slaughtered the Dal Riada of Alba, and plundered and devastated them exceedingly, so that Dun-da-cregi was burned by him, and that Dungal and Fergus,⁴ the two sons of Selbach, King of Dal Riada, were led captive, and put in fetters.

About this time there was a meeting between Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, and Cathal, son of Finguini, King of Munster, at Tir-da-leth-glas,⁵ in Ormond, and there they established the rule and law and rent of Patrick over Ireland.

Shortly after this, the battle of Ath Senaid,⁶ that is, the battle

¹ A. D. 730. *Ib.*

² AEDU V.

³ *Belach Feli.* This name should be Belach Eli, i. e. the Pass of Eli. "A. D. 730. The battle of Belach Eli was fought between Cathal, son of Finguini, King of Munster, and the Leinstermen, where many of the latter were slain. There fell of the Munstermen here Kellach, son of Faclair, chief of Osraide, and the two sons of Cormac, son of Rossa, chief of the Desi, with three thousand along with them.—*Ib.*

⁴ *Dungal and Fergus.* According to O'Flaherty, the defeat of the Dal Riada by the Pietish king Aengus happened in the year 736. The Dungal here mentioned was the twenty-second king of the Alban Gaels.

⁵ *Tir-da-leth-glas,* now Terryglass, in Lower Ormond.

⁶ *Ath Senaid.* It is now known as

Ballyshannon, county Kildare, four miles southwest of Killeullen Bridge. The people of Leinster suffered so severely in this fight, and in that of Almain, in 718, that the remission of the Boromha could be said to have brought them but little advantage. The whole strength, both of the races of Conn and of Cathair Mor, seems to have met in hostile array in this battle. There, we are told, "that Aedh Allan met Aedh, son of Colgan, in single combat, and Aedh, son of Colgan, was slain by Aedh Allan. The Leinstermen were slaughtered dreadfully therein, so that there escaped of them but a small remnant. The following were the leaders and chiefs who fell, namely, Aedh, son of Colgan, King of Uí Kinnsealaigh, Brann Beg, son of Murcadh, the second king who was over the Leinstermen, Fergus, son of Maenach, and Dubdacrioch, two chiefs of

of Uchba, was fought between Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, and Aedh, son of Colgan, King of Leinster. In this battle, Aedh Ollan was dangerously wounded, and Aedh, son of Colgan, with Bran Beg, son of Murcadh, half-king of Leinster, and numbers of the chief nobles of Leinster, were slain. In all, nine thousand Leinstermen fell in that fight. It was after this that Cathal, son of Finguini,⁷ King of Munster, died, and likewise Aedh Balb, son of Innrectach, who had been for seven years King of Connaught. In this reign, also, died Flann,⁸ son of Cronmael, Bishop of Rechrainn. After this, Aedh Ollan fell in the battle of Seridh,⁹ in Meath, that is, of Kennanus, or Kells, by Domnall, son of Murcadh.

DOMNALL, ARD-RIGH.

A.D. 748.¹⁰ Domnall,¹¹ son of Murcadh, son of Armedach Caech, son of Conall Guth-binn, son of Suibni, son of Colman, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeol, son of Conall Cremthanni, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-four¹² years. The

the Fotharta, the son of Ua Kellaigh, son of Trian, Fiangelach Ua Maeleathgin, Conall Ua Athechdai, the four sons of Flann Ua Congailli, Eladaeh Ua Maeluidir. The people of Leth Cuinn were joyous after this victory, for they had wreaked vengeance upon the men of Leinster. Nine thousand was the number of them that were slain." This engagement took place in the year of Aedh Allan (733).—See *Four Masters*.

⁷ *Cathal, son of Finguini*. He died in 737. He is the ancestor of the sept of O'-Cacimb, now O'Keefe, who were chieftains of Fermoy, county Cork, previous to the English invasion. Cathal was a warlike and powerful prince. By the annals of Innisfallen, and other Munster records, he is mentioned as full monarch of Ireland. Aedh Balbh, King of Connaught, died in 737, also.

⁸ *Flann, son of Cronmael*. Flann, son of Kellach, son of Cronmael, died in 735. It is not certain whether he was Bishop of Rechrainn, in the east of Meath, where St. Columkille had established a monastery, or of Rechrainn, now Rathlin, or Ragharee Island, off the north coast of Antrim.

⁹ *Seridh, in Meath*. It was otherwise called Magh Seridh (*Moy Sher-*

rih), and was the name of the plain lying round Kells, in Meath. Aedh Ollan was famous as a bard as well as warrior, if we may judge from the manner in some stanzas attributed to him are quoted by the Irish annalists.

¹⁰ A. D. 739. *Four Masters*.

¹¹ DOMNALL III.

¹² *Twenty-Four Years*. The editor's MS. copies of Keating give this king a reign of 44 years. O'Connor's translation gives him one of 42. From the former of these he has here cut off 20 years. He has done so on the following grounds; firstly, because to allow a reign of such a length to Domnall III, would throw several historie events, subsequently recorded in this history, too far in advance of the real dates, as ascertained both from the Irish Annals and from the testimony of foreign writers; secondly, because he is persuaded that the number was originally written 24 by Keating himself, for the sum of the subsequent dates, prefixed in his MS. copies, to the several kings' reigns, does not accord with the sum of the number of years during which each king is stated to have held the sovereignty; and thirdly, because the retrenchment of 20 years from this reign will bring the dates of those of the succeeding monarchs into suffi-

mother of Domnall, son of Murcadh, King of Ireland, was Alpin, daughter of Congal, son of Delbna Mor. In the reign of this King, Colman, bishop of Laesan,¹³ was slain by the Ui Turtri;¹⁴ and Cormac, bishop of Ath Truim,¹⁵ died. It was in his reign, also, that a form¹⁶ like that of a serpent was to move in the air. It was then, likewise, that Sechnasach,¹⁷ son of Colgan, king of Ui Kinnsealaigh, died; and St. Suairleeh,¹⁸ bishop of Fobar, and Osbran, bishop of Cluain Cremha,¹⁹ died then, also.

After this, the battle of Belach Cro²⁰ was fought by Crim-

ently close proximity with our several other Irish authorities. It is not unlikely to suppose that some early transcriber of Keating had mistaken the first cypher of 24 for a 4, and thus led to this confusion. In the Four Masters, Domnall, son of Murcadh, is stated to have reigned but 20 years.

¹³ *Bishop of Laesan.* Laesan or Lessan is the name of a parish at the foot of Slieve Gallion, in the counties of Londonderry and Tyrone. Bishop Colman was slain in 743 according to some writers, in 739 according to others.

¹⁴ *Ui Turtri.* They were, otherwise, called the Tuatha Tort, and were seated in the county of Antrim, on the east side of the Bann and Lough Neagh. They were descended from Fiachra Tort, son of Colla Uais.

¹⁵ *Bishop of Ath Truim.* This bishop died in 741. Ath Truim is the Gaelic name for Trim in Meath. A bishoprick had been founded here in 432 by St. Patrick, who had received a grant of the place from Feidlim, son of King Laegari II.

¹⁶ *A Form, &c.* The appearance of this phenomenon, then held prodigious, is recorded in the Annals of Ulster under the year 744 in these terms; "During the night a horrible and wonderful sign was seen in the stars."

¹⁷ *Sechnasach, Son of Colgan.* This chieftain died in 741.

¹⁸ *St. Suairleeh.* He died on the 21st of March in 745. Fobar, called also Fobar Fechin, now Fore in Westmeath.

¹⁹ *Cluain Cremha,* i. e. the Lawn of the Wild Garlic, now Clooneraff, near Elphin, county Roscommon. Bishop Osbran died in 747.

²⁰ *The Battle of Belach Cro.* This battle was fought in 751, by the Ui Mani against the Delbna Nuadath, a tribe of the Dal-g-Cais, which had early made a settlement between the River Suck and Loch Ribh (Lough Ree), where they had subdued, but not expelled the ancient Fer Bolg tribe of the Gamhanraide. Both tribes were, in this battle, nearly annihilated by the Ui Mani. A fleet of the Delbna having been wrecked by a storm upon Lough Ree, and numbers of their warriors having perished therein, the Ui Mani, then seated on the west bank of the Suck, seized upon that opportunity in order to exterminate their weakened foes. The circumstance is recorded by the Four Masters in the following terms; "The shipwreck of the Delbna Nuadath upon Loch Ribh with their lord Dimasach, of which was said :

"The Gamhanradl of Loch Ribh
Set sail in thrice nine barks, and three
Of them with life none thence returned,
Except the crew of one lone bark."

The battle of Belach Cro was gained by Crimthann, (chief of the Ui Mani), over the Delbna of Ui Mani, in which was slain Fim, son of Arb, Lord of Delbna, at Tibra Fim. The Ui Mani were contending with them for the cantred between the Suck (the Suck), and the Sinainn (the Shannon), for this was called the cantred of the Delbna. Of this was said :

"The battle of Belach Cro—
Red pass of part-colored hosts!
Woe worth the Delbna's march and thereto!
For there fierce Cranthann ruin poured
On Delbna-Nuadh's warlike tribe,
The King of Delbna, Finn Mae Alrb,
Was wounded with broad-headed spears;
Of that dread battle he was chief,
Until he fell at Tibra Fim."

thann, son of Enna, in which fell Finn, son of Arb, King of the Delbna; and his people were there slaughtered around him. From that action the lake, which is in that place, is called Lochàn Belaigh Cro;²¹ and thence also the well that is there, has been named Tibraid Finn—that is, the Well of Finn. It was about this period that Cumasgach,²² King of Ui Failghi, fell by Maelduin, son of Aedh Bennan, King of Munster. Then, also, Cathasach, son of Olild, King of the Cruthnigh,²³ was slain at Rath Bethach by the men of Leinster: and the battle of Belach Gabrain,²⁴ was gained by the son of Cucherca, and the men of Osraide, over Donngal, son of Læidgenn, King of Ui Kinnsealaigh, and there Donngal was slain, and numbers of the nobles of Leinster were slain with him. About the same time died Muredach, son of Murcadh,²⁵ King of Leinster. And after these events Donnall, son of Murcadh, the first King of Ireland of the Clann Colmain,²⁶ died.

NIALL FRASACH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 772.²⁷ Niall Frasach,²⁸ son of Fergal, the son of Maelduin, son of Maelsitricc, son of Aedh Uaridnach, son of Donnall, son of Murkertach Mor Mac Erc, son of Muredach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimhòn, assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, and held it for four years. He was called Niall Frasach—that is, Niall of the *frasa* or *showers*,²⁹ from those three showers which fell in Ireland at the

²¹ *Lochan Belaigh Cro*, i. e. the Pool or Small Lough of the Bloody Pass. "It may be the lough now called Lougherone, near Turrock, in the barony of Athlone."—*O'D.*

²² *Cumasgach*. He was slain in 752.

²³ *King of the Cruthnigh*, i. e. King of the Ulidians, now sometimes called Cruthnigh. He was slain in 749, at Rath Bethach, now Rathbeagh, a townland on the Nore, in the barony of Galway, and county Kilkenny.

²⁴ *Belach Gabrain*, i. e. the Road of Gabran, which extended from Gowran towards Cashel. The former place is now called Gowran, a barony in the county of Kilkenny, in which there is also a small town of the same name. The battle above mentioned, was fought in 756. Another battle was gained at Gabran itself, by Anmcaidh, an Ossorian chieftain, over the Leinstermen in 754.

²⁵ *Muredach, son of Murcadh*. This Prince died in 755.

²⁶ *Clan Colmain*. This was the tribe name of the O'Maelsechlainns or O'Melaghilins of Meath. The Annals of the Four Masters enter the death of Donnall, under the year 758; those of Ulster, under 762; those of Clonmacnoise, under 759; but it appears from an eclipse of the sun noticed the same year, that 763 is the true date.—*See O'Donovan's notes to the Four Masters.*

²⁷ A. D. 759.—*Four Masters.*

²⁸ NIALL II. He reigned seven years.—*O'D.*

²⁹ *Showers*. These showers are mentioned by other records as having fallen in the first year of his reign, as: "A. D. 759. Three showers fell in Crich Muredhaigh (*Creagh Murraye*), in Luis Eoghain (*Inishoven*), namely, a shower of pure silver, a shower of

time of his birth, of which we have already taken notice; namely, a shower of honey at Fothain Beg, a shower of silver at Fothain Mor, and a shower of blood at Magh Laighen. For *fras*, indeed, has the same meaning as *Cioth* (Kih)—to wit, a shower. The mother of this Prince was Athiela, daughter of Kian, chieftain of Kiannacht. During this reign died Dubinnrecht,³⁰ son of Cathal, son of Muredach Macil-Iethan, who had ruled Connaught for five years. There was an earthquake in Ireland during the reign of this monarch; and then, also, there came a great famine³¹ upon the land. Donngal, son of Kellach,³² King of Osraide, died about that time. Then also died Cronmael, the holy bishop of Kill-Mor,³³ Alpin, King of the Cruth-nigh, and Colgna, bishop of Ard Breacain. The battle of Ath-liag³⁴ was fought between the tribes of Ui Briuin and Ui Mani, where great numbers fell on both sides. It was soon after this that Artgal, son of Cathal,³⁵ went on a pilgrimage to Aei-Coluim-Killi. Fergus,³⁶ bishop of Doimliag, died. The battle of Corann was fought about this time, between the Kinel-Conaill and the Sil-Eogain, where Maelduin,³⁷ son of Aedh Ollan, was the victor, and Donnall, son of Aedh Munderg, was routed from the field, and many of his people slain. After this, Niall Frasach died³⁸ in Aei-Coluim-Killi.

wheat, and a shower of honey, of which it was said:

“Three showers at Ard Ullinni
Fell, through God's love, from Heaven—
A shower of silver, a shower of wheat,
And, eke—a shower of honey.”

Some bard might have thus, by a rather extravagant figure, expressed either the plenty enjoyed by Ini-shoven, the native territory of Niall, in the beginning of his reign; or the showers of spoil, taken from the territory of his enemies, which he poured into it.

³⁰ *Dubinnrecht, son of Cathal.* This Prince gained a battle at Sruthair, now Shrull, in Longford, in 761. He died in 767.

³¹ *A Great Famine.* This famine is noticed in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 769.

³² *Donnagal, son of Kellach.* This chieftain's death is recorded under the second year of Donnacadh.

³³ *Bishop of Kill-Mor.* Cronmael, Bishop and Abbot of Kill-Mor Emhiri died in 765.

³⁴ *Ath-liag, i. e. the Ford of the*

Stones. It is probably Ath-liag Maen-again, now Athleagne, on the River Suck. The name is written Achadh-liag (*Agha-leag*), i. e. the Field of Stones, in the Four Masters, who record a battle as having been fought there, in which the Ui Mani were routed by the Ui Briuin in 770, being the fifth year of Donnacadh.

³⁵ *Artgal, son of Cathal.* “A. D. 777. The 12 year of Donnacadh (the next monarch.) Artgal, son of Cathal, King of Connaught, took the pilgrim's staff and went to Hi on his pilgrimage.”—*Four Masters.*

³⁶ *Fergus.* The death of this Bishop of Doimlaig (now Duleek), did not occur until the thirteenth year of the succeeding monarch.

³⁷ *Maelduin.* A victory was gained by this Prince over his adversary, Donnall, in 781; and another in 782, at Ircoir, supposed to be a place now called Urker, in Antrim. These events took place late in the ensuing reign.

³⁸ *Niall Frasach died.*—“A. D. 705. Niall Frasach was seven years king over Ireland when he resigned; and he

DONNCADH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 776.³⁹ Donncadh,⁴⁰ son of Domnall, son of Murcadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Arnedach Caech, son of Conall Guthbinn, son of Suibni, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeól, son of Conall Cremthanni, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, of the line of Erimbón, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-seven years; after which, he died⁴¹ within the walls of his own palace.

ARDH OIRNIGHE, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 803.⁴² Aedh Oirníghe,⁴³ son of Niall Frasach, son of Fergal,

died at I-Colum-Cille, on his pilgrimage, seven years afterwards."—*Four Masters*. The exact year in which Niall resigned his kingdom was 770. He died in 778, a monk, in the Monastery of Iona.

³⁹ A. D. 766.—*Four Masters*.

⁴⁰ DONNCADH I. Though Dr. Keating has recorded none of the events that happened during the comparatively long reign of Donncadh, still those that happened within that period occupy no small space in the Irish Annals; but to introduce any notice of them, and many other important personages and events recorded, as well in this as in several of the preceding and subsequent reigns, when not alluded to in the text, would swell these notes beyond all reasonable bounds. The earthquake recorded by our author, under the last reign, is probably what is recorded by the Four Masters, in the following terms, under 767, being the 2d year of Donncadh: "The fair of the Clapping of Hands (so called), because terrific and horrible signs appeared at that time, which were like unto the signs of the day of Judgment, namely, great thunder and lightning, so that it was insufferable to all to hear the one and see the other. Fear and horror seized the men of Ireland, so that their religious seniors ordered them to make two fasts, together with fervent prayer, and one meal between them, precisely at Michaelmas. Hence came the Lamh-Chomairt (*Lauve Comirt*), which was called the fire from Hea-

ven." Dr. O'Donovan tells us that *Lamh-Chomairt* meant a violent thunderstorm, that caused people to *clap their hands*, through terror. However, from the manner in which it is mentioned in the extract just quoted and elsewhere, it would seem to mean something more.

⁴¹ *Died, &c.* The true date of the death of Donncadh is 797. It was in his reign also that the Lochlannaigh, or Scandinavians, generally called Northmen and Danes, really made their first appearance upon any part of the Irish coast. The exact date of their first appearance is 795, that being the true chronology of the 25th year of the reign of Donncadh I., son of Murcadh, when the Irish Annalists record their earliest descent in the following terms:

"A. D. 790. The 25th year of Donncadh. The burning of Rechrainn by the foreigners; and its shrines were broken and plundered."—*Annals of the Four Masters*.

"A. D. 794. The burning of Rechrainn by the Gentiles, and the breaking and plundering of its shrines."—*Annals of Ulster*.

"A. D. 792. Raebryn was burnt by the Danes.—*Annals of Clonmacnois*."

⁴² A. D. 793.—*Four Masters*. These Annalists are here five years behind the exact time; while the date given above in the text, is five years in advance thereof. The true chronology is A. D. 795.

⁴³ AEDH VI. Oirduide is the correct form of this king's surname.

son of Maelduin, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-four years. Donnflaith (*Donlàh*), daughter of Flathbertach, son of Loingsech, King of Kiùel Conaill, was the Mother of Aedh Oirníghe. He got the surname of Oirníghe (*Ornee*), or Dorn-dighe⁴⁴ (*Dornee*), from a habit of sucking his hands, which he had contracted after he had been weaned from the breast.

*First arrival of the LOCHLANNAIGH or SCANDINAVIANS, who are commonly called NORTHMEN and DANES, A. D. 795 to A. D. 854.*⁴⁵

It was during the reign of Aedh and Oirníghe (*Aye Ornee*), in the year of our Lord eight hundred and twenty,⁴⁶ that the Lochlannaigh (*Loughlannih*) arrived in Ireland for the first time. It was twelve years after that event when the tyrant Turgesius made his invasion of this country; and, according to some antiquarians, Olcobar, son of Kinaeth, son of Congal, son of Maelduin, was then King of Munster. However, the Polychronicon, in treating of Ireland, tells us that it was whilst Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, held the sovereignty

⁴⁴ *Dorndighe*. This etymological monstrosity is not Gaelic. *Dorn*, the first part of the compound, is the Gaelic name for a fist or clenched hand; the latter part is the genitive case of the word *deoch*, the Gaelic name for a drink. According to the derivation, above given, *Oirníghe*, if it is as we are told, another form of *Dorndighe*, should mean a *fist-drinker* or a *fist-drink*, if it could mean anything, coming from such elements. But it must be evident to any one knowing Gaelic, who understands even a little of the etymological system upon which words are formed either in that, or any other language, that no such word as either Oirnidhe (*Oardnee*), Oirnidhe or Oirníghe (*Ornee*), the several ways in which Aedh's surname is spelled, could result from any amalgamation of such elements as *dorn* and *deoch*. Some less monstrous derivation must then be sought for Oirníghe.

⁴⁵ A. D. 795 to A. D. 854. Neither these dates, nor this heading are in the original. The dates are given to prevent the reader from being confused by the vagueness of Dr. Keating's account of the first arrival of the North-

men in Ireland. A. D. 795 is the real date of the burning of the monastery of Rechrainn, already mentioned, soon after which (798 or 800) Artri occupied the throne of Munster, which he held for either eighteen or twenty years, according to O'Dubagain's catalogue of the kings of the line of Eber. 854 is the real date of the death of Oleubar, son of Kinaeth, who, as is found by the Four Masters, succeeded Feidlimidh on the throne of Munster in 845, and was slain in 849—the real dates being 850 and 854, for, as before stated, it has been proved that these truthful antiquaries had somehow lost five years of the exact time about this epoch. Oleubar was the immediate successor of Feidlimidh, who assumed the throne of Munster in 818, and was himself the immediate successor of Artri.

⁴⁶ *Eight Hundred and Twenty*.—The editor's MSS. are not in accord with one another here. One gives the date 829, another 835. As all the assertions in the text could be true with neither of these, for Aedh Oirníghe had been undoubtedly, then some years dead, the date 820 has been adopted as the least objectionable.

of Munster, that these invaders made their first descent upon Ireland. Here is what it says; "From the arrival of St. Patrick to the time of Feidlimidius, King of Momonia, thirty-three kings had reigned in Hibernia during a period of four hundred years, but in the days of Fedlimidius, the Norveiciens, under the command of Turgesius, seized upon this land."⁴⁷ Others relate that it was when Artri, son of Cathal, was in the sovereignty of Munster that the Lochlannaigh first began to invade Ireland for the purpose of plunder. And this assertion is true, but nevertheless, they did not then take possession of any part of the country, though they committed great ravages therein. True, also, is what the Polychronicon relates, where it says, that it was whilst Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, was King of Munster, that the tyrant Turgesius, who reduced Ireland to slavery during his time, arrived in this land. It is true, also, for those who say, that the Lochlannaigh arrived in Ireland during the time that Olcobar was in the sovereignty of Munster; but the people that then arrived were the Dainfir⁴⁸ (*Dannir*), that is, the Danes from Dania or Denmark; and it is these people that are called Dubh-Ghenti (*Duv-yenti*), that is Black Gentiles, and Dubh-Lochlannaigh in the ancient historic books, in which, likewise, the Finn-Lochlannaigh, or natives of Norwegia, are called also Finn-Ghenti (*Finn-yenti*), that is, Fair Gentiles.

The reader must here be made aware that the term Lochlannaigh is not the distinctive name of the men of any particular tribe or nation upon earth: for Lochlannach (or Lochlonnach), means the same thing as "Strong Man of the Sea,"⁴⁹ because

⁴⁷ Ab adventu sancti Patricii usque ad Feidlimidii regis Momonie tempora, triginta tres reges per quadringentos annos in Hibernia regnaverunt tempore autem; Feidlimidii regis, Norveiciens duce Turgesio, terram hanc occuparunt.

⁴⁸ *Dainfir*; that is the *Fir*, i. e. the Men of *Dania*. The word is also written Danair.

⁴⁹ *Strong Man of the Sea*. This etymology is plausible. There can be no doubt but that the Lochlannaigh were "Strong Men of the Sea." By an equally plausible etymology, *Lochlainn*, the name of their native country, might be said to be the same as *Lake-land*, or, poetically, *Sea-land*, for the land around the Baltic might not inappropriately be called the *Land of either Lakes, or of sea loughs*. But the editor holds, that Keating's derivation of the name is as arbitrary, and as

ex post facto, as the latter would be if it were offered. He holds that the adjective, *lann*, enters into no part of the composition of the name in question, but that it is formed by the addition of the termination *ach* to *Lochlann*, the genitive case of *Lochlainn* or *Lochla*, just as *Ereynn-ach*, *Alban-ach*, *Mann-ach* and *Brethn-ach* (contracted from *Bretan-ach*.) &c., are formed from the respective genitive cases of *Eri*, *Alba*, *Mana*, and *Bretain*, that is, from *Ereynn*, *Alban*, *Manann*, *Bretan*. In all these cases the letters *n* and *m*, are not the final letters of the second radical component part of a composite word, they are merely introduced in consequence of the accidents of grammatical declension to which *Eri*, *Alba*, &c., belong. It would be absurd to suppose the fortuitous collocation of the letters—*reynnach*, *banach*, *mannach*, and

lonn is the same as *laidir*, that is, strong, and *loch* is the same as *fairge* (*jargui*), that is, the sea. And therefore, because the

tanach, have any distinct meanings in these examples, and it is just as absurd to suppose that *lannach* or *lonnach*, whichever it be, has any such in the word *Lochlann-ach*. The primary root of the word must be sought in the form *Lochla*. This form might indeed be derived from the Gaelic root *loch*, and have been figuratively applied to the native country of those sons of the (*great*) lake, the Northmen of the Middle Ages. But we see by Gaelic traditions, that this region had been called *Lochla*, or *Lochlainn*, long ages before Scandinavia became famous for its Sea Kings, and, perhaps, long ages before either they, or any of their kindred Gothic or Teutonic tribes, had reached the shores of the western ocean. Such being the case, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Gaelic word *loch*, a lake, may have had no relation at all to the name, and that, perhaps, its real root does not even exist in the Gaelic tongue. If so, it might be inferred from etymological analogy, that the form *Lap* or *Lappe*, may possibly be its true root, and that *Lochla* is but a Gaelic version of the name of the country of the Laps, or Laplanders, who, the editor thinks, had been the first inhabitants of that region with whom the Gaels come in contact. It has been shown heretofore (see note 59, p. 307) that the Gaels frequently used the letter C in certain words, where other nations used the letter P. Thus the Latins said, 1, *Poena*, a fine; 2, *Pes*, a foot; 3, *Pluma*, a feather; 4, *Pascha*, the Easter; 5, *Pulex*, a fly; 6, *Planto*, I plant; 7, *lapis*, a stone; 8, *Septem*, seven; 9, *purpur*, purple, &c., where the Gaels said, 1, *Cain*; 2, *Cos*; 3, *Clumh*; 4, *Caisc*; 5, *Cuil*; 6, *Clan-daim*; 7, *lec*; 8, *secht*; 9, *corcor*. The Cumbri or Welsh say, 1, *Pen*, a head; 2, *Pedwar*, four; 3, *Plant*, children; 4, *map*, a son; 5, *Prydain*, Britain; where the Gaels say, 1, *Cenn*; 2, *Cc-thair*; 3, *Cland* and *Clann*; 4, *Mac*; 5, *Cruithen* (as in *Cruithen-tuath*, Pict land,) &c. The English say *Prey*,

Poll, &c., where the Irish say *Crech*. Cul, &c. Thus it is not improbable to suppose the ancient Irish likewise transmuted the P in Lap into C, as they did that letter in so many other words. At all events, the root of *Lochlainn* is as likely, from analogy, to be *Lap* as *Loch*.

Lochlannaigh, then, may be the generic name of some people, notwithstanding the authority of Dr. Keating, and that of the Bardic etymologists whom he follows, though it may not have been the true name of that Teutonic race, to whom the Gaels applied it in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, and to whose descendants they still continue to apply it. The editor does not here pretend to prove that *Lochlainn* means the country of the Laps, or Laplanders. To do so would require evidence far more conclusive and direct than any now adduced. But he does think that he has made a suggestion in strict accordance with scientific philology, that any learned inquirer into the primeval distribution of the various tribes of men over Europe, will deem not untenable, and one wants but the support of a few corroborative facts to establish its certainty. If so established, it will fully account for the very early occurrence of the name *Lochlainn*, in Irish history. That *Lochlannaigh* (in the singular number, *Lochlannach*.) means the "Strong Men of the Sea," he trusts that nobody who has considered the desinenes of the 5th declension of Irish language, as laid down (pp. 105, 106) in the Irish grammar of the learned Dr. O'Donovan, will henceforth maintain.—The etymology of this name has been dwelt longer upon than its importance or interest to the general reader may seem to merit; but the editor, who has devoted some time to what may be called the anatomical study of language, has thought it not useless to clear away a generally received fallacy, which has, as he thinks, already led more than one learned and scientific inquirer far away from the truth.

natives of those countries, that lie in the north of Europe, were for some time, strong and powerful in Ireland, the Gaels named them Lochlannaigh or Strong Men of the Sea, by reason of the great dominion they had acquired over the Gaelic nation, as shall be explained hereafter on the authority of the book which is entitled *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhalaibh* (*Cuggah Gaull ray Gayliv*), or the War of the Strangers with the Gaels.

Here follows an abridged summary of that history.

It was whilst Aedh Orinighe was monarch over Ireland, and whilst Artri, son of Cathal, was king of Munster, that the Gauls, that is, the Lochlannaigh, landed at Caein-Inis, in Ui Rathach,⁶⁰ and with a force composed of the crews of sixty ships, they ravaged the neighboring territories, and plundered and burned Inis, Labranni, and Dar-inis. But the Eoganacht of Loch Lein gave them a battle, and slew four hundred and sixteen of the foreigners therein.

Another fleet, which was manned by Finn-Lochlannaigh, that is, by the men of Norwegia, arrived in Ireland, during the second year after the assumption of the kingdom of Munster by Feidlimidh, son of Crinethann, and on that occasion they pillaged and burned Inis Emhin, Cluain Uamha, Ros Macleinn, and Sgelg Michil.

They arrived with another fleet upon the northern coast of Ireland, and there plundered Bennchor of Uladh, killed its bishop and its men of learning, and broke the shrine of St. Comgall.⁶¹

A third fleet of the same folk arrived on the coast of Ui Kinnsealaigh, and its crews plundered Tech Munna, Tech Moling, and Inis Teoc. They thence marched into Osraide, and were ravaging that territory, when the Osraidigh engaged them in a battle, wherein seven hundred and seven of the Lochlannaigh were slain. They laid waste and plundered Dun Derg-muighe, Inis Eoghanaid, Desiort, Tibraid and Lis-mor, Kell-Molasi, Glen-da-loch, Cluain Iraird, Cluain-Mor of St Maedog, Serin-Coluim-Killi, Daimliag of St. Kiaran, and Slainni and Kella Sali, and Cluain Uamha, and Mungarid, and, in fine, the greater number⁶² of the churches of Ireland were plundered and burned by them.

⁶⁰ *Ui Rathach*. Now the barony of Iveragh in Kerry. This invasion took place in 812. Cobthach, son of Maelduin, was the chieftain who commanded the Eoganacht of Loch Lein (afterwards called the O'Moriarties) in this victory over the foreigners. The men of Umhall, now the Owles in Mayo, defeated another body of the invaders within this same year. The Northmen, however, then defeated the Conmaeni, or

men of Connamara, with great slaughter.

⁶¹ *Shrine of St. Comgall*. Bennchoir was plundered in the year 824. The relics of St. Comgall were shaken from their shrine by the invaders, but they were afterwards collected and brought to Aentrobh, now the town of Antrim.

⁶² *The greater number, &c.* It must not be understood, that all these

They entered the harbor of Luimnech, with another fleet, and laid waste and pillaged Corca-Baskin and Tradraide,⁵³ and Ui Conaill Gabra;⁵⁴ but the tribe of Ui Conaill Gabra gave them battle at Senaid,⁵⁵ and slew great numbers of the Lochlannaigh at the place.

After these events Turgesius, the tyrant, arrived on the northern coast of Ireland, with a large fleet, and he assumed into his own hands the sovereignty of all the Lochlannaigh that were then in Ireland. He was thus enabled to ravage the whole of the north of Ireland, and spread his Northmen over the whole of Leth Cuinn. And they had fleets⁵⁶ upon Loch n-Echach (*Loughnähagh*.) and upon Loch Lughmagh, and upon Loch Ribh, and Ard-Macha⁵⁷ was plundered by them three times within one month, and Turgesius made captive the abbot of Ard-Macha, according to the prophecy of St. Columkille, as that saint has told us himself in the following verse:—

A fleet shall float upon Loch Ribh,
The heathen then shall be exalted;
Ard-Macha shall its abbot lose,
A tyrant's might shall hold him captive.

The saints of Eri had, indeed, prophesied betimes, that misfortune would come upon their country, by reason of the pride of her princes, and of their deeds of violence and injustice. It was in fulfilment thereof that the oppression of the Lochlannaigh came upon them at the time when Artri, son of Cathal⁵⁸ was king over Munster, and Aedh Oirniġhe was supreme sovereign of all Ireland.

And it was with Turgesius the Tyrant, that the Lochlannaigh came to Ireland again, at the time when Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, was king of Munster. It was this Turgesius that

churches were burned during the reign of the present monarch. Dr. Keating has, without regard to chronological order, jumbled together the events of more than half a century in the above catalogue.

⁵³ *Tradraide* lay in the south west of Clare.

⁵⁴ *Ui Conaill Gabra*, now the barony of Conillo, in the west of Limerick. The sept from whom it was called was a branch of the Ui Fidghenti, and after the establishment of surnames, its chief families took the names of O'Coileain (Collins), O'Kinnfaelaidh (Kinnealy), and Mac Ineirġhe (Mac Eniry).—*O'D.*

⁵⁵ *Senaid* lay near Glin, in Limerick.

⁵⁶ *Had fleets.* The present names of the waters, where they had these, are Lough Neagh, Lough Ree, and Dundalk Bay (Loch Lughmagh.)

⁵⁷ *Ard-Macha*, now Armagh. "A. D., 830 (true date, 835). The first plundering of Ard-Macha. Ard-Macha was plundered thrice in one month by the foreigners, and it had never been plundered by strangers before."—*Four Masters.*

⁵⁸ *Artri, son of Cathal.* This king routed an army of the men of Lochlainn with great slaughter, near Loch Lein (now Killarney Lake) in 812.

expelled the Primate, Forannan,⁵⁹ and his clergy, from Ard-Macha, as we have heretofore stated, and that had fixed himself in the primatial seat, up to the time when he was made captive by Maelsechlainn, by whom he was drowned in Loch Aninn, as we shall relate hereafter.

It was in the reign of Aedh Oirniġhe over Ireland, that Inis Phatrice,⁶⁰ and many of the other islands that lie between Ireland and Alba, were plundered by the men of Lochlain.

It was during the same period that the rent of St. Patrick was fixed upon the people of Connaught by Gormgal, son of Dindathach.⁶¹ About the same period, Aedh Oirniġhe made a partition of Meath⁶² between the two sons of Donnadh, son of Domnall, namely, Concobar and Olild. Then, also, Aei-Coluim-Killi,⁶³ in Alba, was burned by the Lochlannaigh; and Leinster was ravaged twice⁶⁴ within the space of one month by Aedh

⁵⁹ *Forannan.* The Archbishop of Armagh, in 835, when it was taken by the Northmen. He had been translated thither from the Abbaey of Rath-mic-Malais. He removed thence to Kildara, where he, with all the congregation of St. Patrick was next year made prisoner by Feidlimidh, king of Munster, who then forced the exiled prelate to do him homage.

⁶⁰ *Inis Phadraig.* "A. D. 793, (correctly, 798.) The first year of Aedh Oirdnide. Inis Padraig was burned by the foreigners, and they bore away the shrine of Dachonna (St. Dachonna,) and they also committed many depredations between Eri and Alba."—*Four Masters.* Inis Phadraig, now Patrick's Island, lies near Skerries, co. Dublin.

⁶¹ *Gormgal, son of Dindathach.* He succeeded as Archbishop of Armagh in 785.—(*Four Masters.*) The Annals of Ulster record that he established the law of St. Patrick over Connaught in 798. He is not named amongst the Archbishops of that See in the catalogues that have been printed.

⁶² *Meath.* A. D. 797, (correctly 802.) Aedh Oirdnide went into Meath, and divided it between the two sons of Donnadh, namely, Concobar and Olild. Olild was slain the year following by Concobar, in a battle."—*Four Masters.* They were the sons of the last king.

⁶³ *Aei Coluim Killi.* The date of the burning of the monastery of St. Columkille, in Iona, is 802. It was again plundered in 806, and sixty of its clergy were then slain.

⁶⁴ *Leinster ravag'd twice.* "A. D. 799 (correctly 804.) The 7th year of Aedh. The devastation of Leinster twice in one year by the Ui Neill, of which it was said,

"Again to Laighen Aedh returns,
That warrior who no battle shunned,
Nor did the royal plunderer cease
Until he left that land in dearth."

A full muster of the men of Ireland was again made by him, and he marched to Dun Cuair, on the confines of Meath and Leinster, whither came Cormac, Comarba of St. Patrick (i. e. Primate of Ireland) having the clergy of Leth-Cuinn along with him. It was not pleasing to the clergy to go on any expedition. They complained of their grievance to Aedh, and he said that he would abide by the award of Fothadh na Canoine (the Canonist), on which occasion Fothadh passed the decision by which he exempted the clergy of Ireland for ever from expeditions and hostings, when he said :

"The church of God, who lives,
Let her rest; waste her not;
Let her right aye be apart;
As ever it was best.
Let all who are true monks,
As their pure conscience tells,
With zeal work for that Church.
As faithful servants ought.

Oirniġhe, king of Ireland. In the year following, there was great thunder⁶⁵ and lightning in Ireland, which came on shortly after the feast of St. Patrick. On this occasion one thousand and ten people, both men and women, were destroyed between Coreabaskin and the sea. And a quantity sufficient to support twelve cows of the land of that territory was overwhelmed by the passing of the sea over it; and Inis Fitha⁶⁶ split up into three divisions. It was about that time that Aedh Oirniġhe marched, attended by a numerous host, to Dun Cuair,⁶⁷ in Leinster, and there made a partition of the principality of Leinster between the two Muredachs, namely, Muredach, son of Brann, and Muredach, son of Ruadraeh. After this, Inis Muredaigh⁶⁸ was burned by the Lochlannaigh. It was about this time, also, that the same people committed great slaughter upon the men of Umhall;⁶⁹ and it was then that Edirsgcol,⁷⁰ son of Kellach, bishop of Glenn-da-loch, died. After these events, Aedh Oirniġhe, King of Ireland, was slain by Macleanaigh in the battle of Da-ferta.⁷¹

CONCOBAR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 827.⁷² Concobar,⁷³ son of Donneadh, son of Domnall, son of Murcadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Armedach Cacch, son of

All soldiers from that out,
Bound by no sacred rules,
With arms may aid the King,
Great Aedh, from Niall sprung.
This is the rule of right,
It errs on neither side;
In his own calling each
Shall without murmur work."

After this, Aedh Oirniġhe went to the king of Leinster, and obtained his full demand from him.—*Four Masters*. Thus did the sage exempt the clergy from military duty.

⁶⁵ *Great thunders, &c.* This is recorded as having happened also in the year 804.

⁶⁶ *Inis Fitha*. "According to the tradition in the country, this is the now called Inis-caerach, or Mutton Island, lying opposite Kilmurry-Ibrickan, on the west coast of Clare. The whole of Ibrickan belonged formerly to Coreabaskin."—*O'D.*

⁶⁷ *Dun-Cuair*. "It is now called Rath Cuair, in English, Rathcore, a small village lying in the barony of Moyfenrath, County Meath, and not far from the confines of ancient Leinster with Meath."—*Id.* The division above recorded took place in 805.

⁶⁸ *Inis Muredaigh*. Now Innishmurry, off the coast of Sligo. The burning of the monastery of this island, whose ruins still exist, happened in the year 807. Ros Comain, now Roscommon, was attacked the same year.

⁶⁹ *The men of Umhall*. These people had defeated their Norse invaders in 812, but were themselves routed with great slaughter in 813, on which occasion Dunadach, Lord of Umhall, and Cosgrach, son of Flannabrat, were slain. The chief family of the men of Umhall afterwards took the name of O'Mailli, now O'Malley. Their territory comprised the present baronies of Murrisk and Berrishole, in Mayo.

⁷⁰ *Edirsgcol*. He died in 812.

⁷¹ *Ath-da-Ferta*, i. e., The Ford of the Two Graves, or of the Two Miracles. Its situation is unknown to the editor.

In the same year of Aedh's death, the shrine of St. Patrick was taken into Connaught by Archbishop Artri, son of Concobar.

⁷² 818.

⁷³ CONCOBAR II.

Conall Guthbinn, son of Suibni, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeòl, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for fourteen years.

It was in the reign of this Concobar that Coreach and Inis-Daimhli⁷⁴ were pillaged by the Lochlannaigh. It was during the same reign that the Rent of St. Patrick was established over Munster, by Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, and by Artri, son of Concobar,⁷⁵ and it was also this same Artri that established the Rent of St. Patrick over Connaught.⁷⁶ Then it was that Bennchoir⁷⁷ and Dun-da-leth-glas⁷⁸ were plundered by the Lochlannaigh, and that Magh-bili was burned, with its oratories.

It was about this time that Muredach, son of Eocaidh, was king of Ulidia. It was then, also, that the destruction of Aenach Taltenn, in which great numbers fell, was given to the Galenga,⁷⁹ by Concobar, son of Donnadh, king of Ireland. The Lochlannaigh, also, then gained a great victory over the Leinstermen, at Drum Conla;⁸⁰ at which place fell Conaing, son of Cucongelt, king of the Fotharta, and a great many others were slain there likewise. Soon after this, Ard-Macha⁸¹ was plund-

⁷⁴ *Inis Daimhli.* Inis Daimhli, recorded by the Irish annals as having been burned by foreigners at the same time with Coreach, or Cork, in the third year of Concobar's reign. Archdall thinks that this Inis Daimhli was the ancient name of Cape Clear Island. Dr. O'Donovan, however, thinks that it was a place now called Inch, in the barony of Shelmalieri, in Wexford.

⁷⁵ *Artri, Son of Concobar.* "A. D. 822. The law of Patrick was promulgated over Munster, by Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, and by Artri, son of Concobar, Archbishop of Ard Macha."—*Four Masters.* He was the brother of the King of Oirghialla.

⁷⁶ *Connaught.* "A. D. 824. The 7th year of Concobar. The law of Patrick was promulgated through the three divisions of Connaught by Artri, son of Concobar, i. e. Bishop of Ard Macha."—*O'D.*

⁷⁷ *Bennchoir.* It was plundered in 824, when its oratory was broken, and the relics of St. Congall shaken from their shrine.

⁷⁸ *Dun-da-leth-glas,* now Down. This occurred the year after the plundering of Bennchoir. The plundering of Magh-bili took place the same year, that is,

in 825. The Ulidians, however, fought the ravagers on Magh-inis, (Lecale in Down), and defeated them with slaughter.

⁷⁹ *Galenga.* These were the inhabitants of Galenga Mor, now Morgallon, in Meath. This event happened in the 8th year of Concobar. In the same year took place the destruction of the Aenach Colmain, or Fair of Colman, held upon the Curragh of Kildare, where the royal fair and sports of Leinster were wont to be held.

⁸⁰ *Drum Conla.* The 8th year of Concobar. The destruction of Dun Laighen, at Druin, by the pagans, where Conaing, son of Cucongelt, lord of the Fortuatha, was slain, with many others.

⁸¹ *Ard Macha plundered.* This is the first plundering of Armagh, already referred to, and which happened in 832. The same year is recorded the plundering of Daimlaig (Duliag), and the tribe of the Kiannachta, with all their churches, by the foreigners. Olild, son of Colgan, was taken prisoner by them. The plundering of Lughmagh (Louth), and Mucsamh (now Muknœ), and Ui Meath (in Monaghan), and Drui-mioch Ua Blac (in the north of Meath),

ered by the Lochlannaigh; and within one month after that, Lugimagh, and the tribes of the Kiannaeta, and Lis-mor,⁸² with all their churches, were laid waste by these ravagers.⁸³

Up to this time there had been four chief schools in Ireland, viz: a school in Ard-Macha, in which there were seven thousand students—according to an ancient roll which has been discovered at Oxford; a school in Caisel, (*Cashel*); a school in Dun-da-lethglas; and a school in Lis-mor. And besides these many other colleges had flourished in Ireland up to the present time; but these were now either interrupted or destroyed.

At length Conobar, son of Donnadh, King of Ireland, died.

NIALL CALLI, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 839.⁸⁴ Niall⁸⁵ Calli, son of Aedh Oirniche, son of Niall Frasach, of the line of Erinnhón, held the sovereignty of Ireland for fifteen years. The following is the reason why he was called Niall Calli. One day he happened to arrive on the bank of the river, which is called Callainn⁸⁶ or Calli, attended by a royal and numerous host of cavalry. Thereupon a *gilla* belonging to his household went before them to try if the river were fordable, and he was drowned therein. The king commanded those who stood near him to go to the relief of the *gilla*, but he found no one hardy enough to attempt it. Upon this he rushed himself on horseback towards the river, but as he was about to plunge into the current, the bank broke from beneath him, and both he and his horse fell headlong into the flood, and he was then swept away and drowned. A prophecy was fulfilled by this event, because it had been foretold for him, that he should meet his death by being drowned in the River Callainn. And such is the reason why he has been called Niall Calli.

and of other churches by them also. Tuathal, son of Feradach, was carried off by the foreigners, and the shrine of Adamnan was taken from Donnach Maighen (now the church of Mogue, county Monaghan).—*Four Masters*.

⁸² *Lis-mor plundered*. This seat of piety and learning was plundered during the next year (833), as was the episcopal church of Rath Lurigh, in the present county of Derry.

⁸³ It was not until the present reign that the Northmen invaded Ireland on an extensive scale. It was during this period, also, that Turgeis (*Tur-gaish*), or Turgesius, as his name has been Latinized, must have commenced

that career of bloodshed and plunder, which has caused Dr. Keating, on the authority of Cambrensis and the Polychronicon, to set him down as tyrant of Ireland, and give him a place among its monarchs.

⁸⁴ A. D. 832. *Four Masters*.

⁸⁵ NIALL III. He reigned but thirteen years, according to other accounts. "O'Flaherty places the accession of this king at 833, which is the true year."—*O'D.*

⁸⁶ *Callainn*. There were three rivers of this name. The Callainn, now called the King's River, in the county of Kilkenny, is most probably the one in which Niall was drowned.

It was in the reign of this king, that Diarmaid, son of Tomaltach, King of Connaught, died. It was during it, also, that the Lochlannaigh burned Loch Bricrenn,⁸⁷ against Congalach, son of Eocaidh, whom they slew upon that occasion.

Niall Calli, King of Ireland, marched into the territory of the Leinstermen, with a numerous host, for the purpose of appointing a king over them, namely, Bran, son of Faelan. After that Ferna Mor, of St. Maedog, was plundered by the men of Lochlainn, and Mungarid and many others of the churches of Ormond were then burned by them;⁸⁸ and they plundered Kill-dara,⁸⁹ in like manner.

It was about this time that sixty ships from the land of the Northmen arrived upon the river Boinn, and forty ships upon the river Lifi. These fleets devastated Magh Lifi, (*Moy-Liffey*), now called the county of Ath-eliath, (*Aw-Cleeah*), and Magh Breagh (*Moy-Breaw*), and Fine Gall,⁹⁰ (*Finni Gall*), pillaging both churches, and duns, and farmsteads. After this, the Lochlannaigh gained a victory at Inber-na-m-barc⁹¹ over all the Ui Neill,⁹² from the Sinainn⁹³ to the sea, and there an untold multitude was slaughtered, but the principal chiefs escaped.⁹⁴ Inis Keltrach, and Cluain-mic-Nois, and all the churches of Loch Erni, were next burned by the Lochlannaigh.

⁸⁷ *Loch Bricrinn*, now called Loughbrickland, a small town in the county of Down, situated on a loch of the same name. It was plundered in the first year of Niall, in which, also, Diarmaid, King of Connaught, died.

⁸⁸ "The third year of Niall. Ferna, Cluain-Mor-Maedog, and Drom-h-Ing, were plundered by the foreigners. The burning of Mungarid by them, and other churches in Ormond by them also."—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁹ *Kill-dara*. "A. D. 835. The 4th year of Niall. Kill-dara was plundered by the foreigners of Inber Dear (now Wicklow), and half the church was burned by them."—*Four Masters*. This year also Cluain Mor Maedog, i. e. the Great Lawn of St. Maedog, is recorded as having been burned by the foreigners on Christmas night. But there were two religious establishments of this name. One of them was situated at a place now called Clonmore, on the River Slaney, county Wexford. The other is in the barony of Kathvelly, county Carlow.

⁹⁰ *Finni Gall*, i. e. the Nation or Tribe of the Foreigners. Now the district

of Fingal, county Dublin. The name is prematurely used in this instance, as the foreigners had not yet settled definitively therein. It then formed part of the territory called Breagh.

⁹¹ *Inber na m-barc*, i. e. the Harbor or Estuary of the Barks. 'It is probable, that it was the name of the mouth of the River Rath-Inbhir, near Bray.'—*O'D.*

⁹² *Ui Neill*, i. e. the Southern Ui Neill or tribes of Meath.

⁹³ *Sinainn*, otherwise Sina, Sena, and Senainn, the Gaelic name of the River Shannon.

⁹⁴ "A. D. 836. The 5th year of Niall Calli. A fleet of sixty ships of Norsemen on the Boyne. Another fleet of sixty ships on the River Liffey. These two fleets plundered and spoiled Magh Liphthi and Magh Breagh, both churches and habitations of men, and goodly tribes, and flocks and herds. A battle was gained over them by the men of Breagh, in Mughdorna Breagh, where six score of the foreigners were slain. A battle was gained by the foreigners at Inber-na-m-barc, over all the Ui Neill from the Sinainn to the

FEIDLIMIDH,⁹⁵ SON OF CRIMTHANN, was both King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel during these times; and this Feidlimidh marched into Leth Cuinn, and plundered it from Birra to Temhair, in Breagh; and he rested at Temhair; and Imreectach, son of Maelduin, was slain at Temhair by his people. And Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, died when he had reigned over Munster for seven and twenty years. The *Leabar Iris* gives this testimony as to his merits: "The most excellent sage and anchoret of the Scoti has gone to rest."⁹⁶ From this it may be understood that Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, was a learned and a pious personage in his own day.

Sea, where such slaughter was made as never before was heard of; however the kings and chieftains, the lords and toparchs escaped without slaughter or mutilation."—*Four Masters*. This victory it was, that must have given Turgesius and his Norsemen that sway over Meath and the East of Leinster, that induced some to have set him down as Sovereign of Ireland. We do not find that Niall Calli, the monarch and the head of Northern Ui Neill, had come to the aid of his relatives on this occasion.

⁹⁵ *Feidlimidh*. According to the *Annals of Innisfallen*, he was full monarch of Ireland, as Cambrensis also states; but the Northern annalists do not number him among the monarchs of Ireland. He was certainly as powerful a potentate as Niall, his Northern contemporary, and, if we are to judge from what the latter annalists relate of him, as great a devastator as any Norseman of them all. His being set down by the Munster annalists as sole monarch of Ireland, must have originated in his having exacted the homage of Forannan, the Primate, who was taken prisoner by him in 835 or 836, at Kildare, whither the latter had fled from the Northmen; and from the fact that he overran Meath, and rested for some time at the Ancient Royal Seat of Temhair. The latter event is thus recorded under A. D. 339: "Feidlimidh, King of Munster, plundered Meath and Breagh, and he rested at Temhair, after having in one day taken the hostages of Connaught."—*Four Masters*. It is to be remarked, that this prince was at the height of his power during

the time when Turgesius should have reigned over Ireland, if at all. For, as shall be shown hereafter, the Norse tyrant was drowned by Maelsechlainn, whilst both Feidlimidh and Niall Calli were still alive.

⁹⁶ *Optimus et sapiens anchorita Scotorum quievit.*

Some modern writers are very severe upon the character of Feidlimidh, and no doubt he did deserve censure for his devastations of Leth Cuinn and Connaught, in endeavouring to assert his claim to the Irish Monarchy, as the representative of the line of Eber. That he was, nevertheless, a brave and a wise prince, within the limits of his own principality, may be judged from the fact that Munster was kept comparatively free from the ravages of the Northmen during his lifetime. Perhaps, also, like Brian, in a subsequent age, he felt himself to be alone capable of saving his country from the emergency to which it was then reduced. The *Four Masters* record his death in the following laudatory terms: "A. D. 845. The 1st year of Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, over Ireland, Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann, king of Munster, the best of the Irish in his time, died on the 18th of August, of his internal wound, inflicted through the Miracles of God and St. Kieran. Of the death of Feidlimidh was said:

"Alas! O God, for Feidlimidh—
The wave of death has drowned him!
O cause of woe to Irish men!
The Son of Clarl's chief is dead.
With evil omen to the Gael
Did his last hour arrive;
O'er Sacred Eri slaughter spread,
When royal Feidlimidh had died."

After this, Tighernach, King of Loch Gabar, routed the Lochlannaigh, at Doiri Disirt Dachonna;⁹⁷ and it was in that year⁹⁸ that Olcobar, Abbot of Imlech Lubair, assumed the sovereignty of Cashel, and that Maelsechlainn, King of Meath, defeated the Lochlannaigh at Casan Linni,⁹⁹ in Meath, where seven hundred of these invaders were slain. It was about this time, also, that Saxolbh,¹⁰⁰ a chieftain of the men of Lochlainn, was slain by the Kiannachta of Glenn Gemhin, on which occasion a great slaughter was made of his followers, and that another red slaughter was made of those foreigners at Es-ruaidh.¹ It was after this that Ath-cliath was captured² by the Lochlannaigh, for the first time.

About this period, also, was born Cormac, son of Culinan, who afterwards reigned for seven years as King of Munster; being, at the same time, Archbishop of Cashel.

A battle was now gained by the Lochlannaigh over the Connaughtmen,³ and in it fell Maelduin, son of Muirgheas, and numbers of his people together with him. Brann, son of Fælan, King of Leinster, died about this same time. After this, the Lochlannaigh came upon Loch n-Echach (*Ahâgh*), with a large fleet,⁴ and thence they plundered the possessions of the

⁹⁷ *Doiri-desirt-Dachonna*, i. e. the Oak Wood of St. Dachonna's Desert. This place has not been identified. The battle was gained in the second year of the reign of Maelsechlainn, being two years after the death of the present monarch, and four after the drowning of the pirate chief Turgesius. Keating has thrown several events into this reign that occurred in the subsequent one, for they could not well be inserted in the reign of thirteen years which he has inconsiderately assigned to the tyrant.

⁹⁸ *The same year.* Olcobar, Abbot of Emly, had been already King of Munster for a few years, when the last-mentioned battle was fought; for Olcobar was the immediate successor of Feudlimidh, who had retired to a monastery a short time previous to his death.

⁹⁹ *Casan Linni.* A river near Dundalk, county Louth. It was otherwise called Amhain Locha, and is now known as Lagan.

¹⁰⁰ *Saxolbh.* He was slain and his followers routed by the Kiannachta of

Glen Given, county Derry, in the fifth year of Niall (836-837).

¹ *Es-ruaidh*, now Assaroe, or Salmon's Leap, on the river Erne. The Norsemen were defeated at this place during the last-mentioned year.

² *Ath-cliath captured.* The Four Masters record the first taking of Ath-cliath, or Dublin, by the foreigners, under A. D. 836, the same year that they defeated the southern Uí Neill, when they had entered the Boyne and Liffey with those large fleets which have been already mentioned.

³ *A battle over the Connaughtmen.* This battle was fought during the sixth year of Niall's reign. In the same year there was a royal conference between the monarch and Feidlimidh, King of Munster, at Cluain Conari Tomain, a place now called Clourcurry, in the north of Kildare. It was in this year, also, that Brann, King of Leinster, died.

⁴ *A large fleet.* "A. D. 838. The eighth year of Niall. A marine fleet of the foreigners took its station on Loch Eathach (Lough Neagh). The

laity and the clergy of the north of Ireland; and Corcach and Ferna were then burned by them likewise.

Niall Calli at this time marched with a numerous army to plunder and despoil the Fera Kell,⁵ and the Delbna Ethra; and it was then that Murcadh, son of Aedh, King of Connaught, died.

And, moreover, it was about this time that the Lochlannaigh built a fortress at Linn Duachail,⁶ whence the territory of Tebtha was devastated by them. In like manner, they built a fortress at Dubh-linn,⁷ whence they laid waste Leinster, and Ui Neill, and all the territories of the laity and the clergy, as far as Sliabh Bladma. After this, they pillaged Cluain Aidnech, and Cluain Iraird, and Cluain-mic-Nois. And a dun (a fortress) was erected by Turgesius, the Lochlannach chieftain, upon Loch Ribh. Then Cluain-mic-Nois was pillaged again, and Cluain Ferta of St. Brendan, and Tir-da-leth-glas, and Lothair, and many other cities. After these events, Niall Calli, King of Ireland, gave battle to the Lochlannaigh, upon Magh Ithia, where numbers of them were slain. And, soon after that, Niall was drowned in Callainn, as we have heretofore told.

churches and territories of the north of Ireland were burned by them. The burning of Ferna (Ferns) and Corcachmor (Cork) by the foreigners."—*Four Masters*.

⁵ *Fera Kell*, usually written Feara Ceall, now Fircall, in the King's County. Niall marched against this territory in 839–840.

⁶ *Linn Duachail*, now Magheralin, in the County of Down, situated on the river Lagan, which was anciently called Casan Linni, and Amhain Locha, as already seen. "A. D. 840. A fortress was erected by the foreigners at Linn Duachail, out of which the territories and churches of Tebtha were plundered. Another fortress was erected by them at Dubh-linn, out of which they plundered Leinster, and the Ui Niall, as far as Sliabh Bladma. An army was led by Feidlimidh to Carman (Wexford). Another army was led by Niall to Magh Ochtair (in Kildare), to meet him.

"The crozier of Feidlimidh the Pious
Was left behind among the sloe-trees,
For Niall forced it from his grasp,
In battle, by the law of swords."⁸

It is clear, by the latter part of this entry, that the rivalry between the kings of Iath Mogha and Leth Cuinn was not interrupted by the influx of the Northmen; in fact, neither the hereditary territories of Niall (the northern Ui Niall), nor of Feidlimidh had as yet experienced much of the fury of the invaders, whose principal attacks were then directed against the central province and the coasts.

Though the Four Masters state that Niall gained a victory over his rival on this occasion, still the annals of Innisfallen assert that in 824 (which corresponds to the year 840 of the annalists just quoted), Feidlimidh received the homage of Niall, King of Tara, and thenceforth became sole monarch of Ireland, to his death.

⁷ *Dubh-linn*, i. e. the Black Pool. The modern name, Dublin, is derived from Dubh-linn (*Doolin*, or *Duwlinn*). The present castle of Dublin stands upon the site of the ancient Danish fortress, whose erection is here recorded.

The tyranny of TURGESIUS, from A. D. 830, to . . . D. 843.

Turgesius, the Norse tyrant, with his armies of the men of Finn-Lochlainn, held supreme power in Ireland for thirteen years, after he had previously been the scourge of that country for seventeen years; for during that length of time had he been exercising violence and rapine upon its inhabitants. This he was enabled to effect by the arrival of a large fleet, which had arrived from Norwegia to his assistance, and which had come into port in the north of Ireland. By this fleet the country was devastated, and forced to deliver up hostages. And they stationed it upon Loch n-Echach and Loch Ribh, and furnished it with crews and provisions, for the purpose of committing depredations, as we have heretofore related, and as St. Columkille had foretold, in the verse that has gone before. Berchan of the Prophecy also had foretold that a tyrant king of the nation of the Lochlannaigh should be over Ireland, and that there should be a Lochlannach abbot over every church in Ireland. Here follows the verse in which he made that prediction:

“ Then heathens shall come over ocean’s wide wave,
By whom shall confusion be brought on the Gacil,
And of their race an abbot shall rule in each church,
And of their race a king over Eri shall reign.”

But when the nobles of Ireland saw that Turgesius had brought confusion upon their country, and that he was assuming

^s This heading is inserted by the editor. The dates therein given are the thirteen years during which he had reigned over Ireland, according to Keating, *counted back* from the year of his death, in the 12th year of the reign of the last monarch, Niall Calli; for with his reign the tyranny of Turgesius, however far it extended, must have been nearly contemporaneous. Keating’s date is not given at the head of the reign, because it would throw the events of the ensuing reigns too far in advance of the authentic Irish annals.

In A. D. 840 (the same year), occurred the plundering of the monastery of Cluain Aidnech, now Clonenagh, in Leix, and the destruction of the monasteries of Kill-achaidh-droma-fota, now Killeigh, in Offaly, and of Cluain Iraisid. In A. D. 841, Caemhan, Abbot of Linn Duachaill, was burned by the foreigners. Cluain-mic-nois, Disert

Diarmada (now Castledermot), Birra, Saighir (Seirkieran) saw their monasteries pillaged. One fleet of the Norsemen floated on the Boyne, another was stationed at Linn-Rois, another at Linn Duachaill, another on Linn Sailech (now Lough Swilly), in Ulster. In A. D. 842 the monastery of Cluain Ferta, of St. Brendan, was burned by them. In 843, the foreigners of Dublin marched to Cluain-an-Dobair, in the King’s County, and burned the fold of Kill-Achaidh, on which occasion Nuadath, son of Seigen, suffered martyrdom at their hands. Dun Masg, now called Dunmase, was also then plundered by them, where Aedh, son of Dubdaerioch, Abbot of Tír-da-glas and Cluain Aidnech, was taken prisoner, and they carried him into Munster, where he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God; and Kethernach, son of Cudinasg, Prior of Kill-dara, with

supreme authority over themselves, and reducing them to thralldom and vassalage, they became inspired with a fortitude of mind, and a loftiness of spirit, and a hardihood and firmness of purpose that urged them to work in right earnest, and to toil zealously in battle against him and his plundering hordes.

Here follow some of the defeats⁹ which the Gaels then gave to these plunderers, to wit :

The route which the Dal-g-Cais (*Daul Gash*) gave them at Ard Breacain.

The battle where the Lochlannach earl, Saxolbh, and his army were slaughtered by the Ui Colgairn.

The battle which Olcobar, son of Kinaedh, King of Munster, and Lorean, son of Kellach, King of Leinster, gained over them at Sciath Nectainn, where Earl Tomar, the tuisit of the King of Lochlainn, was slain, and where twelve hundred of the warriors of his nation were slain around him.

Besides this, the same Olcobar and the Eoganacht Caisil won a victory over them close by Cashel, and five hundred of them were slain therein.

In the north, the invaders were routed with slaughter, at Esruadh.

The Ui Fidghenti slew three hundred and fifty of them at Dun Macili Tuli.

Two hundred of them fell by the tribe of the Kiannachta.

At Drum Daehonna, two hundred and forty were slain by Tighernach, King of Loch Gabar.

And, in like manner, Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh,

many others, was killed by them during that plundering expedition. Then it was that Forannan, Primate of Ireland, was taken prisoner, with his relics and people, at Cluain Comharba, and carried by the pirates to their ships at Limerick.

An expedition was likewise made by Turgesius, lord of the foreigners, upon Lough Ribh, and he plundered Connaught and Meath, and burned Cluain-mac-nois, with its orationes, and Tirda-glas. Cluain-Ferta. of St. Brendan, and many others.—*See the Anna's of the Four Masters, the Annals of Ulster, and the Annals of Clon-mac-nois*, from which these entries are taken, in order to bring Turgeis, or Turgesius the Tyrant, as he is called, to the culminating point of his career of devasta-

tion. In A. D. 843, or at farthest in 844, the star of that robber chief went down, as is seen by the following entries which, with a very slight discrepancy in the date, is confirmed by all the Irish annals :

“A. D. 843. A battle was gained over the foreigners by the King, Niall, son of Aedh, in Magh Itha, and a countless number fell. Turgeis was taken prisoner by MAELSECHLAINN, SON OF MAELRUANAIDH, AND HE WAS AFTERWARDS DROWNED IN LOCH UAIR, THROUGH THE MIRACLE OF GOD, AND KIARAN, AND THE SAINTS IN GENERAL.”
—*Four Masters*.

⁹ *Defeats*. These engagements have been either already mentioned, or will be found under the reign of Maelsechlainn.

King of Meath, routed their host at the battle of Glas Linni, in which fight one thousand seven hundred of the men of Lochlainn were slain.

But though numerous were the battles and conflicts wherein the Gaels fought against Turgesius and his Lochlannaigh, still, by means of the greatness of his fleet, and of the numerous hosts that it continued to bring over to his aid from Norwegia, and other countries in the north of Europe, it came to pass that he at length succeeded in vanquishing the Gaelic nation, and reduced it to bondage and serfdom to himself and to his Almur-*agh*.¹⁰

OF THE THRALDOM¹¹ OF THE GAeidil UNDER THE LOCHLAN-
NAIGH, DOWN HERE.

Here follows an abridged account of the slavery of the Gaels beneath the yoke of the Lochlannaigh, together with the rent and tributes placed upon them by these foreigners, to wit: a Lochlannach king over every canton in Ireland; and a chieftain over every territory; and an abbot over every church; and a steward over every townland; and a soldier or *buanna* over every homestead. And the man of the house was not allowed the disposal of as much as one egg of his own property; and though a family owned but one stripper, they were not allowed on any night, to give its milk to either infant or child, but were obliged to keep it up for the use of the soldier; and though the man of the house owned but one in-calf cow, he was forced to kill the same for the use of his unwelcome guest, and, if he could not satisfy the latter therewithal, he was compelled to place his inheritance in pledge for the maintenance of the said soldier. Besides this, the Lochlannaigh should either get an ounce of gold each year for every man in Ireland, or they would have the nose¹²

¹⁰ *Almuraigh*, i. e. pirates. The plural of *almurach* (*alooragh*).

¹¹ *Thraldom*. The account that follows is greatly exaggerated and too universal in its nature. It is, besides, probably borrowed from the foreign writers, who invented the story of the reign of Turgesius over Ireland, which, as before stated, Keating must have borrowed from Cambrensis; for the Irish records, which rarely mention Turgesius by name, though sufficiently diffuse in recounting the ravages committed by his countrymen, afford not the slightest grounds for making him, at any time, exercise an established tyranny over Ireland. The oppressions

here recounted, as part of a universally established system, must have been practised at distinct epochs and at different places, by various persons, and never over any great extent of the country at the same time. The oppression of the Northmen in Ireland, consisted in ruthless bloodshed and plunder, with the destruction of the civilization then existing in the land, rather than in permanent and legalized domination.

¹² *Nose*. This was called nose-money, or nose-gelt, a species of taxation to which the Normans had previously been accustomed in their own countries.

from off his face. Then no lord or lady of the Irish was allowed to wear any mantles or garments, except the cast-off clothes of the Lochlannaigh. It was not allowed to give instruction in letters, nor to live in religious communities, for the Lochlannaigh dwelt in the temples, and in the duns; no scholars, no clerics, no books, no holy relics were left in church or monastery through dread of them; neither bard, nor philosopher, nor musician pursued their wonted professions in the land; no daughter of king, or lord, or chieftain was allowed to wear either silk dresses or precious ornaments; no son of king, or of lord, was allowed to receive instructions in feats of agility, in shooting, or in any martial exercise. No banquet or feast was allowed to be enjoyed amongst friends until the Dainfir had first satisfied themselves thereof.

The result of the heavy oppression of this thralldom of the Gaels under the Lochlannaigh was, that great weariness thereof came upon the men of Ireland, and the few of the clergy that survived, had fled for safety to the forests and wildernesses, where they lived in misery, but passed their time piously and devoutly. And now these same clergy prayed fervently to God to deliver them from that tyranny of Turgesius, and, moreover, they fasted against that tyrant, and they commanded every layman amongst the faithful that still remained obedient to their voice to fast against him likewise. And God then heard their supplications in as far as the delivering up of Turgesius into the hands of the Gaels.

Maelsechlainn's Daughter—Death of Turgesius—Expulsion of the Foreigners.

When Turgesius was in the possession of this usurped authority, and whilst the Gaels were yielding him an involuntary obedience, he had built himself a fortified residence not far from the dun-lis (*doon-liss*) of Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, King of Meath. Then, upon a certain day, when he had come to the dwelling of Maelsechlainn, he chanced to see a beautiful marriageable maiden, who was the daughter of the Meathian King. And, as the usurper, though now grown old, was still inveterate in the indulgence of his lusts, he demanded the maid from her father with the intention of making her his mistress. "My lord," replied Maelsechlainn, "I know full well, that thou dost not mean to take my daughter as thy married wife, but that what thou desirest is to possess her for a while as thy mistress. I therefore beseech thee to make no public demand of me for my child, lest she be prevented from getting a husband. But, as

thy fortress is near this *lis*,¹³ where I live, I shall send the maiden privately to thy dwelling, and she shall be accompanied by fifteen of the most beautiful and most lovely women in all Meath, and I know that when thou hast seen those women, thou wilt feel neither love nor desire for my own daughter, so much do they exceed her in beauty." This plan was pleasing to Turgesius, and between them, they fixed upon a particular night when the maiden and her attendant train of beautiful women were to be brought into the fortress of the tyrant.

It so happened that, about this time, there was to be a general assemblage and public convention around Turgesius at Ath-cliaith, and all that there was then in Ireland of Lochlannach chieftains were gathered together thereat, for the purpose of taking counsel as to how they might best guard the country and maintain their own possession thereof.

Whilst they were staying there, Turgesius communicated the arrangement made between himself and Maelsechlainn, to some of the assembled captains, and he promised women to a certain number of them, whom he had asked to accompany him. He then set out with fifteen of the most venturesome and lascivious of those lords, and they made neither stop nor stay until they reached his fortress in Meath.

Maelsechlainn, during the same time, had privately brought together fifteen of the most comely youths, without beards, that could be found in Meath, and caused them to put on female attire, under which each of them carried a sharp sword in his girdle. Thus, did he prepare to send these youths instead of women to meet Turgesius, in company with his daughter. Then, when the night appointed for sending her to the tyrant had come, the maiden set out with her band of counterfeit women, and when she had come close to the fortress, thus escorted, a private message was sent to Turgesius, acquainting him that she had arrived with her female companions, and was ready to go meet him. Turgesius, upon receiving this message, commanded the chieftains, who were in his company, to proceed at once to their chambers, telling that he would send the women thither to them, according to his promise. Upon this they made a one single pile of their arms upon the table, which stood in the hall, and went each to his own private chamber, and there they waited until the women should be distributed amongst them. Whilst this was taking place, Maelsechlainn came up to his daughter with an armed host, and there he commanded some of those

¹³ *Lis*; i. e., a circular fort, encircled by an earthen dyke and a ditch. Keating has also borrowed this romantic

story from Cambrensis, for the Irish records do not recount it.

youths, who had been disguised as women, to lay firm hold upon Turgesius and to take him captive, as soon as ever he might attempt to lay his hand upon the maiden in order to detain her with himself; the others he commanded to seize upon the arms, and to fall upon the chieftains that were in the house; and he promised, moreover, that he would himself dash in with his host, upon hearing the first cry, in order to aid them in dispatching the Lochlannaigh.

His daughter, thereupon, entered the fortress through a postern, and tarried not until she came to the chamber of Turgesius, who immediately cast a scrutinizing glance upon the lady, and upon her escort, and none of the latter was pleasing to him except herself; and he thereupon laid his hand upon her, in order to keep her in his company. But as soon as the youths saw this, one body of them seized him with violence, and made him their captive; while another body seized upon the arms, of which they immediately made themselves the masters. Maelsechlainn soon after broke in with his armed host, and together they fell upon all of the Lochlannaigh they found in the fortress, and of them they spared neither chief nor serf, with the single exception of Turgesius himself. Then, having sacked the fortress, they brought off Turgesius to the dun-lis of Maelsechlainn, where they held him for a short time in chains.

Now when the rest of the Lochlannaigh throughout Ireland heard that their principal chiefs had been thus slaughtered, and that the tyrant, Turgesius, had been captured in Meath by Maelsechlainn, there fell a great terror and loss of confidence upon them all, so that those of them that were stationed in the heart of the country, far away from the great seaport towns, stole away by night, thronging in gangs towards their ships, with the intention of escaping out of Ireland: and those that were stationed in the seaport towns, fled to their ships, to avoid the onslaught of the Gaels, who were in chase of them. And, in this manner, were all the Lochlannaigh driven out of Ireland at that time, with the exception of a small remnant that remained therein, after their rout, under subjection to the Gaels.

Turgesius was then drowned by Maelsechlainn, in Loch Aninn;¹¹ and from that deed it resulted that the Gaelic nobles, with one accord, elected him as Ard-righ of Ireland, for it was he that had freed their country from the bondage of the men of Lochlainn.

¹¹ *Loch Aninn*. Now Loch Ennell, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath. This is a mistake, for the Irish authorities state that Loch Uair, now

Loch Owel, also near Mullingar, was the lake in which the Prince of Meath had drowned the Norse Chief.

Buchanan relates that Gregoir, King of Alba, invaded Ireland with a numerous army in the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-eight,¹⁵ and that he both pillaged the country and slew Brian and Conobar, the two guardians of the Irish king, for (according to him) the King of Ireland was then in his childhood. But this assertion cannot possibly be true, for nowhere in the Irish records do we read, from the time of Slangi, (the first king of the Fer-Bolgs,) to the invasion of the English, that any king had ever reigned in Ireland, who had not arrived at the regal authority through the choice of the people, and the greatness of his actions, and the might of his arm. And besides it was the usurper, Turgesius, that was tyrant over Ireland at that time.

MAELSECHLAINN, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 854.¹⁶ Maelsechlainn,¹⁷ son of Maclruanaidh, son of Domnall, son of Murcadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Armedach Caech, son of Conall Guth-binn, son of Suibni, son of Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbed, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for sixteen years. Arog, daughter of Cathal, son of Fiachra, King of the Fera Kell, was the mother of this Maelsechlainn.

Now, when the man of Lochlainn had been expelled by Maelsechlainn and the nobles of Ireland, as we have just related; the Finn-Lochlaunaigh took counsel together in Norwegia, in order to determine upon some means and some plan by which they might obtain a foothold in Ireland, in hopes that they might thus succeed in seizing upon the masterdom of that country a second time. The plan adopted by them on this occasion, was to equip three captains, sprung from the noblest blood of Norwegia, and to send them with a fleet to Ireland, for the purpose of obtaining the possession of some stations for purposes of trade. And with them, they accordingly embarked many tempting

¹⁵ *Eight Hundred and Seventy-eight.* Here Keating is thirty-five years or more in advance of the real time, in consequence of his having assigned a reign of 44 years to Domnall IV., son of Murcadh, and having given one of thirteen to Turgesius, who should not have been at all enumerated amongst the monarchs. Buchanan's assertion is nevertheless untrue; for it was impossible, that there could have been an Irish king, who was a minor. The heirship to the throne was divided among so many noble tribes, that it was

not easy for a man of mature age to hold that always dangerous, and often little more than nominal title.

¹⁶ A. D. 845.—*Four Masters.*

¹⁷ MAELSECHLAINN I. In Irish this monarch's name is pronounced *Mai-laughlin*, the initial letter of *sechlainn* being mortified. It is found written *Maeilsheachtainn* in the more modern Irish writers. In writing English, some call him Melaghlin, which is well enough, but others barbarously translate his name Malachy.

wares, and many valuable jewels, with the design of presenting them to the men of Ireland, in the hope of thus securing their friendship and peace, for they deemed that they might thus succeed in surreptitiously fixing a grasp upon the Irish soil, and might then be enabled to oppress the Irish people again. Here follows what the Polychronicon relates upon this subject: "After the death of Turgesius, three brothers, named Amelanus, Cyriacus, and Inorus, coming from the eastern parts of Norwegia, landed on this island with their followers, as if for the purpose of demanding peace, and under the pretext of establishing a trade, and there, with the consent of the Hiberni, who were given to peace, they took possession of some seaboard places, and built three cities thereon, to wit, Waterfordia, Dublinium, and Lymericum, and from these cities, when their numbers had increased, they frequently insulted the natives of the land."¹⁸

It may be easily understood from the words, just quoted, that it was through the treachery of these three captains that the Finn-Lochlannaigh from Norwegia found the means of repeating their devastations in Ireland. And there were two causes for the second growth of their strength in this country; the first cause was that copious aid in men and ships kept constantly arriving to them from Norwegia; the second cause arose from the hostilities and rivalries that prevailed amongst the Gaels themselves about that time, for by these the strength of the Irish nation was very much wasted. And, besides, it was the wont of the rival chieftains to give free quarters to warriors of the Lochlannach race, whom they thus retained in their service. Thence it resulted that they regained great sway in Ireland, and retained it until the time of Brian Boromha, as shall be explained in the following pages upon the authority of the Irish Annals.

Arrival of the DUBH-LOCHLANNAIGH¹⁹ or DANES.

Whilst the Finn-Lochlannaigh were harassing the country

¹⁸ Post obitum Turgesii, de Norwegia partibus, quasi sub pacis intuitu et mercaturæ exercendæ pretexta, tres fratres, Amelanus, Cyriacus, et Imorus, cum sua sequela in hanc insulam appulerunt, et de consensu Hibernorum, otio delictorum, tres civitates, viz., Waterfordiam, Dublinium et Lymericum construxerunt, qui tamen numero succrescentes contra indigenas frequenter insultabant.

¹⁹ *Arrival of the Dubh-Lochlannaigh, i. e. the Black Scandinavians, or Danes.*

The Fair Strangers, or Finn-Lochlannaigh, were the Norwegians. The above-mentioned event is thus recorded in the Irish Annals.

"A. D. 847. The 3rd year of Mael-sechlainn. A fleet of seven score ships of the people of the king of the foreigners came to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed the country between them.

A. D. 849. *The Dubh-Ghoill, i. e. Dark Strangers, or the Danes, arrived*

after this fashion, there arrived a large fleet of Dubh-Lochlannaigh at Ath-cliaith from Dania—that is, from Denmark; and the coasts of the country were devastated by them, and great numbers of its inhabitants were slaughtered. Thereupon the Finn-Lochlannaigh mustered their forces to repel the latest intruders, and a battle was fought between both these foreign races at Linn-Duachail, where the Finn-Lochlannaigh were put to the rout, and one thousand of their warriors were slain. By this victory the Dubh-Lochlannaigh gained great supremacy in Ireland. Soon after this, Amlaibh,²⁰ son of the king of Lochlainn, arrived in Ireland, for the purpose of assuming the lordship of the Dubh-Lochlannaigh or Danes, and forced a great number of the men of Ireland to pay him tribute!

It was about this that Olcobar, son of Kinaeth, King of Munster,²¹ died. Then, also, died Niall, son of Gellan, a man who had lived for thirty years without food or drink. And Flathniadh, bishop of Birra, and Cormac, bishop of Lathrech Briuin,²² died also about this time.

It was about this period that at a Regal Convention of the men of Ireland was called together at Rath-Aeda-mic-Bric,²³

at Ath-cliaith, and made a great slaughter of the Finn-Ghoill (Fair Strangers, or the Norwegians), and plundered the fortress of both people and property. Another depredation by the Dubh-Ghoill upon the Finn-Ghoill at Linn Duachail, where they made a great slaughter of the latter.

A. D. 850. A fleet of eight score ships of the Finn-Ghoill arrived at Snamh Eigneach (now Carlingford Lough), to give battle to the Dubh-Ghoill, and they fought with each other for three days and three nights; and the Dubh-Ghoill gained the victory, and the Finn-Ghoill left their ships to their vanquishers.—*See Four Masters.*

²⁰ *Amlaibh.* “A. D. 851. Amlaibh (*Owlave* or *Ouleeve*), King of Lochlainn, came to Ireland, so that all the foreign tribes in Ireland submitted to him; and they exacted rent from the Gaedhil (the Irish).”—*Id.*

²¹ *Olcobar, King of Munster.* This death is entered under A. D. 849. The men of Munster fought successfully against the Sea-Kings during the short reign of the royal bishop, Olcobar. The battle which he fought against them at Sciath Nechtain, near Castle-dermot, in the county of Kildare, was

prematurely introduced by Keating under the last reign, as is seen by the following entries:

“A. D. 846. A battle was gained by Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, over the Danes, at Forach (near the Hill of Skreen in Meath), where seven hundred of them were slain. Another battle was gained by Olcobar, King of Munster; and by Lorcan, son of Kellach, King of Leinster, having the Leinstermen and Munstermen with them, at Sciath Nechtain, wherein Earl Tomrar, tanist of the King of Lochlainn, and twelve hundred along with him, were slain. A hosting was made by Olcobar, to demolish the first of Corcach (Cork), against the for-eigners.”—*Id.* The plundering of Imlech Iubair, or Emly, by the for-eigners, took place in the previous year (845).

²² *Lathrech Briuin.* Now Laragh-brien, in Kildare. Cormac, scribe, anchorite, and bishop, died in 854. *Niall, son of Gellan,* died in the same year. *Flathniadh (Flah neea),* son of Congal, died in 851.

²³ *Rath-Aeda-mic-Bric.* Now Rath-hugh, in the barony of Moycashel, county Westmeath. “A. D. 857. A

around Maelsechlainn, King of Temhair and Ethgna, Comarba of St. Patrick; and there, Kerball, King of Ossory, made submission to the Comarba of St. Patrick. It was there, also, that Maelguala, son of Donngal, King of Munster, and Kerball, King of Osraide,²⁴ made peace with Leth Cuinn.

Soon after this, the Northmen stoned to death Maelguala, King of Munster.²⁵ About the same time Maelsechlainn, King of Ireland, fought the battle of Drum-da-Maighe,²⁶ where he made a great slaughter of the Lochlannaigh of Ath-Cliath. About the same time died Domnall, son of Alpin, King of the Picts; and Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, King of Ireland, died himself soon after.

great meeting of the chieftains of Ireland, was collected by King Maelsechlainn to Rath-Aeda-mic-Bric, with Fethgna (or Ethgna), successor of St. Patrick, and Suairlech, successor of St. Finnia, to establish peace and concord between the men of Ireland; and here Kerball (Cearball), King of Osraide, gave the award of the successors of St. Patrick and St. Finnia to the King of Ireland, after Kerball had been forty nights at Eremos (in Meath), and the son of the King of Lochlainn, at first along with him, plundering Meath. And after they had awarded that the King of Osraide should be in league with Leth Cuinn. Maelgualai, son of Donngal, King of Munster, tendered his allegiance.

²⁴ *Kerball, King of Osraide.* This toparch had recently been the ally of the Danes, and had plundered Leinster and Meath, in conjunction with Am-lacibh and Imhar (Ivar), the Danish chiefs of Dublin.

²⁵ *Maelguala, King of Munster.* At the instigation of the foreigners, he had refused to do homage to the Ard-righ. But the latter had invaded his principality in 856, when he tarried ten nights at Emly, defeated its chiefs at Carn Lughdach, and carried off the hostages of all Munster. This was the second occasion on which Maelsechlainn had to make Munster acknowledge his authority by the force of arms. The stoning to death of Maelguala happened shortly after his return from the Royal Convention.

²⁶ *Drum-da-Maighe*, i. e. the Ridge

of the two Plains. A remarkable Hill in the barony of Coolestown, King's county. "A. D. 859. The 15th year of Maelsechlainn. The battle of Drum-da-Maigh was given by Maelsechlainn to the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, where many of the foreigners were slain by him."—*Four Masters*. The other principal victories, gained by the Gaels over the foreigners and the abettors, during this monarch's reign, are thus recorded.

A. D. 845. The demolition of the Island of Loch Munreim (now Lough Ramor), against a great crowd of the sons of death (i. e. malefactors), of the Luighni and Galenga, who were plundering the country at the instigation of the foreigners, and they were destroyed by him. A slaughter was made of the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, at Carn Brammit, by Kerball, son of Dongall, Lord of Osraide, where twelve hundred of them were slain.

A. D. 846. Tighernach, Lord of Loch Gabar, defeated at Doirre-Disirt Dachonna, where twelve score of them were slain by him.

A. D. 847. The plundering of Dubh-linn (now Dublin, and also called Ath-cliaith), by Maelsechlainn, and by Tighernach, Lord of Loch Gabar.

A. D. 849. Kinacath, son of Conaing, Lord of Kiannaughta-Breagh, was drowned in the Aingi (now the river Nanny), by the people of King Maelsechlainn and Tighernach, Lord of Loch Gabor, to revenge upon him the acts he had committed against both laity and clergy. (These evils consisted in

AEDH FINN-LIATH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 870.²⁷ Aedh Finn-liath,²⁸ son of Niall Frasach, of the line of Erimhón, held the sovereignty of Ireland for sixteen years. Gormflaith, daughter of Domnall, son of Donnadh, was the wife of this King; Maelmuri, daughter of Kinaeth, son of Alpin,²⁹ King of Alba, was his wife, and it was she that was mother of Niall Glun-dubh.

The following deeds were done during the reign of this prince: Concobar, son of Donnadh,³⁰ who was King over the half of Meath, was slain by Amlaeibh, son of the King of Lochlainn, at Cluain Iraird. After this, the same Amlaeibh proceeded to Foirtrenn in Alba, and there pillaged the Piets, from whom he bore off hostages.

It was now that Aedh Finn-liath, King of Ireland, won a great battle³¹ over the Lochlannaigh; and thence he bore off the bodi-

the plundering of the Southern Ui Neill, from the Shannon to the Sea, during the previous year, by the aid of the foreigners; the demolition of the island fortress of Tighernach, on Loch Gabor; and the burning of the oratories of Treoit (now Trevet), with 220 persons therein.

"A. D. 850. A slaughter was made of the foreigners in the east of Breagh, and another slaughter was made of them at Rath Aldain (now Rathallon, near Daleck), by the Kiannachta, in one month."—*Id.*

²⁷ A. D. 861.—*Id.* This date is two years behind the real time, which is A. D. 863.

²⁸ AEDH VII. He was of the Kinél Eogain branch, of the northern Ui Neill.

²⁹ *Kinaeth, son of Alpin.*—He is called Keneth MacAlpin, or Keneth, by the Scotch writers. He was the 34th King of the Dal-Riada of Alba. "In A. D. 850, being the 12th year of his reign, he engaged the Piets in a battle, renewed seven times in one day, and at last totally defeated them. Marching thence to Scone, he put to death Druskin, son of Feradath, the last King of the Piets, after which he united their kingdom to his own."—*O'Flaherty.* That this conqueror had received aid from his Irish kinsmen in his victories over the Piets, we have proof in the following entry, which is found in the Irish annals, under the fourth year of the reign of Niall Frasach: "A. D. 835. Gofraidh, son of

Fergus, chief of the Oirghialla, went to Alba, to strengthen the Dal Riada, at request of Kinaeth, son of Alpin."—*See Four Masters.*

³⁰ *Concobar, son of Donnadh.* He was drowned at Clonard, in 862. Meath had been overrun by the Danish chiefs Amlaeibh, Imbar, and Uailsi, during the previous year (A. D. 861), when the ancient pyramidal mounds of New Grange, Knowth, Dowth, and the Cave of the the Wife of Gobhan, in the Great Mound at Drogheda, had been broken upon and plundered by them.

³¹ *Great Battle.* "A. D. 864. A complete muster of the men of the North, was made by Aedh Finn-liath, so that he plundered the fortresses of the foreigners wherever they were, both in Kinél Eogain and Dal Araide, and he carried off their cattle and accoutrements, their goods and chattles. And the foreigners came together at Loch-Febail-mic-Lodain (i. e. the Lake of Febal, son of Lodan, now Lough Foyle). After Aedh, King of Ireland, had heard that they were gathering on the borders of his country, he was not negligent in attending to them, for he marched towards them with all his forces; and a battle was fought fiercely and spiritedly between them. The victory was gained over the foreigners, and a slaughter was made of them. Their heads were collected to one place in presence of the King, and twelve score heads were reckoned before him, which was the number slain in that

less heads of twenty of their chief captains, after having slaughtered twelve hundred of their host; and he plundered and sacked their fortresses, taking away both their cattle and their treasures. It was not long after that, when the fortress of Amlaibh, son of the King of Lochlainn, at Chuain Dalcain, was burned by the son of Gaeithen,³² and by Mael Kiarain, son of Ronan,³³ by whom one hundred chiefs of the foreigners were slain. It was after this that Amlaibh sacked Ard Macha, where ten hundred of the Gaels were either killed or grievously wounded;³⁴ and whence he carried off much property and treasure.

It was during this time, also, that Kenufaeladh,³⁵ son of Moch-tigherna, died, having then reigned for thirteen years as King of Munster: and, after him, Donnadh, son of Dubdaboinn, held the kingdom of Munster for fourteen years. Now also died Conall, bishop of Kill-Sgiri.³⁶ And then, a battle was fought between the Piets and the Dubh-Lochlannaigh, in which great numbers of the former nation were slain. After that, Rughri, son of Moirminn,³⁷ King of Britain, escaped to Ireland, fleeing before the Lochlannaigh; and the relics of St. Columkille³⁸

battle, besides the numbers of them that were wounded and carried off by him in the agonies of death, and who died of their wounds sometime afterwards."—*Four Masters*.

³² *Son of Gaeithen*. His name was Kinneidigh, and he was chieftain of Læighis, or Leix, the country of the O'Moores. Amlaibh's fortress, at Chuain Doleain (now Clondalken), was destroyed by him in 865. He defeated the Danes again, within the same year, at Dublin, where he slew their chief, Odolbh Micle.

³³ *Maelkieran, son of Ronan*. This chief, one of the most valiant champions of his time, was slain during the ensuing year. His death is thus recorded, under A. D. 67: "Maelkieran, son of Ronan, champion of the East of Ireland, and a hero-plunderer of the foreigners, was slain."—*Four Masters*.

³⁴ *Killed or Wounded*. "Ten hundred was the number there cut off both by wounding and suffocation."—*Id.* This happened in 867.

³⁵ *Kenufaeladh*. He had been abbot of Emly, and succeeded the unfortunate Maiguala on the throne of Cashel. He died about the year 870.

³⁶ *Kill-Sgiri*, now KILLSKEERY in Meath. The bishop, Conall, died in 865.

³⁷ *Rughri, son of Moirminn*. "A. D. 874. Ruaidhri, son of Moirminn, King of Britain (Wales), came to Ireland to shun the Dubh-ghenti."—*Four Masters*.

³⁸ *Relics of St. Columkille*. "A. D. 875. The shrine of Columkille was brought to Ireland to avoid the foreigners."—*Id.*

A. D. 861. The killing of the foreigners at Ferta-na-g-caeraeh, by Kerball (King of Osraide), so that 40 heads were left to him, and that he banished them from the territory. (This place is now called Fertagh, barony of Galway, county Kilkenny.)

A. D. 864. A victory was gained over the foreigners of Eochail (Yonghal, then a Danish station), by the Desi, and the fortress was destroyed. A slaughter was of the foreigners, by the men of the North of Osraide, and by Kinneidigh, son of Gaeithen, at Mindroichet (now Monadrehid, near Borris-in-Ossory.)

A. D. 865. Gnimbeolu, chief of the foreigners of Corcaeh (Cork), was slain by the Desi.

A. D. 866. Flann, son of Conaing, Lord of Breagh, collected the men of Breagh and Leinster, and the foreigners to Kill Ua n-Daighri (*keel-oo-noire*), four thousand was the number of his forces, against the King Aelh

were brought from Alba into Ireland to preserve them from the same ravagers.

Cormac, son of Culinan, relates that Lorcan, son of Lactna, was, at this time, King of Thomond. He says, likewise, that the north side of Cashel, as far as the gates of the palace, belonged to the Dal-g-Cais, whenever the rule of that tribe was confined to Thomond, or North Munster. The territory of this tribe was composed of twelve tricha-kèd, or cantons, and comprised all the land that lies from Leim Conculainn to the Bèlach Mor or Great Road of Osraide, and from Sliabh Echaide (*Slieve Aughty*), to Sliabh Eiblinni (*Slieve Eilinni*). It was their right to march in the van of the host of Munster, when invading a hostile territory, and to form the rear guard when retreating before the foe; as Cormac, son of Culinan, has said in the following verse:

“ When the foe is invaded, they march in the van;
And the rear is their right on the homeward retreat;
’Tis a meed of their prowess in battle’s rude shock,
Whose perils ne’er daunted the Children of Cas.”

Aedh Finn-liath³⁹ died at Drum Inasglainn, in the territory of Conalli; and Tigernach, son of Muredach, bishop of Drum Inisglainn, died about the same time.

Finn-liath. Aedh had only one thousand, together with Concoobar, son of Tadhg Mor, King of Connaught. The battle was eagerly and earnestly fought between them, and the victory was at length gained over the men of Breagh and the Leinstermen and the foreigners; and a slaughter was made of them, and a great number of the foreigners were massacred therein. Flann, Lord of Breagh, Diarmaid, son of Eidersgel, Lord of Loch Gabor, and Carlas, son of Amlaebh, i. e. son of the Lord of the foreigners, were also slain in that battle. There fell on the other side, Factna, son of Maelduin, Righdamna (i. e. King elect), of the North, in the heat of the battle. (Kill-Ua-n-Daighri is probably Killaderry, in the county of Dublin.)—*Id.*

The principal depredations recorded as committed by the invaders, besides those already recorded, are, the slaying of Kermad, son of Cathernach, Lord of Corca Baskinn, in 862; Conn, son of Kinaedh, Lord of Uí Barchi-tiri (now Slievemargy, Queen’s county), was slain in 866, while demolishing a fortress of the invaders; Eodois, son of

Dongal, suffered martyrdom from the foreigners at Disert Diarmoda (Castledermot), in 867; Malsechlainn, Lord of South Breagh, was slain by them in 868; in 869 Ailill, or Olild, King of Leinster, was slain by them; the men of the Three Plains and the Conainns (in the North of Kilkenny), as far as Sliabh Bladma, were plundered by the lords of the foreigners, during the snow at Bridgetmas, in 870; the Danes of Ath-cliaith plundered Munster in 871; the church of Kill-mormie-Emhir (now Kilmore, near Armagh), was plundered by them in 859. Besides these, the Finn-Ghenti and the Dubh-Ghenti fought against one another on Loch Cuan, where Alland, the chief of the Dubh-Ghenti or Danes, was slain. In fact, the contentions between the two nations of invaders, seem to have now counterbalanced those of the Gaelic tribes, and saved the latter from the subjugation that might otherwise have resulted from their intestine feuds.

³⁹ *Aedh Finn-liath, died.* The real year of his death is 879. He left two sons, namely Niall Glun-dubh, after-

FLANN SINNA, ARD-RIGHI.

A. D. 886.⁴⁰ Flann Sinna,⁴¹ son of Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for thirty-eight years. Lann, daughter of Donngal, son of Fergal, King of Osraide, was the mother of Flann, son of Maelsechlainn.

It was in his reign that the following deeds were done, to wit: the whole of Munster⁴² was pillaged and despoiled by this king, and he carried off the hostages from that principality; it was in his reign that Donnall, son of Morigen,⁴³ was killed by his own companions, and that Fiachna, son of Anbith, who had been King of Ulidia for one year, was slain by his own people; and it was then, also, that Donncaith,⁴⁴ son of Dubdaboirenn, died. Kill-dara and Cluain Iraird⁴⁵ were plundered by the Lochlannaigh within the same period. The royal aenach, or fair of Talti,⁴⁶ was celebrated by Flann Sinna, son of Maelsechlainn, King of Ireland. Dublaetna reigned as King of Munster, during seven years of this reign, at the end of which he died. It was then that Sitric, son of Imhar, was slain by a band of the folk of Norwegia; and that Aidith, King of Ulidia, was slain by his own people. During the same period, Ard Macha was plundered⁴⁷

wards monarch of Ireland, from whom the sept of O'Neill is descended, and derives its name; and Donnall, King of Ailech, from whom descended the Ui Eathach Droma Lighenn, who, when surnames were established, took the name of O'Donghailé, called in English, O'Donnelly. Drum-Mesglain lies near Castle-Bellingham in Louth, and is now known as Drumiskin.—*O'D.*

⁴⁰ A. D. 877.—*Four Masters.*

⁴¹ *Sinna*, i. e. of the Shannon; pronounced *Shinna*.

⁴² *The whole of Munster.* In the first year of his reign, "Munster was plundered from Boromha, (now Belboroo, near Kallaloe,) to Corcaeh, (now Cork,) by Flann, son of Maelsechlainn.—*Four Masters.*

⁴³ *Donnall, son of Morigen*; he was King of Leinster, and was slain in the first year of Flann; Fiachna, son of Anbith, was not slain till the tenth year of this monarch.

⁴⁴ *Donncaith*, son of Dubdaboirenn, King of Munster, died in the seventh year, and his successor, Maelgnala, in the fourteenth of the same reign.

⁴⁵ *Kill-dara and Cluain Iraird plundered.* "A. D. 883. The seventh year of Flann. Kill-dara was plundered by the foreigners, who carried off with them fourteen score persons into captivity to their ships, with the prior, Suibni, son of Dubdaboirenn, besides other valuable property. A. D. 887. The eleventh year of Flann. Kill-dara and Cluain Iraird were plundered by the foreigners."—*Four Masters.* Kill-dara was again plundered in the nineteenth year of Flann.

⁴⁶ *The Fair of Talti.* This royal assembly is recorded as having been celebrated twice during this reign; first by the monarch himself, in the eleventh year of his reign. Again, in the eighteenth year of his reign, we read of the renewal of the Fair of Connaught, (i. e. of Cruachain,) by Tadg, son of Conccbar, and the renewal of that of Talti by Diarmaid, son of Korbhall. From these entries it would appear that those ancient festivals were now falling into disuse among the Gaels.

⁴⁷ *Ard Macha plundered.* There are two plunderings of this primal seat

by the Lochlannaigh of Loch Febail, on which on which occasion they captured Cumasgach, King of Ulidia, and his son, Aedh, son of Cumasgach. It was then also that Domnall,⁴⁸ son of Constantine, the King of Alba, died.

Cormac,⁴⁹ son of Culinan, Archbishop of Cashel and King of Munster—Battle of Belach Mughna, &c.

Cormac, son of Culinan, son of Selbach, son of Allgenan, son of Eocaidh, son of Bresal, son of Aengus, son of Nadfracch, son of Core, son of Lugaidh, son of Olild Flann Beg, son of Fiacaidh Mael-lethan, son of Eogan Mor, son of Olild Olum, assumed the sovereignty of Munster about this time. And great was the prosperity⁵⁰ of Ireland during his reign; for the land became filled with the divine grace, and with worldly prosperity, and with public peace in his days, so that the cattle needed no cowherd, and the flocks no shepherd, as long as he was king. The shrines of the saints were then protected, and many temples and monasteries were built; public schools were established for the purpose of giving instruction in letters, law, and history; many were the tilled fields, numerous were the bees, and plenteous the beehives under his rule; frequent was fasting and prayer, and every other work of piety; many houses of public hospitality were built, and many books written, at his command. And, moreover, whenever he exacted the performance of any good work from others, he was wont to set them the example himself by being the first to practise it, whether it were a deed of alms, or benevolence, or prayer, or attending mass, or any other virtuous deed. It was the good fortune of Ireland during that epoch, that, whilst he was reigning over Munster, the country was abandoned by what-

recorded under the reign of Flann. We read that in "the fourteenth year of Flann, Ard Macha was plundered by Gluniarainn, (i. e. Iron-knee,) and the foreigners of Ath-cliaith; and that they carried 710 persons into captivity after having destroyed part of the church, and broken the oratory." Again, in the seventeenth year of his reign, which is that mentioned above, it is recorded that Ard Macha was plundered by the foreigners of Loch Febail, or Lough Foyle, and Cumasgach made prisoner, and his son Ard slain.—*See Four Masters.*

⁴⁸ *Domnall, son of Constantine.* This

was Domnall, or Donald V., the thirtieth King of the Dal Riada of Alba, who died, according to Tighernach, in A. D. 900.

⁴⁹ *Cormac, son of Culinan.* He succeeded Finguine, who was called Kenneghegan, on the throne of Munster, in the twentieth year of Flann (896). Finguine had been slain by his own tribe after a reign of six years.

⁵⁰ *Prosperity, etc.* What is here asserted of the prosperity of the kingdom during the reign of Cormac, must be understood as said only of the part of it over which he ruled, namely, Munster.

ever of the Lochlannaigh had previously infested it for the purposes of plunder.

Upon a certain occasion, when Cormac was staying at Cashel, awaiting the coming of Easter, he sent proclamation to the Eoganacht tribes,⁵¹ requiring of them to send him hither food and treasures for the celebration of that august festival; but they gave him a refusal. Upon hearing this the Dal-g-Cais sent a large supply of food and treasures to the king, so that he felt grateful to them. He again sent word to the clans of the race of Eogan, demanding of them to send him jewels and valuables for the purpose of making presents to strangers, as they had sent him no food. But upon this what the men of the race of Eogan did, was to send him the worst arms and goods that they had then in their possession, and Cormac was very much displeased thereat. The Dal-g-Cais heard this also, whereupon they sent to him the choicest of their weapons and wearing apparel, their jewels and treasures and armor, in order that he might make presents thereof. Thus did Cormac feel again most grateful to that tribe, as he tells us himself in the following verse :

“ May our truest fidelity ever be given
To the brave and generous clansmen of Tal ;⁵²
And for ever may royalty rest with their tribe,
And virtue, and valor, and music, and song.”

We read in the Senchas that forty-four kings of the line of Eogan Mor held the sovereignty of Munster from the reign of Aengus, son of Nadfracch, to that of Mathgamhain,⁵³ son of Kenneidi, and that during that time the line of Cormac Cas had given no king to Munster, with the exception of Lorcan, son of Lactna, who, according to O'Dubagain, succeeded Cormac, son of Culinan, for one year and a half, as King of Munster. But during that period the Dal-g-Cais had acquired the sovereignty of all the land that lies between Leim Conchulainn, or Loop Head, in the west of Corea-Baskinn, and Slighe Dala⁵⁴ (*Slee Daula*), which

⁵¹ *Eoganacht tribes.* As these tribes belonged themselves to the royal blood of Munster, they were free from all tribute to the King of Cashel. Hence the subsidy demanded of them by Cormac, must have been asked as a voluntary gift and not as a tribute. Neither were the Dal-g-Cais bound to pay any tribute to Cashel.

⁵² *Tal.* Clan Tail, i. e. the Children of Tal, was one of the tribe names of the Dal-g-Cais.

⁵³ *Mathgamhain.* This chieftain's name has been anglicized Mahon, son

of Kennedy. The Irish name, when written in vulgar characters, is spelled Mathghabhain Mac Cinneide, and pronounced *Mahowin Mac Kinnaidie*.

⁵⁴ *Slighe Dala.* This, which was one of the five great roads of ancient Ireland, ran from the southern side of the Hill of Tara, or Tenhair, in the direction of Ossory. It was the great south-western road. The other four great roads were, a western road, called the Slighe Asail, which ran from Tara towards Loch Owel, near Mullingar; the northern road was called the Slighe

is called *Belach Mor na h-Osraide*, that is, the Great Road of Os-sory. And, moreover, it was this same tribe of Cas that was wont to bear the brunt of the wars which the Kings of Cashel waged either against Leinster or Leth Cuinn, as the bard relates in the following verse:

“’Tis the wont of the men, that from Lugaith⁶⁵ have sprung,
In the battles of Mumha to head the array,
And they follow always in the rear of her host,
When from foemen returning through regions unknown.”

When, indeed Cormac, son of Culinan, had spent seven years in peace and happiness as sovereign of Munster, he was instigated by some of his nobles, and more especially by Flathbertach, son of Inmanen, Abbot of Inis Cathaigh,⁶⁶ a man of the royal blood, to make a demand of chief-rent from the principality of Leinster, upon the pretext that it formed a portion of Leth Mogha. Thereupon, Cormac convened a general assembly of the men of Munster; and when his nobles had met together thereat, the plan which they adopted, was to march into Leinster for the purpose of levying that chief-rent, in right of the division which had been formerly made between Mogh Nuadath and Conn of the Hundred Battles. Notwithstanding this resolve, it was with great unwillingness that Cormac proceeded upon this expedition, for it had been foreshown to him that he should fall himself therein; but he consented to go upon it nevertheless. Previous to his marching, he made a will, in which he bequeathed certain legacies, which were to be given by Munster to some of the principal churches of Ireland, to wit: An ounce of gold and an ounce of silver, with his accouterments and his steed, to Drum-Abraadh, which is called Ard Finnain; a chalice of gold, and a chalice of silver, with a satin vestment, to Lis-mor; a chalice of gold, and a chalice of silver, with four ounces of gold, and five ounces of silver, to Cashel; three ounces of gold and a mass-book, to Imlech Iubair; an ounce of gold and an ounce of silver, to Glenn-da-loch; his wares and clothes, with an ounce of gold and a satin mantle, to Kill-dara; twenty-four ounces of gold and of silver to Ard-Macha; three ounces of gold to Inis Cathaigh; and three ounces of gold and a satin vestment, and his own blessing, to Mungarid. The will⁶⁷ itself is contained in the following verses:

Midluachra (*Shlee Meelooghra*); the Slighe Cualann ran from Tara towards Dublin and Bray; the Slighe Mor was the great western road, which extended from Dublin to Galway.—*O'D.*

⁶⁵ *Lugaith*; i. e. Lugaith Menn, son of Aengus Tirech, King of Thomond,

in the second century, who conquered the territory, now called Clare, from the Connaughtmen, and added it to Munster.

⁶⁶ *Inis Cathaigh*, now Innisheathy, or Scatterry Island, in the Shannon.

⁶⁷ *The Will*. The metrical copy of

“Tis time my testament were made,
For danger's hour approacheth fast ;
My days shall henceforth be but few,
My life has almost reached the goal

My golden cup of sacrifice,
Wherewith I holy offerings make,
I will to Senan's⁵⁸ brotherhood,
At Inis Cathaigh's sacred fane.

The bell that calleth me to prayer,
Whilst on the green-robed earth I stay ;
Forget not with my friend to leave
At Conall's⁵⁹ shrine, where Forgas flows.

My silken robe of graceful flow,
O'erlaid with gems and golden braid,
To Ros-crè, Paul and Peter's fane,
And Cronan's⁶⁰ guardianship I leave.

My silver chessboard, of bright sheen,
I will to Uladh's royal chief ;
My well-wrought chain of faultless gold,
To thee, Mochuda,⁶¹ I bequeath.

Take then my amice and my stole,
And take my maniple likewise ;
To Lenín's son, who lies at Cluain,
To Colman,⁶¹ who has found his bliss.

My psalter of illumined leaves,
Whose light no darkness e'er can hide—
To Caisel I for ever leave
This potent gift without recal.

And my wealth, I bequeath to the poor,
And my sins to the children of curses ;
And my dust to the earth, whence it rose,
And my spirit to Ilim, who has sent it.”

Great, indeed, are the commendations which king Cormac has bestowed upon the community of Mungaid, according to

King Cormac's will, from which the editor has made the translation, above given, is found but in one of his MS. copies, and that one is modern and somewhat incorrect. A version of it has been given in Dermot O'Connor's, but it would appear by its omission by the learned Dr. Lynch, the Latin translator of Keating, that it was not given in the more correct copies of the *Foras Feasa*. It seems imperfect, inasmuch as it does not mention all the legacies contained in the prose summary previously given.

⁵⁸ *Senan*. St. Senan, or Senanus, was

the founder of the monastery of Inis Cathaigh.

⁵⁹ *Conall*. St. Conall, son of Modon, received the crown of martyrdom in A. D. 721. The Forgas is now called the Fergus, a river of Clare.

⁶⁰ *Cronan*. St. Cronan, the patron saint of Ros-crè.

⁶¹ *Mochuda*, i. e. St. Carthach, called Mochuda, the founder of Lismore.

⁶¹ *Colman*, i. e. St. Colman, son of Lenín, the founder of the church of Cluain Uamha, now called Cloyne, in Uí Leathain, County Cork. This saint died in A. D. 600.

what we read in the duan which begins with the line, "A ghilla cengail ar loinn." He therein sets down the number of monks that were attached to the six temples that stood within the walls of that great monastery, which was also then called "Cathair Deocain Nesain," that is, the city of Nesan⁶² the Deacon. The following is the number of its members, to wit: five hundred monks, who were men of learning, and whose office it was to preach to the people; six hundred choristers, who sung in the choirs; and four hundred seniors, who were devoted to the meditation of divine things.

But to return to Cormac, when he was about to march into the territory of the Leinstermen, he sent for Lorcan, son of Lactna, the King of Thomond, whom he received with welcome upon his arrival at the royal palace of Cashel. He then proclaimed to the nobles of the line of Eogan, that it was the right of Lorcan⁶³ to assume the kingdom of Munster after his own death, for so it had been regulated by the will of Olild Olum, which ordained that the sovereignty of Munster should be possessed alternately by the posterity of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan and by that of Cormac Cas. However, the desire of the king was not fulfilled in this matter.

After this, Cormac, having mustered a large host around himself and around Flathbertach, son of Inmanen, marched into the territory of the Leinstermen, and demanded of them to give him hostages and to pay him tribute as King of Munster, upon the grounds that their country (Leinster) formed part of Leth Mogha.⁶⁴ Now, when the host of Munster had come together and was all collected into one camp, previous to marching upon the intended expedition, it happened that Flathbertach, son of Inmanen, the abbot of Inis Cathaigh, having mounted upon

⁶² *Nesan*, i. e. St. Nasan, called the leper, the founder and patron saint of the monastery of Mungarid, now called Mungret, near Limerick, who died, as heretofore stated, in A. D. 551.

