

‘A MIRACLE OF LEARNING’

TOBY BARNARD, DÁIBHÍ Ó
CRÓINÍN AND KATHARINE SIMS

This volume of essays celebrates the work of William O'Sullivan, the first keeper of manuscripts at Trinity College, Dublin, who preserved, made more accessible and elucidated the documents in his care. The manuscripts range in time from the 9th to the 18th centuries. They throw new light on the society of Ireland, the place of the learned and literate in that world, and its relations with Britain, Europe and America. Some of these essays clarify technical problems in the making of famous manuscripts, and bring out for the first time their indebtedness to or influence over other manuscripts. Others provide unexpected new information about the reigns of Edward I and James I, Irish provincial society, the process and progress of religious change and the links between settlement in Ireland and North American colonization.

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**Studies in manuscripts and Irish learning. Essays in honour of
William O’Sullivan**



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Edited by

Toby Barnard
Dáibhí Ó Cróinín
Katharine Simms

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Contents

List of plates	vii
Preface	viii
William O'Sullivan: four appreciations <i>Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Elizabeth Hickey, Katharine Simms and Toby Barnard</i>	ix
1 The earliest dry-point glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus <i>Pádraig Ó Néill</i>	1
2 The Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter (with a note on Harley 2788) <i>Bernard Meehan</i>	29
3 <i>Lebar buide meic murchada</i> <i>Dáibhí Ó Cróinín</i>	40
4 The travels of Irish manuscripts: from the Continent to Ireland <i>Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel</i>	52
5 <i>Lebor Gabála</i> in the Book of Lecan <i>Tomás Ó Concheanainn</i>	68
6 Codex Salmanticensis: a provenance <i>inter Anglos</i> or <i>inter Hibernos</i> ? <i>Pádraig Ó Riain</i>	91
7 Two previously unprinted chronicles of the reign of Edward I <i>Marvin L. Colker</i>	101
8 English Carthusian books not yet linked with a charterhouse <i>A.I. Doyle</i>	122
9 Reforming the Holy Isle: Parr Lane and the conversion of the Irish <i>Alan Ford</i>	137
10 Preliminaries to the Massachusetts Bay Colony: the Irish ventures of Emanuel Downing and John Winthrop Sr <i>Rolf Loeber</i>	164

vi	<i>'A Miracle of Learning'</i>	
11	The hagiography of William Bedell <i>Karl S. Bottigheimer</i>	201
12	Learning, the learned and literacy in Ireland, c. 1660–1760 <i>Toby Barnard</i>	209
13	A description of County Mayo c. 1684 by R. Downing <i>Nollaig Ó Muraile</i>	236
14	Charles Lynegar, the Ó Luinín family and the study of Seanchas <i>Katharine Simms</i>	266
	A select bibliography of William O'Sullivan	284
	Manuscripts discussed	286
	Index	290

List of plates

- 1 Book of Kells folio 191v (*Magnificat*)
- 2 Corbie Psalter folio 80r (*Misericordias*)
- 3 Book of Kells folio 152v (three birds within the bowl of the letter *Q*)
- 4 Corbie Psalter folio 20v (four interlaced birds rotate within the bowl of the letter *D*)
- 5 Book of Kells folio 53v (human figure holding an interlacing tendril in his mouth)
- 6 Corbie Psalter folio 113v (human figure holding a strand of foliage in his mouth)
- 7 Book of Kells folio 252v (two lions forming the first two letters of the word *Dicebat*)
- 8 Corbie Psalter folio 92r (a man holds his finger in the mouth of a fish or dolphin)
- 9 Book of Kells folio 188r *Quoniam* (Lk. 1.1)
- 10 Book of Kells folio 188r (detail)
- 11 Corbie Psalter folio 110r (mouth of Hell)
- 12 Book of Kells folio 124r: *TUNC CRU / CIFIXERANT XPI CUM / EO DU / OS LA / TRONES* (Mt. 27.38)
- 13 Book of Kells folio 124r (detail)
- 14 Corbie Psalter folio 73r (men pulling each other's beards)
- 15 Corbie Psalter folio 123v (David and Goliath)
- 16 Trinity College Dublin MS 1336 (H.3.17)
- 17 Book of Lecan (Lec): *Lebor Gabála*
Lec F. 19ra 17–26
- 18 RIA MS D.i.3: *Lebor Gabála*
1vb (lower part)
- 19 Map 1: The area around Mountrath (Co. Laois)
- 20 Map 2: Mountrath in the context of the Irish midlands
- 21 Map 3: East Anglia

Preface

These essays honour William O'Sullivan. They celebrate his long tenure as the first Keeper of Manuscripts at Trinity College, Dublin. During that memorable period he did much to preserve, make more accessible and to elucidate the documents in his care. For the most part, the contributors to this volume have taken as their starting points either manuscripts, scribes or patrons particularly associated with Trinity or problems in which Billy has been interested. Cumulatively the volume conveys some sense of the formidable range of Billy's scholarly skills, covering almost a millennium and numerous complex issues of authorship, ownership and influence. In order to achieve this focus, and give this collection a measure of intellectual coherence, many potential contributors have had to be excluded.

Those who have had the good fortune to work under Billy's tutelage have felt something of the strength of a tradition to which he belongs and which he has strengthened: a tradition which reaches back to Ussher and Ware, and earlier. Ware was not being fanciful when he eulogized Ussher as 'ad miraculum doctus'. Nor are William O'Sullivan's many admirers and friends when they acclaim 'a miracle of learning'.

The editors are grateful to the other contributors for their patience in what has proved a protracted project. A grant from the Grace Lawless Lee Fund of Trinity College, Dublin, assisted in the publication. Simon Kingston compiled the index and Mrs Valerie Kemp gave invaluable secretarial help.

William O'Sullivan: four appreciations

I

I first met Billy O'Sullivan when I was an undergraduate, researching the manuscripts of medieval Irish saints' Lives and Archbishop James Ussher's use of them. Coming from a background in the Irish Manuscripts Commission, Billy was thoroughly at home with the spindly hands of the seventeenth century, and his long familiarity with Ussher's manuscripts made him the ideal mentor for any novice in the field. Some years later, when my wife Maura and I were preparing a new edition of the famous seventh-century Letter of Cummin on the Paschal Controversy (first edited by Ussher, from the unique British Library manuscript, in his *Veterum Epistolarum, Hibernicarum Sylloge*, 1632), Billy was able to show us Ussher's own copy of the book, with his hand-written annotations.

From this first acquaintance, then, Billy was always a guiding spirit whose range of interests and astonishing breadth of knowledge have been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. With his wife Neans he published several important studies of the late medieval Irish manuscripts in Trinity College, but he also pioneered the work in this generation on the vernacular Irish manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With his revolutionary article, in 1966, on the scripts and make-up of the so-called 'Book of Leinster', he sparked a series of important papers in what had previously been a sorely neglected field.

But Billy is equally at home with the older Irish manuscripts. His appointment in 1953 as Keeper of Manuscripts coincided with the modern rebinding of the Book of Kells, by the leading English conservation binder, Roger Powell. The opportunity to see at first hand the original make-up of Kells – which was sent to the British Museum for rebinding – and shortly afterwards of Durrow, gave Billy a unique insight into these great codices, and the other early manuscripts in the Trinity collection, such as the Book of Armagh and the Ussher Gospels. It also convinced him of the necessity for a conservation bindery in Trinity, and the present laboratory is a lasting monument to his initiative.

Billy's appointment to take charge of the manuscripts in Trinity was also the occasion of his first acquaintance with T.J. Brown, then in the manuscripts department of the British Museum. Julian's work on the Lindisfarne gospels and related manuscripts was to lead him to the discovery of the Durham-Echternach Calligrapher and to radical views about the earliest Insular gospel codices, views which were to engage Billy's attention in many subsequent publications. My own researches led me, by a different route, to the same corpus of manuscripts, but with results that differed radically from Julian Brown's. In the lively debate that followed about the origins of these manuscripts Billy was always a staunch support and a wise counsel, and his own views have brought about a gradual but profound change in the parameters of the discussion. The extraordinary range of his knowledge, however, and the significance of his own insights, will only be fully appreciated

when his article on the subject in the Royal Irish Academy's *New History of Ireland*, Vol. 1, finally appears.

The most appealing aspect of all this erudition is the fact that Billy likes to dispense it in the comfort of his own home! A marvellous host and a wonderful cook, the evenings spent in his company in Foxrock have always been a pleasant mix of scholarship and good talk in an ideal setting. With this book we salute Billy's achievements and thank him for his friendship.

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín

II

'That charming and learned man, William O'Sullivan', thus he was recently described to me and the description is fitting.

For years Billy, as Keeper of the Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin, held sway in the small neo-Grecian observatory building then situated in the Fellows' Garden. A visit of enquiry there became a social occasion. Later he and his wife Anne were to be found in a vast room on the top floor of the Old Library. I seem to remember delightful journeys up twisting stairs to reach this sanctum. I also remember, however trifling my enquiry, how kindly I was received. Anne wore her learning lightly and when she died in September 1984 all who knew her lost a dear friend.

Billy still wears his learning lightly and one of his endearing characteristics is his ability to escape from the groves of academia to a world without. He is a keen gardener and a master of taxonomic 'speak'. He is a dedicated delegate at conferences and a charming host in his own home. Lately, however, I have known him best as a fellow-picnicker. If you are on Billy's list of fellow-picnickers you are liable to be rung up early on a fine morning and invited to join him on an outing. He arrives with a bottle in his hand (no! not spirits or wine but home-grown and home-bottled raspberries or plums). This is a gift. He has good coffee and cheese and plum-cake for the picnic. He drives a fast car which appears to have an inbuilt ability to stop at any finger-post which says *reilig*. Once through (or sometimes over) the gates between the road and the *reilig*, the palaeographer in his make-up takes over and he deciphers with joy the fine cut inscriptions found on some of the older tombstones.

It is on such expeditions that the charm and learning, already mentioned, come into their own. I remember one day in late spring, when exploring near a 'big house', searching for a forgotten site, the owner drove up the avenue and approached us. At that moment that rarity in Meath, the cuckoo, called. She did not hear it. 'Listen!' I shouted to the approaching lady, 'Listen to the cuckoo!'

It took all Mr William O'Sullivan's charm and learning to convince her that we were only harmless antiquarians searching for an ancient monument.

Elizabeth Hickey

III

My first encounter with the then Keeper of Manuscripts in Trinity College Library came in 1969 when I was a green undergraduate writing a BA dissertation on the O'Neills in the later middle ages. My cousin Fr Aubrey Gwynn had pointed out helpfully that Trinity possessed the Reeves transcripts of the registers of the medieval Archbishops of Armagh, enabling me to read the full text without a knowledge of palaeography. I tremblingly made my way into the small Greek temple in the Fellows' Garden that was at that time the Manuscript Reading Room, passing through a porch cluttered with boxes of croquet mallets, for use on the lawn outside. I had no idea what to expect, but had certainly not foreseen the warm cosiness of the atmosphere inside. Rather than being impersonally handed the first volume I had requested, Mr O'Sullivan himself bent over my chair to explain the relationship between the draft transcripts of the register deposited in Trinity, and the fair copies kept in the Public Library in Armagh, and pointed out that some of the Trinity volumes were not the work of Reeves himself, but an amanuensis. He then suggested I might like to see other transcripts of medieval documents made by Bishop Reeves and now held in Trinity Library, whose perusal would also not tax my unskilled eye.

For four weeks of a generous Easter vacation that year I spent from dawn to dusk in the Manuscript Reading Room transcribing relevant extracts from the Reeves volumes and eavesdropping on conversations between the Keeper and more mature and erudite scholars than myself as they came one by one to consult various manuscripts. It became plain that Mr O'Sullivan was a master of his calling – no scholar was so expert that he did not welcome the additional information so readily and unobtrusively supplied, and some came simply to consult the Keeper rather than any particular volume. Nor did it seem to matter whether the manuscripts in question were Irish, Latin or English, he could furnish illuminating expositions on them all.

In my early years as a postgraduate I lost touch somewhat while working in Cork and later Belfast, but in 1980 I spent much time in the Trinity Manuscript Room, now located in the Old Library, while collating the MacAirt-MacNiocaill galley proofs of the *Annals of Ulster* in preparation for the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies's edition. At that time I got to know the late Mrs Anne O'Sullivan also, who was then compiling a revised catalogue of Trinity's Irish manuscripts. Hearing I was surveying the corpus of bardic poetry, with characteristic generosity she lent me the typescript of her edition and translation of five *Poems on Marcher Lords* in advance of publication. I remember being regaled about this time with an account of the O'Sullivans' tour of Samarkand as members of a botanical expedition, and being lost in admiration of the initiative which made such good use of retirement.

The same vigour and zest for life and learning have characterized William O'Sullivan to this day. He regularly attends Celtic studies conferences at home and abroad, supplying scholarly observations to the public discussions, and excellent company and conversation during the ensuing social gatherings. His research and writing continue unabated, and he shares the fruits of his learning freely with all enquirers. We hope he enjoys these essays on Irish manuscripts and the Trinity scholars who collected and studied them, offered as an expression of the warmest respect and affection from his friends.

IV

Late in the winter of 1967, my supervisor urged me to abandon the Bodleian and plunge into the Irish archives. Only then, he wisely advised, would I discover whether or not my proposed subject for a doctoral thesis was practicable. Armed with letters of introduction to a Church of Ireland prelate and the son of a fine poet (who happened to be a historian recently returned to Dublin) I arrived at Westland Row. When, shortly afterwards, I found my way to Trinity's rare books and to its manuscript room it was without any aids from Hugh Trevor-Roper. To my surprise and delight, as I haltingly explained what it was I hoped to attempt – a reconstruction of the vibrant intellectual life of Interregnum Ireland – so far from being greeted with scepticism, both Paul Pollard and Billy O'Sullivan were immediately interested. With some glee they retrieved the oddly miscellaneous works which I requested, sometimes from their unexpected locations with Provost or Secretary.

For me, as for many other novices, those days spent in the temple which then housed the manuscripts (and which Billy first described and then helped to save from demolition) exerted an enduring magnetism. The entire experience – a bell to ring, ingress through a wicket, passage through the garden and the intimacy of the room itself where most of the manuscripts were ranged in glazed cases around the walls – properly smacked of a magical initiation. And so it was. Ignorant of so many basics of Irish history and barbarous in my pronunciation of commonplace names, nevertheless I somehow persuaded Billy of my seriousness. Often unobtrusively, occasionally with startling directness, he assisted and speeded my education. It was not just that all which I ordered was immediately produced. Billy knew what was in each volume (as his numerous, minuscule annotations to Abbott's catalogue attest); also he was familiar with those who had written and owned them. Other manuscripts would be proffered spontaneously, since Billy knew, but I did not, that they too contained matter germane to my quest. If later, as my own competence and confidence grew, I sometimes discovered something – an unsuspected letter of Miles Symner, the first professor of mathematics at Trinity – he fully shared my excitement.

Characteristically Billy not only took in hand my education as a historian of seventeenth-century Ireland, but, with Neans, ensured that I did not starve. Some lunch times I would be led purposefully to an obscure basement or alley where an interesting café had suddenly opened. Never, it seemed, did Billy and Neans frequent whatever refectories Trinity then boasted. In his independent and fastidious attitude towards food, as in so much else, I dimly discerned Billy's somewhat equivocal feelings towards the institution of which he was a graduate and to which he was contributing so importantly. Subsequently I learnt that he had enrolled originally as an undergraduate at University College, London: an affiliation which helped to explain his critical perspectives on Dublin. He had returned to Trinity in order to read history only when the Second World War disrupted the original plan.

Most prized of the invitations which I received during my rushed visits to Dublin in the later 1960s were those to supper at Foxrock. Trepidation lest I mistake the bus, alight at the wrong stop or be carried unknowingly to Bray or Greystones, soon gave way to the delight of those evenings. Like so many of the friends of Billy and Neans, I would be ushered into that unique and welcoming chamber: the high gloss of the polished gate-leg table refracting glass, cutlery and pottery made by contemporaries. Later I would discover

that some fine pieces of the continental furniture had been bequeathed by Françoise Henry, while a small davenport desk (alas, since stolen) had been bought by Neans's father at the sale of Canon Sheehan's effects. The ritual glasses of dry sherry before the bubbling gas fire heralded invariably delicious food, of which certain ingredients – notably the home-grown chicory blanched under the floor boards and the fruit, freshly picked in summer and early autumn, otherwise bottled from the garden – have remained constant over the decades. So too those generous measures of excellent Rioja.

Soon enough I encountered Neans and Billy outside Dublin. During a spell of sabbatical based in the Bodleian, they established themselves in Margaret Crum's Islip cottage. If still I was ferried there to be sustained by luscious chocolate cake and to marvel at the luminous Edward Lear watercolours, I could reciprocate. Always interested in my schemes and doings, they fostered tastes which increasingly converged with theirs. The one thing about Billy which I envied more than any other was the subtle beauty of the Irish tweeds of which his suits were made. However, when at last I felt able to lash out on a similar garment, he told me that his modest tailor had been lured away from Dublin to English fleshpots. Once I started to pass sizeable parts of my vacation in West Cork, so long as Billy and Neans were visiting relations in Bantry we could meet and talk. So, again to my profit and entertainment, I had the quirks of landscape, flora and aboriginals expertly sketched. Then my own acquisition of a garden, and the first tentative essays in its cultivation, if sometimes treated with greater asperity than my early encounters with seventeenth-century manuscripts, at least enabled me to appreciate better Billy's skill as gardener and learning as plantsman. The care with which he classified the collections under his custody is matched by the method with which he records the layout of his plantings and annual yields of his vegetables and fruit. This passion for plants has impelled Billy, always with Neans an intrepid traveller, to voyage to China and Chile.

Billy's savour for the natural world, undiminished even after the sadly sudden death of Neans in 1984, is equalled by his interest in the created arts. His periodic recall of the past, whether it be for forgotten country house sales and vanished Dublin shops or of characters as memorable as 'Chink' Dorman, Arnold Bax and Joan Wake, makes one long for a discursive memoir. The fragment which he offered Maurice Craig in *Decantations*, at once so evocative and revealing of Trinity when he first joined the library staff in the early 1950s, hints at the classic quality it would have. So, too, do his recollections of a London life when he had been seconded to the British Museum to learn his trade. If I recollect aright the telescope of his landlord would be trained on the somewhat sparse contents of a *pâtisserie* window opposite the O'Sullivan's lodgings. Billy's complex and cultivated personality has made him the friend of poets, writers and artists just as much as of scholars. In conversation one hears casually of the doings of Nano Reid, Geoffrey Taylor, Patricia Hutchins, Robert Graecen or Elizabeth Hickey. These sensibilities led to his enthusiastic response to Roger Powell's creative solutions to the problems of rebinding the Book of Kells, and his eagerness that the papers of that sometimes awkwardly independent spirit, Hubert Butler (another long-standing friend) come to Trinity. In all this, parts of his life which might too easily have stayed separate and in tension have united. Those who have encountered Billy both in professional and private contexts are the beneficiaries: our understanding of the past and our enjoyment of the present

permanently enriched. For these reasons, and for many others, we diffidently offer these essays by way of thanks.

Toby Barnard

The earliest dry-point glosses in Codex Usserianus Primus

Pádraig Ó Néill

Readers who have consulted Codex Usserianus Primus in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 55, may have noticed on the inside front cover of its modern binding a note in pencil listing certain 'folios with style writing'. Unlike the manuscript itself, this note has a readily identifiable *locus, tempus* and *persona* – the long tenure of William O'Sullivan as Keeper of Manuscripts at Trinity College. And the *causa scribendi* must surely be his lifelong interest, both as curator and scholar, in Ireland's oldest manuscripts.¹

Although now in fragmentary condition, Codex Usserianus Primus (hereafter referred to as 'Uss. 1') recognizably belongs to a type of gospel book common in the Latin West during the period AD 400–650, marked by formal script, austere decoration and lack of prefatory matter.² These characteristics and its dimensions (written space 175 x 120–30 mm)³ set it apart from the two main types of gospel book current in early medieval Ireland, the smaller pocket gospel book such as the Mulling and Dimma Gospels⁴ and, on the other hand, the much larger, luxuriously decorated gospels such as Durrow and Kells.

Uss. 1 is unique on at least two other accounts: its script and its text of the gospels. The script was described by Lowe as 'a peculiar angular type of Irish majuscule verging on minuscule, or better, an Irish adaptation of half-uncial', and dated by him 'saec. VII in'.⁵ On the place of origin Lowe was more circumspect: 'written in an Irish centre, hardly at Bobbio, despite Roman cursive influences in the script, the manner of denoting an omission, the kind of parchment used and the similarity to two other Bobbio MSS'.

Lowe's qualifiers may not be as problematic as they seem. The Roman cursive influences in the script have been linked by T.J. Brown to a text of established Irish origin, the Springmount Bog wax tablets, both (he argues) deriving from Roman cursive half-uncial of Late Antiquity.⁶ The presence of the letters *h.d.* to mark an omission in the text, with a corresponding *h.s.* in the margins (now lost), represents the symbol found in the oldest Latin manuscripts whatever their origin;⁷ its use in Uss. 1 may well indicate Irish dependence on late antique models before the insular system of symbols and *signes de renvoi* was developed during the seventh century. Lowe's claim about the type of parchment used – sheepskin rather than calfskin (the normal material of early Irish manuscripts) – can hardly be decisive, even if correct, since at least two other fragments of manuscripts of Irish origins (the Rufinus-Eusebius and the St Gallen Isidore fragments) seem to be parchment.⁸ Finally, the similarity in script with two seventh-century Bobbio manuscripts of Basiliius and Orosius⁹ could be explained by the common origins of all three in Irish scribal tradition.

Positive evidence about the origins of Uss. 1 is present in its Old Latin text,¹⁰ a unique witness among Irish gospels to the version which circulated in western Europe and north Africa before the introduction of Jerome's Vulgate. More specifically, as shown by Alban Dold and Bonifatius Fischer,¹¹ the Old Latin text of Uss. 1 is close to the version used by Hilary of Poitiers and found still surviving in a Gallican sacramentary from southern France dated c. 700. This conclusion leads them to reject the possibility of influence from Bobbio,¹² where a different biblical text was in use, and instead to explain the Old Latin text in Uss. 1 as a product of Gallican influence (especially liturgical) on the Irish Church during the late sixth and early seventh century.¹³

Viewed from an Irish perspective, Uss. 1 has significant textual affiliations with a number of early Irish gospel and liturgical texts. Thus, the Book of Durrow has the same chapter lists (as do the Books of Kells and Armagh) and, before Luke's Gospel, the same table of Hebrew names with explanations;¹⁴ the Durham Gospel Fragment (A.11.10), although in the main a witness to the Vulgate, provides for Mk 2:12–6:6 a text almost identical with that of Uss. 1;¹⁵ the Book of Mulling has the Old Latin chapter divisions found in Uss. 1 and for Lk 4–5 a closely related text, as well as similar Old Latin readings (subsequently emended to bring them into line with the Vulgate);¹⁶ likewise Usserianus II (TCD, MS 56) frequently accords with its earlier namesake, especially in Matthew;¹⁷ and the Office for the Dead in an eighth-century Irish sacramentary (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1395), a text of the Lazarus episode (Jn 11:14–44), is virtually identical with that of Uss. 1.¹⁸ All of this evidence suggests that far from being an isolated witness to Bobbio influences, Uss. 1 represents the Old Latin text of the Gospels which was current in Ireland before the Vulgate.¹⁹

Into this manuscript was entered a series of dry-point glosses by a scribe using a metal stylus.^{19a} Although primarily intended as an instrument for writing on wax-tablets, the stylus was also used for dry-point ruling of folios (as in Uss. 1), a practice which may have led to its application to writing. The importance and widespread use of dry-point glossing in early medieval manuscripts was pointed out by Bernhard Bischoff many years ago.²⁰ Such glosses are well attested in Old English and Old High German; and recently some 500 Latin glosses from the Carolingian period were discovered in a Late Antique manuscript of Vergil.²¹ Whether dry-point glossing was as widely practised by Irish scribes remains to be seen. A preliminary survey yields the following evidence: in addition to the present set of dry-point glosses, there are others in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS F.IV.24, fol.93;²² in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904 (Priscian)²³ and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.3.15.²⁴ The broad chronological span of almost five centuries implicit in these witnesses suggests an unbroken tradition and gives promise that other Irish witnesses to dry-point glossing remain to be identified.

Glossing in dry-point has the advantage over ink of preserving the neatness and maintaining the primacy of the main text, since a reader might not even be aware of the glosses and certainly would not be visually distracted by them. However, it brings its own problems. For the glossator the parchment could be a difficult medium, one which resisted the pressure of a metal stylus, as evidently happened in Uss. 1 where the scars of the struggle are still visible. Indeed, one might well characterize the glossator's work by the verb *craxare*²⁵ rather than *scribere*. Frequently he had to cut or scratch letters (usually the vertical parts) into the parchment; in the case of rounded letters he sometimes resorted

to the technique of forming an outline of the desired letter in dots, which he then joined together.²⁶

For the modern reader dry-point glosses present another set of problems. Virtually invisible in artificial light, they seem to require for their decipherment a combination of natural light and an oblique angle of viewing that can be difficult to achieve.^{26a} Exacerbating this problem is the poor physical condition of Uss. 1: its surviving leaves are badly damaged and disfigured by wear around the edges and by heavy brown and green stains²⁷ (the latter present especially in the upper part of the leaf).²⁸ In addition some marginal text was covered over on one side of each page when the leaves were mounted in the nineteenth century, though it does not appear that any dry-point glosses or letters were thereby lost. Yet the most pernicious problem is not physical but psychological: the desire to make sense of poorly defined shapes that seem to change at each viewing can easily lead to desperate attempts to find combinations of letters that translate into meaningful words.

Script

Given the unusual nature of the writing in Uss. 1, certain caveats are in order. The resistance of the parchment and the straitened writing space may well have distorted the scribe's normal script, encouraging compression and angularity. Possible symptoms of these restrictions in Uss. 1 are the general absence of the final at the top of the downstroke of vertical letters and the misshapen forms of traditionally rounded letters such as *c* and *t*. On the other hand, because he was writing for his own eyes only,²⁹ the glossator of Uss. 1 was freed from the conventions imposed by a formal script. It seems reasonable to assume that his script reflects informal usage, what he would have used for ordinary, practical purposes.

Three features of the script strike the reader. First, it is large, sometimes as large or even larger than the main script,³⁰ giving it the general appearance, if not always the specific forms, of semi-uncial. Second, the letters are etched into the parchment with considerable pressure, thus contributing to their monumental appearance. The second characteristic could be explained by the glossator's inexperience with dry-point writing or even the unsuitability of his stylus, as suggested by the contrast of successful examples in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts where such writing is often scarcely detectable.³¹ Curiously, a similar set of tiny, lightly entered dry-point glosses may lie hidden between the lines of Uss. 1, side by side with the present set of glosses. For example, at Mt 26:53 (folio 27), DUODECIM MILIA LEGIONES ANGEL<ORUM>, the Old Latin reading MILIA has been erased (dry-point scratch marks are visible underneath), and over the erased word a dry-point gloss, ... *ssus* (leg. <omi>*ssus* ?) was entered in a fully developed, pointed Irish minuscule hand very different from that of the present glosses. Another example of the same kind of hand occurs at Lk 1:2 (folio 79), UERBI: ... *monis*, perhaps the corresponding Vulgate *sermonis*.³² The differences outlined here between the two sets of glosses have been applied in the present edition as a guide to identifying the earlier stratum, though the possibility for error in individual choices remains.³³

The third noteworthy feature of the script, perhaps consonant with its monumental character, is the tendency to separate letters. That is not to say that the glossator never joins letters. For example, in *orationem* (gl 98) *i* is joined to *o* by means of a stroke that gives it the appearance of insular *s*. An extreme example is *obseruantes* (gl 95) where *r* is joined to *u* over a space equivalent to two letters of the main text. Ligatures occur occasionally³⁴ though not as frequently as in developed Irish minuscule. Also noteworthy, by contrast with the *scriptura continua* of the main text, is the glossator's indicating of word division not only by spacing³⁵ but also by the frequent interposing of a mid-point dot.

The inaccessibility of the glosses and the probability of their early date make it desirable to describe the repertoire of letters employed by the scribe, relating them to the two major types of script current in early Ireland, semi-uncial (Lowe's majuscule) and minuscule. For a good number of letters in the Uss. 1 glosses it is scarcely possible to insist on the distinction. Thus, the letters *b* (with and without the finial hook at the top of the ascender), *f* (sometimes with lowered hasta), *h* (with high shoulder in gl 109), *m*, *n*, *o* (not fully rounded) and *u* (minims usually slanted to the left) resemble the corresponding forms in developed Irish minuscule, though generally larger and decidedly less pointed.

The following letters merit individual treatment:

a has two forms: (i) rounded *a*, the normal form, though it sometimes shows a tendency towards pointing at the top; (ii) the conjoined *oc* type, which occurs in gl 20, 49 (first *a*), 114, and probably 73 (first *a*). No examples of pointed or horned *a* occur.

c is usually pincers-shaped, formed with two strokes whose point of convergence on the left occasionally protrudes (e.g. gl 38) or, conversely, is incomplete (e.g. gl 6, 28). The same kind of *c* occurs in the main text, while a more elegant form of it is found in a seventh-century Bobbio Orosius.³⁶

d invariably has the form with vertical ascender; the bow, which is inflated, tends to be pinched at the two points of contact with the ascender. It resembles the *d* found in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 26 *Sup*, a specimen of Irish half-uncial dated *saec. vii ex.*³⁷

e is generally open, with the tongue set about mid position;³⁸ occasional examples occur of a more rounded version (e.g. gl 33, 81, 112) similar to that found in the Book of Durrow; most commonly, it has the epsilon form with protruding tongue that often terminates with a flourish when the letter marks the end of a word (e.g. *ipse*, gl 5; *fide* gl 8) or of a gloss (gl 21, 91). Additionally this tongue serves as a ligature with following *n* and *t*,³⁹ in which case the *e* is elongated above the line (gl 49, 59, 69, 119); the ligature form of *e*, with the shape of a slanting 8 occurs in *reg* (gl 86).

g slants prominently from left to right, with its lower bow small and incomplete, rather like that found in the Rufinus-Eusebius fragment and the Bangor Antiphony.⁴⁰

i in initial position is sometimes elongated like a *j* (gl 28, 106) or has an initial hook (gl 59, 68, 96); it occurs subscript joined to the second minim of *u* in *qui* (gl 4), as in the Book of Durrow (e.g. fol. 86, Mk 1:1).

l normally has no finial or hook on the upper ascender, which slants to the left, and its lower part ends with a flourish to the right. A similar *l* occurs in the Rufinus-Eusebius fragment and the Bangor Antiphony.

p has an inflated, very open bow, giving it the appearance of minuscule *r*.

q has an inflated bow and vertical descender.

r is very similar in form to that of the Cathach (Dublin, RIA, MS 12 R 33): the descender does not go below the line, and the transverse arm falls forward while dipping slightly, thus presenting a form distinct from *n*, *p* and *s*.⁴¹

s likewise has the descender ending on the line; in combination with a following *c*, *i*, *p*, *t*, *y*, the descender is often elongated upwards so that the transverse arm sits above the next letter, e.g. gll 35, 57, 90, 101, 121, 122.

t has the normal semi-uncial/minuscule rounded form, except for two instances of the tau-form (gll 12, 59).

x does not usually have the characteristically elongated lower left limb; a form with the lower left limb unaligned to the upper right occurs in gll 67, 87, 122.

y has the characteristically Irish form, with both arms pointing to the right (gl 90).

Abbreviations

Suspensions: Only **p̄** (*per*), **p̄** (*pro*), **n̄** (*non*), **r̄** (*-rum*).

Contractions: Limited to nomina sacra, **ds̄**, **dn̄i**, **scō**, **sci**, **scos̄**, **scor̄**, **spu**, **xps̄**, **xpi**.

Noticeably absent are the traditional Irish symbols for *m*, *n*, *-er*, *et* and *-us*, and the contractions for *ante*, *misericordia*, *nomine*, *omnia*, *pre-* and *qui*.

The absence of these conventional abbreviations cannot be explained by the glossator's desire to write a full text. On the contrary, he frequently abbreviates, but does so simply by giving the first two or three letters of a word, rounded off with an arbitrary horizontal stroke above. The glosses contain at least twenty-five examples of a short stroke used in this way, as well as another thirteen instances where a word is abbreviated but no stroke is apparent.

Occasionally a short horizontal stroke occurs above an unabbreviated word, e.g. *idcīrco* (gl 3), *dedīa* (gl 31) and possibly *mundī* (gl 51). In these instances it might conceivably have served to identify the word(s) as a gloss,⁴² though more likely it was a visual cue to the glossator to supply the remaining words of a phrase or sentence well-known to him. Compare a similar usage in the Bangor Antiphony, where *res̄pice* (folio 13b) stands for the frequently cited refrain, *res̄pice in me Domine*.

Other symbols

A mid-point dot occurs fairly frequently at the end of a gloss (e.g. gll 28, 50, 62, 89), and sometimes between words in a gloss (e.g. gl 7, 21, 62, 120).⁴³ The *punctum delens* also occurs: in gl 81 a single dot under *i* and *s* severally marks them for deletion; in gl 93 a dot is inserted above and below the transverse arm of *s*, the objectionable letter; in gl 97 the dots are on either side of the right limb of *a*. Similar upper and lower dots occur in the Bangor Antiphony (e.g. folios 6va, 17b), though without the substitution of letters.

But the most interesting use of symbols occurs in gl 132 where three pairs of symbols occur in five lines of text (Lk 10:7–8). These are not *signes de renvoi*, in which one member of a pair of identical symbols identifies a lacuna in the text or an incomplete comment, while the other marks its complement in the margin or between the lines.

Instead, both members of the pair accompany words that are present in the main text and related to each other. The triangle of dots under *MANETE* links it to the same symbol above (*NOLITE*) *TRANSIRE*, both imperatives; the *•i* symbol links *EADEM* to *QUACUMQUE*, both functioning as modifiers of nouns in similar grammatical contexts; the single dots above and below *EDENTES* and *BIBENTES* mark them both as present participles.⁴⁴ Thus the symbols serve to identify and collocate words within a large syntactical unit that share the same grammatical function. In their very form as well as their functions they call to mind the so-called syntactical glosses found in Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the late eighth century and later. Such glosses consist of signs and letters that serve to guide a reader through the order of words in a Latin sentence. Even the detail of *∴* above complementing *∴* below a word, or the visual complementarity of *+* and *+* (in gll 127 and 128) are well attested among the syntactical glosses of the Milan Commentary on the Psalms and the St Gallen Priscian. Although very elementary, the Uss. 1 glosses provide by far the earliest witness to the use of such symbols in any Western manuscript. Nor is there any good reason to doubt that they were entered by the earliest glossator, since they share the same laboured quality as his other glosses.

Other symbols are more problematic, notably those reported for gll 126–29, 135 and 136. Although most of them occur in other Irish manuscripts, their function in Uss. 1 remains unclear. Possibly some of them represent *signes de renvoi*, the complementary member of which on the margin is now lost.

To sum up: the script defies ready classification. On the one hand, the use of certain abbreviations belonging to the repertoire of Irish minuscule (notably *p* for *per*) implies familiarity with that script. On the other hand, certain features recall half-uncial: the large, monumental character of many letters (especially in the glosses on Matthew) and their physical separation; the very limited use of abbreviations; the semi-uncial forms of *c*, *r*, *s*; the inflated bow of *d*, *p* and *q*; the open *e* with protruding tongue; and the occasional use of the *oc* form of *a*, what Lowe called the 'shibboleth' of majuscule script. Yet with one exception (gl 36), the glosses do not contain any examples of uncial *D*, *N*, *R*, *S*, forms which normally appear in semi-uncial script.

Sources

Bischoff's observation that the glosses 'scheinen keinem der bekannten Kommentare entnommen zu sein',⁴⁵ needs to be revised. Dependence can be established with reasonable certainty for the following patristic sources: Jerome's *Commentarii in Matheum* (gll 3, 4, 6, 8, 9) and *Liber interpretatio hebraicorum nominum* (gll 12, 14, 15); Ambrose's *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* (gll 47, 84, 100, 101); Chromatius's *Tractatus in Mathaeum* (gl 57, 78); Gregory the Great's *Homiliae xl in euangelia* (gll 73, 85); Eucherius's *Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae* (gl 64); and possibly the *Regula* of Benedict of Nursia (gl 91). The glossator may also have been familiar with the apocryphal *Descensus Christi ad inferos* (gl 35). This evidence should not be taken to mean that he necessarily had copies of each of these works by him. Jerome's commentary on Matthew he seems to have known firsthand, since he twice (gll 3, 4) gives an incipit from it which by itself makes little sense. But for the other putative sources he may well have used previously

existing compendia in the form of florilegia or catenæ, a genre especially favoured by the Irish.⁴⁶

Indeed there is considerable evidence for his dependence on Hiberno-Latin biblical exegesis. For example, in gl 112, *more alumni*, his use of the *more* formula, which was popular in the Irish schools, as well as attested occurrences of the same gloss (in the form *more alumni plangentis*) in other Hiberno-Latin commentaries,⁴⁷ indicate that he drew directly on an Irish source which adapted the phrase from Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*. The fact that the Uss. 1 glossator omitted the defining participle *plangentis* suggests that the phrase was familiar to him.⁴⁸ Even more telling are the fairly numerous agreements between the Uss. 1 glosses and certain interpretations found in seventh- and eighth-century Hiberno-Latin gospel commentaries, notably the pseudo-Jerome *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* and two commentaries on Luke.⁴⁹

Yet for all the close parallels adduced, the Uss. 1 glosses retain a distinct character. For example, at Lk 5:18 (gl 44), the glossator agrees with pseudo-Jerome *Expositio* in interpreting the four men who carried the paralytic on a stretcher as the four elements or the four gospels (he does not mention the four senses), and the unfortunate man as humankind, but interprets the stretcher to mean Adam's (original) sin, where the *Expositio* interprets it as the human body. Elsewhere, he offers interpretations which have no equivalent in, and in some instances differ fundamentally, from those of the surviving Hiberno-Latin commentaries. For example, at Lk 17:35, the parable of the two women grinding corn together, he explains *DUAE* as a case of synecdoche, and gives to *MOLENTES* the mundane explanation, *in circulo septimanae* ('in the weekly cycle [of work]'), where the patristic and Hiberno-Latin commentaries pursue allegorical meanings. Also without parallel is his interpretation of *SECURIS* by *equitas iudicis* (gl 28), an explanation normally applied by the Fathers and Hiberno-Latin commentators to *UENTILABRUM*; and, correspondingly, his application of the latter word to *penitentiae* (gl 34). Admittedly, some of these interpretations may derive from sources now lost (for example, the latter part of Chromatius's *Tractatus in Mathaeum*) or sources not yet identified.

Remarkably, the single source most frequently used by the glossator was not a biblical commentary but another version of the Gospels, almost certainly Jerome's Vulgate. In at least twenty-five instances⁵⁰ the glossator either directly emended the reading of the main (Old Latin) text or supplied an alternative reading above it.⁵¹ Since these glosses in almost every instance agree with the corresponding Vulgate reading,⁵² and since they do not reveal any systematic pattern of agreement with any Old Latin witness contaminated with Vulgate readings, it is reasonable to conclude that the glossator had a copy of the Vulgate before him, perhaps even supplied the Vulgate readings from memory. Probably also indicative of his access to the Vulgate is the ease with which he correlates parallel passages from the synoptic Gospels. Presumably he was assisted by the tables of concordances of synoptic passages (the *canones euangeliorum*) which typically preface copies of the Vulgate gospels. In any case, it appears that the Vulgate was his gospel of habitual use.

Nature and purpose

Clearly the glosses do not constitute a systematic exegesis which could justify the title of commentary or running exposition. Not only their distribution but also their content is too limited for such nomenclature. For the most part they consist of single words or phrases suggestive of a line of interpretation. Although Bischoff characterized their interpretations as 'moralisch' (as indeed most of the ten glosses that he identified are), the majority offer allegorical interpretations. Within these moral and allegorical interpretations certain topoi recur: Christ's Passion (gll 24, 35, 67, 87, 122); the Old and the New Testaments (gll 37, 44, 74, 113, 114); sinful humankind (gll 41, 45, 46, 73); the mystical meaning of proper names (gll 12, 14, 15, 38); baptism and penance (gll 29, 33, 34, 75).

Yet a considerable element of literal and historical interpretation permeates the glosses. Gloss 3 explains (by recourse to Jerome) why Matthew's account of the Last Supper omits specific names of people and places; perhaps by way of compensation gll 9, 78 and 102 identify by name Malchus, Judas and Peter, all active participants in the Passion narrative. Gloss 31, *gens dedita*, implies a curiously exalted notion of the role of the *publicani*, perhaps reflecting the existence of a similar caste of tax-collectors in early Ireland working for the large monastic paruchia. Commenting on the two women grinding corn (Lk 17:35), gl 90 explains their small number by recourse to the rhetorical figure of synecdoche (presumably they represent all mankind), and their activity by reference to the weekly routine of work, using a phrase with a distinctly monastic ring, *in circulo septimanae*.⁵³

As already noted, a sizeable proportion of the glosses, nearly a quarter, are textual.⁵⁴ By making corrections and providing alternative readings, the glossator reveals a scholarly concern with the text of Luke's Gospel. However, unlike the eighth-century corrector of the Mulling Gospels, he did not systematically attempt to bring the Uss. 1 text into line with the Vulgate.⁵⁵ One can only surmise that he emended readings that occur in passages which he happened to be interested in.

Can anything be learned about the glossator's purpose from the distribution of his interpretative glosses? There are 112 on Luke, ten on Matthew, one on John and none on Mark.⁵⁶ Of the ten on Matthew, seven belong to a single, short episode narrating the preparations for the Last Supper and the occasion itself (Mt 26: 17–29). That the glossator attached great importance to this episode is suggested by the acrostic heading in half-uncial letters which he inserted in a blank space at its beginning (possibly containing the words *P<assio> I<esu>* ...). But why he should have favoured Matthew's account over those of the other three gospels, especially Luke (otherwise his preferred gospel), remains unclear. An interesting parallel occurs in an eighth-century Hiberno-Latin commentary on Luke where the Passion text is virtually ignored, probably because the commentator envisaged using a commentary from one of the other gospels⁵⁷ – almost certainly Matthew, the Gospel preeminent in early Ireland.⁵⁸ An alternative, though somewhat remote, possibility is that the glossator of Uss. 1 was drawn to the Old Latin Passion narrative of Matthew because he recognized its text as the basis of the Eucharist narrative in the canon (Roman) of the Mass.⁵⁹

Apart from this one passage of Matthew the glossator concentrated his attention on Luke's Gospel. Every chapter of Luke in Uss. 1 has at least one gloss. Whether consciously

or not, the glossator's distribution of glosses strikes a balance between passages unique to Luke (56 glosses) and synoptic passages (54 glosses). Certainly, the glosses bear evidence that even as he glossed Luke he was thinking of parallel passages in the other Gospels. For example, gl 44 (Lk 5:18) has the detail of four men, which ultimately derives from the parallel passage in Mk 2:3; gl 49 probably derives from Mt 7:26; for gl 59, in response to the young man's protestation that he would follow Christ anywhere, the glossator supplies *licet in periculum maris*, a reference to the storm at sea which follows immediately after – but only in Mt 8:23–7. Elsewhere, Lucan passages are elucidated by using commentary on parallel passages in Matthew (e.g. gls 57, 78, 112).

Yet the glossator did not neglect passages unique to Luke. Of eighteen such passages he chose to comment on ten; and these ten received a disproportionately large number of the total Lucan glosses. Thus, the first three chapters of Luke dealing with the birth and infancy of Christ and the mission of John the Baptist received twenty-three glosses; the Good Samaritan story, five; the Prodigal Son, three; Dives and Lazarus, five; the Emmaus episode, four.

Many of the glosses are elliptical both in form and content, which suggests that they were personal notes whose meaning and associations would be immediately obvious to the glossator; e.g. *idcirco uocabula* (gl 3), *gens dedita* (gl 31), *no<uum>* (gl 37), *d* above *AMABIT* (gl 53), *preces sanctorum* (gl 57), *more alumni* (gl 112). But if the glossator was already familiar with their contents, why would he have entered them in the first place? The most likely explanation is that he used them as verbal cues for teaching: the presence of a catch-word would suffice as a prompt to commenting on a word or passage. Despite a significant component of moral interpretations, the glosses were probably not intended for preaching or homiletic purposes. What tells against such purposes is the learned nature of many of the glosses, evident, for example, in the alternative readings from the Vulgate, in the syntactical glosses and in the grammatical gloss, *synecdoche*. If indeed used for teaching,⁶⁰ the contents of the glosses would suggest a level of study comparable to that of the late seventh-century Hiberno-Latin *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum*. The latter has the same blend of predominantly allegorical with moral and literal interpretation, including even some of the same interpretations.⁶¹ Furthermore, the format of the *Expositio*, a pericope of a few words followed by a brief comment,⁶² resembles that of the Uss. 1 glosses where a phrase of commentary is entered above the key words of the relevant biblical text.

Date

In the absence of direct, internal evidence, conclusions about the date of the glosses must depend on whatever can be gleaned from their content, language and script. The identifiable sources used by the glossator do not provide much help other than to establish from dependence on Gregory the Great's *Homiliae* a *terminus post quem* of c. 610. Although he seems to have been comfortable with the text of the Old Latin gospels, even glossing some of its unique readings (e.g. gl 35), the glossator's preferred gospel text was the Vulgate. In Ireland the Vulgate was replacing the Old Latin version by the second half of the seventh century, though the process continued into the eighth. Parallels in

interpretations between certain Uss. 1 glosses and the pseudo-Jerome *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum*, a Hiberno-Latin commentary from the late seventh century,⁶³ are significant since they involve not only shared interpretations but also a similar format of lemma and pericope as well as the use of Old Latin readings. While direct dependence either way seems to be ruled out, these similarities are sufficiently weighty to suggest that the two works emanated from the same school of exegesis and consequently are roughly coeval.

Linguistically, the spelling of the Old Irish gloss, *focrici* (gl 32), with representation of the spirant /χ/ by *c* (first occurrence) rather than *ch*, and the absence of the glide *a* between broad *r* and palatal *c*, is altogether compatible with a seventh-century date.⁶⁴ The other two Old Irish glosses are potentially problematic, however. The spelling *oen* (gl 69) is not attested in archaic sources, which have *oin* or even *oein*, as in the seventh-century Cambrai Homily.⁶⁵ But this gloss may not be in the hand of the original glossator, as suggested by the neat form of its letters and the smooth ductus. The third Old Irish gloss, *dilus* (gl 79), raises no problem if read as a dative; as a nominative or accusative, however, it would be consonant with a ninth- (or later) rather than a seventh-century date.

Finally, the palaeographical evidence. The script has many individual features in common with seventh-century specimens of semi-uncial script, notably the Rufinus-Eusebius fragment, the St Gallen Isidore fragment and the Bangor Antiphonary. But the comparison cannot be pressed too hard since these latter employ formal scripts suited to the canonical nature of their texts, whereas the script of the Uss. 1 glosses, by virtue both of its subordination to the main text and its unofficial character, is probably informal. All the more reason then to emphasize the semi-uncial characteristics of the Uss. 1 glosses and their lack of minuscule symptoms (especially its repertoire of abbreviations) in a setting where the latter script would have suited admirably. This combination of positive and negative evidence may well reflect conditions in the seventh century before minuscule had become the exclusive script of informal use. To this tentative conclusion can be added the weight of Bischoff's verdict that the script of the Uss. 1 glosses belongs to the seventh century.⁶⁶ In sum, the combined evidence of content, language and script broadly harmonizes for a seventh-century date.

Significance

Just as the main text of Uss. 1 exemplifies a remarkably early script and biblical text, so too the dry-point glosses can lay claim to several firsts. They are the earliest known example of dry-point glossing in the medieval West. Furthermore, their use of Old Irish words provides the first example of glossing in a Western vernacular.⁶⁷ And the presence among them of the Old Irish legal term *dilus* suggests that a seventh-century Irish monastic scribe was familiar with the writing of vernacular legal terminology. Other glosses, written as symbols, that serve a grammatical/syntactical function, carry the history of such glosses back a century more than had previously been thought,⁶⁸ and raise again the possibility that the Irish first developed these syntactical systems.

As evidence for Irish exegesis on the gospels the glosses are no less remarkable. Although much fuller and more important Hiberno-Latin exegetical works have survived

from the seventh century, they are all preserved in considerably later copies. Only Uss. 1 contains such firsthand evidence of *in situ* glossing, its very format suggesting the ultimate origins of some of these early commentaries. Moreover, the glosses reveal dependence on sources unattested in Ireland at so early a date (e.g. Chromatius and the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*). The glosses apparently served a pedagogical function, thus illustrating how the gospel text was expounded in seventh-century Ireland. In sum, the glosses provide a unique window on the activity of an Irish biblical exegete of the seventh century.

Edition

The following symbols and abbreviations are used:

- < > letter(s) supplied by the editor
- ... letter(s) lost within the gloss
- [... letter(s) lost on the right margin
- ...] letter(s) lost on the left margin
- * letter visible but not legible
- the continuation of the gloss on a new line
- Vg Vulgate
- VL Vetus Latina, followed where necessary by the identifying sigla of manuscript witnesses.

The following manuscripts and editions have been consulted:

Manuscripts:

- London, British Library, MS Harley 1802 (1138; Armagh)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1841 (*saec.* ix *med.*; n. Italy)
- Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 940 (*saec.* viii–ix; Salzburg)

Editions (abbreviated titles are added in parentheses):

- Ambrose, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 14 (Turnhout 1957), pp. 1–400; (Ambrose, *Expositio*)
- Anonymous (Hiberno-Latin), *Commentarium in Lucam* ed. J.F. Kelly, CCSL 108C (Turnhout 1974), pp. 3–101; (*Comm. in Lucam*)
- Augustine, *Quaestiones euangeliorum* ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 44B (Turnhout 1980)
- Benedict, *Regula* ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (2nd edn, Vienna 1977)
- Chromatius, *Tractatus in Mathaeum* ed. R. Etaix and J. Lemarié, CCSL 9A (Turnhout 1974), pp. 183–498
- Cummeanus (?), *Commentarium in euangelium Marci* PL 30 (1865 edn), pp. 589–644
- Eucherius, *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae* ed. K. Wotke, CSEL 31 (Vienna 1894), pp. 3–62
- Gregory, *Homiliae xl in euangelia* PL 76, pp. 1075–312; (Gregory, *Homiliae*)
- Jerome, *Commentarii in Matheum* ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout 1969); (Jerome, *Comm. in Math.*)

Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* ed. P. de Lagarde, CCSL 72 (Turnhout 1959), pp. 59–161

Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* PL 30, (1865 edn), pp. 531–90; (Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio*)

Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ed. J. Huemer, CSEL 10 (Vienna 1885), pp. 1–146.

Vetus Latina ed. A. Jülicher, *Itala: das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung; III: Lucas-Evangelium* (2nd impvd edn, Berlin-New York 1976)

Vulgata ed. R. Weber et al., *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols (2nd impvd edn, Stuttgart 1975) II, pp. 1513–697.

1. fol. 6 Mt 18:12 QUID ENIM UOBIS: oue
Cf. 'centum oues' later in the same verse.

2. fol. 25 Mt 26:17 (no lemma): pinfis
Written in very large, semi-uncial letters on a blank line before the Last Supper narrative. Perhaps an acronym beginning 'P<assio> I<esu> ...'

3. Mt 26:18 ITE IN CIUITATEM AD QUENDAM: idcirco uocab[...]
Read 'idcirco uocab<ula>'. Jerome, *Comm. in Math.*, 248–9, 1077–84: 'Quorum idcirco uocabula praetermissa sunt ut omnibus qui pascha facturi sunt libera festiuitatis occasio panderetur'.

4. Mt 26:21 AMEN DICO UOBIS: qu de pas predix
Read 'qui de pas<sione> predix<erat>'. Jerome, *Comm. in Math.*, 249, 1096: 'Amen dico uobis, etc. Qui de passione praedixerat et de proditore praedicat ...'

5. fol. 25v Mt 26:24 UAE AUTEM HOMINI ILLI PER QUEM FIL/<IUS HOM>INIS TRADETUR BONUM ERAT NON NASCI<TUR>: **mpuc*... u ipse denuntia[...]
Because of a tear in the manuscript, as many as three letters may be missing between *c* and *u*. The gloss is written above the second line of the text.

6. Mt 26:24–25 RESPONDENS AUTEM IUDAS SCARIOTH: ne tacens pdere uidere**r
Read *ne tacens prodere uidere<tu>r*. Jerome, *Comm. in Math.*, 250, 1129: 'Numquid ego sum, Domine, ne tacendo se prodere uideretur ...'

7. Mt 26:28 QUI PRO MULTIS EFFUNDET<UR I>N REMISSIONE PECCATORUM: n fitredemi/
...]ecessus
Read 'non fit redemi <n>ecessus'.

8. Mt 26:29 IN REGNO PATRIS MEI: fide patris
Jerome, *Comm. in Math.*, 251, 1165: 'regnum Patris fidem puto esse credentium'.

9. fol. 27 Mt 26:51 PERCUSSIT SERUUM: malchu*
The vertical descender of the final letter is visible. Read 'malchu<s>'. Jerome, *Comm. in Math.*, 257, 1325–6: 'Seruus quoque principis sacerdotum Malchus appellatur'. Cf. also Jn 18:10. The hand is rather small and neat, perhaps that of another glossator.

10. fol. 31 Mt 27:53 APPARUERUN<T>: c

Located above the first R, the gloss stands perhaps for 'c<orpora>' (sc. 'sanctorum'), the subject of the verb from the previous verse.

11. fol. 36v Jn 2:22 UERBO: e

The letter is located above o. Vg has *sermoni*.

12. fol. 79v Lk 1:16 ISRAHEL: rectus **dn̄i**

Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, 139, 22: 'Israhel uir uidens deum. Sed melius rectus Domini.'

13. Lk 1:17 IN SPIRITU: in doc

Read 'in doc<trina>', or perhaps a form of *docere*.

14. Lk 1:19 GABRIEL: for

Read '*for<titudo>*'. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, 140, 24–5: 'Gabriel confirtauit me deus aut fortitudo dei ...', an interpretation repeated in the *Nominum interpretatio* which precedes Luke on fol. 78v.

15. fol. 80 Lk 1:27 IOSEPH: auctus

Jerome, *Liber interpret.*, 146, 17: 'Ioseph, auctus'.

16. fol. 81 Lk 1:46 ANIMA MEA: uolun

Read 'uolun<tas>'.

17. Lk 1:51 DISSIP<A>UTT SUPERBOS: men

Read 'men<te>', as in Vg *superbos mente*.

18. Lk 1:52 DE SEDE: do.

Gloss located above SE; perhaps 'do<minus>'.

19. fol. 82 Lk 1:78 UISCERA MISERICORDIAE: misteria

20. fol. 82v Lk 2:2 FACTA EST PRAESIDE: a

Located after and above EST. Agentive *a* occurs in VLc and certain Vg manuscripts.

21. ibid. SYRIAE CYRINO: ***to^o nomine

The letter before *t* has a horizontal stroke in ligature. Read '<prefec>to nomine'?

22. Lk 2:4 BETHLEM: ucs deu

23. Lk 2:6 FACTUM EST: **āspusco**

Read '*a spiritu sancto*'. Cf. the parallel passage in Mt 1:20: 'in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est'.

24. fol. 84 Lk 2:34 IN SIGNUM: *ipc*

Read 'i<n> p<assione> c<hristi>'? Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 19, 277–8: 'signum...id est, scandalum iudaeis, stultitia gentibus, crux Christi fuit.'

25. fol. 84v Lk 2:39 UT PERFECERUNT OMNIA: *scrip...es***to*

Gloss entered possibly by a later glossator.

26. fol. 85v Lk 3:6 UIDEBIT OMNIS CARO: *tunc*

27. Lk 3:8 FRUCTUM DIGNUM PAENITENTIAE: *e•*

The gloss (in large script) is added to final A; read 'paenitentiae'.

28. Lk 3:9 SECURIS AD RADICES: *equitas iudicis*.

Bischoff ('Turning-Points', 79) reads 'equitas iudicii'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 26, 155–6 (commenting on *uentilabrum*, Lk 3:17): 'Cuius uentilabrum in manu eius: Id est, aequitas iudicii in potestatibus'. The ultimate source may be Chromatius, *Tractatus XI in Mathaeum*, 242, 113–15: 'Ventilabrum dicit diuini iudicii in quo peccatores a iustis ... diuinae aequitatis iudicio segregabit'.

29. fol. 86 Lk 3:11 DUAS TU/<NI>CAS: *fides bab[...]*

Bischoff reads 'fidei bab<tismatis>', but the lost space on the margin allows for only a few letters, perhaps 'bab<tismi>'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 25, 122–24: 'Qui habet duas tunicas: Id est, qui diues est in fide'.

30. Lk 3:11 QUI HABET ESCAS: *uer*

Bischoff reads 'uer<itas>'. Alternatively, read 'uer<bum>'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 25, 124: 'Id est, qui sapiens est'.

31. Lk 3:12 PUBLICANI: *gens dedita*

Cf. the unpublished Hiberno-Latin commentary on Luke (Paris, BN lat. 1841, fol. 141; partially printed by Bischoff, 'Turning-Points', 133): 'Puplicani (MS -am) qui non domos proprios habent vel possident, sed debita adquirunt. paene ministrant in omni celula quamquod constitutum est. id est IIIlor in unum'. See also p. 8 above.

32. Lk 3:14 STIPENDIIS: *focrici*

Old Irish, plural of *fochr(a)ic* (verbal noun of *fo-cren*), 'wages, payments'. See p. 10 above.

33. Lk 3:16 CALCE/MENTA PORTARE: *pe*

Although the gloss occurs near the end of a line, it may well be complete, since it ends above CAL-. Bischoff reads 'ire?'. Read 'pe<netentiae>' or 'pe<des>'?

34. Lk 3:17 UENTILABRUM: *penetēn*

Read a defining genitive, 'peneten<tiae>'?

35. fol. 88 l k 4:8 (VL) UADE POST ME in infer post cru[...]

The horizontal stroke above -r is not certain. Read 'in infer<num> post cru<cem>'. This reference to the risen Christ's vanquishing of Satan in Hell implies familiarity with the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*. On knowledge of this work in early Ireland and England, see D.J.G. Lewis, 'A short Latin Gospel of Nicodemus written in Ireland', *Peritia* 5 (1986) 262–75 (at 263–4 and n. 7), to which evidence should be added stanzas 174–82 of the eighth-century, Old Irish *The Poems of Blathmac son of Cú Brettan*, Irish Texts Society 47, ed. J. Carney (Dublin 1964), 59–63.

36. l k 4:8 DILIGES DOMINUM DEUM: N

Uncial N, located above final letter of DOMINUM.

37. fol. 88v l k 4:19 PRAEDICARE ANNUM: no

Read 'no<uum> testamentum'? Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 35, 265: 'Id est, totum noui testamenti tempus'.

38. l k 4:23 CAFARNA: c

Large c, located above F. In the *Interpretatio nominum* that precedes Luke (fol. 78v), Cafarnum is explained as 'ager consulationis'. The present gloss may stand for 'c<onsulationis>', or it could be a cue to consult the C-entries in the same section.

39. fol. 89 l k 4:26 SIDONIAE: o ...

Only a large o is decipherable, followed by some letters. The gloss may not be in the hand of the original glossator.

40. l k 4:29 UT PRAE<CT>PITARENT EUM: impulsus ue[...]

Read 'impulsus ue<hementer>'?

41. l k 4:33 HOMO HABENS DAEMONIUM: genus humanum

Pseudo-Jerome *Expositio-Matthaeus*, 551B: 'Hominem daemoniacum ... significat humanum genus'. Likewise, Cummeanus (?), *Commentarium in euangelium Marci*, 596D; and *Comm. in Lucam* 37, 349. Cf. gl 46.

42. fol. 89v l k 4:38 <F>EBRIS: bu

Gloss located above IS; read 'febris' as in VL and Vg.

43. fol. 90 l k 5:9 IN CAPTURAM PISCUM: b*u*em

44. fol. 91 l k 5:18 UIRI PORTANTES: iiii. lē. iiii. cuān.

Read 'iiii <e>le<menta>, iiii cuan<gelia>'. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome *Expositio-Marcus* (on Mk 2:3–12), 561A: 'per paralyticum ostendit humanum genus: per lectum, corpus. A quatuor portabatur, hoc sunt quatuor elementa per quae constat homo, aut quatuor ordines Evangelii, aut quatuor virtutes animae ...'

45. *ibid.* IN LECTO: in **pēc**• **ād**

Read 'in pec<cato> Ad<ae>'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 43, 149–50: 'Id est, humanum genus in peccato in quo Adam ceciderat et usque nunc iacet'.

46. *ibid.* HOMINEM: **gēn hū**

Read 'gen<us> hu<manum>'. See nos 4–45.

47. fol. 95v Lk 6:48 UIRO PRUDENTI AEDIFICANTI DOMUM: **omnium mān**

Read 'omnium man<datorum>'. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio*, 162, 867–71: 'Omnium autem fundamentum docet esse uirtutum oboedientiam caelestium praeceptorum, per quem domus haec nostra non ... commoueri'.

48. Lk 6:48 SUPRA PETRAM: patientiam c

Read 'patientiam c<hristi> or c<hristianam>'. Cf. Augustine, *Quaestiones euangeliorum* 53, 5–6: 'fodere dixit humilitate christiana terrena omnia exhaustire de corde suo ...'

49. fol. 96 Lk 6:49 SUPRA PETRAM: et arienam

Cf. parallel text of Mt 7:26, SUPRA HARENAM; also VLb.

50. Lk 7:1 CUM AUTEM IMPLESSET OMNIA UERBA IN AURES PLEBIS: ** **commuñ uīf uef**•

The second indecipherable letter is rounded, possibly *o*, *p* or *t*. Perhaps read '<ut> commun<icare> uir<tutem> uer<borum>'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 58, 6–7: 'Vt uirtus uerba praedicationis confirmaret'.

51. Lk 7:2 CENTURIONIS AUTEM: **po mundi *puris**

Perhaps 'po<testas> mundi<alis> ...'

52. *ibid.* CUIUSDAM SER/UUS: **an ... c**[.../u*

Between *an* and *c* there is a tear; after *c* very little of the margin is missing, so probably few (if any) letters. The final letter on the second line (below the first, on the margin) is possibly *s*.

53. fol. 98v Lk 7:42 PLUS AMABIT: **d**

Letter located above B. Perhaps 'd<iliget>', the Vg reading.

54. fol. 99 Lk 8:1 PER CIUITATES: **p longiores meriti**•

Bischoff queried the inflection of 'meriti'. But it may refer to the Apostles, rather than CIUITATES or 'longiores'.

55. *ibid.* ET UICOS: **p angūs**•

Read 'per angus<tias>', with 'meriti' understood?

56. fol. 100v Lk 8:18 AUFERETUR AB EO: **auditus**

Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 67, 96–7: 'Auferetur ab illo: Id est, auditus et ueritatis propinquitas'.

57. fol. 101 Lk 8:24 SUSCITAVERUNT ILLUM: preces scof̄

Read 'preces sanctorum'. Cf. Chromatius, *Tractatus XLII in Mathaeum*, 403, 92–4: 'Oratio uero discipulorum excitantium Dominum et auxilium implorantium ut liberarentur, preces sanctorum omnium ostenduntur ...'

58. fol. 103 Lk 8:49 MORTUA EST FILIA: et sps o

Read 'et spiritus po<puli>'?

59. fol. 107v Lk 9:57 SEQUAR TE QUOCUMQUE IERIS: licet in periculum/maris•

See pp. 8–9 above.

60. Lk 9:59 AD ALTERUTRUM:

The gloss consists of a circle around -ut-, marking it for deletion. Read 'alter(r)um', as in Vg and VL.

61. fol. 109 Lk 10:20 SCRIBTA SUNT IN CAELO: cor/scm

There is no abbreviation stroke visible over *scm*. Read 'cor sanctum' or perhaps 'cor<da><an>c<toru>m'?

62. fol. 109v Lk 10:25 LEGIS PERITUS: in•sco•iu•

Read 'in sancto iu<re>'.

63. fol. 110 Lk 10:34 UNUM: rc*[...]

Part of a third letter is visible, perhaps *c* or *a*.

64. *ibid.* OLEUM: mis

Read 'mis<ericordia>'. Cf. Eucherius, *Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae*, 39, 16: 'Oleum misericordia uel sanctus spiritus'.

65. *ibid.* IN IUMENTUM: corp

Read 'corp<us>', or even Old Irish *corp*. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio-Lucas*, 573A: 'in iumentum suum, id est, in corpus suum'; also *Comm. in Lucam*, 76, 66.

66. *ibid.* AD STABULUM: corp

See gl 65.

67. *ibid.* ET/ CURAM EIUS EGIT: crux

Gloss located above ET on right margin, with right limbs of *x* missing. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio*, 240, 785–6: 'Itaque altero die [Lk 10:35] – quis est iste alter dies nisi forte ille dominicae resurrectionis'.

68. fol. 111 Lk 11:8 PROPTER INOPORTUNITATEM EIUS<S>: inprobitatem ess[...]

For the second word, it is possible to read 'cis[...]' Cf. Vg (and some VL) *inprobitatem autem eius*.

69. fol. 113 Lk 11:34 OCULUS TUUS SIMPLEX: oen

Old Irish adjective *óen*, 'single'. This gloss is smoothly written and unobtrusively entered, indicating perhaps the hand of another glossator. On the phonology and date of the form, see pp. 8–9 above.

70. fol. 115 Lk 12:3 QUARE: cur

The glossator stays close to the interrogative meaning of the lemma, as against Vg (and all other VL) *quoniam*.

71. fol. 116 Lk 12:18 ILLO CONGREGABO: uc

Located above o. Read *illuc* as in Vg and VLaurbffq.

72. fol. 118 Lk 12:48 OMNIA AUTEM CUI MULTUM DATUM EST:

The gloss consists of a circle of conjoined dots around the -A of OMNIA, marking it for deletion. Read 'omni', as in Vu and VL (except q).

73. fol. 119 Lk 13:6 FICUS: natura hū

Read 'natura hu<mana>'. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae*, 1228C: 'Quid arbor fici, nisi humanum naturam designat'.

74. Lk 13:6 UINEA: lex

Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 82, 19: 'Plantatum in uinea sua: Id, in lege sua', and unpublished Lucan commentary in Paris BN lat. 1841, fol. 156 (on Lk 20:9): 'uineam .i. legem'. The ultimate source is probably Gregory, *Homiliae*, 1228C: 'Tertio dominus vineae ad ficuleam venit, quia naturam generis humani ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia ... requisivit'.

75. fol. 119v Lk 13:12 MULIER LIBERATA ES: p̄ babla uāē

Perhaps 'per bab<tismum> laua<ta> e<s>'. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio*, 274, 1887–90: 'Nec aliter curari potuisset haec mulier nisi quia legem inpleuit et gratiam, legem in praeceptis, in lauacro gratiam, per quam mortui saeculo resurgimus Christo.'

76. fol. 122 Lk 14:14 UNDE <RETRI>BUERE TIBI: nt

Located above and after -ERE. Read 'retribuerent', though this reading is otherwise unattested.

77. fol. 123 Lk 14:33 SI ERGO: c

Gloss inserted between -I and E-, but above the line since there is no space between these letters. Read 'sic ergo', as in Vg and VL.

78. fol. 123 Lk 14:34 BONUM EST SAL SI AUTEM ET SAL EUANUERIT: iudas

Gloss located above first SAL. Chromatius, *Tractatus XVIII in Mathaeum*, 282, 104–108: 'Denique Iudas Scariothes de huiusmodi salibus fuerat; sed postea quam diuinam sapientiam reprobauit et de apostolo apostata factus est ... inutilis factus est'.

79. fol. 124 I k 15:13 DISSIPAUT SUBSTANTIAM SUAM: dilus

Old Irish adjective *diles*, used substantively, 'private property, possessions'. The present form could be read as a dative modifier of DISSIPAUT (above which it sits): 'he squandered his inheritance by means of his private property'. Alternatively, it could be the later nominative form of *diles* which commonly occurs in the later commentaries on Classical Old Irish law tracts; see p. 10 above.

80. I k 15:15 UNI CIUIBUS REGIONIS: um

Letters above, with underlining (for deleting) below, -us. Read 'ciuium', as in Vg and VL.

81. fol. 124 I k 15:17 FAMIS: c

Gloss above, two puncta (for deleting) below, -is. Read 'fame', as in Vg and VL.

82. fol. 126 I k 16:16 OMNIS IN ILLUD: e

Gloss above -is. Read 'omnes', as in VLacdiq. Cf. gl 92. For the symbol above ILLUD, see gl 136.

83. fol. 126v Lk 16:23 ELEAZIARUM: p

Gloss above -i-, an intrusive letter which is not found in the other occurrences of Lazarus's name in this passage.

84. fol. 127 Lk 16:26 CHAOS MAGNUM: meritor̄

Read 'meritorum'. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio*, 304, 200–1: 'inter hunc igitur divitem et pauperem chaos magnum est, quia post mortem nequeunt merita mutari ...'

85. Lk 16:26 TRANSIRE HINC AD UOS: p misericordia

Read 'pro misericordia'. Cf. Gregory, *Homiliae*, 1308A–B: 'Sed sicut transire reprobi ad electos cupiunt, id est a suppliciorum suorum migrare; ita ad afflictos atque in tormentis positos transire justorum est mente ire per misericordiam, eosque velle liberare'.

86. Lk 16:26 NEQUE INDE TRANSIRE HUC: p reg

Read 'pro reg<no>'. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio-Lucas*, 575A: sic erit post iudicium de inferno, videbunt regnum Dei.

87. Lk 16:30 QUIS: xp̄s

Cf. *ibid.*, 575B: 'ex mortuis resurrexerit, id factum est, Christo resurgente'; *Comm. in Lucam*, 90, 118: 'Id, Christum postulat resurgere a mortuis'.

88. fol. 129 Lk 17:29 PLUIT SULPUR ET IGNEM: is

Gloss located above -em. Read 'ignis', a variant attested in VLq.

89. Lk 17:34 ILLA NOCTE ERUNT: **p̄sē antecrīs•**

Read 'perse<cutio> antecris<ti>' or, with Bischoff, 'perse<cutione> antecris<ti>'. Cf. Ambrose, *Expositio*, 314, 499–500: 'Bene noctem dixit, quia antichristus hora tenebrarum est...'; and Paris BN lat. 1841, fol. 164: 'Uenit nox .i. est persecutio apostolorum siue persecutio anti^xpi'.

90. Lk 17:35 DUAE ERUNT: **syñēc**

Read 'syne<doche>'. See p. 8 above. The same grammatical concept, applied to Rachel, is used in the Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio-Matthaeus*, 538D.

91. *ibid.* MOLENTES IN UNUM: in circulo septimanae

See p. 8 above.

92. fol. 130 Lk 18:14 OMNES: **i**

Gloss located above -ES. Read 'omnis', as in Vg and VL.

93. fol. 131v Lk 18:38 **ihs̄: u**

Gloss located above -s, which has a punctum on either side of its transverse stroke. Read 'ihu', as in Vg and most VL manuscripts.

94. fol. 133v Lk 19:34 DIXERUNT: **•c**

Gloss (in small script) located above and between R and U; some scratchings above DIXERUNT, as if letters had been erased.

95. fol. 136 Lk 20:20 CUM RECESSISSENT: obseruantes

Cf. Vg 'et obseruantes'.

96. *ibid.* SUBORNTOS: insidia[...]

Read 'insidia<tores>', as in Vg and VLauref.

97. fol. 136v Lk 20:29 ERANT: **u**

Written over (not above) -A-, with a punctum on either side of the left minim of *u* that displaces the final stroke of A. Read 'erunt', a variant otherwise unattested.

98. fol. 137v Lk 20:47 ADORANTES: orationem

Cf. Vg 'simulantes longam orationem'.

99. fol. 138 Lk 21:11 PESTILENTIA: **e**

Letter inserted between (and above) -A and following ET. Read 'pestilentiae', a correction agreeing with Vg and VL.

100. fol. 138v Lk 21:24 IN OMNIBUS GENTIBUS: inbabel

Read 'in Babel<oniam>'; cf. Ambrose, *Expositio*, 355, 344–5: 'captiui Iudaei secundo in Babyloniam Assyriamque ducentur'.

101. ibid. ET HIERUSALEM: in siriam

See 'Assyriamque' in commentary on previous gloss.

102. fol. 141 Lk 22:23 QUIS ESSET: petrus

An odd interpretation since the context clearly indicates that *QUIS* refers to the betrayer of Christ, presumably Judas. Perhaps the glossator misplaced a gloss intended for *QUIS* of the next verse, 'contentio inter eos quis eorum uidet<ur> esse maior'. Alternatively, he may have been thinking of Peter's denial of Christ further on in the same chapter (vv. 55–62).

103. Lk 22:26 PRINCEPS: p

Located (in tiny script) above -s and built on the vertical descender of the latter. Perhaps 'p<raecessor>', as in Vg, or 'p<rimus>', as in VL.

104. fol. 142v Lk 22:49 CIRCA EUM: *um**

Read '<ips>um', as in Vg and most VL manuscripts? The faint, small script of gll 104–7 may indicate a later stratum of glosses, though the forms of the letters resemble those of the earliest glosses.

105. ibid. FACTUM ESSET: *u*urum erat

Read '<u>urum erat', as in Vg.

106. Lk 22:52 CUM GLADIIS: iu*a ...

The -a is uncertain.

107. Lk 22:53 CUM ESSEM COTIDIE: fuerim

The *f* is unclear, and the gloss is probably incomplete, since an *r* or *p* is visible over *CUM*. Cf. Vg (and some VL manuscripts): *fuerim*.

108. fol. 143 Lk 22:54 SEQUEBATUR A LONGE: ab abiso**109. 22:55 ACCENDEB<ANT>: hān**

Read 'han<cillae>'? Cf. Lk 22:56.

110. Lk 22:61 PETRUM: or**111. fol. 145v Lk 23:36 OFFEREBANT EI: es**

The letters (elongated) are squeezed in between the two words, on and below the line. Read 'offerentes', as in Vg and VLac.

112. fol. 146 Lk 23:45 VELUM TEMPLE: more alumni

Read 'more alumni <plangentis>', as in Paris, BN lat. 1841, fol. 158: 'more alumni plangentis' and the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 940, fol. 137v), *Ecce velum templi scissum est in duas partes, more alumne plangentis*.