⁶³ *Lorcan, son of Lactna*. He was the chief of the line of Cormac Cas, whose race had now been for some centuries deprived of their right to the alternate sovereignty of Munster. Their exclusion was not, however, the result of the weakness of the Dal g-Cais, but it arose from the fact of their being placed upon the northern frontiers of Munster, where they were engaged in constant war, either in the defence of their original territories, or of their more recent sword land, the Rugged

Field of Lugaidh, which now constitutes the county of Clare. Their exclusion might also have resulted from the accidental fact, that Aengus, the first Christian king of Munster, happened to be of the race of Eogan Mor. Cormac sought to put an end to this injustice by appointing Lorcan his heir. In this, however, he did not succeed, for Lorcan did not acquire the full sovereignty of Munster until after the death of Flathbertach, the turbulent abbot of Inis Cathaigh.

⁶⁴ *Leth Mogha*, i. e. Mogh's Half of Ireland, as apportioned between Mogh Nuadath and Conn of the Hundred Battles.

horseback, rode through the street of the encampment, and that whilst he was thus engaged, his horse fell beneath him into a deep trench. This was esteemed an unlucky omen, and its consequence was that a large portion both of his own people and of the whole army retired from the expedition, having first proposed the adoption of peaceful measures—so unfavorable a prognostic did they deem the sudden fall of the holy abbot when he had mounted his steed.

Then ambassadors arrived from the Leinstermen, and from Kerball, son of Murighen, charged with proposals of peace to king Cormac. These proposals were; first, to have one universal peace maintained throughout Ireland until the following month of May, for it was then the Fortnight of the Harvest, and for that end to place hostages in the hands of Maenach, son of Siadal, abbot of Disert Diarmoda,⁶⁵ who was a holy, pious, learned and wise man; and, next, to give a large quantity of jewels and valuables to Cormac himself, and also to Flathbertach, son of Inmanen, as a recompense for having assented to such a peace. Cormac was most willing to grant their request; whereupon he immediately proceeded to acquaint Flathbertach, that these ambassadors had come to him from the king of Leinster, demanding peace until the ensuing month of May, and offering jewels and valuables to them both from the people of Leinster, provided they would return home in peace to their own country. But when Flathbertach had heard him out, he fell into a violent rage, and he exclaimed, "How easily seen is the weakness of thy mind, and the littleness of thy intellect and thy spirit!" And after this fashion he then addressed much of abusive and contemptuous language to Cormac. The latter replied to him in the following words, "I know full well what will be the result of all this, to wit, a battle shall be fought with the men of Leinster, in which I shall be slain, and in which it is probable that thou shalt meet thy death likewise."

Having uttered these words, Cormac proceeded, sad and dejected, to his own tent. When he had taken his seat therein, a basket of apples was set before him, which he began to share amongst his attendants, saying, "My dear friends, I shall never more share any apples amongst you, from this hour forth." "Dear lord," said his folk, "thou hast cast us into sadness and grief. Why art thou thus wont to prophesy evil for thyself?" "Believe what I now say, friends of my heart," said Cormac, "for though I am wont to distribute apples amongst you with my own hands, it will be little wonder if somebody else in my stead should share them amongst you henceforth."

⁶⁵ *Disert Diarmada*, now called Castle-dermot, in the county of Kildare.

Cormac then gave orders to have a guard placed upon his tent, and the pious and learned Maenach, son of Siadal, the successor of St. Comgall, sent for, in order that he might confess his sins to that holy man, and make his testament in his presence. He then received the body of Christ from Maenach, before whom he renounced the world, for he was certain that he should be slain in the impending battle, but he did not wish that his warriors should know this. He willed that his body should be brought to Cluain Uamha, if it were possible to bring it thither, but if this could not be done, to have it brought to the cemetery of Diarmaid, son of Aedh Roin,⁶⁶ that is, to Disert Diarmoda, where he had formerly spent a long time as student; but he preferred to be buried at Cluain Uamha (Cloyne), with the son of Lenin. Maenach, however, preferred to have him buried at Disert Diarmoda, where there was at that time a convent of monks of the followers of St. Comgall, for Maenach himself was at that time the *comarba*, or successor, of St. Comgall.⁶⁷ He was, as before stated, a man of piety and wisdom, and he had gone through much annoyance and labor on that occasion in endeavoring to bring about a peace between the men of Leinster and the King of Munster.

But, likewise, numbers of the men of Munster had deserted from that expedition without leave, for they had learned that Flann Sinna, son of Maelsechlainn, monarch of Ireland, was in the encampment of Leinster, accompanied by a numerous force, both of cavalry and infantry. It was then that Maenach, son of Siadal, said, "Good people of Munster, it were wise on your part to take the noble hostages, namely, Kerball, King of Leinster, and the son of the king of Osraide, that are offered to you, and either to keep them yourselves, or to place them in the hands of some devout men until May next." Thereupon the whole of the men of Munster replied unanimously, that Flathbertach, son of Inmanen, was the man who had forced them to invade Leinster.

When this complaint was ended, the army of Munster marched eastwards over Sliabh Margi,⁶⁸ to the Droiched Leith-

⁶⁶ *Son of Aedh Roin.* Diarmaid was the *grandson*, not the *son*, of Aedh Roin, King of Ulidia, who was slain in 732. From Diarmaid, Disert Diarmoda, i. e. Diarmaid's Desert, has its name. He was an anchorite and a distinguished doctor in his day, and died in A. D. 823.

⁶⁷ *Comarba of St. Comgall*, i. e. ab-

bot of Bennehoir, in right of which dignity he presided over all the monasteries that followed the rule of St. Comgall. Maenach, the holy man above mentioned, who was called "the best scribe of all the Irish race," died in A. D. 919.

⁶⁸ *Sliabh Margi*, now Slievemargy, in the Queen's county.

glinni.⁶⁹ Here Tibradi, the comarba of St. Albi,⁷⁰ took up his station, accompanied by a numerous array of ecclesiastics, and with him were left the camp followers and the baggage horses. Then the men of Munster sounded their trumpets, and gave the signal for forming into line of battle, and marched onward upon Magh Ailbi, where they took up a strong position in front of a wood, and there awaited the enemy.

The army of Munster was drawn up in three equal divisions. Of these, the first was commanded by Flathbertach, son of Immanen, and Kellach, son of Kerball, King of Osraide. Cormac, son of Culinan, King of Munster, commanded the second division, and Cormac, son of Molta, King of the Desi, was the leader of the third. And the warriors were disheartened by reason of the multitude of their enemies and of the fewness of their own host, for some authors assert that the army of Leinster was four times more numerous than that of Munster.

Woeful, indeed, was the tumult and clamor of that battle;⁷¹ for there rose the death cry of the men of Munster as they fell, and the shouting of the Leinsternen, exulting in the slaughter of their foes. There were two reasons why the fight went so suddenly against the Munstermen. The first was, because Keilichar, a relative of Kennghegan,⁷² a former king of Munster,

⁶⁹ *Droichet Leithglinni*, i. e. the Bridge of Leithglen, now called Leighlin, in Carlow.

⁷⁰ *Comarba of St. Albi*, i. e. the successor of that saint. The abbot of Imlech Iubair, now called Emly, in the county of Limerick, was thus styled.

⁷¹ *That battle*. The battle of Belach Mughna, i. e. Mughain's Pass, or Road, which is now called Ballaghmoon, a place that lies two miles and a half north of the present town of Kildare, is thus recorded by the Four Masters :

"A. D. 903. The 27th year of Flann. The battle of Belach Mughna was fought by Flann, son of Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, and by Kerball, son of Murighen, king of Leinster, and by Cathal, son of Concobar, king of Connaught, against Cormac, son of Culennan, king of Caisel. The battle was gained over Cormac, and he himself was slain, though his loss was mournful, for he was a king, a bishop, an anchorite, a scribe, and profoundly

learned in the Scotie tongue. These were the nobles that fell with him, namely, Fogartach the Wise, son of Suibni, lord of Kiarraide Cuirche, now called Kerryurriky, in the county of Cork ; Kellach, son of Kerball, lord of Osraide ; Maclgorm, lord of Kiarraide Luachra, in Kerry ; Maclmorda, lord of Rathlem ; Olild, son of Eogan, abbot of Trian Corcaighe, (i. e. the Third of Core) Colman, abbot of Kenn Etigh, and the lord of Corea Duibni, and many other nobles besides them, and six thousand men along with them."

⁷² *Kennghegan*. His proper name was Finguini. This king was the immediate predecessor of Cormac, to whom he relinquished Cashel in A. D. 896, the year after which he was slain by his own tribe, namely the Kincl Aengusa, or the race of Aengus, son of Nadfraech, which was afterwards known as the Mac Carthies, O'Keefies and O'Callaghians. Cormac belonged himself to this tribe.

jumped hastily upon his steed, and as soon as he found himself mounted, cried out, "Flee, O Free Clans of Munster, flee from this terrible conflict, and let the ecclesiastics⁷³ fight it out themselves, since they would accept no other condition but that of battle from the people of Leinster." Having thus spoken, he quitted the field of strife, followed by many of the combatants. The other reason why the men of Munster were routed was because Kellach, son of Kerball, king of Osraide, when he perceived the carnage that was made amongst his people, jumped likewise with haste upon his steed, and thence addressed his host in these words, "Mount your steeds," said he, "and banish these men, who stand up against you." But though he used this language, he did not mean to encourage them to drive off their enemies by fighting, but he thus let them know that it was time for themselves to run away. The result of these two causes was that the ranks of the men of Munster were broken, and they were put to sudden and general rout. Alas! great indeed was the carnage that then spread over Magh n-Ailbi. Neither layman nor ecclesiastic found quarter therein; both were slaughtered indiscriminately, and if any man of either class happened to be spared, he owed his life not to the mercy but to the cupidity of the vanquishers, covetous of his ransom.

Hereupon Cormac rushed toward the van of the first division, but his horse fell beneath into a ditch, and he was himself dashed upon the ground. Some of his people who were running away from the battle, saw him in this position, and they came at once to his relief and replaced him upon his steed. It was there that Cormac met one of his own pupils, a free-born man named Aedh, who was distinguished for his proficiency in wisdom, laws, and history, and in the knowledge of the Latin tongue. To him the royal prelate addressed these words: "Dear son, do not follow me; but betake thyself hence, as well thou mayest, and remember that I had said that I should myself be slain in this battle." Cormac then rode forward, and full of the blood of horses and of men was the way before him. But the slipperiness of that field of carnage soon caused the feet of his horse to glide from under him, and he reared and fell backwards, crushing his rider be-

⁷³ *Ecclesiastics.* O'Halloran assigns a cause for the expedition of Cormac into Leinster, which may explain, if not excuse, the great numbers of ecclesiastics engaged in this battle. According to him, it was entirely undertaken for a religious object. Kerball, king of Leinster, had expelled a convent of monks, composed exclusively of Munstermen, from Ros Glas, called, also,

Monaster Emhin, or the monastery of St. Emhin, near the river Barrow. The object of the war, according to him, was the restoration of their monastic privileges to these monks. It is evident that Cormac was not very popular among his own kinsmen, perhaps because of the favor he showed to their rivals, the Dal g-Cais.

neath him. The neck and back of Cormac were broken in that fall, and he died saying, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit!" Then, some wicked folk came up and pierced his body with their javelins and cut off his head.⁷⁴

Hammer states in his chronicle, that it was the Lochlannaigh that slew Cormac, together with Kerball, son of Murighen,⁷⁵ king of Leinster, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and five; but such is not the fact, for this battle was not fought by the Lochlannaigh, but by Flann Sinna, King of Ireland; and Kerball, son of Murighen, was not slain therein. This is evident from the historic tale, which is called the Battle of Belach Mughna, where Cormac, son of Culinnan, fell.

The number of noble ecclesiastics, kings, chiefs and warriors, slain in this battle, was very great. Kellach, son of Kerball, king of Osraide, and his son, fell in the very beginning of the conflict. Therein also fell: Fogartach, son of Suibni, king of Kiarraide;⁷⁶ and Olild, son of Eogan, a learned nobleman; and Colman, Abbot of Kenn-etigh,⁷⁷ Ard-ollamh of the Brehons of Ireland; and numbers of their followers were slaughtered around them. The following noblemen likewise fell therein, namely: Cormac, son of Molta, king of the Desi; Dubagan,⁷⁸ King of Fermaighe; Kennfaeladh,⁷⁹ King of Ui Conaill Gabra; Aidin, King of Aidni,⁸⁰ who had been driven an exile into Munster; and Maclmu-

⁷⁴ *Cut off his head.* The stone on which the head of the royal sage of Cashel was cut off, is still pointed out at Ballaghmoon. The name of the man that beheaded him, has been recorded. It was Fiach Ua Ugfadan, of Denlis.

⁷⁵ Kerball, son of Murighen. He was slain, according to an old poem quoted in the Four Masters, by a foreigner named Hulb, one year and a day after the death of his adversary Cormac. He was the last king of Leinster, who held his residence in the ancient royal seat of Nas, now Naas, in Kildare.

⁷⁶ *Kiarraide*, i. e., of Kiarraide Guirchi, now Kerrycurriky, in the south of Cork.

⁷⁷ *Kenn Etigh.* New Kennity, in the Barony of Ballybrit, and Kings co.

⁷⁸ *Dubagan.* The ancestor of the O Dubagains, now O Dugans or Dugans, once lords of Fermoy.

⁷⁹ *Kennfaeladh.* It is probably from this chief, that O Kinealies, in Irish O Cinnfhaelaidh, have taken their name.

They, together with the O Coilleains or Collins, the Mac Emeries, O Flanneries, and O'Sheehans, formed the tribe of Ui Conaill Gabra, whose ancient territories lay on the west of Limerick, and are now known as the baronies of Upper and Lower Conillo. They were a branch of the Ui Fidghenti, a race descended from Eogan Mor, son of Olild Olum, and had no relation to the O Connells of Magh O g-Coinechin, now Magunihy in Kerry—though some, misled by the resemblance in sound between the English form of Connell and the Irish word Conaill, have asserted that the O'Connells were once chiefs of the Ui Conaill Gabra, (*U Conaill Gowra*). But the Irish form of O Connell is O Conghailé, which is now pronounced somewhat like *O Concelly*, and is derived from the proper name Congal or Conghal, not Conall. They are of the race of Conari, son of Mogh Lamha, and not of Olild Olum.

⁸⁰ *Aidni*, i. e. Ui Fiachrach Aidni, in Connaught.

adh,⁸¹ Madigan, Dubdaboirenn, Conall and Feradach; and also Aedh, King of Ui Liathain, and Donnall, King of Dun Kermna. The following were the chieftains who won that battle over the Munstermen, namely: Flann Sinna, son of Maelsechlainn, monarch of Ireland; Kerball, son of Murighen, king of Leinster; Tadc, son of Faelan, king of the Ui Kennselaigh; Temnen, king of Ui Degadh;⁸² Kellach and Lorecan, the two kings of the Kineil;⁸³ Inncirghi, son of Dubgilla, king of the Ui Drona;⁸⁴ Follamhain, son of Olild, king of the Fotharta Fea;⁸⁵ Tuathal, son of Ugari, king of the Ui Muredaigh;⁸⁶ Odran, son of Kennedigh, king of Laeighis; Macalann, son of Fergal, king of the Fortuatha;⁸⁷ and Cleirkin, king of the Ui Bairehi.⁸⁸

After this battle, Flann Sinna, monarch of Ireland, marched with a large and regal host of cavalry into Osraide, in order to install Diarmaid,⁸⁹ son of Kerball, as king over that territory, after his brother Kellach, son of Kerball, who had previously held that dignity, and who had just fallen in battle, fighting at the side of Cormac; for he had been the subject of the latter prince, inasmuch as his territory formed portion of Leth Mogha, of which Cormac had been sovereign.

When the conflict was over, certain folk came into the presence of Flann Sinna, to whom they had brought the head of Cormac, son of Culinnan; and they addressed that monarch: "Life and health to thee, O mighty and victorious king! We have

⁸¹ *Maelmuadh*; This is probably the lord of Rathlenn, who is called Maelmorda by the Four Masters.

⁸² *Ui Degadh*. A tribe of this name, which is otherwise spelled Ui Deaghadh, (*U Daa*), was situated south of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow.

⁸³ *Kineil*; i. e. of the *Tribes*. The editor does not know what tribes are here meant, if it be not the Cinel Cobhthaigh (*Kinail Cowhigh*), a tribe descended from Cathaer Mor, seated at Ard Ladrann in Wexford.

⁸⁴ *Ui Drona*. They were seated in Idrone, in the county of Carlow. Their chief family afterwards took the name of O Riain, now anglicized Ryan. These are not the O Maelriains of Uathini in Munster, whose name has been also anglicized Ryan.

⁸⁵ *Fotharta Fea*. They were seated in the present barony of Forth, in Carlow. O Nualain or O Nolan, was afterwards their chief family.

⁸⁶ *Ui Muredaigh*. This tribe then occupied the northern half of the county of Kildare. Their chief sept afterwards took the name of O'Tuathail; and they now call themselves Toohill Tooles, or Tuthills.

⁸⁷ *Fortuatha*. This, according to Dr. O'Donovan, was an *alias* name for Ui Mail, (Imaile), a well known territory lying round Glendaloch, in the county of Wicklow.

⁸⁸ *Ui Bairehi*. This tribe, descended from Dari Barach, son of Cathaer Mor, was at the time of this battle seated in the county of Kildare, between the Ui Drona and Ui Muredaigh; their territory lay east of the River Barrow, in the county of Kildare. Their chief family took the name of Mac Gormain, and eventually migrated to Ibrickan, in the county of Clare.

⁸⁹ *Diarmaid*. He had, apparently, been expelled from his native country during the reign of his brother.

brought thee hither the head of Cormac, king of Munster. Take it then, and press it beneath thy thighs; for it has been a custom⁹⁰ amongst the kings that have gone before thee, whenever they had slain another king in battle, to cut off his head and to press it beneath their thighs." However, they were disappointed in their expectations; for the sovereign not only returned them no thanks for their present, but he condemned them in severe terms for the evil deed they had committed. And he both said, that it was a sad and cruel act, to have cut off the head of that holy bishop, and declared that he would never exult over it. He then took the consecrated head of the pious bishop into his hands and kissed it, and turned round three times therewith. After this, the head was carried with honor to where the body lay, and to Macnaeh, son of Siadal, the successor of St. Comgall, by whom both were borne to Disert Diarmada, and there buried with great honor. Some historians will have it, that Inis Cathaigh is the place whither Cormac's remains had been carried for sepulture. What heart would not feel saddened at that deed, to wit, the death and mutilation of so sacred a personage, who was the wisest of the men of Ireland in his own day; a learned scholar in the Gaelic and Latin Languages; an archbishop who was filled with devotion, and sincerity and prayer, and chastity, and godliness; the head of doctrine and true philosophy and good morals, and the Ard-righ of the two provinces of Mumha?

Flann Sinna, monarch of Ireland, at length returned to his home, when he had established Diarmaid, son of Kerball, as

⁹⁰ *A Custom.*—The editor has met with no mention elsewhere, of any such atrocious custom as that above named. The passage alluding to it has been altogether omitted in Dermot O'Connor's translation; and the present editor would willingly be spared the task of rendering it, did candor allow of his passing it over. If such a custom ever had existence, it might possibly have originated in some horribly distorted and heathenish tradition of that primitive Eastern custom, in accordance with which servants were wont to swear obedience, by placing their hand beneath the thigh of their master, of which an example is seen in Genesis xxiv. 2.

The engagement just recorded, was not the only one where Cormac had measured his strength with that of the

monarch Flann. One year previously, A. D. 902, the 26th year of the reign of Flann, we are told, that "an army of the men of Munster, was led by Cormac, son of Culeman, and by Flathbertach, to Magh Lena, (in the king's county). The people of Leth Cuinn collected against them, about Flann, son of Maelsechlainn; and a battle was fought between them in which the men of Leth Cuinn were defeated, and Macleraeibi Ua Cathalain, was slain. Another army was led by Cormac, and by Flathbertach, against the Ui Neill of the south, and against the Connaughtmen; and they carried away the hostages of Connaught in their great fleets on the Shannon; and the islands of Loch Ribh were plundered by them." —See *Four Masters*.

king of Osraide, and had made peace between that chief and his kinsmen. The Leinstermen also returned to their homes, exulting in their victory; and Kerball, son of Murighen, king of Leinster, next marched towards Kill-dara, whither he had brought a great number of Munstermen who had become his prisoners, and amongst these was Flathbertach; son of Inmanen. Flathbertach was then brought into Kill-dara; and there the clergy of Leinster set about reproving him with great severity, for they were well aware that it was through his contrivance that so destructive a conflict had been brought about. But, when Kerball, King of Leinster, had died, Flathbertach was released; and, in a year after, Muirenn, Ban-comarba⁹¹ of St. Brighitt, conveyed him out of the city and sent a large body of the clergy of Leinster as his escort, with directions that they should guard him until he should reach Magh n-Airb.⁹² Then, when he had arrived in Munster, after this manner, he returned to his own monastery of Inis Cathaigh, where he spent a short time in the practice of piety and devotion. After some time he came out of his monastery, for the purpose of assuming the sovereignty of Munster, as the successor of Dublactna, son of Maelguala, who had reigned over that principality for seven years,⁹³ after the death of Cormac. As king, he continued to rule his territories for twenty years.

It is said that the facts, above recorded, are related in the ancient book, which is called the Annals of Cluain Aidnech in Laeighis, which give a full and clear account of this battle of Belach Mughna; and it is so, that they are read in the historic lay composed by Dallan, the Ollamh of Kerball, king of Leinster, in which he has given an abridged summary of the battle itself, and has stated the number of warriors that fell therein. But I shall not quote here any more than the first verse of this lay, because the noblemen that fell on that field have been already mentioned by name. The following is the verse:

⁹¹ *Ban-Comarba, of St. Brighitt, i. e.* Female-successor. This was the title of the Abbess of Kill-dara.

⁹² *Magh n-Airb.* A plain in the barony of Crannagh, and county of Kilkenny.

⁹³ *Seven years.* This is a mistake. Dublactna had died in A. D. 890, and was succeeded by Finguini, called Kenngehan, who was the immediate predecessor of Cormac, son of Cuiuan. Either Lorcan, king of Thomond, must have held the chief power in Munster,

from the death of Cormac to the accession of Flathberthach; or, as is not unlikely, no chieftain was found strong enough, during that time, to get himself inaugurated at Cashel. O'Halloran has also fallen into the error of placing Dublactna, son of Maelguala, on the throne of Munster, when the reigns of two of his successors had already passed by. O'Dubagain's Poem, as published by O'Daly, makes Flathbertach the next sovereign after Cormac.

“Cornac of Fenhonn, Fogartach,
Colman and Kellach, of hard conflicts
Were slaughtered, with six thousand more,
In that great fight of Belach Mughna.”

Flann Sinna, monarch of Ireland, died eventually at Talti, of the plague.

The greater part of the long reign of Flann had some respite from the attacks of the Northmen. Still the annals of his reign are but too full of the devastating incursions of these pirates, and we therein read of some victories gained by them over the Irish chiefs, and of frequent plunderings of those religious establishments, which, all through this long and desperate struggle, the indomitable piety of the Gaels seems to have renovated and repaired as fast as they were destroyed. The following are the principal advantages then gained by the invaders, besides those already mentioned :

A. D. 885. Flann was himself defeated by them before Ath-cliaith (i. e. Dublin), where Aedh, King of Connaught and the abbots of Kill-dara and Kill Delga (i. e. Kildalkey, in Meath), were slain. Erimhon, king of Ulidia, was, in the same year, slain by Eloir, son of Iargni, one of the foreigners. A. D. 891. Flannagan, son of Kellach, lord of all Breagh, was slain at Olbda by the Norsemen. A. D. 892. Macletigh, lord of Fera Rois, was slain by them. A. D. 895. They were upon Loch n-Ethach (Lough Neagh), and they seized upon the Etach Padraig, i. e. St. Patrick's vestment. A. D. 900. Ailech Frighrenn (the royal seat of the northern Ui Neill), was plundered by a foreign host. A. D. 908. The contest seems to have been even carried across the sea, we read that “A victory was then gained by the foreigners over the Ulidians in the region of Saxon-land.”

The following were the chief advantages gained by the Gaels :

A. D. 887. A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the Ui Anhaltgaidh of North Connaught, in which fell Eloir, son of Barith, one of their chieftains. A. D. 888. A battle was

gained by Riagan, son of Dungal, over the foreigners of Port Largi, Loch Carman and Tech Moling (i. e. of Waterford, Wexford and St. Mullins), in which 200 heads were left behind. A. D. 891. A slaughter was made of the invaders by the Conalli (i. e. the men of Down), and by Athdeidh, son of Laiglmi, in which Amlaebh, grandson of Inhar, and Gluntradna, son of Gluniarann, fell, with 800 of their followers. A. D. 897. The foreigners from Ireland (i. e. the Irish-born), were expelled from the fortress of Ath-cliaith (Dublin), by Kerball, son of Murighen, and the Leinstermen, and by Macffinnia, son of Flannagan, and the men of Breagh, when, leaving great numbers of their chiefs behind, they escaped half dead across the sea.

Thus did the balance of victory lean for some time towards the Gaels : but near the close of this reign, vast reinforcements of the Northmen came to the aid of their kinsmen in Ireland. In A. D. 912, a new and great fleet of the foreigners came into Loch Dacaech (Waterford Harbor), and placed a stronghold there. In A. D. 913, Coreach, Lis-mor and Achadh-bo were plundered by them. Great and frequent reinforcements of foreigners arrived in Loch Dacaech, by whom the lay districts and churches of Munster were constantly plundered. In A. D. 914 (the year of Flann's death, according to the Four Masters), Gebennach, lord of Ui Fidghenti, and Anli, son of Cathan, lord of Uaitlmi Cliach, were slain by them. The foreigners of Loch Dacaech continued to plunder Munster.—*See Four Masters.*

The death of Alfred the Great of England, is recorded as having happened in the 24th year of this reign, in the following terms : “A. D 900 (correctly 901), Alfred, the king who

NIALL GLUN-DUBH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 924.⁹⁴ Niall Glun-dubh,⁹⁵ son of Aedh Finn-liath, son of Niall Calli, son of Aedh Oirnisge, son of Niall Frasach, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for three years.

The royal fair, or assembly of Talti was renewed by this king. It was, also, this Niall that marched with a strong force of the Gaels to give battle to the Lochlannaigh of Loch Da-caech,⁹⁶ in Ulster, on which occasion great numbers both of the natives and the foreigners were slain. It was, likewise, during his reign that the pirate chieftain Imhar routed the Leinstermen in

instituted the laws and ordinances of the Saxons, and who was the most distinguished for prowess, wisdom and piety of the Saxon kings, died."—*Ib.*

⁹⁴ A. D. 915.—*Ib.*

⁹⁵ NIALL IV. This is the ancestor from whom the O'Neills of Tyrone take their name. From his elder brother Domnall, king of Ailech, or north-western Ulster, came the sept of O Donnagali, now called O'Donnally.

⁹⁶ *Loch Dacgech, in Ulster.* This is a very great mistake. Loch Dacaeach was the old name of Waterford Harbor, which lay between Leinster and Munster. Port Largi, i. e. the Port or Fort of Larac, the more modern Gaelic name of the city of Waterford, was not in all probability given to it until after the death of the Northman chieftain Larac, who flourished in A. D. 951. The name of Waterford was given to it by the Danes or Norsemen, who write it Vedrafjord, wick is supposed to signify "weather bay."—*O'D.*

"A. D. 915. Sitric, grandson of Imhar, with his fleet, took up at Kenn-fuait, in the east of Leinster. Ragnall, grandson of Imhar, with another fleet, went to the foreigners.

"A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the Munstermen. Another slaughter was made of them by the Eoganachta and the Kiarraighe.

"An army of the Ui Neill of the south and north was led by Niall, king of Ireland, to the men of Munster, to wage war against the foreigners. He pitched his camp at Tobar Gethrach,

in Magh Femhenn (South Tipperary), on the 22nd of August. The foreigners entered that territory on the same day. The Irish attacked them the 3rd hour before noon, so that 1100 men were slain between them. But more of the foreigners fell, and they were defeated. There fell here, in the heat of the conflict, the chief of Carraig Brachaide, and Maelfinnen, son of Donnagan, chief of Ui Kearnaigh, Fergal, son of Murighen, chief of Ui Crimthainn, and others. Reinforcements set out from the fortress of the foreigners to relieve their people. The Gaels returned back to their camp before the arrival of the last host, which was commanded by Ragnall, king of the Dubh Goill (Danes), who had an army with him. Niall set out against them with a small force, so that God prevented their slaughter through him. Niall remained encamped against the foreigners for twenty nights after this. He then requested of the Leinstermen to continue the siege. This the latter did, until Sitric, grandson of Imhar, gave them battle at Kenn-fuait, where six hundred were slain around the lords of Leinster, together with their king Ugari, son of Ailall. These are the names of some of the chiefs: Maelmorda, lord of Airther Lifi; Mugron, lord of the three Conainns and of Laeighis; Tuathal, lord of Ui Feinech-lais, and many other chiefs, with the archbishop Maelmaedog, son of Diarmaid, who was of the Ui Conannla, abbot of Glenn Uiscan, a distinguished

the battle of Kenn-fuaid,⁹⁷ wherein six hundred of the latter were slain, around Maclmorda, son of Murighen, king of the territory west of the Lifi; around Ugari, son of Oild; around Moghron, or Odran, son of Kenneidigh, king of the three Comainns and of Laeighis, and around many other chiefs that I shall not now name.

It was about this time that Oitir, another chieftain of the Lochlannaigh, sailed with a numerous host from Loch-da-caech to Alba, where Cuas,⁹⁸ son of Aedh, met him in battle, wherein Oitir fell himself, together with great numbers of his followers.

During the reign of Niall, there arrived in Ireland another great host of the foreigners, under the conduct of Sitric and the sons of Imbar. These seized upon the city of Ath-eliath, in spite of the men of Ireland. Thereupon, Niall Glun-dubh assembled the full force of Leth Cuinn, and with which he engaged the Lochlannaigh in battle at Ath-eliath,⁹⁹ where he was himself slain, together with Conobar O Maelsechlainn, the heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ireland, and Aedh, son of Eocagan, king of Ulidia, and Maclmithigh, son of Flannagan, king of Breagh, and Macleraeibi O Dub-innaigh, king of Oirghialla, and many chieftains and warriors of inferior degree.

DONNCADH, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 927.¹⁰⁰ Donncadh,¹ son of Flann Sinna, son of Maelsechlainn, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of

scribe and anchorite, and an adept in the Latin learning and the Scotie language."—*Four Masters*.

⁹⁷ *Kenn-fuaid*. Now Confev, near Leixless, county Kildare. The foreigners at this place plundered Kill-dara soon after the battle just mentioned. Those of Ath-eliath plundered it again next year, when they also plundered Leithglinn, where Maelpdraig, a priest, and Mongan, an anchorite, with many others, were slain.—*See Four Masters*.

⁹⁸ *Cuas*. This name is wrongly spelled. Perhaps it is a mistake for Cuan. According to our annals, Constantine, son of Aedh, was the name of the king of Alba that defeated Oitir and the Northmen of Waterford in A. D. 916.

⁹⁹ *The battle of Ath-eliath*. This battle was fought on the 17th of October, in A. D. 917, at Kill Mosamhog, now Kilmashogue, near Rathfarnham, co. Dublin. Besides the chiefs here

enumerated, there fell likewise Kellech, son of Forgatach, lord of South Breach, and Macleraeibi, son of Duilghen, lord of Uí Tortain.

¹⁰⁰ A. D. 918. *Four Masters*. These annalists give this prince a reign of 25 years.

¹ DONNCADH II. He was the first that took the surname of O'Maelsechlainn, being the O, or grandson of King Maelsechlainn I.

Kenmanus, now Kells, was plundered by the foreigners in the 1st year of his reign, and its stone church, or daimb-liag, was razed to the earth. But soon after the monarch engaged them in battle at a place called Tigh mic n-Ethach, in the Kiannaichta of Breagh, wherein a countless number of them were slain. "Indeed," say the Four Masters, "in this battle revenge was had of them for the slaughter of Ath-eliath, for there fell here of the nobles of the Norsemen, as

Ireland for twenty years. Gormflaith, daughter of Flann, son of Conaing, was the mother of this Donnadh.

It was while he was monarch of Ireland that the following event took place; for it was in the beginning² of his reign that Kellachan, son of Buadean, who is called Cellachàn Caisil (*Callaghan Cúshill*), or Kellachan of Cashel, assumed the sovereignty of Munster, which he held for ten years. But before Kellachan had been made king, Kenneidi, son of Lorean, came to a convention of the chiefs of Munster, which was held at Glennamhain³ (*Glennowin*), and there strove to supplant him in the royalty. But, thereupon, the mother of Kellachan went thither from Cashel, where she was wont to dwell with her fosterfather, the Comarba of St. Patrick, and when she arrived at the place of the convention, she besought Kenneidi to remember the compact formerly made between Fiacaidh Macil-lethan and Cormac Cas, by which it was ordained that the royal inheritance of Munster should be alternately possessed by their respective descendants. In memory of this intervention, the words in which the lady then addressed him have been transmitted to us in the following verse:

“Kenneidi Cas, revere that law,
Which Fiacaidh and Cormac willed,

many as had fallen of the nobles and plebeians of the Gaels in the battle of Ath-cliaith. Murkertach, son of Tighernan, heir apparent of Brefni, was wounded in this battle, so that he afterwards died of his wounds.” The annals of Clommacnoise say, “that not one half of the Danish army was left alive, and that there never was such a massacre made of them before in Ireland.”

² *In the beginning.* This can scarcely be, if we allow that he reigned but ten years; for we find by the Irish annals that in A. D. 920, Flathbertach, son of Inmanen, resigned the kingdom of Cashel to Lorcan, son of Conligan, and went upon a pilgrimage. Kellachan is first mentioned in Irish records in the year 934, the 17th year of Donnadh, when he distinguished himself by plundering Cluain-mic-Nois. From that time until his death, in 953, being the 11th year of the reign of Congal, or Congalach, he occupies a prominent place in our annals. This, supposing him to have assumed the kingdom of Munster in the former year,

would give him a reign of 18, not 10 years. During the 14 years that intervened between his first appearance and the resignation of Flathbertach, Munster must have been successively ruled by Lorcan, son of Conligan, and by his namesake, Lorcan, son of Lactna. That the former was a different person from the latter, and of the royal blood of the Eoganachta, we have evidence in the record of the death of his father. Conligan, son of Corcran, who was slain in 898, in revenge for Kenneghan, i. e. Finguini, king of Munster, who had been “slain by his own tribe.” The ambitious Flathbertach did not, however, die until 944, and he might have resumed the throne.

³ *Glennamhain.* It is now called Glanworth, and is situated on the river Tuncheon, in the barony of Fermoy, county Cork. It was one of the royal residences of the Eoganacht princes, and became afterwards the chief seat of that branch of their tribe which took the name of O’Cacimh, or as now spelled, O’Keefe.

By which a king from either sprung,
Should Munha rule alternately."

The final result of her expostulation was that Kenneidi retired from the contest, and relinquished the sovereignty to Kellachan. Some time after this, the Lochlannaigh made Kellachan their captive, by a treacherous scheme, but the Sil Eogain and the Dal g-Cais soon rescued him by force from their bonds.

The captivity⁴ and rescue of Kellachan of Cashel.—His victories over the Lochlannaigh.

When, indeed, Kellachan and the men of Munster had routed the Lochlannaigh in many battles, and had driven them out of his principality, the plan adopted by Sitric, son of Turgeis, their principal chieftain, was to propose a matrimonial alliance to the Munster king, that is, he offered to give Kellachan his own sister, Bebinn, as his wife, promising at the same time to free Munster thenceforth from all the attacks and all the demands of his countrymen. He did this in order that, when Kellachan went to wed his sister, and trusted himself to his protection, he might slay both the king himself, and as many of the nobles of the Gaels as might accompany him. With this treacherous stratagem he acquainted Donnadh, son of Flann, king of Temhair, because that monarch was at enmity with Kellachan, who had refused to pay him the chief-rent of Munster. For the latter reason, did Donnadh give his consent that Sitric should put his treason into execution against Kellachan and his southern nobles.

Having matured his plans, Sitric sent ambassadors to Munster, to treat of the proposed alliance. When they had explained their instructions to the king, his first intention was to take a large army with him, when going to wed the lady. "That is not the proper course," said Kenneidi, son of Lorean, "for it is not proper to leave Munster unguarded; but what thou shouldst do is to take a strong and sufficient guard with thee, when thou goest to wed that woman." And this was the counsel that was then followed.

⁴ *The captivity, &c.* The account here given of Kellachan's capture and rescue has been taken by Keating from an old historic tale called "Toruighecht Cheallachain Caesil" (*Toreaght Callaghavin Cashel*), i. e. "The Pursuit after Kellachan of Cashel." Moore and others have treated it as altogether romantic. The Irish annals tell us that Kellachan was indeed captured; but that it was by Murkertach, son of Niall, king of Ailech, not the Northmen. The following is the record they give of the fact:—
"A. D. 939. The 22nd year of Donnadh. Murkertach, son of Niall

Now, when Kellachan had set out upon that expedition, and on the night before he reached Ath-cliath, Mor, daughter of Aedh, son of Eocaidh, king of the Isle of the Finn-Goill, who was also the wife of Sitrie, demanded of her husband the reason why he was about to contract this matrimonial connection with Kellachan, by whom so many of the chiefs and nobles of Lochlainn had fallen? "It is not for his good luck, that I have proposed it to him," replied Sitrie, "but for the purpose of dealing treacherously by him." The woman became frightened at these words, for she had long cherished a secret love for Kellachan, whom she had formerly seen at Port-Largi. Prompted by this feeling, she arose early next morning, and went out privately upon the road by which Kellachan was expected to be coming; and, as soon as she met him, she took him apart and told him of the treacherous deception which Sitrie had contrived for his assassination. When Kellachan had heard this, and thought to turn back, he found that it was no longer possible for him to do so; for the fields,

with the men of the north and of Breagh, went into the territory of the Osraide and the Desi, and he plundered and ravaged the entire country as far as Lis Ruadhrach, in the county of Waterford, so that they submitted to him. A fleet was next fitted out by Murkertach, and he carried off much plunder from Insi Gall, i. e. the Isles of the Strangers (now the Hebrides), after gaining victory and triumph. A slaughter was then made of the Desi by Kellachan, and by the men of Munster, because they had submitted to Murkertach, when two thousand of them, together with Kelichar, son of Cormac, Maelgorm, son of Giblichan, Seghda, son of Nacbelan, and Cleirech, son of Sesta. Another battle was gained by the Desi and the Osraide over the king of Caisel, in which many were slain. Murkertach afterwards assembled the Kinel Conaill and Kinel Eogain, and the people of the north at Ailech, where he selected ten hundred of the chosen heroes, and made a circuit of Ireland, keeping his left hand to the sea, until he arrived at Ath-cliath, and thence he brought Sitrie, lord of that city, with him as a hostage. He then marched into Leinster, where the Leinstermen at first opposed him, and finally agreed to sub-

mit to him, and he carried off Lorcan, son of Faelan, their king. He then marched to the men of Munster, who were in readiness to give him battle, but they finally agreed to give him up their king, Kellachan, upon whom a fetter was placed by Murkertach. He next proceeded into Connaught, where Concobar, son of Tagd, came to meet him, but neither gyve nor fetter was put upon him. He then returned to Ailech, carrying these kings with him as hostages, and they were for nine months feasting there; and at the end of that time, he sent the hostages to Donnadh, because it was he that was at Temhair, and the sovereignty had fallen to him."—Such is the account which the northern antiquaries give of Kellachan's captivity. It may possibly have afforded the groundwork of the historic tale, of which Keating has given an abridgement, or the latter may have been founded on some other captivity, which the Uí Neill antiquaries omitted, on account of its reflections upon their hero, Murkertach, and upon the monarch, Donnadh. It is to be remarked, that Cormacan Eigeas relates that Kellachan was delivered up by his people to Murkertach at his own request.

on either side of the road, were full of ambuscades, composed of foreign soldiers, who lay in wait for the purpose of capturing him. As soon, then, as he attempted to return, those soldiers rushed upon him from all sides, and slew some of the noblemen who were in his company; not, however, until the latter had slain some of their assailants. But the great bulk of the attacking force bore down upon the king himself, so that he was made captive together with Donnucan, son of Kenneidi; and then both were carried into Ath-eliath in chains—whence they were sent off to Ard-Macha, where nine earls of the Lochlannaigh, with their several bands of warriors, were set to guard them.

As to those of the Munster nobles, who had escaped from that conflict, they returned immediately to their own country, and there they explained their adventure to Kenneidi, son of Lorcán⁵; and thereupon Kenneidi mustered two armies for the purpose of going in pursuit of Kellachan. These armies consisted of a force destined to act upon land, and one destined to act upon sea. And the captain that was set over the land forces was Donn-cadh O'Caemh,⁶ king of the two territories of Fermoighe; and then Kenneidi lauded this chieftain, and enumerated eleven of his immediate ancestors, who had held the sovereignty of Munster; such as Finguini, who is called Kenneghegan; Artri, son of Cathal; Cathal, son of Finguini; Finguini, son of Cathal; Cathal, who is called Cu-gan-mathair; Cathal, son of Aedh Flann-Cathrach; Carbri Crom; Crimthann Srebl; Eocaidh; and Aengus, son of Nadfraech. Kenneidi next added ten hundred warriors of the Dal g-Cais,⁷ to the army of Donn-cadh, and over these he placed three captains, namely, Cosgarach, Lonnargan, and Congalach, as we learn from the lay which begins with the line, "Let twenty hundred northwards march." Here follows the verse of that lay, which repeats the words Kenneidi:

⁵ *Kenneidi, son of Lorcán.* This prince did not always continue the faithful ally of Kellachan that he is here represented. In A. D. 942, a victory was gained over him by the latter at Magh-duin, where many were slain. He was the father of Brian Boromha, whose birth is entered under the year 925 in the following terms: "The 8th year of Donn-cadh. Brian, son of Kenneidigh, was born this year, that is, 24 years before (his rival) Maelsechlaim, son of Donnall."—However, the year 941 has been proved to be the true year of Brian's birth, as shall hereafter appear.

⁶ *Donn-cadh O'Caemh, i. e., Donn-*

cadh, grandson of Caemh (Kuccce.) He was the first that bore the name of O'Caemh, and was the founder of the sept now called O'Keefe. His father was Cathal, son of Caemh, (from whom O'Caemh.) son of Finguini, called Kenneghegan, and had his chief residence at Glennamhain, now called Glanworth. 3000 warriors of the Eoganachta placed themselves under his command on this occasion.

⁷ *Of the Dal g-Cais, that is, of his own immediate sept of the Dal g-Cais.* For the tribe of Cas, like its rival tribe of the Eoganacht, was already divided into several powerful clans.

“March thither, Cosgarach of fights,
 March thither, gentle Lonnargan,
 And Congalach, now leave thy lake—
 My brothers three, I bid ye march.”

In addition to these, Kenneidi sent with that expedition, another division of the Dal g-Cais, consisting of five hundred warriors of the Clann Coilein, under their own immediate chieftain, Esida, son of Sida.⁸ Another division of five hundred of the Dal g-Cais was placed under the command of Degaidh, son of Domnall.⁹ Besides these, a large contingent was furnished by the other *Saer Clanna*, or free clans¹⁰ of Thomond. The other great host was embarked upon the sea, and Falbi Finn, King of Desmond,¹¹ was chosen as its commander. Then Donnadh O'Caemh led the land forces out of Munster into Connaught, where he sent out foragers to the Muaidh,¹² and to Irrus, and to Umhall,¹³ for the purpose of bringing in spoils to the camp of his Munstermen. But the warriors had not been long encamped, waiting for the return of these foragers, when an armed and well-appointed host was seen advancing towards them in military array; and the number of this host was one thousand men, and one youthful warrior marched apart from

⁸ *Esida, son of Sida.* The chief representatives of his clann, are the Mac Conmaras, called in English, Macuamaras. His name is pronounced in Gaelic *Essheeda*, son of *Sheeda*. One of the meanings of *Sida* or *Sioda*, is *Silk*; hence many of this clan barbarously called themselves *Silk* Macnamara.

⁹ *Degaidh, son of Domnall.* His clann was then called the Kinel Fermaic. His descendants afterwards called themselves O'Deghadh (*O'Daa*), in English, O'Dea and Dee, from this Degaidh. Kenneidi, Esida and Degaidh, represented three of the sons of Cas, son of Conall of the Fleet Steeds, namely Blod, Caisin, (*Cashen*) and Aengus Kenn-atrach. Another son of Cas, Aengus Kenn-atinn, founded the clann Ifernain, of which O'Cuinn, of North Muuster, now called O'Quinn, was the chief sept. From Delbaeth, another son of Cas, came the Delbna in Connaught and Meath, of whom the Mac Cochlans, O'Finnallans, &c. were the chief septs.

¹⁰ *Free Clans.* That is, those no-

ble clans who were not sprung from Cormac Cas. These were, then, the Basnigh of Corca Baskinn, and the chiefs of Corcamruadh. The former are now represented by the O'Donnells of North Munster; the latter, by the O'Lochlins of Burren, and the O'Connors Corcamruadh. The chief part of these had joined the fleet under Falbi.

¹¹ *King of Desmond.* Falbi Finn, whose name is usually written, Failbhe (*Falvie*) Fionn, was king of Corca Duibni, now Corcaguiny, in Kerry, and not of Desmond or South Munster. The dignity of King of Desmond should have belonged to Donnadh O'Caemh. From Falbi, the O'Favies, of Corcaguiny, took their name. His kinsmen of Magh Og Coinchinu, and Ui Rathach (now the O'Connells and O'Sheas,) followed in his division, and also the Kiarraide, (now O'Connors, Kerry.)

¹² *The Muaidh*, now the river Moy, in Mayo.

¹³ *Irrus and Umhall*, now called Erris and the Owles, in the west of Mayo.

the rest, in front of its foremost rank. Then, when this warrior had arrived near the camp, Donnadh O'Caemh demanded of him, "What marshalled host is that yonder?" "This host," replied the warrior, "consists of a portion of the men of Munster; namely, of the Galengaigh¹⁴ and the Luighnigh, descended from Tadg, son of Kian, son of Olild Olunn; and of the men of Delbna, descended from Delbaeth, son of Cas, son of Conall of the Fleet Steeds. And these have now come hither to join the strength of their arms to your own, prompted by the fraternal love which they bear you, who are their kinsmen; and there are three brave and fortunate chieftains in command of yon host, namely, Aedh, son of Dualgasach, around whom all the Galengaigh are arrayed; Diarmaid, son of Finnactach, around whom all the Luighaigh march; and Donnadh, son of Maeldomnach, who commands the men of Delbna." In memory of this event, was composed that historic lay, which begins with the following verse:

"In yonder host march Kian's clans,
With Delbaeth's sons in order ranged;
Your perils they have come to share;
They've come to strike the foe with you."

The force that had here come to join theirs was thus composed: to wit, it consisted of five hundred men, armed with sword and shield, and of five hundred bowmen.

Thus reinforced, the army marched onward into Tir Conaill, and spoils were borne off from that country by the allied hosts. Thereupon, Murkertach, son of Kennfaeladh, King of Kinel-Conaill, came, and in upbraiding language, demanded a restoration of the spoils from Donnadh O'Caemh. To him Donnadh replied, that he would return no spoils, except those that might be left after all his army was satisfied. Upon this the King of Kinel-Conaill, went away in anger from the host of Munster; and he sent private word to the sons of Turgeis at Ard Macha, informing them that an army was marching thither in pursuit of Kellachan, in order to rescue him from their hands. As to the sons of Turgeis; the nine earls retreated from Ard Macha, upon receiving this information, taking with them the force under their command, together with their prisoners, Kellachan and Donnucan.

The Munster forces arrived soon after, at Ard Macha, and there they slew every Lochlannach upon whom they could lay

¹⁴ *Galengaigh, &c.* These Eberian tribes, who were settled in Connaught, have been already described.

hands; and when they had heard that Sitric and his host had retreated to Dun Delgain,¹⁵ they marched thither next day in pursuit of him. But when Sitric perceived them approaching the town, he retreated to his ships with all his forces, taking off Kellachan and Donnucuan on board with him. The Munster host then marched down to the edge of the beach, and came so near to the ships of their enemies that they conversed with those on board.

They were not long in this position, when there was seen sailing into the harbor, a fleet which the Munstermen recognized as the armament of Falbi Finn. This chief led his ships straightway towards those of the enemy, and immediately attacked in person the vessel that carried Sitric, Tor and Magnus; and he jumped on board into the midst of his enemies, holding a sword in each of his hands. With the sword which he held in his left, he cut asunder the ropes wherewith Kellachan was tied up to the mast, and thus loosed his captive king, set him standing upon the deck, and placed in his grasp the sword which he had till then borne in his left hand. Kellachan cut his way to the ship of his deliverer, whilst Falbi remained fighting in the midst of his enemies, until he fell overpowered by numbers, and then the Lochlannaigh immediately cut off his head. Upon this Fi-angalach, a captain of Falbi's people, took his chieftain's place in the conflict, and fiercely seizing Sitric round the body, he flung himself overboard with his foe in his grasp, and both went to the bottom together, and were thus drowned. Segha and Conall, two other captains, next rushed forward, and clasped their arms around Tor and Magnus, the two brothers of Sitric, and each of them jumped overboard with his adversary, so that the four were thus drowned. And like bravery was displayed by every other portion of the host of the Gaels; for they rushed upon the Lochlannaigh with such vehemence, that the latter were everywhere routed, and broken, and slaughtered, and thrown into confusion, and of them there survived but a small remnant that escaped by the fleetness of their ships. The Munster warriors then landed, having at their head their king, Kellachan, whom they had just liberated by their hardihood and by the strength of their arms.

Having thus vanquished the foreigners, the warriors next determined to attack the king of Kinel Conaill;¹⁶ for, as we have

¹⁵ *Dun Delgain*; i. e., the Fort of Delgan; it is now called Dundalk.

¹⁶ *Kinel Conaill*. Some of the expeditions of Kellachan into Leth Cuinn are recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters; but they do not mention his

having ever carried his arms so far north as Kinel Conaill. In A. D. 937 (two years previous to his being led off hostage by Murkertaeh, son of Niall,) he led an army composed of Munstermen and Northmen into Meath, the church-

heretofore related, it was he that had given information of their march, and had advised the Lochlannaigh to take Kellachan to Dun Delgain. But that king did not make head against them, whereupon they ravaged his territories, and took much of cattle and valuables therefrom. They then sent an embassy to Donnadh, son of Flann, monarch of Ireland, to challenge him to battle: for he had previously given his consent to the capture of Kellachan at Ath-cliath. But Donnadh refused to fight them; and in consequence thereof, they plundered his territories of Temhair. Thence they marched to Munster, where Kellachan resumed the sovereignty of his own country. But, as they were proceeding homewards from Ath-Cliath, Murcadh, son of Flann, king of Leinster, prepared to give them battle, in vengeance for the numbers of the Lochlannaigh they had slain in rescuing their prince. But when he perceived the fortitude and valor of the men of Munster, he shrunk from the fight and let them pass through his territories without opposition.

When Kellachan had now returned to his kingdom, he took into consideration all the oppressions which the Lochlannaigh had exercised over his people; and he entered into counsel with his nobles, with the intention of making a vigorous effort for their expulsion. He then led his forces against Luimnech, and there slew five hundred of the marauders, and forced the remainder to deliver up hostages. After that, he sacked Coreach, whence he bore off hostages likewise. He next plundered Cashel, where he slew three hundred of the same people. Thence, he marched against Port-Largi, which town was stormed by his army and given up to pillage. And he gave a great defeat to Sitric, son of Inhar, of whose followers, five hundred were slain; but Sitric, himself, escaped to his ships. Kellachan on his return thence, came to Donnall O'Faclin, king of the Desi, to whom he gave his own sister, namely, Gormflaith, daughter of Buadean to wife. It was not long after, when Kellachan died.¹⁷

After him Fergraidh, son of Alghenan, son of Donngal, held

63 and lay districts of which he plundered as far as Cluain Iraird, and thence led off many captives. In 949, we find him again in Leth Cuinn, plundering Cluain-ferta of St. Brendan, and the Sil Anameadha, a sept of the Uí Mani.

¹⁷ *Kellachan died.* A. D. 952, is the recorded date of his death. The Mac Carthies and O'Callaghans, of Munster, are descended from Donnadh, son of this prince. The Mac Carthies have

their name from Carthach, son of Sacrbrethach, son of Donnadh. The O'Callaghans take their name, not from him, but from Kellachan, son of Donnall, son of Murcadh, also son of Donnadh, at whom their lines respectively branch off.

Maelfogartach, son of Flann, of the line of Eogan, was the immediate successor of Kellachan. He died in 855. Maelfogartach (*Mailogartagh*.) was succeeded by Dubdaboirenn. (*Duvdavorren*.) son of Aengus (called son of

the sovereignty of Munster for two years, until he was treacherously murdered by his own tribesmen.¹⁸

*Mathgamain, commonly called Mahon, son of Kenneidi, King of Munster, A. D. 960 to 976.*¹⁹

Mathgamain (*Mahowin*), son of Kenneidi, assumed the sovereignty of Munster, after the death of Fergraidh. He held it for twelve years, his brother, Echtigherna²⁰ (*Agh-heerna*), son of Kenneidi, being king of Thomond, during the same time. It was this Mathgamain and his brother, Brian, son of Kenneidi, then a youth, that won the battle of Sulchoid²¹ over the Lochlannaigh. In this engagement fell Tethild, the Champion, and Ruadnan and Bernard and Muiris of Luimnech,²² and Torold, together with seven thousand of their host, who were slain around them! Mathgamain, Brian and the Dal g-Cais pursued their routed enemies thence into the very centre of Luimnech, and slaughtered multi-

Domnall, in the Four Masters,) an ancestor of the O'Donoghoo's of Kerry. He died in 957.

¹⁸ *Fergraidh*—This king was slain in 958 or 959, that is in the 5th or 6th year of the reign of Domnall, son of Murkertach, monarch of Ireland. He was slain, say some authorities, by Maelmuaidh, son of Brann, chief of the Eoganacht of Rathlenn, because he had not made opposition to the monarch Domnall. Maelmuaidh then became king of Desmond in his stead.

¹⁹ Neither the above heading nor dates are given in the original. Dr. Keating has here committed a great oversight, in making the reigns of Kellachan and his successors Fergraidh and Mahon, or Mathgamain, over Munster, cotemporaneous with that of Donnecadh, son of Flann, monarch of Ireland; for the last ten years of Kellachan's reign, were cotemporaneous with the reign of Congal, the next succeeding monarch after Donnecadh. Congal died the year after Kellachan, while Maelfogartach was king of Cashel. The last year of the short reign of the latter prince, together with the equally short ones of Dubdaboirenn and Fergraidh, passed by within the first 5 years of the monarchy of Domnall, in the 5th or 6th year of which, Mathgamain must have assumed the sovereignty of Munster.

²⁰ *Echtigherna*. This name is derived from "ech" (*agh*), a steed, and "tigherna" (*teerna*), a lord; and it may mean, "chief of cavalry." Echtigherna, who was king of Thomond, under his brother Mahon, was founder of the Dalcassian sept of O h-Echtigherna (*O hagh heerna*), the descendants of which now call themselves Ahern, Hearn, Hern, or even Herring. He was also the ancestor of the sept of Mae Craith, now called Magrath, of North Munster.

²¹ *Sulchoid*. This place lies in the borders of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary; not far from the town of latter name. It is now called Sullogh, and Sallowhead. It has been already mentioned as the scene of an encounter between the Red Branch knight Cuclulainn, and the Munster hero Curaidh, son of Dari. Mathgamain gained his famous victory of Sulchoid over the Northmen, in A. D. 968. Brian was about 27 years old at the time of the battle of Sulchoid, having been born in A. D. 941, as has been heretofore stated in these notes. But he should have been very young indeed, were the reign of Mathgamain cotemporary with that of the monarch Donnecadh, in the eighth year of which, he was born.

²² *Luimnech*; i. e. the present city of Limerick. Mahon had already chas-

tudes of them in the streets and in the houses thereof, and they bore off a large quantity of gold and silver and of jewels and valuables from this city, and they likewise burned and razed its castles and fortifications. Soon after this, Mathgamain, son of Kennedil was betrayed²³ by Donnoban,²⁴ in the latter's own house, and he was delivered up by his captor to Maelmuaidh, son of Brann, and to the strangers, in breach of the safeguard of Colum, son of Kiaragan, Comarba of St. Barra,²⁵ in violation of the guarantee of which saint he was thereupon put to death by the people of the son of Brann at Lecht Mathgamna²⁶ (*Laghlh Valowua*) upon Musiri Mor, in Musgraide.

Sequel of the reign of Donncadh. A. D. 918-942.

It was also in the days of Donncadh, son of Flann Sinna, monarch of Ireland, of whose reign we are treating, that those events

tised the Danish colonists settled here. In 965 he had twice delivered their town up to pillage; on the latter occasion of which, he burned their ships. Maelruadnaidh, son of Flann, Tanist of Osraide, was slain while storming the fortress.—The same year he marched his army to Sciath-an-Eigis, (now the hill of Skea, south of the river Bandou), whence he carried away the hostages of Munster, and expelled the son of Brann, (Maelmuaidh) Lord of Desmond.—In 967 we find him at the head of the Eli, Desi, and Osraide, and the Northmen of Waterford, marching into Leinster to oppose Murcadh, son of Finn, king of that territory. In the same year, he spent three nights in the Danish city of Cork, and carried off the hostages of Desmond. In 969 he drove the Northmen out of their fortress of Limerick.

²³ *Was betrayed.* The chiefs of the Eoganachta, fearing lest the sovereignty of Munster should for ever pass away from their house, plotted with the Danes for his destruction. Donnaban, (*Donovan*) son of Cathal, king of the Ui Fidghenti, whose territory of Ui Cairbri Aedba lay nearest to Thomond, invited him to a banquet at his house, giving Colum, bishop of Cork, and several of the clergy of Desmond, as sureties of his good faith. But

there, he treacherously seized upon his royal guest, whom he delivered up to Maelmuaidh, son of Brann, and Imhar of Limerick, by whose people he was slain in the very presence of the clergymen who had guaranteed his safety. When Maelmuaidh saw him slain, he rode away swiftly, saying to one of those clergymen, "Cure that man if he come to thee." The latter cursed him, and predicted that he would come to an evil end.—*See a full account of this treacherous assassination, pp. 702-703 notes to the Four Masters, which is there translated by Dr. Donovan from the Cogadh Gall re Gaedhal, i. e. "the War of the Strangers with the Gaels."*

²⁴ *Donnaban.* The sept of O'Donnabhain, now O'Donovan, are the descendants of this treacherous chieftain of the Ui Fidghenti. The sept of O'Mathgamna, now O'Mahony, has sprung from his accomplice, or perhaps, instigator, the ruthless Maelmuaidh.

²⁵ *Comarba St. Barra,* i. e. bishop of Cork, of which St. Barra, or Fimbar was the founder. Bishop Colum maledicted all that were concerned in the murder of Mathgamain.

²⁶ *Lecht Mathgamna,* i. e., Mahons Heap. It is situated on Muisiri-namona-moiri, now the Musheru mountains near Macroom.

occurred, which we are about to record; such as the death of Kiaran, bishop of Tolèn.²⁷

This Donnadh went once to drive spoils from Connaught; but great numbers of his people were slain at Dubthir,²⁸ near Ath-luain, and amongst them fell Kinaeth, son of Concobar, king of Ui Falghi.

It was about this time that Cluain-mic-Nois was again plundered by the Lochlannaigh, who, on their return thence upon Loch Ribh, plundered the country along both its shores. They also pillaged and devastated En-inis,²⁹ where they slew twelve hundred of the Gaels. After that, twelve hundred of the pirates were themselves drowned in Loch Rudraide.³⁰ Then, also, Faellan, son of Muredach,³¹ king of Leinster, was captured, together with his children, by the Lochlannaigh of Ath-Cliath, and Dun Sobarki³² was plundered by the Lochlannaigh of Loch Cuain, and Kill-dara, by those of Port Largi. But soon after, a great slaughter³³ was made of these invaders by the men of Ulster, led by Murkertach, son of Niall, on which occasion eight hundred of the foreigners fell, together with their three chieftains, namely, Albdann, Anfer, and Rolt.

It was about this period that the commerce³⁴ of Ireland was so

²⁷ *Bishop of Tolèn.* Kiaran, bishop of Tolèn, or Tuilen, now the parish of Tullane near Kells, in Meath, died A. D. 919.

²⁸ *Dubthir*; i. e., the black district of Ath-luain, situated in the present barony of Athlone, county Galway. This expedition was made in A. D. 928.

²⁹ *En-inis*, i. e., Bird Island. The name is now unknown, but is stated to have been situated in Fotharta-thiri, (*Fotharta-hecra*), now the barony of Forth, in Carlow. They were the Foreigners of Limerick that made this destructive incursion in A. D. 920; on which occasion a scribe, named Abel, suffered martyrdom at their hands.

³⁰ *Loch Rudraide.* The mouth of the river Erne, was thus called. 1200 Northmen were drowned there in A. D. 922.—See *Four Masters*.

³¹ *Faellan, son of Muredach.* He was captured with his son Lorean, in A. D. 923.

³² *Dun Sobarki*, now Dunseverick, was plundered in 924, and many were slain therein.

³³ *A great slaughter.* This victory

was gained, say our Annalists, at the bridge of Ath-na-g Crumthter (*Awh-na-gruffer*), on the 28th of December, 924. It would appear that one half of the Northmen were slain; for we are told that the other half was besieged for a week at Ath Cruithni, a place near Newry, until Godfrey, lord of the foreigners, came to their relief from Ath-Cliath.—Killdara was plundered twice in this year; once by the pirates of Port Largi, and again by those of Ath-cliaith.

³⁴ The flourishing condition of commerce, to which our author here alludes, must have been principally owing to the marts established in the Danish or Norse seaports of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, &c., which places the Gaelic chieftains allowed the foreigners to hold, notwithstanding their frequent ravages, for the purpose of carrying on the external trade of the nation. The Gaels themselves disdained to practice commerce. Arms and letters were their only studies; for, previous to the arrival of the men of the North, all commercial and industrial pursuits were left to the *Daer Clanna*, or subject

extensive. Whereupon a Lochlannach earl, named Olfinn, mustered the full strength of his countrymen, both from Leinster and Connaught, for the purpose of attacking the fair of Ros Cre³⁵ held on the festival of Saints Peter and Paul. But, according to the treatise which Finghin Mac Carthaigh has written upon Irish affairs from the earliest to the present times, the folk of the fair marched out against him and engaged him in a battle, in which four thousand of the foreigners were slain, together with that earl himself.

Tadg, son of Cathal,³⁶ reigned for twenty years as king of Connaught during these times. During the same period died Sitric, son of Imhar,³⁷ king of both the Finn-Lochlannaigh and the Dubh-Lochlannaigh.

It was also about this time that a great slaughter was made of the Lochlannaigh of Loch Oirbsen,³⁸ by the men of Connaught, and another was made of those of Loch n-Echach, by Conaing, son of Niall;³⁹ on the latter occasion, one thousand of them were slain.

After this the invaders came upon Loch Erni,⁴⁰ whence they

tribes, composed of Fer-Bolgs, Tuatha De Donann, and other conquered or foreign races. The Danish or Norwegian invaders, had then for a time, conferred at least the benefit of an extended trade, upon the Irish nation—if that may be truly called a benefit. As we no longer hear much of the ancient Irish races, who were not Gaels by paternal descent, it is to be supposed that they began to amalgamate freely with the foreigners of the North, amongst whom and amongst the subsequent Norman, Welch, and English settlers, all trace of them was finally lost—with, as O'Flaherty tells us, the single exception of the O Benachains and O Layns of Connaught, the descendants of the Belgian kings, of which clans, the representative of the former continued lord of a territory in Sligo, down to a recent period.

³⁵ *Ros Cre*. Now called Roscrea, in the north of Tipperary. According to O'Halloran, the battle of Ros Cre was fought in A. D. 942. The Irish had received timely notice of the intended attack, and had come to the fair prepared to meet their assailants.

³⁶ *Tadg, son of Cathal*. He was otherwise called *Tadg an Tuir*, (*Teig-ne an Tooir*, i. e. *Tadg of the Tower*),

He reigned from A. D. 914 to A. D. 954, and was the father of Concobar, also king of Connaught from A. D. 954 to A. D. 972. From the latter, his descendants took the name of O Concobair. They are now represented by the O'Connors Don, and other races of the name of O'Connor, sometimes vulgarly called Connors, who still dwell in Connaught.

³⁷ *Sitric, son of Imhar*. Lord of the Black and Fair Strangers, i. e., both Danes and Norwegians, died in 926.

³⁸ *Loch Oirbsen*; now Lough Corrib. The foreigners here entrenched, were slaughtered in A. D. 927.

³⁹ *Conaing, son of Niall*. He was the son of Niall Glun-dubh, the late monarch of Ireland. He won this victory in A. D. 931.

⁴⁰ *Loch Erni*; now Lough Erne. A. D. 922. A fleet of the foreigners now came upon this lake, and plundered its islands; and, having ravaged the country on every side, they remained on the lake till the ensuing summer, when they left the country. A. D. 931. They again took up their march, and ravaged the country as far as Loch Gambua, (now Loch Gowna, in Longford). Ard Macha was plundered in the same year by Amlaibh, son of

laid waste the properties both of the laity and the church. Gofraidh, chieftain of the Lochlannaigh of Loch Cuain, plundered Ard Macha; Amlaibh, son of Gofraidh, plundered Kill Cuilinn,⁴¹ out of which he brought off ten hundred captives. The Lochlannaigh next plundered Ailech Neid,⁴² where they captured Murkertach, son of Niall; but God afterwards rescued him miraculously, from their hands. Soon after this event, Arolt,⁴³ son of Imhar, chieftain of the Lochlannaigh of Luimnech, was slain by the men of Connacht; and Amlaibh, son of Gofraidh, king of both the Finn-Lochlannaigh and the Dubh-Lochlannaigh, died: and Lorcan, son of Faelan,⁴⁴ was slain by the folk of Norwegia. According to Hanmer, it was about this time, that the prince of Britain,⁴⁵ came to ravage Ireland; but he was slain by

Godfrey, and the foreigners of Loch Cuain, (Strangford Lough). Amlaibh and his band next plundered Ulster as far as Macnamha, (Mucknoe), on the east, and Sliabh Betha, (Slieve Beagh) on the west; "but," say our authorities, "they were overtaken by Murkertach, son of Niall, (Gluin-dubh) who fought and routed them; and they left with him two hundred of their heads (cut off), besides prisoners and spoils."

⁴¹ *Kill Cuilinn*; now Kilcullen. "A. D. 936. Amlaibh, son of Godfrey, came to Dublin again, and plundered Kill Cuilinn, whence they carried off 1,000 prisoners."

There was then a challenge of battle between Donncaadh, king of Ireland, and Murkertach, son of Niall Glun-dubh, lord of Ailech; but God pacified them; and they went with both their forces to lay siege to the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, (Dublin), so that they spoiled and plundered all that was under the dominion of the foreigners, from Ath-cliaith to Truisten, (a ford on the river Greece, near Mullaghamart).

⁴² *Ailech-Neid*, i. e., Elagh, near Londonderry. The brave Murkertach was captured in 937, and taken to the ships of the pirates, but, say our Shannachies, "God redeemed him." We find him next year marching with the monarch Donncaadh, to compel Munster to give up hostages as sureties for submission. The next year after, he made the grand circuit of Ireland, when he bore off the Danish lord Sitric, of Dub-

lin, Kellaehan of Munster, Faelan king of Leinster, and the royal heir of Connaught, as his hostages. He is known in Irish history as "Muircheartach na g-cochall croicenn" (*Murretagh na goghhal Creckenn*), i. e., Murkertach, of the Leather Coats. "Murkertach, son of Niall Glun-dubh, lord of Ailech, the Hector of the west of Europe, was slain at Ath-Firdialh (now Ardee), by Blacari, lord of the foreigners, on the 26th of March. Ard Macha was plundered by the foreigners the day after."—*Four Masters*.

⁴³ *Arolt*. A. D. 938, Arolt, son of Sitric, son of Imhar, lord of the Danes of Limerick, was killed in Connaught, by the Caenraidhe, (*Kainree*) of Aidni, (a tribe then seated in the north of Galway).—Amlaibh, son of Gofraidh, or Godfrey, did not die in this reign.

⁴⁴ *Lorcan, son of Faelan*. He was slain in 941, while he was plundering Dublin, having first defeated and slain many of the foreigners who occupied it.

⁴⁵ *Prince of Britain*. This was probably the man called Aedh Albanach, (i. e., Aedh, the Scotchman) by the Irish Annalists. He was slain in A. D. 839, by the Ui Falghi, which tribe gained two great victories over invaders in this year, as is thus entered; "A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the Ui Falghi, by Amergin, son of Kinaedh, who slew 1200 of them at Magh-Kisi, (in the north of the King's county)."

And again we read, that another battle was gained over the foreigners

the Irish in the year of our Lord nine hundred and sixty-six. It was now also, that Ath-clíath was plundered⁴⁶ by Congal, son of Maelmíthigh, who slew seven hundred and forty of the Lochlannaigh therein, and bore off much treasure and valuables.

After these events, Donncaadh, son of Flann Sinna, monarch of Ireland, died.

CONGAL, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 947.⁴⁷ Congal,⁴⁸ son of Maelmíthigh, son of Flannagan, son of Kellach, son of Conaing, son of Congal, son of Aedh Slanni, son of Diarmaid, son of Fergus Kerbeol, son of Conall Cremthanní, son of Níall of the Nine Hostages, held the sovereignty of Ireland ten years. Muiri, daughter of Kínaeth, son of Alpin, king of Alba, was the mother of this Congal.

It was in his reign that the following events took place; for it was during it that Etímon,⁴⁹ king of Saxon-land, and Blacari,⁵⁰ king of Norway, died. And it was then, that Congal, son of Maelmíthigh, king of Ireland, gained the battle of Muini Breogain⁵¹ over the Lochlannaigh, of whom he slew therein seven thousand; but great numbers of the Gaels also were slain in that engagement.

of Ath-clíath, by the Uí Falgí, where there fell 1,000 of them, together with Aedh Albanach, and many other chiefs."—*Four Masters*.

⁴⁶ *Ath clíath plundered.* The last year of Donncaadh's reign was rendered famous by the destruction of the fortress of Dublin by his successor Congal. The fact is thus recorded: "A. D. 942. The destruction of Ath-clíath by the Gaels, that is, by Congal, son of Maelmíthigh, heir apparent to the monarchy of Ireland; Braen, son of Maelmorda, king of Leinster, and Kellach, son of Paclan, heir of Leinster. The destruction brought upon it was this, that is, its houses, divisions, ships, and all other structures were burned, its women, boys, and plebians, were carried into bondage. Its men were totally destroyed by killing, drowning, burning, and capturing, excepting a small number, that fled in a few ships to Delg Inis, (now Dalky Island)."—*See II.*

Notwithstanding this, we find that the same foreigners were allowed to repossess themselves of the same city almost immediately after.

⁴⁷ A. D. 943.—*Four Masters*.

⁴⁸ CONGAL III. He is called Congalach by the annalists just cited, who assign to him a reign of twelve years.

⁴⁹ *Etímon*, i. e., Edmund.

⁵⁰ *Blacari*. This chief was slain in 946, in a battle that is thus recorded: "It was in the fourth year of his (Congal's) reign, that the battle of Ath-clíath was fought by him against Blacari, grandson of Imhar, lord of the Norsemen, where Blacari himself was slain, together with 1900 men, in revenge for Murkertach, son of Níall Glun-dubh, slain by him some time before."—*Leabhar Gabhala*.

⁵¹ *Muini Breogain*, otherwise Muini Brocain, i. e., Brocan's Brake. It was not by Congal that this victory was gained; but by Ruaidrí, (*Roary*), O'Canannain, king of Kinel Conaill, then contending with him for the sovereignty. In the year 949, we are told that this chief, having invaded Meath and Breagh, and having gained a victory over the monarch Congal, whom he reduced to great straits, encamped for six months at Muini Brocain, whither the dues of the king of Ireland were



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*Brian, son of Kenneidi, King of Munster.—A. D. 978–1002.*⁵¹

It was in the fourth year of the reign of Congal,⁵² the present monarch, that Brian, son of Kenneidi, assumed the sovereignty of Munster. And in the second year after his assumption thereof, he challenged Maelmuaidh, son of Brann, king of the Ui Eachach, to meet him in battle, at Belach Lechta⁵³ (*Bailagh Laghta*), in order that he might wreak vengeance⁵⁴

sent to him from every quarter. An engagement took place soon after between him and the foreigners, on the feast of St. Andrew, the Apostle. The foreigners were defeated therein; for there fell of them six thousand mighty men, besides boys and camp-followers. Ruaidri, heir to the monarchy of Ireland, fell, however himself, in the heat of that conflict, as did also Imhar, Tanist of the foreigners. But Godfrey, son of Sitric, escaped, with some others. The exact site of Muini Breogain, is unknown.—*Four Masters.*

⁵¹ A. D. 978, &c.—These dates are here inserted in order that the reader may not be set astray by Dr. Keating's having antedated the reign of this prince, over Munster, by more than 30 years. Neither his reign, nor that of his brother Mathgamain were contemporaneous with any part of that of the monarch Congal. See the *Annals of the Four Masters* and *O'Donovan's notes thereon*; *O'Flaherty's Ogygia*; *Moore's History of Ireland*; *O'Halloran, &c.*

⁵² *The fourth year of Congal.* It was in the the 22d of Domnall IV., the successor of Congal, and two years after the murder of Mathgamain, that Brian became King of Munster, by the death of Maelmuaidh, son of Brann, who had held the sovereignty of Munster for two years subsequent to the murder of Brian's brother, Mathgamain. During those two years Brian was apparently engaged in establishing his sway over Thomoud or North Munster.

⁵³ *Belach Lechta.* Antiquarians are not agreed as to the situation of this place. Some assert that it lies at the confluence of the rivers Lee and Sullane, near Macroom, in the county of Cork. Others say that it lay at Cnocramhra (*Knock-rowra*), south of Mal-

low, on the road between that town and Cork. Others again will have it that the battle between Brian and Maelmuaidh, king of Munster, was fought at Bearnna Derg, now called Red Chair, a place situated in the parish of Kilfin, on the borders of the counties of Cork and Limerick. It is a chasm lying between two hills, and the high road from Cork to Limerick passes through it. The battle of Belach Lechta was fought in the year 978; and thereby Brian conquered the sovereignty of the two Munsters. Maelmuaidh fell in this battle by the hand of Murcadh, son of Brian, then but a youth, who signaled his first campaign by slaying the murderer of his uncle. Having thus avenged his brother and placed himself on the throne of Munster, Brian granted peace to the Eoganachta, and even gave his daughter Sadb in marriage to Kian, the son of his rival Maelmuaidh, who succeeded his father as chief of the Ui Eachach and king of Desmond, which dignity he held until after the battle of Clontarf.

⁵⁴ *Wreak Vengeance, &c.* His first effort was directed against the Danes of Limerick, and he slew Imhar their king, with two of his sons. Donnoban, king of the Ui Fidghenti, the betrayer of Mathgamain, then sent for another of Imhar's sons, whom he caused to be elected king of the Danes of Munster. As soon as Brian had heard this, he ravaged the lands of the Ui Fidghenti, seized an immense prey of their cattle, and slew Donnoban, their king. He also plundered Limerick, where he slew Harold, king of the Danes, of which people he made a slaughter and then returned home, loaded with immense spoils.

for his brother Mathgamain, son of Kenneidi, who had been treacherously murdered by the people of Maclmuaidh. Maclmuaidh thereupon mustered a great army, composed as well of strangers as of Irish; for he had with him a body of one thousand five hundred of the Lochlannaigh, together with a large force of the Gaels likewise. He was nevertheless routed at Belach Lechta, by Brian and the Dal-g-Cais, by whom a countless multitude of his followers were slaughtered: and those of them that were not killed became the captives of Brian. After this, Domnall O'Faclain,⁵⁵ king of the Desi, aided by the Lochlannaigh, proclaimed war against Brian, and the greater part of Munster was ravaged by him and his foreign allies. However, they were soon overtaken by Brian, who gave them battle at Fan Conrach,⁵⁶ where the king of the Desi and his foreigners were completely vanquished. Brian then pursued their routed host to Port Largi, where he slew Domnall O'Faclain himself. He next made captives of the greater part of the inhabitants of that city, which he plundered and then burned.

In eight years after⁵⁷ Brian had assumed the kingdom of Munster, the entire of Leth Mogha was compelled to submit to him as its sovereign. However, after the death of Domnall Claen,⁵⁸ king of Leinster, both the Lochlannaigh and the Gaels of that principality rebelled against his authority. Upon this, Brian called together the full strength of the Men of Munster

⁵⁵ *Domnall O'Faclain.* This chief should rather be styled *MacFaclain*, i. e. son of Faclan. The surname O'Faclan could scarcely have been yet adopted by the lords of Desi; for Faclain, son of Cormac, (apparently the father of this Domnall), from whom the O'Faclains of the Desi Munhan have taken their name, had not been then many years dead. He had died king of the Desi in A. D. 964. The members of the sept that has sprung from Faclan now call themselves either O'Fclan, Phelan or Whelan.

⁵⁶ *Fan Conrach*, i. e. the Slope of Curaidh. In some of the editor's MSS. it is called *Ferann Conrach*; i. e. the land or farm of Curaidh. The Annals of Innisfallen call it *Fan Mie Conrach*, i. e. the Slope of the son of Curaidh; its situation is unknown to the editor. The annals, just named, enter the battle of this place A. D. 979, which can scarcely be its time; for A. D. 995, is the year under which the more accurate

Annals of the Four Masters record the death of Domnall, son of Faclan, king of the Desi. The kings of Leinster and Osraide, or Ossory, and the Danes of Limerick, Cork, and Leinster, had entered into a formidable confederacy against Brian, the designs of which he defeated by this victory. After the battle, Brian invaded Leinster, reduced it to obedience, received hostages from both its kings, who had come to his camp in person to tender him their allegiance.

⁵⁷ *Eight years after.* This was probably about the time of the battle of Fan Conrach, when, having received the hostages and the homage of the kings of Leinster, he had reduced all Leth Mogha beneath his sway.

⁵⁸ *Domnall Claen.* Domnall Claen, son of Lorean, was king of Leinster from A. D. 970 to 983. The battle of Glenn Mama was not fought before A. D. 998, the 20th year of Maelsechlainn as monarch of Ireland.

and to attack the men of Leinster and their foreign allies: and he fought the battle of Glenn Mama⁵⁹ against their united forces, and therein he vanquished them both, and slew four thousand of their warriors.

*Sequel of the reign of Congal, A. D. 944 to A. D. 956.*⁶⁰

Congal, son of Maclmíthigh, Monarch of Ireland, afterwards marched into Munster, which he pillaged and despoiled, and where he slew two of the sons of Kenneidi,⁶¹ son of Lorcan; namely, Echtigherna and Donneuan.

After this, Kenannus, Domnach Padraig,⁶² Ard Breacain, Kill Sgiri, and many other churches besides, were plundered by Gofraidh, son of Sitric, and the foreigners of Dublin, on which occasion they made captives of three thousand persons, whom they bore off into captivity, together with much of gold and silver, and valuable wares.

⁵⁹ *Glenn Mama*; a valley near Dunlavan, county Wicklow. The glory of this battle should more probably be given to Maelsechlainn II., for it was he that commanded the Irish army upon that occasion, whilst Brian acted but as his ally. Some Munster Antiquaries would usurp all its glory for their favorite hero, for which purpose, apparently, they antedated it by several years. Dr. Keating was possibly misled by these. Some northerners would, on the other hand, exclude Brian from his proper share therein. The following entry of the engagement is given by the Four Masters:

“A. D. 998 (or 999,) the 21st year of Maelsechlainn. An army was led by King Maelsechlainn and by Brian, son of Kenneidigh, to Glenn Mama. The foreigners of Ath-clíath came thither to attack them, but the latter were routed and slaughtered together with Aralt, son of Amracimh, and Cuilen, son of Etigen, and other of their chiefs; and many of the foreigners were cut off in this conflict. After it Maelsechlainn and Brian entered Ath-clíath, where they remained for a full week and carried off its gold, silver, and prisoners. They burned the fortress and expelled the lord of the foreigners—namely, Sitric, son of Amaleimh.”

⁶⁰ *A. D. 944 to A. D. 956.* For the correctness of these dates, the reader is

referred to O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia* and O’Donovan’s notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

⁶¹ *The Two sons of Kenneidi.* The incursion in which they were slain was made in A. D. 948, whilst Kellachan of Cashel was King of Munster, and whilst their father, Kenneidi, was still King of Thomond. This entry should in itself have shown to Dr. Keating the absurdity of placing the accession of Brian to the throne of Munster in the fourth year of this reign, i. e. seven years before the death of Kellachan, and when five other princes, namely, Maelfogartach, Dubdaboirenn, Fergaraidh, Mathgamain and Maelmuaidh were yet to occupy that position before him. Brian was then but a child, and in addition to the remaining years of his father’s reign, those of the reigns of his elder brothers Lactna and Mathgamain had still to pass by before he became king even of Thomond.

⁶² *Domnach Padraig, &c.* “A. D. 949. Kenannus, Domnach Padraig, Ard Breacain, Tulan, Disert Kiarain, and Kill-Sgiri, and other churches (all in East Meath), were plundered by Godfrey, son of Sitric, and the foreigners of Ath-clíath. It was out of a camp, pitched at Kenannus, they were all plundered. They carried off upwards of 3000 persons into captivity, besides gold, silver, raiment, wealth and goods of all kinds.”—*Four Masters*.

About this time died Ethni,⁶³ daughter of Fergal, Queen of Ireland, and wife of Congal, son of Maelmithigh. Then, also, died Maelcoluim, son of Domnall,⁶⁴ King of Alba; Gaeithini, Bishop of Dun-da-leth-glas, and Tadj, son of Cathal,⁶⁵ king of Connaught.

Soon after these events, Congal, son of Maeilmithigh, King of Ireland, was slain at Ard Macha,⁶⁶ by the Leinstermen, and the Lochlannaigh of Ath-cliaith.

DOMNALL, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 957. Domnall,⁶⁷ son of Murkertach of the Leather Coats, son of Niall Glun-dubh, son of Aedh Finn-liath, son of Niall Calli, son of Aedh Oirnishe, son of Niall Frasach, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for ten (*correctly for twenty-four*⁶⁸) years.

⁶³ *Eithni died.* She died in A. D. 951.

⁶⁴ *Maelcoluim, son of Domnall.* He is called Malcolm I. by the Scotch writers. He was assassinated by his own people in A. D. 953. He was the 41st king of the race of the Irish Dal Riada that reigned over Alba, or, as it is now called, Scotland.—*See the Orygia.*

⁶⁵ *Tadj, son of Cathal.* This prince, who is also called Tadj of the Three Towers, died in 456. Gaeithini, Bishop of Down, died in the same year.

⁶⁶ *Slain at Ard Macha.* This is a mistake: Congal was slain at a place called Tigh Gighrain, situated on the river Liffey, and near Dublin. The true year of his death is 956, but it is thus recorded by the Four Masters, under A. D. 954, for these annalists are about two years behind the vulgar era at this period:

“A hosting by Congalach, King of Ireland, into Leinster, and after he had despoiled Leinster, and held the Fair of Lifi, (i. e., Aenach Colmain in Magh Lifi) for three days, information thereof was sent to the Goill of Ath-cliaith, and Amlacimb, son of Godfrey, lord of the Goill, laid a battle ambush for the king, and he was taken therein, with his chieftains, at Tigh Gighrain. The

following are those who were then slain: Congalach himself, Madudan, son of Aedh, son of Maelmithidh, and Cormac, son of Cathalan, lord of Fera Arda, now Ferrard, in Louth, and a great many others.”

⁶⁷ *DOMNALL IV.* The date in the text chances to be correct with regard to the accession of this king. He was commonly called Domnall O'Neill, being the O, i. e., the *grandson*, of Niall Glun-dubh. With him originated the family name of the O'Neills of Tir Eogain, or Tyrone.

⁶⁸ *Twenty-four years.* The learned O'Flaherty has ascertained, on comparing the various Irish annals, that such was the real length of the reign of Domnall O'Neill. Either Keating or his transcribers have evidently curtailed it by fourteen years in endeavoring to make the career of Brian, as King of Munster, cotemporaneous with the reigns of Congal, Domnall and Mael-schlainn. As there is no authority for such curtailment found in the Irish annals, which are perfectly clear and distinct upon the subject, the editor, in giving the dates of the ensuing reigns, shall be guided by the number of years which he has above inserted, in italics, and shall disregard altogether the number (ten) given in the text.

During the reign of this monarch, Kill-dara was plundered⁶⁹ by Amlaibh, son of Sitric, and the Lochlannaigh of Ath-cliaith.

It was now that the monarch of Ireland, Domnall, son of Murkertach, marched into Connaught, which he pillaged and despoiled, and whence he brought a large prey, together with many captives, taken from Fergal O'Ruairc,⁷⁰ who was king of Connaught at that time.

It was, also, about this time that the great temple of Tuaim Greni was built by Cormac O'Killini, bishop of that see. About the same time Fergal O'Ruairc, King of Connaught, was slain by Domnall, son of Congal, son of Maelmithigh. It was then, likewise, that Luimnech was plundered⁷¹ and burned, in spite of the Lochlannaigh, by Brian, son of Kenneidi, King of Munster. After this,⁷² Domnall O'Neill marched into Leinster with a numerous army, and laid that country waste from the river Berba eastwards to the sea, and he continued encamped therein for two months, in spite of both the Lochlannaigh and the Leinstermen.

It was now, also, that Maelfinnen,⁷³ son of Uetan, Bishop of Kenannus and comarba of St. Ulltan, died. Soon after, Amlaibh Cuaran and the Lochlannaigh of Leinster plundered Kenannus,⁷⁴ whence they carried off a great prey and many valuable articles, and the Ui Neill suffered a terrible and great defeat,⁷⁵ in

⁶⁹ *Kill-dara plundered.* "A. D. 962. Kill-dara was plundered by the foreigners, and a great number of seniors and ecclesiastics were taken prisoners there, but Niall Ua h'Eruilbh ransomed them with his own money."—*Four Masters*.

These annals tell us that Amlaibh, son of Sitric, was defeated within the same year, at Inis Tioc, now Ennistigue, on the Nore, by the men of Osraide. In 979, Kill-dara was again plundered by the foreigners. On the latter occasion they captured Domnall Claen, King of Leinster.

⁷⁰ *Fergal O Ruairc.* A. D. 963 is the date of the monarch's invasion of the territories of this prince. Fergal gained a victory on the Shannon over Mathgamain, King of Munster, in 962. He was slain by Domnall, lord of Breagh, and son of the last monarch, in 964. Cormac O'Killine, successor of St. Kieran, died in the last-mentioned year.

⁷¹ *Luimnech plundered.* This occurred in A. D. 978, previous to Brian's

victories over Donnoban and Maelmaidh, and in the 22nd year of the reign of Domnall O'Neill.

⁷² *After this.* It was several years before this, namely, in A. D. 966, that Domnall made this invasion of Leinster, but Keating frequently uses the phrase "after this" in a very indefinite sense.

⁷³ *Maelfinnen.* He died in A. D. 967.

⁷⁴ *Kenannus plundered.* It was plundered by Amlaibh Cuaran, in A. D. 968, when he carried off a great prey of cattle, but lost numbers of his own people. On this occasion, the foreigners and the Leinstermen defeated the Ui Neill, that is, the Meathmen, at Ard Maelcon, now Ardmulchan, on the Boyne. Kenannus, or Kells, had been also plundered during the previous year, by Sitric, son of Amlaibh, and Murcadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster, but Domnall O'Neill overtook and defeated them.

⁷⁵ *The Ui Neill defeated.* This was in A. D. 969, when the southern Ui Neill, or Clann Colmain, having

which numbers fell on both sides. About the same time, the battle of Kill-na-Mona⁷⁶ was gained by Domnall, son of Congal, and the Lochlannaigh of Ath-Cliath, over Domnall, son of Murkertach, King of Ireland, wherein fell Ardgal, son of Madagan, who had been king of Ulidia for seventeen years, and Donnagan, son of Maelmuri, King of Oirghiall, and a great many other nobles, together with them.

Very soon after, Becan, Bishop of Oilfinn, and Kinaeth O'h-Artagain,⁷⁷ Primate of Ard Macha, died. It was then, also, that Ugari, son of Tuathal, King of Leinster, was captured by the Lochlannaigh of Ath-Cliath. After this, Inis Cathaigh⁷⁸ was pillaged, in spite of the Lochlannaigh, by Brian, son of Kenneidi, King of Munster, who slew five hundred of them therein, and who there captured three of their chieftains, namely, Imhar, Amlaibh and Dubghenn. It was of this that the bard composed the following verse :

“That slaughter made at Inis Cathaigh
Was not unworthy of thy fame,
Where chieftains of the stranger perished,
Where Imhar and where Dubghenn fell.”

It was about this time that the battle of Bithlann⁷⁹ was gained over the Leinstermen by the Lochlannaigh of Ath-Cliath, and Ugari, son of Tuathal, King of Leinster, was slain therein.

Shortly after this, Domnall, son of Murkertach, King of Ireland, died⁸⁰ at Ard Macha.

leagued with the foreigners, drove King Domnall northwards across Sliabh Fuaid ; but he immediately mustered the Kinel Eogan and Kinel Conaill against them, so that he plundered all their fortresses, and spoiled the Ui Falgbi and Fothartha likewise, and, say our annalists, “he then took revenge for their opposition to him, for he erected a camp in every cantred of Meath, from the Sianinn to Belach-duin,” now Castle Kieran, near Kells.

⁷⁶ *Kill-na-mona*, otherwise Kill-mona, and now Killmoon, in the barony of Skreen, county Meath. This battle was fought in the same year with that of Belach Lechta, i. e., A. D. 978.

⁷⁷ *Kinaeth O'h-Artagain*. Both these entries are wrong. Kinaeth O'h-Artagain was Chief Poet of Ireland, and not Primate of Armagh. His death is entered under A. D. 973. Becan was Bishop of Cluain Iraird, in

Meath, and not of Oilfinn, now Elphin, in Roscommon. The latter died in A. D. 971. An account of the works of Kinaeth O'h-Artagain, several of which are still extant, will be found in *O'Reilly's Catalogue of Irish Writers*.

⁷⁸ *Inis Cathaigh*. This exploit was performed in A. D. 977, while Brian was yet but King of Thomond, and previous to his taking of Laimnech, or Limerick.

⁷⁹ *Bithlann*, now Belan, in the south of Kildare, about four miles from the town of Athy. The battle of Bithlann was fought in A. D. 978.

⁸⁰ *Domnall died*. “A. D. 978 (more correctly A. D. 979). After Domnall, son of Murkertach of the Leather Cloaks, son of Niall Glun-dubb, had been twenty-four years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he died at Ard Macha, after the victory of penancee.” —*Four Masters*.

MAELSECHLAINN MOR, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 980.⁶¹ Maelsechlainn,⁶² son of Domnall, son of Donneadh, son of Flann Sinna, son of Maelsechlainn, son of Maclruadnaidh, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-three years. Donnflaith,⁶³ daughter of Murkertach, son of Niall, was the mother of this monarch.

It was in this reign that Gluniarainn,⁶⁴ King of Lochlainn, arrived in Ireland. It was, moreover, during this reign that the following deeds were done; for it was Maelsechlainn in person that won the battle of Temhair,⁶⁵ over the sons of Amlaebh, and the Lochlannaigh of Ath-cliaith. In this engagement there fell five thousand of the foreigners, together with Raghnaill, son of Amlaebh, the heir-apparent to the sovereignty of the Lochlannaigh.

After this success, Maelsechlainn, King of Ireland, accompanied by Eocaidh, son of Ardgall, who was King of Ulidia for

⁶¹ A. D. 980 is the year of his accession.—*See Ogygia.*

⁶² MAELSECHLAINN II. He is also styled Maelsechlainn Mor, i. e., the Great, a title he well merited, notwithstanding the calumnious aspersions of the shaunachies of Munster.

⁶³ *Donnflaith.* This lady, after the death of Maelsechlainn's father, Domnall O'Maelsechlainn, had been married to Amlaebh, lord of the foreigners, by whom she had Gluniarrann, who was, thus, the brother of the Irish king.

⁶⁴ *Gluniarann*, i. e. Iron Knee. "He was probably so called from having his knees cased in iron mail, against the stroke of the battle axe."—*O'D.* In A. D. 982, we find him aiding his maternal brother, in a victory which the latter gained over Imhar of Port Lergi and Domnall Claen of Leinster, where many perished, both by drowning and killing, among whom was Gilla-Padraig, son of Imhar, and many others of distinction.—*Four Masters.*

⁶⁵ *The battle of Temhair.* This brilliant victory, second only to that of Clontarf, was gained by Maelsechlainn in A. D. 979, immediately previous to his accession to the throne. "Invaded," says Moore, "in the heart of his do-

minions, by the Northmen of Dublin and the isles, he not merely repelled the invasion with spirit, but, turning assailant in his turn, attacked the main body of the enemy's force, consisting of Danes collected from all parts of Ireland, and continuing the conflict with but little interruption for three days and nights, forced them to submit to whatever terms he chose at the sword's point to dictate." The Four Masters record it thus: "The battle of Temhair was gained by Maelsechlainn, son of Domnall, over the foreigners of Ath-cliaith and of the islands, and over the sons of Amlaebh in particular, where many were slain, together with Raghnaill, son of Amlaebh, heir to the sovereignty of the foreigners, Conamhail, son of Gilla-Arri, and the orator of Ath-cliaith, and a dreadful slaughter of the foreigners around them. There also fell in the heat of the battle Braen, son of Murcadh, royal heir of Leinster, Congalach, son of Flann, lord of the Galenga, and his son, Maellan; Fiachna and Cudalich, sons of Dublaech, lords of Fera Tulach, now Fertullagh in West Meath; and Laetna, lord of Mughdorna Maighen, now Cremorne, in Monaghan.

twenty-five years, marched against Ath-cliath,⁸⁶ in order to pillage and despoil that stronghold of the invaders. At this place he remained encamped for three days and three nights; thereupon all of the Irish nobles, that were held in captivity by the Lochlannaigh, were delivered from their bonds, and amongst them Donnall Claen, King of Leinster, and all the hostages of the Ui Neill likewise. He compelled them, moreover, to acknowledge his authority, and to give up all their claims for tributes or fines upon any of his territories, from the Sinainn to the sea.

It was about this time that Amlaeibh, son of Sitric,⁸⁷ the head chieftain of the Lochlannaigh, was banished out of Ireland, and forced to dwell an exile at Aei Coluim Killi, in Alba, whither he had been driven by the Gaels.

Maelsechlainn next marched to plunder and despoil the territories of the Dal g-Cais, and he there cut down the great tree of Magh Adair;⁸⁸ but, O reader! this deed did not pass unavenged, as shall hereafter be made evident. Glenn-da-loch was also then

⁸⁶ *Marched against Ath-cliath.* "A. D. 980. A great army was led by Maelsechlainn, King of Ireland, and Eocaidh, son of Ardgar, King of Ulidia, against the foreigners of Ath-cliath. They laid siege to them for three days and three nights, and carried thence all the hostages of Ireland, among whom was Donnall Claen, King of Leinster. Two thousand was the number of these hostages, besides jewels, goods and the freedom of the Ui Neill from the Sinainn to the sea from tribute or taxation. It was then that Maelsechlainn himself issued his famous proclamation, in which he said, 'Let every one of the Gaoidhil who is now in servitude and bondage in the territories of the strangers return to his own land in gladness and peace.' This was the Babylonian captivity of the Irish, until they were released by Maelsechlainn. It was, indeed, next to the captivity of hell."—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁷ *Amlaeibh, son of Sitric.* He was expelled from Dublin, or Ath-cliath, after the battle of Temhair, and died next year in Iona, "on his pilgrimage after penance and a good life."—*ib.* "This is the first instance in the Irish annals of a Danish chieftain being a Christian. Ware thinks the Danes of Dublin embraced the Christian religion in the year 930."—*O'Donovan*.

⁸⁸ *The great tree of Magh Adair.* It was called in Irish "Bile Maighe Adhair" (*Billeh Moye Ire*). It was under this tree that the kings of Thomond were inaugurated. Magh Adhar is now called Moyre, and is situated in the townland of Toonagh, parish of Cloney, and barony of Upper Tulla, in the county of Clare. In A. D. 980, "Dal g-Cais was plundered by Maelsechlainn, and the Tree of Aenach Maighe Adair was cut after being dug from the earth with its roots."—*Four Masters*. Maelsechlainn gave another defeat to the Dal g-Cais at Fordroma, where he slew seven hundred of their warriors. In A. D. 994, he pillaged Ormond, burned Aenach Tete, now Nenagh, and routed before him Brian and the men of Munster. It would appear that the rival kings had made peace soon after this, for in A. D. 997 we find they had joined their forces, "to the joy of the men of Ireland;" when Maelsechlainn, with the men of Meath, and also Brian, with those of Munster, marched to Ath-cliath, and compelled the foreigners to deliver up hostages and jewels. The Lochlannaigh soon again rebelled, when, having attacked the allied kings at Glenn Mama, they were defeated in the great battle of that place, which has been prematurely inserted under the reign of Congal III.

plundered⁸⁹ by the three sons of Kerball, son of Lorcan; but immediately after the whole three were killed on the same night, by the miracles of St. Caeimghlin, who was held in reverence at that place.

It was about this time that Mor,⁹⁰ daughter of Donneadh, son of Kellach, Queen of Ireland, died. Then, also, died Erard, son of Coisi,⁹¹ Primate of Ireland. Domnach Padraig was plundered⁹² soon after by the Lochlannaigh of Dublin, and by Murkertach O'Congalaigh; but God wreaked vengeance upon them for the deed, for death came upon them before the end of that very month.

It was now that Maelsechlainn forcibly carried off a collar or ring of gold⁹³ from a chieftain of the Northmen, who was called Tomar;⁹⁴ from another of their chieftains, named Carlus,⁹⁵ he carried off a sword.

Deposition of Maelsechlainn, A. D. 1002.

At length the nobles of Leth Mogha, and the majority of those of Connaught, considered that it was Brian, son of Kenneidi, that bore the labor and trouble of expelling the Lochlannaigh from the country, whilst Maelsechlainn, who was then King of Ireland, was delivering himself up to luxury,⁹⁶ effeminacy and ease—a course of action that was by no means conducive towards

⁸⁹ *Glenn-da-loch plundered.* This took place in A. D. 982.

⁹⁰ *Mor.* She died in A. D. 985.

⁹¹ *Erard Mac Coisi.* He was not Primate of Ará Macha, but Chief Poet of Ireland. He died in A. D. 990. Keating has already made a similar mistake with regard to Kinaeth O'h-Artagain, led astray apparently by the accidental resemblance there is in sound between the Gaelic word *primh-fhaidh* (a chief poet), and *primhaidh* (a primate), which is corrupted Latin—both being sounded somewhat like *preevauh*. Another chief poet of this name, some of whose compositions still survive, died in 1023.

⁹² *Domnach Padraig plundered.* This happened in A. D. 994. The same church had been plundered by the Lochlannaigh two years previously. It is now called Donaghpatrick, and lies in Meath. It was probably in revenge for this outrage that Maelsechlainn again chastised the Danes of Ath-cliath within that very year, when,

having taken their stronghold, he carried off the collar or ring of Tomar, and the sword of Carlus.

⁹³ *Collar of gold.* Moore has founded his ballad, "Let Erin remember the days of old," upon this entry.

⁹⁴ *Tomar.* "There was no Tomar in Malachy (Maelsechlainn II.'s) time, and the chain or ring referred to was certainly preserved at Dublin as an heirloom by the Danish kings of Dublin, the descendants of Tomar, or Tomrair, the Earl, tanist of the King of Lochlain, who was killed at Sciath Nechtain, near Castledermot, in the year 947."—*O'Donovan*.

⁹⁵ *Carlus.* It would appear that the sword of Carlus was another heirloom. Carlus, whose sword was now carried away by Maelsechlainn, was son of Amlaff I. (Amlacibh), King of Dublin, who was killed at Kill Ua n-Daighré, in A. D. 866.

⁹⁶ *Luxury, &c.* "This is all provincial fabrication, for Maelsechlainn had the Danes of Dublin, Meath, and

ridding the nation of its enemies. For this reason, Brian took counsel with the nobles who sided with him, and the measure on which they determined was to send an embassy to the monarch, with instructions to inform him that it was not just that any man should hold the sovereignty of Ireland, except one who would toil strenuously in banishing the foreign enemies from the land; and to tell him likewise, that it had now become the right of Brian to assume the sovereign power, inasmuch as the entire labor of their expulsion had fallen upon him, and, also, inasmuch as it was he that had delivered the country from the oppressions of the pirates. They demanded of him, moreover, to grant a personal conference to Brian, upon the plain Magh-da-caembhog. But to none of these proposals would Maelsechlainn consent.

Brian then called together a general gathering and muster of all the nobles of Leth Mogha, both Gaels and Northmen; for all the Northmen, that dwelt in Leth Mogha, were at that time held in subjection by Brian. With these he marched to Temhair⁹⁷ of the Kings, and thence he sent another embassy to Maelsechlainn, demanding of that monarch, either to send him hostages as a token of submission to himself as his sovereign, or else to meet him in arms on the battle field. He left the choice of either of these conditions to Maelsechlainn. The latter replied to the ambassadors, by saying that if Brian would grant him a respite of one month, in order that he might have time to summon around him the army of Leth Cuinn, that he would, at the end of the period, either give battle or send hostages to the King of Leth Mogha. He also desired the ambassadors to request of his rival not to devastate or pillage Meath for that month, because he would submit, if he could not fight, as soon as he had received

Leinster completely mastered, until Brian, whose daughter was married to Sitric, Danish king of Dublin, joined the Danes against him. Never was there a character so historically maligned, as that of Maelsechlainn II., by the Munster fabricators of history; but Mr. Moore, by the aid of authentic Irish annals, has laudably endeavored to clear his character from the stains with which their prejudices and calumnies have attempted to imbue it."—*O'Donovan's Notes to the Four Masters.*

⁹⁷ *Marched to Temhair.* The first hostile attempt made by Brian against the monarch, took place the year after the great victory, which their united arms had achieved at Glenn Mama.

Brian's designs were then baffled, as is seen by the following entry: "A great hosting by Brian, son of Kenneidigh, with the chiefs and forces of South Connaught, Osraide, and Leinster, and with the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, to proceed to Temhair. But the foreigners set out before them with a plundering party of cavalry into Magh Breagh, where Maelsechlainn opposed them; and a spirited battle was fought between them, in which the foreigners were defeated, and only a few of them escaped. Brian then proceeded to Ferta Neinhidh in Magh Breagh, but returned thence without battle, without burning. This was the first turning of Brian and the Connaughtmen against Maelsechlainn."—*Four Masters.*

answer from Leth Cuinn. "If that be so," said Brian, "I grant him the respite which he requires."

Hereupon the measure determined upon by Maelsechlainn was to depute Gilla-Comgail,⁹⁸ in place of his own Ollamh,⁹⁹ to Aedh O'Neill, King of Ailech, to Eocaidh, son of Ardgall, King of Ulidia, and to Cathal O'Concobair, King of Connaught, requesting of these princes to march without delay, and join him giving battle to Brian and the Dal g-Cais; and he likewise sent them word by this ambassador, that he should himself deliver up hostages, and make his submission to Brian, for he was not strong enough to meet him in battle, unless they would all come with one accord to defend the free royalty of Temhair, which their race had now held for so long a period; "And, in truth," said he, "it will be no greater shame for myself personally to refuse to fight in the defense of Temhair, than it will be for the whole race of Niall and for all the host of Leth Cuinn."

Gilla-Comgail then proceeded on his embassy, bearing this message from the monarch to the nobles of the race of Conn. To these he made known the object of his mission; but the following was the reply which he received from Aedh O'Neill: "Whenever," said he, "Temhair happened to be possessed by the Kinel Eogain, they were themselves wont to defend its rights, and sought no other aid; therefore, let him, who holds it now, stand up himself and fight for its freedom as best he may." He said, moreover, that he would not draw down the hostility of the Dal g-Cais upon himself by fighting in defense of the sovereignty of another man.

Gilla-Comgail then returned to Maelsechlainn, to whom he delivered the answer, which Aedh O'Neill had made to his request. Having heard it, the monarch went himself to visit that prince, whom he personally besought to come to his aid in giving battle to Brian and the Dal g-Cais, and he addressed him

⁹⁸ *Gilla-Comgail*. This was Gilla-Comgail Ua Sleibhin, who died chief Poet of Ireland in A. D. 1031. He was the ancestor of the sept of O'Sleibhini or O'Sleibhin, now represented by the O'Slevins and Slevins of Ulster. Sleibni, the founder of this family, was descended from Feidlimidh, fourth son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The clan was originally seated west of Lough Foyle, but was in after times driven thence by the race of Conall Gulban. There were several distinguished poets of this name; such as Muredach O'Sleibhin, chief Poet of the North of Ireland,

who was slain in A. D. 1022; Donnall in A. D. 1168, &c.

⁹⁹ *In place of his own Ollamh*. It would appear from this, that Gilla-Comgail was not, then, actually the monarch's own Ollamh. The reason for selecting him for the mission to Aedh O'Neill was probably because it was thought that he would have the more influence with the Kinel Eogain, from the fact of his being of that race himself. The speech delivered by Gilla-Comgail on this occasion is still extant in the Irish work called the *Cogadh yall re Gaedhalaibh*.

in these words: "If thou wilt not fight in defence of Temhair for my sake, defend it for thine own, and I shall give thee hostages, as sureties for my leaving thee in the quiet possession thereof; for I prefer that thou shouldst hold it, rather than Brian." Upon this, Aedh called together a general convention of the tribe of the Kinel Eogain, and acquainted them both with the personal visit of Maelsechlainn, and with the offers made to himself, in case he should march to aid him in his war with Brian and the Dal-g-Cais. To him the Kinel Eogain made answer, and unanimously declared that the promise of Maelsechlainn was nothing more than a treacherous lure; "For," said they, "he knows well that he is himself an older and a more powerful man than thou art, and that, consequently, thou couldst not strive to wrest the sovereignty of Ireland out of his hands during his lifetime; of this he is satisfied, however desirous he may be at present to get us and thee to help him in his contest with the Dal-g-Cais." Notwithstanding this general declaration, Aedh requested of his tribesmen to form a secret council amongst themselves, and there, both to enter into a serious consideration of the proposals of the monarch, and to prepare a suitable reply thereto; "In order that," said he, "this visit of Maelsechlainn to us may not result in our having let the sovereign power slip through our hands." The Kinel Eogain then took private counsel together thereupon. And it was their opinion, that it was likely that very many of them would never return from the war, in case they should now march against the Dal-g-Cais. For which reason, they declared, that it was meet, that they should first acquire an inheritance for their children after them. "Because," said they, "it is idle to expect, that any possessions or any wealth will ever come to them from our return to our homes, if we once march against that tribe, namely, the Dal-g-Cais, whose warriors are the hardiest and the bravest upon all battle-fields. Their race has never yet fled before the Lochlannaigh; and it is as certain that it will not now flee before us." Upon these grounds, they came to the determination of demanding from Maelsechlainn the one half of Meath,¹⁰⁰ together with the district around Temhair for a posses-

¹⁰⁰ *One half of Meath.* At the first glance, this would seem a much less grant, than that of the crown of Ireland. It was, however, a much greater; for by doing so, Maelsechlainn would have destroyed the power and strength of his tribe, who were then the possessors of Meath, and would rob his own kinsmen of their inheritance. His yielding up of the crown was more a personal sacrifice; and did not much

lessen either the wealth or the political importance of the Clann Colmain. He knew also that Brian would never come to settle his Daleassians in Meath. He, therefore, made choice of the safest as well as the most patriotic course that could, under such difficulties, be adopted. Throughout the whole of these proceedings, the conduct of Maelsechlainn is generous and high-minded; that of Aedh O'Neill and the

sion for themselves and their posterity after them, as the reward of their going with him upon the present expedition. This resolve was forthwith made known to the monarch, who was seized with great anger thereat, and forthwith returned home, exceedingly indignant and dissatisfied at the result of his visit.

Upon his return home, he called around him an assembly of the Clann Colmain and made known to them the reply of Aedh O'Neill and the Kinel Eogain; and when his tribesmen had heard it, they came to the resolution of having Maelsechlainn set out at once, at his own risk, and visit Brian unconditionally at his camp at Temhair, where the latter had now been staying for one month, during which time his army had been supported by the men of Meath. Maelsechlainn therefore went to Temhair, escorted by twelve score of horsemen. Thus accompanied, he arrived upon the green of Temhair, and proceeded at once to the residence of Brian without either surety or safeguard. He there acquainted his rival with all his proceedings from beginning to end. He said that he would have given him battle, had he been in a position to fight; but, as he was not in such a position, that he had now come to give hostages and to submit. When Brian had heard him, he said, "As thou hast come thus to my dwelling, without surety or safeguard from me, I now grant thee a further respite of one year, during which time I shall demand neither homage nor hostages at thy hands. And in the meantime I shall pay a personal visit to those northern folk, both Aedh O'Neill and Eocaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Ulidia, in order that I may learn what kind of answer they will make to me. And then, should they give me battle, thou mayest help them against me, if thou wilt." But here Maelsechlainn declared, that he would not fight against him after any such manner. However, he told Brian that he would not advise him to march northwards just then; and said, that it was now better for him to return to his own home until another time. "For," said he, "it is enough that thou hast received my submission, as the result of thy present expedition." They finally agreed upon this, and the Dal g-Cais were well pleased thereat, for they had almost consumed all their provisions for the campaign. Then, as he was about to march homewards, Brian presented twelve score of steeds¹ to Maelsechlainn, together with a large quantity of gold and silver, which was to be distributed amongst his people.

rest of the race of Conn, unchivalrous, selfish, and wily.

¹ *Twelve Score Steeds.* These were given to Maelsechlainn, as a stipend, by Brian, who had now become his

lord-paramount. For the gifts or stipends which the superior Irish chieftains were wont to give to their feudatories, see *The Book of Rights*.

Afterwards, when one year had passed by, Brian called together a general muster of the whole force of Leth Mogha, both Gallic and Gaelic. There came thither the Lochlainnaigh² of Ath-cliaith, Port-Largi, Loch Carman, and Coreach, together with those that dwelt in Ui Eachach Mumhan, Corea Luighe and Ui Kennslaigh. With this host, Brian marched to Ath-luain,³ where the nobles of Connaught gave him hostages as pledges of their submission to him as their Ard-righ. He sent an embassy thence to Maelsechlainn, requesting of him to send his hostages thither likewise. Upon receiving this message, Maelsechlainn came and delivered up his hostages and made his submission in person. Thereupon, Brian mustered the full strength of the men of Munster, Connaught, Leinster, and Meath, and therewith marched to Dun Delgain, where he received the hostages and submission of all Ulidia.

It was thus that Brian Borhoma acquired the sovereignty of Ireland. He did not acquire it by treason, as some will have it, but by the bravery and hardihood of his deeds of arms, and by his chivalrous valor. For it was not the usage of the Gaels, that son should succeed to father in the sovereignty of Ireland, as is evident from what has been stated hitherto in this book; but the sovereign power fell to the share of whatever man was most distinguished for his personal worth, and for the greatness of his actions. And therefore did the nobles of Ireland select Brian Borhoma as the sovereign ruler of their country, because he was the man, who was most distinguished for worth and greatness⁴ amongst the Irishmen of his own day. And those of the

² *Lochlainnaigh*. "Since Brian had conceived the ambitious project of deposing Maelsechlainn, he invariably joined the Danes against him, and this is sufficient to prove that the subjugation of the Danes was not Brian's chief object. The Munster writers, with a view of exonerating Brian from the odium of usurpation, have asserted that, previously to his first attack, he had been solicited by the king and the chieftains of Connaught to depose Maelsechlainn and become monarch himself; but no authority for this assertion is found in any of our authentic Irish Annals."—*O'Donovan's Notes to the Four Masters*.

³ *Ath-luain*; now Athlone. Brian marched thither in A. D. 1001, "when, having weakened the southern Ui Neill and the Connaughtmen, he took their

hostages." But he did not receive hostages from either Ulidia or the Northern Ui Neill within that year. For, when, having joined his forces to those of Maelsechlainn, he had marched to Dun Delgain, or Dundalk, he was there met by the Ulidians, the Kinel Eogain, Kinel Conaill, and Oirghialla, under Aedh O'Neill and Eocaidh, son of Ardgar, who did not allow him to advance further, but "they separated in peace without hostages or booty, spoils or pledges."—*See Four Masters*.

⁴ *Worth and Greatness*. He was certainly the ablest and most successful warrior amongst the Irishmen of his day, and perhaps the most clever statesman, but it is questionable whether in greatness of soul and real patriotism he was not inferior to Maelsechlainn.

nobility who did not willingly consent to his assumption of the royal dignity, were forced to yield him homage against their will.

It was after this manner that Maelsechlainn was compelled to resign the sovereignty of Ireland and to deliver it over to Brian.

BRIAN BOROMHA,⁵ ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 1002. Brian Boromha, son of Kenneidi, son of Lorcan, son of Lactna, son of Core, son of Anluan, son of Mathgamain, son of Tordelbach, son of Cathal, son of Aedh Caemh, son of Conall, son of Eocaidh Bal-derg, son of Carthann Finn, son of Blod, son of Cas, son of Conall of the Fleet Steeds, son of Lugaidh Menn, son of Aengus Tirech, son of Fer-corb, son of Mogh-corb, son of Cormac Cas, son of Olild Olum, of the line of Eber,⁶ held the sovereignty of Ireland for twelve years. Be-

⁵ *Boromha*; i. e. of the tribute. According to some authorities, he received the surname Boromha (*Boroo*), otherwise written Boroinhe (*Borivvie*), from his having revived the Boromha Laighen, i. e. the Tribute of Leinster, which we have seen abolished during the reign of Finnacla II, A. D. 674-694.

⁶ *Of the line of Eber.* No prince of this line had been universally acknowledged as monarch of Ireland since the time of Crimthann Mor, son of Fidach, who ruled Ireland from A. D. 366 to A. D. 379. However, the claim of the descendants of the eldest branch of the children of Miledh to Irish monarchy had, during that time, been maintained by several Eberian chieftains, such as Core, son of Lugaidh; Aengus, son of Nadfraech; Cathal, son of Finguini; Feidlimidh, son of Crimthann (styled king of Ireland by some foreign writers); and Cormac, son of Cullinan, &c., all of whom, at some time, either demanded or forced the king of Temhair to give them hostages. It is true, that these were all of the Eoganachta or Engenian branch of the line of Eber, and that in Brian's pedigree we have to go back to Duach Dalta Degadh, son of Carbri, who was monarch some time previous to the Christian era, before we find any direct

paternal ancestor of Brian holding the sovereignty of all Ireland. For this latter reason, some have styled him a usurper, and such he would probably be according to modern ideas, and more particularly according to English law. But that he was no usurper according to any law of the Gaels, will be evident to any one, who will take the trouble of examining their institutions: for his descent from the royal stock, through a long line of distinguished chiefs, was so clear, that his enemies dare not contest it in his day. This, and the support of the majority of the Gaelic nation, was the only valid right to the Irish throne. It is certain that Brian had the latter; wherefore, whatever objection may be urged against the policy or the patriotism of his deposition of Maelsechlainn, no objection can be urged against the legitimacy of his right to throne. His provincial rivals, the chiefs of the Eoganachta, had raised no objection on the grounds of prescriptive right, either to his own or to his brother Mathgamain's title to the sovereignty of Munster, from which, with the single exception of Lorcan, son of Lactna, the Dalcassian family had been excluded during the reigns of more than forty provincial kings. Neither did the sons of his brother Mathgamain object to his right

binn, daughter of Arcadh, son of Mureadh, king of West Connaught, was the mother of Brian. The following was the descent of Bebinn: Kianog, daughter of Kiacarau, one of the Connaughtmen, bore a son and a daughter to a Leinster chieftain, named Criachan, through the prayers of the abbot Carell, and his seven hundred monks, who had joined him in making supplication to God, whom they besought to grant a progeny to the above-named married pair, for they had remained barren for a long time. And God heard the prayers of Carell and his community, and Kianog bore a son and a daughter to her husband Criachan. The son they called Maelmithidh, and Osa was the name of the daughter. This daughter was afterwards married to Arcadh, son of Mureadh, son of Maenach, king of the West of Connaught, and to him she bore Bebinn, who was the mother of Brian Boromha.

It is from a brother of Eocaidh Bal-derg, son of Carthann Finn, who has been mentioned above, that the sept of O'h-Ikedha⁷ (*O'Heekée*), has sprung; to wit, from Fergal, son of Carthann Finn; for Ikidh, from whom the sept has its name, was the son of Makin, son of Artgal, son of Cuilen, son of Urthal, son of Donngal, son of Acluan, son of Fergal, son of Carthann Finn.

It was in the reign of Brian Boromha that the following event took place. For it was then that Sitric, son of Amlaibh, set out in his fleet on a predatory expedition to Ulster, where he plundered Kill Clethi⁸ and Inis Cumsgraigh, whence he brought off many captives and much treasure. Soon after this, Naemhan,⁹ son of Maelkiarain, Chief Artificer of Ireland, died. Brian

to the chieftaincy of the Dal g-Cais on the grounds that he was the youngest son of his father Kenneidi. Brian, then, was no usurper; and it is somewhat strange that some moderns, imbued with English ideas, will brand him with an epithet which his cotemporary rivals (who should know the matter best) did not affix to his name. For the names of the chiefs that intervened between Olild Olum and Duach, monarch of Ireland, see the pedigree of MacCarthaigh, Part II.

⁷ *O'h-Ikedha*; in English, O'Hickey, or simply Hickey. This sept was a branch of the Clann Coilein, of which the Maenamaras were chiefs. The above entry, which seems rather misplaced here, is not found in all the copies of Keating. But the editor

has not deemed it right to omit any notice, made in any of his originals, relative to any sept of the Gaels.

* *Kill-Clethi*; now Kilclief in the barony of Lecale, county Down. *Inis Cumsgraigh*— It is now called Innish coureey, a peninsula formed by the western branch of Loch Cuan, near Saul, in the same county. Sitric plundered these places in A. D. 1001.

⁹ *Naemhan*. He died in A. D. 1003. In this year the Ui Neill of the north had not yet submitted to Brian. For our annals tell us that Maelsechlainn and he then led an army into North Connaught, as far as Traigh Eothali, near Ballysadare, for the purpose of making the circuit of Ireland, but they were there stopped by the Ui Neill of the North. In this year also was

soon marched with a numerous army into the territories of the Kinel Eogain in Ulster. He proceeded thence into Meath, and stayed for one night at Talti. From the latter place, he marched to Ard Macha, where he remained for a week, and where he laid twenty ounces of gold upon the altar of the primatial church. He next visited the territories of the Dal Araide,¹⁰ so that he had now received hostages and pledges of peace from the entire principality of Ulidia. Soon after, he led another great army into Tir Eogain and Tir Conaill, from which territories he carried away very many captives as securities for the maintenance of peace.

It was about this time that Maelruanaidh,¹¹ son of Ardgall, King of Ulidia, was slain. Soon after died Clothna,¹² son of Aengus, chief poet of Ireland, and, likewise, Cathal,¹³ son of Conobar, who had been King of Connaught for twenty years, when he died at Irrus Domnan.

After these events, Muredadh, son of Brian, with the men of Munster and Leinster; and some of the Ui Neill of the north, around Flathbertach, son of Muredach,¹⁴ attended by a band of warlike youths; made a predatory expedition into the territory of the Kinel Luighdech¹⁵ (*Kinnaité Luceagh*), which he despoiled and devastated.

fought the battle of Craebh Tulcha, in Antrim, between the Kinel Eogain and the Ulidians, in which fell Eocaidh, son of Ardgall, or Ardgarr, king of Ulidia, and numbers of his people. His opponent, Aedh O'Neill, king of Ailech, and heir-apparent to the Irish monarchy, fell there likewise.

¹⁰ *Dal Araide*. "A. D. 1004. A hosting by Brian, son of Kenneidigh, with the men of the south of Ireland, into Kinel Eogain and Ulidia, to demand hostages. They marched through Meath, and remained a night at Talti; thence they marched northwards, and remained a week at Ard Macha, where Brian left twenty ounces of gold upon the altar. After that, they went into the territories of the Dal-Araide, whence they carried off pledges both of that tribe and the Dal Fiatach."—*Four Masters*. It does not appear by any authentic annals that Brian had received the submission of the northern Ui Neill upon this occasion.

¹¹ *Maelruanaidh*. He was slain in A. D. 1005. He had then reigned two and a half years. Madadan, son

of Domnall, his slayer and successor, was himself slain very soon after, by Dubthuni, called Tore, in the middle of Dun-da-leth-glas, "in violation of the guarantees of the saints of Ireland." By this murder Tore became King of Ulidia, but Muredach, son of Madadan, slew him immediately after, in revenge for his father, "through the miracles of God and St. Patrick." Thus was the sovereignty of Ulidia seized by four princes in one year.

¹² *Clothna*. He died in A. D. 1008.

¹³ *Cathal, son of Conobar*. He was grandson of Tadhg of the Tower, and died in A. D. 1009.

¹⁴ *Son of Muredach*. The reading should be, son of Murkertach. "A. D. 1011, Muredadh, son of Brian, with the men of Munster and Leinster, and the Ui Neill of the south, together with Flathbertach, son of Murkertach, lord of Ailech, and the soldiers of the north, invaded Kinel Luighdech, whence they carried off three hundred persons, and a great prey of cattle."—*Four Masters*.

¹⁵ *Kinel Luighdech*. This was the tribe-name of the section of the Kinel

At this time an army was also led by Brian, son of Kenneidi, to Magh Corran, whence he led off Maelruanaidh O'Maeldoraidh,¹⁶ King of Kinel Conaill, in captivity to Kenn-coradh.

Soon after, the principality of Leinster was plundered and burned by Murchadh, son of Brian, as far as Kill Maighnenn,¹⁷ and thence to Glenn-da-loch.

It was about this time that the Lochlannaigh arrived in Munster with a great fleet, on which occasion they plundered and burned Corcach; but God took vengeance upon them for that deed, for Amlaibh, son of Sitric, King of Lochlainn, and Mathgainain, son of Dubgall, son of Amlaibh, were shortly after treacherously slain by Cathal, son of Donnall,¹⁸ son of Dubda-boirenn. After this, the Lochlannaigh and the Leinstermen

Conaill that afterwards assumed the surnames of O'Dochartaigh, O'Donnaill and O'Buighill—in English, O'Doherty, O'Donnell and O'Boyle. They took their tribe-name from Lugaidh, son of Sedna, son of Fergus Kenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, the common ancestor of all the Kinel Conaill. The first mention of the surname O'Donnell occurs in this year, namely, Maelruanaidh O'Donnaill, chief of Kinel Luighdech, who was then slain by the men of Magh Itha. The territory of the Kinel Luighdech extended from the stream of Dobhar to the river Suillighe, now, *anglice*, the Swilly, in the present county of Donegal.

¹⁶ *O'Maeldoraidh*. At this time, and until after the English invasion, the family O'Maeldoraidh (*O'Maildory*), and that of O'Canannain were the ruling races of the whole of the Kinel Conaill. The O'Donnells and their correlatives were then but chiefs of the Kinel Luighdech, mentioned in the last note. Both the former families lost their preëminence on the rise of the O'Donnells in the 11th and 12th centuries. The name O'Maeldoraidh is supposed to be extinct, but a branch of the sept still exists under the name of Mac Gilla-Finnen, sometimes anglicized Gilfinnen, but oftener Leonard. The line of Mac Gilla-Finnen has been traced down to John Mac Gilla-Finnen, who lived about A. D. 1612. Dr. O'Donovan informs us that "the present representative of this family, which is one of the most royal in Ireland, is unknown."

¹⁷ *Kill Maighnenn*; now Killmainhan, near Dublin. Mureadh's invasion of Leinster is recorded under the year 1012. It seems to have been made in consequence of a war which his ally Maelsechlainn, now King of Meath, was then waging against the Leinstermen and the Danes, in which he had been defeated. Both events are thus recorded by the Four Masters: "A. D. 1012. Great forces were led by Maelsechlainn into the territory of the foreigners, and he burned their country as far as Edar, (now Howth); but Sitric and Maelmorda overtook one of his preying parties, and slew two hundred of them, amongst whom were Flann, Maelsechlainn's son, Lorcan, son of Echtighern, lord of Kinel Meachair, and numbers of others. This was the defeat of Draighnen" (now Drinan, co. Dublin). After this, they record the plundering of Leinster by Mureadh, "whence he carried off great spoils and innumerable captives."

¹⁸ *Cathal, son of Donnall*. His father, Donnall, was then king of the Ui Ealach-Mumhan, whose territories bordered upon Corcach, or Cork. The O'Donoghoes, or O'Donohoes of Kerry, are descended and derive their name (in Irish *O'Donnchadha*), from Donn-cadh, brother of this Cathal. Kian, son of Maelmuaidh, chief of another branch of the same sept, was at this time King of Desmond. The above-mentioned burning of Cork took place in A. D. 1012.

invaded Meath, where they plundered Termom Fechin,¹⁹ and whence they carried off great numbers of captives; but for this, also, God wreaked speedy vengeance upon them, as is evident from what we have already related of that destructive invasion, which Mureadh, son of Brian, made into Leinster, when he destroyed the territories of the Leinstermen and the Lochlannaigh, after the manner which we have mentioned.

The Benefits conferred upon Ireland by Brian Boromha.

With respect to Brian, son of Kenneidi, numerous, indeed, were the benefits which he conferred upon Ireland, according to what we read in our historic books. Here follows a brief summary of some of these benefits:

First of all he built churches, and delivered up his own proper temple to each clergyman, according to his ecclesiastical rank, and to his right thereto. He next built and organized public schools for the purpose of giving instruction in letters and the other sciences. He likewise gave either books, or the price of books to those who could not afford to buy them, and who were determined to devote themselves to the pursuit of literature.

To his lords and territorial princes he granted freedom from oppression; and he bestowed upon the Gaels all the wealth of which he had deprived the Lochlannaigh; and he released all his countrymen from every vestige of foreign slavery. Besides this, it was not to his own tribesmen that he gave those territories from which he had expelled the foreigners by the power of his arms, but he restored them to whatever Irish tribe such territory had originally and rightfully belonged.

It was also Brian that first instituted specific surnames²⁰ amongst the men of Ireland, so that the members of one family or sept, might be thereby distinguished from those of another.

¹⁹ *Termon Fechin*, i. e., the sacred ground, or the sanctuary of St. Fechin. It is now Termon-fecken, in the barony of Ferrard, county Louth. The incursion in which Termon Fechin was plundered took place a short time before the battle of Clontarf, and in it the foreigners carried off many captives.

²⁰ *Surnames*. The attributing of the institution of surnames to Brian, is somewhat hazarded. It is not likely that they were ever established by any regular enactment or decree. Most of the Irish family surnames have, it is

true, sprung into existence since the days of Brian; but they appear to have grown out of the necessity, or the fashion of the times rather than any pre-arranged plan. Some family names, as O'Maelsechlainn, O'Neill, O'Maeldoraidh, O'Canannain, &c., existed before his time. And many others, such as those of his own descendants, O'Briain, and Mac Mathgamna, did not come into general use until long after; neither did he himself adopt any surname but that of MacCenneidigh, i. e., son of Kenneidi or Cenneidigh, who was his own father—a thing that was the

Moreover, it was Brian that built the temple of Kill-da-luadh,²¹ and the temple of Inis Keltrach, and that repaired the belfry of Tuainn Gréni.²² Many bridges, causeways, and great roads, were constructed by him likewise. He erected, or reconstructed, numerous duns and insulated fortresses.²³ By him were fortified Cashel of the Kings, and Kenn-abradh, Inis Locha Ke, Inis Locha Goir, Dun Eochair Maighe, Dun Iasg, Dun Tri Liag, Dun Grott, and Dun Ani Cliach, Inis-an-Ghoill-Duibh, Inis Locha Saighlenn, Ros-na-righ, Kenn-coradh of the Boromha, and the other royal fortresses of Munster.

It was in the reign of Brian, that a lone woman had travelled from Tonn Clidna²⁴ in the south of Ireland, to Torach, in the north thereof, bearing in her hand a wand, upon which there was a ring of gold; and that no man was found hardy enough either to rob, or insult her during her journey, so severe was the justice with which Brian ruled Ireland. It was on this subject that the bard composed the following verse:

“From Tor to lovely Clidna’s wave,
With rings of gold upon her wand,
Whilst Brian reigned, severe and just,
One woman²⁵ lone through Eri roamed.”

Ireland was indeed prosperous, wealthy and peaceable, during the twelve years that this monarch reigned; in testimony whereof a bard has sung the following verse:

“A raven of the sea was he; his might like whelming flood;
On many-colored Banba’s isle, his glory flashed like fire.
He banished sadness from his land; he quelled all wrath and guile;
And Eri saw twelve happy years, while conquering Brian reigned.”

usage amongst the Irish from the earliest time. It was but by degrees that *Mac*, a son, and *O* or *Ua*, a grandson, lost their primary significations in Irish proper names, and came to signify any descendant.

²¹ *Kill-da-luadh*; now Killaloe, in the county of Clare. The church built here by Brian, exists still. *Inis Keltrach*, is an island situated in Lough Derg, in the Shannon.

²² *Tuain Gréni*; now Tomgrany, co. Clare.

²³ *Fortresses*. The situations of all the fortresses here mentioned, are still known, with the exception of Inis-an-Goill-Duibh, i. e., the Isle of the Black Stranger, and Inis Locha Saighlenn,

which are unknown, and are elsewhere pointed out.

²⁴ *Tonn Clidna*; i. e., the wave of Clidna (*Cleena*), in Glandore Harbor. Torach, otherwise called Toraidh and Tor-inis, and now known as Tory Island, lies off the north-west coast of Donegal.

²⁵ *One woman*. Upon this tradition Moore has founded his ballad of “Rich and rare were the gems she wore.”

In Dermot O’Connor’s translation, there is here inserted a list of the various tributes received by Brian from his subject princes. But the present translator has not found it in any manuscript copy of Keating, available to him. He therefore omits it, as he

The battle of Cluain Tarbh, (Cloon Tarve), and its immediate cause.

A. D. 1014. When Brian had been thus fully established in the sovereignty, and whilst he was dwelling in peace and happiness at Kenn-coradh, he requested of the king of Leinster, namely, of Maelmorda,²⁶ son of Murcadh, to send him three masts of excellent timber from the forest of Fidlh Gaibli.²⁷ These masts were accordingly felled by the king of Leinster, and he set out therewith for Kenn-coradh,²⁸ where Brian was then abiding. One of these masts he requested the Ui Falghi²⁹ to carry; another was carried by the Ui Faelain; and the third by the Ui Muredaigh. But an altercation for precedence arose between these tribes, as they were approaching a morass, that lay in the forest where the masts had been cut; and thereupon the king of Leinster himself, put his shoulder to the one, which was borne by the Ui Faelain, whilst he wore a satin mantle, adorned with a border of golden tissue and fastened with a silver clasp, wherewith Brian had presented him a short time previously. He then exerted himself so violently in urging on the mast, that this clasp was torn off from his mantle. Thus did the king of Leinster arrive at Kenn-coradh; and there he took off his mantle and gave it to his sister Gormflaith,³⁰ (*Gormla*), who was the wife of Brian, requesting of her to refix the clasp thereon. The queen thereupon took the mantle into her hands, but she immediately flung it into a fire that burned before her, and commenced forthwith to revile her brother for remaining the vassal of any man upon earth. "A

places little faith in its being genuine. For a correct list of the tributes which the kings of Munster received, when monarchs of Ireland, as well as when merely rulers of their own province, he refers the reader to the *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, or Book of Rights, and to the notes thereunto annexed, as edited by the learned Dr. O'Donovan, for the Celtic Society.

²⁶ *Maelmorda*. This prince, although styled *Mac Murcatha*, i. e., son of Murcadh, was not the ancestor of the family of Mac Murrough, afterwards kings of Leinster. But he was the father of Brann, the ancestor from whom the O'Byrnes of Leinster, have taken their surname.

²⁷ *Fidlh Gaibli*. A famous wood along the river Figile, in the parish of Cloonsast, barony of Coolestown, and in Kings county.

²⁸ *Kenn-Coradh*; i. e., the head of the Weir. It is anglicized Kincora. It was the name of a hill in the town of Killaloe, where the Kings of Thomond had a palace. It extended from the present Catholic church to the brow of the hill over the bridge; but no vestige of it now remains.

²⁹ *Ui Falghi*. Afterwards known as O'Connors Faly and their correlatives. The Ui Muredaigh were the tribe of which O'Tuathail or O'Toole was the chief sept. The Ui Faelain was the tribe to which Maelmorda himself belonged. The O'Brains or O'Byrnes, were its chieftains in after times.

³⁰ *Gormflaith*. She was daughter of Murcadh, son of Finn. She had been previously the wife of Amlacibh, king of the Danes of Dublin; and at some period the wife of Maelsechlainn.

thing," said she, "to which thy father never stooped. But now, Brian's son will demand the same vassalage from thine."

Maelmorda stored up this rebuke of the queen in his heart; and, whilst pondering thereupon the next day, he came to where Murcadh, son of Brian, and Conaing, son of Donnucuan, were playing at chess, (according to some historians it was the Comarba of St. Caeimghin of Glenn-da-loch, that was playing with Murcadh.) Here the king of Leinster advised the adversary of Murcadh to make a certain move, whereby he won the game. Hereupon, Murcadh said: "Thou hadst, likewise, once given a counsel to the Lochlannaigh, but its consequence was their total rout at the battle of Glenn Mama." "If," replied Maelmorda, "I did give them counsel which caused their defeat in that conflict, I shall now give them another counsel, whereby in their turn they shall defeat thee." "I defy thee to do it," said Murcadh. Maelmorda then left the company in wrath; and he went immediately to his sleeping apartment, whence he could not be induced to come to the banquet-hall for that night. At dawn next morning, he set out for his home without bidding farewell to Brian.

When the monarch had heard that the king of Leinster had departed after this manner, without bidding farewell to himself, he sent a page, who was one of his own kinsmen, to request of the angry chieftain to stay until he should have received his stipend from his sovereign. This youth came up with Maelmorda at Kill-da-luadh, on the east side of the Shannon, as he was mounting his steed, and to him he at once delivers the message of Brian. Hereupon, Maelmorda, the king of Leinster, turned angrily upon the youth, and struck him three times with a wand of yew, which he carried in his hand, so that the youth's skull was fractured thereby, and he had to be carried back to the residence of Brian. Cogaran was the name of this youth; and from him have descended the Ui Cogarain of Munster. Some of the household of Kenn-coradh were now anxious to pursue the king of Leinster, and not to allow him to escape until he should have submitted to the will of the monarch. However, Brian declared that no treachery should be wrought upon a guest of Kenn-coradh. "But," added he, "satisfaction shall, nevertheless, be required of him at his own bed-posts."

But Maelmorda, having returned to his own country, forthwith summoned around him the nobles of Leinster. To them he made known the insult and the reviling words which had been flung both at himself and his entire principality, in the palace of Kenn-coradh. Upon this, they determined to revolt against Brian, and to resist him with the whole of their own strength

and that of the Lochlannaigh. From this arose the battle which was contested at Cluain Tarbh. But there remained no longer alive in Ireland a sufficient number of the Lochlannaigh to contend with Brian in a pitched battle; for he had only allowed a few of that nation to hold a mercantile possession of Ath-cliaith, Loch Carman, Port Largi, Coreach, and Luimnech, for the purpose of keeping up the foreign commerce of the country. Therefore did the king of Leinster and those foreigners, who still remained, send ambassadors to the king of Lochlainn, beseeching him to send a strong force to their aid, in order that they might thus be rendered able to engage Brian in battle at Cluain Tarbh, upon Magh n-Elta. When this embassy had reached the king of Lochlainn, he sent his two sons, namely, Carlus Cnutus, and Andreas, together with a force of twelve thousand men,²¹ to assist the king of Leinster and the Irish Lochlannaigh in the approaching contest. When this host had landed at Ath-cliaith, Maelmorda bid defiance to Brian, and challenged him to meet him in battle upon Cluain Tarbh.

To return to Brian, son of Kenneidi, king of Ireland; that monarch having called together the strength of Munster and Connaught, marched therewith to Ath-cliaith, in order to give battle to his enemies on the appointed field. In his army marched the Children of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan,²² with all the branching septs of that stock—a host both numerous and imposing.

²¹ *Twelve thousand men.* There is little reason to suspect that this number is exaggerated. "Not only from Scotland, the Orkneys and Hebrides, the Isle of Man and the isles of Shetland, did they muster together all the disposable strength of their fellow Northmen, but even to Denmark, Norway, and other parts of Scandinavia, messengers were sent to solicit immediate succors; and such were the accounts circulated by them of their prospects of success, that—as a French chronicler of that age states—a large fleet full of northern adventurers, were induced by these representations to crowd to the Irish shores, bringing with them their wives and children, and hoping to share, as he adds, in the conquest and enjoyment of a country "which contained twelve cities, most ample bishopricks, and abundant wealth."—*Moore's History of Ireland.*

²² *The Children of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan.*—These were the Eoganachta or

Eugenians, the ruling race of Desmond, or South Munster. They constituted the bulk of the second division of Brian's army at Clontarf. Their commander was the monarch's son-in-law, the king of Desmond, namely, Kian, son of Maelmuaidh, son of Brann, (ancestor of the O'Mahonies), who is said by our historians to have "exceeded in stature and beauty all other Irishmen;" with him were Domnall, son of Dubdaboirrenn, chief of the Ui Eachrech, (ancestor of the O'Donoghoo's); Murkertach, son of Amneadh, chief of the Ui Liathain (the O'Lehans or O'Lyons, and the O'h-Amneadh's) Sgannlan, son of Cathal, chief of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein (of this tribe the O'Moriarties and O'Carrolls of Kerry, were the chief families, the latter were the immediate descendants of Sgannlan); Loingsech, son of Dunlaing, chief of Ui Conaill Gabra, (i. e., the O'Kinealies, the O'Cuilleans, or Collins, and their correlatives); Cathal, son of Don-

Thither marched the Children of Cas,³³ son of Conall of the Fleet Steeds, namely; the Ui Bloid,³⁴ the Ui Casin,³⁵ the clan of Aengus Kenn-athrach,³⁶ the Kinel Baeith, the Kinel Cuallachta, the Kinel Albi, and the Clann Eachach around Kellach, son of Dubghen; and the Clann Coilein around Menma,³⁷ son of Aedh, son of Enda, son of Esida, son of Sida, son of Maelcluithi, and the Kinel Fermaie, around Maelmeda,³⁸ son of Baedan.

naban, chief of Carbri Aedha, (ancestor of the O'Donovans); these were the chiefs of the Eoganachta. In the same division marched Mac Betha, son of Muredach, king of Kiarraide Luachra, (ancestor of the O'Connors Kerry;) Gebinach, son of Dubagan, king of Fera-Maighe-Fèni, now called Fermoy, (ancestor of the O'Dubagains or Duggans); Molta, or Mothla, king of the Desi (ancestor of the O'Felans); Kerball, son of Aedh, king of the Eli, i. e. the O'Carrolls and O'Meaghers and their correlatives (Kerball was the progenitor of the former sept). The Oirghialla, likewise, fought in this division: as their own territories lay farthest north of any of the Irish engaged in this battle, they made choice of fighting by the side of the descendants of Eogan Mor, because their land lay farthest south. They were led by Mac Uidhir, prince of Fera Manach, now Fermanagh (ancestor of the Maguires), and Ua Kerbaill, king of Oirghialla—"the two most illustrious Irishmen," says the chronicler, "that graced the field on that day; and therefore, worthy," he adds, "of fighting under the banner of Kian."—*Moore's History of Ireland.*

³³ *The Children of Cas*; i. e., the Dal g-Cais or Dalcassians. This was the tribe of which Brian himself was the chief. Together with the force which Maelsechlainn had led from Meath, it formed the first division of the Irish army. It was placed under the immediate command of Murcadh, the eldest son of Brian.

³⁴ *Ui Bloid.* The territory of this tribe lay in the north-east of Clare. Bloid, son of Cas, from whom it was called, was the common ancestor of many septs of the Dal g-Cais. It was the sept or tribe to which Brian himself

belonged.—*See the pedigree of O'Briain, Part III.*

³⁵ *Ui Casin.* The Maenamaras, called also Sil Aeda, and the Mac Clanchies, Brehons of Thomond, were descended from this sept. Casin was the brother of the Bloid, who is mentioned in the last note.

³⁶ *Aengus Kenn-Athrach.* He was also the brother of Bloid, and son of Cas. The O'Deas of Kinel Fermaie, are sprung from him; and also the Kinel Baeith, of which the chiefs took the name of O'Maelmeda, which their descendants have probably changed to Mulvy; the present representatives of the *Kinel Cuallachta*, are unknown to the editor, unless by it is meant the Muintir Conlochta, also descended from Aengus Kenn-Athrach, of which the O'Dubghinns, now possibly translated by Duggan, descended from the Kellach, son of Dubghen, mentioned in the text, were the chiefs. The *Kinel Albi* and *Kinel Eachach*, are unknown to the editor; they were, probably, branches of the same as the foregoing.

³⁷ *Menma.* He was the direct ancestor of the Maenamaras, who had their name, in Irish *Mac Conmara*, from Conmara, son of Donnall, son of Menma.

³⁸ *Maelmeda.* The Kinel Fermaie, of which he was the chief, have been already classed amongst the descendants of Aengus Kenn-athrach. It is possibly from him that the surname O'Macilmeda is derived.

The catalogue above given by our author is very confused; and it would appear, that the several *alias* names of the race are given therein, as those of separate tribes. The great divisions of the Dal g-Cais then were the Ui Bloid of which Brian and his immediate relatives were the chiefs; the Ui Casin, or Clann Coilein, commanded by Men-

There went thither moreover, the children of Kenneidi,³⁹ son of Lorcan, namely: Annluan Lactna, Cosgarach, Senchan, Ogan, Maelruanaidh and Angidh; and Murcadh, son of Brian, with his son Tordelbach, and with his five brothers, namely: Tadg, Donnadh, Donnall, Concobar, and Flann; and thither went likewise, the children of Donnucan, son of Kenneidi, namely: Lonngargan, Keilichar, Kenneidi, Fingalach, and Innractach and Eocaidh, son of Innractach, with Dubghen, son of Eocaidh, and Beolan; and all of their kinsfolk and dependents that followed these chieftains.

Thither marched likewise, a large host of the men of Connaught,⁴⁰ around Tadg, son of Murcadh O'Kellaigh, king of Ui Mani; and around Maelruanaidh na-Paidre⁴¹ O h-Eidin, king of Aidni, and besides these, there came a great number of the other nobles of Connaught through love of their relative, Brian, whose mother, Bebiun, was a Connaught woman. In addition to these, Malsechlainn, son of Donnall, king of Meath, marched thither, leading the entire strength of his kingdom to the aid of Brian.

Then, when the adverse hosts had arrived thus constituted upon Magh n-Elta,⁴² they were drawn up in battle array,⁴³ each host

ma; the Kinel Fermaie, or Clann Aengusa Kenn Athrach, commanded by Maelmeda and Kellach; and the Clann Ifernain, or race of Aengus Kennatinn, not mentioned by this name, though one of its chiefs, Niall, son of Conn, (the ancestor of O'Quinn), fell at Clontarf, fighting by the side of Murcadh, son of Brian, whose henchman he then was. The name of Clann Ifernain has been preserved in that of O'h-Ifernain, now generally called Hefferuan.

³⁹ *Children of Kenneidi, &c.* These were the members of Brian's immediate family. Many of them were founders of Irish septs, to which they left their names, such as Senchan, of the O Shannahans, of North Munster; Ogan, of the O'Hogans; Kenneidi, of the O'Kennedies of Ormond; Lonngargan of the O'Lonngargans; Keilichar of the O'Kellehers; Maelruanaidh, of the O'Murronies; Beolan, of the O'Bolans; Innractach, of the Mac Innractaigh, or Mac Enrights.—*See Pedigree of O'Briain, Part II.*

⁴⁰ *The Men of Connaught.* They formed the bulk of the third division of the Irish army at Clontarf. Some

Munster tribes also, are recorded as having fought in this division. They were the men of Corca Baskin, under its chieftain Donnall, son of Diarmaid, (ancestor of the O'Donnells of Clare;) the people of Musgraide Bréogain, now Clan William, in Tipperary, under Murkertach, son of Corc (ancestor of the O'Quirks); the men of Ui Cuanach, (now Coonagh, co. of Limerick,) under Aedh, son of Lochlainn; the men of Musgraide h-Aeda, near the source of the Blackwater, co. Cork, under Echtigherna, son of Donnagan, (ancestor of the O Donnagans).

⁴¹ *Na Paidre*; i. e., of the Prayer.

⁴² *Magh n-Elta.* Clontarf lay in the famous plain called by this name.

⁴³ *The battle array, &c.* The army of the Lochlannaigh and Leinstermen, was also drawn up in three divisions or columns. The first of these is described as consisting of the Danes of Dublin, or Ath-cliaith, under the command of Dolat and Conmael; and of a portion of their foreign auxiliaries, under the Norwegian princes, Carol and Anrud, (Carlus and Andreas); amongst the latter were 1,000 clad from head to foot in iron mail. This division was

in its respective position. On the one side stood the king of Leinster and the Lochlannaigh; and over this host the two sons of the king of Lochlainn, namely, Carlus and Andreas, were the commanders-in-chief. On the other side stood Brian, and the nobles of Munster, Connaught and Meath; and here Mureadh, son of Brian, was the commander-in-chief of his father's army. It is, however, to be observed here, that Maelsechlainn would not allow⁴¹ his forces to aid either host in the conflict that ensued.

The battle⁴⁵ was then poured forth, and both armies strove with hardihood for the victory. But at length the Lochlannaigh and the Laighnigh were completely vanquished; and the two sons of the king of Lochlainn were slain, and around them fell the captains of the fleet, which they had led to Ireland, together with six thousand and sixty⁴⁶ of their immediate followers. Besides these, there fell in that slaughter four thousand of the Lochlannaigh, who came from Ath-cliaith, and other Irish seaports. Maelmorda,⁴⁷ king of Leinster, was likewise slain therein; with him

opposed to the first column of the national army under Mureadh and Maelsechlainn. The second division of the enemy consisted of the Irish of Leinster, under their king Maelmorda, and his sub-chiefs; they were supported by a *cath*,* or battalion of the foreigners. This division was opposed by the second column of the Irish, under the command of Kian, king of Desmond. The foreign auxiliaries from the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and the coasts of the Baltic, under the earls Bruadar and Lodar, formed the third division; with them were joined a number of Britons from Wales and Cornwall, under their respective chiefs. The third division of the Irish, under Maclruanaidh, king of Ui Fiaeraich Aidni, and Padg, king of Ui Mani, was opposed to these.

⁴¹ *Maelschlainn would not allow, &c.* This assertion is not true, as shall be shown further on. Keating has too easily adopted it from the Munster calumniators of Maelsechlainn.

⁴⁵ *The battle.* "The Danes were better armed than the Irish, in this battle; for they had 1,000 men dressed in armor from head to foot in iron mail. In a dialogue between the banshee, Acibill, or Acibinn, of Craglea and the hero, Kinaeth O'Hartagain, the

former is represented as advising the latter to shun the battle; "for Gaeidil (the Gaels) were only dressed in satin shirts, while the Danes were in one mass of iron:"

"Leinteacha sróil ar shliol n-Gaeidhll,
Is Goill na n-aenbbroin iarainn."

—*O'Donovan.*

⁴⁶ *Six thousand and sixty.* "In the Chronicle of Ademar, monk of St. Eparchins of St. Angouleme, it is stated that this battle lasted for three days; that all the Norsemen were killed; and that crowds of their women, in despair, threw themselves into the sea; but the Irish accounts agree that it lasted only from sun-rise to sunset on Good Friday." In the Nialla Saga, published in Johnston's *Ant. Celto-Scand.*, a Northman prince is introduced as asking, sometime after the battle, what had become of his men, and the answer was, that "they were all killed!"—*Id.*

⁴⁷ *Maelmorda slain.* Amongst the chiefs who fell with him were Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, son of Ugari, royal heir of Leinster, (ancestor of the O'Tooles); and Brogarban, son of Conobar, tanist of Ui Falghi, (ancestor of the O'Connors Falghi), "and," say our annalists, "a countless slaughter of the

* The *cath* consisted of 3,000 men.

fell the greater part of his nobles, and three thousand three hundred of the men of Leinster.

On the other side fell Mureadh,⁴⁸ son of Brian, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ireland, around whom were slain the greater part of the nobles of Munster and Connaught, together with four thousand of his people.

It happened also, that a body of Lochlannaigh, in fleeing at random from the carnage, came upon the royal pavilion, and recognized Brian therein; upon which, Brodar, who was the captain of this band, attacked and slew the monarch in his tent.⁴⁹ He was, nevertheless, slain himself at the same time, by Brian and his attendants.

The following are the names of some more of Brian's people, who were slain in that battle, to wit: Tordelbach, son of Mureadh,⁵⁰ son of Brian; Conaing, son of Donneuan, son of Kenneidigh; Molta, son of Domnall, son of Faelan, king of the Desi Mumhan; and Eocaidh, son of Dunadach, chieftain of Clann Sganlain, with Niall Ua Cuinn, and Cuduligh, son of Kenneidigh, these were the three companions of Brian; and Tadhg Ua Kellaigh,⁵¹ king of Ui Mani; Maelruanaidh na Paidré O h-Eidin,

Leinstermen along with them." Neither O'Morda, chief of Leighis, nor O'Nolan, chief of Fotharta, fought against Brian on this occasion.

⁴⁸ *Mureadh.* He fell by the Danish chief Anrud, whose brother he had just slain, and who had sought him out for vengeance. "On seeing him approach, the Irish hero rushed forward to meet him, and seizing him firmly with his left hand—the right having been enfeebled by the constant use of his weapon—shook him fairly out of his coat of mail and there transixed him with his sword. The Norwegian, however, in dying, had his full revenge; for as the conqueror stooped down over him, he drew forth the knife or dagger, which hung by Murrough's (Mureadh's) side, and plunged it into his heart."—*Moore.*

⁴⁹ *Slew the monarch in his tent.* "It was in the midst of the rout and carnage of the defeat, that the Danish admiral Bruadar, having fled for refuge with a few followers into a wood, into the neighborhood of Brian's tent, perceived from his lurking place that the monarch was surrounded with but few attendants—most of his body guards

having joined in pursuit of the enemy, —and was kneeling, with hand upraised and his mind on prayer intent. Taking advantage of the moment, Bruadar rushed into the tent, and, after a short struggle, put the aged monarch and a boy, who was in attendance upon him, to death. Then, unable to restrain his triumph, he held up his blade, still warm from the royal victim's heart, and cried out, "Let it be proclaimed from man to man, that Brian has fallen by the hand of Bruadar."—*Id.*

⁵⁰ *Tordelbach, son of Mureadh.* "Tordelbach, the king's grandchild. then but fifteen years old, was found drowned near the fishing weir of Clontarf, with both his hands fast bound in the hair of a Dane whom he had pursued into the sea."—*Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

⁵¹ *Tadhg Ua Kellaigh.* He was the first that was called *Ua Ce'laigh* or O'Kelly; from him all the families of the O'Kellys of Ui Mani, or Hy Many in Galway, are descended. The Ui Mani, afterwards represented by the O'Kellys, the O'Maddens, O'Mulallies or Lallies and others, suffered dreadfully in this battle. Tadhg Mor (*Tigue More*), their chief, performed prodigies

king of Aidni,⁵² Gebenach, son of Dubagan, king of Fera Maighe; Mac-Bethaigh, son of Muredach Claen, king of Ciarraide Luachra; Donnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corea-Baskinn; Sganlan, son of Cathal, king of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein; and Donnall, son of Eubhu, son of Cannech, Maer-mor of Marr;⁵³ in Alba; and Muredach, Maer-mor of Lemhain;⁵⁴ and with these fell many other nobles whose names are not mentioned here.

One thousand and thirty-four, was the year of our Lord in which the battle of Cluain Tarbh was fought. The conflict took place on the Friday before the Easter of that year. Here follows a record, left by a bardic historian in testimony of the number of years that had elapsed from the birth of Christ to the death of Brian, son of Kennedigh:

“ Four and thirty years,⁵⁵ in truth,
Above one thousand then had passed,
Since Christ had come to heal our woes,
When Brian died on Bregha's plain.”

of valor, and was one of the principal heroes in the battle.

⁵² *King of Aidni.* Maelruadh-naidh O'h-Eidhin (*Mairroone O'Hyme*), was the first that bore the surname of O'h Eidin. His brother, Maclabaill, was the immediate progenitor of the O'Heynes, or Hynes, of South Connaught. The Uí Fiachrach Aidni, (*ee Feeghragh Eynic*), the tribe which Maelruadhnaidh led to Clontarf, is now represented by the O'Heynes, O'Clerics, Mac Kilkellies, O'Shaughnessies and their correlatives. *See Pedigree of O Sechnasaigh, Part III.*

The king of Connaught is represented by Mr. Moore and some modern historians as having commanded the Connaughtmen at Clontarf. But of this there is no historic evidence, if we reject some legendary and highly exaggerated romances. There is nothing in our annals to show that any other of the Connaughtmen than two tribes just named, had partaken in that conflict.

⁵³ *Maer-mor of Marr.* “He was the chief of the Eoganachta of Magh Geirghium, or Marr in modern Scotland, and descended from Mani Lemna (the brother of Carbri Luachra, ancestor of the O'Moriarties, of Kerry,) son of Core, son of Lugaidh, son of Olild

Flann Beg, son of Fiaeachdha Mael-lethan, son of Eogan Mor, son of Olild Olum, king of Munster, and common ancestor of King Brian, and of this Donnall (or Donald), of Marr, who assisted him against the common enemy.”—*O'Donovan.*

⁵⁴ *Maer-mor of Lemhain;* i. e., Great Steward of Lemhain. (*Levin, or Lewmu*), in Latin Levinia, and in English, Lennox. O'Flaherty is of opinion that the Stuarts, earls of Lennox, and afterwards kings of Scotland and England, are maternally descended from the Gaelic Maer-mors of Lemhain, and he informs us that in the reign of Robert II., (A. D. 1370—1395), Alan Stuart, a relative of that monarch, marrying the heiress of Donnacath, or Duncan, the last chief of this family, transferred the title of Lennox of his family.—In the note last quoted, there is what seems an oversight on the part of its learned author; for O'Flaherty states that the Great Stewards of Marr, were descended from Carbri, called Cruithnech, or the Piet; and the Great Stewards of Lennox, from Mani Lemna, his brother.

⁵⁵ *Four and thirty;* i. e., in Gaelic, *Céithre bliaghna trichad.* The copy of the poem from which Keating has quoted this verse, must have been cor-

And his age was eight years above four score at that time: as a bard has told us in the following verse:

“ For four score years and eight
(Right truly is their number told),
Had Brian lived in victories,
Before that rough and desperate fight.”

And, moreover, Mureadh, son of Brian, was three score and three years when he fell in that same battle of Cluain Tarbh.

The return from the battle—The Dal g-Cais reject the claims of the Eoganachta.

At length, after winning the battle,⁵⁶ and after the deaths of Brian and Murcadh, and very many of the Gaels besides them, and after the rout of the Lochlannaigh and the Leinstermen, with the slaughter of the greater part of their forces, the Dal g-Cais and the tribes of Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan marched together in harmony as far as Mullach Masdenn.⁵⁷ But here, the descend-

rupted. In a copy of the romantic tale called the Battle of Clontarf, now in the editor's possession, the verse gives the date thus :

“ Ceithre bliaghna d'ég, is deimhín,
Agus míle gan mebháil, &c.”

In English :

“ Fourteen years to a certainty,
And one thousand without falsehood, &c.”

This has been proved to be the true date, and is probably the correct reading of the verse. Keating's having placed too much reliance upon the one given in the text, has probably helped to cause him to make so many mistakes in chronology with regard to Brian and his cotemporaries.

⁵⁶ *After winning the battle, &c.* On the day after the battle, all the wounded of the Irish army, were conveyed to the camp at Kill Maighenn, now Killmainham, by Tadg, son of Brian, and Kian, son of Maelmuid. On the following day, the monks of St. Colum, at Swords, came to bear away the monarch's body to have it interred in the cathedral of Ard Macha. From Swords it was conveyed to the monastery of St. Kieran at Daimliag, now Dulceek.

Thence it was borne to Louth, where the Primate, Maelmuri, awaited the royal remains, and had them borne to the archiepiscopal city. The bodies of Murcadh and the other chiefs of the family were borne thither at the same time. Brian's body was deposited in the north side of the cathedral, and those of Murcadh and the others, on the south. There, for twelve nights, the religious of the order of St. Patrick kept watch over the dead, chaunting hymns, and offering prayers for the repose of the departed souls.—*See Moore.*

⁵⁷ *Mullach Masdenn.* Now Mullaghmast in the county of Kildare. Donn-cadh, son of Brian, was not at the battle, he had been absent, with a portion of the Dal g-Cais, on a predatory into Leinster, whence he returned on Holy Saturday with immense booty. Having formed a junction with his brother Tadg (*Teigue*), and the Eugenic chieftain, Kian, and having sent much offerings to the Archbishop of Ard Macha, the camp at Killmainham was broken up; and the army of Munster commenced its first day's march homeward, at the end of which the above mentioned secession took place.

ants of Fiacaidh Macil-lethan, formed themselves into a distinct body and separated from the descendants of Cas. And then, as the latter found that they were themselves superior to the Dal g-Cais in the number of their warriors and followers, they determined to send an embassy⁶⁸ to demand hostages from Donnadh, son of Brian, and to explain to him that, inasmuch as they had lately given hostages to his father Brian, and previously to his father's brother, Mathgamain, son of Kenneidigh, it was now their right to possess the sovereignty of Munster, according to the rule of alternate succession. To this, Donnadh, son of Brian, replied: "It was not with your own good will that you ever gave any hostages to father or relative of mine; but it was they themselves, that compelled both you and the other men of Ireland to pay them involuntary homage." And he added, "that he would give no hostages, or other pledges of submission either to their race or to any other; and he said moreover, that he would not himself, have allowed them to have separated from him even then, had his host been numerous enough to meet them in battle, until they should have given pledges of their remaining as submissive to himself, as they had been to his father."

When this reply was told to the chiefs of Desmond, they arose in haste, and seizing their arms, they went out to give immediate battle to the Dal g-Cais. Whereupon Donnadh, son of Brian, commanded his people to place their wounded men within the rath of Masdenn, and to leave one third of his force, as a guard upon them; "and then," said he, "let the other two thirds give their answer to yonder folk upon the battle field!" He gave these orders, though the Dal g-Cais were then little more than one thousand strong, whilst their adversaries of Desmond, had a force of three thousand men. But when the wounded men had heard the orders of their chieftain, they arose hastily from their beds, and having put moss upon their wounds and hurts, they with one accord determined to participate in the expected battle.

⁶⁸ *To send an embassy, &c.* It was Kian, King of Desmond, that sent this embassy; and it was his undoubted right according to the will of Olild Oluin, the common ancestor of the Eoganachta and the Dal g-Cais. He is condemned by many historians for his attempt on this occasion; but whatever its immediate policy or consequences were, there can be no doubt that he was every way qualified to fill the post to which he aspired. Hardiman, in his *Irish Minstrelsy*, bears the following testimony to his worth, on the author-

ity of our ancient historians. "This prince bore a high character for wisdom and bravery. 'No one,' says the historian, 'seemed more worthy of the crown of Munster or monarchy of Ireland, than Kian; and had fate so decreed it in all appearance, Ireland would not have felt those calamities which she has so long endured.' According to Erard Mac Coisi, chief chronicler of the Irish, who died anno, 1023, Kian was as gallant and generous a prince as the house of Eber ever produced."—*Irish Minstrelsy*, p. 366.

Upon this, when the descendants of Fiacaídh Maeil-lethan, had seen the fortitude with which the warriors of the Dal g-Cais—the wounded as well as the unwounded—were preparing themselves for the conflict, they retired from the field⁵⁹ without fighting, and returned to their homes, without having received any hostages from the rivals of their tribe.

⁵⁹ *They retired from the field, &c.* Keating has both confounded what took place on this occasion with what occurred subsequently in the case of the Ossorians, and has not at all stated the real cause of the retiring of the Eoganachta. O'Halloran has given a wrong idea of the immediate preliminaries that led to it; and Mr. Moore has been entirely misled as to the motives that actuated the chieftain who brought it about. The following quotation, translated from the *Cath Cluana Tarbh*, an ancient tale not likely to flatter the opponents of the sons of Brian, may assist the reader in forming his own judgment thereon.—“When Donnall, son of Dubdaboirenn, saw him thus preparing to force hostages from the sons of Brian, he demanded of Kian, what advantage would be conferred by the latter chief upon himself, as the reward of his assistance in that attempt. In reply to this Kian told him that he should receive nothing more than the possession of his own lordship of Uí Eachach, free from tribute. “Then by my word,” said Donnall, “I shall risk neither hurt nor hardship in winning a sovereignty for thee.” “I care little,” rejoined Kian, “whether my attempt have thy consent or not, for thou shalt be forced to march out and assist me to the throne.” “Ther if we be to suffer compulsion,” said Donnall, seceding from Kian. When Donnecadh, son of Brian, had learned that a quarrel between themselves had sprung up amongst the chiefs of the race Eogan Mor, he struck his camp, carried off his wounded men, and marched.”—Such was the reason why the Engenians did not fight. When the half of his own sept (for Donnall and he both belonged to the same branch of the race of Eogan,) had deserted him, and, very likely, several other southern septs, less

interested in his success, had followed their example, Kian was no longer strong enough to attack the Dalcassians. After his return to Rathlenn, he challenged Donnall to a battle, which was almost immediately fought upon the plains of Magh Guillidhe. In this conflict Kian and his two brothers, Cathal and Raghallach, were slain, with great numbers of his followers. Mathgamain, or Mahon, the son of Kian, would then have shared his father's fate, had not his maternal uncles, Donnecadh and Tadhg, speedily led their Dalcassians to his assistance. Donnall risked another battle against Mahon, thus reinforced, but he was totally defeated, and lost his eldest son, Cathal, therein. After this, Mathgamain was for a short time reinstated in his father's principality. But within the same year, the two Dalcassian princes quarrelled amongst themselves, and came to open hostilities. Thereupon Donnall again attacked their nephew, whom he killed in a pitched battle. He then led the Eoganachta to Limerick, in the beginning of A. D. 1015; but he was there met in battle by the sons of Brian, then temporarily reunited. In this engagement the men of Desmond were routed and cut to pieces, and Donnall himself slain.—It is from the Mathgamain, or Mahon, just mentioned, that the Desmond sept of O'Mathgamna, in English, O'Mahony, has its name. It is to be distinguished from the Dalcassian sept of Mac Mathgamna, or Mac Mahon, of Corca Baskinn, and also from that of Mac Mahon of Oirghialla.—“A sad tale was that,” says Maclag, the chief historian and chief physician and biographer of Brian, in recording his death; “for there was not in Ireland in his own time, any man more distinguished for generosity and nobility than that Kian.”

The Dal g-Cais in Osraide—Repulse of Donnadh, son of Gilla-Padraig.

As to the Dal g-Cais, they marched onward from Mullach Masdenn to Ath-Aei⁶⁰, on the brink of the Berba, where they commenced to drink water from that river. But hither Donnadh, son of Gilla-Padraig, king of Osraide, had come to attack them, with a numerous force, composed of Leinstermen and Ossorians, which he had mustered upon the plain of Clann Kellaigh.⁶¹ Thence he had sent out scouts to discover the route by which the Dal g-Cais were coming, for he held them in the greatest hatred, because Brian had placed his father⁶² in bondage, and he had detained him in chains two years, and also because he had plundered and devastated all Osraide, and had slain numbers of its inhabitants. Therefore did the son of Gilla-Padraig store up hostility towards the Dal g-Cais; and in consequence thereof, he sent ambassadors to meet them at Ath-Aei, with instructions to demand hostages from them as the condition of his allowing them to march through his territories unmolested. But Donnadh, son of Brian, at once told these ambassadors that he would deliver up no hostages to their chief. "Then," said they, "thou shalt reply to the demand of the son of Gilla-Padraig by a battle." "And a battle he shall get," said Donnadh; but it is a sad thing, that I did not meet with a death like that which my father found, before I suffered the insult of having hostages demanded from me by the son of Gilla-Padraig." Hereupon the ambassadors expostulated with the angry chieftain of the Dal g-Cais, requesting him not to feel so very indignant, whilst it was so evident that his force was not strong enough to give battle to that led by their own king. To this Donnadh thus rejoined: "Were it ever lawful to punish any ambassadors for the purport of the message they conveyed, I would now have had your tongues plucked out of your heads for this present insolence. For, though I had but one solitary camp follower to stand by me, I should never think of refusing to contend in battle with the son of Gilla-Padraig and the men of Osraide."

⁶⁰ *Ath-Aei*: otherwise, Baile-athacai. A ford on the river Berba or Barrow, where the town of Athy, in the county of Kildare, now stands.

⁶¹ *The Plain of Clann Kellaigh*. The territory of the Clann Kellaigh (not the O'Kellies) lay in the north of the present county of Wicklow.—*O'D.*

⁶² *His father*; i. e., Gilla-Padraig, the progenitor from whom the Fitzpatricks, or the Mac Gilla-Patricks of

Ossory, have their name. He had been captured by Brian in A. D. 982, and was slain in A. D. 995 by Donnoban, son of Imhar, Lord of the Danes of Waterford. The latter chief was son of Inghen, daughter of Donnoban (from whom the O'Donovans,) the king of the Ui Fidghenti, who was slain by Brian in A. D. 977, in vengeance for his brother, Mahon.

Donncadh, then, again gave orders, that one third of his host should be placed on guard as a protection for the wounded, and that the other two thirds should meet the expected battle. But when the wounded men heard of these orders, they sprung up in such haste that their wounds and sores burst open; but they bound them up in moss, and grasping their lances and their swords, they came thus equipped into the midst of their comrades. Here they requested of Donncadh, son of Brian, to send some men to the forest with instructions to bring thence a number of strong stakes, which they proposed to have thrust into the ground, "And to these stakes," said they, "let us be bound with our arms in our hands, and let our sons and our kinsmen be stationed by our sides; and let two warriors, who are unwounded, be placed near each one of us wounded, for it is thus that we will help one another with truer zeal, because shame will not allow the sound man to leave his position until his wounded and bound comrade can leave it likewise." This request was complied with, and the wounded men were stationed after the manner which they had pointed out. And, indeed, that array in which the Dal g-Cais were then drawn, was a thing for the mind to dwell upon in admiration, for it was a great and amazing wonder.⁶³

And the men of Leinster and Osraide were seized with fear and dismay when they saw the astounding courage wherewith the Dal g-Cais stood up against them. And what they said was, "It is not of marching off or of running away, or of breaking their ranks, or of yielding to panic, that yonder men are thinking, but of doing their utmost to defend themselves by making a firm, obstinate, and hand to hand fight. For this reason, we will not now contend with them in battle, for to them life and death are alike indifferent." Hereupon the son of Gilla-Padraig spoke and said: "It is cowardly on your part to speak thus; for you are numerous enough to eat up yonder folk were they but cooked." "That is true," replied they, "but it is equally true, that not one man of them can be slain, until five or six of us have first fallen by his hands. And then what advantage will result to us from dying in their company?" "Then," said the son of Gilla-Padraig, "as you will not give them battle, you will at least pursue and harass them on their homeward march, for they are impeded by the number of their wounded, and are, consequently, unable to contend with you in skirmishing." And this course of action was what was

⁶³ *An Amazing Wonder.* For a *Ballad of "Remember the glories of Brian the brave."* He alludes to it in his more rationally told account of this almost fabulous array, see Moore's *History of Ireland*.

adopted; and the army of the Dal g-Cais suffered more losses from the skirmishes that thence ensued, than it could have done from a pitched battle. From Ath-Aci, they marched through want and hardship towards their own country; and at length there reached home under Donnadh, son of Brian, but eight hundred and fifty of their number, for they had lost ten men above seven score, in their skirmishes with the men of Osraide,⁶⁴ who had continued to harass them, while they persisted in refusing to stand a pitched battle.

Maelsechlainn's Account⁶⁵ of the Battle of Cluain Tarbh.

The following is the account which Maelsechlainn, son of Donnall, king of Meath, gave of the battle of Cluain Tarbh, within one month after it had been fought. For when the chiefs

⁶⁴ *Osraide.* It does not appear that any of this tribe had been engaged on either side at Clontarf. But it is said that its chief had held aloof upon the plain of Clann Kellaigh, determined to shape his conduct by the result.

The only sons of Brian that survived the battle of Clontarf were Tadg (*Teigue*) and Donnadh (*Donoũgha*). Of the others, Murcadh (*Moroũgha*), his eldest son, had fallen there, and Concobar, Flann and Donnall, though mentioned by Keating as engaged therein, had either died or been slain previously. The surviving brothers fell out soon after their return to Kenn-Coradh, and in the same year (A.D. 1014) fought a desperate battle, in which victory declared in favor of Tadg, and where Ruaidri O'Donnagain, Lord of Aradh, and many others were slain. But they were soon after reconciled by the mediation of the clergy of Munster, and reigned in partnership, as kings of Leth Mogha, until A. D. 1023, when Tadg was treacherously murdered by the men of Eli, at the instigation of his own brother.

⁶⁵ *Maelsechlainn's Account, &c.*—This account is pure fiction. It was abstracted by Keating from the historical tract called *Cath Cluana Tarbh*, "which" says Dr. O'Donovan, "is a Munster production, full of prejudice against the dethroned Maelsechlainn, but the northern annalists acknowledge no

treachery on the part of this prince, whom they describe as a true patriot and magnanimous hero. The Dalecassian writer, however, in order to exalt the character of the popular hero, Brian, did not hesitate to blacken, unjustly, the fame of his injured competitor."—Were there, indeed, no other evidence of its falsehood, than the acts of this chivalrous and generous prince during the whole course of his long life, the latter alone should be proof enough to show that he was incapable of treacherously conspiring with his country's enemies. Mr. Moore does ample justice to his conduct. This writer, though he has been guided by foreign rather than by Irish ideas and customs, in condemning as an usurpation, the accession of Brian to the throne—an accession that, in truth, differed in nothing from several preceding occasions, except in his not having killed his predecessor. He informs us that "When the mortal wound received by Murrough (Murcadh,) the son of Brian, in the battle of Clontarf, deprived the army of its acting leader, the command devolved upon the patriotic and high-minded Malachy, (Maelsechlainn) by whom the victory, then all but accomplished was followed up to its full and perfect success."—*History of Ireland.*

The fact that Maelsechlainn acted as a true patriot, and faithful ally on that occasion, is amply borne out by the ae

of the Clann Colmain had requested him to give them a description of the conflict, he addressed them and said, "That in his opinion, he had never witnessed any battle like unto that one; for," said he, "were one of God's angels to come from heaven to give a description thereof, it would appear incredible even from him. During that engagement I stood aloof with my forces and remained a spectator of the contest, but at no greater distance than the breadth of a single fallow field and its hedge. And then, as soon as the warriors had come to close quarters, and were fighting breast to breast and hand to hand, striking and cutting at one another, like, indeed, unto that from a crowded flock of white gulls, when the summer tide is making for the land, was the dazzling glare of the bright shields, brandished above the heads of the combatants. And even if we felt any

counts of the battle, as handed down to us in the annals of the Four Masters, and the annals of Ulster. The following is the simple and unadorned entry which the compilers of the former have made thereof;—"A. D. 1013, (correctly, 1014.) An army was led by Brian, son of Kenneidigh, son of Lorcan, King of Ireland, and by Maelsechlainn, son of Domnall, King of Temhair. The foreigners of the West of Europe assembled against Brian, and Maelsechlainn, and they took with them ten hundred men with coats of mail. A spirited, fierce, violent, vengeful and furious battle was fought between them, the likeness of which was not to be found in that time, at Cluain Tarbh, on Friday before Easter precisely. In this battle were slain Brian, son of Kenneidigh, monarch of Ireland, who was the Augustus of all the west of Europe, in the 88th year of his age; Murcadh, son of Brian, royal heir of Ireland (Righdamna Erenn) in the 63d year of his age; Conaing, son of Doncuan, son of Brian's brother; Tordelbach, son of Murcadh, son of Brian; Mothla (or Molta,) son of Domnall, son of Faelan, Lord of the Desi Mumhan; Eocaidh, son of Dunadach, i. e., the Lord of Clann Sgannlain; Niall Ua Cuinn; Cuduiligh, son of Kenneidigh, the three companions of Brian; Tadg Ua Kellaigh, Lord of Ui Mani; Maelruadnaidh na Paidré O hEidin, Lord of Aidni; Gebennach, son of Dubagan, Lord of Fera Maighe; Mac Betha,

son of Muredach Claen, King of Kiarraide Luachra; Domnall, son of Diarmaid, Lord of Corca Baskin; Sgannlan, son of Cathal, Lord of Eoganacht Locha Lein; and Domnall, son of Emhin, son of Cainnech, Great Steward of Marr, in Alba.

"The forces were afterward routed by dint of battling, bravery and striking, by Maelsechlainn from Tulcainn (the small river now called the Tolka, which joins the sea at Clontarf,) to Ath-cliaith, against the foreigners and the Leinstermen; and there fell Maelmorda, son of Murcadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster, &c.—(See list already given)—there were also slain Dubgall, son of Anlaeibh and Gilla-Kiarain, son of Glunaiarn, two tanists of the foreigners; Sicfrith, son of Lodar, Earl of Insh-Orc, (the Orkneys;) Brodar, chief of the Danes of Denmark, who was the person that slew Brian. The ten hundred in armor were cut to pieces, and at least 3000 of the foreigners were slain—Maelmuri, son of Eocaidh, Comarba of St. Patrick, proceeded to Sord Coluim Killi, (Swords,) with seniors and relics, and they carried thence the body of Brian, King of Ireland, and the body of Murcadh, his son, and the head of Conaing, and the head of Mothla. Maelmuri, with his clergy, then waked the body with great honor and veneration, and they were interred in a new tomb."

desire to help either party, it was no longer in our power to interfere, because our spears and arms were entangled above our heads by the clotted hair; for the wind of the spring had borne down upon us clotted locks of hair, torn from the heads and beards of heroes, as they cut, and hacked, and slaughtered one another with weapons sharp and fleet. So that from this cause alone, we had much to do in keeping the handles of our spears and battle-axes clear of each other. And we then considered that those actually engaged in the fight could not have suffered more, than the men who had to continue spectators of such a fight, and keep themselves from running mad."

The reader must here observe that, although Maelsechlainn and the men of Meath, had marched to the field as part of the army of Brian, there was nevertheless a treacherous plot between himself and the Lochlannaigh, by reason of which, he did not lead his men into the line of battle with the rest of the monarch's forces; but what he did was to draw his followers aside from the fight, as had been previously arranged with the strangers.

Neither were the Kinel Eogain nor the Kinel Conaill present at that engagement; but their absence was caused by no fault of theirs, for they had proffered to march thither, but Brian had himself refused their aid, saying in the greatness of his soul, that as he had gained all the victories he had ever gained without their help, so should he gain this one.

MAELSECHLAINN, ARD-RIGH.

A. D. 1014.⁶⁶ Maelsechlainn, son of Domnall, resumed the sovereignty of Ireland after the death of Brian, and reigned for nine years. It was during this period that the following events took place:

Maelsechlainn, aided by O'Neill and O'Maeldoraidh, led a numerous force against Ath-cliath, which he burned,⁶⁷ in spite of the remnant of the Lochlannaigh, that had survived the

⁶⁶ A. D. 1014-15. After the death of his rival, Brian, and having completed the victory of Clontarf, Maelsechlainn regained the unopposed possession of the sovereignty of Ireland.

⁶⁷ *Ath-cliath burned.* "A. D. 1016. An army was led by Maelsechlainn, O'Neill and O'Maeldoraidh (the Princes of Kinel Eogain and Kinel Conaill) to Ath-cliath; and they burned the fortress, and all the houses outside the fort-

ress. They then marched into Ui Kentslaigh, and despoiled the whole territory, carrying off many thousand captives and cattle. However, a party of his foragers were intercepted, and many of them were slain. Maelsechlainn then returned into Leinster, followed by O'Neill, O'Maeldoraidh and O'Ruairc (Prince of Brefni) when he carried off the hostages of Leinster, and gave that principality to Donnucan, son of Dunlaing. Hence he pro-

slaughter of their race by Brian, upon the field of Cluain Tarbh. Thence he marched against the Ui Kennselaigh, the whole of whose country he pillaged and burned, of whose people he slew great numbers. After this, the monarch marched into Ulidia,⁶⁸ whence he carried off very many hostages.

It was about this time that Donnagan,⁶⁹ King of Leinster, and Tadhg O'Riain,^{69*} lord of Ui Drona, with several other noble persons, were slain in the middle of Leithglinn by Donnadh, son of Gilla-Padraig. Maelsechláinn, King of Ireland, then made a hosting into Osraide, where he slew Donngal, son of Gilla-Padraig, son of Donnadh, and many other people together with him, and whence he carried off immense spoil and great numbers of captives. It was about this time that Mac-Liag,⁷⁰ the Arch-poet of Ireland, died.

It was this Maelsechláinn, of whose reign we are treating, that founded the monastery of St. Mary's, at Ath-cliaith, about the year of one thousand and twenty-two.⁷¹ In the latter part of his

reign he succeeded unto Osraide, whence he carried off innumerable preys and many prisoners.—See *Four Masters*.

⁶⁸ *Ulidia*. Maelsechláinn received the hostages of Ulidia in A. D. 1016. "Were any further refutation of the calumny (against this king,) wanting, we should find it in the prompt according assent of the whole nation, and to his immediate resumption of the supreme power, and the instant vigor with which, on his accession, leaving no respite to the remnant of the Danish force, he attacked them in their head quarters, Dublin, and setting fire to the citadel and the houses around it, destroyed the greater part of that city."—*Moore*.

⁶⁹ *Donnagan*. His name was Donnacuan, not Donnagan. He was the king whom Maelsechláinn had placed over Leinster a short time previously. The murder was perpetrated at Leith-glinn, in A. D. 1016. Tadhg Ua Riain was slain by the son of Gilla-Padraig upon the same occasion. "After they had made friendship, and taken a mutual oath in the beginning of the day." Maelsechláinn invaded Osraide within the same year, and avenged his murdered vassal by slaying Donngal, the brother of the treacherous Donnadh, and destroyed the country as related above.

^{69*} *O'Riain*, now Ryan. This family is still numerous in Idrone and throughout Leinster, but they are to be distinguished from the O'Macilriains, or O'Mulryans, now O'Ryan, of Owny O'Mulryan, in Tipperary. Both are of the race of Cathaeir Mor, King of Ireland, but their pedigrees are different. The Ui Drona descend from Drona, 4th in descent from that King. The Ui Macilriain spring from Fergus, son of Eogan Goll, son of Nathi, son of Crimthan, son of Enna Kennselach, son of Labraidh, son of Bresal Belach, son of Fiacaith Bacheda, son of Cathaeir Mor.—*O'D.*

⁷⁰ *Mac-Liag*. His name was Murkertach, son of Cukertach. He was the chief physician and secretary of Brian Boromha, of which monarch he is said to have written a life, which, according to Dr. O'Donovan, was extant in MS. in the last century, though no copy of it is known to exist at present. He died in A. D. 1016. See some extracts from his writings in *Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy*.

⁷¹ *One thousand and twenty-two*. O'Connor's translation has it 1045; one of the editor's MSS. 1034, and another has the one given above, which has been adopted as the least objectionable.

life, this monarch had indeed become a good and a pious man.⁷² When the strength of Lochlannaigh had been broken in the battle of Cluain Tarbh, and when they no longer held any authority in the country, except the wardenship of some seaport towns, whence, indeed, they still made occasional plundering incursions into the interior, though not strong enough to give a pitched battle to the Gaels, then did Maelsechlaimn, after the example of Brian⁷³ begin to reorganize the public schools, and to build new churches and to repair those that had fallen into decay. We are told, moreover, that he maintained three hundred students in those schools, at his own cost.

It was, also, in the reign of Maelsechlaimn that Braen⁷⁴ son of Maelmorda, son of Murcadh, who had been king of Leinster for two years, was treacherously blinded by Sitric, son of Amlaibh, at Ath-eliath. Kenannus,⁷⁵ of Meath, was now robbed and pil-

⁷² *A good and pious man.* Judging from all that is trustworthy in the records of his own time, Maelsechlaimn was a good man, not only subsequently to the death of his rival, but during the whole course of his own career. He was not alone good, but he stands forth prominent as the most stainless and the noblest of all the Irish laymen of his time.—“In approaching the close of this eminent prince’s career,” Mr. Moore has truly observed, “it should not be forgotten, among his other distinguished merits, that, unlike the greater part of those chieftains, who flourished in what may be called the Danish period, he never, in any one instance, sullied his name by entering into alliance with the spoilers of his country; and as the opening year of his reign had been rendered memorable by a great victory over the Danes, so, at the distance of nearly half a century, his closing hours were cheered by a triumph over the same restless, but no longer formidable foe. In the summer of 1022, being summoned to the field by some aggression of the Northmen, he encountered their force at the Yellow Ford, a place now called Athboy, and defeated them with great slaughter. Retiring soon after the battle to a small island upon Loch Annin, he there ended his life in penitence and prayer; being attended in his dying moments by the three comarbas of St.

Patriek, St. Columba and St. Kieran; one of his latest cares being to endow a foundation for the support of 300 orphan children, to be selected out of the principal cities of the island.”—*History of Ireland.*

⁷³ *After the example of Brian.* It was not enough to have robbed Maelsechlaimn of his merits during the lifetime of his rival, but the Munster writers would even deprive him of part of the praise due to the meritorious deeds he performed after that hero’s death. He was, however, no less distinguished for his pious munificence, victories, and attention to the internal improvement of his country during his first reign, than he was after his restoration to the throne. In these Brian might rather be said to have imitated him.

⁷⁴ *Braen.* He was blinded by the former allies of his father, in A. D. 1018. Blinding was the usual mode of incapacitating a prince from reigning. Braen died in consequence of this ill-treatment.

⁷⁵ *Kenannus robbed.* Kenannus, or Kells, in Meath, was robbed in A. D. 1019, and many persons were slain in the middle by the church. Maelsechlaimn was then at enmity with the Kinel Eogain of the North, by whom his two sons, Ardgar and Ardeu, were slain. The restless plunderers of Dublin seemed to have seized upon that

laged by this same Sitric and the Lochlannaigh of Ath-eliath. On this occasion many persons were slain by these plunderers, and numbers were carried off into captivity.

Some time after, Sitric, son of Amlaebh, and the inhabitants of Ath-eliath, received a great defeat from Ugari, son of Dunlaing,⁷⁶ son of Cathal, who was king of Leinster for three years: a dreadful slaughter was made of the Lochlannaigh therein. But, not long afterwards, Donnsléibí, son of Maclmorda, burned the house of Ugari, at Dubh-loch⁷⁷ of Lis Culi, and Ugari himself perished in the flames. It was also about this time, that Sitric, son of Imhar⁷⁸ lord of the Lochlannaigh, of Port Largi, was slain by the king of Osraide. At length, Maelsechlainn,⁷⁹ king of Ireland, died at Cro-inis,⁸⁰ in Loch Anind.

From the death of this monarch to the invasion of the Anglo-Normans, I am of opinion that no king was ever universally acknowledged as the sovereign ruler of Ireland; for, although

opportunity for making an incursion into his dominions. It was but two years previously that he had defeated them with great slaughter, at Odba; and in 1021 he avenged the aggression by ravaging their territories.

⁷⁶ *Ugari, son of Dunlaing.* He gained this victory in A. D. 1021, at Delgni Mogarog, now called Delgany, in the barony of Rathdown, County Wicklow.

⁷⁷ *Dubloch; i. e., the Black Lough.* Its situation is unknown. The death of Ugari did not take place for two years after that of Maelsechlainn, as is seen by the following entry: "A. D. 1024. Donnsléibí, Lord of Ui Faelain, took a house forcibly from Ugari, king of Leinster, and from Maclmorda, son of Lorcan, Lord of Ui Kennselaigh, and from his son; and the three were slain therein."—*Four Masters*.

⁷⁸ *Sitric, son of Imhar.* He was slain in A. D. 1022.

⁷⁹ *Maelsechlainn died.* "A. D. 1022. The victory of Ath Buidhe Tlaetga (i. e., the Yellow Ford of Tlaetgo, now Athboy, in Meath,) was gained by Maelsechlainn, over the foreigners of Ath-eliath, and numbers were slain therein; of which was said:

His last red victory was gained,
One evening at the Yellow Ford;
And thirty bounding days he saw,
From this until his final hour.

He lived but a month after this. Maelsechlainn Mor, son of Donnall, son of Donncaadh, pillar of the dignity and nobility of the Western world, died at Cro-inis, of Loch Anind, after receiving the body of Christ and his blood, after being anointed by the hands of Amalgaidh, Comarba of Patrick; and the Comarba of Colum Killi, and the Comarba of Kiaran, and most of the seniors of Ireland were present at his death; and they sung masses, hymns, psalms and canticles, for the welfare of his soul. Sorrowful to the poor of the Lord was the death of Maelsechlainn, as is evident from this quatrain:

Four hundred forts that king possessed,
In which both flesh and food were given,
Guests from the elemental king,
Found welcome in each fort of these."—*Four Masters*.

⁸⁰ *Cro-inis, i. e., the isle of the house or hut.* It is still called Cro-inis in Irish, but Cormorant Island in English. It lies in the north-west part of Lough Eunell, near Mullingar. Some fragments of the ruins of a small castle, or stone house, are still to be seen on the island. The fort of Dun-na-Sgiath (i. e., the Fort of the Shields), the seat of Maelsechlainn, which consisted of several concentric entrenchments, is situated on the bank of the lake opposite this island.—*O'Donovan*.

historians name certain chieftains as Ard-righa, or supreme kings, after his time, still I find that none of these reigned without opposition,⁸¹ notwithstanding their assumption of the title of monarchs of the whole kingdom. To this fact a historic bard has borne testimony in the following verse :

“ After the happy Maelsechlainn,
 Son of Domnall, son of Donncaadh,
 Each noble king ruled his own tribe,
 But Eri owned no sovereign lord.”

DONNCADH, ARD-RIGH,
 Go Fresabra.

A. D. 1023.⁸² Donncaadh,⁸³ son of Brian Boromha, son of Kenneidigh, son of Lorcan, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of the greater part of Ireland, and, more especially, that of the kingdom of Leth Mogha, for fifty years.⁸⁴ This is the opinion of Finghin MacCarthaigh,⁸⁵ as written in his book on the history of

⁸¹ *Without opposition*, i. e., *gan fresabhradh*” (*gann frassowra*). Maelsechlainn may be justly styled the last full king of Ireland. So several of the provincial kings were styled ard-righa by their own partizans, after his time, and are even named as such by foreign writers, still it does not appear that any of them was ever either regularly installed as monarch, or accepted as such by the majority of the nation. By our antiquarians, the toparch, whose power predominated for the time, was styled, “*Righ go fresabhradh*” (*Ree go frassowra*), i. e., king with opposition, or rather king under protest.

⁸² A. D. 1023. In this year, Donncaadh, having procured the assassination of his brother and co-regnant, as already stated, became sole king of Munster, and he soon after received hostages of Osraide, Connaught, Leinster and the Dances of Dublin. At this time, however, the power of Flathbertach O'Neill was paramount in Meath and Ulster; whilst the sages, Corcran the Cleric, and Cuan O'Lochain, were nominally considered as the regents of Ireland.

⁸³ DONNCADH III.

⁸⁴ *Fifty years*. This number is entirely wrong; for there elapsed but

fifty years, in all, from the battle of Clontarf to the deposition of Donncaadh, in A. D. 1064. During that period, Maelsechlainn reigned for nine years; after which the nominal regency lasted according to some, for six years. About the year A. D. 1053, Donncaadh's power, even in the southern half of Ireland, began to sink beneath that of Diarmaid, son of Donncaadh, styled Mael-nambo, King of Leinster, and the foster-father and protector of Tordelbach, son of the murdered Tadhg. Under this power, the fortunes of Donncaadh finally sank in A. D. 1063. Donncaadh then, cannot, with the utmost latitude of expression, be considered as having been sole king, even of all Leth Mogha, for a longer period than thirty years. At no time can he be considered as monarch of all Ireland, for none of the northern tribes had ever submitted to his authority. His title to be styled *Ard-righ Erenn* is, indeed, much less ostensible than that of any of those toparchs, whom our ancestors have called *righa go fresabradh*.

⁸⁵ *Finghin MacCarthaigh*; otherwise Florence MacCarthy. He lived in the fifteenth century, and wrote a history of Ireland, said to be still extant in manuscript.

Ireland, and it is also that of some other Irish antiquarians; and I do myself deem it more likely to be correct, than that of those who say that Donncaadh held the sovereignty for no longer than twelve years; for the opinion of Finghin is in accordance with the number of years that elapsed from the time of Brian to the Anglo-Norman invasion, whilst the other assertion does not accord⁸⁶ therewith.

It was during the reign of Donncaadh that Harold Conan,⁸⁷ Prince of Britain, fled to Ireland, where he found shelter, in the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-one. It was then, likewise, that Mathgamhain O'Riagain,⁸⁸ King of Breagh, captured Amlacibh, son of Sitric, Lord of the Lochlannaigh of Ireland, and forced him to pay a ransom of two hundred cows and sixty steeds, for his liberty. It was, moreover, during the reign of Donncaadh, that Flathbertach O'Neill⁸⁹ set out upon his pilgrimage to Rome. After this, Tadhg O'Lorcain,⁹⁰ king of Ui Kennselaigh, died at Glenn-da-loch, where he had been doing penance. About this time, likewise, died Gormflaith,⁹¹ daughter of Donn-

⁸⁶ *Does not accord.* The reason of the discrepancy here noticed, was apparently caused by the fact that the partizans of each pretender to the throne had stiled their chieftain king of Ireland, from the time of his accession to the rulership of his own tribe or province. In our authentic annals, which acknowledge no monarch after Maelsechlainn, there is no such confusion of dates.

⁸⁷ *Harold Conan.* Harold, son of Earl Godwin, and the last of the Saxon kings of England, is here meant. The second wife of Donncaadh was the sister of Harold. The latter fled to Ireland after the rebellion of his father against Edward the Confessor. In this country, says the Saxon Chronicle, he remained "all the winter on the king's security." Donncaadh afterwards supplied him with a fleet and a body of armed men, wherewith he made a successful landing in his own country.

⁸⁸ *Mathgamhain Ua Riagain;* in English, Mahon O'Regan. "A. D. 1029. Amlacibh, son of Sitric, lord of the foreigners, was captured by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, lord of Breagh, who exacted 1,200 cows as his ransom, together with 140 British horses, and sixty ounces of gold, and the Sword of Carlus,

and the Irish hostages both of Leinster and Leth Cuinn; and sixty ounces of silver as his fetter-ounce (i. e., the price of his fetters); and eighty cows, for word and supplication; and four hostages to Ua Riagain, as securities for peace; and the full value of the life of the third hostage."—*Four Masters.* This account is more likely to be near the truth than Keating's.—*Ed.*

⁸⁹ *Flathbertach O'Neill.* He was king of Ailech, from A. D. 1004, to A. D. 1036. He was a distinguished and powerful chieftain in his day, and might be stiled king of the North of Ireland, from the death of Maelsechlainn to his own. His pilgrimage to Rome took place in A. D. 1030, whence he returned next year. He is thence stiled in the O'Neill pedigrees, *An Trosdain*, i. e., of the Pilgrim Staff.

⁹⁰ *Tadhg O'Lorcain.* "A. D. 1037. Tadhg Ua Lorcain, tanist of Ui Kennselaigh, was taken prisoner at Kill Cuillinn, (Kilcullen,) by Donncaadh, son of Gilla-Padraig, and he was afterwards blinded by the son of Macl-nambo."—*Four Masters.*

⁹¹ *Gormflaith.* "A. D. 1030. Gormflaith, daughter of Murcadh, son of Finn, mother of Sitric, king of the foreigners; of Donncaadh, son of Brian, king of

each, son of Flann, King of Leinster, and mother of Sitrie, son of Amaleibh, Lord of the Lochlannaigh of Ireland. She was also the mother of Donnadh, son of Brian Boromha.

It was now that Cluain Ferta, of St. Brendan, was plundered by Art Coilech O'Ruaire,⁹² King of Brefni; but Donnadh, son of Brian Boromha, overtook him on the same day, and made a dreadful slaughter of his people, in vengeance of the sacrilege which they had committed. Soon after this, Cathal, son of Ruaidri,⁹³ King of the west of Connaught, went upon a pilgrimage to Ard Macha.

In a few years after, Port Largi was plundered and burned by Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo,⁹⁴ King of Leinster. It was then, also, that Cluain-mic-Nois was plundered⁹⁵ and burned by the Conmaeni, but God and St. Kieran wreaked prompt vengeance upon them for that sacrilegious deed, for the greater part of the people of this tribe, together with their cattle, died soon after of a plague.

It was about this time that Carthach, son of Saerbrethach,⁹⁶

Munster, and of Coneobar, son of Mael-scehlainn, king of Temhair, died. It was this Gormlath that made the three leaps, of which was said :

"Gormlath made the leaps,
Which woman never more shall make;
One at Ath-cllath, one at Temhair,
And one at Caisel of Cups, over all."—*Four Masters.*

She had been first queen of the Danes, then of Brian, and lastly of Maelscehlainn. She was the sister of Maelmorda, king of Leinster. Finn, not Flann, was her and his grandfather's name.

⁹² *Art Coilech*; i. e., Art the Cock. Art O'Ruaire, who was king of Connaught, was slain by the Kinel Conaill, in A. D. 1046. The plundering of Cluain Ferta, of St. Brendan, mentioned above, took place in A. D. 1031.

⁹³ *Cathal, son of Ruaidri.* He went on his pilgrimage to Ard Macha in A. D. 1037, where he died, in A. D. 1043.

⁹⁴ *Diarmuid, son of Mael-na-mbo.* He was the first of the immediate ancestors of the MacMurrough, that became King of Leinster. Maelmorda, son of Muredh, was ancestor of the O'Byrnes. Port Largi (now Waterford) was plundered by him in A. D. 1037. From

that time until his death, he continued to be one of the most warlike and powerful of the Irish princes. During part of it, some antiquarians style him monarch of Ireland.

⁹⁵ *Cluain-mic-Nois plundered.* The Conmaeni, who plundered this ecclesiastical establishment on the present occasion, were most probably of the branch of that tribe that dwelt in Mayo and Leitrim. It was done at the suggestion of O'Ruaire, who was then sovereign of Connaught, for we are told that when "the unknown plague was sent amongst them, so that the *booleys* and their cattle were laid waste after the death of all the shepherd people, the clergy of St. Kieran received an award in atonement therefor, namely, the son of O'Ruaire, who was called Mac-na-h-oidhche (*mac na hechie*, i. e., the Son of Night,) and twelve sons of the sub-chiefs, the best of the Conmaeni, along with him, and a *sgreball* from every *dun*." This happened in A. D. 1044. It was plundered again in A. D. 1050.

⁹⁶ *Carthach, son of Saerbrethach.* This is the progenitor from whom the royal sept of MacCarthaigh (*Mac Cuurha*) of Desmond, now anglicized MacCarty, takes its name. This chieftain had de-

king of the Eoganacht of Cashel, was burned, together with many other nobles, in a house which was set on fire by the grandson of Lonnargan, son of Donnucan.

At last, Donnecadh, son of Brian, was deposed⁹⁷ from the sovereignty; whereupon he went on a pilgrimage to Rome. There he died, in the monastery of St. Stephen.

The races of Power, Plunkett, and Fitz-Eustace.

Many people assert that the Pacraigh,⁹⁸ Plunkétaigh and

feated the united forces of Ormond and Osaide, or Ossory, in A. D. 1043, at Macileannaigh (a place near the village of Golden), where Mac-Craith O'Donnagain, lord of Aradh, was slain. The Lonnargan above mentioned was of the Dal g-Cais tribe, and ancestor of the O'Lonnargains, who very probably then made their first settlement at Cathair-duin-iasgach, in Tipperary, which is now called Cahir.

⁹⁷ *Donnecadh deposed.* "A. D. 1064. Donnecadh, son of Brian, King of Munster was deposed; and he afterwards went to Rome, where he died under the victory of penance, in the monastery of St. Stephen the Martyr.—*Four Masters* vs.

After the assassination of his brother Tadg, Donnecadh had soon encountered an active and warlike opponent in his nephew, Tordelbach. This accomplished prince, favorably received by the Irish chieftains, and affectionately supported by his kinsman Diarmaid, King of Leinster, soon became a formidable rival to his uncle. Seconded by the reluctant tributaries of the Donnecadh, Tordelbach gained several successes over the suborner of his father's murder, by which he compelled him to exonerate both Connaught and Leinster from tribute. In A. D. 1058, Donnecadh was routed in a battle fought near Sliabh Grod (the Gaulties) by Diarmaid, son of Macl-na-mbo, the friend and protector of his nephew. This chief again invaded Munster, in A. D. 1061, and defeated the forces of Donnecadh with great slaughter at Cnamh-coill, near Tipperary. Next year he made another invasion of this principality, when he a second time burned Limerick. But at last Diarmaid and

Tordelbach, leading against him the united forces of Connaught and Leinster, gave Donnecadh the final fatal overthrow, which compelled him to resign in favor of his nephew, and retire into a foreign monastery to atone for his fratricide, among his other sins. The events preceding his resignation are recorded as follows: "A. D. 1063. A great army was led by the son of Macl-na-mbo, into Munster; and the chiefs of the plain of Munster, came into his house and left hostages with him. The son of Brian (Donnecadh) and his son Murcadh, of the Short Shield, came to attack Tordelbach, after the departure of Diarmaid; but Tordelbach defeated Murcadh, and slaughtered his people. Diarmaid again entered Munster, and took its hostages from the Water southwards, to St. Brendan's Hill, (now the Brandon mountains, in Kerry) and those hostages he delivered into the hands of Tordelbach, who was his foster-son."—*Four Masters*. This Donnecadh is the king who is stated to have carried the crown and regalia of Ireland to Rome, and there, with the consent of the Irish nobility, to have delivered both them and the supreme sovereignty of his country into the hands of the Roman Pontiff. But it is evident from all the records of his time, that he had never become possessed of any crown or regalia of Ireland, which he could so bestow, and that at the time of his resignation or deposition his possessions had been reduced within very narrow limits.

⁹⁸ *Pacraigh, &c.*; i. e., the families of Power, Plunkett, and FitzEustace; which names have been hibernicized Paer, or Paor, Pluinecatt, and Eustas.

Eusdasaigh are descended from this monarch. But I have not found a single lay, or other writing, in proof of the descent of any of these races from Donncaadh, son of Brian Boromha, with the exception of one verse that is contained in a *duan*,⁹⁹ beginning with the line, "I shall confer a favor on the sons of 'Tal," which *duan* has been composed by a man who is a cotemporary of our own, namely, by Macilín MacBruaidín. There is also an oral tradition, repeated by many ignorant persons, which says, that after his arrival in Rome, Donncaadh had an intrigue with the daughter of an emperor, then dwelling in that city, and that she bore him a son, who became the progenitor of the three tribes here mentioned. But this tradition cannot be true, because, when Donncaadh set out upon his pilgrimage, he was a very old man, inasmuch as he had then passed his eightieth year; for which reason it is not at all likely that any emperor's daughter could feel desirous of holding an intrigue with any such veteran as he. Besides this, it would have been exceedingly unbecoming for a man, who had gone to Rome as a pilgrim, in order to do penance for his sins, to have had an amorous intrigue with any woman in the world. For these reasons I judge that Donncaadh had no intrigue with any emperor's daughter, and that no son was borne to him in Rome, from whom the above mentioned races could have sprung.

The truth of my opinion may be the more readily estimated from what is read in the book of Annals, which was copied about three hundred years since, out of the *Leabar Brece*, or Speckled Book of MacAedagain. For it is there stated, that,

⁹⁹ *A duan*. The *duan* here referred to is a metrical genealogy of the O'Briens of Thomond. The verse in question is introduced but incidentally therein. The following is a translation :

"From Donncaadh's branching stock have sprung
The noble tribes of Power and Plunkett;
Tried warriors from the upland fields—
Thence sprung the martial race, FitzEustace."

Dr. Keating, in denying the truth of the assertion contained in this *romance*, has not adduced the slightest admissible proof of its falsehood. It were strange, indeed, that such a tradition should have got amongst the Dalcassian shannachies, without some foundation; nor does the fact of Dr. Keating's never having seen any "lay or writing" in support thereof, prove that such documents did not then, and may not still exist. The bard, MacBruaidín, could

scarcely have had at that time any interested motive in coining a fictitious relationship between these noble families and that of his patrons. We have seen that Donncaadh was doubly connected with foreigners. By his mother, he was the brother of the Danish King of Dublin, and his second wife was Driella, daughter of Earl Godwin. By her he had a son named Donnall, or Domnan, who may possibly have migrated to Normandy or Brittany, and there founded the above named races. This is rendered less unlikely from Donncaadh's family relationship with the Dublin Danes—a people of the same blood as the Normans. According to O'Halloran, Dr. Keating has, in order to refute MacBruaidín, taken up some vulgar tradition that would convert the Saxon lady Driella into the daughter of an emperor.

after performing his pilgrimage to Rome, Domnadh entered the monastery of St. Stephen, in that city, where he took upon himself the yoke of religion, and where he passed what remained of his life in the practice of penitence, up to the day of his death. We also find the name of Robert le Poer,¹⁰⁰ from whom the Paeraigh and Eústasaigh are more immediately sprung, mentioned in the Chronicles of the Strangers, where they record the names of those foreign nobles that came over to Ireland in the very beginning of the Anglo-Norman invasion. The same authorities tell us, that the Plunketaigh are descended from the Lochlannaigh (i. e., the Northmen or Danes).

TORDELBACH O'BRIAIN, ARD-RIGH,
Go Fresabra.

A. D. 1064.¹ Tordelbach, son of Tadg, son of Brian Bor-

¹⁰⁰ *Robert le Poer*. In Ireland, Robert became the founder of the noble Anglo-Norman sept of Power, or Le Poer, whose principal settlements lay in the territories of the southern Desi, now the county of Waterford, where several of its members still rank amongst the highest of the local aristocracy. The name is also widely spread amongst the brave peasantry and wealthy farmers of that county, as all ancient names usually are. In the reign of Elizabeth, the heiress of the eldest branch of this race married into the English family of Beresford, to which family she transferred a large portion of its domains. This branch is now represented by the chivalrous, though anti-national Marquis of Waterford—no degenerate representative of the good and, perhaps, of the evil qualities of the knightly spoilers of olden time. The eldest male branches are represented by the houses of Gurteen and Donisle, or Dunhill. But other branches, also, still retain the ownership of large portions of their ancient conquests.—Several members of the sept founded by Robert le Poer, as if ashamed of any drop of old Irish blood that might chance to have been transmitted to them therewith, have barbarized their name to *Powers*. Augustin Thierry has, amongst others, rather unfairly cited the *nom-de-guerre* of the progenitor of the sept of Power,

as a proof of the humble class from which the mass of the Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland had sprung. But his mistaking the very name of that founder, whom he calls Raymond, shows that he had not taken the trouble to examine whether his example was in point or not. *Poer* is, according to him, the Norman-French for *pauvre*, i. e., poor. But as well might it be said, that King John of England was sprung from the dregs of the populace, because he was surnamed *Sims-terre*, or Lack-land. Then, Robert le Poer was not one of the *mass*, he was one of the *leaders* of the invasion, and though possibly poor, as most soldiers of fortune are, he was of noble blood; for, according to the traditions of this family, one of the earliest known of its progenitors won his knighthood at the Crusades. There is also no reason why that progenitor might not have been either the son or the grandson of the above-mentioned Domnan.

The other sons of Domnadh who left offspring, were the Murcadh, of the Short Shield, a distinguished warrior, who was ancestor of several septs of the O'Briens; and Diarmaid, from whom sprang the O'Briain, of Etharla, or Aharla; the Mac Ui Briain O'g-Cuanach, or Mac O'Briens, of Coonagh; and, some say the Mac Ui Briain Ara, or Mac O'Brien, of Ara.

¹ A. D. 1073 is the date of the year

omha, of the line of Eber,² held the sovereignty of the greater part of Ireland, but more especially that of Leth Mogha, for twelve years. Mor, daughter of Gilla-Brighdi O'Maelmuaidh,³ king of the Kinel Fiacadh and the Fera Kell, was the mother of this Tordelbach. It was in his reign that the following deeds were done.

For it was in it that Conobar, son of Maelsechlainn, king of Meath,⁴ was treacherously murdered by the son of his own brother, namely, by Mureadh, son of Flann. It was then also that the head of this prince was forcibly carried off out of Cluain-mic-Nois, on the Friday after Easter Sunday, by Tordelbach O'Briain, who took it with him to Kenn-Coradh; but the same head was carried northwards again to that monastery, on the next following Sunday; and this happened through the miracles of God and St. Kieran.

It was also in this reign, and with the permission of the Irish king, Tordelbach O'Briain, that William Rufus,⁵ King of Saxonland, sent to Ireland for timber to roof the Hall of Canterbury. This happened in the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety-eight; and it was during the previous year that the first bishop of Port Largi⁶ was consecrated.

after the death of Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, who reigned for nine years as king of Leth Mogha, after the deposition of Donnadh. Tordelbach ruled Munster during the same period, apparently as the vassal of his friend and kinsman. Diarmaid, having been slain by Conobar O'Maelsechlainn at the battle of Odha, in A. D. 1072, Tordelbach may thenceforward be considered as king of Leth Mogha and the greater part of Ireland. This Diarmaid had vanquished the Danes of Dublin and Fine Gall (now Fingal) in A. D. 1052; and having expelled their chieftains, assumed the lordship of the foreigners of Leinster into his own hands, he bestowed it upon his son Mureadh (father of Diarmaid, of the English), who thus became the first lord of the Danes who was of Irish, or rather of Gaelic, blood. This Mureadh subdued the Isle of Man, whence he brought off tribute. In recording the death of Diarmaid, our annalists style him the "King of Leinster, Lord of the Foreigners, and of Leth Mogha."

² TORDELBACH I. This prince's name, which is also spelled Toirdhealbhach (*Turraylagh*), is said to signify *tower-*

like, being derived from *tor*, a tower, and *delb*, or *dealbh*, a form, or likeness. Persons of this name are now called Terence, which, though wrong, is not so objectionable as Turlough, which gives neither the vulgar pronunciation nor the true etymology. Tordelbach was the first person called O'Briain, being the O, or grandson, of Brian Boromha.

³ *Gilla-Brighdi O'Maelmuaidh*. The Fera Kell, or Fera Ceall, of which he was chief, are now represented by the O'Molloys, for it is thus that O'Maelmhuaidh (*Mailveoi*, or *Mailooi*) has been rendered into English. Their tribe-land is now called Firecall, and lies in the King's County.

⁴ *Conobar, King of Meath*. This prince was murdered in A. D. 1073.

⁵ *William Rufus*. The date given for this circumstance is wrong; for Tordelbach died in A. D. 1086. It was, also, for roofing the Hall of Westminster, not Canterbury, that William is said to have sent to Ireland for oak timber.

⁶ *The first Bishop of Port Largi*. The Danes of Waterford, or Port Largi, having now become Christians,

It was also about this time that Derborgaill,⁷ daughter of Tadhg Mac Gilla-Padraig, and wife of Tordelbach O'Briain, king of the greater part of Ireland, died; and soon after her died Tordelbach⁸ O'Briain himself, having then spent twelve years in the sovereignty of Ireland.

MURKERTACH MOR O'BRIAIN, ARD-RIGH,
Go Fresabra.

A. D., 1086.⁹ Murkertach,¹⁰ son of Tordelbach, son of Tadhg, son of Brian Boromha, of the line of Eber, held the sovereignty of the greater part of Ireland, but more especially that of Leth Mogha, for twenty years. Caillech Dè (i.e., the Nun),¹¹ daughter of O'h-Eidin, was the mother both of this prince and of Ruaidri O'Concobar.¹² It was during the reign of this Murkertach that the following events took place.

For it was in the early part of his reign—to wit, in the year

would have a bishop of their own race. The name of their first bishop was Malchus.

⁷ *Derborgaill*. This entry is misplaced. See note 11, on next reign.

⁸ *Death of Tordelbach*. "A. D. 1086. Tordelbach O'Briain, King of Ireland, with opposition, after having suffered from long illness (for he was not well since the head of Concobar O'Maelsechlaim had been brought from Cluain-Mic-Nois), died in the 22d year of his reign, and in the 77th year of his age, on the Ides of June precisely, after intense penance for his sins, and after taking the body of Christ and his blood."—*Four Masters*. This was 22 years after the resignation of his uncle Donnadh in A. D. 1064, and 14 after the death of his ally, Diarmaid, King of Leinster, in A. D. 1072.

⁹ A. D. 1086. "On the death of Torlough (Tordelbach), the kingdom of Munster was equally divided between his three sons—Teigue, Murkertach, and Dermot (Diarmaid). But in the course of the same year, Teigue having died on the bed of his father, Murkertach banished his brother Dermot into Connaught, and took sole possession of the throne."—*Moore*.

Thence ensued a long series of hostilities, during the continuance of which Murkertach cannot be considered as full king of Leth Mogha and nominal

monarch of Ireland, until about the year 1094.

¹⁰ MURKERTACH II. A. D. 1094. "For 72 years after the death of Maelsechlaim," says the learned and judicious O'Flaherty, "the supreme throne of Ireland was destitute of any monarch; but in 1094 two monarchs ruled Ireland—one in the north, and the other in the south. Of these, Murkertach, great grandson of Brian, ruled the south of Ireland for 25 years, and Donnall O'Lochlaim governed the north for 27.

¹¹ *The Nun*. She was apparently thus styled from her having taken religious orders at Glenn-da-loch, either after the birth of her sons, or the death of her husband. That she was not the daughter of O'h-Eidin is seen by the following entry—"A. D. 1098. Dearbhforgaill (*Dervorgill*), daughter of Tadhg Mac Gilla-Padraig, the mother of Murkertach and Tadhg Ua Briain, died at Glen-da-locha."—*Four Masters*. Mor was the name of the daughter of O'h-Eidin. Sadb, daughter of Carthach (ancestor of Mac Carthy), is also named as having been, at some time, the wife of Tordelbach O'Briain, the father of this Murkertach; and Gormflaith, daughter of O'Fogarta, another of his wives, died in A. D. 1077.

¹² *Ruaidri O'Concobar*. He was the father of Tordelbach, and grandfather

of our Lord one thousand one hundred and one—that he made a grant of the city of Cashel as a sacred offering to God and St. Patrick.¹³

It was also during this reign that a general synod of the men of Ireland, both laymen and ecclesiastics, was convened around Murkertach O'Briain at Fiadh-mic-Aengusa.¹⁴ Here follows the number of ecclesiastics that attended at that meeting—to wit, Maelmuri O'Dunain,¹⁵ Archbishop of Munster; Kellach,¹⁶ son of Aedh, Comarba of St. Patrick, Vicar-General and Primate of all Ireland; with whom were thirty bishops, three hundred and sixty priests, abbots, and priors; one hundred and forty deacons; and many other persons belonging to religious orders, who are not enumerated here. At this synod,¹⁷ regulations, laws, and cus-

of Ruaidri, or Roderick, afterwards nominal monarchs of Ireland. He is called *Ruaidri na Soighe buidhi*—i. e., Roderick of the Yellow Greyhound Bitch. He reigned over Connaught from A. D. 1076 to 1092, when he was blinded by Flathbertach Ua Flathbertaigh (*Fíahertagh O'Flaherty*), King of West Connaught. He did not die until 1118.

¹³ *Cashel granted to God and St. Patrick.* "Among the warmest supporters of ecclesiastical interests was the monarch Murkertach, who, in the year 1101, having convoked a great assembly of the people and clergy, made over, by solemn donation, to the church that seat of the Mononian Kings, the city of Cashel, dedicating it to God and St. Patrick."—*Moore*.

"A. D. A meeting of Leth Mogha was held at Caisel by Murkertach Ua Briain, with the chiefs of the laity, and Ua Dunain, noble bishop and chief senior, with the chiefs of the clergy; and there Murkertach Ua Briain made such a grant as no king had ever made before, namely, he granted Caisel of the Kings to religious, without any claim of layman or clergyman upon it, but to religious of Ireland in general."—*Four Masters*.

¹⁴ *Fiadh mic Aengusa*; i. e., the land of the son of Aengus. This was the name of a place near the hill of Uisnech, in Meath. *O'D.* O'Halloran thinks that the Synod of Rath Bresail was but a continuation of this, Rath Bre-

sail being, according to him, a fort near Fiadh-mic-Aengusa. Some, however, suppose the place of meeting to have been situated in Ui Bresail, now Clanbrassil, Co. Armagh.

¹⁵ *Maelmuri O'Dunain.* His death is recorded as having occurred in A. D. 1117, some years after the Synod of Fiadh-mic-Aengusa. Dr. O'Donovan thinks it an error to call him Archbishop of Munster, for he is found styled Senior of Leth Cuinn in a contemporaneous document, a charter contained in the Book of Kells. He concludes that he was the same as Idunan, Bishop of Meath, who flourished in the year 1096. He might, however, have been translated from one see to another.

¹⁶ *Kellach, son of Aedh.* His name is latinized Celsus. His appointment to the See of Armagh, which he held until 1129, is thus recorded—"A. D. 1106. Kellach, son of Aedh, son of Maeilisa, was appointed to the successorship of St. Patrick, by the election of the men of Ireland; and he received his ordination on the day of the Festival of St. Adamnan (23d Sept.)"—*Four Masters*. He died at Ardpatrick, in Munster, on his visitation of that province in 1129, and was buried, according to his own will, at Lis-mor, of St. Mochuda, after an active and beneficent career.

¹⁷ *This Synod.* It is otherwise called the Synod of Uisnech (now Usnagh Hill, in Meath). It was held

toms were enacted for the guidance both of the laity and of the clergy. Maelmuri O'Dunain, Archbishop of Munster, died soon after this event.

It was also in the reign of this Murkertach that another general council, or synod, was convened in Ireland at Rath Bresail,¹⁸ about the year one thousand one hundred and ten, for so we read in the ancient Book of Cluain Aidnech, of St. Fintann, in Laeighis; in which authority, the principal affairs transacted at this latter synod are recorded. It was Gilla-Esbog, Bishop of Luimnech, that presided at the council of Rath Bresail, for he was at that time the Pope's Apostolical Legate in Ireland. The following are the principal arrangements made thereat.

Just as the twelve bishops of the southern part of Saxon-land were ranged around the see of Canterbury, and the twelve of the northern part under that of Eborach,¹⁹ so were the prelates of Ireland similarly grouped at this synod of Rath-Bresail; to wit, the twelve bishops of Leth Mogha, and the twelve bishops of Leth Cuinn; and more the two bishops that were in Meath. It was upon this occasion that the churches of Ireland were given up, in full possession, to the Irish prelates, who were thenceforth to hold them for ever, free from the authority or rent of any temporal lord. It was here, likewise, that certain and distinct boundaries were laid out for the Irish dioceses, and that a limit was set to the number of bishops thereof. The following were the bishops then appointed to preside over the church of Leth Cuinn—to wit, six over the province of Ulster, amongst whom was the primate; five over the province of Connaught; and two over Meath: these constituted the twelve bishops of Leth Cuinn, without reckoning the primate as one of their number. The episcopal sees of Ulster were these: Ard Macha, the seat of the Archbishop, who was primate of all the bishops of Ireland; and Clochar, Ard-Sratha, Doiri, Cumiri, and Dun-da-leth-glas. The sees of Meath were Doinliag and Cluain Iraid; those of Connaught were Tuaim-da-gualann, Cluain Ferta of St. Brendan, Conga, Kill-alaidh, and Ard-Carna. The sees of Munster were: Cashel, the seat of the Archbishop of Leth Mogha, Lis-mor, or

in the year 1111, as is seen by the following entry:—"A. D. A synod was convened at Fiadh-mie-Aengusa, by the chiefs of Ireland, with Kellach, Comarba of St. Patrick; Maelmuri Ua Dunain, noble Senior of Ireland; with 50 bishops, 300 priests, 3000 students; together with Murkertach Ua Briain, and the chiefs of Leth Mogha, to prescribe rules and good

morals for all, both laity and clergy."—*Four Masters*. This enumeration is more likely to be exact than that given by Keating.

¹⁸ *Rath Bresail*. One copy of Keating gives the date of this synod 1115; another in 1098. It was probably a prorogation of the former synod.

¹⁹ *Eborach*, i. e. York, the Latin name of which is Eboracum.

Port Lergi, Coreach, Rath-maighe-deskirt, Imlech Iubair, and Kill-da-luadh : these were the seven sees which were decreed to Munster in that synod. There were five sees allowed to Leinster, namely, Kill Cainnigh, Leith-glinn, Kill-dara, Glenn-da-loch, and Ferna, or Loch Carman : these, with the bishopricks of Munster (not counting that of the Archbishop), constituted the twelve episcopal sees of Leth Mogha.