The ultimate source is Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* 5, 270–1: 'Illud ouans templum, maioris culmina templi/Procubuisse uidens, ritu plangentis alumni'. See p. 7 and n. 47 above.

113. fol. 146v Lk 23:56 AROMATA: uet

Read 'uet<us lex>'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam* 98, 5–6: 'aromata bonorum operum quae in prima lege praeparata erant, et in secunda lege uisa fuerant'.

114. ibid. UNGUENTA: \overline{doc} ap \overline{os} • sico...

Read 'doc<trina> apos<tolorum>...' Cf. commentary on previous gloss.

115. fol. 147 Lk 24:1 PARAUERUNT: et uet

The gloss is badly stained; 'uest' for 'uet' is possible.

116. Lk 24:4 IN UESTE FULGENTE: roge• cre

Read 'ro<gauerunt> ge<ntes> cre<dentes>' in accordance with Lk 24:5? Cf. gl 121.

117. Lk 24:9 REGRESSAE: p cua<...

It is not possible to determine whether the vertical line after -a is a tear or the letter l.

118. fol. 147v Lk 24:13 DUO: ire

The margin to the left of 'ire' is damaged. Cf. 'euntēs' (Vg 'ibant') in the same verse.

119. ibid. CASTELLUM: po gen

Perhaps 'po<pulum> gen<tium>'. Cf. Paris, BN lat. 1841, fol. 158v: 'castellum, mundum'.

120. fol. 148v Lk 24:31 COGNOUERUNT: a *pta \overline{p} •*ds agno[...

For the final two words read 'deus agno<scitur>'. The preceding letters may represent some form of the opening words of Vg 24:31: 'accepit panem', or VLc, 'cum accepissent autem panem ab eo'. The glossator may have been drawn to comment on 'cognouerunt' because as it stands in Uss. it is defective, lacking an object such as 'eum' or 'illum'.

121. Lk 24:33 CONGREGATOS: s \overline{c} o s cre

Read 'sanctos cre<dentes>'.

122. fol. 149 Lk 24:42 PISCIS ASSI: sig pas xpi

Read 'sig<num> pas<sionis> Christi.' Cf. *Comm. in Lucam* 101, 100–1: 'Piscis iste Christus est. Assus autem igne passionis'; and BN lat. 1841, fol. 159: i. xps passus.

123. ibid. <F>AUUM MELLIS: cor• diuini

Read 'cor diuini<tatis>'. Cf. *Comm. in Lucam*, 101, 101: 'Et fauum mellis: Diuinitas est'.

Other Dry-Point Symbols

124. fol. 25 Mt 26:21 ME: (short vertical stroke above E)

125. fol. 36 Jn 2: 11–12 DISCIPULI SUI POST HOC: (X-symbol between SUI and POST)
Probably indicates the start of a new verse, as in Vg.

126. fol. 36v Jn 2: 19 RESUSCITAB<O>: (symbol \odot *infra*)
The same symbol occurs in the Cathach over the first or second word of each psalm; see CLA II, 266.

127. fol. 37 Jn 3: 14 OPORTET: (symbol \pm *infra*)

128. Jn 3: 16 ENIM: (symbol \mp *supra*)
This symbol may be the complement of gl 127, though the relationship between them is unclear.

129. fol. 38v Jn 3:30 CRESCERE: (symbol Δ *supra*)

130. fol. 78 Jn 21:22 DICT: (horizontal stroke above -C-)
Possibly intended to dissociate DICT (which begins a new verse) from QUID immediately preceding.

131. fol. 84v Lk 2:40 INPLEBATUR: (horizontal stroke above -P-)

132. fol. 108 Lk 10:7–8

IN EADEM DOMO MANETE
EDENTES ET BIBENTES QUAE APUD ILLOS SUNT
DIGNUS EST ENIM OPERARIUS MERCEDE SUA
NOLITE TRANSIRE DE DOMO IN DOMUM ET
IN QUACUMQUE CIUITATEM INTRAUERITIS

On the significance of these symbols, see above p. 6.

133. fol. 118 Lk 12:51 PUTATIS: (horizontal stroke above -A-)
Possibly to mark the vowel for correction to E.

134. Lk 12:52 ERUNT: (horizontal stroke *supra*)

135. fol. 119 Lk 13:7 AD CULTOREM: (symbol ∇ *supra*)

136. fol. 126 Lk 16: 16 ILLUD: (symbol \sim *supra*)
See gl 82.

137. fol. 129 Lk 17:30 REUELABITUR: (short vertical stroke above first -E-)
Possibly an accidental cut rather than a symbol.

Notes

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- 1 For William O'Sullivan's most recent article on Usserianus Primus, see n. 5. For a general survey of scholarship on the manuscript, see M.L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and Renaissance Latin manuscripts* (Aldershot 1991), pp. 101–102.
- 2 See Patrick McGurk, *Latin gospel-books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*, Les Publications de Scriptorium v (Paris-Brussels and Anvers-Amsterdam 1961), pp. 7–10.
- 3 Because most of the margins have been lost, the full dimensions of the page cannot be determined. For other early (pre-650) gospels with written space similar to Uss. 1, see McGurk, *ibid.*, nos 3, 93, 95, 97.
- 4 See P. McGurk, 'The Irish Pocket Gospel Book' in *Sacris Erudiri* viii (1956), pp. 249–70; and 'The gospel book in Celtic lands before AD 850: contents and arrangements', in *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission* ed P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Stuttgart 1987), pp. 165–79.
- 5 E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* [CLA] ii, no. 271 (2nd edn Oxford 1972). Lowe's date is generally accepted by palaeographers. See L. Bieler, 'Insular palaeography: present state and problems' in *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), pp. 267–94 (pp. 271 and 275); B. Bischoff, *Latin palaeography: antiquity and the middle ages* trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge 1990), p. 83; T.J. Brown, 'The Irish element in the Insular system of scripts to circa A. D. 850' in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* eds H. Löwe, 2 vols (Stuttgart 1982) i, pp. 101–19 (pp. 104–5); reprinted in *A palaeographer's view: The selected writings of Julian Brown* ed J. Bately, M.P. Brown, J. Roberts (London 1993), pp. 201–20. For a dissenting view, see W. O'Sullivan, 'The palaeographical background to the Book of Kells' in *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College Dublin 6–9 September 1992* ed. F. O'Mahony (Dublin 1994), pp. 175–82.
- 6 Brown, 'Irish element', pp. 104–5; see also Bischoff, *Latin palaeography*, pp. 82–3. O'Sullivan, 'The palaeographical background', p. 178, agrees on the similarities between the two scripts, but sees their common origins in a more formal, fifth-century half-uncial.
- 7 See E.A. Lowe, 'The oldest omission signs in Latin manuscripts: their origin and significance', in *Palaeographical Papers 1907–1975* ed L. Bieler, 2 vols (Oxford 1972) ii, pp. 349–80.
- 8 See A. Breen, 'A new Irish fragment of the *Continuatio* to Rufinus-Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica*' in *Scriptorium* xli (1987), pp. 185–204 (p. 198). On scientific attempts to determine the material of early medieval manuscripts, see A. di Majo et al., 'La pergamena dei codici altomedievali Italiani: indagine sulle specie animali utilizzate'

- in *Scriptorium* xxxix (1985), pp. 3–12, and 'Indagine sulla pergamena insulare (secoli vii–xvi)' in *Scriptorium* xlii (1988), pp. 131–9; and K. Ryan, 'Parchment as faunal record' in *MASCA Journal* iv, pt. 3 (1987), pp. 124–38.
- 9 Respectively, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C.26 Sup., and D.23 Sup.; see Cl.A iii, nos 312 and 328.
 - 10 Well known to biblical scholars by the siglum *r* 'see *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung, III: Lucas-Evangelium* ed. A. Jülicher (2nd impvd edn Berlin and New York 1976), p. vii. The full text of Uss. 1 is edited by T.K. Abbott, *Evangeliorum versio antehieronymiana ex codice Usseriano (Dublinensi), adjecta collatione codicis Usseriani alterius. Accedit versio vulgata sec. cod. Amiatinum, cum varietate Cod. Kenanensis (Book of Kells), et Cod. Durmachensis (Book of Durrow)* 2 vols (Dublin 1884). Abbott's edition is valuable not only because it achieves a high level of accuracy but also because it preserves marginal text now covered by the mounting of the leaves.
 - 11 A. Dold, *Das Sakramentar im Schabcodex M 12 sup. der Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Texte und Arbeiten herausgegeben durch die Erzabtei Beuron* xliii (Beuron in Hohenzollern 1952), pp. 39–45; Bonifatius Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (Freiburg 1985), pp. 82, 196 and 408; and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte* (Freiburg 1986), pp. 203, n. 113.
 - 12 Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, pp. 82, 196, and 408, 'doch eher Irland als Bobbio'.
 - 13 A similar southern Gallican strain of Old Latin readings is evident in the Psalter text of the Springmount Wax Tablets.
 - 14 See McGurk, *Latin gospel-books*, p. 13.
 - 15 See C.D. Verey, 'Some observations on the texts of the Durham Cathedral MSS A. II. 10 and A. II. 17' in *Studia Evangelica* ed. E.A. Livingstone, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* cxii (Berlin 1973), pp. 575–9 (p. 576); and 'The gospel texts at Lindisfarne at the time of St Cuthbert' in *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200* ed. G. Bonner et al. (Woodbridge 1989), pp. 143–50 (pp. 145–6).
 - 16 See P. Doyle, 'The Latin Bible in Ireland: its origins and growth' in *Biblical studies: the medieval Irish contribution* ed. M. McNamara, *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* i (Dublin 1976), pp. 30–45 (p. 36). I have not seen Doyle's unpublished dissertation, 'A study of the text of St Matthew's Gospel in the Book of Mulling and of the palaeography of the whole manuscript', (National University of Ireland, Dublin 1967).
 - 17 See S. Berger, 'De quatre manuscrits des évangiles conservés à Dublin' in *Revue Celtique* vi (1883–5), pp. 348–57 (p. 355).
 - 18 See B. Bischoff, 'Neue Materialien zum Bestand und zur Geschichte der altlateinischen Bibelübersetzungen' in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, *Studi e Testi* cxxi (Vatican City 1946), pp. 407–36 (pp. 425–7).
 - 19 See Berger, 'De quatre manuscrits', p. 351; and A. Cordoliani, 'Le texte de la Bible en Irlande du Ve au IXe siècle: étude sur les manuscrits' in *Revue Biblique* lvii (1950), pp. 5–39, who characterizes Uss. 1 as representative of 'le texte irlandais primitif' (p. 8).

- 19a Apparently the first person in modern times to notice these glosses was James William Barlow, Professor of Modern History at Trinity College Dublin (1860–93), who inserted at the end of the manuscript an 'Index to the Quatuor Evangelia' (dated Nov. 30th, 1854) and noted four folios with 'scratchings'. (I owe the identification of Professor Barlow to Dr Bernard Meehan.)
- 20 Über Einritzungen in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters', in *Mittelalterliche Studien* ed. B. Bischoff (Stuttgart 1966), I, pp. 88–92.
- 21 M. McCormick, *Five-hundred unknown glosses from the Palatine Virgil* (*The Vatican Library, MS. Pal. lat. 1631*), *Studi e testi* cccxliii (Vatican City 1992). I owe this reference to Dr D. Ganz.
- 22 See CLA IV, no. 457; Lowe dates the manuscript, 'saec. VII', and attributes the dry-point glosses to a 'somewhat later Irish hand'.
- 23 I am grateful to Professor Gearóid Mac Eoin for this information.
- 24 In a hand probably from the second quarter of the twelfth century. They seem to be scribal cues for corrections; e.g. at fol. 7a, the dry-point gloss *an* in the margin corresponds to the correction *AN* in the main Latin text of Calcidius.
- 25 On *craxare*, see M. Herren, 'Insular Latin *C(h)araxare* (*Craxare*) and its derivatives' in *Peritia* i (1982), pp. 273–80.
- 26 For example, the *t* in gl 7; the *-es* in gl 29; the *-r* in gl 30.
- 26a See McCormick, *Vatican glosses*, pp. 7–8 and n. 19. Despite these problems McCormick was able to capture unique photographs of some of the dry-point glosses; see pls 1–16 in his edition.
- 27 Probably the effect of keeping the manuscript in a *cumdach* or shrine; see O'Sullivan, 'Palaeographical background', p. 175.
- 28 In a few instances the staining has actually made a dry-point gloss clearer, e.g. gl 9.
- 29 See pp. 8–9 above for evidence.
- 30 Especially noticeable in the glosses on Matthew, but also elsewhere, e.g. gll. 26, 28, 31, 32, 42, 68, 81, 114. On gl. 2, arguably a special case, see p. 8 above.
- 31 See R.I. Page, 'More Old English scratched glosses' in *Anglia* xcvi (1979), pp. 27–45.
- 32 Clusters of these glosses occur at fols 27–34 (Mt 26:53 to Jn 1:19); fols 46v–51v (Jn 6:47 to 8:34); fols 78v and 79 (Lk 1:1–20); fols 83v–85v (Lk 2:20–3:10); fols 143–4 (Lk 23), some of them apparently entered as two lines of text.
- 33 Doubtful are gll 9, 25, 104–7.
- 34 They are discussed below; see especially under the letters *e* and *i*.
- 35 Three exceptions are gll 7, 23 and 75. On the glossator's use of the mid-point dot, see p. 5 above.
- 36 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 29 *Sup.*; illustrated in CLA III, no. 328 (fol. 5).
- 37 CLA III, no. 312.
- 38 In contrast with the main text and the Rufinus-Eusebius fragment; see Breen, 'A new Irish fragment', p. 197.
- 39 Though not in gl 58 and 119 which have *et* with a more rounded *e* and no trace of a ligature.
- 40 See Breen, 'A new Irish fragment', pl. 13, and F.E. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*. Henry Bradshaw Society iv, x, 2 vols (London, 1893–95) i (facsimile).

- 41 Cf. the Rufinus-Eusebius fragment where *r* is 'readily distinguishable from *n*'; Breen, 'A new Irish fragment', p. 198.
- 42 See D. Ó Cróinín, 'Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 61 and Hiberno-Latin exegesis in the VIIIth century' in *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert: Traube-Gedenkschrift* ed. A. Lechner and W. Berschin (St Ottilien 1989), pp. 208–16 (p. 215).
- 43 A similar point occurs in the Rufinus-Eusebius fragment and in the St Gallen Isidore fragment; see Breen, 'A new Irish fragment', p. 19.
- 44 On the first pair, see M. Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und altenglische Wortstellung' in *Scriptorium* xxxiv (1980), pp. 18–58 (p. 26 n. 47); on the second, M. Draak, 'The higher teaching of Latin grammar in Ireland during the ninth century' in *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie* 30 (1967), pp. 109–44, who refers (p. 137) to 'the principle of alteration' between two symbols of one 'variety'.
- 45 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris Erudiri* vi (1954), pp. 189–281; rev. edn in *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (Stuttgart 1966), pp. 205–73 (p. 211); transl. C. O'Grady, 'Turning-points in the history of Latin exegesis in the Early Irish Church', in M. McNamara, *Biblical Studies*, pp. 73–164 (p. 79). The latter (abbreviated 'Turning-Points') is the version hereafter referred to in the present paper.
- 46 See A. Vaccari, 'Notulae Patristicae' in *Gregorianum* xlii (1961), pp. 725–8.
- 47 See 'Turning-Points', pp. 85, 117 (no. 17 i) and 134 (no. 29), respectively.
- 48 The possibility that he might have coined the phrase on this occasion seems unlikely; if he had, one might have expected him to write it in full.
- 49 On these commentaries see 'Turning-Points', nos 11, 29 and 30; and *A bibliography of Celtic-Latin literature, 400–1200* ed. M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe (Dublin 1985) nos 341, 782 and 773, respectively. For specific parallels to no. 11, see gll 41, 44, 65, 86, 87, 90; to no. 29, see gll 31, 74, 89, 112, 122; to no. 30, see gll 24, 28, 29, 37, 45, 46, 50, 56, 74, 113, 122, 123. The fact that there is some overlap in correspondences strengthens the case for a shared tradition of Hiberno-Latin interpretations. For a survey of Hiberno-Latin exegesis on Luke, see J.F. Kelly, 'The Hiberno-Latin study of the Gospel of Luke', in McNamara, *Biblical Studies*, pp. 10–29.
- 50 Not including three instances of grammatical correction to the main text, gll 27, 92, 99.
- 51 For direct emendations, see gll 20, 42, 60, 72, 77, 80, 81, 93, 97; for alternative readings, see gll 17, 53 (?), 68, 71, 76, 82, 88, 92, 95, 96, 98, 103 (?), 104 (?), 105, 107, 111. The distinction proposed here between direct textual emendation and alternative reading is based on whether the glossator emends the main text (by inserting deletion marks, by squeezing in a new letter) or simply provides another reading to accompany that of the main text.
- 52 The exceptions are gll 82 and 97.
- 53 Cf. *Regula*, c. 18, v. 24, *per septimanae circulum*, referring to the weekly pensum of the Divine Office.
- 54 See above, p. 7 and nn. 51 and 52.

55 See n. 16.

56 Since Uss. 1 preserves a complete text of Luke, virtually complete texts of John and Mark, and more than half of Matthew (15:14–28:5), with almost all of the latter unglossed, it seems likely that these figures represent the true extent of glossing.

57 See 'Turning-Points', p. 135.

58 See, for example, J.F.T. Kelly, 'Das Bibelwerk: Organization and Quellenanalyse of the New Testament section' in *Irland und die Christenheit*, pp. 113–23 (p. 115).

59 See E.C. Ratcliff, 'The Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon Missae: its beginnings and early background' in *Studia Patristica* ii, ed. K. Aland and F. L. Cross (1957), pp. 64–82. See also McGurk, *Latin gospel-books*, p. 27 and appendix v, who notes that the beginning of Matthew's Passion is 'given much prominence' (with large initials) in certain manuscripts; but so too are the parallel accounts of the Passion in the other Gospels.

60 The relatively small dimensions of Uss. 1 would have made it portable and consequently useful to a teacher.

61 See n. 49 above.

62 On the popularity of this format among Irish exegetes, see J. F. Kelly, *Commentarium in Lucam*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina [CCSL] 138C (1974), p. ix.

63 On the date of this work, see B. Griesser, 'Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Expositio IV Evangeliorum des Ps. Hieronymus' in *Revue Bénédictine* xlix (1937), pp. 279–321 (p. 321).

64 The spelling *c* for *ch* is attested in the seventh-century Cambrai Homily, e.g. 'din cenelu', 'ar cruich', 'tre cenele' (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 2 vols, ed. W. Stokes and J. Strachan [Cambridge, 1901–3] 1, pp. 244, 23–4; 246, 29; and 247, 21, respectively); and in a stratum of Old Irish glosses (*prima manus*) dating from c. 700 in an eighth-century Würzburg codex (Wb) of the Pauline Epistles, e.g. Wb 7a7 'tuercomlassat', 17d15 'aincis', 23d22 'adcumbe'. On the absence of the glide vowel *a* in earlier Old Irish spelling, see R. Thurneysen, *A grammar of Old Irish* transl. D. A. Binchy and O. Bergin (Dublin 1946) §102.5.

65 See Thurneysen, *ibid.* §66; and F. Kelly, 'Notes on the Irish words' in *The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh* ed. L. Bieler (Dublin 1980), p. 243.

66 'Turning-Points', p. 79.

67 The closest competitor would be the Old Irish phrases in the Bangor Antiphonary. Glossing in Old English (first attested in Theodore of Tarsus's commentary on the Old Testament) may date from the final quarter of the seventh century, but the evidence is preserved in an eighth-century manuscript.

68 Korhammer, 'Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen', p. 32, identifies the earliest witnesses as Irish manuscripts from the late eighth century.

The Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter (with a note on Harley 2788)

Bernard Meehan

A group of manuscripts produced in northern France in the second half of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century has long been recognised as containing elements of script and decoration which draw on a diversity of Byzantine, Merovingian and insular sources, the latter influence deriving from Irish missionary activity in the area from the sixth century onwards. The Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 18),¹ produced around the year 800, is an important member of the group, along with the Gellone Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 12048); Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 17; the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, WLB: Bibl. fol. 23); a decorated text of St Augustine (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 12168) which Porcher considered was made in imitation of the style of an insular gospel book; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 13159, many of the initials of which were, in E.A. Lowe's words, 'manifestly copied from insular originals'.² It is not clear whether the Corbie Psalter was produced at Corbie itself or at a neighbouring house.³ The monastery of Corbie was founded in the middle of the seventh century with monks from Luxeuil, one of St Columbanus's first foundations in Europe after he left Bangor, county Down. Corbie remained, Ganz has commented, 'an important stopping point for travellers to and from the British Isles, as the lives of the Irish saints confirm',⁴ while other Irish contacts with northern France were centred on the nearby monasteries of Péronne, founded by St Fursa in the seventh century, and St Riquier (Centula).⁵

As long ago as 1939, Micheli remarked that certain of the zoomorphic motifs of the Corbie Psalter '*composées de quadrupèdes entrelacés au corps étiré, sont d'inspiration insulaire*',⁶ while in 1967 Françoise Henry noticed the strong Byzantine connections and influence of these manuscripts and their decorative combination of 'the Merovingian fashion of fish-and-bird initials ... with obsessive insular traditions imposing the use of interlacings, animal interlacings and a certain tendency to abstract decoration'.⁷ In her 1974 study of the Book of Kells, Henry drew attention to specific decorative features which the Corbie Psalter shares with the Book of Kells, concluding that the artist of the Corbie Psalter 'uses motifs of Insular decoration, chiefly interlace and animal interlace. But he involves them in compositions which are new to insular art, some of which appear also in the Book of Kells'.⁸ She reproduced several such examples from the Corbie Psalter, without detailed comment, and published her own line drawings of the letters *In* of *Inludabant* from Kells 283r and the initial *N* of *Nisi* from Corbie 108r to illustrate the similarities.⁹ She remarked also on the use in both manuscripts of a motif derived from

Byzantine manuscripts, 'the Byzantine blessing hand',¹⁰ providing an example from the Corbie Psalter folio 63r – 'faithfully reproduced', as she said, from its model – and comparing this with the use of a similar motif in Kells 58v. It should be pointed out, in passing, that in Kells 58v the artist has drawn a foot rather than a hand. A similar device appears in a detail of the Book of Kells folio 89r, where a horseman points to a passage of text with his foot.

Other similarities between the Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter were noted in the *Proceedings* of the 1992 conference on the Book of Kells. Christian de Méirindol used the occurrence of the motif of mutual beard-pulling which appears in several pages of the Book of Kells (notably in an initial on folio 253v) and in the Corbie Psalter folio 73r as the starting point of a study of the diffusion of the motif up to the Romanesque period.¹¹ Peter Harbison noted a similarity between the initial *M* of the *Magnificat* in the Corbie Psalter folio 136v and the initial of the same word in Kells 191v.¹² Here, however, the similarity is apparent only in the general shape of the letter, there being a closer resemblance between the *M* of Kells 191v and the initial *M* of *Misericordias* in the Corbie Psalter folio 80r (plates 1 and 2).

It is possible to add substantially to these examples of decorative content and technique common to the Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter, particularly in examining the zoomorphic formation of letters. In Corbie 68v, two peacocks (so identified from their crests) form the uprights of an initial *A*, with a snake helping to form the bar of the letter, in a style little altered from its Merovingian antecedents,¹³ while on other pages of the Corbie Psalter, differing combinations of animals make up the same letter. On folio 23v, for example, the initial *A* of the phrase *Ad te domine clamabo* (Ps. 27.1) is composed of a peacock and a fish. This is similar in content, though not in form, to a spectacular detail of Kells 253v,¹⁴ and again seems to be a static, prosaic version of an earlier model. In Kells, broadly similar examples of the initial *A* are frequently composed of lions, drawn with a fluidity and inventiveness not matched by the Corbie Psalter. In initial *As* in Kells 116v and 273r, two elongated lions embrace or grapple. On 255v (line 5) a lion and a man are combined with a bird, and on 269v the letter is formed ingeniously from a single lion. In Corbie 86r, two sets of confronting birds, less easily identifiable but probably again peacocks, form the bars of an *E*, in a manner similar to details of Kells 2r and 285v.¹⁵ Other animal motifs appear in the two manuscripts. In versions of a late classical device, peacocks consume grapes from chalices in the Corbie Psalter folio 40r, while birds which are probably to be understood as doves do likewise on 55v, and again in the initial letter of *Beatus* on 95r. The same motifs run through the Book of Kells.¹⁶ On Corbie 75r, a peacock stands on a snake, an image which refers to Psalm 90.13, 'Thou shalt walk upon the asp',¹⁷ and is reminiscent of a detail of Kells 8r. In the Corbie Psalter folio 20v, four interlaced birds (doves or perhaps ducks) rotate within the bowl of the letter *D* (plate 4). This common insular motif resembles strongly the three birds within the bowl of a *Q* in Kells 152v, where, however, there is a greater sense of movement (plate 3). Both in Kells 152v and in Corbie 20v, another bird is pictured above the letter. Henry illustrated a similar initial *D* from the Corbie Psalter folio 33v.¹⁸

A form of allusive, indirect illustration is employed occasionally in the Book of Kells. On folio 67r, for example, a cock and hens appear to illustrate the parable of the seed and the sower. In the Corbie Psalter folio 94r, similarly, a hound suckles her young at the

opening of Psalm 109, a text which contains the phrase *ex utero ante luciferum genui te* ('from the womb before the day-star I begot thee'). An illustrative intent is more frequently clear in the decoration of Corbie than it is in Kells. In Corbie 14r a figure clutches a cross, in a direct example of the grasping or consuming of the symbols of Christ which is such a dominant feature of the Gellone Sacramentary and which may be interpreted in a detail of Kells 96r.¹⁹ To take another example, on folio 29r of the Corbie Psalter, a helmeted warrior with a spear and shield points to an appropriate word in the text: *pugna*. On 81r, a man blows a trumpet to signify the praise of God contained in Psalm 95.

In the decoration of both manuscripts there is a tendency to draw attention to the mouth. The mouths of the peacock and the snake touch in Corbie 75r, an image to which reference has been made above. In Kells 19v (at the centre of the lower section of the *Z* of *Zachariae*) a peacock bites the lower jaw of a lion. At the foot of Kells 111r, a peacock's head is within the mouth of a lion, a motif which is repeated several times in the zoomorphic interlace of Kells 200r. In Corbie 113v, two men are depicted with their own beards in their mouths. They are similar to two men in Kells 201v, and to the man biting his own hair in Kells 68v. Another figure in Corbie 113v has a strand of foliage in his mouth (plate 6); similar to a figure in Kells 53v who holds an interlacing tendril in his mouth (plate 5). Tongues, drawn in more or less stylised forms, emanate from the mouths of various creatures, particularly lions, in these manuscripts. What might lie behind this device, which was common in both earlier and later periods, remains to be determined with certainty. It seems to be in accord with the last words of Christ's ancestor David, 'The spirit of the Lord hath spoken by me, and his word by my tongue' (2 Kings 23.2), the lion, symbol of the house of Judah, representing David in this context. The tongues are frequently presented as foliage, recalling a phrase from Proverbs 15.4: 'A peaceable tongue is a tree of life'.²⁰

Other instances where attention is drawn to the mouth are more precisely at points where the text indicates it to be appropriate. In the Corbie Psalter folio 67v there is a depiction of Mary with an angel, who holds a finger in Mary's mouth at the phrase *Voce mea ad Dominum clamaui* (Ps. 76.2). In Corbie 92r, a man holds his finger in the mouth of a fish or dolphin, at the phrase *Paratum cor meum Deus paratum cor meum cantabo* (Ps. 107.2) (plate 8). On Corbie 92v, a snake and a man appear to have their tongues in each other's mouths at the phrase *Os peccatoris* (Ps. 108.2).²¹ In Corbie 23v, a bird's beak is in a fish's mouth at the opening of the phrase *Ad te Domine clamabo* (Ps. 27.2). Similar representations occur in the Book of Kells. In Kells 252v line 4, for example, two lions form the first two letters of the word *Dicebat* (Lk. 16.1), both lions holding their paws to their mouths (plate 7). In Kells 83v, another two lions perform the same action, the words *dixit* and *dicat* appearing in the verses above (Mt. 18. 21–2).²² On Kells 117r, a lion bites his own rear paw at the beginning of the phrase *Tunc ait illi ihs* (Mt. 26.52). On Kells 274v, a lion helping to form the word *Dico* (Lk. 22.16) does the same. In Kells 254r two lions compose the initial letter of the word *Omnis* (Lk. 16.18). The hind paw of one is placed in the mouth of the other, whose own hind paw touches the tongue of his companion, but on this occasion no word referring directly to speech appears in the verse, which concerns adultery. In a similar example on Kells 260r, a lion touches his tongue with his hind paw. The text refers, however, not to speech but to hearing, since the lion forms the first letter of the phrase *Hic ille auditis* (Lk. 18.23). Such an example

serves to demonstrate a certain indifference on the part of the artists of the Book of Kells towards connecting text and image directly.

One palaeographical feature common to the two manuscripts may be noted. In several pages of the Book of Kells, elements of the decoration were in place before the completion of the script.²³ The same practice occurs in the Corbie Psalter, on folios 7r and 25r, as Ganz has observed,²⁴ and perhaps in addition on folio 81r.

Further parallels between aspects of the decoration of the Corbie Psalter and the Book of Kells may assist in the understanding of certain stylistic and iconographical features of the decoration of the Book of Kells which have not to date attracted detailed comment. The decoration of folio 188r has posed particular problems of interpretation (plate 9). On this page, human figures are engaged in a variety of activities among the last four letters of the word *Quoniam*, at the opening of St Luke's gospel (plate 10). Not all of these activities can easily be explained in terms of Christian iconography,²⁵ nor do they accord in an entirely satisfactory way with themes suggested for the page as a whole. Françoise Henry felt that the page contains an indirect depiction of the Harrowing of Hell or the Descent into Limbo, a scene 'frequently represented in Byzantine painting, though in a much more matter-of-fact way'.²⁶ George Henderson agreed substantially with this interpretation, while remarking on the general resemblance of the figure style to that of the eighth-century Franks casket.²⁷ A scene of the entry of the damned into the jaws of Hell in a late eighth- or early ninth-century ivory carving of the Last Judgement (Victoria and Albert Museum 253: 1867) can be compared directly with the detail in Kells 188r of two figures whose heads are held within the mouths of lions. The parallel even extends to the resemblance between the crescent border which encloses the damned in the ivory and the shape of the *a* of *Quoniam*. Françoise Henry regarded the Victoria and Albert ivory, incidentally, as having several features in common with manuscripts from the Amiens region.²⁸ Similar, though later, depictions of the damned entering the mouth of Hell appear on the twelfth-century carved tympanum of the church of Sainte-Foy at Conques, and in a thirteenth-century stained-glass window at Saint-Etienne, Bourges.²⁹ At the top of folio 188r, the open mouth of a lion looms above another member of the damned, a headless one, as the figure itself was left undrawn by the artist. The act is observed by an audience of another two figures who lie sideways in the panel below. Further confirmation that the scene in Kells 188r depicts the descent into Hell is provided by an image in the Corbie Psalter folio 110r of a figure held by the ankles being lowered head first into the mouth of a beast (plate 11). Clearly the image is intended to represent Hell, since it accompanies the text of Psalm 129, which begins 'De profundis clamavi'.³⁰ It resembles those heads within the letter *N* of Kells 188r which hang down in a manner which anatomically is so contorted as to indicate that the whole figure is inverted. A similar device occurs in the lower right corner-piece of the Book of Kells folio 27v, where the necks of the four figures are greatly elongated in order to accommodate the unnatural position of their heads. In 188r, a further figure is placed upside down in a ten-figure panel at the top of the page. The disposition of these figures in the Book of Kells 188r seems to provide an oblique allusion to the theme of the descent into Hell, in contrast to the explicit rendering of the Corbie Psalter and other sources. The five figures whose heads and shoulders appear above the letters *am* refer to the theme of the Last Judgement, being strongly reminiscent of the twelve Apostles, arrayed in two lines of six, in the Last Judgement

scene of St Gall MS 51 p 267.³¹ The outer left figure is missing from the version in Kells 188r, as its place is occupied by the top of the letter *i*.³²

The Corbie Psalter may again assist in the interpretation of a detail of the Book of Kells folio 124r, a page which reads *TUNC CRU / CIFIXERANT XPI CUM / EO DU / OSLA / TRONES* (Mt. 27.38) (plate 12). The significance of this passage is reinforced by its decoration. The last five words form a cross, while three inset panels contain groups of five profile figures, each group arranged as a quincunx in a cruciform formation (plate 13), looking across to the page opposite, folio 123v.³³ This page is blank (apart from modern scribbles) but it was originally planned that it should contain a depiction of the Crucifixion.³⁴ A disc is placed between the heads of the top pairs of figures in each panel, a puzzling device for which no published explanation has been offered. The discs in the lower two panels are red, while the top disc is smaller and light brown in colour, with a black dot in its centre. Similar discs are placed on the tunics of several of the figures. Though they lack a pin, they presumably represent brooches, being similar to those worn by figures in the bottom panel of the east face of the broken cross at Kells, where the baptism of Christ is represented.³⁵ The cross at Moone provides another strong resemblance, to the five heads as well as to the discs placed between the men's heads. At the base of the south side of that cross is a carving of the multiplication of the loaves and the fishes, in which the loaves are represented as five round objects arranged in a cruciform configuration.³⁶

More precise parallels to the device between the heads of the figures appear in the Corbie Psalter. In Corbie folio 73r, firstly, two men crouch inside the bowl of a *Q* at the opening to Psalm 79, each pulling the other's beard, a stylised gesture which may relate to verse 7 of that Psalm, 'our enemies have scoffed at us: *inimici nostri subsannaverunt nos*' (plate 14). Between their heads is a circle, which forms a detail of the internal decoration of the outline of the letter, resembling in this respect the Virgin's halo in Kells 7v or St John's halo in 291v, a device borrowed from Byzantine models.³⁷ Another close parallel to the discs of Kells 124r appears in an illustrative feature of the Corbie Psalter folio 123v, where a stone slung by David at Goliath has landed high on the giant's head (plate 15).³⁸ The larger discs of Kells 124r resemble David's stone in shape and scale. David's encounter with Goliath is known from other insular sources. It appears on several of the Irish high crosses, and in the tenth-century psalter BL Cotton Vitellius F. XI fol 1r.³⁹ As a relatively common theme, it may well have been familiar to the artists of the Book of Kells.

What additional themes might the discs in Kells 124r, or the circle between the heads of the beard-pullers in Corbie 73r have brought to mind for an audience familiar with a broad range of Christian symbolism? It may be suggested that these devices refer symbolically to the early and widespread image of Christ represented as the Lamb of God in conjunction with a cross. This theme appears on folio 2v of the Corbie Psalter, where the Lamb of God is borne by an angel, an image derived ultimately from the pagan theme of Victory holding a wreath, and so suggesting the victory of Christ over death.⁴⁰ While Roger Stalley has pointed out that the Lamb of God is carved within a roundel on the west face of the cross of Sts Patrick and Columba at Kells but is absent from the Book itself,⁴¹ it may be that the theme is presented in folio 124r, though in an indirect manner,⁴² the cross being formed by the groups of five heads, and the Lamb being suggested by the

discs. This interpretation is supported by comparison with a sixth-century mural in the sanctuary of the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, where a scene of the Transfiguration is merged with an image of the cross at the centre of an enormous roundel. The face of Christ, itself surrounded by a halo composed of circles, is at the centre of the cross, while lambs form a dominant feature of the surrounding scene.⁴³ The figure of Christ within a roundel or halo was a common device in Byzantine icons, inspired by the style of late Roman portraiture such as was employed in metalwork and consular diptychs.⁴⁴ In a seventh-century icon of Sts Serge and Bacchus from the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai, for example, Christ's face appears as a small roundel between the nimbed heads of the two saints, recalling strongly the image in Kells 124r.⁴⁵ Similarly, fourth-century Roman bowls show Sts Peter and Paul flanking the christogram inscribed within a circle.⁴⁶ A manuscript like the Book of Kells drew on a system of symbolism so long established and so clearly understood that elements from it could be used in an allusive manner. In other words, the conjunction of lamb, circle and cross was so commonly seen and accepted as a symbol of Christ that in Kells 124r a solidly coloured disc could function as a further reminder of the cross and so of Christ's passion and triumph over death.

Similar allusions to the central preoccupation of the cross may be embedded elsewhere in the decoration of the Book of Kells. The discs in 124r resemble strikingly the red disc to the left of the temple in the Temptation page of the Book of Kells (folio 202v), and also the shields of the spearsmen on folio 4r top left and right, where an allusion seems to be made to the Crucifixion, cross-referring to the theme of folio 124r.⁴⁷

The decoration of the Book of Kells has not as yet been subjected to the detailed description and analysis which is necessary to understand fully the intentions of its artists. Comparisons with the Corbie Psalter are instructive, as the Amiens manuscript seems to retain certain decorative elements and illustrative themes presented in a manner which is clear and unambiguous, whereas the decoration of the Book of Kells frequently takes a more cryptic form. It is clear that a motif or illustration used at one place and time could be copied, adapted or transformed in a different context. As Porcher demonstrated, Carolingian artists in Reims felt able to borrow themes from the *Physiologus* and place them out of context in other works.⁴⁸ In the case of the Book of Kells, some obscurities in the decoration, such as, for example, the interlinear wolf on folio 76v, may perhaps best be explained in this way as borrowings from inappropriate sources. Yet, it seems likely that further unexplained aspects of the decoration of the Book of Kells might be elucidated through a fuller study of contemporary continental manuscripts.⁴⁹ One example of such an obscurity occurs in the Book of Kells folio 187v, at the conclusion of St Mark's gospel. The text is arranged within the upper and lower triangles formed by a St Andrew's cross. On the right side of the cross is a winged lion, while on the left side of the cross is a winged human figure holding a book. This figure is identified in red ink on folio 187v as 'angelus domini' ('the angel of the Lord'). Despite the identification, the figure has generally been regarded by commentators as a depiction of the Man, symbol of St Matthew, in conjunction with the lion, symbol of St Mark.⁵⁰ Françoise Henry made the supplementary suggestion that the original intention of the artist may have been that the page should carry an image of the Ascension, the subject of the text of folio 187v, 'such as is found in the Turin Gospels, where the *angelus Domini* would have his normal place and that this scheme was forestalled by an unforeseen overflow of the text'.⁵¹ A different

iconographic intention behind the figure in Kells 187v is suggested by an image in the Harley Golden Gospels (British Library, Harley 2788), a Carolingian gospel book probably made late in the eighth century.⁵² Folio 109r of the Harley manuscript carries the opening words of St Luke's gospel. The bowl of the *Q* of *Quoniam* takes the form of a large roundel, enclosing a depiction of the 'angelus domini' appearing to 'Zacharias', both figures identified thus. On either side of the main roundel are the heads and shoulders of 'Elizabeth' and 'Maria'. The image is clearly an illustration of an episode at the opening of St Luke's gospel (Lk 1. 5–20), Zachariah's vision of the angel Gabriel and the angel's announcement of the impending birth of St John the Baptist. The 'angelus domini' of Kells 187v, which faced the opening of St Luke's gospel on 188r, may perhaps best be understood in this context, as referring to an episode which was to be described close to the opening of Luke. That few depictions of the scene seem to have survived from the period⁵³ serves to illustrate the depth and variety of the sources and models available to the artists of the Book of Kells and to emphasise the extent of the losses suffered by the great Irish monastic libraries.⁵⁴

Notes

- 1 The Corbie Psalter contains the Gallican version of the psalter, followed by Canticles (those of Exodus and Habbabuk giving the old and the new version). Additions are made in praise of the Emperor, and can thus be dated later than 800: see Jean Porcher, 'L'Evangélaire de Charlemagne et le Psautier d'Amiens' in *Revue des Arts* 7 (1957), pp. 50–8. David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia, Band 20 (Sigmaringen 1990), p. 133 provides a description and secondary references. For Ganz, the artist of Amiens 18 was the artist who worked on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13025, which, like Amiens 18, has 'superb and unique figured initials', while that artist also worked on but did not finish Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4884. See also Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland. An Iconographical and Photographic Survey* (3 vols, Bonn 1992) i, pp. 320–1. For comparisons between the Corbie Psalter and Irish high crosses, Martin Werner, 'Crucifigi, Sepulti, Suscitati ...', *The Book of Kells. Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, ed. Felicity O'Mahony (Scholar Press, for Trinity College Library Dublin 1994), pp. 450–88, at p. 487 [hereafter *Kells conference*]; Ulrich Kuder, *Die initialen des Amienspsalter (Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 18)* unpublished PhD thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (1977). My thanks are due to the Bibliothèque Municipale d'Amiens, in particular to M. Jean Vilbas, Conservateur des fonds anciens, for permitting study of the Corbie Psalter in June 1994 and for permission to reproduce the accompanying plates from the manuscript.
- 2 E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* ([CLA], Oxford 1950) v, no. 652; Jean Porcher, 'La peinture provinciale (régions occidentales)', *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben. Band III. Karolingische Kunst*, eds Wolfgang Braunfels and Hermann Schnitzler (Düsseldorf 1965), pp. 54–73, at pp. 59–61.

- 3 See Porcher, 'L'Évangélaire de Charlemagne', p. 54.
- 4 Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 41.
- 5 For the background, see Françoise Henry, *Irish art during the Viking invasions: 800–1020 AD* (London 1967), pp. 39–40; Françoise Henry, *The Book of Kells: reproductions from the manuscript in Trinity College Dublin* (London 1974), pp. 215–18; Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 15; Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne* (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 1994), p. 27; Porcher, 'L'Évangélaire de Charlemagne', p. 55.
- 6 G.L. Micheli, *L'Enluminure du haut moyen âge et les influences irlandaises* (Brussels 1939), p. 86. Her remarks continue, '... de longs animaux liés entre eux par des entrelacs se détachent sur un fond sombre ponctué de blanc; ailleurs, d'étranges petits quadrupèdes aux queues nouées, des oiseaux qui se suivent pattes et becs entre-croisés, s'inscrivent dans la boucle de l'initiale. A côté de ces animaux désarticulés, d'autres gardent leurs formes pleins: chienne allaitant son petit, la queue saisie par un dragon ... La lettre historiée ... predomine; les personnages n'ont pas une valeur purement narrative ... mais ils sont liés intimement à la structure de la lettre ... Cette oeuvre capitale dans l'histoire de l'enluminure, à laquelle il faudrait consacrer une étude complète, montre comment un style encore mérovingien dans son essence même, teinté fortement de celticisme, contient en germe des formes qui s'épanouiront à nouveau à l'époque romane.'
- 7 Henry, *Irish art during the Viking invasions*, p. 65.
- 8 Henry, *The Book of Kells*, p. 215. Henry was cautious on the possible influence of Carolingian on insular art, a question also left open by J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular manuscripts, 6th to the 9th century* (London 1978), p. 16. Corbie folios 22r, 56r contain examples of initial *I* with simple interlace and animal terminal.
- 9 Henry, *The Book of Kells*, p. 216. Closely similar letter formations can also be observed in Kells 256v and 257v.
- 10 See L. Brubaker, 'The introduction of painted initials in Byzantium' in *Scriptorium* 45 (1991), pp. 22–46, at pp. 37–8.
- 11 'Du Livre de Kells et du Psautier de Corbie à l'art roman: origine, diffusion et le signification du thème des personnages se saisissant à la barbe', *Kells conference*, pp. 290–300, at p. 290. Other occurrences in the Book of Kells include the top left corner-piece of 27v, and top right on 188r. See Bernard Meehan, *The Book of Kells. An illustrated introduction to the manuscript in Trinity College Dublin* (London 1994), plates 43–4, 90, 93. Beard-pulling is featured on the underside of the ring of the west side of the market cross at Kells itself, and at the base of the shaft on the north side of Muiredach's cross at Monasterboice (see *Kells conference*, pls. 94, 95).
- 12 Peter Harbison, 'High crosses and the Book of Kells', *Kells conference*, pp. 266–9, at p. 267.
- 13 See Micheli, *L'Enluminure du haut moyen âge*, pl. 125. Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century. The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 50–4 discusses the Merovingian style of initial in insular manuscripts.

- 14 Henry, *The Book of Kells*, pl. 123; Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, p. 65.
- 15 See Micheli, *L'Enluminure du haut moyen âge*, pl. 123; Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, pls. 65, 71.
- 16 See Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 57–63.
- 17 See Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, pl. 67.
- 18 Henry, *The Book of Kells*, p. 219, fig. 71 (top right).
- 19 Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, pl. 81.
- 20 In an Egyptian limestone frieze of the fifth or sixth century now in the Liverpool Museum, a lion, placed within an inhabited vine-scroll, holds the vine in its mouth. See *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* [British Museum catalogue], ed. David Buckton (London 1994), p. 65 no. 54.
- 21 Reproduced in *Kells conference*, pl. 112. A number of later parallels can be found, in, for example, a late twelfth-century English chess piece (a rook) in the British Museum (M&LA 81, 3–8, 1. BM Ivories 33) in which two beasts (lions?) embrace, their tongues in each other's mouths. John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus. A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols, vol 1, Introduction (London 1994), p. 151 plate 94 shows a peacock with its beak in a fish's mouth, forming the letter *D*, in a tenth-century *Biblia Hispanense*, Madrid, Bibl. Nac., MS Vit. 13–1 fol 201v.
- 22 Reproduced in *Kells conference*, pl. 24.
- 23 *The Book of Kells*, MS 58, Trinity College Library Dublin: commentary, ed. Peter Fox (Faksimile Verlag Luzern 1990, henceforth *Kells commentary*), p. 255.
- 24 Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 133. The rubrics were generally written after the decoration of the page, to judge from those on folios 77v, 79r, 106v and 133r.
- 25 Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 71–2.
- 26 Henry, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 203–4.
- 27 George Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells. The Insular Gospel-books 650–800* (London 1987), pp. 165–8.
- 28 Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking invasions*, p. 169.
- 29 J.R. Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie. Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages* (New York 1992), pp. 60–1.
- 30 There may be resonances of Jonah and the whale in this image, as suggested by Kuder *Die initialen des Amienspsalter*, p. 114, and thus of Christ's death and resurrection: see Jennifer O'Reilly, 'Exegesis and the Book of Kells: the Lucan commentaries' in *Kells conference*, p. 354.
- 31 Alexander, *Insular manuscripts*, pl. 206.
- 32 There is a resemblance also to the single line of Apostles in an Ascension scene on a ninth- or tenth-century Palestinian silver dish now in the Hermitage Museum: see Harbison, *The High Crosses* iii, fig. 891.
- 33 For a discussion of folio 124r, see Jennifer O'Reilly, 'Early medieval text and image: the wounded and elevated Christ' in *Peritia* vi–vii (1987–88), pp. 72–118, at pp. 99–100. The form of the heads bears a striking resemblance to the profile of a South Arabian bearded alabaster head from the first century BC/AD sold in a Sotheby's auction of 7–8 July 1994. A photograph of the head is reproduced from

the auction catalogue in *Minerva. The International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology* 5/5 (September/October 1994), p. 32, fig. 18.

34 B. Meehan, 'The division of hands in the Book of Kells' in *Kells commentary*, p. 247.

35 Harbison, *The High Crosses* ii, fig. 326; Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking invasions* plate 97, lower; Pinned brooches are on the carving of a caryatid on White Island, county Fermanagh: *ibid.* pl. I. Another parallel, though an inexact one, is in the same panel of the broken cross at Kells, where two circles represent the sources of the Jor and the Dan: see Harbison, *The High Crosses* i, p. 101.

36 Harbison, *The High Crosses* i, p. 155; ii, fig. 513.

37 See, for example, the mosaic of the Emperor Justinian in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, reproduced in Otto G. Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna* (Princeton, New Jersey 1987), frontispiece. Other examples in the Book of Kells of discs joined to form a circle include 178v (lower left), where the body of a contorted peacock is similarly decorated, and 263v, an example damaged by abrasion. In several other pages, such as 188r, single circles mark the junctions between letters. These may have been intended to replicate the nails attaching the metalwork decoration of a shrine to its internal box.

38 The image is reproduced in colour in *Les Manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Corbie. Exposition du 10 au 16 Novembre 1991*, ed. C. de Mérimondol and G. Garrigou (Corbie 1991), p. 17.

39 Harbison, *The High Crosses* i, pp. 217–19, ii, figs. 735–8.

40 See *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York 1979), pp. 535–6. A mosaic resembling this is in the apsidal arch of San Vitale, Ravenna: see Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress*, pl. 31. On the Byzantine Pola casket, two lambs flank a wreath which surrounds a cross: see *Age of Spirituality*, p. 595, fig. 83.

41 Roger Stalley, 'Scribe and mason: the Book of Kells and the Irish high crosses', *Kells conference*, p. 260. See Harbison, *The High Crosses* iii, fig. 943. A similar figure is on the east face of the Durrow cross: see *ibid.* fig. 939.

42 The Book of Kells contains many examples of animals depicted within roundels or otherwise confined within strictly defined shapes: for example, a snake on 54v, peacocks on 66v, a contorted man on 67r, a lion on 225v, a bird on 234v, and the evangelist symbols on 129v. See also Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking invasions*, pp. 165–7.

43 Von Simson, *Sacred Fortress*, pp. 41–3, plates 21–3.

44 For examples, see *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 49, 53, 97–9, 304, 308, 319.

45 See *Age of Spirituality*, p. 548. I am grateful to Dr Anna Contadini for drawing my attention to this icon. In an icon of St Peter from the same period and monastery, Christ's head and shoulders are placed in a roundel above the head of the Apostle, and are flanked by roundels containing the Virgin and St John the Evangelist: see *ibid.*, pp. 543–4.

46 *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 569–71.

47 The discs also resemble the millstone held by an angel in the Bamberg Apocalypse

of c. 1007 (Bamberg, Stadtsbibliothek, MS bibl. 140 fol 46r), reproduced in P. D'Ancona and E. Aeschlimann, *The Art of Illumination* (London 1969), plate 45. The discs between the heads of the figures on Kells 124r differ from the eucharistic devices shown on other pages of the manuscript, such as the red disc, marked into quarters, which is in the mouth of the lion on folio 29r: see Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, p. 44. I owe a great deal regarding the above comments on the Book of Kells folio 124r to discussions with Felicity O'Mahony.

- 48 Jean Porcher, 'Book Painting', in *Carolingian Art* (London 1970), pp. 112–13.
- 49 Peter Harbison has employed telling comparisons with Carolingian artefacts and manuscripts in 'Three Miniatures in the Book of Kells' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* lxxxv C (1985), pp. 181–94.
- 50 *Kells conference*, p. 278; *pace* Meehan, *The Book of Kells*, pp. 22–3 (!).
- 51 Henry, *The Book of Kells*, p. 173. Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne. Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth Century England* (London 1996), p. 102 has suggested that the page might illustrate the angel of Mark 1. 2–3.
- 52 CLA ii, 198; D.A. Bullough, 'Roman books and Carolingian *renovatio*' in *Studies in Church History* xiv (Oxford 1977), pp. 23–50, at pp. 37–40.
- 53 The late tenth-century Boulogne Gospels (Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 11 folio 62r) is the only example listed in *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts. An Iconographic Catalogue c. A.D. 625 to 1100*, compiled and edited by Thomas H. Ohlgren (New York 1986), p. 110.
- 54 I regret that this article was already in proof when Mr John Higgit reminded me of his reference to Harley 2788 in his review, 'A strictly limited edition: the new facsimile of the Book of Kells', *Art History* 14/3 (September 1991), pp. 446–51, at p. 450.

Lebar buide meic murchada

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín

Trinity College Dublin MS 1336 (H. 3. 17) is a volume made up of various vellum books and fragments, for the most part legal tracts, of differing sizes and written at different times.¹ It once belonged to Edward Lhuyd, whose collection of Irish manuscripts came to the Trinity Library as a gift from Sir John Sebright in 1786.² The sections containing legal texts are unusually elaborate and decorated above the ordinary, with multi-coloured initials of very attractive design.³ The first part at least, containing the *Senchas Már*, was, at various times, in the possession of members of the Mac Aodhagáin (McEgan) family of legal scholars, from whom it was presumably acquired by An Dubháltach Mac Fírbhisigh, who added a note to it in 1666, at the foot of the first page: 'Dubaltach mac Giolla Iosa Mhoir mhic an Dubhaltaigh mhic Sémuís Mhic Fhírbhisigh Leacáin idtír Fhiachrach fear an leabhair si. Anno Christi 1666'. Several other memoranda indicate that other parts were transcribed in Ormond and in Leinster.⁴

That section of the manuscript occupied by cols 710–39 is written by an unidentified scribe, but one whose hand reappears in another Trinity legal codex, the well-known 1316 (H. 2. 15), which is the oldest surviving manuscript comprising mostly legal material, the most important parts of which were reproduced in facsimile by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1931.⁵ This scribe, classified by R.I. Best as 'Hand B' in Fragment II of the *Senchas Már* facsimile, was responsible for pages 37a 9–39; 41b 7–46, and 47–50 of H. 2.15. Abbott assigned the script to the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth; Best appears to have favoured a date in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁶

Col. 729 of our manuscript is a page, in seven columns, of mostly scriptural genealogies, beginning with Noah and his sons, and ending with Mary and Joseph. The final seventeen lines of col. g are occupied by a brief piece of apocryphal lore on the subject of the Virgin Mary's age at death, a note on Joachim of the tribe of Juda drawn ultimately from the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, and a prayer to the Virgin. A note added at the foot of the page reads: *Amail adeir in Lebar Buidhe Meic Murchada annso anuas* ('the foregoing, as the *Lebar Buidhe Meic Murchada* says').

What was this 'Yellow Book of MacMurrough'? It is not named as such among the manuscripts listed as sources by Geoffrey Keating in the introduction to his *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, although these included *Leabhar Arda Macha*, *Saltair Chaisil do scríobh Cormac naomhtha mac Cuileannáin*, *Leabhar na hUachongbhála*, *Leabhar Chluana hÉidhneach Fionntain i Laoighis*, *Leabhar Ghlinne-dá-Loch*, *Saltair na Rann ro scríobh Aonghus Céile Dé*, *Leabhar na gCeart*, *Uidhir Chiarán*, *Leabhar Buidhe Moling* and *Leabhar Dubh Molaga*.⁷ Neither does it occur (under that name, at any rate) in the list of

manuscripts (some identical with the ones listed above) cited by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh as sources for his own *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*: ‘... the Book of Baile Uí Mhaoil-Chonaire, ... the Book of Baile Uí Chléirigh, the Book of Muintir Dhuibhghenáin ... which is called the Book of Glendaloch, and the Book of Uachonghbáil, together with other books of conquest and history besides’.⁸

Also to be ruled out as a candidate is the ‘Yellow Book’ (*Lebur Bude*) which, in the eleventh century, was stored in the strong-room (*carcar*) of Armagh, but which went missing from that monastery sometime c.1106, according to a scribal note added to *Leabhar na hUidhre*.⁹ It is not to be identified with another well-known ‘yellow’ book, the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23 O 48 (No. 476), which does not contain the texts here under discussion. There is, however, a connection – as we shall see – with the manuscript known as the Yellow Book of Lecan, Trinity College Dublin, MS. 1318 (H. 2.16), and we shall discuss that link below.

A close analysis of the list of names in our text will reveal that they are not merely a random transcription of miscellaneous Old Testament genealogies but that they derive, in all likelihood, from a now lost version of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* (SAM).¹⁰ In my edition of that work I argued that SAM was composed by Dublittir ua hUathgaile, a scholar of Killeslin (Co. Laois), probably in the closing years of the eleventh century, c.1090.¹¹ It is a pseudo-historical compendium of biblical, apocryphal, and patristic matter on the subject of World History and the Six Ages, to which is also added some early medieval commentary material (from Isidore of Seville for the most part) on the same subject. The *Sex Aetates* is a mixed prose/verse text, of a kind much favoured in early Irish literature, but it also contains extensive biblical (especially Old Testament) genealogies. As we shall see below, it is from just such a text that our *Leabar Buide Meic Murchada* extract derives. To demonstrate that fact I start by printing overleaf the lists in T.C.D. 1336¹²

Secht mbliadna cethrachat ba slán do Muiri in tan dochuaid dochum nime ⁊ rogab crábud asa n-aigh indsin. ⁊ fuair anoir mor o Dia ⁊ o dainaib.

Bai araile fear firen i tir Israel .i. Iacim a ainm, do treib Iuda. ⁊ ba he a monar, ingaire caerach. ⁊ do roinned a t[rí] a n-urtorradh ⁊ do beread a da trian do Dia ⁊ aen trian do fein ⁊ da muinntir. ⁊ in tan ba slan fiche bliadan do tuc bean .i. Anna, ingen Isachair.

A Muire na fuilmi mac [] anois mara fu[] Faelan inde [].

Mary was forty-seven years old when she went to heaven, and she was the object of devotion after that (?), and she received great honour from God and from people.

There was a certain faithful man in the land of Israel, Joachim was his name, of the tribe of Juda [cf. 1 Chron. 24, 17]. And he was a shepherd by occupation. And the produce of his sheep was divided into three parts, and two parts were given to God and one to himself and his family. And when he was twenty years old he took a wife, i.e. Anna, daughter of Isachar.¹³

O Mary of sustenance, [or: (?)may I not suffer (?)] ... now as I aél[án] (?) did yesterday!

Hi sunt	Laabim	Saleph	F. Cethurae	F. Ana	m. Sorobel*	m. Ragu
fili	Nemtailim	Asermoth	concubinae	Dison	m. Salathe	m. Failleac
Nae	Petrussim	Areath	Abraamh	Amaraam	m. Neiréus	m. Embhir
Semh	Casluim	Huram	Zambraam	Eisebam	m. Melchi	m. Saile
Camh	de quibus	Uzal	Ietsan	Iethran	m. Addi	m. Airefaxat
Iafeth	Philistim	Tecla	Madan	Caramh	m. Cossam	m. Seimm.Noé
Fili	Capturim	Hebal	Sesboc	F. Ezér	m. Elmadam	Ioseph cosdos
Iafeth	F. Cannan	Iaim	Shue	Halam	m. Hér	Mariae m.
Gomer	Sidonem	Abí	F. Iecsan	Iaban	m. Iessu	Iacoib m.
Magoch	Heheth	Mael	Saba. Dadan	F. Dison	m. Sorzin	Mathain m.
Madhai	Iebus	Saba	F. Madian	Hus. Aran	m. Mathia	m. Elisdair
Iuan	Sethim	Ophir	Cepha. Apher	Iacan	m. Leui	m. Eliud
Tusal	Amorreum	Eula	Enoch. Abída	Moise	m. Semeon	m. Iachum
Masoch	Gergeseum	Iobab	Elada. Hi sunt	m. Amra	m. Iuda	m. Saduc
Tireas	Euheum	Semh	f. Cethurae	m. Léui	m. Ioseth	m. Azur
F. Gomer	Aruceum	Airifaxat	F. Isaac	m. Iacob	m. Iona	m. Eliacim
Ascenz	Seneum	Saile	Esau. Israel	m. Isac	m. Eliacim	m. Obeth
Riuth	Aradium	Heber	F. Essau	MUIRE	m. Melcha	m. Sorobel
Tarsis	Samarium	Faillach	Elifa. Zarahuel	ingen Iacim	m. Menna	m. Salathel
Cethim	Ematheum	Roghau	Iaus. Ialam. Core	m. Ioseph	m. Mathiae	m. Iechomae
Dadanim	F. Semh	Seruch	F. Elifas. Theman	m. Eli	m. Mathan	m. Iothais

F. Cam	Aelamh	Nachor	Sephu. Gethem	m. Elisdair	m. Salaomon	m. Ammon
Chus	Asur	Tarra	Cenez. Tamna	m. Mathatath	m. Daid	m. Mannaseiss
Mesram	Airifaxat	Abram	Amalech	m. Leue	m. Iesse	m. Execias
Futh	Luidi	F. Abram	F. Zahuel. Naath	m. Melchi	m. Iobeth	m. Achaz
Cannan	Arum	Isac	Gazara. Zamna	m. Iamne*	m. Booz	m. Iothaim
F. Chus	F. Arum	Ismal	Onaza	m. Ioseph	m. Salmon	m. Amasia
Sabhaa	Husull	F. Ismal	F. Apheir Lotam	m. Mathia	m. Amminadab	m. Ioais
Eula	Gothor	Nabaioth	Sobal. Sebeon	m. Amos	m. Nasson	m. Iorim
Sabatha	Mosoch	Cedar	Ana. Dison	m. Nauum	m. Aram	m. Iosobath
Rechma	F. Airefaxat	Abdeel	Ezer. Disan	m. Esle	m. Esrom	m. Assa
Sabathaca	Sala	Mabsam	F. Lotham. Hosri	m. Nage	m. Fareis	m. Abiam
Nemroth	F. Sala	Masma	Humam. Soror	m. Maath	m. Iudae	m. Robuam
F. Rechma	Ebher	Duma	Loth frater Tamna	m. Mathatieae	m. Iacob	m. Solmon
Saba	F. Ebher	Massa	F. Sobal. Aliam	m. Simei	m. Isaac	m. Daid
Dadan	Faillic	Addha	Manath. Ebel	m. Ioseph	m. Abraim	
F. Mesram	Iachtan	Thema	Sephi. Onam	m. Iuda	m. Taie	
Luidim	F. Iachtan	Iathur	F. Sebeon	m. Iohanna	m. Nacoir	
Annanim	Helmodach	Naphis	Aua. Ana	m. Ressa	m. Eruch	
			Cedma			

Taking these items in reverse order, it is necessary firstly to point out that the text on the subject of Anna, Isachar, and their daughter Mary, while ultimately derived from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, occurs also (in part) in an interesting homily for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary (Aug. 15) in the Yellow Book of Lecan, cols. 839–43.¹⁴ The YBL text is incomplete owing to the loss of some leaves at the end, but enough has survived to show the close affinity with our Lebar Buide fragment.

The homily begins with an excerpt from a commentary on the Psalms, according to the different 'senses' (*iuxta historiam* and *iuxta spirituales intellectum*).¹⁵ This is followed by an account of the Annunciation, and this in turn is followed by a detailed account of Mary's early life. It is in this section that the homily parallels our fragment, as the following will demonstrate (italics indicate the parallel phrases):

Ceastnaigthear immorro cia h-ais a roibi Muiri in tan ro-thuisim a mac. Ní ansae. A nais a da bliadain dec go deimin, amail adearar isin scribtuir diada. Da bliadain dec immorro robo slan do Muiri, arin t-eagnaid, in tan ros-agaill in t-aingel hi. 7 ro-thairngir a mac di. *Uii. mbliadna xl. robo slan di in tan dochuaid dochum nime.* Is andsin iarum celebrass ind eaglais cristaidi gacha bliadain .i. bith 7 sollamain eisteachta naem Muiri. In .xiii. Kl. Septimber [Aug. 15], ar ai laithi mis grene. Isin laithi-sea indiu, ar ai laithi seachtmaine, isin bliadain i tam .i. ord choimperta 7 genemna naem Muiri fodesin 7 tuirtheachta na tuistitheadh togaidi or chin. Et nida coimpert beithead asa naideandocht fo chetoir 7 *dan onoir 7 dan airmidid fuair o Dia 7 o daenaib* in aimsir a h-eisteachta.

*Bui didiu araile firen a tirib Israhel .i. laichim a ainm 7 do threib Iuda do shonnrad. Ba he immorro a monur .i. ingairi chaerach 7 didiu ro-roindead ar tri a n-urrrthorad .i. a da trian don Choimdid 7 a aentrian do fen cona muinnter. Dognid immorro int ordugud sin on dara bliadain deg a aisi co fuair bas. An tan didiu robo slan a fhichi bliadain tucastair mnai .i. Anna ingean Isacar do shil David. Robai tricha bliadain aici do mnai iar sin 7 ni ruc aen duine do chloind do. Rogab immorro fearg 7 toirrsi mor eisium fri [erasure] sin. Uair ba hathais mar ic macaib hIsrahel nech cen tuismead cloindi, amail is follus o Maisse, uair ideir andsa reacht ni aile, amail is follus: dictus qui non seminad in n-Israhel .i. is comartha mallachtan don ti nach fagaib a chland ic macaib hIsrahel, etc.*¹⁶

It is impossible to say whether the Lebar Buide excerpts were taken directly from a text of this homily, though it certainly looks likely. There are no explicit dating criteria in it, but the mixed Latin-Irish nature of the text, and more specifically, the computistical references to details of the lunar and solar calendars (*ar ai laithi mis grene isin laithi-sea indiu, ar ai laithi seachtmaine isin bliadain i tam*) compare closely with the *Sex Aetates Mundi*, in which the Genesis account of the Flood is discussed in precisely these terms:¹⁷

§20 *Interrogatio hic.*, Cia haés ésci 7 cia lathi sechtmaine 7 cia lathi mís gréne dochuas isind áire 7 tícht essi? ... ar aí lathi mís gréne ...

Here is a question: At what age of the moon, and on what day of the week, and on what day of the solar month was the Ark entered and left?... as regards the day of the solar month ...

Comparison of the T.C.D. lists of names, column by column, with the relevant sections of SAM (§§24–5; 28–38) will reveal an equally close correspondence between the *Lebar Buide* text and the *Sex Aetates*.¹⁸

Starting with the sons of Noah in col. a, the names are as follows: Nac, Semh, Camh, Iafeth (as in SAM §24); SAM §25 then has a list of Jafeth's sons (I give the *Lebar Buide* versions in brackets): Gomér (Gomer), Magoch (Magoch), Maduc (Madhai), Iauban (Iuan), Tubal (Tusal), Masoch (Masoch), Tiaras (Tireas), Masseca (*om.*). This is ultimately from Gn 10: 2 *Filii Iafeth Gomer Magog et Madai, Iavan et Thubal et Mosoch et Thiras* (= 1 Par 1: 5). Masseca in SAM is an error, derived from a misunderstanding of a passage in Isidore, *Etymologiae* ix. 2. 30 *Mosoch, ex quo Cappadoces. Vnde et urbs apud eos usque hodie Mazaca dicitur*. Masseca alone of the 'eight' sons attributed to Japheth in SAM is unmentioned in the subsequent prose elaboration of the list.¹⁹

The sons of Gomer in SAM §25 are given as Ascenez, Eripham, and Togorma (Gn 10: 3 *porro filii Gomer Aschenez et Rifath et Thogorma* = 1 Par 1: 6). These compare with Ascenz, Riuath, and Tarsis; this last name appears to be an error, arising from the fact that either the *Lebar Buide* or the scribe of T.C.D. 1336 has dropped some names. This will be clear in what follows, where SAM §26 lists the sons of Iaban: *laban mac Iaféth meic Noé, cethri meic aca-side .i. Elisa, Tarsis, Cethim, Dodanim*. (Gn 10: 4 *Filii autem Iavan Elisa et Tharsis Cetthim et Dodanim* = 1 Par 1: 7). The names Togorma, Iaban and Elisa appear to have dropped out of the T.C.D. text. The sons of Ham (SAM §28) are identical in both texts: Chuss (Chus), Futh (Futh), Mesrom (Mesram) and Channán (Cannan). This is from Gn 10: 6 *filii autem Ham Chus et Mesraim et Fut et Chanaan* = 1 Par 1: 8 (the order of names is identical in Paralipomenon and our text). The sons of Chus (SAM §28) are likewise identical in both texts: Saba (Sabhaa), Ebila (Euila), Sabatha, Recma (Rechma), Sabata (Sabathaca), Acha, Nebroth (Nemroth); cf. Gn 10: 7–8 *filii Chus Saba et Hevila et Sabatha et Regma et Sabathaca ... porro Chus genuit Nemrod* = 1 Par 1: 9–10. In this case, however, the author of SAM has made two persons of the biblical Sabatacha; T.C.D. 1336 is the more accurate at this point. The sons of Recma (SAM §29) are given as Saba (Saba) and Dodam (Dadan) (Gn 10: 7 *filii Regma Saba et Dadan* = 1 Par 1: 9), and these are followed by the sons of Mesrom: Ludim (Luidim), Ananim (Annanim), Labaim (Laabim), Neptaim (Nemtoilim), Petrosim (Petrussim), and Cheseloim (Casluim); cf. Gn 10: 13–14 *at vero Mesraim genuit Ludim et Ananim et Laabim Nephtuim et Phetrusim et Cesluim*. (= 1 Par 1: 11–13).

The list in col. b of T.C.D. 1336 continues with the sons of Canaan, exactly as in SAM §30: Sidon (Sidonem), Cetheus (Heheth), Iebusseus (Iebus + Sethim), Amorreus (Amorreum), Gergessius (Gergeseum), Euheus (Euheum), Aracheus (Aruceum), Sineus (Seneum), Aradius (Aradium), Samarius (Samarium), Amatheus (Ematheum); cf. Gn 10: 15–18 *Chanaan autem genuit Sidonem primogenitum suum Ettheum et Iebuseum et Amorreum Gergesseum Eveum et Araceum Sineum et Aradium Samariten et Amatheum* (= 1 Par 1: 13–16). The two lists are, for essential purposes, identical. T.C.D. then continues in col. b with the sons of Shem (SAM §31): Elam (Aclamh), Assúr (Asur), Arfaxad (Airifaxat), Ludim (Luidi), Saram (Arum); cf. Gn 10: 22 *filii Sem Aelam et Assur et Arfaxad et Lud et Aram* (= 1 Par 1: 17). At this point the *Lebar Buide* follows the sequence in Paralipomenon, listing the sons of Saram (Arum) = SAM §32: Us, Ul (Husull), Gethér (Gothor), Mess, *dianid comainm Mossoch* (Mosoch); cf. Gn 10: 23 *filii Aram Us et Hul*

et Gether et Mes (= 1 Par 1: 17 ... *et Us et Hul et Gothor et Mosoch*). The son of Arfaxad is given in SAM §31: Sala, and his son Éber (Ebher), followed by Éber's two sons, Fallec (Faillic) and Iactan (Iachtan); cf. Gn 10: 24–5 *at vero Arfaxad genuit Sala de quo ortus est Eber natique sunt Eber filii duo nomen uni Faleg ... et nomen fratris eius Iectan* (= 1 Par 1: 18–19).

The identical sequence of names continues through cols b and c with the thirteen sons of Iachtan: Elmodad (Helmodach), Saleph (Saleph), Asarmoth (Asermoth), Iare (Areath), Aduram (Hura), Aduzal (Uzal), Decla (Tecla), Ebal (Hebal), Abimel (Abímael), Saba (Saba), Ofir (Ophir), Euila (Euila), Iobab (Iobab); cf. Gn 10: 26–9 *qui Iectan genuit Helmodad et Saleph et Asarmoth Iare et Aduram et Uzal Decla et Ebal et Abimahel Saba et Ophir et Evila et Iobab* (= 1 Par 1: 20–21). The only discrepancy is that the T.C.D. text adds the name Iaim between Ebal and Abimel, perhaps a garbled misreading of *etiam* in the Paralipomenon text.

On the evidence thus far it could be argued that the two texts, though almost exactly parallel in their sequence of names, are derived independently from a collection of biblical genealogies, rather than from SAM. At this point, however, the *Lebar Buide* follows the list of Iachtan's sons not with another genealogy but with the following list: Semh, Airifaxat, Saile, Heber, Faillach, Roghau, Seruch, Nachor, Tarra, Abraam, which is found in SAM §35 as a tabular list under the heading *Is iat-so airig na háisi tánaisi iar líni geneoig Séim meic Noé* 'These are the leaders of the Second Age, according to the genealogical line of Sem son of Noah' (cf. Gn 11: 11–26 and 1 Par 1: 24–7, where they are listed consecutively, except for Noah). Quite clearly, then, T.C.D. 1336 has taken this list (and everything accompanying it) from a version of SAM.

The two texts, SAM and *Lebar Buide*, continue in parallel through the sons of Abraham, Isaac and Ishmael, followed by the twelve sons of Ishmael (§§39–40): Nabioth (Nabaioth), Dehin (*sic*), Cedar (Cedar), Abdel (Abdeel), Mamsan (Mabsam), Masma (Masma), Dumma (Duma), Massaadam (*sic*) (Massa + Addha), Thema (Thema), Hiur (Iathur), Naphis (Naphis), Chedma (Cedma); cf. Gn 25: 13–15 *primogenitus Ismahelis Nabaioth dein Cedar et Abdeel et Mabsam Masma quoque et Duma et Massa Adad et Thema Itur et Naphis et Cedma* (= 1 Par 1: 28–30). In this list SAM has erred twice, by making a personal name of the Latin adverb *dein*, and by running together as one the two sons Massa and Addad. Here again the *Lebar Buide* version is more accurate. The list in col. d of the sons of Cethura is found in SAM §39, with the introductory phrase *Do-rusim dano [Abraham] maccu aili ó Chethura .i. ón mnaí thuc iar n-éc Sarra* '[Abraham] fathered other sons indeed by Cethura, i.e. by the wife he took after Sarai had died'. These are described in T.C.D. 1336 as *Filii Cethurae concubinae Abraamh*: Iambram (Zambram), Iaxan (Ietsan), Madian (Madan), Mathan (*om.*), Iasboch (Sesboc), Sue (Sue); this appears to derive more directly from 1 Par 1: 32: *filii autem Cetthurae concubinae Abraham quos genuit Zamram Iecsan Madan Madian Iesboc Sue* (cf. Gn 25: 1–2 *Abraham vero aliam duxit uxorem nomine Cethuram quae peperit ei Zamram et Iexan et Madan et Madian et Iesboch et Sue*). The name Mathan has been accidentally dropped presumably, after Madian; otherwise the two lists are identical. There follow the two sons of Iaxan (SAM §39), Sabba (Saba) and Daddan (Dadan) (Gn 25: 3 *Iexan quoque genuit Saba et Dadan*; cf. 1 Par 1: 32 *porro filii Iecsan Saba et Dadan*) and the five sons of Madian: I'pha (Cepha), Ofer (Apher), Enóch (Enoch), Abida (Abida), and Elda (Elada); 1 Par 1:

33 filii autem Madian Ephra et Apher et Enoch et Abida et Eldaa; cf. Gn 25: 4 *at vero ex Madian ortus est Ephra et Opher et Enoch et Abida et Eldaa*. The fact that the *Lebar Buide* has here omitted the sons of Daddan, who are given in SAM §39 as Assurim, Lathussim, and Loomnim (Gn 25: 3 *filii Dadan fuerunt Assurim et Lathusim et Loomnim*) suggests that the ultimate source of its lists (at least for this section) was perhaps Paralipomenon rather than Genesis.