The reason why I have not numbered the bishoprick of Ath-eliath amongst the above is because it was customary with its bishop to receive his degrees of ordination in Saxon-land, from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Upon this fact Hammer has grounded a false statement, in which he says that the Archbishop of Canterbury had exercised a jurisdiction over the Irish clergy from the time of the monk St. Augustine to that of the English invasion. But it is nowhere found that the prelates of Canterbury had ever claimed any authority over any portion of the clergy of Ireland, except during the prelacies of the Archbishops Lanfranc, Ranulph, and Anselm ; and even then, it was only over a few of the Irish clergy that they held supremacy, namely, over the bishops of Ath-eliath, Loch Garman, Port Lergi, and Luimnech—places whose inhabitants were sprung from the remains of the Lochlannaigh, and whose bishops, through a kindly feeling towards the Normans, who were of the same origin with themselves, had chosen the Archbishop of Canterbury for their primate. This fact is clearly proved in the work of Doctor Usher. Their reason for having done so, was because there would be no equality in the election if it were left to the voice of the people to decide between a man of their own nation and a man of the Gaelic race, should both be candidates for the episcopal dignity ; for, in such a case, the majority of the voices of the people would be given to the Gael, in preference to any one of them.

Now, though it is not so stated, I am myself of opinion, that the number of bishops then decreed to Munster was but six, and that there were six more given to Leinster, and that the Archbishop of Cashel presided over the whole twelve, as it was customary with the metropolitan of Leth Mogha, after the example of its temporal princes. This opinion I have already stated under the reign of Laegari, son of Niall.

I now proceed to point out the extent and boundaries²⁰ of each diocese, as they were laid down at the said Synod of Rath Bre-sail.

THE SEES OF ULSTER.—The diocese of the Archbishop of Ard Macha extended from Sliabh Breagh to Cuaili Kiannaeta,

²⁰ *Boundaries.* The modern names will be found in the preceding notes of many of the places here mentioned, Several of them are now unknown.

and from Birra to the Amhain Mor. The diocese of Clochar, extended from the Amhain Mor to Gabail-liuin, and from Sliabh Betha to Sliabh Larga. The diocese of Ard-Sratha extended from Sliabh Larga to Carn-glas, and from Loch Craei to Benn Foibni. The diocese of the bishop of Doiri or Rath-both extended from Es-ruadh to the Srubh Broinn, and from Srubh Broinn to Carn-glas. The diocese of the bishop of Cunniri extended from Benn Foibni to Tor Buirg, and from Port Murbuilg, to Ollarba, to the harbor of Snamh Aighni, and from Glenn Righe to Colba n-Germainn. The limits of the diocese of the Bishop of Dun-da-leth-glas are not stated in the ancient book.

THE SEES OF MEATH.—The diocese of the bishop of Doimiliag extended from Sliabh Breagha to the Carn of Dun Cuair, and from Lochan na-h-Imirki to the sea. The diocese of Cluain Iraird extended from Clochan westwards to the Sinainn, and from Ur-coillti to Cluain Conari.

THE SEES OF CONNAUGHT.—The diocese of Cluain Ferta of St. Brendan extended from the Sinainn to Boirenn, and from Sliabh Echtighe to the Suca. The diocese of Tuaim-da-gualann extended from the Suca to Ard Carna, and from Ath-an-termainn to the Sinainn. The diocese of Conga extended from Amhain O-m-Broin in the north to Neimthin, and from Ath-an-termainn westwards to the sea. The diocese of Kill-Alaidh extended from Neimthin to Es-ruadh, and from Kill-Ard-bili to Srathan Ferainn. The diocese of Ard-carna, which is also called Ard-acadh, extended from Ard-carna to Sliabh-an-iarainn, and from Keis Corainn to Ur-coillti. [However,²¹ this arrangement was made but provisionally with regard to Connaught, for we find the following condition appended thereto.] “This distribution has our fullest sanction provided it meet with the consent of the clergy of Connaught. But, should they not deem it satisfactory, let them make whatever other distribution may seem best to themselves. Whatever division they may determine shall meet with our approbation. But there shall, nevertheless, be no more than five bishops in their province.”

THE SEES OF MUNSTER.—The Arch-diocese of Cashel extended from Sliabh Eiblinni to the river Siuir, and from Cnamh-

²¹ *However, &c.* The words in brackets are inserted by the editor, as from the abruptness with which the succeeding passage, (which is evidently a quotation from the Resolutions of the Synod,) is introduced, he suspects that there is here some omission on the part of Dr. Keating's transcribers. The omission occurs again in relation to these

proceedings, and the editor has there also supplied a connecting link between the quotations and what precedes them. From the proviso attached to the resolutions passed with regard to the Sees of Connaught and Leinster, it is evident that the majority of the clergy of those provinces were not present.

coil near Tibráid Arann eastwards to Grian Airb and to Cúros Greni. The diocese of Lis-mor, or Port Largi, extended from Port Largi to Miledach on the brink of the River Berba, to Cumar-na-thri-n-iski, and thence to Cork; and from the Siuir southwards to the sea. The diocese of Coreach extended from Coreach to Carn Uí Neid, and from the southern Amhain Mor to the sea. The diocese of Rath Muighe Deskirt extended from Baei Bera to Kenn-Mara, and from the River Fial to the sea. The diocese of Kill-da-luadh extended from the road called Slighe Dala to Leim Conculaim, and from Sliabh Eabhtighe (*Slieve Aghtee*) to Sliabh-oighedh-an-righ (*Slieve-ceanree*), and thence to Sliabh Cacin, or Glenn Cacin. The diocese of Luimnech extended from Mael-carn eastwards by Ath-ar-coimni-Lodain and Loch Guir, and the Lathach Mor or the Great Bog; and westwards from Ani, taking in Ard Padraig, Belach Febradh, and Tulach Lias towards the south as far as the Fial and Tarbert, including Cuinchi in Thomond and the Crosses on Sliabh-Oighedh-an-righ and the Dubh-amhain. "And," [added the decree of the council], "if any person go beyond these limits he will act in violation of the will of the Deity, and of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Patrick, and the men that have succeeded these saints in the government of the Church of Christ;" and the temple of St. Mary in Luimnech was its chief church. The diocese of Imlech Iubáir extended from Cluain Cacin to the River Amhain Mor, and from Cnamb-coill near Tibráid Arann to the River Ella.

THE SEES OF LEINSTER.—The diocese of Kill Caínnigh extended from Sliabh Bladma to Miledach, and from Grian Airb to Sliabh Margi. The diocese of Leith-glínn extended from Sliabh Bladma to Sliabh Uighe of Leinster, from Sliabh Margi to Belach Carerach, and from Belach Mughna to Tigh Moling and its termons. The diocese of Kill-dara extended from Ros Finn-glasi to Nas of Leinster, and from Nas to the Cumar of Cluain Iraid. The diocese of Glenn-da-loch extended from Granach to Beg Eri, and from Nas to Rehrainn. The diocese of Ferna, or Loch Carman extended from Beg Eri to Miledach on the west side of the Berba, and from Sliabh Uighe of Leinster southwards to the sea: "And," [said the council] "we now pass this decree subject to the approbation of the clergy. Should the arrangement therein made not seem good to them, let them adopt another; but there shall nevertheless be not more than five bishops amongst them." And the benediction of the Trinity, and of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Patrick was invoked upon each bishop of the twenty-five,²² here appointed, that no Easter might ever pass over them without their consecrating and blessing the sacred oil: "And many other good stat-

²² *Twenty-five.* Counting the primates, the number would be twenty-six.

utes were decreed at this holy synod which, for the sake of brevity, are omitted here.²³

And the benediction of the Comarba of St. Peter, and of his legate Gilla-esbog, bishop of Luimnech; and the blessing of Gilla-Kellaigh,²⁴ Comarba of St. Patrick, that is, the Primate of Ireland; and that of Macl-Isa O'h-Anniri²⁵ Archbishop of Cashel, and of all the laymen and clergymen who attended that synod of Rath Bresail, was pronounced upon all who would carry out its ordinances, and their malediction was given to all who would rebel against the same.

It is read in the Chronicle of Hacluith that, whilst Murkertach O'Briain held the sovereignty of Ireland, ambassadors were sent to him by the people of the Isles,²⁶ requesting him to depute some man of the royal blood to rule over their territories during the minority of Amlaibh, or Aulang, son of Gofraidh, who was the person whose right it was to reign over their people. In compliance with their request, we are told that Murkertach sent them a nobleman of his own family, named Donnall, son of Tadg O'Briain, who governed them for three years, at the end of which, the islanders banished him back to Ireland, because he had begun to practice tyranny towards them.

We also read in the same author, that Magnus,²⁷ son of Amlaibh, son of Aralt, who was then King of Norwegia, sent a certain embassy to Murkertach O'Briain, commanding the latter prince to place upon his shoulders the shoes of the said Magnus, which they had brought with them for that purpose: and, when the ambassadors had come into the presence of Murkertach, and had explained their mission to him, he tells us, that the Irish monarch quietly took those shoes, and did place them upon his

²³ Et multa alia bona statuta sunt in hac sancta synodo quæ hic non scripsimus propter brevitatem.

²⁴ *Gilla-Kellaigh*. This name must be a mistake, or by it we must understand Kellach, son of Aedh.

²⁵ *Macl-Isa O'h-Anniri* died at Lis-mor of St. Mochuda, in the 88th year of his age, in the year 1135. He is styled Bishop of Port Lergi and chief senior of Ireland in the Irish annals, but not Archbishop of Cashel, as here.

²⁶ *The people of the Isles*. The people of the Isle of Man are meant. The Chronicles of Man state, under the year 1075, that this application had been made to Murkertach O'Briain, but, as our histories justly remark, the

date alone proves that it must have been made during the lifetime of his father, Tordelbach. The prince sent to govern these islands is called, in their chronicles, Dofnald, son of Tade.

²⁷ *Magnus*. This was the powerful Norwegian King Magnus, ruler over Norway, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. The Scandinavian, as well as the Irish authorities, show that he entertained the project of adding Ireland to his other conquests. The marriage of his son Sigurd with the daughter of Murkertach formed part of his plan. He invaded Ireland in A. D. 1098, and, having landed at Dublin, was there met by a large force of the Irish. However, no battle took place then, for a peace was concluded, in conse-

shoulders:²⁸ and that, when the nobles in attendance were filled with indignation at having witnessed his act, and had begun to rebuke him for what he had done, Murkertach made answer to them by saying, "I prefer that this thing should now be done by me than that Magnus should devastate even one single province of Ireland."

Nevertheless, Magnus, soon after, equipped a large fleet, with which he made an expedition to Ireland, with the intention of causing ruin and desolation therein; but, when he had come near to the Irish shore, such was his eagerness to begin hostilities, that both himself and his wife immediately left the fleet and made a landing: and then, after his landing, the inhabitants of the country laid an ambuscade for him, in which he fell, together with the band that had followed him upon that inroad. Thereupon, when the forces, which he had left after him on board the

quence of which the Irish king bestowed his daughter's hand upon Sigurd, whom his father had made King of Isles. Notwithstanding this, Magnus invaded the country again in the following year, when he was cut off as above stated. The chronicler of Manus states that this invader was buried in the church of St. Patrick, in Down.—*See Moore.*

²⁸ *Placed the shoes upon his shoulders.* Our native chroniclers say nothing of this circumstance. O'Halloran denies it upon the authority of the Mac Bruaidin chronicle. He says that "this valuable record tells us that a Danish prince did send such a message to Murkertach, who ordered, in presence of his court, that the ears of the ambassadors should be cut off, telling them to inform their master that such was his answer to his demand." He further tells us that it was in consequence of this act that Magnus invaded Ireland as above related.

However, the chief adversary of this prince, was not a foreigner: it was the king of Ailech, Domnall O'Lochlainn, chief of the O'Neills, and founder of the sept of O'Lochlainn or Mac Loughlin, of Ulster. During this whole reign, though, perhaps, the ablest prince that claimed to rule over Ireland from the days of Brian to the Norman invasion, Murkertach found a man nearly every way his equal in this northern chieftain.

In A. D. 1101, O'Briain did, indeed, make his famous circuit of Ireland, at the head of the men of Leinster, Munster, Meath, Osraide and Connaught, when he plundered the territories of the Kinel Eogain and Kinel Conaill, and destroyed the fortress of Ailech; but we do not find that the king of these northern tribes ever made submission to his rule. However, the fortunes of O'Lochlainn soon after recovered this temporary overthrow and, towards the end of Murkertach's life, he was certainly more powerful than the nominal monarch. The northerns name him amongst the Irish monarchs, and assign him a reign of twenty-seven years cotemporaneous with that of his rival. He survived the latter for two years. His death is thus recorded. "A. D. 1121. Domnall, son of Ardgar, son of Lochlainn, the most distinguished of the Irish for personal form, family, sense, prowess, prosperity, and happiness—for the bestowing of riches and food both upon the mighty and the needy—died at Doiri Coluim Killi (Derry) after having been twenty-seven years in the sovereignty of Ireland and eight in the kingdom of Ailech, in the 73d year of his age, on the night of Wednesday, the 5th of the Ides of February, being the festival of St. Machuarog."—*Four Masters.*

fleet, had heard that their chieftain had thus fallen, they set sail homewards for Norwegia.

This Murkertach O'Briain, of whom we have been treating, at length died²⁹ penitently at Ard Macha, and was buried at Kill-da-luadh, after five years' suffering from a languishing disease.³⁰

TORDELBACH MOR O'CONCOBAIR,³¹ ARD-RIGH,
Go Fresabra.

A. D. 1119.³²—Tordelbach Mor,³³ son of Ruaidri O'Concobair, of the line of Erimhon, held the sovereignty of Ireland for

²⁹ *Murkertach died.* "A. D. 1119, Murkertach Ua Briain, king of Ireland, prop of the glory and magnificence of the West of the world, died, after the victory of sovereignty and penance, on the festival of St. Mochae-mog of Liath, on the 4th of the Ides of March, and was interred in the church of Kill-da-luadh (Killaloe), in the sixth year of his illness."—*Four Masters.*

³⁰ *A languishing disease.* "In the year 1114, he was seized with an attack of illness so violent as to incapacitate him for the time for managing the affairs of his kingdom; and a chance of succession was thus offered to his ambitious brother, Dermot (Diarmaid), of whom that prince eagerly took advantage. In the following year, however, an amicable arrangement appears to have been entered into by the two brothers; and the monarch, finding his malady continue, and being desirous of passing the remainder of his days in seclusion and devotion, resigned the royal authority into Dermot's hand, and took holy orders in the monastery of Lis-mor (Lis-mor)."—*Moore.*

As shall be seen, Diarmaid succeeded him not as sovereign of Ireland, but as king of Munster. This Diarmaid, younger brother of Murkertach Mor, was the founder of the O'Briens, princes of Thomond. Murkertach himself left three sons, namely, Domnall Gearrlamhach, or the short-handed, a distinguished warrior, who was appointed lord of the foreigners of Dublin during his father's reign; having resigned this position in 1118, and entered holy orders, he died, in 1135, at an advanced

age, in the monastery of Lis-mor. Of Mathghabhain (*Mahowin*) or Mahon, ancestor of the Mac Mahons, lords of Corca Baskinn, in the south of the county of Clare, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters under A. D. 1129, the posterity are now the sole surviving representatives of Murkertach Mor O'Briain. Of his third son, Kenneidigh, nothing further than the name is known.

³¹ *O'Concobair*; usually spelled O'Conchobhair in modern Irish, in which it is pronounced *O'Connoghooir*, and often, but very corruptly, *O'Croghooir*. It has been anglicized O'Connor.

³² A. D. 1119. Tordelbach is not considered to have become powerful enough to be styled nominal monarch for seventeen years after the death of Murkertach Mor, and for fifteen after that of Domnall O'Lochlain. Having recorded the death of the latter, O'Flaherty tells us that the supreme regal seat of Ireland lay vacant for fifteen years, and that the true date of Tordelbach's accession to the supreme power, was A. D. 1126, whence, until his death in A. D. 1156, there elapsed twenty years.

³³ *Tordelbach II.* During the fifteen years of interregnum that preceded the accession of this prince to supreme power in 1136, his most powerful rival was Concobar O'Briain, surnamed *na g-Catharach (na Gaharagh)*, i. e. of the fortresses, who succeeded his father, Diarmaid, on the throne of Munster, in A. D. 1120. Twice, in the course of two successive years (1132 and 1133), this brave and able prince carried the war into the heart

twenty years. It was in his reign that the following deeds were done.

It was he that erected three great bridges²⁴ in Connaught, namely, the bridges of Ath-luain and Ath-crochta, on the Sinainn; and the bridge of Dun Leogha, on the Suca.

This Tordelbach made a hosting into Munster,²⁵ where he pillaged Cashel and Ard-Finain; but when he was marching to pillage the latter place, a body of the Munstermen attacked his army on the rear and slew Aedh O'h-Eidin, King of Ui Fiacrach Aidni, Muredach O'Flathbertaigh,²⁶ King of Iar-Connacht, and many other nobles who are not enumerated here. After this, Tordelbach proceeded to Corcagh Munnhan²⁷ whither he brought a numerous force, both by sea and land, and there he divided Munster into two equal parts. The more southern of these he

of Connaught, and defeated Tordelbach upon his own ground. Having defeated the king of Leinster and the Danes of Dublin, he led his forces into Connaught a third time, determined to bring the struggle for supremacy to a final issue, when the clergy interfered to prevent bloodshed, and, under the auspices of the Archbishop of Tuam, a peace was concluded between the rival princes. This peace was eventually followed by a great preponderance of power on the side of the king of Connaught, who, "availing himself of the hereditary jealousy of the Euge-nians (Eoganachta) respecting their right of alternate succession to the Munster throne, separated this gallant tribe from the Dalcaissians, and even introduced for a time desertion amongst the brave Dal g-Cais themselves."—*See Moore.*

²⁴ *Three bridges.* "A. D. 1120.—The bridge of Ath-luain, the bridge of Ath-croich, on the Sinainn, and the bridge of Dun-Leogha, on the Suca, were made by Tordelbach O'Concobair, king of Connaught."—*Four Corners.* Ath-luain is now known as Athlone; Ath-croich, or Ath-crochta, lies near Shannon Harbor; and the bridge of Dun-Leogha, or Dun-Leogha (Doon-Loe), crossed the river Suck opposite Dunlo street, in the present town of Ballinasloe.—*O'D.*

The royal fair of Talti was this year celebrated by Tordelbach, who

thereby indicated his claim to the sovereignty of Ireland.

²⁵ *Hosting into Munster.* A. D. 1121. An army was led by Tordelbach O'Concobair and the men of Connaught, into Desmond, when they plundered the territories of both laymen and ecclesiastics, from Magh Femhinn (South Tipperary) to Traigh-Li (Tralee). He also made another predatory excursion, until he reached the termou lands of Lis-mor, and obtained countless cattle spoils; but he lost, on that occasion, Muredach O'Flathbertaigh, lord of West Connaught, Aedh O'h-Eidin, lord of Ui Fiacrach Aidni, Muirgheas O'Lorcain, and many others."—*Four Masters.*

²⁶ *O'Flathbertaigh;* in English, O'Flaherty. The tribe name of the O'Flaherties was Muintir Mureadhia, and they were, originally, chieftains of Magh Seola, now the barony of Clare, in the county of Galway. They were of the royal race of Connaught, being descended from Duach Tengumba, son of Fergus, son of Muredach Mac-lethan, king of Connaught, about A. D. 620, by his son Fergus, whilst the O'Connors, kings of Connaught, are descended from a brother of the same Duach Tengumba.

²⁷ *Corcagh Munnhan;* i. e., Cork, of Munster. "A. D. 1127. An army was led by Tordelbach O'Concobair, by sea and land, until he reached Corcagh Mor, in Munster; and he drove Cormac [Mac Carthaigh], king of Des-

gave to Donnadh Mac Carthaigh,³⁸ and the more northern to Concobar O'Briain; and from them both he carried off thirty hostages.

It was about this time the Temple of Cormac³⁹ was consecrated at Cashel, in presence of a great assemblage of the nobles and the clergymen of Munster, who attended thereat. This took place in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and thirty-four. Soon after, Cormac Mac Carthaigh, King of Munster, was treacherously murdered⁴⁰ by Concobar (correctly by Tordelbach) O'Briain, who was his own son-in-law and gossip. Some time

mond into Lis-mor, and divided Munster into *three* parts, and carried off thirty hostages from that country."—*Four Masters*.

³⁸ *Donnadh Mac Carthaigh*. He was the younger brother of Cormac, mentioned in the last note. He had traitorously joined Tordelbach with a large body of Eoganachta, and was rewarded for deserting his chieftain by the deposition of his brother, who was then compelled by the invader to enter the monastery of Lismore. Donnadh was, however, expelled into Connaught, with two thousand of his adherents, almost immediately after.

Then Cormac, by the aid of Concobar O'Briain, resumed the sovereignty of Desmond. After this, there was a naval engagement between the men of Connaught and Munster, in which the latter were again defeated. Tordelbach had previously made another naval expedition to Desmond, in A. D. 1124, when he seized upon the fleet of South Munster. In the same year (1224), we read of his having put to death the hostages of Cormac Mac Carthaigh, among whom was that prince's son. In A. D. 1126, the king of Connaught, having succeeded in making his son king of Leinster and Dublin, had again attacked and defeated the king of Desmond, at Slabh-an-Caidhgh, in Kerry. On this occasion, having continued encamped in Ormond from Lamma to the festival of St. Brighitt (*Breeyith*), he plundered Munster as far as Glenn Maghair, near Cork, and the south of Osraide. "A great storm of war," say our annalists, "then raged throughout all Ireland, so

that Kellach, Comarba of St. Patrick, had to be a year and one month from Ard Macha, establishing peace among the men of Ireland, and promulgating good rules and customs amongst the clergy."—*See Four Masters*.

³⁹ *The Temple of Cormac*. Some suppose this temple to be what is now called King Cormac's Chapel, on the Rock of Cashel, while many persons, with, perhaps, equal reason, suppose it to have been some other edifice, on whose site the present ruined Cathedral stands. The erection is thus recorded: "A. D. 1134. A church, which was erected by Cormac, grandson of Cart-hach, king of Cashel, was consecrated by a synod of the clergy, assembled in one place."—*Four Masters*.

⁴⁰ *Cormac murdered*. A great mistake has been here committed, either by Keating or his transcribers, in naming Concobar O'Briain as the instigator of the murder of the pious and munificent Cormac. He was slain at the instigation of Tordelbach O'Briain, the brother of Concobar, as is seen by the following entry: "A. D. 1138. Cormac, son of Muredach, son of Cart-hach, king of Desmond, bishop of the kings of Ireland for the bestowal of jewels and wealth upon the clergy and the churches, an improver of territories, was treacherously killed in his own house by Tordelbach, son of Diarmaid O'Briain, and by the two sons of O'Concobair - Kiarraide."—*Four Masters*. Some doubt the fact of Cormac's having been really a bishop as well as a king. He may, nevertheless, have actually entered holy orders when driven into the monastery of Lis-mor in 1127,

after this, Maelmaedog,⁴¹ called Malachias, who was Archbishop both of Eri and Alba, died.

Tordelbach O'Concobar a second time invaded Munster with a large army, composed of the strength of Connaught, Leinster, Meath, Tebtha and O'Ruairc's country. With this he traversed Munster in a hostile manner, until he arrived at Glenn Maghair,⁴² where he was met by Tordelbach O'Briain, King of Munster, and the son of Concobar O'Briain and the men of Munster. Three battalions⁴³ was the strength of their host. Thereupon, the battle of Moin Mor⁴⁴ was contended between them;⁴⁵ and the Dal g-Cais

by Torbelbach O'Concobar, and after the birth of his children. He is the ancestor of all the septs of the Mac Carthics, kings of Desmond.

⁴¹ *Maelmaedog*. The family name of this distinguished ecclesiastic was O'Morgair. He succeeded to the successorship of St. Patrick in A. D. 1132, and his eminent sanctity and Christian zeal have been rewarded by his canonization under the baptismal name of Malachias. He died in A. D. 1148, in the 54th year of his age, and in the 14th year of his primacy, during which he had been twice appointed as Legate of the Pope to the Irish church.

⁴² *Glenn Maghair*; now Glanmire, near Cork. The king of Ireland was here joined by Diarmaid, son of Cormac Mac Carthaigh, now king of Desmond, and a large portion of the Eoganaughta, at whose solicitation he is said to have made this invasion of Munster. It would appear that a portion of the Dal g-Cais was also in the monarch's army under Tadg Gle O'Briain, a pretender to the throne of Thomond, who had fled for protection to Connaught.

⁴³ *Battalions*. The Irish cath (*cah*) or battalion, consisted of 3,000 men. There were then 9,000 of the Dal g-Cais engaged in this fight.

⁴⁴ *Moin Mor*; *i. e.*, the Large Bog. There are several places of this name in Munster, but that where this battle was fought would seem to be Moanmore, in the parish of Emly and county of Tipperary.—*O'D.*

⁴⁵ The battle fought upon this occasion in which the Munstermen suffered the greatest overthrow they had received since the battle of Belach Mughna,

where Cormac, son of Cúlinnan, fell, in A. D. 903, is thus recorded: "A. D. 1151. An army was led by Tordelbach Ua Concobar into Munster, and Diarmaid Mac Mureadha, king of Leinster, went to join him with the Leinstermen. They plundered Munster before them, until they reached Moin Mor. The Dal g-Cais, the men of West Munster, and the Sil Briain, had set out on a predatory excursion into Desmond under Tordelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster; and, on their return from the south, they fell in with the men of Connaught, Leinster, and Meath. A battle was then fought, in which the men of Munster were defeated and slaughtered. Seven thousand was the number of the Munstermen that fell in this battle of Moin Mor. According to the Book of Lacan, the following are the chieftains who were there slain: Murkertach, son of Concobar O'Briain, lord of Thomond, the second best man of the Dal g-Cais; Lugaidh, son of Domnall O'Briain; Mac Connara, lord of Ui Casin; 2 of the Ui Kennadigh (O'Kennedies); 8 of the Ui Degadh (O'Deas), with Flathbertach Ua Degadh; 9 of the Ui Senchain (O'Shannahans); 5 of the Ui Cuinn (O'Quins); 5 of the Ui Grada (O'Gradies), with Aneslis Ua Grada; 24 of the Ui Ogain (O'Hogans); 4 of the Ui Aichir (O'Hehirs or Hares); the grandson of Eocaidh O'Loingsigh (O'Lynch); 4 of the Ui Neill-Buidhe (the O'Neills of Tradraide, in the county of Clare); and 5 of the Ui Echtigherna (O'Aherens); with numbers of good men besides them; and there survived but one shattered battalion of

and the men of Munster were vanquished therein, and the numbers of their people that were slain went beyond reckoning. Tordelbach (O'Briain) was then exiled to Tir Eogain,⁴⁶ and Tordelbach O'Concobair made a partition of Munster between Tadg O'Briain and Diarmaid, son of Cormac Mac Carthaigh.

It was very soon after this victory when Tordelbach O'Concobair, King of the greater part of Ireland, died,⁴⁷ in his sixty-eighth year, and he was buried beside the great altar of St. Kieran, at Cluain-mic-Nois.

Great, indeed, were the legacies which this prince left to the clergy for the repose of his soul, namely, four hundred and forty ounces of gold, and forty marks of silver, and all the other valuable treasures he possessed, both cups and precious stones, both steeds and cattle and robes, chess-boards, bows, quivers, arrows, equipments, weapons, armor and utensils. And he himself pointed out the manner in which its particular portion thereof should be distributed to each church, according to its rank and order.

It was about this time that Tadg O'Lonnargain,⁴⁸ Bishop of Kill-da-luadh, died.

MURKERTACH O'LOCHLAINN,⁴⁹ ARD-RIGH,
Go Fresabra.

A. D. 1156.⁵⁰—Murkertach, son of Niall Mac Lochlainn, of the

the three that had come to that place. On the side of Connaught were slain, Tadg, son of Liathach O'Concobair; Murkertach Ua Cathalain, chief of Clan Fogartaigh; and Maelruanaidh O'Follamhain, chief of Clann Uadach; 4 of the Liughni; and many others. Chief sway over Munster was assumed by Tordelbach Ua Concobair, upon this occasion, and Tordelbach Ua Briain was banished."—*See Four Masters.*

⁴⁶ *Tir Eogain.* Through the rising power of Murkertach O'Lochlainn, prince of this country, the exiled king of Munster was restored to his dominions in 1154.

⁴⁷ *Tordelbach died.* "A. D. 1156.—Tordelbach O'Concobair, king of Connaught, Meath, Breifne, and Munster, and of all Ireland with opposition, flood of the glory and grandeur of Ireland, a man full of charity, mercy, hospitality, and chivalry, died, after the 68th year of his age, and was interred at Cluain-mic-Nois, beside the altar of

Kieran, having made his will and distributed gold, silver, cows, and horses among the clergy and churches of Ireland in general."—*Four Masters.*

This prince had been inaugurated chieftain of his own tribe, the Sil Muredaigh, in A. D. 1106, so that he had, at the time of his death, been in the enjoyment of regal power, either as chief of his tribe, king of Connaught, or monarch of the greater part of Ireland for full half a century. He was the first of the Connaught branch of the line of Erinhon that had received the title of Ard-righ, or monarch of Ireland; Eocaidh Muigh-medon, king of Ireland, A. D. 358–365, being the last of his direct ancestors who had been saluted sovereign. From Brian, son of this Eocaidh, Tordelbach O'Concobair was the 23rd descendant in the male line—*See Pedigree of O'Connor Roe, Part III.*

⁴⁸ *Tadg O'Lonnargain*; otherwise O'Longargain. He died in A. D. 1161,

line of Erimhon,⁵¹ held the sovereignty of Leth Cuinn, and of the greater part of Ireland, for eighteen years;⁵² at the end of which, he was slain by the men of Fernmagh and the Ui Briuin (of Brefni).

It was in the seventh year of the reign of this man, that an assembly and general council of the Irish church was convened at Kenannus,⁵³ of Meath, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifty-two, for the purpose of laying down the Catholic Faith, and of purifying and correcting the customs of the people; moreover, for the purpose of consecrating four Archbishops, and of presenting each of them with a pallium,⁵⁴ for, before then, there were but two Archbishops in Ireland, namely, the Primate of Ard Macha and the Archbishop of Cashel. Gilla-Criost O'Conari, Bishop of Lis-mor, head of the monks of Ireland and Apostolic Legate, together with a cardinal, named Johannes Papiron,⁵⁵ were the superiors appointed by the Pope to preside at that council, which was commissioned to make regulations for the government of the Church of Ireland, and to reform its discipline, and also to do a thing which Ireland took more to heart than these, namely, to distribute the four *Pallia*; for Ireland

four years after the monarch in whose reign he is here improperly entered.

⁵⁰ *O'Lochlainn*. The sept descended from this prince now more generally style themselves Mac Loughlin, and are still numerous in Ulster. They are of the same tribe as the O'Neills of Tyrone, of which sept they are the elder branch. They must be distinguished from the O'Lochlainns or O'Loughlins, of Burren, in the county of Clare, who are of a totally different stock.

⁵⁰ *A. D.* 1156. "The first year of Murkertach O'Lochlainn over Ireland."—*Four Masters*.

⁵¹ *Murkertach III*. Keating's account would throw this king's reign several years behind its real time. The date here given has been ascertained and received as the correct one by our other historic authorities.—*See O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, Moore, &c.*

⁵² *Eighteen years*. He reigned for only ten years, but during this brief, though eventful period, he succeeded in having himself acknowledged king of Ireland *gan fresabrath, i. e.*, without opposition: for, in the year 1161, Diarmaid Mac Mureadha, king of Leinster, paid him homage for his kingdom; Ruaidri O'Concobair gave him host-

ages from Ui Briain, Conmacni, Meath, and the half of Munster. On this occasion, O'Concobair accepted the kingdom of Connaught, and the half of that of Meath at his hands; the other half of Meath O'Lochlainn conferred upon Diarmaid O'Maelsechlainn (O'Melaghlin), its rightful king. At the same time, he confirmed Diarmaid Mac Mureadha as king of Leinster. Within the same year, he again met "the men of Ireland, both laity and clergy, at Ath-na-Dairbrighe (now Deroor, in Meath), where he obtained all their hostages. Murkertach O'Lochlainn was, therefore, monarch of Ireland, without opposition."—*Four Masters*.

⁵³ *Kenannas*. According to the *Four Masters*, it was at Droichead-Atha or Drogheda, that this council was held. It met, not in the seventh year of Murkertach O'Lochlainn, but four years before the death of his predecessor as nominal monarch of Ireland.

⁵⁴ *Pallium, i. e.*, the robe of state of an archbishop. Its plural is *pallia*.

⁵⁵ *Johannes Papiron*; otherwise Johannes Paparo. This cardinal had arrived in Ireland during the year before that in which was held the synod of Kells, as is seen by the following entry: "*A. D.*

thought it enough⁵⁶ to have one pallium at Ard Macha and another at Cashel: it was more especially⁵⁷ by the churches of Ard Macha and of Dun-da-leth-glas that it was considered an infringement upon privilege to have *pallia* granted to any other sees besides those of Ard Macha and Cashel; for it is thus we are informed by the ancient record of the church of Cluain Aidnech, in which the substance of what was transacted at this council has been set down. When, indeed, the members of the council were met in session, they instituted certain laudable customs and ordinances at the granting of the four pallia. Here follow the words of the old book of history, which was written at Cluain Aidnech, of St. Fintann, in Laeighis: "In the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifty-two, from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, being a bissextile year, a famous council was held at Kenannus, in the season of spring, presiding over which, Johannes, Lord Cardinal and a priest of the blessed St. Lawrence in Damaso, assisted by twenty-two bishops, five elect, with very many abbots and priors, on the part of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the Apostolic Lord, Eugenius, extirpated and condemned simony and usury by every means, and commanded by apostolic authority that tythes should be paid. He presented four *pallia* to the four Archbishops of Ireland, namely, to those of Dublin, Tuam, Cashel, and Armagh. He, moreover, ordained the Archbishop of Armagh as primate over the others as was meet; and then, immediately after the council was dismissed, Cardinal Johannes commenced his voyage on the ninth of the Kalends of April and went across the Seas. The following were the bishops who assisted at that council,⁵⁸ namely, Gilla-

1151. A cardinal of the Comarba of St. Peter, namely, Johannes Papiron, arrived in Ireland to establish rules and good morals, and to correct all from their faults. He remained a week in the house of the Comarba of St. Patrick, and imparted his blessing."—*Four Masters*.

⁵⁶ *For Ireland thought it enough, &c. Oir ba leor le h-Eirim pallium in Ard Macha agus pallium i g-Caiséal.—Original Gaelic.*

⁵⁷ *It was more especially. Agus go h-airighthe, is tar sarughadh eaglaise Arda Macha agus Duin-da-leath-glas do bhíadh acht pallium in Ard Macha agus pallium i g-Caiséal.—Original Gaelic.*

⁵⁸ MCLVII, anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi, bissextili, nobile concilium in vernali tempore

apud Ceanannus celebratum fuit; in quo presidens dominus Johannes, cardinalis, presbyter beati Laurentii in Damaso, inter viginti duos episcopos et quinque electos, et inter tot abbates et priores, ex parte beatorum Petri et Pauli et domini apostolici Eugenii, sumoniam et usuras omnibus modis extirpavit et damnavit, et decimas dandas apostolica autoritate præcepit. Quatuor pallia quatuor archiepiscopis Hiberniæ, Dubliniensi, Tuamensi, Caiselensi, et Ardmachanso tradidit. Insuper Ardmachanum episcopum in primatem super alios, prout decuit, ordinavit. Qui etiam cardinalis Joannes, protinus post peractum concilium, iter arripuit et nono calendis Aprilis transfretavit. Hi sunt episcopi qui hoc concilio superfuerunt."

The rest of this quotation from the

chriost O'Conari, Bishop of Lis-mor and Legate of the Pope in Ireland; Gilla-MacLiag, Conarba of St. Patrick, and Primate of Ireland;⁵⁹ Domnall O'Lonnargain, Archbishop of Munster; Aedh O'h-Oisin, Archbishop of Tuain-da-Gualann;⁶⁰ Mac-Greni (or Greri), Bishop of Ath-cliaith Duibh-linni;⁶¹ Tostius, Bishop of Port Largi;⁶² Domnall O'Fogartaigh, Vicar General and Bishop of Osraide; Finn Mac Gormain, Bishop of Kill-dara;⁶³ Donngal

book of Cluain Aidnech (now Clonagh near Mountrath, in the Queen's County), is given in Gaelic as above rendered into English.

⁵⁹ *Gilla-Mac-Liag*. His name has been latinized Gelasius. He presided over the primatial see from 1145 to 1173, during which time he occupies a distinguished place in the history of the Irish church.

⁶⁰ *Aedh-O'h-Oissin*. This name is not found in the editor's manuscript copies of Keating. In Dermot O'Connor's translation, it is given as "Hugh O'Heyn, Archbishop of Connaught, that is of Tuaim Greni." But Tuaim Greni, now Tomgrany, in Clare, was not the archiepiscopal see of Connaught, it was Tuaim-da-Gualann, now called Tuam, of which Aedh O'h-Oissin, in English, Hugh O'Hessian, died bishop in A. D. 1161. Aedh O'h-Bidhin might, it is true, have been either the predecessor of O'h-Oissin as Archbishop of Tuam, or he might have been Bishop of Tuaim Greni, but in the latter case he could not have been styled Archbishop of Connaught. For these reasons the present translator has inserted the name of Aedh O'h-Oissin, instead of Hugh O'Heyn, as given by the translator just named.

⁶¹ *Ath-cliaith Duibh-linni*, i. e. the Ford of Hurdles of the Black Pool; it is now called Dublin, a word derived from the latter part of the old Irish name of the part of the river Liffey, on which that city was built; that is from *Dubh Linn*, in English, the Black Pool. The real name of its bishop at the time of the above-mentioned synod was Gregory or Gréri, who was apparently an Irish Dane.

⁶² *Tostius*, otherwise Tosti, Bishop of Port Largi, or Waterford. He was also of Danish origin.

⁶³ *Finn Mac Gormain*. The editor finds the surname of this prelate written both Mac Cianain and Mac Tighernmain. This he deems a mistake of the transcribers, for he finds by the Four Masters, that Finn Mac Gormain died Bishop of Kill Dara or Kildare, in 1160.

⁶⁴ *Torgesius*, otherwise Torgeis and Torgelsi. This ecclesiastic, who was of Danish blood, died bishop of Limerick, in A. D., 1167.

With the exception of the name of Archbishop of Connaught above mentioned, and the surname of the Bishop of Kill Dara, the editor has ascertained from the Irish Annals, that all the others did really preside over their respective sees, about the time of the synod of Kenammus or Kells. Several of them are here entitled from the tribes over whose territories their sees extended, but the reader may easily ascertain the names of the seat of their episcopal churches, by referring to the map, and to the notes upon the chapter upon the Irish bishops prefixed to this history.

⁶⁵ *Domnall O'Lonnargain*. "A. D., Domnall Ua Longargain, Archbishop of Cashel, chief senior of Munster, a paragon of wisdom and charity, died at an advanced age."—*Four Masters*.

⁶⁶ *Murkertach son of Niall died*.—He was slain in A. D., 1166, at the battle of Letir Liuin, fought in the district called the Fewes in the county of Armagh. An army of three battalions, composed of the men of Oirghialla, Ui Briuin Brefni, and Ui Conmaeni was led thither against him by Donn-cadh O'Kerbaill, King of Oirghialla; and there, say our annalists, "fell Murkertach Ua Lochlainn, monarch of all Ireland, chief lamp of valor, chivalry, hospitality, and prowess of the west of

O'Caellaighe, Bishop of Leith-glinn; Gilla-an-Coimdé O'h-Ard macil, Bishop of Imlech-Iubair; Gilla-Criosd O' Muidin, Bishop of Corcach; Maelbrenainn Mac Ronain, Comarba of St. Brendan of Ard-ferta, or Bishop of Kiarraide; Turgesius,⁶⁴ Bishop of Luimnech; Murkertach O' Maeluidir, Bishop of Cluain-mic-Nois; Maeil-Isa O'Connachtain, Bishop of East Connaught; Maelruadnadh O'Ruaidin, Bishop of Luighni; Mac-Craith O'Mughroin, Bishop of Connaeni; Ethrnadh O'Miadachain, Bishop of Cluain Iraird; Tuathal O'Connachtaigh, Bishop of Ui Briuin (Brefni); Muredach O'Cothaigh, Bishop of Kinel Eogain; Maelpatrik O'Banain, Bishop of Dal Araide; and Mael-Isa Mac-an-Clerigh-cuir, Bishop of Ulidia."

This synod commenced its session on the day before the Nones of March, and there the jurisdiction of the archbishops was decreed and laid down after the following manner: The archbishop of Ard-Macha presided over the See of Coinniri, Dun-da-Ieth-glas, Lugh-magh, Ard-acadh, Rath-both, Rath Lurigh, Daimh-liag, and Doiri. The Archbishop of Cashel's jurisdiction extended over the Sees of Kill-da-luadh, Luimnech, Inis Cathaigh, Kill Finnabrach, Imlech Iubair, Ros Crè, Port Largi, Lis Mor,

the world in his time; a man who had never been beaten in battle or conflict until then, and who had won many battles."—*Four Masters*.

Besides that of Kells or Kenannus, which was really held during the reign of Tordelbach O'Concobair, there were three synods of the Irish church held during the ten years that Murkertach reigned. Of these the first was held at Droichet Atha, or rather at Mellifont, near Droichet Atha, in A. D. 1157, which was presided over by Gilla-Mac-liag, Primate and Pope's Legate and attended by seventeen bishops, and by the monarch himself, together with Tighernan O'Ruairc, King of Brefni, O'Kerbaill, King of Oirghialla, and O'h-Eocadha, King of Ulidia, and countless numbers of every other degree. It was on this occasion that the church of Mellifont was consecrated. After the ceremony, Murkertach presented the church with forty cows, and sixty ounces of gold for the health of his soul; he likewise granted them the townland of Finnabair na-n-Inghen, opposite the mouth of the Mattock, in the parish of Donore, county Meath. O'Kerbaill gave them sixty ounces of

gold; and the wife of O'Ruairc, and daughter of O'Maelsechlaimn, gave as much more, with a chalice of gold for the altar of St. Mary, and cloth for each of the other nine altars that were in that church. Next year a synod was held at Bri-mic-Taig, near Trim, which was attended by twenty-five bishops, and presided over by the Pope's Legate, the Primate Gilla-Machag. It was here that the bishopric of Derry was established, or as the *Four Masters* record it, there was then ordered "a chair like that of every other bishop for the Comarba of Columkille, Flathbertach Ua Broilcain, and the Arch-abbacy of the churches of Ireland in general." In A. D. 1162, Gilla-Mac-Liag presided over another synod, at which twenty-six bishops and many abbots attended, and which was held at Cluainadh (Clane) in the county of Kildare. Amongst other decrees passed on this occasion, it was enacted that no person should be a professor of theology in any church in Ireland, who had not been an alumnus or student of the university of Ard-Macha.

Cluain Uamha, Coreach, Ros Alithir, and Ard Fertá. The Archbishop of Ath-eliath Duibh-linní presided over the Sees of Glenn-da-loch, Ferna, Osraide, Leith-gliun, and Kill Dara. The Archbishop of Tuaim-da-ghualann presided over the Sees of Magh Eo, Kill Alaidh, Ros Comain, Cluan Fertá, Aeadh Conari, Cluain-mic-Nois, and Kill-mic-Duach. But, however, the whole of these sees do not exist at present, for several of them have been since united under one bishop.

Soon after the completion of this council, died Donnall O'Lonnargain,⁶⁵ who had been archbishop of Munster; and it was not long after, when Murkertach, son of Niall, who had been then sovereign ruler over Leth Cuinn, and the greater part of Ireland, died.⁶⁶

RUDRAIDE O'CONCOBAIR, ARD-RIGH,
Go Fresabra.

A. D. 1166.⁶⁷ Ruaidrí (or Rudraide), son of Tordelbach, son of Ruaidrí O'Concobaír, of the line of Erimhòn, held the sovereignty of Connaught and part of Leth Cuinn for eight years.⁶⁸ He is also styled monarch of all Ireland in our chronicles, from the fact that the kings of Oirghialla, Meath, and Brefni, had acknowledged him as their sovereign. He was, nevertheless, but a pretender to the sovereignty (Righ-go-fresabradh), that is, a

⁶⁵ *A. D.* The editor's MSS. are not in accord as to the date of this king's accession, one has 1163, while Dermot O'Connor gives it 1168. The one above given is the true date of the death of his predecessor, immediately after which, as we read in the Annals of the Four Masters, "An army was led by Ruaidrí O'Concobaír to E-sruaidh, and he took the hostages of Kinel Conaill." He next led an army composed of the men of Connaught, Meath and Tebtha, to Ath-eliath, where he was inaugurated king "as honorably as any king of the Gaoidhil was ever inaugurated." He next received the hostages of the king of Leinster; and having afterwards marched into Munster, where "all the kings of Leth Mogha came into his house and submitted to him, he divided Munster into two parts, one of which he gave to the Sil Briain, and the other to Diarmaid, son of Cormac Mac Carthaigh."—*See Four Masters.* 1166 was then not only the year of his accession, but that and the following

were those of his greatest power. He was then in the fiftieth year of his age.

RUDRAIDE II. Some hold that Ruaidrí, or Ruaidhri, the usual form in which this prince's name is found spelled, is a word of different origin from the ancient Gaelic name, Rudraide, or Rudhraidhe (*Rooree*). The editor does not, however, see any reason to deem it any other than a mere variation of the latter; for, even though the supposition that Ruaidhri is derived from the proper name Roderic be correct, it is likewise possible that Roedric, Rudhraidhe, may in remote antiquity have been composed of the same elements. Therefore does the translator enter him as Rudraide II., the first monarch of the name being Rudraide Mor, who died monarch of Ireland, A. M., 4981.

⁶⁸ *Eight Years.* From his accession to his submission to Henry II., there were but seven years. He had ruled over Connaught from his father's death in 1156, and did not die until A. D., 1298.

king, whom very many of the nobles of Ireland refused to acknowledge as their monarch.

It was while Ruaidri held this questioned sovereignty, that the wife of Tighernan Cacch O'Ruairc, King of Brefni, a lady whose name was Derborgaill,⁶⁹ daughter of Murcadh, son of Flann, King of Meath, sent a private message to Diarmaid Mac Murcatha, King of Leinster, requesting of him to come to take her away from Tighernan, and make her his own wife; and she instructed her messengers to tell him that her husband was about proceeding on a pilgrimage to the Cave of St. Patrick's Purga-

⁶⁹ *Derborgaill*. This name is pronounced *Dervorgill*, and has been latinized *Dervorgilla*. Her elopement with Mac Murcatha, did not take place in this reign, it occurred fourteen years previously, during the reign of Tordelbach, the father of Ruaidri, and not after the manner stated by Keating, on the authority of the Anglo-Norman writers. The following is the simple narration of the event as given by the Irish authorities.—“A. D. 1152, An army was led by Ua Lochlainn into Meath, as far as Rath Kennaigh. Tordelbach (then monarch) proceeded into Meath to meet Ua Lochlainn and Diarmaid MacMurcatha, King of Leinster. On this occasion, Meath was divided into two parts; from Cluain Iraird westward, was given to Murcadh Ua Maelsechlainn, and East Meath to his son Maelsechlainn. From Tighernan Ua Ruairc, whom they had defeated, they took Conmacni, and they burned the town of Bun Cuilinn, (now Dangan, in Roscommon.) and gave the chieftainship to the son of Gilla-bradi O'Ruairc, and their hostages were given up to Tordelbach O'Concobair. On this occasion, Derborgaill, daughter of Murcadh Ua Maelsechlainn, and wife of Tighernan O'Ruairc, was carried off with her cattle and furniture, by Diarmaid, King of Leinster, who took with her, according to the advice of her brother, Maelsechlainn.”—*Four Masters*.

Derborgaill was next year taken away from her lover by the monarch Tordelbach, by whom she was delivered up to her kinsfolk in Meath, “with her cattle and furniture.” There is every rea-

son to suppose that she afterwards repented of her transgression. In 1157, the wife of O'Ruairc is found vying with kings in her munificence to the monastery of Mellifont. In A. D. 1167, the year after Mac Murcatha's banishment, we find her “finishing a church for nuns at Cluain-mic-Nois. To suppose a renewal of her criminal intrigue with Mac Murdagh in any part of the present reign, is an absurdity. Mac Murcatha, who was king of Leinster as early as A. D. 1135, must have been then an old man, and she was then certainly an old woman, for she was forty-four at the time of her first elopement. Previous to her marriage with O'Ruairc, an attachment is said to have existed between herself and Mac Murcatha, which may account in some way for her first transgression at a rather advanced period of life, but could scarcely for a second.

⁷⁰ *Banished him out of Ireland*. His own oppressed subjects had apparently as much to do with the banishment of Diarmaid as either the justice of O'Concobair, or the vengeance of O'Ruairc. The following entry is given of that event: “A. D. 1166. An army composed of the men of Brefni and Meath, and of the foreigners of Ath-eliath, and the Leinstermen, was led by Tighernan Ua Ruairc into Ui Kennselaigh, and Diarmaid Mac Murcatha was banished over sea, and his castle at Ferna was demolished. They set up as king (in his stead) Murcadh, the grandson of Murcadh, he giving seventeen hostages to Ruaidri O'Concobair, to be sent to Tir Fiacrach Aidni.”—*Four Masters*.

tory, and that a favorable opportunity for taking her off into Leinster would be afforded to him thereby. There had, indeed, been previously a criminal intrigue between this pair. Therefore, upon receiving her message, Diarmaid went to meet the woman, attended by a band of armed horsemen, and when he had arrived, thus accompanied, at the place where Derborgaill was awaiting him, he commanded her to be placed forcibly on horseback behind one of his attendants. Thereupon, the woman deceitfully cried and screamed aloud, in order to make people think that she had been carried off by violence. Having thus succeeded in his object, Diarmaid returned home into Leinster.

Then, when Tighernan returned to Brefni, and had learned that his wife had been carried off by violence, and against her consent, he went to make a complaint of the outrage both to Ruaidri O'Concobair, and to his own friends likewise. Thereupon, Ruaidri O'Concobair summoned a muster of the men of Connaught, Brefni, Oirghialla and Meath, and then marched attended by a numerous army to lay waste the territories of Leinster, and thus to avenge the deed which Diarmaid had committed. Now, when Diarmaid had heard that Ruaidri was marching to devastate his country, he likewise summoned a general assemblage and muster of the nobles of Leinster from all parts of his principality. But when these had come together into one place, the answer which they gave to their king was, that they would not go and stand up in defence of the evil deed which he had committed; and then a great number of them forsook his standard, and placed themselves under the protection of Ruaidri, to whom they complained of the many acts of tyranny and injustice which Diarmaid practiced towards them. By reason of this desertion, the King of Leinster was not able to meet his adversary in a pitched battle; whereupon the latter commenced laying waste the lands of those of the Leinstermen that remained faithful to their king, and, having marched to Ferna, he threw down the palace of Diarmaid, and levelled his dun; after which, he banished him out of Ireland altogether.⁷⁰

*Flight of Mac Murcadha—his interview with Henry II. of England, —alliance with the Anglo-Norman Lords, and secret return to Leinster. A.D. 1166–1167.*⁷¹

Diarmaid then proceeded to the second Henry, King of Sax-

⁷⁰ A.D. 1166–67. During the interval that elapsed between the expulsion of Diarmaid in the former, and his return in the latter of these years, Ruaidri, according to our Annals, had succeeded in establishing in his realm, an unusual degree of peace and subordination to his authority. As this was

on-land, who was then in France, and when he arrived in this king's presence, he was received with a welcome, and with a very great display of friendship. And when he had explained the object of his visit to his host, the latter furnished him with kindly letters to bring with him to the land of the Saxons. In

the last period of comparative peace combined with national independence, which Ireland was to see for ages to come, its records are here transcribed in full from the venerable annalists who have been so often quoted in these notes.

"The Age of Christ, 1167. Torgelsi, bishop of Luimnech, Ua Flannain, bishop of Cluain Uamha; Kin-aeth O'Kethernaigh, priest of Inis Clothrann; Mor, daughter of Donnall O'Concobair-Falghi, Abbess of Kill Dara; Maelmichael Mac Dothchain, noble priest, chief sage and pillar of piety of the community of Ard Macha; and Gallagori Ua Dubachain, comarba of Endi of Ara, died.

Tordelbach, son of Diarmaid Ua Briain, King of Munster and of Leth Mogha, a man who aimed at the sovereignty of all Ireland, the best man that came in his time for bestowing jewels and wealth upon the poor and the indigent of God, died.

Murkertach, son of Ladmann, Lord of Fordruim, pillar of the magnificence of all the north of Ireland, was treacherously slain by Donnadh Ua Dubdiorma, and by all the people of Bredach, in the middle of Magh Bili, and two of his sons were slain on the following day, and another was blinded. Conn Ua Maehniadaigh, chief of Muinter Eolais, died.

A great meeting was convened by Ruaidri Ua Concobair, and the chiefs of Leth Cuinn, both lay and ecclesiastic, and the chiefs of the foreigners (Danes) at Ath Buidhe Tlaetga, (now Athboy, in Meath). To it came the Comarba of Patrick (Gilla-Mac-Liag); Cadla Ua Dubthaigh, Archbishop of Connaught; Lorcan Ua Tuathail, Archbishop of Leinster; Tighernan Ua Ruairc, lord of Brefni; Donnadh Ua Kerbaill, lord of Oirghialla; Mac Donnleibi Ua h-Eocadha, King Uli-dia; Diarmaid Ua Maelsechlainn,

King of Temhair; Raghmall, son of Raghmall, lord of the foreigners. The whole of their gathering was 13,000 horsemen, of which 6,000 were Connaughtmen, 4,000 with Ua Ruairc, 2,000 with Ua Maelsechlainn, 4,000 with Ua Kerbaill and Ua h-Eocadha, 2,000 with Donnadh Mac Faelain, (chief of Ui Faelain, in Kildare), 1,000 with the Danes of Ath-cliaith. At this meeting they passed many good resolutions respecting veneration for churches and clerics, and the control of tribes and territories, so that women used to travel Ireland alone, and a restoration of his prey was given by the Ui Falghi to the Comarba of Patrick, at the hands of these kings aforesaid. They afterwards separated in peace and amity without battle or controversy, or without any one complaining of another at that meeting, in consequence of the prosperousness of the king who had assembled those chieftains with their forces at one place.

A hosting and mustering of the men of Ireland, with their chieftains, was made by Ruaidri Ua Concobair. Thither came Diarmaid, son of Cormac (Mac Carthaigh), lord of Desmond; Murkertach Ua Briain, lord of Thomond; Diarmaid Ua Maelsechlainn, king of Meath; Donnadh Ua Kerbaill, lord of Oirghialla; and all the chieftains of Leinster. They afterwards arrived in Tir Eogain, and Ua Concobair divided that territory into two parts, that is, he gave that part of Tir Eogain, north of the Callainn Mountain, to Niall Ua Lochlainn, for two hostages, namely, Ua Cathain of Craebh, and Mac-an-Gaill Ua Brain; and that part of the tribe-land, south of the mountain, he gave to Aedh Ua Neill for two other hostages, namely, Ua Maclaedha, one of the Kinel Aengusa, and Ua h-Urthali, one of the Ui Turtri, Ua Neill's own foster-brothers. The men of Ireland

these he gave him permission to enlist every one of the Saxons, who might be willing to go with him to Ireland, and there aid in recovering the sovereignty of his own country. Upon receiving these, Diarmaid bid farewell to that king, and set out for the country of the Saxons. When arrived there, he caused the letters of Henry⁷² to be publicly read at Brisdol, and at the same time made a proclamation in which he promised large rewards to all persons who would aid him in the recovery of his territories. It was there that he met Richard Fitz-Gilbert,⁷³ Earl of Strigul, with whom he made the following compact; to wit,

returned back southwards, over Sliabh Fuaid, through Tir Eogain and Tir Conaill, to meet their sea fleet; and Ua Concobair escorted the lord of Desmond, with his forces, southwards, through Thomond, as far as Cnoc Ani, with many jewels and riches.

Diarmaid Mac Muredha returned with a force of Gauls, and he seized the kingdom of Ui Kennaigh (his own tribe). Another army was led by Ruaidri Ua Concobair and Tighernan Ua Ruairc into Ui Kennaigh until they reached Kill Osnadh. A battle was fought between some of the recruits and cavalry of Connaught, and the cavalry of the Ui Kennaigh, and six of the Connaughtmen, together with Domnall, son of Tadhg, son of Maclruanaidh, were slain in the first conflict; twenty-five of the Ui Kennaigh, together with the son of the king of Britain (i. e., of Wales), who was the battle-prop of the island of Britain, who had come across the sea in the army of Mac Muredha were slain in the second conflict by Ua Ruairc. Diarmaid Mac Muredha, afterwards came to Ua Concobair; and gave him seven hostages for ten cantreds of his own native territory, and one hundred ounces of gold were given to Ua Ruairc, as an atonement for the wrong done to that prince.

Derbail, daughter of Donnadh Ua Maelsechlainn, died at Cluain-mic-Nois after the victory of will and confession. Uada Ua Conceanainn, who had been at first Lord of Ui Diarmada, and afterwards in religious orders, died at Cluain-mic-Nois. The church of the nuns at Cluain-mic-Nois was finished by Derbogaill, daughter of Muredha

Ua Maelsechlainn, (the wife of Ua Ruairc, and the Helen of Irish romance). Fobar Fechini, Ailfinn, and Birra, were burned. Muredach, the son of Mac Cana, was slain by the sons of Ua Lochlainn. A church was erected at Cluain-mic-Nois in place of the Derthach, by Concobair Ua Kellaigh and the Ui Mani."

⁷² *Letters of Henry.* Henry II. who was then in Aquitaine, and too busily occupied both in reducing some of his continental vassals to obedience, and in maintaining his controversy with St. Thomas a Becket, to avail himself in person of the opportunity offered by Diarmaid's treason, adopted this mode of keeping up civil strife in Ireland until he should be more at leisure to turn it to his advantage. His letter was of the following purport: "Henry King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Norman, Welsh and Scotch, and to all other nations under his dominion, sends greeting. As soon as the present letters shall come to your hands, know that Dermot, prince of Leinster, has been received into the bosom of our grace and benevolence. Wherefore, whosoever within the ample extent of our territories, shall be willing to lend aid towards the restoration of this prince, as our faithful and liege subject, let such person know that we do hereby grant to him, for said purpose, our license and favor."

⁷³ *Richard Fitz-Gilbert*, i. e., Richard son of Gilbert or Gislebert. His real name was Richard de Claire, or Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Strigul, and he

Diarmaid promised to give his own daughter, Aefi, to this earl as his wife, and with her he promised him the inheritance of Leinster after his own death. The earl bound himself upon his part, to follow the exiled prince into Ireland, and there to assist him in reconquering his lost principality.

Having completed this compact, Diarmaid set out for Britain (Wales) to visit a prince named Ralph Griffin,⁷⁴ who then ruled over that country under the sovereignty of King Henry. To him, likewise, Diarmaid explained the object he had in view. At that time this prince happened to hold in prison a nobleman of distinguished valor, whose name was Robert Fitz-Stephen, who, having rebelled against his king, saw no better means of escaping punishment than engaging to go to the aid of Mac Mureadha in Ireland. Upon this, when the Bishop of St. David's and Maurice Fitz-Gerald had heard that Diarmaid had gone to the prince to solicit the enlargement of Robert Fitz-Stephen from the prison in which he lay, they went themselves likewise, to petition for the liberty of that nobleman, and to beg that he would be allowed to proceed to Ireland to join the King of Leinster. The children of one mother,⁷⁵ indeed, were that Bishop, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. By these solicitations the prince was induced to grant his liberty to Robert, upon the expressed condition that he should follow Mac Mureadha into Ireland in the course of the summer then ensuing.⁷⁶ To Robert Diarmaid he promised to grant Loch Garman and the two cantreds of land that lay next thereto, as a reward for his agreeing to come to his assistance.

bore the nickname of Strongbow, a cognomen which his father had borne before him. He was a man of ruined fortunes, and of a daring, adventurous and unscrupulous spirit. From him the early Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland have been called Strongbowians.

⁷⁴ *Ralph Griffin.* His real name was Rees Ap Gryffyth. He had detained Fitz-Stephen in prison for three years. It was probably a son of his that is styled son of the King of Britain (i. e., Wales) in the above given extract from the Four Masters, where he is stated have fallen fighting for Mac Mureadha.

⁷⁵ *The children of one mother.* They were the sons of Nesta, the beautiful mistress of Henry I. This lady, after separating from her royal lover, married Gerald, Governor of Pembroke, and Lord of Carew, by whom she had

two (or three) sons, and the second of them was the brave adventurer, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, now enlisted in the service of the Irish king. His mother, Nesta, having been carried off by a Welsh prince, named Caradoc, became on Gerald's death, the mistress of the constable Stephen de Marisco, and by him had a son, Robert Fitz-Stephen, the same who engaged at this time in the Irish wars, in common with his half brother, Maurice Fitz-Gerald. Like the Earl of Pembroke, they were both fitted by broken fortunes and political difficulties, to embark in any enterprise, however, desperate, which held forth a prospect of speedy relief and change.—See *Moore's History of Ireland.*
⁷⁶ *The summer then ensuing.* Fitz-Stephen did not arrive in Ireland until the beginning of the *second* next summer, that of A.D. 1169.

Then, having ratified all his covenants with these people, Diarmaid sailed homeward⁷⁷ for Ireland, and those that followed him on his voyage, were but few, though he was returning to a land where his enemies abounded, and his friends were scarce. After his landing, he proceeded secretly to Ferna Mor of St. Maedog, and placed himself under the protection of the clergy and brotherhood of that monastery, and there he dwelt in sadness and obscurity for a short time, until the summer had set in.

First landing of Anglo-Normans under Robert Fitz-Stephen, in the month of May, A. D., 1169.

In due time Robert Fitz-Stephen arrived in Ireland, in fulfilment of his compact with Mac Murcatha. The number of the host under his command was thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred footmen. And the place where they made their landing was at Cuan-an-bainbh,⁷⁸ (*Cooan-an-vonniv*), on the south coast of Loch Garman, at a spot which is called Bag and Bun. This took place in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and seventy,⁷⁹ in the seventh year of the reign of Ruaidri O'Concobar. In the company of Robert Fitz-Stephen, there was also on that expedition, another Knight of distinction who was named Hervé de Monte-Marisco,⁸⁰ a nobleman of the house of the Earl of Strigul, whom the latter had sent to Ireland before himself, for the purpose of

⁷⁷ *Diarmaid sailed homeward.* This account, given by Keating of the fewness of his followers on his homeward return, is exaggerated. Though probably none of the Norman men-at-arms then accompanied him, he must have been accompanied by a considerable body of Welshmen, under that son of the King of Britain whose death is recorded by the Four Masters. If he was at all constrained to conceal himself at Ferna, or Ferns, it could not have been for many weeks, for he made head against the monarch within the very year of his return, was then strong enough to secure the peaceable possession of part of his former territories by a treaty of peace.

⁷⁸ *Cuan-an-bainbh*; i. e., the harbor or creek of the Sucking Pig. It is now called Bannow, in the county Wexford. Fitz-Stephen had with him on this occasion a force of thirty Knights,

sixty men at arms, and three hundred archers. On the day after his arrival, he was joined by Maurice de Prendergast, a gentleman of Wales, who then landed with a force consisting of ten knights and sixty archers. Previous to this, we read of the arrival of a fleet of the Flemmings, who "came from England in the army of Mac Murcatha, to contest the kingdom of Leinster for him. They were seventy, men dressed in coats of mail."—*Four Masters.*

⁷⁹ *Seventy*—Correctly: sixty-nine.

⁸⁰ *Hervé de Monte-Marisco.* He is also called Hervey of Mount Maurice, and was the paternal uncle of Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. He is said to have been a person in needy circumstances, who, without arms or means, had joined in this expedition as the emissary of his nephew.

reconnoitering and forming an estimate of this country. Then, when they had arrived at the above-named place, Robert sent a message to Diarmaid, thereby informing the latter of his arrival in Ireland. Diarmaid was seized with joy upon receiving the tidings thereof, and he marched forth immediately followed by five hundred warriors to meet his allies.

Having formed a junction with these, both he and his confederates with one accord determined that the first step to be taken was to attack and gain possession of Loch Garman.⁸¹ Thither they accordingly marched, but, as they were approaching the town, the burgesses adopted the counsel of making their submission to Diarmaid forthwith, and of sending four of the nobles of their town to that prince as hostages, in pledge of their peaceable demeanor towards him, and of their paying him rent and fines, and doing him homage as their liege lord. It was then indeed that Diarmaid fulfilled his promise to Robert Fitz-Stephen, by granting him the town of Loch Garman, together with the cantred of land that lay next thereto. He likewise granted the two cantreds that lay next to this,⁸² to Hervé de Monte-Marisco, thus completing the engagements which he had contracted with both these knights in Britain.

Having arranged these matters, Diarmaid next summoned together a general muster both of his own partizans and of the strangers, and when they had come into place, the number of the entire host there assembled was three thousand men in all, counting both the Gauls and the Gaels. This force he immediately led into Osraide, which he commenced to plunder and devastate therewith; for at this time the Ossorians were ruled by Donnadh, son of Domnall Remhar, who had been his inveterate

⁸¹ *Loch-Garman*; otherwise called *Loch g-Carman*, and now known to the English as the town of Wexford. This place was then one of the maritime cities, held by the descendants of the *Lochlannaigh*, or Danes. The citizens did not submit as passively as the above given account would imply. For, though they had fled back in disorder, when first they had been called out to meet their foes—frightened, it is said, at the armor and discipline of the Normans, but perhaps also by the numbers of the Irish force that followed *Mac Murcatha*—they immediately adopted the resolution of burning their suburbs; and when *Fitz-Stephen* led his men to scale their walls, he was met

by so brave a resistance that he was compelled to withdraw his troops and content himself with burning the ships then lying in the harbor. Next day, the robber chieftain caused masses to be solemnly said in his camp, and was preparing for another assault, when a peace was made between the citizens and their enemies, through the medium of two bishops, and the town was thereupon delivered up to the King of *Leinster* as its liege lord.—*See Moore.*

⁸² *The two cantreds next to this.* These are now comprised within the baronies of *Forth and Bargy*, whose present inhabitants are chiefly descendants of the *Flemmings*, then planted in the ancient *Fotharta* of the *O'Larkins*.

enemy.⁵³ But, as he was thus laying waste this territory, its chieftain, finding himself unable to defend it, with the advice of the nobles of his tribe, adopted the resolve of sending hostages to Diarmaid and of submitting to pay him chief-rent. It was thus that Donnadh prevented Diarmaid from devastating Osraide.

But now, when the nobles of Ireland had heard⁵⁴ of the arrival of Diarmaid and the Gauls, and had been informed of the success of their united forces, they proceeded to take counsel with Ruaidri O'Concobair, who at that time had taken upon himself the sovereignty of Ireland. And the resolution, which they then adopted was to place at his disposal an auxiliary army, collected from all the principalities of Ireland.

A force so composed was accordingly brought together, whereupon Ruaidri marched therewith into the territory of Ui Kennselaigh, with the intention of expelling both Diarmaid and the strangers out of Ireland. But as soon as the monarch had invaded Leinster, Diarmaid and the Gauls and all of the Leinstermen that followed his standard, retreated into certain dark woods and fastnesses that lay near Ferna Mor of St. Maedog, in order

⁵³ *His inveterate enemy.* He had been one of the first to turn against Diarmaid. He had also, during the previous year, in a paroxysm of jealousy, ordered the eyes of one of the sons of the King of Leinster, named Enda, to be put out. This barbarous practice was common in England as well as in Ireland at that time.—“Henry the Second, in his excursion into Wales in 1164, having received as hostages the children of the noblest families of that country, gave orders that the eyes of all the males should be rooted out, and the ears and noses of the females amputated. In the reign of Henry IV., it was made felony (in England) ‘to cut out any person’s tongue, or to put out his eyes; crimes, which,’ the act says, ‘were very frequent.’”—*Moore’s History of Ireland.* See also, *Lingard, Hume, &c.*

⁵⁴ *When the nobles of Ireland had heard, &c.* From the fact that Irish chieftains had been accustomed to employ foreign mercenaries in their domestic wars, neither they nor the monarch Ruaidri seem to have been conscious, neither now, nor long after the present time, of the danger that threatened their

national independence, from the Norman mercenaries of the King of Leinster.—Amongst the various entries under the year 1169, Ruaidri’s march into Leinster, and the peace he concluded with Mac Murcadha, is thus cursorily set down by our annalists: “The King of Ireland afterwards proceeded into Leinster; and Tighernan Ua Ruaire, lord of Brehni, and Diarmaid O’Mael-sechlainn, King of Temhair, and the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, went to meet the men of Munster, Leinster and Osraide; and they set nothing by the Flemmings; and Diarmaid Mac Murcadha gave his son as a hostage to Ruaidri Ua Concobair.”—*Four Masters.*

In the previous year, Eri had seen for the last time, her princes, nobles and people assembled for the last time at the ancient royal fair of Talti, which “was celebrated on this occasion by the King of Ireland, and the men of Leth Cinna, and their horses and cavalry were spread out from Mullach Ati (now the Hill of Loyd, near Kells) to Mullach Taltenn,” (now the summit of Teltown, a space of six miles.)

to save himself from the numerous army led by Ruaidri. Hereupon, when Ruaidri perceived that his enemies had no intention of giving him battle, he sent messengers to Robert Fitz-Stephen, commanding him to leave the country, on the grounds that he had no right to any inheritance therein. But to these messengers Fitz-Stephen replied that he would never forsake the lord with whom he had come to Ireland. His messengers returned in due time to Ruaidri with this answer; and then, when he found that neither Mac Murcadha, nor the Gauls would quit the country upon any condition, he prepared to fall upon them with the full force of the large army under his command, and thus to crush and destroy their host. However, when the clergy of Leinster saw that the country was in danger of being destroyed by this contest, they exerted their utmost influence to bring about a peace between Ruaidri and Diarmaid. The following were the conditions upon which that peace was finally concluded; to wit, the kingdom of Leinster was to be left to Diarmaid, as it was his by right of inheritance, upon condition that he would do homage for the same to Ruaidri as his liege lord, and submit to his authority, just as all the kings, that had ruled Leinster before him, had been wont to submit to all the monarchs of Ireland, who had preceded Ruaidri. Then as a surety for his observance of the peace thus concluded, Diarmaid gave one of his own sons, named Art,⁶⁵ to Ruaidri as his hostage. Upon his part, Ruaidri promised to give his own sister in marriage to Diarmaid. Upon the completion of these conditions, they separated from one another in peace. But before they did so, Diarmaid promised Ruaidri that he would bring over no more Gauls into Ireland.

Arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald.

It was not long after the conclusion of this peace, when Maurice Fitz-Gerald arrived in Ireland, both in fulfilment of his own compact with Mac Murcadha, and in order to receive the reward which, during the past harvest, the latter had promised to bestow upon him, and upon Robert Fitz-Stephen, provided they would come to Ireland to aid him in the recovery of his own territories. The force that followed Maurice upon this occasion,

⁶⁵ *Named Art.* According to the *Four Masters*, the name of this son would appear to have been Concoabar. After this unfortunate treaty was concluded, Ruaidri drew off his army, thus allowing the treacherous enemy of

his country to implant his foreign allies in the land, by the subjugation of the Danish feudatories of the kingdom of Leinster, as well as the refractory tribes of his own kindred.

consisted of ten knights, thirty esquires, and one hundred footmen. And where they made their first landing was at Loch Garman; and then, no sooner did Mac Murcadha and Robert Fitz-Stephen hear of his arrival, than they came to this place to welcome him.

It was now that Mac Murcadha called to mind all the injuries that the inhabitants of Ath-cliath had committed towards both himself and his father before him;⁶⁶ and for this reason did he gladly enlist this host in order to lead it thither at once, and to sack that city therewith; for he had to leave Robert Fitz-Stephen engaged in building a castle at a place which is now called Carraigh, and which lies two miles outside Loch Garman. Accordingly Diarmaid and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, attended by the greater part of the Gauls, marched into Finé Gall.⁶⁷ So that they plundered and burned up the greater part of that territory. Hereupon, when the burgesses of Ath-cliath saw that the country all round their city was plundered and laid waste, they took counsel together, and the measure upon which they determined was to send very many objects of value and large presents of gold and silver to Mac Murcadha, in order to procure a peaceable settlement of their quarrel with that prince. And in addition to these treasures, they likewise sent out hostages to him over the walls of their city.

Mac Murcadha aspires to the sovereignty of Ireland—His letter to Strongbow—Arrival of Raymond le Gros, A.D. 1170.

When Mac Murcadha now found that he was succeeding in all his undertakings,⁶⁸ he recalled to his mind that the sovereignty of all Ireland had been possessed by several of his own direct ancestors, namely, by Concobar Abradh-ruadh, Cathacir

⁶⁶ *His father before him.* This was Donnadh Ua Macl-na-mbo, King of Leinster, who was slain in 1115 by the Irish Danes of Dublin, commanded by their lord, Donnall, son of Murkertach Mor O'Briain.

⁶⁷ *Finé Gall*, i. e., the tribe, or rather, figuratively, the tribe-land of the Gauls or strangers. The first part of this name has no relation to *Finn* or *Fionn* in Fium-Gall, i. e., a fair-haired stranger, the Irish name for a Norwegian. It is *finé*, pronounced *finneh*, a race, tribe, or kindred. The territory of the strangers, i. e., the Danes, designated by this name, lies north of Dub-

lin, and still retains its ancient appellation with slight alteration in the anglicized form, Fingal.

⁶⁸ *Succeeding in all his undertakings.* His success was as yet confined to the taking of Wexford, the submission of Ossory and Dublin, and the acknowledgement of his authority by some of the septs of his own tribe—events that, such was the state of isolation in which the interest of the various tribes that composed the Gaelic nation then stood with regard to one another, were of as little immediate interest to the rest of the country as if they had taken place in a foreign land.

Mor,⁶⁹ Labraidh Loingsach, Laegari Lore and Iugani Mor, and all the other kings of this line who preceded them upon the Irish throne. Therefore did he say to himself that no king of these had ever possessed any greater power to uphold him in the sovereignty of Ireland, than what he had then at his own disposal. For this reason he took both Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen into a private place, and there acquainted them with his secret desires upon this subject, and he asked their advice as to the measures to be taken in furtherance thereof. These men thereupon answered him with one accord, and assured him that it would be easy for him to accomplish his object, if he were only willing to send to Saxon-land for more men. Mac Murcatha then desired them to send messengers thither immediately, with instructions to invite over all their kinsmen and companions; and he added that he would give his own daughter as wife either to Maurice Fitz-Gerald, or to Robert Fitz-Stephens; but neither of them would consent to take her, because they remembered that he had previously promised her to the Earl of Strigul, with the kingdom of Leinster for her portion, as the reward of that Earl's aiding him in recovering the sovereignty of his own country. Both these knights concluded by advising their ally to write to the said earl at once, and to request of him to come over to Ireland and fulfill his promises; "And explain to him," said they, "that thou art prepared to fulfil thy part of the engagement, in as far as regards giving him thy daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdom of Leinster after thy own day; and tell him moreover thy prospects of subjecting the four provinces of Ireland, which thou dost not yet own, to thy sovereignty and tribute.

Mac Murcatha accordingly despatched a letter to this effect to the earl of Strigul. And when the bearer thereof had reached him, and when he had read the letter, and had heard of the great power, which Mac Murcatha, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald had acquired in Ireland, he set out imme-

⁶⁹ *Cothaeir Mor, &c.* Mr. Moore assumes, in one of the notes to his History of Ireland, that it was in right of his maternal descent from Murkertach Mor O'Briain, that Diarmaid then laid claim to the Irish monarchy. But, had he considered the usages of the ancient Irish, he would have understood that a claim so founded would not be acknowledged by a single Ollamh, Brethemh or Bard of the Gaels, however plausible it might seem to Mac Murcatha's foreign friends. Keating's account is then

more admissible, for his claim to the sovereignty on the ground of his descent from Cathaeir Mor, his twenty-second ancestor, was just as legitimate in Brehon law, as those of Brian Boromha, or of Tordelbach, the father of Ruaidri, the actual king. Mac Murcatha was himself aware of this, and, ruthless destroyer as he was, he may be supposed to have known his countrymen well enough not to have shocked their hereditary prejudices by wantonly advancing any other.

diately for the place where the King of Saxon-land was then staying, and there he solicited the permission of that monarch to go and make a conquest in whatever country he had a mind. But when the king comprehended the object of his request, he did not grant him his request in full, neither did he give him a direct refusal. The earl, nevertheless, went off with the ambiguous consent which he had received, and forthwith set about equipping himself and his followers for the intended expedition. Then, as he was not ready to set out immediately upon his voyage in person, he sent off Raymond le Gros,⁹⁰ son of William Fitz-Gerald, the elder brother of Maurice, with a band of armed followers to go before him into Ireland.

Upon arriving in this country, Raymond effected a landing at Dun Domnoinn,⁹¹ four miles outside of Port Largi, towards the south. According to Stanihurst, the number of the people of this captain was ten knights and three score footmen. As soon as landed, they constructed a fortified embankment of stones and clay in that place.

When the news of the arrival of these Gauls in their neighborhood, had reached the citizens of Port Largi and Maclsechlinn O'Faelain, King of the Desi, they were seized with hatred and alarm at their approach, and they came together to take counsel as to how they should act upon the emergency. The result of their consultation was, that they resolved to attack the strangers in their fortress, and there to slaughter and destroy them. They then assembled their forces together in one place, and the number they led against the foe amounted to three thousand men. When Raymond saw them approaching, he sallied out rashly and unthinkingly to meet and oppose that numerous host, and to give them battle with the small band under his command. But when he found that he was not strong enough to

⁹⁰ *Raymond le Gros*; i. e. Raymond the Big. "This young officer, whose name was Raymond Fitz-William, but who bore the cognomen *Le Gros*, as a personal characteristic, was of the same noble race whence sprung so many others of the leaders of this Irish expedition, being the second son of William Fitz-Gerald, and nephew both to Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and Robert Fitz-Stephen."—*Moore*.

⁹¹ *Dun Domnainn*, now called Down-donnell, near Waterford. Hervey de Monte-Marisco, and some other knights joined him soon after his landing, and here they erected a small fort, where

they purposed to await the arrival of Strongbow. The engagement between these invaders and the citizens of Waterford, aided by O'Faelain, is not mentioned by the Four Masters. It is, no doubt, exaggerated here. Mr. Moore tells us that the Irish had pursued Raymond's force into the fort, and that it was when thus pressed, that Raymond turned round and struck the foremost of those who were within the gates through the body, and then, this example having animated his band and dismayed his assailants, he sallied out again at the head of his small force, when the whole multitude fled in dismay.

engage his assailants in the field, he began to retreat with his face to the foe, towards the entrenchment which he had previously constructed. However, upon finding his enemies pressing upon his rear, he turned upon his pursuers with hardihood, and flinging himself upon them, he made an incredible slaughter of that large host of the Gaels, so that, besides what he killed, he maimed and wounded⁹² five hundred of their men in the course of that one hour.

Arrival of Richard de Clare, Earl of Strigul and Pembroke—commonly called Earl Strongbow, A. D. 1170

On the approach of the feast of St. Bartholemew, the Earl of Strigul arrived in Ireland in person; and the number of his followers was two hundred Knights, and one thousand Esquires, archers, and soldiers of every other description. And the place where he cast anchor was in the harbor of Port Largi.

When, indeed, the news of the arrival of the Earl of Strigul had spread throughout Ireland, Mac Murcadha, attended by the nobles of Leinster, together with Robert Fitz-Stephens, Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Raymond le Gros came to meet him, full of joy and hope. Next day they marched by common consent to attack and capture Port Largi,⁹³ and when they had come under that city, they set themselves determinately about taking it by a simultaneous assault. And then, in addition to the hardships which they had previously inflicted upon the inhabitants of this city, having taken the walls by storm, they

⁹² *He maimed and wounded, &c.* Of these, seventy of the principal citizens of Port Largi, or Waterford, were taken prisoners in the rout. For their ransom large sums of money were offered by their fellow-citizens, who even proffered to surrender their city itself to the strangers as the price of their friends' liberation. But their fate was left to a council of war, where, by the persuasion of Hervé de Monte-Marisco, and against the will of Raymond, it was determined that they should be executed, for the purpose of "striking terror into the Irish." They were accordingly borne away to the rocks, and there most cruelly put to death, by first breaking their limbs, and then casting them headlong into the sea.—*See Moore.*

⁹³ *Port Largi captured.* Though the

inhabitants of this city had previously allowed themselves to be shamefully beaten by the small band of Raymond, and had allowed him to remain for three months unmolested in their neighborhood, they now made a rather vigorous resistance to the more formidable army of Strongbow. With the aid of O'Faclain, prince of the Desi, they twice repulsed their assailants. At length Raymond le Gros, perceiving a small house projecting on timber props from the east angle of the wall, ordered some of his knights to hew down these props, so that the house fell, and with it part of the wall. A breach being thus opened, the troops poured into the city, and there took dreadful revenge for the resistance they had encountered by a general slaughter of all whom they met.—*See Moore.*

rushed into the interior, and massacred every person upon whom they could lay hands. Nevertheless, at the request of Mac Mureadha, they spared the life of Maelsechlainn O'Faelain, King of the Desi, whom they had there captured.

Mac Mureadha had on this occasion brought with him his daughter, who was named *Aeifi*,⁹⁴ to meet the earl, and to him she was immediately married at this place. And then, as soon as that alliance was duly ratified by all parties, the earl, having left a strong garrison in Port Lergi,⁹⁵ immediately led forth his army against Ath-eliath.

Now, there was not upon earth any man whom the citizens of Dublin more hated to see approaching them than Mac Mureadha, thus attended by those Gauls; and, upon his side, Mac Mureadha was equally full of hatred and enmity towards them, for it was they that had slain his father, whom they then buried insultingly and ignobly, by placing him in one grave with a dead dog, as a mark of contempt. Therefore were the folk of Ath-eliath seized with terror upon the approach of that army of the Gauls, and of the full strength of Leinster now marching against them. For this reason they deputed the Archbishop of Ath-eliath, namely, Lorean O'Tuathail,⁹⁶ as their ambassador to solicit a

⁹⁴ *Aeifi*. The Normans called her Eva. Mac Mureadha was doubly a traitor in granting the inheritance of the kingdom of Leinster to the husband of this lady; for he knew that not one of the royal tribes in Leinster, who were every man of them legitimately as eligible to the chieftancy as himself, would acknowledge such a title one hour longer than external force compelled them. And so we read in the subsequent annals of Ireland, of several Kings of Leinster, of the ancient regal and direct line, some of whom, as the brave Art Mac Mureadha O'Caemhnaigh, forced involuntary homage to their regal titles even from the Norman colonists, but we do not find one man, styled King of Leinster by either English or Irish, of those that sprung from *Aeifi* and Richard de Clare.

The arrival of Strongbow and taking of Waterford, is thus entered by the Four Masters. "A. D. 1170. Richard, son of Gilbert, i. e. Earl Strongbow, came from Saxon-land into Ireland with a numerous force, and many knights and archers, in the ar-

my of Mac Mureadha, to contest Leinster for him, and to disturb the Gaels of Ireland in general; and Mac Mureadha gave his daughter to Earl Strongbow for coming into his army. He took Loch Garman, and entered Port Lergi by force; and they took prisoner Gilla-Mari, the officer of the fortress, and Ua Faelain, lord of the Desi, and his son, and they killed seven hundred persons there."

⁹⁵ *A strong garrison at Port Lergi*. Waterford was soon after retaken by Mac Carthaigh, and the Eoganachta. Under this same year, we are told that "a victory was gained by the son of Cormac, grandson of Carthach, and the people of Desmond, over the knights who were left to guard Port Lergi."—*F. M.*

⁹⁶ *Lorean O'Tuathail*. He is better known as St. Lawrence O'Toole. "This great and good man," says Mr. Moore, "who was destined to act a distinguished part in the coming crisis of his country's fate, possessed qualities both of mind and heart which would have rendered him an ornament to any com-

peaceful settlement from the earl, and to him the said archbishop promised large presents and hostages from the folk of the city, provided he would grant them peace and protection. However, whilst they were arranging the terms upon which they required peace was to have been ratified, Raymond le Gros accompanied by Milo de Cogan, and a number of other young knights, who were stationed upon the other side of the city, found means of effecting a breach in its fortifications, through which they made an entry and, rushing upon the inhabitants, slaughtered every person upon whom they could lay hands therein. Having thus gained possession of Ath-cliaith,⁹⁷ they made but a short stay in that place. However, the earl left Milo de Cogan, and a certain number of his armed followers to hold possession of the city as its garrison.

Then Mac Murcadha, cherishing vengeance and hatred towards O'Ruairc, King of Brefni, led the united armies of the Gauls and Gaels into the country of that prince, and he soon succeeded in plundering and burning the territories of Brefni,

munity, however advanced in civilization, and public virtæ." Speaking of the present taking of Dublin, we read that, "in the midst of the slaughter and massacre, the great and good St. Lawrence (Lorcan) was seen exposing himself to every danger, and even, as his biographer describes him, dragging from the enemies' hands the palpitating bodies of the slain, to have them decently interred. He also succeeded at great risk in prevailing on the new authorities to retain most of the clergy in their situations, and recovered from the plunderers the books and ornaments belonging to the several churches."—*Moore*.

⁹⁷ *Ath-cliaith taken.* The state of discord and anarchy that ensued after the taking of Dublin, may be estimated by the following extracts from the entries of some of the events of the year 1170. By them may be seen that the powerful toparchs of Meath, Oirghialla, and Thomond, had then thrown off their submission to the Irish monarch. "An army was led by Ruaidri, King of Ireland; O'Ruairc, lord of Brefni; and O'Kerbaill, lord of Oirghialla, against the Leinstermen and their foreign allies; and there was a challenge of bat-

tle between them for the space of three days, until lightning burned Ath-cliaith; for the Danes of that fortress had deserted from the Connaughtmen and the people of Leth Cuinn. A miracle was now wrought against the Danes of Ath-cliaith, for Mac Murcadha and the Saxons acted treacherously towards them, and made a slaughter of them in the middle of their own fortress, and carried off their cattle and their goods, in consequence of the violation of their word to the men of Ireland.

"An army was led by Mac Murcadha and his knights into Meath and Brefni, and they plundered Cluain-Iraid, and burned Kenannus, Kill Taltenn, Dubadh, Slani, Tuilen, Kill Sgiri, and Disert Kiarain; and they afterwards made a predatory incursion into Tir Briuin (Brefni), and carried off many prisoners and cows to their camp."

The hostages of Diarmaid Mac Murcadha, were put to death by Ruaidri O'Concobar, King of Ireland, at Ath-Luain; namely, Concobar, son of Diarmaid, and Diarmaid's grandson, the son of Donnall Caemhanach; and Ua O'Caellaighe, the son of his foster-brother.

and in gaining great advantages both over O'Ruire, and every other Irish chieftain, that he went against.

At length, when Ruaidri O'Concobair, who was king of Connaught and the greater part of Ireland, saw that Mac Mureadha had violated the peace which had been made between them, he sent ambassadors to that prince to complain of his breach of the conditions upon which it had been granted, and to reproach him with having brought over more Gauls into Ireland, without his own permission or advice. And when the king's ambassadors had come in the presence of Mac Mureadha, they addressed him in these terms: "We now know that thou hast not any regard either for thy oaths or for the safety of thy son, whom thou hast delivered up on thy part as a hostage for the maintenance of peace. Therefore does Ruaidri O'Concobair, King of Connaught, declare to thee that he will send thee thy son's head, unless thou wilt consent to put away those foreigners from thee, and that, unless this be done, he will not then be satisfied with anything less than driving thee again into exile to Saxon-land." Mac Mureadha replied to this message by saying that he would not only not send away the foreigners at the command of Ruaidri, but that he would even invite over others besides those already in the country. He added, moreover, that he never would make peace with any portion of the Gaelic nation, until he had gained possession of all Ireland. His ambassadors then returned to Ruaidri, to whom they made known the answer which they had received from Mac Mureadha, whereat he was seized with exceeding great wrath. Besides this, the fame of the valorous deeds of the Gaelic invaders had now so spread throughout all the land, that the men of Ireland were filled with hatred and dismay at their approach.

Domnall Breaghach and the men of East Meath turned against Ui Ruairc and Ua Concobair, and delivered hostages to Mac Mureadha. The hostages of East Meath were put to death by Ua Ruairc. Mac Mureadha led an army into Brefni, where a party of his people were defeated by the soldiers of Ua Ruairc; and they afterwards made an attack upon the camp in which he himself was with the Leinstermen, Gauls, and the men of Meath and Oirghialla about him, and they slew numbers of them, and then left their camp.

Domnall Ua Briain and the Dal g-Cais turned against the monarch. Ruaidri Ua Concobair brought a great

fleet upon the Shannon to plunder Munster. The Ui Mami made a predatory incursion into Ormond, in which they plundered, and they destroyed the wooden bridge of Kill-da-luadh. A predatory incursion was made by the people of West Connaught into Thomond.

A predatory incursion was made by Tighernan Ua Ruairc into Galenga and Saitlmi. (in Meath) whence he carried off many cows. A predatory incursion was made by the Oirghialla (now, apparently, the allies of the King of Leinster) into Tir Brinín (O'Ruire's country).—*Four Masters*.

In the meantime accounts from the earl and his followers, had reached Saxon-land; and when the king of that country had heard the rumors that were afloat about their proceedings, he made proclamation that no ship or bark should sail to Ireland from any of the countries that belonged to himself, and that there should be no trade or communication kept up with that country by any of his subjects. He likewise made proclamation to all those who had gone from Saxon-land into Ireland, to return forthwith to their homes, under the penalty of for ever losing their properties. Upon this, when the earl saw that his people would be compelled to leave him by the proclamation of the king, he proceeded to take counsel with them as to what was to be done in the emergency. Thereupon, the step that seemed most advisable to them was, to send Raymond le Gros to the King of Saxon-land, with instructions to explain to that monarch that it was with his own consent and approbation that both the earl himself and all the Gauls, then under his command, had passed over into Ireland for the purpose of aiding and assisting a man that had promised to pay him homage and vassalage, namely, Diarmaid Mac Murcadha, King of Leinster; and they told him to assure their king, that it was subject to his will that they wished to hold whatever conquests they had made in Ireland, as well as all the benefits they had received from Mac Murcadha.

Raymond then proceeded with this expostulation to the king of Saxon-land; and Gascony was the place where that king was then staying; and it was the year in which St. Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, was murdered on the fifth day of Christmas, in the year of our Lord, one thousand one hundred and seventy-one.

It was in the course of the following month of May, that Diarmaid Mac Murcadha, King of Leinster, died,⁹⁸ and he was buried at Ferna Mor of St. Maedog.

⁹⁸ *Diarmaid Mac Murcadha died.* "A. D. 1171, Diarmaid Mac Murcadha, King of Leinster, a man by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland, after having brought over the Saxons, after having done extensive injuries to the Irish, after plundering and burning many churches, as Kenannus, Cluain Iraird, &c., died of an unknown disease, for he became putrid while living through the miracle of God, Colum-Killé and Finnen, and the other saints of Ireland, whose churches he had burned and profaned; and he died at Ferna Mor (Ferns) without making a

will, without penance, without the Body of Christ, without unction, as his evil deeds deserved."--*Id.* Diarmaid is thus described by Cambrensis: "This Dermicius was a man of tall stature and large frame, warlike and daring among his nation, and of hoarse voice, by reason of his frequent and continuous shouting in battle. He desired to be feared rather than to be loved; he oppressed the noble and elevated the lowly; he was the enemy of his countrymen; he was hated by strangers. The hand of all men was against him, and his hand was against all."

Arrival of Henry II. in Ireland, on the 18th of October, A. D. 1171.

THE king soon after returned into Saxon-land, and, when arrived there, he dispatched one of his people, a knight named Hervé de Monte-Mariseo, in company with Raymond le Gros, to Ireland, with a letter to the earl of Strigul, wherein he commanded him to return into Saxon-land without any delay; and when these had reached Ireland, and Hervé delivered his king's message to the earl, the latter immediately returned to Saxon-land in his company; and, when arrived there, he came before his sovereign, and promised that he would deliver up Port Largi, Ath-cliaith and the seaport towns of Leinster to him and to his heirs, forever, provided he would allow the province of Leinster to be possessed by himself and his posterity. Then, when a compact to this effect had been concluded between them, the king set out for Ireland in the earl's company, attended by a numerous army, and cast anchor in the harbor of Port Largi, in the year of our Lord, one thousand one hundred and one. Five hundred knights, together with a large force of cavalry and infantry, was the strength of his host.⁹⁹

At Port Largi the king remained for some time, and thither came the nobles of the Gauls, who had been previously in Ire-

⁹⁹ *The strength of his host.* "Henry II. landed at Crook, in the county of Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171. He was accompanied by Strongbow, William Fitz-Aldelm, Humphrey de Bohun, Hugh de Lacy, Robert Fitz-Barnard, and many other lords. His whole force, which, according to the most authentic English accounts, was distributed into 400 ships, consisted of 500 knights and about 4,000 men at arms."—*O'Donovan.*

Previous to the landing of Henry, and subsequent to the death of Diarmaid, the Irish annals contain the following brief entries, relative to the events in which the foreign mercenaries of the Irish traitor were concerned:

"A. D. 1171, Daimliag Kianain (Duleek of St. Kianan) was plundered by the knights of Milo de Cogan, some of whom were slain on the following day by the Danes of Ath-cliaith in revenge of (St.) Kianan.—The battle of Ath-cliaith was fought between Milo de Cogan and Asgall, who had been some time before king of the Danes of

Ireland. Many were slaughtered on both sides—as well Saxon knights as Danes of Ath-cliaith. Asgall, son of Raghnaill, fell therein, and Eoan (John), a Dane from Inis h-Orc (Orkney Isles), and numbers besides them.

An army was led by Ruaidri Ua Concobair, Tighernan Ua Ruairc, and Murcadh Ua Kerbail to Ath-cliaith, to lay siege to Earl Strongbow and Milo de Cogan. There were conflicts and skirmishes between them for the space of a fortnight. After this, O'Concobair went against the Leinstermen, with the cavalry of the men of Brefni and Oirghialla, to cut down and burn the corn of the Saxons. The earl and Milo de Cogan then entered the camp of Leth Cuinn, and slew many of their commonalty, and carried off their provisions, armor, and horses.

A victory was gained by the son of Cormac Mac Carthaigh over the Danes of Luimnech, numbers of whom were slain by him; and he burned their market and half their fortress.

land, together with the burgesses of Loch Garman, to present him with their homage, and to do him honor. Thither, also, came Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh, king of Corcaigh,¹⁰⁰ who there made act of homage and vassalage in his presence. The king proceeded to Cashel, and thither Domnall O'Briain came to meet him, and to make act of homage and vassalage similar to that which Mac Carthaigh had already made. Upon this, Henry placed a garrison of his own men in Corcaigh, and Luimnech. After these, the other nobles of Munster presented him with like acts of homage and honor. He then returned to Port Largi, where he was met by the king of Osraide, who made his submission after the example of the other kings. The king next marched to the city of Ath-cliaith, whither the Gaels of Leinster came to pay him like acts of homage, and to do him honor.

Now, indeed, when Ruaidri O'Concobairst, king of Connaught and of the greater part of Ireland, had perceived that the majori-

An army was led by Ua Ruairc, with the men of Brefni Oirghialla, a second time, to Ath-cliaith, where they made battle with Milo de Cogan and his knights, in which battle the men of Brefni and Oirghialla were defeated; and Aedh, son of Tighernan Ua Ruairc, and the grandson of Diarmaid Ua Cuinn, were slain, with many others.

A predatory incursion was made by the son of the earl, and he plundered the churches of Magh Laighen, and many of the Ui Faelain.—A predatory incursion was made by the son of the earl, in which he plundered Cluain Conari, Galinni, and Lathrach Briuin.

The fleet of Connaught upon the Sinainn and upon Loeh Deirg-deirc from [the season of] Samhain to Beltani.—A peace was made by Domnall Breaghach with Ua Ruairc, and the people of East Meath came into his [Ua Ruairc's] house.

The King of England, the second Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Andegavia, and Lord of many other countries, came to Ireland this year. Two hundred and forty was the number of his ships, and he put in at Port Largi."—*F. M.*

¹⁰⁰ *King of Corcaigh, i. e.,* king of Desmond, of which Corcaigh or Cork was the most important city. There can be no doubt but that Mac Carthaigh and the other Irish toparchs, in

making their submission to Henry, did not consider that they were thereby making over to the head of a company of monopolizing land-jobbers the territorial property of the several tribes of Saer Clanna, or Free Clans, of which they were but the temporary guardians. They could not transmit any such exclusive property in these lands to their own children, and very probably deemed that, in doing homage to Henry, they but yielded to a temporary emergency in performing an idle ceremony, all consequences of which would pass away, as soon as the immediate political pressure should be removed. Such submissions were customary amongst their own nation—for example, such was that of Maelsechlainn Mor to Brian Boromha—and such had been the submissions and the hostages delivered from time immemorial by the weaker to the more powerful chieftains. They affected these chiefs themselves personally, but rarely disturbed [except in case of thorough conquest] the free ownership of their kinsmen in the common inheritance of the lands of their tribes. The event has turned out otherwise than these chiefs had then expected, and their cowardly temporizing has been punished by the almost total conversion of their several descendants into the class of Helots in the land of their inheritance.

ty of his provincial kings, both those that paid him rent and tributes, as well as those to whom he had himself given wages and stipends, had placed themselves under the protection of the king of Saxon-land, he considered in his own mind that he would be less disgraced, by offering voluntary homage, than by being forced to submit to it against his will. Thereupon, Henry sent two of his people to hold an interview with Ruaidri O'Concobair; and the persons so deputed were Hugo de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm. Ruaidri came to meet these as far as the bank of the Sinainn, where he made peace and friendship with the king of Saxon-land, to whom he there made act of submission and homage. Murcadh, son of Flann, king of Meath, came likewise, and delivered himself up to Henry, after the same manner as the others. Thus, there was now no king nor chieftain, nor lord in Ireland¹ that did not, at that time, pay homage to the king of Saxon-land, and acknowledge his supremacy over themselves.

Afterwards, when the winter had come on, the weather became so excessively cold and tempestuous that it was not possible for any ship or bark to arrive in Ireland from the country of the Saxons with news to its king, until the middle month of the spring had set in; but then some Saxon ships arrived in Ireland, which brought that king certain news from his subjects, which he was by no means glad to hear. The most important news which they had brought him was, that the Pope had sent over two cardinals to Saxon-land, for the purpose of inquiring into the murder committed upon St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and that, unless the king would come in person and make satisfaction to them for that murder, they threatened to lay an interdict upon every country in which he might abide. Though these were sad tidings for Henry, he soon received others from his son; which were still sadder. These were, that the eldest of his sons had taken possession of the crown, in the hope that he could be able to keep it against his father's consent. An indescribable gloom came upon King Henry upon hearing these evil tidings. However, he was more affected by what he had learned regarding the murder of St. Thomas, than by anything that he had heard about either his son or his subjects. For this reason he called around him the chiefs of his people, for the purpose of explaining his position to them, and of consulting them upon the dangers that hung over him. The plan adopted at this council,

¹ *No chieftain nor lord in Ireland.* This is an exaggeration, and not true, in fact. The chiefs of the northern tribes made no acts of submission to Henry. The submission of the monarch Ruaidri, rests upon the authority of

the scribes of the foreign spoilers, and is very probably of the same nature with the forged title which was made out for Henry, that first of the Irish landlords through Donncadh O'Briain.

was to send a large body of his people before him into his kingdom, and to have himself follow them very soon after. This resolve was then put into execution; and King Henry remained behind a little longer, engaged in placing garrisons and wardens of his own over Ireland: for, when it was time for himself to return to Saxon-land, he appointed certain persons to hold possession of the country in his stead. Thus, he left Hugo de Lacy in Meath, with a force consisting of twenty knights, and he likewise granted this territory² as a perpetual fief to Hugo, and his posterity. Moreover, he left the city of Ath-cliaith under the wardenship of Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, under whose command he left twenty knights and their several followers. Loch Garman, also, he left to the care of William Fitz-Aldelm, Philip de Hastings, and Philip de Brus, with whom he likewise left twenty knights. Port Largi he left in charge to Humphrey de Bohun, Hugo de Gundeville, and Robert Fitz-Barnard, and under them he left forty knights.

From this last place, the king sailed for Saxon-land,³ and there, as soon as he came into the presence of the cardinals, he offered to the Pope whatever award he would be pleased to demand, both as an *eric* for the murder of St. Thomas—though he had himself had no secret participation⁴ therein—and as a means of bringing about a settlement between himself and the king of France, for Henry was then at war with that monarch.

² *Granted this territory.*—That is, he made his vassal, De Lacy, feudal lord of the tribe-lands of the Clann Colmain and their correlatives. This was one of the first consequences of the dastardly homage of the Irish chiefs to the invader, and one of the first steps towards converting the Saer Clanna into serfs of feudal lords of foreign race, and, finally, to what is worse than the serfs of any feudal lord—the rack-rented tenants and cotters of the land-usurers, whom modern civilization and enlightened legislation has introduced into the places of the feudal barons of old.

³ *The king sailed for Saxon-land.* Henry set sail from Wexford on Easter Monday, being the 17th of April, 1172, and arrived, on the same day, at Portfinnan, in Wales.

⁴ *No secret participation, &c.* Dr. Keating, in the superabundance of charity, or of his respect for royalty, would exonerate Henry II. from hav-

ing compassed the murder of this great man as well as good and holy prelate. Other writers have, however, proved less indulgent to his royal memory, and he now stands in history as fully convicted of having instigated the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, as if that base deed had been done in his presence, and at his express command.

The proceedings of King Henry, during his seven months' stay in Ireland, though copiously treated of by English and foreign writers, have been passed over in silence by most of our native chroniclers. Under the year 1172, they relate that the brave Tighernan Ua Ruairc, lord of Brefni, was treacherously slain at Tlaetga by Hugo de Lacy and Donnall, son of Annadh Ua Ruairc, one of his own tribe; and that he was then beheaded, and carried ignominiously to Dublin, where his head was placed over the town gate, and his body gibbeted, with the feet

The title under which Henry II., King of England, claimed the Sovereignty of Ireland.

If the reader will here inquire, why it was that Diarmaid Mac Murcadha, the king of Leinster, had gone to the king of Saxon-land, who was then in France, to protest and complain of his own expulsion out of Ireland, rather than to the king of France itself, or to any other potentate, he must learn that he did so in consequence of an act done by Donnadh, son of Brian Boromha,⁶

upwards, on the north side of the city, "a woful spectacle to the Irish." We are next told that Donnall Ua Fergail [O'Farrell], chief of Conmacni, was slain, and Anghali [Anally] plundered, by the people of the king of Saxon-land, and the son of Annadh Ua Ruaire; that the Kinel Eogain were defeated in battle by Flathbertach Ua Maeldoradh and the Kinel Conaill; that the Primate, Gilla-Maeliag, made the fourth visitation of Connaught; and that a general synod of Ireland, both of the clergy and the chiefs of the laity of Ireland, was held at Tuam, at which Ruadri O'Concobair, monarch of Ireland and Cadla O'Dubthaig [O'Duffy], Archbishop of Connaught, presided; that three churches were there consecrated: but we are told nothing of the acts of the king of Saxon-land himself, though pregnant with future evil was his presence upon Irish soil.

⁶ *Donnadh, son of Brian Boromha.* Though this prince's name is inserted in the roll of Irish monarchs by some Munster shannachies, we have already seen, from the ancient authorities quoted in these notes, and even from Keating's own narrative, that he was never acknowledged monarch of Ireland during the whole course of his long life. Even Dr. O'Brien, the panegyrist of the Daleassian Kings, does not claim for him the sovereignty of all Ireland. The period of his good fortune, even as king of Leth Mogha, had closed some years before his final dethronement. In A. D. 1158, his power over the south of Ireland began to go down at the

battle of Sliabh Grott, under that of Diarmaid, son of Donnadh Mael-na-m-bo, king of Leinster, and that of his own nephew, Tordelbach. In 1159, he became the vassal of Aedh O'Concobair, king of Connaught. In 1153 the hostages of all Munster were delivered up to Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-m-bo, who thereby became king of Leth Mogha in his stead. At the time of his final deposition by his nephew, with the consent of Diarmaid, king of Leth Mogha, in 1164, he possessed no sovereign rights, even over Munster, which he could transfer to either pope or prince, though we should admit the equity of such transfer. It is clear, then, that, not being sovereign of Ireland, he could never have legally transferred it to another, even were the *elect* chief of the kings of this country invested with all the prerogatives of a feudal sovereign. But, were he actually the chief of the Irish kings, he could not, according to Irish law, transfer such chieftainship to another; for, as such chief of kings, he was but the nominee of the association of tribes that had chosen him, and thus even his very children had no more title to fill that place after him than any other man of pure Gaelic blood. Nay, he could not transfer the chieftainship of his own tribe, the Dal-g-Cais, to a foreigner; nor yet could he that of the Uí Blioid, his own immediate sub-section of that tribe; for there, too, he was but the temporary representative of the whole of his kindred, and could *legally* transmit no special inheritance, either of his chieftainship

with the consent of the true nobles of Ireland;⁶ for these, having been quarreling among one another⁷ for the masterdom of Ireland

over them, or of the proprietorship of any portion of the tribe-land, which was the common property of the said kindred, to any other.

⁶ *With the consent of the true nobles of Ireland.* This assertion is perfectly absurd. Who were those nobles, who so deputed a deposed prince to deliver the sovereignty of Ireland to a foreigner? It was, certainly, not his vanquisher, Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-m-bo, then at the height of his power, and striving for the Irish monarchy; it was not Aedh of the Broken Spear, king of Connaught, to whom Donn-cadh had made his personal submission in 1059; neither was it Ardgar Mac Lochlainn, king of Ailech, the head of the Northern Uí Neill, who had never submitted, either to Donn-cadh, or Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-m-bo, and who was as much king of Ireland as either of them in the half of Ireland, called Leth Cuinn; nor yet can we suppose that his nephew, Tordelbach O'Briain, then king of Munster, would have delegated any such commission to the instigator of his father's murder and to his own personal enemy. This consent must then be considered as a clumsy *addendum* to the original fiction, whereby a forged title to the sovereign proprietorship of Ireland was made out for the murderer of St. Thomas.

⁷ *Quarrelling amongst themselves.* There would be some excuse for the fraudulent robbery of the Irish people, then commenced, were that nation a very flagrant exception to the general state of things in other European countries at that epoch—it might have been an excuse, were the deputed pacificator otherwise either a good man, or an enlightened legislator, and the descendants of the robbed of that period might, perhaps, now forget, and even be thankful for the wrong then perpetrated upon their ancestors, had any better state of social existence been introduced amongst the mass of their

people up to the present day. That the latter has not been so, one need only now visit the wretched homes of the down-trodden peasantry of Ireland, the parliens of her towns and cities, and those bastiles for the starving and the helpless, where the surplus multitude—of old so much more honorably cleared off upon the battle field—are to-day as effectually dispatched by a lingering and ignoble death. That neither the contrast between the social state of Ireland and the rest of Europe, nor the personal character of Henry, could then have afforded any palliation of the fraud and robbery committed on the Irish, the following paragraph from a recent publication succinctly proves, from well established facts:—"The disunion among the native princes of Ireland at this era, does not appear to have been more widespread than among other European nations. Thus, Sismondi tells us, that about the same period, France was divided between three foreign dominations. There was, on the west, an English France; on the east, a German; and, on the south, a Spanish France. For instances of domestic dissensions, we have to travel no farther than the family of the first of the Plantagenets, whose son Geoffroy, count of Brittany, when supplicated, by the most sacred things, to spare the effusion of blood, and relinquish the crime of Absalom, replied—"Il est dans la destinée de notre famille que nous ne nous aimions pas l'un l'autre. C'est là notre héritage, et aucun de nous n'y renoncera Jamais" [*It is part of the destiny of our family not to love one another. That is our birthright, and not one of us will resign our right thereto.*] King Henry II. died cursing himself and his rebellious children. All the entreaties of the bishops and ecclesiastics, by whom he was surrounded on his death bed, could not induce him to revoke his fearful maledictions. "Honte," s'ecriait-il, "honte

from the time of Brian to that of Donnadh, had, in the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety-two, delivered up the possession of Ireland into the hands of Urbanus, the second Pope of that name;⁶ and, from that time, the possession of the authority and sovereignty of Ireland was held by the Pope of Rome until Adrianus, the fourth Pope of that name, had assumed the succession of St. Peter, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifty-four. The latter Pope was a Saxon by birth, and his baptismal name was Nicholas Breakspear; and, according to the chronicle of Stow, it was he that made over the kingdom of Ireland to the second Henry, King of Saxon-land, in the first year of the reign of the latter, and in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifty-five. And the same author informs us that the Pope then made that grant of Ireland to the King of Saxon-land upon the following special conditions, to wit: that he should re-establish the Faith which was prostrate in that country; that he should reform the habits of its people; that he should maintain and protect every privilege and all the termonlands which the Irish church then possessed; and that the said king should pay yearly the Penny of St. Peter to the Pope for every house that might be in Ireland.

After receiving this grant, Henry II. deputed John, Bishop of Salisbury, to Ireland, with the authority which the Pope had bestowed upon him. This bishop soon landed at Port Largi; and, when the clergy of Ireland had heard that he had come to the country with the authorization of the Pope, they thronged thither to meet him from all quarters of the land. Then, when they were assembled together in one place, the bishop

à un roi vaincu! Mandit soit le jour ou je suis né, et maudits de Dieu soient les fils que je laisse!" [*"Shame," cried he, "shame to a vanquished king! Accursed be the day on which I was born, and accursed be the sons that I leave after me!"*]

⁶ Urbanus, the second Pope of that name. Urban II. did not become Sovereign Pontiff until the year 1088, just twenty-four years after the death of Donnadh, son of Brian. He was succeeded in the pontificate by Paschal II., in the year 1099. As Pope, he was then cotemporary with the early part of the reigns of the able competitors for the Irish monarchy, Murkertach Mor O'Briain and Donnall O'Lochlainn. The story of the deposed king of Munster's presenting

the Irish crown and regalia to Pope Urban, or to any other Pope, is equally well founded. It does not appear that any such trappings were attached to the office of Ard-riagh, and, if any such ever had existence, they must have remained in the possession of either the Northern, or the Southern Ui Neill. Had the chieftains of these tribes relinquished such important insignia to Brian on his accession, our annalists would surely have mentioned it, as they did the taking of the collar of Tomar and the sword of Carlus from the Danes of Dublin. There were then, probably, no regalia to give away, unless he had got them manufactured for the occasion, whilst he was staying in Rome.

(this John, already mentioned) read to them the charter by which the Pope had granted Ireland to the second Henry and to his posterity, subject to the several conditions which that document specified. Then, when the clergy had considered over these conditions, they all not only assented thereto, but they gave their several written signatures⁹ to that same John in testimony thereof. With these, John returned to Saxon-land to his king, who sent him off forthwith to the Pope with his news. Thereupon, the Pope, upon seeing the consent of the Irish clergy, sent a ring to the second Henry as a token of the latter's right to own Ireland.

Bellarmino agrees with the account just given, where he speaks as follows: "Pope Adrianus the Fourth, an Englishman by his nation, a wise and pious man, granted the island of Hibernia to Henricus the Second, king of the Angli, upon the express condition that he should implant virtue in that island, and eradicate the vices thereof; that he should preserve inviolate all its ecclesiastical privileges, and should take care that one *denarius* were paid to St. Peter every year out of every house therein. This diploma is extant in the twelfth volume of the Annals of Cardinal Baronius."¹⁰

Stanihurst confirms the same fact in his Chronicle, where he relates that Henry the Second had procured from the Pope, Adrianus, a bull, in which the clergy and nobility of Ireland were commanded, under pain of excommunication,¹¹ to give

⁹ *Affixed their signatures thereto.* This was done at the synod of the Irish clergy, or, rather, of part of the Irish clergy, held at Cashel during the stay of Henry II. in Ireland. As told in the text, the story conveys an imputation upon the Irish clergy, which they did not merit. It is true that many of them, as well as of the lay chieftains, meanly complied with the requisitions of their country's invader, and yielded to superior force, at Cashel; but they were not guilty of plotting, beforehand, with foreigners, for their nation's ruin.

¹⁰ *Adrianus Quartus, Papa, natione Anglus, vir sapiens et pius, Hibernia insulam, Henrico Secundo regi Anglorum concessit eâ conditione, ut in eâ insula virtutes plantaret et vitia eradicaret et jura ecclesiastica illibata servaret et a singulis domibus quotannis denarium sancto Petro pendî curaret. Extat diploma Tom. XII. Cardinalis Baronii.*

¹¹ *Under pain of excommunication.*

"Some have attempted to cast doubts upon the authenticity of the two bulls procured by the artifices and agents of Henry, but they produce no arguments in support of their view, which is simply and sufficiently refuted by O'Halloran in his history of Ireland, when he says, 'We have every reason to think them genuine. They were published in the lifetime of Alexander by Cambrensis (an ecclesiastic), who, though in most instances as devoid of truth and candor as any one that ever took up the pen, yet would not presume, on the present occasion, to publish a bull as Alexander's, if he were not well authorized so to do; and the authenticity of this confirms that of the other.' Of the effect produced in aid of the Norman arms by those bulls, we find the following testimony in the well-known letter of O'Niall, in 1330, to Pope John, asking his help

homage and submission to Henry the Second, king of Saxon-land, under the pretext of purifying the faith of their nation, and of reforming the habits of their people. And he informs us, moreover, that this bull had been sent into Ireland by Henry, and there read in a general convention of the nobles and clergy of Ireland, which was held at Cashel.

We read, also, in the same author, that Alexander, the third Pope of that name, had deputed to Ireland a cardinal named Vivianus,¹² who was commissioned to make known to the Irish the grant of their country, which both himself and his predecessor had bestowed upon the king of Saxon-land and to his heirs, subject to the condition that both he and every Pope that came after him should receive the Penny of St. Peter every year from every household that existed in Ireland.

The reader can now form an estimate of the reason why Diarmaid Mac Murcadha had gone to France to make his complaint to the king of Saxon-land rather than to the king of any other country.

The Irish Defended from the charge of irreligion, set forth against them in Pope Adrian's Bull.

I must here express my wonder at one of the covenants¹³ contained in the above-mentioned papal bull, wherein Adrianus made a grant of Ireland to the second Henry. The following is the purport of this covenant, according to Stow's chronicle; to wit, that it was obligatory upon the said second Henry to reform and establish the Faith, which had at that time fallen into decay in Ireland. I feel astonished thereat, because it is not probable that the Pope would have inserted any such covenant in his bull, were it not that some persons had given him to understand that the religion of that country had then actually become corrupted. But those persons, whoever they were, that vended any

against the oppression of the English: 'During the course of so many ages, our sovereigns preserved the independence of their country; attacked more than once by foreign powers, they wanted neither force nor courage to expel the bold invaders; but, that which they dared to do against force, they could not against the simple decree of your predecessors.'—*Invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, by Gerald Supple.*

¹² *Vivianus.* He did not arrive in Ireland until A. D. 1177.

¹³ *One of the covenants.* It is to be

remarked, that Dr. Keating does not seem to question either the perfect equity of the grant made by Pope Adrian to the English king, or that Pope's right to make it. He merely defends the Irish nation from the charges made therein, which he attributes to the Pontiff's having been deceived—as if the granting of the bull itself, as he represented it (if bull it were), and the use made thereof, were not a more irreligious and nefarious crime than any ever committed by the worst amongst the people against whom it had been directed.

such information to the Pope, had asserted what was false, in fact; for it is evident that the religion, which St. Patrick formerly introduced into Ireland had never fallen into decay down to that time. Of the truth of this, many trustworthy authors, belonging to foreign nations, have borne testimony from age to age; for, notwithstanding that Bede relates, in his History of the Saxons, that there had been a schism amongst the Saxon clergy relative to the celebration of Easter, and that some of the Irish clergy were once defiled by the heresy of Pelagius, it is, nevertheless, proved that the majority of the Irish church was free from both these stains. And then, in as far as regards the condition of the Faith during the period that elapsed from the days of Brian Boromha to the Anglo-Norman invasion, it is clearly manifest that the Christian religion was then full of life and vigor in Ireland. It was, therefore, not true for those, who had persuaded the Pope that religion was prostrate in Ireland, at the time when he granted it to Henry the Second. In testimony of the truth of what I have just asserted, I shall here cite the following examples.

In the first place, it is evident that the Faith was then full of life in this country, from the fact that, previous to the invasion, numbers of the highest of the Irish nobles were, from time to time, in the habit of entering some of the principal churches of Ireland, towards the close of their lives, and of ending their days therein in penitence and prayer. Amongst these was Flathbertach O'Neill, who is called Flathbertach of the Pilgrim's Staff, who, having first commenced a course of penitence, went on a pilgrimage to Rome, in the year of our Lord one thousand and twenty; and Donnadh, son of Brian Boromha, went likewise on a pilgrimage to Rome, and there ended his life penitently in the monastery of St. Stephen; and Tadhg O'Lorcain, king of Ui Kennselaigh, who closed his life in penitence in the church of St. Cacinghin, at Glenn-da-loch; and Cathal, son of Ruaidri, king of West Connaught, who spent the latter years of his life penitently at Ard Macha; and Murkertach O'Briain, king of Leth Mogha and of the greater part of Ireland, who spent five years in penitence at Ard Macha, until finally he died there. And so it was with a great many others of the true nobility of Ireland, who died penitently, and like devout Catholics, all along from the time of Brian down to the Anglo-Norman invasion. Hence, it is manifest that those persons who persuaded Pope Adrian the Fourth that the Catholic Faith was not kept up in Ireland previous to the landing of Gauls therein, had told him a direct falsehood.

was well maintained in Ireland before the arrival of the Gauls therein, is the fact of the number of monasteries that had been built therein immediately previous to their invasion, and these monasteries were all erected by the nobles of the Gaels. In the first place, Maelsechlainn, King of Meath and of all Ireland, founded the monastery of St. Mary's, in the city of Ath-cliath, about the year of our Lord one thousand and twenty-two; Donnadh O'Kerbaill, King of Oirghialla, founded the monastery of Mellifont, in the county of Louth, at the suggestion of St. Malachias, Bishop of Dun-da-leth-glas, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and forty-two; St. Malachias, Bishop of Dun-da-leth-glas, built the monastery of Iubar-kinn-tragha, in the county of Down, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and forty-four; Monaster-na-Buili¹⁴ was founded in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-one; Diarmaid Mac Murcadha, King of Leinster, founded Monaster-an-Belaigh, otherwise the Abbey of Baltinglas, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifty-one; the posterity of Maelsechlainn, King of Meath, founded the monastery of Bectif, otherwise called De Beatitudine, in Meath, in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-one; the year of our Lord in which Monaster-na-Maighe was founded, in the county of Luimnech, was one thousand one hundred and fifty-one; Monaster-O-Torna,¹⁵ in the county of Kiarraide, was likewise built in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-one; the monastery of the Holy Cross, in the county of Tibráid Arann, was founded by Domnall O'Briain, King of Luimnech, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine; the year of our Lord, when the monastery of Fera Maighe¹⁶ was built, in the county of Corcach, was one thousand one hundred and seventy. Many other temples and monasteries were constructed about the same period, but we shall not name them here, for we have mentioned enough to prove that the Catholic Faith was alive in Ireland immediately before the arrival of the Gauls.

The third proof which I shall cite that the faith was then in a flourishing condition, is the fact that we read in the ancient annals of Ireland, that three general councils had been organized in this country by the prelates and the nobles during the time that intervened between the reign of Donnadh, son of Brian Boromha, and the Anglo-Norman invasion, and that in these councils, the laws and the rights of both the laity and the clergy of Ireland had been duly examined and sanctioned.

¹⁴ *Monaster-na-Buile*. Now Boyle, dorney, in the county of Kerry.
in the county of Roscommon. ¹⁵ *Fera Maighe*. Now Fermoy, in

¹⁶ *Monaster-O-Torna*. Now Abbey- the county of Cork.

Of these, the first council was that held in the first year of the reign of Murkertach, son of Brian, and in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and five,¹⁷ at Fiadh-mic-Aengusa, where laws and regulations were instituted, and where the state of religion was amended. Another general council was held in the fifth year¹⁸ of the same Murkertach, on which occasion both the nobles and the ecclesiastics of Ireland assembled at Rath Bresail, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten: it was here that the extent of the Irish dioceses was laid down and their several boundaries pointed out; it was here, likewise, as we have already stated, that a fixed limit was put to the number of the Irish bishops.

The third general council held by the clergy and nobility of Ireland, was that of Kenannus, in Meath, at which presided Christianus, that is, Gilla-Criost O'Conari, Bishop of Lis Mor, and Papal Legate in Ireland at that time, together with the Cardinal, whose name was Johannes Papiron. This was the council convened for the purpose of presenting the four *pallia*, that is, for instituting four archbishops over Ireland, and also for condemning simony and usury; for enforcing the payment of tithes, and for putting down robbery, and violence, and lust, and bad morals, and every other evil thenceforth.

Consequences of the Invasion—The missionary labors of the Anglo-Normans.

It is manifest from the above cited facts, that the Catholic Faith was still alive amongst the Irish, immediately before the invasion of their country by the Anglo-Normans; and, whatever may be said of the evil habits of the Gaels previous to the landing of these foreigners on their shores, it is equally manifest that there arrived with that invasion, five men amongst its chieftains, who committed more evil deeds, than all the Gaels that had lived from the days of Brian Boromha to their own—I mean, in as far as regards the plundering of churches and ecclesiastics, the commission of base acts of treachery and blood, and the exercise of outrageous tyranny. The following are the names of those five: The Earl of Strigul (called Strongbow), Robert Fitz-

¹⁷ *One hundred and five, &c.* It was held in the year 1111, as before shown in these notes. Neither this nor the year mentioned above was the first of the reign of Murkertach. This synod was held in the 13th year of his reign, as said reign is computed by O'Flaherty.

¹⁸ *The fifth year, i. e.,* perhaps five years after the former, being the 21st year of said reign, or in 1115–1116, when Murkertach partially recovered from his illness, and, having made his brother Diarmaid prisoner, resumed his kingdom for a short time.

Stephen, Hugo de Lacy, John de Courey and William Fitz-Aldelm. It is easy to learn the truth of what I shall hereafter state respecting the acts of these men, for they are found in the chronicle of Stanihurst, and also from the fact that the posterity of the greater part of them became extinct¹⁹ on account of their evil acts, and they left no son to possess their inheritance. The Earl of Strigul, Robert Fitz-Stephen, John de Courey and some others of the captains that came over in the beginning of the Anglo-Norman invasion, but whom I shall not mention here, are examples of what I have asserted.

In as far as relates to Richard Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, we find by the chronicle of Stanihurst, that he died in Ath-Cliath, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven, that is seven years after his landing in Ireland, having, up to that time committed numberless plunderings and robberies, both of the clergy and the laity; and that he had no more offspring by Aefi, daughter of Diarmaid, than one daughter, who was named Isabella. This daughter was in time married to William Mareschall,²⁰ to whom she bore five sons and five daughters, but all the sons died one after the other, and no offspring or inheritors remained after any of them. The daughters were married to some of the nobles of Saxon-land, amongst whom, the estates inherited from the earl were partitioned in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and thirty. It is from these daughters that the Mortimers, Bruces and others have sprung.

Now, with respect to Hugo de Lacy,²¹ we learn that he had no sooner received the rulership of Meath, from Henry II., than he began to massacre and behead all of the nobles of the Clann Colmain,²² and of the other septs of that territory whom he could

¹⁹ *Became extinct.* Our author has been mistaken in this assertion. The descendants of Strongbow have, it is true, become extinct in the male line, but of William Fitz-Aldelm, called, also, William de Burgo, the posterity rivals in numbers that of many of the Gaelic tribes. He is the founder of the numerous septs of the name of Burke. De Conrey's descendant still holds the oldest title in the Anglo-Irish peerage, and, though no numerous tribe claim him as ancestor, his name is not yet extinct among the Irish people—nor has that of Fitz-Stephen, now usually called Stephens. The celebrated rebel, Pierce Og Lacy, of Bruree and Bruff, who flourished in the reign of Elizabeth, was the 18th in descent from Hugo.

²⁰ *William Mareschall,* otherwise William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, called Prince of Leinster by some English authors, in right of his wife.

²¹ *Hugo de Lacy.*—He was for many years Chief Governor of Ireland under Henry II.—an able and politic man, say the English writers, which means a successful spoiler. He was created Lord Palatine of Meath by his master, of which country he was the conqueror and the scourge. He is described by Cambrensis as a man of dark and deep set eyes, small size, repulsive features, short neck and deformed shape, careful of his private interests, of Gallic sobriety, avaricious, ambitious and lustful.

²² *Clann Colmain.*—This was the

get into his clutches. But, as he was building a fortress at Durmagh (Darrow), of Meath, a young nobleman²³ of that country

head branch of the southern Ui Neill, i. e., the ruling people of Meath. The family of O'Melaghlin, in Irish O'Maelsechlainn, were its chiefs. This noble race, which had twice delivered Ireland from the Northmen—first under Maelsechlainn I., (from whom the family name), and again under Maelsechlainn II.—and who under the latter king had completed the final overthrow given to the Sea-kings by Brian at Cluain Tarbh, was now one of the first to succumb under the power of the Anglo-Norman robber De Lacy. Maelsechlainn, previous to his resignation of the Irish throne to Brian, had in A. D. 1002, offered to deliver it to Aedh O'Neill, chief of a kindred tribe, in order to preserve it in the race of Niall, but revoked his offer upon Aedh's demanding on the part of Kinel Eogain, as the price of their aid, the property and inheritance of a portion of the tribe lands of the Clann Colmain—a very different thing amongst the Irish from the receiving of homage and hostages. He preferred to deliver hostages and make act of homage to the Dalecassian, who did not purpose to encroach upon the inheritance of the southern Ui Neill. Similar act of homage was made to Henry II. by one of Maelsechlainn's successors, as chief of Clann Colmain, but with a far different result; for the latter king, not satisfied with homage and hostages, took the right of treacherously granting to his minion, De Lacy, the proprietorship of the lands of Meath, to the disposal of which the said chieftain had no transferable or transmissible right, more than that possessed by every other man of his tribe. Such, it is to be inferred, were the submissions made to the stranger by the other chiefs of the clans of this country, and equally treacherous was the advantage taken thereof.

²³ *A Young Nobleman.*—In the original the term used is, “duine uasal og” (*dynnoosal ogue*) and there is meant thereby, a young man who was

a member of a noble tribe, or family. The editor has used the words, *noble* and *nobleman*, to translate the Gaelic, *usal* and *duine uasal*, throughout this work, in preference to the term *gentleman*, which is now applied in a very indefinite and vague sense amongst English-speaking peoples. Dermot O'Connor having rendered “duine uasal og” in this instance by *young gentleman*, Mr. Moore has thereupon taken an opportunity of casting at the venerable Dr. Keating a sneer that is as ungenerous as it is unfounded. That writer states in his History of Ireland that “De Lacy met his death by a hand so obscure, that not even a name remains associated with the deed,” to which he appends the following note: “Several names have been assigned to the perpetrator of this act, but all differing so much from each other, as to show that the real name was unknown. Geoffrey Keating, with that love of dull invention which distinguished him, describes the assassin as a young gentleman in disguise.”

Now, in the first place, the editor, who has also felt the dulness and senility of many of the tales which his author has embodied in his work, denies that the reverend doctor has drawn upon his own invention for any one of them. Keating has stated such tales just as he found them, with little judgment, perhaps, and often to the exclusion of authentic historic matter, but always in perfect candor and good faith. In the present instance, as in all others, he has told the fact as he had read it, without, however, naming the meritorious young man, who avenged the ruin of his kindred upon the tyrant De Lacy, and without describing the dashing and daring manner, in which his noble deed was accomplished. Dr. Keating has been to blame in this; for that youth's name ought to be written in letters of light on the page of Irish history, so that Ireland, when her bards shall yet “hail her free,” may not forget to raise his pillar stone

approached him under the semblance of a clown, as if for the purpose of soliciting employment, and thus succeeded in slaying Hugo. Stanihurst tells us in his chronicle that this Hugo was a very lustful as well as a very avaricious man. He says, also, that his son Hugo, the younger, and John de Courcy commenced to commit numerous acts of plunder, massacre and wrath upon the people of Meath in vengeance for his death.

and inscribe it with his *ogumis*, when she shall raise a monument to that other more recent youthful hero, whose epitaph is yet unwritten, though his name and virtues are imprinted upon all true Irish hearts.—However, notwithstanding Keating's omission, the name of the youth who struck down that tyrant in the height of his power is not lost to memory, nor has his example been entirely lost to Ireland. The bards and shannachies of Eri might blush for shame were his name forgotten. Our annalists tell us that he was called Gilla-gan-inathar O'Miadhaigh (*Guillagouanna'har O'Meeai*). His surname is now anglicized O'Meyey, and according to Dr. O'Donovan, is still frequent in Westmeath, and in the parish of Magheross in the county of Monaghan. Neither is Mr. Moore warranted in saying there is any discrepancy as to his name amongst Irish authors, as the following extracts will prove:—"A. D. 1186. Hugo de Lacy, the profaner and destroyer of many churches, Lord of the English of Meath, Brefni and Oirghialla; he who had conquered the greater part of Ireland for the English, and of whose English castles, all Meath, from the Sinainn to the sea, was full; after having finished the castle of Der-magh, set out accompanied by three Englishmen to view it. One of the men of Tebtha, a youth named Gilla-gan-inathar O'Miadhaigh, approached him and drawing out an axe, which he had kept concealed, he, with one blow, severed his head from his body; and trunk and head fell into the ditch of the castle. This was in revenge of Colum Killi. Gilla-gan-inathar then fled, and by his fleetness of foot made his escape from the English and Irish to Coill-an-Clair (i. e. the wood of Kill-clare). He afterwards went to the *Snuach* (the Fox) and to O'Bracain,

at whose instigation he had done the deed."—*Four Masters*.

"A. D. 1186. Hugo de Lacy, the profaner and destroyer of the churches and sanctuaries of Ireland, was killed in revenge of Colum Killi, while building a castle at Der-magh. He was slain by O'Miadhaigh of Tebtha." *Annals of Ulster*.

"A. D. 1186. Hugo de Lacy went to Dur-magh of St. Colum Killi to make a castle there, having a countless number of English with him. For he was king of Meath, Brefni and Oirghialla, and it was to him the tribute of Connaught was paid. Meath from the Sinainn to the sea was full of his castles and English followers. After the completion of this work by him, he came out to look at the castle, having the Englishmen along with him. There came then one youth of the men of Meath up to him, having his battle axe concealed, namely, Gilla-gan-inathar O'Miadhaigh, the foster son of the *Snuach* himself, and he gave him one blow, so that he cut off his head and he fell both head and body into the ditch of the castle."—*Annals of Klonan*.

"Now it is quite clear," says Dr. O'Donovan, from whose edition of the *Four Masters* these extracts are taken, "that Mr. Moore is wrong in charging Keating with inaccuracy for having written that the murderer (?) of De Lacy was a young gentleman in disguise. He should have remembered that Keating had many documents, which he, Mr. Moore, could not understand, and which are probably now lost. As to calling O'Meyey a *gentleman*, we must acknowledge that the term could then be properly enough applied to a youth, who had been fostered by an Irish prince of vast territorial possessions, till he had been deprived of them by De Lacy."

The same chronicler informs us that William Fitz-Aldelm was a "deceitful, treacherous, and evil-minded man;" and he sets forth the insidious and false-hearted manner in which he became possessed of a manor, that was their rightful estate, from the sons of Maurice Fitz-Gerald; and we are further told by the same chronicler, that he cherished an inveterate envy towards the same Maurice, and towards his children. We read, moreover, in the ancient annals of Ireland, that whilst this William Fitz-Aldelm was governor of Luimnech, under the king of Saxon-land, there arose a contest for the sovereignty of Connaught, between two brothers²⁴ of the family of O'Concobaire,

The family name O'Miadhaigh is not a name likely to be given to the descendant of a clown, for "Miadh" (*Meeah*), signifies *honor* or *respect*; and "Miadhach" (*Meeagh*), whence O'Miadhaigh, an honorable or estimable man. We see also by the above quotations that O'Miadhaigh was a member of the noble tribe of Tebtha (*Teffa*) in Westmeath, a tribe descended from Mani, son of the Irish monarch. Niall of the Nine Hostages, of which O'Catarnaigh (*O'Caurny*) styled the Sinaach, i. e., the Fox, was then chief. O'Braein (*O'Breen*), was also chief of a branch of the same tribe, which was seated in Breagh-mani, now Brawney in the same county. Keating then was not wrong in calling Gilla-gan-inathar *duin vasal* i. g.—for he was probably as noble as his chieftain, the Fox—though the brave youth might not indeed be styled a young gentleman, if he presented himself with his battle axe in the modern aristocratic *Salons* of Europe, and not, perhaps, even in those of the *bourgeois*—he certainly would not have been styled such in an English Court of law. He was nevertheless as much *homo nobilis* as Mucius Scaevola, and the deed which the Gaelic noble wrought, was full as glorious and great as that which the young patrician of ancient Rome essayed to execute. Had, indeed, that Irish sapling of Niall's stock—so sure of hand and fleet of foot—been either a *young gentleman*, or a *genteel young man*, as the terms are now understood, he would not have dared to strike down the destroyer of his kinsfolk in the midst of his myrmidons—or, if his

heart prompted him to the deed his hand would have failed him, and the act would either have remained unaccomplished, or would not have been done half so well.—Ireland, to-day, produces too few *daeiné ua'slé oga* like Gilla-gan-inathar, she has by far too many genteel young men; wherefore are her sons still ruthlessly hecatombed on mammon's altar by those baser tyrants, who have succeeded the sanguinary De Lacies of Anglo-Norman times; wherefore doth the genus Haywarden, and Scully, and Lorton, and Co. abound and flourish; wherefore is the produce of her green and fertile fields consumed by strange land merchants, who commit ruthless though insidious havoc upon the wretched remnants of her Free Clans.

Dur-magh Coluim Killi; i. e. Oakfield of St. Columkille, now known as Durrow, where De Lacy was slain, had been formerly granted to St. Columkille by Brendan, Prince of Tebtha, an ancestor of the Fox, and probably of O'Miadhaigh. In recent times a somewhat similar event took place at Durrow. Its proprietor, the Earl of Norbury was slain by an unknown hand, after having built a castle on the site of that erected by De Lacy, and perhaps, after having outraged St. Columkille by preventing the families under that saint's patronage from burying their dead in the ancient cemetery of Durrow.

²⁴ *Brothers*. Cathal Croibh-derg was the youngest brother of King Ruaidri, and consequently the grand-uncle of Cathal Carrach.

namely, between Cathal Carrach and Cathal Crobh-derg; and that John de Courcy took part with Cathal Crobh-derg, while William took part with his adversary Cathal Carrach. The hostilities between these brothers were fostered and kept alive, on the one side by John de Courcy, and on the other by William Fitz-Aldelm, until the whole of their territories had been plundered and devastated between them, and until a great number of the nobles of Connaught had been beheaded, in consequence of this intestine quarrel. At length a pitched battle came off between the two Cathals, each aided by foreign allies—for there were Gauls fighting on both sides. In this battle, Cathal Carrach and his allies were defeated, and he lost his own life in the conflict. After this, William Fitz-Aldelm erected a castle at Milec-Ui-Madagain,²⁵ in which he left a strong garrison, and then returned to Luimnech. Thereupon Cathal Crobh-derg came to lay siege to this fortress, but the garrison stole out of it by night and followed William to Luimnech; and Cathal Crobh-derg razed the castle of Milec to the ground. In consequence of this, William Fitz-Aldelm mustered an army, with which he invaded Connaught, where he plundered and destroyed both the churches and the territories and the laymen, and made a dreadful massacre of all the inhabitants that he could find. For these atrocities, the clergy of Connaught gave him their malediction, as we read in those ancient annals of Ireland, which were written down about three hundred and thirty years since, in that chief book of history, which is called the *Lebar Bree* of Mac Aedgain. In the same record we read that God miraculously sent down a foul and incurable disease upon this man, as a punishment for his evil deeds,²⁶ and that he finally suffered a loathsome death in consequence thereof. He received neither penance nor extreme unction, nor was his body laid in any consecrated ground, but he was buried on a desolate farm.

²⁵ *Milec Ui Madagain*; i. e. Meelick of O'Madden. It is situated on the brink of the Shannon, in the south of county of Galway and barony of Longford, anciently called *Sil Anmeadha*, the county of O'Madden.

²⁶ *His evil deeds*. William Fitz-Aldelm de Burgo is called William the Conqueror by the Irish, because he subdued the greater part of Connaught. He is the ancestor of all the De Burgos, or Burkes of Ireland. He is represented as a very bad man, as well by his countryman Cambrensis as by the Irish authorities of his own times.

The statements of the Irish authors may, however, be somewhat overdrawn, and Cambrensis, who was his enemy, may have belied him, as he has belied the Irish. De Burgo was perhaps neither a worse nor a better man than the rest of his companions. He is said to have been descended from Charlemagne. His death is thus recorded by the *Four Masters* under the year 1204. "William Burke plundered Connaught, both churches and territories, but God and the Saints took vengeance upon him therefore; for he died of a singular disease, too loathsome to mention."

Hostilities broke out, after some time, between John de Courcy and Hugo de Lacy the younger. In consequence of their quarrel, the territories of Ulidia and Meath were plundered and laid desolate, whilst numbers of the Ulidians and the men of Meath fell upon either side. This contention finally resulted in the treacherous capture of De Courcy by Hugo, who, having made a charge of treason against his captive, delivered him into the hands of the people of the king. By the latter he was sent as prisoner to Saxon-land, where he remained for some time in captivity. However, the king finally granted him his pardon, with permission to return to Ireland. He thereupon set out upon the sea, with the intention of going back to that country, but there immediately arose a violent storm, by which he was driven back to land. This was the result of fourteen successive attempts, each of which ended in his being thrown back upon Saxon-land by the violence of the wind. At length, as we are told in the chronicle of Stanihurst, upon making his fifteenth attempt, he was driven by the storm to the coast of France, in which country he died soon after.

We also read in the chronicle last-mentioned, that a young nobleman of the family of John de Courcy, who was then abiding in Ireland, had been slain by Hugo de Laey the younger, and by his brother Walter de Lacy, and that, in consequence thereof, many quarrels and conflicts had arisen between the friends of this young nobleman and those sons of Hugo de Laey. By these events, King John was forced to march into Meath with a large army, composed of Gauls and Gaels, for the purpose of punishing the two sons of De Lacy. But, when the latter heard that the king was approaching, they retreated to Carraig Fergus, and, upon his pursuing them thither, they took shipping and fled over to France. Here they disguised themselves as laborers, and went to work in the garden of a certain abbey in Normandy, and there they remained for some time in that humiliating and counterfeited position. However, after some time, they made their secret known to the abbot, whom they besought to solicit the king of Saxon-land to grant them his peace and pardon. This the abbot procured for them, and they then returned to Ireland, where the king had them restored to their blood and their estates. Then King John died, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and sixteen.

After this, in the time of the third Henry, there arose a great war between Hugo de Lacy the younger and William Marechall; so that the whole of Meath was destroyed between them, and that great numbers of the Gaels, some of whom fought on each side, were slain in their conflicts.

There also arose a great war between Meyler Fitz-Henry,²⁷ Geoffrey Mares,²⁸ and William Mareschall; and on each side multitudes of the men of Leinster and Munster were destroyed between them. Hammer informs us that the above-named Meyler was maledicted by the Bishop of Ferns, for having robbed that prelate of a manor which he had owned, and that he eventually died excommunicated in Saxon-land. Then, as his children would not restore the property which their father had acquired by his robbery, the whole five of his sons died, one after the other, so that no one was left to inherit his estates. This Meyler had also once made an excursion to Cluain-mie-Nois, attended by a numerous army, and, having encamped there for twelve nights, he not only plundered the town of cattle and food, but he moreover robbed its temple and monastery likewise.

When, indeed, the Gaels perceived the robberies and sacrileges of those men, whom I have mentioned, they at length thought of delivering themselves from the oppressions of such tyrants. For, according to Stanihurst's Chronicle, Lis Mor, with its termon lands, had been robbed by Hervé de Monté-Marisco and Raymond le Gros,²⁹ although we are told that the same Hervé³⁰ afterwards assumed the habit of a monk, and had built the monastery of Dun Broith³¹ in the county of Loch Garman, as an atonement for the crimes he had committed in Ireland, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine. In like manner, the Church of Inis Cathaigh, with its termon lands, was plundered by William Fitz Aldelin. And again, in the excess of pride and haughtiness, that had sprung up amongst them, these same Gauls had given themselves up to fomenting quarrels amongst themselves, and to the wasting and destroying of the Gaels, who took part in their several contentions.

The Irish Essay to combine against their despoilers.—Apology for the rebellious nature of the Gaels.

The Gaels likewise found out that the new-comers had no in-

²⁷ *Meyler Fitz-Henry.* He was the natural son of King Henry I. of England, by Nesta, who was also the mother of Maurice Fitz-Gerald. He was made Lord Justice of Ireland in 1199.

²⁸ *Geoffrey Mares.* He is called Geoffrey de Marisco and De Mariscis by English writers. He was made Governor of Ireland in 1216, and Lord Justice in 1226. The war above mentioned broke out in 1207.

²⁹ *Raymond le Gros.* This warrior, one of the most daring of the chiefs of

the Anglo-Normans, is the ancestor of the Irish family of Grace. He was the son of William Fitz-Gerald, the brother of Maurice.

³⁰ *Hervé de Monte-Marisco.* He is also called Hervey of Mount-Maurice. He was of the race of the French Montmorencies. His Irish descendants have, it is said, taken the names of Montmorency and Morris.

³¹ *Dun Broith.* Now the ruined abbey of Dunbrody, in the county of Wexford.

tion of either correcting the religious discipline, or of improving the moral habits of the Irish nation. For these reasons did they strive to rid themselves of their stranger tyrants. Consequently, a number of the Gaelic nobles came to the residence of Concohar of Maen-magh,³² who was then abiding at Dun Leogha³³ in Ui Mani, for the purpose of appointing him their sovereign. First of all, there came thither Domnall O'Briain, King of Luimnech; and Ruaidri Mac Donnsebi, King of Ulidia; and Domnall Mac Carthaigh, King of Desmond; and Maelsechlainn Beg O'Maelsechlainn, King of Meath; and O'Ruairc, King of Ui Briuin and Ui Conmacni. But the measures there determined upon were never put into execution, whatever they might have been; for, before they were finally arranged, Concohar, of Maen-magh, was accidentally slain.

It is evident, from the facts which we have just stated, that the great amount of disobedience and resistance which the Gaels have since displayed under the rulership of the Anglo-Normans, has resulted from the tyranny, and wrong, and disregard of their own laws, of which their foreign governors were themselves guilty. For I do not think that there is any race in Europe that would obey these laws more than the Irish, if even-handed justice were dealt out to them. The following is the testimony which John Davis has borne to their character in the last page of the first book of the work which he wrote upon Ireland:

“There is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice more than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so as they may have the protection of the laws when upon just occasion they require it.”

From the testimony of this author, it must be understood that it is through no natural defect in their character³⁴ that the Irish

³² *Concohar of Maen-magh.* This prince had succeeded to the kingdom of Connaught, upon the deposition of his father Ruaidri. He was slain by members of his own tribe, and apparently by design. He was an able prince, and the temporary union of the Irish chiefs under his sway took place in A. D. 1189.—See extract from the *Four Masters* quoted at the end.

³³ *Dun Leogha.* This fort was situated at Ballinasloe, in the county of Galway.

³⁴ *No natural defect in their character.* Dr. Keating, good man that he was, seemingly taking it for granted that

Donncadh O'Briain's surrender of the sovereignty of Ireland to the Pope Urbanus, whose cotemporary he was not, had been an established fact of history, and that such surrender was perfectly legal, equitable and proper in itself, and also deeming the assignment of that sovereignty to Henry and his heirs by the Popes, Adrian and Alexander, to have been equally reasonable and equitable transactions, has thought it right to close his historic narrative by apologising for the want of gratitude shown by his countrymen for such kind and paternal consideration. That he has made out a strong case to justify

have so often shown a want of submission to the laws, but through the fault of their rulers, who did not administer these laws amongst them with even-handed justice.

The Irish Septs descended from the Sen-Ghoill,²⁵ or Anglo-Normans.

Besides those five men whom we have mentioned already, there arrived in Ireland in the beginning of the Anglo-Norman invasion, several other chieftains, who did not commit any deeds

the Irish rebellions in the eyes of the legal and constitutional supporters of the *fait accompli*, there can be little doubt, for, allowing the said transactions to have been perfectly right and just in themselves, the provisions of the said grants had been violated almost immediately after by the parties to whom they had been made, and the Pope has had just cause to revoke them any time within the last 600 years and more. But to those who hold with the majority of the Irish people, that those grants were perfectly fraudulent, unjust and nefarious, no such apology is needed. Apology is rather wanted for those of the Irish chiefs who tamely made their submissions to Henry upon his arrival amongst them. All that can be said in favor of the temporizing of these men is, that they had no conception either of the construction that would be put upon their several acts of homage, or of the dreadful national consequences that were about to result therefrom. They might have considered that their submissions to the stranger king were of like meaning and import with those which they had been wont to make to one another, and which consisted in making act of homage, and delivering up hostages as securities for the maintenance of their several treaties, but which did not confer upon the liege-lord any right to the arbitrary disposal of the landed property of whatever tribe the liege-man was then chief. When indeed those Irish chieftains found that such right to dispose of the common inheritance both of themselves and their kindred was assumed by the enlighteners that had been sent to them, then did they commence that endless series of wars

which continued almost unceasingly for more than 400 years; and which, with occasional interruption, has continued down to the present day. These wars have been called rebellions by the spoilers and the scribes of the spoilers, and this word sounded as harshly in the ears of Dr. Keating as it does in those of some good souls of our own times. Therefore does he excuse and palliate so glaring a national defect. But it is to be hoped that that rebellious characteristic, which is now apparently as inherent in Irish nature as it was in the days of Concochar O'Concochar of Maen-magh, will ever remain the predominant trait of every true Irishman, until the Irish people, whether of Saxon or Norman or Gaelic or Belgic stock, shall again own the Irish soil; and until neither money-broker nor landlord shall have power to spread desolation and famine and woe through her homes and her fields. The Irish people should never forget that those fertile fields belonged to their own forefathers, and that those, who now call them theirs, have no more right thereto than the robber has to the purse of his victim. Some, it is true, have bought out the robber's titles with the fruits of, perhaps, honest industry; but though men are also found who buy their prey from the sons of the highway, it does not thence follow that they acquire thereby any just right to goods so acquired.

²⁵ *The Sen-Ghoill*; i.e. the old Gauls or strangers. Many other noble families, besides those here mentioned by Keating, are descended from the Sen-Ghoill. The majority of the leaders were Norman-French, and most of them had sprung from Welsh mothers.

of base treachery similar to those of which the said five had been guilty. On the contrary, the chieftains to whom I now allude, conferred many benefits upon Ireland, inasmuch as they built churches and monasteries, and performed many good works besides. Therefore, in reward thereof, has God granted them the blessing of a numerous progeny, in the many noble septs who now represent them in Ireland, such as the Fitz-Geralds and Burkes, the Butlers and Barries, the De Courcies and Roches, the Powers and Graces, the Prendergasts and Flemmings, the Purcells and Prestons, the Nugents and Walshes, the Tobins and Shortalls, the Blanches and Morrisses, the Everards and Maudevilles, the Birminghams and Barretts, the Hacketts

A large portion of their followers were altogether Welshmen—a race of kindred origin, customs and language with the Gaels. This no doubt facilitated their amalgamation with the former natives, with whom they freely intermarried, and their children became, in a century or two, more Irish than the Gaels themselves. Of this race sprung some of the truest and noblest Irishmen of her subsequent history, and some of the most rebellions. —The editor's copies do not agree in all the names in the list which is given above, and he has inserted one or two of them from Dermot O'Connor's translation of Keating, but of those found in the latter work he has only inserted those, for whose early Norman origin he has had corroborative authority. Dr. Keating evidently did not intend to give a complete list of the septs descended from those ancient colonists. However, those he has omitted will be found in the explanation of the map. The families of Plunkett, Wise, Betagh, and even some of those above given, are supposed to be of Scandinavian origin, and anterior to the invasion.

The editor here transcribes the following extracts from the Annals of the Four Masters, giving the Irish account of the several transactions between the Gaels and their invaders down to the death of Ruaidri, the last Ard-righ of Ireland. By them it may be seen that, outside of certain parts of Leinster and Meath, the early invaders occupied the position rather of mercenaries than of conquerors.

A. D. 1174.

“The Earl Strongbow led an army to plunder Munster. King Ruaidri led another army to defend it against him. When the strangers had heard of the arrival of Ruaidri in Munster, for the purpose of giving them battle, they solicited to their assistance the Ostmen of Ath-cliaith, and then made no delay until they reached Durlas (Thurles.) Thither came Domnall Ua Briain and the Dal g-Cais, the battalion of West Connaught and the great battalion of Sil Muredaigh (the O'Connors), besides numerous other good troops left there by the King Ruaidri. At this place a brave battle was fought between the English and the Irish, and in it the English were finally defeated by dint of fighting. Seventeen hundred of the strangers were slain in this engagement, and only a few of them survived with the Earl, who proceeded in sorrow to his house at Port Largi. Ua Briain returned home in triumph.

Magnus Ua Maelsechlainn, lord of East Meath, was hanged by the English, after they had acted treacherously towards him at Ath-Truim (now Trim.)

Ruaidri Ua Concobair, King of Ireland, marched an army into Munster; he expelled Domnall Ua Briain from Thomond, and much wasted that country.

A. D. 1176.

Fobar and Kenannus (now Fore and Kells) were laid waste by the English and the Ui Briuin of Brefni.

Louth was laid waste by the Saxons. The English were driven from Luim-

and Mocklers, the Arthurs and Whites, the Condons and Cantwells, the Rices and Howleys, the Stritches and Creaghs, the Longs and the Foxes, the Bruces and D'Arcies, the Goolds and Galways, the Terries and Skiddies, the Fannings and De Verdons, the Browns and Sherlocks, the Walls and Cumberfords, the Dillons and Nagles, the Keatings and Bagots, the Corbets, Stauntons, Supples, Daltons, Pigots, Savadges, Stapletons, Fitz-Eustaces, Fitz-Gibbons, Fitz-Maurices, the *Roleidice*, and many other noble septes of the Sen-Ghoill, descended from the chieftains of the Anglo Normans, but which we shall not mention in this place.

nech (now Limerick) by Domnall Ua Briain, by laying siege to them.

An English castle was in progress of erection at Kenannus.

The English Earl (Strongbow) died in Ath-cliaith, of an ulcer which had broken out in his foot, through the miracles of Saints Brighitt and Columkille, and of all the other saints whose churches had been destroyed by him. He saw, as he thought, Saint Brighitt in the act of killing him.

The castle of Skani (Slane) in which was Richard Flemming with his forces, and from which he used to ravage Oirghialla, Ui Briuin and Meath, was plundered by Maelsechlainn, son of Mac Lochlainn, Lord of the Kinel Eogain, with the Kinel Eogain themselves and the men of Oirghialla. They killed 500 or more of the English, besides women, children and horses, and not one individual escaped with his life from the castle. Three castles were left desolate in Meath the following day, through fear of the Kinel Eogain, namely, the castles of Kenannus, Caltruim, and Doiri Phadraig (now Kells, Galtrim and Derrypatrik.)

A. D. 1177.

Cardinal Vivianus arrived in Ireland. A synod of the clergy of Ireland, both of bishops and abbots was convened by this cardinal on the 1st Sunday in Lent, and they enacted many ordinances not now observed.

An army was led by John De Courcy and the knights into Dal Araide and to Dun-da-leth-glas; they slew Domnall, the grandson of Cathasach, Lord of Dal Araide. Dun-da-leth-glas was plundered and destroyed by John De Courcy

and the knights who came in his army. A castle was there built by them, and out of it they defeated the Ulidians twice, and the Kinel Eogain and Oirghialla once, and slew Concobair O'Carellain, chief of Clann Diarmoda, Gilla-Mac-Liag O'Dongali (now O'Donnelly) chief of Ferdroma; and Domnall O'Flathbertaigh (now O'Laverty) was so wounded by arrows, that he died of his wounds in the church of St. Paul, at Ard Macla, after having received the Body and Blood of Christ, and after Extreme Unction and Penance. Many other chiefs were there slain besides these. During the same expedition De Courcy marched his forces to Ui Thirtri and Fir Li; however, before his arrival, Cu-Midhe Ua Flainn (*Coowee O'Lynn or O'Flynn*) had set Ather-Maighe (now Armoyn) on fire. Cul Rathain (now Coleraine) and many other churches were burned on this expedition.

Murcadh, son of Ruaidri O'Concobair, brought Milo de Cogan and his knights with him to Ros Comain, to ravage Connaught and to annoy his father, Ruaidri. The Connaught men immediately burned Tuain-da-gualann and other churches to prevent the English from quartering therein. They afterwards defeated the English, and forcibly drove them out of Connaught, and Ruaidri put out the eyes of his son in revenge for this expedition.

A. D. 1178.

John de Courcy with his foreigners repaired to Machari Conalli (in Louth), and committed depredations there. They encamped for a night in Glenn Righé, where Murcadh O'Kerbaill

(now O'Carroll), Lord of Oirghialla, and Cu-Uladh Mac Donslebi (now Mac Donlevy), King of Ulidia, made hostile attack upon them, in which they drowned and otherwise killed 450 of them. 100 of the Gaels, together with Ua h-Anbith (now O'Hanvey) Lord of Ui Meith-Macha, fell in the heat of the battle.

De Courcy soon after went to plunder Dal Araide and Ui Tuirtri, and Cu-Midhe O'Flainn, Lord of Ui Tuirtri and Fir Li, gave battle to him and his foreigners, and defeated them with great slaughter, through the miracles of Saints Patrick, Columkille and Brendan, and John himself, being severely wounded, escaped with difficulty and fled to Ath-cliaith.

The Constable of the King of England in Ath-cliaith and East Meath marched with his forces to Cluainmic-Nois, and plundered all the town except the churches and the bishop's houses. God and St. Kieran wrought a manifest miracle against them, for they were unable to rest or sleep until they had secretly absconded from Cuirr Cluana next day.

A victory was gained by Art Ua Maelsechlainn, the men of Ui Falghi and the English over the people of Delbna Eithra, Maelsechlainn Beg and a party of the men of Tebtha; in this battle Muredach, son of the Sinnach (i. e. the Fox) was slain.

Corcaeh was plundered by the grandson of Donnall Mac Carthaigh and the Green Gauls. Corcaeh was besieged by Milo de Cogan and Fitz-Stephen. A party of their people made an excursion to Aeadh-da-co (Aghadoe), where they remained two day and two nights, and then returned to Corcaeh. After this they marched towards Waterford, but the Gaels gathered against them at the hill of Lis Mor (now Lismore) and killed nearly them all. — *Annals of Innisfallen*.

Our Annals are silent as to the proceedings of the invaders during A. D. 1179. They record the death of St. Lawrence, or Lorean O'Tuathail, under 1180. In the latter year was fought the battle called the Battle of the Concobars, between Concobar of Maen-

magh, son of the Monarch Ruaidri, and Concobar O'Kellaigh, Lord of Ui Mani. Next year they record a great battle, in which Flathbertach Ua Maeldoraidh, Prince of Kinel Conaill, defeated the sons of Ruaidri O'Concobair, and in which there fell 16 of the sons of the principal lords and chiefs of Connaught. "And many others fell, both of the nobles and the plebeians. The Kinel Eogain held the Connaughtmen in subjection for a long time after this battle."—*F. M.*

A. D. 1182.

"Domnall, son of Aedh O'Lochlainn, marched with an army to Dun-bo, where he gave battle to the English; but the Kinel Eogain were there defeated, and Ragnall Ua Breslein, with Gilla-Criosd Ua Cathain and many others were slain." [In this year, according to the Annals of Kiluonan, Milo de Cogan was killed by Mae Tiri, Prince of Ui Mac Calli (Imokilly); and in it died Raymond le Gros and the two sons of Fitz Stephen. No important event is recorded under A. D. 1183.]

A. D. 1184.

Art O'Maelsechlainn, Lord of West Meath, was treacherously slain by Diarmaid, son of Tordelbach O'Briain, at the instigation of the English, whereupon Maelsechlainn Beg (O'Maelsechlainn) assumed his place, and in three days afterwards defeated the same Diarmaid in a conflict wherein many were slain, amongst whom was the son of Mathgamain O'Briain.

A castle was erected by the English at Kill Air (in Meath). Another castle was plundered by Maelsechlainn and Concobar O'Concobair of Maen-Magh, in which many of the English were slain. Thirty of the best houses of Ard Macha were plundered by the English of Meath.

A. D. 1185.

Philip of Worcester (Lord Justice) remained at Ard Macha with his Englishmen during six days, in the middle of Lent.

The son of the king of England, that is, John, son of Henry II., came to Ireland with a fleet of 60 ships, to assume the government of the king-

dom. He took possession of Ath-cliath and Leinster, and erected castles at Tibraid Factna (now Tibroughney) and Ard Finain, out of which he plundered Munster; but his people were defeated with great slaughter by Domnall O'Briain. John then returned to England to complain to his father of Hugo de Lacy, who was the King's deputy in Ireland on his arrival, and who had prevented the Irish Kings from sending him (John) either tribute or hostages.

A general war broke out in Connaught, among the royal heirs, namely, Ruaidri O'Concobair and his son Concobar of Maen-Magh; Concobar O'Diarmada; Cathal Carrach, son of Concobar of Maen-Magh; and Cathal Crobh-derg, son of Tordelbach. In the contests between them many persons were slain, after which Ruaidri and his son made peace with the other chiefs.

The West of Connaught was burned, as well churches as houses, by Domnall O'Briain and the English.

Cathal Carrach, the son of Concobar of Maen-Magh, son of Ruaidri, burned Kill-da-luadh, as well churches as houses, and carried off all the jewels and riches of the inhabitants. Thonmond was destroyed and plundered by Concobar of Maen-Magh and the English. The English came as far as Ros Comain with the son of Ruaidri, who gave them 3,000 cows as wages.

Diarmaid Mac Carthaigh, Lord of Desmond, was slain by the English of Coreach.

A. D. 1186.

Ruaidri O'Concobair was banished into Munster by his own son, Concobar of Maen-Magh. In the contest between them both, the Connaughtmen were destroyed. However, by the advice of the *Sil-Muredaigh* (*Sheel Murraye*), Ruaidri was recalled, and a cantred of land was given to him. [Hugo de Lacy slain—*See extract already quoted.*]

A. D. 1187.

The castle of Kill Air, which was in possession of the English, was burned and demolished by Concobar O'Concobair of Maenmagh, and Maelsechlainn

Beg, and not one of the English escaped thence, but all were suffocated or otherwise killed. They carried away their shields, arms, accoutrements, coats of mail and horses, and slew two knights.

And Drum-cliaibh, (now Drumcliff,) in Sligo, was plundered by the son of Maelsechlainn O'Ruairé, Lord of Ui Briuin and Conmaeni, and by the son of Cathal O'Ruairé, accompanied by the English of Meath. But God and St. Columkille wrought a remarkable miracle in this instance, for the son of Maelsechlainn O'Ruairé was killed in Conmaeni a fortnight afterwards, and the eyes of the son of Cathal O'Ruairé were put out by O'Maeldoraidh, in vengeance for St. Columkille; and, also 120 of the followers of the son of Maelsechlainn were killed throughout Conmaeni, through the miracles of that saint.

A. D. 1188.

The English of the castle of Magh Coba, in Down, and a party of the Ui Eathach (the people of Iveagh) made a predatory into Tir Eogain, and came to Leim-mic-Neill, where they seized upon some cattle; but Domnaill O'Lochlainn pursued them with his retainers, and came up with them at Caban-na-g-crann-ard, where a battle was fought between them, and the English were routed with great slaughter. But Domnall, son of Aedh O'Lochlainn, Lord of Ailech, and meet heir to the throne of Ireland, by reason of his symmetry of form, intellect and wisdom, alone received a thrust from an English spear, and fell in the heat of the conflict. His body was carried to Ard Macha on the same day, and there interred with great honor and solemnity.

John de Courcy and the English of Ireland made an incursion into Connaught, accompanied by Concobar O'Diarmada, whereupon Concobar of Maen-magh, King of Connaught, assembled all the chiefs of his country, who were joined by Domnall O'Briain and some of the men of Munster. The English set fire to some of the churches of the country as they passed along, but they made no delay until they reached Es-dara (now Ballysadare), with the intention of going into Tir

Conaill, for the Connaughtmen would not suffer them to tarry any longer in their country. But as soon as Flathbertach O'Maeldoraídh heard of their approach, he mustered the Kinel Conaill, and marched to Drum-cliaibh to oppose them. Upon hearing of this movement, the English burned the whole of Es-dara, and retreated. As they passed by the Coirr-Sliabh (the Curlew Mountains,) they were set upon by the men of Munster and Connaught, by whom great numbers of them were slain. The survivors escaped with difficulty from the country, in which they had committed no trifling destruction upon this occasion.

A. D. 1189.

Domnall, son of Murkertach Mac Lochlainn, was slain by the English of Dal Araide while he was staying amongst them.

Mac-na-h-oidhché (*Mac-na-hechie*, i. e., Son of Night) O'Maelruanaídh, lord of Fera Manach, was driven from his lordship, and fled to O'Kerbaill. Soon after an English army arrived in that country, to whom O'Kerbaill and O'Maelruanaídh (O'Carroll and O'Mulrony) gave battle; but O'Kerbaill was defeated therein and O'Maelruanaídh killed.

Concobar of Maen-magh, the son of Ruaidri, King of Connaught, both English and Irish, was killed by a party of his own people and tribe; namely, by Magnus, son of Flann O'Finachta, called the Crosach Donn; Aedh, son of Brian of Brefni, son of Tordelbach O'Concobar; Murkertach, son of Diarmaid, son of Cathal, son of Tadg; and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Gilla-Comain, son of Muredach Ban O'Maídmíhil of the Tuatha. Alas for the party that plotted this conspiracy against the life of the heir presumptive of the throne of Ireland! To him the greater part of Leth Mogha had submitted as king. Domnall O'Briain, King of Munster, had gone to his house at Dun Leodha (*Doon-Lo*), where he was entertained for a week, and to him O'Concobar gave sixty cows out of every cantred in Connaught, and ten articles of price, ornamented with gold; but O'Briain

did not accept any of these, save one goblet, which his own grandfather, Diarmaid O'Briain, had once owned. Ruaidri MacDonsleib, King of Ulidia, had come into his house. MacCarthaigh, King of Desmond, was in his house, and to him O'Concobar gave a great stipend, namely, five horses out of every cantred in Connaught. Maelsechlainn Beg, King of Temhair, was in his house likewise, and took away thence a large stipend; and O'Ruaire, King of Brefni, had also come into his house, whence he also carried off a large stipend.

When Concobar of Maen-magh had been slain, the Sil Muredaigh, (his own tribe.) sent messengers to Ruaidri O'Concobar, the former King of Ireland, to tell him of the death of his son, and to offer him the kingdom; and as soon as Ruaidri had reached Magh Naei, he took the hostages of the Sil Muredaigh, and all Connaught, for at that time the hostages that had been delivered up to Concobar of Maen-magh were then on Inis Clothrann, an island in Loch Ribh.

Concobar, grandson of Diarmaid, was slain by Cathal Carrach, son of Concobar of Maen-magh, in revenge for his father.

Richard I. was crowned King of England on the 1st of July.

Flathbertach O'Maeldoraídh marched his forces against the men of Connaught, and pitched his camp in Corran. All the Connaughtmen, both English and Irish, came to oppose him. However, they were not able to injure him, and both parties departed without coming to a battle.

A. D. 1190.

A meeting was held at Cluain Ferta of St. Brendan, to conclude a peace between Cathal of the Red Hand and Cathal Carrach. All the Sil Muredaigh came to this meeting, together with Concobar MacDiarmoda, Comarba of St. Patrick and Archtach O'Roduibh; but they were not able to effect a reconciliation on this occasion.

A. D. 1191.

Ruaidri O'Concobar set out from Connaught, and came to Flathbertach O'Maeldoraídh, in Tir Conaill, and he

passed thence into Tir Eogain, to request forces from the north of Ireland to enable him to recover his kingdom of Connaught; but the men of Ulster refusing to aid him in procuring lands from the men of Connaught, he repaired to the English of Meath, and these having also refused to go with him, he passed into Munster, whither the Sil Muredaigh sent for him, and gave him lands, namely, Tir Fiacrach and Kinel Aeda of Etighe.

A. D. 1192.

The English were defeated at the weir of Echaradh (*Aughera*), by the Muintir Macil-t-Sinna, (i. e., the sept of MacCarron of Meath, called in Irish MacCarganna.)

The English of Leinster committed great depredations against Domnall O'Briain. They passed over the plain of Kill-da-luadh until they reached Magh Ua Thoidhelbhaigh (*Moy-O-Hurraylig*), near the Shannon, where they were met by the Dal g-Cais, who slew great numbers of their host.

Domnall O'Briain defeated and made a great slaughter of the English of Osraide.

A. D. 1193.

Derborgaill, wife of Tighearnan O'Ruairc, and daughter of Mureadh O'Maelschlainn, died in the monastery of Droiched Atha (Mellifont), in the 85th year of her age.

Aedh O'Maebrenain, (now O'Mulrenin,) chief of Clann Concobair, was slain by the English of Ath-eliath.

O'Kerbaill (O'Carroll), Lord of Oirghialla, was captured by the English, who first put out his eyes and then hanged him.

A. D. 1194.

Domnall, son of Tordelbach O'Briain, King of Munster, a beaming lamp in peace and war, and the brilliant star of the hospitality and valor of the men of Munster and of all Leth Mogha, died, and Murkertach, his son, assumed his place.

The English landed upon Inis-O. of Fint, but were forcibly driven out of it.

Cu-Midhe O'Flainn (*Coovee O'Flynn*, the hero who had defeated De

Courey,) was slain by the English. Gilbert MacCostello marched with an English army to Es-ruadh, but was compelled to return without gaining any advantage by his incursion. [The English name of MacCostello was De Nangle. He was of English parentage.]

A. D. 1195.

Cathal O'Concobair of the Red Hand and MacCostello, with some of the English and Irish of Meath, marched into Munster, and arrived at Cashel and Imlech Iubair. There they burned four large castles and some small ones. Cathal MacDiarnada marched from Munster into Connaught, and passed victoriously through that province until he reached Loch Mesg and Inis Rodba, where he seized upon all the vessels of Cathal of the Red Hand, and brought them away to Caislean-na-Caillighe (now Hags Castle), whence he commenced to commit great ravages in all directions, until Cathal of the Red Hand came, accompanied by a party of English, and made peace with him.

A. D. 1196.

Murkertach, son of Murkertach O'Lochlainn, Lord of Kinel Eogain, presumptive heir to the throne of Ireland, tower of the valor and achievements of Leth Cuinn, destroyer of the cities and castles of the English, founder of churches and fair sanctuaries, was slain by Donnadh, son of Blosgadh O'Cat-hain. His body was carried to Doiri of St. Columkille, and there buried with great honor and respect.

Ruaidri MacDonslebi, with the English and the sons of the chief of Connaught, marched against the Kinel Eogain and the Airthertha (the men of Orior). The latter marched against them to the plain of Ard Macha, and there gave them battle. MacDonslebi was defeated with great slaughter, and twelve of the sons of the chiefs of Connaught, with many of an inferior degree, were slain.

Domnall, son of Diarmaid MacCart-haigh defeated the English of Lincrick and Munster with dreadful slaughter, and then drove them out of Limerick. He also defeated them in two other battles within this year.

Mathgamain, (or Mahon,) son of Conobar of Maen-magh, heir apparent to the throne of Connaught, was slain by Domnall O'Morda and the men of Laeighis, who prevented him from bearing off spoil, which he had taken from the English; but O'Morda was slain by Cathal Carrach, in revenge of his brother.

A. D. 1197.

John de Courcy and the English of Ulidia, marched with an army to Escraeibi (*Ass-Creeva*, now Salmon Leap, on the River Bann), and built the castle of Kill Sanctain, and wasted and desolated the territory of Kiannachta. He left Rotsel Pitun with a large body of forces in the castle, out of which they set about plundering and ravaging the churches and the lands of the laity. Rotsel Pitun thence made a predatory excursion to the harbor of Doiri (Derry), and plundered the churches of Cluain-I, Enach and Derg-bruach; but Flathbertach O'Maeldoraidh, Lord of Kinel Eogain and Kinel Conaill, overtook him with a small party of the the Northern Ui Neill. A battle was fought between them on Traigh Ua Congbala (now the Strand of Faughavale), in which the English and the son of Ardgall MacLochlainn were slaughtered, through the miracles of St. Columkille, Canice and Breacan, whose churches they had plundered.

Flathbertach O'Maeldoraigh, Lord of Kinel Eogain, Kinel Conaill and Oirghialla, contender for Temhair, heir to the monarchy of all Ireland, a Con-

ail in heroism, a Cuchulainn in valor, a Guairi in hospitality, a MacLughach in feats of arms, died at Inis Saimer, on the second day of February, after long and patient suffering, in the 30th year of his reign and 59th of his age, and was interred at Drum Tuama, [now Drumhome,] with due honor.

Echmarcach O'Dochartaigh (O'Doherty) immediately assumed the chieftainship of Kinel Conaill. In a fortnight after, John de Courcy crossed Tuaim into Tir Eogain with a numerous army. Hence he proceeded to Ard Stratha (now Ardstraw), and marched round to Doiri of St. Columkille, where he and his troops remained for five nights. They then set out for Cnoc Nascaim, to be conveyed across it; but the Kinel Conaill had come against them, and a battle was fought between them, in which many fell on both sides. The Kinel Conaill were much slaughtered, for 200 of them were slain, amongst whom Echmarcach himself, and many other nobles. The English then plundered Inis Eogain, whence they carried off a great number of cows, and then returned.

A. D. 1198.

RUAIDRI O'CONCOBAIR, KING OF CONNAUGHT AND ALL OF IRELAND, BOTH THE IRISH AND THE ENGLISH, died, among the canons at Conga, after exemplary penance, victorious over the world and the devil. His body was conveyed to Cluain-mic-Nois, and buried at the north side of the altar of the great church.

PART III.

OF THE BRANCHINGS OF THE CHILDREN OF MILEDH, DOWN HERE.

SOME of our historians maintain that there are in Ireland twelve tribes of the Saer Clanna, or genuine nobles of the race of Gaedal; to wit, six tribes in Leth Mogha, and six others in Leth Cuinn. The following are the tribes which they assign to Leth Mogha, namely, the Dal Eogain (*Daul-Owin*), Dal Fiacach (*Daul-Veeaghagh*), Dal Barrinni, Dal Darini, Dal Kein,¹ and Dal Cais. The following are the tribes assigned to Leth Cuinn, namely, the Dal Cuinn, Dal Kein, Dal Araide, Dal Fiathach, and Dal Niadh Cuirb. However, this is not the arrangement² which I shall adopt in tracing up the branchings of the children of Miledh; but I shall follow up, successively, the posterity of each of the three sons of Miledh of Esbain, who left offspring after them in Ireland; namely, the posterity of Eber, that of Ir, and that of Erimhon, together with the posterity of Lugaidh, son of Ith, who was the son of a brother of the father of Miledh.

The reader must here understand that there are also in Ireland six races of Athach-Tuatha (*Ahagh Tooaha*), or Daer-Clanna, that is of enslaved clans, or plebeians, whose history it is not proper to trace, notwithstanding the fact, that some of them are of the Gaelic nation. The first race of these is composed of the remains of the Fer-Bolgs, and Tuatha De Danam; the second is composed of persons who had left their own territories, and, though sprung from Saer Clanna, had subjected themselves to pay servile rent to the people of another tribe; the third race consists of a portion of the Saer Clanna, whose territory has been converted into sword-land, and who have remained in serfdom therein under the rule of their enemies; the fourth race consists of a certain portion of the Saer Clanna, who have been condemned to a servile condition, by reason of their evil deeds,

¹ *Dal Kein*.—This term is written *Dal g-Ceide* in two of the editor's MS. copies. It is also so written in Dermot O'Connor's translation. The above reading has been adopted on the authority of one MS., because the Dal Kein, or descendants of Kian, son of Olild Olum, comprising the O'Carrolls, of Eli, the

O'Meaghers, and their correlatives, did actually form one of the great tribe-groups of Leth Mogha, as well as of Leth Cuinn, while the name of Dal g-Ceide, is unknown to the editor.

² *The arrangement, etc.*—Keating rejects the territorial arrangement, as leading to confusion, for tribes descended

and who have lost their blood and their estates according to law; the fifth race are the folk that are descended from foreign soldiers, that is, from hired warriors from other lands, who left progeny after them in Ireland; the sixth race is composed of the descendants of those slaves that came into Ireland with the children of Miledh.

But one thing at which many persons are surprised,³ is, how it could have been possible that no portion of the descendants of the Daer Clanna or plebeians, who came into Ireland with the children of Miledh, have survived to the present time. My answer to these persons is, that Tuathal Tectmar had made a dreadful massacre of descendants of these plebeians, as soon as he acquired the sovereignty of Ireland, in vengeance for the treason which they had previously perpetrated towards the Saer Clanna, as has been related in the body of this history. He then vanquished them in twenty-five battles in each of the provinces of Ireland, and if after him, any remnant of them has still remained alive in the country, it is not lawful, and moreover, it not possible, for any historian either to trace their ramifications, or to follow up their pedigrees. Neither can any historian trace the genealogies of any of the other five races, of which we have spoken; and if any ollamh of history would attempt to trace out their branchings, it is unlawful to give the respect due to history to anything that he may assert on the subject.

The reader must now learn that we are about giving down the principal historic branches of the real nobility of the Gaels, and in doing so, we shall give precedence to the posterity of Eber Finn, because that is the senior⁴ branch; but it must be

of the same stock, were sometimes located most widely apart from each other, as the Kiarraide, or O'Connors of Kerry, and the Dal Araide of Down and Antrim, the Milesian Ernaans of Munster, and the Dal Riada, of the North of Ireland, and of Alba.

³ *Many are surprised, etc.*—Many causes conduced to their disappearance. The first, and perhaps the greatest, was the fact that they could have no inheritance in any of the Gaelic tribe-lands, the entire right to which was vested in the male descendants of the conquering cast. The next consists in the fact of its being unlawful to trace their pedigrees, and perhaps another, which is not very improbable, may have been, in the greater part of their females

becoming the wives or concubines of the Gaels. It is also to be supposed that many of them became amalgamated with the early Danish and English settlers, whose laws of inheritance were in one particular, less exclusive than those of the Irish, and who did not much regard paternal descent. These very possibly took English or Danish names, and finally became confounded with the other serfs of the lords of Norman pale, and the inhabitants of the various seaports and principal towns.

⁴ *Right of seniority, etc.*—Giving precedence to seniority in arranging of primary divisions of the Gaelic nation, he sets the most distinguished, rather than the eldest of its tribes at the head of each division of these. For instance the

understood that we shall bring into the direct lines certain branches that occupy the first places therein, not in right of the seniority of their immediate founder, but in right of the great deeds in which their ancestors excelled those of the seniors by right of priority of birth.

The following examples will suffice to show how much more often the sovereignty both of Ireland and its principalities was possessed by the younger than by the elder branches. For it is, indeed, evident that there were more monarchs of Ireland of the line of Erimhon, who was a younger son of Miledh, than of that of Eber Finn, who was his elder brother; and that there were more monarchs of Ireland of the posterity of Cobthach Cael Breagh, who was the younger son of Iugani Mor, than of that of his elder brother, Laegari Lore, and that there were more kings of Ireland, of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was the youngest son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, than of those of his four elder brothers; and, again, that there were more of the kings of Connaught of the posterity of Duach Galach, who was the youngest of the children of Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, than that of any of the twenty-three brothers who were his seniors by birth; and that there were more kings over Leinster, who were sprung from Fiacaidh Bacheda, the youngest son of Cathacir Mor, than from any of his nine brothers elder brothers, who left a progeny after them. Thus we see, that it was not in right of priority of birth, that men succeeded to the sovereignty, either of the nation, or of the pentarchates, but in right of the greatness and glory of their own acts. And for this reason we desire to set down the several branches of relationship and boughs of consanguinity of each group, near those of their kindred tribes, and to deduce each offshoot from its own particular place on each branch.

family of O'Donovan, not MacCarthy, represents the eldest branch of the line of Eber or Heber, neither is the sept of O'Briain, the eldest branch of the line

of Cormac Cas, nor O'Neill, of the Ui Neill. This is the peculiarity of nearly all the Irish tribes, down to their smallest sub-septs.

CHAPTER I.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF EBER FINN, DOWN HERE.

We shall commence with the line of Eogan Mor (*Owen More*), son of Olild Olum. This Olild Olum had but three sons who left offspring after them, namely, Eogan Mor, Cormac Cas, and Kian; and there now survives no more of the race of Eber Finn than what has sprung from the descendants of these three.

[NOTE.—*K. M.* stands for King of Munster; *R. H.* for Rex Hiberniæ, &c., or Monarch of all Ireland. The comments in italics are not in the original. All the rest is. *Ed.*]

THE PEDIGREE OF MAC CARTH Y MORE, HERE.

1. Domnall, the first earl.* [*He was created earl of Clancare, in Irish clann Carthaigh, in A. D. 1565. Ed.*] son of
 2. Domnall an Drumainn, son of
 3. Cormac Ladrach, son of
 4. Tadh Liath, son of
 5. Domnall an Dana, son of
 6. Tadh Manistrech. [*He had this surname from having built the Monastery of Irriallach, on Loch Lein, now the Lake of Killarney,*] son of
 7. Domnall. [*This Domnall had a brother who was called Diarmaid Mor Musgraide, i. e. Diarmaid the Great of Muskery: Eogan, or Owen, of Bord Mangi, was also a brother of his; as was also Donn-cadh, from whom descend the families of Ard Canachta and Cnoc Ornachta*] son of
 8. Cormac, son of
 9. Domnall Og, son of
 10. Domnall Ruadh. [*From him descend the Clann Domnaill Ruaidh, i. e. the Mac Carthies of Clandonill-Roe; and from his brother Diarmaid of Traigh Li (now called Tralec) descends the sept of Mac-Finghin, in English MacFinnen, of Kethrinn, in Kerry*] son of
 11. Cormac Finn. [*Of the race of this Cormac Finn are the Mac-Carthies of the territory of Ella,*
- now called Duhallow, and also the kings of Desmond. The Mac-Carthies of Carbery, that is, the sept of MacCarthaigh Riabhach, i. e. MacCarthy the Grey, called in English MacCarthy Reagh, and all the branches sprung from it, are descended from a brother of this Cormac, namely from Domnall Gott.*] son of

12. Domnall Mor na Curra, son of

13. Diarmaid of Kill Baghani. [*From Diarmaid of Kill Baghani has sprung the sept of the Mac Carthies called Clann Taidg Ruaidh na Sgarti*] son of

14. Cormac of Magh Tamnaigh. [*This Cormac had a brother named Tadh, from whom sprung the sept of MacAmlaieibh, i. e. the MacAuliffes of the county of Cork*] son of

15. Muredach. [*He was the first of this line who was called Mac-Carthaigh, being the MAC or son of Carthach. In Gaelic the name of the latter chief is pronounced Caurhagh, and the family name of his descendants MacCaurha. It is now known in English as Mac-Carthy.—Ed.*] son of

16. CARTHACH [*from whom all the Sil Carthaigh, i. e. the offspring of Carthach, have derived their name*] son of

17. Saerbrethach. [This Saerbrethach had a brother, named Murcadh, from whom sprung the sept of O'Callaghan, in *Irish O'Kellachain*] son of
18. Donncaadh, son of
19. Kellachan of Cashel, K. M., son of
20. Buadachan, son of
21. Lactna, son of
22. Artgal, son of
23. Snedgus. [This Snedgus had a brother, named Fogartach, from whose son, Finguini, have sprung the Muinter Finguini] son of
24. Donngal, son of
25. Faelgus, son of
26. Nadfraech, son of
27. Colgan, son of
28. Falbi Flann, K. M. [This Falbi Flann had a brother, named Finghin, from whom has sprung the sept of O'Sullivan; and the Book of Munster tells us that Finghin was the elder brother of Falbi Flann, and in testimony thereof a certain bard composed the following verse when Falbi Flann succeeded to Finghin as sovereign of Munster :
 "Dire is our loss, Finghin is gone,
 And Caisel now has cause of woe;
 She feels as if bereft of all,
 Though Falbi Flann is now her king."
Falbi ruled Munster from A. D. 622 to 633] son of
29. Aedh Dubh, son of
30. Crimthann, son of
31. Feidlimidh, son of
32. Aengus, K. M. [This Aengus had a son, named Eocaidh Finn, from whom is descended the sept of O'Keeffe: from another son of his, named Enna, sprung that of O'Dalaigh, in *English O'Daley*, of Munster. *Aengus was the first king of Munster who became Christian. He was slain in A. D. 984*] son of
33. Nadfraech, K. M., son of
34. Core, K. M. [This Core had a son, named Cas Mac Chuire, from whom have sprung the following septs, namely, O'Donoghoo More, from which branched O'Donoghoo of the Glen; and O'Mahony Finn, O'Mahony Roe, O'Mahony of Ui Floinn Laci, and O'Mahony of Carbery; and also O'Mullane, and O'Cronin. From Carbri Luachra, otherwise *Carbri the Pict*, son of *Corc*, father of Nadfraech, have descended the O'Moriarties; and from Enna, son of Nadfraech, have descended the O'Garvans] son of
35. Lugaidh, son of
36. Olild Flann Beg, K. M. [This Olild Flann Beg had a son, named Dari Kerb, from whom has descended the sept of O'Donovan and that of O'Coilleain, or *Collins*, of Carbery; and again this Dari Kerb had a son called Fiacaidh Fidghenti, from whom have sprung the septs O'Miadhachain, now *O'Meehan*, O'hAithchir, now *O'Hehir*, and the clan of Mac David in Thomond] son of
37. Fiacaidh Maeil-lethan, K. M., son of
38. Eogan Mor. [From this Eogan or Owen, all the septs of the Eoganaichta or Eugenians of Munster have been named] son of
39. Olild Olum, K. M., son of
40. Mogh Nuadath, K. M. [*He is also styled Eogan Mor of Magh Lena, and Eogan Taighleach, or Owen the Splendid. It was he that founded the kingdom of Leth Mogha.*] son of
41. Mogh Niad, son of
42. Derg, son of
43. Dergthini. [*He is also called Corb Olum. He was one of the three heirs of the royal houses of Ireland that were saved from the massacre of the Irish nobility, by the subject tribes at Magh Cro, about A. D. 10. He was cotemporary with Feradach the Just, monarch of Ireland.*] son of
44. Enna Muncaein, son of
45. Loch Mor, son of
46. Mogh Febis, son of
47. Muredach Muchna, son of
48. Eocaidh Garbh. [*He is also styled Eocaidh Per Ani.*] son of
49. Duach Dalta Degadh, R. H. [*He is also styled Duach Donn.*] son of
50. Carbri Losg-lethan, son of
51. Lugaidh Luaghni, son of
52. Innadmar, R. H., son of
53. Niadh Segamhain, R. H., son of
54. Adamar Folteacin, R. H., son of

55. Fer-Corb, R. H., son of
 56. Mogh Corb, R. H., son of
 57. Cobthach Caemh, son of
 58. Recta Righ-derg, R. H., son of
 59. Lugaidh Laighdi, R. H., son of
 60. Eocaidh, R. H., son of
 61. Olild Finn, R. H., son of
 62. Art, R. H., son of
 63. Lugaidh Iamh-derg, R. H., son of
 64. Eocaidh Uarceas, R. H., son of
 65. Lugaidh Iar-donn, R. H., son of
 66. Enna Derg, R. H., son of
 67. Duach Finn, R. H., son of
 68. Sedaa Innarraigh, R. H., son of
 69. Bres-righ, R. H., son of
 70. Art Imlech, R. H., son of
 71. Elim, R. H., son of
 72. Rothectach, R. H., son of
 73. Roan Righ-galach, son of
 74. Falbi Il-crothach, son of
 75. Cas Ked-caingnech, son of
 76. Afdergoid, R. H., son of
 77. Munemhon, R. H., son of
 78. Cas Clothach, son of
 79. Eirereo Ard. [*He is also called Fer-Ard, or Fer-Arda.*] son of
 80. Rothectach, son of
 81. Rosa, or Ross, son of
 82. Glas, son of
 83. Nuadha Degh-lamb. [*Nudhatt, pronounced Nocath, is also a form of this name.*] son of
 84. Eocaidh Faebur-glas, R. H. son of
 85. Connael, R. H., son of
 86. EBER FINN, R. H. [*His name is usually written Heber in English books. The more modern Irish write it Eibhear, and Eimhear, which they pronounce Aiver; the more ancient write it Eber and Emer. He is the founder of the Eberian, or Heberian races of Ireland. The surname Finn, signifies, Fair.*] son of
 87. MILEDH OF ESBAIN. [*From this chief the Irish are called Clanna Miledh, i. e., the clans of Miledh. His name has been not very happily rendered into Latin and English by Milesius, and that of his posterity by Milesii and Milesians. The Irish words Miledh h-Esbain, mean the Warrior of Spain, i. e., Miles Hispaniae. Galamb, which seems to be a synonyme for Miledh, as it apparently comes from the Gaelic word Gal, i. e., battle, is said to have been his real name.*] son of
 88. Bili, King in Spain, son of
 89. Breogan, King in Spain. [*His name is written in modern Irish, Breoghan, and pronounced Breoan. From him the Brigantes are said to take their name. The territory of Breagh or Bregia in Ireland was called from a branch of his descendants, that adopted the appellation of Clanna Breoghain,*] son of
 90. Bratha. [*He was the leader of the Clanna Gaedhail, or Gaels, that emigrated from Gaethluighe, which has been called Gothia by Keating, into Spain.*] son of
 91. Degatha, (King in Gaethluighe: his name is also written Degh-fhatha,) son of
 92. Arcadh, King in Gaethluighe, son of
 93. Allod, King in Gaethluighe, son of
 94. Nuadha, King in Gaethluighe, son of
 95. Ninnall, King in Gaethluighe, son of
 96. Febric Glass, King in Gaethluighe. (His name is also written Ebric.)
 97. Adnamhon Finn, King in Gaethluighe, son of
 98. Eber Glun-Finn, King in Gaethluighe, son of
 99. Lamb-finn. (It was he that, according to our shannachies, led the Clanna Gaedail, from a country they have called Scythia, to Gaethluighe,) son of
 100. Adnoin, son of
 101. Tath, son of
 102. Eogamhan, son of
 103. Beogamhan, son of
 104. Eber Scot. (It is he that is said to have led the wandering children of Guedal from the island of Creta to the Scythia of Irish legend. From Eber Scot, are possibly called the CINE SCUIT, one of the names by which the Irish call themselves.) son of
 105. SRU. (The leader of the emigration from Egypt to Creta,) son of
 106. ESFU, son of
 107. GAEDAL GLAS, from whom the GAEDHIL (*Gayil*) that is, the Gaels, have been named, son of

108. Niul, *who first settled in Egypt*,
son of
109. FENIUS FARSAIDH. (*From him
his posterity are called FENI, ac-
cording to the following ancient
verse :*

"FENI, o FENIUS adbertha,—
Brigh gan dochta ;
GAEIDHIL, o GAEDHAL GHLAS gartha ;
SCUIT o SGOTA."

In English—

*Feni from Fenius they are named
Not forced the meaning ;
From Gaedal Ghlas we call them Gaels ;
And Scots from Scota.*"—ED.

110. Baath, son of. (*Neither this nor
the succeeding names seem to have
been handed down through the me-
dium of the Gaelic tongue. Their
forms, with perhaps, the exception
of Naei, i. e. Noah, and Adamh
(Auve) i. e. Adam, are foreign to
that idiom.*)
111. Magog, son of
112. Japheth, son of
113. Naei, son of
114. Iamech, son of
115. Mathusalem, son of
116. Enoch, son of
117. Jared, son of
118. Mahaleleel, son of
119. Cainan, son of
120. Enos, son of
121. Seth, son of
122. ADAMH.

Comment by Eogan O'Caemh.

* *Domnall the first earl.*—This Domnall (*Donall*) had but one legitimate child, who was named Eibhlin Inghin Mhic Carthaigh (*Eveleen or Ellen daughter of MacCarthy*). This daughter was married to the son of MacCarthy Reagh, namely, to Finghin (*called Florence by the English*), son of Donn-cadh, son of Domnall, son of Finghin, son of Diarmaid an Duna, who came into Desmond, and assumed the position and rights of MacCarthy More; and it is from him that the MacCarthy More of the present time, A. D. 1724, is sprung, namely, Raghnaill (Randall), son of Cormac Ruadh. The above-named Finghin was afterwards taken prisoner

by the orders of Queen Elizabeth, and he was kept confined in the Tower of London until he died. [*Eogan O'Caemh, in English Owen O'Keefe, was a celebrated Irish scholar, bard, and scribe of the beginning of the last century.*—ED.]

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'SULLIVAN MORE,
HERE.

1. Domnall—May God protect him !
son of
2. Eogan Ruadh. [This Eogan died in Dublin A. D. 1687 ; and all Leth Mogha was filled with the glory and greatness of his benevolence, honor, generosity, and poesy, and his every other noble and laudable quality.] son of
3. Domnall, son of
4. Eogan, son of
5. Domnall, son of
6. Eogan, son of
7. Domnall, son of
8. Domnall, son of
9. Domnall na Sgreidnighe, son of
10. Domnall, son of
11. Ruaidri. [This Ruaidri had a brother named MacCraith, from whom is descended the race of MacCraith of Kep-na-Coisi—that is, the branch of the O'Sullivans, so called] son of
12. Dunlaing, son of
13. Buadach, son of
14. Bernard, son of
15. Murkertach Mor, son of
16. Dunlaing, son of
17. Gilla-Mochuda, from whom has sprung the sept of MacGillacuddy and the branches thereof, son of
18. Domnall Mor of Carraig Finnmaighe, son of
19. MacCraith, son of
20. Buadach, son of
21. Cathal, son of
22. Aedh, son of
23. Buadach of Ath-Cro, [*being the grandson of O'Sullivan, he was the first of the O'Sullivans.*]
24. Loorean, son of
25. SULLIBAN, from whom all the Sil Suillibhain (*Sheel Sooilvauin*) i. e. the offspring of Suilliban, have taken their name, son of

26. Maelura, son of
27. Echtigherna, son of
28. Murcadi, son of
29. Dubinnrecht, son of
30. Flann Roba, son of
31. Fiachra an Gaisgi, son of
32. Sechnasach, or *Sereach*, son of
33. FINGHIN, K. M., son of
34. Aedh Dubh. *See No. 29, pedigree of MacCarthy More.*

III.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE RACE OF MAC-CRAITH, HERE.

1. Diarmaid, son of
2. Eogan, son of
3. Conobar, son of
4. Diarmaid, son of
5. Buadach, son of
6. Eogan, son of
7. Conobar, son of
8. Donnall, son of
9. Mac-Craith. [The branch of the O'Sullivans called by this name must not be confounded with the Dalcassian sept of MacCrath, or Magrath of Thomond.] son of
10. Dunlaing O'Sullivan. *See No. 12, Pedigree of O'Sullivan More.*

IV.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'SULLIVAN BEARRA, HERE.

1. Donnall, son of
1. Philip, son of
3. Eogan, son of
4. Eogan, son of
5. Donnall, son of
6. Diarmaid an Phudair, son of
7. Donnall Cron, son of
8. Diarmaid, son of
9. Tadg, son of
10. Amlacibh, son of
11. Ana, son of
12. Phillip, son of
13. Gilla-na-b-Flann, son of
14. Donnall Mor of Carraig Finnmaighe.—*See No. 18, Pedigree of O'Sullivan More.*

V.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'SULLIVAN MAEL MEC FINGHIN DUBH, (*Mac Finceen Duff*) HERE.

Diarmaid, son of Eogan, son of FINGHIN, &c. (*The editor's copy does*

not show whose son this Finghin was. But it is most likely that he was son of the Donnall marked No. 1 in the pedigree of O'Sullivan Bearra; for that would bring the line of Bearra down to within one of that of O'Sullivan More.

VI.

THE PEDIGREE OF MAC GILLICUDDY, HERE.

1. Donnadh, son of
2. Conobar, son of
3. Donnadh, son of
4. Conobar, son of
5. Donnadh, son of
6. Conobar, son of
7. Conobar, son of
8. Gilla-Mochuda, son of
9. Conobar, son of
10. Gilla-cuda, son of
11. Dunlaing *Mac Gilla Mochuda*, in *English, Mac Gillicuddy*, son of GILLA-MOCHUDA: the word from which this surname is derived, means follower of St. Mochuda, otherwise called St. Carthach.—*See No. 17, pedigree of O'Sullivan More.*

VII.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE CLANN LABHRAIS, OR CLAN LAWRENCE, HERE.

1. Conobar, son of
2. Donnall, son of
3. Donnadh Dubh, son of
4. Donnall, son of
5. Eogan, son of
6. Donnall, son of
7. LABHRAS, (*This name is pronounced Lowrausse. It is the Irish version of the name Lawrence.*)
8. Gilla-na-bh-Flann.—*See No. 13, pedigree of O'Sullivan Bearra.*

VIII.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'MAHONY FINN, HERE.

Now this O'Mahony was king of Rathlenn, now the *Hill or Skea of the River Bandon*, by unquestioned right; and it was his privilege to occupy the seat of the king of Cashel, when no king sat thereon; and he owed no further duty to the said king of Cashel, when not king himself, than to bow the head in his presence.

1. Conobar, or *Connor*, son of

2. Donnall, son of
3. Conobar Finn, son of
4. Conobar, na' g-Cros, son of
5. Conobar Finn, na n-Ech, son of
6. Conobar Cabach, son of
7. Diarmaid Rantach, son of
8. Finghin. [One of the brothers of this Finghin was named Donnall; another was Diarmaid Mor, called also Diarmaid Og, O'Mahony. Of the posterity of Donnall, is the family of Kill-na-gluairi (*Kilnagloory*) in Barrett's Country; and of the offspring of Diarmaid is the race called Meirgeach in Desmond, [*i. e. of the Standard*] and also the sept of Conobar Dubh in Barry's Country. *By Desmond must be here understood no more than the territory of Mac Carthy More in the West of Cork and Kerry.*] son of
9. Diarmaid Mor, son of
10. Donnadh of Rath Droain, son of
11. Tadh, son of
12. Diarmaid Mor Eli, [*He is also surnamed na n-Ech mais, i. e. of the Fine Steeds.*]
13. Donnadh na h-Imirce Timchill, [*He was king of the Eoganacht of Rathlenn on the arrival of the English. His surname signifies, of the changing about, which he might have got from the fact that, having been for a time expelled from his territory and chieftaincy by Cathal O'Donoghoo, aided by the English, he succeeded in recovering them again with the aid of his sovereign, MacCarthy King of Desmond. He was killed fighting against the English in A. D. 1212.*] son of
14. Kian, son of
15. Donnadh Donn, son of
16. Cumara O'Mahony. [*Cumara O'Mathghamhna, i. e. grandson of Mathgamain, pronounced in Irish O'Mahowna, and called in English O'Mahony, was the first of this line that bore way the first the family name. He defeated the Desi in A. D. 1072.*] son of
17. Brodcu, son of
18. MATHGAMAIN. [*Pronounced Mahowin, and called in English Mahon, from whom the Ui Mathghamhna are named.*] son of
19. Kian. [*He was King of Desmond, and commanded the Eugeniens of Munster at Clontarf, A. D. 1214.*] son of
20. Maelnuaidh, K. M., son of
21. Braun, son of
22. Kian, son of
23. Shellan, son of
24. Cathniadh, son of
25. Conobar, son of
26. Cucongelt, son of
27. Olild Brugha, son of
28. Conna, son of
29. Artgai, son of
30. Ferdalethi, son of
31. Beki, from whom are named the Kinel m-Beki, (*Kinalmeakey*), son of
32. Fergus, son of
33. Fiedlimedh, K. M., son of
34. Tighernach, son of
35. Aedh Nar-garbh, (*From him the Kinel Aedha of the territory now called Kinalea in the county of Cork are called. From Laegari, brother of this Aedh, descend the O'Donoghoo's.*) son of
36. Crimthann, son of
37. Eocaidh, *from whom the Ui Eachach are called*, son of
38. CAS, *the founder of the race*, son of
39. Core, K. M.—See No. 34, pedigree of MacCarthy More.

XI.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'MAHONY OF UI FLOINN LAEI, HERE.

1. Donnadh, son of
2. Conobar an Crochair, son of
3. Diarmaid, son of
4. Seaghan, or John, son of
5. Diarmaid, son of
6. Donnadh, son of
7. Diarmaid Buidhe, son of
8. Finghin, son of
9. TADG AN OIR, son of
10. Donnadh of Rath Droain, &c.—See No. 10, pedigree of O'Mahony Finn.

X.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'MAHONY OF CABBERY, HERE.

1. Mathgamain, or Mahon, son of
2. Kian, son of
3. Maelnuaidh, son of

4. Finghin, son of
5. Finghin, son of
6. Diarmaid Spaineach, son of
7. Tadhg Buidlic, son of
8. Carbri, son of
9. Donncaadh Mael, son of
10. Magnus, son of
11. Kian, son of
12. Aedh, son of
13. CONCOBAR, son of
14. Donncaadh na h-Imirce Timchill.—
See No. 13, Pedigree of O'Mahony Finn.

XI.

PEDIGREE OF O'MAHONY OF CLAN O'CONNOR, HERE.

1. Donncaadh, son of
2. Concober, son of
3. Finghin Og, son of
4. Finghin, son of
5. Donncaadh, son of
6. Mathgamain, or Mahon, son of
7. Donncaadh, son of
8. CONCOBAR, from whom they are called Clann Concober, or in *English Clann Connor*, son of
9. Mathgamain, son of
10. Kian.—*See No. 11, pedigree of O'Mahony of Carbery.*

NOTE.—The editor's copies of Keating, contain pedigrees of no other of the Clans descended from Eogan Mor than those above given. Those that follow, which show the descent of some important branches of that stock, are given on the authority of their pedigrees, as published by Dr. O'Donovan in the *Battle of Magh Rath*.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER I

THE PEDIGREE OF O'DONOVAN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ELDEST BRANCH OF THE CHILDREN OF MILEDH.

1. Domnall, inaugurated chief of Clan Cahill in 1584, son of
2. Domnall na g-Croikenn,
3. Tadhg, son of
4. Diarmaid, son of
5. Concober, son of
6. Murcadh, son of
7. Tadhg, son of
8. Cathal, from whom Clann Cathail, or Clan-Cahill is named.
9. Crom, driven from the county of Limerick, by the 2d Baron of Ophaly, and was slain in 1254. Son of

10. Malroni or Maclruanaidh, son of
11. Raghall, son of
12. Aneslis, son of
13. Amlaebh O'Donovan.
14. Cathal, who fought at Clontarf, son of
15. DONNOBAN, from whom the name O'Donnobhain, in English, O'Donovan is derived, son of
16. Cathal, son of
17. Uainighe, son of
18. Cathal, son of
19. Kennfaeladh, son of
20. Dabdboirenn, son of
21. Aedh Roin, son of
22. Eogan, son of
23. Crunmael, son of
24. Aedh, son of
25. Aengus, son of
26. Lapi, son of
27. Olild Kenn-fada, son of
28. Kennfaeladh, son of
29. Ere, son of
30. Carbri Aedba. [From him Ui Carbri has its name. MacEneiry is descended from his fourth son.] son of
31. Brian, [from Conall, son of Fin-tait, son of Dari, son of this Brian, ancestor of O'Collins and O'Kinnealy, the territory of Ui Conaill Gabhra has its name.]
32. Fiacaidh Fidghenti. [The elder brother of Fiacaidh was Fidach, father of Crimthann Mor, one of the most illustrious of the monarchs of Ireland, who reigned A. D. 366-378. He was the senior representative of all the Milesian race; but as he died without issue, the eldest representative of Miledh must now exist somewhere amongst the Ui Fidghenti, the widely scattered progeny of his second brother Fiacaidh.] son of
33. DARI KERB. [From Eocaidh Liath-anach, one of the sons of this Dari, are descended O'Liathain, in English, O'Lyons, and O h-Anmcadha.] son of
34. Olild Flann Beg, K. M.—*See No. 36, pedigree of MacCarthy More.*

II.

PEDIGREE OF O'KEEFE.

1. Domnall, who went to France in the

- sixteenth year of his age at the head of his father's regiment of foot, son of
2. Donnall Og, slain at Aughrim in 1691.
 3. Donnall the Heroic, son of
 4. Magnus, son of
 5. Art, son of
 6. Art, son of
 7. Donnall, son of
 8. Art, son of
 9. Magnus, son of
 10. Donnall, son of
 11. Art, son of
 12. Donnall, son of
 13. Art, son of
 14. Concobar, son of
 15. Eogan Finn, son of
 16. Magnus, son of
 17. Finguini, son of
 18. Aedh, son of
 19. Finguini, son of
 20. Donnall, son of
 21. Aedh, son of
 22. Donnadh O'Keeffe, the first of the name, son of
 23. Cathal, son of
 24. CAEMH, from whom is named O'Caemh, in English, O'Keeffe, son of
 25. Finguini, K. M., son of
 26. Gorman, son of
 27. Artri, K. M., son of
 28. Cathal, K. M., son of
 29. Finguini, K. M., son of
 30. Cu-gau-mathair, K. M., son of
 31. Cathal, K. M., son of
 32. Aedh Flann-cathrach, son of
 33. Carbri Crom, K. M., son of
 35. Crumthann Srebh, K. M., son of
 36. EOCADH, K. M., died A. D. 523, son of
 37. Aengus, K. M.—*See No. 32, pedigree of MacCarthy More.*

NOTE.—Previous to the reign of Kellaehan of Cashel, in which lived Donnadh O'Caemh, the first that bore the family name, this line gave more kings to all Munster, than that of any other of the offspring of Eber.

III.

PEDIGREE OF O'DONOGHOO, OTHERWISE
SPELLED O'DONOHOE.

1. Geffry of Glenflesk, son of
2. Tadg, son of

3. Geffry, son of
4. Tadg, son of
5. Donnall, son of
6. Ruaidri, son of
7. Geffry, son of
8. Donnall, son of
9. Concobar, son of
10. Jeffry, son of
11. Aedh, son of
12. Concobar, son of
13. Amlacibh Mor na Cuimsenna, son of
14. Aengus, son of
14. Donnadh O'Donnadh, in English, O'Donoghoo, the first of the name, son of
15. Cathal, son of
16. DONNCADH, from whom O'Donnadh is called, son of
17. Donnall, who held joint command of Eugenians with Kian, son of Maclmuidh, at Clontarf, A. D. 1014.
18. Dubdaboirean, K. M., son of
19. Aengus, son of
20. Flathniadh, son of
21. Anblethi, son of
22. Dunlaing, son of
23. Falathi, son of
24. Selbach, son of
25. Clarinach, son of
26. Carbri Riastrim, son of
27. Aedh Kisrigh, son of
28. LAEGARI, son of
29. Crimthann, &c.—*See No. 36, pedigree of O'Mahony Finn.*

IV.

PEDIGREE OF MAC CARTHY EARL OF MUSKERY, FROM DERMOT O'CONNOR'S TRANSLATION OF KEATING.

1. Robert, Lord Muskery, son of
2. Donnadh, Earl of Clancarthy, exiled with James II. of England, son of
3. Kellachan, or Callaghan, son of
4. Donnadh, General in Munster against Cromwell, A. D. 1652, son of
5. Cormac Og, son of
6. Cormac. [From him sprung Tadg, ancestor of the MacCarthies of Aghlish, and Donnall, ancestor of the MacCarthies of Carrignavar.] son of
7. Diarmaid, ancestor of the Mac Carthies of Inshirahell, son of
8. Tadg, ancestor of the Mac Carthies

- of Cuairt Bree, and of Cormac, or Charles, Mac Carthy of Ballea, Castlemore and Clongbroe, son of
9. Cormac Ladir Og, son of
 10. Cormac Ladir,
 11. Tadg, from whom sprung the Mac Carthics of Drishane, son of
 12. Cormac, son of
 13. DIARMAID MOR, of Musgraide or Muskery, slain by the O'Mahonies in A. D. 1367, son of
 14. Cormac.—*See No. 8, Pedigree of Mac Carthy More.*

v.

PEDIGREE OF THE COUNTS O'MAHONY OF FRANCE, from a copy thereof, lodged in Bibliotheque Royal of Paris in 1788, and still extant.

1. Barthelemy, Count O'Mahony, Knight of the Cross of St. Louis and Malta, Colonel Commandant of the regiment of Berwick in the service of France, born in the County of Kerry in 1748, and afterwards married to Mlle. de Gouy. [His descendants still exist in France, and are now represented by the present Count O'Mahony.] son of
2. Michael of Cnocan-na-h-Eglaisi, in Kerry, son of
3. Eogan or Eugene, son of
4. Tadg or Thadeus, son of
5. Domitius, son of
6. Domnall or Daniel, son of
7. Dometrius, son of
8. Finghin or Florence, son of
9. TADG MEIRGECH. [He had a son named Domnall, who settled at Tibraid or Tubrid, in the County of Cork, where his descendants

- were known as Sliocht Domnail of Tubrid: of this branch has sprung the Count O'Mahony of Spain, formerly Lieutenant General in the army of Spain, and ambassador plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty at the court of Vienna.] son of
10. Concobar, son of
 11. Diarmaid, son of
 12. Seaghan, or John, son of
 13. DIARMAID OG. [He emigrated into Kerry in 1355, where he was made Seneschal of Desmond by Mac Carthy Mor, king of that country, from whom he received a territory sufficient to uphold that office. This dignity continued in his family until 1565, when Domnall Mac Carthy Mor, having exchanged his title of king of the then extremely narrowed domains of Desmond, for that of Earl of Clancare, Finghin O'Mahony was by letters patent, created Sheriff of the County of Kerry, in exchange for his office of Seneschall.] son of
 14. Diarmaid Rantach.—*See No. 8, Pedigree of O'Mahony Finn.*

NOTE.—The editor would wish to have given the pedigrees of several others of the septs sprung from Eogan Mor, with those above given, such as MacCarthy Reagh, O'Moriarty, O'Callahan and others, but he has been unable to procure authorities from which to transcribe them. In a future edition, more ample details may be possibly given of the septs, both of this and other tribes, hereafter to be mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE RACE OF CORMAC CAS, THE SECOND SON OF OLILD OLUM, DOWN HERE.

I.

PEDIGREE OF O'BRIEN OF THOMOND HERE.

1. Henry, 7th Earl of Thomond, son of
2. Brian, son of,
3. Donnecadh. [This Donnecadh, called in English *Donough*, had two sons, namely, Henry and Brian: of these, Henry was the elder, but he died

- without leaving any male issue. However, his daughter was married to the son of Brian, namely, to that Henry with whom we begin the pedigree.] son of
4. Concobar. [Tadg of Dromore and Sir Domnall of Carricahowlig, were sons of this Concobar.] son of

5. Donnchad. [This Donnchad had for brothers, Domnall Murkertach, Tadg an Chomadh and Tordelbach O'Brien.] son of
6. Concobar. [This Concobar had for brother Murcadh, who was the first Earl of Thomond and first Baron of Inchiquin.—From *Donncadh, or Donogh, second son of the said Murcadh, Sir Lucius and his brother, William Smith O'Brien, are ninth in descent.*] son of
7. Tordelbach, son of
8. Tadg, son of
9. Tordelbach, son of
10. Brian Catha an Aenaigh, *i. e.* Brian of the Battle of Nenagh. (Of the posterity of this Brian of the Battle of Nenagh is the sept of O'Briain Cumarach, *i. e.* O'Brien of the *Cummeraghs in the county of Waterford.*—It was this Brian that won the Battle of Nenagh against the Earl of Desmond, namely, against Garret, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, on which occasion he captured that Earl; and it was from this victory that he was called Brian of the Battle of Nenagh.) son of
11. Mathgamain of Maen-magh. (This Mathgamain, or Mahon, had a son named Concobar, from whom has descended the sept of O'Brien of Carraig o g-Coinnell, *now called Castleconnell.*) son of
12. Murkertach, son of
13. Tordelbach, (Son of this Tordelbach was Donnchadh, who granted the lordship of Thomond for three years to the Poor Friars for the purpose of aiding them in building the Monastery of Ennis. He was afterwards treacherously murdered in A. D. 1311, by Murcadh Maimchiu, son of Mathgamain O'Brien, in Glenn Caoin,) son of
14. Tadg Cacluisgi. (This Tadg Cacluisgi had a brother named Brian Ruadh, from whom sprang the O'Brian of Ara,) son of
15. Concobar na Siudaini. (It was from having been killed on the Siudain that he has been named Concobar na Siudaini,) son of
16. Donncadh Carbreach. (This Donncadh Carbreach, was the first person that was ever styled THE O'BRIEN; and it was also he that bestowed the Monastery of Donncadh Carbreach, outside Limerick, to God for his soul's welfare; and the reason why he was called Donncadh Carbreach, *i. e.* Donncadh of Carbri, was because he had been fostered in Ui Carbri Aedba.) son of
17. Domnall Mor, K. M., A. D. 1163–1194. [This Domnall was the last King of Cashel, *i. e.* of Munster, and of Limerick, From him have sprang the Muintir Consadin, *i. e.* the family of Consadine and Mac Gilla-Iasachta, *now called Lysaght.*]
18. Tordelbach, K. M.
19. Diarmaid, K. M. The elder brother of this Diarmaid was Murkertach Mor, *Monarch of Ireand A. D. 1094–1119*, and from him, according to one of the Ollamhs of the Dal-g-Cais themselves, has sprung the clan of MacMahon of Thomond. Here is what he says:
- “Clann Thoirdhelbaigh, na thelb troid,
Muirchertach Mor is Diarmaid;
Barr crainn chlechtach da g-claen fiodh;
Muirchertach saer, a seinser.
- Clann don ti is oige aco,
Siol m-Briain i n-dialgh Dhiarmaid;
Fa clann rath-chalma clechtach,
Clann Mhathghamhna o Mhuirchertach.”
- In English:*
- Tordelbach's sons, who shunned not war,
Were Diarmaid and Murkertach Mor—
Tall trees to whom a forest bowed!—
Murkertach was the elder son.
- From the younger chieftain sprang
O'Brien, lord of Diarmaid's line;
MacMahon's clan, the brave in battle,
Clanna noble Murkertach for sire.”
- The above named Diarmaid has another son named Concobar na g-Cathrach *i. e.* of the *Fortreeses*, who is also Slapar-salach *i. e.* of the Spattered Robe. *He was the eldest son of Diarmaid to whom he succeeded as King of Munster, in which position he proved himself a warlike and able prince. From him sprang the line of Tadg Gle O'Briain, chieftains of Ui Bloid and princes in Ormond.*] son of
20. Tordelbach O'BRIAIN, R. II. [He

- was the first that bore the surname, Ua Briain, or O'Briain, in English O'Brien, he being the O or Ua, i. e., the grandson, of Brian, R. H.] son of
21. Tadg. [From Donnadh, R. H. an elder brother of this Tadg, have sprung the MacO'Brien of Coonagh and the MacO'Brien of Aharlow.] son of
 22. BRIAN BOROMHA, R. H. *slain at Clontarf A. D. 1014.* [Brian had six sons; namely, Murcadh, Tadg, Donnadh, Donnall, Concobar, and Flann. Of these we have not found that any left issue but the following two; namely, Tadg, from whom this branch of Thomond derives its origin; and Donnadh, R. H., from whom descend the Mac O'Brien of Aharlow already mentioned.] son of
 23. Kenneidigh. (Kenneidigh had twelve sons; but the posterity of no more than four of these has survived; namely, Brian, Donnegan, Echtigherna and Mathgamhain or Mahon. From Brian descend the Sil Bhriain (*Sheel Vreain*) or O'Briens. Donnegan had six sons; to wit, two named Kenneidigh, and Riagan. Lonnargan, Kelichar, and Congalach; from one of those named Kenneidigh, has descended the sept O'Conaing, in *English, Gunning*; from the other Kenneidigh has descended that of O'Kenneidigh, in *English O'Kennedy*; from Riagan have sprung the O'Riagains or *O'Regans of Munster*; from Lonnargan, the O'Lonnargans; and from Kelichar, the O'Kelehers.—From Mathgamhain or Mahon, K. M. son of Kenneidigh, have descended the following septs; namely, O'Beolain, O'Sbellain, O'h-Anrachain, MacInneirigh, O'Congalagh and O'Tuama, in *English, O'Bolan, O'Spiltane, O'Sheehan, O'Hunraghan, MacEneiry, O'Connellly of North Munster, and O'Toomy.* From Echtigherna (*Agheerna*), son of Kenneidigh, the sept of Magrath or MacGrath, Brehons of Thomond; and that of O'Ahern or O'Hearn. NOTE—
 1. *The sept of MacEneiry, mentioned above, is not of the Dalcassian race. It belongs to the Ui Fidghenti of Eugenician origin.*
 2. *These Dalcassian O'Connellies must not be confounded with the O'Congalagh or O'Connellies of Leth Cuinn, who are of a different stock. Congalach, son of Kenneidigh, left no issue.—Ed.)* son of
 24. Lorean, K. M. (The following are the surnames of the claus descended from Lorean; to wit: from Cosgarach, son of Lorean, have sprung the Muintir Senachain, or *O'Shannaghans*; the Muintir Cnaimhin or *MacKnevens*; the Muintir Ogain or *O'Hogans*, the Muintir Allathaigh, or *O'Hallies*; the Muintir Uallachain or *O'Hoolaghans*; Muintir Maelruanaidh or *O'Mulronies*; the Muintir Glodhairn, Muintir Angedha and Muintir Mani.
- It is also from this Lorean that the race of Brian Finn in Dubh-thir (*Duffeer*) of Leinster are descended.
- NOTE.—The word "Muintir," signifies household family, people, and sometimes posterity, thus "Muintir Ogain" means the posterity of Ogain, and here means the same thing as *Ui h-Ogain.*) son of
25. Lactna, son of
 26. Corc, son of
 27. Anluan, son of
 28. Mathgamain, or *Mahon*, son of
 29. Tordelbach. (This Tordelbach had a son named Algenan, from whom sprang the sept of O'Meadhra, in *English O'Mara.*) son of
 30. Cathal. (This Cathal had a brother named Congal, from whom descended O'Neill—that is, the *Munster sept of that denomination, but not the great O'Neill of Ulster*—and O'n-Eoghan: They are both sprung from Niall, the ancestor of the race of MacInnrachtaigh, in *English MacEnright.*) son of
 31. Aedh Caemh, K. M. (It was this Aedh Caemh, that seized upon Cashel in spite of the race of Eogan Mor. *He reigned from A. D. 571 to A. D. 601.*) son of
 32. Conall, son of

33. Eocaidh Bal-derg. [This Eocaidh Bal-derg had a brother named Fergal, from whom sprung the Muintir Ikedha, *i. e.*, the clan of O'Hickey—the physician sept of the Dal g-Cais. He had another brother named Aengus, from whom are descended the clans of the following surnames, namely, the Muintir Loingsigh Tuath-Mumhan, in English O'Lynch, of Thomond; the Muintir Uithnidhe or Uaithnin, sometimes translated by Green, and sometimes by Honeen and Hannon; the Muintir Brenain, in English O'Brenan; the Muintir Sechtain, pronounced Shaghtnau-in in Irish, but translated into English by Sexton; the Muintir Riada, in English O'Ready; the Muintir Cormacain, or Cormaic, in English O'Cormacan and MacCormick; the Muintir Brechra; the Muintir Samradh. The modern names of the two clans last named are unknown to the Editor.] son of
34. Carthann Finn, son of
35. Blod. (This Blod had a brother named Caisin (Casheen) from whom sprung the Sil Aedha (Sheel Aych), that is, the clan of MacConmara, in English Maenamara, and from this clan branched the sept of MacFlannchadha, in English MacClanchy and Clancey, who were the Brehon sept of Thomond. This Blod had also a son called Brenann Ban, from whom descended the Muintir Urthali, in English O'Hurley; the Muintir Maeldonna, in English O'Mulowny; the Muintir Grada, in English O'Grady; and the Muintir Caisin, in English O'Cashin.) son of
36. Cas, from whom the Dal g-Cais (Daulgash) are named. [This Cas (Cass) had twelve sons, namely, Blod, Caisin, Lugaidh, Sedna, Aengus Kenn-Athrach, Cormac, Carthann, Kenneich, Aengus Kenn-atinn, Aedh, Losgen and Delbaeth. From Blod sprung the stock of this branch; from Aengus Kenn-Athrach sprung O'Dea of Kinel Fermaie, the Kinel m-Baci and the Kinel g-Cuallachta; from
- Aengus Kenn-atinn sprung the Muintir Ifernain and the Muintir Neehtain, in English O'Naughtan, but commonly called Nortoi, and the Muintir Artagain, in English O'Hartagan; from Aedh, son of Cas, sprung the Muintir Aedha, in English O'Hay or O'Hea and Hayes, that is, the Thomond sept so called, for there are several families of the name who belong to distinct tribes; from Delbaeth sprung MacCochlain, in English MacCoughlan, and the other septs of the tribe of the Delbna—a tribe which had its name from this Delbaeth; from Lugaidh son of Cas sprung the Muintir Dobhar-elon, in English O'Davoran; the Muintir Kearnaigh, in English O'Kearney; the Muintir Conraci, in English MacConroy, but sometimes barbarized to King; the Muintir Aengusa, in English O'Henessy; the Muintir Dubbthigh, in English O'Duhig. Of the Dal g-Cais, or tribe descended from this Cas, are also sprung MacDemi, MacAsiodha, Mac an Fhairchini, in English MacAnerny; O'h-Ainili, in English O'Hanly, and O'Heafy of the county of Limerick.—Of the Dalassian septs, those of Mac Bruaidin or MacBruodin, and Mac Curtain held high rank as hereditary bards and historians of the tribe. From Cas were also descended the clans of O'Slattery, O'Nunan, O'Liddy and O'Casey,—that is, O'Cashasagh of the Coillti Mabinnecha, in the south of the county of Limerick, for there was another O'Cashasagh or O'Casey, who was of the line of Kian, son of Olld Olum, and whose territory lay in the Kiannachta Breagha in East Meath.] son of
37. Conall Ech-luath, K. M. ("Ech-luath," pronounced Agh-loath, signifies of the Fleet Steeds. He was King of Munster, A.D. 366.) son of
38. Lugaidh Menn, K. M. (It was this Lugaidh Menn that carried off hostages from all parts of Ireland, so that they were forced to promise to pay him tribute.) son of

- 39. Aengus Tírech, K. M., son of
- 40. Fer-Corb, son of
- 41. Mogh-Corb, K. M., son of
- 42. CORMAC CAS, K. M., son of
- 43. Oilid Olm, K. M.—See No. 39, pedigree of MacCarthy More.