Next in the lists are the sons of Isaac (SAM §41): Iacób (Israel), Issau (Isau); cf. 1 Par 1: 34 *generavit autem Abraham Isaac cuius fuerunt filii Esau et Israhel*. Esau's sons follow (SAM §45): Eliphaz (Elifa), Rahuel (Zarahuel), Ieuus (Iaus), Hielon (Ialam), Chore (Core); cf. Gn 36: 9–10 and 1 Par 1: 35 *filii Esau Eliphaz Rauhel Iaus Ialam Core*; the sons of Eliphaz: Theman (Theman), Homar (*om.*), Sephum (Sephu), Gatham (Gethem), Cenez (Cenez), Amalech (Amalech); cf. Gn 36: 11–12 *fueruntque filii Eliphaz Theman Omar Sephu et Gatham et Cenez ... Amalech*. In this list, after Cenez, T.C.D. 1336 adds Tamna, whose name occurs among the sons of Eliphaz in 1 Par 1: 36. The sons of Rahuel are Naad (Naath), Zara (Gazara), Semma (Zamma), and Mesta (Onaza); cf. Gn 36: 13 *filii autem Rauhel Naath et Zara Semma et Meza*; and 1 Par 1: 37 *filii Rauhel Naath Zara Samma Maza*.

From this point on the texts in SAM and the *Lebar Buide* differ; the latter, in place of the Twelve Tribes that follow in SAM §44, continues with a further series of genealogies from Paralipomenon which is not found in Genesis: Filii Zahuel, Naath Gazara Zamma Onaza (= 1 Par 1: 37 *filii Rahuel Naath Zara Samma Maza*); Filii Apheir Lotam Sobal Sebeon Ana Dison Ezer Disan (= 1 Par 1: 38 *filii Seir Lothan Sobal Sebeon Ana Dison Ezer Disan*); Filii Lotham Hosri Humam (= 1 Par 1: 39 *filii Lothan Horri Humam soror autem Lothan fuit Thamna*); Filii Ana Dison Amaraam Eisebam Iethran Caramh (= 1 Par 1: 40–1 *filii Ana Dison (sic) filii Dison Amaran et Eseban et Iethran et Charan*); Filii Ezér Halam Iaban Filii Dison Hus Aran (= 1 Par 1: 42 *filii Ezer Balaan et Zaban et Iacan filii Dison Us et Aran*). The list is completed then with the genealogies of Moses, Mary and Joseph.

At this juncture, however, there is further corroborating evidence that the underlying text copied by the scribe of T.C.D. 1336 was a version of SAM (and not a miscellany of biblical genealogies) in the fact that along the top of the page are added further names, which do occur in SAM, and the T.C.D. version preserves the identical forms of those names. This one-line list, beginning *Filii Iuda*, is found in SAM §44, where the names Her and Onan are glossed in the best manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson B 502) with the words: *qui ambo mortui sunt in terra Channan*. The identical phrase (based ultimately on Gn 46: 12 *mortui sunt autem Her et Onan in terra Chanaan*) occurs in T.C.D. 1336, and is followed by the names of Juda's other three sons, Sela, Fares, and Zare, exactly as in SAM (followed by what appears to be *Filii Liae Sirie Messopotamie*). This in turn is followed by the names of Zare's two sons, Esrom and Amul, again as in SAM. Clearly, then, the entire addition at the top of the page in T.C.D. 1336 derives from a text of SAM very like that in Rawl. B 502 (to which perhaps the author or copyist had added the names from Paralipomenon) and that most likely was contained in the lost manuscript known as *Lebar Buide Meic Murchada*.

Before passing on to an investigation of what that *Lebar Buide* may have been, it is appropriate to point out here that SAM was utilised also by the compiler(s) of the

genealogies of Irish saints, of which collection biblical and classical genealogies formed a part in several manuscripts, including at least one twelfth-century codex, the so-called Book of Leinster.²⁰ The *Corpus genealogiarum* has lengthy pedigrees of both Mary and Joseph (the latter described as *custos Mairi*, exactly as in our text: *cosdos Mariae*). But several of the other pedigrees are taken from SAM; e.g., §§678 and 682 are found in SAM §49, interestingly enough as a gloss (just as we saw above in the case of Her and Onan, the sons of Juda):

Rechab 7 Banna, dá mac Remmoin Birothitaicthe, roda-marbsat Hisposeth mac Ionathain meic Saul meic Ciss meic Abel meic Seoir meic Bechoir meic Aphia meic uiri Emini. Samuel mac Helcanna meic Herobuam meic Heleo meic Thau meic Suph Euftratecda a Sléib Effraim, meic Elcanna meic Maath meic Massia meic Elcanna meic Iohel meic Azaria.

The two versions are practically identical, even to the point of sharing the same misinterpretation of *meic uiri Emini*.²¹ The data in the *Corpus* at §§676 and 681 are likewise reproduced (in garbled form) from SAM §§56–7. The correspondence, therefore, between the biblical genealogies in our text and in SAM strongly suggests that the underlying source was something other than a random miscellany, or a version of the Genealogies of Saints. It seems to me much more likely that *Lebar Buide Meic Murchada* contained a version of the *Sex Aetates Mundi*, in part or in whole, but a version different from any that has come down to us.²²

The very close similarity between our text and the version of SAM in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. B 502 (*Lebar Glinne Dá Locha*)²³ raises the possibility that *Lebar Buide Meic Murchada* might also have been a south Leinster manuscript. The three well known compendia of the eleventh/twelfth-century period, *Leabhar na hUidhre* (from Clonmacnois), *Lebar na Nuachongbála* (*alias* the Book of Leinster) and Rawl. B 502, are believed to have been the sources, either directly or indirectly, of all the recensions of the major sagas and genealogical collections contained in the principal fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, particularly those of north Connacht origin, such as the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan.²⁴ The common stock of all these manuscripts comprised (pseudo-)historical material such as *Sex Aetates Mundi*, *Lebar Bretnach* and *Lebar Gabála*, as well as several kinds of synchronisms and genealogies. *Sex Aetates Mundi* undoubtedly figured prominently (either in whole or in part) in all synchronistic compilations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁵

Despite previous attempts to associate the Book of Leinster with the family of Diarmait Mac Murchada (Uí Chennselaig king of Leinster in the late twelfth century, and would-be 'high-king' of Ireland), the suggestion has been dismissed with scorn – though it is perhaps going too far to say (as one scholar has done) that 'there [is not] a shred of evidence to indicate that Mac Murchada ever saw the Book of Leinster, much less read it'.²⁶ The title 'The Book of Leinster' is not altogether a misnomer (as Ó Concheanainn has pointed out), and Aéd Mac Crimthainn, its compiler, was an exact contemporary of Mac Murchada's. By early modern times, however, the manuscript was known under the title '*Lebar na Nuachongbála*', a name it appears to have acquired already by c.1390.²⁷ This is believed to derive from the name of an ecclesiastical foundation called 'An

Nuachongbáil' ('the new foundation') preserved as Oughaval, a townland near Stradbally, Co. Laois. It was our honorand who pointed out that this foundation is located in a territory belonging in earlier times to the Uí Chrimthainn.²⁸

If the Book of Leinster originally followed the same pattern as its fellow twelfth-century Leinster compilations, then it might once have contained a more or less full copy of SAM, as the others still do. It does contain a text of the poem *Rédig dam, a Dé, do nim*, a metrical version of SAM composed by Dublittir ua hUathgaile, which accompanies SAM in Rawl. B 502 and in other recensions of the text.²⁹ I have argued in my edition of SAM that this poem was originally an integral part of SAM, and that its detachment from that work was a later development of the text tradition. It is possible, therefore, that the Book of Leinster originally contained a complete text of SAM, but that the pages of the manuscript containing the main body of the work became detached from the rest of the codex and were lost. The fragment in T.C.D. MS. 1336 – besides offering a precious clue to the existence of a possibly twelfth-century manuscript (now lost?) which was called *Leabar Buide Meic Murchada* – may give an idea of what that original SAM text looked like.*

Notes

- * I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr John Carey, University College Cork, who made very helpful comments on a draft of this article.
- 1 T.K. Abbott and E.J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin 1921), pp. 125–39.
- 2 See A. and W. O'Sullivan, 'E. Lhuyd's collection of Irish manuscripts' in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1962), pp. 57–62; William O'Sullivan, 'The Irish manuscripts in case H in Trinity College Dublin catalogued by Matthew Young in 1781' in *Celtica* xi (1976), pp. 229–50.
- 3 See Fergus Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law* (Dublin 1988), pp. 225–31. Two pages of our manuscript are reproduced on the dustjacket of the book.
- 4 Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, pp. 138–9, give the texts of some of the marginalia.
- 5 R.I. Best and Rudolf Thurneysen, *The oldest fragments of the Senchas Már from MS. H.2.15 in the Library of Trinity College*. Irish Manuscripts Commission Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish Manuscripts, i (Dublin 1931).
- 6 Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue*, p. 133; Best, *Oldest fragments*, p. xi; Best's comments are curiously vague on this important point.
- 7 [David Comyn and] P.S. Dinneen (eds. & transls.), *Foras Feasa ar Éirín*, 4 vols. Irish Texts Society (London 1902–14), i, pp. 78–80.
- 8 R.A.S. Macalister and John MacNeill (eds and transls), *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*. 5 vols. Irish Texts Society (London 1916), i, p. 4 (translation).
- 9 R.I. Best & Osborn Bergin (eds), *Lebor na hUidre, Book of the Dun Cow* (Dublin 1929), p. 94. This is possibly (though not necessarily) identical with the *Libur Budi Slani* cited as a source elsewhere in LU; see *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 104.
- 10 See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed and transl), *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin 1983).
- 11 Ó Cróinín, *Sex Aetates*, pp. 41–8.

- 12 Space restrictions have obliged me to print *f*; otherwise, the text is given as it stands in the manuscript. Names marked with an asterisk are corrected in the MS.
- 13 This passage draws on the opening words of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew: In diebus illis erat uir in Ierusalem nomine Ioachim ex tribu Iuda. Et hic erat pastor ouium suarum, timens Deum in simplicitate et in bonitate sua ... Siue in agnis siue in ouibus siue in lanis siue in omnibus rebus suis quascumque possidere uidebatur, tres partes faciebat: unam partem dabat uiduis, orphanis, peregrinis atque pauperibus; alteram uero partem colentibus Deum; tertiam partem sibi et omni domui suae reseruabat ... Cum esset annorum uiginti, accepit Annam filiam Ysachar uxorem ex tribu sua ...; Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Los evangelos apocrifos* (Madrid 1984), pp. 184–5. Dr John Carey (Cork) kindly supplied this text.
- 14 Dr Carey very kindly drew this text to my attention. See Robert Atkinson, *The Yellow Book of Lecan* (Dublin 1896), Introduction, p. 9; the facsimile pagination is 154–6.
- 15 See Martin McNamara, 'Psalter text and psalter study in the Early Irish Church' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73 C 7 (1973), pp. 201–98, esp. 257–8.
- 16 There follows the story of Mary's birth and childhood, and her betrothal to Joseph.
- 17 Ó Cróinín, *Sex Aetates*, pp. 72 and 114; cf. pp. 145–6.
- 18 When I pointed out the relationship between SAM §51 and T.C.D. 1336 in my edition, p. 162, I was not then fully aware of the connection between the two texts.
- 19 Ó Cróinín, *Sex Aetates*, p. 148.
- 20 Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985), pp. xxv, 122–5; see also Ó Riain, 'NLI G 2, f. 3 and the Book of Glendalough' in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* xxxix (1982), pp. 29–32.
- 21 See Ó Cróinín, *Sex Aetates*, p. 161. These two pedigrees are found also on a single folio of biblical genealogies in the Book of Leinster. See Anne O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Book of Leinster, formerly Leabar na Núachongbála*, 6 vols (Dublin 1954–83), vi, cols 15876–7.
- 22 There is a further connection between SAM and our MS. in the fact that T.C.D. 1336, cols 858–9, contains a brief text on the foundation of Rome which is identical with SAM §51; the T.C.D. text is edited in R.I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts* iii (1910), p. 46.
- 23 See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' in *Éigse* xviii, pt. 2 (1981), pp. 161–76.
- 24 See Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The manuscript tradition of *Mescad Ulad*' in *Celtica* xix (1987), pp. 13–30 (p. 21).
- 25 See H.P.A. Oskamp, "'The Yellow Book of Lecan proper'" in *Ériu* xxvi (1975), pp. 102–21 (p. 114): 'Of these tracts *Sex Aetates Mundi* undoubtedly came first in all synchronistic compilations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries' (a verdict which is not necessarily borne out by the evidence).
- 26 Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The education of Diarmait Mac Murchada' in *Ériu* xxviii (1977), pp. 71–81 (p. 74); see, however, Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'LL and the date of the reviser of LU' in *Éigse* xx (1984), pp. 212–25 (p. 214), where he points out that the compiler of the Book of Leinster, Aéd Mac Crimthainn, clearly had Mac Murchada as his patron.

- 27 R.I. Best, Osborn Bergin and M.A. O'Brien (eds), *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, i (Dublin 1954), p. xiii.
- 28 William O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster' in *Celtica* vii (1966), pp. 1–31 (p. 2).
- 29 See Ó Cróinín, *Sex Aetates*, pp. 41–8.

The travels of Irish manuscripts: from the Continent to Ireland

Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel

While it is well-known that the scriptoria of the Irish Benedictine monasteries in Germany, called *Schottenklöster*, produced a large number of manuscripts, not many of these have survived.¹ This is the more lamentable because the employment as scribes of Marianus Scotus (alias Muiredach Mac Robartaig) and his companions by the abbesses of two convents at Regensburg was the reason for the setting up of the first Irish colony there c. 1080.² Subsequently, to cater for an ever increasing stream of compatriots, the Irish monastery dedicated to St James was consecrated in Regensburg in 1111. A succession of competent abbots not only ensured papal and imperial privileges for this church, but also led to the foundation of a network of affiliated monasteries, of which those at Würzburg, Erfurt, Vienna, Konstanz and Nürnberg were most famous. During the twelfth century the scriptoria of these houses produced a great variety of texts, such as calendars and necrologies, to address the need for liturgical books, annals and chronicles, and, as might be expected, saints' Lives. This latter category included Lives of Irish saints, some of which are still extant, for example in the manuscripts of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*.

Despite all this scribal activity, even where libraries have remained *in situ* or were moved as a collection, only very few twelfth-century Irish continental manuscripts have survived.³ Why this should be so is uncertain, but the cause may lie in the turbulent later history of the monasteries themselves. Thus, during the fifteenth century, the filiations at Vienna, Nürnberg, Eichstätt, Memmingen and Würzburg were either closed down completely or else handed over to German monks. Later still, in 1515, the abbeys at Regensburg, Konstanz and Erfurt were taken over by monks from Scotland, who had been able to convince Pope Leo X that the *Scoti* who founded all these houses were in fact Scots and not Irish.

Whichever way Irish occupancy of these monasteries ended, there is, as yet, no evidence to show that the ejected abbots and monks were able to take their manuscripts with them. The expectation that manuscripts might have been brought back to Ireland, while not unlikely in itself, has so far proved incapable of demonstration. However, as I propose to show in this article, while actual *Schottenklöster* manuscripts have yet to be discovered in Ireland, there is a good deal of evidence to show that copies of *Schottenklöster* texts made their way home. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that this traffic in *Schottenklöster* texts seems to have been largely confined to two periods, the late twelfth/

thirteenth century and the seventeenth century, both of which were otherwise also marked by a heightened awareness of the political usefulness of hagio-historiographical texts.

Trinity College, Dublin, MS 580

While I shall be concentrating mainly on the earlier period, I find it convenient, not least because of the associations and learned interests of William O'Sullivan, to start with a Trinity College Dublin manuscript, MS 580 (previously E.3.8) of the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴ This contains a variety of texts relating to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland and Britain, copied by various scribes, apparently for the use of James Ussher. Among other texts, the manuscript contains an excerpt from the *Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consecrati Petri*,⁵ a foundation chronicle written at the Schottenklöster in Regensburg, probably around the middle of the thirteenth century, which is quoted by Ussher in his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*.⁶

The excerpt in question is attributed to 'Frater David O Molorii Ordinis S Francisci', who, according to P. Grosjean, obtained the original at the Schottenklöster in Regensburg. Grosjean further believed that 'David Mollony' was a pseudonym adopted by David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, who, as William O'Sullivan showed in a recent article, was an especially active contributor to Ussher's collections.⁷ In fact, however, the excerpt appears to have reached Dublin from an altogether different source, viz., Fr Stephen White S. J., who, while acting as professor at the Universities of Dillingen and Ingolstadt in Bavaria, is known to have supplied Ussher, as well as the Bollandists at Brussels, with transcripts of Irish saints' Lives. By providing the transcript of the *Libellus*, he would have been responding to Ussher's particular interest in the activities of the Irish saints abroad. When quoting from the *Libellus*, Ussher focused mainly on Mansuetus, bishop of Toul, allegedly an Irishman as well as a disciple of St Peter.⁸

His particular interest in the activities of this man stemmed from his desire to refute the claim of the Scottish Catholic writer, Thomas Dempster, that all *Scoti* during the Middle Ages were Scottish and not Irish.⁹ Ironically, in Ussher's time, one of the main centres of dissemination of the doctrine that *Scotus* meant a Scot only, was the Schottenklöster in Regensburg, where, as already stated above, Scottish monks had taken over from the Irish in the year 1515. Here, during the second half of the sixteenth century, Bishops John Lesley and Ninian Winzet in particular busily promoted this distortion of historical reality.¹⁰

The Regensburg *Libellus* became one of the principal foci of the controversy. Thus, in his edition of the text, P. Breatnach drew attention to the fact that manuscript Clm 903 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, written c. 1410–20 by and for Andreas von Regensburg, contains marginalia added by partisans of both Irish and Scottish sides of the debate.¹¹ What is particularly interesting about this copy is the fact that it contains on the fly leaf an inscription by 'Frater David Omollorii ordinis S. Francisci', claiming possession of the book in the year 1529.¹² There is independent evidence to show that Fr White had made a copy of this particular manuscript, complete with the Omollorii inscription.¹³ This is what suggests very strongly that White was also the source of the excerpt made for Ussher.

Some aspects of the question have yet to be resolved. Thus, it is not certain whether the Omollorii inscription was made in the Schottenklöster in Regensburg, which, in 1519, was already in Scottish hands. It is also uncertain if it was here that the manuscript or its copy was made available to Stephen White in the early seventeenth century. As a survey of the provenance of the documents forwarded by White to his Irish colleagues in Louvain and to the Bollandists will show, other central European libraries also contained manuscripts of Irish interest.

German manuscripts discovered by Stephen White

The most important transcripts of manuscripts associated with Irish saints made by White are those of the acts of Saints Columba of Iona, Brigid and Patrick, which were edited by John Colgan in his *Triadis Thaumaturgae* in 1647.¹⁴ His source for the Life of Columba is now MS Generalia I of the Stadtbibliothek of Schaffhausen in Switzerland, where it has been since some date prior to 1795. However, when sent on loan to White in Dillingen, it was still in the monastery of Reichenau.¹⁵ We are not sure how Fr White learned of the existence of this manuscript. If he had been to Reichenau personally, he surely would also have taken the opportunity of visiting the not too distant library of St Gallen, which then contained, as it still does, a great variety of Irish manuscripts.¹⁶ Perhaps it was the unique importance of the Reichenau manuscript, an autograph copy of Columba's Life written by Dorbbéne, abbot of Iona, in or about 713, that attracted his attention in this instance. In any case, places much nearer to Dillingen than either Reichenau or St Gallen were also then repositories of Irish manuscripts.

One of these places was Regensburg where White located the manuscript of the *Vita I Brigidae*, a transcript of which he sent to Colgan.¹⁷ Ussher also received a copy of this text from White, a fact he acknowledges when comparing it to the incomplete Life of Brigid in London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho D. VIII.¹⁸ Moreover, Ussher states exactly where White had discovered the manuscript in the first place, namely in the monastery of St Mang/Stadtamhof, a house of the Canon Regulars, near (now in) Regensburg.¹⁹ Apart from its copy of the *Vita I Brigidae*, this manuscript also contained at its end a *Hymnus in laudem Brigidae*, ascribed by Ussher to Ultanus.²⁰ White thought the manuscript to be some 600 or 700 years old, and its dating to the tenth century, which is now general, seems to rest on this assumption.²¹ The manuscript itself appears to be lost, but another Irish manuscript, also belonging to the tenth century and containing the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, still survives as part of the St Mang collection in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München.²² Besides this manuscript, which may have originated at St Emmeram, a further copy of the *Vita Brendani*, now seemingly also lost, was still in the library of St Mang in 1610 when it was listed in a catalogue. Interestingly, the catalogue indicates that this manuscript also contained a Life of St Brigid,²³ which would suggest that White must have been unaware of the presence at St Mang of these two manuscripts. He seems similarly to have been unaware of the presence there of the codex containing the Life of Marianus Scottus, which was available at St Mang to Franciscus Jeremias Grienewaldt around the year 1615.²⁴

White may have learned of manuscripts of Irish interest through the good offices of Heinrich Canisius (d. 1610), also professor at Ingolstadt, who, in the course of his work repeatedly consulted Regensburg manuscripts.²⁵ Against this, however, White did not learn of the existence of the *Life of Brigid by Cogitosus*, which Canisius published either from a lost St Mang codex or from the *Legendarium Windbergense*. On the other hand, White was aware of Canisius's use of the latter for his short recension of the *Vita Columbae* by Adomnán.²⁶

That there was extensive cooperation between Canisius and Irish hagiologists of the period shows itself also in other ways, with White acting as go-between. Thus, when the Irish Jesuit Henry Fitzsimon published his *Catalogus praecipuorum Sanctorum Hiberniae* in 1611, he took Canisius's edition of *Vita Sti Ruperti* into account, crediting White with his reference. It may well be that White also supplied Fitzsimon with references to Irish saints in the 'Bavarian recension' of the martyrology of Hermann the Lame of Reichenau (d. 1054), and in particular those from the *Martyrologium Subense*. The twelfth century additions to this text, including those relating to many Irish saints, have been traced to Paul von Bernried and to his friend Gebhard, co-founders of the monastery of St Mang.²⁷ This house was founded in 1138 for the use of Augustinian canons on the site of an earlier church dedicated to St Magnus, supposedly the principal disciple of St Gallus. It was only natural, therefore, that a close connection should have existed from the twelfth century onwards between St Mang and the Irish Schottenklöster at Regensburg. This would explain the interest of the canons in procuring books with Irish associations, and particularly their manuscript copies of *Vita Mariani* and the Regensburg *Libellus*, both of which refer to St Magnus. The importance of this association from our perspective is that the transcripts made for St Mang, which very often represented the only surviving copies, later served as very valuable sources for Irish hagiologists of the early seventeenth century.

In view of the rich holdings of manuscripts relating to Irish saints in libraries in and around Regensburg, it is surprising to note that no *Life of St Patrick* seems to have survived among them.²⁸ The omission may be more apparent than real. Thus, in 1607, White located one of the key manuscripts of the *Vita III* of St Patrick in the library of his own university of Ingolstadt. This is the *Codex Biburgensis*, now München, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 2° MS 312, *saec.* XII², which contains, apart from Patrick's *Life* and a series of homilies, a number of other saints' *Lives*, most of which either are Irish or have Irish connections. This fact, together with the special interest of the manuscript in St James, in the form of two texts, a homily and a *Translatio Iacobi Maioris*, indicates that the manuscript may have originated in the Schottenklöster at Regensburg.²⁹ White arranged to have the *Lives* of Patrick and Kevin transcribed from this manuscript and communicated to Ussher, Colgan and the Bollandists.³⁰

The Irish hagiographical collection on the Continent

When editing the *Vita III* of St Patrick, Ludwig Bieler drew attention to a number of manuscripts in Bavaria and Austria containing Irish saints' *Lives*.³¹ Several such *Lives* have been preserved within the volumes of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, a

huge collection which, as its name indicates, now survives only in Austrian libraries. Related Lives have been preserved in other manuscripts, such as the Munich *Codex Biburgensis* which, as we have just seen, shows signs of having been compiled at the Regensburg Schottenklöster. Arranged in calendrical order in the Austrian *Legendary*, the Irish Lives constitute full or fragmentary collections in those other manuscripts. Despite the Austrian character of its transmission, the original place of compilation of the *Legendary*, in the second half of the twelfth century, has been repeatedly linked with Regensburg, in particular with the Benedictine abbey of Prüfening, then near, now within, the city.³² In a forthcoming edition and discussion of its Irish Lives, I shall argue that the *Legendary* was probably a result of cooperation between several monasteries in and near Regensburg, each of which supplied sources from its library.³³

My immediate purpose is to draw attention to aspects of these Lives linking them to corresponding texts in the three national collections of Irish saints' Lives in Latin, which were later compiled in Ireland and which now survive at Brussels, Dublin and Oxford.³⁴ Because of their more or less national character, the Irish collections contain many more Lives than the continental manuscripts. However, because of their greater antiquity, the continental texts throw some light on the background to the compilation of the later native collections.

The Lives of the following saints survive in continental as well as in Irish collections; the names are in calendrical order: Mochulleus, Furseus, Brigida, Ita, Ruananus, Patricius, Coemgenus, Columba, Senanus, Malachias Armach, Flannanus, Brendanus. (The Lives of other Irish, or reputedly Irish, saints whose careers brought them to the continent, such as Columbanus, Gallus, Kilianus, Marianus, are not known from Irish collections.) Beginning with the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille, both saints from the diocese of Killaloe (Co. Clare), let us now see how the continental texts relate to the Irish redactions.

The Lives of Flannán and Mochuille

In addition to their transmission on the Continent, these two Lives survive, at times in fragmentary form, in all three national collections. As such, they have already attracted much scholarly attention.³⁵ James F. Kenney, for example, who has been followed by William W. Heist in his edition of the Lives from the *Codex Salmanticensis*, noted the fact that both *vitae* differed from the style of the other texts in this collection.³⁶ Indeed, Kenney went as far as to suggest that the Lives had been written in the interest of the O'Brien dynasty, by a foreign cleric, possibly at Killaloe. This took into account the fact that while the style of the *Salmanticensis* recensions could not be matched from among the other Lives of the Irish collections, their subject matter, namely the glorification of the O'Briens, the alleged family of the saint in Flannán's case, was thoroughly Irish.

Since Kenney, Donnchadh Ó Corráin has conjectured that the continental character of these Lives was due to the fact that the author had spent his younger years in France and Germany. However, this theory does not take adequate account of the manuscript history of the texts. Both Lives contain interior evidence of a *terminus post quem* of c. 1162/3.³⁷ Furthermore, both are included in the earliest surviving recension of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, now at Heiligenkreuz in Austria, whose four codices were

completed before the end of the twelfth century. The archetype posited for the Heiligenkreuz collection shows these Lives to have been on the Continent at a still earlier date. Wattenbach proposed an earliest possible date of commencement of the archetype of about 1185. This dating derived from historical references contained in the *Vita Mariani*, which is generally believed to have been the latest text to be incorporated in the Legendary. However, later revision of his criteria has produced a *terminus post quem* of 1177.³⁸ This means that the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille were already in Regensburg prior to c. 1180, where they were likely to have been reworked, as I shall argue, by the author of the *Vita Mariani*. This latter Life of the founder of the Regensburg Schottenklöster, may, indeed, have been specially commissioned for inclusion in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, whose compilers would doubtless have insisted on the inclusion of the Lives of the founders and patrons of the contributing houses. Let us now examine this text more closely.

The Vita Mariani

The *Vita Mariani* is one of the most valuable documents to have been written in the Regensburg Schottenklöster. The author knew little about the northern Irish background of the founder of the Schottenklöster, who had died a century earlier. However, he provided the first ever recorded survey of Irish missionary activity abroad, including the *acta* of such personages as Mansuetus of Toul, Columbanus, Furseus, Gallus and Kilianus. The much earlier activity of these saints is presented in such a way as to set the scene, as it were, for the arrival at Regensburg of Marianus and his companions, an event which is then followed by a chronicle of the foundations of the Congregation, for the most part accurately based on documents from the monastery's archive.

For our purpose, the Life composed for Marianus has an added importance. Recently, I drew attention to the fact that the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille shared certain characteristics with that of Marianus.³⁹ A closer comparison of style and wording now confirms my earlier impression that all three may in fact have been written by the same author. The exact same characteristics used by Kenney and later commentators to distinguish the two Lives in the *Codex Salmanticensis* repeatedly appear in the Regensburg text.⁴⁰ The most plausible inference would seem to be that pre-existing Lives of Flannán and Mochuille were brought to Regensburg, and were rewritten there by the author of *Vita Mariani*, most probably at some time after 1166. As Ó Corráin has rightly emphasised, most of the additions to the two Lives in *Salmanticensis* are concerned with praise of the O'Briens of Thomond, who are promoted by the redactor at every possible opportunity. This aspect of texts reworked in the Regensburg scriptorium may now be put into context.

After having been founded by Ulstermen, the Regensburg Schottenklöster drew its abbots exclusively from Munster, with a particularly strong MacCarthy representation in the first half of the twelfth century. The expansion of the Schottenklöster, and the increase in scribal activity which followed, was to a large degree due to one such abbot, Christianus MacCarthy, who died, prior to 1158, on a visit to Ireland, to obtain funds from his kinsmen. Not surprisingly, the *Visio Tnugdali* and the *Vita Sti Alberti*, both of which were written during Christianus's abbacy, contain propaganda in favour of the MacCarthys. Christianus's

successor, Abbot Gregory, likewise embarked on a visit to the homeland to recover the funds which Christanus, owing to his unexpected death, had not been able to bring back to Regensburg, but had deposited with the archbishop of Cashel. During this visit, Gregory arranged to be received by the O'Brien kings, who likewise contributed to the coffers of the Schottenklöster. I suspect that this may have been the occasion on which the Regensburg Schottenklöster came into the possession of texts concerning Flannán and Mochuille. Indeed, the continental manuscripts of the *Vita Flannani*, which all contain the full text whereas *Salmanticensis* has a lacuna, supply a likely place and occasion for the transaction. Before *Salmanticensis* breaks off, we are told about a synod held at Lismore in 1166 (an event also used by Ó Corráin for dating the Life) during which a miracle involving a crucifix was seen. In the German manuscripts of the *Vita* (Heiligenkreuz 14, fol. 128) the text continues: *Cui miraculo vir venerabilis Gregorius Ratisponensium abbas peregrinorum cum tribus capellanis suis ac servientibus intererat. De hac re brevitatis causa sufficiat*. Gregory may thus have procured copies of the two Irish Lives before returning to Germany, where, as this passage also makes clear, the text was subsequently reworked. Moreover, this passage also confirms that, having been reworked in Regensburg, this text, together with that of Mochuille, subsequently found its way back to Ireland, in this case for inclusion in the *Codex Salmanticensis*.

The Vita Sancti Patricii

The practice of reworking Lives in the Regensburg Schottenklöster may not have been limited to those of Flannán and Mochuille. During a library tour in 1966, Ludwig Bieler located, at the Benedictine monastery of Göttweig in Austria, a late twelfth-century fragment including the last lines of the Life of Flannán and the beginning of an otherwise unknown Life of St Patrick.⁴¹ While the lines from the *Vita Flannani* show it to be at one with the versions in *Salmanticensis* and in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, the Life of St Patrick begins, uniquely, with a description of the missionary activities of St Mansuetus of Toul. As Bieler quite rightly pointed out, the exact same passage occurs in the second chapter of the Life of Marianus. Bieler suggested that this 'piece of pseudo-hagiography' was originally intended for the Life of St Patrick, before being adopted by the author of the Life of Marianus, who, he claimed, used it as part of 'a coherent argument, viz. to explain and to justify the traditional *peregrinatio* of the Irish'.⁴² But the evidence can also be read differently. Since wording and style again reveal a close correspondence to the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille, it could well be that the Regensburg redactor may also have composed a new Life of St Patrick or, as seems more likely, have rewritten a pre-existing one.⁴³ Closer examination of the opening chapter of the Life may provide some clues.

Unlike the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille, we are not provided in Patrick's Life with a conventional prologue outlining the author's reasons for writing, but are immediately confronted with a pseudo-historical setting. An attempt is made to synchronise the dates of the Roman emperors Augustus Caesar and Tiberius, the German emperor Lothar (supposedly the fourth son of Charlemagne, and eponym of Lotharingia), and the activities of Mansuetus, who had come from Ireland to Rome to become a disciple of the apostle

Peter. Mansuetus, we are told, was awarded the bishopric of Toul from where he sent disciples to Ireland to preach the faith. This happened *per multa tempora ante adventum beatissimi patris Patricii*. These men, then, *Quorum virorum vita* (the fragment ends here and the *Vita Mariani* continues) *et predicatio preclara, Dei sic providente clementia, apostolo precipue Hibernie Patricio benegnissimum stravit iter facilemque accessum in predicando gentibus, licet idolatris, exhibuit.*⁴⁴

While no names are given, the author was obviously at pains to rewrite the legend of Patrick, introducing, in the process, the concept of pre-Patrician saints. Neither Flannán, nor Mochuille are brought into contact with St Patrick. However, it is hinted in both their Lives that they, and the people associated with them, likewise may have belonged to the age of earliest christianity in Ireland. Of Flannán's saintly father, for instance, whose good deeds convinced pagans to accept the faith, it is said: *Qui multos pro Christo peregrinari volentes sanctos, de diversis orbis finibus adventantes, per plurima Hybernica loca suscipiens collocavit, eisdemque sanctis tamquam Christi coheredibus possessiones liberrimas de propriis facultatibus suis distribuit.*⁴⁵ Mochuille, on the other hand, who was outstanding in virtue and miracle-working *inter celeberrimos Hiberniae seu Scotiae praelatos*, is said to have been educated by Albinus *qui tunc temporis apud australes Hiberniae populos pro exigentia religionis et meritorum celebris habebatur.*⁴⁶ There is good reason to suspect that this *sanctus pater Albinus*, who, like Mansuetus, travelled to Rome *confirmationis ac praedicationis causa* and to whose *vita* the writer refers, was St Ailbe of Emly, one of the Munster saints credited with a pre-Patrician role.⁴⁷

Having regard then to these striking common features, the author of the *Vita Mariani*, who also seems to have rewritten the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille, may be regarded as the most likely author of a new Regensburg recension of the Life of St Patrick, such as is now witnessed by the Göttweig fragment. Furthermore, it is easy to see how the promotion of Munster saints, which is so marked a feature of his treatment of Flannán and Mochuille, might also have led him to the concept of pre-Patrician saints in the south of Ireland. The Regensburg *Libellus*, which expanded considerably on Patrick's connections with Munster, later perpetuated this theme.

Conclusion

This article began by addressing the question of whether Irish manuscripts, or copies thereof, ever returned from the Continent to Ireland. The original case in point was a transcript of a manuscript kept at Regensburg made in the early seventeenth century and sent probably by Stephen White to James Ussher in Dublin; this is now T.C.D. MS 580. Regensburg was the site of the first Schottenklöster in Germany in the twelfth century, and, as I have shown here, from this period onwards, texts of Irish origin were regularly rewritten there. It is now a matter of great interest, therefore, to discover that some other texts revised at Regensburg also later returned to Ireland, long before the seventeenth century, to be included in the local collections of saints' Lives.

My discussion of the evidence has been confined to twelfth-century Regensburg reworking of the Lives of Flannán, Mochuille and Patrick. Of these, the first two survive in almost identical form in several German and Austrian manuscripts and in the *Codex*

Salmanticensis, whereas the recensions of these Lives in the Oxford or Rawlinson collections and in the fragment of Marsh's Library, MS Z 3.1.5 (D), differ considerably. In the case of the Göttweig fragment of Patrick's Life, my purpose here has been to show that it too may originally have been reworked by the same author at Regensburg. The case for its also having been brought back to Ireland will be set forth in another article. In the light of the evidence put forward here, it would now seem that a Schottenklöster manuscript was among the sources used by the compiler of the *Codex Salmanticensis*.

To sum up, then, there were two periods of Irish history where the need for propagation of the notion of Irish sanctity abroad became compelling. One was the twelfth/thirteenth centuries, when the monks of the Irish foundations in Germany came under pressure to maintain their status in the face of envious local religious and lay opposition. The time was then deemed opportune to remind other nations how indebted their ancestors had been to Irish *peregrini*. Curiously, this same situation again presented itself in the seventeenth century, when Irish scholars were forced to repudiate the spurious claims of the Scottish lobby. It is interesting to note that in each case the battle was partly fought over the same texts and, as far as Germany is concerned, in the same place. It is entirely *à propos*, therefore, that the Trinity College Dublin manuscript, with which I began this article, should contain that part of the Regensburg *Libellus*, which, drawing on the *Vita Mariani*, sets forth the heroic *acta* of Irish *peregrini*.

Notes

- 1 For a history of the Schottenklöster, see L. Hammermeyer, 'Die irischen Benediktiner-"Schottenklöster" in Deutschland und ihr institutioneller Zusammenschluss vom 12-16. Jahrhundert' in *Studien und Mitteilungen [StudMitt] OSB* lxxxvii (1976), pp. 249-338, and P. Breatnach, *Die Regensburger Schottenlegende - Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consecrati Petri* (München 1977). Their manuscript production has already been discussed in detail by Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Twelfth- and thirteenth-century Irish annals in Vienna' in *Peritia* ii (1983), pp. 127-36; eadem, 'Kalendare und Legenden und ihre historische Auswertung', in S.N. Tranter and H.L.C. Tristram, (eds), *Early Irish literature - Media and communication. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der frühen irischen Literatur* (Tübingen 1988), pp. 247-65; eadem, 'Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster. Edition der Handschrift Vat. lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der Schottenklöster' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* xxvi (1992), pp. 1-119.
- 2 For autograph manuscripts of Marianus and of his companion Eoin/Johannes, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vindobonensis 1247, a copy of the Epistles of St Paul (see James F. Kenney, *The sources for the early history of Ireland*, i, ecclesiastical [New York 1929], pp. 618-19). The manuscript containing the Dialogues of St Gregory the Great, written by Eoin, which in Kenney's time (*Sources*, pp. 673-4) was in Hohenfurt, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 71, is now at Princeton, University Library (see S. de Ricci and D.J. Wilson, *Census of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada* 1 [New York 1935], p. 877); see also

- Breatnach, *Libellus*, p. 49, n. 87). Another codex written by Marianus, containing Patristica, formerly Fort Augustus Abbey Rat. I, is now in the Scottish National Archives at Edinburgh (see N. Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British Libraries*, II, Abbotsford—Keele [Oxford 1977], pp. 846–9). This manuscript has also been described by A.P. Forbes, 'Account of a manuscript of the eleventh century by Marianus of Ratisbon' in *Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquarian Society [P.S.A.S.]* vi (1841–6), pp. 33–40. An autograph of the Epistles of St Paul by Marianus, not identical with the codex at Vienna, was at the Cistercian monastery of Walderbach in 1511/12, but this seems now to be lost (see C. Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* iv, pt. 1: Bistümer Passau und Regensburg [München 1967], pp. 520, 525). See also B. Bischoff, 'Die turonische Bibel der Münchener Staatsbibliothek', in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (Stuttgart 1966), pp. 34–40.
- 3 The Schottenklöster library at Vienna survives *in situ* and has been catalogued by A. Hübl, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, qui in bibliotheca monasterii B. M. V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur* (Wien/Leipzig 1899; repr. Wiesbaden 1970). Hardly any manuscripts date back to the period immediately after the foundation, but some twelfth-century fragments have been discovered in later book-bindings. These include strips of early antiphons, which are made more interesting by their invocation of Irish saints (see L. Mezey, 'Fragmentenforschung im Schottenstift 1982–1983' in *Codices manuscripti* x (1984), pp. 60–71). Mainly late medieval books survive from St Jakob at Würzburg, and these are now preserved in the University Library. Some Regensburg manuscripts, for example the above-mentioned autographs by Marianus and Johannes, together with a sizeable collection of charters and related documents, were taken to Scotland in 1862. Others are now in the Diocesan Library at Regensburg. A list of the surviving manuscripts and charters of all Schottenklöster, as they were known some two to three decades ago, has been collected in the series *Germania Benedictina* (J. Hemmerle, *Die Benediktinerklöster in Bayern*. *Germania Benedictina*, II [Augsburg 1970] and F. Quarthal, *Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg*. *Germania Benedictina*, v [Augsburg 1975].)
 - 4 See T.K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin and London 1900), pp. 94–5; P. Grosjean, 'Les vies de S. Finnbarr' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 69 (1951), pp. 343–7.
 - 5 No. 24 of Abbott's catalogue, pp. 79–94.
 - 6 J. Ussher, *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (Dublin 1639; repr. in *Ussher ... whole works* ed. C. Elrington and J.H. Todd (Dublin 1847–64), vi, p. 297). For the *Libellus* see Breatnach, *Libellus*.
 - 7 William O'Sullivan, 'Correspondence of David Rothe and James Ussher, 1619–23', *Collectanea Hibernica* xxvi–xxvii (1994–5), pp. 7–49; Grosjean (1951), p. 344 and 'Notes sur quelques sources des Antiquitates de Jacques Ussher' in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxvii (1959), p. 158, n. 5). Some other items of the Trinity Library manuscript, such as the Life and Office of St Dymphna, can be attributed to Rothe. An excellent survey of the achievements of these seventeenth-century scholars is given by R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: an introduction to Vitae Sanctorum*

- Hiberniae* (Oxford 1991), pp. 39–74.
- 8 Ussher, *Antiquitates*, pp. 299–300.
 - 9 T. Dempster, *Menologium Scotorum* (1662) in A.P. Forbes (ed.), *Calendar of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh 1872), pp. 175–229. For an account of Dempster and of the Irish efforts to vindicate their compatriots, see Grosjean (1963), pp. 418–46, and Sharpe (1991), p. 41.
 - 10 On this period of the history of the *Schottenklöster*, see Hammermeyer, 'Die irischen Benediktiner-"Schottenklöster"', pp. 319–25. As Hammermeyer quite rightly points out, despite all Irish efforts, the theory of Scottish origin still prevails in Germany, even if now modified by the misnomer 'iroschottisch'.
 - 11 This codex is partly a copy of a manuscript kept at Eichstätt (Staatsbibliothek, Cod. 698, olim 269), where there also was a Schottenklöster. This manuscript was written in 1415, probably at Regensburg; see Breatnach, *Libellus*, pp. 83–4, 90–1.
 - 12 The full inscription is as follows: *Anno Domini 1529 frater David Omollorii ordinis S. Francisci sacraeque paginae baccalaurius ex Scotia oriundus sive Ybernia hunc librum habuit ut volen<tes>nudam veritatem scire de fundatione mo<nasterii> Scotorum ad S.Jacobum Ratisponae et aliorum monasteriorum per Reges et Principes Scotiae et Germaniae penitus facta ad istum librum accessum habeant omnes Scoti et peregrini Ratisponam venientes*; see also Breatnach, *Libellus*, pp. 82–4). I would like to thank G. Wessling for deciphering the inscription and also suggesting the reading of 1529, which is to be preferred to that of 1519.
 - 13 White's comments on his Regensburg manuscript survive in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5301–20 (4641); see also J. Lynch, who gives a transcript of part of White's text, together with comments in *Cambrensis Eversus*, M. Kelly (ed.), 2 vols (Dublin 1850) II, pp. 394–407. It is not quite certain whether the *selecta* about Irish history copied by Patrick Fleming, 'from a remarkable manuscript ... at Regensburg', refer to a copy of the *Libellus*. These *selecta* had seemingly not been seen by White when he referred to them in a letter to Colgan in 1640; see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, p. 61.
 - 14 John Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii, Columbae, et Brigidae* (Louvain 1647); see also idem, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Louvain 1645; repr. Dublin 1948). For a description of J. Colgan's editorial method, see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, pp. 54–61, and L. Bieler, *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick*. *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* VIII (Dublin 1971), pp. 41–2.
 - 15 W. Reeves, *The Life of St Columba, founder of Hy, written by Adamnan* (Dublin and Edinburgh 1857), pp. xiii–xxiv; Reichenau may not have been its first continental home, since it receives no mention in the quite extensive ninth-century catalogues of the monastery; see A.O. and M.O. Anderson, *Adamnan's Life of Columba* (Edinburgh 1961), pp. 3–4.
 - 16 While there were relatively few manuscripts with Irish associations in Reichenau, including Adamnán's *De locis sanctis* and a *Liber Fursei de visione eius*, St Gallen possessed copies of Lives of Columbanus, Gallus, Fintan of Rheinau, genealogies of Patrick and Brigid, a ninth-century Life of Columba, and *De locis sanctis*. This does not include the 30 volumes classed in the catalogue as *Libri scottice scripti*. For these manuscripts, see the articles by J. Autenrieth and J. Duft in H. Löwe

- (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart 1982), pp. 903–15 (Reichenau), pp. 916–37 (St Gallen). White's co-worker, Patrick Fleming, who had already been searching the library of St Gallen, possibly en route to Rome, might have been instrumental in forwarding information; see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, pp. 47–52.
- 17 This was printed by Colgan in his *Triadis Thaumaturgae*, pp. 527–42.
- 18 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 179 (previously E.4.10). The missing sections were added from White's copy, see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, pp. 62–3, nn. 89/90.
- 19 In this monastery White was also able to locate a copy of the Life of St Erhard who was the patron of the convent of Niedermünster in Regensburg, and it was most probably here that he also gained knowledge of the above-mentioned copy of the *Libellus*. Colgan printed the Life of Erhard by Conrad à Monte Puellarum (Konrad von Megenberg, fl. c. 1130–40) together with other text witnesses, including extracts from breviaries, on January 8th; *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 22–38. Ussher, *Antiquitates*, 269, also acknowledges Fr White as his source for these texts. Conrad's Life, which seems to have used the *Libellus*, puts some stress on the alleged Irish provenance of Erhard. Of Erhard's companion Albert, whose Life was written in the Schottenklöster around 1155–60, Colgan did not possess any knowledge; he instead follows his dossier of Erhard with some excerpts from contemporary writers; *ibid.*, pp. 38–41; see G. Koschwitz, 'Der hl. Bischof Erhard von Regensburg' in *StudMitt OSB* lxxxvi (1975), pp. 481–644. The *Libellus* is to be found on fols 26r–102r of the manuscript mainly in the hand of Andreas von Regensburg (d. c. 1442), who, while being an inmate of the house of St Mang, was responsible for collecting a large variety of sources; see F. Fuchs, *Bildung und Wissenschaft in Regensburg. Neue Forschungen und Texte aus St. Mang in Stadtamhof*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 13 (Sigmaringen 1989), pp. 29–33.
- 20 On this manuscript, see M. Esposito, 'On the early Latin Lives of St Brigid of Kildare' [Notes on Latin learning and literature in mediaeval Ireland, pt. iv] in *Hermathena* xlix (1935), pp. 144–5. The reference is also quoted by Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, p. 62, n. 90). Ussher or White may thus be responsible for the ascription of the whole Life to Ultán; see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, pp. 81–106. On the hymn, see Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 267–8. A transcript of the Life is also among the *collectanea* of the Bollandists (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7763); see J. van den Gheyn et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 13 vols (Brussels 1901–48), v, pp. 418–22.
- 21 Esposito, 'Early Latin Lives of Brigid', pp. 144–7.
- 22 C. Selmer, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis from early Latin manuscripts* (Notre Dame 1959; repr. Dublin 1989), pp. xxxviii–ix. This codex, Clm 17740, contains other matter, which enabled F. Fuchs to suggest an identification with a manuscript numbered under the new acquisitions of abbot Ramwold of St. Emmeram (d. 1000). The first *ex libris* of St Mang dates from the fifteenth century; see Fuchs, *Bildung und Wissenschaft*, pp. 42, 48. The fate of the majority of the manuscripts recorded in the seventeenth-century catalogues is not certain; the group which came to the Staatsbibliothek in München are numbered Clm 17731–97. The monastery was largely destroyed in 1633.

- 23 The library catalogues of the years 1610/1629 respectively have been edited by Fuchs, *Bildung und Wissenschaft*, pp. 40–80; the references to the two Lives of Brendan and the one of Brigid are on p. 48, those to the Life of St Erhard, which was probably used by White, on pp. 42, 48, 52.
- 24 This Life of Marianus, which was used by a variety of scholars in the seventeenth century, is, like White's Life of Brigid, unrecorded in the library catalogue. Grienewaldt (1581–1626) edited the *Vita Mariani* from a very defective manuscript, nearly completely destroyed by water. To be able to decipher it he employed the help of a Scottish monk of the Schottenklöster, John Stuart (d. 1614), who wrote on fol. 227v a critical remark concerning the Irish claims of the *Libellus*, from which the *Recessus beati Erhardi* on fol. 308 is taken. This copy of the *Libellus*, which we now believe to be München, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 903, is also not among the items of the catalogue; see above pp. 81–2. On the manuscripts of the *Vita Mariani*, see Hauck, 'Die Vita Mariani. Überlieferung und Text' (unpublished thesis, p. 20). I would like to thank Ms Hauck for granting me access to her thesis.
- 25 Canisius, whose *Antiquae lectiones tomi VI* were published at Ingolstadt in 1603–4, also took into account documents of Irish interest; see M. Esposito, 'Lour Darg' [Notes on Latin learning and literature in mediaeval Ireland, iv], *Hermathena* xlv (1930), p. 145. He refers repeatedly to the manuscripts of St Mang; see Fuchs, *Bildung und Wissenschaft*, p. 35 n. 91. However, the Life of Brigid is not among the texts listed by Canisius.
- 26 White refers to Canisius' unsatisfactory text of the *Vita Columbae* in connection with his transcript of this text from the Reichenau/Schaffhausen manuscript: *tres libros, verum passim incuria librariorum depravatos, obscuratos, haesitantes, hiantes, truncatos, et memorabilium rerum multarum narrationis omissione foedum in modum deformatos*; see Reeves, *Life of Columba*, p. xxv. Canisius also printed the Life of Kilian from the same source. The Windberg Legendary (München, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22240–5) has a close connection with the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, of which more below; see L. Bieler, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 233–4. Apart from the six volumes of the legendary, there existed at Windberg a codex (Clm 22248) containing the Lives of St Malachy, Fursey, Colomann and Brendan, which is roughly contemporary (second half of twelfth century) with the *Legendarium*. The editions by Canisius were also used by Fr Thomas Messingham in his *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* (Paris 1624); see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, p. 46. Canisius printed an excerpt from the *Libellus*, containing a colophon referring to the Irish abbot Tatheus of St. Jakob/Regensburg (d. 1467), who was then later credited with the writing of a chronicle on the Irish saints in Germany; see Kenney, *Sources*, p. 511, n. 62. Tatheus was, however, only responding to an enquiry of the abbot of Ilimünster, whose patron saint was numbered among the Irish saints. The copy from which Canisius quoted is not identical with any of the surviving manuscripts; see Breatnach, *Libellus*, pp. 96–7.
- 27 The catalogue of Fitzsimon is printed by Grosjean, 'Edition du *Catalogus praecipuorum Sanctorum Hiberniae* de Henri Fitzsimon' in J. Ryan (ed.), *Féil-Sgríbhinn Éoin Mhic Neill: Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill* (Dublin 1940), pp. 335–93 and R. Sharpe, 'The origin and elaboration of the

- Catalogus praecipuorum sanctorum Hiberniae* attributed to Fr Henry Fitzsimon, S.J.' in *Bodleian Library Record* xiii, 3 (1989), pp. 202–30. For a detailed discussion of the documents, see J. McCulloh, 'Herman the Lame's Martyrology' in *Analecta Bollandiana* civ (1986), pp. 349–70 (p. 363). The evidence seems to suggest that Paul and Gebhard were able to consult an Irish calendar, possibly Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Hs. 12 quarto, from the monastery of Tegernsee, which appears to have been written at the Schottenklöster in Regensburg; see Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Nekrolog', pp. 43–4.
- 28 While containing the Lives of Brigid and Columba, the Windberg Legendary lacks that of Patrick (Bieler, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 233–4).
- 29 On this manuscript, which came to Ingolstadt after the dissolution of the abbey of Biburg during the sixteenth century, and from there to the University Library of München, see Bieler, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 14–15, and now N. Daniel, G. Schott, P. Zahn, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München. Die Handschriften der Folienreihe* (Wiesbaden 1979), pp. 55–6.
- 30 The present whereabouts of White's transcripts and the seventeenth-century references to them are discussed by Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, p. 49, n. 40.
- 31 Bieler, *Four Latin Lives*, pp. 233–4.
- 32 A. Kern, 'Magnum Legendarium Austriacum', in J. Stummvogel (ed.), *Die österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Festschrift für Josef Bick* (Vienna 1948), pp. 429–34.
- 33 For an introduction to this study see Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Nekrolog'. The detailed discussion of the inter-relationships between the recensions of the Great Austrian Legendary and the eight or so other continental manuscripts containing collections of Irish saints' Lives will be published in D. Ó Riain-Raedel (assisted by Gisela Wessling), *The Irish Saints' Lives in the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (in preparation). Since the completion of Bieler's *conspectus* in 1971, a number of further text witnesses have come to light.
- 34 *Codex Salmanticensis*, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, MS 7672–4; Dublin, Primate Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.5, and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 175; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 485 and Rawlinson B 505. These collections have been classified by Plummer as S, MT and R and by Sharpe as S, D and O. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, has discussed the collections in detail. However, some of his comments on the manuscript histories will now have to be revised in the light of the results of P. Ó Riain [see pp. 91–100 in this volume, Eds].
- 35 D. Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Bhriain in twelfth-century hagiography' in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D.N.D. Dumville, (eds.), *Ireland in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1982), pp. 213–31; Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, pp. 27–9. To the manuscripts and editions listed by Ó Corráin and Sharpe, the following can be added: the Life of Flannán survives in Heiligenkreuz, Hs. 14, 126r–132v; Zwettl, Hs. 15, 109r–115v; Melk, Hs. C12, 113v–150r; in München, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 2928, 150, and as a fragment in Göttweig (Austria) Hs. XII.1, no. 33. The Life of Mochuille survives in Heiligenkreuz, Hs. 11, 30v–34v; Zwettl, Hs. 13, 29–33; Lilienfeld, Hs. 58, 44–9; Admont, Hs. 25, 39v–44; Melk, Hs. F8, 75v–83v, and also in München, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 2928,

- 148v (Bieler's S) and Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1176/478 4o (*olim* 1299) 30–39, copied in 1627 by Jakob Bilag from a lost manuscript at the Carthusian house in Gaming (Austria). The existence of the Lives of both saints in a lost manuscript from the Cistercian monastery of Walderbach near Regensburg is attested in a library catalogue of 1511/12; see Ineichen-Eder, *Bibliothekskataloge*, p. 561.
- 36 Kenney, *Sources*, p. 405; Heist, *Vitae sanctorum*, p. xliii–xliv. Heist also recognized the similarity between the language and style in the Lives of Flannán and Mochuille, which has since been taken by Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections', to mean that they were both penned by the same author. These observations apply to the Lives in the *Codex Salmanticensis* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7672–4, fols. 168a–174d and fol. 220a), which were edited by Heist, *Vitae sanctorum*, pp. 280–301 (Flannán) and pp. 410–13 (Mochuille). Otherwise, the Life of Flannán exists also in Rawlinson B 485, fol. 157v–160v; Rawlinson B 505, fol. 163–167v in the Oxford collection, and, in a single leaf, in Marsh's Library, MS Z 3.1.5., fol. 35v, the Dublin collection; these recensions have been edited by Grosjean, 'De S. Flannano fragmentum' in *Analecta Bollandiana* xlv (1928), pp. 122–45. The different recensions have been discussed by Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Lives*, and will be further discussed in the forthcoming edition (see note 28 above).
- 37 Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections', p. 216.
- 38 Wattenbach's dating of events ('Die Congregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland' in *Zeitschrift für christl. Archaeologie und Kunst* i, [1859], pp. 21–30, 49–58 p. 26) mentioned in the *Vita Mariani* (papal privileges, death of the first abbot of the daughter house in Vienna, and the foundation of the filiation at Eichstätt) can now be revised. The latest verifiable date is that of a privilege granted to the monastery by Pope Alexander III in February 1177; a later one by Pope Lucius III in the year 1185 receives no mention; see G. A. Renz, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottenabtei St. Jakob und des Priorats Weih-St. Peter in Regensburg' in *StudMitt OSB* xvi (1895–7), pp. 64–84, 574–90; xvii, pp. 29–40, 229–39, 416–29, 629–39; xviii, pp. 79–87, 263–24 (1886, pp. 254–5). The *Vita Mariani* was published by the Bollandists in *Acta Sanctorum* Feb. II (Brussels 1658), pp. 361–72.
- 39 Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Nekrolog', p. 38.
- 40 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xliii, has commented on the 'fondness, amounting almost to a mania' of the author of the *Vita Flannani* for the word *tamquam*. It appears some twelve times in the *Vita Mariani*. I shall be noting a considerable number of identical wordings in my forthcoming edition. See also the following note and Hauck, unpublished thesis (see above, note 24), pp. 50–6.
- 41 Bieler, 'An Austrian fragment of a Life of St. Patrick' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* xcv (1961), pp. 176–81.
- 42 Bieler, 'Austrian fragment', p. 80.
- 43 The following are some of the parallels (references are to the lines in Bieler's edition):
 2 ... *e diversis orbis climatibus* ...; *Vita Flannani* (S) ch. 32, p. 298, 21: ... *vel ipse vel pater eius sanctus Theodricus e diversis mundi climatibus* ...
 9 ... *ut quidam eximie nobilitatis ac prestantis forme iuuenis* ...; *Vita Mochullei* (1898) ch. 15, p. 149, 36: ... *qui tunc temporis praestanti forma corporis* ...; (1868) p. 514, 9: *Ecce Hugo, ... gloria gentis, forma praestanti* ...

18 *Beatus interea Mansuetus, cui optata omnia successerunt ...*; *Vita Mochullei* (1898) ch. 7, p. 143, 13: *Videns igitur vir beatissimus, cui omnia optata successerant ...*

23 *Qui antequam uniuerse carnis viam ingrederetur ...* *Vita Flannani* ch.7, p. 284, 27: *... que visere ac eisdem valefacere antequam universe carnis viam ingrediar ...*

44 Bieler, 'Austrian fragment', p. 177; Hauck, p. 94.

45 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. 282 B2.

46 A. Poncelet, 'De Magno Legendario Austriaco' in *Analecta Bollandiana* xvii (1898), pp. 24–216, at p. 137.

47 Poncelet, 'De Magno Legendario', pp. 138–9. Ailbe received prominence in a Schottenklöster text written shortly after 1152 to defend the MacCarthy claim to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; see Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Nekrolog'. In Flannán's Life, on the other hand, as in the case of the saint's mentor Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, Ailbe, as the rival Éoganacht saint, is acknowledged but, at the same time, neutralised; see also Ó Corráin, 'Foreign connections', p. 228.

Lebor Gabála in the Book of Lecan

Tomás Ó Concheanainn

Lebor Gabála (LG) has best been preserved in four medieval redactions.¹ Three of these, the Second Redaction (R2), *Míniugad* ('Interpretation'),² and the Third Redaction (R3), are represented in the Book of Lecan (Lec).³ This manuscript was compiled in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by the historian to the Í Fhiachrach, Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh, and three assistant scribes, namely, Giolla Íosa's own pupil, Murchadh Riabhach Ó Cuinnlis, Ádhamh Ó Cuirnín, who wrote the text of R2 (together with *Míniugad*), and an unnamed scribe (who doubtless was Giolla Íosa's son, Tomás Cam).⁴

Ó Cuirnín's transcript (Lec R2 and *Míniugad*), though probably the last section to be written, stands at the front of the volume;⁵ it once comprised 30 folios, but the original ff. 1–9 have been lost. In the Facsimile the surviving part is represented by ff. 1–21.

I The source of Ó Cuirnín's transcript

A text of LG which is very closely related to Lec R2 (with *Míniugad*) is found as three fragments divided between RIA MSS 537–9.⁶ The scribe, who has been assigned to the fourteenth century, is unnamed, but other works from his hand are known. These are: a fragment of the Irish World-Chronicle and the sole surviving vellum of the Annals of Tigernach (ATig), both in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 488,⁷ and cols 370–401 in the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL).⁸

The textual and scribal unity of the two fragments in RIA MSS 537–8 was established by van Hamel, and Macalister independently recognized the unity of all three fragments (MSS 537–9).⁹ In RIA Cat. Kathleen Mulchrone defers her remarks on the hand to her description of MS 538. She writes:

The handwriting of *a* [the LG fragment] has certain traits of resemblance to that of Adam Ó Cuirnín, who wrote the initial folios of the Great Book of Lecan in 1418, the initial capitals of the two scribes being similar. Both may have been influenced here by the ornamentation of an earlier exemplar.¹⁰

There is a blank space at the end of the second column of the last page of MS 538, which is noted by Mulchrone as follows:

Having copied the preceding poem, the scribe here breaks off his transcript of *Lebor Gabála*, leaving the rest of the column blank. The missing portion of this version can

be supplied from Lec, *Facs.*, 9 v^ob 8ff., which derives apparently from the same exemplar.¹¹

In this description the blank space in MS 538 and loss of text at the beginning of MS 539 are together considered to account for the missing portion. Macalister probably sees more in the condition of the manuscript than can be justified. His statement (Pt I, p. xiv) may be paraphrased as follows (with the RIA Cat. nos of the manuscripts substituted for the editorial sigla):

In MS 538 the writing stops abruptly at 8vb9 (end of the poem *Fland for Éirind hi tig [togaidi]*), after which the rest of the column is blank. We must infer that a gathering had been lost from the exemplar of MSS 537–9, and that the scribe of MSS 537–9 was unable to find means of filling the lacuna.

Since the lacuna between MS 538 and MS 539 ‘does not exist in the closely cognate copy’ of Ó Cuirmín’s transcript (Lec 1r–21v) Macalister claims (Pt I, p. xiv n.) that the Lec text is not, ‘as as been supposed’,¹² a transcript of the text of MSS 537–9 but must have been derived from, at latest, the exemplar of the latter.

There is, however, no evidence of any connection between (i) the blank space at the end of MS 538 and (ii) the loss of text at the beginning of MS 539. As MS 539 opens with an acephalous text, which is a physical condition not necessarily related to the blank space at the end of MS 538, it seems more reasonable to identify the lacuna solely with the loss of text at the beginning of MS 539.

An alleged change of hand

Macalister states (Pt I, p. xiv n.) that the succession of kings in MS 539 ‘originally stopped at Sírna Sóeglach, and has been continued in a different but contemporary hand’. The part which Macalister believes to be in a different hand contains the succession of kings from Sírna to Dathí mac Fiachrach and Gilla Caemáin’s poem, *Ériu ard inis na ríge*, 150 qq. Ó Cuirmín’s transcript, Macalister observes (in the same footnote), ‘knows nothing of this, and breaks off at Sírna – another demonstration that the two MSS are not in “mother-and-daughter” relationship’.

On the question of a new hand at the end of MS 539 Macalister later changes his mind somewhat and states (Pt V, 244 n.) that both Lec and the text of MS 539 ‘in its original form’ break off at Sírna’s reign, and that the latter text has been continued ‘in a different hand, or rather in several different hands, the continuators copying from a MS similar to, but not identical with’ the Book of Leinster, in which the succession of kings ended with Dathí.

The unity of the scribal hand throughout LG in MSS 537–9 is beyond doubt.¹³ Macalister’s judgement clearly was influenced by the fact that *Míniugad* in Lec ends with the poem on Cath Móna Trogaide (relating to Sírna’s reign). Mulchrone draws attention to the point in the text of MS 539 which corresponds to the end of the Lec text of ‘Van Hamel’s Bb-version, Thurneysen’s B III’ [that is, *Míniugad*] but she does not refer to any change of hand:¹⁴

4 v^a 8. *Cath Mona Trogaide tair*, 5 qq. (Here the Lec. version, *Facs.* 16–21, ends.)

She catalogues the two remaining items of this redaction as follows:

4v^a *m.* Tract detailing the succession of the Kings of Éire from Sírna down to Dathí mac Fiachrach.

5r^b *i.* Gilla Caemáin. *Hériu ard inis na rígh*, 150 qq.

It can hardly be ascertained why the Lec text of *Míniugad* lacks these last two items relating to the succession of kings, but one possible explanation is that both items are represented in the corresponding part – from Lec 290vb34 (Sírna) to Lec 303va36 (end of Gilla Caemáin's poem) – of the tract on the succession of kings in Lec R3. Ó Cuirnín would have been familiar with the content of Lec R3, for the final three pages of that text are in his hand (Lec ff. 310v–11v) and would date from some time before the writing of Lec R2 (and *Míniugad*).¹⁵ While Macalister makes several keen observations on the textual agreement of MSS 537–9 and Lec R2 his evidence is inconclusive as to the overall relationship of the two texts. One interesting feature may here be taken as a case in point. It relates to a correction in the description of a scene from antiquity recalled in the synchronism of the kings of Fir Bolg:

MS 537, 8rb13–16

A nderidh flatha na *Callachda* tra tancatar *Fir Bolc* a nErinn. Ballasdar a tiughflaithside. is do do arfass in dorn cen rigidh icon scribend 7 ised ro scrib mane tethel 7 phares .i. numir 7 tomuss 7 fodai^ln.

Lec 1ra35–9

A nderidh flatha na *Callachda* tra tancatar *Fir Bolcg* a nErinn. Ballastar a tiugflaithside. is do do arfas in dorn cen rigidh icon scribind 7 ised ro scrib mane tethel 7 phares .i. numir 7 tomus 7 fod a lin.

It was in the end of the lordship of the Chaldeans that the Fir Bolg came into Ireland. BALLASTAR was their last prince; it is to him that there appeared the fist without a wrist, a-writing; and what it wrote was *MANE*, *THECEL*, and *PHARES*, 'number' and 'weight' and 'division'. (Macalister, Pt IV, p. 41)

Macalister reads Lec *fod a lin* as *fodalin*, and his note (Pt IV, p. 83) on the textual problem may partially be paraphrased as follows (thus dispensing with difficult sigla):

The misreading *fodalin* in the Lec text must come from *fodai^ln*, [that is, with *l* above *n*] the way in which the word is written in MS 537. As MSS 537–9 cannot have been the exemplar of Lec ('the reasons for this will appear as we proceed') the word must have been written thus (that is, a correction of *fodain* to *fodail* ['division']) in the common exemplar of MSS 537–9 and Lec. The scribe of MSS 537–9 'did not understand it, and copied it by rote': the scribe of Lec 'made a shot at its meaning'.

As for the *l* inserted above *i* in *foda^lin* in MS 537 (and not *l* above *n*, as Macalister reads it) the correction (including the punctum delens under *n*) clearly is in the scribal hand. This correction would appear to have been the immediate source of Ó Cuirnín's incorrect form *fod a lin*.

While Macalister is clearly wrong in stating that part of the text at the end of *Míniugad* in MS 539 is in 'a different but contemporary hand ... or rather in several different hands', he is not altogether without justification, for traces of another hand appear here and there. The two hands are easy to distinguish in the letters *a*, *e* and *g*. However it is only in the two words, *ceilg Loga*, f. 1vb, fourth line from end (= Lec 19ra23), that the second hand can be identified: it is that of Ádhamh Ó Cuirnín.¹⁶ It is impossible that the 'different hand' could be (as Macalister believes) contemporary with the principal hand. The only explanation of the appearance of a new hand is to be found in relation to the retracing mentioned by Macalister in his introductory description (Pt I, p. xiv):

The whole is written in a beautiful neat hand, which, however, is rather cramped, and not perfectly easy to decipher. The MS has undergone extensive re-inking, and it is not always certain that the restorer has done his work accurately.

Animated frames

In medieval manuscripts animated frames or half-frames are frequently employed to enclose or set off lists or tables. A fine example occurs in Oxford, MS Rawl. B 502 (2nd part), a twelfth-century manuscript recently shown to be the 'book' referred to in late medieval times as *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha*.¹⁷ The book later became known also as *Leabhar Muintire Duibhgeannáin*, it having long been in the possession of a branch of the family at Seanchuach Ua nOirealla (Shancough, in the south-east of Co. Sligo).

The frame in Rawl. B 502 is of horizontal design, with the head of the animal extending into the right-hand margin of the column. A similar frame, also with the head reaching to the right outside the column, occurs in MS 538, 2va;¹⁸ and it is possible that the frame in *Lebar Glinne Dá Locha* had been seen by the scribe of MSS 537–9, who probably belonged to one of the learned families of northern or north-eastern Connacht.¹⁹ At the corresponding point in Lec R2, Lec 4ra, Ó Cuirnín has been less successful in reproducing the frame, for he inadvertently placed the base (the elongated body of the animal) above the section of text to be enclosed, so that the raised head and neck, in the outer margin of the column, do not bound the correct portion of text. The fact that Ó Cuirnín nonetheless proceeded to complete the frame in this position would suggest that he was trying to make a faithful transcript. His exemplar must have been the actual text of MSS 537–9, the faded parts of which he retouched, probably as he went along.

In Ó Cuirnín's transcript a marginal symbol is sometimes employed to mark the beginning of a poem. This symbol, a form of the paragraph, consists of a circle with a long downstroke from its centre. It clearly reproduces the form found in LG in MSS 537–9.

Evidently van Hamel (art. cit., p. 102) was on the right track in stating that Lec R2 is, for the most part, 'a transcript' ... 'an excellent copy' of the text represented by MSS 537–8 (the fragment in MS 539 having been unknown to him).

II A synchronism shared by Lec and the Book of Ballymote (BB)

The source of the synchronistic scheme employed in the Lec text of R3 (hereafter Lec R3) has been, as indicated by Macalister, a tract of which a representative is found in Lec ff. 186vb46–190ra32.²⁰ Macalister must have been aware of the basic identity of this Lec tract and that occurring in BB, pp. 11a1–14a6.²¹ Scowcroft has recognized the BB text as a witness to the synchronism operating in Lec R3.²² Lec and BB offer incomplete texts of the synchronism, but the two texts together would appear to preserve the tract in its entirety.

The BB text is headed in the hand of Charles O'Connor of Bellanagare (now Ballanagare), 'Leabhar Comhaimsireachda Flainn Mainstre[ach] siosana' and 'Synchronism of Flan[n]', but O'Connor's authority (if any) for this ascription is now unknown.²³

The BB text has an introduction based on sections of *Sex aetates mundi*.²⁴ The prose part of the tract proper ends at p. 13b23 with a reference to Lugaid mac Con taking the kingship of Ireland after his victory in Cath Maige Mucrama. Then comes a metrical component, *Nin mac Bel, roga na rig*, 21 qq. (pp. 13b24–14a5). The abandoned part of the BB text would have corresponded to Lec ff. 189rb43–190a32.²⁵

Like all such Irish tracts, Synchronism B is known to be based on the Irish World-Chronicle, a work which has only partially survived, 'in the guise of annals', which is 'fictitious and full of errors'.²⁶

The best surviving witnesses to the Irish World-Chronicle are two fragments (of slightly different recensions). They are:

- 1 Bodl. Rawl. B 502, ff. 1–12 (Facs., pp. 1–24), an eleventh-century manuscript.
- 2 Bodl. Rawl. 488, ff. 1–6. This fragment stands at the front of the unique vellum of ATig in Rawl. B 488 and is in the same hand.

These two fragments have been published by Whitley Stokes as belonging to ATig: 'The Fragment in Rawlinson B. 502',²⁷ 'Second Fragment. A.D. 143 – A.D. 361'.²⁸

The basic identity of the prose parts of the Lec and BB texts of Synchronism B may be illustrated by means of comparison with extracts from the two fragments of the Irish World-Chronicle.²⁹

The Rawl. B 502 fragment and Synchronism B

Stokes, *RC* xvi, pp. 412–13 (42–3)

Nero regnauit ...; ... urbis Romae incendium ...; ... Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit; ... Maria Magdalena moritur; ... Tomaidim Locha Rib meic Maireada dar Mag nAirbthen. Tomaidim Linmuine tar Liathmuine edón Locha Echach ...

Lec 189ra32–9

Nearo Sesair ... is na aimsir bas Muiri Magdalena 7 is na aimsir tomaidm Lindmaine tar Liathmuine .i. Loch nEchach 7 tomaidm Lacha Rib meic Maireada tar Mag nAirbthean ... 7 is na re ro crochad Peadar 7 ro dicheandad Pol 7 ro loiscead Roim.

BB 13a35–40

Nearo Sesar ... is na aimsir bas Muire Magdalen[a] ⁊ is na aimsir tomaidm Lindmuine tar Liathmuine .i. Loch n'íachach ⁊ tomaidm Locha Rib meic Muiredha tar Mag n'Airfen ... ⁊ is na aimsir ro crochad Pedar ⁊ ro diceannad Pol ⁊ roiloiscad Roim.

The Rawl. B 488 fragment and Synchronism B

Stokes, *RC* xvii, pp. 6–11 (50–5)

Marcus Antonius ... [regnauit annis] .xix ...; Lucius Antoninus Commodus ... annis xiii ...; Pertinax Senex ... mensibus .iui ...; Severus ... qui se ex no[m]i[n]e reigis quem Iulianus peremit Pertinacem appellari voluit ...; Aurailius Antoni[n]us ... annis .iui ...; Cath Muighe Mucruma dia dardáin ria Lugaidh mac Con, a torchair Art Aenfear mac Cuind Chetchathaig ⁊ .iui. meic Ailella Uluim. Lugaid Laga robíth Art a Turlach Airt. Bende Brit *immorro* robíth Eoghan mac Aililla. Ailii aiunt Lugaid mac Con post hoc bellum in Temporia regnase ...

Lec 189rb17–42

Marcus Antonius .xix ... Antonius Comadus tri bliadna deg ... Pertinaraxses [*Pertinax Senex*] .iui. mí do. Severus . Pertinax ...; Aibrailius secht mbliadna ... cath Muigi Mucrama diardain ria Lugaid mac Con ait a ndrochair Art mac Cuind ⁊ .iui. meic Ailella Oluim. Lugaid Laga ⁊ Ligairmi ... is iad ro marb [Art] a Turlach Airt i Tir Fiachrach Aidne. Bendi Brit is e ro marb Eogan mac Ailella Oluim. Lugaid mac Con do gobail rigi nErind

BB13b7–23

Marcus Anntoniius (*sic*) .x.ix ... Antoniius (*sic*) Comadus .x.iii ... Pertinaxsex [*Pertinax Senex*] .iui. mí. Severus Portinax [*sic*] ...; Auirilianus .iui ... Cath Muige Mucruma dia dardain ria Lugaid mac Con adrochair Art mac Cuind ⁊ .iui. meic Oilella Oluim. Lugaid Laga ro bith Art a Turlach Airt. Benne Brit ro bith Eogan mac Oilella. Lugaid mac Con du gabail rigi.

In BB the prose section of the tract ends at this point and is followed by the metrical component *Nin mac Bel, roga na rí*, 21 qq. At the end of the prose in the Lec text Giolla Íosa adds a metrical component of his own, *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim*, 94 qq., clearly in place of *Nin mac Bel, roga na rí*. Giolla Íosa's poem (Lec 190ra33–191ra52) synchronises Irish and world dynasties from the arrival of Meic Míled to the reign of Iacgaire mac Néill, the last of the kings of Ireland before Christianity.

The first line of Giolla Íosa's poem echoes that of the metrical synchronism ascribed to Flann Mainistrech;³⁰ and Giolla Íosa's poem may have given rise to a tradition that Flann was the author of Synchronism B.

Like the tract proper, Giolla Íosa's poem is based on the Irish World-Chronicle and deals with a period which is partially represented by the fragment in Rawl. B 488 (c. AD 143–361). The final twelve quatrains are in the hand of the unnamed collaborating scribe (who must have been Giolla Íosa's son, Tomás Cam), while the three quatrains preceding these are in the hand of Murchadh Ó Cuinnlis. The ascription in the penultimate quatrain runs:

Mac Fir Bisig co seim sin
in fisig reig do reidig.

(‘The gentle sage, Mac Fhir Bhisigh, has clearly elucidated that.’)

III Synchronism B in Lec R3

This section will demonstrate the employment of the Synchronism in the *Gabála*, ‘Takings, Invasions’, and in the pre-Christian section of *Réim Rígráide* (RR), ‘the Succession of Kings’, in Lec R3.³¹

Omissions (below, (ii), nos 3, 60, 103, 107) which occur in Synchronism B (but not in Lec R3) would seem to reveal that the redactor of Lec R3 did not draw on the Lec text of the tract but rather on a better exemplar.

Lec R3 also shows omissions, namely, the reigns of the kings of Ireland, Cathaír Mór (no. 98) and Lugaid mac Con (no. 102). There is no doubt about the correct positions of Cathaír Mór and Lugaid mac Con in RR, for example, in the Book of Leinster (LL);³² and the cause of their omission from Lec R3 can be explained. Lec R3 attaches sections of *Bóroma* (*Lagen*), ‘the Cattle-tribute (of Leinster)’, to the appropriate reigns in RR. The version of the *Bóroma* incorporated in Lec R3 is textually very close to that of LL. Cathaír Mór and Lugaid mac Con are not mentioned in the LL *Bóroma*, either as kings who did, or who did not, succeed in levying the tribute. Their omission is clearly an oversight on the part of the redactor of the LL text. Cathaír Mór should appear between Feidlimid Rechtaid and Conn Céthachach (both of whom levied the *Bóroma*);³³ and Lugaid mac Con should appear between Art and Fergus Duibdétach (both of whom levied the *Bóroma*).³⁴ The omission of Cathaír Mór and Lugaid mac Con from RR in Lec R3 is clearly due to the preoccupation of the redactor of Lec R3 with the text of the saga, which he boldly merged with parts of his recension of RR.

This application of the scheme of a separately existing synchronism to a redaction of LG is unique and deserves to be fully illustrated, especially in view of the sparse nature of Macalister’s presentation of RR. The enlarged recension of LG found in Lec R3 (with the *Bóroma* and Synchronism B worked into it) is clearly the work of Giolla Íosa, an author who has made his own poetic contribution to the synchronistic tract.

(References to LG are by Parts II–V, and page(s), of Macalister’s edition)

(i) *The Gabála and Synchronism B*

Cessair (In the last year before the Flood)

Lec R3: Lec 272vb36–8 (LG, Pt II 208, §198)

Tract: Lec 186vb47; BB *no reference*

Partholón (Ninus, first king of the Assyrians and King of the World)

Lec R3: Lec 273ra5–6 (LG, Pt III 2)

Tract: Lec 187ra12; BB 11a48

Nemed (Mithraeus, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 275vb30 (LG, Pt III 126)

Tract: Lec 187ra49; BB 11b3

Fir Bolg (Amentes, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 276ra36–8 ('Amintus'); (LG, Pt IV 28)³⁵

Tract: Lec 187rb32 ('Amintus'); BB 11b24–5 ('Amentes')

Tuatha Dé Danann (Belochus, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 282ra1–b14 (LG, Pt IV 208–10)

Tract: 187rb45–187va9; BB 11b34

Meic Miled (Mithraeus, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 286va6 (LG, Pt V 162–4)

Tract: 187vb18; BB 12a2–4

(ii) *RR and Synchronism B*

1 Érimón and Éber (Mithraeus)

Lec R3: Lec 286va44 (LG, Pt V 164–8)

Tract: 187vb28; BB 12a5

2 Joint sovereignty of three sons of Érimón (Mithraeus; Tautanes,³⁶ k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 287vb19–20 (LG, Pt V 186–8)

Tract: 187vb35; BB 12a5–6

3 Joint sovereignty of four sons of Éber

Lec R3: Lec 287vb26–7 (LG, Pt V 188)

Tract: *no reference*

4 Irial, s. of Érimón (Tautanes)

Lec R3: Lec 287vb31 (LG, Pt V 192–4)

Tract: Lec 187vb41; BB 12a6–7

5 Ethriel (Tautanes; Fleutheus, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 288ra28, 37–40 (LG, Pt V 196)

Tract: Lec 187vb44–188ra2; BB 12a7

6 Conmael (Fleutheus; Thineus, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 288va41 (LG, Pt V 200)

Tract: Lec 188ra3; BB 12a7

7 Tigernmas (Thineus; Dercylas, k. of the Assyrians; Eupales, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 288vb30 (LG, Pt V 206–8)

Tract: Lec 188ra9; BB 12a9–10

8 Eochu Édgothach (Eupales)

Lec R3: Lec 289rb17 (LG, Pt V 210)

Tract: Lec 188ra26; BB 12a11

9 Sobairce and Cermna (Laosthenes, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 289rb20–21 (LG, Pt V 212)

Tract: Lec 188ra30; BB 12a13

10 Eochu Faebarglas (Piritiades, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 289va30 (LG, Pt V 214–16)

Tract: Lec 188ra35; BB 12a14–15

11 Fiachu Labrainne (Piritiades; Ofrateus (> *Ofratalus*), k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 289vb16 (LG, Pt V 218)

Tract: Lec 188ra40; BB 12a19

12 Eochu Mumu (Ofratalus; Ofratanes, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 289vb40 (LG, Pt V 220)

Tract: Lec 188ra45; BB 12a19–20

13 Oengus Olmucaid (Ofratalus, *recte* Ofratanes)³⁷

Lec R3: Lec 290ra1 (LG, Pt V 226–8)

Tract: Lec 188ra51–rb1; BB 12a21–2

14 Énna Airgdech (Ofratanes; Acrazapes, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 290rb8 (LG, Pt V 228)

Tract: Lec 188rb2; BB 12a23–4

15 Rothechtaid (Acrazapes)

Lec R3: Lec 290rb18 (LG, Pt V 228–30)

Tract: Lec 188rb7; BB 12a25–6

16 Sétna (Acrazapes)

Lec R3: Lec 290rb26 (LG, Pt V 230)

Tract: Lec 188rb9; BB 12a26–7

17 Fiachu Fínscothach (Tonos Conceleros *graece* Sardanapallus, k. of the Assyrians)

Lec R3: Lec 290rb31 (LG, Pt V 230)

Tract: Lec 188rb13; BB 12a29

18 Muinemón (Arbaces, first k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 290rb40 (LG, Pt V 232)

Tract: Lec 188rb15; BB 12a31

19 Aildergdóit (Arbaces)

Lec R3: Lec 290va1 (LG, Pt V 232)

Tract: Lec 188rb19; BB 12a31

20 Ollom Fóila (Arbaces; Sosarmus, k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 290va12 (LG, Pt V 234, with n. on *Sosarmus*)

Tract: Lec 188rb19; BB 12a33

21 Finnachta (Sosarmus; Madidus, k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 290va23 (LG, Pt V 234–6)

Tract: Lec 188rb24; BB 12a35

22 Slánoll (Madidus)

Lec R3: Lec 290va28 (LG, Pt V 236)

Tract: Lec 188rb27; BB 12a36

23 Géde Ollgothach (Madidus; Cardyceas, k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 290va35 (LG, Pt V 236)

Tract: Lec 188rb31; BB 12a38

24 Fiachu Findoilches (Cardyceas)

Lec R3: Lec 290va40 (LG, Pt V 238)

Tract: Lec 188rb34; BB 12a38–40

25 Berngal (Deioces, k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 290vb4 (LG, Pt V 238–40)

Tract: Lec 188rb [] (*skipped in error*); BB 12a41

26 Ailill (Deioces)

Lec R3: Lec 290vb10 (LG, Pt V 240)

Tract: Lec 188rb39; BB 12a42

27 Sírna (Deioces)

Lec R3: Lec 290vb34 (LG, Pt V 242–4)

Tract: Lec 188rb41; BB 12a43–4

28 Rothechtaid (Fraortes, k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 291ra32 (LG, Pt V 244)

Tract: Lec 188rb45; BB 12a46

29 Elim (Fraortes)

Lec R3: Lec 291ra38 (LG, Pt V 246)

Tract: Lec 188rb49; BB 12a47

30 Giallachad (Fraortes; Cyaxares, k. of the Medes)

Lec R3: Lec 291ra43 (LG, Pt V 246)

Tract: Lec 188rb50; BB 12a48

31 Art Imlech (Cyaxares)

Lec R3: Lec 291ra [...] ³⁸ (LG, Pt V 246; §528 n.)

Tract: Lec 188va1; BB 12a48–9

32 Nuadu Finn Fáil (Cyaxares; Nabuchodonosor, king of the Persians; Cyrus, k. of the Persians; Cambyses, s. of Cyrus; Astyages, k. of the Medes) ³⁹

Lec R3: Lec 291ra4 (LG, Pt V 246–8)

Tract: Lec 188va3,11–14; BB 12a50

33 Bres (Cambyses; Darius)

Lec R3: Lec 291rb12 (LG, Pt V 248)

Tract: Lec 188va14; BB 12a57–8

34 Eochu Aphthach (Darius)

Lec R3: Lec 291rb39 (LG, Pt V 250)

Tract: Lec 188va17; BB 12a58–9

35 Finn (Darius)

Lec R3: Lec 291va2 (LG, Pt V 250)

Tract: Lec 188va18; BB 12b1

36 Sétna Innarrad (Darius; Xerxes, s. of Darius)

Lec R3: Lec 291va5 (LG, Pt V 252)

Tract: Lec 188va18; BB 12b1

37 Síomon Brecc (Xerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va11 (LG, Pt V 252)

Tract: Lec 188va20; BB 12b3

38 Duach Finn (Xerxes; Artaxerxes Longimanus, k. of the Persians)

Lec R3: Lec 291va14 (LG, Pt V 252)

Tract: Lec 188va21–2; BB 12b3

39 Muiredach Bolgrach (Artaxerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va18 (LG, Pt V 252)

Tract: Lec 188va27; BB 12b6–7

40 Fínna Derg (Artaxerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va21 (LG, Pt V 254)

Tract: Lec 188va27; BB 12b7

41 Lugaid Iardonn (Artaxerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va24 (LG, Pt V 254)

Tract: Lec 188va28; BB 12b7–8

42 Sírlám (Artaxerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va27 (LG, Pt V 254)

Tract: Lec 188va28; BB 12b8

43 Eochaid Uairches (Artaxerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va29 (LG, Pt V 256)

Tract: Lec 188va29; BB 12b8

44 Eochaid Fiadmuine ⁊ Conaing (Artaxerxes)

Lec R3: Lec 291va44 (LG, Pt V 256)

Tract: Lec 188va29; BB 12b9

45 Lugaid Lámderg (Artaxerxes; Xerxes, k. of the Persians; Sogdianus, k. of the Persians;
Darius Nothus, k. of the Persians)

Lec R3: Lec 291va48 (LG, Pt V 256)

Tract: Lec 188va34; BB 12b12

46 Conaing Bececlach (Darius Nothus)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb3 (LG, Pt V 258)

Tract: Lec 188va35; BB 12b12–13

47 Art m. Luigdech (Darius Nothus)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb7 (LG, Pt V 258)

Tract: Lec 188va36; BB 12b13

48 Ailill Finn (Artaxerxes Memnon, k. of the Persians)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb10 (LG, Pt V 258)

Tract: Lec 188va38; BB 12b15

49 Eochaid m. Aililla (Artaxerxes Memnon)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb21 (LG, Pt V 260)

Tract: Lec 188va39; BB 12b15

50 Argatmár (Artaxerxes Ochus)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb25 (LG, Pt V 260)

Tract: Lec 188va39; BB 12b16

51 Duach Ladrach (Artaxerxes Ochus)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb26 (LG, Pt V 260)

Tract: Lec 188va42; BB 12b17–8

52 Iugaid Laigdech (Artaxerxes Ochus)

Lec R3: Lec 291vb29 (LG, Pt V 260)

Tract: Lec 188va42; BB 12b18

[52A] Aed Ruad mac Baduirm (Artaxerxes Ochus) (*not in Macalister's list*)⁴⁰

Lec R3: Lec 291vb35

Tract: Lec 188va42; BB 12b18

53 Cimbaeth (Alexander the Great)

Lec R3: Lec 292vb14 (LG, Pt V 262)

Tract: Lec 188va49; BB 12b23–4

54 Macha (Ptolomeus)

Lec R3: Lec 293ra15 (LG, Pt V 266)

Tract: Lec 188va51; BB 12b24–5

55 Rechtaid Rírgderg (Ptolomeus)

Lec R3: Lec 293ra20 (LG, Pt V 266)

Tract: Lec 188vb1; BB 12b25

56 Ugaine Mór (Ptolomeus Philadelphus)

Lec R3: Lec 293ra26 (LG, Pt V 270–2)

Tract: Lec 188vb1–3; BB 12b25

57 Loegaire Lorc (Philadelphus)

Lec R3: Lec 293rb43 (*not printed in LG, Pt V [274]*)

Tract: Lec 188vb3; BB 12b27

58 Cobthach Cael Breg (Philadelphus; Ptolomeus Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va5 (LG, Pt V 276)

Tract: Lec 188vb3; BB 12b27–8

59 Iabraid Loingsech (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va19 (LG, Pt V 278)

Tract: Lec 188vb4; BB 12b28

60 Melge (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va25 (LG, Pt V 280)

Tract: *no reference*

61 Mug Corb (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va29 (LG, Pt V 280)

Tract: Lec 188vb6; BB 12b30

62 Oengus Ollam (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va31 (LG, Pt V 280)

Tract: Lec 188vb6; BB 12b30–1

63 Ilerceo (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va33 (LG, Pt V 280)

Tract: Lec 188vb7; BB 12b31

64 Fer Corb (Ptolomeus Philopator)

Lec R3: Lec 293va35 (LG, Pt V 280)

Tract: Lec 188vb7–8; BB 12b32

65 Connla (Philopator)

Lec R3: Lec 293va39 (LG, Pt V 282)

Tract: Lec 188vb8; BB 12b32–3

66 Ailill Caisfiachlach (Ptolomeus Epiphanes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va42 (LG, Pt V 282)

Tract: Lec 188vb10–12; BB 12b35

67 Adamair (Epiphanes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va46 (LG, Pt V 282)

Tract: Lec 188vb12; BB 12b35

68 Eochaid Ailtlethan (Epiphanes)

Lec R3: Lec 293va49 (LG, Pt V 282)

Tract: Lec 188vb12 ('Eochaid Foltleabar'); BB 12b36 ('Eochaid Foltleabar')

69 Fergus Fortamail (Ptolomeus Philometor)

Lec R3: Lec 293vb1 (LG, Pt V 282)

Tract: Lec 188vb13–4 ('Fergus Foltleabar'); BB 12b37 ('Fergus Foltleabar')

70 Aengus Tuirmech (Philometor)

Lec R3: Lec 293vb2 (LG, Pt V 284–6)

Tract: Lec 188vb14–15; BB 12b37

71 Conall Collamrach (Ptolomeus Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 294ra11 (LG, Pt V 286–8)

Tract: Lec 188vb16–18; BB 12b39–40

72 Nia Segamain (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 294ra17 (LG, Pt V 288)

Tract: Lec 188vb18; BB 12b40

73 Ínna Aigneach (Euergetes)

Lec R3: Lec 294ra21 (LG, Pt V 288)

Tract: Lec 188vb18; BB 12b40

74 Crimthann Coscrach (Ptolomeus Physcon)

Lec R3: Lec 294ra24 (LG, Pt V 290)

Tract: Lec 188vb19–20; BB 12b42

75 Rudraige (Physcon; Ptolomeus Alexander)

Lec R3: Lec 294ra27 (LG, Pt V 292)

Tract: Lec 188vb20; BB 12b43

76 Finnat Már (Ptolomeus Alexander)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb16 (LG, Pt V 294)

Tract: Lec 188vb22; BB 12b43

77 Bresal Bódíbad (Ptolomeus Alexander)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb19 (LG, Pt V 294)

Tract: Lec 188vb22; BB 12b43–4

78 Lugaid Luaigne (Ptolomeus Alexander)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb26 (LG, Pt V 296)

Tract: Lec 188vb22–3; BB 12b44

79 Congal Cláiringnech (Ptolomeus Physcon)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb29 (LG, Pt V 296)

Tract: Lec 188vb25; BB 12b46

80 Duach dalta Degad (Ptolomeus Dionysus; Roman Civil War)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb33 (LG, Pt V 296)

Tract: Lec 188vb26; BB 12b47

81 Fachtna Fathach (Cleopatra)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb43 (LG, Pt V 298)

Tract: Lec 188vb34; BB 12b53

82 Eochaid Feidlech (Iulius Caesar)

Lec R3: Lec 294rb48 (LG, Pt V 298)

Tract: Lec 188vb35–6; BB 12b54

83 Eochaid Airem (Iulius Caesar)

Lec R3: Lec 294va2 (LG, Pt V 298)

Tract: Lec 188vb37; BB 12b54–6

84 Eterscéil (Octavianus Augustus)

Lec R3: Lec 294va8 (LG, Pt V 300)

Tract: Lec 188vb40; BB 12b58–13a1

85 Nuadu Necht (Octavianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294va17 (LG, Pt V 300)

Tract: Lec 188vb41–2; BB 13a1–2

86 Conaire Mór (Octavianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294va20 (LG, Pt V 300)

Tract: Lec 188vb42–5; BB 13a3

87 Lugaid Riab nDerg (Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vespasianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294va37 (LG, Pt V 302)

Tract: Lec 189ra30–1; BB 13a42–3

88 Conchobar Abratruad (Vespasianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294va49 (LG, Pt V 302)

Tract: Lec 189ra43; BB 13a43

89 Crimthann Nia Náir (Titus, *in tract only*)

Lec R3: Lec 294vb5 (LG, Pt V 304)

Tract: Lec 189ra46–7; BB 13a44

90 Cairbre Cinn Chait (Domitianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294vb11 (LG, Pt V 304)

Tract: Lec 189ra47–51; BB 13a49

91 Feradach Finn Fechnach (Domitianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294vb20 (LG, Pt V 304)

Tract: Lec 189ra51; BB 13a50

92 Fiatach Finn (Nerua)

Lec R3: Lec 294vb27 (LG, Pt V 306)

Tract: Lec 189rb8–9; BB 13a57

93 Fiachu Finnóilches (Nerua; Hadrianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294vb33 (LG, Pt V 306)

Tract: Lec 189rb9–10; BB 13a59–b1

94 Elim (Hadrianus)

Lec R3: Lec 294vb36 (LG, Pt V 306)

Tract: Lec 189rb12–13; BB 13b3

95 Tuathal Techtmar (Hadrianus; Antoninus [Pius])

Lec R3: Lec 295ra24 (LG, Pt V 310)

Tract: Lec 189rb13–14; BB 13b4

96 Mál m. Rochraide (Antoninus)

Lec R3: Lec 299va33 (LG, Pt V 322)

Tract: Lec 189rb17; BB 13b7

97 Feidlimid Rechtmar (Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus)

Lec R3: Lec 299va34 (LG, Pt V 330)

Tract: Lec 189rb18; BB 13b8

98 Cathaír Mór (Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus)

Lec R3: *no reference*;⁴¹ (LG, Pt V 330)

Tract: Lec 189rb18–19; BB 13b8

99 Conn Céthathach (Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus)

Lec R3: Lec 299va38 (LG, Pt V 332)

Tract: Lec 189rb19; BB 13b9

100 Conaire Cóem ([L. Aurelius] Commodus)

Lec R3: Lec 299vb4 (LG, Pt V 334)

Tract: Lec 189rb25; BB 13b13

101 Art Aenfher (Commodus)

Lec R3: Lec 299vb6 (LG, Pt V 334)

Tract: Lec 189rb25–6; BB 13b14

102 Lugaíd mac Con

Lec R3: *no reference*;⁴² (LG, Pt V 336)

Tract: Lec 189rb41 ('Aibrailius'); BB 13b23 ('Auirilianus')⁴³

NOTE: At this point the prose section of the BB tract ends

103 Fergus Duibdétach ('a flaith Aibrailianuis')

Lec R3: Lec 299vb9 (LG, Pt V 336)

Tract: *no reference*

104 Cormac ua Cuinn (Marcus Aurelius)

Lec R3: Lec 299vb11 ('i flaith Marcusa Aurailiuis') (LG, Pt V 336–8)

Tract: Lec 189va3 ('Marcus Abrailius')

[105 Éochu Gunnat] (*not in Lec*); (LG, Pt V 338 n. 2)

106 Cairpre Lifechair (Aurelianus; Tacitus; Probus; Carus Narbonensis; *last three in tract only*)

Lec R3: Lec 299vb19 (LG, Pt V 338–40)

Tract: Lec 189vb27–39

At this point the synchronism (of Irish kings with Roman emperors) breaks off in Lec R3, where RR becomes swamped by tales and verse from the *Bóroma* (I.I.).

107 Na Fothaid

Lec R3: Lec 301va9; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 340–2)

Tract: *no reference*

108 Fiacha Sraibtime

Lec R3: Lec 301va16; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 342)

Tract: Lec 189vb39–42 ('Consatinus (*sic*) i rigi in domain')

109 Colla Uais

Lec R3: Lec 301va22; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 342)

Tract: Lec 189vb50–1

110 Muiredach Tírech

Lec R3: Lec 301va25; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 344)

Tract: Lec 190ra1 ('Contantino, Constantinus γ Constante')

111 Caelbad

Lec R3: Lec 301va44; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 344)

Tract: Lec 190ra14 (*see above, no 110.*)

112 Eochaid Muigmedón

Lec R3: Lec 301va48; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 346)

Tract: Lec 190ra15–16 (Iulianus)

113 Crimthann mac Fidaig [Theodosius]

Lec R3: Lec 301va50; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 346)

Tract: Lec 190ra18 ('Theochus')

114 Niall Naíghiallach [Theodosius]

Lec R3: Lec 301vb9; *no synchronism* (LG, Pt V 348)

Tract: Lec 190ra21 ('Theochus')

115 Nathí (Dathí): *no synchronism*

Lec R3: Lec 301vb21 (LG, Pt V 350–2)

Tract: Lec 190ra24

116 Laegaire mac Néill: *no synchronism*

Lec R3: Lec 301vb42 (LG, Pt V 352–4)

Tract: Lec 190ra31

(End of tract, followed by Giolla Íosa's poem.)

IV Lec R3 and the Annals of Tigernach (ATig)

In Appendix V (pp. 66–70) to his edition of *Cath Almaine* Pádraig Ó Riain discusses the annalistic versions of this saga, and states (with particular reference to one of the poems) that the account in Lec R3 (f. 310ra27–b15) 'could well be a copy of the surviving Tig'.⁴⁴ Ó Riain thus suggests that ATig, which is in the hand of YBL cols 370–401 (the same hand as LG in RIA MSS 537–9) was available to Giolla Íosa, the scribe (and clearly redactor) of Lec R3. Indeed, it seems that the textual and scribal points of agreement of the ATig and Lec R3 accounts of the battle can be explained only in terms of the derivation of the Lec text directly from ATig.⁴⁵ Given the probable association of RIA MSS 537–9 (and possibly also YBL cols 370–401) with Leacán in Giolla Íosa's time, the textual evidence of the two following extracts may suffice to confirm Ó Riain's suggestion, that is, to show that Giolla Íosa had access to ATig (Rawl. B 488), written by the same, but now unknown, scribe of LG in RIA MSS 537–9.⁴⁶

(i) ATig: the Battle of Allen [AU 722]⁴⁷

Stokes, *RC* xvii (1896), pp. 228–30; (1993), pp. 188–90.

Numerus vero Laigine[n]sium .ix.m. *Hi sunt* reghes Geniris Cuinn *qui in bello* ceci(n)derunt. Feargal mac Maile Duin ri Erenn *cum* .clx. satilibus [sic] suis, oculus Forbusach ri Ceneoil Bogaine, 7 Conall Menn ri Ceneoil Cairpri, 7 Fergal .h. Aithechta, 7 Fergal mac Eachach Lemna ri Tamnaighe, 7 Condalach mac Conaing, 7 Ecneach mac Colga ri in Airthir. Coibdenach mac Fiachrach, 7 Muirgus mac Conaill. Letaitech mac Concarat, 7 Anmchadh mac Oircc ri Guill 7 Irguill, 7 .x. nepotes Maile Fithrig. It eandsin rig in tuaiscirt.

Hi sunt reges .H. Neill in desceirt .i. Flann mac Roghellaigh 7 Ailill mac Feradhaigh. Aedh Laigen .h. Cernaigh, Suibne mac Congalaig, Nia mac Cormaic, Dub Da Crich mac Duib Da Inber, Ailill mac Conaill Grant, Flaithemail mac Dluthaigh, Fergus .h. hEogain.

Hic totus numerus de regibus .cc. 7 .clx de ansaib Fergaile 7 alii 7 .ix. volatiles .i. geltaí.

Cu Bretan mac Conghusa .cc. Ataghur cath forderg flann, 3 qq.

Nuadha .h. Lomthuile .cc. Do dith laithe Almuine, 3 qq.

(ii) RR in Lec R3: reign of Fergal mac Maíle Dúin

Lec f. 310ra35–b15 *Numerus vero* Laigine[n]sium .ix.m. *Hi sunt* reges g[e]neris Cuind *qui in bello* ceci(n)derunt. Fergal mac Maíle Duin ri Erenn *cum* .clx. satilibus [sic] suis oculus Forbosach ri Cenel Boguine oculus Conall Mend ri Ceneoil Chairpri 7 Feargal .h. hAithechda 7 Fergal mac Eachach Lemna rig Tamnaigi 7 Condalach mac Conaing 7

Fieneach mac Colcan ri an Airthir. Coibdenach mac Fiachrach 7 Muirgius mac Conaill. Letaitech mac Concarat ocus Anmchad mac Oirc ri Guill 7 Irguill 7 .x. nepotes Maili Fithrig. It e indsin rigda in tuaisce[i]rt.

Hi sunt reges .h. Neill in Desce[i]rt .i. Hann mac Rogellaig 7 Ailill mac Fearadaich ocus Aed Laigen .h. Cernaich. Suibne mac Congalaich ocus Nia mac Cormaic. Dub Da Crich mac Daib Da Innber. Ocus Oilill mac Conaill Grant. Ocus Flaithemail mac Dluthaich. Feargus .h. hÍogain.

Hic totus numerus de regibus .cc. 7 clx. de amsaib Fergaili 7 ailii 7 .ix. volatiles .i. geltai.

Cu Bretan mac Oengusa .cc. Atagur cath forderg la<mn>, 3 qq.

Nuada .h. Lomthuili .cc. De dith laithi Almaine, 3 qq.

(Translation in Macalister, Pt V, pp. 384–9).

Notes

I wish to thank the Officers of the Royal Irish Academy for permission to publish extracts from MS 535 (the Book of Lecan) and MS 537 (D v 1). My thanks are also due to the following: Dr Katharine Simms; the Acting Librarian of the RIA, Siobhán O'Rafferty, and Professor Pádraig de Brún.

- 1 R.A. Stewart Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, Parts I–V (Irish Texts Society, vols 34, 35, 39, 41, 44; Dublin and London 1938–56); R. Mark Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I: The growth of the text' in *Ériu* xxxviii (1987), pp. 81–142; 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II: The growth of the tradition' in *Ériu* xxxix (1988), pp. 1–66.
- 2 In some manuscripts *Míniugad* is found attached to R2.
- 3 Royal Irish Academy (RIA) MS 535 (press-mark 23 P 2); see *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin 1926–70) (abbrev. RIA Cat.), pp. 1551–610 (in fasc. xiii (1934), by Kathleen Mulchrone); Facs. edn, *The Book of Lecan: Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Leacain*, by Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin 1937). [Professor Mulchrone was not responsible for the form 'Leacain' (*recte* 'Leacáin') in the title of the Facs.]
- 4 The hand of this scribe has been identified in several other manuscripts; see T. Ó Concheanainn, 'Gilla Ísa Mac Fir Bhisigh and a scribe of his school' in *Ériu* xxv (1974), pp. 157–71; one manuscript there noted consists of two fragments of R3 which form part of TCD MS 1316. Macalister is clearly right in thinking that these two fragments represent the 'imperfect copy of the B[ook] of Genesis in Irish' which Edward Lhuyd received from a priest 'near Sligo' (LG, I, pp. xxi–xxii and 232–3).
- 5 Ó Cuirmín's colophon is dated 1418. For the hand see plate 17.
- 6 The press-marks are D v 1, D iv 1 and D i 3; RIA Cat., pp. 1655–71 (in fasc. xiii; above, n. 3). For the hand see plate 18.
- 7 R.I. Best, 'The Yellow Book of Lecan' in *The Journal of Celtic Studies* i (1949–50), pp. 190–2. Best does not mention the Irish World-Chronicle.

- 8 YBL., now Trinity College Dublin (TCD) MS 1318. For the later history of the manuscript see W. O'Sullivan, 'Ciothruadh's Yellow Book of Lecan' in *Éigse* xviii (1980–1), pp. 177–81; cf. A. and W. O'Sullivan, 'Edward Lhuyd's collection of Irish manuscripts' in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society* (1962), pp. 57–76.
- 9 A.G. van Hamel, 'On Lebor Gabála' in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* x (1914), pp. 97–197 (99). In 'The "Fermoy" copy of *Lebor Gabála*', in *Ériu* xi (1932), pp. 172–3, Macalister also touches on van Hamel's article and remarks on the scribal unity of RIA MSS 537–9: 'Moreover, while it is correct to say that D. V. 1 and D. IV. 1 are two consecutive parts of one and the same MS. – a fact which I noticed independently – it should be added that a third part, completing the volume, is to be found in the Stowe MS. D. I. 3.'
- 10 RIA Cat., p. 1658.
- 11 RIA Cat., p. 1660.
- 12 For example, by van Hamel, art. cit., p. 102.
- 13 Mulchrone sees only the hand of the scribe of MSS 537–8 in MS 539: 'For another fragment of *Lebor Gabála* (Thurneysen's B III) [*Miniugad*] see D. I. 3. (also written by our scribe)', RIA Cat., p. 1660 (in facs. xiii, above, n. 3).
- 14 RIA Cat., p. 1665; cf. Macalister, above, n. 9.
- 15 Lec was compiled between c. 1397 and c. 1418: one text was being written in the autumn in which Mac Donnchaidh (chieftain of Tirerrill) was killed, that is, in 1397. Ó Cuinnlis also helped Giolla Íosa in the writing of Lec R3 and must have left Leacán in 1398 or before, for he was engaged on a manuscript (YBL cols 281–344) in Ormond in 1398–9. In the YBL manuscript Ó Cuinnlis's hand is more mature, or more practised, than in either of the signed specimens of his work in Lec. I have discussed the date of writing of Lec in 'The scribe of the Leabhar Breac' in *Ériu* xxiv (1973), pp. 64–79 (Appen. II), and 'Scríobhaithe Leacáin Mhic Fhir Bhisigh' in *Celtica* xix (1987), pp. 141–75.
- 16 Perhaps I may add that William O'Sullivan some years ago drew my attention to another sample of Ó Cuimín's hand in YBL, cols 878–9 (YBL Facs. (1896), pp. 176a47–b48).
- 17 P. Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B 502' in *Éigse* xviii (1980–1), pp. 161–76. Giolla Íosa cites the Book of Glendalough at Lec f. 42rd13: *Slicht Libair Glinni Da Lach sin*; cf. Ó Riain, *ibid.*, p. 161.
- 18 For the frame in Rawl. B 502 see F. Henry and G.L. Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination (1070–1170)' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* lxii, sect. C, no. 5, Plate 16a; and for the frame in MS 538 see Oskamp's article (below n. 19), Plate 2 (which is somewhat enlarged). Such frames had of course been a feature of the decoration of Latin manuscripts long before Rawl. B 502 was written.
- 19 The provenance of MSS 537–9 is unknown, but these and ATig may once have been in the hands of Clann Í Mhaoil Chonaire of eastern Connacht; cf. Best, above, n. 7; H.P.A. Oskamp, 'The Yellow Book of Lecan proper' in *Ériu* xxvi (1975), pp. 102–21 (at pp. 113, 116).
- 20 Macalister, Pt II, pp. 241–2 and Pt III, p. 97.
- 21 It is the second of two texts, 'Synchronisms from the Book of Ballymote', edited

- and translated by B. Mac Carthy in *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus*, No. 830 (Dublin 1892), pp. 278–86 ('A'), 286–317 ('B').
- 22 Scowcroft, *Ériu* xxxviii (1987), p. 128.
- 23 It will be more convenient, however, to refer to the BB-Lec tract by the title Synchronism B; cf. Mac Carthy, above, n. 21. Flann Mainistrech (d. 1056), *fer léiginn* of Mainistir Bhuite (Monasterboice, Co. Louth), is probably best known as the author of a long poem on the synchronism of world-kingship, *Réidig dam, a Dé do nim*.
- 24 The introduction to the synchronism is based on sections of *Sex Aetates Mundi*. For these sections see Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin 1983) §§ 13, 24, 31.
- 25 Below, Section III, (ii), nos 103–16.
- 26 Eoin Mac Neill, 'The authorship and structure of the "Annals of Tigernach"' in *Ériu* vii (1914), pp. 30–120 (at pp. 41–5).
- 27 References to Stokes's edition of this fragment are by the pages of *Revue Celtique* (RC) (1895) xvi and (in parentheses) the two-volume facsimile reprint of *The Annals of Tigernach* (Lampeter 1993). In the extracts from Rawl. B 502 and Rawl. B 488 the Middle Irish form *meic* is substituted for Stokes's Old Irish *maic* (MSS^{mc}).
- 28 References to Stokes's edition of this fragment are by the pages of RC xvii (1896) and (in parentheses) the pages of the reprint.
- 29 A related synchronism is Mac Carthy's 'A'-text (above, n. 21) in BB, pp. 9a25–10b8. Of the two BB tracts Mac Neill (*ibid.*, 109–10) concentrated his attention on the first ('A').
- 30 Above, n. 23.
- 31 In Lec R3 (as in the Book of Leinster, below, n. 32) RR is styled *Do FlaitheusaiB Érenn* and is presented in two parts: the pre-Christian kings of Ireland and the kings after Christianity (down to the Anglo-Norman invasion).
- 32 See *The Book of Leinster*, ed. R.I. Best et al., 6 vols (Dublin 1954–83), i, pp. 92–3, at lines 2959–60 and lines 2967–8. For the *Bóroma* see LL, v, pp. 1268–318. The extracts incorporated in Lec (the only other manuscript containing the *Bóroma*) are noted by Macalister, Pt V, pp. 320, 322, 340, 354, 372, 380, 382.
- 33 LL, v, p. 1273, lines 37823–5.
- 34 *Ibid.*, lines 37827–9.
- 35 The synchronistic reference precedes the point in Lec R3 (277rb15) at which Macalister (Pt IV, p. 28) introduces the *gabáil* of Fir Bolg in the Third Redaction. A notable variant of *Amentes* is *Amenemes*; see A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum Canonum quae supersunt* (Dublin / Zürich 1967), p. 50.
- 36 Or *Tautames*; for Eusebian names cf. above, n. 3.
- 37 On the confusion of these two names see Macalister, Pt V, p. 221, n. (a).
- 38 Here Art Imlech's name is lost owing to haplography.
- 39 Both the Lec text of Synchronism B and Lec R3 go to great lengths in trying to resolve the divergent synchronisms given in variant versions for the reigns of Nuadu (no 32) and Bres (no 33).
- 40 In the RR account of the origin of the name I'main Macha in I.L., i, p. 79 (lines 2514–29), the reign of Aed Ruad is implied.

41 Cf. above, n. 32.

42 Cf. above, n. 32.

43 Cf. above, section II, extracts from Rawl. B 488 and from Lec and BB texts of tract.

44 P. Ó Riain, *Cath Almaine* (Dublin 1978), p. 66

45 The treatment of Latin orthography is striking: the scribe of ATig and Giolla Íosa were defective in that language; cf. Ó Riain, p. 67 (where attention is drawn to the misspellings *cecinderunt* and *satilibus*).

46 For ease of comparison, a new paragraph arrangement is presented here. Scribal abbreviations are indicated (in italic) in Latin words only.

47 For the date of the battle see Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster*, i (Dublin 1983), s.a.

Codex Salmanticensis: a provenance *inter Anglos* or *inter Hibernos*?

Pádraig Ó Riain

The question of the provenance of the fourteenth-century collection of Latin Lives of mainly Irish saints known as *Codex Salmanticensis*¹ has previously been addressed in some detail by William W. Heist,² more briefly by Richard Sharpe,³ and in passing by myself.⁴ Heist and Sharpe agreed on a provenance *inter Anglos*, that is to say an essentially English religious community located in an anglicised part of Ireland. For my part I have advocated a provenance *inter Hibernos*. Given this direct clash of opinion, the question of the manuscript's provenance clearly merits a full reappraisal. Furthermore, since I draw support for my reading of the evidence from the Register of Clogher, a lost compilation whose character has recently been further illuminated by William O'Sullivan,⁵ it is appropriate that the question should be reopened in the present volume.

In the Introduction to his edition of the collection, Heist admitted to having no idea of the exact place where it was written.⁶ However, he formed the impression that it was in a monastery of English or Anglo-Norman monks, friars or canons where little or no Irish was either known or spoken. This impression was based on three kinds of evidence, the first of which was the handwriting of the manuscript, which Heist considered to be perfectly normal for an English or Anglo-Norman school.⁷ No systematic study has yet been made of the Latin hand used in Ireland after the arrival of the Normans. However, as William O'Sullivan has argued,⁸ it would appear that from the late twelfth century onwards the gothic or English hand prevailed. Indeed, as O'Sullivan points out, hardly a specimen of Irish script survives from the thirteenth century, and vernacular matter recorded in the Irish annals and elsewhere in this and, in some cases, even in the fourteenth century is written in a gothic hand. As might be expected, therefore, the scribes of all collections of Latin Lives of Irish saints appear to have been quite at home in the use of the gothic script. And, since this applies also to the script 'of English type'⁹ of the two Oxford collections, Rawlinson B 485 and 505, which were compiled between 1375 and 1425 in fully Irish houses of Augustinian canons at Saints' Island on Lough Ree and at Abbeyderg in County Longford, little weight need be attached to Heist's use of handwriting as an argument in favour of a provenance *inter Anglos*.¹⁰

Much the same apparent lack of familiarity with the practice in other collections led Heist to suggest that the absence of peculiarly Irish spellings of Latin also pointed in the direction of a non-Irish religious community.¹¹ This premise may easily be tested by comparing the spellings of a text shared by the *Codex Salmanticensis* with a manuscript of the Rawlinson collection, in this case Rawlinson B 485, which, as already stated, was

compiled *inter Hibernos*. The text I have chosen is the Latin Life of Tigernach of Clones,¹² whose contents, as I argue further on, also throw some light on the question of the provenance of the *Codex Salmanticensis*. Collation of the two manuscripts in this instance shows that they are in near perfect agreement in the matter of spelling. The only noticeable difference is the preference of the Rawlinson scribe for medial *ci* instead of *ti* before vowels in such common endings as *-acio* (for *-atio*); *ancia* (for *-antia*), *-encia* (for *-entia*) and *-icio* (for *-itio*). However, while the scribe of the *Codex* eschews this very common medieval practice in relation to such endings,¹³ he enthusiastically adopts it elsewhere, as may be seen from his spelling of *multociens* (for *multotiens*), *pecierat* (for *petierat*), *tocius* (for *totius*), and *persenciens* (for *persentiens*). As with the script, therefore, the spelling of Latin in the *Codex Salmanticensis* seems perfectly normal for a late medieval scriptorium anywhere in Ireland.

The final piece of evidence cited by Heist was what he regarded as errors in the spelling even of well-known Irish place names.¹⁴ Some historical spelling norms of Irish are indeed ignored by the compilers, for example in the regular substitution of *y* for *i* and in the occasional use of *k* for *c* before slender vowels. Overall, however, the spelling of proper names is unexceptional. Thus, of the fifteen or so Irish names contained in the Latin Life of Tigernach only one can be said to be seriously corrupt, that is *Maenchatini* for *Maccarthinni*, the genitive of the Latin form of the name of Mac Cairthinn, patron of Clogher. However this corruption is also present in the Rawlinson version, and so must derive from an earlier and presumably common source. Similarly, of the sixty or so names listed in the short tract on *De tribus ordinibus sanctorum Hiberniae*,¹⁵ only one can be described as corrupt, as Heist himself indicated by the use of square brackets, through the addition of an unhistorical *r* to *Pe[r]ltranus*.¹⁶ Otherwise there is only one scribal spelling, viz. *Leodegarii* for *Lóegairi*, the genitive of the personal name, which might be described as unusual. In this instance, however, the spelling may be due to a misguided desire on the part of the scribe to give the name a foreign-looking form. Indeed, the form may about this time have become a very familiar one through Thomas (d. 1320) and William St Leger (d. 1352), both bishops of Meath, who used *de Leodegario* as the Latin version of their name.¹⁷ In sum, then, by comparison with the wholesale mutilation of proper names in the first modern edition of the collection, by De Smedt and De Backer,¹⁸ the manuscript itself has very little to offer in the way of misspellings.

The overall evidence of provenance presented by Heist can thus hardly be said to inspire confidence. Sharpe, who devoted a chapter of his *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* to the compilation of the manuscript,¹⁹ admitted to being unimpressed by it, at least on the question of scribal ignorance of Irish. However, his suspicion that some knowledge of Irish should be allowed the main scribes did not prevent Sharpe from following Heist in concluding that they worked in a religious community *inter Anglos*.²⁰ Indeed, presumably because of the English character of the script, which also caused him mistakenly to suggest that the scribal milieu of Rawlinson B 505 was a religious house *inter Anglos*,²¹ Sharpe placed the community responsible for the *Codex Salmanticensis* in one of the towns where Gaelicization was not going on.²² Elsewhere this town is tentatively placed in south-east Ireland.²³

In fact, the only obvious internal evidence of provenance contained in the manuscript is in its four colophons, the most important of which are the two added in at the end of the

Life of St Cuanna of Kilcoona, near Lough Corrib in County Galway, on half-folio 219.²⁴ Both of these were written after the deaths of the men they commemorate. One, written in a gothic hand but mostly in Irish, requests a blessing on the soul of 'Frater Iohannes Mac Kern- [read Mac Tighearnáin] de Ergallia' who translated the Life from Irish into Latin; the other, in a different hand, asks in Latin that the soul of 'Frater Dermicius Ó Dúinchadha' may rest in peace. The latter's role in the compilation of the manuscript is confirmed by two earlier colophons, at folios 58r, 96r. The first of these asserts that certain gatherings 'are Brother Diarmaid Ó Dúinchadha's', while the second declares that certain materials were lent to the scribe by Brother Diarmaid Ó Dúinchadha.²⁵

These colophons are clearly contemporary with the period of compilation of the manuscript. Indeed of the three commemorating the role of Diarmaid Ó Dúinchadha two were almost certainly written while he was still alive. Furthermore, despite the use of gothic script, the colophon on Seán Mac Tighearnáin was evidently written by someone with a very good command of Irish. None of these facts is disputed either by Heist,²⁶ who was the first to draw attention to the implications of the colophons on Ó Dúinchadha, or by Sharpe. To explain them, however, both scholars – in my view quite unnecessarily – resorted to the hypothesis that Mac Tighearnáin and Ó Dúinchadha belonged to an unidentified community which cooperated in the assembly of the manuscript.²⁷ Furthermore, in order to explain the command of Irish shown by the scribal colophon on Mac Tighearnáin, Sharpe²⁸ again followed Heist²⁹ in arguing that Ó Dúinchadha had 'supplied the text which was copied, with the prayer for the translator, by the compilers', and that after Ó Dúinchadha's own death a second prayer was added to the first.³⁰ But which script would have been used by Ó Dúinchadha for his prayer in those circumstances? If it was an Irish hand, should we expect it to have been copied so faithfully? And if it was gothic, would this not indicate that the correlation between this kind of hand and a non-Irish provenance for the manuscript as a whole is quite unwarranted?

The claim at 96r that materials had been loaned by Ó Dúinchadha, despite Heist and Sharpe, need not imply that the lender belonged to a separate community, nor that he was necessarily located in a different part of the country. Otherwise there is nothing in the colophons to justify the view that more than one community was responsible for the compilation of the manuscript. Accordingly, as is also shown by note 24 above, the only specific internal evidence of provenance would appear to lie in the claim at folio 219 that Mac Tighearnáin was 'from Oirghialla' (*de Ergallia*). Let us now examine therefore the implications of this territorial name.

By the fourteenth century, the territorial name Oirghialla, (whence Latin *Ergallia*), was used in the political sphere to refer to the lands of the Clann Mhathghamhna or MacMahons.³¹ These comprised approximately the area now covered by the counties of Monaghan and Armagh. However, in former times Oirghialla had denoted a much larger territory which included Fíir Mhanach, roughly the present county of Fermanagh, a kingdom controlled by the Maguires since the late thirteenth century.³² This earlier extent was still recognized in the ecclesiastical sphere up to the end of the fourteenth century by the use of Oirghialla to refer to the diocese of Clogher. Thus entries in the Annals of Ulster for the years 1319, 1356, 1358 and 1369 use the title *espoc Oirghiall* 'bishop of Oirghialla' where the bishop of Clogher is intended. Consequently, in view of the obvious ecclesiastical background to the *Codex Salmanticensis*, we may assume that *Ergallia* of

the colophon referred to the diocese of Clogher, in which case Brother Seán Mac Tighearnáin would almost certainly have belonged to one of the four flourishing communities of Augustinian canons then located in the area, at Clogher itself, at Clones, at Devinish and at Lisgoole.³³

Also compatible with a Clogher background are both Mac Tighearnáin's name and that of his colleague Diarmaid Ó Dúinchadha. While best known as chieftains of Tulach Dúinchadha, now the barony of Tullyhunco, County Cavan, the Clann Tighearnáin apparently had also established themselves in the barony of Lurg in County Fermanagh at a place later named CoolmKernan, from Cúil Mhic Thighearnáin. That this was an important district, later taken over by a branch of the Maguires, is clear from references to it in the Annals of Ulster for the years 1487, 1532 and 1536. Its exact extent is thought to have corresponded to the north of the parish of Derryvullan.³⁴ Coincidentally, an independent local reference of an ecclesiastical nature to the name Ó Dúinchadha, otherwise Ó Donnchadha, also relates to the parish of Derryvullan.³⁵ According to the Annals of Ulster for 1454 a certain Tadhg Ó Donnchadha delivered a much talked-about sermon on the feast of St Laurence at Cloch Chorr in Fir Mhanach, now Cloghcor in the parish of Derryvullan.

On the internal evidence of its colophons then the *Codex Salmanticensis* may be assigned, however tentatively, to a religious community located *inter Hibernos* within the diocese of Clogher. By a happy coincidence other evidence of this provenance has also been preserved, albeit externally, in early seventeenth-century transcripts of the now lost Register of Clogher.

The Register of Clogher was compiled jointly by the bishop of the diocese, Pádraig Ó Cuilinn (d. 1534), and by his archdeacon, Ruaidhrí Ó Caiside (d. 1541), who is better known for having written the greater part of the Annals of Ulster. The original was lost in the course of the seventeenth century, but not before substantial parts of the manuscript had been transcribed by a clerk in the employ of James Ussher. Copies of some texts may also have been made directly from the manuscript by James Ware. In any case, these early seventeenth-century transcripts, which are now in Trinity College Dublin Library, Ms E.3.20 and in British Library, Additional Manuscripts 4789 and 4821, have made possible the reconstruction and edition of the greater part of the contents of the Register, first by H.J. Lawlor,³⁶ and more recently, with a translation, by K.W. Nicholls.³⁷ At least three of the Register's surviving texts have a possible bearing on the provenance of the *Codex Salmanticensis*. These are a passage concerning St Tigernach of Clones in the Catalogue of Bishops of Clogher, a copy of the Life of St Mac Cáirthinn of Clogher, and an extract from a Life of St Patrick.

St Tigernach, who was allegedly the first in line of succession to Mac Cáirthinn, patron of Clogher, is described in the Register's Catalogue of Bishops as having been legate of all Ireland (*totius Hiberniae legatus*) when Mac Cáirthinn left him his bishopric along with his blessing.³⁸ In fact, the claim of the Catalogue on the latter point is contradicted by a chapter of Tigernach's own Life which describes how he refused the see of Clogher, having been offered it while Mac Cáirthinn was still alive.³⁹ However, in the immediately preceding chapter of the Life, we are told that at the behest of Brigit, whose privileged position was acknowledged by the clergy and faithful of the whole of Ireland (*totius Hybernie*), Tigernach was elected bishop by an assembly of other bishops. In other words,

through Brigit and the assembly of bishops, Tigernach might justifiably have been regarded as a legate of all Ireland, which may then have led to his description as such in the Catalogue of Bishops of Clogher.

If the compiler of the Catalogue consulted the Life of Tigernach, where could he have done so? The Life now survives in three collections dating from the period before the early sixteenth century, two of which, Rawlinson B 485 and Rawlinson B 505, were then respectively kept in houses of Augustinian canons at Saints' Island on Lough Ree and at nearby Abbeyderg in County Longford.⁴⁰ The third is the *Codex Salmanticensis*. As already pointed out, there is near perfect agreement between these manuscripts concerning the text of the Life, and any one of the three could conceivably have been the source. What tips the balance in favour of the *Codex Salmanticensis* is the other evidence contained in the Register, and most particularly the fragmentary Life of Mac Cairthinn, patron of Clogher, which is now held in common only by these two compilations.

The compiler of the Register, in this case Pádraig Ó Cuilinn, added a note to his version of Mac Cairthinn's Life to the effect that he had transcribed the text out of the ancient books of the Order of St Augustine.⁴¹ In other words, Ó Cuilinn, who was himself a canon, had used as source a manuscript then in the library of the house of Augustinian canons, presumably at Clogher. And being none too happy with the style of his source, he claimed to have 'reformed [it] for the better according to the Roman use, the superfluities being abridged and the shorter parts expanded and perfectly emended'. How this approach worked in practice may be judged from a comparison of the beginning of the now acephalous text of the *Codex*, as in Heist,⁴² with the corresponding passage of the Register. The latter is taken from the uncorrected edition in Lawlor,⁴³ and italics are used to indicate verbal correspondences.

Vita S. Maccarthinni

Die quodam, sanctum magistram trans flumen quoddam, ut solebat, portavit, cumque sacrum deponeret onus,

signa debilitatis suspirando ostendit. Cum a pio patre pulsaretur ut causam sue diceret debilitatis,

ait: 'Iam,' inquit, 'pater, accedente senio, vires michi deficiunt et assiduum iter me multum gravat. Fac ergo me, pater, in aliquo loco Deo et tibi servire.'

Quod pater annuens, ait: 'Vade in pace, fili, et monasterium tibi construe in platea ante regalem sedem Ergallensium, resurrecturus in gloriam inde.'

Sedes enim illorum qui terrena sapiunt desolabitur; tua vero de die in diem augmentabitur, atque de eius sacro cimiterio plurimi ad beatam resurgent

Register of Clogher

... die quadam Patricium patrem more solito transiens per quoddam flumen et portans sacrum onus deponendo

suspiravit et percontatus a pio patre vi quid suspiraret

Inquit: 'pater accedente senio vires meae deficiunt, et assiduum me gravat iter, fac igitur in si[sic, leg. me] placet in uno loco Deo et tibi servire' ...

Sanctus Patricius ait: 'placet,' ait, 'vade in bone et monasterium construe in platea ante regalem sedem Ergallencium inde resurrecturus in gloria.'

illa desolabitur, tua vero sedes de die in diem augmentabitur de cuius sacro cimiterio plures ad beatam vitam sunt resurrecturi

vitam.'

It addidit: 'Accipe,' inquit, 'baculum itineris mei, quo ego membra mea sustento, et scrinium, in quo de sanctorum apostolorum reliquiis et de sancte Marie capillis et sancta cruce Domini et sepulcro eius et aliis sanctis reliquiis continentur.'

Quibus dictis dimisit eum cum osculo pacis, paterna fultus benedictione. Itaque, illuc perveniens, Clochorensē fundavit monasterium.

Deinde vir sanctus ad praefatam plateam perveniens Clochorensē fundavit monasterium.

The degree of substantial verbal correspondence between the later and earlier texts shows that Ó Cuilinn must have used as source either the *Codex* or a closely related, but now lost, manuscript. Ó Cuilinn's stated dissatisfaction with the outdated style of his exemplar is of course also quite evident, for instance in the Register's tendency to subordinate clauses. Interestingly, the detailed description of the relics held at Clogher, as recorded in the *Codex*, appears to have been regarded as a 'superfluity' by Ó Cuilinn.

Conspicuously absent from the passages quoted, as from the texts as a whole, is the usual evidence of direct dependence, such as common errors. There are a number of possible reasons for this. First, as reference to the footnotes in Heist's edition shows,⁴² the errors of the *Codex* were mostly eliminated by diligent and apparently contemporary correctors. Second, as we have already seen, Ó Cuilinn professedly set out to reform his source. And finally, Ó Cuilinn's autograph copy has been lost, his text now surviving only in an early seventeenth-century transcript which may also have undergone correction.

A third piece of circumstantial evidence for the probable dependence of the Register on the *Codex Salmanticensis* consists of an extract from the Life of St Patrick. This is printed in Nicholls.⁴³ Lawlor deemed it unnecessary to print the passage,⁴⁴ which deals with a visit by the saint to the baronies of Cremorne and Farney in County Monaghan. However, he pointed out that the passage corresponds to Chapter 139 of Jocelin's *Vita Sancti Patricii*. The *Codex Salmanticensis* no longer contains a copy of the Life of St Patrick, but, as Sharpe has argued,⁴⁵ the forty-seven folios now missing from the beginning of the collection would just about have provided the necessary amount of space for Jocelin's Life of Patrick. The same recension of the Life in Rawlinson B 485 occupies forty-six folios. However slightly, therefore, the presence of the extract from Jocelin's text again strengthens the possibility that the *Codex Salmanticensis* was used as a source by the compilers of the Register of Clogher.

A fourth piece of evidence has just come to hand. While attending a conference in Brussels in October, 1995, Ian Doyle and William O'Sullivan together re-examined the hands of the *Codex* before forming a shared opinion of its likely date. I had previously sent specimens of the manuscript to Ian Doyle, and he now wrote to me from Brussels as follows:

I had already formed the impression from your specimens of the main script (especially the forms of *a*) that it was more probably early than late fourteenth century. One longish

heading ... in the main body of the text is in a more documentary style, with left hooks on ascenders and *as* with large open heads, which I would put (in an English context, of course) as late 13th century, and there are marginal corrections showing the same characteristics, which, from pen and ink, could be the main copyist's informal mode. There are also many other lower marginal annotations which show these and other 13th century features, and some (headless *a* and long finals dropping below the line) which occur in early 14th century hands. Moreover, the coloured penwork flourishing of the main initials looks to me more 13th than early 14th century – certainly not late 14th century in England. So, if one is to allow for hypothetical 'backwardness' – and I must say the scribes all seem very well trained and competent by English standards, despite the inferiority of the membrane they were working on – a dating of S. XIII/XIV would be cautious.

Acceptance of this new dating of the *Codex* further strengthens the case for a Clogher provenance. The bishop of Clogher between 1287 and 1310 was Matthew Mac Cathasaigh, chancellor of Armagh, of a family which provided crenaghs to the church of Tynan in County Armagh.⁴⁶ Matthew was a noted builder of churches, including a chapel in honour of St Mac Cáirthinn at Clogher. Moreover, he evinced a special interest in St Constans of Foinis, whose remains he arranged to have elevated, divided into three parts, and, leaving one part in the saint's church, brought to Clogher on the one hand and to Tynan on the other. The remains brought to Clogher were consigned to the great shrine of Mac Cáirthinn. Furthermore, the day of Constans's translation, 26 September 1308, was proclaimed by Matthew as a feast of the translation of many companion confessors.

Matthew lived at a time when the cult of relics was at its height in the universal church, which no doubt explains his interest in the remains of saints. In other dioceses, such as Meath⁴⁷ and Cork,⁴⁸ this development led to the production of saints' Lives in the form of short office lessons. Characteristic of the *Codex Salmanticensis* is the shortness of many of its Lives. This also applies to its copy of Mac Cáirthinn's Life which may well have been composed on Matthew's instructions about this time.

More important, however, for the case made here in favour of a Clogher provenance for the *Codex* is Matthew's proven interest in the cult of Constans of Foinis. The Irish form of this saint's name was Cuanu, otherwise Cuanna.⁴⁹ It is scarcely a coincidence, therefore, that, as already stated, the *Codex* should also preserve a unique, if fragmentary, text of the Life of a saint named Cuanna, especially translated from Irish into Latin. Furthermore, the note appended by the translator, Iohannes Mac Tighearnáin, to the Life specifically refers to 'the saints who made their covenant' with Cuanna. These could very well be the many confessors commemorated together with Cuanna of Foinis on the instructions of Matthew Mac Cathasaigh, bishop of Clogher.

That the Life preserved for Cuanna in the *Codex* makes no mention of Foinis is of no great significance, for a number of reasons. First, copies of Lives would normally have been brought in from other places before receiving a final form in the church where the *Codex* was being compiled. Second, compilers were doubtless very happy to obtain outside Lives in this way as working copies. And third, the text of the Life in the *Codex* is now a fragment only, which, of course, allows for the possibility that, in its full form, it may indeed have established a connexion between Cuanna and Foinis.

In none of its parts can the evidence of the provenance of the *Codex* be described as overwhelming. However, it can certainly no longer be maintained that the place of origin of the manuscript remains a mystery.⁵⁰ The cumulative evidence clearly indicates that the *Codex Salmanticensis* may have been compiled and kept *inter Hibernos*, in the house of the Canons Regular of St Augustine at Clogher in County Tyrone.

Notes

- 1 The *Codex Salmanticensis* is now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MSS 7672–4. The date assigned to it is based on exclusively palaeographical evidence.
- 2 *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae e Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, ed. W.W. Heist. Société des Bollandistes (Brussels 1965).
- 3 *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Richard Sharpe (Oxford 1991).
- 4 Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Saints in the Catalogue of Bishops of the lost *Register of Clogher*' in *Clogher Record* xiv (1992), pp. 66–77.
- 5 William O'Sullivan, 'Two Clogher Constitutions', in *Essays and Poems presented to Daniel Huws* ed. Tegwyn Jones and E.B. Fryde (Aberystwyth 1994), pp. 351–72.
- 6 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xxi.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. xix.
- 8 William O'Sullivan, 'Insular calligraphy: current state and problems' in *Peritia* iv (1985), pp. 346–59.
- 9 Françoise Henry and Geneviève Marsh-Micheli, 'Manuscripts and illuminations, 1169–1603' in *A New History of Ireland* ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford 1987) i, p. 788.
- 10 For the most recent discussion of the provenance of the Rawlinson manuscripts, see *Beatha Bharra: Saint Finbarr of Cork, the complete Life* ed. Pádraig Ó Riain, Irish Texts Society lviii (London [1993] 1994), pp. 104–13.
- 11 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xx.
- 12 *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* ed. Charles Plummer, 2 volumes (Oxford 1910) ii, pp. 262–9; Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, pp. 107–11.
- 13 See R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources* (London 1965) [p. xviii].
- 14 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xx.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 81–3.
- 16 The text has been edited in Paul Grosjean, 'Edition et commentaire du Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae secundum diversa tempora ou De Tribus Ordinibus Sanctorum Hiberniae' in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxiii (1955), pp. 197–213 (pp. 289–322). The *Salmanticensis* text, which is given priority by Grosjean, is at pp. 206–7. Curiously, at p. 199n, Grosjean cites Heist's edition of the *Codex Salmanticensis*, which was not finally published until 1965, assigning it a date of 1955.
- 17 Kathleen Hughes, 'The Offices of St. Finnian of Clonard and St. Cíanán of Duleek' in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxiii (1955), p. 345.
- 18 D. De Smedt and J. De Backer (eds), *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi* (Edinburgh and London 1888).

- 19 Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*, pp. 228–46.
- 20 Ibid, p. 239.
- 21 Ibid, p. 255.
- 22 Ibid, p. 239.
- 23 Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* (Dublin 1985), p. 110.
- 24 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. 410n. The full texts of the four colophons have been published by Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, pp. xxii–xxiv, and by Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*, pp. 236–8. Either because of the colophon at f. 219 or of some other, now lost, evidence, the *Codex* as a whole was regarded at Salamanca as the work of Iohannes Mac Tighearnáin. MS S 40/9 of the Salamanca Archives, now at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, which contains a hitherto unnoticed copy of Henry Fitzsimon's *Catalogus*, refers, among other examples, under S Dunnus to 'M.S. f. Jo: Kearni de Ergalia c. 37' where the *Codex*'s now lost version of St Patrick's Life is intended.
- 25 The nature of these items, which are numbered 'three' or 'third' is not altogether clear. Presumably, however, as Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*, p. 238 suggests, some gatherings were involved.
- 26 W.W. Heist, 'Dermot O'Donohue and the Codex Salmanticensis' in *Celtica* v (1960), pp. 52–63 and Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, pp. xxi–xxviii.
- 27 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xxviii.
- 28 Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*, p. 237.
- 29 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xxii.
- 30 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. xxvii, had also allowed for the possibility that both colophons were added before the gathering in question left what he thought to be the lending Irish house, but this is regarded by Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*, p. 237, as less likely.
- 31 The earliest king of Oirghialla of the MacMahon sept appears to have been Eochaid who, according to the Annals of Connacht, died in 1273.
- 32 The first Maguire king of Fir Mhanach appears to have been Donn who, according to the Annals of Connacht, died in 1302. Indeed, in the Annals of Ulster at 1302, Donn is specifically described as the 'first king of Fir Mhanach of the sons of Mág Uidhir'. The earliest combined reference to 'Fir Mhanach and Oirghialla' in the same annals is at 1281, where Domhnall Ua Domhnaill of Ceinéal Conaill is named as overking of both territories.
- 33 At this point in time, the only religious houses of substance in the diocese of Clogher were those of the Canons Regular of St Augustine. Lisgoole became a Franciscan friary in 1580–3, and the MacMahons founded a conventual Franciscan house in Monaghan c. 1462: A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London 1970), pp. 162, 164, 169, 185, 255.
- 34 Pádraig Ua Duinnín, *Me Guidhir Fhearmanach: The Maguires of Fermanagh* (Dublin 1917), p. 138; Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin 1910), p. 321.
- 35 The tendency is to anglicize this surname as O'Donohue, as in Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, and Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*. However, the more usual Ulster form is Donohoe.

- 36 Lawlor, 'Fragments of a lost Register of the diocese of Clogher' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* iv (1918), pp. 226–57.
- 37 Nicholls, 'The Register of Clogher' in *Clogher Record* vii (1972), pp. 361–431.
- 38 Lawlor, 'Clogher Register', p. 234; Nicholls, 'Clogher Register', pp. 376–8.
- 39 Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum*, II, p. 266; Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, p. 111.
- 40 Ó Riain, *Beatha Bharra*, pp. 104–13.
- 41 Lawlor, 'Clogher Register', p. 257; Nicholls, 'Clogher Register', p. 430.
- 42 Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum*, pp. 343–6.
- 43 Nicholls, 'Clogher Register'.
- 44 Lawlor 'Clogher Register', p. 247n.
- 45 Sharpe, *Medieval Lives*, p. 240. See also note 24 above.
- 46 Nicholls 'Clogher Register', pp. 391–2.
- 47 Hughes, 'Offices of Finnian and Cianán'.
- 48 Ó Riain, *Beatha Bharra*, pp. 170–1.
- 49 *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin 1985), p. 9.
- 50 Heist, 'Dermot O'Donohoe', p. 63.

Two previously unprinted chronicles of the reign of Edward I

Marvin L. Colker

Antonia Gransden, speaking of the inadequate sources for the reign of Edward I, complains that 'For the crucial years of Edward I's reign there are few contemporary authorities'.¹ Thus the publication of two previously unprinted chronicles that are contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the English king should not be unwelcome. And though the two chronicles will not change markedly the picture of Edward I, they will be of interest for comparison with other historical sources, which sometimes differ on details, especially dates, numbers, and names.²

The two chronicles appear in Trinity College Dublin Library, MS 496, written by scribes of the first half of the fourteenth century.³ The verse chronicle,⁴ in a gothic bookhand, stands on fols. 134v–137r, and the prose chronicle occurs, in a different hand (using *anglicana*), on fols. 181r–188r. The verse chronicle spans the period 1239–1307; the prose chronicle, covering 1271 to 1306, breaks off abruptly after just announcing 1307 but without recording events of the year. Both chronicles, which are unpublished, were unreported in T.D. Hardy,⁵ Hans Walther,⁶ Antonia Gransden,⁷ and Michael Prestwich,⁸ and are not noticed in the files of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes.⁹

The verse chronicle was completed during the rule of Edward II. Under the year 1283, verses 49–50 declare 'Post hunc annum filius regis erat natus Qui nunc regit Angliam Edwardus vocatus'. Probably, then, the poem was finished at the start of the reign of Edward II, when the memory of Edward I was still fresh and concern about him was still strong. The style of writing indicates that the prose chronicle too is either contemporary with, or close to, the time of Edward I. The poem is favourable toward this king, as is obvious from the very first stanza and from verses 1–4, 8, 13, 17, 192. However, the work is not pure panegyric, but an effort to report British history during the reign of the monarch.

Yet one strange problem does occur, concerning the marriage of Edward I to Margaret, sister of Philip IV of France: They were married at Canterbury on 10 September 1299, two days after Margaret, accompanied by some Frenchmen, landed at Dover. But the poem (verses 105–108) seems to say that Edward married Margaret in France and brought her back to England. It is true that *desponsavit* can mean betrothed as well as married, but almost certainly marriage is meant, or the poet would have mentioned the marriage later. And Nicholas Trevet uses the same verb to indicate the marriage: 'Rex Angliae in Nativitate Virginis gloriosae apud Cantuariam Margaretam sororem regis Franciae desponsavit'.¹⁰ So it does appear odd that a poet living close to the event should have said that Edward married her in France and brought her back to England.

The poem consists of 192 verses arranged into 48 stanzas, each a quatrain with two-syllable rhyme persisting through the quatrain. The accentual 'goliardic' rhythm pervades, but the lines are irregular in the number of their syllables, just as 'octosyllabic' Anglo-Norman poetry sometimes is irregular in the number of syllables. While the normal thirteen-syllable lines do appear in the poem, frequently there are more syllables in a line, especially in the final verse of a quatrain (thus fourteen syllables in lines 4 and 68; fifteen syllables in lines 64 and 180; sixteen syllables in verse 192), and such irregularities can occur elsewhere than in the final verse of a quatrain as in the case of fourteen syllables in lines 10 and 165.

There are some verbal similarities between the verse chronicle and the prose chronicle. Compare these verses with the corresponding expressions in the prose chronicle: verse 4 (year in the prose chronicle: 1303), verses 29–32 (1275); 45–6 (1282); 57–60 (1286); 65–6 (1287); 69–72 (1287); 85–7 (1295); 89–91 (1295); 93–4 (1297); 97–9 (1297); 117–19 (1300); 125–6 (1301); 130–1 (1301); 133–5, 140 (1303); 150–1 (1306); 162–3, 165–6 (1306); 169–171, 173–4 (1306). Such similarities suggest a possible link between the two chronicles.

However, there are also significant differences between them. Whilst the poem confines itself to British affairs, the prose chronicle, concentrating on Britain, includes some world events and talks about popes and foreign monarchs. On the other hand, the prose chronicle covers a narrower period than the verse chronicle: the latter treats of 1239–1307, the former discusses 1271–1306. The more detailed prose chronicle treats of the year 1296, which is omitted by the poem, and communicates details like the death of the Queen Mother Eleanor (a.1290), which are not in the poem. Furthermore, the prose chronicle (a.1299), unlike the verses, does not claim that Edward sailed to France for Margaret and returned with her (cf. verses 105–6).

But despite restrictions of rhythm, the poem has some bits of information not in the prose, for example, that Thomas de Turberville was hanged (verse 88), that a comet appeared in 1301 (verse 127), and that Edward I was carried on a kind of bed toward the end of his life because of his disability (verses 157–60). So it cannot be said that the poem is merely an offshoot from the prose.

For the edition of the two chronicles which follows, both texts were transcribed directly from TCD 496. The orthography of the codex is adhered to, but capitalisation and punctuation are modernized. Editorial insertions are enclosed by pointed brackets. Among my notes, *D* signifies the codex and *D'* indicates a first-hand correction.

And now I wish to thank the Board of Trinity College for permission to reproduce the two texts: I am happy to express, through this effort, my appreciation and admiration for Mr William O'Sullivan's valuable scholarly advice given generously over several decades.

[TEXT I]

(fol. 134v) *Gesta regis cupio Edwardi referre,
Quem scimus ab omnibus regibus differre
Anglorum qui fuerant defensores terre:
Inuictus fuerat rex semper tempore guerre.*¹¹

M'o cc'o xxx ix

- 5 Ad Westmonasterium puer erat natus,
A legato domino Otto baptizatus,
Ab Edmundo presule sancto confirmatus.¹²
Creuit ut lineas armis per regna probatus.

Ferardi Hyspanie regis ad honorem

- 10 Helianorem filiam duxit in uxorem,
Prolis fecundissime ferentem laborem.¹³
Nullam credebat Edwardus ea meliorem.

Ad terram uiriliter sanctam properauit,
Quem in Aacon proditor sica toxicauit,

- 15 Set rex prestans uiribus illum trucidauit.
Ad propriam terram treuga sumpta remeauit.¹⁴

M'o cc'mo lxx iiii

Ex ipsius reditu Anglia letatur.

Roberto de Kyrwardbi rex coronabatur.¹⁵

Tota plebs ad libitum eius adunatur.

- 20 In paruo calle grex ut pastore minatur.

Rex Scotus in crastino coronacionis

Fecerat homagium cum fidis personis

Edwardo de propriis catellis et bonis,

Qui constrictus ei fuerat per uim racionis.

- 25 Subdidit rex Walliam et regnum Scotorum
Sibique Hyberniam uirtute bellorum.
Conquassauit capita in terra multorum,¹⁶
Et fraus cessauit sermonum lege suorum.

M'o cc'mo lxx'o v'o

Wallie rex subdidit sibi principatum

- 30 Leolinoque principi dedit pacis statum.
Et si guerram moueat post fedus firmatum,
Iura sue terre quod perderet et dominatum.

M'o cc'o lxx ix'o

De scissis denariis rotunda moneta

Quadrantis et oboli fit detenti meta

- 35 Et rotunda tabula concione leta
Ad Keneling Wrye¹⁷ fuit acta chorea faceta.

(fol. 135r) M'o cc lxxx primo

Leolinus consilium egit per prophanum
 Quod Daudid sequutus est proprium germanum
 Commouendo prelium apud Rotolanum.

40 Iudicat hoc factum rex noster nil nisi uanum.

M'o cc'o lxxx ii'o
 Super pontem nauium uia ordinata,¹⁸
 Regis erat populo pugna preparata.
 Leolinus occiditur¹⁹ et pax reuocata.
 Hostibus Anglorum persoluit mors sua fata.

45 Construxit de Kuneway et Crekin post bella
 Kaerneruan et Hardelak' fortia castella.²⁰
 Manabant per Angliam totam pacis mella
 Quod peruersorum dubitauit nemo flagella.

M'o cc'o lxxx'o tercio
 Post hunc annum filius regis erat natus
 50 Qui nunc²¹ regit Angliam Edwardus uocatus
 Et Alfonsus obiit primo generatus.²²
 Condoluit multum rex eius morte grauatus.

Mittitur per Walliam gens magni uigoris
 Quod locum inquireret Daudid proditoris.
 55 Capitur iam trahitur uir pleni meroris.
 Quatuor in regni corpus suspenditur horis.

M'o cc'o lxxx vi'o
 Rex apud Vasconie terras transfretauit.
 Et Pergoth et Lymosin sibi subiugauit.
 Iohannes rex perdere quas non recusauit
 60 Terras amissas rex Edwardus reuocauit.

Regina, despiciens hunc mundum ingratum,
 Cepit Ambresbirie uelamen sacratum
 Et libawit²³ domino cor morigeratum
 Suscipiens munus meritis in fine beatum.²⁴

M'o cc'o lxxxvii
 65 Per papam hoc tempore rex cruce signatur.²⁵
 Cristiani populi princeps confirmatur.
 Pro bellis propositum non consequabatur
 Quamuis tam sapiens nullus per regna probatur.

Tunc Walensis Meraduk prelia incendebat.²⁶

- 70 Murus castri de Drosan penitus cadebat.²⁷
 Anglos cum militibus multos occidebat,
 Quo facto Meraduk plebs uili morte trahebat.

(fol. 135v) M'o cc'o xc
 Fecit ab Anglia exules Iudeos,
 Fraudis homicidii usureque reos.

- 75 Iustus²⁸ ne huc redeant morte da<an>pnet eos,
 Quos fore peiores nos scimus quam Manucheos.

M'o cc'o xc'o iii
 Regis iussu Anglici mare ascenderunt.
 Normannis in nauibus iam obuauerunt.
 Sic in multis fluctibus Angli pugnauerunt

- 80 Quod Normannorum gens et puppes perierunt.²⁹

M'o cc'o xc'o iiii
 Et cum de Vasconia inter reges pactum
 Anglie et Francie tute fuit factum,
 Edwardus audierat a Philippo fractum:
 Ipse manum fortem³⁰ reuocandi misit ad actum.

- 85 Capti quidam milites sunt per seductorem
 Thomam de Turbeuile pacis euersorem.
 Tractus est Londoniis hic per legum morem.
 Iussit eum post rex ad celi pendere rorem.³¹

M'o cc'o xc v
 Angliam destruere Franci putauerunt.

- 90 Ludendo Douerie partem combusserunt.
 Iam secenti³² Gallici uitam amiserunt.
 Hec qui uiderunt cuncti flentes redierunt.