NOTE. — Donncadh and Conobar, marked Nos. 5 and 6 in this pedigree of O'Brien, were the cotemporaries of Donnall, 1st Earl of Clancare, with whom the pedigree of MacCarthy More commences. The present one has then been begun four or five generations later than that of MacCarthy, so that the number 43 of the Dalcaasian line, corresponds closely with the number 39 of the Eugenician.—The numbers prefixed to the several names are given merely to facilitate reference, and by no means intended to establish any parallelism in time, which could not be done after that manner, for several pedigrees commence many generations later than others.

II.

THE GENEALOGY OF O'BRIEN OF CASTLE-CONNELL, HERE.

Mathgamain, or Mahon, of Maenmagh, son of Murkertach, son of Tordelbach, son of Tadhg (*Toiguc*) Caeluisgi, son of Conobar na Siudani, two sons had he, namely, Brian of the Battle of Nenagh, from whom descends the O'Brien of Thomond; and Conobar, or Connor, from whom has sprung the O'Brien of Carraig-O-Coinnell, called *Castleconnell in English*. The year of our Lord when the said Conobar came to settle at Carraig-O-Coinnell was 1449.

Two sons had this Conobar, namely, Diarmaid and Brian Dubh. Diarmaid died without issue.

Brian Dubh had one son, namely, Donncadh MacBriain Duibh.

This Donncadh had eleven sons, but they all died without issue, with the exception of Mahon or Mathgamain MacDonncadha.

The children of Mahon were Donncadh and Murkertach.

Murkertach had but one son, namely, Tadhg; but Donncadh had a numerous offspring, namely, Brian Dubh, Donnall, * * * * * Mathgamain, Tordelbach, Kennedigh called the Gilka

Dubh, i. e. *the Black Chiel*, Conobar Cuanach, Murkertach, Diarmaid and Donncadh. Such was the progeny of Mathgamain of Maenmagh, son of Murkertach, son of Tordelbach, son of Tadhg Caeluisgi, for so far.

Conobar, son of Mathgamain Maenmagh, from whom have sprung the O'Briens of Carraig-O-Coinnell and Pobal Briain, (*now called Castleconnell and Pobblebrien in the county of Limerick*), was for eight years The O'Brien of Thomond. Pobal Briain was portioned among the eleven sons of Brian after the following manner: * * * But, to return to those eleven sons of Donncadh, son of Brian, to whom we have brought down this line, they all died without leaving any posterity but females, with the exception of his fourth son, namely, Mathgamain, son of Donncadh, son of Brian Dubh. These are the children of the said Mathgamain, namely, Donnall, Conobar Mael, Brian Dubh, Tadhg, Diarmaid and Mathgamain.

These are the children of Donnall, son of Donncadh, namely, Donncadh and Murkertach. Conobar Mael, son of Donncadh, had one son, namely, Tordelbach. Brian Dubh, son of Donncadh, had one son, namely, Donncadh. Tadhg, son of Donncadh, son of Mathgamain, had a numerous offspring, namely, Conobar Mael, who went to Spain; Donnall, Diarmaid, Tordelbach and Mureadh.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE ABOVE-NAMED DONNCADH, SON OF BRIAN DUBH OF CARRAIG-O-COINNELL, HERE.

1. Donncadh, Brian, Mureadh, and Donnall, sons of
2. Donnall, son of
3. Donncadh, son of
4. Donnall, son of
5. Donncadh, son of
6. Brian Dubh, son of
7. Donncadh, son of
8. Mathgamain, son of
10. Donncadh, son of
11. Brian Dubh, son of
12. CONOBAR, who was The O'Brien of Thomond for eight years, from A. D. 1406 to A. D. 1414, when he resigned the chieftaincy to his nephew, Tadhg, son of Brian, and

- who settled at Carraig-O'Connell in A. D. 1449,² son of
13. MATHGAMAIN of Maen-magh, &c.—
See No. 11, Pedigree of O'Brien of Thomond.

NOTE 1.—Here follows a list enumerating of the several portions of those eleven sons, with their several sub-denominations, which the editor omits, both on account of the prolixity of the list itself, and because he has by him at present no means of discovering their present names and pointing their several situations.—ED.

NOTE 2.—Dr. O'Brien in his *Law of Tanistry*, published in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, thinks that it was Brian, the son of Concochar, that settled in Castleconnell in this year.—ED.

ADDENDA.

The following Dalcaasian pedigrees are taken from those arranged by Dr. O'Donovan, and published with the *Battle of Magh Rath*.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF MACNAMARA, CHIEF
UI CAISIN, OR CLANN COILEIN.

1. Cumedha, hanged in A. D. 1587, son of
2. John. [From Donnadh, brother of this John, descended John Macnamara Finn, alive in A. D. 1714. He was son of Francis, son of John, son of John, son of Tadg, son of the said Donnadh.] son of
3. Tadg, who died in A. D. 1571, son of
4. Cumedha, son of
5. Cumara, son of
6. Seaghan, or John, son of
7. Mac-con, son of
8. Sida Cam, son of
9. Mac-con, son of
10. Cumedha, son of
11. Mac-con, son of
12. Lochlainn, son of
13. Cumedha Mor, son of
14. Niall, son of
15. Cumara, son of
16. Donnall Mac Conmara. [The first that bore the family name, which has been rendered into English by Maenamara.] son of
17. CUMARA, from whom has been

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'DEA OF KINEL
FERMAIC.

- derived the surname Mac Conmara or Maenamara, son of
18. Donnall, son of
 19. Memma, who fought at Clontarf, A. D. 1014, son of
 20. Aedh, son of
 21. Enda, son of
 22. Essida, son of
 23. Sida a Eich Buidhe, i. e. of the Yellow Steed, son of
 24. Maelchuthi, son of
 25. Coilean, from whom the tribe-name, Clann Coilein, is derived, son of
 26. Artgal, son of
 27. Dongal, son of
 28. Eogan, son of
 29. Aeluan, son of
 30. Fergal, son of
 31. Carthem, son of
 32. CAISIN, from whom is derived the tribe-name, Ui Caisin. (*Ui Casheen*.) son of
 33. Cas, from whom the Dal g-Cais are called.—*See No. 36, Pedigree of O'Brien of Thomond.*
1. John, son of
 2. Lochlainn, son of
 3. Concochar, who slew De Clare in A. D. 1318, son of
 4. Donnall, son of
 5. Donnadh, son of
 6. Ruaidri, son of
 7. Gilka-Padraig, son of
 8. Flathbertach, son of
 9. Lochlainn, son of
 10. Flathbertach, son of
 11. Muredach, son of
 12. Gilka-Goiri, son of
 13. Aicher O'Deghadh, the first that bore the family name, which is rendered into English by O'Dea and Dee, son of
 14. Donnadh, son of
 15. DEGAIDH, from whom the surname is derived, son of
 16. Donnall, son of
 17. Donn, son of
 18. Dubsalach, son of
 19. Flannadh, son of
 20. Flann Scribail, son of
 21. Ferkingelt, son of

22. Ferman, from whom is derived the tribe-name, Kinel Fermaic, son of
23. Cu-allta, son of
24. Slebin, son of
25. Dina, son of
26. Senach, son of
27. Rethi, son of
28. AENGUS KENN-ATHRACH, son of
29. Cas, &c.—See No. 36, *Pedigree of O'Brien of Thomond.*

III.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'QUIN OF CLANN IFFERNAIN.

1. Concobar, son of
2. Donnall, son of
3. Donnall, son of
4. Thomas, son of
5. Donnall, son of
6. Donnecadh, son of
7. Gilla-Senain, son of
8. Donnecadh, son of
9. Murcadh, son of
10. Corc, the tutor of Murkertach, prince of Thomond, A. D. 1142, son of
11. Feidlecar O'Cuinn, first of the name, son of
12. Niall, slain at Clontarf, A. D. 1014, son of
13. COXN, from whom is derived the surname, O'Cuinn, in English, O'Quinn, son of
14. Donnecadh, son of
15. Sida, son of
16. Conligan, son of
17. Faelcadh, son of
18. Ifernan, from whom the tribe-name of Clann Ifernain, son of
19. Core, son of
20. Abartach, son of
21. Uilin or Cuilin, son of
22. Gemdelach, son of
23. Colman, son of
24. Conall, son of
25. AENGUS KENN-ATINN, son of
26. Cas, &c.—See No. 36, *Pedigree of O'Brien of Thomond.*

IV.

PEDIGREE OF MAC MAHON, CHIEF OF CORCA BASKIN, IN THOMOND.

1. Tadhg, son of
2. Murcadh, son of
3. Tordelbach, son of
4. Tadhg Og, son of

5. Tadhg Mor, son of
6. Donnecadh na Glaki, son of
7. Ruaidri Buidhe, son of
8. Diarmaid, son of
9. Donnecadh Carrach, son of
10. Murcadh na n-Ingnadh, i. e. of *the Wonders*. [This Murcadh was carried off from Corca Baskin and never afterwards heard of. He left after him but one son, namely, Donnecadh Carrach, ancestor of the Mac Mahons.] son of
11. Murcadh Mac Mathghabhna, pronounced Mac Mahona by the Irish, but called Mac Mahon in the tongue of the stranger, son of
12. MATHGAMAIN O'BRIAIN, in English, Mahon O'Brien, son of
13. Murkertach Mor O'Briain, King of Munster and Monarch of Ireland, A. D. 1094–1119, from whose younger brother Diarmaid sprang the O'Briens, Kings of Thomond, son of
14. Tordelbach O'Briain, monarch of Ireland, A. D. 1072–1086.—See No. 20, *Pedigree of O'Brien of Thomond.*

NOTE.—The names in the foregoing pedigree of the sept of Mac Mahon, are, with the exception of No. 13, given on the authority of Dermot O'Connor's translation of Keating. No. 13 has been inserted on the authority of the verses heretofore quoted in the pedigree of O'Brien, and of the untested traditions of the Dalcassian tribe.—See *Dr. O'Brien's Laws of Tanistry, Vol. I of Vallancey's Collectanea, and O'Halloran's History of Ireland.*

V.

PEDIGREE OF MACNAMARA, OF ROS ROE. From Dermot O'Connor's translation of Keating.

1. Donnall, Donnecadh, and Tadhg, whom that translator calls Daniel, Donough, and Teigue, sons of
2. Sida (*Sheeda*) son of
3. Finghin (*Finneen*), called Florenee, son of
4. Finghin, son of
5. Lochlainn, son of
6. Finghin, son of
7. Sida Cam, &c.—See No. 8, *Pedigree of Macnamara, already given.*

CHAPTER III.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF KIAN, THIRD SON OF OLILD OLUM, DOWN HERE.

Two sons, indeed, had Tadhg, son of Kian (*Tigue, son of Kecan*), namely, Connla and Cormac Galeng. Connla, again, had two sons, namely, Imcadh, from whom has sprung O'Carroll of Eli O'Carroll, and Finnacta, from whom descends O'Meagher. From Cormac Galeng, brother of Connla, came O'Hara and O'Gara.

NOTE.—The sept O'Carroll, (in Gaelic, O'Ceirbhail, pronounced *O'Carrool* and *O'Carwill*.) lords of Eli, has been confided with that of O'Carroll, lord of Oirghialla, which, though of the same name, was of a totally different stock. The latter sept sank into obscurity soon after the English invasion, and gave way as chiefs of the Oirghialla, to the kindred clans of Maguire and Mac Mahon. The O'Carrolls of Eli maintained their position as chieftains down to a much more recent period, as did also the clan of O'Meachair (called in English O'Meagher and Maher), lords of the Ui Cairin, whose tribe lands are now known as Ikerrin, in North Tipperary. The other clans of the Kiannachta, or descendants of Kian, are those of O'Kellaigh and O'Catasaigh, lords of the Kiannachta of Breagh, in East Meath, or, as they are called by those that speak the foreign idiom, the O'Kellies and O'Casies. These clans must be distinguished from the O'Kellies of Ui Mani, and the Dalcassian O'Casies of Coillti Mabinecha, in the barony of Coshlea and county of Limerick. Of the race of Kian are also the O'Connors of Keenaught in Ulster.—ED.

I.

PEDIGREE OF O'CARROLL OF ELI, HERE.

1. Scaghan, son of
2. Maelruanaidh. (This Maelruanaidh had a brother named Tadhg, son of Tadhg, who dwelt at Baile-an-Chocain.) son of
3. Tadhg. (The brothers of this Tadhg were Sir Maelruanaidh, who was The O'Carroll of Uaithni, and Donnecadh.) son of
4. Uilliam Odhar. (This Uilliam Odhar had a brother named Tadhg Caech, who was The O'Carroll (1532-1554) and also a lord baron, entitled the Baron of Baile-an-bhrodta, and he was the senior of Uilliam Odhar, who succeeded him as The O'Carroll, until he was slain in A. D. 1581.) son of
5. Fer-gan-Ainm. The brother of this Fer-gan-Ainm was Maelruanaidh Og, who was the eldest son of
6. Maelruanaidh, son of
7. Scaghan, or John. (This John was married to the daughter of O'Kennedy Finn, so that his son Maelruanaidh had the same mother with Grani, or Grace, who was the wife of Mae Uilliam Uachtar, namely, with Ulic of the Heads, whose son was afterwards created the first Earl of Clanrickard, which Earl was called Rickard Sags-anach.) son of
8. Maelruanaidh. (This Maelruanaidh had a brother named Donnecadh, from whom descend the family of Magh Dremni and Buaille-Bree.) son of
9. Scaghan. (This Scaghan had for brothers, Uilliam, from whom sprang the family of Cninni-an-Cliabhain; Tadhg, from whom are descended the families of Calog, Cluain O'g-Cionach and Uaithni Mor an Belaigh; Maelruanaidh Og na Tualach; and Ruaidri Carrach, from whom has sprung the family of Cnain Echail.) son of
10. Maelruanaidh na Fesoigi. (This Maelruanaidh had a brother named Donnecadh, from whom sprang the O'Carrolls of Birra, or Birr.) son of
11. Tadhg of Gaibhli Maighi Gloisi, (This Tadhg had for brothers Ruaidri Cacl, from whom descended the family of Pobal-an-Acaigh,

who are called Sliocht Ruaidri Chaeil, *i. e.* the posterity of Ruaidri the Slender, and Donnadh, from whom descended the family of Kill Cuimrith.) son of

12. Tadh of Callain. (Brother to the Tadh of Callain was Scaghan or John, from whom sprang the Clan Mac Scaghain O'Carroll, who have been recently known as the family of Baile Nuadh (*Ballynoe*); and this John was The O'Carroll until he was slain by the sons of Mathgamain, or Mahon O'Beain, at Lis-buáil-cael. This happened in A. D. 1337.) son of
13. Ruaidri, son of
14. Maelruanaidh. (Brother of this Maelruanaidh was Domnall, from whom sprang the Sliocht Domnall Baile-Edain, *i. e.* the posterity of Domnall of Baile-Edain; and it was he that immediately before the conquest was The O'Carroll both of Eli and of Oirghialla, and it was he that held Callan and most of the country around it, according to what some of the old Anglo-Norman clans set down in their own chronicles; and Giraldus Cambrensis names this Domnall as one of the seven most honored and renowned chieftains that were in Ireland upon the arrival of Henry the Second therein. These are the names of the said seven, to wit, Diarmaid Mac Carthy, prince of Cork; Domnall O'Brian, prince of Limerick; Maelsechlainn O'Faelain, prince of the Decies, or Desi, and of Waterford; O'Neill in Ulster; Domnall O'Carroll of Eli and Oirghialla, and Ruaidri Mor O'Connor, who was monarch over them all.

NOTE.—Our author has been entirely led away by Cambrensis in this statement, in as far as it has caused him to confound the chiefs of the totally distinct tribes, the Eli and the Oirghialla, whose territories lay widely apart, and which no one chief could then rule, unless he had made himself master of the powerful intervening tribes, which no chieftains of either

O'Carrolls ever did. Murcadh O'Carroll was lord of Oirghialla immediately previous to the arrival of Henry II.; for we find him leading his tribe in the army of King Ruadri O'Connor at the siege of Dublin. The slaying of Ruadri O'Carroll is recorded in our annals, where he is styled Lord of Eli, as having happened in A. D. 1174, three years after the departure of Henry. So that Domnall O'Carroll had but little time to extend his sway over the clans of Colla in Oirghialla and the clans Kian in Eli during the intervening period. It being now notorious that the territories as well as the origin of north-eastern and the central O'Carrolls lay widely apart, it were idle to pursue this subject further.—Ed.] son of

15. Tadh, son of
16. Finn. [This Finn had a brother named Donnadh, from whom came the Sliocht Piora Daighri and the Sliocht Breuchner, who are called Mic Murcatha, *i. e.* the sons of Murcadh.

NOTE.—These races are unknown to the editor. The latter are probably some subsept of the O'Carrolls, who were known amongst their own tribe as the Mac Murroughs or Murphies.] son of

17. Guill-bhelach, otherwise Goll an Bhelaigh, slain in A. D. 1205, son of
18. Donnadh. [O'Connor, the translator of Keating, has appropriated to this chief the deeds of another Donnadh O'Carroll, or as he has been heretofore called by the present editor, O'Kerbail, the illustrious founder of Mellifont and chief Oirghialla, who ruled his tribe from A. D. 1133 to A. D. 1168, during which time the death of a son of Finn, lord of Eli, is entered, as before stated, under the year 1163.—Ed.] son of
19. Maelruanaidh, son of
20. Finn, son of
21. Domnall. [Brother to this Domnall was Righ-bardan, of whose posterity are the race settled at Cuil na bh-Fearnog, Craeibhe, Cuil na g-Crebhar, Ros Cuana,

Baile-na-cloiche and Sen Rath, and of that race there now survives but a few, besides those who have sprung from Tadg, son of Donnadh Bann.

NOTE.—The MS. from which this is taken ends here; what follows is from Dermot O'Connor's "English Keating."—Ed.] son of

22. Righbardan, slain in A. D. 1058.
23. Cucoirni O'Carroll, or O'Kerball, son of
24. Maenach, son of
25. KERBALL. [This name is mostly written C'erbhall or Cearbhall, the letter C being sounded hard. From this Kerball, who fought at Clontarf in A. D. 1014, the surname O'Cearbhall, in English O'Carroll, is derived.] son of
26. Aedh, son of
27. Dublaer, son of
28. Chaimhin, son of
29. Maenach, son of
30. Seelmasach, son of
31. Angidh, son of
32. Ultan, son of
33. Maelruanaidh, son of
34. Altin, son of
35. Lonann, son of
36. Indach, son of
37. Fiach, son of
38. Tal, son of
39. Meachar, son of
40. Amruidh, son of
41. Druidh, son of
42. Eli Righ-derg, from whom the tribe-name Eli is derived, son of
44. Ere, son of
45. Sabarnach, son of
46. Imgon, from whose brother Tadhg sprang the sept of O'Meagher, son of
48. Conmla, son of
49. Tadhg. [This Tadhg had another son named Cormac Galeng, from whom sprang the O'Haras and O'Garas, and also one of the septs named O'Flannagan, O'Dulchonta, in *English Delahanty*, the O'Corcorans of this tribe, and the O'Casies of Breagh.] son of
50. KIAN, the founder of all the tribes of the Kianachta, son of
51. Olild Olum, K. M.—See No. 39. *Pedigree of Mac Carthy More.*

ADDENDA.

I.

PEDIGREE OF SIR DANIEL O'CARROLL, in the order given by Dermot O'Connor, in his "Keating."

1. Daniel and John, sons of
2. Sir Daniel, knight of St. Jago, in Spain, son of
3. John, son of
4. Daniel, son of
5. Donough, son of
6. Kian, son of
7. Tadhg, son of
8. Donough, son of
9. Maelruanaidh, &c.—See No. 8, *Pedigree of O'Carroll of Eli.*

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'GARA, taken from the Epistle Dedicatory, where in Brother MICHAEL O'CLERY inscribes the Annals of the Four Masters to FERGAL O'GARA, chief of that sept, A. D. 1634.

Having referred to the munificence of O'Gara, who had enabled him and his collaborators to collect materials for their great work, and to bring it to a close, that last of Ireland's Chief-Historians says:—"For every good that will result from this book, in giving light to all in general, it is to you that thanks should be given, and there should exist no wonder or surprise, jealousy or envy at any good that you do, for you are of the race of Eber, son of Miledh, from whom descended thirty of the kings of Ireland, and sixty-one saints; and to Tadhg, son of Kian, son of Olild Olum, from whom eighteen of these saints are sprung, you can be traced generation by generation. The descendants of Tadhg branched out and inhabited various parts throughout Ireland, namely, the race of Cormac Galeng in Luighni Connacht, from whom ye, the Muintir Gadhra (*Gara*), the two Ui h-Eadhra in Connaught, and O'h-Eadhra (*O'Hora*) of the Ruta, O'Carroll of Eli, O'Meachair in Ui Cairin, and the Kianachta of Glen-Geimhin. As a proof of your coming from this noble blood we have mentioned, here is your pedigree, O Fergal O'Gadhra, thou son of

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>2. Tadh, son of
 3. Olild, son of
 4. Diarmaid, son of
 5. Eogan, son of
 6. Diarmaid, son of
 7. Eogan, son of
 8. Tomaltach Og, son of
 9. Tomaltach, son of
 10. Diarmaid, son of
 11. Raighni, son of
 12. Congalach, son of
 13. Donnleibi, son of
 14. Ruaidri, son of
 15. Donnleibi, son of
 16. Concobar, son of
 17. Ruarc, son of
 18. GADHRA, from whom the Muinte
 Gadhra (the O'Garas) are sur-
 named, son of
 19. Glethnechan, son of
 20. Saergus, son of
 21. Bec, son of
 22. Flaithius, son of
 23. Taichleach, son of
 24. Kennfaeladh, son of
 25. Diarmaid, son of</p> | <p>26. Finnarr, son of
 27. Brenann, son of
 28. Nadfraech, son of
 29. Fiden, son of
 30. Fidchuir, son of
 31. Art Corb, son of
 32. Niadh Corb, son of
 33. Lui, from whom the Luighni are
 named, son of
 34. Tadh, &c.—See No. 49, <i>Pedigree
 of O'Carroll of Eli.</i></p> |
|--|---|

NOTE.—Some generations between Lui and Cormac Galeng, son of Tadh, have been omitted or skipped over in this pedigree. It would appear also that some extra names have been introduced by Dermot O'Connor, or some one else, into the pedigree of O'Carroll, in order to make out Donnadh, King Oirghialla, one of the ancestors of the chiefs of Eli. O'Halloran classes the sept of MacKeogh, O'Riardon, and O'Corcoran, as of the race of Kian.—ED.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF IR, SON OF MILEDH OF ESBAIN, DOWN HERE.

THOSE of the descendants of Ir that left offspring after them were chiefly two, namely, Conall Kearnach and Fergus Mac Roigh.

From Conall Kearnach came Mac Aengusa, *anglicised Magennis*, and O'Morda, *Anglicised O'More and O'Moore*, with their correlatives.

From Fergus sprang the O'Concobaigh Kiarraidhe, *anglicised O'Connor Kerry*, the O'Concobaigh Corcamruadh, *anglicised O'Connor Corcomroe*, and O'Fergail, *anglicised O'Ferrall and O'Fearrall*, with their correlatives.

I.

PEDIGREE OF MAGENNIS, OF UI EATHACH ULADH, HERE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Art Ruadh, son of
 2. Aedh, son of
 3. Domnall Og, son of
 4. Domnall Mor, son of
 5. Aedh, son of
 6. Art, son of
 7. Aedh. [<i>The MS. copies begin the series with Donnadh, brother of this Aedh. The above seven names are found in Dermot O'Connor's translation.—ED.</i>] son of
 8. Art na Madhmann, son of
 9. Murkertach, son of
 10. Riagan, son of</p> | <p>11. Ehmiledh, son of
 12. Ruaidri, son of
 13. Gilla-Coluim, son of
 14. Dubiuini, son of
 15. Aedh Remhar, son of
 16. Flathbertach, son of
 17. Ehmiledh, son of
 18. Aengus Og Magennis, in Irish, MacAengusa, <i>The first of this surname</i>, son of
 19. AENGUS MOR, from whom is the name Magennis derived, son of
 20. Ehmiledh, son of
 21. Aedh, son of
 22. Aengus, son of
 23. Adita, son of
 24. Laignenn, son of</p> |
|---|--|

25. Blathmac, son of
 26. Donnall, son of
 27. Concobar, son of
 28. Bresal B el-derg, son of
 29. Fergus, son of
 30. Aedan, son of
 31. Mongan, son of
 32. Saran. (Of the posterity of this is Mac Cartan.)
- NOTE.—According to Dr. O'Donovan, the Mac Cartans, of Kinel Faghartaigh, now Kinelarty, are descended from Caelbadh, brother of Eocaidh Coba, mentioned further on. The series is evidently defective in this place, for either this is not the Saran, King of Uladh, and ancestor of Magennis, who was cotemporary with St. Patrick, or some of the links connecting him with Cronn Badraei have been left out by Keating or his transcribers. The name Mongan occurs in the pedigree of Congal Claen, King of Uladh, as that of one of the brothers of his father, Sganlan of the Broad Shield. The series runs thus : 1, Congal, slain at Magh Rath, A. D. 637 ; 2, Sganlan, brother of Mongan—the latter was slain 626 ; 3, Fiachna Lurgan, or Fiachna Finn ; 4, Baedan ; 5, Eocaidh, who died in 553 ; 6, Connla ; 7, Mani ; 8, Fothadh ; 9, Connla, cotemporary with St. Patrick ; 10, Caelbadh ; 11, Cronn Badraei. The editor's MSS. make Saran son of Caelbadh ; O'Comor's translation gives the names marked 33, 34, 35.] sons of
33. Mani, son of
 34. Fothadh, son of
 35. Conall, son of
 36. Caelbadh, king of Ulidia for fifteen years, and monarch of Ireland for one, slain A. D. 358, son of
 37. Cronn Badraei, king of all Uladh, son of
 38. Eocaidh Cobha, from whom is derived the tribe-name, U i Eathach Coba, son of
 39. Lugaidh, son of
 40. Ross, K. U., son of
 41. Imcadh, K. U., son of
 42. Feidlimidh, K. U., son of
 43. Cas, son of
 44. Fiacaidh Araide, K. U., from whom the Dal Araide, or Dalardiens, have their name, son of
 45. Aengus Gaibnen, K. U., son of
 46. Fergus Foghla, or Galini, son of
 47. Tibradi Tirech, K. U., A. D. 181, son of
 48. Bresal Bree, son of
 49. Ferb, son of
 50. Mal, K. U. for thirty-five years, and monarch of Ireland for four, son of
 51. Roehraide, son of
 52. Cathbadh, son of
 53. Gialleadh, son of
 54. Duncaadh, son of
 55. Finneadh, son of
 56. Muredach, son of
 57. Fiacaidh Finnannais, son of
 58. Irial Glunmar, K. U. [The brother of this Irial was Laeighsech Kennmor, from whom the O'Moores of Leix have sprung.] son of
 59. Conall Ke arnach, Knight of the Red Branch, son of
 60. Amirghin, son of
 61. Cas, son of
 62. Fiacaidh or Factna, son of
 63. Capi, son of
 64. Ginga. [Rosa Ruadh, the father of Fergus Mac Roigh, was the brother of this Ginga.] son of
 65. Rudraide Mor, Monarch of Ireland, from whom the Clanna Rudraide have their name, son of
 66. Sithrigh, son of
 67. Dubh, son of
 68. Fombar, son of
 69. Arg odmar, Monarch of Ireland, son of
 70. Siorlamh, Monarch of Ireland, son of
 71. Finn, Monarch of Ireland, son of
 72. Bratha, son of
 73. Labraidh, son of
 74. Carbri, son of
 75. OLLAMH FODLA, Monarch of Ireland, son of
 76. Fiacaidh Finnsgothach, Monarch of Ireland, son of
 77. Sedna, monarch of Ireland, son of
 78. Artri, son of
 79. Ebric, son of
 80. Eber, son of
 81. Ir, son of
 82. Miledh of Esbain, &c.—See No. 87, *Pedigree of Mac Carthy Mor*.
- NOTE.—Of the same descent with Magennis were also the O'Laverties,

O'Garveys, Wards or Mac-an Blairds, the Mac Gilla Riabhaigh (perhaps Mac Gilroy.) and several others.

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'CONNOR KERRY, HERE.

1. Cathal Ruadh, who went to France in 1692, when the nobles of Ireland were forced to flee thither, son of
2. Concobar Cam, son of
3. Concobar, son of
4. Donnadh Mael. (Instead of Donnadh Mael, another copy and O'Connor, in his translation, trace the line from his brother, Concobar Finn, through Concobar Bacach, to Seaghan an Fhiona, or John of the Wine.) son of
5. Concobar, son of
6. Seaghan, son of
7. Concobar, son of
8. Concobar, son of
9. Concobar, son of
10. Diarmaid, son of
11. Mathgamain, or Mahon, son of
12. Diarmaid Sluagach, son of
13. Concobar, son of
14. Mathgamain, son of
15. Core, son of
16. Mac-Betha, O'Connor, or O'Concobair, who was slain at Clontarf, A. D. 1014, son of
19. Muredach, son of
20. CONCOBAR, from whom the name is derived, son of
21. Cathal, son of
22. Aedh, son of
23. Tadg, son of
24. Ruaidri, son of
25. Culuachra, son of
26. Diarmaid, son of
27. Concobar, son of
28. Finn, son of
29. Maelsechlainn, son of
30. Flann Fearná, son of
31. Colman, son of
32. Cobthach, son of
33. Recta Brath, son of
34. Maeltuili, son of
35. Aedh Logha, son of
36. Durthacht, son of
37. Senasg, son of
38. Recta or Rechtach, son of
39. Ferba, son of
40. Imeachd, son of
41. Ebric, son of
42. Mochduini, son of
43. Umlaibh, son of
44. Mesineon, son of
45. Sabhal or Saul, son of
46. Mogh-Art, son of
47. Oirbsenmar, or *Orb Seamar*, son of
48. Eocaidh, son of
49. Artri, son of
50. Eochamain, or Aghnamain, son of
51. Fiadmáin, son of
52. Delbnaei, son of
53. Enna, son of
54. Lamui, (called son of Ulsach, son of Tamhain by Dermot O'Connor.) son of
55. Astamain, son of
56. Mogh-Taeth, son of
57. Kiar, son of
58. Fergus Mac Roigh, K. U. [He was called Mac Roigh from his mother.] son of
59. ROSA RUADH, son of
60. Rudraide, monarch of Ireland. &c. — See No. 66, *Pedigree of Magennis*.

From Kiar (*Kéear*) son of Fergus Mac Roigh, the Kiarraidhe, i. e. the race of Kiar, have their name. Hence comes the modern term, Kerry. Son of Fergus, son of Rosa Ruadh was Core, from whom sprang O'Connor of Corcomroe, O'Lochlin of Burren, and the Muintir Arga and Muintir Flathbertaigh of North Munster. From Conmac, son of Core, sprung the Mac Rannells, or Reynolds, and the O'Farrells, with their correlatives. Of the race of Ir, son of Miledh, are also the Muintir Maninn, or O'Mannings, the Muintir Eocadh, or Mac Keoghs, the Muintir Kethirn, or Kearns, and the Clann Mic an Bhaird, or Mac Wards.

NOTE.—The O'Duggans and O'Cosgrans of Fera Maighe Feni, and the O'Cathails, or O'Caills, of Kerry, are of the same stock with the O'Connors Kerry. Of this race are also the O'Lalors of Lacighis, of the same race with the O'Mores. In this territory there were seven sept's of the descendants of Lacighsech Kenn-mor, of the line of Ir.—Ed.

CHAPTER V.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF ERIMHON, DOWN HERE.

INGANI MOR is the source whence sprang all that lives of the progeny of Erimhon. All the children of Ingani passed away without leaving any offspring with the exception of two, namely Laegari Lore and Cobthach Cael Breagh. The race of Erimhon settled in Leinster is descended from Laegari; and the race of Erimhon in Leth Cuinn from Cobthach Cael Breagh.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'NEILL, WITH EVERY LIMB THAT BRANCHED THEREFROM, UP TO NIALL, DOWN HERE.

1. Seaghan, or John, son of
2. Aedh, or Hugh, son of
3. Ferdorecha, son of
4. Conn Bacach, son of
5. Henry, son of
6. Eogan. (At this Eogan branches off the family of Feidlimidh Ruadh O'Neill.) son of
7. Niall Og, son of
8. Niall Mor, son of
9. Aedh, son of
10. Donnall, son of
11. Brian Catha an Duin, *i. e. Brian of the Battle of Down*, son of
12. Niall Ruadh, son of
13. Aedh, called the Macaemh Toinlesg, son of
14. Murkertach of Magh Lini, son of
15. Tadg Glinni, son of
16. Conobar na Fiodbaighe, son of
17. Donnall, *i. e. the Og-dan*, son of
18. Aedh Athlamh. (This Aedh Athlamh had a son named Donnlebi, from whom sprang the sept of Mac Suibni Fanait, in English. Mac Sweeney of Fanait, and from it sprang Mac Suibni na d-Tuadh, *i. e. Mac Sweeney of the Battle Axes*, and Mac Sweeney Banagh.) son of
19. Flathbertach an Trosdain, son of
20. Muredach Midach, son of
21. Donnall O'Neill of Ard Macha, R. II. (This Donnall had a brother named Aedh, from whom sprang the Clann Aedha Buidhe, *i. e. the O'Neill of Claneboy*. Donnall was the first of the race that was called O'Neill, *i. e. the grandson of Niall Glun-dubh*.) son of
22. Murkertach na g-Cochall g-Croikenn, *i. e. Murkertach of the Leather Cloaks*, son of
23. NIALL GLUN-DUBH, R. II, from whom the O'Neills have taken their name, son of
24. Aedh Finn-Iath, R. II., son of
25. Niall Calli, R. II., son of
26. Aedh Oirniche, R. II., son of
27. Niall Frasach, R. II. (From Conobar, the brother of this Niall Frasach, sprang O'Cathain, in English, O'Kane.) son of
28. Fergal, son of
29. Maelduin, son of
30. Maelsithrigh, son of
31. Aedh Uairidnach, R. II., son of
32. Donnall H-chelgach, R. II., son of
33. Murkertach Mor Mac Erca, R. II. (This Murkertach had a brother named Mani, from whom sprang O'Gormledha, in English, O'Gormley.) son of
34. Muredach, son of
35. Eogan. (This Eogan, or Owen, had five sons who left posterity after them, namely, Muredach, Olild, Fergus, Feidlimidh and Eocaidh Binnice. Of the offspring of Muredach is the stock of this branch, *i. e. the Mac Lochlins, O'Neills, Mac Sweeneys, O'Donnellies and their correlatives*. Of the posterity of Olild, son of Eogan, are the Muinter Kellaigh; of the posterity of Fergus, son of Eogan, is O'Connor of Magh Itha; of the posterity of Feidlimidh, son of Eogan, is O'Duibhdiorma, or O'Dooyirma, and O'Slevin; of the posterity of Eocaidh Binnice, son of Eogan, are the Kinel Binnic. From this Eogan the names Tir Eogain, or Land of Eogan, in English, Tyrone, and Kinel Eogain, or Tribe of Eogan, are derived. His posterity are also called the Northern Eugeniens by some writers in foreign tongues.) son of
36. Niall of the Nine Hostages, R. II.,

- (Niall of the Nine Hostages had eight sons, namely, Laegari, R. H., Eogan, Fiacaídh, Enna, Carbri, Mani, Conall Gulban, and Conall Cremthanni. From Laegari, monarch of Ireland, on St. Patrick's arrival therein, descends O'Coindeibain, called in English, O'Kindelan and O'Quintivan; from Eogan sprang the stock of this branch; of the posterity of Mani are the following septs, namely the Sinnach, i. e. the Fox, whose family name was originally O'Catharnaigh, O'Hagan, O'Ronan, i. e. O'Ronan of the Ui Neill race, but not O'Ronan, or O'Ronayne of Munster, Mac Coimmedha, or Mac Conway, the Muinntir Slamhain, the O'Duigenan, O'Mulconry, O'Breen, the Muinter Coiblicain, O'Siadaíl, or O'Shiel, O'Cabalan, the Muinter Muirghesa, O'Carghanna, now Mac Carron, and Mac Amhalgaidh, now Mac Awley of Calraide; from Conall Gulban sprang O'Donnell, with the septs of that tribe, as we shall set down hereafter; of the race of Conall Cremthanni sprang O'Maelsechlainn, in English, O'Melaghlin, and the branches of that stock. Of the posterity of Carbri and Enna we know nothing.) son of
37. Eocaidh Muigh-medon, R. H., son of
 38. Muredach Tirech, R. H., son of
 39. Fiacaídh Srabthíni, R. H., son of
 40. Carbri Lífear, R. H., son of
 41. Cormac Ul-fada, R. H., son of
 42. Art Aeinfer, R. H., son of
 43. Conn of the Hundred Battles, R. H., son of
 44. Feidlimídh Reetmar, R. H., son of
 45. Tnathal Tectmar, R. H., son of
 46. Fiacaídh Finnolaidh, R. H., son of
 47. Feradach Finn-fechtuach, R. H., son of
 48. Crimthann Niadh Nairi, R. H., son of
 49. Lugaidh Riabh-n-derg, R. H., son of
 50. The three Finns of Emhain, i. e. "Mac na d-Tri bh-Finn Emhna." —See remarks upon this strange expression, under the reign of the said Lugaidh and Eocaidh Feid-lech.) son of
 51. Eocaidh Feid-lech, R. H., son of
 52. Finn, son of
 53. Fínnlogha, son of
 54. Roighnen Ruadh, son of
 55. Esamhain of Emhain, son of
 56. Blathacta, son of
 57. Labraidh, son of
 58. Enna Aighnech, R. H., son of
 59. Aengus Tuirmech of Tenhair, R. H., son of
 60. Eocaidh Folt-lethan, R. H., son of
 61. Olild Cas-Fiaclach, R. H., son of
 62. Conna Cruaidh-chelgach, R. H., son of
 63. Iarann Gleo-fathach, R. H., son of
 64. Melgi Molbthach, R. H., son of
 65. Cobthach Cael-Breagh, son of
 66. Ingani Mor, R. H., son of
 67. Eocaidh Buadach, son of
 68. Duach Laghrach, R. H., son of
 69. Fiacaídh Tolgrach, R. H., son of
 70. Muredach Bolgrach, son of
 71. Simcon Brec, R. H., son of
 72. Aedgan Glas, son of
 73. Nuadha Finn Fáil, R. H., son of
 74. Gialleaidh, R. H., son of
 75. Olild Olcacin, son of
 76. Siorna Saeghalach, R. H., son of
 77. Dian, son of
 78. Rothectach, R. H., son of
 79. Maen, son of
 80. Aengus Ol-mucaídh, R. H., son of
 81. Fiacaídh Labranni, R. H., son of
 82. Smirgoll, son of
 83. Enboth, son of
 84. Tighernmas, R. H., son of
 85. Follamhan, son of
 86. Ethrial, R. H., son of
 87. Irial the Prophet, R. H., son of
 88. Ермнок, R. H., son of
 89. Miledh of Esbain, &c.—See No. 87, Pedigree of Mac Carthy More.
- II.
- THE PEDIGREE OF O'DONNELL OF KINEL CONAILL, HERE.
1. Aedh, son of
 2. Ruaidri, son of
 3. Aedh, who died in A. D. 1600, and whose son, Aedh Ruadh, fled to Spain, where he died, A. D. 1602 son of
 4. Magnus, son of

5. Aedh Dubh, son of
6. Aedh Ruadh, son of
7. Niall Garbh, son of
8. Tordelbach an Fhina, son of
9. Niall Garbh, son of
10. Aedh, son of
11. Donnall Og, son of
12. Donnall Mor, son of
13. Eignechan, son of
14. Donnadh, son of
15. Donnall, son of
16. Aedh, son of
17. Tadg, son of
18. Conn, son of
19. Cathbar, son of
20. Gilla-Criost O'Donnail, (in English, O'Donnell, the first of the race that bore the family name, and who died A. D. 1038,) son of
21. Cathbar, son of
22. DONNALL MOR, progenitor of the O'Donnells, whose name is spelled O'Domhnaill, and pronounced O'Dónill by the Irish,) son of
23. Eignechan, son of
24. Dalach, (from whom the tribe Sil Dalaigh, take their name,) son of
25. Murkertach, (This Murkertach had two brothers, namely, Maelduin, from whom has descended O'Boyle, and Fianan, *correctly Fiaman*, from whom has sprang O'Doherty,) son of
26. Kennfacladh, son of
27. Garbh, son of
28. Ronan, son of
29. Lugaidh, *ancestor of the Kinel Luighdeach, the tribe-name of this sept of the Kinel Conail.*
30. Fergus (brother of Fergus, son of Sedna, was Anmiri, R. H., father of Aedh, son of Anmiri, R. H. from whom sprung O'Muldory Mac Gilla-Finnen and O'Gallagher.) son of
31. Sedna, son of
32. Fergus Kenn-fada, son of
33. CONALL GULBAN, son of
34. Niall of the Nine Hostages, R. H. *See No. 36, Pedigree of O'Neill of Kinel Eogain.*

ADDENDA.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'GALLAGHER.

1. Aedh Og, who was living in the latter part of the 17th century, and was the senior representative of the race of Conall Gulban, son of
2. Art, son of
3. Aedh, son of
4. Eogan, son of
5. Art, son of
6. Eogan, son of
7. Edmund, son of
8. Tuathal, son of
9. Donnadh, son of
10. John, son of
11. Nichol, son of
12. Gilla-Comhdhè, son of
13. Aedh, son of
14. Fergal, son of
15. Donnadh, son of
16. Nichol, son of
17. Maelruanaidh, son of
18. Aedh, son of
19. Diarmaid, son of
20. Donnall, son of
21. Amlaibh, son of
22. Donnadh O'Gallechobhair, in English, O'Gallagher, son of
23. Magnus, son of
24. GALCOBAR, from whom the name is derived, son of
25. Rurcan, son of
26. Ruaidri, son of
27. Donnadh, son of
28. Donnall, son of
29. Kellach, R. H. from 642 to 654, son of
30. Maelcoba, R. H. son of
31. Aedh, R. H. son of
32. Anmiri, R. H. son of
33. SEDNA, R. H. son of
34. Fergus Kenn-fada. &c. *See No. 32, Pedigree of O'Donnell.*

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'DOHERTY.

1. Cathacir, otherwise called Sir Cahir O'Doherty, slain A. D. 1608, son of
2. Seaghan Og, son of
3. Seaghan, son of
4. Feidlimidh, son of
5. Concobar Carrach, son of
6. Brian Dubh, son of
7. Donnall, son of

8. Concoabar an Einigh, son of
9. Seaghan, son of
10. Donnall, son of
11. Aendiles, son of
12. Concoabar, son of
13. Donnall, son of
14. Ruadri, son of
15. Aengus,
16. Murkertach,
17. Diarmaid,
18. Concoabar,
19. Donnall Finn,
20. Donnadh Donn,
21. Donnall,
22. Maengal,
23. Donnadh O'Dochartaigh or O'Doherty, the first that bore the family name, son of
24. Maengal.
25. DOCHARTACH, from whom the name O'Doherty is derived, son of
26. Maengal, son of
27. FIAMAN, son of
28. Kennfaeladh.—*See No. 26, Pedigree of O'Donnell.*

III.

PEDIGREE OF O'BOYLE, OF BOYLAGH.

1. Tordelbach Ruadh, chief, son of
2. Tadg Og, son of
3. Tadg, son of
4. Tordelbach, son of
5. Niall, son of
6. Tordelbach Og, son of
7. Tordelbach Mor, son of
8. Niall Ruadh, son of
9. Menman, son of
10. Concoabar, son of
11. Kellach, son of
12. Gilla-Brighdi, son of
13. Aendiles O Baighill, in English, O'Boyle, son of
14. Garban, son of
15. BAIGHEL, from whom the name is derived, son of
16. BRADAGAN, son of
17. Murkertach, &c. *See No. 25, Pedigree of O'Donnell.*

NOTE.—The foregoing three pedigrees are arranged from those pub-

lished by Dr. O'Donovan with the battle of Magh Rath. The following is from Dermot O'Connor's translation of Keating.

IV.

THE PEDIGREE OF MAGEOGHEGAN.

1. Concoabar, or Connor, and Connla, sons of
2. Calbhach, son of
3. Connla, son of
4. Conall, son of
5. Niall, son of
6. Rosa, son of
7. Connla, son of
8. Concoabar, son of
9. Laignnech, son of
10. Connla, son of
11. Aedh Buidhe, son of
12. Diarmaid, son of
13. Donnadh, son of
14. Murkertach, son of
15. Congalach, son of
16. Congalach, son of
17. Murkertach, son of
18. Murkertach, son of
19. Cucalma, son of
20. Anluan, son of
21. Congalach, son of
22. Donnadh, son of
23. Murcadh, son of
24. Amalgach, son of
25. Flann, son of
26. Eocaidh, son of
27. Eocaidh, son of
28. Crimthann, son of
29. Gilla-Callain, son of
30. Amalgach, son of
31. Ruaidri, son of
32. Ineirgi Mac Eochagain, or Mageoghegan, son of
33. Eochaghan, from whom the family name is derived, son of
34. Cosgarach, son of
35. Amalgach, son of
36. Tuathal, son of
37. FIACAIDH, son of
38. Niall of the Nine Hostages, R. II. &c. *See No. 36, Pedigree of O'Neill.*

CHAPTER V.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF BRIAN, SON OF EOCAIDH MUIGH-MEDON, DOWN HERE.

* EOCAIDH MUIGH-MEDON had five sons, namely, Brian, Fiacaídh or Fiachra, Olild and Fergus, who were the four sons of Mongfinn, daughter of Fidach; and the fifth son was Niall of the Nine Hostages, whose mother was daughter of the king of Britain. And although Niall was the youngest of the five, we have nevertheless given him the precedence in this genealogy, because his worth and glory were the greatest, and because it was his offspring that gave the greatest number of kings to Ireland. There are two of the sons of Eocaidh, of whose posterity we can find no trace; we shall then give down here the pedigrees of those two who left a progeny after them, namely, Brian and Fiacaídh or Fiachra.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'CONNOR ROE, INTO WHICH WE SHALL BRING THE WHOLE RACE OF BRIAN, SON OF EOCAIDH MUIGH-MEDON, HERE.

1. Cathal Og, son of
 2. Aedh, son of
 3. Tordelbach, son of
 4. Tadhg Buidhe, son of
 5. Cathal Ruadh, son of
 6. Tadhg, son of
 7. Tordelbach, son of
 8. Aedh, son of
 9. Feidlimídh. [Brother of this Feidlimídh was Tordelbach Donn, from whom sprung O'Connor Don.] son of
 10. Aedh, King of Connaught, A. D. 1309.
 11. Eogan. K. C., in 1274, son of
 12. Ruaidrí, son of
 13. Aedh, K. C., in 1228.
 14. Cathal Crobh-derg, i. e. the Red-handed, K. C., who died in 1224, son of
 15. Tordelbach Mor, R. II. [This Tordelbach had five sons, who have left a posterity; namely, Cathal the Red-handed, *his youngest son*, from whom sprang O'Connor Roe and O'Connor Don; Brian Laighnech, from whom sprang O'Connor Sligo; Aedh Dall, from whom sprang O'Gelbuidhe (*O'Gilvoy*); Magnus, from whom sprang M'Manus of Tir-Tuathail (*Tirooil*); and Concobar na Midhe, ancestor of clan Con-Afni; and Ruaidrí, *the last Monarch of Ireland, and the eldest*
- of the sons of Tordelbach Mor, whose race is extinct.]* son of
16. Ruaidrí na Soighe Buidhe, i. e. of the Yellow Hound, K. C., son of
 17. Aedh an Gai Bearnaiagh, i. e. of the Broken Spear, son of
 18. Tadhg an Eich Ghil, i. e. of the White Steed, K. C. [Tadhg, of the White Steed, had a son named Maelruanaídh, from whom sprung MacDermott of Moylurg, and from MacDermott sprung MacDonough of Tirerril; and MacDermott Roe, from whom sprung the two O'Crowleys in Munster.] son of
 18. Cathal, son of
 19. Concobair. [Brother of this Concobair was Tadhg, from whom the Clann Taidg are descended.] son of
 20. Tadhg O'Concobair, the first of the name, K. C. [*It is he that is called Tadhg of the Tower.*] son of
 21. Cathal, son of
 22. CONCOBAR, K. C., A. D. 879, *from whom the family name is derived,*
 23. Tadhg, son of
 24. Muirgheas, K. C. [Brother to this Muirgheas was Diarmaid, from whom sprung MacOirechtagh, *an English MacGeroghty.*] son of
 25. Tomaltach. [Brother to this Tomaltach was Diarmaid, from whom sprung MacConcannon and O'Fallon] son of
 26. Inrachtach, K. C. [Of the posterity of this Inrachtach, is O'Beirne of Connaught] son of
 27. Muredach Macil-Iethan. [Of the

- posterity of Cathal, son of this Muredach, are the sept's of O'Flannagan of *Connaught*; O'Mulrenin; and O'Maelmocheirghe, in *English O'Mulmoghery and Early*; of the race of Fergus, son of Muredach Mael-lethan, is MacSamhragain, i. e. Magauran—*sometimes translated into Somers.*] son of
28. Fergus, son of
 29. Raghallach, K. C.
 30. Feradach, K. C.
 31. Aedh, K. C. [Of the posterity of this Aedh is O'Flyn Lini.]
 32. Eocaidh Tirmearna, K. C., son of
 33. Fergus. [Of the posterity of this Fergus, are O'Ruairc and MacTierman; from Fergus likewise sprung O'Reilly, and MacBrady, and MacCosnamha, *now translated Forde*; another son of Fergus was Duach Teng-umha (K. C., slain A. D. 530), from whom sprung O'Flaherty, and MacAedha, *now translated McHugh, Hughes, and Hayes*].
 34. Muredach Mal, K. C., son of
 35. Eogan Sriabh, K. C., son of
 36. Duach Galach, K. C., son of
 37. BRIAN, K. C. [This Brian had a son named Oirbsen, from whom sprung O'Malley; he had another son named Ercá Derg, from whom sprung MacBranan, MacKeogh, and O'Hanly. *From him the O'Connors, O'Ruaircs, O'Reillies, and their correlatives, took the generic name of Ui Briuin or Ui Briain*] son of
 38. Eocaidh Muigh-medon, R. H., &c. *See No. 37, Pedigree of O'Neill.*

ADDENDA.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'CONNOR DON.

1. Cathal or Charles, author of the Dissertation on the History of Ireland, born A. D. 1710, son of
2. Donnadh or Denis, son of
3. Cathal Og, son of
4. Cathal, son of
5. Aedh, son of
6. Diarmaid, son of
7. Carbri, son of
8. Eogan Caech, son of
9. Feidlimidh Gencach, son of
10. TORDELBACH DONN, son of
11. Aedh. &c. *See No. 10, Pedigree of O'Connor Roe.*

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'FLAHERTY, OF WEST CONNAUGHT.

1. Ruaidri Og, or Roderic, author of the Ogygia, son of
2. Aedh, son of
3. Ruaidri, son of
4. Murkertach, son of
5. Aedh Og, son of
7. Aedh, son of
8. Gilla-dubh, son of
9. Brian na Noinsech, son of
10. Donnall na g-Comthach, son of
11. Murkertach an Ghiberi, son of
12. Ruaidri, son of
13. Aedh, son of
14. Ruaidri of Loch Kimi, son of
15. Muredach Mor O'Flathbertaigh, in English, O'Flaherty, son of
16. Maelculaird, son of
17. FLATHBERTACH, from whom the surname is derived, son of
18. Emhin, son of
19. Murcadh, son of
20. Uromhan.
21. Macnach, son of
22. Flathniadh, son of
23. Fiangalach, son of
24. Flan Rodba, son of
25. Amalgaidh, son of
26. Kennfacladh, son of
27. Colgan, son of
28. Aedh, son of
29. Senach, son of
30. Duach Teng-Umba, K. C., son of
31. FERGUS, son of
32. Muredach Mael-lethan, K. C., &c. *See No. 27, Pedigree of O'Connor Roe.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF FIACHRA, SON OF
EOCAIDH MUIGH-MEDON, DOWN HERE.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'SHAUGHNESSY, HERE.

1. Sir Diarmaid, son of
2. Ruaidri, son of
3. Diarmaid, son of
4. Gilla-Dubh, son of
5. Diarmaid, son of
6. William, son of
7. Seaghan Buidhe, son of
8. Eogan, son of
9. William, son of
10. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
11. Ruaidri, son of
12. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
13. Raghual O'Sechnasaigh, in *English O'Shaughnessy*, or *O'Shaghnessy*, son of
14. Gelbuidhe, son of
15. SECHNASACH, from whom the O'Sechnasaigh is derived, son of
16. Donnacdh, son of
17. Cumaihe, son of
18. Fergal, son of
19. Maelkiarain, son of
20. Cas, son of
21. *Murgal*, son of
22. Maeltuil, son of
23. Sithmani, son of
24. Nochba, or Nobile, son of
25. Eгна, son of
26. *Nadsedna*, son of
27. Gabran, or Garban, son of
28. Tobach, or Toban, son of
29. Branau, son of
30. Bram Leth-derg, son of
31. Murcadh, son of
32. Aedh, from whom the Kinel Aedha, *i. e.*, the tribe to which O'Shaughnessy belonged, are called son of
33. Artgal, [son of this Artgal was Ardgal, from whom descends O'Heyne and O'Combaltan (Coulton), O'Keady, O'Cathmogha, in *English*, O'Coffey (not the same O'Cowhig or Coffey of the west of Cork), and Mac Kilkelly. From Murcadh, son of Aedh, son of Artgal, are descended O'Branain of Kinel Aedha and O'Clery,] son of
34. Guairi the Hospitable, K. C., son of
35. Colman, son of
36. Cobthach, son of
37. Eogan Aidni [from the surname of this Eogan, the southern *Ui Fiachrach* were called *Ui Fiachrach Aidni*], son of
38. Goibnenn, son of
39. Conall, son of
40. Eogan, son of
41. Eocaidh Brec [of the posterity of this Eocaidh Brec are the following septs, namely, O'Muldoon, O'Maelfhogbhair, O'Coman, O'Creggan, O'Lenan, O'Lahilly, and O'Suanaigh.] son of
42. Dathi. R. H. (of the posterity of Dathi is O'Dowda), son of
43. FIACHRA FOLT-SNATHACH, from whom the *Ui Fiachrach* are called, son of
44. Eocaidh Mnigh-medon, R. H., &c. —See No. 27, *pedigree of O'Neill*.

NOTE.—The names between Aedh, the ancestor of the Kinel Aedha, marked 32, and Cobthach, marked 36, have been interpolated, as has been shown by Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes to the tribes and customs of the *Ui Fiachrach*. Colman, the father of Guairi the Hospitable, was the brother of Aedh, the ancestor of the Kinel Aedha, and Cobthach, son of Goibnenn, was their common father.—See *pedigree of O'Heyne, hereafter annexed*—Ed.

ADDENDA.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'HEYNE, in *Irish*,
Oh'Eidhin, of *Ui Fiachrach Aidni*.

From the Tribes and Customs of the *Ui Fiachrach*.

1. Eogan, son of
2. Aedh Buidhe, son of
3. Aedh Buidhe, chief of *Ui Fiachrach*, who died in 1594, son of
4. Eogan Mantach, son of
5. Edmond, son of

6. Flann, son of
7. Concobar, son of
8. Brian, son of
9. Aedh, son of
10. Murkertach, son of
11. Donnadh, son of
12. Aedh, son of
13. John, son of
14. Eogan, son of
15. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
16. Gilla-Kellaigh, son of
17. Aedh, son of
18. Concobar, son of
19. Flann, son of
20. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
21. Cugaela, son of
22. Maelfabailh Oh'Eidhin, in English, O'Heyne and Hynes, whose brother, Maelruanaidh, was slain at Clontarf, A. D. 1014, son of
23. Flann, son of
24. EDIN, from whom the family name is derived, son of
25. Cleirech, from whom the O'Clerys derive their name, they being descended from Maelfabailh, his eldest son, son of
26. Kedadach, son of
27. Cumasgach, son of
28. Cathmogh, son of
29. Torpa, son of
30. Fergal Aidni, K. C. son of
31. Artgal, son of
32. Guairi Aidni, K. C., son of
33. COLMAN, K. C., son of
34. Cobthach, &c.—See No. 36, *Pedigree of O'Shaughnessy.*

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'CLERY.

This was once a chief family of Ui Fiachrach Aidni. A branch of it afterwards became chief historians of Tir Conaill. Its members obtained possessions in various parts of Ireland, through their talents as historians and bards.

1. Cu-coigricchi, or Peregrine, one of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters, who died in A. D. 1664, and whose sixth descendent is now living, son of
2. Lugaidh, son of
3. Mac-con, son of
4. Cu-coigricchi, son of

5. Diarmaid, son of
6. Tadg, son of
7. Diarmaid of the Three Schools, son of
8. Gilla-Riabhadh, son of
9. Gilla-Brighdi, son of
10. Cormac, who settled in Tir Conaill, A. D. 1352, son of
11. Diarmaid, son of
12. John Sgiamhach, son of
13. Donnall, son of
14. Gilla-Isa, son of
15. Tadg, son of
16. Muredach, son of
17. Tighernach, son of
18. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
19. Donnall, son of
20. Eogan, son of
21. Braen, son of
22. Cugaela, Chief of Ui Fiachrach Aidni, died A. D. 1025, son of
23. Gilla-Kellaigh, Chief of Ui Fiachrach Aidni, from whom the sept Mac Gilla Kellaigh or Killikelly, has its name.
24. Conhalton, Chief of Ui F. A., son of
25. Maelfabailh, Chief of Ui F. A., who died A. D. 887, son of
26. CLEIRECH, the progenitor from whom the surname is derived, &c.—See No. 25, *Pedigree of O'Heyne.*

III.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'DOWDA, OR O'DOWD, OF NORTHERN UI FIACHRACH.

1. David, slain A. D. 1690, son of
2. Dathi Og, son of
3. James, son of
4. Dathi, son of
5. Dathi, son of
6. Tadg Riabhach, chief of his name, slain A. D. 1536, son of
7. Eogan, son of
8. Concobar, son of
9. Diarmaid, son of
10. Maelruanaidh, son of
11. Ruaidri, son of
12. Donnall Cleirech, son of
13. Sen Brian, son of
14. Taithlech Muaidhe, son of
15. Maelruanaidh, son of
16. Donnadh Mor, son of
17. Aedh, son of
18. Taithlech, son of

- | | |
|---|---|
| 19. Aedh, son of | 29. Conmach, son of |
| 20. Murkertach, son of | 30. Donnacatha, K. C. died A. D. 768,
son of |
| 21. Aedh, son of | 31. Cathal, san of |
| 22. Taithlech, son of | 32. Olild, son of |
| 23. Niall, son of | 33. Donnacadh Murski, son of |
| 24. Maelsechlainn, son of | 34. Tibradi, son of |
| 25. Macluanaidh, son of | 35. Maeldubh, or Maelduin, son of |
| 26. Aedh O'Dubhda, in English,
O'Dowda, King of North Con-
naught, son of | 36. Fiachra Elgach, son of |
| 27. Kellach Mac Dubhda, son of | 37. DATHI, R. H., son of |
| 28. DUBHDA, from whom the surname
is derived, and from whose brother
Caemhan sprang O'Caemhain, son
of | 38. Fiachra Folt-Snathach, from whom
all the Ui Fiachrach are called. &c.
<i>See No. 42, Pedigree of Shaugh-
nessy.</i> |

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF EOCAIDH DUBLEIN OF
THE LINE OF ERIMHON, DOWN HERE.

EOCAIDH DUBLEIN, son of Carbri Lificar, and brother of Fiacaigh Srabthini, was the father of the Three Collas. From Colla Uais, the eldest brother of these, came the septs that bear the following surnames; to wit, the clan of Mac Donald, both in Ireland and in Scotland; the clan of Mac Dugald, or *Mac Dowell*; the clan of Mac Sheehy; and the Ui Breslai Macha.

From Colla Da Crioch, sprang O'Kelly of *Ui Mani*, Mac Mahon of *Oirghialla*, Maguire, O'Hanlon, O'Naghtan (*sometimes called Norton*), and O'Madden. We shall here give the first place to the clan of Mac Donald.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF MAC DONALD, I. E., OF
MAC SAMHARLI, EARL OF ANTRIM.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Ragnhall, or Randal, son of | 12. Ragnhall, son of |
| 2. Samarli, called also Surly, son of | 13. Samharli, son of |
| 3. Alasdram, Alister, or Alexander,
son of | 14. Gilla-Brighdi, son of |
| 4. Eoin Cathanaeh, son of | 15. Gilla-Adamnain, son of |
| 5. Domnall Ballach, King of the He-
brides, son of | 16. Solamh, or Solomon, son of |
| 6. Eoin Mor, son of | 17. Medraide, son of |
| 7. Eoin, son of | 18. Suibni, son of |
| 8. Aengus Og, son of | 19. Niallgus, son of |
| 9. Aengus, son of | 20. Mani, son of |
| 10. DOMNALL OG. (From this Domn-
nall the name Mac Domnaill,
<i>in English, Mac Donald</i> , is de-
rived. This Domnall or Donald
had a brother named Alasdram,
from whom sprang the clan of
Mac Sheehy, <i>in Gaelic, Clann
Sithigh</i> , i. e. the descendants of
Sithaeh, son of Echduin, son of
Alasdram, son of Domuall.) son of | 21. Gofraidh, son of |
| 11. Domnall, son of | 22. Fergus, son of |
| | 22. Ere, son of |
| | 23. Crimthann, son of |
| | 24. Eocaidh, son of |
| | 25. <i>Eric</i> , son of |
| | 26. <i>Carthann</i> , son of |
| | 27. Colla Uais, R. H. son of |
| | 28. EOCAIDH DUBLEIN, son of |
| | 29. Carbri Lificar, R. H.— <i>See No. 40,
Pedigree of O'Neill.</i> |

NOTE 1.—The letter m. is silent in this word, as pronounced by moderns. It is also to be remarked that the double l, and double n of the modern Irish, is

nearly always found written LD and ND in the more ancient MSS. That the D was formerly fully pronounced in such positions, its retention by the Gaels of modern Scotland in such words as Domhnald, Raghnaid, Dubhgald, which the Irish write and pronounce Domhnall, Raghnaill, Dubhgall, is rather conclusive proof.—Ed.

NOTE 2.—In this pedigree several generations have been omitted in the editor's copies, between Gofraidh, or Godfrey, No. 21, and Eric, son of Carthann, No. 25.—The names in italics are supplied from the *Ogygia*.

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'KELLY OF UI MANI, HERE.

1. †Kellach of Aughrim, slain A. D. 1641, son of
2. †Tadg of Aughrim. (These two names are supplied from the pedigree of the O'Kelley, published with the tribes and customs of the Ui Mani.) son of
3. Ferdorcha, chief of Ui Mani, son of
4. Kellach, son of
5. Domnall, son of
6. Aedh na Coilli, son of
7. Uiliam, son of
8. Maelsechlainn, son of
9. Uiliam Buidhe, son of
10. Donnadh Muinnach, son of
11. Conobar Mor, son of
12. Donnall Mor, son of
13. Tadg Taltann, son of
14. Conobar of the Battle, son of
15. Diarmaid, son of
16. Tadg, son of
17. Conobar, son of
18. Conobar, son of
19. Tadg Mór of the Battle of Brian, slain at Clontarf, A. D. 1014, son of
20. Murcadh O'Kellaigh, in English, O'Kelly, who died A. D. 960, son of
21. Aedh, son of
22. KELLACH or Ceallach, from whom the Ui Kellaigh have their name, son of
23. Finnacta, son of
24. Olild, son of
25. Inractach. (This Inractach had a brother named Cosgarach, from

- whom has sprung Mac Aedagain, or Mac Egan.) Son of
26. Fithkellach, son of
 27. Dluthach, son of
 28. Dicolla. (*Fithkellach, son of this Dicolla, was the ancestor of O'Donnellan.*) son of
 29. Eogan Finn. (Brother to this Eogan Finn, was Eogan Buadach, or Buac, from whom sprung O'Madden.) son of
 30. Cormac, son of
 31. Carbri Cron, son of
 32. Feradach, son of
 33. Crimthann Cael (*ancestor of the Cruffons.*) son of
 34. Lugaidh, son of
 35. Dallan, son of
 36. Bresal, son of
 37. Mani Mor, from whom the Ui Mani or Hy Mani are called, sons of
 38. Eocaidh Fer-da-ghiall, son of
 39. Domnall, son of
 40. Imcadh. (This Imcadh had brothers, namely, Degaidh Dorn, from whom Mac Mahon of *Monaghan* sprang, and also O'h-Iuráchtáigh, in *English, O'Hanratty*; Rocaadh, from whom sprang Maguire and Mac Tiernan of *Clan Fergail*; and Fiachra, from whom sprang O'Hanlon and O'Niallain son of
 42. COLLA DA CRIOCH, son of
 43. Eocaidh Duiblein, &c.—*See No. 29, Pedigree of Mac Donald.*

ADDENDA.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF MAGUIRE, FROM DERMOD O'CONNOR'S TRANSLATION OF KEATING.

1. Cuconnacht Mor, slain at Aughrim, son of
2. Aedh, son of
3. Brian, son of
4. Cuconnacht, son of
5. Cuconnacht, son of
6. Cuconnacht, son of
7. Brian, son of
8. Philip, son of
9. Thomas, son of
10. Aedh, son of
11. Flathbertach, son of
12. Donn, son of
13. Domnall, son of

14. Gilla-Criost, or Christianus, son of
15. Donn Mor, son of
16. Ragnall Mac Uidhir, in English, Maguire, son of
17. Uidhir, from whom the sept has taken its name, son of
19. †Cairdech, son of
20. †Oirghiallach, son of
21. †Uidhir, son of
22. †Cairnech, son of
23. †Luan, son of
24. †Uairghiallach, son of
25. †Crimthann, son of
26. †Feidthech, son of
27. ROCHAD, son of
28. Colla Da Crioch, &c.—*See pedigree of O'Kelly.*
2. Domnall, son of
3. Scaghan, or John, son of
4. Bresal, son of
5. Seaghan, son of
6. Murcadh, son of
7. Eogan, son of
8. Carrach, son of
9. Murcadh, son of
10. Eogan Mor, son of
11. Murcadh, son of
12. Eogan, son of
13. Murcadh, son of
14. Cathal, son of
15. Madudan, son of
16. Diarmaid, son of
17. Madudan Remhar, O'Madudhain, and anglicised O'Madden, son of

NOTE.—The names thus marked (†) seem to have been altogether corrupted by Dermot O'Connor, and several names have been omitted; but no pedigree of this ancient sept is immediately accessible to the present editor, whereby he could set it right.

Uidhir, from whom Magnire is called, was, according to O'Flaherty, son of Serrac, son of Orgicell, son of Uidhir, son of Kernach, son of Muredach Meidh, son of Imcadh, son of Colla Da Crioch.

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'MADDEN, OF SIL ANMCADHA.

1. Anmcadh or Ambrose, chief of his name, who died in 1637, son of
20. Gadhra Mor, son of
21. Dnnadaeh, son of
22. Gadra, son of
23. Loingseeh,
24. Dnnadaeh, son of
25. Cobthach, son of
26. Maelduin, son of
27. Conngalach, son of
28. Anmcadh, from whom the Sil Anmcadha are called, son of
29. EOGAN BUAC, son of
30. Cormac, &c.—*See No. 30, Pedigree of O'Kelly.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE POSTERITY OF EOCAIDH FINN AND FIACAIDH SUIGHDI, THE BROTHERS OF CONN OF THE HUNDRED BATTLES, AND OF FIACAIDH FER-MARA, SON OF AENGUS TUIDMECH OF TEMHAIR, R. II., DOWN HERE.

CONN of the Hundred Battles had two brothers, namely, Eocaidh Finn and Fiacaidh Suighdi. From Eocaidh Finn sprang O'Nolan, and O'Larkin; and from Fiacaidh Suighdi sprang O'Felan and O'Bric, of the Desi Mumhan.

Enna Aighneeh, monarch of Ireland, had a brother named Fiacaidh Fer-mara, from whom descended Conari, son of Mogh Lamha, the son-in-law of Conn of the Hundred Battles; and it was this Conari that was the father of the three brothers named Carbri, namely, Carbri Riada, Carbri Musg, and Carbri Basehaein; and it is the posterity of these that are called the Ernaigh Mumhan, or Ernaans of Munster.

From Carbri Riada sprang the race called Dal Riada, to which belong the

following septa, settled in Alba, namely, the Kinel n-Guain, Mac Adamnain, Mac Eoghain, Mac Boithrech, Mac Gilla-Eoin, and Mac Gilla-Laghman.¹

From Carbri Musg, are named all the septa of the Musgraide that dwell in Munster, and of this race is O'Falvy, O'Connell, and O'Shea of Desmond, and O'Quirk of Musgraide. From Carbri Baschaein, Corcobaskin has its name, but we know nothing of his posterity.²

NOTE 1.—The editor does not know the English forms of these tribe-names. The descendants of Carbri Baschaein are, according to our most judicious antiquarians, the O'Donnells and O'Baskins of the county of Clare.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE DAL RIADA, OF
ALBA, HERE.

1. Constantine, *King of Alba, or Modern Scotland, A. D. 995*, son of
2. Corlen, in 967, son of
3. Dubh, son of
4. Kenneidigh, or Kinaeth, son of
5. Maccoluin, son of
6. Constantine, son of
7. Kenneidigh or Kinaeth, conqueror of the Picts, son of
8. Alpin, son of
9. Eocaidh, son of
10. Aedgan Finn, son of
11. Domangort, son of
12. Fergus Mor Mac Mire, founder of the Kingdom of Dal Riada, in Alba, son of
13. Ere, son of
14. Eocaidh Munrembar, son of
15. Aengus Fert, son of
16. Feidlimidh Aislingthech, son of
17. Aengus Buidnech, son of
18. Feidlimidh Roinic, son of
19. Sen-Cormaic, son of
20. Cruthluath, son of
21. Fidfergi, otherwise Finnecadh, son of
22. Egar Kerr, son of
23. Eocaidh Andoid, son of
24. Fiacaoidh Cathmael, son of
25. Foirded, son of
26. Ere, son of
27. CARBRI RIADA, son of
28. Conari R. H., son of

29. Mogh Lamha, son of
30. Lugaidh Ellathach, son of
31. Dari Dorn-Mor, son of
32. Carbri Finn-mor, son of
33. Conari Mor, R. H. son of
35. Edirsgeol, R. H. son of
36. Eogan, son of
37. Olud, son of
38. Tar, son of
39. Degaidh, son of
40. Sin, son of
41. Rosin, son of
42. Tren, son of
43. Rothren, son of
44. Mani, son of
45. Forga, son of
46. Feradach, son of
47. Olild Eronn, from whom the Ernaigh were named, son of
48. FIACAIDH FER-MARA, son of
49. Aengus Tuirmech, of Temhair, R. H.—See No. 60, *Pedigree of O'Neill*.

NOTE.—Keating has followed the Scotch genealogists in the names that connect Fergus, the founder of the Dal-Riada of Scotland, with Carbri Riada. According to O'Flaherty, the Irish genealogists say, that Eocaidh, father of the said Ere or Eric, was son of Aengus Fer, son of Fergus Ulidh, son of Eocaidh Fortambail, son of Feidlimidh Lamh-doid, son of Kinga, son of Guairi, son of Finntan.

CHAPTER X.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE MEN OF LEINSTER, OF THE LINE OF ERIMION, DOWN HERE.

COBTHACH MAEL-BREAGH, had a brother named Laegari Lore, from whom have descended the Leinster tribes of the line of Erimhon. Of these we shall give precedence to the Caemhanaigh, i. e. the O'Kavanaghs.

- L.
- THE PEDIGREE OF O'KAVANAGH, HERE.
1. Murcadh, son of
 2. Donnall Spaineach, son of
 3. Cathacir Carrach, son of
 4. Murkertach, son of
 5. Art Ruidhe, son of
 6. Donnall, son of
 7. Gerald, son of
 8. Art Og, son of
 9. Art, King of Leinster, son of
 10. Murkertach. (This Murkertach had a brother named Art, from whom has descended the Sliocht Diarmada Lamh-dirg, *i. e.*, the posterity of *Diarmaid, the Red Handed*; to wit, Murcadh, son of Brian, and the branches of his kindred.) son of
 11. Manrice, son of
 12. Murkertach, son of
 13. DONNALL CAEMHANACH, from whose surname the Ui Caemhainigh, in *English, the O'Kavanaghs*, take their name. (This Donnall had two brothers, namely, Art, put to death by Ruaidri O'Conobar, King of Ireland, in A. D. 1170, who left no posterity, and Enna, who is the ancestor of the O'Kinshellaghs.) son of
 14. Diarmaid na n-Gall, *i. e.* *Dermod of the Gauls or Strangers, King of Leinster, from A. D. 1135 to 1171.* (Brother to this Diarmaid na n-Gall, was Mureadh of the Gaels, or Irish, from whom sprang Mac David Mor, otherwise called *Mac Damore V.*—*It was this Mureadh that was elected King of Leinster upon the expulsion of Diarmaid, A. D. 1166.*) son of
 15. Donnecadh,
 16. Murcadh, appointed King of the Danes of Dublin, and from whom the Mac Murrroughs are called, son of
 17. Diarmaid, K. L. and called by some writers monarch of Ireland, son of
 18. Donnecadh, called Macl na m-Bo, K. L., son of
 19. Diarmaid, son of
 20. Donnall, son of
 21. Kellach, son of
 22. Kinaeth, son of
 23. Carbri, son of
 24. Aedh, son of
 25. Ruaghalach, son of
 26. Oeneu, son of
 27. Faclen, son of
 28. Faclan, son of
 29. Silan, son of
 30. Eogan Cacch, son of
 31. Nathi. (From *Fergus, son of Eogan Goll, son of this Nathi* descend the Muintir MacIriain, *i. e.* the *O'Ryan*s or *O'Mulryan*s of *Owney in Tipperary.*) son of
 32. Crimthann, K. L. son of
 33. Enna Kennselach, K. L. son of (This Enna Kennselach, had a son named Feidlimidh, from whom sprang O'Murphy and O'Dowling.)
 34. Bresal Belach, son of
 35. Fiacaidh Bacheda. (Of the posterity of Fiacaidh Bacheda, are O'Byrne and O'Toole)
 36. Cathacir Mor, R. H. (Son of this Cathacir Mor, was Rosa Falghi, ancestor of O'Connor Falghi, and from O'Connor Falghi sprang O'Dunn, O'Dempsey, and Mac Colgan. Another son of Cathacir Mor, was Dari Barrach, from whom sprang O'Gorman.) son of
 37. Ferdlimidh Firurglas, K. L., son of
 38. Cormac Gelta-gaeth, K. L., son of
 39. Niadh-Corb, K. L. son of
 40. Cu-Corb, K. L. (Son of this Cu-Corb was Carbri Cluthear, from whom sprang O'Dwyer, of Kilmanagh.) son of
 41. Mogh-Corb, K. L. son of
 42. Concobar Abra-Ruadh, R. H., son of
 43. Finn the Poet, K. L., son of
 44. Rosa Ruadh, K. L. son of
 45. Fergus Fargi, K. L. son of
 46. Nuadha Nect, R. H. (This Nuadha had three sons, namely, Fergus Fargi, from whom has sprung the stock of this branch; Baesgini, from whom descended Comhal, the father of Finn Mac Comhal, commonly called *Fingal by the Anglo-Scotch*; and Gnathallach, Bani, daughter of Sgal Balbh, King of Sagsa, was the mother both of Comhal and of Feidlimidh Rectmar, monarch of Ireland.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 47. Sedna Sithbac, K. L. son of | 10. Seafra Finn, son of |
| 48. Lugaidh Lothfinn, K. L. son of | 11. Seafra Bacach, son of |
| 49. Bresal Brec, K. L. [This Bresal Brec had a son named Connla, from whom sprang the kings of Osraide, now called Ossory, as we shall hereafter explain.] son of | 12. Domnall Mor of Magh Læighsi, son of |
| 50. Fiacaidh Fobrec, son of | 13. Sgannlan Mac Gilla-Patrick, son of |
| 51. Olild Glas, son of | 14. GILLA-PADRAIG, or <i>Gilla-Patrick</i> , from whom the surname of the sept is derived. |
| 52. Fiacaidh Fógla, son of | 15. Donnacdh, son of |
| 53. Nuadha Follamhain, son of | 16. Kellach, son of |
| 54. Alloid, son of | 17. Kerball. (This Kerball had a son named Braen, from whom sprang O'Brenan.) son of |
| 55. Art, son of | 18. Donngal, son of |
| 56. Mogh Art, son of | 19. Amcadh, son of |
| 57. Crinthann, son of | 20. Cukerda, son of |
| 58. Feidlimidh Fortruin, son of | 21. Faelan, son of |
| 59. Fergas Fortamhail, son of | 22. Cronmael, son of |
| 60. Bresal Breggamhain, son of | 23. Ronan Righ-flaith, son of |
| 61. Aengus Follamhain, son of | 24. Colman Mor, son of |
| 62. Olild Brachaen, son of | 25. Bigni Caech, son of |
| 63. Labraidh Loingsech, R. H. son of | 26. Laighnech Faeilech, son of |
| 64. Olild Ani, son of | 27. Sganlan Mor, son of |
| 65. LAEGARI LORC, R. H. son of | 28. Kennafaeladh, son of |
| 66. Iugani Mor, R. H. See No. 67, <i>Pedigree of O'Neill.</i> | 29. Roman Duach, son of |

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF FITZ-PATRICK, HERE.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Brian, son of | 31. Carbri, son of |
| 2. Tadg, son of | 32. Nedbuan, son of |
| 3. Finghin. (This Finghin had an elder brother, namely, Brian Og, Lord of Ossory, but he died without issue, with the exception of an only daughter, who was the grandmother of Lord Dunboyne. Another brother of his was Domnall, of Gort-na-clethi, and Seafra or Godfrey, of Bailé-Amlacibh. Margaret Butler, daughter of the Earl of Ormond, was the mother of these. Brothers also to this Finghin were Tordelbach and Diarmaid, whose mother was the daughter of O'Connor Falghi. Seaghan, or John of Bailé-Uigaeithin, Kellach, and Tadg, who dwelt at Coill-Uachtarach, were the natural brothers of Finghin.) son of | 33. Eocadh Lamh-dow, son of |
| 4. Brian Og, son of | 34. Angidh, son of |
| 5. Brian, son of | 35. Laegari Bearn-buadach, son of |
| 6. Seaghan, son of | 36. Aengus Osraide. [<i>From this Aengus the tribe and tribe-land of Osraide (Osree,) in English, Ossory, have their name.</i>] |
| 7. Finghin na Cul-Coilli, son of | 37. Crinthann, son of |
| 8. Finghin, son of | 38. Erc, son of |
| 9. Domnall Dubh, son of | 39. Enna, son of |
| | 40. Olild, son of |
| | 41. Lugaidh, son of |
| | 42. Labraidh, son of |
| | 43. Carthann, son of |
| | 44. Nuadha, son of |
| | 45. CONNLA, son of |
| | 46. Bresal Brec, &c. See No. 49, <i>Pedigree of O'Kavanagh.</i> |

Of the posterity of Connla, son of Bresal Brec, are the following surnames, as we read in the duan which begins with the line—"Nas na riogh, togha na d-tulach;" i. e. "Nas of the kings, the choice of heights"—to wit, the Muintir Baithin, (*Baiheen*), Muintir Dinnemhla, (*Dinnoola*), Muintir Osain,

Muintir Forannain, Muintir Tuachair, Muintir Gulbain, Muintir Linaigh, (*Leeny*.) Muintir Uargusa, Muintir Credmochain, Muintir Iradhain, Muintir Naeidhenain, Muintir Macinechain Cobhartha, and many others.

NOTE.—The editor has access to no authority whereby he could ascertain the modern names of the last-named septis in time for this publication.

ADDENDA.

I.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'DWYER, OF KILNAMANAGH, FROM DERMOT O'CONNOR'S TRANSLATION OF KEATING.

1. Philip, son of
2. Anthouy, son of
3. Diarmaid, son of
4. Thomas, son of
5. Concobar, or Connor, son of
6. Thomas, son of
7. Thomas, son of
8. Concobar, son of
9. Thomas, son of
10. Thomas, son of
11. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
12. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
13. Lochlainn, son of
14. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
15. Lorcán, son of
16. Kellach, son of
17. Gilla-na-naemh, son of
18. Kellach, son of
19. Lorcán, son of
20. Aedh, son of
21. Donnadh O'Duibhir, in English, O'Dwyer, the first that bore the family surname, son of
22. Lorcán, son of
23. DUIBHIR, or Duibhidhir, from whom is derived the name O Duibhidhir (*O'Dweeir*.) anglicized O'Dwyer, son of
24. Sbellan, son of
25. Suibni, son of
26. Donnadh, son of
27. Duadh-flaith, son of
28. Collan, son of
29. Colman, son of
30. Crath, son of
31. Ruaidri, son of
32. Grellan, son of
33. Lubna, son of
34. Lughna, son of

II.

THE PEDIGREE OF O'CONNOR FALY, FROM DERMOT O'CONNOR'S TRANSLATION OF KEATING.

1. Donnadh and Maurice, sons of
2. Coll, son of
3. Seaghan or John, son of
4. Donnadh, son of
5. Seaghan, son of
6. Donnadh, son of
7. Seaghan, son of
8. Diarmaid, son of
9. Kerball or Charles, son of
10. Conn, son of
11. Calbach, son of
12. Muredh, son of
13. Murkertach, son of
14. Murkertach, son of
15. Maelmorda, son of
16. Murkertach, son of
17. Donnadh, son of
18. Conafni, son of
19. Murkertach, son of
20. Congalach, son of
21. Connslebi O'Concobar Falghi, or O'Connor Faly, son of
22. Brogarban, who was slain at Cloutarf, A. D. 1014, son of
23. CONCOBAR, from whom the surname O'Connor, is derived, son of
24. Congalach, son of
25. Finn, son of
26. Maelmorda, son of
27. Concobar, son of
28. Flapagan, son of
29. Kinaeth, son of
30. Mughram, son of
31. Flann Ca Congal, son of
32. Cimasach, son of
33. Congalach, son of
34. Forannan, son of
35. Maclmuaidh, son of
36. Cathal, son of
37. Bruidhe, son of

- | | |
|---|--|
| 38. Eogan, son of | name Ui Falghi, is derived, |
| 39. Nathi, son of | son of |
| 40. ROSA FALGHI, i. e. Rossa of the Rings, from whom the tribe- | 41. Cathacir Mor, &c.—See No. 36 <i>Pedigree of O'Kavanah.</i> |

CHAPTER XI.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE POSTERITY OF LUGAIDH, SON OF ITH, DOWN HERE.

- | | |
|---|--|
| THE PEDIGREE OF O'DRISCOLL, HERE. | 38. Degaidh Derg, son of |
| 1. Finghin, called Sir Florence by the English, son of | 39. Derg Thini, son of |
| 2. Concoabar, son of | 40. Nuadha Airgthech, son of |
| 3. Concoabar, son of | 41. Luchthani, son of |
| 4. Finghin, son of | 42. Logh Feidlech, son of |
| 5. Mac-Con, son of | 43. †Erimhon, son of |
| 6. Mac-Con, son of | 44. †Edamhain, son of |
| 7. Donncaadh, son of | 45. Osa or Eosamhain, son of |
| 8. Mac-rCath, son of | 46. Sin, son of |
| 9. Donncaadh Mor, son of | 47. Mathsin, son of |
| 10. Fothad, son of | 48. Lugaidh, son of |
| 11. Finn, son of | 49. Edamhain, son of |
| 12. Mac-Conn, <i>O'h-Edirsgeoil, in English O'Driscoll</i> , son of | 50. Mal, son of |
| 13. Fothad, son of | 51. Lugaidh, son of |
| 14. EDIRSGEOL, <i>from whom the name is derived</i> , son of | 52. ITH, son of |
| 14. Finn, son of | 53. Breogan, king in Spain, and grandfather of Mledh, the founder of the Clanna Milidh, &c. See No. 89, <i>Pedigree of Macarthy Mor.</i> |
| 15. Nuadha, son of | |
| 16. Donnugal, son of | |
| 17. Maeltuli, son of | |
| 18. Dungus, son of | |
| 19. Aengus, son of | |
| 20. Folactach, son of | |
| 21. Fannan, son of | |
| 22. Comdan, son of | |
| 23. Colman, son of | |
| 24. Flannan, son of | |
| 25. Brannamh, son of | |
| 26. Edirsgeol, son of | |
| 27. Nathi, son of | |
| 28. Aengus, son of | |
| 29. Mac-Con, R. H., | |
| 30. Mac-Niadh, K. M., | |
| 31. Lugaidh, son of | |
| 32. Dari or Dari Fer Ului, son of | |
| 33. †Fer-Ului, son of | |
| 34. †Edbolg, son of | |
| 35. †Dari, son of | |
| 36. †Sithbolg, son of | |
| 37. Edamrach, or Degaidh Temrach, son of | |

NOTE.—The names marked thus (†) have been inserted from the pedigree of Lugaidh, called Mac-Con, R. H., given in the body of this history.—Ed.

Of the posterity of Lugaidh, son of Ith, are the following clans, namely, Mac Flancadha, of Dartraide, i. e. Mac Clanchy or Clancy, of Dartry, in the county of Leitrim; O'Cowhig, or Coffey, O'Curneen, O'Flynn Arda, O'Bari of Rinn-Muintir-Bari, O'Leary, of Roscarbry, O'Trevor, O'Caran; and likewise the sept of Mac Allen, in Alba, i. e. modern Scotland, which descended from Fathadh Conan, son of the Mac-Con, son of Mac-Niadh.

NOTE.—Several names appear to have been left out of this pedigree, in as much as it falls short by several generations, of the royal lines descended from Eber and Erimhon, the companions of Lugaidh, son of Ith. The descendants of the Clanna Breogain or Irish Brig-

antes, are still numerous in the South-west of Munster, and North-west of Connaught. For the several family names, by which they are now known, the reader is referred to the ancient tract upon Corca Luighe, not long since published by the Celtic Society of Dublin, with a translation and annotations by Dr. O'Donovan.

CHAPTER XII.

HERE FOLLOWS AN ENUMERATION OF THE COUNTIES WHICH ARE IN IRELAND.

In Mumha¹ (*Moowa*) there are six counties, namely, the county of Corcaich, the county of Kiarraide (*Keeree*), the county of Luimnech, the county of Port Lergi, the county of Tibráid Arann, and the County of the Cross.² In all six counties.

In Laighen³ (*Loyen*) there are eight counties, which are the following seven that Camden has given down in his work, namely, the county of Kill Cainnigh the county of Kill Dara, the county of Ketharlach (Caherlagh,) the county of Læighis (*Lueesh*),⁴ the county of the Dangen,⁵ the county of Loch Garman, the county of Ath-cliaith, (*Awh-cleeah*), and the eighth county is the one which has been recently constituted, namely, that of Kill Mantain.⁶

In Midhe⁷ (*Mee*) there are three counties, namely, the county of Oirthir Midhe (*Irther Me.*) the county of Iarthar Midhe, (*Eerher Mee*) and the county of Long-phort.

In the province of Connacht, there are five counties, namely, the county of Ciar, the county of Gallimh (*Galliv*), the county of Magh Eo (*Moyoc*), the county of Sligeach (*Sliggagh*), the county of Liathdrum, and the county of Ros Coinain.

In Uladh (*Ulla*) there are ten counties, namely, the county of Lugh-mhagh (*Looav*), the county of Caban, the county of Fera Manach, the county of Muncehan, the county of Ard Macha, the county of the Dun, the county of Antrúim, the county of Cuil Rathain,⁸ the county of Tir Eogain (*Teer-owin*), and the county of Tin Conaill, or Dun-ua-n-Gall.

¹ *Mumha*; now called Munster.

² *County of the Cross*; i. e. Ormond.

³ *Laighen*; Leinster.

⁴ *Laighis*; now Leix, meaning the present Queen's County.

⁵ *County of the Dangen*; i. e. of the Fortress; now the King's County.

⁶ *Kill Mantain*; now Wicklow.

⁷ *Midhe*; now Meath.

⁸ *Cuil-Rathain*; i. e. Colerain, meaning the present county of Derry.

THE END OF THE FORAS FEASA AR EIRINN.

TOPOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

KINGDOM OF MUMHA, OR MUNSTER.

The Kingdom of Munster, in Irish, Mumha, Munhan, and Mumhain, is said to derive its name from Eocaidh Mumho,* who was king of Munster and monarch of Ireland, of the race of Eber, about eight centuries before the Christian era. Ancient Munster comprised the present counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and part of Kilkenny, to which was added the territory now forming the county of Clare, by Lugaidh Menn, king of Munster, of the race of the Dalcassians, in the latter end of the third century. Ancient Munster contained the following sub-divisions, namely, *Tuadh Mumhan*, or North Munster, anglicised Thomond; *Des Mumhan*, or South Munster, rendered Desmond; *Urmhumha* or *Oirmhumha*, East Munster, and anglicised Ormond, and *Iar Mumhan*, or West Munster.

The Eberians, or the Milesians of the race of Eber, possessed Munster; but the descendants of Ith, son of Bréogán, and uncle of Milesius, also possessed in early times a great part of it. The race of Eber furnished most of its kings, many of whom were monarchs of Ireland. These Eberians are called by the old annalists Dergthini, from one of their kings.

The race of Ith also furnished many kings of Munster, and some monarchs to Ireland, in the earlier ages. They were called Darini, from one of their kings. The Dergthini and Darini had frequent contests, before the period of the Christian era, for the sovereignty of Munster, which they held at length agreed to hold alternately. While the head of one race reigned as king, the other held the office of chief Brehon or judge.

The Clanna Degaidh, another race, settled in Munster a short time before the Christian era. They were named Degadhs, from Degadh, their chief, and they were also called *Ernans*, from Oíld Eronn, a prince of Ulster, and grandfather of Degadh. These Degadians, or Ernans, were of the race of Erimhon. Being expelled from Ulster by the race of Ir, they went to Munster, where they were favorably received, and had lands allotted to them by Duach, king of Munster, of the race of Eber, who was then full monarch of Ireland. The Clanna Degaidh make a remarkable figure in the ancient history of Munster. They had there extensive possessions, and they were the chief military commanders of Munster, and once nearly masters of the entire country. Some of them became kings of Munster, and three of them even monarchs of Ireland, namely, Edrisceol, and his son Conari, and Conari II., a descendant of Conari I., who was monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the third century. From Carbri Riada, son of Conari II., descended the Dalriadians, princes of Ulster, who planted a colony in Alba or Scotland, in the third century. From them were descended the Scottish kings of the Milesian race, and the royal house of Stuart. In the second century, the Degadhs becoming so powerful as nearly to assume the entire sovereignty of Munster, to the exclusion of the race of Eber, they were attacked and conquered by the celebrated Eógan Mor, or Mogh Nuadath, who expelled them from Munster, except such families of them as yielded him submission. Amongst the chiefs of the Clanna Degaidh, are mentioned Dari, and his son Curigh Mac Dari, famous warriors in Munster about the beginning of the Christian era.

About the beginning of the Christian era, *Eocaidh Abraadh-tuadh*, or Eocaidh of the Red Brows, of the race of Eber, a man of gigantic stature, was king of South Munster, and Curigh Mac Dari was prince of North Munster. He was succeeded by Carbri Finn Mor, son of the monarch Conari, who was also of the Clanna Degadh, as king of Munster. In the second century, amongst the battles fought by the monarch Tuathal Teetmar, are mentioned those of Magh Raighní, and of Clár or Clare, in which fell Felim and Conall, two princes of the Degadhs of Munster. Eocaidh, the son of Dari, succeeded as king of both Munsters. In the latter end of the second century, *Eógan Mor*, or *Mogh Nuadath*, called also *Eógan Taidlech*, or Eógan the Splendid, of the race of Eber, and maternally descended from the Clanna Degadh, was a celebrated warrior; and having contended for the monarchy of Ireland with Conn of the Hundred Battles, they at last divided the island between them; but Eógan was afterwards defeated and forced to fly into Spain, where he lived many years in exile, and married Bera, a Spanish princess, daughter to Eber, a Spanish king, and entering into a confederacy with Fraech, the son of Eber, collected a powerful army, with which they landed in Ireland, to recover the sovereignty from Conn of the Hundred Battles, and both armies, A. D. 193, fought a tremendous battle on the plain of Magh Lena, in which Conn was victorious, and Eógan Mor was killed by Goll, the son of Morna, the celebrated Fenian champion of Connaught of the Fer-holg race.

OLLID OLUM, the son of Eógan Mor by the princess Bera, and son-in-law of the monarch Conn of the Hundred Battles, being married to his daughter Saba, having contended with Lugaidh Mac Con, a prince of the race of Ith, for the sovereignty of Munster, defeated him and Nemeth, prince of the Ernans, in a great battle at Kenn Febradh, in which Eógan, the son of Oíld, slew Dadar the Druid, and Nemeth was slain by Carbri Riada: after this victory, Oíld Oílm became king of Munster.

OLLID OLUM had three sons, Eógan, Cormac Cas, and Kian, and by his will he made a re-

NOTE.—This appendix is chiefly taken in an abridged form from the description of the Irish provinces, given in the notes to Connellan's Translation of the Four Masters. It is intended to serve as a guide to the map.

* It is much more likely that Eocaidh Mumho derived his surname from Mumha.

gulation that the kingdom of Munster should be ruled alternately by one of the posterity of Eógán and Cormac Cas.

From Cormac Cas, king of Munster, *Dul q-Cais*, anglicised Dalcaessians, the various families of whom were located chiefly in that part of Thomond which forms the present county of Clare, and the ruling family of them were the O'Briens, kings of Thomond.

From Eógán, eldest son of Oilid Olum, were descended the *Eoganaichts* or *Eugenians*, who were styled kings of Cashel. The Eugenians possessed Desmond, or South Munster, the present counties of Cork and Kerry, they held also part of the present county of Tipperary, called the Eoganaicht of Cashel. The head family of the Eugenians were the Mac Carthys, princes of Desmond.

From Kian, the third son of Oilid Olum, were descended the *Clan Kian*, who were located chiefly in Ormond, and the chief of which families were the O'Carrolls, princes of Ely.

In the latter end of the third century, *Lugaidh Menn*, king of Munster, of the race of the Dalcaessians, took the territory afterwards called the county of Clare from Connaght, and added it to Thomond. CONALL ECHLUATH, or Conall of the Swift Steeds, son of this Lugaidh Menn, became king of Munster. CAS, the son of Conall, was prince of Thomond, and Carthen Dubh, the son of Cas, succeeded as prince of the Dalcaessians.

DES-MUMHA.

THE territory called DES-MUMHA [*Dassnoa*, or *Dass-rura*], i.e., South Munster, called Desmond in English, comprised the whole of the county of Cork, and the greater part of Kerry, with portions of the counties of Waterford and Tipperary. In this latter county, the district called Eoganaicht Caisil (*Oeanaicht a'aisil*) belonged to Desmond. The principality extended from Brandon Hills, in Kerry, to the river Blackwater, near Lismore, in the county of Waterford. In later times, when the Fitzgeralds were styled Earls of Desmond, and the Mac Carthy Mors its kings, this kingdom was confined to the baronies of Bear and Bantry, some portions of the south-west of Cork, and that part of Kerry that lies south of the river Many.

The Eugenians ruled as kings over Desmond, and the Dalcaessians over Thomond, and from each race was alternately elected a king of all, which mode of government continued from the third to the eleventh century, when Brian Boru, of the Dalcaessian race, became king of Munster and monarch of Ireland, and his descendants, the O'Briens, were kings of Munster and kings of Thomond, and the Mac Carthys, who were then the head of the Eugenic race, were kings and princes of Desmond.

1. MAC CARRY The Mac Carthys of the twelfth century are thus designated in the topographical poem of O'Heerin:—

"Heroes of Munster, from the fortress on the Shannon,
Are the race of Eógán, the son of Oilid,
Mac Carthaigh, the maintainer of its tributaries,
Is like an incessant stormy wave."

The Mac Carthys maintained long contests for their independence with the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond, the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, and other Anglo-Norman and English settlers, and held their titles as princes of Desmond, with considerable possessions, down to the reign of Elizabeth. They were divided into two great branches, the head of which was Mac Carthy More, of whom Donal Mac Carthy was created earl of Glencare or Clancare, A. D. 1565, by Queen Elizabeth; the other branch, called Mac Carthy Reagh, were princes of Carbery. Besides the Earls of Clancare, the Mac Carthys were also created at various periods barons of Valencia, Earls of Clancarthy, Earls of Muskerry, and Earls of Mountcashel, and had several strong castles in various parts of Cork and Kerry. According to Wndele, the Mac Carthy More was inaugurated at *Lisban-naeóbir* in Kerry, at which ceremony presided O'Sullivan Mor and O'Donoghoe Mor; his captains of war were the

O'Rourkes, probably a branch of the O'Rourkes, princes of Breifne; the Mac Egnans were his hereditary Brehons, and the O'Dalys and O'Duinins were his hereditary poets and antiquaries.

2. O'SULLIVAIN (*O'Soolivain*), or O'Sullivan The O'Sullivans held the ancient territory of Beara, now the baronies of Beara and Bantry, in the county of Cork, and were thence called O'Sullivan Beara, princes of Beara. Another branch of the family called O'Sullivan Mor were lords of Dunkerron, and possessed the barony of Dunkerron, in the county of Kerry, and their chief seat was the castle of Dunkerron, near the river Kenmare. The O'Sullivans were originally seated at Knockraffan, in Tipperary. They are of the same descent as the Mac Carthys of Desmond. They had several strong castles, the chief of which were those of Dunboy, Ardea, and Carriganass. In the reign of James I., their extensive possessions were confiscated, in consequence of their adherence to the Earls of Desmond and Tyrone in the Elizabethan wars, and the heads of the family retired to Spain, where many of them were distinguished officers in the Spanish service, and had the title of Counts of Bearhaven.

3. O'HEERINCOLL, or O'Driscoll, head of the Ithian race, was chief or prince of Coreahúighe, otherwise called Cairbreacha, comprising ancient Carbery, an extensive territory in the south-west of Cork. The O'Driscolls of the twelfth century are designated in O'Heerin's topographical poem:

"To the race of Lugaidh by the shore,
(I now proceed beyond the bounds),
It is not meet to pass the tribe,
I must record the warriors' fame.

"O'Driscoll, head chief of the land
Of Coreahúighe I now treat of
He seized upon the coasts of Cléiri,
A headland meet for princely lord."

They had castles at Dunashad and Dunalong, near Baltimore, the castle of Dunamore on Cape-clear Island, and others.

4. O'CAHAIN, or O'Keefe, is given by O'Heerin as chief of Glen Amhain and of Urluachra. Glen Amhain is now Glenworth, in the barony of Fermoy, county of Cork. The O'Keefes held the territory of Ferriahúighe Feni, now the barony of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, which afterwards was possessed by the Anglo-Norman family of Roche, viscounts of Fermoy, and called Roche's country. The O'Dugans and O'Coseralghs were the more ancient chiefs of Fermoy. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"Chief of Fernoy of well fenced forts,
Is O'Dugan of Dunmanann—
A tribe of Gaels of precious jewels—
O'Keefe is chief of Glen Avon.

"O'Keefe of the brown and handsome brows,
Is chief of Urluachra of the fertile lands,
The inheritor of the land of the hospitable,
Which vie in beauty with the fair plains of
Meath."

The O'Keeffes were marshals of Desmond and princes of Kerry. They had several castles, the chief of which were those of Dromagh and Dunragil.

5. MAC DONNADHA, or Mac Donogh, was chief of Dubhalla, now the barony of Dubhallow, in the county of Cork. The Mac Donaghs were a branch of the Mac Carthys; they were princes of Dubhallow, and their chief residence was the magnificent castle of Kanturk.

6. O'MATHGHAMHNA (*O'Mahona*), or O'Mahony. The O'Mahonys are given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Ui Eachach, and also of Kinél m-Béit; the latter is now the barony of Kinalmeaky, in the county of Cork, and Ui Eachach was in modern times called Ivaugh, which comprises the whole peninsula in the barony of West Carbery, extending from Ballydehob to the bay of Dunmanus. The territory Kinél Aedha also was anciently possessed by the O'Mahonys; it is now called the barony of Kinnalea, in the county of Cork. They had also a large territory in Muskerry, south of the river Lee, in the county of Cork, and also another territory called Tiobrad, in the county of Kerry. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"Ivahagh, most western part of Banba (Ireland),
Is the great estate of O'Mahony—
A well watered land of fair fortresses—
Extensive are its brown nut producing plains.

"Of Kinnalmeaky, of pleasant fields
All round Bandon, of fair woods,
The warlike chief, in victory supreme,
Is O'Mahony of the coast of white foam."

The O'Mahonys had several castles, as those of Rosbrin, Ardintenant, Blackcastle, Ballydesmond, Danbeacon, Dunmanus, Ringmahon, &c., all along the sea coast.

7. O'CELLACHAIN, or O'Callaghans, given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Clar Beri, and of Kinél Aedha. The territory of the O'Callaghans was also called Pobul O'Callaghan, signifying O'Callaghan's people, and extended from Mallow westward, on both sides of the Blackwater, in the barony of Dubhallow, county of Cork, and comprised the present parishes of Clonmeen and Kilshannick, an extensive territory containing about fifty thousand acres. They are thus mentioned in the poem of O'Heerin:

"Over Kinnalea of the fertile lands,
Rules O'Callaghan of the plain of Beara,
A land of blue waters and bright sunshine,
Is that country of the most expanded bay."

The O'Callaghans are of the Eugenic race, and of the same branch as the Mac Carthys.

8. O'LIATHAN, or O'Lehan, by some rendered to Lyne and Lyons, is given by O'Heerin chief of Ui Liathain, and of Ui Anmhadha. The O'Lehans had the territory in the county of Cork, afterwards called the barony of Barrymore, from the Anglo-Norman family of Barrys,

who became its possessors. The O'Lehans took their name from one of their chiefs in the beginning of the eleventh century, named Cuileán O'Liathan, who, in A.D. 1060, built Castle Lehan, now Castledelyons, which was the chief seat of that family. The O'Lehans are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Lord of Ui Liathain, a warrior of fame,
Is the hardy leader of the battalions of Munster;
Of Ui Anmhadha he is rightful chief—
The host of keen arms, of high nobility."

9. O'FLOINN, or O'Flynn was chief of Arda and Ui Baghamna, according to O'Heerin, a territory in the barony of Carbery, and also of Muiscirih Miotaine, or Muiscirih Ui Fhloinn, a district in the barony of Muskery, both in the county of Cork. The district in Muskery possessed by the O'Flynn, according to O'Heerin, extended from the river Dribseach or Dripsy, to Ballyvoorney. O'Maelfahail is another chief given by O'Heerin in the same territory. The O'Flynn are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Flynn Arda of the blooming woods,
A tribe of the purest pedigree;
Heir to the lordship is each man,
They are the clan of Ui Baghamna.

"Of the race of Conari of the great forces,
Let us speak of the chiefs of Muisceiride,
A host whom the bright sun salutes
On the land of the Martineans of Munster."

Ui Baghamna is now the barony of Ibane and Barryroe, adjoining Carbery.

10. MAC AMLAEIBH, or Mac Auliffe, given by O'Heerin as chief of the country from Amhain Ella westward beyond Glenn Salcain. This territory was in the barony of Dubhallow, in the county of Cork, extending westward from the river Alla to the borders of Limerick. These Mac Auliffes were a branch of the Mac Carthys, and possessed the territory called Glen Omra, in the barony of Dubhallow. The last chief of the family was colonel of a regiment in Spain, and died about the year 1720. Their chief seat was Castle Mac Auliffe, near Newmarket. The Mac Auliffes are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Far beyond the beautiful river Ella,
To the west of Glen Salcain of tall trees,
A fair land of affluence undenied;
The territory belongs to the noble Mac Auliffe."

Another chief in this territory is mentioned by O'Heerin, as follows:

"An estate of the plain of Corc belongs,
It is Aes Ella of the fine level land,
To the stately scion of Banba of the ringleted
hair,
He is O'Tedgamna of Dun Durlais."

11. O'DONNAGAIN, or Donnegan, chiefs of Muiscirih-na-dtri-Magh, or Mnsery of the Three Plains, now the half barony of Orrery, in the county of Cork. They are thus mentioned by O'Dugan:

"The country of O'Donnegan is certified,
The great Muskery of the Three Plains,
It belongs to the host of polished steel—
A district of charming sunny lands."

O'Cullenan is given by O'Brien as a chief in same territory. The O'Cullenans were celebrated as hereditary physicians of Munster:

12. O'INMHAINEIN, chief of Tuath Saxon, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Tuath Saxon of the fair pleasant plain,
To O'Inmanen I proclaim,
A country of harbors abounding in affluence,
Belongs to the hardy sept of Clan Conari."

13. O'MAELBLEOGHAIDH, of the race of Corc, chief of Muiscerth Treithirne, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Muscraide of Trethirni, mighty men,
Rightfully belongs to the race of Corc;
O'Maeb'leoghain is powerful over the land,
He possesses the country of smooth plains."

14. O'BREGHAIN, of O'Bregan, O'Glaisin, O'Micthre and O'Casliidh, or O'Kieley, likewise O'Ciarran, are given by O'Heerin, O'Brien, and O'Halloran, as chiefs of Ui Mac Calli, or 'Macculle, now the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork. O'Bregan and O'Glaisin are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"A vallant clan, warlike in pursuit,
Ruled Imokilly of the hospitable banquets;
Two tribes possessed the smooth plains—
O'Bregan and the fair O'Glaisin."

15. O'CURRI or O'Curry, of Clan Torna, chief of Ciarraidhe Cuirci, now the barony of Kerri-currehy, in the county of Cork, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Kerricurrhy of the fair coast,
That country belongs to Clan Torna;
O'Curry obtained the fertile land;
In its green aspect it is like the plains of
Meath."

16. O'COBTHAIGN, anglicised O'Cowhig and O'Cowhys, O'Coffey of Fuinn Clidna, were chiefs of Triocha Mebhna, now the barony of West Barryroe, in the county of Cork. The O'Cowhigs were in ancient times powerful chiefs, and had seven castles along the coast in the barony of Ibhawne and Barryroe. They are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Lord of the county of Triocha Mebhna,
Is O'Cowhig of the white-stoned shore;
The land of Clidna is the plain of O'Cowhig,
In the sea fights they are vallant foes."

17. O'FICHELLA, or O'Fihellys, a name anglicised to Field, are also given by O'Brien as chiefs in West Barryroe.

18. O'BARÍ is given by O'Heerin as chief of Muintrí Barí, and by O'Halloran as chief of Aron. In O'Brien's Dictionary the O'Barís are stated to possess a territory and foreland called Muintrí Barí, part of ancient Carbery, in the county of Cork. This name has been anglicised to Barry, and is often confounded with the Norman De Barries; they were of the Ithlan or Lugadian race, and descended from Fathadh Argthech, a king of Munster in the third century, according to O'Heerin, by whom they are thus designated:

"Muintrí Barí of the fair fortress,
They are of the race of Fathadh Argthech;
O'Barí rules over the land of waves,
Which is not surpassed by the smooth plains
of Mana."

19. O'LAEGHAIRI, or O'Leary, chiefs of Ul Laoighaire or Ivelcary, were of the Lugadian or Ithlan race, and possessed in ancient times the city of Roscarbery and its environs. Ivelcary, or O'Leary's country, lay in Muskerry, in the county of Cork, between Macroom and Inchageela, where they had several castles, as those of Carrigafooky, Carrignaneelagh, Carrignacurra, Dundarick and Drumeurragh.