M'o cc'o xc'o vii
 Rex noster in Flandriam Bruge transfretauit.
 Comitibus Hanaudie uillas concremauit.

- 95 Hoc uidens rex Francie Edwardo mandauit
 Treugam firmari, quod fecit ut ipse rogauit.

Regem non in Anglia Scotici uidentes,
 Ducem Wilelmum Walcis sibi eligentes
 Arserunt Northumbriam nemini parcentes,³³

- 100 Set prestaret eis domini tunc radere dentes.³⁴

M'o cc'o xc'o viii

Rex cum Anglis obuiam Scotis processit.
 Ad Faukirke fortiter hostibus non cessit.
 Anglicis uictoriam dominus concessit.
 Milia Scotorum mors sexaginta repressit.³⁵

(fol. 136r) M'o cc'o xc ix'o

105 Pro pace rex Anglie, quam desiderauit,
 Ad sororem Francie regis transfretauit.
 Margaretam nomine illic desponsauit.
 Anglorum troni rediens hanc sede locauit.³⁶

M'o ccc'o

In natali tempore, quo quisque letatur,
 110 Regis apud Broyertone³⁷ sponsa morabatur.
 Reuerendus filius illi nascebatur
 Nomine qui Thomas ex baptismo uocitatur.³⁸

Anno eodem

Anglis cum nocuerat es³⁹ kokodonorum⁴⁰
 Ignoteque uarie monete regnorum,
 115 Durum penes pauperes uacillabat forum.
 Argenti redeunt nommismata denariorum.

M'o ccc'o

Rex cepit Kaerlauerok per uim pugnatorum,
 Tocius Galwedie spacia locorum,
 Vsque Cree fluuium res uastans castrorum.⁴¹
 120 Vndique perfecit fastum cessare malorum.

Anno eodem

Venerunt Lincolniam uiri seniores
 Rex barones comites uiri diciore.⁴²
 Regis nato Wallie tradebant honores
 Quos possederunt domini regnando priores.

M'o ccc'o i'o

125 In hoc anno filius natus est secundus
 Regis apud Wodestok uocatus Edmundus⁴³
 Et comete radius luxit rubicundus⁴⁴
 Quo fuit ex Scotis omnis populus gemebundus.

Eodem anno

Rex castrum de Boseuile igne concremauit.⁴⁵
 130 Veniens ad Lindeskou illuc yemauit.⁴⁶
 Karrik et Turnebiri⁴⁷ et Are uastauit.⁴⁸

Que pugnare secum cupiebant agmina strauit.

M'o ccc'o iii

Post festum in sabbato sancte trinitatis

Rex cepit Schamenschinel Scoticis mactatis,

135 Brichin et Dunfermelin cum muris prostratis,

'Qui pacem cupitis uitam' clamans 'habeatis'.

(fol. 136v) M'o ccc'o iii

Post hec totam Scociam rex perscrutabatur,

Omnis locus hostium eius desolatur.

Scocia ab Anglicis sic cohercebatur.

140 Anglis et Scotis rex ipse monarcha uocatur.

M'o ccc'o iii

Iatro nequam proditor Willelmus Walensis

Necatur uilissime pro suis offensis.⁴⁹

Trahitur suspenditur cum penis immensis.

Partes bis binas diuisit corporis ensis.

145 Rex per totam Scociam posuit tutores.

Suscepit homagia per fideiussores

Ne pacis inueniat eos destructores

Nec post hec facta sint pugne deteriores.

M'o ccc'o vi

Apud Dumfries Iohannes Comin uir dilectus

150 Fraude Roberti de Brus fuit interfectus.

Hic Brus esse uoluit in regem electus.⁵⁰

A ceptro⁵¹ regni manet minus ille reiectus.

Cingulo rex filium cinxit militari,

Et ducentos milites secum forma pari

155 Sexaginta pariter fecit numerari.⁵²

Sic uoluit natum sibi dilectum uenerari.

Sese rex cum senserat senio confectum,

Mollem sibi iusserat preparari lectum

Et in gestatorio se esse euectum⁵³

160 Vt posset tute bellum disponere rectum.

Contra Scotos iterum Angli inuitantur.

Iuxta castrum de Meffen⁵⁴ pugne parabantur.

Brus fugit cum Scoticis, sed multi necantur

Et uiui plures Anglorum fune ligantur.

165 Quidam ex hiis Scoticis tractu sunt extensi
 Ad castrum super Tynam et quidam suspensi.
 Regis non sunt uiribus Roberti defensi
 Quos rex Edwardus Anglorum tradidit ensi.

(fol. 137r) Symon Frisel perfidus uir, spirans minarum,

170 Tractus est Londoniis in luto uiarum.
 Berewych Nigelli Brus testis est penarum.
 Et multis Scotis finem mors soluit amarum.

Tunc Alexander de Brus et Thomas afflicti
 Apud Karlil fuerant et fraude conuicti.

175 Feris equis restibus iacebant constricti
 Et plures Scoti non credentes fore uicti.⁵⁵

Postquam tanta prelia rex erat perpessus,
 Cupiuit corrigere corporis excessus
 Vt cuncta sit crimina deuote confessus,

180 Nam fuit in senio pro mortis tempore fessus.

Vnxit eum pontifex et comunicauit.
 Absoluit a crimine, uerbis confortauit.
 In nonarum Iulii die expirauit.
 Angelus hunc domini requiei luce beauit.

185 Apud Burh iuxta Karlil rex moriebatur,
 Deinde apud Waltham corpus ferebatur.
 Septimanis sexdecim ibi seruabatur.
 Assiduis precibus illum clerus ueneratur.

Sepultus uigilia in apostolorum

190 Iude atque Symonis fuerat sanctorum,
 Ad Westmonasterium manu prelatorum.⁵⁶
 Deprecor ut dominus sibi prestet regna polorum.

[TEXT II]

(fol. 181r) Anno domini m'o cc'o lxxi'o Dominus Henricus de Alemania interfectus est audiendo missam in ecclesia sancti Nicolai⁵⁷ Viterbie per Guidonem de Monte Forti et comitem de Rus.⁵⁸

Anno domini m'o cc'o lxxii papa Gregorius denus congregauit concilium Lugdunense ecclesie episcoporum. Rex Anglie Henricus die sancti Edmundi episcopi <obiit> et successit sibi in regnum Edwardus primogenitus⁵⁹ eius, qui tunc fuit in terra sancta uulneratusque est apud Acon a quodam Saraceno de hassasinis⁶⁰ per sedicionem cum soli

essent clausi in camera quadam sero [quod]⁶¹ ad lectum suum,⁶² ibique v uulnera recepit. Tamen de cultello uolenter ablato a Saraceno Saracenum proprio cultello interfecit. O quam magnus dolor rumore uentilacio erat in ciuitate. Currunt sacerdotes ad ecclesias et deuote cum letaniis processionaliter deum pro uita ipsius interpellant. It, ut pie creditur, per oraciones sanctorum miraculose conualuit. Nam cultellus cum quo percussus est uenenatus erat. Acceptis igitur treugis inter Christianos et soldanum auditoque de morte patris sui, rediens receptus est honorifice in regnum suum.

Sequenti anno mortuus est papa⁶³ Gregorius denus et coronatus est papa Innocencius quintus, qui primo⁶⁴ uocatus est frater Petrus Tarentais de ordine fratrum predicatorum.

Anno domini m'o cc'o lxxiii coronatus est dominus Edwardus illustris rex Anglie Londoniis a fratre Roberto de Kilwardbi tunc Cantuariensi archiepiscopo die dominica infra octabas Assumpcionis beate Virginis. In crastino uero ibi homagium Alexandri regis Scocie de vita, de membris, et de terreno <honore accepit>.⁶⁵

(fol. 181v) Anno domini m'o <cc'o> lxxv Edwardus rex cepit Walliam et concessit pacem suam Leulino principi tali condicione quod si iterum guerram moueret contra eum, ipso iure amitteret principatum Wallie. Quod confirmatum est in curia Romana per dominum papam Nicholaum.

Anno domini mcccxxix mutacio monete facta est in Anglia. Item tabula rotunda facta est apud Kenelingwr' per dominum Rogerum de Mortuo Mari et dominum Iohannem de Vesci.

Anno domini m'o cc octogesimo primo seduccio⁶⁶ facta est in Wallia per Leulinum et Daud fratrem suum incipiente guerra in die ramis palmarum apud Rotolanum. Eodem anno factus est pons nauium apud Mene inter Snaudoniam et Angleseiam,⁶⁷ vbi dominus⁶⁸ Lucas Tanni, Willelmus de Audelei, Rogerus de Clifford⁶⁹ iunior et plures alii milites submersi sunt.

Anno domini m'o cc'o octogesimo secundo interfectus est Leulinus princeps in bello in die Damasi pape,⁷⁰ et post natale rex cum exercitu suo intrauit Snaudoniam et construxit castrum de Coneway et willam murauit in girum. Item construxit castrum et uillam de Kaernaruan et castrum de Crekin et castrum de Hardelak fortissimum.

Anno domini m'o cc octogesimo tertio, septimo kal. Maii, natus est Edwardus iunior, filius regis Anglie, die sancti Marci ewangeliste apud Kaernaruan in Snaudonia. Item obiit Alfonsus eodem (fol. 182r) anno⁷¹ filius regis senior. Item Petrus rex Aragonie excommunicatur per papam Martinum.⁷² Item tractus est apud Salopisbir' Daud frater Leulini, pessimus proditor, circa festum sancti Michaelis.

Anno domini m'o cc octogesimo quinto rex publicauit noua statuta⁷³ sua London' in parlamento. Honorius papa⁷⁴ coronatur. Rex Francie Philippus⁷⁵ duxit exercitum in Aragonia, vbi letaliter est wulneratus multis militibus de Francia amissis. Item obiit Karolus rex Cecilie⁷⁶ et captus est Karolus filius eiusdem, et in Aragonia est carceratus. Item obiit Alexander rex Scocie.⁷⁷

Anno domini m'o cc'o octogesimo sexto rex Anglie transit⁷⁸ mare et recepit Pergoth et Limosin⁷⁹ et terras in marchia Wasconie quas auus suus Iohannes amiserat de uoluntate regis Francie. Item Helienora regina quondam Anglie recepit habitum religiosum Ambresbir' et superuixit postea per quatuor annos et menses xi.

Anno domini m'o cc octogesimo septimo rex Anglie Edwardus cruce signatur et per dominum papam fit capitaneus exercitus Christianorum. Rex Meraduk Walensis mouit

guerram in Wallia rege existente in transmarinis partibus. Murus de castro Drosian cecidit⁸⁰ et interfecit Willelmum de Munchensi et baronem de Stafford⁸¹ et plures alios bonos mi (fol. 182v) lites, propter quod tractus est apud Eboracum dictus Meraduk. In vigilia sancti Iohannis Baptiste⁸² captus Guido de Monteforti et multi milites Francie submersi sunt et interfecti apud Ceciliam.

Anno domini m'o cc octogesimo octauo frater Ieronimus de ordine fratrum minorum, electus in papam, coronatus est et vocatus Nicholaus iiiii.

Anno domini m'o cc octogesimo nono soldanus Babiloniae Tripolim, inito federe prodicionis cum quibusdam ciuibus eiusdem ciuitatis, in qua erant⁸³ fere quinquaginta milia hominum utriusque sexus, cepit et in ore gladii⁸⁴ omnes trucidauit. Rex de Wasconia rediit set prius Carolum predictum pro quinquaginta milibus sterlingorum de carcere liberauit.⁸⁵

Anno domini m cc nonagesimo exiit edictum a rege Edwardo vt multitudo plebis Iudaice ab Anglia exularet. Item obiit Helianora regina Anglie filia fferardi regis Hyspanie.

Anno domini m cc nonagesimo⁸⁶ primo tota Scocia subiecta est regi Edwardo per communem assensum omnium magnatorum Scocie, conuenientibus magnatibus Anglie et Scocie cum rege prefato apud Norham, demum apud Berwik. Item concessa est regi per papam Martinum decima beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum Anglie pro terra sancta per septennium. Item ciuitas Acon capta est per soldanum die sancti Dunstani⁸⁷ feria sexta ante Pentecosten.

Anno domini m'o cc nonagesimo secundo quinta de (fol. 183r) cima pars bonorum secularium concessa est regi in Anglia et Hyberniam. Anno regni regis Edwardi xix rex Anglie⁸⁸ Edwardus fecit regem Scocie et rex Scocie fecit homagium regi Anglie apud Nouumcastrum super Tynam die sancti Stephani prothomartyris in hec uerba 'Ego Iohannes Bailolf⁸⁹ rex Scocie cum omnibus pertinenciis et hiis que ad hoc spectant et regnum teneo et debeo de iure tenere hereditarie de vobis et de heredibus uestris regibus Anglie de vita, de membris, et de terreno honore contra omnes homines qui possunt uiuere et mori.'⁹⁰

Anno domini m'o cc nonagesimo tercio interfecti sunt Franci in bello nauali in portu sancti Mathei in Britannia Minori in mari et amissi sunt ex parte Francorum ducente naues et quatuordecim et sex milia hominum et sexaginta. Ex parte uero Anglorum tres homines tantum perierunt. Qua de causa Philippus rex Francie⁹¹ citauit regem Anglie ad parlamentum suum, et quia non comparuit in propria persona, ipsum iniquo consilio condemnauit.

Anno domini m'o cc nonagesimo quarto Petrus Muronensis heremita coronatur in papam apud ciuitatem Aquilensem et vocatus est Celestinus.⁹² Hic confirmauit constitutionem Gregorii deni, uidelicet quod cardinales si infra certum tempus papam non eligerent, per laycos cogerentur. Iste papa postmodum cessit papatui et rediit ad heremitagium electusque est in papam Benedictus Gagitanus⁹³ et vocatus est Bonifacius, qui mul (fol. 183v) ta mirabilia fecit.⁹⁴ Eodem anno ciuitas Burdegalia cum tota Wasconia occupata est a Francis condicionaliter ita ut restitueretur post xl dies, et hoc iurauit rex Francie coram domino Edmundo fratre regis Anglie et coram aliis fidedignis tactis sacrosanctis. Post xl uero dies rex Francie pactum non tenuit. Set misso exercitu et manu armata Wasconiam iniuste occupauit ut terram propriam. Medietas prouentuum ecclesiarum concessa est regi a quibusdam prelatis, aliis quibusdam inuitis. Eodem anno

uenerunt duo cardinales episcopi missi a latere domini pape in Angliam⁹⁵ ad pacem formandam regnorum set parum uel nichil profecerunt.

Eodem anno cohors procerum Anglie cum domino [Iohanne] de sancto Iohanne mare transierunt, Wasconiam applicantes, et occupauerunt ciuitatem de Bayun et Blayue et Burgam Super Mare et willam Sancti Seueri⁹⁶ et multa alia castra. Superuenit Karolus frater regis Francie cum magno exercitu et cepit oppidum de Riuns⁹⁷ per sedicionem cuiusdam militis nomine Thome⁹⁸ Turbeuil, ibique capti sunt dominus Hugo de Audeleie, Eimeri de Saint Amand, Radulfus de Gorges, et alii milites tredecim in vniuerso de Anglia.⁹⁹ Walenses uero, †sacramenti prestei inmess amores†,¹⁰⁰ tamquam falsi homines tercia uice (fol. 184r) ad guerram sunt reuersi contra dominum suum regem Anglie. Vnde cito post, sicut miseri uiui, alii autem interfecti, alii incarcerati in diuersis castris Anglie, et alii ad pacem recepti, principe eorum ad tempus fugato et postea in carcere perpetuo posito.

Anno domini m'o cc nonagesimo quinto rex construxit castrum de Bello Marisco¹⁰¹ in Venedocia, id est Anglescia, et Walenses infra xv annos, iterum prestito iuramento super corpus Christi et super crucem domini que uocatur Naithe,¹⁰² omnes inperio suo subiugauit¹⁰³ per totam Walliam. Circa festum beate Margarete¹⁰⁴ Madokus, qui¹⁰⁵ principem se crexerat Wallie, ductus est London' ad regem per dominum Iohannem de Hauering et positus est in turrin Londoniarum. Thomas Turbeuile seductor regni Anglie, conuictus per os proprium, trahitur London'. Circa festum sancti Laurentii¹⁰⁶ Franci nauigio willam Douarie subito inuaserunt et interfectis sex uel septem hominibus partem uille combusserunt. Set pro dampno illato sexies viginti Francos pro pignore mortuos ibidem reliquerunt. Item Scoti, rupto pacis vinculo sicut fatui quod cum domino suo rege pepigerant, nouum fedus cum rege Francie inierunt. Et facta conspiracione elegerunt sibi more Francorum duodecim pares quorum nutu cuncta¹⁰⁷ (fol. 184v) regni negocia censerentur.

Eodem anno in natale domini dominus Edmundus frater regis Anglie <et sui> Wasconiam transfretantes castra multa ceperunt et villam Burdegalie obsederunt, acceptisque treugis inter eos in Pascate, cum dominus Edmundus cum suis foret in prandio, Franci sediciose villam exeuntes armati insultum Anglis dare cogitabant. Currentes igitur ad arma Angli Francos fugauerunt et dominum Willelmum de Aura tunc senescallum Francorum interfecerunt et persequendo fugientes in ciuitatem circiter duo milia Francorum interemerunt. Captusque est ibi persequendo eos in ciuitatem dominus Robertus de Mauley. Recessit igitur dominus Edmundus de obsidione et infirmitate detentus mortuus est apud Baiun circa festum sancti Barnabe apostoli.¹⁰⁸

De Capcione de Berwik

Anno domini m'o cc nonagesimo sexto die Veneris in ebdomoda Pasce anno regni regis E[dwardi] xxiiii capta est villa de Berwik cum castro eiusdem interfectis x milibus Scotorum. Die Iouis post ebdomodam Pasce rex Scocie Iohannes Bailolf¹⁰⁹ reddidit homagium regi Anglie pro se et suis in scriptis, et die dominico sequente exiit exercitus Scotorum de Gedewrth¹¹⁰ et combusserunt nobilem prioratum de Exiham¹¹¹ et prioratum de Lanercoste cum patria. Die Veneris proxima ante Ascencionem domini factum est bellum apud Dunbar, vbi interfecti sunt Scoti secundum commune dictum (fol. 185r) ad

x milia hominum, nec sunt ibi vnus Anglicus occisus uel mutilatus. In crastino uero rex cepit castrum de Dumbar et in castro cepit tres comites, quatuor barones, et xxx' a milites exceptis armigeris et aliis. Die Veneris in octauis apostolorum Petri et Pauli,¹¹² Iohannes rex Scocie dedit se regi Anglie ad suam uoluntatem. Rex autem transiuit per Scociam accipiens homagia et iuramenta de fidelitate obseruanda. Et accipiens omnia castra in manu sua constituit vbique suos baliuos ut sibi decuit. Eodem anno captus est dominus Iohannes de Sancto Iohanne in Wasconia cum aliis vndecim¹¹³ militibus.

De Treuga¹¹⁴ Capta Inter Reges Francie et Anglie

Anno domini m'o cc'o nonagesimo septimo die Veneris infra octauas Assumpcionis beate Virginis¹¹⁵ rex Anglie transfretauit cum exercitu uersus Flandriam et applicuit Brugge. Et inde transiens uenit ad uillam de Gaunt¹¹⁶ et misit rex partem exercitus sui in terram¹¹⁷ comitis Hanaudie et conbussit uillam de Hanaud et magnam partem patrie. Ex alia uero parte Walenses, transeuntes aquam, dederunt insultum ville que uocatur Dam et ipsam uiolenter ceperunt et omnes interfecerunt. Hoc perpendens rex Francie postulabat treugam. Captaque est treuga inter se et suos ligatos ad terminum duorum annorum. Scientes quod rex esset in transmarinis, <Scoti>¹¹⁸ insurrexerunt fide mentita contra suum iuramentum et interfecerunt apud Striuelin¹¹⁹ die sanctorum Prothi et Iacincti¹²⁰ Hugonem de Cressingham iusticiarium¹²¹ Scocie et dominum de Sumeruile¹²² et dominum de (fol. 185v) la Val et alios plures et comitem Warennie¹²³ fugauerunt. Quo facto fecerunt sibi capitaneum et dominum et ducem quendam latronem nomine Willelmum Waleis, et intrantes Norhumbriam ferro et igne eam vastauerunt nulli¹²⁴ parcentes.

Anno domini m'o cc'o nonagesimo octauo die beate Marie Magdalene¹²⁵ factum est bellum inter Anglos et Scotos in Laodonia¹²⁶ iuxta Cappellam Variam ffaukirke,¹²⁷ vbi ceciderunt Scoti circiter quinquaginta milia hominum exceptis submersis vt amisit rex ex parte sua nisi magistrum templarium London'¹²⁸ cum paucis. Die sancti Andree¹²⁹ in terra episcopi de Legis papa Bonifacio celebrante missam, facta est tempestas uentis et turbinis et terre motus tanta quod dictus papa pre timore fugit de altari et cecidit pars ecclesie et turres castrorum multis hominibus interfectis.¹³⁰ Interfectus est rex Alemanie in bello per ducem Austrie,¹³¹ qui continuo se erexit in regem. Quia igitur se intruserat in regnum, papa ipsum excommunicat set pace postmodum inter ipsos reformata sententiam relaxauit.

Margareta nupta est Edwardo soror regis Francie

Anno domini m'o cc'o nonagesimo nono die Iouis proxima post festum beate virginis rex Ed[wardus] desponsauit Margaretam¹³² sororem regis Francie pro bona pace confirmanda. Rex Tartarorum cum rege Armenie terram sanctam intrauit et cum exercitu ualido pertransiit multis Saracenis interfectis et de terra fugatis usque ad Damiotam ibique bello magno commisso ipse (fol. 186r) uictoriam optinuit.

Mutacio Kokedonorum¹³³

Anno domini m'o ccc'o natus est Thomas filius regis Edwardi apud Brotherton' iuxta

Pontem Fractum¹³⁴ in natali domini.¹³⁵ Mutacio monete facta est in Anglia. Episcopus Dunelmie Antonius¹³⁶ sententia innodauit¹³⁷ priorem Dunelmie quia noluit parere iusitacioni sue.¹³⁸ Post festum Petri et Pauli¹³⁹ rex cum filio Edwardo intrauit Scociam et cepit castrum de Kaerlauerok et deuastauit Galwediam usque ad fluuium Cree. Eodem anno Edwardus heres Anglie factus est princeps Wallie in parlamento Lincolnie.

Factus Est Edwardus Princeps Wallie

Anno domini m'o ccc'o primo natus est filius regis secundus apud Wodestok nomine Edmundus.¹⁴⁰ Post festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste¹⁴¹ rex transiuit cum suo exercitu per forestam de Salkirke¹⁴² et capta preda uenit ad castrum de Bosewile. Quo capto venit ad¹⁴³ Linlescou¹⁴⁴ ibique iemauit. Edwardus filius regis uenit Karliolum cum suo exercitu perualido et transiuit per totam Galwaiam ipsam deuastando et intrans comitatum de Karrik cepit castrum de Turnebini¹⁴⁵ et castrum de Arc. Item cometes apparuit ultra Scociam fere per quindenam¹⁴⁶ circa Purificacionem.¹⁴⁷

De Guerra Inter Flandrenses et Gallicanos

Anno domini m'o ccc'o secundo circa festum sancti Dunstani¹⁴⁸ Flandrenses grauati de dominio Francorum insurrexerunt contra eos (fol. 186v) apud villam de Brugge et interfecerunt eos ibi. Inde mouerunt castra Flandrenses et uenerunt apud Cassel et ceperunt uillam et castrum Francis interfectis. Inde uenerunt cum exercitu magno obsidentes uillam et castrum de Curtaie,¹⁴⁹ vbi uero superuenit comes de Artois¹⁵⁰ cum exercitu regis Francie. Et conmissum est bellum satis durum die Mercurii proxima post festum Translacionis Sancti Thome Martiris¹⁵¹ et interfectus est comes de Artois cum aliis pluribus comitibus et melioribus militibus tocius Francie usque ad mille et quingenta cum armigeris. Eodem anno dominica prima quatragesime interfectus a Scotis Radulfus le Cofrer clericus regis Anglie in Laodonia apud Rosselin et captus est Robertus de Hilton' in bello et Robertus de Maulai et Galfridus de Segraue¹⁵² cum pluribus aliis.

Anno domini m'o ccc'o tertio sabato post festum sancte trinitatis rex Anglie mare Scoticum iuxta Striuelin cum toto suo exercitu transiuit et fugerunt Scoti sicut miseri de Scamenchinel prandio suo relicto et paucis Scotis interfectis. Et transiens rex per Dunfermelin venit ad villam sancti Iohannis et accepit castra in manu sua. Inde recedens obsedit castrum de Brichn'.¹⁵³ Quo capto conminuit castrum cum patria. Inde recessit et transiuit montes Scocie et totam Scociam comburendo et vastando vsque ad finem Scocie, scilicet Inuernis, vnde rex et monarca effectus tocius (fol. 187r) insule Anglicane dominus Walenses deuicit, Scotos subiecit, insulas et castra Scocie¹⁵⁴ in manu sua accepit. Vere rex inuictus dici potest animum uirtute regens iramque modestia vincens. Hostibus enim triumphatis in ipsos misericordiam magnam ostendit.

Eodem anno papa Bonifacius, postquam fuerat captus ab inimicis suis, anno pontificatus sui ix'o mortuus est¹⁵⁵ et electus est in papam frater Nicolaus de ordine fratrum predicatorum et uocatus est Benedictus,¹⁵⁶ quod utique fuit et re et nomine.¹⁵⁷ Ita hoc probat deus miraculis claris apud Perusium, vbi est sepultus.¹⁵⁸

Anno domini m'o ccc'o quarto anno regni regis Edwardi xxxii'o tenuit rex festum suum in Pascate apud Dunfermelin in Scocia, vbi inter ceteros proceres interfuit dominus

cardinalis frater Walterus de Winterburne.¹⁵⁹ Eodem anno die beate Margarete¹⁶⁰ Willelmus Olifard¹⁶¹ miles dedit se cum suis et castrum de Striuelin in manu regis ad uoluntatem suam sine omni condicione.¹⁶² Eodem anno mortuus est Benedictus et sepultus apud Perusiam ciuitatem.

Anno domini m'o ccc'o quinto electus est in papam magister Bertrandus¹⁶³ episcopus Burdegalensis et uocatus est Clemens quintus et coronatur die dominica infra octauas beati Martini.¹⁶⁴

Finis Willelmi Walays (Latro Pessimus)

Eodem anno tractus est London' Willelmus Waleis, pessimus¹⁶⁵ (fol. 187v) turbator pacis regni Anglie, die lune in vigilia sancti Bartholomei,¹⁶⁶ et diuisus in iiii' or partibus, ut decuit, missus est suspendi in iiii' or locis, scilicet apud Nouum Castrum, apud Berewicum, apud Striuelin, et apud villam Sancti Iohannis¹⁶⁷ in Scocia, vbi quondam dominabatur.

De Occisione¹⁶⁸ Iohannis Comin

Anno domini m'o ccc'o vi, interfecto prius domino Iohanne Comin apud Dumfres sedicione Roberti de Brus, quondam comes de Karrik promouit se ipsum in regem Scocie die Anunciacionis beate Virginis¹⁶⁹ in prioratu de Scon in dampnum suum proprium. Item sequenti die Pentecostes Edwardus rex fecit Edwardum filium suum primogenitum militem et alios milites cc'o lx et amplius. Item die dominica proxima ante festum beati Iohannis Baptiste,¹⁷⁰ factum est bellum in Scocia iuxta castrum Meffen inter Anglos et Scotos, vbi prefuit capitaneus Anglorum dominus Emericus nepos regis Anglie et capitaneus Scotorum Robertus de Brus, et capti sunt milites et plures alii de Scotis, quorum aliqui sunt tracti apud Nouum Castrum super Tinam et alii suspensi sancti Oswaldi.

Item eodem anno uero tractus est Symon Freisel miles proditor Londonie et Nigellus de Brus apud Berewik et Thomas de Brus apud Karleolum cum (fol. 188r) Alexandro de Brus fratre eius, et comes de Astheles¹⁷² suspensus est London'; nec scio enumerare quot milites et alii nobiles suspensi sunt in diuersis locis de Scotis iusto iudicio dei interueniente.

Anno domini m'o ccc'o septimo anno regni regis Edwardi xxxv.¹⁷³

Notes

- 1 Antonia Gransden (ed.), *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds 1212–1301* (London and Edinburgh 1964), p. xxii. She names *ibid.* the chief sources for the reign of Edward I: the Bury and Lanercost chronicles, the *Flores Historiarum* compiled at Westminster, the chronicles of Peter de Langtoft, Nicholas Trevet, and Walter of Guisborough; see her *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* i (London 1974), pp. 439–517, 528–9.
- 2 Cf. e.g. notes 35, 36, 38, 57, 161, 162 below.
- 3 For a description of the codex see M.L. Colker, *Trinity College Library, Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts* ii (Aldershot, Hants

- 1991), pp. 907–14; the two chronicles are described on pp. 909 and 911.
- 4 The verse chronicle in TCD MS 496 is not to be confused with the rather small section of verse about Edward I in a larger verse chronicle, as in BL Harl. 1808. The chronicle in the Harley manuscript is entitled ‘Incipit liber de Bruto et de gestis Anglorum metrificatus’ and begins: ‘Anglorum regum cum gestis nomina scire’. The section on Edward (fols. 40r–41r) begins ‘Nobilis Edwardi regis nunc gesta reuelans’ and deals very largely with his warfare against Scotland. The verses on Edward I in the BL manuscript do not rhyme.
- 5 T.D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Rolls Series (RS) xxvi.1–3 (London 1862–71).
- 6 Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen 1959).
- 7 Neither of Gransden’s works mentioned in n.1 above speaks of the two chronicles.
- 8 Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988).
- 9 I am grateful to Geneviève Renaud of the Institut for her letter of 29 October 1990 in this regard.
- 10 Nicholas Trevet, *Annales*, ed. Thomas Hog (London 1845), p. 376.
- 11 Cf. Iohannes de Londonia, *Commendatio Lamentabilis*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS lxxvi.2 (London 1883), p. 16: ‘Hic rex Edwardus super omnes reges adauxit gloriam militarem’.
- 12 Edward was born on 17/18 June 1239. He was baptized by the papal legate Otto and confirmed by St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 13 Edward married Eleanor of Castile in October 1254. For the progeny of Edward by Eleanor, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 125–6 and E.B. Fryde et al., *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn. (London 1986), p. 38.
- 14 Edward went on the crusade in 1270. For the episode of the near assassination see e.g. Trevet, *Annales* pp. 276–7; Walter of Guisborough, *Chronicle*, ed. Harry Rothwell (Camden Series lxxxix, London 1957), pp. 208–10; and *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh 1839), p. 90. Edward began his return journey in 1272 but set foot again in England only on 2 August 1274.
- 15 On 19 August 1274 Edward was crowned king by Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 16 Ps. 109.6.
- 17 Wrye: y represents the rune thorn, pronounced th. A Round Table seems to have been an occasion of feasting and tournaments in remembrance of King Arthur and his knights, but much is still unknown about these events (Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 120–1). According to the Osney and Wykes chronicles (ed. H.R. Luard, RS xxxvi.4, London 1869, p. 282), the Round Table at Kenilworth was celebrated on 28 September. For the Round Table of 1287 see also Trevet, *Annales* p. 300 and the Kilkenny Chronicle, ed. R. Flower, ‘Manuscripts of Irish Interest in the British Museum’ in *Analecta Hibernica* ii (1931), p. 333.
- 18 Cf. Guisborough, *Chronicle*, p. 219.
- 19 Llewelyn was killed on 11 December 1282.
- 20 Work on Conway and Carnarvon castles was undertaken between March and June 1283; the reconstruction of Harlech castle began in 1285. Cricieth castle was rebuilt

- along with Harlech castle. See J.E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford 1968), pp. 195, 198; D.J.C. King, *Castellarium Anglicanum* i (Millwood, NY 1983), pp. 32–3, 276–7.
- 21 nunc: *om. D* (*mg. D¹*).
- 22 Edward II was born on 25 April 1284; Alfonso died on 19 August 1284 (*Annales de Waverleia*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS xxxvi.2, London 1865, p. 401).
- 23 libiwit *D*.
- 24 Eleanor, the Queen Mother, joined Amesbury on 7 July 1286, and died there on 25 June 1291.
- 25 Although Edward took the cross again in 1287, he never travelled subsequently to the Holy Land.
- 26 inc[...]ebat: one or two letters after c are rubbed away.
- 27 For Drosllan castle see King, *Castellarium* i, p. 55 and Peter Webster, 'Dryslwyn Castle' in *Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D.J. Cathcart King*, eds. J.R. Kenyon and Richard Avent (Cardiff 1987), pp. 89–104. For the collapse of the wall see e.g. *Annales Londonienses*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS lxxvi.1 (London 1882), p. 96 and *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS xcvi.3 (London 1890), p. 66.
- 28 (I ?)ustus *D*.
- 29 The English fought the Normans in two sea battles (15 May and 26 May 1293).
- 30 manum fortem: Exod. 6.1 and Deut. 7.8.
- 31 For the treason and execution of Thomas de Turberville see e.g. *Chronicle of Bury* pp. 128–9 and Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS xvi (London 1859), pp. 304–6.
- 32 secenti = sescenti.
- 33 For the devastation of Northumberland see *Chronicle of Bury* p. 142 and *Chronicon de Lanercost* p. 190.
- 34 Ps. 3.7.
- 35 The battle of Falkirk was fought on 22 July 1297. The *Chronicon de Lanercost* (pp. 191–2) asserts that according to different sources, 60,000, 80,000, or 100,000 Scotsmen were killed.
- 36 About the marriage of Edward to Margaret on 10 September 1299, see my introduction.
- 37 Broyerton: y represents the rune thorn.
- 38 An addition to *Annales de Oseneia* (RS xxxvi.4, p. 341, n. 1) reports that Thomas was born on 1 June 1300 (cf. Fryde et al., *Handbook*, p. 38).
- 39 es = aes.
- 40 Cf. William Rishanger, *Chronica*, ed. H.T. Riley, RS xxviii (London 1865), p. 195: 'prohibita est moneta alienigenarum surreptitia et illegitima, quam "Pollardos", "Krokardos", vel "Kokedones", atque "Rosarios", appellabant'.
- 41 Cf. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 194.
- 42 On 13 January 1301 Edward began his parliament at Lincoln.
- 43 Edmund was born on 5 August 1301.
- 44 The *Annales de Wigornia*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS xxxvi.4 (London 1869), p. 550, also records a comet for 1301.

- 45 Bothwell castle was taken about 24 September 1301 (see *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, iv, ed. Joseph Bain [Edinburgh 1888], p. 449).
- 46 Edward wintered at Linlithgow.
- 47 turicberi *D*.
- 48 For the attacks on Carrick, Turnberry, and Ayr castles see G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1976), pp. 171–2. Turnberry castle fell in September 1301 (see *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* iv, pp. 448, 451).
- 49 Wallace was executed on 23 August 1305.
- 50 On 10 February 1306 Robert Bruce murdered John Comyn; on 25 March 1306 Bruce was crowned at Scone.
- 51 ceptro = sceptro.
- 52 The knightng took place on 22 May 1306.
- 53 Cf. *Chronicon de Lanercost* p. 205 and John de Fordun, *Gesta Annalia* ch. 118, ed. W.F. Skene (The Historians of Scotland i, Edinburgh 1871), pp. 340–1.
- 54 *Seemingly* mesfen *D*, but the prose chronicle (Text II) has 'Meffen'. The battle of Methven was fought on 25/26 June 1306.
- 55 Symon Fraser was captured in August 1306 near Stirling. For the punishments of Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander de Brus, see e.g. Guisborough, *Chronicle* pp. 368, 370.
- 56 Edward died on 7 July 1307 at Burgh-by-Sands. After the body was brought to Waltham, two prelates each week attended to the rites. The body was thus religiously served for four months. About 18 October Edward was moved to London, and he was buried at Westminster on 27 October.
- 57 Sources differ on where in Viterbo the assassination took place: the church of Saint Silvester (*Annales de Wintonia*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS xxxvi.4 [London 1869], p. 110, *Annales de Wigornia* p. 460); of Saint Blaise (*Chronicon Thomae Wykes* p. 241); of Saint Laurence (Trevet, *Annales* p. 277 and Rishanger, *Chronica* p. 67).
- 58 Count Aldobrandinus Rosso (le Rus): see *Flores Historiarum*, RS xcv.3, p. 29. The murder occurred on 13 March 1270: see Luard (ed.), *Chronicon Thomae Wykes* p. 241.
- 59 postgenitus (written out in full) *D*. Edward was the first-born offspring of Henry III: cf. *Chronicle of Bury* p. 28. Cf. the error below at n.64.
- 60 hautasis *D*.
- 61 quod: seems an erroneous scribal intrusion.
- 62 Cf. Guisborough, *Chronicle* p. 208.
- 63 papa: papa Innocencius (Innocencius *deleted*) *D*.
- 64 primo: post *D* (*corr. D^I*).
- 65 honore accepit: *om. D*.
- 66 seducio *D* (*corr. D^I*). One can conjecture 'sedicio'.
- 67 Anglesiam *D* (*corr. D^I*). Cf. *Chronicon de Lanercost* p. 114: 'factus est pons navium in loco qui dicitur Mencee id est inter Snawdone et Angleseiam'.
- 68 dns *D*.
- 69 difford *D*
- 70 11 December.

- 71 anno: anno ante D. See n. 22 above.
- 72 Pope Martin IV excommunicated and deposed (21 March 1283) Peter III, king of Aragon, for accepting the Sicilian crown.
- 73 statuta: the Second Statutes of Westminster.
- 74 Honorius IV, pope 1285–7.
- 75 Philip III reigned 1270–85.
- 76 Charles, prince of Salerno and son of Charles of Anjou, was captured by Peter of Aragon. Cf. *Flores Historiarum* RS xcv.3, p. 63 and Guisborough, *Chronicle* p. 223.
- 77 Alexander III died on 19 March 1286.
- 78 tnsit D.
- 79 i.e. Périgord and Limousin.
- 80 cescidit = cecidit.
- 81 Nicholas de Stafford died on or about 1 August 1287 at Drosland castle.
- 82 23 June.
- 83 erat D.
- 84 gladii: Biblical expression (see e.g. Num. 21.24, Deut. 20.17, Jos. 6.21).
- 85 Charles of Salerno was liberated on 29 October 1288 (*Annales de Wigornia* p. 497).
- 86 nonagesimo (here and sometimes below) = nonagesimo.
- 87 19 May.
- 88 Anglie: According to C.R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, (London 1978), p. 20, 19 Edward I should be 20 November 1290 – 19 November 1291.
- 89 Bailolf: cf. spelling 'Baylolf' for John Balliol in the *Continuatio Chronici Willelmi de Novoburgo*, ed. Richard Howlett, RS lxxxii.2 (London 1885), p. 555.
- 90 For the oath in Latin see e.g. John de Oxenides, *Chronica*, ed. H. Ellis, RS xiii (London 1859), pp. 262–3 and Trevet, *Annales* pp. 324–5; for the oath in French see e.g. Peter de Langtoft, *Le règne d'Edouard I^{er}*, ed. J.C. Thiolier (Paris 1989), pp. 256–7; *La Vie del rei Edward le premier* (Wroxham Continuation), ed. John Glover, RS xlii (London 1865), p. 310.
- 91 Philip IV reigned 1285–1314.
- 92 Celestinus V (pope 1294).
- 93 gagitanus: sic D.
- 94 Despite the miracles mentioned here, Boniface VIII (pope 1294–1303) is not listed in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* i (Brussels 1898–9) nor in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* iii (Rome 1963).
- 95 The two cardinals were Beraldus (Berardus) cardinal bishop of Albano and Simon cardinal bishop of Palestrina (H.R. Luard, RS xxxvi.3, London 1866, p. 396 n. 1).
- 96 Bayun – Severi: Bayonne, Blaye, Bour sur Mer, St Sever.
- 97 Rions was captured by Charles of Valois on 9 April (*Annales de Wigornia* p. 525).
- 98 Thomas D.
- 99 Angli D.
- 100 One can conjecture 'sacramento prestito immensi amoris'. Cf. 'sacramento prestito' below at a. 1295.

- 101 Marisco: Beaumaris.
- 102 For the cross, known as Croizneth, see *Annales de Wigornia* p. 489; *Flores Historiarum* RS xcv.3, p. 59; *Annales Londonienses* p. 93; Rishanger, *Chronica* p. 104.
- 103 subiugauit: subiugauit et (et underdotted for deletion) D.
- 104 Feast day of St Margaret is 20 July.
- 105 qui: qui n(e or c) D.
- 106 Feast day of St Laurence is 10 August.
- 107 cunta = cuncta.
- 108 Feast day of St Barnabas is 11 June.
- 109 Bailolf: see n. 89 above.
- 110 Gedewrth: Jedburgh.
- 111 Exiham: Hexham.
- 112 Feast day of Sts Peter and Paul is 29 June.
- 113 vndecem D.
- 114 trega D.
- 115 Feast day of Assumption of BVM is 15 August.
- 116 Gaunt: Ghent.
- 117 in terram: interrm D (a superscript D^l)
- 118 Scoti om. D.
- 119 Striuelin: Stirling.
- 120 11 September.
- 121 iusticiarium: In 1292 and during the next three years, Hugh was head of the justices itinerant for the northern counties of England. In 1296 he was appointed treasurer of Scotland. Hugh is called 'thesaurarius' and 'capitalis iusticiarius in assisis Eboraci' in Guisborough, *Chronicle* pp. 302–3.
- 122 *Annales Londonienses* p. 298 and Peter de Langtoft, *Vie verse* 1568 (p. 388), speak of Robert de Somerville as slain at Stirling.
- 123 John de Warenne, earl 1231–1304.
- 124 null'i D.
- 125 22 July.
- 126 Laodonia: Lothian.
- 127 ffaukirke: cf. Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia* p. 343 'apud Faukirke quae a quibusdam vocatur la Chapelle de Fayerie' and John de Fordun's *Gesta Annalia* ch. 101 (p. 330), where Falkirk is called Varia Capella.
- 128 Brian de Jay (*Flores Historiarum*, RS xcv.3, p. 104).
- 129 30 November.
- 130 But cf. *Annales de Wigornia* pp. 539–40: 'Die beati Andreae Apostoli in ciuitate Reatina dum Apostolicus indueretur papalibus ut missarum solennia celebraret, superuenit terraemotus ...'. The account continues with remarks about the horrific effects of the earthquake. The bishop of Rieti from 1296 to 1299 was Berardus del Poggio: see P.B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Graz 1957), p. 720 and C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (2nd edn., Münster 1913), p. 416.

- 131 Adolph of Nassau, king of Germany, was killed in a dissension between him and Albert son of Rudolph duke of Austria.
- 132 The marriage took place on 10 September 1299.
- 133 *Perhaps* kokedon'orum *D.*
- 134 Pontem Fractum: i.e. Pontefract. ponte Francum *D.* But cf. *Chronicle of Bury*, pp. 157–8.
- 135 See n. 38 above.
- 136 Antonus *D.*
- 137 inuodauit *D.*
- 138 About the hostility between Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, and the monks there see Guisborough, *Chronicle* pp. 346–51: 'Eodem anno orta est execrabilis discencio inter dominum Dunelmensem episcopum et Ricardum de Hoton' priorem et monachos Dunelmenses ...'. See also *Chronicle of Bury* p. 79.
- 139 Feast day of St Peter and Paul is 29 June.
- 140 Edmund was born on 5 August.
- 141 Feast day of St John the Baptist is 24 June.
- 142 *Perhaps* saskirke *D.*
- 143 ad: a *D.*
- 144 linlescou: lindiscou *D* (les *superscript in red* = linlescou). Trevet, *Annales*, p. 395, writes 'in linlisco' when referring to Linlithgow.
- 145 Turuebiri *D.*
- 146 quindenam: understand 'diem', but possibly the text should be emended to 'quindenos dies'.
- 147 Feast day of Purification of BVM is 2 February.
- 148 Feast day of St Dunstan is 19 May.
- 149 Curtaie: Courtray. Cf. 'Curthay' in *Annales de Wigornia* p. 552. The battle of Courtray took place on 11 July 1302 (*Flores Historiarum*, RS xcv.3, p. 112).
- 150 Artois: Robert II, count of Artois 1250–1302.
- 151 Translation of St Thomas is 7 July.
- 152 Guisborough (*Chronicle* pp. 351–2), Trevet (*Annales* p. 400), and Rishanger (*Chronica* p. 214) speak of John de Segrave as temporarily captured.
- 153 Brichn': Edward seized the castle of Brechin on 9 August 1303 (*Flores Historiarum*, RS xcv.3, p. 113).
- 154 Scocie: scocie Scotie *D.*
- 155 Pope Boniface VIII died on 11/12 October 1303.
- 156 Benedict XI was pope 1303–4.
- 157 Cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, Bk 2, prol., ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, (Sources chrétiennes cclx, Paris, 1979), p. 126: 'gratia Benedictus et nomine'.
- 158 Benedict XI was beatified in 1736. Concerning him see Luigi Berra in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* ii (Rome 1962), cols. 1194–201. For hagiographic accounts of Benedict XI see *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* i, p. 163, nos. 1090–4 and H. Fros, *Novum Supplementum* (Subsidia Hagiographica lxx, Brussels 1986), p. 130, nos. 1094a and 1094b. For miracles at the tomb of Benedict XI see Bernardus Guidonis, [*Miracula Benedicti Papae XI*] in *Analecta Bollandiana* xix (1900) 17–20.

- 159 On 21 February 1304 Walter de Winterbourne was made cardinal of St Sabina by Pope Benedict XI. Walter, a Dominican, was confessor of Edward I.
- 160 20 July.
- 161 Blifard *D.* The guardian of Stirling castle seems to have been William Olifard (Rishanger, *Chronica* p. 223) or William Olyford (*Flores Historiarum*, RS xcv.3, p. 118). But *Annales Londonienses* p. 133 calls him Walterus Oliffard, and John de Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, ch. 111 (p. 336) calls him William Olifant, if one can trust the editions.
- 162 John de Fordun, *Gesta Annalia* ch. 111 (p. 336) seems to contradict this: 'Sed ipse rex, obtento castro ... fide mentitur, conditione violata, Willelmum Olifant custodem ipsius, vinctum Londoniis carceri mancipavit'.
- 163 Bortrandus *D.* Bertrand II was archbishop of Bordeaux 1300–5: see Gams, *Series*, p. 520.
- 164 Feast day of St Martin is 11 November.
- 165 At foot of fol. 187r is this distich in red: 'Willelmus Valensis equus ignis funis (finis *D*) et ensis / Pro meritis fata tibi sunt hec dira parata'. The distich is not recorded in Walther, *Initia*.
- 166 23 August.
- 167 Villam Sancti Iohannis: Perth.
- 168 Occisione *D.*
- 169 25 March.
- 170 Feast day of St. John the Baptist is 24 June.
- 171 The defeat of Robert Bruce by Aymer de Valence at Methven in 1306.
- 172 John de Strathbogie was earl of Atholl from 1284 to 1306.
- 173 Here the text breaks off abruptly, with most of fol. 188r left blank.

English Carthusian books not yet linked with a charterhouse

A.I. Doyle

I first met Billy and Neans O'Sullivan and enjoyed their hospitality in 1956, when I had gone to Trinity to examine many of its manuscripts, primarily those including Middle English,¹ but also ones containing Latin spiritual texts associable with the English Carthusians and Briggittines. As Billy is particularly interested in questions of provenance it seems appropriate here to list the books I know of which bear evidence of having belonged to or been made by English Carthusian monks but have not yet been linked firmly with a specific charterhouse, which would qualify them for entry in *Medieval libraries of Great Britain* or its *Supplement*.²

There were only nine charterhouses in England³ before their suppression by King Henry VIII in 1538–9, seven of them founded between 1343 and 1415, a period of expansion paralleled elsewhere in Europe, reflecting the order's exceptional reputation for austerity and devotion. Although the normal complement was thirteen choir monks for a house, with some lay-brethren (*conversi*) and possibly also clerical oblates and lodgers (*donati* and *prebendarii*) in addition, three of the English houses (London, Mountgrace and Sheen) had a higher number of cells, but it has been reckoned that there were never more than 175 professed members in England at any one time.⁴ So far only about 106 extant manuscripts and printed volumes have been assigned on certain or strong evidence to any of those houses, including inscriptions by members of known ones. No substantial catalogue of an English Carthusian library is known to survive, but there are a number of lists of books temporarily transferred with monks from one house to another, mostly from the end of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century.⁵ The order continued to lay emphasis on the tradition of copying books but, perhaps because many of their recruits were mature and most of their life was passed in separate cells, it did not apparently in the later middle ages impose distinctive styles of writing even for each house.⁶ They did, however, show a special concern for correction and punctuation of their prescribed liturgical and lectionary texts, where the *punctus (circum)flexus* is conspicuous in continental manuscripts (also favoured in the twelfth century by the Cistercians and in the fifteenth by the Fraterherren and Windesheim Canons); in English Carthusian manuscripts it is uncommon and, for some reason, of a different shape, like an abbreviation for 'est'.⁷

I shall start with books incontrovertibly made for English Carthusian use, or adapted for it, proceeding to ones written or annotated by an identifiable monk's hand, and finishing with ones including pieces of Carthusian authorship, or so strongly connected with them that these copies are most likely to have been their possessions.

Constitutional

British Library, MS Harley 2017, an English armorial of the later sixteenth century, has at its end (fols 141–2) a bifolium from a copy of the *Statuta Antiqua* (1250) of the order, part II, chapters 28–9, in two columns, in a competent tall textura script, with original interspersed comments on particular clauses in a small current secretary hand of the fifteenth century, citing the *Statuta Nova* (1368) and ordinances from the *Carte* (i.e. both general ordinances and specific directives) of the General Chapter 1415, 1417, 1418 and 1428, which would have been superseded by the *Tertia Compilatio* (1509). The initials have penwork flourishing in the distinctively English style.⁸

British Library, MS Arundel 278 is a copy in quite a good textura of the *Tertia Compilatio* with English flourishing.⁹ It has the English form of *punctus flexus*. It may have been Lord William Howard's or Henry Savile's of Banke, from each of whom many of the Arundel collection derive, and so rather from a northern than a southern charterhouse.¹⁰

British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.III, folios 130–66, which was Savile MS 154,¹¹ is an assemblage in several hands, the earliest probably of the first half of the fifteenth century, containing a treatise for novices from the statutes of the order,¹² continued by a later hand and sandwiched within a Carthusian liturgical directory including English forms of reception, profession and confession.¹³ The English spelling is strongly northern and assignable to the West Riding of Yorkshire, from which either of the charterhouses of Hull or Mountgrace could well have recruited, but also Beauvale (Notts.) or Axholme (Lincs.).¹⁴

British Library, MS Cotton Julius A.IX, folios 23–157v,¹⁵ is a Latin gloss or commentary on the old and new statutes, citing *Carte* to 1452, the first portion (fols 23–57 line 22) in an expert humanist cursive of the early sixteenth century except for the main heading and emphasised words; the chapter headings and the text from fol. 57 line 23 to fol. 74 are in an accomplished set secretary of the same period, said to be the same as that of Parkminster (St Hugh's Charterhouse) ff. 10 (D.176), the *Cloud of Unknowing* and *Epistle of Private Counsel*, copied by Blessed William Exmewe of the London Charterhouse (1518–35), so this part of Julius may come from there.¹⁶ It is completed by two other less polished hands, an hybrida (fol. 74v–75v) and an anglicana (fol. 75–157v), the latter with a concluding Latin distich giving the scribe's name as Langton, not found among the lists of Carthusians we have.¹⁷

Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 732/771, is a larger copy of the same *Glosa* by a very similar hand to Exmewe's, with humanist headings, bound with the printed edition of the statutes (Basle 1510) and followed by a number of questions and answers particularly regarding English charterhouses up to 1526, besides the forms of reception of a novice and election of a prior.¹⁸

London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 413 is a volume of separate copies of the *Carte* (including obits) of the annual General Chapter at the Grande Chartreuse from 1411 to 1481, made either in England or sent here from abroad. A copy of each had to be made at every house by circulation of an exemplar, and the series should presumably have been kept there for its items of continued validity.¹⁹

Liturgical

London, British Library, MS Harley 3776, folios 128–35, are two leaves of *Benedictiones per annum* and six of a calendar, in textura, with English flourishing, and original Carthusian commemorations and gradings ('Candel', 'Cap'), including the Visitation, admitted in 1468, and St Bruno (canonised 1514) added.²⁰

Hatfield House (Marquess of Salisbury), MS 292 is a large finely illuminated psalter in the English style of the late fourteenth century, with *Flores Psalterii* and *Orationes* of similar date prefixed. There is no evidence of original Carthusian ownership but on fols 17–20v there is added an *agenda pro defunctis* with a litany including 'Hugo ii' (i.e. St Hugh of Grenoble and of Lincoln, or else one of them invoked twice, as was the practice for chief patrons) and St Bruno, written by a type of texthand with broadest penstrokes vertical, like that of William Tregooz, monk of the London Charterhouse in Oxford, in Bodleian Library, MS Douce 262, but larger and more mannered with superfluous hairlines.²¹

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. e. 21 is a fifteenth-century psalter of French origin adapted for Carthusian use²² by additions in more than one hand, including the English form of the *flexus* on fol. 2v, the grading 'Candel' in the calendar (fols 5–8) and fol. 180r–v in the fere-textura hand of William Darker, monk of Sheen (professed probably after 1471, certainly before 1502, died 1512/13).²³

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough liturg. 9 is a Sarum book of hours with English script and illumination c. 1430 and a calendar including Carthusian feasts (both St Hughs and that of Relics on 8 November) but also later fifteenth-century added obits of two lay families and an abbess (perhaps of Malling, Kent) for one or other of whom, it has been suggested, it might have been copied in London, but I know of no parallel case in this country.²⁴

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A. IV. 24, fols 44–90v, is a small book of offices and devotions by several hands of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁵ It starts with *Penitencia per totum annum* and includes commemorations of the two St Hughs, Carthusian absolutions (fols 88–9) and 'in dedicacione ecclesie o[r]dinis?' (the last also in Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 64, from Sheen), between 24 June and 8 September. Additions include indulgences of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) for the Carthusians (fol. 86), and a prayer to St Bruno (fol. 89v). Additions of a collect for St John of Beverley (fol. 55v), repeated on fol. 90v ('De sancto Johanne Beverlacensi patrono nostro') may point to the Hull Charterhouse, although its dedication was to the B.V.M., St Michael and St Thomas.²⁶

Biblical

Lampeter, St David's University College, MS 1 is a Vulgate Bible (without Psalter) written in France, 1279, which was in England by the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, or perhaps earlier, when the Psalms were supplied and the Carthusian lection indicators P[rima], S[ecunda], T[ertia], A–H, and 'in Refect[orio]' were added in the margins.²⁷ The former Chester Beatty Western MS 50 of the first half of the thirteenth century, said

to be English, had the same markings added in the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century.²⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bib. c. 11, of the thirteenth century, probably French, also has them added by an English hand.²⁹ Other bible manuscripts with these markings in English hands are *Boston (Massachusetts), Public Library, MS 202*, and probably one sold by H.M. Fletcher, the London bookseller, in 1958.³⁰ A single leaf of the first 42-line Bible printed at Mainz c.1455, *British Library, IC. 56a*, with contemporary English illumination, has the same added indicators.³¹ Since the marginal marking and annotation of many medieval books has only recently begun to attract attention there may be other such bibles awaiting recognition, although not more than two would seem to have been needed in each house.³²

Scribes

A number of manuscripts or parts of manuscripts have been identified as written by known Carthusians and have mostly been assumed to have belonged to the houses in which they were professed or stated to be at the time, unless expressly or probably done for another recipient. We know, however, that occasionally Carthusians were moved between houses temporarily or permanently, and that books were sent and possibly made for one charterhouse by another, and so too for at least religious owners outside the order, as they certainly were for the Brigittine nuns of Syon Abbey.³³ We must therefore be cautious in assigning the ownership of work by known scribes in the absence of positive evidence.

The hand from which the biggest number of surviving manuscripts is known is that of Stephen Dodesham, the earliest datable in a very large job for Syon Abbey before 1439, but the first as a Carthusian, at Witham, in 1462, where he was until at least 1469, and subsequently at Sheen by 1471, where he died in 1481/82.³⁴ That three copies are known by him of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* suggests strongly that he may have been a professional scribe before becoming a Carthusian, but more spiritual books he copied could have been done either before or after that for various owners, as we know ones he did for a devout laywoman, a secular priest and St Albans Abbey, and others probably for the nuns of Syon and Dartford Abbeys.³⁵ Of his unlocated oeuvre *Oxford, Bodley MS 549*, fols 25–198, was presumably for his confrères for it includes several Latin items on the rule and history of the order.³⁶ A second hand which inserted English verses on the elements of faith (which could have been meant for the lay brethren), fols 77v–79, in such a way that he must have been in collaboration or proximity (and so probably another Carthusian or else a scribe of Syon Abbey, close to Sheen and known to have been in communication with it), occurs in four manuscripts of English Lives of saints formerly making up a single volume, which could have been made for the Syon nuns or a devout layperson, rather than a charterhouse.³⁷ *Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk.VI. 41* is a small volume of Latin theological and spiritual texts by Dodesham's hand, some found particularly in other manuscripts with Carthusian and Brigittine associations.³⁸ From the comparative neatness of his writing it could have been written at an earlier stage in his career than Bodley 549, at Witham or before.³⁹

In *Dublin, Trinity College, MS 678*, of the earliest English translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, his writing is, as in Bodley 549, larger and coarser, and there can be little doubt that it was done for Sheen, for it is corrected by the equally recognisable hand of William Darker, also monk there, who copied one of the other four known copies of the work in 1502 for Syon Abbey, probably utilising Trinity for it.⁴⁰

I believe Darker to have been the scribe of *Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 221*, containing the only known copies of the Latin translations, 1491, of the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Mirror of Simple Souls* (wrongly ascribed here to 'Russhbroke' as a Carthusian prior, a second error found in other English Carthusian manuscripts) with a contemporary marginal attribution to Richard Furth alias de Methley, monk of Mountgrace.⁴¹ It is (apart from a marginal gloss) in a *textualis formata* (excepting the final secretary *s*) rather than his more usual *fere-textura* script, but the duct and details seem to me unmistakable.⁴² It employs the English Carthusian form of *punctus flexus*. The volume may of course have been made for somewhere other than Mountgrace or Sheen, and the unique contemporary binding stamps have a monogram of the initials 'bt' or 'tb', which happen to be those of Thomas Betson, the contemporary brethren's librarian of Syon Abbey, where binding could have been done for their neighbours at Sheen.⁴³

When we go on to look at the other types of evidence for Carthusian ownership we shall meet a number of anonymous scribes who were probably or possibly members of the order, and further matching of pieces of their work offers a main prospect of enlarging our knowledge.

Annotations

James Grenchalgh, professed at Sheen by 1499, moved by 1508 to the Coventry Charterhouse and dying at Hull in 1529/30, has had repeated notice for his annotations in manuscripts and printed books, especially of contemplative authors.⁴⁴ Besides those dating from his previous career as a schoolmaster at Wells 1488–94,⁴⁵ and those which have some positive evidence for ownership by a particular charterhouse, there are a number not so firmly assignable but which must or may have belonged to one. The *Chatsworth House (Duke of Devonshire) MS* is an early fifteenth-century copy of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* books I and II, with spellings of north-west Midland complexion.⁴⁶ *London, British Library, MS Add. 37790* contains the only known copies of the shorter version of the *Showings* of Julian of Norwich and of the English translation of Ruysbroeck's *Treatise of Perfection*, one of three copies of the English translation of Margaret Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* (the other two of which belonged to the London Charterhouse, and the Latin rendering by Richard Methley of Mountgrace already mentioned), a compilation on contemplative life drawn from the *Cloud of Unknowing*, Hilton's *Scale* and Hugh de Balma, closely related to one in the north-Midland Carthusian *London, British Library, MS Add. 37049* (see below), and copies of the translations of Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vite* and *Incendium Amoris* by the Carmelite Richard Misyn, prior of Lincoln, 1435, for Dame Margaret Heslington, recluse at York, which gives a *terminus ante* for the volume.⁴⁷ It is all by a distinctive hand which was also responsible for *London, British Library, MS Egerton 2006*, one of two known copies of the translation

of Mechthild of Hackeborn's *Liber Spiritualis Gracie*, which belonged to Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and his wife Anne Neville (i.e. 1472 x 1485), and for *Cambridge, St John's College, MS G. 21*, the prose translation of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, which seems to have belonged later to a hermit.⁴⁸ The spelling of this scribe, varying somewhat with his exemplars, seems to point chiefly to Lincolnshire.⁴⁹ He himself need not have been a Carthusian although in Add. 37790 he was almost certainly working for someone in the order, and Grenchalgh had it to annotate a generation or so later, perhaps at Hull. *London, British Library, MS Harley 6576*, containing Thomas I'yslake's translation of Hilton's *Scale* I and II and other Latin religious texts, is of quarto paper, by one current fifteenth-century anglicana, pp. 1–336, and a more upright one from p. 337 to the end (of the same type as that of *Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 6578* from Mountgrace),⁵⁰ both accompanied by identical original markings and pointing hands as occur in *Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh. IV. 3*, another quarto paper volume by the first hand of Harley 6576 and of similar Latin contents.⁵¹ Harley has a seventeenth-century contents list evidently copied from a medieval one, starting with the same formula as that in Hh. IV. 3. The latter does not have annotations by Grenchalgh, but on what was its end pastedown, fol. 186, the name 'H Spycer' entwined with 'lady help' and 'ihc' may be for Henry 'Spesor', professed first at Sheen and then at Hinton, who died in 1489.⁵² *London, British Library, MS Royal 8. A. VII* contains Hilton's *Epistola de utilitate et prerogativis religionis*, Rolle's *Emendatio* and *Parce mihi*, and Suso's *Cursus de eterna sapientia* by a current secretary hand with foreign features, dateable to the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵³ When and where Grenchalgh annotated this is uncertain, as indeed it is for *British Library, MS Add. 24661* of Rolle's and other Latin religious texts (only part of a medieval volume),⁵⁴ and *Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 35*, mostly of Rolle,⁵⁵ which have both been tentatively attributed to Sheen and Syon because of the marginal monograms 'JS' and 'JGS' as well as 'JG', taken as referring to Joan Sewell, nun of Syon (actually named, but negatively, by Grenchalgh in Emmanuel), as do those in the Rosenbach copy of the printed *Scale* (1494), dated 1499–1500.⁵⁶ Another printed book, *London, British Library, IA 55141*, the *Book of Divers Ghostly Matters* [Westminster 1491], has his verbal glossing and notes without evidence of their date or home, but by the contents probably from his religious life.⁵⁷

Contents

A number of manuscripts have good evidence primarily from their contents of making by or for English Carthusians. *Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, MS H. 38* is a volume of quarto paper (except for one membrane leaf), of which the central portion, fols 82–155, is in a late fourteenth-century anglicana, written at different times, consisting of short religious texts and extracts.⁵⁸ It includes a note in the first person of Carthusian profession in 1393, the forms of profession, absolution and excommunication, and a definition of the secrets of the order. There are also three extracts from Master Adam the Carthusian, rarely so cited outside the order,⁵⁹ and one in English from the *Cloud of Unknowing*, possibly the oldest extant witness to a work which may be of Carthusian authorship and which appears to have had a largely Carthusian circulation.⁶⁰ It has been

suggested that it comes from the London or Sheen house, but its mention of Dr John Shillingford (d. 1406), originally of the Exeter diocese, canon of Salisbury 1385–1406 (although amongst preferments elsewhere), might point to Witham or Hinton.⁶¹ Later contents include *De Dei misericordia* ascribed in one manuscript to Rolle and otherwise found only in the next volume to be discussed.⁶²

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 321 is a collection of Latin religious texts by two main copyists on quarto paper, datable to the mid-fifteenth century.⁶³ On fols 52v–53r, in the first hand, it has Latin verses on the origin and history of the Carthusian order, of which the second and longer set (from a treatise by Gulielmus de Yporegia)⁶⁴ are also in Bodley 549, by Stephen Dodesham, described above. Another hand in a text of Augustine, fols 71–112, employs the English Carthusian *flexus* and among the other contents are the *De Dei misericordia* and treatise of Venturinus da Bergamo found also in Westminster H. 38, last described, and an extract from the *Imitatio Christi*, of which other early English occurrences are often Carthusian.⁶⁵ On fol. 54v an indulgence with an unfinished prayer in English evinces several spellings characteristic of the north-eastern quarter of England, a zone in which lay Beauvale, Axholme, Hull and Mountgrace. Trinity 321 in the later sixteenth century belonged to Henry Savile of Banke (W. Riding Yorks.), many of whose books came from northern monasteries, two certainly from Mountgrace.⁶⁶

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. d. 27 is fols 116–236 only of a medieval volume, datable from one item not before 1446, written by two or three hands probably of the third quarter of the century.⁶⁷ It contains Latin texts on the relative merits of monastic and solitary life and religious spirituality, three adjoining items in common with *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. th. e. 26*, copied by John Feriby monk of Sheen (d. 1444) and one ascribed to John Norton, once monk of the Coventry Charterhouse, presumably the John who was prior there c.1475 and died in 1489. Of course the presence of the piece would not alone point to Carthusian provenance of this copy, but the other contents are conducive to that conclusion, and it has been noticed that a later sixteenth-century name on the book is that of an owner of the estate where the Coventry Charterhouse had been situated.⁶⁸

London, British Library, MS Add. 37049 has had a lot of attention in recent years, chiefly for its pictures but also some of its texts.⁶⁹ It is a paper volume, with a watermark dating it to the middle or third quarter of the fifteenth century, as do the costumes in the coloured pen drawings probably by the main scribe, which include many representations of a monk in Carthusian habit.⁷⁰ It includes the only known copy of an English poem on the origins of the order, and one of three known copies of the *Desert of Religion*, of which the other two appear to have been made for northern monasteries or nunneries,⁷¹ while the language of two hands of the volume has been placed in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. Though various writers have supposed it was made at Mountgrace or Hull, in fact Axholme (Linc.) or Beauvale (Notts.) may be more likely.⁷²

The language of *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e mus. 160* is also thought probably from Nottinghamshire, though references in the manuscript to Beverley and Brantingham, near Hull, may point to the latter as the place where it was written.⁷³ It is mostly by a very rough secretary hand on quarto paper and contains an English verse chronicle of the world to 1518, based on the Cologne Carthusian Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum* (printed 1474 et seq.), with expressions of pride in the order, a translation of Suso's

hundred meditations and pieces of religious drama, and was planned to have pen illustrations of which only two were executed, so in character and appearance not unlike Add. 37049 in being a unique creation of monastic reading and devotion.⁷⁴

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 8. 26 is an assemblage mostly theological in Latin, consisting of four sections, the last of the earlier fourteenth century, the first in mixed hands of the second half of the fifteenth century (one with content dated 1434) and including 'Confirmacio ordinis Carthusiensis breviter ex eiusdem cronicis extracta', fol. 80, and 'absolucio fratrum ordinis Carthusiensis in extremis', fol. 83.⁷⁵ It also has two English passages, fols 73–78v, 99v–100, ascribed to Richard [Rolle] of Hampole, in spelling assigned to the north-east coast of Lincolnshire, around Grimsby, and so perhaps from a monk either of Axholme or Hull.⁷⁶ There is an added early sixteenth-century note to the chronicle on the writings of John 'Rusbroke' (Ruysbroeck) with the same mistake (that he was a Carthusian prior) as is found with Methley's translation of the *Mirror of Simple Souls* in Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 221 (described above).⁷⁷

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 159, fols 1–147, is by a set mixed hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, resembling, but not the same as, the second hand of *Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 2. 56*, the only known copy of the autobiographical meditations of Richard Methley of Mountgrace, dated 1483–87.⁷⁸ It is on paper, including watermarks of a distinct type not recorded before c. 1528, which would date it only a few years before the suppression of the order in England, yet we know of other manuscripts of similar character being copied by the Carthusians then.⁷⁹ It contains Rolle's *Melos Amoris*, with an ascription to Blessed Richard the Hermit, its text said to be almost identical with the selections in *Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 35*, a volume annotated by James Grenchalgh, possibly at Sheen (see above).⁸⁰ There follow two compilations on the love of God, a 'tractatus' and a 'tractatulus', with quotations from Rolle, Hilton, Thomas Gallus (expositor of Dionysius the Areopagite's mystical theology), Angela of Foligno and Mechthild of Hackeborn. At the end, positioned so as probably to cover both pieces, is 'Johannes Walsyngham hoc compilavit'. I am inclined to think this may have been the former Benedictine monk who became prior of the London Charterhouse 1477–88, as the genre, the sources and context would fit.⁸¹

Oxford, St John's College, MS 177, a paper quarto with the same type of watermark as T.C.D. 159, and by two secretary hands of the first third of the sixteenth century,⁸² contains Pontius's *Vita S. Cypriani*; notes on virtues needed for professed religious life here ascribed to Denys [de Ryckel] the Carthusian (d. 1471), whose works are not otherwise attested in England before they began to be printed at Cologne for the charterhouse there, from 1532, and were ordered in quantity by St John Houghton, the last prior of the London Charterhouse;⁸³ exhortations on monastic life from John Climacus and others; and the *Speculativum Clausorum* or *Speculum Inclusorum*, as it is entitled in the only other known copy of the Latin, *London, British Library, MS Royal 5. A. V*, which belonged to the Coventry Charterhouse and was annotated by James Grenchalgh.⁸⁴ A copy was, however, also among the books taken by John Spaldyng from the London Charterhouse to Hull late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century.⁸⁵

There are a considerable number of other manuscripts which, on grounds of items they contain and textual links, could well have been made by or belonged to the English Carthusians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and future identifications of their

scribes or annotators may clinch the connections. *San Marino (California), Huntington Library, HM. 36336* is a handsome early sixteenth-century copy, in a contemporary London binding, of the long abbreviation of the life of St Hugh of Lincoln by Adam of Eynsham, of which the only other known in England was owned by the London Charterhouse and the only foreign one by the Toulouse Charterhouse; but that does not exclude the possibility of its being copied for an non-Carthusian admirer of the saint.⁸⁶ An instance when content alone is insufficient evidence is the only extant copy of the Latin mystical works of John Norton, prior of Mountgrace c. 1509–22, *Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 57*, which (unlike the unique copy of his confrère Methley's effusions) is well enough written to have been meant for the dedicatee, chancellor of York Minster, and a copy is recorded among the books preserved by former members of Monk Bretton Priory (Yorks.) in 1558.⁸⁷ Carthusians, as we have seen, did copy books for other owners occasionally, perhaps frequently, and made their own books available as exemplars for others to copy, just as they produced and gave pious woodcuts, other devotions, and counsel to laypeople, both at Sheen and Mountgrace.⁸⁸ The cult of their special saints Hugo and Bruno also seems to have spread somewhat outside, at least to their friends, in the early sixteenth century.⁸⁹

There are many more manuscripts in British libraries from continental charterhouses, imported since the sixteenth century, some of which have been or might be mistakenly supposed to be of British medieval ownership. There may be authentically British Carthusian manuscripts waiting identification abroad, since texts favoured by them did get exported and probably by their agency.⁹⁰

Notes

- 1 On subsequent visits he pressed me to undertake a catalogue of Middle English manuscripts in T.C.D., to match that of the Latin ones being prepared by Professor M. Colker, but I did not feel able to do so alone away from the collection and because of other commitments; after a local collaborator left Ireland I was glad to give copies of most of my notes to Professor V.J. Scattergood, who has taken over the task.
- 2 N.R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books* 2nd ed., Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks iii (London 1964); *Supplement*, ed. A.G. Watson, Guides and Handbooks xv (London 1987).
- 3 E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London 1930), but with a chapter on the single Scottish house at Perth, for which see also now W.N.M. Beckett, 'The Perth Charterhouse before 1500' in James Hogg (ed.), *Analecta Cartusiana* [hereafter *Anal. Cart.*] cxxviii (Salzburg 1988), pp. iii–xii, 1–74. For the only short-lived one in Ireland see Dom Andrew Gray, O.Cart., 'Kinaleghin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* lxxxix (1959), pp. 35–58.
- 4 M.G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic* in *Anal. Cart.*, lxxv, 2 vols (Salzburg 1984), p. 54.
- 5 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 324–9. Dr Vincent Gillespie and I are preparing an annotated edition of them for the British Academy's Corpus of

British Medieval Library Catalogues.

- 6 See A.I. Doyle, 'Book production by the monastic orders in England (c. 1375–1530)' in L.L. Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval book production: assessing the evidence* (Los Altos Hills 1990), pp. 13–15.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 13, 19 (n. 70); see facsimile of London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A. III, fol. 190v, in J. Hogg (ed.), *Miscellanea Cartusiana: Anal. Cart.* xlii (Salzburg 1978), p. 89.
- 8 Later belonging to Randle Holme of Chester († 1699); see R. Nares et al., *A catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London 1808–12), III, p. 401.
- 9 J. Forshall, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the British Museum, New Series*, 3 pts in 1 (London 1834–40), pt. i, p. 82.
- 10 Cf. A.G. Watson, *The manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London 1969), pp. 99–100.
- 11 Ibid., p. 48; cf. J. Planta, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (London 1802), p. 202, nos. 9–17.
- 12 J. Caley et al. (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, pt. 1 (London 1830), pp. i–xii.
- 13 J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *Tracts on the Mass*. Henry Bradshaw Society xxvii (London 1904), pp. 99–110; W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia* (London 1846; 2nd ed. 1888), II, pp. 279–81; cf. J. Hogg, *Anal. Cart.* II, pt. 1 (Berlin 1971), pp. 306–30; xxxi (Salzburg 1972), pp. 120–5; xlii (1978), pp. 70–101.
- 14 Angus McIntosh et al., *A linguistic atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (Aberdeen 1986), I, p. 106; III, pp. 656–7.
- 15 Planta, *Catalogue of Cotton MSS.*, p. 3, no. 4; the preceding items, 1–3, fols 2–22, in a late fourteenth-century hand, though of interest to the Carthusians (see L. Oliger, *Antonianum* ix [1934], p. 40) seem (like the following ones, items 5–7) to have had an independent provenance before Sir Robert Cotton bound them together, to judge from the quire letter E and the distinctive inscription on f. 23 of Sir George Carew, Earl of Totnes, a contemporary collector very well known to our honorand.
- 16 N.R. Ker and A.J. Piper, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries* IV (Oxford 1992), p. 138; microfilms of all the Parkminster medieval manuscripts described by Piper are now deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; MS film dep. 1164 includes the attribution by Dom Armand Degand. For Exmewe see L.E. Whatmore, *The Carthusians under King Henry the Eighth*, *Anal. Cart.* cix (1983), pp. 101–23; M.G. Sargent, in J. Hogg (ed.), *Spiritualität Heute und Gestern* IV: *Anal. Cart.* xxxv (1984), pp. 17–20.
- 17 Not in Andrew Gray, *List of obits of Carthusians of the English houses from the earliest times to the present day*, unpublished typescript (Parkminster 1960), nor Palémon Bastin, 'Extracts from the Acta of the Carthusian General Chapter for the Provincia Angliae, Parkminster MS B. 77', ed. J. Hogg, *Anal. Cart.* c, pt 21 (1989), 33–102.
- 18 M.R. James, *Supplement to the catalogue of manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge 1914), pp. 4–5.

- 19 A.I. Doyle, 'Comments on the palaeography and diplomatic of Lambeth 413' in J. Clark (ed.), *The chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, *Anal. Cart. c.*, pt 12.2 (1992), pp. 96–9.
- 20 Nares et al., *Catalogue of Harleian MSS* III, 61, no. 11; E.G. Millar, *British Museum Quarterly* vii (1933), pp. 112–18, showed that most of this volume and of Harley 3766 (which includes two sermons of Adam the Carthusian) came from Waltham Abbey and belonged to Lord William Howard († 1640). There is an inscription of ownership dated 1568 on fol. 128 by a servant of a chamberlain of the City of London. Fol. 135 reads as if it, starting defectively, should come before 128 with the *Benedictiones*; the calendar is on fols 129–34, lacking July and August.
- 21 The running heads of Harley 2017 and Jesus College, Cambridge, MS 12 (attributed to the London Charterhouse on the evidence of additional directives concerning it) are in a similar hand.
- 22 O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1966–73), I, p. 46, no. 595.
- 23 Cf. Ker, *Medieval libraries*, p. 305; M.B. Parkes, *English cursive book hands 1250–1500* (Oxford 1969), pl. 8 (ii).
- 24 Falconer Madan et al., *A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols (Oxford 1895–1953), IV, p. 291, no. 18335; Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated MSS*, III, 77, no. 887.
- 25 Bound with an unrelated Greek prayer-book: T. Rud, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis* (Durham 1825), pp. 73–4.
- 26 A manuscript of prayers taken from the London Charterhouse to Witham in the early sixteenth century has added on fol. 110v a memoria 'De sancto Johanne Beverlaci Arch. Eborac.' with a different incipit: Downside Abbey 48253 (Clifton 12); Ker, *Medieval manuscripts*, III (1977), pp. 474–7.
- 27 Ker, *Medieval manuscripts*, III, pp. 1–2.
- 28 Found in Norfolk near King's Lynn in the 17th century: E.G. Millar, *The library of A. Chester Beatty* (Oxford 1930), II, pp. 29–31; Sotheby's auction catalogue, 3 Dec. 1968, lot 13.
- 29 Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated MSS*, I, p. 41, no. 522; *Bodleian Library Record*, IV (1952–3), p. 173, pl. IX.
- 30 The Boston manuscript, 13th century, including the canon of the Mass, bought from Messrs Maggs of London in 1964; that in Fletcher's *Catalogue* 113, no. 35 and cover photograph, was said to have been sold straightaway to America.
- 31 Cf. E. König, 'A leaf from a Gutenberg Bible illuminated in England' in *British Library Journal* IX (1983), pp. 32–50, figs 1–2.
- 32 For the church and the refectory, in which the unfinished sequences of readings were completed. Bodley MS 277 (*Summary Catalogue* II, p. 223, no. 2124), an English Wycliffite Bible, perhaps previously King Henry IV's, later Henry VI's, given to the London Charterhouse probably after his death, has similar markings, which could mean that it was read to the lay brethren, as vernacular books were so assigned in foreign charterhouses, even if not duly authorised by the statutes, and not confirmably in England.

- 33 E.g. by Dodesham and Darker, mentioned below.
- 34 Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 306–7; Parkes, *English cursive book hands*, pl. 6 (ii); Doyle, 'Book production', pp. 14–15.
- 35 J.R. Ayto and A. Barratt (ed.), *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: two English versions*. Early English Text Society [hereafter E.E.T.S.] cclxxxvii (Oxford 1984), pp. xxix–xxxii; A.S.G. Edwards, 'Beinecke MS 661 and early fifteenth-century English manuscript production' in *Yale University Library Gazette* lxi, Supplement (1991), pp. 181–96.
- 36 *Summary Catalogue*, II, pp. 295–7, no. 2298; J. Hogg, 'Guillelmus de Yporegia: De origine et veritate perfecte religionis', *Anal. Cart.* lxxxii, pt. 2 (Salzburg 1980), pp. 84–118, esp. pp. 104–6.
- 37 Cf. G.H. Russell, 'Vernacular instruction of the laity in the later middle ages in England: some texts and notes' in *Journal of Religious History* II (1962), pp. 98–119; V. Gillespie, 'Cura pastoralis in deserto', in M.G. Sargent (ed.), *De cella in seculum* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 161–81. Basle, Universitätsbibl., MS B. XI. 19, from the Basle Charterhouse, 15th century, has the elements in German verse for the converses (lay-brethren) to say daily; cf. G. Mayer and M. Burckhardt, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel.*, 2 vols (Basel 1966), II, pp. 1028–45. For the other texts by the second Bodleian hand, see C.W. Dutschke, *Guide to medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino 1989), I, pp. 152–3.
- 38 *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*. 7 vols in 6 (Cambridge 1856–67), III, pp. 731–3.
- 39 E.g. Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, St Georgen 12, before 1439.
- 40 J.E.G. de Montmorency, *Thomas à Kempis: his age and book* (London 1906), pl. opp. p. 247. Dr Brendan Biggs, who is preparing a new edition for the Early English Text Society, has confirmed the relationship.
- 41 M.R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1905), pp. 197–9.
- 42 An English gloss includes a long *s* with descender.
- 43 A. I. Doyle, 'Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey' in *The Library*, 5th series, xi (1956), pp. 115–18; cf. M.C. Erler, 'Syon Abbey's care for books: its sacristan's account rolls 1506/7–1535/6' in *Scriptorium* xxxix (1985), pp. 293–307. A marginal note on fol. 39 of Pembroke 221 in a small neat *hybrida* is accompanied by a monogram JG which is very like one in BL Royal 8. A. VII, fol. 114v, with others attributable to James Grenehalgh of Sheen, but Sargent (see next n.) has rejected this.
- 44 Ker, *Medieval libraries*, pp. 178, 305; *Supplement*, p. 109; M.G. Sargent, 'James Grenehalgh: the biographical record', in J. Hogg (ed.), *Kartäusermystik und -Mystiker* IV, *Anal. Cart.* IV (Salzburg 1982), pp. 20–54, with superior plates to those in *James Grenehalgh as textual critic*, 2 vols, *Anal. Cart.* lxxxv (Salzburg 1984).
- 45 Sargent, *Textual critic*, pp. 77–8, 162–3, 581.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 140–1, 492–3.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 143–5, 499–510; reduced facsimiles of the copyist's hand in P.F. Chambers, *Juliana of Norwich* (1955), app. II (fol. 1, recte 97) and F. Beer (ed.), *Revelations*. Middle English Texts viii (Heidelberg 1978), facing p. 10 (fol. 101v).

- 48 A. Henry (ed.), *The pilgrimage of the lyfe of the manhode*, 1. E.E.T.S. cclxxxviii (1985), pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.
- 49 McIntosh, *Linguistic atlas* 1, pp. 102, 109: Add. with some Rutland and Leicestershire mixture, Egerton some Leicestershire and St John's some more northerly.
- 50 Sargent, *Textual critic*, pp. 514–20 (dating and naming of script inaccurate); cf. A. I. Doyle, 'Reflections of [sic, recte on] some manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Myrroure of the Blessed Lif of Jesu Christ' in *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series xiv (1983), pp. 82–95.
- 51 *Catalogue* III, pp. 286–9.
- 52 Bastin, 'Extracts', p. 56.
- 53 Sargent, *Textual critic*, pp. 157–9, 526–9 (script wrongly named); Walter Hilton, *Latin Writings*, ed. J.P. Clark and C. Taylor, *Anal. Cart.* cxxiv. 2 vols (Salzburg 1987), 1, pp. 14–15.
- 54 Sargent, *Textual critic*, pp. 142, 493–9.
- 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 117–36, 478–87 (script wrongly named).
- 56 *Ibid.*, pp. 164–212, 536–40.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 252–8, 529–32.
- 58 Ker, *Medieval manuscripts*, 1, pp. 419–21; S.M. Horrall, 'Middle English texts in a Carthusian commonplace book' in *Medium Aevum* lix (1990), pp. 214–27.
- 59 One, fol. 136v, not noticed by Ker.
- 60 Noticed first and printed by Horrall, 'Middle English texts', pp. 217–8, 224.
- 61 A.B. Emden, *Biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford 1957), III, p. 1689. Dom John Fowler, whose obit occurs in the earlier part of the book, does not appear among the names in Gray's or Bastin's lists.
- 62 H.E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle and materials for his biography* (New York 1927), pp. 161–5, in ignorance of this copy.
- 63 M.L. Colker, *Descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and Renaissance Latin manuscripts*. 2 vols (Aldershot 1991), 1, pp. 651–9, comparing the main watermark with Briquet 4644, found in a Cologne document of 1455; but the same type occurs in the second as well as third quarter of the century: cf. C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, ed. A. Stevenson (Amsterdam 1968), nos 4636–48; G. Piccard, *Die Wasserkartei im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart* 1 (1961), i.312–7 (1428–67).
- 64 Not identified by Colker: Walther no. 8353.
- 65 Identified by Colker; with the title, peculiar to English copies, *Musica Ecclesiastica*: cf. R. Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in late medieval England' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xviii (1968), pp. 97–121.
- 66 Watson, *Savile*, nos 117, 123, 179.
- 67 Walter Hilton, *Latin Writings*, I, 26–33 (gatherings oddly described as duodecimo and octavo); J.P.H. Clark (ed.), 'Extracts from writings on the solitary life in MS Bodleian Library Lat. th.d.27' (fols 196v–200v), *Anal. Cart.* 35:10 (Salzburg, 1990), 5–25.
- 68 Cf. Hilton, *Latin writings*, 1, pp. 26–36; A.I. Doyle, 'The European circulation of three Latin spiritual texts', in A.J. Minnis (ed.), *Latin and vernacular: studies in late medieval texts and manuscripts* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 130–40, esp. pp. 131, 134–5.

- 69 British Museum, *Catalogue of Additional manuscripts 1900–1905* (London 1907), pp. 324–32; James Hogg, 'Unpublished texts in the Carthusian northern Middle English religious miscellany British Library MS Add. 37049', in *Essays in honour of Erwin Stürzl*, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik x (1980), pp. 241–84, with note of discussions up to that date.
- 70 J. Hogg, *An illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian religious miscellany* III (all so far published): the illustrations, *Anal. Cart.* xcv (1981). Most of the paper is large quarto with crown watermarks like Briquet 4645–6 (in France and Italy 1459–73) and Piccard I, i.324–7 (in Germany 1445–70); cf. E. Heawood, 'Sources of early English paper supply' in *The Library*, 4th series, x (1929–30), p. 291, fig. 27.
- 71 C.F. Brown and R.H. Robbins, *Index of Middle English verse* (New York 1943), no. 435; ed. R.H. Bowers, 'Middle English verses on the founding of the Carthusian order' in *Speculum* xlii (1967), pp. 710–13, and J. Hogg, 'Unpublished texts', pp. 259–62; *Index* no. 672: BL Cotton Faustina B.VI (part II) and Stowe 39, judging from their language and illustrations (e.g. St Hilda of Whitby in Cotton).
- 72 McIntosh, *Linguistic atlas*, I, p. 102; David Coates in a Bristol M.Litt. thesis on Add. 37049 (1973) favoured Axholme.
- 73 *Summary catalogue*, II, ii, 732, no. 3692; D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy (ed.), *The Digby Plays: Facsimiles of the plays in Bodley MSS Digby 133 and e Museo 160* (Leeds 1976); D.C. Baker et al., E.E.T.S. cclxxxiii (1982), pp. lxxiv–xcix, facs. opp. p. 141; McIntosh, *Linguistic atlas*, I, p. 148.
- 74 J. Hogg, 'The Carthusian chronicle of universal history in Oxford Bodleian Library MS e Museo 160', *Anal. Cart.* cxvi, pt 4 (1989), pp. 152–63.
- 75 M.R. James, *Catalogue*, III, p. 218, an incomplete listing of the contents.
- 76 H.E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle*, pp. 364–6, 401–2; McIntosh, *Linguistic atlas*, I, p. 65; III, pp. 262–3.
- 77 E. Colledge, 'The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God' in *English Studies* xxxiii (1952), pp. 49–96, esp. pp. 52, 54, 58–9.
- 78 Colker, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 273–6; bound by Archbishop Ussher's time with a former Savile manuscript; cf. *The Trinity College Cambridge MS O. 2. 56*, facs. ed. J. Hogg, *Anal. Cart.* lxiv, pt. 2 (Salzburg 1978).
- 79 Colker compares Briquet 11159 (occurring 1483 et seq.), but I noted 11369–71, a glove with 3 above lacing, occurring 1533–49; cf. Heawood, 'English paper supply', p. 437, fig. 137, in English documents from about 1528 on.
- 80 E.J. Arnould (ed.), *Melos amoris* (Oxford 1957), pp. lxxv–lxxx, frontispiece facsimile of fol. 1. For Emmanuel 35, misdated as early 15th century, rather second half, see also R. Rolle, *Incendium amoris*, ed. M. Deanesly (Manchester 1915), pp. 12–15, 63–4, 78–83.
- 81 Allen, *Writings of Richard Rolle*, p. 402; W.H. St John Hope, *The history of the London Charterhouse* (London 1925), pp. 149–50.
- 82 H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum ... qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* II (Oxford 1852), p. 58.
- 83 Dionysius Cartusiensis, *Opera selecta*, ed. K. Emery. 2 vols. *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis* cxxi (Turnhout 1991), I, p. 190.

- 84 Ed. L. Oliger, *Lateranum*, N.S.iv, pt. 1 (1938), pp. 1–148; J. Hogg, *The Speculum Inclusorum; Volume 2: the St John's College Oxford MS177* [in facsimile], *Anal. Cart.* lix (Salzburg 1981).
- 85 Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, pp. 324–6 (not 14th-century but after 1487).
- 86 Dutschke, *Guide*, II, pp. 708–9.
- 87 J. Hunter, *English monastic libraries* (London 1831), p. 7.
- 88 E.g. F. Wormald, 'The revelation of the hundred Pater Nosters' in *Laudate* xiv (1936), pp. 165–82, involving both Mountgrace and London Carthusians with outsiders, from BL Lansdowne 379.
- 89 BL Egerton 1821 has an English woodcut showing a Carthusian, and the two St Hughs and St Bruno in its litanies, yet with so many other unusual invocations associated with other orders as to make its destination problematic.
- 90 BL Add. 15835, thought 'vraisemblément d'origine anglaise' by Dom André Wilmart, is certainly not. For exports see A.I. Doyle, 'Carthusian participation in the movement of works of Richard Rolle between England and other parts of Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries', *Anal. Cart.* lv, pt. 2 (1981), pp. 109–20.

Reforming the Holy Isle: Parr Lane and the conversion of the Irish

Alan Ford

I think there hath been no one thing more prejudicial to the service of Ireland, than the number of water-casting physicians, that have taken upon them to look into the state of Ireland, to spy out the diseases and to inform at random ... sometimes for their own gain, sometime to help their friends, sometimes to hurt their foes, sometimes for love, sometimes for hate, and some that would still be prescribing of medicines, that were utterly ignorant from whence the sickness grew.¹

Barnaby Rich's attack upon his fellow hacks' motley collection of prescriptions for the reform of the Irish polity is shrewd and accurate. The surviving sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century 'advice literature' of books, tracts and treatises about Ireland (including, most notably, Rich's own works), are not short of frustration, exasperation, special pleading, libel, malice and self-interest, sometimes dissimulated, sometimes naked. But his withering dismissal of motives and content has not generally been shared by modern scholars. Quite the reverse: the advice literature has been seized upon as a seminal source of information about official policy and its formation and, above all, about attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish. Two kinds of writing have been exhumed, identified and analysed: the works of the Anglo-Irish political reformers from the sixteenth century; and English writing about Ireland from the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former have been transformed into a humanist-inspired constitutional revolution,² while the latter has been similarly elevated from random informations, or mere travel writing, into a distinctive genre which provides a point of intersection between history and literature, containing vital truths about English attitudes. Indeed, it is now possible to speak of an emerging canon of English texts about Ireland, and to explore a wide variety of scholarly analyses, historical and literary, seeking to extract and distil the assumptions that Englishmen made about early modern Ireland.³

The founding father of this latter school of 'English discourse about Ireland' was, as it happens, Welsh. Giraldus Cambrensis's two inescapable twelfth-century texts, the *Topographia* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*, not only shaped medieval Anglo-Irish attitudes towards the native Irish, but, given a new lease of life by translation and publication in the later sixteenth century, they also provided the New English with a series of set images and stories which were repeatedly used to define the Irish character, generally in terms of barbarism, ignorance and superstition.⁴ Indeed, so common are certain metaphors, themes and ideas in the English advice literature that it is possible to trace them through the

works of a number of authors, point to a shared set of historical and anthropological 'facts' about early modern Ireland, and even argue for the existence of a common English mentality.⁵ Thus the most quoted and best known example of the genre, Edmund Spenser's *View of the present state of Ireland*, with its lengthy historical excursus on Irish origins, is treated as a *locus classicus* of English attitudes, a synthesis of colonial identity, or, as one recent commentator would have it, the summation of 'received representations which are the basis for seventeenth-century English thought and action in respect of Ireland'.⁶

Yet, it would be a mistake entirely to dismiss Rich's shrewd stress upon the subjectivity and variety of such tracts and treatises. Attempts by scholars to construct generalisations from the advice literature often run in the face of its sheer historical particularity. Even sensitive efforts to place Spenser's *View* within the broader context of the writings of late sixteenth-century English planters in Munster face searching and ultimately devastating questions about the internal contradictions of the text itself, its violence, ambiguities, and uniqueness.⁷ The shared images, metaphors and attitudes should not be allowed to obscure the distinctiveness with which the individual author uses and appropriates those common themes, and the specific resonance they gain from being placed in a particular historical context. There are, in short, considerable dangers in moving easily from this advice literature to generalisations about 'the mind of the English colonist' or 'Anglo-Irish Protestant identity'.⁸ If even the superficially obvious designation of Ireland as a colony is open to challenge, dissections of the colonial mind become much more risky.⁹

Contrasting methodologies and academic disciplines compound the difficulty. Literary scholars have developed various strategies to cope with the anxiety implicit in the reading of texts in a post-structuralist age. 'New historicism', in particular, by focusing upon 'the historicity of texts and the textuality of history' has attempted to use a broad range of historical and literary sources to reconstruct the tensions and contradictions of particular cultural systems, while at the same time seeking to avoid the dangers of crude historical positivism by stressing the multitude of meanings implicit in the text and the role of the interpreter in creating those meanings.¹⁰ This has had many beneficial effects, refocussing the attention of English scholars away from abstract theoretical concerns on historical, political and social realities, and has produced important insights into the Irish advice literature, most commonly by placing it in the wider context of 'colonial discourse'. The 'crisis of mind' that the tensions of colonialism produced in so many of the writers can be traced in numerous ways: by analysing the texts' inherent strains, contradictions and dichotomies, between (for example), 'self' and 'other', or rhetoric and logic; by tracing semantic ambiguities and linguistic confusions over, for example, the meaning of the word 'native'; by narrowing the distinction between 'factual evidence and narrative fiction'; and by showing how the advice literature was part of the conscious creation of a national language and culture.¹¹

At first sight, historians share many of the concerns of literary scholars. They too are interested in colonial identity, its stresses and contradictions, and in the tensions between generalisation and particularity. But most historians instinctively take a fundamentally different approach. They rely less upon dichotomies and semantic analysis, suspicious of the apparently random nature of the juxtaposition of 'anecdotes', images and ideas taken from widely differing sources without precise regard to their background, authorship and period. They are both more confident in seeking to root their texts in context –

believing (despite all theoretical claims to the contrary) that they can with a degree of sophistication identify the sources, surroundings and influences which gave rise both to a particular text and to its meaning – and less confident in making sweeping generalisations from their corpus of texts.¹² There is, in short, a suspicion that the new historicism is, ultimately, unhistorical, taking the range of (usually printed) sources as synchronous 'cultural system', asking of them theoretically interesting but often arbitrary questions, and failing either to explore new archival sources or differentiate between existing ones.¹³ Thus, the most recent historical analysis of the advice literature shies away from the existence of collective Irish Protestant mentalities or a 'colonial identity'. Instead, alert to the lacunae in, and complexity of the sources, it points to 'the variousness of response and outlook, contingent on temperament, locale, education, public events and unknown and unknowable presumptions and reactions'.¹⁴ That single abstract entity, the Irish Protestant mind, is to be abandoned in favour of the messy reality of a variety of Protestant minds.

Here the artificial nature of the texts needs to be emphasised. A corpus implies not merely survival but also selection, whether through inclusion in state or personal papers, or by the decision of scholars to produce a printed edition. When one of the key interpretative issues is that of homogeneity versus heterogeneity, questions about the contingency of the process of selection and the resultant breadth of the corpus take on added importance. The representative nature of our texts, and their capacity to bear the weight of interpretation that has been cast upon them, is, as a result, open to question.¹⁵ One way forward for the study of English attitudes towards Ireland in the early modern period is by escaping from the tyranny of the existing canon and expanding the scope of academic enquiry by investigating some of those texts that still lie unedited, unused and unread by scholars and explore in some depth their precise historical context.

I

One of those texts can be found in a volume of Archbishop James Ussher's collected manuscripts in Trinity College Library, Dublin. Following the title 'Parr Lane: News from the Holy Isle' are twenty-nine folios containing a brief prose dedication, apparently to Lord Deputy St John, and almost 1,500 lines of verse dating from the early 1620s, all written in an early seventeenth-century hand.¹⁶ Its author is easily identifiable, though surviving biographical details are scanty. Parr Lane was a soldier, born in Northamptonshire, the son of Sir Robert Lane of Horton. He arrived in Ireland in 1596 as captain of a company raised to fight in the Nine Years War, his path smoothed by the presence there of his uncle, Sir Ralph Lane, the American adventurer, and, since 1595, Muster Master General of Ireland.¹⁷ Wounded in the war and commended for his valour, Parr Lane stayed on in Ireland, settling in Munster, where he served as master of horse to Sir Henry Brouncker, who was President of the province 1604–7, and developed literary and scholarly interests.¹⁸ He dabbled in theology, rather optimistically sending some Arminian propositions compiled by a Cork cleric to James Ussher for approval.¹⁹ In the first decade of the seventeenth century he composed a 'Character of the Irish', preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which has been mentioned briefly by historians.²⁰ His

major poetic work, though, has, as far as I am aware, passed utterly unnoticed. Though this neglect can perhaps be explained by the author's personal insignificance, or his poem's plodding metre and strained rhymes, historical snobbery or aesthetic condescension should not obscure its significance as a source for early-modern Irish history. For, on closer inspection, Parr Lane's doggerel, while it does indeed include many of the clichéd images and themes that inform much of English writing about Ireland, nevertheless also provides evidence of a distinctive view of English governance there, and tackles important issues about the nature of official religious policy in Ireland in the first two decades of the seventeenth century and its wider international implications.

Poetry, as Parr Lane remarks at the beginning of 'News from the Holy Isle', was not his normal mode of expression. What inspired him to take up his pen was a Cassandra-like prophetic instinct to warn his countrymen 'of dangers growing while we think all's well'.²¹ In particular he wished to identify the canker of disloyalty lurking amongst the Irish,

where error lies and lives in spite of laws,
and subjects hearts from due obedience draws.²²

Explaining that he is not concerned with 'the best' – those who have already been reformed, nor with 'the rest that do begin to mend' – he stated his purpose as being to expose those 'crows that cannot change their hue' – the refractory and obstinate who believe that 'all's bad that's new', in short, those 'beas[t]s that made the wolf their lord'.²³ By these, Parr Lane means kern, the native Irish footsoldiers whose rootlessness and violence were for him an image of all those traits in Gaelic society that English rule and law had failed to reform. Though frequently portrayed by him as little better than beasts, kerns' peasant shrewdness and politic cunning ensured that they could still wreak havoc in the Irish commonwealth:

where error long, they say, in custom's den
hath with her sorceries made beasts of men;
where might is right, will law, and wiles are wit
and Machiavel shot short where these hit.²⁴

As Lane warned

He knows not kern ...
who intended to rule these rough-hewn men
by set discourse or by relations pen,
or by the long rod of delay will bring
kern to fear God or to obey the king.²⁵

Nor should one be deluded into thinking that it was simply a matter of applying English law in Ireland:

when some at first did but on Ireland look,

they swore they would by Littleton and Coke
a rule without soldiers or their annoying swords,
as if the kern were adders charmed with words.²⁶

No long term impression can be made on the kern by such means – they are ‘loose in body but more loose in mind’; like mercury – constantly changeable.²⁷ Attempts to civilise or win them over by gentle means were therefore pointless. Rather,

when all was done which books advise
this must be cut, said they, this cauterised.
I leave riddles, then, truth tells, and time doth try,
that sword must cut the knot none can untie.²⁸

Lane feared that this lesson, all too painfully learnt in the Nine Years War, was already being forgotten amidst the pardons, accommodation and prosperity of the subsequent Jacobean peace.²⁹

what needs a reformation may some say,
in a fair land where all securely dwell,
and th’English are so many planted here,
as he’s a fool that dreams of any fear.³⁰

Speaking from his experience of the English plantation in Munster, Lane warns of its state of unpreparedness. Houses are defenceless: ‘open all/without or ditch or trench, rampier or wall’.³¹ The English are scattered throughout the countryside, poorly armed, with little sense of danger,

the taphouse being the fort which they regard,
that come to plaint and where they watch and ward.³²

Lane urges his countrymen to wake up to the threat and ensure that the country is properly fortified. The English must

... arm for war in peace. Occasion lost
in this one point many a kingdom cost,
and truth and time concurrent are:
an universal peace begets long war.³³

Vital for ensuring the security of the English interest was firmness on the part of the chief governors of Ireland.

Then be he man that governs here or saint,
let him go constant forward and not faint ...
for he that means to manage kern and please
knows not, good man, this country’s old disease.³⁴

Each new governor that came over believed that he had the solutions to Ireland's problems:

One favours the plantation to suppress
the natives, the other, he doth nothing less
casting his favours on the forlorn, so
as that he may seem plausible in show,
he having them and theirs at his command
who nothing for their faith but fair words penned.
And when he thinks their hearts are in his hand
he finds but eels bound in a slippery band.
The third man comes and takes the middle way,
he dandles both and sucks them as he may,
but while he draws a sweetness for his ends,
he leaves a sourness both for foes and friends.³⁵

Such approaches are wrong for two reasons: they unsettle the kingdom through rapid changes of policy; and they fail to take the cause of 'true religion' as their inspiration. This was for Lane the '*primum mobile*' upon which official policy must be based: 'true religion's sun dispels those mists/ and miseries of gain and shuts those fists'.³⁶ 'Until you plant religion in the land/ iniquity will have the upper hand.'³⁷ Royal policy must be founded 'upon that everlasting cornerstone' and 'like to the Medes and Persians changeless be'.³⁸

Lane's conviction that religion could not be ignored was reinforced by his view of the pervasive role that 'priests and popery' played in preserving and reinforcing Irish rebelliousness. Lane identified priests as one of the plagues of Ireland – as, with kern, one of the chief reasons why the people remained unreformed and disloyal.³⁹

the priests in corners gain the upper hand
of women, they of men, and gull the land.⁴⁰

Though he recognised that Irish rebelliousness antedated the impact of the Counter-Reformation, Lane clearly saw continentally educated priests as now underpinning Irish recalcitrance, both religious and political. He was particularly severe on the Jesuits, whom he endowed with the modish Protestant paraphernalia of gunpowder plots, treason, royal assassination, lies and casuistry.⁴¹

Above all, Lane hammered home the point that Catholics' loyalty to the pope made them disloyal to their monarch, but half-subjects. Catholics claimed that they merely wanted freedom of conscience, but Lane warned that conscience and political loyalty were inseparable. This was, for him, the central flaw in any attempts to tolerate Catholicism: the 'large charter of their conscience', he claimed, meant that Catholics could have no real 'care/for church and commonwealth'.⁴² Rather they were always liable to engage in treason.

To draw the subjects from their native king
ah, what can be a more unnatural thing!

To lend his adversary hand and breath
deserves it not the king's wrath which is death?⁴³

Catholics must be taught where their duty lies; and duty, Lane argued,

must be by inward conscience taught,
and conscience by religion must be wrought.⁴⁴

The problem for Lane was that in Ireland there was very little legislation that could be used to instil respect for 'the true religion'. The largely Catholic Irish parliament had, for obvious reasons, never been as enthusiastic as its English counterpart in passing laws against recusancy. As a result, Lane complained, a Catholic can be judged a traitor in England but left unscathed in Ireland for the same offence:

why if law there makes a traitorous sort
the same cause here should have the same effect.⁴⁵

Hence, Lane urged, the need to use the royal prerogative and go beyond the scanty statute law.

Underlying Lane's hostility to popery was a traditional and unoriginal, but, for a soldier and non-graduate, nevertheless impressive familiarity with the essential theological points of controversy between Catholicism and Protestantism. He was aware of the medieval penitential cycle and its power, and had a typically Protestant vision of the Catholic reliance upon merit and works.⁴⁶ He contrasted the Catholic obedience to the pope with Protestant ecclesiology's insistence upon the headship of Christ, and followed contemporary reformed apocalyptic fashion in identifying the papacy with Antichrist.⁴⁷ Lane was particularly critical of the Catholic stress upon tradition and antiquity, which he linked to the innate conservatism of Irish Catholicism: kern were 'universally resolved to hold/ bad customs for the best so they be old'.⁴⁸ There was even a pointed reference to predestination where Lane, while accepting that human will and efforts to reform Ireland were ultimately subject to God's secret decree, warned against deterministic despair.⁴⁹ Lane summed up his vision of Irish Catholicism in his portrait of the building of the 'Popish Babel'.

The plot first laid out by ambition's rod
was the omnipotent half-man half-god.
The brick was merit, which advanced the work,
as none raise half so high except the Turk.
The lime, or rather, the untempered clay
was old tradition made new every day.
The private masses did bring in the rent
from superstition more than could be spent.
The priests were masters of the work, well known
so to use all as no man knew his own.
Confession gave the law that kept all under,

search on our cabinets and match this wonder.
 But would we wonder, we might wonder more,
 to see how Jesuits came to serve the whore.⁵⁰

In addition to warning of the ever-present threats posed by Catholicism and rebellion, and the consequent need for firm government, 'News from the Holy Isle' had another, more immediate and polemical purpose – to refute the 'lewd lies' of David Rothe's *Analecta sacra*, the first part of which was published in 1616, the second and third parts in 1617 and 1619.⁵¹ Rothe, son of a prominent Kilkenny family, had studied at Douai and Salamanca before returning to Ireland in 1609 as vicar general of Armagh. He was appointed to Ossory in 1618, and held that see till his death in 1650. His *Analecta* recorded the sufferings of Irish Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.⁵² Written in Latin, published in Cologne and dedicated to Holy Roman Emperor and the Catholic kings and princes of Europe, it was primarily a piece of contemporary history, with, appended to it, a martyrology of all those who had died for the faith in Ireland in recent years. But history in the early modern period was also propaganda: Rothe's chief aim was to expose the cruelty and injustice of English rule in Ireland throughout the civilised world, thereby championing, and perhaps alleviating, the position of Irish Catholics. Such a challenge required a response. The official one came in 1624, when Thomas Ryves, a judge of faculties in the prerogative court, published his *Regiminis anglicani in Hibernia defensio*, a straightforward defence of the complete rectitude of English actions in Ireland.⁵³ Lane's 'News from the Holy Isle' is the unofficial, and more revealing, riposte.

Large sections of 'News from the Holy Isle' are therefore devoted to insulting Rothe, and impugning the veracity of its account of the early seventeenth-century religious history of Ireland, in an unsubtle and typically polemical early-modern style. Rothe had chronicled the failings, sexual and otherwise, of the clergy of the Protestant church in Ireland, taking particular delight in the story of a minister named Potter, who had left his wife behind in England, committed bigamy in Ireland, and even sought to acquire a third wife, before being unmasked.⁵⁴ Lane countered with predictable claims about the

profligacy of the Catholic priests.
 Your active priests, whom well you fathers call,
 are of that factive occupation all,
 as they can make more children without wives
 then all our married churchmen for their lives.⁵⁵

Much more seriously, Rothe attacked the religious policy of the Dublin government over the past two decades, detailing the suffering, violence and martyrdom inflicted on the Catholic population in an effort to make them conform, whilst pointing to the unshakeable loyalty of the Irish people to the pope and the Catholic faith as proof of the ultimate pointlessness of such coercion. Rothe drew the obvious analogy with the sufferings of the early church, equating the persecuting Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, with Nero, and comparing Sir Henry Brouncker's policy of trying to extirpate Catholicism and establish Protestantism in Munster to the efforts of Julian the Apostate to replace

Christianity with paganism.⁵⁶ Lane responded with a stout defence of the actions of the English governors in Ireland, and an attack upon Rothe for mistaking gossip for historical fact, condemning him as

... that pamphlet maker,
the Popes chief scavenger and canal-raker,
who gathered all the filth he found in streets,
and send lies to the priests as he them meets
in backhouse, mill, in barber's shop, or stews,
and sets us forth his gossips' tails for news.
How many signs of Rome's base prostitutions
to hell are in that book of persecutions?

Vilification of Brouncker in particular aroused Lane to a passionate defence of his patron.

But let the devil and hell, the pope and Rome
do what they can; his honour is his tomb.⁵⁷

Brouncker was, according to Lane, the model of a determined governor who had taken to heart his advice that firmness was all when it came to dealing with the Irish. He vigorously attacked the Analector's lies about

... the persecution that was done
with Truth and Zeal, or rather scarce begun

and claimed that

... had but Brouncker lived, Munster had seen
the monster Error had confounded been...
O, more than man, what would thy zeal have done
in ten years, that in three so many won.⁵⁸

II

Thus far, much of Lane's work is predictable and familiar. It is yet another warning about the unreliability of the Irish and the consequent need for vigilance, firmness and determination on the part of their English governors; yet another early-modern example of the extent to which Protestantism and anti-papery had been internalised by the second generation of Elizabethan Protestants; yet another in a long line of works seeking to vindicate the policy of a former governor. Thus Bingham had his Beacon, Sidney his Derrick, Grey his Spenser, Carew his Stafford, and now Brouncker his Lane.⁵⁹ Indeed, the parallel with the *View* is even more precise: Lane actively borrows from Spenser, as in his dismissal of the use of the law as an immediate cure for Irish ills because of bitter

experience of the fundamental savagery and irreformability of the Irish. That Lane had actually read Spenser's text, and was at certain points directly basing his verse upon it, becomes apparent when he sets out to gloss his stark and violent conclusion 'that sword must cut the knot none can untie'. A simple comparison proves the point. In the *View*, Irenius responds to Eudoxus's horror at the idea of using the sword rather than the law to end disorder and prepare the way for reform, by explaining that

by the sword which I named I do not mean the cutting of all that nation with the sword, which far be it from me that ever I should think so desperately or wish so uncharitably: but by the sword I meant the royal power of the prince, which ought to stretch itself forth in her chief strength, to the redressing and cutting of all those evils which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evil: for evil people by good ordinances and government may be made good, but the evil that is of itself evil will never become good.⁶⁰

Lane echoes the sequence of thought, and even the words:

nor by the sword I mean a cutler's blade,
that is for death and dissolution made.
Oh! Far be it from any Christian's mind,
to think of the destruction of their kind.
The sword I mean is that same royal power
that cuts the weed that never will bear flower,
nor is for medicine good or useful end,
yet spares the bad when there is hope to mend.
To rule with justice by discretion's square
may make men good in time which evil are.⁶¹

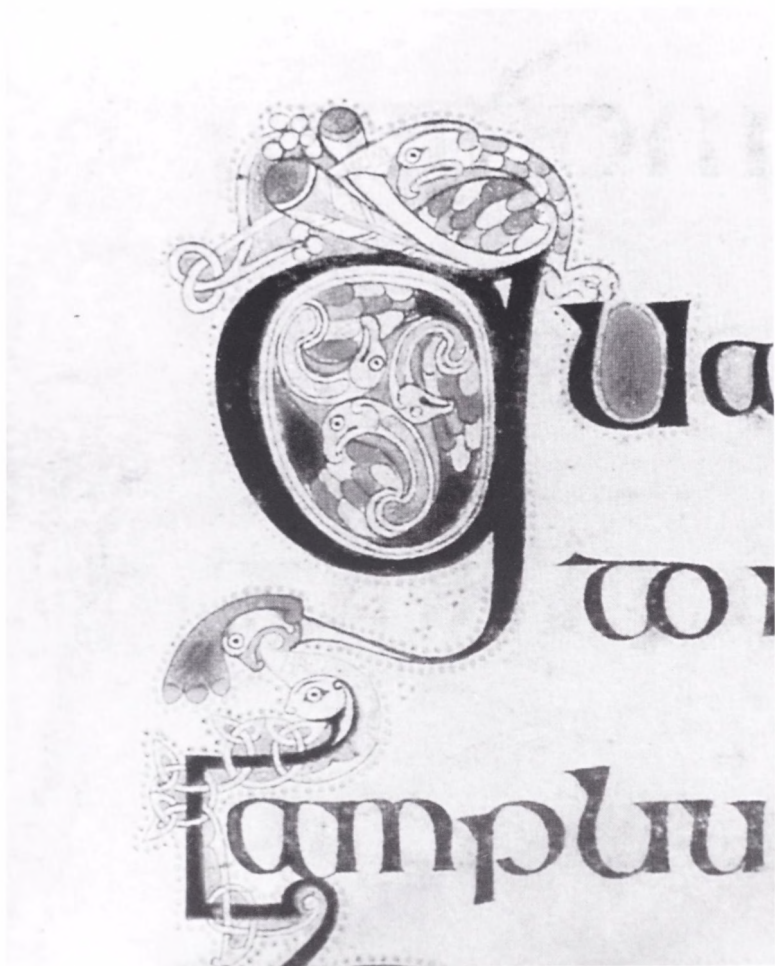
'News from the Holy Isle', then, provides evidence of the use of Spenser's work in Munster planter society in the reign of James I, evidence which is all the more valuable because of the paucity of information about the audience and influence of Spenser's tract in the decades between its composition and publication.⁶²

It would, however, be wrong to see Lane's work as a transcription of the *View*, or a reiteration of Spenser's views. Nor would it be correct to see it simply as a restatement of timeworn English obsessions about the Irish. Both these elements are certainly present in 'News from the Holy Isle' – it is not short of clichéd images and metaphors. What makes it distinctive and different is not its means of expression, but its message: its primary driving concern with religion and religious reform, and the way it reflects the changed context of such reform in early seventeenth-century Ireland.

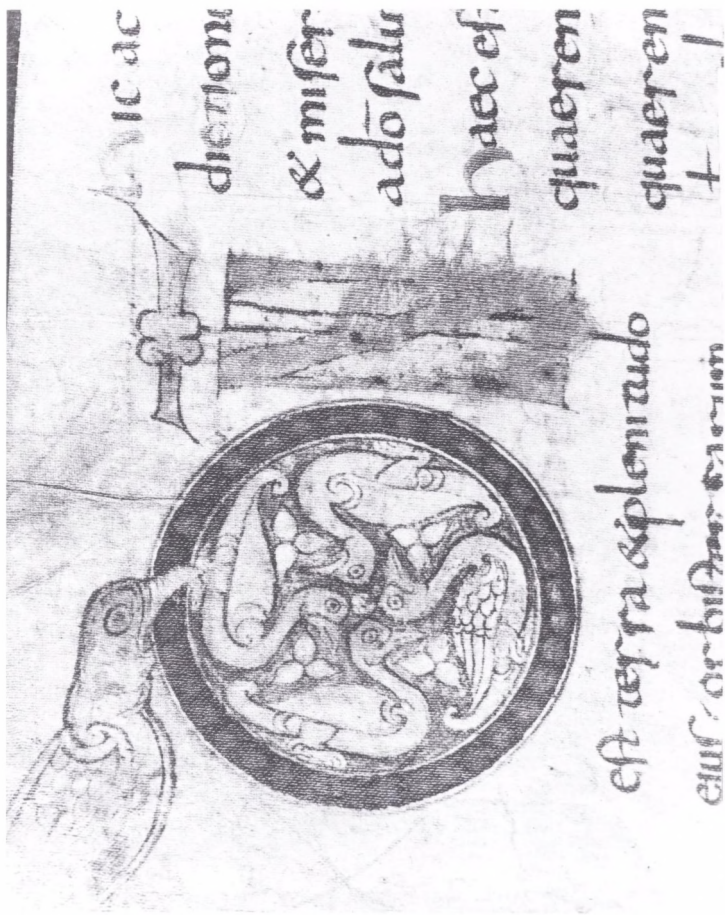
This is abundantly apparent from a comparison between 'News from the Holy Isle' and the *View*. As Spenser himself admitted: 'Little have I to say of religion'.⁶³ He largely passed over the intricacies of contemporary Catholicism, dismissing the Irish as 'all Papists by their profession but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part as that you would rather think them atheists or infidels'.⁶⁴ The primary task, as Spenser saw it in the 1590s, was to establish the authority of the English government and ensure that the Irish accepted it. 'Instruction in religion needeth quiet times...for it is ill time to

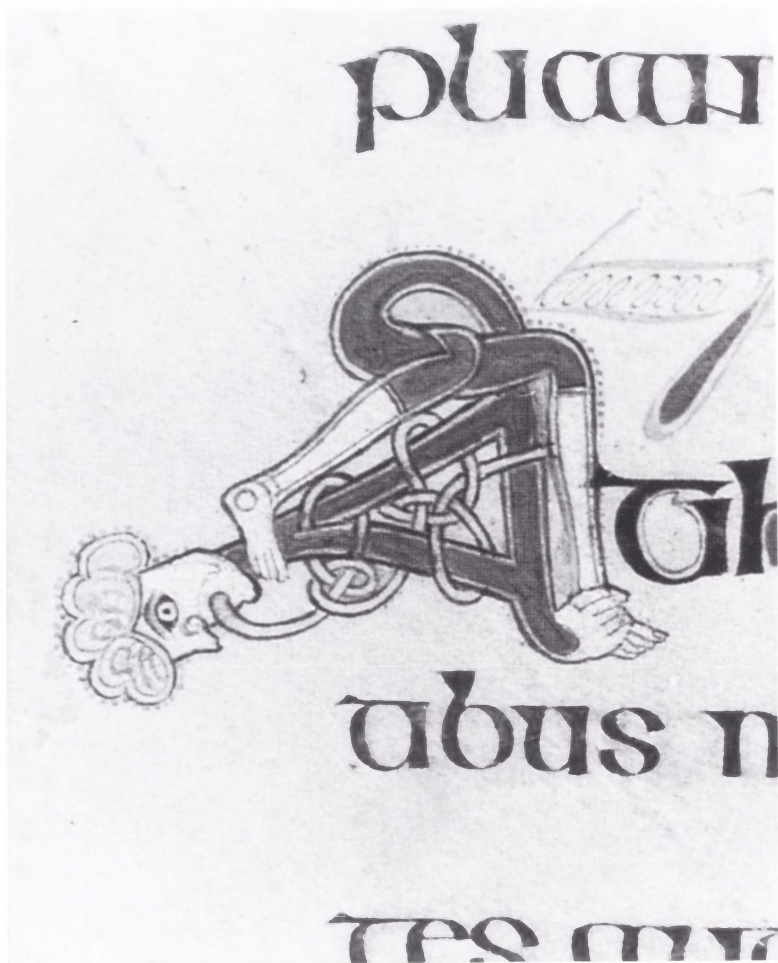
Quare Christus ob
mortalitatem
pro nobis
passus est
ut nos
salvaretur
et nos
salvum meo qu





3 Book of Kells folio 152v (three birds within the bowl of the letter *Q*)

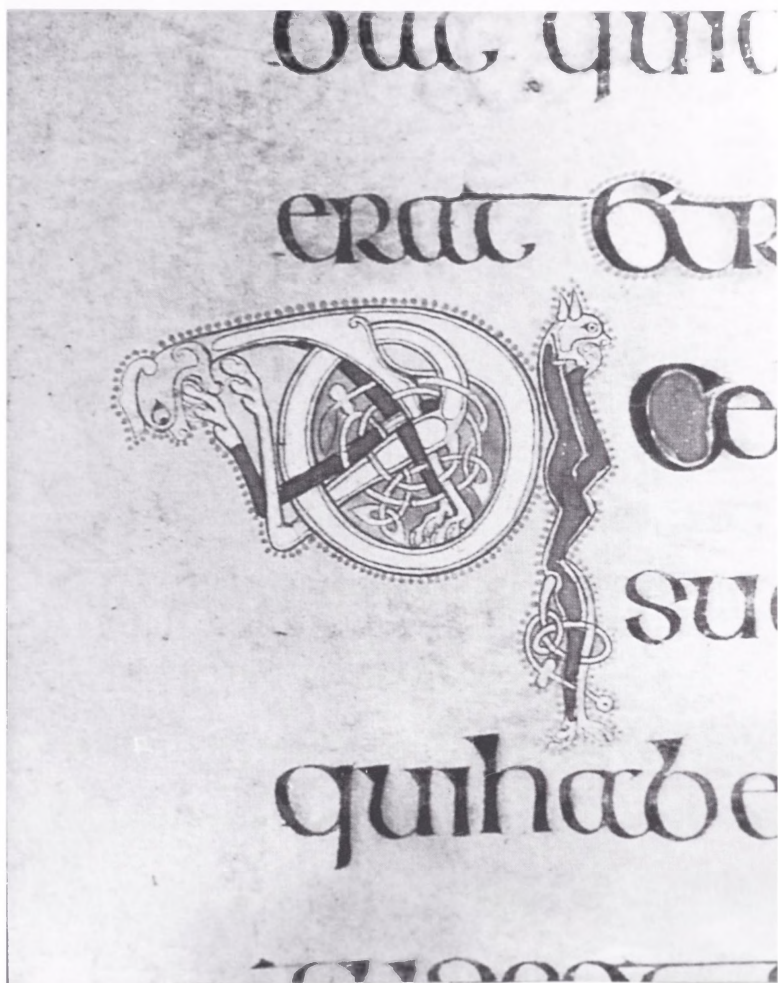




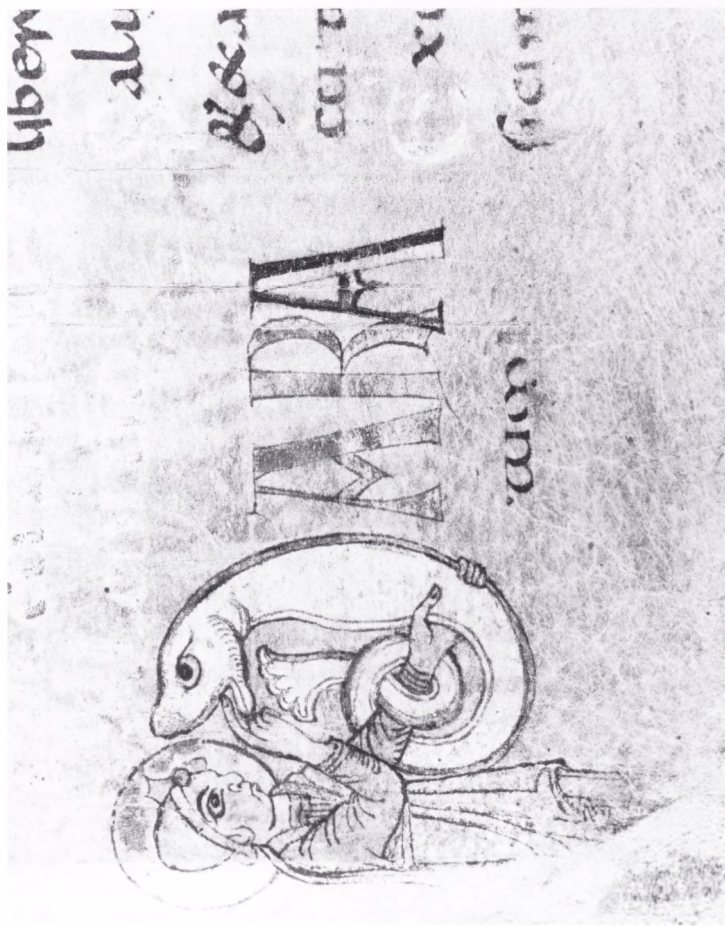
5 Book of Kells folio 53v (human figure holding an interlacing tendril in his mouth)

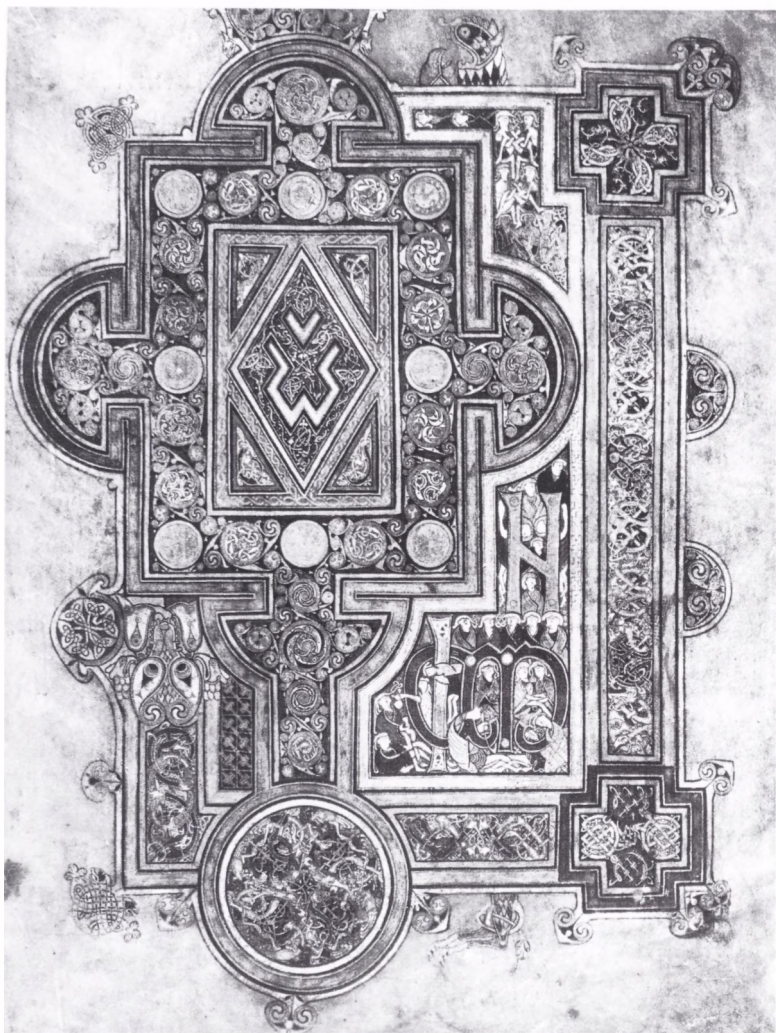


6 Corbie Psalter folio 113v (human figure holding a strand of foliage in his mouth)



7 Book of Kells folio 252v (two lions forming the first two letters of the word *Dicebat*)







10 Book of Kells folio 188r (detail)





12 Book of Kells folio 124r: *TUNC CRUCIFIXERANT XPI CUM EO DUOS LA
TRONES* Mt. (27.38)

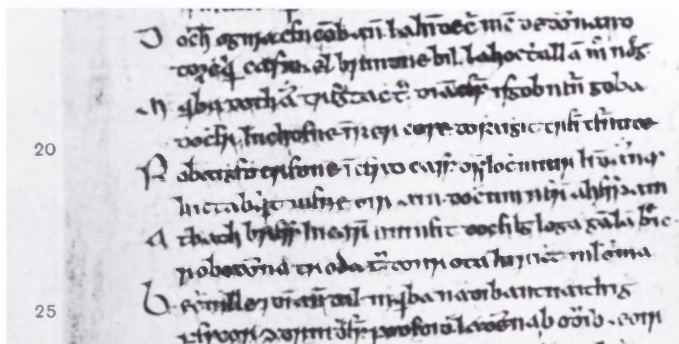


13 Book of Kells folio 124r (detail)

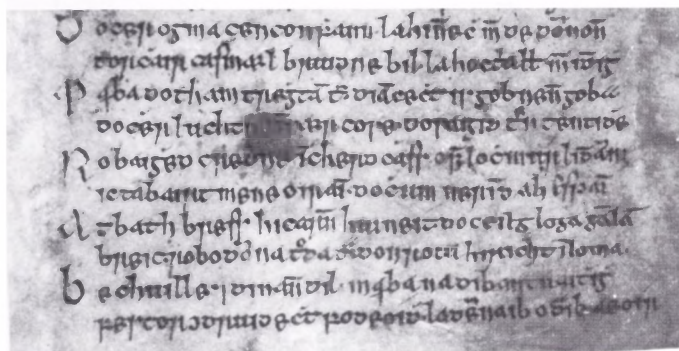
us est intro
n conspicuo
tus cōpediorū,
undu magnu
n brachiu
i de filios nost
orum
ed dēuicis nost



[illegible]



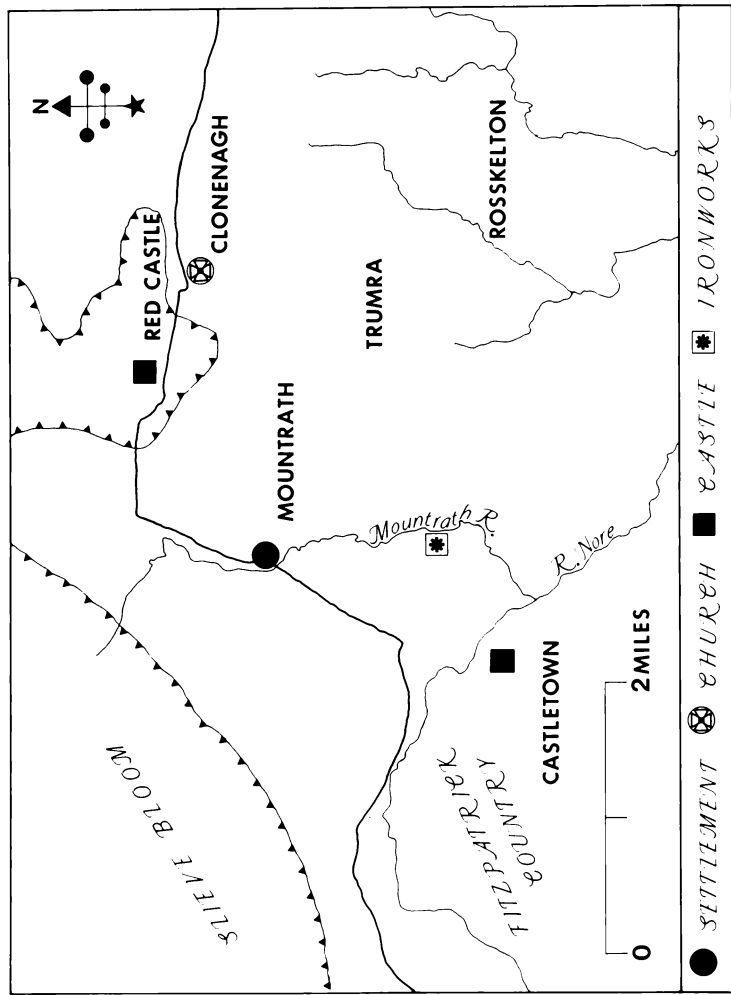
17 Hand of Ádhamh Ó Cuirnín (attested)
 Book of Lecan (Lec): *Lebor Gabála*
Lec f. 19ra 17–26

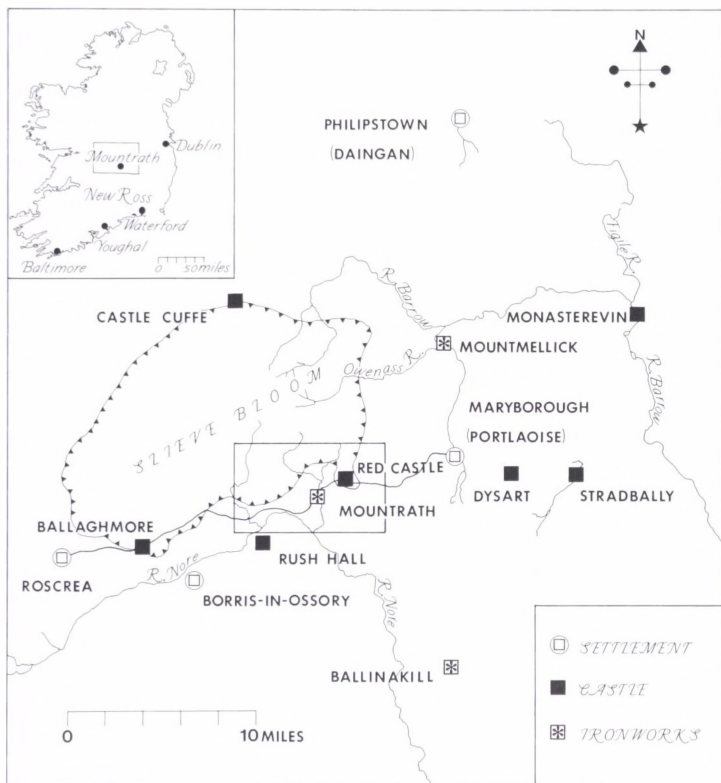


18 Scribal hand is unidentified
 RIA MS D.i.3: *Lebor Gabála*
S. 1vb (lower part)

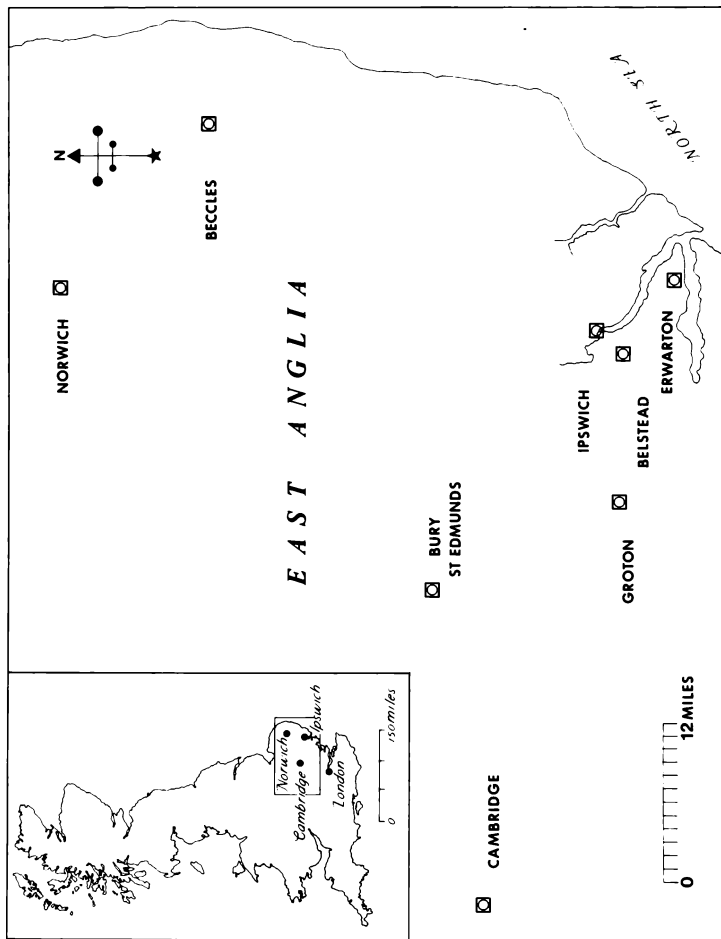
Restoring hand appears in *ceilg Loga*, 4th line from foot of page; compare restoring hand with Ó Cuirnín's hand (Plate 17). For discussion see p. 69 and chapter 5, nn. 5–6

Plates 17 and 18 reproduced by permission of RIA





20 Mountrath in the context of the Irish midlands



preach amongst swords'.⁶⁵ Only after the sword had completed its task could the authorities turn to the spread of Protestantism. Then, Spenser was convinced, it would be possible to persuade the people to embrace the reformed gospel – indeed, towards the end of the *View* he briefly outlined an idealistic policy of persuasion and ecclesiastical reconstruction founded on 'mildness and gentleness' which would ensure that the Irish followed the English example not only in civil but also ecclesiastical matters.⁶⁶

Parr Lane, however, writing a generation later, had to confront the stark reality that religious policy in Ireland had failed to grasp the opportunity offered by the victory in the Nine Years War. Indeed, by the early 1620s, as the Catholic church began to appoint resident bishops and as Protestant churches remained ruined or empty, it was beginning to become apparent that the majority of the Irish people, whether through ignorance (as Lane saw it) or conviction (as Rothe argued), were remaining loyal to Catholicism.⁶⁷ Moreover, Rothe and other Catholic apologists were pointing to this constancy as proof both of the eternal loyalty of the Irish people, and of the barbarity and pointlessness of government anti-Catholic measures. It is in his treatment of this crucial area of contention over religious policy that Parr Lane's originality lies. He was, obviously, seeking to undermine Rothe's claim that 'they are so universally riveted in popery that it is not possible for them to alter or change', but, in doing this – in insisting that the Irish were fickle and changeable – he was led unwillingly but almost inevitably into a subtly subversive criticism of government policy.⁶⁸ For, if the religion of the Irish people was so malleable, then the obvious question was: why had the church and state failed to win them over?

Lane's answer to this question was to point to what he saw as a crucial breakdown in official decision-making – the repeated separation of public policy and religious principle. To understand the point that Lane was making in 'News from the Holy Isle' one has to look in more detail at the historical experience that formed his attitudes – at Brouncker's attempt during his four-year presidency to use the full power of the civil sword to impose Protestantism in Munster.

III

Brouncker's appointment as Lord President on 4 June 1604 came at a crucial conjuncture: the end of the Nine Years War, the accession of a new king and the extension, after over 400 years of struggle, of the royal writ to the whole island – all seemed to augur a new dawn for English policy in Ireland. The opportunity that this afforded had been quickly recognised by the leaders of the Church of Ireland. The exigencies of the 1590s, and the urgent need to ensure the loyalty of the Catholic Anglo-Irish, had forced the government to abandon its efforts to force recusants to come to church.⁶⁹ But in 1603 Archbishop Loftus of Dublin and Bishop Thomas Jones of Meath wrote to James laying down their template for reformation. Now finally, they urged, the time had come to use the combined forces of church and state for the 'holy, just and necessary' cause of imposing religious uniformity and tackling the ever increasing threat of Catholicism. Writing just after the shock of public celebrations of mass by Munster Catholics (who hoped that James's accession would bring them toleration), Loftus and Jones, partly stating, partly hoping, urged that there was no man in Christendom more suitably qualified than James

that can better judge and discern what agreement there is like to be between light and darkness, between God and Belial, and between the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, and the superstitious idolatry of Antichrist.

They called on the King

never to admit within your kingdoms any partition or division of your subjects obedience either in matters of the church or civil state. For if your Majesty (as God forbid) should content yourself with an outward and ceremonial subjection of body, lands and goods, and suffer the Pope ... to ... domineer ... over the consciences, minds and souls of your liege people; what expectation of true and sound obedience from your subjects can your Majesty have?

It was, they stressed, an 'infallible principle'

that to whatsoever power or authority the soul, the faculties and affections of man's mind are subjected and devolved, to that self-same power shall all the offices and service of the body and abilities of lands and goods, little by little, whatsoever is pretended to the contrary, yield and submit themselves ... This toleration of religion that is sought for ... is nothing else (though conscience and souls instruction be only pretended) but a subtle exercise and treasonous practice, whereof the popish priests shall ... prepare the minds of ignorant men through their ... terrors of purgatory and excommunication ... to be ready and resolute to do any things that he [*sic*] do direct.⁷⁰

That Loftus's and Jones's concerns were later echoed by Parr Lane is no surprise: what they were proposing was a policy that was endorsed by most of the other English officials in Ireland, including the Lord Deputy, Sir George Cary, and the Irish Privy Council.⁷¹

Proposing a policy in early-modern Ireland was easy – just look at the advice literature. The problem was implementation. Before anything could be done, Irish officials first needed to secure the agreement of the King and the English Privy Council. And James, whilst he rejected any general toleration of Catholicism, was instinctively opposed to the use of widespread coercion. Rather, he made a distinction between 'dangerous papists' – the traitorous Jesuits and seminary priests who placed the pope over the king – whom he was quite willing to imprison and banish if necessary – and moderate Catholics, who were prepared to commit themselves at least to secular loyalty to their monarch – these he was willing to leave in peace to practise their religion.⁷² His chief minister, Robert Cecil, was similarly nuanced in his attitudes, rejecting toleration, but equally suspicious of puritan ideologues who condemned all papists as antichristian and demanded their universal suppression.⁷³ Even when royal approval was secured, another problem arose. Since none of the later, fiercer anti-Catholic legislation of the later sixteenth-century English parliaments had been passed in Ireland, the Irish state found that, in its efforts to impose conformity, it was in the awkward position of having to invent an effective legal basis for suppressing Catholicism.⁷⁴

It was Brouncker, only two months into his presidency in Munster, who broke the deadlock.⁷⁵ On 14 August 1604 he issued, on his own authority, a proclamation which

ordered that all Catholic clergy in the Munster towns leave the province before 30 September, not to return for seven years. Rewards were offered for the seizure of priests after that date, neatly gradated to reflect the perceived threat: £10 for a Jesuit, £6.8s.4d for each seminarist, and £5 for an ordinary priest.⁷⁶ Sensitive to his innovation, Brouncker outlined his aims to his patron Cecil in grandiose fashion:

I aim at nothing but the glory of my creator and the service of His Majesty, which I know can no other way be advanced than by emptying the corporations of all these wicked priests, the seminaries of mischief and the very firebrands of rebellion.⁷⁷

Since it was directed at priests and came at a time when James's policy towards Catholics in England was in any case hardening, Brouncker's initiative was not seriously out of line. Indeed, his example was followed in July 1605 when the Dublin government issued a similar proclamation for the whole of Ireland.⁷⁸ This use of the royal prerogative was refined and extended in November 1605, when the discovery of the gunpowder plot finally allowed both Brouncker and the Dublin government to enforce their coercive measures. Against the 'ordinary people' they employed the fine of 12d for failing to attend church. Against more prominent, and richer, citizens they issued mandates on foot of the proclamation, requiring specific recusants to attend church, and, if they refused, prosecuted them in the court of Castle Chamber which fined and imprisoned them for their disobedience.⁷⁹

Brouncker enthusiastically supported this toughness. He believed that Roman Catholics in Ireland had had prior knowledge of the gunpowder plot and, exploiting his presidential powers to the full, he began to hunt down Catholic clergy, remove recusant office holders in the towns, imprison and fine prominent citizens who refused to attend church, and use the Act of Uniformity against the masses.⁸⁰ He even urged Salisbury to secure for him a warrant that would enable him to execute recalcitrant priests *pour encourager les autres*.⁸¹ In prosecuting this campaign, Brouncker was faced by two interlinked difficulties: he had to deal with a skilful and organised Catholic opposition, led by the Jesuits and by the recusant lords, who, shrewdly stressing the risks of severe economic dislocation and mass disaffection, even revolt, sought to exploit Brouncker's second problem, the lack of wholehearted support from the English King and Privy Council for such an aggressive approach.⁸² As early as January 1606, the English Privy Council wrote to the Dublin authorities explaining that while they supported the policy of eliminating Catholicism, they differed markedly over the means and timescale. In view of 'how lately the people have been reduced almost from a general revolt, how apt they may be to a relapse ... how deeply the superstition is rooted, and generally spread in that nation', they urged

that a main alteration in religion is not suddenly to be obtained by forcing against the current and stream, but by gaining it little by little as opportunities may be taken.⁸³

In March 1606, Cecil wrote to Brouncker privately 'as my good friend', politely but sharply warning him that, in view of 'the dangerous state wherein we live', he must be careful to marry 'zeal with discretion', and ensure that he does not 'run a course more violent than standeth either with the ordinary rules of moral policy, or with the moderation

of his Majesty's mind'.⁶⁴ This set a pattern, repeated throughout Brouncker's presidency, of his relentless pursuit of conformity accompanied by repeated and ever-more-desperate admonitions from England to desist.

In an effort to win support for the policy, the King and the English Privy Council were given enthusiastic reports about how successful it was proving in practice. And, indeed, though the success of the measures against priests and prominent citizens was decidedly limited, large numbers of the ordinary people were forced to attend church.⁶⁵ One official even reported to Brouncker that the 2,000 inhabitants of the town of Gowran in Kilkenny had, after rational consideration of the differences between the Protestant and Catholic churches, decided to convert to Protestantism.⁶⁶ Recognising, however, that such propaganda was not enough, Brouncker despatched his lieutenant, Parr Lane, to England in the summer of 1606, to provide the authorities there with a detailed analysis of the policy and the reasons that lay behind it. The document that Lane brought with him makes impressive reading, composed in a succinctly comprehensive style that suggests that Brouncker's campaign was not merely a knee-jerk reaction of a frustrated military commander, but was part of a coherent religious strategy inspired by an informed Protestant view of the history of the reformation. It started from two basic premises: first, persuasion and instruction would not have the desired effect; and second, that 'where there is little or no religion or conscience to God, there can be no sound faith nor fidelity to man'. The conclusion drawn was that religion must therefore be planted by firm means if the state and church were to flourish. Brouncker then moved on to tactics: he was determined to start with the cities, for three reasons. The first was a thoroughly respectable modern historical insight: 'religion in Germany, France and the Low Countries took the beginning and seed of the reformation from the cities'. Thus the 'flames of true religion', breaking out in the towns, would, Brouncker was sure, spread to the countryside. The second was the secular importance of the towns: 'for win them to religion, and farewell rebellion'. The third was the pragmatic realisation that the church in Munster was far better equipped to deal with the English-speaking population of the towns than the Irish monoglots in the countryside.

Brouncker went on to tackle the basic objection to such a policy: the 'supposed difficulties' that the rigorous enforcement of conformity involved. Here he argued that the obstacles were far less than imagined. First he strongly denied the claims that the Irish were firm and constant in their adherence to Catholicism:

the Irish generally make no great conscience of any religion; it is for the most part in external countenance, and no solid substance in heart and affection.

Second, he had discovered that many are reluctant to conform because of various pressures – social, communal, priestly, and even wifely. But, he claimed, behind this facade of united opposition, 'many expect and long to be enforced, that they may have an excuse for their coming to church'. And finally, he pointed to the long-term implications of failure. Once begun, it was perilous to abandon the policy. If forced to draw back now 'it is to be feared that the letting of it fall, either altogether or by degrees ... will harden their hearts against any establishment hereafter.' He openly admitted that it ran the risk of a rebellion if rigorously pursued, but if it were not, the result would be repeated rebellions

and intrigues with England's Catholic enemies. In other words, any short-term problems would be more than offset by the ultimate prize of a country loyal in body and soul to the English monarchy and religion.⁸⁷

Brouncker won a grudging concession from the English Privy Council that he might exercise some 'moderate severity' where 'gentle means' did not work, but it was clear that they were speaking different languages. Even his erstwhile supporter, Lord Deputy Chichester, accepted in February 1607 that Brouncker's zeal had led him to exceed his instructions, but at the same time indicated clearly his personal belief in the continued enforcement of conformity.⁸⁸ Finally, on 11 April 1607 the patience of the authorities in England snapped: it was clearly spelt out to Brouncker that, whilst his zeal and integrity were worthy and acceptable, his tactics were not. If a policy had a clear chance of success, they would, clearly, be willing to support it, but where this is doubtful, as they believed it was in this case, and where, moreover, failure could make things far worse than before, then caution was required. Brouncker was instead to return to a policy of diligent instruction, and enforcement of the penal laws established in Ireland – i.e. the 12d fine.

These exchanges between Brouncker and the authorities in England demonstrate the existence of a series of fundamentally contradictory assumptions about religion, the nature of Irish Catholicism, and public policy. Brouncker judged that the place to start was the towns, since that was where Counter-Reformation had to be met head on. The English Privy Council urged that attention be shifted to the more 'backward' and 'ignorant' rural areas because they thought the Counter-Reformation weakest there. Brouncker, like Loftus, Jones and Lane, insisted that it was not only impossible but dangerous to attempt to distinguish between secular and religious loyalty – 'conscience' was indivisible. James was quite prepared to play with such a distinction. Brouncker thought that religious conformity, and, ultimately, conviction, had to be preceded by the imposition of discipline. This was not to deny the Protestant truth that only the holy spirit working through the word of God could convert the hard-hearted. But as Lane pointed out in 'News from the Holy Isle' the essential first step was to ensure that the sinner was placed in a position where he heard the word preached.⁸⁹ As Brouncker and Lane both stressed, preaching, education, and missionary work on the part of clergy were both essential: but without a firm disciplinary framework, they would have little impact. The English authorities placed far more emphasis upon evangelisation and persuasion and much less on a coercive framework. Brouncker was convinced that time was not on the side of the reformation – its passing, he argued, would lead to greater Catholic obstinacy and recalcitrance. The English Privy Council saw the matter differently:

where the vulgar sort do, as it were, in herd run altogether in one accustomed course of error, and especially in matter of conscience, there instruction ought to be used most earnestly, and such a moderation in the lawful chastisement as knowledge, time, and reasonable opportunities taken for correction may gain that by degrees which on a sudden can not be gotten by violence.