21. The O'HEAS were chiefs of Pobble O Hea, in Carbery.

21. The O'DONOVANS, of whom an account shall be given in the chapter on Thomond, likewise settled in Cork, and were chiefs of Clan Cathail, an extensive district in West Carbery, where they had their chief residence at Castle Donovan.

22. O'BEET is given by O'Heerin as a chief of Beantraidhe, now the barony of Bantry, county of Cork, and is thus designated:

"O'Beet, chief of the fair land,
Rules over Bantry of delightful bloom;
Heroes, whose noble actions I certify,
They are of the race of Fergus of Ulster."

23. The O'CASEYS were chiefs of Coillte Mabincha, a territory near Mitchelstown, in the county of Cork.

24. The O'HEALYS or O'Helys were chiefs of Dombnach Mor O'Healy, or Pobble O'Healy, a large parish in the barony of Muskerry, county of Cork.

25. The O'HEERLIHYS or O'Hurleys were chiefs of a district in the barony of Muskerry, and he states they were hereditary wardens of the church of St. Gobnait of Ballyvoorny, and were possessors for many ages of the large parish of that name.

26. The O'NUNANS were chiefs of Tullaleis and Castleissen, now the parish of Tullilase, in the barony of Duhallow, county of Cork, in which they were hereditary wardens of St. Brendan's church.

27. The O'DALYS had the parish of Kilerohane, in the barony of West Carbery, county of Cork, and were bards to the Mac Carthys, O'Mahonys, Carews, and other great families.

28. The Mac EGANS were Brehons in the counties of Cork and Kerry, under the Mac Carthys, kings of Desmond. The Mac Egans were also hereditary Brehons or judges of Ormond.

29. The Mac SWEENEYS were military commanders under the Mac Carthys, princes of Desmond, who, in the thirteenth century, brought a body of them from Tirconnell or Donegal. The Mac Sweeney's had the parish of Kilmurphy, in the barony of Muskerry, county of Cork, and their chief castle at Clodagh, near Macroom, and had also Castlemore, in the parish of Moidy.

30. The Mac SHEEHYS were a warlike clan, brought from Connaught in the fifteenth century by the Fitzgeralds, earls of Desmond, who appointed them their body guards. They were afterwards numerous in the counties of Cork and Limerick.

31. The O'KEARNEYS were a clan near Kinsale, in the county of Cork, where they are placed on the Map of Ortelius, and are mentioned by O'Heerin as chiefs of Ul Fioinn.

32. The O'RIBDANS were a clan of note in Muskerry, in the county of Cork, and distinguished military chiefs in ancient times.

33. The O'CROWLEYS were chiefs of Kilshallow, west of Bandon, in the county of Cork, but originally came from Connaught.

34. The O'MURPHYs, originally from Wexford, were a numerous clan in Muskerry.

35. The O'AHURNS, O'RONAYNES, and O'HEYNES, were also old and respectable families in the county of Cork.

IAR-MUMHA.

36. The O'CONCOBHAIK, or O'CONORS, kings of Kerry, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin in his topographical poem:

"Let us leave the warlike race of Conari,
Princes of Erna of golden shields,
We come to our friends the race of Fergus,
They are entitled to command our attention.

"The king of Kiarraide over the clans of Klar,
O'Conor rules the land by right,
Chief of the plain of fertile fields,
From the sea shore to the Shannon of clear streams."

They took their name from Conchobhar or Conor, one of their ancient chiefs. The O'Conors Kerry were very powerful as kings and princes of Kerry. In the thirteenth century, the Fitzmaurices, earls of Kerry, got much of the possessions of the O'Conors, whose ancient principality was diminished to the territory called Oireacht Ui Chonchobhair, signifying the inheritance of O'Conor, now forming the barony of Iraghticonor. The O'Conors Kerry had several strong castles, the chief of which was that of Carrigaloye, at the small island of Carrig, near the mouth of the Shannon, but after the Elizabethian and Cromwellian wars most of their estates were confiscated.

37. O'DONNCHADHA, or O'DONOGHOES, given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Lough Lein, and also of Clan Selbhuidhe, and thus designated in his topography, together with the O'Carroll:

"O'Donoghoe of Lough Lein,
And of the Fleg who is full powerful,
Rule over the Clan Selbaide.
They are men of happiness in Munster."

"O'Donoghoe of Lough Lein—
He is prince of that Foganacht;
O'Carroll is there our kinsman,
Of pure and noble origin."

The O'Donoghoes were of the Eugenic race of Ibh Echach, the other great sept of which tribe took the name O'Mahony; and originally settled in that part of Desmond, now the county of Cork, where they possessed a large territory, extending from Iniskean to the borders of Bantry, and from thence northward to Ballyvurny and Macroom, comprising the district called Ivelary, (which is part of Carbery,) and also a great portion of Muskerry; but in the twelfth century, the O'Donoghoes were expelled from Cork by the Mac Carthys and O'Mahonys, and settled in Kerry, where they became proprietors of all the country about Loch Lein and Killarney. The O'Donoghoes continued powerful chiefs down to the reign of Elizabeth, when, in consequence of having joined the earls of Tyrone and Desmond, most of their estates were confiscated. The O'Donoghoes were divided into two great branches, namely, those of Loch Lein, and those of Glenlesk, the latter called O'Donoghoe More. The O'Donoghoes, lords of Loch Lein, had their chief castle at Ross Island, on one of the lakes of Killarney, the romantic ruins of which still remain.

38. O'DOMHNAILL, or O'Donnell, of the same race as the O'Donoghoes, is given by O'Heerin

as a chief of Clan Shalvey, and mentioned as follows:*

"Clan Selbaide of the limpid streams,
Recorded as a well known land,
Belongs to O'Domnaill of the powerful hand,
Who took possession of the brown nut plain."

39. O'CATHAILL, or O'Cabill. A branch of the Kiarraide took this name from Cathal, one of its chiefs. The race is of the same blood as the O'Connors Kerry. The name is still numerous in the counties of Kerry and Cork.

40. The O'CARROLLS, princes of Loch Lein, are mentioned by O'Heerin, and also in the Annals of Inisfallen, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

41. O'FALBUI, or O'Falvey, given by O'Heerin as chief of Corca Duibhne, and of the territory from the Mang, westward to Fiontraigh or Ventry. *Corca Duibhne*, is now the barony of Corcaguiney, in the county of Kerry. The O'Falveys were powerful chiefs, and in ancient times held the rank of hereditary admirals of Desmond.

42. O'SEADHA, or O'Shea, is also given as a chief of Ibh Ratha or Iveragh.

43. O'CONGHAILL, or O'Connell, is given by O'Heerin, as chief of *Magh O g-Coinchian*, now the barony of Maguohy, in Kerry. The three last mentioned chiefs are stated by O'Heerin in his topography, to be of the race of Clan Conari, that is, the descendants of Conari II., monarch of Ireland, in the beginning of the third century, who was of the race of the Clanna Degtal, of Munster. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"After the battalions of Clar Broni,
Let us treat of the clans of Conari,
Fair Fenian heroes from Tulach-an-Trir (an ancient name of Tara.)
Rulers in Munster of the smooth streams,

"Three chiefs who possessed the lands,
Of Corca Dubni of the fine forces,
O'Falvey the warrior, and O'Shea,
The strengthening bond of the eastern parts.

"O'Connell of sharp swords
Rules over the shady fortress of Maguohy,
Like a stately tree in hazel woods,
Is the Munster leader of the cavalry forces.

"From Mang, westward, is the estate,
Possessed by O'Falvey as far as Ventry;
Without dispute an extensive land,
Was obtained by O'Shea, chief of Iveragh."

44. O'LAEGHAIN, O'Leyno, or Lano, chief of Ui Ferba; and O'Duibhduin, chief of Ui Flannain, districts in the county of Kerry, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:—

"O'Laeghain, a warrior of fame,
We found him over Ui Ferba;
O'Cathendaigh obtained the land,
Firmly settled under the high hills of Cualan.

"Ui Flannain an extensive land,
A verdant country of delightful streams,
O'Duivdin over this fertile soil,
Rules as its chief and protecting lord."

* These must not be confounded with the great O'Domhnaills or O'Donnells of Tircennell.—Ed.

45. The O'NEIS and CLAN CONARI are given chiefs of Alltraighe, or of Clar Ciarraidhe, that is, the plain of Kerry, and thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The men of Alltraighe maintain,
Two chiefs of the plain of Kerry;
A clan of the most active in pitch of battle,
Their chiefs are O'Sedi and Clan Conari."

46. O'DUNODADIE, or O'Dunnady, chief of Slieve Luachra, that is, the district about the mountains of Slievclagher, on the borders of Limerick and Kerry, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The plain of Luachra, a productive country,
Belongs to the liberal O'Dunady,
A tribe of hard fighting battles,
A district of fair well-watered lands."

47. O'MURCHEARTAIGH, or O'Moriarty, and O'Hinnasbhain, chiefs of Aes Asdi of Orlar Eltaigh, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Aes Asdi of the plain of flocks
Which the chief of O'Moriarty obtained;
A fair country of blooming aspect,
Which was possessed by O'Hinnesvan."

The O'Moriarty's had the parish of Templeoon, and some adjoining districts in the barony of Dunkerron.

48. The MAC GILLICUDDY'S, a branch of the O'Sullivan's, were chiefs of a territory in the barony of Dunkerron, and from them the mountains called Mac Gillicuddy's Reeks got their name.

49. The MAC ELLIGOTT'S were an ancient family in Kerry, from whom the parish of Ballymaelligott, in the barony of Trughenackmy, got its name.

50. The MAC FINNEEN'S, a branch of the Mac Carthys, or according to others, of the O'Sullivan's; the Mac C-chags; the O'Scanlans; and O'Harneys, were also clans of note in Kerry.

Anglo-Norman families in Desmond.

1. The FITZGERALDS, descended from the Anglo-Norman chief, Maurice Fitzgerald, who got large possessions in Cork and Kerry, and whose posterity were created earls of Desmond in the reign of Edward III. Another branch of the Fitzgeralds, also descended from Maurice Fitzgerald, became earls of Kildare. The earls of Desmond became one of the most powerful families in Munster, and several of them were lords deputies of Ireland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Gerald Fitzgerald, sixteenth earl of Desmond, was one of the greatest subjects in Europe, and held the rank of a Prince Palatine, with the authority of a provincial king; he had many strong castles, and his vast possessions extended 150 miles over the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Waterford, comprising nearly six hundred thousand acres of profitable land, independent of immense tracts of waste lands, not surveyed, so that his entire property amounted to nearly one million of acres. He had an immense number of vassals, and could raise at a call a force of two thousand foot and six hundred horse, and had besides, in his retinue of his own kindred, five hundred gentlemen of the Fitzgeralds. The earl of Desmond having resisted the Reformation in the reign of Elizabeth, and waged war against the English government, his forces after long contests were defeated, and he himself was slain by one Kelly, an Irish soldier, in a glen near Castle Island, in

county of Kerry, on the 11th November, 1558; his head was cut off and sent to England by Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, as a present to the queen, who caused it to be fixed on London bridge.

The other principal Norman families of the county of Cork were the Cogans, Carews, Condons, or Cantons, de Coureys, Barrys, Barnwalls, Barretts, Roches, Mac Gibbons, or Fitzgibbons, a branch of the Fitzgeralds; the Flemmings, Sarsfields, Nagles, Martells, Russels, Pigotts, Prendergasts, Morgans, Cotters, Marroghs, Supples, Stackpoles, Whites, Hodnetts, Kents, &c.

Danish families.

The Coppingers, Goulds, Gallways, Skiddys, and Terrys, who are considered to be of Danish descent, were in former times very numerous and powerful families in Cork, and a vast number of them were lord mayors of that city, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.

2. The DE CORREYS were barons of Kinsale, and some of the family took the Irish name of Mac Patrick, being descendants of one of the earls named Patrick.

3. The DE BARRYS, Anglo-Normans, became earls of Barrymore, and gave name to the baronies of Barrymore and Barryroe; some of them took the name of Mac David.

4. The ROCHE'S. The Anglo-Norman family of de la Rupe or Roche became viscounts of Fernoy, and their territory was called Roche's country.

5. The SARSFIELDS, Anglo-Normans, settled in Cork, and also in Limerick. The Sarsfields of Limerick were created viscounts of Kilmallock, the first who got the title being Sir Dominick Sarsfield, chief justice of the common pleas, in the reign of James I. Patrick Sarsfield, of the same family, was created earl of Lucan by James II., under whom he was celebrated as a commander of the Irish forces.

6. The BARRETT'S gave name to the barony of Barretts; the CONDONS, a brave Norman sept, who were amongst the last to yield to Cromwell, to the barony of Condons.

7. The DE BARNWALLS, Anglo-Normans, were styled lords of Bearhaven, and once had large possessions in that district, but were expelled by the O'Sullivan's, and having settled in Dublin and Meath, founded several great families, as the Barnwalls, barons of Trimblestown and Turvey, and viscounts Kingsland.

8. The HODNETT'S. Some of the family of Hodnett took the Irish name of Mac Sherry, and their chief residence was at Court Mac Sherry; from the Magners, Castle Magnor got its name.

9. The NAGLES had extensive possessions, and from them the Nagles mountains derive their name; of this family was Sir Richard Nagle, attorney-general to James II.

Anglo-Norman families in Kerry.

10. The FITZMAURICES, earls of Kerry, descended from Raymond le Gros. Raymond having formed an alliance with Dermot Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, got large grants of lands in Kerry, in the territory called Ixnaw, which, from being possessed by his son Maurice, got the name of Clannaurice. From Maurice were descended the Fitzmaurices, earls of Kerry. The other principal English families were the Browns, Stacks, Godfreys, Rlees, &c.

Nobility.

The following have been the titled families in the county of Cork: The de Coureys, barons of Kinsale and Hingrone; the Fitzgeralds, earls of Desmond, barons of Decles, and seneschals of

Imokilly. The Carews, marquises of Cork. The Mac Carthys, earls of Clancare, earls of Clancarthy, earls of Muskerry, and earls of Mountcashel. The Barrys, barons of Oletlan, viscounts of Batevant, and earls of Barrymore. The Roches, barons of Castletough, and viscounts of Fermoy.

In Kerry, the following have been the noble families since the reign of king John. The Fitzmaurices, barons of Lixnaw and O'Dorney, viscounts of Clanmaurice and earls of Kerry; the Fitzgeralds, knights of Kerry; the Browns, earls of Kenmare, and viscounts of Castleross.

THOMOND.

THOMOND under its ancient kings, extended from the Isles of Arran, off the coast of Galway to Sliabh Eibhlinn, now the Felim mountains, in the county of Tipperary, and thence to Knockany, in the county of Limerick; and from Loophead at the mouth of the Shannon, to Ossory, on the borders of Tipperary, Kilkenny, and the Queen's county, thus comprising the county of Clare, and the greater part of those of Limerick, and Tipperary. But in later times, Thomond was confined to the present county of Clare.

1. THE O'BRIENS, KINGS OF THOMOND.—The sept of O'Brien, or O'Brian, took its name from its ancestor Brian Boromha. From the time of this monarch, it had become not only the ruling family of Dalcassians, but of the whole race of Eber. At the time of the English invasion, the brave Donnall O'Brian, one of its members, was sovereign of Cashel, of which he was last king. The O'Briens maintained a long and fierce contest for their independence, with the Anglo-Norman. They succeeded in maintaining their power as kings of Thomond and Limerick, until the year 1543, when Muredh O'Brien renounced the titles of O'Brian, and King of Thomond, for the English style of Earl of Thomond. The O'Briens are still a very numerous race, though scattered throughout Munster, and Leinster, and other parts of Ireland.

NOTE.—Unlike most other Irish septs, the sept still possesses, amongst its members, one man, with whom none, either of the clan of Brian Boromha, the tribe of Cas, the line of Eber, or of the whole nation sprung from Miledh of Esbain, can dispute the first place. Other tribes are, it is true, still represented by nominal chiefs, who usurp the ancient elective titles of their septs—titles which could only be conferred, either by the voice of the majority of their tribes, or by the head-chieftain of their kindred—and some do even coin new quasi-Irish titles for themselves, never heard of in the days when the Gaels flourished. They dub themselves *The O'*—or *The Mac'*—merely because they chance to retain, or acquire some portion of the ancient inheritance of their kindred; but they never think of asking the consent of the members of such kindred to the assumption, and they never at all consider whether they are themselves the best men of their several races. The Ui Briain, however, are now represented by no such self-created chiefs. WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN needs not the assumption of the ancient title of his family, he needs not set forth his clear and unquestioned descent from its founder, Brian Boromha, for the chieftain's wand is his, because he is pre-eminent amongst his tribe for his personal worth, and for his devotion to the cause of old Ireland—because he is the first of his tribe in truth, honor, chivalry, and all that ennobles the hero, the patriot, and the man.—Ed.

2. O'DEGHADH, or O'Dea, chief of Tricocha Uachtarach, called also Kinel Fermaic and Disert Ui Dhegha, or Dysart O'Dea, now the parish of Dysart, barony of Inchiquin, county of Clare. The O'Deas are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

“With due respect we give the lead
To the high lands of Tricocha Uachtar,
O'Dea is the inheritor of the country,
Of the brown nut producing plains.”

The O'Deas had several castles in this territory, of which some ruins still remain.

3. O'CUIN, or O'Quin, chief of Muintri Ifernain, a territory about Curofin in the county of Clare. Ui Ifernain, was the name of the tribe who possessed the territory over which O'Quin was chief. They are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

“O'Quin of the honest heart,
Is chief of the bountiful Ui Ifernain,
Whose land is fruitful and fair,
Around Curofin of the banquets.”

4. O'FLATHRI, or O'Flattery, and O'Cathall, or O'Cahil, chiefs of Finn-coRADH. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

“O'Flathri who commands our praise,
Possesses the land of Finehora,
The country of O'Cahil to the east and west
Is the smooth plain of the fields of yews.”

5. O'MAOILMEDA, chief of Kinel m-Baith, or Brentire, now Brentry, near Callan Hill, in the county of Clare. They are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

“Kinel Baith a numerous tribe,
The noble chiefs of Irentiri,
O'Mulnea of the bright fair plains,
Possessed the woods about delightful Einigh.”

6. O'HAITHCHIR, or O'Hehirs, chiefs of Hy Flanchadha and Hy Cormac, districts in the barony of Islands, county of Clare. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

“Of the race of Eogan of Oirir Clach
Are the Ui Cormaic of the fair plain,
To O'Hehir belongs the fertile country,
A lord from whom great nobles sprung.

“Chiefs who are powerful in each house
Are of the noble clans of O'Hehir,
They rule over Ui Flancha of hospitable man-
sions,
They are noble and well armed Fenian war-
riors.”

7. O'DUIGHINN, or O'Duigin, chief of Muintri Conlochtaidh, a district in the parish of Tomgraney, in the barony of Tullagh, county of Clare, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

“O'Duigin of fair and ruddy face
Rules over comely Muintri Conlochta,
A chief who gained his possessions
By force of spears in battle.”

8. O'GRADA, or O'Grady, chief of Kinel Donghulle, a large territory comprising the present barony of Lower Tullagh, in the county of Clare. The O'Grady's are thus designated by O'Heerin, and several chiefs of them are mentioned in the course of this work:

"O'Grada took the entire lands
Of the profitable Kinel Dongali,
His swords yellow-haired are keen,
Strong are the blows of his forces in battle."

9. **MAC CONMARA**, or **Mac Namara**. The Mac Namaras have taken their name from one of their ancient chiefs in the tenth century named Cumara, a descendant of Conall Echluath, or Conall of the Swift Steeds, who was king of Munster in the fourth century. The word Cumara makes, in the genitive, Conmara, and signifies a warrior of the sea. The Mac Namaras were chiefs of Tricha Ced Uí Caisín, which territory is now the barony of Tullagh, in the county of Clare; it contained also part of the barony of Bunnraty. The Mac Namaras are also sometimes styled chiefs of Clan Cuileain, which was the tribe name of his family. The Mac Namaras are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"A princely chief of well fought battles
Is Mac Namara from Magh Adair,
A land of riches is his country,
It is the territory of Clan Caisín."

The Mac Namaras held the office of hereditary marshals of Thomond, where they had numerous castles.

10. **O'CORCHUNHAIR**, or **O'Conor**, chief of Tricocha Ced Fer n Arda and of Coreamruadh, the ancient name of the barony of Coreomroe, in the county of Clare, anciently called Críoch Cuire, or the territory of Core, which name it got from Core, prince of the race of Ir from Ulster, who settled there in the first century. The O'Conors are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"The territory of Fer Arda of go d,
Coreomroe of the hosts of flashing battalions,
O'Conor obtained the land,
The heights from delightful Conagh."

11. **O'LOCHLAINN**, or **O'Loughlin**, chief of Boirenn now the barony of Burren, county of Clare, sometimes called Eastern Coreomroe; they are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Warlike O'Lochlin, leader of hosts,
Rules o'er the fertile plains of Burren,
The lands of Core he holds by right,
A country of cattle and abundant wealth."

They held their rank as lords of Burren down to the reign of Elizabeth. These O'Conors and O'Loughlins were of the same descent.

12. **MAC ANEIRIDHE**, or **Mac Eneiry**, chief of Corea Muikeda, also called Conaill Uachtarach, or the barony of Upper Conello, in the county of Limerick.

"Mac Eneiry, hero of precious gems,
Rules Corea Muikeda of the mounds,
A noble Fenian who doth flourish,
As doth fair bloom on apple tree."

13. **O'BILLRAIDHE**, a chief in Uí Conaill Gabhra, now the baronies of Upper and Lower Conello, in the county of Limerick, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Billy, bestower of cattle,
Was chief of fertile Conall Gaura,
Bounteous men of the fair plains,
Rich lands of teeming crops."

14. **O'CUILLEIN**, or **O'Cullane**, by some rendered Collins; O'Kenealy and O'Sheehan, were chiefs in the baronies of Conello, county of Limerick.

15. **O'MAELMACASA**, or **O'Mackessy**, chief of Corea Olche; and **O'Berga**, chief of Tuath Rossa, districts in the county of Limerick, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Corea Oichi of pleasant woods,
Sand white mantles and clear streams,
Land of great fertility,
Is governed by O'Maelmacasa,
O'Berga of fair country held,
The districts of Uí Rossa, a rich portion."

16. **O'MAELCHALLAINN**, now Mulholland, a chief in Caenraidhe, now the barony of Kenry, county of Limerick, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The Fenian chief of Kenry of fair lands,
Is O'Mulcalleen of the numerous tribe."

17. **O'CLEIRHCINN** and **O'FLANNABHRA**, or **O'Flannery**, chiefs of Dal Carri Aedhbha, a territory in the barony of Kenry, in the county of Limerick, thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The portion of the delightful Dal Carri Eva,
Princes of Cashel of white standards,
Lasting is his prosperity to the country,
The brave an his high chief O'Cleircinn."

18. **O'DONNOBHAINN**, or **O'Donovan**, is given by O'Brien at the word Cairbre, as chief of Cairbre Aodhbha, now the barony of Kenry, in the county of Limerick, which was the ancient territory of O'Donovan, O'Cleircinn, and O'Flannery; O'Donovan is thus designated by O'Heerin:

"Heirdom of O'Donovan of Dun Cuire,
Is this district, the land of his fortune,
To him without tribute belongs Maghmoill,
And the level plains down to Shannon."

The O'Donovans had their chief castle at Bruce.

19. **O'CIARMAIC**, anglicised O'Kirwick and Kirby, chief of Eoganacht Ani, called by O'Halloran, Ani Clach, now the parish of Knockaney, in the barony of Small County, county of Limerick. The O'Kirwicks are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Of Eoganacht Ani of wealthy lands,
O'Kirwick is the mainstay of the territory,
A country inhabited by the most noble tribes,
They are Uí Enda, Ani, and Aulium."

20. **O'MAELLEIN**, or **O'Muldoon**, is also given as a chief in Eoganacht Ani, and thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The race of O'Maelduin from Dun Cals,
Over Eoganacht Ani in order rules—
A numerous tribe from o'er the waves,
These armed Fenians from Aughrim."

21. **O'CIINFAELAIDHE**, now O'Kinealy, chief of Eoganacht Grian Gabhra, a district comprising parts of the baronies of Coshma and Small county, in Limerick, and thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The Eoganacht of fertile Grian Gaura,
A land producing sweetest apples,
A crown of female households in fame,
Belongs to O'Kinfala of red arms."

22. **O'CONUING**, a name anglicised to Gunninz, was chief of Críoch Saingil and Aes Greni, which territories are now comprised in the barony of Small county, in Limerick. Críoch

Saingil is called Single Land, and situated near Limerick. The O'Connings are thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Aes Greni of the finest plains,
Was owned by O' Cuning of Criche Saingil,
He cheerfully held the beautiful Grian,
From the noble race of Eogan."

23. O'CAELAIDH, O'CADHILA, or O'Keely; and O'Maille, or O'Malley, are given as chiefs of Tuath Luinnighe, or the district about Limerick.

24. O'CEADFADHA is given as chief of Triochna-Cead-an Chalaídh, called Cala Luimne, that is, the port or ferry of Limerick.

25. O'HAODHA, O'HEA, or Hayes, chief of Musgraíde Luachra, a territory lying between Kilmallock and Ardpatrick, in the barony of Coshlea, in the county of Limerick, is thus designated by O'Heerin :

"O'Hea, the bestower of cattle,
Has held the wide Musgraíde Luachra,
The tribe of the fair land of melodious song,
Dwelt along the great salmon stream."

26. MAC DOMINAILL, or Muintir Domhnail, and O'Baiskind, chiefs of Triochna Cead Corca Baiskind, which, according to O'Halloran, is now the barony of Moyarta, in the county of Clare. O'Maolcorera is given as chief of Uí Breacáin, now the barony of Ibrackan. In the poem two Corca Baiskins are mentioned, one of which was the barony of Clonderlaw. Mac Donnell's district was called Darach; he was also called O'Donnell. These chiefs are thus designated by O'Heerin :

"Two cantreds we record,
The two delightful Corca Baiskins,
The Mac Donnells were its inheritors,
The host who have shared the country."

"Another chief of this land of music,
Noble is the origin of his descent,
Was O'Baiskinn's stately tree,
A tribe that marched with force."

"The lord of Ibrackan of silken garments,
A chief who musters mighty forces,
Is O'Maolcorera of wide fame,
Whose land extends from both the bays."

"The two territories of the entire Fochla,
Are possessed by the valliant race of Conari,
Along the land of Braen-magh 'tis true,
Its lawful defender is O'Keely—
We leave the race of Conari of Battles,
The princes of Erna of the golden shields."

27. MAC MATHGHAMHA, or Mac Mahon. The Mac Mahons succeeded the above chiefs as lords of Corca Baiskinn; and possessed the baronies of Moyarta and Clonderlaw, in the county of Clare, down to the reign of Elizabeth. The Mac Mahons are a branch of the O'Briens, the posterity of Brian Boru, and therefore, of quite a different descent from the Mac Mahons, lords of Monaghan, who are of the race of Clan Colla.

28. O'GORMAIN, or O'Gorman, was chief of Tullichrin, a territory comprising parts of the baronies of Moyarta and Ibrackan, in the county of Clare.

29. O'DICHOLLA and O'Maeleithigh, are given as chiefs of Corcomroe, in the county of Clare, and thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"O'Dicholla's possessions by inheritance,
Are in Corcomroe of the intrepid battalions,
Also O'Maeleithigh of the hospitable,
Who maintained his hereditary rights."

30. O'DROIGHNEAIN, O'DRENNAN, or Drinan, chief of Slieve Eise Finn and of Kinel Sedna, a district on the borders of Clare and Galway, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"The lands about the fair Slieve Eise,
Are possessed by the Clan Sedna of melodious
bards,
A tribe who firmly support their clans;
Chief of their territory is O'Drennan."

31. O'NEILL or O'Nihell, chief of Clan Delbuidhe and of Tradraíde, a district in the barony of Inchiquin, county of Clare, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"The land of Clan Dalvy of the poets
Was ruled by O'Neill, chief of Finnharach,
The forces of Tradree came to his fortress,
The descendant of the yellow-haired chiefs."

32. The O'CREAGHS, many of whom were valliant chiefs, and gained several victories over the Danes; and on one occasion, having worn green boughs in their helmets, they from this circumstance got the name *O'Craoibh*, which signifies, of the branches, which name was anglicised to Creagh. Of this family was Richard Creagh, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, who died A. D. 1555, an eminent writer on ecclesiastical history, and the lives of the Irish saints.

33. O'DOBHAECHON or O'Davoran, chief of Muintir Lidheagha, or the O'Liddys, the tribe name of this clan.

"The O'Davorans of wise and learned men,
Chiefs of O'Liddy of whom I treat,
They belonged to the clans of Sinnell,
And are the maintainers of nobility."

34. The O'MOLONEYS were chiefs of Cuiltean, now the parish of Kiltonanlea, in the barony in the barony of Tully, county of Clare.

35. The O'KEARNEYS, chiefs of Abhainn Uí Chearnaídh, or O'Kearney's river, a district about Six-Mile-Bridge, in the baronies of Tulla and Bunratty, county of Clare.

36. The O'CASEYS given as chiefs of Rathconan, in the barony of Pubblebrien, county of Limerick.

37. The O'DINNAHA'S or O'Dinans, chiefs of Uaithne, now the barony of Ownybeg, in Limerick.

38. The O'HALLINANS and MAC SHEEHYS, chiefs of Ballyhallinan, in the barony of Pubblebrien, county of Limerick.

39. The O'HALLORANS, chiefs of Faith uí-Hallarsáin, a district between Tulla and Clare, in the county of Clare.

40. The MAC GROLLO IOSACHTA, a name anglicised to Lysaght, are placed on the map of Ortelius, about Ennistymon.

41. The MAC CONSIDINES, are placed in the barony of Ibrackan.

42. The O'DALYS, in the barony of Burren.

43. The MAC GILLEREAGHS, in the barony of Clonderlaw.

44. The MAC CLANCYS, in the barony of Tulla

45. The MAC BRUDINS, in the barony of Inchiquin, all in the county of Clare.

The following families are also placed on the map, in the county of Limerick; the Mac Arthurs, in the barony of Pubblebrien; the O'Scanlans, in

the barony of Pnbblebrien; and the O'Mornys, in the barony of Lower Conello.

In the year 1180, king Henry II. granted the kingdom of Limerick to Herbert Fitzherbert, but he having resigned his claims, it was granted by king John to William and Philip de Braosa. In the latter end of the twelfth, and beginning of the thirteenth century, the Anglo Normans penetrated into Thomond, and formed some settlements about Limerick, under William de Braosa and William de Burgo; and in the thirteenth century, king Henry III. gave a grant of the whole kingdom of Thomond, or *O'Brien's country*, to Thomas de Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester; and the Fitzgeralds, Burkes, and other Anglo-Norman families, also got large possessions in Limerick and Clare. The O'Briens, and other chiefs, maintained for centuries fierce contests with the Anglo-Norman and English settlers, in defence of their national independence. The following were the chief families of Anglo-Normans, and early English settlers, in the counties of Limerick and Clare. The de Burgos or Burkes, Fitzgeralds, Fitzgibbons, a branch of the Fitzgeralds, the de Clares, De Lucies, Browns, Barretts, Roches, Russels, Sarsfields, Stritches, Purcells, &c.

ORMOND AND THE DESI.

ORMOND, in Irish *Oir Munhan, Oir Munha*, or *Urnkhunka*, [*Orrooa*, or *Orruwa*.] signify- ing East Munster, was one of the large divisions of ancient Munster. Ancient Ormond extended from Gabhran, now Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, and westward to Cnamhehoill, or Cleath-choill, [*Cnauhill*, or *Claghill*.] near the town of Tipperary, and from Bearnam Ele, now Carnanelly, a parish in the county of Tipperary, in which is situated the Devil's Bit Mountain, and from thence southward to Oilean-ni-Bhrice, [*Uaven-ee-Vric*.] or O'Bric's Island, near Bonmahon, on the coast of Waterford, thus comprising the greater part of Tipperary, with parts of the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford. The name of Ormond is still retained in the two baronies of Ormond, in Tipperary.

THE DESI, was an ancient territory comprising the greater part of Waterford, with a part of Tipperary, and got its name from the tribe of the *Desi*. The Desians becoming numerous and powerful in Munster, Aengus, king of Munster in the fifth century, conferred on them additional lands, and annexed to their territory Magh Fehien, which extended north of the river Suir, as far as Corca Eithrac, comprising the country called Machari Casil, or the Plain of Cashel, and districts about Clonmel, forming the present barony of Middlethrd, with part of Offa, in Tipperary. The territory comprised in this grant of king Aengus was distinguished by the name of Desi Tuaiskert, or North Desi, and the old territory, in Waterford, was called Desi Deiskert, or South Desi. The name of Desi is still retained in the two baronies of Decies, in the county of Waterford. The two principal families of the Desi were the O'Felans, princes of Desi, and the O'Briens, chiefs in Desi.

Irish Chiefs and Clans of Ormond and Desi.

The following is an account of the chiefs and clans of Ormond and Desi, and the territories possessed by each in ancient and modern times, collected from various works. In *Desi* the following were the chiefs and clans:

1. O'FAELAIN, or O'Felan. The O'Felans were princes of Desi. Malachy O'Felan was prince of Desi at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion. Soon after they lost their posses-

sions and rank in the county of Waterford, and their territory was transferred to the Le Poers, and other Anglo-Norman settlers, but there still survive several families of the O'Felans, or Phe-lans, in the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, Kilkenny and Queen's county.

2. O'BRIE was the other head chief of Desies, and of the same descent as O'Felan. The O'Briens were styled chiefs or lords of South Desi, an extensive territory in the southern part of Waterford, but in early times were expelled from that county by the Eugenians of Desmond. The territory of the O'Briens was also called Iath O'Neachach. The O'Felans and O'Briens are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"Two gentle chiefs whose names I tell,
Rule the Desi, I affirm it,
O'Brie the exactor of tributes,
With him the wise and fair O'Felan.

"In Moylacha of the fertile slopes,
Rules O'Felan for the benefit of his tribe,
Great is the allotted territory
Of which O'Felan holds possession.

"U' Neachach the delightful lies
In the south of woody Inis Fall,
O'Brie's fair lot along the waves,
From Lec Logha to Liathdrum."

3. O'BRIAINS. The O'Briens, a branch of the O'Briens of Thomond, had extensive possessions along the Cimmeragh mountains, comprising the valleys between Dnngarvan and the river Suir.

4. O'CROTTHES. The O'Crotty's, a branch of the O'Briens, princes of Thomond, possessed the country about Lismore, and there are still many families of the name in the county of Waterford.

5. The MAC CRAITHS, or Magraths, are old and respectable families in the county of Waterford. There are several other ancient Irish families such as O'Sheas, O'Ronaynes, O'Heelys, O'Callaghans, O'Coghlans, O'Mearas, &c., in the county of Waterford.

In *Ormond*, the following have been the chiefs and clans of note. O'Heerin thus describes Cashel in commencing his topography of that territory:

"We shall tell of our visit to Cashel of Kings,
And to the race of Corc who practise no evil
deeds,
We shall unfold the history of their tribes,
And of their sages and of their people.

"Let us henceforth record each here,
Around the plain of Cashel's protecting ram-
parts;
A country of fruitful woods, the chief fortress;
We are well acquainted with their history.

"Let us give the lead to the chief territory,
To Cashel of the smooth and level plain,
It is known by the name Corca Eithrac,
And boldly over districts march its battalions.

"There dwelleth the lord of the land,
At Cashel of the brown-unt plains,
In comfort and joy holds he his sway,
A protector to the country of Cashel."

1. O'DONCHADHA, or O'Donoghoe, was chief of Eganach of Cashel, and some of them were styled kings of Cashel. These O'Donoghoes were of the Eugenian race, and the same as tho

Mac Carthys, kings of Desmond. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"The Eoganacht of Cashel is the plain of Kian, Ua Donicadha is its lineal inheritor
Its name in other times was Femeu;
It extends to the border of the brown nut plain."

The ancient kings of Cashel, or Munster, of the Eugenic race, were inaugurated on the Rock of Cashel.

2. O'KERBHAIL, or O'Carroll, prince of Eli, who was the head of the Clan Kian race, as the Mac Carthys were of the Eugenic race, and the O'Briens of the Dalcaissians. The territory of Ely, in Irish *Eli*, got its name from Eli, one of its kings in the fifth century, and from being possessed by the O'Carrolls, was called Ely O'Carroll. It comprised the present barony of Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary, with the barony of Clonlisk and part of Ballybrit, in the King's county, extending to Slieve Bloom Mountains, on the borders of the Queen's county. The O'Carrolls are thus designated by O'Heerin, who states that they ruled over eight subordinate chiefs:

"Lords to whom great men submit,
Are the O'Carrolls of the plain of Berr;
Princes of Eli as far as tall Slieve Bloom,
The most hospitable land in Erin.

"Eight districts and eight chiefs are ruled
By the prince of Eli, land of herds;
Valiant in enforcing their tributes,
Are the troops of the yellow-ringed hair."

The O'Carrolls had their chief castle at Berr, in the King's county. As princes and lords of Eli, they were very powerful from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

3. O'KEINNEIDE, O'Keenidigh, or O'Kennedy. The O'Kennedys are given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Glenn Omra. They were of the Dalcaissian race, and possessed the barony of Upper Ormond, in the county of Tipperary. They were very powerful chiefs, and held their rank from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The O'Kennedys are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Keenidigh, the reddener of spears,
Rules over the smooth and wide Glen Omra,
His tribe possesses the brown plains gained
by valor;
He has obtained his land without opposition."

4. O'TOIRDELHHAIDH, or, as it is written in the Books of Leacon and Ballynate, O'Urthaille, anglicised to O'Hurley. The O'Hurleys are of the Dalcaissian race; this tribe was also designated Clann Tail, a term which was applied to the Dalcaissians. The O'Hurleys are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Hurley of the tribe of Tall,
Near dwells Killaloe of St. Flannan;
Delightful are its woods and productive its
plains,
And from thence westward to the Shannon."

Of the O'Hurleys of Limerick was Dermot O'Hurley, a celebrated archbishop of Cashel, in the reign of Elizabeth.

5. O'ECHTIGERN, O'Abern or Hearne, chief of Ui Cearnaidh, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Over Ui Cearnaigh of valiant hosts,
Rules O'Echtigern of the land of tribes,
A joyful country is that of the upright man,
As far as to the hospitable port of the Shannon."

6. O'SENCHAIN, or O'Shanahan, by some rendered to Shannon, by others erroneously anglicised Fox. The O'Shanahans were chiefs of a territory called Feadha Ui Rongali, (*Fua ve Bonnelie*), or the Woods of Ui Rongali, comprising the country about Eibhline, or Slieve Felim. The O'Shanahans are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The forest of Ui Rongali of the level plain,
Is possessed by the hospitable O'Shanahan,
The entire country about Eivline
To the smooth plain of Maenmagh."

7. O'DUBHAIC, or O'Doorie, of Doon Branni and Tuath Congali is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The clan Duhraic of Dun Braine,
Are chiefs of the country of Ui Congale,
Their fortresses lie round the beautiful Bo-
ruma,
A tribe remarkable for their golden tresses."

8. O'DUIRIBHIR, O'DUBHIR, or O'Dwyer, is given by O'Heerin as chief of Ui Ambrith, or Amrit, and thus designated:

"Ui Amrit, the land of hospitality,
Is inherited by the tribe O'Dwyer;
Above all others they own the country,
They are the pillars each battle ford."

The O'Dwyers were a branch of the Heremicians of Leinster, and chiefs of notes in ancient times; they possessed an extensive territory in the present barony of Kilmamagh, county of Tipperary, and there are still several respectable families of the name in that county. Some of the O'Dwyers were commanders in the Irish brigade in the service of France. General O'Dwyer is mentioned by Mac Geoghegan as governor of Belgrade, and there was an admiral O'Dwyer in the Russian service.

9. O'DEAGA, or O'Dea, and O'Hollia, are given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Sliabh Ardach, now the barony of Slieveardagh, in Tipperary, and thus mentioned in the topographical poem:

"Slieve Ardagh of the fair lands
O'Dea inherits as his estate,
A band of that tribe from the head of the
plain,
And also O'Hollia from Binn Braeain."

10. O'CARTHAIDH, or O'Carthy, chief of Muiseridh Iarthar Felmin, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The portion of O'Carthy by right
Is Muisery-Iarthar-Felmin,
Rath-na-m-Brandubh is now its name,
A name well known to fame.

This territory, was situated near Emly, in Tipperary.

11. O'MEARAIDHE, or O'Meara, chief of Ui Fathaidh, Ui Niall, and Ui Eochaidh Finn. The O'Mearas had an extensive territory in the barony of Upper Ormond, county of Tipperary, and the name of their chief residence, Tuaim-Ui-Meara, is still retained in the town of Toomavara, in that district. They are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"O'Meara, a goodly prince,

The chief of Uí Fahy, hold wide lands,
And Uí Niúill of the race of Eogan the Fair,
Are all the heroes whom I enumerate."

12. O'MEACHAIR, or O'Meaghar, by some rendered Maher, chief of Crich-*ui-Cairin*, (*Kreeh-ee-Karrin*), i. e. O'Carin's territory, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Powerfully have they peopled their land,
The O'Meaghers of the land of Uí Carin,
The tribe who dwell at Beannan Ell.
It is right to extol their fame."

The O'Meaghers were formerly powerful chiefs, and had the territory now forming the barony of Ikerrin, in the county of Tipperary.

13. 'FLANAGAIN, or O'Flanagans, chiefs of Uachtar Tíre, (*Oughtar Heerie*), and of Kinel Arga, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"O'Flanagain holds the country
Of Uachtar Tíre, a rich and fertile land,
Which always yields the choicest produce—
The plain is clad with a matchless verdant mantle."

"O'Flanagain of the mighty hand,
Is chief of the entire of Kinel Arga,
He is of the race of Tadg, the son of Kian the Sage,
Of the noble hospitable stock of Oúild."

It appears that there were two chiefs of these O'Flanagans, one of Kinel Arga, a district in Ely O'Carroll, in the King's county, and the other of Uachtar Tíre, or the upper country, in the barony of Iffa and Offa, on the borders of Tipperary and Waterford.

14. O'BRESLEIN, or O'Breslan, chief of Uí Athaidh Eilí, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Uí Athaidh, of Eilí, as far as the shore,
It was obtained by the force of battle,
Is fierce chief and brave in conflict,
Is O'Breslan of the well-proportioned limbs."

This territory appears to have been a part of Ely O'Carroll, situated near the Shannon. These O'Breslans were probably a branch of the O'Breslans of Donegal.

15. O'CEIN, or O'Kean, chief of Hy Fodhladha, a district supposed to be on the borders of Tipperary and Waterford, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Uí Fodhladha it is our duty to record,
We treat of its blooming forest,
O'Kean from Machulín Meadaidh,
His fame shall spread over tribes."

16. O'DONNAGAIN, or O'Donnegan, is given by O'Heerin as high prince of Aradh, and thus designated :

"The high prince of Ara, who rules over its tribes,
Is O'Donnagain of the hospitable countenance,
The country yields plenty of produce,
To the prince of Ara in great abundance."

The O'Donnegans were of the race of the Clanna Deagadh, or Ernans of Ulster, and, according to the Annals of Inisfallen, were princes of Muscraide Thirl, now Lower Ormond, in Tipperary, or, according to O'Halloran, they had Aradh Clíach, in Tipperary, now the barony of

Owney and Arra, as mentioned in the foregoing verse.

17. O'DONNGALADH, or O'Donnolly, and O'Fuirig, probably O'Furrey, are also given by O'Heerin as chiefs in Muiserith Tíre, and thus designated :

"Over Musery Tíre of hospitality,
Rule two of the most noble chiefs,
O'Dongally and also O'Fuirig,
They are of Ormond of the smooth fertile plain."

18. O'SULLIBHAIN, or O'Sullivan, is given by O'Heerin as chief of Eoganacht Mor of Cree Raffan, and thus designated :

"O'Sullivan, who delights not in violence,
Rules over the great Eoganacht of Munster;
Around Knockrahan he obtained his lands,
After the victory of conflicts and battles."

These O'Sullivans afterwards migrated to Beara, in the county of Cork, and of them an account has been given in the note on Desmond.

19. O'FOGARTAIGH, or O'Fogarty, is given by O'Heerin as chief of Eilí Deiskert, or south Ely, and thus designated :

"South Ely of well established tributes—
Its clans are of the race of Eocaidh Balderg—
A country of affluence, abounding in hazel woods,
It is the land which O'Fogarty obtained."

The O'Fogartys were chiefs of Eile *ui Fhogartaigh*, [*Aply Ogarty*], now the barony of Elogarty, in Tipperary, and had their chief seats about Thurles; it was called South Ely to distinguish it from North Ely, or Ely O'Carroll.

20. O'CUILLIN, O'Cullen, or Collins, chief of Eoganacht Aradh; O'CAILLIDHE, or O'Keely, chief of Aelmúighe, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"O'Cullen who has gained good fame,
Rules over the hospitable Eoganacht of Ara;
Over the land of the fair Aelmúighe,
Rules the powerful and hospitable O'Keely."

The districts of these chiefs appear to have been in the barony of Owney and Arra, in Tipperary.

21. O'DUINECHAIR, a name anglicised to O'Dinnahane and O'Dinan, and Dannaher, is given by O'Heerin as chief of Eoganacht Uaithne Agamar, and thus designated :

"Uaithne Agamar, green are its hills,
The Eoganacht of the land of Cathbadh;
Delightful are the borders of the extensive plain,
The hereditary right of the clan of Dinnahane."

This territory comprised part of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, now the baronies of Owney and Owneybeg.

22. The O'RYANS, or O'Mulrains, of Tipperary, afterwards possessed Owney in Tipperary, and Owneybeg in Limerick, and are placed there on the Map of Ortelius. These O'Ryanes were a clan of note.

23. O'MERGHA, or O'MERGAIN, chief of Eoganacht Ros Aráid, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"To O'Mergain belongs the land
Of the fair Eoganacht of Ros Aráid,
A lord in peace and a vulture in war,
Resides near the great Carn Mughanl."

24. **MAC CEONN**, or Mac Keogh, chief of Uaithne Tire, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Over Uaithni Tire of rich produce,
Rules Mac Keogh as his chosen place,
The O'Lynches, men of lands,
Dwell in that wood opposite the foreigners."

This territory was situated in ancient Owney, which comprised the present baronies of Owney and Arra, in Tipperary, and Owneybeg, in Limerick.

25. The **O'LOINGSIGH**, or O'Lynches, a tribe mentioned in the foregoing verse, as dwelling here opposite the foreigners, which means that they were in the neighborhood of the Danes, who possessed Limerick.

26. **O'HEERNAN**, or O'Heffernain, and O'Cathalain, probably O'Callan, were chiefs of Uaithne Cliaeh, and are thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Uathni Cliaeh of the fair bright sun
Is an estate to the O'Heffernans,
A clear plain by the side of each hill,
Mildly O'allan enjoyed the land."

This territory was situated in the barony of Owney and Arra, county of Tipperary, and these O'Heffernans were a branch of the O'Heffernans of Clare.

27. **MAC LONGACHAIN**, probably Long, or Longan, chief of Crota Cliaeh, and of Ui Cuanach, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"A territory was obtained about Crota Cliaeh,
By Mac Longahan the gray-haired chief;
He is lord there of the plain of hosts,
Ui Coonagh of the fair fertile lands."

This territory was situated partly in the barony of Owney and Arra, in Tipperary, and partly in the barony of Coonagh, county of Limerick. The O'Dwyers, of whom an account has been given as chiefs of Kilmannagh, in Tipperary, were also located on the same territory as O'Longahan, and are mentioned in the poem as follows :

"Of the same tribe who own this land,
Are the O'wyers of the white teeth,
The plain of the seventh division and fine
fortress
Is justly possessed by that free tribe."

28. The **O'LONGARGANS** were the ancient chiefs and proprietors of Cahir, and the adjoining districts in Tipperary, till the fourteenth century, when they were dispossessed by the Butlers, earls of Ormond. The O'Longargans were, in ancient times, a powerful clan, and three of them are mentioned in Ware, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as Archbishops of Cashel.

29. The **MAC-I-FRENS**, a branch of the O'Friens of Thomond, descended from Brian Roe O'Brien king of Thomond, had large possessions in the barony of Owney and Arra, in Tipperary, and in the barony of Coonagh, county of Limerick. They were styled Mac-I-Briens, lords of Arra and Coonagh, and several of them are mentioned in the course of these Annals.

30. **MAC CORCRAIN**, or Mac Corcoran, chief of Clan Ruainni, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Clan Ruainni of the flowery avenges,
A delightful fair land of small streams;
Mac Corcoran from the populous country,
From the borders inhabited by far-halred
heroes."

31. **O'HAEDBAGAIN**, or O'Hogan, chief of Crioeh Cein, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"O'Hogan of Crioeh Klan,
Rules over Clan Inmanain of the fair land,
A district which enriches each field,
With honey-dew on all its blossoms."

The O'Hogans are placed on the map of Ortelius about Lower Ormond, in Tipperary.

37. **MAC GILLA-PHOILL**, (i. e. follower of St. Paul,) or Mac Gilfoyle, chief of Clan Conliagan, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"A chief for whom the nut trees produce fair
fruit,
Rules over Clan Quinlivan of immense wealth,
The scion of Birra of the warlike tribe,
Is Mac Gilla-Phoill of fair fortune."

The Mac Gilfoyles appear to have been located on the borders of Tipperary, and the King's county.

33. The **O'QUINLIVANS**, some of whom have changed the name to Quinlan, are numerous in Tipperary and Limerick.

34. **O'BANAIN**, or O'Bannan, chief of Ui Dechi, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Ui Dechi, the fine district of hills,
The extensive land of fair fortresses,
A fruitful country which they inherit,
Is the estate of the tribe of O'Bannan."

Ui Dechi, the territory of the O'Bannans, appears to have been situated in the north of Tipperary, and there are still many families of the name.

35. **O'ALCHI**, (*O'Alchi*, perhaps O'Hally,) chief of Tuatha Farait, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Tuatha Farait of the clear woods,
That is the territory of O'h-Alchi;
A plain of fair fortresses and a numerous tribe,
Like the lands of the shallow rivers of Taiti."

36. **O'CATHAIL**, or O'Cahill, chief of Corca Tine, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"Corca Tini the blooming is profitable,
About Drumsaleeh of blue streams,
O'Cahill above all others obtained
An inheritance at Achaidh Iubhair."

The district of the O'Cahills appears to have been situated on the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny, and the name is still numerous in Kilkenny and Carlow.

37. The **O'DINEARTAIGHS** (O'Dinerty,) and **O'AIMRITHS** (O'Hamery,) are mentioned as clans by O'Heerin, and appear to have been located on the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny.

38. **O'SPELAIN**, or O'Spillan, chief of Ui Luighdeach, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :

"The chief of Ui Luighdeach, (*ee Lueedagh*)
of slender spears,
Is O'Spillan of the bright spurs;
Mighty is the march of the warrior's battalions,
Increasing as they proceed along the plains of
Macha."

The territory of the O'Spillans appears to have been situated on the borders of Tipperary and Kilkenny.

* There was another family named O'Cahill, located in Kerry.

39. The MAC EGANS, in the barony of Arra, were hereditary Brehons of Ormond; and the O'Callenans, or Mac Callenans, were hereditary physicians, and many of them very learned men in Ormond. The O'Hanraigans, O'Lauigans, and Magraths, were also clans of note in Tipperary; and the O'Honeens, (in Irish *O'-h-Uathinn*.) who anglicised the name to Green, were numerous in Tipperary and Clare.

Anglo-Norman and English families in Tipperary and Waterford.

1. The POWERS, or LE POERS. A. D. 1177. King Henry II. gave a grant of Desi, or the entire county of Waterford, together with the city, to Robert Le Poer, who was his marshal. The Le Poers were, at various periods from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, created barons of Donishe and of Curraghmore, viscounts of Decies, and earls of Tyrone. The Le Poers became very numerous in the county of Waterford. They have now changed the name to Power. They possessed the greater part of the baronies of Decies and Upperrthird, and their territory was called Power's country; there are many families of the name in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny.

2. The FITZGERALDS, earls of Desmond, of whom an account has been given in the section on Desmond, had extensive possessions and numerous castles in the county of Waterford, in the baronies of Coshmore and Coshbride, and had also the title of barons of Decies.

3. In the reign of Henry VI. A. D. 1417, the celebrated warrior, Sir John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of Ireland, got grants in Waterford, together with the castle and lord of Dungarvan, and the title of earl of Waterford, and viscount of Dungarvan.

4. The chief families of English descent settled in Waterford and Tipperary, were the following: The Aylwards, Anthonys, Butlers, Browns, Brunnocks, Barrons, Burkes, Comerfords, D'Altons, Ducketts, Everards, Fitzgeralds, Greens, Grants, Haeketts, Hales, Jacksons, Keatings, Mandevilles, Mocklers, Nugents, Powers, Prendergasts, Roehes, Rices, Sherlocks, Strongs, Tobins, Walls, Walshes, Waddings, Wykes, Whites, &c. The early English families principally possessed the territory called from them Gal-tir, signifying the country of the foreigners, now the barony of Gaultiere.

5. The WALSHES, called by the Irish Bran-naghs, or Brethnachs signifying Britons or Welshmen, as they originally came from Wales, are still very numerous, and many families of them in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny.

6. The BUTLERS. The ancestors of the Butlers came from Normandy to England, with William the Conqueror, and got extensive possessions in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lancaster. Their original name was Fitz-Walter, from Walter, one of their ancestors, and Theobald Fitz-Walter came to Ireland with king Henry II., and got large grants of lands, and had the office of chief Butler of Ireland conferred on him, the duty attached to which was to attend at the coronation of the kings of England, and present them with the first cup of wine: from the office of the Butlership of Ireland they took the name of Butlers. The Butlers became very numerous and powerful in Ireland, and acquired very extensive possessions in Tipperary, Kilkenny, Waterford, Wicklow, Carlow, Queen's county, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Limerick, and Galway. In the reign of Edward III., Tipperary was joined into the *County Palatine of Ormond*, under the Butlers. The Butlers thus becoming so powerful, different branches of them furnished many of the most distinguished families in Ireland, and a great number of them, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, held the offices of lords justices, lords deputies, and lords lieutenant of Ireland, and different branches of them furnished numerous noble families, being created at various periods, earls, marquises, and dukes of Ormond, earls of Ossory, earls of Carrick, earls of Kilkenny, earls of Gowran, earls of Glengall, and earls of Arran; viscounts of Clonmore, of Ikerrin, of Thurles, of Mountgarrett, and of Galinoy; and barons of Cahir, of Cloughgrennan, of Tullypophelin, of Arklow, of Aughrim, of Kells, and of Dunboyn.

Nobility.

The following have been the noble families in Tipperary and Waterford from the reign of King John to the present time:—In *Waterford*, the Le Poers, (now Powers,) barons of Donishe and of Curraghmore, viscounts of Decies, and earls of Tyrone. The Fitzgeralds, barons of Decies and earls of Desmond; the Talbots, earls of Shrewsbury in England, and earls of Waterford and Wexford in Ireland; the O'Briens, earls of Clare in the reign of James II., had also the title of viscounts of Lismore; the O'Callaghans are viscounts of Lismore in Waterford, but residents in Tipperary. In *Tipperary*, the Butlers, of whom an account has been given above were earls, marquises, and dukes of Ormond, and also had the following titles in Tipperary: earls of Carrick, earls of Glengall, viscounts of Thurles, viscounts of Ikerrin, and barons of Cahir. The Mac Carthys were formerly earls of Mount-cashel.

CHAPTER II.

THE KINGDOM OF LAIGHEN, NOW CALLED LEINSTER.

The ancient kingdom of Leinster comprised the present counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow, and Queen's county, the greater part of Kilkenny, King's county, and Kildare, and that part of Dublin, south of the river Liffey. Parts of Kilkenny, bordering on Tipperary, and the southern parts of the King's county, belonged to ancient Munster, and some of the northern part of the King's county belonged to the province of Meath. The above-named territories continued to be the limits of Leinster down to the reign of Elizabeth, but in after times the old kingdom of Meath was added to Leinster, and also the county of Louth, which was part of the ancient kingdom of Ulster.

Leinster was anciently called *Gallen* or *Coigi Gallen*, and got its name, as stated in O'Connor's Dissertations, and in Keating, by its being possessed by the tribe of the Firbolgs, called Fir-Gallen, signifying Spear-men, but it afterwards got the name of *Laighen* from the circumstance related by Dr. Keating, under the reign of Labradh Lolagsech.

Cuala, Cualan, or Crioch Cualan, that is the country Cualan, was the designation of the ancient territory now forming the county of Wicklow, and its name was derived from Cuala, son of Breogan, one of the commanders of the Milesian colony from Spain, who took possession of this country, called after him Sliabh Cualan, or the mountain of Cuala, now Delgany.

The Mac Murroughs, or sept of Mac Mureadha, gave kings to Leinster for some time previous to the English invasion. They maintained their independence, and held the title of kings of Leinster, with large possessions in Wexford and Carlow, down to the reign of Elizabeth, and waged war with the English for many centuries. Art Mac Murrough O'Cavenagh, famous for his contests with the English forces, under king Richard II., in A. D. 139, was one of the most celebrated chiefs; Donal O'Cavenagh, surnamed Spalnagh, or the Spaniard, was a famous leader in Leinster, in the wars against Elizabeth. The ancient kings of Leinster had royal residences, at Dinnrigh, near the river Barrow, between Carlow and Leighlin, and at the Naas in Kildare. In after times they had castles in the city of Ferns, which was their capital, and at Old-Ross, in Wexford, and at Ballymoon, in Carlow. The Mac Murroughs were inaugurated as kings of Leinster, at a place called Cnoc-an-Bogha, attended by O'Noian, the king's marshal, chief of Forth, in Carlow, by O'Doran, the chief Brehon of Leinster, and by Mac Keogh, his chief bard. The Mac Murroughs are thus designated in the topographies of O'Dugan and O'Heerin:

"Let us now proceed to Leinster,
A wide land of rich warriors,
Of lasting fame are the mansions of the heroes,
Where lie the tombs of the valorous Gael.

"From the east I shall now recount
The noble chiefs of the province in due order,
A scion from whom no unkindness we'll receive,
With Mac Murrough we take our abode.

"We give the lead from the chiefs of the Gael
To the princes of the clans of Cathair;
Let us mention respectively in the eastern
country,
Each chief of them over his own territory.

"The high king of Naas, the tree of Brogha,
The Lord of Leinster is Æac Murrough,
The province he holds in his possession,
The Fenian hero charters all its lands."

The O'Cavenaghs in modern times became the representatives of the Mac Murroughs, kings of Leinster. They held a territory called Ui Cavenagh, now the barony of Idrone East, in Carlow.

2. O'TUATHAL or O'Toole, chief of the Ui Muredaigh, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Toole of the fortress famous for mead,
Is chief of the valiant tribe of Ui Murray,
As far as Almain of melodious music,
Of verdant, grassy, fertile plains."

Ui Murray, or Ui Muredaigh, was an extensive territory in the western part of Wicklow, comprising the greater part of the present baronies of Talbotstown and Shilvelagh, in that county; and it appears from the poem that the power of the O'Tooles extended as far as Almain, now the hill of Allen, in the county of Kildare, thus containing a great portion of the baronies of Naas, Killeullen, Killea and Moone, and Connell, in that county. The O'Tooles were in later times styled princes of Imalle, which appears to

have been a name applied to their territory, and is still retained in the Glen of Imalle, in Wicklow, where they had their chief residence; and they also had castles at Carnew, Castlekevin, Castledermot and other places. They took their name from Tuathal, one of their princes in the tenth century, and being one of the head families of Leinster, of the same race as the Æac Murroughs, they were eligible to be kings of that province. The celebrated St. Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin at the time of the English invasion, was son of Murtoth O'Toole, prince of Ui Muredaigh. They maintained their rank, and held large possessions down to the Elizabethan and Cromwellian wars, when their estates were confiscated. Sir Charles O'Toole, an officer in king James's army, is said to have been the person who killed the Duke Schomberg at the battle of the Boyne. Several of them were distinguished officers in the Irish Brigades in the service of France and Spain. The O'Tooles are still numerous in the counties of Wicklow, Dublin and Kildare.

3. O'BRAINN, O'Erin, or O'Byrne, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Another exalted noble tribe,
Are the O'Byrnes, a clan fierce in pursuit."

The O'Byrnes took their name from Brann, one of their chiefs in the tenth century. They possessed an extensive territory in the county of Wicklow, called Hy Briuin Cualan, comprising the greater part of the barony of Ballinacor, which was called O'Byrne's country, and also the Ranelagh; hence they were styled lords of Ranelagh, and had their chief castle at Ballinacor. The O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, at the head of the Wicklow clans, for a period of three hundred years, maintained an incessant warfare with the English, whom they defeated in numerous fierce engagements. The O'Byrnes are still numerous in Wicklow, Dublin, Kildare, and many other parts of Ireland.

4. O'CEALLAIGH, or O'Kelly, and O'Taidhg, or O'Teige, are given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Ui Maile, and of Ui Teigh, and are thus mentioned:

"O'Teige obtained a productive country,
Imalle, a land which is free from gloom;
O'Kelly obtained UiTeigh eastward
By purchase for his valiant clan."

This ancient family of O'Teige have anglicised the name to Tighe, and the O'Kellys here mentioned were of the same race as the Mac Murroughs, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and other families called Cahirians, or Leinster Heremonians, and are therefore of a different descent from the O'Kellys, princes of Hy Mani, in Galway. The O'Kellys were chiefs in Crioch Cualan, a name which was applied to the northern part of Wicklow, and comprised the baronies of Rathdown, Newcastle, and Arklow.

5. MAC GILLA-MOCHOLMOG is given by O'Heerin, as a chief of Cualan, and thus mentioned:

"A lord whose lands are rich and verdant,
Is the gentle Mac Gilla-Mocholmog,
Free and powerful warriors in their woods,
They rule over the mild men of Cualan."

The chief called Mac Gilla-Mocholmog, is mentioned in the contests of the Anglo-Normans, under Strongbow and his followers, with the Danes of Dublin.

6. O'OSGRAIDH, O'Cosgry, or O'Cosgrave, and O'Fiachraídh, other chiefs in Cualan, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin and O'Dugan:

"Other princely chiefs also obtained this land,
The nut-producing country of the plain of Cualan
O'Cosgrave of the numerous clan,
Rules over saffron-clad conquering warriors

"The prince of Ui Einechlais in the east,
Is O'Fiachry of the extensive lands,
The sabbler of the foreigners resides here,
I mean O'Cosgrave on the plain of Cualan."

7. O'GAITHIN, or O'Gahan, and O'Dunlaing, O'Dowling, are given by O'Heerin as chiefs of Siol Elaigh and the Lagan, and thus mentioned:

"The race of Elaigh, the tribe of steeds,
To protect which is proper for O'Gahan,
Chief of the clan, powerful in friendship,
O'Dunlaing was the warrior of the Lagan."

The territory of these chiefs called Siol Elaigh, is now the barony of Shillelagh, in the south of Wicklow.

8. O'MURCHADA, or O'Murphy, chief of Crioich O'Felim or Ui Feidhlim, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"An extensive and profitable lordship
Was obtained by O'Murphy of smooth and fair
plains,
The territory of Ui Felim the chief received
An inheritance handed down from his ancestors."

The O'Murphys were one of the Cahrian families of Leinster, a branch of the same race as the Mac Murroghs, kings of that province. The territory of Ui Felim, which they possessed, extended along the sea coast, and was commonly called the Murrowes, and comprised the barony of Ballaghkeen, in the county of Wexford. The O'Murphys were powerful chiefs in ancient times, and at the present day the name is one of the most numerous in Ireland; and found in all the counties of Leinster, and in various parts of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster.

9. O'GARIBHIDH, or O'Garvey, another chief in Ui Felim, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"In Hy Felim, a delightful district,
Fair are the lands possessed by the O'Garveys,
Fenian heroes of the hill unite in the tribe,
Each man of whom is free from grief and
sorrow."

10. O'OSGRAIDH, or O'Cosgrave, chief of Beantaidhe, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"From the Barrow eastward to the Slaney,
Is the country possessed by the Clan Cosgrave,
The host of Bantry of ringletted hair,
A noble tribe with hawk like sparkling eyes."

The territory possessed by the O'Cosgrave, is now the barony of Bantry, in the county of Wexford.

11. O'DUINGIN, probably O'Dugan, another chief is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Lord of the extreme southern land,
Which is worthy of being recorded,
O'Dugan is its rightful inheritor,
Over the host from the dark pool of the fair
shrubs."

The territory of this chief being mentioned as in the extreme southern land, must have been in the barony of Shelburne, in Wexford.

12. O'LOKCAIN, or Larkin, chief of Fothart, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The Fenian heroes of Forth of the Carn,
The fair rising ground of strength and beauty,
A hero whose deeds are mighty in spears,
He is the affluent chief O'Larkin"

The territory possessed by this chief, is now the barony of Forth, in the county of Wexford, and Carn, where he had his fortress, is the head land, called Carnsore point.

13. O'HARTGOILE, O'Hartley, chief of Criochna-g-Cinel, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Criochnaginel, a delightful district
In the land of the fertile soil,
A country the fairest under the sun,
Its rightful heir is O'Hartley."

His district lay near that of O'Larkin.

14. O'RIAIN, or O'Ryan, lord of Ui Drona, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Hereditary to O'Ryan is a fair district,
A territory, extensive in the land,
Ui Drona of peaceful pleasures,
Is more meet for him than foreign land."

The territory of Ui Drona comprised the present baronies of Idrone, in the county of Carlow. The O'Ryanes were powerful chiefs, and styled princes of Ui Drona. These O'Ryanes are not the same tribe as those of Tipperary. They are still numerous in Carlow.

15. O'NUALLAIN, O'NOLAN, or O'Nowlan, chief of Fotharta Fedha, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Nolan, a faultless hero,
The hospitable chief of Fothart."

The territory of Fotharta, possessed by the O'Nolans, is now the barony of Forth, in the county of Carlow; they were marshals of Leinster, and presided at the inauguration of the Mac Murroghs. The name is still numerous in the counties of Carlow and Wexford.

16. The O'KINSELLAGHS, O'Cahills, O'Doyles, O'Bozgers, and Mac Coskleys were numerous and powerful clans, and had large possessions in the counties of Carlow and Wexford. The O'Briens, or Mac Briens, and O'Moores, were also respectable families in Wexford. The O'Doran's held the office of hereditary Brehons of Leinster, and had extensive possessions under the ancient kings.

The chief Anglo-Normans who came over with Strongbow, and got large grants of lands in Wexford, were Maurice Fitzgerald, ancestor of the earls of Kildare and Desmond; Hervey de Monte Marlseo, and Robert Fitzstephen. The other old English families who settled in Wexford were, the Carews, Talbots, Deverenxes, Staffords, Sinnotts, Suttons, Keatings, Powers, Walshes, Fitzharrises, Fitzhenrys, Dereznys, Mastersons, Butlers, Browns, Redmonds, Esmonds, Hores, Harveys, Hayes, Hughes, Codd's, Commerfords, Lamberts, Morgans, Furlongs.

The chief old English families who settled in Carlow were the following: the Butlers, Browns, Bagnals, Carews, Eustaces, Roehforts, Blackneys, Doynes, &c.

In Wicklow, Maurice Fitzgerald and his descendants in the reign of Henry II. and King

John, got extensive grants of lands about Arklow; and Walter de Riddlesford, who had the title of baron of Bray, got from King John a grant of the lands of Linnale, in Wicklow, and of Castledermot in Kildare, both of which belonged to the ancient principality of O'Toole. The other chief English families of Wicklow were the Butlers, Talbots, Eustaces, and Howards.

Nobility.

The following have been the ancient titled families in Wexford, Wicklow, and Carlow:

In Wexford, the De Montchenseys and De Valences, lords of Wexford; the Talbots, earls of Shrewsbury in England, and earls of Waterford and Wexford in Ireland; the Butlers, viscounts Mountgarret; the Keatings, barons of Kilmananan; the Esmonds, barons of Limbrick; the Carews, barons Carew.

In Carlow, the De Bigods, Mowbrays, and Howards, dukes of Norfolk, were lords of Carlow; the Butlers, barons of Tullyophelim, and viscounts of Tullow; the Carews, barons Idrone; the O'Cavenaghs, barons of Balian.

In Wicklow the Howards, earls of Wicklow; the Butlers, barons of Arklow; the Eustaces, viscounts of Baltinglass.

OSSORY, OFFALEY AND LEIX.

OSSORY, in Irish *Osráidhe*, comprised almost the whole of the present county of Kilkenny, with a small part of the south of Tipperary, and also that portion of the Queen's county now called the barony of Upper Ossory; and the name of this ancient principality is still retained in the diocese of Ossory. Ancient Ossory extended from the river Nore to the Suir, and was sometimes subject to the kings of Leinster, but mostly to the kings of Munster. Conari Mor, or Conary the Great, monarch of Ireland at the commencement of the Christian era, having made war on the people of Leinster, to punish them for having killed his father, Edirsecol, monarch of Ireland, imposed on them a tribute called Eric Edirseoil, separated Ossory from Leinster, and having added it to Munster, gave it to a prince of his own race, named Aengus, and freed it from all dues to the kings of Munster, except the honor of composing their body guards.

OFFALEY, or Ophaley, in Irish *Ui Falghí*, derived its name from Rossa Falghí, or Rossa of the Kings, king of Leinster, son of Cathair Mor, monarch of Ireland towards the end of the second century. The extensive territory of Ui Falghí, possessed by the posterity of Rossa Falghí, comprised almost the whole of the present Kings county, with some adjoining parts of Kildare and Queens county; and afterwards under the O'Connors, who were the head family of the descendants of Rossa Falghí, and styled princes of Offaley, the territory of Offaley comprised the present baronies of Warrenstown and Coolestown, and the greater part of Philipstown, and part of Geashill, in the Kings county, with the barony of Tinnehinch, in Queens county, and those of East and West Offaley, in Kildare, in which the ancient name of this principality is still retained.

LEIX — In the latter end of the first century, the people of Munster made war on Cucorb, king of Leinster, and conquered that province as far as the hill of *Mastenn*, now Mullaghmast, in the county of Kildare; but Cucorb having appointed as commander in chief of his forces, Lughaidh Læighis, a famous warrior, who was grandson to

the renowned hero, Conal Kearnach, or Conal the Victorious, chief of the Red Branch Knights of Ulster, both armies fought two terrific battles about A. D. 90, one at *Athdrodan*, now Athy, in Kildare, and the other at *Cunthini*, or *Magh Riada*, now the plain or heath of Maryboro, in the Queens county, in which, after many thousands had been slain on each side, the men of Leinster were victorious, having routed the Munster troops from the hill of Mastenn across the river Berba, now the Barrow, and pursued the remnant of their forces as far as Sliabh Dala mountain, or Belach Mor, near Borris in Ossory, on the borders of Tipperary and Queen's county. Cucorb being thus reinstated in his kingdom of Leinster, chiefly through the valor of his general, Lughaidh Læighis, in gratitude conferred on him an extensive territory, to which he gave the name of *Læighis*, or the seven districts of Læighis, a name anglicised to *Leiss* or *Leix*, and still retained in the name of Abbeyleix. This territory was possessed by Lughaidh Læighis and his posterity, who were princes of Leix.

The following were the Irish chiefs and clans of Osso y, Offaley, and Leix.

1. MAC GILLA-PADRAIG or Mac Gilpatrick, anglicised to Fitzpatrick, is thus designated in the topographies of O'Heerin and O'Dugan, in which his territory of Ossory is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"We journey across the Berba of ancient streams,

After treating of the heroes of Leinster,
To the level plain, the land of my heart,
To the noble hosts of Ossory.

"To Mac Gilpatrick of the fine fortress,
The land of Ossory is by law ordained,
From Bladhna, southward to the sea;
Brave are his battalions in the battles."

Donal Mac Gillpatrick, prince of Ossory in the twelfth century, carried on various contests with Dermot Mac Murogh, king of Leinster, and his English allies under Strongbow and others, who had invaded and ravished his territory. It is stated in Maurice Regan's account of these affairs, that the prince of Ossory had a force of five thousand men, and fought many fierce battles with the English and their Irish allies. In early times, the Mac Gillpatricks ruled over the entire of the county of Kilkenny, and part of Queens county; but in after times, were dispossessed of the greater part of their possessions by the Butlers and other English settlers in Kilkenny, and were confined to the barony of Upper Ossory, in the Queens county. The Fitzpatricks are still found in the Queens county, but are much more numerous in the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, to which they were driven at an early period by the English.

2. O'CEARHALL, or O'Carroll, and O'Donchadha or O'Donoghoe, are given by O'Dugan and O'Heerin as ancient chiefs or princes in Ossory, and thus designated:

"O'Carroll of the reddened spears,
O'Donoghoe of the productive aspect,
Sloigh Liag of the productive land;
They are two princes in the same country.

"Near to the Barrow of productive borders,
Is the chief of the territory you have heard
recorded,

The man who is elected over Moy Mail,
Is O'Donoghoe of the fair Gowran."

The territory possessed by O'Carroll and O'Donoghoe appears to have been the barony of Gowran and Slogh Liag, which is probably the barony of Shillelogher, both in Kilkenny. These O'Carrolls were probably a branch of the O'Carrolls, princes of Ely; and the O'Donoghoes, probably a branch of the O'Donoghoes, princes of Cashel; an account of both these families have been given in the section on Ormond.

3. O'CONORCHA, or O'Conor, prince of Ui Falgbi or Offaley, and his territory, are thus designated by O'Dugan and O'Heerin:

"Let us westward proceed to Ui Falgbi,
To which brave heroes make submission,
Of their laws I make mention,
Of their convention I make remembrance."

"The lord of Ui Falgbi, a land of mirth,
Not unknown to the poets,
Is O'Conor the mainstay of the fair plain,
Who rules at the green mound of Cruachan."

The O'Conors were the head chiefs of the Cahrian race, the descendants of Rossa Falgbi, eldest son of Cathaer Mor, monarch of Ireland, and were consequently a branch of the Heermonians of Leinster, and of a different descent from the O'Conors, kings of Connaught; they make a remarkable figure in Irish history during their contests with the English for more than three hundred years, whose forces they defeated in numerous battles; they generally fought in conjunction with the Mac Geoghegans, powerful and valiant chiefs in Westmeath. The O'Conors had their chief fortress at Danzan, now called Philipstown, in King's county, and several castles in other parts of that county and in Kildare; they maintained their independence and a large possessions down to the reign of Elizabeth.

4. O'MOEDHA or O'Moore, prince of Laelghis or Leix, and his territory, are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"After Ui Falgbi of the ancient lands
We advance to Leix of Leinster;
Its brown-haired heroes in wealth abound,
On their history for some time we dwell.

"The great district of Leix of keen swords,
It is of Leix of Riada, I now treat;
And O'Moore the fighter of battles,
Of the one-colored golden shield."

The O'Moores, princes of Leix, were of the Irian race, or Clanna Rory of Ulster. They held the high rank of marshals and treasurers of Leinster. They had their chief fortress at Dnamase, a few miles from Maryboro, erected on a rock situated on a hill; it was a place of almost impregnable strength, of which some massive ruins still remain. Rory O'Moore, a celebrated chieftain in the reigns of Queen Mary and Elizabeth, defeated the English forces in many engagements, and recovered the territory of Leix, possessed by his ancestors, which he held till his death. In 1575, when he was killed in a conflict with Fitzpatrick, baron of Ossory, who had joined the English. Amongst the heroic actions of Rory O'Moore, it is mentioned that on one occasion, having been betrayed and surprised at night at his residence in the woods, by Robert Hartpole, at the head of two hundred of the English, the valiant O'Moore alone performed the amazing exploit of cutting his way through their ranks with his sword, and

escaped in safety. His son, Owen O'Moore, generally called Owney Mac Rory O'Moore, was a famous commander in the wars against Elizabeth, and defeated the English in many engagements, in one of which, in the year 1599, he cut off a great number of the troops under the Earl of Essex, in a defile on their progress through Leinster, at a place called from that circumstance *Bearna Cleitigh*, signifying the *Pass of Plumes*, from the great quantity of plumes left there which were worn by the English knights who were slain. Another of Owen O'Moore's daring exploits is recorded, namely, that at a party held with him in the year 1610, near Kilkenny, by Sir George Carew, president of Munster, the earl of Thomond, and Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, O'Moore boldly took the earl of Ormond prisoner, and detained him from the 16th of April to the 12th of June, when he liberated him, on receiving for his ransom three thousand pounds. Roger O'Moore, his descendant, a man of extraordinary abilities and bravery, is celebrated in Irish history as the chief leader who organized the great insurrection of 1641.

5. O'DIMASACH, or O'Dempsey, lord of Clann Maciughra, or Clannaliere, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin, with an introduction to the other chiefs of Offaley:

"The clans of the country of extensive plains,
Let us now proceed to treat of their chieftains,
What hosts are more wealthy than they,
Over the territory of Offaley of fair lands?"

"Clannaliere above all tribes,
Noble is the source of their pedigree,
The smooth plains of the land they have defended,
The country is the inheritance of O'Dempsey."

The territory of Clannaliere possessed by the O'Dempseys contained parts of the baronies of Geashill and Philipstown, in King's county, with part of Portnelinich, in Queen's county, and part of Offaley, in Kildare, including Monsterevan and the adjoining districts. The O'Dempseys were a branch of the Cahrian race, of the same descent as the O'Conors Faly, and were princes and lords of Clannaliere, and Offaley. In the twelfth century they contended with the English forces under Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, who, in the year 1173, together with his son-in-law Robert de Quincy, or de Quincey, constable and standard-bearer of Leinster, marched a powerful force into Kildare and Offaley; but being opposed by the Irish clans, commanded by the O'Dempseys, chiefs of Clannaliere, the English were defeated with great slaughter; and amongst the slain was de Quincey, the standard-bearer; the affair is thus mentioned by Maurice Regan, in Harris's *Hibernica*: "From thence the earl (Strongbow) went to Kildare, making many incursions into Offaley, upon O'Dempsey, lord of that country, who refused to come unto him, and to deliver hostages; the earl, to subdue him, made a journey in person upon him; Offaley was burned and harassed, the whole prey of the country taken, and the army retired towards Kildare; in the retreat, the earl, with a thousand men, marched in the vanguard, and the rear was commanded by Robert de Quincey; in the pass, when the vanguard was passed, O'Dempsey gave upon the rear, at which charge Robert de Quincey, with many others, were slain, and the banner of Leinster lost; and for his death, as well by the earl as by the whole army, great lamentation was made." The O'Dempseys had their chief castle at Geashill, in

the Kings county, and many others in that county, also in the barony of O'Faley in Kildare, and one at Ballybrittas, in the barony of Portneilinch, in the Queens county. The O'Dempseys were deprived of most of their possessions after the Elizabethian wars.

6. O'DUNN, O'Dunn, or O'Dunne, chief of Ui Riagain, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Over Ui Riagain of the mighty victories,
Are active warriors who conquer in battle,
O'Dunn is chief of the conquering troops,
The mainstay of the battling spears."

The territory of Ui Riagain, possessed by the O'Dunns, now forms the barony of Tinnehinch, in the Queens county.

7. O'RIAGAIN or O'Regans were, it appears, the ancient chiefs of Ui Riagain, and gave its name to that territory, which is still retained in the parish of Oregon or Rosenallis, in the barony of Tinnehinch. Of the ancient clan of the O'Regans was Manrice Regan, secretary to Dermot Mac Murrugh, king of Leinster, and who wrote an account of the Anglo-Norman invasion under Strongbow and his followers, which is published in Harris's *Hibernica*. Sir Teigne O'Regan was a distinguished officer in the army of King James the Second.

8. O'BROGHARAIN, probably O'Broghans, are given by O'Dugan as chiefs on the same territory as O'Dunn and O'Dempsey, and thus mentioned:

"The O'Brogans dwell in their towns,
The Clan Kenny and Clan Conor,
Their lands are well known to support
O'Dunn and O'Dempsey."

9. O'HAENESHA or O'Hennesey, chief of Clar Colgan, and O'Hahmirgin, chief of Tuath Geisille, are thus mentioned by O'Dugan and O'Heerin:

"Of the chiefs of the fair fertile plain
Are O'Hennesey and O'Hahmirgin;
Strong voiced are their troops, and great their
fame,
And magnanimous are the Clan Murchadhan."

"Another chief who is known to us,
O'Hennesey who rules over Clar Colgan;
His lands are fair beyond those of the Fenians
of Fal,
He closely adjoins the borders of Croghan."

"The fair district of Geashill is possessed
By a chief on the borders of Leinster;
His rapid progress is a march of power,
The name of this chief is O'Hahmirgin."

Another O'Hennesey is mentioned by O'Dugan as chief of Galinga Beg, now the parish of Galen, in the barony of Garrycastle.

10. O'MAOLCHEIN, probably O'Milliken, or O'Mulligan, some of whom have changed the name to Molyneux, chief of Tuath Damhuigh, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin, and the district possessed by him appears to have adjoined that of O'Hennesey:

"Over Tuath Damhuigh of the fair fortress
Is O'Maolchein of the happy heart;
Delightful is the smooth district of the plain,
Its borders resemble the fairy land."

11. O'MAOLMUIRDI, or O'Mulloy, prince of Fear Ceall, is thus designated by O'Dugan:

"The prince of Fereall of the ancient sword
Is O'Mulloy of the free-born name:
Full power had fallen to him,
He held his country uncontrolled."

The extensive territory possessed by the O'Mulloys comprised the present baronies of Eglish or Fereall, Ballycowan, and Ballyboy in the Kings county, and formed originally a part of the ancient kingdom of Meath. The O'Mulloys were of the race of the southern Ui Nialls or Clan Colman.

12. The O'CARROLLS, princes of Ely O'Carroll, possessed the barony of Lower Ormond, in Tipperary, and those of Clonlisk and Ballybritt, in the Kings county, and had their chief castle at Birr.

13. MAC COCHLAIN or Mac Coghlan, prince of Delbhua Ethra, and O'Maelgluach, probably O'Mulledy, chief of the Brogha, are thus mentioned by O'Dugan:

"Mac Coghlan is the valorous mainstay,
And prince of delightful Delvin Abra,
The chief of the Brogha of great prosperity,
Is O'Mulledy of the brilliant achievements."

The territory of the Mac Coghlan, lords of Delvin Abra, comprised the present barony of Garrycastle, in the Kings county. They were of the race of the Dalcaissians.

Brogha, the district of the O'Mulledys, above-mentioned, appears to have adjoined Mac Coghlan's territory, and was probably part of the barony of Garrycastle, in Kings county, and of Clonlunan, in Westmeath, as there were in former times many families of note of the O'Mulledys in Westmeath.

14. O'SINNAIGH, lord of Teffia. O'Dugan, in his topography, gives O'Casharnagh as head prince of Teffia, whom he thus designates,

"High prince of Teffia, who obtained renown,
Is O'Casharney of the battling arms."

This name was rendered O'Kearney, and the ancient chiefs possessed an extensive territory in Teffia, or Westmeath, and there are still many families of the O'Kearneys in Meath and Westmeath; the chief branch took the name of Sinnach O'Casharnagh, and the word Sinnach signifying a fox, the family name became Fox, and the head chief was generally designated *an Sinnach*, or *the Fox*. They were of the race of the southern Ui Neill, and their territory was called Muintir Tadhgáin, and comprised an extensive district in Teffia, containing parts of the baronies of Rathconrath and Clonlunan, in Westmeath, with part of the barony of Killeonry, in Kings county.

15. MAC AMHALGAIÐH, Mac Anley, or Magawley, is given by O'Dugan, as chief of Calraidhean-Chala, and thus designated:

"The fair Mac Anley rules over
The entrance of the ports of Calry."

The territory called Calry, comprises the present parish of Ballyloughloe, in the barony of Clonlunan, in Westmeath; and the ports alluded to in the above passage, were those of the Shannon, to which this parish extends; according to Mac Geoghegan, the Mac Anleys, lords of Calry, also possessed part of the barony of Kilcoursey, in the Kings county.

16. O'GORMAIN, O'Gorman, or Mac Gorman, is given by O'Dugan and O'Heerin, as chief of Criche O'Bairce, and thus designated by them:

"The tribe of Eocaidh, of exalted fame,
Rule over the clans of Uí Fosalain,
Mac Gorman, of great valor,
Rules over the fair Uí Barchi.

The country of Uí Barchi, of the fair fortress,
Of the melodious race of Dari Barach,
O'Gorman took possession of the lands,
A chief who actively rushed to battle."

The territory of the O'Gormans is now called the barony of Slievemargue, in the Queens county: some of them settled in the county of Clare, where they held large possessions. An account of these has been given with the clans of Thomond.

17. O'Duinn, or O'Duff, chief of Uí Crimthain, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"About Dun Masc of the smoothest plains,
O'Duff rules over Uí Crimthain,
Chief of the country of great produce,
A land which yields the finest fruits."

The district of Uí Crimthain, about Dun Maes, or Dunamase, comprised the greater part of the two baronies of Maryboro', in the Queens county.

18. Mac Fhiodhbuidhe, Mac Aodhbuidhe, or Mac Evoys, chiefs of Tuath-Fhiodhbuidhe, in the Queens county, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The ancient country of Fighbhuigh, of the fair lands,
Is a good lordship for a chieftain,
The Clan Mac Evoj are its inheritors,
The yellow-haired host of hospitality."

The territory of the Mac Evoys appears to have been situated in the barony of Stradbally, in the Queens county. The Mac Evoys were of the Clan Colla, of Ulster; and they also possessed a territory in Teffia, called Uí Mac Uais, now the barony of Moygoish, in Westmeath. Some of them have now changed the name to Mac Veagh.

19. O'CEALLAIGH, or O'Kellys, chiefs of Magh Druichtain and of Galline, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Over Moy Druichtain, of the fairy fortress,
Rules O'Kelly over the plain of the salmon;
The smooth aspect of the level country
Is like the fruitful land of prounise.

"Galline, of the pleasant rivers,
Is O'Kelly's undisputed right.
Powerful is the tribe in hunting,
Over the sunny lands of Galline."

These territories of the O'Kellys appear to have been situated in the baronies of Stradbally and Ballyadams, in the Queens county, along the Barrow, as alluded to in the above passages in the poem, where the districts are mentioned as the plain of the salmon, and of the pleasant rivers.

20. O'CAOLLADHÉ, O'Kecey, or O'Kelly, chief of Criche O'Mulghe, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The country of Omoy, of the fair plains,
Along the Barrow of the flowing streams,
To O'Kecey is the pleasant land,
A chief who always ruled in peace."

This district, situated along the Barrow, is now probably, the parish of Tullowmoy, in the barony of Ballyadams, Queens county.

21. O'LEATHLABHAIR, O'Lawlors, or O'Falors, took their name from Leathlabhor, prince of Dalaradia, or Ulidia, now the county of Down, in the tenth century, who was their ancestor, and they are therefore of the Irish race, or Clanna Rory of Ulster, and of the same descent as the O'Moores, princes of Leix. The O'Lawlors had in ancient times extensive possessions in Leix, in the barony of Stradbally, Queens county.

22. O'DUNHLANI, or O'Delany, chief of Tuath-an-Toraidh, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"High chief of the productive territory,
From the delightful Coill Oughteragh,
Is O'Delany, the man of hospitality,
From the mountain of the most delightful bay."

The O'Delanys were a clan of note in the barony of Upper Ossory, Queens county, and also in Kilkenny.

23. O'BRAENAIN, or O'Brennan, chief of Uí Duach, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Iduagh of Ossory, of the fertile land,
The fair wide plain of the Nore,
Throughout this plain rules most active,
Its rightful chief O'Brennan."

The territory of the O'Brennans, chiefs of Iduagh, now forms the barony of Fassadine, in Kilkenny, where the name is still numerous.

24. MAC BRAOIN, or Mac Breen, and O'Broith, or O'Bree, chief of Magh Seadna, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Mac Breen, of the land of the fortress,
Rules over the clans whom I remember,
A fair, nut-producing country,
O'Bree is chief of the free Moy Sedna."

25. O'CAIBHIDEANAICHI, O'Convey, or O'Kevenys, chiefs of Magh Airbh and Clar Coill, are thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Over Moy Arve let us now record
O'Keveney, of the woody plain.
Head of each conference was the fair counsellor,
Who resides at Coill O' Cathosaigh."

The plain of Magh Airbh comprised the present barony of Cranagh, in Kilkenny.

26. O'GLOIATEN, O'Gloran, or Mac Gloran, chief of Callainn, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'Gloran, the flourishing seion,
Obtained a territory in a delightful country,
A smooth land about charming Callan,
He inherits a country without reproach."

The name of this territory is still retained in the parish of Callan, barony of Kells, county of Kilkenny.

27. O'CAELLADHÉ, or O'Kecey, chief of Uí Bearechon, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Ibercon, of the yellow mantles,
Chief of the country is O'Kecey,
The plain of the host of great wealth,
The land of the Barrow of limpid streams."

This territory was Ibercon, an ancient barony, as stated by Seward, now joined to that of Ida, in the county of Kilkenny; and there is a parish called Rosbercon, in the barony of Ida.

28. O'BRUADAIR, O'Broder, or O'Brody, chief of Uí n-Eirc, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Lord of Iverk, of the swift steeds,
Is the friendly O Broder, like a stately tree ;
A sandy country, from the heavy floods,
A land as delightful as Moenmoy."

This territory is now the barony of Iverk, in the county of Kilkenny.

28. The O'SHEAS, who changed the name to Shee, were numerous in former times, in the county of Kilkenny, and were some of the O'Sheas, chiefs of note in Munster, of whom an account has been given in the sections on Thomond and Desmond.

29. The O'RYANS and O'FELANS, ancient families of note in Carlow, Tipperary, and Waterford, of whom accounts have been given in the section on Ormond, Desies, and Ui Kinsellaigh, were also numerous and respectable in Kilkenny.

30. The TIGHEs, of whom there are some respectable families in Kilkenny and other parts of Leinster, are said to be of the ancient Irish clan of the O'Teigies, who were chiefs in Wicklow and Wexford, and of whom an account has been given in the notes on Ui Kinsellaigh and Cualan.

31. The FLOODs, of whom there are many re-

spectable families in Kilkenny, and other parts of Ireland, are said to be of Irish descent, though supposed by some to be of English origin, as many of the ancient clans of the O'Maeluili, and of the Mac Thellighs, or Mac Tullys, changed the name to Flood, thus translating the name from the Irish *Tuille*, which signifies a *Flood*.

32. The MAC COSCRYS, or Cosgraves, ancient clans in Wicklow and Queens county, changed their name to Lestrange. The O'Mooneys are placed in the Queens county on the map of Ortelius; and the O'Dowlings and O'Nichals, or O'Nicholls, are mentioned by some writers as clans in Queens county. The O'Bechans, or O'Behans, were a clan in the Kings and Queens counties.

The following are the chief races of Norman descent settled in Ossory, Leix and Offaley. The Fitzgeralds, earls of Kildare; and the Butlers, earls of Ormond; the Graeces, barons of Courtstown; the Walshes, Cantwells, Shortalls, Powers, Purcells, Morises, Stapletons, Daltons, Lawlesses, Digbys, Husseys, and Fitzsimons. Some of the latter look the Irish title of Mac Rídire, anglicized Mac Ruddy, i.e., son of the King.

CHAPTER III.

THE KINGDOM OF MEATH AND BREGIA, WITH MAGH LIFFI.

THE plain of Meath which included the greater parts of the present counties of Meath and Dublin, was known by the name of *Magh Breagh*, signifying either the Magnificent Plain, or, as mentioned by the Latin writers under the name of *Bregia*;—the Rev. Dr. O'Connor has translated it on the authority of ancient tradition, *Campus Brigantium*, or the Plain of the Brigantes, from being possessed by the Brigantes, who were called by the Irish *Clanna Breogain*. Part of the territory of Bregia obtained the name of *Fingal* from the Danes, or Norwegians, who planted a colony there in the tenth century, along the coast between Dublin and Drogheda, and who were called by the Irish *Fine Gall*, signifying, the Race or Tribe of Foreigners; hence the name Fingall. The plain of Bregia extended from Dublin to Drogheda, and thence to Kells, and contained the districts about Tara, Trim, Navan, Athboy, Dunboyne, &c. Another great division of ancient Meath was called *Tetha*, or *Teffia*, which comprised the present county of Westmeath, with parts of Longford and the Kings county.

Meath was in many ages the seat of the Irish monarchy; and from the kings of Meath were generally elected the monarchs of Ireland. From the earliest period to the fifth century, the monarchs of Ireland were occasionally elected from the descendants of each of the three sons of Milesius, namely, from the races of Eber, Erimhon, and Ir; but from the fifth to the eleventh century, during a period of six hundred years, the Ui Neill, of the race of Erimhon, held exclusive possession of the Irish monarchy, until A. D. 1002, when *Brian Boromha*, king of Munster, of the race of Eber, dethroned Maelsechlainn, or Malachy the Second, and became monarch of Ireland.

The Ui Neill took their name from their immediate ancestor, Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was monarch of Ireland from A. D. 379 to A. D. 406. They were divided into two great families, denominated the northern and southern Ui Neill. One branch of the northern consisted of the O'Neills, who were descended from *Eogan*, one of the sons of Niall of the Hostages, and were princes of Tyrone, and often kings of Ulster and monarchs of Ireland: the other branch consisted of the O'Donnells, princes of Tyrconnell, and some of whom were also monarchs of Ireland. They descended from Conall Gulban, another son of the monarch Niall.

The southern Ui Neills were descended from four other sons of Niall, but chiefly from his son Conall Crimthann, many of whose descendants were kings of Meath and monarchs of Ireland. This family took the name of Clan Colmain, from Colman Mor, son of Diarmaid, son of Crimthann, monarch of Ireland from A. D. 554 to A. D. 565. The descendants of the Clan Colman, kings of Meath, took the name of O'Maelsechlainn or O'Melaghlin.

The chiefs and clans of the kingdom of Meath, and the territories they possessed in the twelfth century, are given in O'Dugan's Topography as follows: to which are added various clans not mentioned by O'Dugan, but whose names are collected from other sources.

1. O MELAGHLINS, kings of Meath.
2. O'HAIRT, or O'Hairt.
3. O'RIAGAIN, or O'Regan.
4. O'CELLAIGH, or O'Kelly. The O'Kellys

were lords of Bregia, long before the Anglo-Norman invasion; they were of a different race from the O'Kellys of Ui Mani, being a branch of the southern Ui Neill, and descended from Aedh Slani, monarch of Ireland.

5. O'CONGALAIH, now O'Conolly, whom O'Dugan describes as one of the four princes of Tara.
6. O'RIAIDHRI, or O'Rory, now anglicised to Rogers, lord of Finn Fochla, in Bregia.
7. O'FALLANHAIN, or O'Fallon, lord of Crioch-

na-g-Cedach, so called from O'ill Cedach, son of Cathair Mor, king of Leinster, and monarch of Ireland in the 2nd century. The country of the O'Fallons was near Athlone, in the county of Westmeath, but they were afterwards driven across the Shannon into Roscommon.

8. O'COINDRIBHAIN, or O'Kendellan, or O'Connellan, prince of Ul Laeghari, or Ive-Leary, an extensive territory in the present counties of Meath and Westmeath, and was possessed by the descendants of Laegart, who was monarch of Ireland at the time of St. Patrick. The parish of Castletown, Kendellan in Westmeath, shows one part of this ancient territory, and the townland of Kendellan's town near Navan shows another part of it.

9. O'BRAEIN, or O'Breen, chief of Luighini, now the parish of Leney, in the barony of Corearee, Westmeath.

10. O'HAENGUSA or O'Hennesy, chief of Ui Mac-Uais, now the barony of Moygolsh, in Westmeath. The Claar Mac Uais, or Mac Eyoys, sometimes called Mac Veaghs, of the race of Clan Colla, were the original chiefs of this territory.

11. O'HAODHA, supposed to be Hughes or O'Hea, chief of Olba (probably Odra or Oddor, in the barony of Skrine, near Tara.)

12. O'DUBHAIN, or O'Duan, chief of Cnodba, now Knowth, near Slane.

13. O'HAMBETHI, or O'Hanvey, chief of Ferbill, now the barony of Farbill in Westmeath.

14. O'CATHASAIGHI, or O'Casey, chief of Saithni, now Sonagh in Westmeath.

15. O'LEOCHAIN, or O'Loughan, chief of Galenga, now the parish of Gallen, in the barony of Garrycastle, Kings county.

16. O'DONCADAHA, or O'Donoghoe, chief of Tellach Mocharain, probably now Tullamore, in the Kings county.

17. O'HINRADHAIN, or O'Hanrahan, chief of Corearaidhe, now the barony of Corearee, in Westmeath.

18. O'MAOLMEADH, or O'Mulloy, prince of Ferceall, comprising the present baronies of Ballycowen, Ballybow, and English or Ferceall.

19. O'DURHLAIDHE, or O'Dooley, chief of Fertullach, the present barony of Fertullagh, in Westmeath.

20. O'FIONNALLAIN, or O'Finnellan, of the race of Eber, and tribe of the Dalcaessians, lord of Delbhna Mor, now the barony of Delvin, in Westmeath.

21. O'MAGLEDDHACH, or O'Mulledy, chief of Brogha, part of the now baronies of Delvin and Farbill.

22. MAC COCHLAN, or Mac Coghlan, of the Dalcaessians, lord of Dealbhna-Eathra, now the barony of Garrycastle, in the Kings county.

23. O'TOLAIGH, or O'Toler, chief of Quirone, now the barony of Kilkenny West, in Westmeath.

24. MAC ECHAGAIN, or Mac Geoghagan, prince of Senel Fiahcaidh, now the barony of Moyca-hel, with parts of Rathconrath and Fertullagh. The Mac Geoghagans were one of the principal branches of the southern Ul Neill, and were called Kinel Fiacha, from Fincaidh, one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

25. MAC REAIRC, or Mac Rourke, chief of Aeml Erida, descended from Erida, son of Niall of the Hostages. This clan was located in the district in which is situated the Hill of Uisneach, in the barony of Rathconrath in Westmeath.

26. O'CAIRBER, or O'Carberry, chief of Thath Binn.

27. O'HEODHADHA, or O'Heoghy, chief of Kinel-Aengusa.

28. O'MAELCOLAIN, now Mullholland, chief of

Delvin Beg, or Little Delvin, adjoining the barony of Delvin.

Tebtha or *Teffia*, formed a great portion of ancient kingdom of Meath. Teffia became the territory of Mani, one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and of his descendants. It comprehended the greater part of the present county of Westmeath, with nearly the whole of Anally or the county of Longford. It was divided into north and south Teffia. North Teffia, or Cairbre Gabhra, was that portion of Anally about Granard, which obtained its name from Carbri, one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages and his descendants, who were its possessors. South Teffia comprised the remaining portion in Annally and Westmeath. O'Dugan, in the continuation of his Topography of Meath, enumerates the different chiefs and their territories in Teffia. The principal chiefs of Teffia, according to him, were the following:

1. O'CATHARNAIGHI, or O'Kearney.

2. O'CUINN, or O'Quinn.

3. O'COINFIACLA, now O'Convally.

4. O'LACHTAIN, or O'Loughnan, by some anglicised to Loftus.

5. O'MUIREAGAIN, or O'Murrigan. The O'Quinns were chiefs of Muinter Giolgain, and had their chief castle in Ratheline, in Longford.

6. O'FLANAGAIN, or O'Flannagan, chief of Comar, which O'Dugan places beside O'Braein's country.

7. O'BRAEIN, or O'Breen, of Bregghmani, now the barony of Brawney in Westmeath.

8. MAC CONMEDHA, or Mac Conway of Muintri Laodagain.

9. MAC AODHA, Aodha or Mac Hugh, of Muintri Thlainn.

10. MAC TAIDG, or Mac Teige (by some anglicised to Tighe, by others to Montague), of Muintri Sirthachain.

11. MAC AMHALGADH, or Mac Gawley, chief of Calraidhe or Calrigia, a territory on the borders of Westmeath and the Kings county. Mac Geoghagan states that this territory comprised the barony of Kilconry, in the Kings county.

12. MAC GARGHAMMA, or Mac Carron, of Muintri Maolstonna.

13. O DALAIGH, or O'Daley, of Corca Adhalmh, or Corcaulín. On the map of Ortelius, by O'Conor, O'Daley is given as in, or contiguous to, the barony of Clonlonan, in Westmeath.

14. O'SCOLAIDHE, or O'Scully, of Delbna Iarthar, or West Delvin.

15. O'COMRAIDE, anglicised to Curry, of Ui Mac Uais, the present barony of Moygolsh in Westmeath.

16. O'HAODHA, or O'Hugh, or O'Hea, of Tir Teabtha Shoir, or East Teffia.

17. O'CEARRHAILL, or O'Carroll, of Tara.

18. O'DUINN, O'Doyne or O'Dunn, of the districts of Tara.

19. MAC GIOLLA SEACHLOINN, or O'Shaughlin, of Delseart Breggh, now the parish of Dysart in Westmeath.

20. O'RONAIN of Carbri Guara, or northern Teffia.

21. O'HAENGUSA, or O'Hennesy, of Galenga Beg, now the parish of Gallen, in the King's county.

The following chiefs and clans in Meath and Westmeath have not been given by O'Dugan, *O'Sinaigh*, anglicised to Fox and Shunay of the southern Ul Niall, lord of Muintri Tadhgáin, an extensive territory in Teffia, containing parts of the baronies of Rathconrath and Clonlonan in Westmeath, with part of the barony of Killecroy, in the King's county. They were

the same as O'Catharnagh. The head of this family was distinguished by the title of The Fox.

The O'MALONES, a branch of the O'Conors, kings of Connaught, who had large possessions in the barony of Brawney, in Westmeath. In former times these chiefs had the title of barons of Clon-Malone, and afterwards obtained that of barons Sunderlin, of Lake Sunderlin, in Westmeath.

The O'FAGANS, a numerous clan, in Meath and West Meath, of which there were many respectable families, the head of which had the title of baron of Feltrim in Fingal. The following also were clans of note in Westmeath, viz., the O'Coileys, and O'Higgins. In Meath, O'Lingseachs, or O'Lynches, O Murphys, and O'Murrays, the O'Brogans, and others. The chiefs and clans of ancient Meath were, with few exceptions, of the race of the southern Ui Niall. There are now but few families of any note, descendants of the ancient chiefs of Meath.

In the year 1172 Henry II. granted to Hugh de Lacy, for the service of fifty knights, the whole kingdom of Meath, of which that chieftain was made *Lord Palatine*, with as full and ample powers as Murcath O'Melaghlin, then king of Meath. De Lacy divided Meath amongst his various chiefs, who were commonly denominated De Lacy's barons. Hugh Tyrrell obtained Castleknock; and his descendants were for a long period barons of Castleknock. Gilbert de Angulo, or Nangle, obtained Magherigallen, now the barony of Morgallion, in Meath. Jocelin, son of Gilbert Nangle, obtained Navan and Ardbraccan. The Nangles were afterwards barons of Navan. Many of the Nangles took the Irish name of Mac Costello, and from them the barony of Costello in Mayo derived its name. William de Missett obtained Luhn; and his descendants were barons of Luhn near Trim.

Adam Feipo or Phepo obtained Skrine, Santreff, or Santry, and Clontorth, (either Clonturk or Clontarf.) This family had the title of baron of Skrine, which title afterwards passed to the family of Marward Gilbert Fitz-Thomas obtained the territories about Kenlis; and his descendants were barons of Kells. Hugh de Hese, or Hussey, obtained Dees, or the barony of Deece in Meath. The Husseys were made barons of Galtrim. Richard and Thomas Fleming obtained Crandon and other districts. The Flemings became barons of Slane, and a branch of the family viscounts of Langford. Adam Dullard or Dollard obtained Dullenewarty. Gilbert de Nugent obtained Delvin, and his descendants were barons of Delvin, and Earls of Westmeath. Richard Tuite received large grants in Westmeath and Longford. The Tuites received the title of barons of Moyashell, in Westmeath. Robert de Lacy received Rath wire in Westmeath, of which his descendants were barons. Geoffrey de Constantine received Kibixey in Westmeath, of which his descendants were barons. William Petit received Castlebreck and Magheritherinan, now the barony of Magheraderon in Westmeath. The Petits received the title of barons of Mullingar. Myler Fitz-Henry obtained Magheraneran, Rathkenin and Athlorker, now Ardnorcher. Richard de Lachapelle, brother to Gilbert Nugent, obtained much land.

The following great families, either of English or Norman descent, settled in Meath in early times. The Plunketts, a family of Danish descent, became Earls of Fingal, and branches of them barons of Duansaney, and Earls of Louth. The Prestons, viscounts Gormanstown,

and another branch viscounts of Tara. The Barnwalls, barons of Trimblestown, and viscounts Kingsland. The Nettervilles, barons of Dowth. The Bellows, barons of Duleek. The Darcys of Platten, some of whom were barons of Navan. The Cusacks, barons of Clonmullen. The Fitz-Eustaces, barons of Fortlester.

The following were also families of note in Meath: The de Bathes, of Athearn. The Dowdalls of Athlumney. The Flemings of Staholmcock. The Betaghs of Moynalty, of Danish descent. The Crises of Crúisetown and Cruise-Rath, &c. The Drakes of Drak-rath. The Corballys. The Everards. The Cheevers, some of whom had the title of barons of Mount Leinster. The Dardises, The Delahoids. The Caddells. The Scurllocks or Sherlocks.

In Westmeath the following great families of English descent were located, together with those already enumerated. The Dillons, who some say, were originally descended from a branch of the southern Ui Neill; their ancestor, a chieftain named Dillune or Delfon, in the 7th century, went to France, and being a famous warrior, became Duke of Aquitaine. One of his descendants came to Ireland with king John, and got large grants of land in Westmeath and Anally; his descendants were lords of Drumrany, in the barony of Kilkenny West, and having founded many great families in Meath and Connaught, became Earls of Roscommon, viscounts Dillon in Mayo, barons of Clonbrock, and barons of Kilkenny West, and several of them were counts and generals in the French and Austrian service. The Daltons and Delameres obtained large possessions in Westmeath and Anally. The chief seat of the Daltons was at Mount Dalton, in the barony of Rathconrath, of which they were lords, and some of them were distinguished in the service of foreign states, and counts of the Holy Roman Empire. The Deases in Meath and Westmeath.

Magh Liffy, signifying the Plain of the Liffey, was the name applied in ancient times to the plains on both sides of the river Liffey, comprising a great part of the present county of Kil dare on both sides of the river Liffey, including the Curragh of Kildare, which was called Cuir-each Liffe, and also parts of Dublin along the Liffey.

The O'Melaghlin, kings of Meath, and their co-relatives, having ruled over the districts north of the river Liffey, the following particulars both of them and of some other of the tribes of the Southern Ui Neill, whose names have been already given in the preceding portion of this chapter, are here given at the head of the clans of Magh Liffy, as they are found arranged in the work from which this appendix is, with a few exceptions, an extract.

1 O'MAELSECHLAINN, O'Maoileachlain, or O'Melaghlin. The O'Melaghlin's were the head family of the southern Ui Niall race, called Clan Colman, and took their name from Maelsechlainn, or Malachy I. king of Meath and monarch of Ireland in the ninth century; they were for many centuries kings of Meath, and several of them were monarchs of Ireland. Many of them were also kings of Tara, princes of Bregia, and lords of Clan Colman; the territory called *Clan Colman* was situated in ancient Teiffa, and comprised the middle and southern parts of the present county of Westmeath. The O'Melaghlin's, as kings of Meath, had their chief residence at *Dun-na-Sciath*, or the Fortress of the Shields, situated on the banks of Lough Annin, now Lough Ennell, near Mullingar. Murtoch O'Melaghlin was king of Meath at the time of the

Anglo-Norman invasion; his kingdom was transferred to Hugh de Lacy by a grant from Henry II., and he was the last independent king of Meath; but the O'Melaghilins, for many centuries afterwards, amidst incessant and fierce contests with the English settlers, maintained their position and considerable possessions in Westmeath, with their titles of kings and princes of Meath and lords of Clan Colman, down to the reign of Elizabeth. Many distinguished chiefs of the O'Melaghilins are mentioned from the tenth to the sixteenth century. Some chiefs of them are mentioned during the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, but after those periods all their estates were confiscated, and in modern times scarcely any of the O'Melaghilins are to be found. It is however said that the name has been changed to Mac Loughlin. It is remarkable, that of the five royal Milesian families, all of whom were eligible to the monarchy, none have become so utterly decayed as the O'Melaghilins, for the others, namely, the O'Neills, kings of Ulster; the O'Conors, kings of Connaught, and the O'Briens, kings of Munster, many high families still exist, and the Mac Murroughs, kings of Leinster, are represented by the O Cavenaghs.

2. MAC EOGHAGAIN, or Mac Geoghegan, chief of Kinel Fiacadh, is thus mentioned by O'Dugan:

"Precedence be given to the heroic clan,
The noble tribe Mac Geoghegan;
Host of the pleasant verdant lands,
That rule o'er the warlike Kinel Fiacadh."