'This,' they bluntly informed Brouncker, 'is the course most agreeable to his Majesty'.⁹⁰ Brouncker's death in the following month ensured that his disagreement with the English Privy Council, and his experiment in religious policy, were indeed at an end.⁹¹

IV

The seminal role which his experience under Brouncker played in the development of Parr Lane's ideas about Ireland and religious policy can now be traced. A year or two after Brouncker's death, Lane wrote his 'Character of the Irish'.⁹² The bulk of it was devoted to, on the one hand, a Theophrastian sketch of Irish habits and attributes and, on the other, advice on the plantation of Ulster. But at the very end of the piece Lane could not resist pointing the moral of recent events in Munster:

Let not the law, where it will extend, be too silent in the case of recusancy, for this people what is granted of grace, they take is done for fear. If orators were banished some commonwealths because they might do hurt, let not Jesuits be harboured, who know not to practise any thing but the worst of ill. To conclude, *salus populi suprema lex esto*; in a more Christian construction, let the salvation of the people be the supremest law; and where the law written may seem scant, or wanting, there let the lion roar, who makes all to tremble.⁹³

That Lane was even more concerned with his Munster experience in the 'News from the Holy Isle', some fourteen years after Brouncker's death, is not merely proof of his pious dedication to the memory of his patron, nor is it simply a product of his horror at what he saw as Rothe's falsification and misrepresentation of history. What kept alive Lane's faith in the policy was a powerful combination of religious zeal and the conviction that it was still practical and possible to implement it. This in turn was founded upon his fiercely Protestant belief that the state had a moral, even biblical, duty to support the church's continuing demands for action against recusancy, and to engage in the task of 'planting the gospel'.⁹⁴ Thus references to 'zeal' abound in Brouncker's letters and in the letters of others about him. Davies wrote approvingly of Brouncker's 'zeal in matters of religion'.⁹⁵ Lane refers to Brouncker's 'zealous knowledge in the true faith', and uses the word zeal another six times in 'News from the Holy Isle'. The word was also applied to Lane's religious outlook.⁹⁶ Zeal therefore was the glue that held together both Brouncker's and Lane's religious and political convictions – they insisted that religious and political aims should not be divided, that official policy be founded 'upon that everlasting cornerstone', the true gospel, even if this meant some temporary danger for the Irish state.

In his search for models of religious leadership, Lane turned to that great repository of godly kings, the Old Testament. Like other Irish Protestants, he identified clear parallels between the Israelites' position in Judaea, surrounded on all sides by pagan threats and temptations, and the English in Ireland.⁹⁷ He cited the efforts of that religious man of action, Nehemiah, who had found Jerusalem defenceless and disheartened, its walls broken down, its gates burned, but had, despite threats and opposition, relentlessly driven the citizens to rebuild and then insisted on a rigorous policy of cultural and religious purity.

Full well I know what Nehemiah did
 who for religions cause not only chid
 but durst and struck and plucked the hair from men
 why should not zeal be now as hot as then?

Ah, shall these cold and frozen hearted fellows
judge those whom faith hath kindled with zeal's bellows.⁹⁸

Jehu offered an even more pertinent and encouraging example of the determination of leaders to pursue truth and religion whatever the cost. He had overthrown the previous dynasty that had accorded the cult of Baal equal treatment with the God of Israel, and dealt with the persistence of the cult in exemplary fashion by slaughtering its adherents.⁹⁹ Nor did Lane neglect the obvious New Testament reference to the need for compulsion in religious matters, the parable of the guests who refused invitations to the great supper, where the host tells his servant 'Go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled':

what is Christ's rule whom no invitements win
Coge intrare, force them to come in.¹⁰⁰

Chichester pointed to the obvious religious association of such adjectives as 'zealous' and 'hot' when he categorised the policy of severity against Catholics as 'puritan'.¹⁰¹ And indeed the attitudes of Lane and Brouncker are very similar to those of the godly, as, for instance, expressed in that classic puritan tract, *An admonition to parliament*, with its ringing denunciation of compromise and delay:

You may not do as heretofore you have done, patch and piece, nay rather go backward, and never labour or contend to perfection. But altogether remove whole antichrist, both head, body and branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word ... which Christ hath commanded, and commended to his church.¹⁰²

Brouncker and Lane certainly shared with many puritan politicians and pamphleteers the assertion that theological convictions had to underpin public policy. To take just one example: if the pope was Antichrist, then this was not merely a theoretical identification, it had clear practical implications. Catholics were by their very nature not to be trusted, since they were minions of Satan, dedicated to undermining the gospel of Christ. To treat with them on issues such as toleration, therefore, or to engage in diplomatic negotiations with Catholic powers, was to sup with the devil. Religion, zealously applied, ruled out political compromise.¹⁰³

In fact, use of the term puritan is not particularly helpful in relation to early seventeenth-century Ireland, since the established church accommodated precise principles far more easily than its English counterpart.¹⁰⁴ Lane's approach can best be seen as a part of a broadly based Protestant consensus which bound together those churchmen and secular officials who saw Ireland as a testing ground for the godly attempt to apply religious principles to public policy. Lane set out to show that any attempt to divide principle and religion was doomed to failure. It was not possible, whatever James's hopes, for Catholics to distinguish between political and religious loyalty. Any hint at toleration or proceeding gently with the policy of conformity would be interpreted as weakness and duly exploited. If the government of Ireland put pragmatism before principle and failed to tackle the challenge of recusancy head on, the English presence in Ireland would never be safe.

Religious conviction, then, fuelled Lane's stubborn persistence. Equally important, however, was the fact that the political and diplomatic situation in Ireland, England, and, indeed, Europe remained sufficiently fluid and complex during the first two decades of the seventeenth century to enable firm Calvinists to continue to hope that their godly desire to extirpate Catholicism might still be pursued as official policy. Within Ireland, many senior officials, including Chichester, Lord Deputy from 1605 to 1616, remained committed to a strict approach to the imposition of conformity.¹⁰⁵ Churchmen too continued to press for firm action. As early as 1602 James Ussher had warned of the sinfulness of tolerating idolatry, preaching publicly in Dublin about the danger of ruin if the full powers of the Court of High Commission were not used against recusants.¹⁰⁶ In 1611 Andrew Knox, recently appointed as bishop of Raphoe, proposed, initially with royal encouragement, a vigorous campaign against Catholicism.¹⁰⁷ As early as 1613, the Irish Solicitor General, Sir Robert Jacob, looked back and lamented the lost opportunity:

When his Majesty first came to the throne they had that whole nation so much under their power, that with the severe execution of the laws they might have wrought the people to what conformity they list.¹⁰⁸

Such support was mirrored in England.¹⁰⁹ Charles, Lord Cornwallis, despatched to Ireland in 1613 to investigate the conduct of the Irish government, concluded that if, after the gunpowder plot, the King had 'executed the extremity of his indignation' upon the Irish recusants, 'then (before they could have gotten a settled resolution) it would have been a matter of no difficulty to have brought all the recusants to church'.¹¹⁰

The conflict over policy was reflected in the advice literature of the time. On the one hand, there was the politique approach of Sir John Davies, who, having initially been an enthusiastic proponent of the imposition of conformity, was by 1612 content to separate civil and ecclesiastical policy, trumpeting the secular triumph of English rule in Ireland while ignoring the rather less impressive record in religious matters.¹¹¹ On the other hand there were the complaints of Rich and other 'opposition' observers about the lack of religious principle in official policy. Rich pithily complained:

It is a true sign of a happy government, where religion commandeth policy, but as unhappy again, where policy is the sole director of religion.¹¹²

Another observer, E.S., warned in 1615 that the King's lenity and the people's obstinacy 'in matters moral and divine do not well agree', and pointed to the moral of recent history:

that what deputy so ever most intended and prosecuted the reformation of religion (which is indeed the main business, for all other conformities would spring up themselves if that were once truly planted) the Irish have been able to procure stay of his proceedings out of England, and sometimes effect his irrevocable overthrow or disgrace.¹¹³

Clearly Lane with his stress on the primacy of religion, and his implicit criticism of Davies, is to be identified with Rich and E.S. What was needed, however, was an opportunity to implement such policy. Here Lane and his supporters in the Irish

government were dependent upon events in England and the Continent. Of particular importance was James's attitude towards the Catholic powers of Europe and the extent of his desire to placate or oppose them. Firm Calvinists repeatedly pressed the king to associate England at all times with the Protestant powers of Europe in their desperate fight against the forces of the Catholic Antichrist. But, as Rothe and other English and Irish Catholics had shrewdly realised, the Catholic rulers of Europe had considerable political and diplomatic influence, which, when pressed, they were willing to use with James to secure more lenient treatment for English and Irish Catholics.¹¹⁴ Only when royal policy turned against the Catholic states could stricter measures be used against recusants. Thus in 1610 the murder of Henry IV of France was followed by a change of policy towards recusancy in England, and, *pari passu*, in Ireland.¹¹⁵ However, here too the pattern of initial severity was followed by subsequent relaxation, as religious purpose and secular policy were disentangled again.

By the end of the decade the hostilities of the Thirty Years War, with its subtext of Catholic versus Protestant, presented the choice of policies in particularly stark terms. Should the English king favour the Catholic forces by remaining aloof and doing nothing, or should he intervene militarily in support of the Protestant cause? 'It was a case of peace, and possible toleration of Catholic recusants, against war in the name of the true, Calvinist religion.'¹¹⁶ The opening of negotiations with the Spanish for the marriage of James's son indicated the way that the king was inclining, and, when this became public, gave rise to considerable anxiety amongst the godly community not just in England but also in Ireland.¹¹⁷

This, then, is the context of 'News from the Holy Isle'. By the time that Lane wrote it in the early 1620s, Brouncker's example was far from past history: it was an all too pertinent instance of a godly and principled policy, successfully (in Lane's eyes) pursued until tragically cut short by death and the pusillanimity of the English authorities. It provided a stark contrast with the pragmatism of contemporary religious policy and enabled Lane to ram home the uncompromising lesson that short-term solutions would have the long-term effect of weakening the English hold on Ireland.

Though respectfully phrased, and utterly unlike the popular verses and libels that so scurrilously attacked Jacobean policy and policy makers in England, Lane's 'News from the Holy Isle' nevertheless presented a strong oblique criticism of the royal approach to Catholicism.¹¹⁸ Moreover, Lane's views were representative of a significant proportion of official opinion in Ireland, which believed that religion must be placed at the centre of policy. Against this idealistic godly vision of the fusion of religious principle and public policy were stacked the convictions of the English king and his advisers, who, for both principled and pragmatic reasons, argued against the rigorous exercise of the civil sword. The question which lurked behind this clash of convictions was a fundamental one: what would happen if the godly king, that essential figure that held together church and state, began to act in an ungodly manner? The question was, to Lane and other Irish Protestants in the early 1620s, unaskable – their instinctive loyalty to the monarch precluded such subversive thoughts. Viewed in this light, Lane's conclusion to the poem represents a confident appeal to the king to back the word with the civil sword

Religion must be squared by the word,
 and that must be maintained by the sword.
 Then let religion be the kings prime care:
 Is not the scepter in the lions hand?
 How can the wolf the lion then withstand?
 Then let the lion, both in arms and heart,
 a God in Gods cause, take religions part ...
 And so I end, but never cease to pray
 that ...
 our Solomon, with his unbloody hand,
 may build Jehova's temple in this land ...¹¹⁹

But viewed from the perspective of what happened subsequently – the negotiations over the Graces and the proposal to grant major concessions to Catholics; the *de facto* toleration of the 1630s; Charles's ambivalent attitude towards his Roman Catholic courtiers; and the rising in 1641 – Lane's appeal takes on a more ironic and less sanguine tone.¹²⁰ Indeed, in the aftermath of 1641, those whose warnings of the dangers of toleration and accommodation with Irish Catholics had been previously ignored were accorded the status of prophets by Irish Protestants.¹²¹

'News from the Holy Isle' thus came at a turning point, when the authorities in London (like the French authorities in the aftermath of the wars of religion) were beginning to realize that the basic early modern principle enshrined in the Peace of Augsburg, that monarchs had the right to impose religious uniformity on their subjects, was not always applicable throughout their dominions. From the very beginning of the Irish reformation, some English Protestants in Ireland complained about the failure of the state to give adequate support to the task of religious reform.¹²² Lane's poem is evidence of the continuing difficulty in accepting the compromises and pragmatic realities of maintaining a Protestant government in a Catholic country.

'News from the Holy Isle' can be analysed in a number of ways. Since it is, in many respects, conventional and predictable in its cultural, racial and political attitudes, it can be placed in that corpus of English writing about Ireland that ultimately derives from Giraldus in the twelfth century, and adduced as evidence for the development of the English colonial *mentalité* in early modern Ireland. It can also be used to point to the innate contradictions and conflicts within that mentality. What has been attempted here, however, has been to root the text in its context, and to argue that the stereotypes and clichés are best understood in their particular relation to the distinctive historical situation of Ireland in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. We are therefore dealing here not with an embodiment of the 'colonial mind', but with one of the many and diverse 'water-casting physicians' who brought their wide variety of prejudices and assumptions to bear on different, and particular, aspects of England's Irish problem.

Notes

I would like to thank Dr Andrew Murphy for his comments on this paper, and his help in

getting to grips with recent developments in English literature. Any misunderstandings or prejudices that remain are stubbornly my own.

- 1 'Rych's Anothomy of Ireland with an account of the author' ed. E.M. Hinton in *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 55 (1940), pp. 73–101. Water-casting is diagnosis through examination of the patient's urine. On Rich, see T.M. Cranfill and D.H. Bruce, *Barnaby Rich; a short biography* (Austin 1953).
- 2 B.I. Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century*, (Cambridge 1979); 'Nicholas Walsh's conjectures concerning the state of Ireland (1552)', ed. D.B. Quinn in *Irish Historical Studies* v (1947), pp. 303–22; 'Rowland White's "The dysorders of the Irissbery", 1571', ed. N.P. Canny in *Studia Hibernica* xxx (1979), pp. 147–60; 'Rowland White's "Discors touching Ireland", c. 1569', ed. N.P. Canny in *Irish Historical Studies* xx (1979), pp. 439–65.
- 3 The classic expositions are: Constantia Maxwell (ed.) *The Stranger in Ireland from the Reign of Elizabeth to the Great Famine* (London 1954); D.B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca 1966); E.M. Hinton, *Ireland through Tudor Eyes* (Philadelphia 1935). Modern collections include: *Elizabethan Ireland: a Selection of Writings by Elizabethan Writers on Ireland* ed. J.P. Myers (Hamden, Conn. 1983); J.P. Harrington, *The English Traveller in Ireland*, (Dublin 1991); A. Hadfield and J. McVeagh (eds) *Strangers to That Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine* (Gerrards Cross 1992). The canon is analysed by B.I. Bradshaw, 'Edmund Spenser on Justice and Mercy' in *Historical Studies* xvi (1987), pp. 76–89; B.I. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield and W. Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland. Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534–1660* (Cambridge 1993); Patricia Coughlan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland. An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cork 1989); C.F. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s' in *Past & Present* cxi (1986), pp. 17–49; Patricia Coughlan, '"Cheap and Common Animals": the English anatomy of Ireland in the seventeenth century' in T. Healy and J. Sawday (eds), *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge 1990); J. Gillingham, 'Images of Ireland, 1170–1600: the origins of English imperialism' in *History Today* 27 (1987), pp. 16–22; J.P. Harrington, 'A Tudor writer's tracts on Ireland, his rhetoric' in *Éire-Ireland* xvii (1982), pp. 92–103; A. Hadfield, 'Briton and Scythian: Tudor representations of Irish origins' in *Irish Historical Studies* xxviii (1993), pp. 390–408; Anne Laurence, 'The cradle to the grave: English observations of Irish social customs in the seventeenth century' in *The Seventeenth Century* iii (1988), pp. 63–84; J.P. Myers, 'Early English colonial experiences in Ireland: Captain Thomas Lee and Sir John Davies' in *Éire-Ireland*, xxiii (1988), pp. 8–21.
- 4 Giraldus wrote two works on Ireland, *Topographia Hibernica* and *Expugnatio Hibernica*. The former was published by Richard Stanyhurst as an appendix to his *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis* (Antwerp 1584); John Hooker translated the latter and published it in the second edition of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (London 1587). Both were edited by William Camden and published in Frankfurt in 1602. See also Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (eds) (Dublin 1978); Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland*,

- translated J.J. O'Meara (Mountrath 1982); *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Aberystwyth 1976); J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: studies in the idea of nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia 1986) pp. 36–8.
- 5 Leerssen, *Mere Irish*, pp. 41–61; Laurence, 'The cradle to the grave', pp. 63–84.
- 6 Coughlan, "'Cheap and common animals'", p. 207.
- 7 N.P. Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the development of Anglo-Irish identity' in *Yearbook of English Studies* xiii (1983), pp. 1–19; Brady, 'Spenser's Irish crisis', pp. 21–49.
- 8 T.C. Barnard, 'Crises of identity among Irish Protestants 1641–1685' in *Past & Present* 127 (1990), pp. 39–83.
- 9 K.S. Bottigheimer, 'Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the westward enterprise, 1536–1660' in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480–1650*, K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny and P.E.H. Hair (eds) (Liverpool 1978); Barnard, 'Crises of identity', pp. 39f.
- 10 The already classic example of new historicist scholarship is Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago 1980). For a critical analysis of this approach see H.A. Veeger (ed.), *The New Historicism* (New York 1989); J.H. Zammito, "'Are we being theoretical yet?' The new historicism, the new philosophy of history, and practicing historians' in *Journal of Modern History* lxx (1989), pp. 783–814.
- 11 Anne Fogarty, 'The colonization of language: narrative strategy in *A view of the present state of Ireland* and *The faerie queene*, Book VI' in Coughlan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland*, pp. 77f.; Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, 'Introduction: Irish Representations and English alternatives' in Bradshaw, Hadfield and Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland*, pp. 1–24.
- 12 The most comprehensive defence of historical practice here is that of Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas' in *History and Theory* viii (1969), pp. 3–53; Quentin Skinner, 'Motives, intentions and the interpretation of texts' in *New Literary History*, iii (1972), pp. 393–408. For a critical analysis of Skinner's approach, see James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Princeton 1988).
- 13 I am especially indebted in my discussion of historians' responses to new historicism to Zammito, "'Are we being theoretical yet?'"
- 14 Barnard, 'Crises of identity', pp. 47f.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 T.C.D. MS 786, fols 140r – 168r [hereafter cited as 'News']. The poem can be dated from internal evidence: the dedicatee now 'sits at the helm of government', and had fought in the Nine Years War (fol. 140r); the references to Rothe's *Analecta* (see below, note 51) date the poem to after 1619. These would clearly suggest that the dedicatee is St John and that the poem was written between 1619 and February 1622, when St John ceased to be Lord Deputy, which, given the necessity of allowing time for the book to reach Ireland, be read, and 'News' to be composed, would suggest 1621 as the likeliest date of completion.
- 17 *D.N.B.*, s.v. Ralph Lane; J.J.N. McGurk 'The recruitment and transportation of

Elizabethan troops and their service in Ireland, 1594–1603' unpublished PhD thesis (Liverpool 1982), pp. 195f.; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* (hereafter C.S.P.I.), 1596–8, pp. 108, 146. See his reference in 'News' (fol. 143v) to Tyrone being the reason why he came to Ireland.

18 C.S.P.I., 1596–8, p. 396.

19 James Ussher, *The whole works*, C.R. Elrington and J.H. Todd (eds) (Dublin and London 1847–64) xvi, p. 405. I am grateful to Mr William O'Sullivan for this reference.

20 McGurk, 'Elizabethan troops in Ireland', p. 195.

21 'News', fol. 142r.

22 'News', fol. 142r.

23 'News', fol. 142r.

24 'News', fol. 142v.

25 'News', fol. 144r.

26 'News', fol. 145r. This may be a swipe at Sir John Davies's optimistic belief in the power of English law to reform Ireland.

27 'News', fols 144v, 146r. The mutability of the Irish is a stock theme for English commentators, dating back to Giraldus – 'a race constant only in their inconstancy': Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, Scott and Martin (eds), p. 134.

28 'News', fol. 145r.

29 'News', fol. 152v.

30 'News', fol. 165r.

31 'News', fol. 166r.

32 'News', fol. 166v.

33 'News', fol. 166v.

34 'News', fol. 144v.

35 'News', fol. 164r.

36 'News', fol. 163v.

37 'News', fol. 167v.

38 'News', fol. 164v.

39 'News', fol. 146v–147r.

40 'News', fol. 146v.

41 'News', fols 143v, 146v 158v. See Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalty in Elizabethan England* (London 1979), ch. 10; J.P. Sommerville, 'The "new art of lying": equivocation, mental reservation, and casuistry' in E. Leites (ed.) *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 1988), p. 177.

42 'News', fol. 151r.

43 'News', fol. 150v.

44 'News', fol. 168r.

45 'News', fol. 150r.

46 'News', fol. 149r, 159r.

47 'News', fols 155r, 151v, 154r, 161v.

48 'News', fol. 154r; and see also fol. 152v.

49 'News', fol. 144r.

50 'News', fol. 161v.

- 51 David Rothe, *Analecta Sacra Nova et Mira de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia. Pro fide et religione gestis, divisa in tres partes* (Cologne 1617); David Rothe, *De Processu Martyriali Quonrandam Fidei Pugilum in Hibernia, pro complemento sacrorum analectorvm* (Cologne 1619); *The Analecta of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory*, P.F. Moran (ed.) (Dublin 1884).
- 52 *D.N.B.*, s.v. David Rothe; William Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (Dublin 1905) i, pp. 86–93.
- 53 Thomas Ryves, *Regiminis Anglicani in Hibernia Defensio, Adversus Analecten* (London 1624); *D.N.B.*, s.v. Thomas Ryves.
- 54 *Analecta*, ed. Moran, pp. 131–4. Ireland briefly offered a haven for English bigamists. Bigamy was made a civil offence in England in 1603 but not until 1634 in Ireland: M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation. English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583–1641* (Oxford 1986), p. 209.
- 55 'News', fol. 156r.
- 56 Rothe, *Analecta*, ed. Moran, pp. 188, 177, 235–9, 266–7.
- 57 'News', fol. 143v.
- 58 'News', fol. 162v.
- 59 Richard Beacon, *Solon his Folly, or a Politique Discourse, touching the Reformation of Commonweals Conquered, Declined or Corrupted* (Oxford 1594); John Derricke, *The Image of Ireland, with a Discovery of Woodkearn ... their Aptness, Celerity, and Proneness to Rebellion* (no place 1581); Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* in Rudolf Gottfried (ed.), *Spenser's Prose Works* (Baltimore 1949); Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia or a History of the Wars in Ireland during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth especially in the Province of Munster under the Government of Sir George Carew and compiled by his Direction and Appointment* (London 1896).
- 60 Spenser, *View*, p. 148.
- 61 'News', fol. 145r. Similarly, Lane's treatment of a stock theme in English discourse about Ireland on fol. 159v, that of the dangerous influence exercised by native-Irish wet-nurses, would also seem to echo a passage in *A View*, p. 68.
- 62 Brady, 'Spenser's Irish crisis', p. 25.
- 63 Spenser, *View*, 136.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., p. 221.
- 67 Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641* (Frankfurt 1987), chs 5–6; K.S. Bottigheimer, 'The failure of the reformation in Ireland: *une question bien posée*' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xxxvi (1985), pp. 196–207; H.F. Kearney, 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Counter-Reformation in Ireland, 1619–1648' in *ibid.* xi (1960), pp. 202–12.
- 68 'News', fol. 140r.
- 69 The best general survey of official policy towards Catholicism is still R.D. Edwards, 'The history of penal laws against Catholics in Ireland from 1534 to the Treaty of Limerick (1691)', unpublished PhD thesis (University of London 1933).
- 70 P.R.O., S.P. 63/215/68 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 59).

- 71 S.P. 63/215/77 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, pp. 65f.).
- 72 K. Fincham and P.G. Lake, 'The ecclesiastical policy of James I' in *Journal of British Studies* xxxiv (1985), pp. 182–6; J.J. LaRocca, "'Who can't pray with me, can't love me": toleration and the early Jacobean recusancy policy' in *ibid.* xxiii (1984), pp. 22–36.
- 73 Pauline Croft, 'The religion of Robert Cecil' in *Historical Journal* xxxiv (1991), pp. 782–5.
- 74 For the history of anti-Catholic legislation in England, see: Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (London 1967); F.X. Walker, 'The Implementation of the Elizabethan Statutes against Recusants 1581–1603', unpublished PhD thesis (University of London 1961).
- 75 It is unclear from the surviving sources whether Brouncker acted independently, or with the connivance of the Dublin authorities.
- 76 British Library, Harleian MS 697, fol. 180v; C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 190. The most detailed treatment of Brouncker's policy is in D.J. Kennedy, 'The Presidency of Munster under Elizabeth and James I', unpublished MA thesis (University College Cork 1973), ch. 7.
- 77 S.P. 63/216/37 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 193). On Brouncker's close relationship with Cecil see: H.M.C., *Salisbury MSS* xv, pp. 4, 192, 211, 220; xvi, p. 111.
- 78 S.P. 63/217/49 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 301f.); McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, pp. 366f.
- 79 For a more detailed treatment of the Dublin government's policy, see: Edwards, 'Penal laws against Catholics', part II, ch. 1; Ford, *Protestant Reformation in Ireland*, ch. 3; H.S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland. A study in Legal Imperialism* (Cambridge 1985), ch. 6; and John McCavitt, 'The Lord Deputyship of Sir Arthur Chichester in Ireland, 1605–16', unpublished PhD thesis (Queen's University Belfast 1988), ch. 7; McCavitt, 'Lord Deputy Chichester and the English Government's "Mandates Policy" in Ireland, 1605–7' in *Recusant History* xx (1991), pp. 320–35.
- 80 C.S.P.I., 1606–8, p. 102; British Library, Add. MSS 31,885, fol. 274v., 31,886, fol. 29v.; J. Hogan (ed.), 'Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica' in *Archivum Hibernicum* iii (1914), pp. 255f.; C.S.P.I., 1606–8, introduction, pp. xci–xciii; Kennedy, 'Presidency of Munster', pp. 227–33; P.R.O., S.P. 63/222/105 (C.S.P.I., 1606–8, p. 227); Edmund Hogan (ed.), *Ibernia Ignatiana seu Ibernorum Societas Jesu Patrum Monumenta* (Dublin 1880), pp. 144ff.
- 81 P.R.O., S.P. 63/219/137.
- 82 For an account of the Anglo-Irish opposition to the policy see Aidan Clarke, 'Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603–23' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, III (Oxford 1976), pp. 191f.; and P.R.O., S.P. 63/219/145 (C.S.P.I., 1606–8, p. 41). It should be noted, however, that the Privy Council in England was divided upon this matter, a fact which could have contributed to Brouncker's subsequent persistence in pursuing his policy: S.P. 31/8/199/36 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 390).
- 83 S.P. 31/8/199/36 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 390).

- 84 S.P. 63/218/21 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p. 412); see also, H.M.C., *Salisbury MSS* xvi, pp. 419f.
- 85 This is a summary conclusion drawn from a study of the contrasting and exaggerated claims made by Catholic and Protestant sources about the effectiveness of the campaign: see Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*; H. Fitzsimon, *Words of Comfort ... Letters from a Cell ... and Diary of the Bohemian War of 1620*, E. Hogan (ed.) (Dublin 1881); references in SP 63, cited above; Chatsworth MSS, vol. 2/49.
- 86 S.P. 63/219/102/A1 (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, pp 545f.).
- 87 S.P. 63/219/102A (C.S.P.I., 1603–6, pp. 543ff.).
- 88 S.P. 63/221/21 (C.S.P.I., 1606–8, p. 112).
- 89 'News', fol. 149r.
- 90 S.P. 31/8/199/75 (C.S.P.I., 1606–8, pp. 46f.).
- 91 S.P. 63/221/69 (C.S.P.I., 1606–8, p. 189); and see C.S.P.I., 1606–8, pp. 188, 192.
- 92 'The Character' can be dated from internal evidence to 1608–9: Lane states that it is above twenty years since the Munster plantation was first established, and also refers to the proposal to plant Ulster: Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tanner MS 458, fol. 34r.
- 93 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 458, fol. 35v.
- 94 S.P. 63/219/137.
- 95 C.S.P.I., 1603–6, p.475.
- 96 S.P. 63/225/255 (C.S.P.I., 1608–10, p. 97).
- 97 Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, pp. 254, 264–7; Marc Caball, 'Providence and Exile in early seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Irish Historical Studies* xxix (1994), pp. 186f.
- 98 'News', fol. 148v.
- 99 'News', fol. 148v.
- 100 'News', fol. 148v; Luke 14:23.
- 101 S.P. 63/219/147 (C.S.P.I., 1606–8, p. 44).
- 102 W.H. Freere and C.E. Douglas (eds), *Puritan Manifestoes. A Study of the Origins of the Puritan Revolt* (London 1907).
- 103 P.G. Lake, 'The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xxxi (1980), pp. 175–8.
- 104 See Alan Ford, 'The Church of Ireland, 1558–1634: a Puritan Church?' in Alan Ford, James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (eds), *As By Law Established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin 1995), pp 52–68.
- 105 Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, p. 54.
- 106 Nicholas Bernard, *The Life and Death of ... Dr James Usher* (Dublin 1656), pp. 38f.
- 107 Ibid., pp. 166f.
- 108 Bodleian Library, Carte MS 63, fol. 96r. See also Jacob's views on contemporary religious policy: H.M.C., *Hastings MSS* iv, p. 15.
- 109 See above, n. 79.
- 110 B.L., Add. MS 39, 853, fol. 9r.
- 111 J. Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland was Never subdued nor Brought under Obedience to the Crown of England* (London 1612).
- 112 Rich, 'Anothomy', p. 83.

- 113 E.S., 'A survey of the present state of Ireland anno 1615', Huntington Library, San Marino, California, MS HM 335, ff.9r–10v.
- 114 Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise. The Political Thought of Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge 1982), pp. 213f; A.J. Loomie, 'Spanish Secret Diplomacy at the Court of James', in M.R. Thorp and A.J. Slavin (eds), *Politics, Religion, and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, xxvii) (Kirkville 1994).
- 115 Fincham and Lake, 'Ecclesiastical policy of James I', p. 186; Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution. English Politics and the Coming of War 1621–1624* (Cambridge 1989), p. 15.
- 116 N.R.N. Tyacke, 'Archbishop Laud' in Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642* (London 1993), p. 64.
- 117 Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 6–54; *Lismore Papers*, A.B. Grosart (ed.) (London 1886–8) 2nd ser, iii, pp. 66ff, 71ff., 93, 97ff.; Ussher, *Whole Works* xv, p.201; xvii, p. 410f.; *The Life of Mr Robert Blair, Minister of St Andrews, Containing his Autobiography, from 1593 to 1636*, W. Row (ed.) (n.p. 1848), p.82.
- 118 On political poetry in England, see Alastair Bellany, "'Raylinge rymes and vaunting verse": libellous politics in early Stuart England, 1603–1628' in P.G. Lake and K. Sharpe (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London 1994); and Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, pp. 46–8.
- 119 'News', fol. 168r.
- 120 See the response of the Irish bishops to the proposal to grant toleration to Catholics: Ussher, *Whole Works* i, pp. 73f.
- 121 For the case of James Ussher: Bernard, *Life and death of Usher*, pp. 38f.; James Ussher, *Strange and Remarkable Prophecies and Predictions of the Holy, Learned and Excellent James Ussher* (London 1678); *Bishop Ussher's Second Prophecy* (London 1681); Ussher, *Prophecies Concerning the Return of Popery into England, Scotland and Ireland* (London 1682); *The Prophecy of James Ussher* (London 1687); Ussher, *Vreemde en aanmerkelijke voorzeggingen van de heylige, geleerde en uitstrekende Jacobus Usher* (London 1678); Ussher, *Genuine and Remarkable Prophecies of Archbishop Usher. Containing not only Those which have been already verified according to his Predictions, but likewise those which are yet to come* (London 1745); *The Life and Predictions of the Reverend James Usher ... together with a List of his Works extracted from the Writings of Dr N. Bernard, his Chaplain* (London 1793).
- 122 James Murray, 'Ecclesiastical justice and the enforcement of the reformation: the case of Archbishop Browne and the clergy of Dublin' in Ford, McGuire and Milne (eds), *As By Law Established*, pp. 33–51.

Preliminaries to the Massachusetts Bay Colony: the Irish ventures of Emanuel Downing and John Winthrop Sr

Rolf Loeber

In the early seventeenth century, Englishmen with dissenting religious views emigrated in two main directions: to the east and the west. Some, like the Pilgrim Fathers, first crossed the North Sea and settled in the Low Countries, and later set off to North America. Others chose Ireland before travelling to North America.¹ One of the most important migrations that took place in the early 1630s was led by John Winthrop Sr, supported by his brother-in-law Emanuel Downing, and resulted in the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay colony in New England. Very little has been known about how these influential figures obtained the experience in organizing the massive emigration to New England.

This essay will show how Downing and Winthrop collaborated on a settlement in Ireland before undertaking their venture in New England. Emanuel Downing and four partners, some of whom were from Suffolk in England, first established a plantation in Ireland in 1620. The chapter also establishes that Winthrop came to Ireland, met the partners, and sent over a minister for this settlement. Curiously, although some of the evidence has been in print since the nineteenth century, references to such an intermediate settlement in Ireland have been overlooked in the many publications on the settlement of New England.² Although other early settlements, including the Virginia plantations and the Plymouth settlement, influenced the founding of the New England colony, its Irish antecedents are virtually unknown.

This chapter will illustrate four aspects of the plantation in which Emanuel Downing played a pivotal role. First, it describes Downing's legal activities and land acquisitions in the 1610s. These, facilitated by his in-laws, James Ware Jr and the elder Sir James Ware, laid the ground work for the plantation. Second, it relates how Emanuel Downing by later marrying into the Winthrop family, came to spearhead with John Winthrop Sr the Irish plantation, assembled its main backers, and attracted settlers from England. Third, this chapter identifies the site of the plantation, describes its historical and geographic context, the identity of known settlers, and the circumstances under which the plantation was sold. Lastly, the chapter discusses how Winthrop's and Downing's Irish experience shaped their subsequent venture in New England.

I

Emanuel Downing was born in 1585 in Ipswich, Suffolk, the son of George Downing, master of the Grammar School in that town. Before his father had moved to Ipswich, the Downing family had lived for generations at Beccles on the border of Suffolk and Norfolk (Map 3).³ His father sent Emanuel at the age of seventeen to be educated at Trinity Hall in Cambridge. Since the senior John Winthrop also enrolled at Cambridge at the same time (but at Trinity College), their lifelong friendship may have been established then. Both men left Cambridge without obtaining a degree. Downing next entered the Inner Temple to be trained as a lawyer, while Winthrop returned to live on his ancestral estate at Groton in Suffolk, later enrolling in Gray's Inn to study law.⁴

Emanuel and his brother Joshua were virtually excluded from their father's will: a fact that may have forced them to seek their fortune abroad.⁵ The two brothers are first noted in Dublin in 1611–12. In 1611 Joshua, jointly with one John Femeley, obtained the position of Clerk of the Common Pleas in the Court of Exchequer.⁶ Femeley died before 1613, which is when Joshua surrendered the position in favour of Edmund and Roger Medhope (we will meet the former again), and soon after may have left Ireland.⁷ Joshua's brother Emanuel was styled as of Dublin in January 1612. Other evidence indicates that he had already been a resident in the city for some time.⁸ The position he obtained was that of Clerk of the Warrants and Estreats, which he soon complemented with the posts of Philacer and Exigenter at the Court of Common Pleas.⁹ Part of his duties as Philacer and Exigenter was the preparation of all exigents in cases pertaining to outlawry, so involving him in transactions surrounding forfeited estates. He was admitted as a member of the King's Inns on 20 June 1615.¹⁰ Beginning in 1612, Downing served as one of Sir Richard Boyle's attorneys in several law suits.¹¹

Emanuel married Anne Ware in Dublin in 1614. She was the second daughter of Sir James Ware Sr, Auditor-General of Ireland, and through her mother descended from a Suffolk family.¹² Dublin had become the residence of a small, but influential, group of possibly puritan emigrés from East Anglia, many of whom were profiting from the government-sponsored plantations to introduce British settlers into Ireland.¹³ Their Dublin parish of St Werburgh's was dominated by a succession of puritan ministers. Downing may have already befriended puritans, as he would do later. At this time of his life, he signed off his letters, after the usual salutation, with the phrase 'to his power'.¹⁴ Downing in this period must have maintained contact with the puritan John Winthrop Sr, judging from the fact that when Adam Winthrop, John's father, handed the Groton estate (Map 3) over to his son sometime before 1618, Downing was one of the signatories.¹⁵

The introduction of puritans into Ireland resulted partly from increased official hostility in England in the early seventeenth century. Viewing the Irish situation from England in the 1640s, Dr Heylin captured the change which had taken place in the preceding decades. The Church of Ireland, he wrote, 'lying at a greater distance (from England), and more out of sight, it was more easily made a prey to all Invaders; the *Papists* prevailing on the one side, and the *Puritans* on the other, getting so much ground that the poor Protestants seemed to be crucified in the midst between them'. As well as the influx of Scots into Ulster, he stressed that the churches of the Pale, where the English language was

understood, 'yield to the prevalency of those zealous Ministers who carried on the Calvinian Project'.¹⁶

II

Government-sponsored plantations had begun in the middle of the sixteenth century, in County Laois and the eastern half of County Offaly, and had been extended to include the former lands of the earl of Desmond and his adherents in Munster. When Emanuel Downing was first noted in Ireland in 1612, the large plantation scheme in Ulster was already under way. Here, as in the later plantations in Leinster, the government granted large tracts of lands forfeited by native Irishmen, to English and Scottish settlers, who were obliged to settle on these lands, build a residence, introduce British tenants, and comply with a number of other plantation conditions. During the 1610s and 1620s the Ulster plantations were taken as a model for further plantations in the province of Leinster, particularly in counties Wexford, Offaly, Laois, and later in Longford, Leitrim and Wicklow. A large proportion of the undertakers were Englishmen who already lived in Ireland, with officers connected with the Four Courts being prominent.

Downing is not known to have benefited from these plantations, but many of his colleagues in the court did.¹⁷ Through his father-in-law, the senior Sir James Ware, however, he must have been aware of the intricacies of the plantation schemes. Sir James Ware, in his capacity as Auditor-General, was responsible for the monitoring of tenure of crown properties and for keeping track of the rent owed to the king. Thus, it is not surprising that he knew much about the details of the Leinster plantation. In fact, several of the plantation documents concerning that province had been in the possession of the Ware family.¹⁸ Alongside the government-sponsored plantations, however, Ireland offered many opportunities for individuals to acquire estates, promote settlements, and exploit the country's natural resources.

Biographers of Winthrop have overlooked the possibility that, before crossing the Atlantic, he had come to Ireland. That he turned to Ireland is not so surprising since one of his uncles and two cousins had done so in the late sixteenth century. Furthermore, a close relative of Mary Forth, John Winthrop Sr's first wife, had settled in County Offaly in the first decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁹ The main proof of John Winthrop Sr having visited Ireland consists of a deed, dated Dublin, 11 March 1621[2], concerning a property near Trim in County Meath, which Sir James Ware transferred to his son James and James' wife.²⁰ It shows that the senior John Winthrop was in Dublin on that date and acted as one of the witnesses to the signing of the deed.²¹

The elder Winthrop's trip to Ireland is likely to have served several purposes, ranging from attending to a lawsuit, arranging the education of his son at Trinity College, and preparing himself to move to Ireland and settle there.²² First, Winthrop instigated a law suit against his Munster relatives in the Court of Common Pleas in Dublin sometime before June 1623, which would have required him to testify before that court.²³ Another reason for Winthrop to go to Ireland concerned the education of his eldest son at Trinity College. Trinity, tolerant of Puritanism at a time of increasing intolerance in the English universities, was regarded as '*colonia deducta*' from Cambridge.²⁴ The elder Winthrop

might have gone to Ireland to familiarise himself with possible tutors for his son at Trinity College. This interpretation is supported by the fact that, once his son was lodged at the College, the elder Winthrop often sent his regards to the son's tutor, Joshua Hoyle, from 1623 Professor of Theological Controversies there. Hoyle, a renowned puritan, never wore his surplice in the College.²⁵ Another possibility is that the elder Winthrop met Downing in Dublin in preparation for Downing's marriage to Winthrop's sister Lucy (Downing's first wife had died in October 1621).²⁶ Certainly the couple returned to Dublin before August 1622, possibly taking with them John Winthrop Jr to be educated at the College in that city.²⁷

Another possibility is that the elder Winthrop went to Ireland to further his plans for settling there. By the end of the 1610s the economic conditions in Suffolk had deteriorated severely. References to Winthrop Sr's interest in an Irish plantation is made in two of his subsequent letters to his son in Dublin. In April 1623 he wrote:

Send me word in your next [letter] how Mr. Olmsted and that plantation prospers. I wish oft God would open a way to settle me in Ireland, if it might be for his Glory. Amen.²⁸

He continued to be interested in the plantation as is evident from a letter to his son written about a year later, in March 1624, in which, for the first time, he mentions the plantation by name. He wrote, 'Lett me heare by your next [letter] ... how thinges goe in Ireland, at mount wealy and elsewhere ...'.²⁹

Had he visited this 'mount wealy' at an earlier point? The answer to this and other questions, however, is frustrated by the fact that the Winthrop correspondence and diaries omitted (probably intentionally) many details, especially involving travel abroad and the preparations for a plantation. It was not uncommon among puritans to disguise the meaning of their messages, especially in a time when many were being persecuted for their beliefs or actions. The much later preparations for the Massachusetts Bay colony were equally clouded in secrecy. The picture is further obscured by the fact that the Downing-Winthrop correspondence during the preparations for a plantation in Ireland, which was carried on over several years, is not known to have survived.³⁰

III

The question then is whether we can identify 'mount wealy'. The name does not occur in Irish topographical records. 'Wealy', according to the Oxford English Dictionary, usually means wealthy, prosperous, happy. But in the early seventeenth century it could also refer to unproductive, marshy, or poor land. There are several reasons to believe that 'mount wealy' stood for a property called Mountrath in the Irish midlands. The reference in the first letter to Mr Olmsted 'and that plantation', as we will see later, refers to the lands of Mountrath in the Irish midlands, where Olmstead made his home (Maps 1 and 2).³¹

Several contemporary documents indicate that Emanuel Downing, the elder Winthrop's brother-in-law, was the chief organiser and title holder of the Mountrath plantation. In

the following account of the plantation, there is a scarcity of documents during the 1620s. However, since settlements often had a considerable continuity of householders, industries and physical features, slightly later documents can be used to reconstruct the nature of the settlement. For instance, Gerard Boate in his *Ireland's Naturall History* (published in 1652) mentioned that 'the whole Lordship of Monrath was thirty yeares agoe set by one Mr Downings [*sic*] for fifty pounds sterling by the year'.³² That he meant Emanuel Downing is apparent from several government reports, such as the report by English commissioners in 1622 on the Irish plantations, which mentions that Downing held the townlands of Mounrath, Clonenagh, and Trumroe.³³

How large was the Mounrath estate? Early seventeenth-century documents mention 100 acres, which usually referred to arable land and often excluded bogs and woods, and must have been an underestimate of the total extent. In actuality, these three townlands, according to the Ordnance Survey, cover 3,144 statute acres.³⁴ By comparison, Winthrop's estate in East Anglia consisted of about 500 acres.³⁵ Given the relatively small cultivated area of Mounrath in Downing's time, one wonders what the attractions of the property were for Downing and his partners. Iron works had been in existence at this site since the sixteenth century, and the further exploitation of the woods and the iron deposits must have been one of the incentives.³⁶ However, it is quite probable that agriculture was another reason for starting the plantation at Mounrath, since it later flourished when fertilised by lime.

Mounrath is situated in a low-lying area on the western border of County Laois, at the foot of the Slieve Bloom Mountains. Here the main road connecting Dublin with the south-west crossed the Mounrath river, which flowed into the nearby river Nore (Map 1). When Downing acquired the lands, it was an outpost, bordering on an area that had been very sparsely colonised. A map of County Laois dating from the 1560s shows that the area was very heavily wooded at that time, with passes through the bogs and forests. (The word *clon* or *cluain* as in Clonenagh in Irish refers to an area of pasture surrounded by bog.)³⁷ A church and two structures at Clonenagh are portrayed on the map. Mounrath is indicated by 'Moenra', and must refer to the rath or circular fort in the *moan* or bog. This is confirmed by the sixteenth-century and later maps, showing extensive bogs in the south-west and the north-east.³⁸ Mounrath in Downing's time was in an area controlled by the English, but it bordered on a territory dominated by a Gaelic sept, the FitzPatricks.

The area around Mounrath may have known some penetration by the Anglo-Normans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the Irish regained the lands some time afterwards. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the lands of Mounrath (also called Moyne Rathe) were part of domain lands belonging to Rory Caech O'More, chief of Leix, who rebelled against the English, and who was slain in 1545.³⁹ English penetration of the area took place around this time, and the chiefry lands were forfeited and granted to settlers to plant on this 'frontier'.⁴⁰ In 1551, Mounrath and other lands were granted to Edmund Fay, with the stipulation that he had to reside on the lands, and forbidding him to have the O'Mores occupy the lands.⁴¹ Government control of Laois was gradually established by the shiring of Laois and Offaly in 1556, and the creation of Queen's and King's Counties (named after Queen Mary of England and her husband King Philip of Spain). The government supplied support by the erection of two fortified garrisons: Philipstown and Maryborough (now Daingean and Port Laoise, respectively).

For unknown reasons, Edmund Fay was replaced by David M'Morghe or McMurrough, who received a grant of the lands of 'Moyneralthe' [Mountrath], 'Cloneenowghe' [Clone-nagh], and 'Trunmorroghe' [Trunra] in 1563. The grant specified the service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee, at a rent of £1. 12s. 2d for the first seven years, and £2. 8s. 3d afterwards, with the obligation to maintain two English horsemen. In addition, the grant stipulated conditions typical for plantation areas: the settlers were not to use the Brehon law, to use only the English language and costume, and not to keep Irishmen carrying weapons. The plantation conditions also included tenure by knight service, which held a freeholder responsible for performing military service. This included the obligation to join army commanders with armed servants and tenants in case of hostilities with the Irish.⁴²

Six years later, these conditions were eased when the property and the nearby lands of Roskelton were passed to Francis Cosby (constable of the castle of Maryborough) and his wife, with the stipulation to maintain one English horseman and a 'footman' (i.e. a foot soldier). Subsequently, Cosby's descendants owned it for half a century.⁴³ References made in later documents to the need to 'repeople' the land indicate that settlers had been introduced under Francis Cosby's tenure. Some time at the end of the century, Francis Cosby was slain, and the government regranted the property in 1593 to his son Alexander.⁴⁴ The absence of dwellings mentioned in Alexander's patent, together with the fact that he resided at Stradbally, more than ten miles from Mountrath, suggest that the area had not been planted at this time. In 1594 Cosby obtained a licence to alienate his possessions, which by then had been wasted by the rebellion that had virtually wiped out the English settlements in County Laois. In the words of the licence, 'no person would undertake the replotting and rehabilitation, unless they obtained an assurance of a certain estate to build and plant thereon'.⁴⁵

In the early 1600s a scheme was set in motion to move members of O'Mores and other septa to the west and relocate them in counties Clare and Kerry.⁴⁶ Downing refers to this transplantation in one of his letters written in 1631 to Sir John Coke, principal secretary of King Charles I, by recommending a repetition of the time-honoured method of uprooting the leaders of the Irish and transplanting them to an area further west.⁴⁷ In that manner, the frontier could be advanced and room was created for new settlers.

Apparently, the lands of Mountrath remained unplanted, a clear breach of the plantation conditions. The Commission of Defective Titles then forced Alexander Cosby's son Richard to accept a regrant in 1608. Richard was also compelled to rebuild the castle at Stradbally, which had been destroyed in the past war.⁴⁸ He, like his father, tried to dispose of the lands of Mountrath, and in 1610 obtained a licence to that purpose, which stated that he was unable to make any profit of the land or to plant it with English tenants. He was then allowed to alienate the property to a person of the 'English nation', whose mother and father were English, or who was born in the 'English' Pale,⁴⁹ thus effectively barring any Gaelic Irish from becoming the new owner. The licence proved useless; the property remained unsold for another ten years. Presumably, it was not attractive enough for buyers willing to face this unsettled frontier. Perhaps as a last resort Richard Cosby mortgaged the lands in 1615 for £300. One of the mortgagees was Sir Richard Wingfield, first viscount Powerscourt, a planter in north County Wicklow. Other mortgagees were Gerald Moore, baron of Mellifont, Edward Brabazon, baron Atherdec [Ardee], and Roger Atchinson or Achinson [probably Atkinson].⁵⁰

Finally, before or in May 1620, Richard Cosby sold the lands of Mountrath to Emanuel Downing.⁵¹ In that month government officials had issued Cosby a pardon of alienation of the Mountrath estate, and in August of that year he obtained a licence to sell the lands, which by then included Mountrath, Clonenagh, and Tromroe. This document shows that Downing acted with several partners in the purchase of the property: Samuel Mayart, Jacob Newman, and his brother-in-law James Ware Jr, all from Dublin, and Joshua Downing, styled as of Ipswich, Suffolk. The background of the known partners will be discussed below.⁵²

Much of what is known about the transactions surrounding the acquisition of the Mountrath plantation comes from the younger James Ware's commonplace book.⁵³ It mentions, for instance, that the lands were 'assigned to feoffees to the use of Emanuell Downing gent.', and that the purchase price amounted to sixteen times the yearly income derived from the property, a ratio which was rather advantageous for that time.⁵⁴

Without letters patent stipulating that the property had been granted by the king to the new owners, it still could revert to the crown. In an equally bad case, the property could be claimed by others if they furnished proof of their interest in it. At this stage, Emanuel Downing and his partners set in motion a complex system of deals with colleagues in the law courts in order to pass the letters patent for the Mountrath lands. Normally, this was relatively costly, but it was much cheaper if one could subsume a property under letters patent for lands granted to another person. Such a patent became available some time before November 1620, when Sir James Balfour, a Scottish nobleman and Privy Councillor in Ireland, was awarded a grant of land to the value of £200 per year.⁵⁵ A feature of such a grant was that it was not tied to particular properties. The person receiving the grant could pass all kinds of properties on it, i.e., the lands he already owned but were not secured, or the unsecured lands of his friends or acquaintances. It could also serve as a vehicle for the easing of conditions of tenure, effectively eliminating wardships, obligations to keep horsemen and footmen, or even reducing the crown rent.

James Ware Jr's commonplace book reveals that, in November 1620, a consortium of four individuals concluded a contract with Lord Balfour for the purchase of these letters patent for a total of £1,100. It seems probable that Ware was the main mover in the project as he was the only person sharing his part of the profits with the agent employed by the consortium as the facade to their transactions. The agent was Edmund Medhope, Downing's colleague in the Court of Common Pleas.⁵⁶ The members of the partnership were Sir Francis Annesley,⁵⁷ William Dongan,⁵⁸ William Crowe, and the younger James Ware. Both Annesley and Crowe were office holders in the Court of Common Pleas. Crowe, like Downing, came from Suffolk.⁵⁹

The consortium managed to collect a large number of properties, including the lands of Mountrath, which were passed on Lord Balfour's letters patent in June 1621, with Medhope as patentee, at a crown rent of £5 for the Mountrath estate.⁶⁰ By that time, Emanuel Downing and his partners had been able to alter to their advantage the tenure of these lands. First, the conditions to keep a horseman and a footman were deleted, freeing the new owners of this military obligation. Secondly, in this period regrants of plantation land in the old plantation of County Laois were burdened by the insertion of a clause, 'subject to the conditions of the plantations', referring to the extensive conditions derived from the Ulster plantation. The conditions now applied to the new government-sponsored

settlements in County Laois as well.⁶¹ This clause was not inserted in the grant of the lands of Mountrath, thus considerably easing the burdens of the purchasers. The omissions may have been engineered or facilitated by the elder Sir James Ware, who as Auditor-General had to keep records of the tenure, king's rent, and conditions of land patents in Ireland.⁶² On the more negative side, however, Downing and the other grantees were limited to demise the lands for three lives or, alternatively, for 31 years.⁶³

Medhope's letters patent contained a large number of lands. Of these, only the lands of Mountrath were incorporated into a manor. The manorial rights were typical for that time and included power to 'appoint seneschals and other officers, to hold courts-leet and [courts]-baron, and to have a jurisdiction in actions for debt, covenant and trespass, under 40s English, with power to make tenures, to enjoy all waifs and strays, and to empark 500 a[cres] demesne lands', presumably for a deer park.⁶⁴ It is certain that Downing never gained the right to have a market at this location.⁶⁵

The enrolment of the letters patent was facilitated by Jacob Newman, deputy Master of the Rolls. He was thus able to complete the Mountrath transaction to the satisfaction of the purchasers, who consequently received a secure title under relatively easy conditions. Another possible obstacle, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, whose Great Seal had to be used to pass the letters patent, was overcome by the purchasers' presentation of a piece of property in County Kildare to him as a gift, which was also passed on the Balfour patent.⁶⁶

The above deals cannot be considered unusual for those times.⁶⁷ Downing's colleague William Crowe, and Downing's landlord in Dublin, Sir Richard Boyle, later earl of Cork, and even the Lord Deputy Chichester exploited these transformations of titles, and were able to build up considerable estates.⁶⁸ The events leading to Downing's and his partners' acquisition of the Mountrath estate illustrate the close coordination between the lawyers of the Court of Common Pleas and individuals in the Court of Exchequer. Downing, without the help of the lawyers and his father-in-law, the senior Sir James Ware, probably would not have been able to purchase the Mountrath lands under such advantageous conditions.

Downing's partners in the transaction were James Ware Jr, Samuel Mayart, Joshua Downing and Jacob Newman. When Winthrop visited Dublin in 1622, he met there four of the partners: Emanuel Downing, James Ware Jr, Samuel Mayart, and Jacob Newman, who signed the deed mentioned above. What makes this group of individuals so intriguing is the fact that three of its members originated from Ipswich, Suffolk (Emanuel and Joshua Downing, Samuel Mayart), while the fourth (the younger James Ware) descended from a Suffolk family. At least two of the group were known for their puritan sympathies.

As mentioned, of the two brothers Downing, Joshua was the first to obtain official employment in Ireland. Like Emanuel, he was reared in Ipswich, Suffolk, where his father was a school teacher (Map 3). Joshua was appointed Clerk of the Pleas in the Court of Exchequer in Dublin in June of 1611, an office which he occupied for two-and-a-half years.⁶⁹ He left Ireland some time between 1613 and 1619. In the latter year, he is first noted in the employ of the East India Company, when he was supplying the English navy with Irish timber from Munster.⁷⁰ He became one of the Commissioners of the Navy at Chatham,⁷¹ and apparently did not return to Ireland to attend to the Mountrath business. He died in 1629.

The second partner, Samuel Mayart was also born in Ipswich, in 1587. Of Flemish extraction, he matriculated at Oxford and then entered the Middle Temple in 1607.⁷² It is not clear when he came over to Dublin. He is first noted in Ireland in 1616 when he was admitted as an attorney to the King's Inns.⁷³ He probably acted as an attorney for private clients until 1624–5, when he was first appointed to the bench, replacing Emanuel Downing's superior, the judge Sir Gerald Lowther, in the Court of Common Pleas.⁷⁴ Documents show that Emanuel Downing was instrumental in paying the fee necessary to get Mayart appointed.⁷⁵ Through several marriages, Mayart was connected to both New English and Old English families.⁷⁶ His religious orientation can be inferred from an account by the puritan minister Robert Blair. When Mayart made the assize circuit through Ulster in 1626, he attended a sermon given by Blair, who later noted the fact that Mayart seemed 'well disposed' toward the purport of the sermon. According to Blair, Mayart had mentioned that Blair had 'opened a point which I [Mayart] never heard before, viz., the covenant of redemption made with Christ the mediator, as head of the elect ...'.⁷⁷ Mayart's life after his involvement in the Mountrath plantation remains obscure. He was knighted in 1631. Unlike most of his judicial colleagues, he did not amass a large landed estate.⁷⁸ He died in 1646 or soon afterwards.⁷⁹

The next partner, James Ware Jr, born in 1594, was nine years younger than Emanuel Downing. He had been a pupil of Joshua Hoyle at Trinity College (later tutor of John Winthrop Jr), and in 1620 became the son-in-law of Jacob Newman.⁷⁹ The young Ware had studied at Trinity College in Dublin, where he obtained his MA in 1616. With the encouragement of James Ussher, then Bishop of Meath, and later Archbishop of Armagh, he developed an intense interest in antiquarian pursuits.⁸⁰ His first publication, *Archiepiscoporum Casselliensium et Tuamensium Vitae*, appeared in Dublin in 1626. Much of what we know about Downing and the Mountrath plantation derives from Ware's commonplace book.

The least known partner, Jacob Newman, the father-in-law of James Ware Jr, came of a Kentish family.⁸¹ He is first noted in 1603 when he took a lease of Isolde's tower and an adjoining building, part of the Dublin town wall, close to Wood Key.⁸² In the following years he obtained grants from the city of nearby marshy lands, where the river Poddle entered the Liffey, which he drained and developed.⁸³ He was admitted to the King's Inns in 1607 as 'Clerk and Philizer of the English Bills in Chancery', and was appointed one of the Clerks in the Court of Chancery in 1613.⁸⁴ Probably some time after 1609 Newman became deputy to the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, Sir Francis Aungier.⁸⁵ Newman's work involved the copying of letters patents and acts of Parliament, and probably the general care of these records.⁸⁶ In this function as deputy Master of the Rolls he must have had an intimate knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of land grants. Aside from becoming a partner in the Mountrath plantation, he appears not to have acquired extensive estates. He continued to live in Dublin until his death in 1635.⁸⁷

Contemporary documents fail to clarify the role that the partners played in guiding the plantation. From what is known about their lives, none appears to have had first-hand experience of a working plantation. In fact, none of the partners came from the landed gentry; their expertise was mostly legal. There must have been powerful reasons for these individuals to reach so far beyond their upbringing and professional skills. Also, they must have called in the advice or the concrete help from someone whose roots were

closer to the soil. For that reason, the aid provided by the senior John Winthrop, someone experienced in running an estate,⁸⁸ and the people he sent over from his Suffolk lands, must have been essential ingredients to make a start on the Mountrath plantation.

During Downing's time, there were two waves of settlers at Mountrath. The origin of the first influx is not known, and may have consisted of existing tenants, but more likely they were recruited from England. The relatively low rent of £50 charged to the tenants by Downing suggests an incentive for the new settlers. Nevertheless, this settlement did not flourish. Gerard Boate, who appears to have spoken personally to settlers from this plantation, in the early 1650s recounted the history of the plantation and mentioned that 'after a while the Farmers surrendered it unto him [Downing], complaining that they could not live by it but were quite impoverished ...'.⁸⁹ Probably the original settlers abandoned the plantation in 1622. This would have coincided with Winthrop coming over to Dublin in that year to meet the Irish partners in the plantation.

The unfortunate turn of events, however, did not signal the demise of the plantation. It is certain that a second wave of planters was attracted, probably in 1623. As Boate recounted later, 'whereas they who farmed it next [at Mountrath] ... (being people newly come out of England) and gave an hundred and fifty pounds a year sterling for it ...'.⁹⁰ Thus, the value of the estate had tripled in the interval between the two waves of planters. Moreover, the partners, through their English connections, were able to persuade English farmers to settle at Mountrath.

Only a transcript survives of tenants and their leases, which lists leases issued on 1–2 August 1623 (Nicholas Boowater [Bowater], Richard Plumstead [*sic*, Olmstead]), and 5–18 June 1624 (Geoffrey Corbet, William Corbet, Richard Treadwell, John Hore, gent.), and others without date (Samuel Wilson, Thomas Burton, Richard Quinse, Nathaniel Bagot). Thus far, a search for the background of the lessees in England and New England has not been successful.⁹¹ One of the surviving leases is dated 2 August 1623, signed by Emanuel Downing, who let one sixteenth of the 'Lordship' of Mountrath to Nicholas Bewater (or Bowater).⁹² Two points are revealed by this transaction. First, there probably were at the most sixteen tenants, unless some of them leased combined proportions. Second, if the rent charge to Bewater was representative of the other parts, the initial yearly total income of the estate amounted to £92.13s. The lease also stipulated that the rent charge only applied to Bewater's life and that of his wife, and would thereafter be raised to £9 per year. Thus, the eventual anticipated income would be £144, which is very close to the rent charge of £150, mentioned by Boate, that applied to the second wave of settlers.⁹³

Winthrop's letters reveal that he was instrumental in sending over to Ireland several individuals from his Suffolk estate, some of whom stayed there for a short period, others for longer. One of the possible settlers under Downing was Edward Howes, who may have been Downing's servant.⁹⁴ A little over a decade after the founding of the manor of Mountrath, Howes informed John Winthrop Jr, then in Massachusetts, about the Irish way of building:

loame & strawe tempered together, will make an exceeding strong buildinge in Ireland, vizt. to frame the house [with wood] and reare it [i.e., raise it], then with loame & strawe tempered together, to daube both out side & inside to a foot thicknes or more, to

be very stronge and warme ... I like well the old English and still Irish buyldinge, where the room is large & the chimney or he[a]rth in the middest; certainly thereby ill vapour and gnatts are kept out, less firinge will serve the turne, and men had then more lusty and able bodies than they have now.⁹⁵

Other individuals sent over by the senior Winthrop from his Suffolk estate into Ireland included his tenant John Nutton, who went some time in 1622 with books for the young Winthrop, but soon returned to England.⁹⁶ However, he may have been the husband of Susan Nutton, John Winthrop Sr's goddaughter, who was still in Ireland in the next year.⁹⁷ More certain is that in 1623 Winthrop's brother-in-law Samuel Gostlin came over.⁹⁸ He brought with him cloth for a gown for the young John Winthrop. This would not be so significant, were it not that he was a clothier by profession. There is no indication whether he went to Mountrath, where before 1641 a linen and fustian manufacture was set up; its products were exported via Youghal to Spain and the Low Countries.⁹⁹ This work may have been under either Downing or Sir Charles Coote, who purchased the manor later. It is beyond doubt, however, that a widespread slump had taken place in the cloth industry in Suffolk between 1620–1622, which 'caused particular hardship and unemployment in Suffolk, so that many textile workers emigrated to Holland and eventually to New England'.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, both Downing and the senior Winthrop in letters written in 1624–1625 refer to the cloth industry. In the former year, Downing critically appraised the monopoly of the merchant members of the Company of Staplers. In the latter year, Winthrop mentions 'our Clothiers business ...', but did not elucidate what it entailed.¹⁰¹ There was already the precedent of Suffolk men setting up a clothwork in 1617–18 near Baltimore, County Cork, where a branch of the Winthrops had settled together with other East Anglian planters.¹⁰² In fact, in contrast to Suffolk, the early 1620s saw the founding of several cloth works in Ireland.¹⁰³

Depositions taken after the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 list numerous names of individuals who had been resident at Mountrath at that time. These include such persons as James Weld and Emanuel Beale, the curate to Richard Olmstead: family names which also crop up among the settlers in Massachusetts.¹⁰⁴ However, detailed genealogical investigations will be needed to verify possible links between the Mountrath settlement and the Massachusetts Bay colony.

Downing first expressed interest in the appointment of a puritan minister in Ireland in 1619. For the vacancy in Downing's parish of St Werburgh in Dublin, he suggested Samuel Ward, the famous lecturer from Ipswich in Suffolk. However, James Ussher felt uncertain whether he could 'draw him over into Ireland'.¹⁰⁵ Two years later, Ward by then had been imprisoned for his outspoken lecturing at Ipswich, in Suffolk, so that his removal to Ireland was possible when he regained his liberty. Subsequently, the provost, Temple, and most of the senior fellows of Trinity College elected Ward to St Werburgh's on 28 August 1621.¹⁰⁶ It is not known whether Downing again was instrumental in promoting Ward's candidature. Temple did for certain, while five senior fellows, including Joshua Hoyle, made the same choice.¹⁰⁷

Downing's next contact with a puritan minister took place in 1620, the year of the purchase of the Mountrath estate, when he probably was searching for a suitable minister for the settlers. In a letter to James Ussher, Bishop of Meath, then in London, he tells that

he had met a minister in the Irish countryside, who attempted to convert Irishmen. Downing's concern was that Roman Catholics reproached the minister for this 'damnable heresy of Puritanism'. Specifically, he wrote on 24th October 1620 that:

I being lately in the Country had conference with a worthy, painful preacher, who hath been an instrument of drawing many of the meer Irish there from the blindness of Popery to embrace the Gospel ... [but] the Priests, who perceive they cannot now prevail with their juggling tricks, have forged a new device. They have now stirred up some crafty Papists, who very boldly rail both at Ministers and people, saying they seeke to sow this damnable heresy of Puritanism among them, which word, tho' not understood, but only known to be odious to his Majesty, makes many afraid of joining themselves to the Gospel ... [therefore] it were good to petition his Majesty to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths off these scoffing enemies would be stopt. And if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him; for the effecting thereof you know better than I can direct ... ¹⁰⁸

Unfortunately, the outcome of this letter and the identity of the preacher and the location of his parish are not known. However, the letter shows Downing's concern for Irishmen's perceptions of puritans.

We know that the position of preacher at Mountrath needed to be filled in 1622, when the senior John Winthrop mentions the impending journey of one Olmstead from Suffolk to Ireland.¹⁰⁹ This person can be identified as Richard Olmstead, a graduate from Emmanuel College at Cambridge, who was a puritan lecturer at Billericay in Essex from 1604 to 1607, when he was deprived for refusing to subscribe to the 1604 Canons. From 1611 to 1622 he was successively incumbent of two Suffolk livings, but then resigned in order to cross to Ireland.¹¹⁰

Once there, he settled in County Laois, and preached sermons and catechised weekly at Mountrath's parish church of Clonenagh (Map 1). This church was situated about a mile east from Mountrath where the old road leading from the county town of Maryborough (now Port Laoise), runs along the south side of Slieve Bloom to Roscrea and crosses the modern road. The church was reported ruined in the period 1584–8, and may have been repaired by Olmstead.¹¹¹ Fortunately, Olmstead's sermons, preached at this location, have been preserved. A first volume was published in Dublin in 1627; the second in 1630. The latter, according to its preface, appeared with the encouragement of James Ussher, Lord Primate of Ireland.¹¹² In the introduction, Olmstead reported that he was not officially appointed as a minister during the seven years that he served at Clonenagh. Thus, in that period he was as a lecturer rather than a rector or curate, who preached regularly and catechised weekly. At Clonenagh he preached about predestination, and when faced with the ignorance, profanity and stubbornness of the Irish, publicly announced that they were led 'by the devil and every base lust, a certain sign of the state of reprobation'. Writing in 1630 or in the preceding year, he confided to Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, that 'being pressed with the care of a large family ... now these seven yeares, [he labored] without any annuall revenue from the Church ...'. This presumably meant that, in addition to the financial support he received from his patrons like Emanuel Downing, he had to rely on the gifts from members of the

congregation, which was a typical way of subsistence for lecturers.¹¹³ Perhaps significantly, Olmstead failed to mention or thank Downing. Loftus, whose country seat at Monasterevan (County Kildare) was close to the border of County Laois, might have supported Olmstead. Moreover, Loftus held the constablership of the Castle of Maryborough from 1611 to 1622, and had a large estate around Mountmellick, where he founded iron works in 1630.¹¹⁴

It was not unusual for a preacher in Ireland or England to work outside the parochial structure. In England, such figures were sometimes sponsored by patrons who purchased church impropriations in order to see that a particular minister or lecturer could be appointed, rather than to leave this to the crown.¹¹⁵ It is probably not accidental that Viscount Ely was known to purchase impropriations in Ireland, probably with the same purpose in mind.¹¹⁶ In Dublin too, Emanuel Downing had helped to appropriate chantry lands belonging to his own parish church of St Werburgh's, so that the lands could be transferred to Trinity College, presumably in order to control the choice of a minister. From 1615 onwards, the curate at St Werburgh's was John Hill, a minister from Bury St Edmund's in Suffolk, who had been forced by the high commissioners for ecclesiastical causes to vacate his English position in 1590 because of his repeated violations of church rules.¹¹⁷ Thus Downing is known to have made several attempts to attract English preachers to Ireland. These attempts, however, ceased in the mid-1620s when Downing started to dissociate himself from his Irish estate and his Irish business dealings.

IV

In 1626 Downing decided to sell the plantation at Mountrath to Sir Charles Coote. Most of the known documents refer to a pardon and licence of alienation, dated 22 or 23 June 1626,¹¹⁸ but one twentieth-century transcript refers to an indenture on 23 June 1624.¹¹⁹ Thus, there is some ambiguity about the actual date of sale, particularly as the original documents are not known to have survived, but 1626 appears the more plausible year.

There are several aspects of the transaction that remain unclear. For example, did Downing sell only the title of the property, leaving the partnership intact by including Coote as a partner? Or did Downing transfer the title, while the partners were paid by Coote for their investment? These important details remain to be clarified.

Sir Charles Coote, like Downing, came from East Anglia where his family was seated at Eaton in Norfolk. He was a soldier turned planter, who, before 1626, already owned lands in County Laois on the northern foothills of Slieve Bloom. There the ruins of his residence, called Castle Cuffe after his wife, still stand. He probably built this large U-shaped undefensible manor house, sometime between 1617 and 1621. However, most of his estate was situated in Connacht, where he served as provost marshal of that province, and was appointed its Vice-President in 1621.¹²⁰ In these functions, he is well remembered as the person who started building the fortified plantation town of Jamestown on the Shannon in County Leitrim in 1622.¹²¹ At two sites in the province, Coote established fortified residences: at Castle Coote, and at Coote Hall (in south and north County Roscommon, respectively). In addition, Coote was instrumental in founding or re-establishing several iron works, i.e., two in County Leitrim (at Creevelea and Doubally,

near the County Roscommon border, set up initially with Sir Richard Boyle, earl of Cork), another one at Arignagh in County Roscommon (near Castle Coote), and a fourth at his Mountrath plantation.¹²² The setting up of iron works involved a large amount of capital, although promising high returns.¹²³ At his death in 1643, Coote was eulogised by the Irish Lord Justices, as having had 'a considerable fortune', and a yearly income of almost £4,000 a year. However, 'he was deeply indebted, largely because of his undertaking of ironworks and other manufactures here, which did set on work many English'.¹²⁴ Boate mentioned that Coote employed between 2,500 and 2,600 individuals at his iron works, but as Dr Barnard has pointed out this is probably an exaggeration.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, Coote was a highly enterprising settler who, as will be shown later, contributed to the survival of the Mountrath plantation.

By tracing Downing's steps in the period preceding the sale of the Mountrath plantation, light can be shed on the circumstances under which he sold the property. As shown, he was still in Dublin in March 1622, when he met John Winthrop and several of the partners in the Mountrath plantation. After Downing's subsequent sojourn in England, where he married Lucy Winthrop, he returned to Ireland. In the next few years he made several trips to England, but for what purpose is not known. Downing sold one house with a backside in Castle Street, Dublin to the younger James Ware in December 1622, while retaining other property in that street.¹²⁶ According to one authority he moved permanently to London in 1625,¹²⁷ where his daughter Lucy was baptised on the 13th of March.¹²⁸ Also the Winthrop connection with Ireland changed around this time. Between June 1624 and February of the next year, John Winthrop Jr returned to England without finishing his degree, ready to go to the Inner Temple.¹²⁹

Downing's change of heart and his sale of the Mountrath plantation in 1626 can be explained by the national and local economy, unrest in County Laois as the native inhabitants returned, a reduction in Downing's income through his legal work, and an increase in religious toleration in Ireland. First, there was widespread harvest failure in Ireland from 1621 to 1624. Its impact on County Laois is uncertain, but a national problem flowing from the harvest crisis was a reduction in exports, in turn affecting the balance of trade. Lack of coin also contributed to higher prices. Landlords in consequence found it harder to collect their rents. For those who had to conduct foreign transactions, it became increasingly difficult to obtain bills of exchange.¹³⁰

Many of these themes are reflected in a tract which Downing wrote in the early 1620s about the decay of trade in Ireland: it elucidates his views on the Irish economy and, although not stated explicitly, problems faced by British planters in Ireland. He explained that Irish exports could not cover the payments needed for its imports. Wool, flax, and hemp were imported when they could be grown with profit in Ireland. He saw as another major disadvantage that ordinary supplies such as wine, oil, salt, and groceries were twice as expensive in Ireland as in England. On top of that, Irish commerce was hampered by a scarcity of shipping, 'there being more cittyes then ships', while the Irish had lost their capability to profit from fishing in the seas around the island. When reviewing the barriers that stood in the way of a recovery, Downing alluded to Dutch merchants, especially those who had settled in Dublin, who had become powerful brokers. According to Downing they had the advantage of their efficient shipping, their large stocks, their artificers who were also merchants, and their free trade.¹³¹ Downing's sombre arguments

are reinforced by evidence from many other contemporary documents. The Dublin guilds in their struggle against Dutch economic dominance caused prices of many products to be extraordinarily high compared with those in England.¹³² Thus, the climate for the introduction of British settlers, which had been attractive in the 1610s, had now worsened. Downing's tract also clearly indicates that his perspective was not just limited to agriculture in Ireland, but extended to manufacturing, but does not specifically mention cloth or iron production. However, the period was certainly not conducive to the import of equipment necessary to set up and maintain iron works.

Another great problem was the unrest caused by the return of the O'Mores and the O'Connors to the area, from the winter of 1622 onwards. For example, these 'rebels' were noted at Ballaghmore in 1624, not very far from Mountrath, on the border of counties Laois and Offaly. In September 1626, the continued unrest caused by the septs culminated in a proclamation banning them from County Laois, and appointing Sir Charles Coote to enforce the proclamation.¹³³ Judging from Olmstead's publication in 1630, settlers at Mountrath must have been strained by these events. Thanking Coote, he expressed 'That memorable worke of your Honour worthy to be recorded in pillars of Marble, cleansing & purging (like a happy Physitian) this countrey ... fro[m] those cursed vipers, & Cockatrices the rebellious kearne, who so infested the Countrey, that no man had any security ... for four yeares space ...'.¹³⁴ In addition, Irish soldiers who returned from the continental wars, under Sir Piers Crosby, added to the depredations.¹³⁵

Another reason for Downing leaving Ireland and giving up the Mountrath plantation may have had to do with a reduction in Downing's income derived from his work in the Court of Common Pleas. First, in 1622 attorneys working for the courts in Dublin were forbidden to practise privately. Downing, however, continued to act as an attorney for Sir Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, as late as 1624.¹³⁶ Second, it is likely that from 1624 onward, Downing's profitable pursuit of outlawry that in many instances evolved from the nonpayment of recusancy fines, came to an abrupt halt. In that year Lord Falkland stayed the collection of these fines, probably as a result of Prince Charles's intended Spanish match, and then when that failed, with Henrietta Maria from France.¹³⁷

A final reason for Downing's sale of the Mountrath plantation may have had to do with the growing toleration of Catholicism in Ireland, a point which was closely watched by puritans. The senior Winthrop wrote to his son in Dublin on 7 March 1624 inquiring 'Lett me heare by your next [letter] ... successe hath been of the proclamation [in Ireland]'.¹³⁸ The proclamation, issued in Ireland on 21 January 1624, was for the banishment of Jesuits and priests.¹³⁹ Escape from religious toleration and exposure to the forces of the Roman Catholic church were certainly some of the reasons for the eventual emigration of Winthrop and his followers to New England in 1630. Downing is known to have disapproved of religious toleration in England;¹⁴⁰ he also wrote in 1633 that whereas the aims of the settlers in Virginia were purely for profit, the Massachusetts planters went 'some to satisfy their own curiosity in point of conscience, others, which was more general, to transport the Gospel to those heathen that never heard thereof'.¹⁴¹

Thus, there were several possible reasons for Downing to discontinue the Mountrath venture. Before describing the flourishing of the Mountrath plantation under Downing's successor, Sir Charles Coote, and before highlighting the relevance of the Mountrath plantation for the Massachusetts Bay colony, it is opportune to summarise the history of

the Mountrath plantation under the regime of Downing and the partners.