The Mac Geoghegans took their names from Eochagan, one of their ancient chiefs, and were a branch of the southern Uí Neill. The territory of Kinel Fiacadh comprised the barony of Moycashel, with parts of Moyashel, Rathconrath, and Ferullagh, and the districts about Mullingar, in Westmeath. The Mac Geoghegans were princes of Kinel Fiacadh, and of them there were many and vallant chiefs, who defeated the English forces in several battles. Richard Mac Geoghegan, a distinguished commander in the war against Elizabeth, was particularly celebrated for his defence of the castle of Dnnboy, in the county of Cork. The Mac Geoghegans held their rank, and considerable possessions, in Westmeath, down to the Cromwellian wars and revolutions, after which their estates were confiscated.

3. O'HART or O'Hart, O'Riagain or O'Regan, O'Callagh or O'Kelly, and O'Conghalagh, or O'Connolly—the Four Tribes of Tara are thus mentioned by O'Dugan:

"The princes of Tara I here record,
The royal O'Hart and likewise O'Regan,
The host who purchased the harbors,
Were the O'Kellys and the O'Connollys."

These tribes of Tara were also styled princes of Brezia, and appear to have possessed the territories about Tara in Meath, and also parts of the present county of Dublin.

4. O'RUADHRI, or O'Rory, a name anglicised to Rogers, is mentioned by O'Dugan as prince of Finnfochla, and thus designated:

"Of the men of Brezia an experienced chief
Is O'Rory, prince of Finnfochla."

5. O'CIARDBHA, O'Carry, or O'Keary, chief of Cairbri O'Clardha, is thus mentioned by O'Dugan and O'Heerin:

"O'Carey rules over Carbery of bards,
He is of the tribe of Niall of the Nine Hostages.
There are none but themselves there,
Of the clans of Niall over Leinster."

6. O'MURCAIN, chief of Fidhgabhla, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"O'er Liffey's plain of the fertile slopes,
O'Murcan, chief, rules green Fídhgabhla."

7. O'BRACAIN, or Bracken, were chiefs in Moy Liffey. The O'Murcains and O'Brackens appear to have possessed the districts along the Liffey, near Dublin.

8. O'CELLAIDH, or O'Kelly, chief of Tuath Leghe, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"Delightful the land, its fame has spread,
Tuath Leghe of the shining slopes;
O'Kelly of Leghe, from the eastern strand,
Is chief of the pleasant country of yews."

These O'Kellys possessed a territory near the river Barrow, parts of the baronies of West Narragh and Kilkea, in the county of Kildare; and they were sometimes called Mac Kellys; had their chief residence and castle at Rathascul, or the Meat of Ascul, near Athy, and they also had the district about Naas.

9. O'GELBROIN, chief of Clar Life, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin:

"The plain of Liffey of Black Ships,
A verdant country of the finest produce,
Westward of Tara, the house of Conn,
O'Gelbroin is the chief of the fair land."

From the description of this territory of Clar Liffi, or the Plain of the Liffey, westward of Tara, it appears to have been situated on the plains of the Liffey, on the borders of Dublin and Kildare.

10. O'FIACHRA, or O'Fiachry, chief of Uí Inechruis at Almluain, and O'Haodha, O'Hugh, or O'Hea, chief of Uí Deaghaidh, are mentioned as follows by O'Heerin:

"Over the centre of Uí Inechruis
Ruled O'Fiachry, chief of Alen;
O'Hugh over Uí Deagadh of learned men,
To whom tribes bow in submission."

These territories were situated in Kildare.

11. O'MURTHU, or O'Muiridhe, probably O'Murray, chief of Kinel Flathebhain and O'Fintighern, chief of Uí Mealla, are thus designated by O'Heerin:

"O'Murry of great eloquence,
Is chief of fair Kinel Flahavain;
Over Uí Mealla of the fast sailing ships,
Firmly settled is the chief O'Fintierney."

The territories of those chiefs were situated in Kildare. O'Fintierney's district appears to have adjoined it, and was probably in West Ophaley, near the Barrow, from the mention made of ships in the poem.

12. The O'CULENS are said to have possessed a territory called Coill Cullin, or the Woods of Cullen, on the borders of Kildare and Wicklow, which now forms the barony of Kilenllen in Kildare.

13. The O'COLGANS were ancient chiefs in Kildare, and there are still many families of the name in that county. The Mac Donnels were also numerous in Kildare.

14. O'DUBHBAIGH, or O'Duffey.—The O'Duffys were one of the Leinster clans of the

Calhrian race, and of the same descent as the Mac Murrroghs, kings of Leinster, and the O'Tooles and O Byrnes, chiefs of Wicklow.

15. The FAGGANS, some of whom have been called O Faggins and Mac Faggans, are considered by some to be of Irish origin, but according to others they were of English or Danish descent, and the name is still numerous in the counties of Meath, Westmeath, and Dublin.

16. The O'MCLESSES are one of the Leinster clans, and were numerous in Meath, Dublin, and Kildare.

17. MAC GILLA-MOCHOLMOG and O'Dunchadha or O'Donoghoe, are mentioned in O'Dugan as lords or princes of Fine Gall, that is, of Fingall near Dublin; and it may be observed that there was another Mac Gilla-mocholmog, lord of a territory on the borders of Wicklow, and mentioned in the note on Canaan.

18. O'MURCHERTAGH, or O'Murtogh, chief of the tribe or territory of O'Maine; and O'Modarn, chief of Kinel Eochain, are mentioned in O'Dugan as chiefs over the Britons or Welsh, and appear to have been located near Dublin.

19. MAC MURGAIN, prince of East Liffey, is mentioned in the Annals in some battles with the Danes in the tenth century.

In the County and City of Dublin the following have been the principal families of Anglo-Norman descent: The Talbots, Tyrrells, Plunketts, Prestons, Barnwalls, St. Lawrences, Cruses, Cusacks, Cogans, Whites, Walshes, Walls, Warrens, Wogans, Woodlocks, Darcys, Nettervilles, Marwards, Phepocs, Fitzwilliams, Fitzsimons, Flemmings, Archbalds, Archers, Allens, Aylmers, Balls, Bagots, De Bathes, But-

lers, Barrys, Barrets, Berminghams, Bretts, Belkews, Blakes, Brabazons, Finglases, Sweetmans, Hollywoods, Howths, Husseys, Dowdalls, Dillons, Songraves, Sarsfields, Stanhurts, Lawlesses, Cadells, Drakes, Graces, Palmers, Eustaces, Browns, Nangles, Tuies, Trants, Luttrells, Delahoydes, Ushers, Grattans.

In the County of Kildare, the following have been the chief families of Anglo-Norman and English descent; Earl Strongbow, having become heir to the Kingdom of Leinster, as son-in-law of Dermot Mac Murrugh, king of Leinster, whose daughter Eva he had married, gave grants of various parts of Leinster to his followers. Amongst other grants, Strongbow gave in Kildare to Maurice Fitzgerald; Naas, Oifelan, which had been O'Kelly's country; to Myler Fitzhenry he gave Carberry; to Robert de Bermingham, O'faley, part of O'Conor's country; to Adam and Richard de Hereford, a large territory about Leixlip, and the district *De Salto Salmonis*, or the Salmon Leap, from which the barony of Salt derived its name; and to Robert Fitz Richard he gave the barony of Narragh. The family of de Riddlesford, in the reign of king John, got the district of Castledermot, which was part of the territory of O'Toole, prince of Imalle, in Wicklow, and Richard de St. Michael got from King John the district of Rbehan, near Ath, part of O'Moore's country, and from the St. Michaels, lords of Rbehan and Woodstock, in Kildare, with Dunamase in the Queens county, passed to the Fitzgeralds, barons of O'faley, in the year 1424, by the marriage of Thomas Fitzgerald with Dorothea, daughter of Anthony O'Moore, prince of Leix.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF ULADH OR ULSTER.

The Kingdoms of Ulster—The name in Irish is *Uladh*, pronounced Ulla, and latinised *Ultonia*, the people were called *Ullaiigh*, in Latin *Ulonii*, and *Ulonienses*, anglicised *Ulonians*. This ancient kingdom comprised the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, and Fermanagh, and the old territories of Orgiall, Dalradda, Ullidia, Dalriada, Tir Eogain, Tironnell, and Fermanagh; the county of Cavan, which was part of Brefney, belonged to Connaught, but was afterwards added to Ulster, and the county of Louth, which was part of ancient Ulster was added to Leinster.

TIR EOGAIN.

This territory comprised the present counties of Tyrone and Derry, with a large portion of Donegal, between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, namely, the peninsula of Inisowen, and the greater part of the barony of Raphoe. In this territory, on a high hill or mountain, called Grianan, on the eastern shore of Lough Swilly, south of Inch Island, was situated the celebrated fortress called the *Grianan of Ailbheach*, from *Grianan*, a palace or royal residence, and *Ailbheach* or *Oilbheach*, which signifies a stone fortress. It was also called *Ailbheach Neill*, having derived its name, according to O'Flaherty, from Neill, one of the Tuatha-de-Dannan princes. This fortress was for many ages the seat of the ancient kings of Ulster. It was built in a circular form of great stones without cement, and was of immense strength, in that style denominated Cyclopean architecture, and some of its extensive ruins remain to this day.

Tir Eogain obtained its name from Eogain, or Owen, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who conquered this territory in the beginning of the fifth century, and hence its name, Tir

Eogain, or the country of Owen, afterwards anglicised into Tiroen, or Tyrone. In consequence of the conquest of this country by Eogan, when it was taken from the old possessors of the race of Ir, or Clanna Rory, its sovereignty was transferred to the race of Erinmon. From the circumstance of its being possessed by the descendants of Eogan, called Cinel Eogain, or Kinel Owen, the territory also obtained the name of Kinel Owen. According to the Books of Leacan and Ballymote, and other authorities, this territory was divided between the ten sons of Eogan, whose descendants gave names to the various districts. In the chapter on the kingdom of Meath, it has been stated that the Ui Neill, or the descendants of the monarch Niall of the Nine Hostages, were divided into two great branches, namely, the Southern and Northern. The southern Ui Neill were kings of Meath, and many of them monarchs of Ireland. The northern Ui Neill, of which there were two great branches, namely, the race of Eogan, princes of Tyrone, and the race of Conal, princes of Tironnell, also furnished many monarchs of Ireland; but the descendants of Eogan were the most celebrated of all the Milesian clans; of them a great many were

kings of Ulster, and sixteen were monarchs of Ireland. The race of Eogan took the name of O'Neill in the tenth century, from Niall Glundubh, who was killed in a great battle with the Danes, near Dublin, A. D. 199. The elder branch of the O'Neill took the name of O'Lochlainn, and Mac Loughlin, from Lochlainn, one of their ancient chiefs. The O'Neills afterwards recovered the supremacy, and made a distinguished figure in Irish history, down to the seventeenth century, as princes of Tyrone, and kings of Ulster. The O'Neills had their chief seat at Dungannon, and were inaugurated as princes of Tyrone, at Tallaghoge palace, between Grange and Donaghery, in the parish of Deserteright, barony of Dungannon, where a rude seat of large stones served them as a coronation chair.

The chiefs and clans of Tir Eogain, and the territories possessed by each in the twelfth century, are collected from O'Dugan as follows:—O'Dugan commences with the territory of *Ailcuch of the Kings*, of which he gives—

1. O'NEILL and Mac Loughlin as princes or kings.

2. O'CATHAIN, or O'Kane, who was of the race of Eogan, or a branch of the O'Neills, and who was the chief of Cianacht of Glenna Gebhin, or Keenacht of Glengiven. The O'Kanes were also chiefs of the Creeve, now the barony of Colerain. In after times this powerful clan possessed the greater part of the county of Derry, which was called O'Kane's country.

3. O'CONOBARR, or the O'Conors, who were chiefs of Cianachta before the O'Kanes, and were descendants of Cian, son of Oíld Olum, king of Munster; hence their territory obtained the name of Cianachta, a name still preserved in the barony of Keenaught, county of Derry.

4. O'DUIBHDIORMA, or O'Dooyiorma, sometimes anglicised O'Dermott or Mac Dermott, but a distinct clan from Mac Dermott, prince of Moylurg in Connaught. The O'Dooyiormas were chiefs of Bredach, a territory which lay along the western banks of Lough Foyle, and comprised the parishes of Upper and Lower Moville, in the barony of Inlswen. The name of this district is still preserved in the small river Bredag, which falls into Lough Foyle.

5. O'GORMLEDAIDH, or O'Gormley, chief of Kinel Moain, or Moen, now the barony of Raphoe, county of Donegal. This district derived its name from Moan, one of the descendants of Eogan.

Magh Itha, or Moy Ith, and Kinel Enda were two districts adjoining Kinel Moain, partly in the barony of Raphoe, and partly in the barony of Tirkeeran in Derry. According to O'Dugan, the following were the chiefs of Moy Ith, namely, 1. O'BAIGHILLE, or O'Boyle; 2. O'MAOLBREASIAL, O'CUINN, or O'Quinn; 3. O'ONAETHA, or O'Kenny. 8. O'BRUADAIR, or O'Brody; 4. O'MAOLFABHAIR; O'HOGAIN, chiefs of Carrue Brachnigle, still traceable by the name Carrickrack, in the barony of Inlswen. 5. O'HAGAIN, or O'Hagan, chief of Tulachog, or Tallaghoge, in the parish of Deserteright, barony of Dungannon, county of Tyrone. 6. O'DUNAGAIN, or O'Donegan. 7. MAC MURHADD, or Mac Murrugh. 8. O'FERGAIL, or O'Fechl. 9. MAC RUATHBUI, or ROGERS, chiefs of Tealach Albhith, and of Muinter Birn, districts in the baronies of Dungannon and Strabane. 10. O'CEALLAIDH, or O'Kelly, chief of Kinel Eachaidh, or Corea Eachaidh, probably Corkagee, barony of Dungannon. 11. O'TIGHEARNADAIDH, or O'Tierney; 12. O'CIARAIR, or O'Kieran, chiefs of Fearnmugh. 13. O'DUINN-

DUANAIDH; 14. O'HAIGHMAILL, or Hamill. 15. O'HEITIGIN, or O'Etigan, chiefs of three districts called Teallach Cathalain, Teallach Duithailbe, and Teallach Braemain. 16. O'MAELOFT HARTAIDH, and O'Heodhasa, or O'Heesey, chiefs of Kinel Tighearnaigh. 17. O'CANAICH, or O'Cooney. 18. O'BAOTHBREGALAICH, chief of Clan Fergus. 19. O'MURCADHA, or O'Murrogh, and O'Meallain, chiefs of Siol Aodha-Eanaigh. 20. MAC FIACHRAIGH, chief of Kinel Feradaigh in the south of Tyrone. 21. O'HAININ, O'MAEFFABHAILL, and the Clan Cathmaoil, chiefs of Kinel Firadhaidh, in the north of Tyrone. This name was sometimes changed to Mac Campbell, and Mac Cagwell, and also to Caulfield. The Mac Cathmaills were a powerful clan in Tyrone, and many of them in Monaghan, Louth, and Armagh. 22. The clans of Maolcómraigh and of Maolpadraig, who possessed the two districts of Kinel Firdhaidh, in the east of Tyrone. 23. MUIINTER TAITHLIGH, of Uí Laoghaire, of Lough Lir, a name anglicised to Muc Tully. 24. O'HAINNITER, chief of Uí Seain. 25. O'CIUCHAIN, chief of Hy Fiachra, a territory which comprised the parish of Ardstraw, and some adjoining districts in Tyrone, and is mentioned in the Annals at A. D. 1200. 26. O'QUINN, chief of Moy Lugad, and of Siol Cathusaigh. Moylugad, according to the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, lay in Keenaught of Glengiven, county of Derry. 27. The O'CARBHALLAINS, O'Carbhallains, or O'Carolans, a name sometimes anglicised to Carleton, chiefs of Clan Darnada, now the parish of Clandermod, or Glendermod, in Derry. 28. The O'BROLCHAINS, or O'Brolehans, a name sometimes changed to Brady. These were a numerous clan near Derry, but originally of the Kinel Feradaigh, in the south of Tyrone, and were a branch of the Kinel Owen. 29. MAC BLOSSAIDH, or the Mac Closkeys, a numerous clan in the parish of Dungiven, and some adjoining parts; they were a branch of the O'Kanes. 30. The O'DEVILINS, chiefs of Muinter Devil, near Lough Neagh, on the borders of Derry and Tyrone. 31. The O'LOONEYs, chiefs of Muinter Loney, a district known as the Monter Loney Mountains in Tyrone. 32. O'CONNELLAN, chief of Criche Tullaich, in Tyrone, a name which has been by some changed to Conolly. 33. O'DONNAGHALL, or O'Donnallys chiefs in Tyrone, at Ballydonnelly, and other parts. 34. O'NENA, or O'NENYS, or Mac Nenys, a name which has been anglicised to Bird. These possessed the territory of Kinel Naena, in Tyrone, bordering on Monaghan. Of this family was Count O'Neny, of Brussels, in the Austrian service, under the empress Maria Theresa. 35. O'FLAHERTY, or O'Laverty, lord of Kinel Owen. 36. The O'MURKYS, given in O'Conor's Map of Ortelius, as a clan in Derry. 37. The MAC SHANES, a name anglicised to Johnson, who were a clan in Tyrone. 37. The O'Mulligans, anglicised to Molineux, who were also a clan in Tyrone. 38. The O'GNIMMS, O'GNIVES, or O'Gneeves, hereditary bards to the O'Neills. This name has been anglicised to Agnew.

The O'Neills, as already stated, maintained their independence down to the end of the sixteenth century, as princes of Tyrone; and in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, bore the titles of earls of Tyrone, and barons of Dungannon. The last celebrated chiefs of the name were Hugh O'Neill, the great earl of Tyrone, famous as the commander of the northern Irish in their wars with Elizabeth; and Owen Roe O'Neill, the general of the Irish of Ulster, in 1611, and the Cromwellian wars.

Several of the O'Neills have been distinguished in the military service of Spain, France, and Austria.

TIR CONAILL.

This territory comprised the remaining portion of the county of Donegal not contained in Tir Eogain, the boundary between both being Lough Swilly; but in the twelfth century the O'Muldorrys and O'Donnells, princes of Tir Connell, became masters of the entire of Donegal, thus making Lough Foyle and Fin the boundaries between Tir Connell and Tir Eogain. This territory got its name from Connall Gulban, who took possession of it in the beginning of the fifth century. He was brother to Eogan, who conquered Tir Eogain, and son of the monarch Niall of the Nine Hostages, and from him the territory obtained the name of Tir Conaill, or the country of Conall, and his posterity were designated Kinel Conaill, or the race of Conall, a name which was also applied to the territory.

The race of Connall Gulban, who possessed Tir Connell, are celebrated in Irish history, and, according to O'Flaherty and others, furnished ten of the monarchs of Ireland. In the tenth century a branch of the Kinel Connell, or descendants of Connall Gulban, took the name of O'Canannain, many of whom were celebrated chiefs, particularly Ruaidri O'Canannain, who was distinguished for his great valor and abilities. Another branch of the race of Connall Gulban took the name O'Maeldoraidh, or O'Muldorry, and became princes of Tir Connell. In the Annals of the Four Masters in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, accounts are given of many contests between the O'Canannains and O'Maeldoraidhs, those rival chiefs of the same race, as contending for the sovereignty of Tir Connell.

The O'DONNELLS, in the 12th century, became princes of Tir Connell, and were of the same race as the O'Canannains and O'Muldorrys. Their tribe-name, at an early period, was Clan Dalaiigh from Dalach, among their chiefs. They are called in O'Dugan's poem, "*Clanna Dalaiigh na n-donn sgiath*," that is, of the brown shields. They afterwards took the name O'Domhnaill, or Donnell, one of their ancient chiefs. The O'Donnells, from Donnall, or Donal from the 12th to the end of the 16th century, make a very distinguished figure in Irish history, as princes of Tirconnell. The last celebrated chief of the name was Red Hugh O'Donnell, long famous as one of the chief commanders of the northern Irish, in their wars with Elizabeth. Rory O'Donnell, the last chief of the race, was created earl of Tyrconnell, but died in exile on the Continent, and his estates were confiscated in the reign of James I. Many of the O'Donnells have been celebrated generals in the service of Spain, France, and Austria. The O'Donnells were inaugurated as princes of Tirconnell on the Rock of Doune, at Kilmacrenan, and had their chief castle at Donegal.

The following clans and chiefs in Tir Conaill in the twelfth century, are given by O'Dugan under the head of Kinel Conaill:

1. O'MAELDORAIDH, O'CANANNAIN, and Clann Dalaiigh were the principal chiefs. The Clan Dalaiigh was the tribe name of the O'Donnells as before stated.

2. O'BOIGHILL or O'Boyles, were chiefs of Clann Chinnfaeladh, of Tir Ainmireach, and of Tir Baghani, which territories comprised the

present baronies of Boylagh and Bannagh. Criche Baeighilleach, or the country of the O'Boyles, gave name to the barony of Boylagh, Tir Beghane was the barony of Banagh.

3. O'MAELMAGHNA, or O'Mulvany, chief of Magh Seireadh; Magh Seireadh may probably be traced in a townland called Massary.

4. O'HAEDHA or O'Hugh, chief of Esmadh, now Ballyshannon, in the barony of Tir Hugh.

5. O'TAIRCHERT, chief of Clann Nechtain, Clann Suedgail.

6. MAC DUBHAIN, or Mac Duvany's, chiefs of Kinel Nebha or Kinel Enda. This district lay in Inisowen.

7. MAC LOINGSEACHAIN, or Mac Lynchys, chiefs of Gleann Binne, or Gleann-n-Binne, and O'BRESLEN, chief of Fanad, on the western shore of Lough Swilly.

8. O'DOCHARTAIGH, or O'Dogherty, chief of Ard Midhair. The O'Doghertys were a powerful sept, a branch of the O'Donnells, and became chiefs of Inisowen. The O'Doghertys maintained their rank as chiefs of Inisowen down to the reign of James I, when Sir Calir O'Dogherty was killed in a contest with the English.

9. MAC GILLESAMHAIN, chief of Ros Guill, now Rosgull, in the barony of Kilmakrenan.

10. O'CEARNACHAIN, or O'Kernaghan.

11. O'DALACHAIN, or O'Dullaghan, chiefs of the Tuath Bladhaidh.

12. O'MAELAGAIN, or O'Mulligan, chief of Tir Mac Caerthain.

13. O'DONNAGAIN, and MacGaiblin, chiefs of Tir Breasail.

14. O'MAOLGAOTHE, chief of Muintir Maoilgaoithe. Some of this name have been anglicised to Mac Ghee, and others to Wynn.

15. AND MAC TIGHERNAIN, or Mac Ternan, chief of Clan Fearghoil.

16. MAC SUIRNI or the Mac Sweenys, a branch of the O'Neills which settled in Donegal, and formed three great families, namely, Mac Sweeney of Fanad, whose extensive territory lay west of Lough Swilley, and whose castle was at Rathmullin; Mac Sweeney Boghamach, or of Tir Boghani, now the barony of Banagh, who had his castle at Rathain, and in which territory was situated Reelchain Muintiri Eln, now Rathlin O Beirne Islands; and Mac Sweeney Na d-Tuath, signifying Mac Sweeney of the Battle-axes. His districts were also called Tuatha Toraiige, or the districts of Tory Island. This Mac Sweeney's possessions lay in the barony of Kilmakrenan. These chiefs were called Mac Sweeney Na d Tuagh, signifying Mac Sweeney of the Battle-axes, a title said to be derived from their being standard bearers and marshals to the O'Donnells, and chiefs of Galloglasses. A branch of these Mac Sweenys, who were distinguished military leaders, settled in Munster in the county Cork, in the thirteenth century, and became commanders under the Mac Carthys, princes of Desmond.

17. O'GALCHOBAIR or O'Gallaghers, derived from Gallochobair, a warrior, in the baronies of Raphoe and Triugh; they had a castle at Ballyshannon, and also possessed the castle of Lifford, and were commanders of O'Donnells cavalry.

18. O'FRANAIN is given by O'Dugan in his poem as chief of Fiond Ruis, which probably was the Rosses in the barony of Boylagh.

19. O'DONNGALL, or O'Donnelly, chief of Fer Droma, a district in Inisowen.

20. O'LAINIDH is mentioned as chief of Kinel Moain, a district in the barony of Raphoe.

21. O'CLERIGH or O'Clerys, celebrated as the

hereditary historians to the O'Donnells, and the learned authors of the Annals of the Four Masters, and many other valuable works on Irish history and antiquities. They had large possessions in the barony of Tirhugh, and resided in their castle at Kilbarrow, the ruins of which still remain situated on a rock on the shore of the Atlantic, near Ballyshannon.

22. MAC AN BHAALD, or the Mac Wards, were a clan in Donegal, and many of them bards to the O'Donnells, and were very learned men.

ORIGHALLA.

The ancient kingdom, or principality of Orighalla, comprised an extensive territory in Ulster, and was called by Latin writers, *Origallia*, and *Erghallia*; and by the English *Oriel*, and *Uriel*. In the beginning of the fourth century, three warlike princes, called the three Collas, sons of Eocaidh Doimilcin, son of Cairbre Lifechar, monarch of Ireland, of the race of Erimhon, made a conquest of a great part of Ulster, which they wrested from the old possessors, princes of the race of Ir, called the Cianna Rory, or Rudericians. The three Collas in the great battle of Achaethberg, in Fermanagh, in Dalaradia, on the borders of Down and Antrim, A. D. 322, defeated the forces of Fergus, king of Ulster, who was slain; and the victors burned to the ground Embain Macha, or Emania, (near the present city of Armagh,) the famous palace of the Ultonian kings, which had stood for six centuries, and had been long celebrated by the Irish bards. The place where this battle was fought is called also Carn Achy Leth-Derg, and is now known as the parish of Aghaderg, in the barony of Iveagh, county of Down, where there still remains a huge Carn of loose stones, near Loughbrickland. The sovereignty of Ulster thus passed from the race of Ir, to the race of Erimhon. The names of the three chiefs were Colla Uais, or Colla the noble, Colla Menn, or Colla the famous, and Colla-da-Chrioch, or Colla of the two territories. Colla Uais became monarch of Ireland, A. D. 327, and died A. D. 332. The territory conquered by the three Collas, comprised the present counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh, and obtained the name of Orighalla, from the circumstance of the Collas having stipulated with the monarch of Ireland, for themselves and their posterity, that if any chiefs of the Clan Colla should be at any time demanded as hostages, if shackled, their fetters should be gold; thus, from the Irish *or*, gold, or *ghall*, a hostage, came the name *oirghialla*. The term *Oriel*, or *Uriel*, was in general confined by the English to the present county of Louth, which, in former times, was part of Ulster: that province extending to the Boyne, at Drogheda. O'CARROLL was the name of the ruling sept of Orighalla for some time previous to the English invasion. They continued kings down to the 12th century, when they were dispossessed by the Anglo-Normans, under John de Courcy. Donnchadh O'Carroll, prince of Orighalla, the last celebrated head of this race, founded the great Abbey of Mellifont, in Louth, in the 12th century. The territory of Louth is mentioned in the earliest times under the names of *Mugh Murthemni*, or the Plain of Murthemni, so called from Murthemni, son of Brocgan, uncle of Milesius, who possessed it. Part of the territory of Louth and Armagh was called Cualgini, from Cualgini, another son of Brocgan, who, according to our old Anablists, was killed there in a battle between the Milesians and the Tuatha De-Dananns, about 1070 years before the Chris-

tian era. Sliabh Cualgini, now Slieve Gullion mountain, in Armagh, acquired its name from him. Louth was in ancient times also called Machairi Chonail, or the Plain of Conall, from Conall Kearnach, the renowned warrior, who was chief of the Red Branch knights of Ulster, about the commencement of the Christian era, and whose descendants originally possessed this territory.

The descendants of Conall Kearnach, were the Magennis, lords of Iveagh, in Dalaradia, or county of Down, the O'Moras, or O'Moores, princes of Leix, in Kildare and Queen's county, and others. Amongst the other chief clans who possessed Louth, were the Mac Cams, Mac Cartans, O'Kellys, O'Moores, O'Callaghans, O'Carrahans, Mac Colmans, Mac Campbells, Mac Ardeles, Mac Kennys, O'Devins, O'Markys, O'Branagans, Mac-Seanlons, and others.

In the reign of king John, A. D. 1210, Louth was formed into a county, and acquired its name from the town of Louth, in Irish, *Lugh Mhagh*. In the Inquisitions the county is called *Lovidia*. The chief Anglo-Norman or British families settled in Louth, were the De Laeys, De Verdons, De Gernons, De Pepards, De Flemmings, barons of Slane; the Bellevs of Barmeth, who had formerly the title of barons of Duleek; the De Berminghams, earls of Louth, a title afterwards possessed by the Plunkets, a great family of Danish descent; the Taafes, earls of Carlingford; the Bails, Brahazons, Dareys, Dowdals, Clintons, and the Dromgools, of Danish descent. The posterity of the three Collas, called *lan Colla*, founded many powerful clans and noble families in Ulster, and other parts of Ireland. From Colla Uais were descended the Mac Donalds, earls of Antrim, in Ireland, and lords of the Isles, in Scotland; also, the Mac Rorys, a great clan in the Hebrides, and also many families of that name in Ulster, now anglicised to Rogers.

From Colla Da Chrioch, were descended the Mac Mahons, princes of Monaghan, lords of Ferney, and barons of Dartree, at Conagh, where they had their chief seat. The Mac Mahons were sometimes styled princes of Orgiall. It may be observed that several of the Mac Mahons, in former times, changed the name to Mathews.

The other chief clans of Monaghan were the Mac KENNAS, chiefs of Truagh; the MAC CAGES; the MAC NENEYS, anglicised to Bird; the MAC ARDELS, MAC CASSIDYS, O'DUFFEYS, O'CORRYS, O'COGRAS, MAC CUSKERS, or MAC OSEARS, changed to Cosgraves, who possessed, according to O'Dugan, a territory called Ferra Rois, which comprised the district about Carrickmacross, in Monaghan, with the parish of Clonkeen, adjoining, in the county of Louth; the BOYLANS, of Dartree; the MAC GILLA-MICHLA, changed to Mitchell; the MAC DONNELLS; the O'CONNELYS, and others.

This part of Orgiall was overrun by the forces of John de Courcy, in the reign of king John, but the Mac Mahons maintained their national independence to the reign of Elizabeth, when Monaghan was formed into a county, so called from its chief town Muinechan, that is, the Town of Monks.

From *Colla-da-Chrioch* were also descended the Mac GUERES, lords of Fermanagh, and barons of Enniskillen; the O'FLANAGANS of Fermanagh; the O'HANLONS, chiefs of Ul Melth-Tiri, now the barony of Orior, in Armagh, who held the office of hereditary royal standard-bearers of Ulster; the MAC CANS, or Mac Cams, of Clan Brossall, in Armagh; the O'KELLYS, princes of Ul Manl, in the counties of Galway and Roscommon, and the O'MADAGANS, or

O'Maddens, chiefs of Stiol Anmchadha, or Silaucha, now the barony of Longford, in the county of Galway.

Colla Meann's posterity possessed the territory of Modhurn, that is, the districts about the mountains of Mourne.

That part of Oirghialla, afterwards forming the county of Armagh, was possessed, as already stated, partly by the O'Hanlons and Mac Canns, and partly by the O'Neills, O'Larkins, O'Duvyns, and O'Garveys, of the Clanna Rory, who possessed the Craobh Ruadh, or territory of the famous Red Branch knights of Ulster; O'Harrattys, of Ui-Meith Macha; O'Donegans of Bressal Meaha, and others.

The native chiefs held their independence down to the reign of Elizabeth, when Armagh was formed into a county, A.D. 1586, by the lord deputy, Sir John Perrott.

Fera Monach, an ancient territory of about the same extent as the present county of Fermanagh. It formed part of the ancient principality of Oirghialla.

In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the head chief of this territory was O'Dubhdara. The O'DURIDARAS were probably of the same race as the Mac Guires, who afterwards became princes of Fermanagh. The latter name in Irish is *Mac Uidhir*, sometimes written *Maguibhir*, which is pronounced Mae Ivir, and has been translated Mac Guire and Maguire. The Mac Guires took this name from *Uidhir*, one of their ancient chiefs; and they are of the race of *Clan Colla*, of the same descent as the Mac Mahons, lords of Monaghan; the O'Hanlons, chiefs of Orier, in Armagh; the O'Kellys, lords of Ui Mani, in Galway and Rosecommon. In O'Dugan's Topography of the twelfth century, Mac Uidhir, or Mac Guire, is given as chief of Fera Monach, or Fermanagh, and designated in terms which may be thus translated:

"Mac Guire, the chief of hosts,
Rule the mighty men of Manach,
At home munificent in presents,
The noblest chief in hospitality."



The Maguires were inaugurated as princes of Fermanagh on the summit of Cuilcagh, a magnificent mountain near Swanlinbar, on the borders of Cavan and Fermanagh, and sometimes, also, at a place called Selath Gabhra, now Lisnaskea. They possessed the entire of Fermanagh, which was called *Mac Guires country*, and maintained their independence as lords of Fermanagh, down to the reign of James I., when their country was confiscated, like other parts of Ulster. Several chiefs of the Mac Guires are mentioned during the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, and many of them were afterwards distinguished officers in the Irish Brigade, in France, and also in the Austrian service. The Mac Guires produced several eminent and learned ecclesiastics; amongst whom may be mentioned Cathal, or Charles Mac Guire, archdeacon of Clogher, in the fifteenth century, the author of the celebrated Annals of Ulster. The Mac Guires are still numerous, particularly in the counties of Fermanagh and Cavan.

The following chiefs and clans of Fermanagh, and the territories they possessed in the twelfth century, have been collected from O'Dugan's Topography:

1. O'MAOLDUIN, or O'Muldoon, chief of Muintir Maelduin and Fera Luirg. This territory is now known as the barony of Lurg.

2. Muintir Tairtelligh, or Mac Tullys, chiefs

of Ui Laoghaire, or Lough Lir, a district which lay in the barony of Lurg, near Lough Erne, towards Tyrone.

3. MAC DULGEN.

4. O'FLANNAGAIN, or O'Flanagan, chief of Tuath Iatha, a territory which extended from Belmore to Belleek, and from Lough Melvin to Lough Erne, comprising the present barony of Maheraboy. It contained the ancient districts of Iarthar Maighe and Magh Niadh, and its name is still retained by the mountain Tara.

5. MAC GILLA-FINEIN, or Mac Gillfinnen, chief of Muintir Peodachain of the Port. This territory, on the borders of Fermanagh and Donegal, is still traceable in the name of Pettigoe; and he was styled lord of Lough Erne.

6. MAC GILLA-MICHEL, chief of Clan Congail. Clan Congail and O'Ceandofa, lay in Tir Manach. Tirkennedy barony is probably Tir O'Ceandofa. The name Mac Gilla-Michil, has been anglicized to Mitchell.

7. O'MAOLRUANA, or O'Mulrooney, and O'Eignigh, or O'Heignigh, probably O'Heaney, who were chiefs of Muintir Maolruanaidh, and of Maolth Leirg Monach.

8. MAC DOMHNAILL, or Mac Donnell, chief of Clann Ceallagh, now the barony of Clankelly.

9. The MAC MARKESES, formerly a numerous clan, chiefly in Tirkennedy, who had the control of the shipping on Lough Erne, and held the office of hereditary chief managers of the fisheries, under Mac Guire.

10. The MAC CASSIDYS, who were hereditary physicians to the Mac Guires, and many of the name also learned ecclesiastics and historians, amongst whom may be mentioned Roderick Mac Cassidy, archdeacon of Clogher, who partly compiled the Annals of Ulster.

11. The O'CRIOCHANS, or O'Crechans, a numerous clan in Fermanagh, many of whom have changed the name to Creighton.

12. The MAGRATHS, who held some possessions at Termon Magrath, many of them had a castle in the parish of Templecarne.

DALARADIA AND ULIDIA.

The name *Ulaidh* was applied to the whole province of Ulster, but in after times was confined to a large territory comprising the present county of Down and part of Antrim, and was latinised *Ulidia*. This territory also obtained the name of Dal Araidhe. The word *Dal* signifies a part or portion, and also descendants, or a tribe, and hence Dal-Araidhe signifies the descendants or tribe of Araidhe, as being descended from Fiachaidh Araidhe, king of Ulster in the third century, of the race of Ir, or Clan Rory, called Bundericlans, whose posterity possessed this territory, whose name was latinised Dalaradia. It comprised the present county of Down, with a great part of Antrim, extending from Newry, Carlingford Bay, and the Mourne mountains, to Slieve Mis mountain, in the barony of Antrim; thus containing, in the south and south-east parts of Antrim, the districts along the shores of Lough Neagh and Belfast Lough, Carrickfergus, and the peninsula of Island Magee, to Larne, and thence in a line westward to the river Bann. The remaining portion of the county Antrim obtained the name of Dal Riada. It has been erroneously stated by some writers that the boundary between Dal-Araidhe and Dalriada was the river Euais, or Bush, in the barony of Dunluce, county of Antrim.

The chiefs and clans of Dalaradia or Ulidia, and the territories which they possessed in the

twelfth century, as collected from O'Dugan's Topography, are as follows: The *Craobh Ruadh*, or the portion of the *Redbranch Knights* of Ulster, a large territory, which comprised the central parts of the present county of Down, with some adjoining parts of Armagh, is given by O Dugan as the head territory of Uladh. The principal chiefs of the *Craobh Ruadh* were:

1. O'DUNNSLEBI, called by the Annalists Mac Dunns ebl, as king of Uladh, which name has been anglicised O Dunley or Mac Dunley.

2. O'HEOGHADHA, anglicised to O'Heoghy, or Hoey, a branch of the Mac Dunsley.

3. O'HAIDITH.

4. O'ECHAGAIN.

5. O'LAHRADHA.

6. O'LEITHODHEA.

7. O'LEINGSIGH, or Lynch.

8. O'MORAN.

9. O'MATHGHAMHA.

10. O'GARIBHITH, or O'Garvey.

11. O'AINBITH, or O'Hanvey, were chiefs of *Ui Eachach Coba*, now the barony of Iveagh.

12. MAC AENGUSA, or Magennis, chief of *Clan Aodha*, or *Clan Hugh*, the tribe name of the family. The Magennis had the baronies of Iveagh and Lecale, and part of Mourne, and were lords of Iveagh, Newry, and Mourne. They were descended from the famous warrior *Conall Kearnach*, and were the head of the *Clanna Rory* of Ulster.

13. MAC ARTAIN, or Mac Cartan, chief of *Kinel Fagaraitagh*, now the baronies of Kinelarty and Dufferin.

14. O'DUIBHENAIGH, or O'Duivny, chief of *Kinel Amalgaidh*, or *Amhargaidh Ui Morna*, or *Ui Mughroin*, now *Clanawley*, in the county of Down.

15. MAC DUILECHAIN, or O'Duilbheachain, chief of *Clan Bresail Mac Duilechain*, near *Kinelarty*, in the barony of Castlereagh.

16. O'COLTARIAN, or Colter, chief *Dal Coirb*, in the barony of Castlereagh.

17. O'FLOINN, or O'Flynn, and O'Domhnaillain, or O'Donnellan, chiefs of *Ui Tuirtre*. The territory of *Ui Tuirtre* lay along the northern shores of *Lough Neagh* and the river *Bann*, and extended to *Sieve Mis*, comprising the baronies of *Toome* and *Antrim*, in the county of *Antrim*, and was afterwards known as northern *Clanaboy*.

18. O'HERIC, or Eric, chief of *Ui Finchrach Finn*, in the barony of *Massareene*.

19. O'CRIDAIN, or O'Crehan, chief of *Maichaire Meadhaidh*, now the parish of *Magheramisk*, in the barony of *Massareene*.

20. O'HAEDHA, or O'Hugh, chief of *Fearn mholghe*, or *Fernmoyle*, in the county of *Down*, on the borders of *Antrim*, and in the barony of *Lower Iveagh*.

21. O'CAEMHAIN, or O'Keenan, chief of *Magh Linl*, now *Moy Linny*, a district in the barony of *Antrim*.

22. O'MACHOIDEN, chief of *Mughdorn*, or *Mourne*.

23. O'LACHNAIN, or O'Loughnain, chief of *Modharn Beag*, or *Little Mourne*.

24. The MAC GEES of *Islandmagee*.

25. The MAC GILLNORIS, a warlike clan, who possessed the districts of the great *Ards*.

26. The MAC RORYS, or Rogers, chiefs of *Killwarlin*.

27. The O'KELLYS of *Clanbrasil Mac Coolechan* in the county of *Down*.

28. The MAC WARDS.

29. The MAC GOBHAINIS, or Mac Gowans, also given by some writers as O'Gabhans or O Gowans, a name which has been anglicised to Smith. These were a powerful clan of the race of *Ir*, or

the *Clanna Rory*, and were descended from the famous warrior *Conall Kearnach*. They were mostly expelled by the English into *Donegal*, from whence great numbers of them emigrated to the county of *Leitrim*, and they are still very numerous in *Rossinver*, as well as in the county of *Cavan*. *Dal Buinne* was a district in *Dalaradia* not given by O'Dugan, but occurring in the *Annals*, and derived its name, according to O'Flaherty, from *Buinni*, son of *Fergus Mac Roy*. It was situated on the borders of *Down* and *Antrim*, and contained the parish of *Drumboe*, in *Down*, with those of *Lisburn*, *Magheragall*, *Magheramask*, *Glenny*, *Aghalee*, and *Aghagallen*, in *Antrim*.

In the fourteenth century, *Aedh Euidhe O'Neill*, prince of *Tyrone*, with his forces, crossed the *Bann*, and took possession of the northern part of *Dalaradia*, which, from its being possessed by his posterity, they were called *Clann Aodha Buidhe*, was anglicised to *Claneboy* or *Clanaboy*. It extended from *Carriefergus Bay*, and the river *Lagan*, westward to *Lough Neagh*, and contained, according to *Dubourdieu* and other authorities, the baronies of *Belfast*, *Massareene*, *Antrim*, and *Upper Toome*, in the county of *Antrim*. This territory was called *North Claneboy*, to distinguish it from *South Claneboy*, which was in the county of *Down*. A part of *North Claneboy* also obtained the name of *Brian Carragh's country* from having been taken from the O'Neills by a chief of the *Mac Donalds*, who was called *Brian Carragh*.

South Claneboy, a territory which derived its name from the same *Hugh Buidh O'Neill*, comprised the baronies of *Ards*, *Castlereagh*, *Kinelarty*, and *Lecale*, and extended, according to *MacGeoghegan*, from the *Bay of Dundrum* to the *Bay of Carrickfergus*, or *Belfast Lough*.

In A. D. 1177, *John de Courcy*, with his forces, overran a great part of *Orgall* and *Ulidia*, or *Dalaradia*, and for a period of twenty years carried on an incessant warfare with the native chiefs. He fixed his head quarters at *Downpatrick*. After *De Courcy* had been driven out of *Ireland* by his great rivals, the *de Lacys*, lords of *Meath*, the latter obtained possession of *Ulidia*, and were created earls of *Ulster*. The *De Burgos* next became earls of *Ulster*, and possessors of *Ulidia*, which title and possessions afterwards passed to the *Mortimers*, earls of *March*, in *England*. The chief *Anglo-Norman* and *English* settlers in *Ulidia*, under *De Courcy* and his successors, were the *Audleys*, *Elscotts*, *Copelands*, *Fitzsimons*, *Chamberlains*, *Bagnalls*, *Martells*, *Jordans*, *Mandevilles*, *Riddles*, *Russells*, *Smiths*, *Stannons*, *Logans*, *Savadges*, *Walslers*, and *Whites*. The *Fitzgeralds*, earls of *Kildare*, obtained *Lecale* in the reign of *Queen Mary*. The *Blackwoods*, barons of *Dufferin*.

DAL RIADA.

This ancient territory comprised all the remaining portion of the county of *Antrim*, not comprised in *Dalaradia*, with a small part of the present county of *Derry*. *Dal Riada* was named from *Carlri Riada*, son of *Conar*, monarch of *Ireland* in the third century. Some Irish chiefs from *Ulster*, descendants of *Carlri Riada*, founded a colony in *Alba*, afterwards called *Scotland*, and after having conquered the *Picts* of that country, became the founders of a kingdom also called *Dal Riada*. From the chiefs of the *Dalriadians* were descended the ancient *Scottish kings*, and also the house of *Stuart*.

Dal Riada was divided into two large districts: 1st. The *Glynns*, so called from its consisting of

several large glens, extended from Olderfleet or Larne, to the vicinity of Ballycastle, along the sea shore, and contained the barony of Glenarm, and part of Carey. 2d. The Routes, called Renta, or Ruta, which comprehended the baronies of Dunluce and Kileonway.

The chief clans in Dalriada were the O'Kanes, above mentioned.

1. The Mac Uí Dúilín, or Mac Quillans, who held the territory of the Routes, and had their chief seat at Dunluce.

2. The Mac DONALDS, having invaded the territories of Antrim and Derry, where they afterwards made settlements. In the reign of Elizabeth, Somhairli Buidhe Mac Donald, called by English writers Sorley Boy, a chief from the Hebrides, (descended from the ancient Irish of the race of Clan Colla, as given in the note on Original,) came with his forces and took possession

of the Glynnas. After many long and fierce battles with the Mac Quillans, the Mac Donalds made themselves masters of the country, and dismissed the Mac Quillans. Dubourdiou, in his Survey of Antrim, says; "A lineal descendant of the chief Mac Quillan lives on the road between Belfast and Carrickfergus, near the silver stream, and probably enjoys more happiness as a respectable farmer, than his ancestor did as a prince in those turbulent times." The Mac Donalds were created earls of Antrim, a dignity which they still enjoy.

3. The O'HARAS, a branch of the great family of O'Hara in Sligo, have also been long settled in Antrim. Several families of the O'Neills have been also in Antrim from an early period. The other clans in this territory were the O'Siadhais, or O'Shields, the O'Quinns, O'Furries, Mac Alisters, Mac Gees, &c.

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOM OF CONNAUGHT.

THE name in Irish is *Conacht*, pronounced Conaght, and latinised *Canacia*; the people were called *Conachtaigh*, in Latin *Conarii*, and *Conachtenses*, Conacians. This ancient kingdom comprised the present counties of Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, Leitrim, and Cavan, with the northern part of Longford, bordering on Leitrim and Cavan; in ancient times, at different periods, the territory of Clare in Thomond, formed part of Connaught, but was ultimately added to Munster, and the county of Cavan was added in the reign of Elizabeth.

UI FIACHRA.

Ui Fiachra or *Ui Fiachrach*, was a name applied to the territories possessed by the race of Fiachra, one of the sons of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, of the race of Erimhon. Fiachra was for some time King of Connaught. He was a celebrated warrior, and commander-in-chief of the Irish forces under his brother Niall of the Nine Hostages. According to the Book of Ballymote, folio 145, on his return home victorious from a great battle which he had fought with the men of Munster, A. D. 402, he died of his wounds at a place called Mac-Uais in Meath, where he was buried with great honors, and where a monument was erected to his memory with an inscription in Ogham characters, on which occasion fifty prisoners taken in the battle, were, according to the Pagan customs, sacrificed around his tomb. The place called *Ui Mac Uais*, is now the barony of Moygoish in Westmeath. *Dathi*, son of Fiachra, was king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland; he was one of the most celebrated of the Irish monarchs, and carried his victorious arms to Gaul, where he was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, A. D. 429. His body was brought to Ireland, and buried in *Roig-na-Righ*, the ancient cemetery of the Irish kings, at Cruachan, near Elphin. *Dathi* was the last Pagan monarch of Ireland. *Oillid Molt*, son of *Dathi*, was also king of Connaught and monarch of Ireland, in the fifth century. *Amalgaidh*, another son of *Fiachra*, was also king of Connaught, and from him the territory of *Tir Amalgaidh*, or *Tirawley*, in Mayo, obtained its name. *Dathi* the monarch, had a son called *Fiachra Elgach*, whose posterity gave name to the territory of *Ui Fiachrach Muaidhe* or *Ily Fiachra* of the Moy, also called *Tir Fiachrach*, and afterwards *Tireragh* barony, in the county of Sligo. This *Fiachra* had a son called *Amalgaidh*, who raised a cairn of great stones, called *Carn Amalgaidh*, where great assem-

blies of the people were held, and where *Amalgaidh* himself was buried. It is supposed that this cairn was on the hill of *Mullaghearn*, near the town of *Killala*. At *Carn Amalgaidh* the chiefs of the O'Dowds were inaugurated as princes of *Ui Fiachra*, though according to some accounts the O'Dowds were sometimes inaugurated on the hill of *Ardnara* near *Ballina*. *Brian*, king of Connaught, ancestor of the *Ui Briuin* race, and *Niall* of the *Nine Hostages*, ancestor of *Ui Neill*, were brothers of *Fiachra*, son of *Eocaidh Muigh-medon*; and hence these three brothers were progenitors of the kings and head chiefs of Meath, Ulster and Connaught. The territories possessed by the race of *Fiachra* were counties of Sligo and Mayo, with a great portion of Galway. The territory of *Ui Fiachra* in Galway, or southern *Ui Fiachrach*, was called *Ui Fiachrach Aidhni*, from *Eogan Aidhni*, son of *Eocaidh Brec*, son of *Dathi*, monarch of Ireland. The posterity of *Eogan Aidhni*, the chief of whom were the *O'Heynes*, *O'Clerys*, and *O'Shaughnessys*, possessed this territory, which was co-extensive with the Diocese of *Kilmacduagh*; and an account of its chiefs and clans will be found in the note on *South Connaught*. The chiefs of *North Ui Fiachrach* in Sligo and Mayo were the *O'Dowds*, &c. According to *O'Dugan* and *Mac Firbis*, fourteen of the race of *Ui Fiachra* were kings of Connaught, some of whom had their residence in *Aidhni*, in Galway; others at *Cera*, now the barony of *Carra*, in Mayo; and some on the plain of *Muaidhe*, or the *Moy* in Sligo.

The Clans of *Ui Fiachra* are thus designated by *O'Dugan*:—

" Binn slnagh nam-borb cliathach."

" The music-loving hosts of fierce engagements."

O'DUBIDA, a name sometimes anglicised *O'Dowda*, but more frequently *O'Dowd*, and

by some O'Dowde, by others O'Dooda and O'Doodly, was the head chief of North Ui Fiachrach. Their territory comprised nearly the whole of the present county of Sligo, with the greater part of Mayo. The name *Dubhdá*, is derived from *Dubbh*, dark or black. The O'Dowds are descended from Fiachra Elgach, son of Dathi, and took their name from Dubhdá, one of their ancient chiefs. The O'Dowds had large possessions in the county of Sligo until the Cromwellian wars, when their estates were confiscated. They were inaugurated as princes of Ui Fiachrach or North Connaught at Carn Amalgaidh, near Killala. They appear from history to have been a valiant race: and many of them, even down to modern times, were remarkable for their strength and stature; indeed, it may be observed that most of the clans of Sligo and Mayo furnished many men of great size and strength.

The following chiefs and clans of Ui Fiachrach and of the territories they possessed in the twelfth century in the present counties of Sligo and Mayo, have been collected from O'Dugan and other authorities:

1. O MAOLRICHIE, or O'Mulcloy, chief of Cairbre, now the barony of Carbury, county of Sligo. Carbury derived its name from Carbri, son of Niall of the Hostages. This name has been anglicised to Stone, and there are still many of the family in Carbury.

2. MAC DERMADA, or Mac Dermott, chief of Tir Oiliolla, now the barony of Tírerrill, in Sligo, which derived its name from Oilíoll, one of the sons of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, monarch of Ireland. The Mac Dermotts were also princes of Moylurg, a large territory in the county of Roscommon. They afterwards became chiefs of Coolavin, as successors to the O'Garas, lords of Coolavin.

3. MAC DONCHAIDH, that is, Mac Donogh, a branch of the Mac Dermotts, afterwards chiefs of Tírerrill and of Coran, now the barony of Coran in Sligo.

4. O'DONCHATHAIGH, is given as a chief by O'Dugan in Coran, and is also mentioned in the poem of Giolla Iosa More Mac Fírlis, in which he is styled O'Danchada, of the "learned men," and it is stated that his territory extended as far as the beautiful stream of the salmon, by which was meant the river of Ballysalare. This name has been anglicised O'Donagh or O'Donaghy.

5. O'DÓBHALEN, or O'Devlin, is given as another chief in Corran.

6. O'HEADHRA, or O'Hara, chief of Luighni, now the barony of Liency, in the county of Sligo; but Liency anciently comprised part of the baronies of Costello and Gallen in Mayo. The O'Haras were descended from Cormac Galeng, son of Tíege, son of Kian, son of Oilid Olum, king of Munster in the third century, of the race of Eber, and therefore of the same stock as the Eberlans of Munster. The O'Haras took their name from Eagra, lord of Liency in the tenth century. From the twelfth to the seventeenth century they held their rank as lords of Liency, and had large possessions to the period of the Cromwellian wars. The O'Haras are thus designated by O'Dugan:

"The lords of Liency, of high fame:
The men of Liency, of warlike swords."

6. O'GARHEA, or O'Gara, given by O'Dugan as a chief of Liency, but in after times lord of Cull O'bh-Finn, now the barony of Coolavin in the county of Sligo, and sometimes styled

lord of Moy O'Gara, of Coolavin, and also Sliabh Lugta, which latter district extended into a part of the barony of Costello in Mayo. The O'Garas derived their descent from Tíege, son of Kian, son of Oilid Olum, being exactly of the same stock as the O'Haras. They took their name from Gadhra, one of their ancient chiefs. They retained considerable rank and possessions in the county of Sligo down to the seventeenth century; and one of them, Fergal O'Gara, lord of Moy O'Gara, and Coolavin, is justly celebrated as a great patron of learned men, particularly of the O'Clerys and other authors of the Annals of the Four Masters.

8. O'CIARNACHAIN and O'Huathmhara'n, given by O'Dugan as chiefs in the territory of Liency.

9. O'MUREDHUGH, or O'Murray, chief of Ceara, now the barony of Carra, in Mayo. The O'Murrays were a race of Ui Fiachrach, and were also chiefs of the Lagan, a district in the northern part of the barony of Tyrawley in Mayo.

10. O'TIGHERNAIGH, or O'Tierney, a chief in Carra.

11. O'GORMOG is also given as a chief in Carra.

12. O'MALLEY, or O'Malley, chief of Umhal, which O'Dugan states was divided into two territories. The name has been rendered sometimes into Umalia and Uí Malia. This territory comprised the present baronies of Murrisk and Burreishoole in the county of Mayo. The O'Malleys are of the Uí Briuin race, descended from Brian, king of Connaught in the fifth century, who was also the progenitor of the O'Connors, kings of Connaught, of the O'Rourkes, O'Relleys, Mac Dermotts and other chiefs, as explained in the note on Brefney. They are thus designated by O'Dugan:

"A good man yet there never was,
Of the O'Malleys, who was not a mariner,
Of every weather they are prophets,
A tribe of brotherly affection and of friendship."

12. O'TALCHARAIN, chief of Conmaicne Cúile, now the barony of Kilmuin, county of Mayo.

13. O'CAITHIADH, chief of Iorras, now the barony of Erris, in Mayo: the name was anglicised to O'Cahey; but few of the family exist at the present day.

14. O'CEALLACHAIN, or O'Callaghan. The O'Callaghans were chiefs in Erris but of a different race from the O'Callaghans of Munster.

15. O'CAOMHAIN, a name anglicised to O'Keegan and O'Cavanagh, a senior branch of the O'Dowd family, and chiefs of some districts on the borders of Sligo and Mayo, in the baronies of Tírerragh, Corran, and Costello.

16. O'GABHITHACHAIN, or O'Gavagan, and O'Maollíona or O'Mullency, chiefs of Calraighe of Moy Helcog, a district in which was comprised the present parish of Crossmolina, in the barony of Tyrawley, in Mayo.

17. O'GOIMMALLAIGH, or O'Gormley, and O'Dorchaidhe, a name anglicised to Dorchy, and by others to Darcy. These were chiefs of Partalghe or Partry, an ancient territory in the Partry mountains in Mayo. The present parish of Ballyovey, also called the parish of Partry, shows the situation of this ancient territory. The O'Dorceys were a distinguished clan, but many families of them in Mayo and Galway, having anglicised the name to Darcy or D'Arcy, have been erroneously supposed to be some of the D'Arcys of Meath, of English descent.

18. O'LACHTINAIN, or O Loughnan, by some anglicised to Loftus. The O Loughnans were chiefs of a territory called the Two Bacs, now the parish of Bacs, situated between Lough Con and the river Moy in Mayo.

19. O'MAOLFOGHMAIR and O'Maolbrennuin, chiefs of *Ui Eeachach Muaidhe*, a district extending along the western banks of the Moy, between Ballina and Killala. This name, O'Maolbrennuin, has been anglicised to Mulrennin, and the name O'Maolfoghmair has been by some rendered into Milford.

20. The O'MANGANS, or O'Mangans, chiefs of Breach Magh, a district in the parish of Kilmore Moy, in Sligo.

21. O'CONNALLAIN, or O'Connellan, chief of Bun-*ui-Connallan*, now Bunyconnellan, a district in the barony of Gallen, county of Mayo, and also of Cloonconnellan, in the barony of Kilmair. This clan are a branch of the southern *Ui Neill*, descended from Laegari, monarch of Ireland in the fifth century, and are of the same family as the O'Coidealbhains or O'Kendellans, princes of *Ui Laeghaire* in Meath, but long settled in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon.

22. O'KEERIN, or O'Keerin, chief of *Ciarrraighe Loch-na-naireadh*, an ancient territory in the barony of Costello, county of Mayo, comprising the parishes of Aghamore, Bekan and Knoek.

There are various other clans, many of them still numerous, in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, as the O'Bannans, O'Brogans, Mac Combains, O'Beams or Whites, O'Beolans, O'Beirnes, O'Flatelkeys, O'Creans, O'Careys, O'Conachtaims or O'Conaghtys of Cabraich, in Tire-ragh, O'Flannelleys, O'Coolaghans, O'Burns, O'Hughes, O'Huada or O'Fuada, and O'Tapa, — a name anglicised to Swift, — O'Loingsys or O'Lynches, O'Maolmolcheirghe, anglicised to Earley, O'Mulrooneys or Rooney, O'Morans, O'Muldoons, O'Meehans, O'Caffreys, O'Finne-gans, O'Morrisseys, Mac Geraghtys, O'Spillans.

The O'Donnells and Mac Sweeneys from Donegal, who settled in many parts of Sligo and Mayo, particularly when the O'Donnells, princes of Tiroconnell, extended their power into Sligo. Many families of the O'Donnells and Mac Sweeneys were settled in Sligo and Mayo.

The O'CONORS SLIGO. A branch of the O'Conors of Roscommon, descendants of the kings of Connaught, settled in Sligo, and became very powerful in the sixteenth century. The head of the family was designated the O'Conor Sligo, and appears to have extended his power over the greater part of that country.

The Mac FIRBISES, called *Clan Fírbisigh*, were a branch descended from the same stock as the O'Dowds, princes of *Ui Fiachra*. Their original territory was Magh Brión in Tyrarwey; they afterwards settled in Rosserk, between Balina and Killala, and lastly at *Leucaan*, in the parish of Kilglass, barony of Tírerragh, east of the river Moy, where they had estates and a castle, the ruins of which still remain. The Mac Fírbises held the office of *Ollamhs*, that is, of historiographers and poets, of *Ui Fiachra*, and at one time of all Connaught.

UI BRIUIN BREFNEI.

This ancient territory comprises the present counties of Cavan and Leitrim, and was part of the Kingdom of Connaught down to the reign of Elizabeth, when it was added to the province of Ulster, and formed into the two counties just

mentioned. The name of *Ui Briuin Brefne*, or *Ui Briuin Brefney*, from its being possessed by the race of *Ui Briuin*. The *Ui Briuin* race derived their name from being the descendants of Brian, king of Connaught, in the fourth century, son of Eochaidh Muigh-medon. Brian, above-mentioned, had twenty-four sons, whose posterity possessed the greater part of Connaught, and were called the *Ui Briuin* race. Of this race were the O'Conors, kings of Connaught; the O'Rourkes; O'Reillys; Mac Dermotts; Mac Donoghs; O'Flahertys; O'Malleyes; Mac Oiraghtys; O'Fallons; O'Flynnas; O'Malones; Mac Gaurans; Mac Tiernans, or Mac Kernans; Mac Bradys, and some other clans. From Fiachra, brother of Brian, king of Connaught, were descended the race of *Ui Fiachra*, of whom were the O'Dowds, O'Heynes, O'Saughnesseys, and other clans in Connaught. From Niall of the Nine Hostages, another of Brian's brothers, were descended, as mentioned in the notes on Meath, *Tír Eogain* and *Tír Conaill*; the O'Melaghlins, kings of Meath; the O'Neills, kings of Ulster, and princes of Tyrone; the O'Donnells, princes of Tiroconnell, and some other chiefs of Ulster: thus these three great branches, descended from Eochaidh Muigh-medon, were the chief rulers of the kingdoms of Meath, Ulster, and Connaught.

The O'ROURKES and O'KEELYS derived their descent from *Aedh Finn*, or Iugh the Fair, king of Connaught, who died in the beginning of the seventh century, A. D. 611, and was buried at Fenagh. This Aedh Finn was a descendant of Brian, king of Connaught; and from him the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys were called *Clann Aedha Finn*, that is, the posterity of Iugh the Fair. The *Ruarcachs*, O'Ruaires, O'Ruaires, or O'Rourkes, took their name from one of their ancient chiefs, Ruarc, who was prince of Brefney in the tenth century. Many celebrated chiefs of the O'Rourkes often contended with the O'Conors for the sovereignty of Connaught; and in the tenth century, one of them, namely, Fergal O'Rourke, became king of Connaught, and reigned from A. D. 960, to A. D. 964, when he was killed in a battle with the men of Meath. The O'Rourkes had the title of kings of Brefne and Conmaen, and in latter times that of princes of West Brefney, that is, of the county of Leitrim, the O'Reillys becoming princes of East Brefney, or the county of Cavan. Ancient Brefney was, in the 10th century, divided into two principalities, the O'Rourkes, as princes of West Brefney, being the principal chiefs, and the O'Reillys, as princes of East Brefney, possessing the territory of the present county of Cavan. O'Rourke's country was called *Brefney O'Rourke*, and O'Reilly's country *Brefney O'Reilly*. O'Rourke's ancient principality comprised the present county of Leitrim, with the present barony of Tullaghagh, and part of Tullaghanoho, in the county of Cavan, the river at Ballyconnell being the boundary between Brefney O'Rourke and Brefney O'Reilly. Brefney O'Rourke was separated from Fermanagh or Mac Guire's country, by Lough Melvin, Lough Mac Nean, and Culeagh mountain. It appears also that a small portion of the barony of Carbery, in the county of Sligo, belonged to Brefney O'Rourke. Conmaen, also called Conmaen of Moy Rein, of which the O'Rourkes were also lords, was an ancient territory which derived its name from Conmac, one of the sons of Meva, the celebrated queen of Connaught, at the beginning of the Christian era; it comprised the southern part of Leitrim, namely the baronies of Carrigallen,

Leitrim, and Mohill, with a portion of the northern part of Anally, or county of Longford, extending nearly to Granard. It is recorded that the O'Rourke were inaugurated as princes of Brefney at a place called *Craochan O'Chraichin*, supposed to be Croaghan, near Killohantra, as it is stated that the O'Reillys and the people of Tullyhunco met O'Rourke's party at Ballyconnell, to oppose the inauguration. The O'Rourke had their chief castles at Dromahaire, Leitrim, Cloncorick or Carrickallen, and Castle Car, near Manorhamilton. They maintained their independence, as princes of West Brefney, down to the reign of James I., and had considerable possessions even until the Cromwellian wars, when their estates were confiscated.

The O'REILLYS, as above stated, were descended from the same ancestor as the O'Rourkes, namely *Aeth Finn*, or Hugh the Fair, king of Connaught, in the beginning of the seventh century. They took the name O'Raghalligh or O'Raghallaigh, pronounced O'Roiligh, and rendered into O'Reilly, from Raghallach, one of their celebrated chiefs, in the tenth century. The O'Reillys also took the tribe name of Muinter Maolmordha, or the people of Maolmordha, from Maolmorda, another of their celebrated chiefs. This name Maolmorda, or Mulmora, latinised Milesius and anglicised Miles, was a favorite name with the O'Reillys, and was borne by many of their chiefs.

The principality of Brefney O'Reilly comprised originally the greater part of the present county of Cavan, the boundary between it and Brefney O'Rourke being, as already stated, the river at Ballyconnell, and being separated from Fermanagh, or Mac Guire's country, by the Ballyconnell mountains. It appears also that once the O'Reillys extended their territory and authority into the borders of the English Pale, as far as Kilmainham wood, to the Black Water near Kells, and to Crossacree and Oldeade in Meath, from thence as far as Granard in Longford, and to parts of Westmeath. In the year 1334 and 1415, it is stated that Thomas, son of Mahon O'Reilly, lord of Clan Mahon, and prince of Brefney destroyed eighteen castles of the English in the Pale, and overran the country from Drogheda to Dublin. This Thomas O'Reilly erected a castle at Balling Lough, in Westmeath. The O'Reillys, exercising an independent sovereignty, as princes of Brefney, coined their own money; as appears by a Parliament held at Trim, A. D. 1447, in the reign of Henry VI., by Sir John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant; and by another Parliament held at Naas, A. D. 1457, by the lord deputy, Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, in which Acts were passed prohibiting the circulation of the Irish coinage, called *O'Reilly's money*, in the English Pale. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century many valiant chiefs of the O'Reillys are mentioned, who fought several battles with the English forces of the Pale, over whom they gained many victories. The O'Reillys, located on the borders of Meath, were obliged to maintain an incessant warfare to defend the frontiers of Ulster against the English of the Pale, who made constant incursions into the northern territories. Camden, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, says that the O'Reillys were famous for eavalry; and Fynes Morrison, in his account of the wars of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, against Elizabeth, states that the O'Reillys of Brenny brought to the standard of

O'Neill eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse. The O'Reillys maintained their independence down to the reign of James I., and possessed great property and influence even until the Cromwellian wars, after which their estates were confiscated. Maolmora O'Reilly, commonly called Miles the Slasher, was a celebrated chief, distinguished for his great strength and undaunted valor; he fought many battles in Cavan and other places during the Cromwellian war, and fought at the battle of Benburb, under Owen Roe O'Neill. The O'Reillys were elected and inaugurated in early times as princes and tanists of Brefney, on the Hill of *Seantoman* or Shantoman, a large hill between Cavan and Ballyhaise, on the summit of which may still be seen the remains of a Druidical temple, consisting of several huge stones standing upright. In after times the O'Reillys were inaugurated on the Hill of Tullymungan, above the town of Cavan. The O'Reillys had castles at Tullymungan, Ballynacargy, Tullyvin, Lisgaunon, Belturbet, Ballyconnell, Clonghoughter, Kilmore, Lismore, and Carnett, near Crosslone; at Tonagh, and Ballinrinke, near Lough Sheelin; at Kilnacrott, Longramor, and Mulagh; at Tonagee, now Balcebrough, and at Muff, near Kingscourt, the ruins of some of which castles still remain. The O'Reillys are still extremely numerous, being estimated at about 2,000 persons of the name in the county of Cavan.

The chiefs and clans of Brefney, and the territories they possessed in the twelfth century, are, according to O'Dugan, as follows:

1. O'RURKE, or O'Rourke, who is designated by O'Dugan *Ardrigh Brefne as buan smacht*, that is, chief king of Brefney of lasting sway, and to whom, he states, the rents or tributes of Connaught were paid.

2. O'RAGHALLAIGH, or O'Reilly, chief of Muinter Maolmordha, designated as—

"Head chief of fierce conflicts,
O'Reilly of the red arms or shields."

3. MAC TIGHERNAIN, or the Mac Tiernans, also rendered Mac Kiernan, and by some anglicised to Masterton, who were chiefs of *Telach Dunchada*, signifying the tribe or territory of Donogh, so called from one of their chiefs, a name which has been made *Tullaghanoh*, now the barony of Tullyhunco, in the county of Cavan. Mac Tiernan is designated as "the true defender of valiant chiefs." The Mac Kiernans are still very numerous in the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, and several of their chiefs are mentioned in the course of these Annals.

4. MAC SAMHRAIDHAIN, designated "a bond of strength," who was chief of *Telach Eachach*, or *Eochaidh*, which signifies of the tribe or territory of Eochaidh, so called from one of their chiefs, and now the barony of Tullaghagh, county of Cavan. This name is now generally made *Mac Gauran*, and by some anglicised, or rather translated, Somers, from the word *Samhradh*, which signifies summer. The Mac Gaurans in modern times are very numerous in the counties of Cavan and Leitrim.

5. MAC CONSBAMHA, chief of Clan Cionnath, or clan Kenny, now known as the Muinter Kenny mountains, and adjoining districts, near Lough Allen, in the parish of Innisnaghrath, county of Leitrim. This name has been anglicised to Ford, and there are several of the clan still in those districts.

6. MAC CAGADHAIN, chief of Clan Fearmaighe, a district south of Darryl, and in the present barony of Dromahaire, county of Leitrim. This

name has been anglicised Cogan or Coggan. O'Brien, in his dictionary, at the word Eagan, states that the Mac Egans were chiefs of Clann-Árainnigh in Breffny; hence Mac Cagadhain and Mac Eagain may probably have been the same clan.

7. **MAC DORCHAIDH**, which O'Brien writes Mac Dorchuigh, chief of Kinel Luachain, a district in the barony of Mohill, county of Leitrim, which may probably be traced in the name of the townland of Laheen. This name has been by some anglicised to Darcy.

8. **MAC FLANNCHADHA**, of the race of Ith, a name rendered into Mac Clancy, who was chief of Dartraidhe, or Dartry, an ancient territory co-extensive with the present barony of Rossclogher, in Leitrim.

9. **O'FINN** and **O'CEARBUILL**, or O'Carroll, who were chiefs of Calraighe, a district adjoining Dartry, in the present barony of Dromahaire, county of Leitrim, and which appears to have comprehended an adjoining portion of Sligo, near the present parish of Calry, in that county. This district comprised the parishes of Drumlease and Killergy in Leitrim, with part of the parish of Calry in Sligo.

10. **MAC MAOLIOSA**, chief of Magh Breacraighe, a district on the borders of Leitrim and Longford.

11. **MAC FIONBHAI**, or Finnevar, chief of Muinter Greadain, or Gearadhain, a district in the southern part of Leitrim.

12. **MAC RAGHNAILL**, or Mac Rannall, a name anglicised to Reynolds, were chiefs of Muinter Eoluis. This territory was sometimes called Clonmacni of Moyrein, and comprised almost the whole of the present baronies of Leitrim, Mohill and Carrygallen, in the county of Leitrim, with a portion of the north of Longford. They were of the race of Ir, or Clanna Rory, and of the same stock as the O'Ferrals, princes of Anally, or Longford. They had castles at Rinn, Leitrim and Lough Seur.

13. **O'MAOLMIADHAIGH**, or O'Mulvey, chief of Magh Neise, or Nisi, a district which lay along the Shannon in the west of Leitrim, near Carrick-on-Shannon.

14. **MAC BRADAIGH**, or Mac Brady. The Mac Bradys, sometimes called O'Bradys, are given by Mac Geoghagan as a branch of the O'Carrolls, chiefs of Calry, a territory in Leitrim, in the barony of Dromahaire, as already explained in the preceding part of this article; and they are, in fact, often called O'Carrolls at the present day, particularly by persons speaking in Irish, who designate them Carollaghs. The Mac Bradys are extremely numerous in the county of Cavan, particularly in the barony of Loughitee. Baron Thomas Brady, a distinguished field marshal for many years in the Austrian service, and who died at Vienna in 1827, was a native of the county of Cavan.

15. The **MAC GOBHAIN**, Mac-an-Ghobhains, or O'Gobhains, a name which has been anglicised to Smith, are very numerous in the county of Cavan, particularly in the parishes of Lavey, Laragh and Killinkere. The Mac Gowans are also very numerous in Rossinver, in the county of Leitrim, as explained in the section on Dalraddia, or county of Down. The Mac Gowans are of the race of Ir, or Clanna Rory. Many of the name have proved their distinguished descent, being remarkable for great strength and bravery, and having been chiefs of gallow-glasses under the O'Reillys. The Mac Gowans were originally a clan in Dalraddia, or the county of Down, and in early times produced many eminent ecclesiastics, learned men and poets,

too numerous to be here mentioned; and in modern times there are families of the name of Smith in many parts of Ireland, supposed of English descent, who may trace their descent from the Milesian Mac Gowans.

16. **MAC GILLADUINN**, or Mac Gilduff. In the Annals, at the year 1832, Mannus Mac Giolla'nuibh is mentioned as chief of Teallach Gaibtheith, now the barony of Tullygarvey, in the county of Cavan.

17. **MAC TAICHLAIGH**, or Mac Tully. The Mac Tutlys were chiefs of a district comprising the greater part of the parish of Drung, in the barony of Tullygarvey.

18. **MAC CABES**, a clan originally from Monaghan, but settled for many centuries in the county of Cavan, where they are very numerous, particularly in the baronies of Tullygarvey and Clankee. The Mac Cabes were a warlike clan, and are frequently mentioned in the Book of Cavan as commanders of battle axe men under the O'Reillys, in their wars with the English of the Pale.

19. The **O'SHERIDANS**, an ancient clan in the county of Cavan, and still numerous, particularly in the barony of Clannahon. Of this clan were several persons distinguished in the literary world for the most brilliant abilities, as the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan, president of the great school of Cavan, the friend and favorite companion of Dean Swift, and distinguished for his great wit and talents; Thomas Sheridan, his son, a celebrated actor, and author of an English Dictionary and other works, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the son of Thomas, well known for his splendid genius, and one of the most eminent men of his age as an orator, dramatist and poet. Many other members of this family have also been highly distinguished in the literary world.

20. The **O'CORRYS**, or O'Currys, given in the Map of Ortelius as a clan in Cavan, in the barony of Tullygarvey. They were located about the place afterwards called Coochill. Of this family was James Curry, M.D., the celebrated writer on the civil wars of Ireland.

21. The **O'CLERYS**, or Clarke's, a branch of the O'Clerys of Connaught and Donegal, and of the same stock as the celebrated authors of the Annals of the Four Masters, numerous in the county of Cavan, particularly in the baronies of Tullygarvey and Clankee.

22. The **O'DALYS** and O'Mulligans, clans in the county of Cavan, who were hereditary bards to the O'Reillys.

23. The **FITZPATRICKS**, a numerous clan in the county of Cavan, chiefly located in the baronies of Tullyhunco and Loughitee. They were originally of the Fitzpatricks of Ossory, but have been settled for a long period in the county of Cavan.

24. The **FITZSIMONS**, a numerous clan in the county of Cavan, chiefly in the barony of Castlebaran, who came originally from the English Pale, being of Anglo-Norman descent, but have been long located in the county of Cavan.

25. The **O'FARRELLYS**, a numerous clan, particularly in the parish of Mullagh, county of Cavan.

26. Several other clans settled in considerable numbers in various parts of the county of Cavan, as the O'Murrays, Mac Donnels, O'Conaghtys, O'Connells, Mac Manus, O'Lyches, Mac Gilligans, O'Fays, Mac Gaffneys, Mac Inghs, O Dolans, O'Droms, &c.

27. Several clans in the county of Leitrim, not mentioned by O'Dugan, as the Mac Gloins of Rossinver, the Mac Ferguses, hereditary

erenachs of the churches of Rossinver, and whose name has been anglicised to Ferguson, the O'Cuinnins, an ancient clan in the barony of Dromabaire, and many of whom were celebrated bards and historians, the Mac Kennys, or Keaneys; the Mac Cartans, O'Murrays and O'Mechans, are also numerous in the county of Leitrim.

SIL MUREDAIGH.

This territory was so called from the descendants of Muredach Mac-Iothan, a king of Connaught in the latter end of the seventh century, who died A. D. 700, who was sprung from the above-named Brian, son of Eocaidh Muigh-medon, king of Connaught. They became the chief branch of the Ui Briuin race, and possessed the greater part of Connaught, but were chiefly located in the territory now forming the county of Roscommon, and hence the term *Siol Murray* was applied to that territory.

The O'Conors of Connaught were the head chiefs of *Sil Muredaigh*, and took their name from Conchobhar, or Conor, who was king of Connaught in the tenth century. The name *Ua Conchobhair*, pronounced *Concoovar*, is derived from *Ua* or *Con*, which figuratively signifies a warrior, and *Cobhair* aid; hence it signifies a helping warrior. Teige, king of Connaught, in the beginning of the eleventh century, who died A. D. 1030, and was called *Tadhg an eich ghil*, or Teige of the White Steed, was the first who took the name of O'Conor, from Concoovar, or Conor, his grandfather, king of Connaught. Between the fourth and eight centuries fourteen of the race of Ui Fiachrach were kings of Connaught, as stated in the section on North Connaught, and two or three of the O'Rourkes were kings of Connaught in the tenth century in the Annals of the Four Masters. With these exceptions, the ancestors of the O'Conors of the race of Ui Briuin, and *Siol Murray*, and the O'Conors themselves, held the sovereignty of Connaught from the 5th to the 15th century, for a period of more than 1000 years, and two of them became monarchs of Ireland in the 12th century, namely, Tordelbach, and his son, Ruaidri O'Conor, who was the last Milesian monarch of Ireland. Torlogh O'Conor, called Tordelbach Mor, or Torlogh the Great, was many years king of Connaught, and afterwards monarch of Ireland for twenty years, from A. D. 1136 to 1156. Ruaidri or Roderick O'Conor, his son, was the last Milesian monarch of Ireland, and after having reigned eighteen years, abdicated the throne A. D. 1184, in consequence of the English invasion, and retired to the monastery of Cong, in Mayo, where, after a religious seclusion of thirteen years, he died, on Sunday the 27th of November, A. D. 1184, in the 82nd year of his age, and was buried in the same sepulchre with his father, in the cathedral of Clonmacnois. According to Dr. O'Conor, king Torlogh O'Conor was thrice married. His first wife was Taleria, daughter of Murtogh O'Melaghlin, king of Meath; his second was Dervorilla, daughter of Donald O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, and his third was Duveola, daughter of Mulrooney Mac Dermott, prince of Moylurg. By his last wife he had a son, Cathal Crobhderg O'Conor, the famous king of Connaught so often mentioned in the Irish Annals. The O'Conors, kings of Connaught, had royal residences at Cruachan, near Elphin, and at Chuan Fraeich, near Tulsk, in Roscommon; also at Dunmore, in Galway, and at Cong in Mayo, and many castles in various

parts of Connaught. The ancient kings of Connaught were inaugurated at Cruachan, near Elphin, but it appears from these Annals that in after times the O'Conors were inaugurated as kings of Connaught at the Hill of Carn Fraeich, near Tulsk, in Roscommon. The O'Conors held their rank as kings of Connaught down to the reign of Elizabeth in the 16th century. In the Memoirs of Charles O'Conor of Belengar, it is stated, that in the latter end of the fourteenth century, the two head chiefs of the O'Conors, namely, Torlogh Roe, and Torlogh Donn, having contended for the lordship of *Siol Murray*, agreed to divide the territory between them. The families descended from Torlogh Donn called themselves *O'Conors Donn*, or the Brown, and the descendants of Torlogh Roe called themselves *O'Conors Roe*, or the Red. Another branch of the O'Conors got great possessions in the county of Sligo, and were styled the O'Conors Sligo.

The O'Conors are thus designated in the topographical poem of O'Dugan, written in the fourteenth century:

"The kings of the hosts that refuse nought
Are at great Cruachan of the fair grassy plains,
Which refuse not abundant fruits
To the tribe of Clan Conor.

"The undisputed patrimony of this race,
Was *Siol Murray* of broad raths.
A warlike tribe defended
The illustrious kings of Cruachan."

The O Conors at the present day are very numerous.

The following chiefs and clans in Roscommon and Galway, the territories possessed by them in the twelfth century, have been collected as follows from O'Dugan's Topography, and other sources:

MAC DIARMADA or Mac Dermott. The Mac Dermotts derive their descent from the same ancestor as the O'Conors, kings of Connaught, namely, from Teige of the White Steed, king of Connaught in the 11th century, and therefore are a branch of the O'Conors. This Teige had a son named Maolruanaidh, the progenitor of the Mac Dermotts, hence their tribe name was *Clan Maolruanaidh*, or *Clan Mulrooney*. Diarmuid, grandson of Mulrooney, was the head of the clan in the 12th century, and died A. D. 1165, and from him they took the name of Mac Dermott. The Mac Dermotts had the title of princes of Moylurg, Tir Oilill, Tir Tuathail, Airteach and *Clan Cuain*.

Moylurg, called *Magh Luirg* an *Daghda*, in O'Dugan, signifies the Plain of the Track of *Daghda*, and got its name from *Daghda*, one of the Tuath De Danann kings. This territory comprised the Plains of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, consisting of some of the finest lands in Ireland, and famous for their fertility and beauty. Tir Oilill is now the barony of Tirrerrill in Sligo. Airteach, a district in Roscommon, near Lough Gara, on the borders of Sligo and Mayo. *Clan Cuain* was a district in the north of the barony of Carra, county of Mayo. Tir Tuathail was a district in the barony of Boyle, bordering on Leitrim and Sligo, towards Lough Allen; thus Mac Dermott's territories comprised the present barony of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, together with Tirrerrill in Sligo, and *Clan Cuain* in Mayo, at Castlebar, which comprised the present parishes of Islandeady, Turlough, and Breaffy.

The Mac Dermotts had their chief fortress at

the Rock of Lough Key, on an island in Lough Key, near Boyle, and they held the high and honorable office of hereditary marshals of Connaught, the duties attached to which were to rise and regulate the military forces, and to prepare them for battle as commanders-in-chief, also to preside at the inauguration of the O'Conors as kings of Connaught, and to proclaim their election. They held their rank as lords of Moylurg, down to the reign of Elizabeth, and considerable possessions down to the period of the Cromwellian wars, when their estates were confiscated; but it is a singular fact that, of all the Milesian chiefs, the Mac Dermotts alone have retained their title of prince, as *the Mac Dermott* is to this day recognized as prince of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo, holding a part of the hereditary possessions of his ancestors. There are several families of the Mac Dermotts in Connaught at the present day. The Mac Donoghs, of whom an account has been given in the section on North Connaught, were a branch of the Mac Dermotts, and lords of Tirerrill and Corran in Sligo. It may be observed that O'Dugan gives the following as the ancient chiefs of Moylurg, before the time of the Mac Dermotts. He designates them thus:

"The ancient chief of Moylurg of abundance,
Mac Eoach (or Mac Keogh), Mac Maen the Great
And Mac Eibhainn (or Mac Revy), of efficient forces."

UI MANI AND UI FIACRACH AIDNI.

1. O'CELLAIGH, or O'Kelly. The name O'Cellaigh is derived from one of their ancestors, Ceallaigh, a celebrated chief in the ninth century. The O'Kellys are a branch of the *Clan Colla*, of Orgiall in Ulster, and of the same descent as the Maguires, lords of Fermanagh, the Mac Mahons, lords of Monaghan, the O'Hanlons, chiefs of Oirior in Armagh, and some other clans, of whom an account has been given in the note on *Orgialla*. In the 4th century *Mani Mor*, or Mani the Great, a chief of the Clan Colla, having collected his forces in Orgialla, on the borders of the present counties of Tyrone, Monaghan and Armagh, marched to Connaught, and having conquered a colony of the Firbolgs, who possessed the territory called *Magh Seán-chineoil*, expelled the Firbolgs, and to that territory, which was possessed by his posterity, he gave the name *Ui Mani*, which has been latinised to *Ily Mania* and *I Mania*. This extensive territory comprised a great part of South Connaught, in the present county of Galway, and was afterwards extended beyond the river Suck to the Shannon, in the south of Roscommon, and comprised the baronies of Ballymoe, Tiaquin, Killian and Killeonell, with part of Clonmacnoon in Galway, and the barony of Athlone in Roscommon. The O'Kellys were princes of *Ui Mani*. *Ily Mania* is thus described by O'Dugan:

"A great division of Connaught is that plain,
Of *Ui Mani* of vast assemblies,
Extending from the Shannon of fairy streams
To *Cnoc Meadh* of the great kings."

The O'Kellys held the office of high treasurers of Connaught, and the Mac Dermotts that of marshals. Tadrig or Teige O'Kelly, was one of the commanders under Brian Boromha at the battle of Clontarf. The O'Kellys had castles at

Aughrim, Garbally, Gallagh, Monivea, Moylough, Mullaghmore and Aghrane, now Castle-Kelly, in the county of Galway, and at Athlone, Athleague, Corbeg, Galy and Skryne, in the county of Roscommon. The chiefs of the O'Kellys were inaugurated at Clontuskert, about five miles from Eyrecourt, in the county of Galway and held their rank as princes of *Ui Manie* to the reign of Elizabeth.

2. MAC OIREAHTAIGH, or Mac Oiraghty, a name anglicised Mac Geraghty, or Geraghty, descended from the same stock as the O'Conors, kings of Connaught.

"Mac Oiraghty of the Steeds was the ruling chief,
Of Muintir Rodniv of rightful laws—
A fearless warrior as he ranged the woods."

Mac Oiraghty, chief of Clan Tomaltaigh. The districts of Clan Tomaltaigh and Muintir Rodniv, were situated in the barony of Roscommon, county of Roscommon. When deprived of their territories, some of the clan settled in Mayo and Sligo, and are to this day the chief possessors of the island of Inis Murray, off the coast of Sligo, their having, it is said, given name to the island from their former title as head chiefs of Siol Murray, and are still governed by a chief of the tribe. As a remarkable circumstance connected with the Mac Oiraghtys who reside at Croagh Patrick in Mayo, an antique bell is kept by them, and is traditionally stated to have been one of those used by St. Patrick.

3. O'FINNACHTA, or O'Feenaghtys, chiefs of Clan Conmaigh and Clan Mureadhna, districts in the two half baronies of Ballymoe, in the counties of Roscommon and Galway. Two distinct chiefs of the O'Feenaghtys are given by O'Dugan, one of Clan Murrugh, and the other of Clan Conway; the former being designated "Chief of Clan Murrugh of the Champions." O'Feenaghty, chiefs of Clan Conway, had their castle at Dunamon, near the river Suck, in the county of Roscommon.

4. O'FALLAMBAIN, or O'Fallons, chiefs of Clan Ua-lach, a district in the barony of Athlone, in the county of Roscommon, comprising the parishes of Cam and Dysart, and had a castle at Milltown. The O'Fallons were originally chiefs in Westmeath near Athlone. By O'Dugan they are designated in terms which may be thus translated:

"The O'Fallons who marched with force
Were chiefs of Clan Uadach of wine banquets,
Men who let not their spears decay.
Of those are the freeborn clans."

5. O'BIRN, or O'Beirnes, chiefs of Mura O'Mannachain, otherwise called Tir Briuin-na-Sionna, or Tir Briune of the Shannon. This territory lay along the Shannon, in the barony of Ballintobber, in Roscommon, comprising the parishes of Kilmore of the Shannon, Cloonaff, Aughrin and Kilumod, extending nearly to Eldbin.

6. O'MANNACHAIN, or O'Monnaghan, was also a chief on the same territory as O'Beirne. It is to be observed that these O'Beirnes are of a different race from the O'Byrnes of Wicklow.

7. O'HAINLIURE, or O'Hanleys, chiefs of Kinel Dohbtha, a large district in the barony of Ballintobber, county of Roscommon, along the Shannon.

8. **MAC BRANAIN**, or Mac Breannan, sometimes made O'Brennan, and O'Mallmiehil, or O'Mulvihill, sometimes anglicised to Mulville and Mitchell. The Mac Brennans and O'Mulvihills were chiefs of Corea Achlann, a large district adjoining Kinel-Dobhtha, in the barony of Roscommon. This district formed part of the Tuatha in which was situated the Slieve Baun Mountain.

9. **O'FLANNAGAIN**, or O'Flannagans, chiefs of Clan Cathail, a territory in the barony of Roscommon, north of Elphin. O'Maolmordha, O'Carthaidh, or O'Carthy, and O'Mughroin, were also subordinate chiefs of Clan Cathail.

"Four active chieftains
Ruled over the Clan Cathail.
Kinsmen who have not been dispraised
Are these four whom we enumerate."

"O'Flanagan, chief of the territory,
O'Mulmora whom I praise;
With cheerfulness they were still supported
By the blithe O'Carthy and O'Mnroin."

10. **O'MAOLBRENNAIN**, a name anglicised to O'Mulrenan, were chiefs of Clan Coneholhair, or Clan Conor, a district in the barony of Roscommon, near Cruchan; they are thus designated by O'Dugan:

"O'Mulbrenan of renown,
Was chief of Clan Conor of the fertile plains,
Their men above all others I record,
They are of the tribe of Clan Cathail."

11. **O'CATHALAIN**, chief of Clan Fogartaigh, O'Maonagh, or O'Moeney, sometimes made O'Mooneys, were chiefs of Clan Murthuile, Clan Fogartaigh and Clan Murthuile were districts in Ballintober, county of Roscommon. O'Cat'hain and O'Mooney are thus mentioned in O'Dugan:

"O'Cat'hain is the chart-ered chief
Of Clan Fogarty of the grassy plains,
And powerful are his conquering forces;
Chief of Clan Murthuile is O'Mooney."

12. **O'CONCEANAIN**, or O'Concannon, chief of Uí Diarmada, a district on the borders of Roscommon and Galway, in the baronies of Athlone and Ballymoe. The O'Concannons are thus mentioned in O'Dugan:

"The Uí Diarmada of protecting men,
Their heroes are kinsmen to kings,
Governor of the territory
Is O'Concannan, its undisputed chief"

13. **MAC MURCHADHA**, or Mac Murogh, sometimes anglicised to Mac Morrow, a chief of Clan Tomaltaigh, in Roscommon, of which Mac Orlaghty was also chief.

14. **O'FLANN**, or O'Flynn, chief of Siod Maolruin, a large district in the barony of Ballintober, county of Roscommon, in which lay Slieve Uí Fhloinn, or O'Flynn's Mountain, and which comprised the parishes of Killkeeran and Kiltash, and also part of the parish of Ballynakill, in the barony of Ballymoe, county of Galway. O'Maolmuadh, or O'Mulloy, is also given as a chief over Clan Taldig, or Clan Telge, in the same district.

15. **O'DOUBHAIN**, chiefs of Coll Fothaidh, a district on the borders of Roscommon and Mayo.

16. **O'SGATHGIL**, or Mac Sgathgil, chief of

Corea Mogha, a district which comprised the parish of Killkeeran, in the barony of Killian, county of Galway. O'Broin, anglicised to Burns, was chief of Lough Gealgosa, a district adjoining Corea Mogha.

17. **O'TALCHARAIN**, chief of Conmaiene Cuille, a district in the barony of Clare, county of Galway.

18. **O'CADHLA**, or O'Cawley, chief of Conmaeni Mara, now the barony of Ballynahinch, in the county of Galway.

19. **MAC CONROI**, or Mac Conroy, chief of Gno Mor, and O'Haidhuidh, chief of Gno Beag, districts which lay along the western banks of Lough Corrib, between that lake and the bay of Galway, in the barony of Moycullen, county of Galway. O'Dugan says:

"Mac Conroy possesses in peace
Gno Mor of the numerous harbors."

20. **MAC AEDHA**, or Mac Hugh, called also Hughes, chief of Clan Cosraidd, a district on the eastern side of Lough Corrib thus designated by O'Dugan:

"The race of Mac Aedha on the eastern side
Of the extensive plain of Clan Co-gry,
An active host from the plain of Medha,
Mild and hospitable are their tribes."

21. **O'FLATHBERTAIGH**, or O'Flaherty, a name derived from *Flaith*, a chief or hero, and *bertach*, of deeds; hence it may signify a chief of noble deeds. They are styled by O'Dugan chiefs of Muinir Murchadha, now the barony of Clare, county of Galway. In the 13th century they were expelled from this territory by the English, and having settled on the other side of Lough Corrib, got extensive possessions there in the barony of Moycullen, and were thence styled lords of Iar Conacht, or West Connaught. They had the chief naval command about Lough Corrib, on the islands of which they had castles. They are thus designated by O'Dugan:

"Clan Murchadha of the fortress of hospitality
Was governed by the Clan Flaherty of swords,
Who from the shout of battle would not flee;
To them belongs the regulation of the fair ports."

22. **O'HEIDHIN**, or O'Heyne, sometimes anglicised to Hynes. O'Heyne was styled prince of Uí Fiachra Aidhni, so called as being of the race of Uí Fiachra. The territory of Uí Fiachra Aidhni, also called South Uí Fiachra, was co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh, and comprised the barony of Kiltaran, and parts of the baronies of Dunkellin and Longhrea, in the county of Galway. The O'Heynes were descended from Guairi Aidhne, a king of Connaught in the seventh century, who is celebrated by all the ancient annalists for his hospitality to all classes, and charity to the poor; hence it passed into a proverb, in speaking of an hospitable person, that he was "as generous as Guaire;" and the poets in their figurative language stated that his right hand had become much longer than his left in consequence of being constantly extended in giving charity. The O'Heynes took their name from Eilhin, one of their chiefs in the tenth century, and Maolruaidh O'Heyne, prince of Uí Fiachra, was a commander under Brian Boromha at the battle of Clontarf, and it may be remarked that Brian Boromha was married to Mor, the daughter of Flann, father of Maolruaidh O'Heyne.

23. O'SECHNUSAIGH, or O'Shaughnessey, of the same descent as O'Heynes, and chief of Kinel Aedha, sometimes called Kinel Aedha-na-h-Echtge, that is Kinel Hugh of Eelty, a mountainous district on the borders of Galway and Clare. Kinel Hugh was a large district in the barony of Kiltartan, county of Galway. O'Cathail, or O'Cabail, of the race of Ui Fiachra, was also a chief of Kinel Hugh.

24. MAC GILLA CELLAIGH, or Mac Gilkelly, sometimes made Killkelly, also of the race of Ui Fiachra, and another chief of Aidhne.

25. O'CLEIRIGH, or O'Clery, a name sometimes anglicised to Clarke, likewise of the race of Ui Fiachra, and chiefs in Aidhne, and sometimes styled chiefs of Ui Fiachra Finn. They took the name from Cleirach, one of their celebrated chiefs in the tenth century. Many of these O'Clerys were highly distinguished in literature, and a branch of them having settled in Donegal became bards and historians to the O'Donnells, princes of Tyrconnell, and were the authors of the Annals of the Four Masters. Other branches of the O'Clerys settled in Brefnehy O'Reilly, or the county of Cavan.

26. O'DUBHCHILLA, chief of Kinel Cinnamhna, Mac Fiachra, chief of Oga Beahra, O'Cathain, chief of Kinel Sedna, and O'Maghna, chief of Caenridhe, all chiefs in Aidhne. The chiefs of Aidhne are thus designated by O'Dugan :

"Let us approach Aidhni of Steeds,
And his noble chiefs of hospitality,
And let us trace their kings who are not few,
And treat of the host of the free clans.

"The noble clan of Mae Gilkelly,
The O'Heynes of the sleek and slender steeds,
Whose defence and pride is the strength of
their arms.
Are of the race of Gnaire the Fair,
Good and hospitable is the chief,
O'Clery sprang of the same race.

"Two other chiefs of Kinalea,
O'Shaughnessey whom I will not shun,
Together with O'Cabill of learned men,
Smooth are his fields and fertile his moun-
tain."

27. O'MADAGAIN, or O'Madadhain, anglicised O'Madden, chief of *Síol Amchadha*, a name latinised to *Silanchia*, and which got its name from Amchadh, one of their ancient chiefs. This territory comprised the present barony of Longford, in the county of Galway, and the parish of Lusmagh, on the other side of the Shannon, in the King's County. The O'Maddens are a branch of the Clan Colla, and of the same descent as the O'Kellys, princes of Ui Mani, and took their name from Madudan More, one of their ancient chiefs. There are several families of the name still in Connaught.

28. O'HUALLACHAIN, or O'Hoolaghan, sometimes anglicised O'Coolaghan and Mac Coolaghan, and also given by O'Dugan, as chiefs of Síol Amchadha. O'Hoolaghan is thus designated by O'Dugan :

"A noble chief of lasting fame
Rules over the plain of the race of Amchadha,
A valiant rough-lettering warrior,
Of keen-edged weapons is O'Hoolaghan."

29. O'MAELALAIHDH, or O'Mulally, sometimes made Lally.

30. O'NEACHTAIN, or O'Naghten, sometimes made Norton. The O'Naghtens and O'Mulal-

lays are given by O'Dugan as the two chiefs of Maen Magh, or Moenmoy, a territory which, according to O'Flaherty, got its name from Moen, one of the sons of Uganí. This territory was an extensive plain, comprising a great part of the present baronies of Loughrea and Leitrim, in the county of Galway. The O'Naghtens and O'Mulallys are branches of the Clan Colla, and are thus designated by O'Dugan :

"The chiefs of Moenmoy the champions,
Whose estate is the fertile plain.
Two who defend that district
Are O'Naghten and O'Mulally,
Their warfare is heavy in battles,
The land is theirs as far as Ui Fiachra."

The O'Mulallys, when dispossessed of their ancient territories, settled at Tullach-na-Dala, near Tuam, where they had a castle. The head of the family having removed to France, a descendant of his became celebrated as an orator and statesman at the time of the French Revolution, and was known by the name Count Lally Tollandal, taking his title from his ancient territory in Ireland. Several of the O'Lallys were celebrated commanders in the Irish Brigade in France, and one of them was created Marquis de Lally Tollandal, and a peer of France, by Napoleon.

31. O'CONAILL, or O'Connell. The O'Connells and Mac Mae Egan were marshals of the forces to the O'Kellys, princes of Ui Mani, and of the same descent as the O'Kellys.

32. MAC AEBHAGAIN, anglicised Mac Egan, were chiefs of Clan Diarmada, a district in the barony of Leitrim, county Galway, and had a castle at Dun Doighre, now Duniry. The Mac Egan were celebrated as Brehons in Connaught and in Ormond, and many of them were eminent literary men. They are thus mentioned by O'Dugan :

"Precedence for his valor and fame
Be given to Mae Egan the noble.
Record him for the activity of his warriors,
Of his prosperity and great renown."

33. MAC GILLA FINNAGAIN, or O'Finnegans, a name sometimes rendered Finnegan, and O'Clonaith, or O'Kenny, chiefs of Clan Laithern-hain, called also Muintir Clonaith, a district in the barony of Moyearnon, county of Roscommon. They are thus mentioned by O'Dugan :

"Mae Gilla Finnegan the mild,
And the valiant Clan Kenny,
Two tribes who are fair so be seen
Rule over the brave Clan Flahavan."

34. O'DOMHNALLAIN, or O'Donnellans, chiefs of Clan Breasail, a district in the barony of Leitrim, county of Galway. The O'Donnellans are thus mentioned by O'Dugan :

"Noble the blood and achievements
Of the O'Donnellans of handsome figure,
Rushing to the battle like a torrent,
Such are the yellow-haired Clan Breasail."

There are still many families of the O'Donnellans in Connaught.

35. O'DONCHADHA, or O'Donoghoe, chief of Clan Cormaic, a district in Moenmoy, in Galway, which has already been defined.

36. O'DUBHGHINDH, or O'Deighan, chief of the twelve Ballys, or Townlands, of O'Duibhghindh, a district near Loughrea, in the county of Galway

37. O'DOCONLAIN, chief of Eithnigh, and O'Grubhran, or O'Gauran, chief of Dal Druithne. districts about Loughrea.

38. O'MAOLBRIUIDE, or O'Malbrides, or Mac Brides, chiefs of Mlagh Finn and of Bredach, a large district in the barony of Athlone, county of Roscommon, east of the river Suck.

39. O'MANNIN, or O'Mannin, or O'Mannings, chiefs of Sodhan, a large territory in the barony of Tiaquin, which was made into six divisions, called the six Sodhans. The O'Mannins had their chief residence at the castle of Clogher, barony of Tiaquin, county of Galway, and afterwards at Menlough, in the parish of Killas-cobe, in the same barony. The other chiefs given by O'Dugan on the six Sodhans were Mac-an-Bhaird, or Mac Wards; O'Sguarra, or O'Seurrys; O'Lennan, or O'Lennans; O'Casain, or O'Cashins; O'Gialla, or O'Giallain, rendered O'Geanan and Gillays, and O'Maizins, O'Migins, or O'Magins. The chiefs of Sodhan are thus mentioned by O'Dugan:

"The six Sodhans let us not shun,
Their chiefs are not to be forgotten;
Brave are their predatory hosts,
To whom belonged the spear-armed Sod-
hans."

40. O'CAHILL, or O' Cahill; O'Mughroin, or O'Moran; O'Maolruanaidh, or O'Mulrooney, were the three chiefs of Crumthan, an extensive territory sometimes called Cruffon, comprising the barony of Kililan, and part of Bally-noe, in the county of Galway. These chiefs are thus designated by O'Dugan:

"O' Cahill and O'Murain the active,
O'Mulrooney of the splendid banquets,
Like trees which shelter the fertile land,
Are the chiefs of Crumthan of the woody
plains."

41. O'LAEDOG, or O'Laedhaigh, anglicised to O'Leahy, chiefs of Caladh, a large district in the barony of KilleConnell, county of Galway. They are thus mentioned by O'Dugan:

"The brave O'Leahys I must mention,
Chiefs of the broad lands of Caladh,
Men who won and hold the sway
Of Caladh by Shannon of clear streams."

42. O'HAVERTY, chief in the barony of Ath-
erney, and county of Galway.

43. The O'DALYS, a branch of the O'Donnells of Donegal, princes of Tirconnell, whose tribe name was Clan Dalaidh. The O'Dalys, it appears, settled in Connaught as early as the twelfth century, and accounts of many of them, very eminent as poets and learned men in Connaught and in Munster. Several of them were distinguished ecclesiastics. The O'Dalys had large possessions in the counties of Galway and Roscommon.

44. The O'HALLORANS, given in O'Flaherty's *Oryzka* (vol. ii. p. 296), as chiefs of Clan Fergail, a large district on the east side of the river of Galway, near Lough Corrib. From there was descended O'Halloran the historian.

45. The O'CALLANANS and O'CANAVANS, mentioned by O'Flaherty as hereditary physicians in Galway.

46. The O'DUBHITHAIGHS, or O'Duffeys, families of note in Galway and Roscommon, and many of them learned men and eminent ecclesiastics, several of them having been archbishops of Tuam, and bishops in Elphin.

47. The O'BRIENS, a branch of the O'Briens of Thomond, in the county of Clare, and lords of the Isles of Arran, off the coast of Galway, which they held from the thirteenth to a late period in the sixteenth century, and, as captains of the sea coast, kept a large maritime force.

48. MAC CNAIMHIN, or Mac Nevin, according to the book of Leacan, chiefs of a district called Crannog Mac Cnaimhin, or Crannagh Mac Nevin, in the parish of Tynagh, barony of Leitrim, and county of Galway. There are still some families of the Mac Nevin in the county of Galway.

49. MAC ECHOAIDH, or Mac Keogh, a branch of the O'Kellys, chiefs of Omhanach, now Onagh, in the parish of Taghmaconnell, in the barony of Athlone, county of Roscommon. There are still many families of the Mac Keoghs, or Keoghs, in Connaught.

50. MAC GILLADUINN, or Mac Gilduffs, sometimes rendered Kilduffs, chiefs in Caladh, along with the O'Leahys, in the barony of KilleConnell, county of Galway.

51. The O'LORCAINS, or O'Larkins; the O'Gebenaighs, or O'Gevennys; the O'Aireach-tains, anglicised to Harrington; the O'Falys, or O'Fays; O'Laidins, or O'Lanes, and the O'Horans, all clans in Uí Mani, in the county of Galway.

52. O'CONNORAIN, or O'Connors, a branch of the O'Kellys, princes of Uí Mani. The O'Connors possessed a large district in the barony of Clonmooneen, county of Galway, and had their principal residence at a place called Tnam Cathraigh. There are several families of the name in the counties of Galway and Roscommon.

53. The MAC MANUSES, Mac Keons, O'Com-mins, and O'Ronans, clans in Roscommon.

Shortly after the English invasion, William de Burgo, and other Anglo-Norman leaders, led their forces into Connaught, and after fierce contests with the O'Connors and other chiefs, got possession of a considerable portion of the country. From Richard, or Rickard de Burgo, a great part of the county of Galway got the name of Clanrickard, which comprised, according to Ware, the baronies of Clare, Dunkellin, Loughbaea, Kiltartan, Athenry and Leitrim. The de Burgos became in time the most powerful family in Connaught, and were its chief governors under the kings of England. They were styled Lords of Connaught, and also became Earls of Ulster; but on the death of William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, in the thirteenth century, and the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of King Edward III., his titles passed into the royal family of England, by whom they are still held. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the heads of the two principal branches of the Burkes took the Irish name of Mac William, and adopted the Irish language and customs. Sir William, or Ulick Burke, the progenitor of the Earls of Clanrickard, had great possessions in Galway and Roscommon, and took the name Mac William Eighter, and Sir Edmund Burke, called Albanach, took the name Mac William Oughtor, had large possessions in Mayo, and was ancestor of the Earls of Mayo.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries several English and Welsh families settled in the town of Galway, and other parts of the county, the principal of whom were the Athys, Berminghams, Blakes, Bodkins, Brownes, Blandels, Deanes, Dillons, Darcys, Frenches, Joyces, Kirwans, Lynches, Lawlesses, Morrises, Martins, Whites, &c. It is to be observed that the O'

Loinsighs, who are also called Lynch in English, are also an Irish clan. The O'Kerovans are also an Irish clan, and the name has been anglicised to Kirwan. The Mac Dorchays, or O'Dorchays, were chiefs in Partry, in the county of Mayo, and also in Galway, and many of them anglicised the name to D'Arcy, and were considered to be of English descent. The Martins of Galway were considered by O'Brien, Vallancey and others, to be of Erbolg origin, descended from the old race of the Fir Donnians, so frequently mentioned in the old annalists under the name of Mairtínigh, anglicised Martineans. The Joyces, or de Jorses, came from Wales to Galway in the reign of Edward I., and having formed alliances with the O'Flahertys, chiefs of West Connaught, got large possessions in Connemara, in the barony of Ross, and towards the borders of Mayo, a large territory, which is still called Joyces' Country, where they are very numerous to the present day, and many of them remarkable for immense strength of body and gigantic stature.

FOREIGN RACES THAT TOOK GAELIC SURNAMES.

Many of the Danish settlers are considered to have taken Irish surnames, and prefixed Mac to their names, as did many of the Anglo-Norman and English families in early times; but it does not appear that any of those settlers adopted the prefix O, as that was confined chiefly to the Milesian families of the highest rank. The following Anglo-Norman or English families adopted Irish surnames: The de Burgos, or Burkes, of Connaught, took the name of Mac William, and some of them that of Mac Philip; the de Angulos, or Nangles, of Meath and Mayo, changed the name to Mac Costello; the de Exeters of Mayo to Mac Jordan; the Barretts of Mayo, to Mac Wattin; the Stauntons of Mayo, to Mac Aweley, in Irish Mac-an-Mhílidh, signifying the Son of the Knight; the de Bermingham of Connaught and other places, to Mac

Feorais, or Peorais, signifying the son of Pierce, from one of their chiefs; the Fitzsimons of the King's County, to Mac Ruddery, signifying the son of the Knight, from Rídiré, a knight; the Poers of Kilkenny and Waterford, to Mac Shere; the Butlers, to Mac Pierce; the Fitzgeralds to Mac Thomas and Mac Maurice; the de Courcays of Cork, to Mac Patrick; the Barrys of Cork, to Mac Adam, and many others in like manner. Many of the Milesian Irish, on the other hand, anglicised their names, of which numerous instances have been given in the course of this topographical appendix, and many of them have so translated and twisted their surnames, that it is extremely difficult to determine whether those families are of Irish or English descent. In the reigns of the Henrys and Edwards many penal acts of parliament were passed, compelling the ancient Irish to adopt English surnames, and the English language, dress, manners and customs, and, no doubt, many of the Milesian Irish took English surnames in those times, to protect their lives and properties, as otherwise they forfeited their goods, and were liable to be punished as Irish enemies. In modern times, many of the old Irish families omit the O and Mac in their surnames, an absurd practice, as such names lose much of their euphonious sound by the omission, and are neither English nor Irish; and it may be observed that none of the Scotch Macs omit that national designation, or metamorphose their names as the Irish have done. Without O and Mac, the Irish have no names, according to the old verse:

"Per O, atque Mac, veros cognosceis Hibernos
His duobus demptis, nullus Hibernus adest."

"By Mac and O, you'll always know,
True Irishmen, they say;
But if they lack both O and Mac,
No Irishmen are they."

Ar na chríchnúghadh i g-cathair Brúcluinne, láimh re h-Eborach Nuadh, le Scāghau, Mac Dómbhaill, mhic Thomás Oig na bh-Foradh Uí Mhaghthamhna, ó Choill Bheithne, láimh re Sliabh Grott ris a ráidhter an Ghailte Mhor aniu, ar an t-céimhadh lá dēg de mhí Iúil, is an m-bliadhain d'áeis an Tigherna 1857

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