Although we are hampered by the near absence of surviving estate documents, it is clear that Downing was publicly seen as the main proprietor of the Mountrath lands, and acquired and disposed of the estate. Undoubtedly, he carried the main responsibility for the plantation as can be judged from his name on the letters patent and on other official documents. Although he held relatively minor positions in the Court of Common Pleas, he was able to manipulate land grants to his great advantage. Of these, the Mountrath estate was the most important. On the other hand, documents detailing Downing's management of the estate are wanting.

In addition, his writings show his grasp of the economic, religious, and military situation in Ireland. However, faced with the septs of County Laois, he certainly did not display a tolerant or enlightened attitude towards the native Irish and, instead, referred to the need for their transplantation to the west of the island. This negative attitude towards the native population he later expressed toward the Indians in North America.¹⁴²

In comparison, the role of John Winthrop Sr in the Mountrath plantation appears more limited. He was in Ireland in April 1622, when he met most of the partners of the Mountrath plantation, but at that time the plantation already had been under way for two years. In 1623 he expressed a desire to settle in Ireland, and a year later he inquired about the plantation at 'mount wealy', which we identified as Mountrath. He probably also encouraged the minister Richard Olmstead, who settled at Mountrath, to cross over from Suffolk to Ireland, and was instrumental in sending over several other individuals to Ireland, but whether they settled at Mountrath is less clear. The frustrating absence of surviving letters by Downing to Winthrop during the 1620s hides from view the extent of Winthrop's involvement in the Mountrath plantation.¹⁴³ Therefore, Winthrop Sr's role in the plantation should not be exaggerated, and awaits further research.

Of the five partners, three came from Suffolk, a fourth descended from a Suffolk family, while a fifth partner came from Kent. Together with Downing they acquired the lands in 1620, but the extent to which the partners in the venture contributed more than financial support remains to be seen. The first settlers at Mountrath were not successful. Failure to manure and make the lands profitable appear to have been one reason: another, the unrest as dispossessed Irishmen returned to the area. Probably in response to failure of the settlers, most of the partners met early in 1623 in Dublin, where the senior John Winthrop joined them. Around this time, a decision was made to introduce new settlers from England. Subsequently, the partners were able to negotiate with the new settlers a tripling of the rent charge. Within three years, however, Downing sold the plantation to Sir Charles Coote in about 1626.

V

How did the Mountrath plantation fare subsequent to Downing's sale of the lands to Sir Charles Coote? And to what extent did Downing's tenants stay on? As to the latter question, a document shows that Coote ratified Bewater's lease on conditions¹⁴⁴ and may have done the same for other tenants on the estate. Boate commented in his *Ireland's Naturall History* (1652) on the eventual success of the Mountrath plantation under these tenants.

His comments, even when his tendency to exaggerate is taken into account, illustrate how well Downing and his partners must have judged the potential of the plantation at this location when they decided in 1620 to acquire the lands. Referring to the second wave of farmers, Boate wrote that:

they who farmed it next [i.e. in 1623] did not only live very freely upon it, yea grew rich and wealthie, but withal did so far forth improve the land, partly indeed with building, planting, hedging, and the like, but chiefly by this kind of manuring [with lime], that at the time when this last horrible rebellion [in 1641] broke forth, the same Lordship, if it had been to let out then, might have been let for five hundred pounds sterling a year: as it hath been assured me by some, who themselves had been farmers of that land.¹⁴⁵

Under the guidance of Coote, the plantation continued to flourish. This may have been helped in two ways. First, he was able to procure in 1628 a licence for two weekly markets and two fairs a year, which is likely to have increased commerce and produced income for Coote.¹⁴⁶ Second, he promoted an iron industry. Although the introduction of iron works at Mountrath has always been ascribed to Sir Charles Coote, the fact that iron works had been in operation there during the sixteenth century makes it less certain that Coote was the innovator, and makes it more likely that previous owners, e.g. Downing, pioneered the industrial exploitation of the resources around Mountrath. Boate gave a detailed description of Coote's works at this location:

At that work the Tun (that is twenty hundred weight of Rock-mine at the furnace head came in all to stand in five shillings six pence sterling, and the Tun of White-mine, which he had brought him from a place two miles further off in seven shillings. These two were mixed in that proportion, that to one part of Rock-mine were taken two parts of White-mine: for if more of the Rock-mine had bin taken, the Iron would not have bin so good, and too brittle; and being thus mixed, they yeilded one third part of Iron: that is to say, of two tuns of White-mine, and one of Rock-mine, being mingled and melted together, they had one tun of good Iron, such as is called Merchants-Iron, being not of the first, but second melting, and hammered out into barres, and consequently fit for all kinds of use. This Iron he sent down the river Oure (by all other called the Nure [Nore]) to Rosse and Waterford in that kind of Irish boates which are called Cots in that countrie, being made of one piece of timber ... At Waterford the Iron was put aboard of ships going for London, where it was sold for sixteen, otherwhiles for seventeen pounds sterling, and sometimes for seventeen and a half; whereas it did not stand Sir Charles Coote in more than betweixt tenne and eleven pounds sterling, all charges reckoned, as well of digging, melting, fining, as of carrying, boat-hire and freight, even the Custome also comprehended in it.¹⁴⁷

Given this type of river traffic, it is probable that the Irish were employed in transporting the iron down the Nore. The operation of iron works at Mountrath was only possible because the iron deposits were reasonably close to extensive forests, which could supply the necessary charcoal. Boate mentioned that the white iron ore was mined two miles

from Mountrath, the rock iron ore came from Dysart, near Maryborough (just over seven miles away), while later sources indicate that bog iron ore was present in bogs north of Mountrath.¹⁴⁸ Over time, the woods were consumed by the charcoal industry, so much so that by 1730, as shown by a map of the Coote estate at Mountrath, hardly any of the woodlands survived. However, the works continued in production until 1756.¹⁴⁹

Between 1626 and at least the early 1630s, Coote patronised the minister of the settlement, Richard Olmstead, and thereby must have encouraged the continuity of the group of parishioners and settlers. In 1630 Olmstead dedicated his second volume of sermons, *Sions Teares leading to joy: or the Waters of Marah Sweetned*, to Coote.¹⁵⁰ Olmstead continued for many years to preach at Clonenagh and, from 1630, at nearby Offerlane.¹⁵¹ The Mountrath plantation flourished economically until 1641. Members of the sept of the neighbouring FitzPatrick's, who had disputed Coote's boundaries of the lands of Mountrath in 1629,¹⁵² seized the town, the iron works and other industrial ventures. In addition, the rebels reclaimed the ancient church at Clonenagh and dug up corpses of Protestants.¹⁵³ Later depositions reported large losses by settlers. For example, in 1643, Richard Olmstead itemised the loss of cattle and estate consisting of houses, household goods and profits of orchards and gardens, corn, hay, cattle, rents, lands farmed, current profits of church living and other things to the value of £1,800 sterling, and in addition the future profits of church living at the value of £300 per annum.¹⁵⁴

VI

What is the physical evidence for the Mountrath plantation?

Mountrath is about 47 miles from Dublin, and at seven miles an hour on horseback would have been a day's travel. Travellers from Dublin, before reaching Mountrath, would have to cross a rather narrow strip of land between two large bogs, before reaching first Clonenagh and then Mountrath. In the area round Mountrath, the Gaelic names of the townlands still bear witness to the forests that were there formerly: Derrylahan (the wide oak-wood), Rosdorrugh (the dark wood), Derrynaseera (the oakwood of the freemen).¹⁵⁵

Little is known about the physical features of the settlement during Downing's tenure in the early 1620s. However, surviving evidence from the 1640s and 1650s shows some important details. In 1659 Mountrath ranked as the most populous town in Laois, showing its spectacular rise of four preceding decades.¹⁵⁶ Despite its prominence, the town was not yet incorporated. The Maryborough barony map of the Down survey, drawn in the early 1650s, shows the several buildings of the town. Given the proximity to timber, it is probable that many houses were constructed from wood and loam, rather than brick or stone, but only stone structures survive nowadays (at least to the naked eye). According to the current street plan, it is probable that the original trapezoidal 'square' dates from this period. An eighteenth-century market house until recent times stood in the centre of this square and is likely to have replaced a seventeenth-century version.

Considering the unsettled conditions in that century, it would have been logical for the town to have had some defences. The 1730 map shows irregular boundaries, resembling a *trace italienne* on the east side of the town, but the area is now so built up that inspection

on the ground in 1995 proved extremely difficult.¹⁵⁷ Unlike Sir Charles Coote's Jamestown (County Leitrim), Mountrath is not known to have had stone town walls. The only known defensible structure, Red Castle, was one-and-a-half miles outside the town, and according to the Down Survey belonged to 'upp[e]r Monrath' (Map 1). Although the castle does not survive above the ground, a wet-moated rath in which it was situated still exists.¹⁵⁸ Dating of the structure, without excavation, is not possible, but cartographic evidence suggests that it was built between the 1560s and the 1650s.¹⁵⁹ Its location, on the top of a hill, must have further contributed to its defence.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the main structures of the settlement, the town, Red Castle and church at Clonenagh were strung out and did not form a defensive nucleus. The nearest government garrison was at the fort of Maryborough (now Port Laoise), about eight miles from Mountrath, from which succour could be obtained in case of an emergency.

Records of the 1660s refer to the 'castle' and manor of Mountrath; also, when William Penn visited Mountrath in 1669, he noted the 'ye earles house & town: where we saw ye Ironworks'.¹⁶¹ However, none of the buildings shown on the earlier Down Survey stands out as the proprietor's residence.¹⁶²

South of the town, the Down Survey shows the iron mill on a tributary of the river Nore (Map 1), situated in a townland which nowadays is still known as the Forge-land. Boate commented that at such iron works the flame of the tall forge would 'be visible a great way off in the night, and in the midst of the darkness maketh a terrible shew to travellers, who do not know what it is'.¹⁶³ The Ordnance Survey shows that immediately north of the town was the deerpark, but again we cannot discern whether Downing actually laid it out, or whether it was the work of later owners.¹⁶⁴ The 1730 map of the Mountrath estate shows a division of land into small town plots with larger agricultural plots outside of the town. It is probable that the latter plots were carved out by the settlers from the surrounding woods, although some agricultural land may already have been available in the 1620s. The type of farming practised is not known.

VII

Once Downing had moved back to England, he further cemented ties with John Winthrop Sr. In January 1627 he drew Winthrop's attention to a vacancy in the position of attorney of the Court of Wards.¹⁶⁵ In June of the next year, both were admitted to the Inner Temple.¹⁶⁶ Subsequently, each held a position in the Court of Wards for several years, when they must have had much contact with each other.

Here follows the key point of their joint efforts on behalf of the Massachusetts Bay Company. At the end of July or the beginning of August 1629, Downing, Winthrop and others planned the proposed transfer of the government of the Massachusetts Bay Company and themselves to New England. The crucial omission in the charter of the phrase 'here in England' facilitated this transfer of the company outside the immediate control of the English crown.¹⁶⁷ Downing's name was added to a list of adventurers in the Massachusetts Bay Company of 15 October 1629,¹⁶⁸ but when Winthrop with his fleet of ships sailed from England in the spring of 1630, Downing stayed behind. However, his children by his first wife Anne Ware, James, Susan and Mary, crossed over to New England

before 1634.

In London, however, he became responsible for work in England in support of the Massachusetts Bay colony.¹⁶⁹ At the same time, he started farming in New England, through the ownership of cows which were kept by John Winthrop Sr.¹⁷⁰ Downing also kept up a lively interest in acquiring lands in Ireland, with the principal effort put into extracting the lands of Lord Bourke of Brittas with the help of Edmund Reade, the father-in-law of the younger John Winthrop.¹⁷¹ Despite living in London, he remained interested in Irish matters, and wrote in 1632 a *Memorial for Ireland*, which deals with problems of the soldiers in Ireland and the need for a standing army in that country.¹⁷² Downing crossed over to New England in 1638.¹⁷³ However, he is not known ever to have surrendered his positions in the Irish court of Common Pleas, which he might have discharged through a deputy.¹⁷⁴

It is likely that Downing's experiences in Ireland, and particularly his Mountrath venture, prepared him in several crucial ways for the New England settlement. First, he learned to organise a complex undertaking of introducing and supporting settlers, albeit on a much smaller scale than the eventual New England colonisation. Second, with the help of Sir James Ware and possibly his son James, he was able to ease the conditions of the Mountrath land grant. Such activities, although not unique for lawyers of this period, resembled the later manipulation of the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company and the omission of the clause for its headquarters to be in London.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps one of the most important parallels with the Mountrath plantation was the founding of an iron industry in New England. There is considerable evidence that iron works started in New England under John Winthrop Jr in 1643 were stimulated by experience gained in Ireland.¹⁷⁶ For example, in early 1645 Emanuel Downing wrote from London to the younger Winthrop that the investors in the iron works in New England had agreed with Richard Leader to supervise the work. He added, 'you know the man, he lived in Ireland ... he is a perfect Accountant, hath skills in mynes, and tryall of mettals ...'.¹⁷⁷ It would be tempting to conclude that Downing knew Leader from the ironworks at Mountrath, but Leader's work, at least in the late 1630s, was in Limerick and possibly County Clare;¹⁷⁸ also he was only about 11 years old in 1620 when Downing purchased the Mountrath plantation.¹⁷⁹

However, a more direct link between the iron works in New England and those at Mountrath is a document among the *Winthrop Papers*, endorsed by John Winthrop Jr as 'Sir Charles Coote's discourse about Ironston in Ireland'.¹⁸⁰ In it Coote gives details about the yields of different types of iron ore – rock iron, white iron, bog iron – and ways that they can be best combined in the production process. Much of the account applied to the iron deposits around Mountrath, which according to Boate was the most productive of all the Coote iron production sites.¹⁸¹

We know that the younger Winthrop, when returning to England in 1635, was driven by foul weather onto the coast of Ireland. He then travelled from Galway to County Antrim, where he visited Sir John Clotworthy.¹⁸² On the way, he is said to have visited Coote's iron works in County Leitrim, but since there is no record of his itinerary, this remains speculation.¹⁸³

The Ireland–New England interchange was further activated by East Anglian settlers from Ireland moving to the New World. Known adult males are summarised in Table 1, and represent a not exhaustive search for this group among surviving records. In addition,

as early as 1631, ships returning from New England were directed to pick up settlers for the New World settlements in Ireland.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, at least twice news reached New England in the early 1630s about individuals in Ireland being interested in making the transatlantic crossing: a report was sent to Massachusetts from Ireland in 1634 that 'there were many good Christians in those parts resolved to come hither, if they might receive satisfaction concerning some questions and propositions which they sent over'. In the following year, the preacher Mr William Wilson visited Ireland and 'gave much satisfaction to the Christians there about New England'.¹⁸⁵

In conclusion, before the outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641, there was considerable interchange between New England and Ireland. This paper, by focusing on the Mountrath plantation, illustrates some of the major figures and suggests how experiences in Ireland are likely to have moulded their activities in the New World. Much remains to be learned, however, about the English origin of the settlers at Mountrath and their dispersal after 1641.

Notes

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- 1 For the significance of Ireland in the settlement of North America, see N. Canny, *Kingdom and Colony. Ireland in the Transatlantic World 1560–1800* (Baltimore 1988); K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny and P.E.H. Hair (eds), *The Westward Enterprise. English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480–1650* (Liverpool 1978).
- 2 S.E. Morrison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston 1930); R.C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston 1869); F.J. Simmons, *A Narrative Outline for a Biography of Emanuel Downinge* (no place 1958); E.S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston 1958); R.S. Dunn, *Puritans and Yankees* (Princeton 1962); R.C. Black, *The Younger John Winthrop* (New York 1966); D.H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed* (New York 1989); L. Schweninger, *John Winthrop* (Boston 1990); J.G. Moseley, *John Winthrop's World* (Madison, WI 1992).
- 3 R. Thompson, *Mobility and Migration, East Anglican founders of New England, 1629–1640* (Amherst, MA 1994), p. 37.
- 4 J. Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge 1922) pt 1, ii, p. 62; Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma*, p. 6; Simmons, *Narrative Outline*, p. 4.
- 5 The will is printed in J.J. Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families* (no place 1900) i, p. 97.

- 6 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I* (Dublin 1966) p. 215, where he mistakenly is listed as Joshua Ferneley, while Joshua Downing is mistakenly listed as John Downinge. Ferneley had obtained this position for himself alone on 7 November 1610 (*ibid.*, p. 184). Why Joshua Downing joined him in the position is unclear. It is perhaps significant that before Ferneley, the office was held by Emanuel Downing's future father-in-law, Sir James Ware Sr.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 262, where their last name is spelled Midhop; see also, R. Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae ...* (London 1824) ii, pp. 62–3.
- 8 R. Loeber, *The Rise of the Puritans in the Parish of St. Werburgh, Dublin*, forthcoming.
- 9 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, pp. 253–4. The position of Philacer and Exigenter (and probably also that of Clerk of the Warrants) were in the gift of Sir Nicholas Walshe, chief justice of this court. The circumstances under which Emanuel was appointed remain to be clarified.
- 10 E. Keane, P.B. Phair and T.U. Sadleir (eds), *King's Inn Admission Papers 1607–1867* (Dublin 1982), p. 142. The functions of the offices are described in J. Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland* (Dublin 1863) iii, pp. 383–5.
- 11 In 1612 and 1620 Downing acted as attorney for Sir Richard Boyle in a suit against Patrick Devereux of Wexford, and in 1620–1624 in a suit against John Gheen and a William Turner of Wexford: A.B. Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers* (London 1886–8) 1st series, i, p. 257; ii, pp. 62, 129.
- 12 The elder Sir James Ware (knighted in 1616) had married Anne Brydon, who came from a family in Bury St Edmund's in Suffolk, Loeber, 'The rise of the puritans'. Thomas Bridon witnessed the signing of a lease for James Ware Sr in 1606 (NLI, MS 114, f. 111). Ten years later, a George Brydon ceased living in the Brideswell in front of Trinity College, and claimed compensation for work on the building (TCD, MSS MUN/P/2, f. 2, and MUN/P/25). In 1625 Ambrose Brydon signed a lease, now among the Ware estate papers (NLI, MS 114, f. 24). The tracing of the Brydon family in Suffolk has proved to be difficult. John Brydon, son of Ambrose, had married Mary, daughter of Henry Hammond of Bury St Edmund's, Suffolk (Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families* i, p. 254). In April 1623, a Henry Bridon sent his regards, via Forth Winthrop, to John Winthrop Jr in Ireland (*Winthrop Papers* (Boston 1929) i, p. 280, hereafter referred to as *W.P.*).
- 13 Loeber, 'The Rise of the Puritans'.
- 14 Genealogical Office, Dublin (hereafter G.O.), MS 64, pp. 63, 110 (the wedding took place on 7 June 1614); R. Loeber, 'The Rise of the Puritans'; R. Parr, *The Life of ... James Ussher, late Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh* (London 1686) p. 16; Chatsworth, Lismore MS 10, f. 93.
- 15 Mentioned in P.R.O., London, Chancery Proceedings temp. James I, N.1. 23, 24 June 1623 (I am indebted to Frank Bremer for drawing my attention to this document); Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma*, p. 16.
- 16 P. Heylin, *Aërius Recidivus or the History of the Presbyterians ... from the Year 1536 to the Year 1647* (London 1647) pp. 386–7. See also [Henry Parker], *A Discourse Concerning Puritans*, [London 1641], reprinted in L.A. Sasck (ed.),

Images of English Puritanism. A Collection of Contemporary Sources 1589–1646, (Baton Rouge 1989) pp. 136, 156. For other evidence, see A. Ford, 'The Church of Ireland 1558–1634: a Puritan Church?' in A. Ford, J. McGuire and K. Milne (eds), *As By Law Established* (Dublin 1995), p. 53.

- 17 R. Loeber and M. Stouthamer-Loeber, 'The lost architecture of the Wexford plantation' in K. Whelan and W. Nolan (eds), *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin 1987), pp. 176–7.
- 18 For example, Sir James Ware's 'A Map of Fox's Country in the King's County' and his maps of Co. Longford are in the British Library (hereafter B.L.), Add. MS 4793; Cotton MS Aug. I, i, ff. 47–8; ii, ff. 25–6, 28. Examples of other plantation documents formerly owned by the Ware family are B.L., Add. MS 4786, T.C.D., MS 6404 (of which there is a copy in Gilbert MS 169, Public Library, Pearse St, Dublin). I am much indebted to Mr W. O'Sullivan for drawing my attention to these sources.
- 19 [R.C. Winthrop], *Some Account of the Early Generations of the Winthrop Family in Ireland* (Cambridge 1883). In addition, Philologus Forth, who settled at Castletown, Co. Offaly, about 1608, was related to the Winthrops, through his cousin Mary Forth, who became John Winthrop Sr's first wife: *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1633–47*, p. 235; Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families* i, p. 119; *Some Funeral Entries of Ireland* [n.l., n.d.], p. 110.
- 20 N.L.I., MS 114, ff. 1, 17v–19 (Ware Mss), 11 March 1621[2], transcript of feoffment by Sir James Ware, Samuel Mayart, and Emanuel Downing to Richard Barry of Dublin, alderman, and Nicholas Browne of Dublin, of the town of Mayestown [Co. Meath] to the use of James Ware Jr and Elizabeth his wife. Witnesses were: Jacob Newman, Thomas Downes, Robert Young, James Reynolds, Robert Goring and Derby Ley. Witnesses for Downing's and Mayart's signatures: Jo[hn] Winthrop, Jacob Newman, and John Holland. It can be argued that the witness by the name of John Winthrop may have been someone other than John Winthrop Sr of Groton, Suffolk. However, only two individuals of that name are known at this time, who each were minors and, therefore, would not have been in a legally valid position to sign a deed (John Winthrop Jr was sixteen years old and was of Trinity College, Dublin; the other John Winthrop – probably born after 1609 – was the son of John Winthrop [d. 1613], of Aghadowne in Co. Cork). That the person was John Winthrop Sr is further supported by other circumstantial evidence cited in the present text. In the sixteenth century, the lands of Mayestown (also called Mayeston or Maston) were one of the most disputed lands in the Pale: J.P. Prendergast, 'The plantation of the barony of Idrone, in the County of Carlow' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* ii (1858–9) pp. 416–19.
- 21 Another, possible indication of the elder Winthrop's late presence in Ireland is the fact that in August and October of that year he wrote to his son in Dublin for him to urge his uncle Downing to return Winthrop's 'gelding' to England: (W.P. i, pp. 272, 277). Another possibility is that the horse was used by Downing and his party when returning from England to Ireland by August 1622.
- 22 John Winthrop Sr may have made an earlier trip to Ireland in 1620. He made his will on 10 May 1620, not because he was near to death, but because, as he wrote,

'frequent examples of such as I have observed, to have been snatched away suddainly and in their best health and strength', a not uncommon precaution for someone who would make a hazardous voyage, such as a sea crossing. Winthrop certainly later warned his son not to make the Irish-English crossing unnecessarily (*W.P.*, i, pp. 249–51, 284). As far as I can reconstruct, John Winthrop Sr's movements from July 1620 to January 1621, are not known from surviving documents. The timing of the elder Winthrop's will coincides with the year that Downing acquired the Mountrath estate.

- 23 P.R.O., Chancery Proceedings, temp. James I/N.1.23, 24 June 1623. A search in Ireland for these court proceedings has not produced results. The names of either John Winthrop, Emanuel Downing, or the plaintiffs Thomas and Elizabeth Nott do not occur in the surviving Fines Entry Book (National Archives, Dublin, 2/447/25). Given Downing's position at the Court of Common Pleas, it is likely that he helped Winthrop with the legal proceedings in Ireland.
- 24 The words of Fuller, cited in C. Maxwell, *History of Trinity College* (Dublin 1946), p. 24.
- 25 *W.P.* i, pp. 279, 281, 289, 311, 314; J.W. Stubbs, *The History of the University of Dublin from its Foundation to the End of the 18th century* (Dublin 1889), p. 65; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1633–47*, p. 145. In August 1623, the young Winthrop shared a room in the College with Samuel Clarke, later Dean of Clonmacnoise, and one Bunbury, probably a member of a settler family in Co. Wicklow. Joseph Ware, another son of Sir James Ware Sr, shared a room with his tutor Joshua Hoyle. At the College at this time, there were several other students from Suffolk families: Thomas Peyton, Dudley Boswell, and Thomas Crooke: T.C.D., MUN P/1/144, f. 126.
- 26 G.O. MS 64, f. 110. She was buried 18 Oct. 1621 in St Werburgh's Church, Dublin. See also T.C.D., MS 6404, p. 45, where her death is listed in a family tree of the Ware family. There is a drawing of Downing's coat of arms alone in G.O., MS 66, f. 67.
- 27 *W.P.* i, pp. 268–9, 6 Aug. 1622, John Winthrop Sr to his son John at the College in Dublin.
- 28 *W.P.* i, p. 281, 20 April 1623, John Winthrop Sr to John Winthrop Jr. at Dublin.
- 29 *W.P.* i, p. 311, 7 March 1623[4], John Winthrop Sr to John Winthrop Jr at Dublin.
- 30 It is noteworthy in this context that the later correspondence between Downing and Winthrop has been preserved: *W.P. passim*.
- 31 This was also the only known settlement actively promoted by either Emanuel Downing or James Ware Jr.
- 32 G. Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History* (London 1652), p. 83.
- 33 There are several early seventeenth-century brief summaries of the letters patent for the estate: T.C.D., MS 808, f. 13; B.L., Add. MS 4756, f. 87v; Huntingdon County Record Office, Cambridgeshire, Manchester MS M70/45, n.p. The documents list Emanuel as Samuell Downing. The number of acres of Mountrath, Clonenagh and Trumroe is mentioned in the letters patent in 1620 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 476), and may have been an underestimate in order to minimise the crown rent.

- 34 It is inherently difficult to estimate the size of estates in heavily wooded areas, because under the Gaelic system of landownership, woods were usually considered shared property. As a result of plantations, however, the woods were eventually divided, as happened, for example, with the woods of Fercal in Co. Offaly in the 1630s (B.L., Harleian MS 4297, f. 118v).
- 35 T. Morgan, *Wilderness at Dawn. The Settling of the North American Continent* (New York 1993), p. 167.
- 36 J. Feehan, *Laois: An Environmental History* (Ballykilcavan 1983), p. 338. Note that Boate wrongly stated that all the mines in Ireland had been discovered by the 'New' English: Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, pp. 102–3.
- 37 There are three versions of this map: B.L., Cotton MS Aug. I, ii, 40; T.C.D., MS 1209, f. 9; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, MS P.39. (Information kindly provided by Dr. John Andrews.) For printed copies of the various maps, see T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, III (Oxford 1976), opposite p. 78; J. O'Hanlon, E. O'Leary and M. Lalor, *History of the Queen's County* (Dublin 1914) ii, frontispiece; and A.P. Smyth, *Celtic Leinster* (Blackrock 1982), pp. viii–ix.
- 38 J. Feehan, *Laois: An Environmental History*, pp. 300–1. Only a few details of Mountrath feature on Sir William Petty's Down Survey in the middle of the seventeenth century, because its surveyors did not detail lands in the hands of Protestants.
- 39 J. Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* i, pp. 505–6; O'Hanlon, *History of the Queen's County* i, 426, 433; ii, p. 753.
- 40 R. Dunlop, 'The plantation of Leix and Offaly, 1556–1622' in *English Historical Review*, vi (1891), p. 66; R. Loeber, *The Geography and Practice of English Colonisation in Ireland from 1534 to 1609* (Athlone 1991), pp. 16–18, 25–89.
- 41 *Fiants Edward VI*, no. 736 (see also no. 724).
- 42 *Fiants Eliz. I*, no. 531, which mentions 193 acres. For the detailed conditions, see Fiant no. 474.
- 43 *Fiants Eliz. I*, nos. 819, 1375; D.G. White, 'The Tudor Plantations in Ireland before 1571' unpublished PhD thesis (Trinity College, Dublin 1968) ii, p. 443. The family name used to be spelled Cosbie as well. At some later point the townland of Rosskelton was separated from the Mountrath lands.
- 44 *Fiants Eliz. I*, no. 5824; J. Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* iii, pp. 263–6; B.L., Add. MS 4756, f. 60. It then contained 317 acres, which may refer to the increased clearing made in the woods there.
- 45 Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* iii, p. 281.
- 46 Lord W. Fitzgerald, 'Notes on the family of Patrick Crosbie of Maryborough, by whom the seven septs of Leix were transplanted to Tarbert in the Country Kerry in 1608–9' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* xiii (1923), pp. 136–43.
- 47 H.M.C., *12th Report*, appendix i, p. 442.
- 48 *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1598–9*, p. 391; B.L., Add. MS 4756, f. 87v; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, James I*, pp. 123–4; J.C. Erck, *A Repertorium of the Inrolments on the Patent Rolls of Chancery in Ireland; commencing in the reign of*

- James I* (Dublin 1846) part i, pp. 445–7.
- 49 Huntington Library, San Marino, California. MS HA 16160, warrant dated 11 Dec. 1610.
- 50 Sir Richard Wingfield, 1st Viscount Powerscourt, was a grandson of Sir John Wingfield, Lord of Letheringham in Suffolk. The other individuals who had an interest in the estate are listed in the later pardon of alienation: *Calendar of Patent Rolls of James I*, p. 476. Under Irish rules of mortgage, the lender could occupy the property as long as the mortgage had not been repaid within the agreed time limit. It is unclear whether such occupation indeed took place, nor is it known if Downing knew Lord Powerscourt personally. The mortgage and subsequent assignment are mentioned in National Archives, Dublin, M4683. Atkinson was appointed Provost Marshal, Government of Lough Foyle in 1604.
- 51 National Archives, Dublin, MS M4683, 1620 [no specific date given], transcript and summary of deed of sale of Mountrath from Richard Cosby and others to Emanuel Downing (no other purchasers mentioned). The pardon of alienation is dated 23 May, 18 James I [1620], while the licence for Richard Crosbie to sell is dated 3 August of the same year (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 476).
- 52 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 476. This source mentions James Newman instead of Jacob. A similar mistake occurs in Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls*, p. 515, and the entry on James Ware Jr in the *D.N.B.* Contemporary documents, however, show that this person was, in fact, Jacob Newman (B.L., Add. MS 4756, f. 17; N.L.I., MS 114, f. 1; see also Jacob Newman's funeral certificate in B.L., Sloane MS 1742, f. 1).
- 53 This book is now T.C.D. MS 6404. It contains a mixture of ecclesiastical history notes, private income (but virtually no expenditures), land transactions, and a contemporary history of events (1623 to 1647). Many of the notes were made from back to the front of the volume. Part of the original was transcribed by an unknown hand and put into chronological order, now in the Public Library, Pearse Street, Dublin, Gilbert MS 169. The transcript carries an endorsement by the collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps, dated 1839.
- 54 T.C.D., MS 6404, p. 331. The annotation is '16 years purchase – 60£., my share 10£'. This may indicate that there were six shares, but since we only know of five partners, it is possible that one partner had two shares (unless there was another, unidentified partner). As to the purchase price of the property, a nineteenth-century transcript of deeds among the Coote papers mentions a price of £560: National Archives, Dublin, MS M4683.
- 55 Gilbert MS 169, Pearse Street Public Library, Dublin, ff. 12–15.
- 56 T.C.D. MS 6404, p. 335, articles of agreement between the four partners. The deed of nomination from Sir James Balfour, then Lord Glenawley, to Edmund Medhope was dated 2 Oct. 1620. For Medhope, who from 1616 onward held the post of Chirographer in the Court of Common Pleas, see Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 'The lost architecture of the Wexford plantation', pp. 192–3. Medhope must have died prior to October 1621: Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* i, p. 63.
- 57 Later first Baron Mountnorris, and first Viscount Valentia.

- 58 He held the position of Clerk of the First Fruits.
- 59 The name is sometimes spelled Crow. William Crowe was the son of John Crowe of Brandon in Suffolk and Anne, daughter of William Waler [probably Waller] of Rathlesden, also in Suffolk: N.L.I., MS 5641, f. 200; see also, M.C. Griffith (ed.), *Calendar of inquisitions* (Dublin 1991) p. 413.
- 60 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, pp. 509–10, which mentions a crown rent of £5. However, B.L. Add. MS 4756, f. 87v, mentions a crown rent of £4 4s. See too: National Archives, Dublin, MS M4683.
- 61 E.g., *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 283.
- 62 Exeter College, Oxford, MS 95, f. 53, 15 May 1622, report by the Irish commissioners; N.L.I. MS 8014, under same date, notes by Sir Nathaniel Rich, one of the commissioners.
- 63 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 476.
- 64 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 510. Records of the manor court, mentioned in the *Supplement to the Eighth Report from the Commissioners ... respecting the Public Records of Ireland* ([London] 1816–1820), p. 237, are not known to have survived.
- 65 Sir Charles Coote obtained a grant for a market and fairs at Mountrath in 1628 (Lodge, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 65).
- 66 T.C.D., MS 6404, p. 333. The consortium charged Downing £60 for its services for including Mountrath in the Balfour patent.
- 67 T.O. Ranger, 'The career of Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, in Ireland, 1588–1643' unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford 1959).
- 68 P. Roebuck, 'The making of an Ulster great estate: The Chichesters, Barons of Belfast and Viscounts of Carrickfergus, 1599–1648' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Section C, 79, no. 1 (1979); D.A. Chart, 'The break-up of the estate of Conn O'Neill' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Section C, 48 (1942–3).
- 69 *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 215; Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HA 16,166, warrant dated 7 June 1611; Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* i, p. 62. He was admitted to the King's Inn in November 1612: Keane, *King's Inns Admission Books*, p. 141, where his name is given as John.
- 70 *Calendar of State Paper, Colonial East Indies, 1612–21*, iii, p. 465.
- 71 W.P., i, pp. 347 and n. 8, 350.
- 72 F.E. Ball, *The Judges in Ireland 1121–1921* (Dublin 1926) i, p. 332.
- 73 Keane, *King's Inns Admission Books*, p. 332.
- 74 Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* iii, pp. 42, 73; *Calendar State Papers, Ireland, 1625–32*, pp. 18, 546.
- 75 H.M.C., *12th Report*, appendix I, p. 211.
- 76 Through his second wife, he was allied to the Ussher and Perceval families: Ball, *The Judges in Ireland* i, p. 332; H.M.C., *Egmont MSS* i, p. 124. Through his third wife, Dorcas Newcomen, he became related to Sir Robert Newcomen, a prominent planter in Co. Longford and Co. Tyrone, and to the Molyneux family.
- 77 J.S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, W.D. Killen (ed.) (Belfast 1867) i,

- pp. 132–4. See also note 17 where Mayart's name is misspelled.
- 78 Grosart, *Lismore Papers* 1st Series, iii, p. 107; T.C.D., MS 810, ff. 325v–326; H.M.C., *14th Report* appendix viii, p. 153.
- 79 T.C.D., MS 6404, p. 45; *D.N.B.*
- 80 For Ussher, see *D.N.B.*; R.B. Knox, *James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh* (Cardiff 1967); H. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans* (London 1987), pp. 120–65.
- 81 G.O., MS 69, f. 65.
- 82 N. Burke, 'Dublin's North-Eastern city wall: Early reclamation and development of the Poddle-Liffey confluence' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C 74 (1974); R. Hainsworth (ed.), *The commercial papers of Sir Christopher Lowther, 1611–44*, Surtees Society clxxxix (1977), p. 6.
- 83 B.L., MS 4756, f. 116; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 483; Hainsworth *Commercial Papers of Lowther*, p. 6.
- 84 National Archives, Dublin, Lodge MSS, List of members of the Society of King's Inns; Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* ii, p. 23.
- 85 *Calendar State Papers, Ireland, 1611–14*, p. 471, but certainly before 1614. For a biographical sketch of Aungier, see Ball, *Judges in Ireland* i, p. 322.
- 86 Glimpses of Newman's work can be seen in Sheffield City Archives, Strafford MS 24–5, f. 322ff; B.L., Add. MS 4756, f. 45.
- 87 B.L., Sloane MS 1742, f. 1v.
- 88 Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, p. 7; Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma*, p. 18.
- 89 Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, pp. 82–3. Boate arrived in Ireland in 1649, but in writing his book relied much on information gathered in Ireland by his brother Arnold; T.C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland* (Oxford 1975), p. 214ff.; T.C. Barnard, 'The Hartlib Circle and the Origins of the Dublin Philosophical Society' in *Irish Historical Studies* xx (1975), pp. 58–9.
- 90 Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, pp. 82–3.
- 91 Mentioned in National Archives, Dublin, MS M4684. These are notes taken from manuscripts at Sir Algernon Charles Plumptre Coote's seat Ballyfin (outside Mountrath) by an unidentified individual in 1903, at the request of Dr. J.P. Mahaffy, later provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Inquiries at Ballyfin, now a school, have not been successful. According to Sir Christopher Coote, a lineal descendant of the first Sir Charles Coote, the original documents are not among the family papers. It is very likely that the early Coote manuscripts were dispersed at the sale of the contents of Ballyfin, but I have not been able to trace such a sale. Letter from Robert Charles Anderson, of the Great Migration Study Project, A Survey of New England 1620–1643, to F. Bremer, Boston, 7 Dec. 1995. I am also grateful to Dr. Toby Barnard for his assistance.
- 92 National Archives, Dublin, MS A/2/21 (transcript of the Meath Papers). The origin of Bewater is not clear, but a Nicholas Bowater (also spelled Beewater) who was a tenant of Thomas Crooke at Baltimore (Co. Cork) received a pardon in 1608; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 118; H.M.C., *Hastings MSS* iv, p. 29; Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, HA 1602. This was a site where Crooke and others possibly from Suffolk had settled around this time: M. MacCarthy-Morrogh,

- The Munster Plantation* (Oxford 1986), pp. 151–3. Crooke was distantly related to John Winthrop Sr. Thomas Crooke's sister Sarah (will dated 1624) had married Stephen Egerton. Stephen's sister Anne Egerton married secondly Sir John Tyndall, whose daughter in 1618 became the third wife of John Winthrop Sr. Crooke's son, Thomas, was a fellow-student of John Winthrop Jr at Trinity College in Dublin (T.C.D., MUN P/1/144, f. 126). Whether Nicholas Bewater, noted as a tenant at Mountrath, had come from Baltimore, has not been established. It should be noted that the name Bewater was sometime spelled Bowater, a name which later occurs in *W.P.* i, pp. 314n., 371n. I have not been able to inspect the lease to Nicholas Bewater, which is lodged among the estate papers of the Brabazons, Earls of Meath at Kilruddery, Co. Wicklow (recall that Edward Brabazon, baron Ardee, father of the first Earl of Meath, was one of the mortgagees of the Mountrath lands).
- 93 The 1641 depositions refer occasionally to other tenants of Sir Charles Coote at Mountrath, such as Symon Campion, and Geoffrey Corbett, merchant: T.C.D., MS 815, ff. 113v, 128v.
- 94 *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4th series, vi (1863), p. 491. It is possible that the 'goodman Hawes' is the same person, who arrived, probably from Ireland, at John Winthrop Sr's residence in England in March 1623: *W.P.* i, p. 279, see also pp. 375–6. He later studied at the Inner Temple when the younger John Winthrop was there: Black, *Younger John Winthrop*, p. 27.
- 95 *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4th series vi, pp. 474–5.
- 96 *W.P.* i, pp. 230, 272, 276, 316. John Nutton was back in England in 1625. Until 1623 money transactions between Winthrop in England and Downing in Dublin probably were in the hands of John Goade, merchant of London, who had married Emanuel's sister Abigail, and died in 1623: Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families* i, p. 99; *Winthrop Letters* i, pp. 281, 283; *W.P.* i, p. 280.
- 97 *W.P.* i, p. 281.
- 98 *W.P.* i, pp. 280, 283, 328. He was the son of Philip Gostlin of Suffolk (will dated 1626), also a clothier. Samuel witnessed John Winthrop's will in 1620: *W.P.* i, p. 251. The 1641 depositions mention a Peremin [?] Gosling in the area: T.C.D., MS 815, f. 93v.
- 99 Lodge, op. cit., ii, p. 65n; T.C.D., MS 815, ff. 55, 90, 180–1. According to depositions drawn up in 1642, Philip Sergint (probably Sergeant) was the overseer of linen and fustian works, possibly assisted by Isaak Sandes or Sands. Sergent's house, however, was at Ballyntegart, now called Castle Cuffe, Coote's estate on the opposite site of the Slieve Bloom mountain.
- 100 M. Reed, 'Ipswich in the Seventeenth Century', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Leicester 1973), p. 27.
- 101 H.M.C., *12th Report* appendix I, p. 160; *W.P.* i, pp. 315–16.
- 102 P.R.O., SP 63/234, ff. 92, 187. One of the experts, Christopher Wilson had been brought up in Suffolk. The other, Thomas Yonge, came from the West country. See for this colony, MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp. 200–1.
- 103 Kent County Record Office, Maidstone, Sackville MS ON 1069; Grosart, *Lismore Papers* 1st Series ii, p. 86; 2nd Series, iii, pp. 142–4; P.R.O., SP 63/278, f. 271.
- 104 T.C.D., MS 815, ff. 26v, 70v–71, 133v; Thompson, *Mobility and Migration*. It is

- unclear whether he was related to the English divines, William and Jerome Beale: see *D.N.B.*; P.G. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English church 1570–1635' in *Past & Present* 114 (1987), p. 63.
- 105 C.R. Elrington (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D.* (Dublin 1847) xv, p. 152. On Ward, see *D.N.B.*
- 106 J.P. Mahaffy, *The Particular Book of Trinity College, Dublin: A Facsimile from the Original* (Dublin 1904), p. 193v.
- 107 Stubbs *History of the University of Dublin*, p. 145.
- 108 Parr, *Life of Ussher*, p. 16, reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th Series ii (1854), p. 120.
- 109 John Winthrop Sr noted Olmstead's impending departure for Ireland on 31 August 1622, and afterwards inquired several times about his well-being: *W.P.* i, pp. 272, 276, 281.
- 110 I am indebted to Dr. Alan Ford for much of the information on Olmstead; Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* iii, p. 280; O.U. Kalu, 'The Jacobean Church and Essex puritans', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Toronto 1972) appendix; K.W. Shippis, 'Lay patronage of East Anglian puritan clerics in pre-revolutionary England', unpublished PhD thesis (Yale University 1971) p. 125; J.S. Ibish, 'Emmanuel College, 1584–1604', unpublished PhD thesis (Harvard University 1985) p. 301. Olmstead was born at Bocking, Essex (adjoining Braintree) in 1576, was ordained in 1612 and departed from Erwardon in 1622 (I am indebted to Mrs E. Kennard, of the parish of Erwardon, for information from the parish register). Erwardon is situated in the diocese of Norwich. James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, was also Dean of Norwich, but there is no evidence that Ussher was instrumental in bringing over Olmstead to Ireland. The patron of Erwardon was Sir Calthorpe Parker (d. 1619) and, later, Sir Philip Parker Jr: D. MacCulloch (ed.), 'The choreography of Suffolk', *Suffolk Record Society*, 19, pp. 26, 93, 335–6; J.T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry*, (London 1984), p. 175. The Revd Richard Olmstead should not be confused with Richard Olmstead of the parish of Fairsted, south of Braintree, whose brother and children went to New England: H.K. Olmstead, *Genealogy of the Olmstead Family* (New York 1922), pp. viii–xv. The family name was variously spelled Homsted, Holmstead, and Olmsted: *W.P.* i, p. 276–7. His wife can be identified with the Mrs Homsted [Elizabeth Olmstead], who returned from Ireland to Suffolk in September 1622: *W.P.* i, p. 275. Since she is unlikely to have travelled by herself, it is possible that her husband had made an earlier trip to Ireland. She was the daughter of John Hawes of St Lawrence, Essex; her children by Richard Olmstead were John, Jediah, and Elizabeth. Through his wife, Richard Olmstead was related to the puritan preacher John Rogers. According to B.L., Harl. MS 6071, f. 319, she was Richard Olmstead's second wife; the identity of his first wife is not known: Olmstead, *Genealogy* pp. viii–xv; *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 41, (1887), p. 173.
- 111 Undated visitation of the diocese of Leighlin, presented to Sir John Perrot, who was Lord Deputy from 1584–8 (Lambeth Palace, London, Carew MS 635, f. 87v). In 1891, a listing of the parish records indicated that only those starting from 1749 were known to have survived: *23rd Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public*

- Records of Ireland* (1891) i, p. 164. A monastery associated with St Patrick was originally at Mountrath (Muirnathe): A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland*, (Blackrock 1970) pp. 31–2, 339. This might have been the structure at the nearby Dysartbeagh, shown on the Down Survey.
- 112 R[ichard] O[lmstead], *Treatise of the Union betwixt Christ and the Church* (Dublin 1627). The dedication is to Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Loftus of Ely, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Loftus had estates close to Mountrath at Rosenallis and Mountmellick. The copy of this volume in the Bodleian Library carries the signature of Joseph Goad or Goade. Since Abigail, Emanuel Downing's sister, had married John Goade of London (see above), it is possible that Joseph Goade was a relative. Ri[chard] Olmstead, *Sions Teares Leading to Ioy*: (Dublin, 1630). The dedication is again to Sir Adam Loftus, Viscount Loftus of Ely, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, while a preface is dedicated to Sir Charles Coote, bart. It is virtually certain that both books were printed by the stationer Thomas Downes, who must have known John Winthrop Sr, since the elder Winthrop in his letters to his son in Dublin often sends his regards to Downes.
- 113 Olmstead, *Sions Teares* sig. A2[2]; Olmstead, *A Treatise*, p. 256.
- 114 Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae* i, p. 127; E. McCracken, *The Irish Woods since Tudor Times* (Belfast 1971), p. 131.
- 115 In England feoffees of impropriations operated from 1613 onward: H.A. Parker, 'The feoffees of impropriations' in *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, xi (1906–7) pp. 263–77. See also, I.M. Calder, *Activities of the Puritan Faction of the Church of England, 1625–33* (London 1957).
- 116 *Calendar State Papers, Ireland, 1625–32*, pp. 569–70.
- 117 Loeber, 'The rise of the puritans', S.C. Hughes, *The Church of St. Werburgh* (Dublin 1889), p. 5. Hill's sermons, entitled *The Penitent Sinners Entertainment*, were published in London in 1614.
- 118 Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* iii, p. 89; National Archives, Dublin, Lodge MS 19, f. 47, dated 22 June 1616.
- 119 National Archives, Dublin MS M4683 (notes made in 1903).
- 120 On Coote, see Lodge, op. cit., ii, pp. 63–8; A. de Vlieger, *Records of the Coote Family* (Lausanne 1900); M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Montreal 1994), pp. 17ff. Castle Cuffe was named after his wife Dorothea, daughter of Hugh Cuffe, whom he married in 1617. At his creation as baronet in 1621, he was styled of 'Castlecuffe'.
- 121 R. Loeber, 'A gate to Connacht: the building of the fortified town of Jamestown, Co. Leitrim, in the era of plantation' in *The Irish Sword* xv (1983), pp. 149–52.
- 122 E. McCracken, 'Charcoal-burning ironworks in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland' in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* xx (1957), pp. 131, 133; Feehan, *Laois*, pp. 337–8; Grosart, *Lismore Papers* 1st Series ii, pp. 305–6. Lodge, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 63n, mentions a John Bourk, gentleman, Coote's agent at his iron works at 'Dowbally in Cavan', which is a mistake for Co. Leitrim. This Bourk was at Mountrath in 1641. Boate also mistakenly mentioned iron ore at 'Doubailie' in Co. Cavan: *Ireland's Naturall History*, p. 105.
- 123 R. Loeber, 'Settlers' utilisation of the natural resources' in K. Hannigan and W.

- Nolan (ed.), *Wicklow: History and Society* (Dublin 1994), pp. 269, 277, 287–93.
- 124 H.M.C., *Ormonde MSS* n.s. ii, pp. 124–5.
- 125 Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History* p. 111; T. Barnard, 'The Hartlib circle and the cult and culture of improvement in Ireland' in M. Greengrass, M. Leslie and T. Raylor (eds), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 285–90.
- 126 T.C.D., MS 6404, p. 327. For the history of the properties in Castle Street, see H.F. Berry, 'Minute Book of the Corporation of Dublin' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* xiii (1913), p. 512; Sir J. T. Gilbert and R.M. Gilbert (eds), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin* (Dublin 1889–1944) hereafter *C.A.R.D.* iii, p. 13; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 355; N.I.L., MS 115, f. 127. Downing's property, with a frontage of 8 yards, was sold by him to James Ware Jr in 1622, and had a house on it, which was subsequently leased by Ware to Alderman Kennedy (*C.A.R.D.* iv, p. 228). The other half of the property remained in Downing's hands, and was left in his will to Elizabeth Sibthorpe, an orphan: *C.A.R.D.* iv, p. 236, document dated 1662. This is the only reference to his will that I have found. Searches in Scotland, where Downing appears to have died, have not led to the identification of his will. Elizabeth may have been a descendant of either Sir Christopher Sibthorpe, a nonconformist, who came from Essex, and who became Justice of the King's Bench, or Robert Sibthorpe, bishop of Limerick.
- 127 *W.P.* i, p. 278. Simmons, *Narrative Outline*, pp. 5, 7.
- 128 J.L. Chester (ed.), *The Parish Register of St. Michael, Cornhill, London* (London 1882), p. 116.
- 129 The last known letter addressed to him in Dublin is dated 20 June 1624: *W.P.* i, pp. 313–14; Black, *The Younger John Winthrop*, p. 23.
- 130 R. Gillespie, 'Meal and Money: The harvest crisis of 1621–4 and the Irish economy' in E.M. Crawford (ed.), *Famine: The Irish experience, 900–1900* (Edinburgh 1989), pp. 75–95; R. Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550–1700*, *Studies in Irish Economic and Social History* vi (Dublin 1991). Olmstead in describing his life at Mountrath does not mention the harvest problems in that area: *Sions tears*.
- 131 Emanuel Downing, 'The supposed causes in of our wast' [*sic*], c. 1622, Melbourne MSS, Derbyshire Record Office (abstract published in H.M.C., *12th Rep.* appendix i, p. 126). The tone of the document may imply that it was intended for the Commissioners sent from England in 1622 to inquire into the state of Ireland: B.L., Add. MS 4756.
- 132 For the Dutch in Ireland, see R. Loeber, 'English and Irish sources for the history of Dutch economic activity in Ireland, 1600–89' in *Irish Economic and Social History* viii (1981), pp. 70–85; E.J. Bok and R. Loeber, 'Het geslacht Wybrants' in *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* xlv (1992), pp. 74–114.
- 133 R. Steele, *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*, (Oxford 1910) ii, p. 30; B.L., Sloane MS 3827, ff. 35, 37, 94, 96; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1615–25*, p. 395.
- 134 Olmstead, *Sions teares*, n.p.
- 135 *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625–32*, p. 427.

- 136 G.J. Hand and V.W. Treadwell (eds), 'His Majesty's directions for ordering and settling the Courts within the Kingdom of Ireland, 1622' in *Analecta Hibernica* xxvi (Dublin 1970), p. 207; B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff. 38v, 74; Grosart, *Lismore Papers* 1st Series ii, pp. 62, 129. The earliest date known that Downing worked for Boyle was in 1612: *ibid.*, 1st Series i, p. 17.
- 137 *Analecta Hibernica* ii (Dublin 1931), p. 14. For the income from the positions in the Court of Common Pleas, see Bodleian Library, Carte MS 61, f. 145v.
- 138 *W.P.* i, p. 311.
- 139 Steele, *Proclamations* i, p. 26 This agrees with Winthrop's concern with the outcome of the Spanish match, mentioned in the same letter, which inevitably would lead to a greater toleration of recusancy.
- 140 *W.P.* i, pp. 388–9; ii, pp. 74–5; iv, pp. 102–3; V.D. Anderson, 'Migrants and Motives: Religion and the Settlement of New England, 1630–1640', in *The New England Quarterly*, lviii (1985), pp. 339–83.
- 141 H.M.C., *12th Report* appendix ii, p. 38.
- 142 *W.P.* v, p. 38; Thompson, *Mobility and Migration*, p. 125.
- 143 My search among the unpublished Winthrop papers in the archive of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, MA, did not produce further insights.
- 144 National Archives, Dublin, MS A/2/21.
- 145 Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, pp. 82–3. James Ware Jr, however, in the early 1620s, noted that the anticipated income from the property was £60.
- 146 Morrin, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* iii, p. 392.
- 147 Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, pp. 111–12. For other reference to transport on the river Nore, *ibid.*, p. 59.
- 148 *Ibid.*, pp. 105–6, 111. Iron works at Dysart were already in existence in the sixteenth century: McCracken, p. 132. Barnard mentions that later the Earl of Mountrath probably imported iron ore from Lancashire to Co. Laois: T. Barnard, 'An Anglo-Irish industrial enterprise: Iron making at Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, 1657–92' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* section C, 85 (1985), p. 113.
- 149 T.C.D., Volume of maps of the estate of the Earl of Mountrath by Thomas Moland; Feehan, *Laois*, p. 339.
- 150 Olmstead, *Sions Teares*, n.p.
- 151 The vicarage of Offerlane (a parish west of Clonenagh) was united at this time to the vicarage of Clonenagh and Clonaheen (Morris, *Calendar of Chancery Rolls* iii, p. 538, where called 'Aphalerin'). The parish of Offerlane coincides with the barony of Upperwoods, formerly called the barony of Upper Ossory, and the territory of the sept of the FitzPatricks. Olmstead was also granted the vicarage of Killermogh (South of Clonenagh) in 1630, and received a grant of the glebe of Offerlane in 1634: J.B. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (Enniskillen 1933), pp. 298, 327. The congregation at Offerlane may have remained oriented toward puritanism, judging from the fact that subsequently Robert Clarke, a leader of the Anabaptists during the Cromwellian period, became a preacher at the parish of Offerlane: St J. Seymour, *The Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661* (reprinted Oxford 1969), p. 149.
- 152 National Archives, Dublin, MS M4683, 10 July 1628[9], dispute between F. FitzPatrick and Sir Charles Coote concerning the boundaries of Mountrath.

- 153 H.M.C., *Ormonde MSS* n.s. ii, pp. 124–5; McCracken, *op.cit.*, p. 131; T.C.D., MS 815, f. 30.
- 154 T.C.D., MS 815, ff. 83v, 334, where he is mentioned as Richard Holsted, clerk. For Joseph Olmstead's losses, see *ibid.*, ff. 92v–93.
- 155 J. Feehan, *The Landscape of Slieve Bloom* (Dublin 1979), p. 244.
- 156 Exceeding Maryborough (now Port Laois) and Mountmellick: S. Pender (ed.), *A Census of Ireland, circa 1659* (Dublin 1939), pp. 497–8, 505. Maryborough counted 198 adult males, Mountmellick 175, compared to 223 in Mountrath, which does not include the 36 males at the nearby forge. Counting three individuals per family, this would make 777 inhabitants on the Mountrath lands.
- 157 The author is grateful to Liz Fitzpatrick and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber for their endurance in extremely inhospitable weather to inspect the town and its elusive defences on St Patrick's day, 1995.
- 158 This is indicated by field evidence and by the 1805 Grand Jury map of Co. Laois, reproduced in Feehan, *Slieve Bloom*, end paper.
- 159 The structure is not visible on the three known maps of the 1560s: B.L., Cotton MS Aug. I, ii, 40; T.C.D. MS 1209, f. 9; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, MS P. 39, but appears on the Down Survey in the mid-1650s.
- 160 O'Hanlon and O'Leary, *History of Queen's County* i, p. 210. It probably was formerly known as Clon Roagh Castle, which in 1641 was occupied by a Capt. Crosby (T.C.D., MS 815, f. 35). The author inspected the site with Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber in May 1994. Red Castle appears to have been small compared to the nearby Rush Hall, a large fortified residence with a typical early seventeenth-century enclosure that includes defensive flankers, built by Sir Francis Rush, a military officer, who died in 1623. Its ruins stand three miles south-west of Mountrath.
- 161 Lodge, *op. cit.* ii, p. 65; W. Penn, 'Travel diary, Aug. 1669 – April 1670' in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* xl (1916), p. 48.
- 162 However, one of the depositions after 1641 mentions that John Boulker of Mountrath had an 'interest' in the castle and gardens 'belonging & given him by Sr Charles Coote': T.C.D., MS 815, f. 164.
- 163 Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, p. 108. The Ordnance Survey map of 1911 shows that immediately south-east of the forge-land was a townland called Coolballyogan, also known as 'Boston'. Since there are several townlands of that name in Cos. Kildare, Tipperary, and Clare, it is not very likely that the townland near Mountrath refers to Boston in Suffolk. Across the river Nore in the townland of Crannagh, two miles north-west of Mountrath, there are still remains of the site of a bloomery, but what date is not clear, Feehan, *Laois*, p. 337; Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, p. 109.
- 164 A regrant of the property in the early 1660s to Sir Charles Coote, 1st Earl of Mountrath, included a licence to impark 400 acres: Lodge, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 65.
- 165 *W.P.* i, p. 340.
- 166 F.A. Inderwick (ed.) *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records* (London 1898), i, p. 169.

- 167 *Proceedings, Massachusetts Historical Society* 1st series xvii (1879–80), p. 124; McIlwain 'The transfer of the charter to New England, and its significance in American constitutional history' in *ibid.* (1929), pp. 53–65.
- 168 N.B. Shurtleff (ed.), *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston 1853) i, pp. 54–6. F. Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and its Predecessors* (New York 1930) appendix ii, p. 141.
- 169 See H.M.C., *12th Report*, appendix ii p. 38.
- 170 *W.P.* ii, p. 271.
- 171 Grosart, *Lismore Papers* 1st series iii, pp. 78, 97; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I*, p. 527; H.M.C., *12th Report*, appendix i, pp. 434, 436, 442; ii, pp. 46, 64, 116. Edmund Reade's wife later married the divine, Hugh Peter: R. Thompson, *Mobility and Migration*, p. 165.
- 172 Abstract published in H.M.C., *12th Report*, appendix i, p. 456. Apparently, this document is lost (information kindly provided by Ms. J. Sinar of the Derbyshire Record Office).
- 173 *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4th series, vi (1863), pp. 48–9.
- 174 His position of Philacer in the Court of Common Pleas became vacant in 1660: *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1660–2*, p. 83; *ibid.*, 1663–5, p. 469 Neither document refers directly to Downing: P.R.O., SP 63/128, 304, 317.
- 175 *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Dec. 1868), pp. 167–88; (Feb. 1893), pp. 108–12.
- 176 E.N. Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus* (Norman 1957); S. Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth. The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York 1995), pp. 237–70.
- 177 *W.P.* v, pp. 5–6. Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus* p. 107.
- 178 Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus* pp. 117–18; J.C. Appleby (ed.), *A Calendar of Material Relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1536–1641* (Dublin 1992), pp. 248–9. It is possible that Leader's experience as an iron master in Ireland was obtained at the iron works at Tomgraney, north of Limerick. Boate must have referred to these works 'in the county of Thomond' [i.e., Co. Clare], which had been set up by 'some London-Merchants': *Ireland's Naturall History*, p. 107. One of these investors was Joshua Foote, a wealthy London ironmonger, who together with others had set up ironworks at Tomgraney in Co. Clare (Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus* p. 68). These works were owned by one Luke Brady, who sold them to the Earl of Cork in 1634 (Grosart, *Lismore Papers* 1st series iv, p. 10; McCracken, *op. cit.*, p. 127, who mistakenly states that the earl purchased the property in 1632). It is likely that Foote also had an interest, together with William Beeke and other partners, in another set of iron works overseen by Richard Rowley and Jacques Lagasse in Ireland (Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus*, p. 81, n. 61). It is probable that they can be identified with the Belgians from Liège who worked at the iron works of Ballynakill, Co. Laois, owned by the Ridgeway family, earls of Londonderry: W. Nolan, *Fassadinin: Land, Settlement and Society in Southeast Ireland 1600–1850* (Dublin 1979), p. 54. What is remarkable is that Beeke and Foote re-emerge as investors for Winthrop's iron works in New England at Saugus: Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus*, pp. 67–9. The unanswered question

is whether the continuity in investors across the different sites had anything to do with the continuity of owners and operators of the works.

- 179 The depositions of 1641 show one John Paue 'of the ironworks of Mountrath', and Richard Hooke of Mountrath, founder: T.C.D., MS 815, ff. 28v, 34v, 186, 214–16.
- 180 *W.P.* iv pp. 363–5. Although not dated, it was assigned by the editors of *W.P.* to c. 1643, a year after the death of Sir Charles Coote. It is in John Winthrop Jr's hand and may have been based on an original description by Sir Charles Coote: Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus*, p. 51. Boate's account of Coote's ironworks corresponds closely with this document.
- 181 Boate, *Ireland's Natural History*, pp. 104–6, 111–12.
- 182 J.K. Hosmer (ed.), *Winthrop's Journal. History of New England, 1630–1649* (New York 1908), p. 164. Clothworthy corresponded several times with the younger Winthrop about the sending of young children and sheep to New England: *Collections of the Historical Society of Massachusetts*, 5th series i, pp. 203–4, 206–7, 208–9.
- 183 According to Black, there he almost certainly encountered Sir Charles Coote in 1634, and 'pumped him dry of information concerning the Irish iron industry': *The Younger John Winthrop*, p. 79, p. 372n. 7. This probably is an exaggeration.
- 184 E. Emerson (ed.), *Letters from New England. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629–1638* (Amherst MA 1976), pp. 72–3.
- 185 Hosmer, *Winthrop's Journal* i, pp. 127, 164.
- 186 Bacon: Thompson, *Mobility and Migration*, pp. 102, 108–9, 126, 254n, 277; Burdett: *ibid.*, pp. 46, 50, 113; Downing: *ibid.*, pp. 32, 38; Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families* i, p. 119; ii, p. 110; Field: M.J. O'Brien, 'Irish pioneers in New Hampshire' in *Journal of the American Historical Society* xxv (1926), p. 64; Howes: Thompson, *Mobility and Migration*, pp. 131, 279; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4th series, vi (1863), pp. 474–5, 491. It is possible that 'goodman Hawes' is the same person who arrived, probably from Ireland, at John Winthrop Sr's house in England in March 1623 (*W.P.* i, pp. 256, 345–6; iii, p. 134). He later studied at the Inner Temple when the younger John Winthrop was there (Black, *The Younger John Winthrop*, p. 27). Leader: Hartley, *Iron Works on the Saugus*, pp. 117–88, and *passim*; Appleby, *Calendar, Material Relating to Ireland from the Court of Admiralty*, pp. 248–9; Smith: D.B. Ruttman, *Winthrop's Boston* (Chapel Hill, NC 1965), p. 219; Woodward: D.G. Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transfer of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC 1981), p. 259.

Appendix

Table 10.1: Males who, prior to going to New England in the early seventeenth century, had been in Ireland.¹⁸⁶

Name	DOB	Year/location in Ireland	Origin in England	Year/location in New England	Note
Bacon, Michael	1579	1630s	Winston, Suffolk	c. 1640	Farmer
Bacon, William	1577	1630s	Winston, Suffolk	c. 1640	Farmer
Burdett, George	1602	1623	Saffron Walden, Essex	1635	Minister, studied at Trinity College, Dublin
Downing, Emanuel	1585	1612–25 Dublin	Ipswich, Suffolk	1638	
Downing, James	<i>fl.</i> 1614	<i>fl.</i> 1614/ Dublin	n/a	1630	Son of Emanuel Downing
Field, Darby				1638/Oyster River	Irishman
Howes, Edward (or Howe?)	c. 1614	pre 1632	Boxted, Essex	c. 1634	
Leader, George			?Speldhurst, Kent		Brother of Richard Ironmaster
Leader, Richard	c. 1609	1641 Limerick	?Speldhurst, Kent, and Salehurst, Sussex	1645/Saugus	
Smith, John	pre 1654–5		1654–5/Boston		Gentleman, whose losses in Ireland were noted in that year
Woodward, Ralph	pre 1640		pre 1640 Hingham, Mass.		

The hagiography of William Bedell

Karl S. Bottigheimer

William Bedell (1571–1642) is that staple of the historian's table: a major-*minor* figure. This is, perhaps, a less severe characterisation of him than that implied by his inclusion in a recent series of vignettes sub-titled 'Losers in Irish History'.¹ Bedell's career is too well known, and too frequently adverted to by historians of seventeenth-century Ireland to require re-telling, nor is there any new material to be examined; yet there remains an attraction to him, and even a penumbra of mystery. As interest in religious history (and belief in its relevance) revives, there is an audible buzzing of historical bees around Bedell's legend and life.²

His connection with the early history of Trinity College and the seventeenth-century Church of Ireland entitles him to a place in a volume honouring William O'Sullivan. To summarise his career, Bedell (probably pronounced 'Beagle') was born in Essex, educated at Sir Walter Mildmay's purposefully 'Puritan' new foundation of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and lived – so far as can be told – the generally quiet life of a devout, scholarly, East Anglian minister. Then, in 1627, he removed to Ireland. His one recorded previous foreign adventure had been a three-year stint in Venice (1607–10) where he served as chaplain to the English ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton.

In 1627, in circumstances that are still somewhat obscure, Bedell was plucked from his living at Horningshearth (supposedly pronounced 'Horringer' by its parishioners) in Essex, and plunged into the broils of Trinity College, Dublin whose provost he became in succession to Sir William Temple. It is not at all clear that his two-year reign was a happy or successful one, but he had (with some reluctance) surrendered his English living, and in 1629 he was appointed to the joined Irish bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh.

A recently published document, Bishop Sancroft's notes on a (now missing) letter of Ussher to Laud dated 6 May 1629, throws some light on this elevation. Ussher thanks Laud profusely for 'preferring Dr Beadle' and admits that he [Ussher] 'drew him into Ireland by the importunitie of my letters, as one that concurred much with me in the same kind of studies ...'.³ The letter makes clear Ussher's approval of 'the worthy work which Dr Beadle hath so happily begun, in laying the foundation of an Irish lecture in the college: there being no hope at all that the Irish will ever be regained, until they may have some among them that are able to instruct them in their own language'.⁴

In announced protest at church pluralism, Bedell subsequently surrendered the smaller and less profitable see of Ardagh (which Ussher, in the letter cited above, thought Bedell would require, to supplement the meagre emoluments from Kilmore!), and it is his thirteen years at Kilmore, ending with his death in 1642, that attract the principal interest of his biographers. Bedell was not the most prolific, or distinguished, scholar in the Church of Ireland: that honour belonged to his metropolitan, James Ussher. Neither was he the

most influential of the Irish prelates, for after 1634 that was the role of John Bramhall, Thomas Wentworth's chaplain, made Bishop of Derry, and for all practical purposes, Archbishop Laud's lieutenant in Ireland.⁵ William Bedell was outstanding for his eccentric theology, his burning conviction that the reformed faith could be effectively propagated among the Irish only if it adopted for that purpose their language and culture.

Bedell marched discordantly, sometimes disobediently, to a different drummer from that attended by most of the clergy of the Church of Ireland.⁶ He was not typical, but atypical, and like Thomas Becket, in mid-life found a cause. A linguistic scholar from an early age, Bedell, at fifty-six (in 1627) threw himself into the study of Irish, a subject previously of no relevance or interest to him. From the moment of his arrival in Ireland he proclaimed the importance of preaching, catechising and teaching in the vernacular. He provided a catechism in Irish, struggled to appoint, pay adequately, and keep native-speaker clergy, and personally undertook the first translation of the Old Testament into Irish, finally published in 1685, more than forty years after his death. For all of this, Bedell is supposed to have won a special place in the hearts of the Catholics of his diocese, signified by the remarkable consideration extended to him (and those under his protection) at the outbreak of the rebellion of October 1641. Nevertheless, his work was overwhelmed and swept away and he himself died in early 1642 as a collateral victim of the violence. The contemporary descriptions of his funeral, held at the sufferance of the Catholic rebels, who themselves contributed a salute of gunfire over the bishop's grave, is one of the most affecting memorials of a terrible period.⁷

Part of the current attraction of Bedell is, of course, his seeming modernity. He embraced the Irish language (rather than calling for its extirpation, as so many other clergy and magistrates had done), and it survived several centuries of unsympathetic colonial administration to become in the twentieth century the official language of an independent nation. He also believed that the Irish (whether English- or Irish-speaking) should be *persuaded* of the truths of the reformed religion of the Church of Ireland, rather than harassed and punished into nominal conformity. This too is appealing to ecumenical, post-colonial scholars who tend to look askance at brutal (or even merely firm) enforcement of religious orthodoxy. Thus it is increasingly easy to regard Bedell as foresighted and admirable, despite his lack of major stature in the chronicles of his age.

In this essay I would like to discuss first the history of Bedell's reputation, or 'Hagiography' (as it is tempting to call it), and then some of the problems and possibilities which re-examination of Bedell's career presents. During his life the Bishop of Kilmore enjoyed neither fame nor notoriety, but in the decades after his death a saintly legend slowly attached to his memory. No contemporary printed notice of his death survives, but seventeen years after it, his former dean at Kilmore, Nicholas Bernard, a man with whom he had bitterly quarrelled, published 'a Character of the Late Bishop Bedell'.⁸ In this eleven-page tract Bernard rightly associated Bedell with Ussher, who had retired to England in the 1640s and there enjoyed almost miraculous favour among royalists, parliament-men, and Cromwellians alike.⁹ Bernard mentioned nothing about Bedell's death or astonishing funeral, but concluded his admiring account with the judgement that '... if the moderation of this bishop had been observed elsewhere, I believe episcopacy might have been kept upon its wheels'.¹⁰ Given the tenor of the times Bernard probably meant that Bedell, like Ussher, had been a 'good bishop', as opposed to those 'bad bishops'

(personified by William Laud) whose abuses had invited and justified the extirpation of episcopacy, 'root and branch'.¹¹ Bernard seems to have been judging Bedell as if he had been an English bishop, rather than an Irish one, for it was not in Ireland, but in England, that the institution of episcopacy was challenged by the Protestant laity.

What happened with regard to Bedell's reputation in the 1660s and 1670s we can only infer. Nothing was published, but within his immediate family a veritable cottage industry emerged, devoted to preserving his memory. Both his son, William (1613–1670) and his son-in-law, Alexander Clogie (1614–1698)¹² had witnessed the Bishop's difficult last days and funeral. Soon afterwards they fled to England and obtained church livings there which they served for the remainder of their lives. Both men created book-length manuscript memoirs of the Bishop's life. Clogie's was the longer and more detailed, but it was probably written in 1675, thirty-odd years after the events it undertook to describe.¹³ By 1679 no less a person than William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (and son of a former – 1627–38 – Master of Emmanuel College) was inquiring about Clogie's memoir. Bedell's son-in-law replied that he was sending the 'short narrative of ... [Bedell's] life and death that, by the motion of some noble persons I drew up, not for public view, but private satisfaction ...', along with 'some of ... [Bedell's] papers that I rescued out of the fire [made of them by the Irish rebels in 1642] with the hazard of my life'.¹⁴

The implications of this statement were first: that Sancroft had heard or read about Bedell and wished to know more; second, that Clogie wished to appear to be responding to a growing demand rather than gratuitously initiating his eulogy; and third, that heroics had been required of Clogie to save some of the bishop's papers from the rough treatment accorded them in the dark days of early 1642. Sancroft must have intended to write an appreciation of Bedell, for he also procured a copy of the memoir of the bishop by his son, William, even though this son had died nine years earlier (in 1670). But no life of Bedell by Sancroft appeared. Instead, a full and admiring life, based largely on Clogie's materials, was published in 1685 by the prolific and controversial Gilbert Burnet, later Bishop of Salisbury (and no friend of Sancroft!).

Burnet, in his preface to the work, minimised his own role, but said nothing of Sancroft. 'I had a great collection of materials put in my hands by a worthy and learned divine ... that was much more the author of this book than I am. I confess my part in this was so small that I can scarce assume anything to myself but the copying out of what was put in my hands'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it was Burnet's *Life* that established Bedell's reputation, or rather, gave a public and palpable form to the subterranean legend of his sanctity. It was republished in 1692 (with some emendations¹⁶), and twice printed in Dublin in the eighteenth century (1736 and 1758). A French translation (Amsterdam, 1687) seems to have been the basis for an admiring article about Bedell in Diderot's great *Encyclopaedia*.

Thus, by the end of the century in which he lived, Bedell's reputation had been launched in a form in which it could be admired by 'liberal' (which is to say ecumenically-minded) Protestants and Catholics alike. Only once did it attract vocal opposition, and then it was aimed as much at Burnet as at Bedell. In 1695 Dr George Hickes, a deprived, non-juring Dean of Worcester, attacked Burnet by enumerating inaccuracies in his *Life* of Bedell. These were largely the result of the wish to appease James II (in 1685) and William III (in 1692), but in Hickes' view they opened to doubt the entire admiring portrait of Bedell which Burnet's *Life* displayed. 'It is manifest', Hickes wrote 'that ... [Bedell] was a

latitudinarian in some opinions, and from ... [Burnet's] *Life*, if it be true written, that he disliked the use of organs in divine service, bowing at the name of Jesus, the use of the common prayer in his private family; and these and some other pretended antipathies to some innocent common practices tempted ... [Burnet], contrary to the duty which he owed truth to dress up his life into a romance, and to give him an heroic fame, to say many things for his honour, which he knew were not true, or at least was uncertain whether they were, or no'.¹⁷ In large measure, Hickes was correct!

Burnet replied to these strictures that any errors, like any credit, belonged to Clogie, and Hickes' attack was largely forgotten, while Burnet's appealing portrait of Bedell endured.¹⁸ Its modern revival can be dated from 1843 when H.J. Monck Mason, a Dublin advocate of Protestant evangelical efforts in the Irish language, published an admiring, scholarly biography.¹⁹ A fertile era of scholarship followed, dealing not just with Bedell, but with the seventeenth-century Church of Ireland in general. A massive, though imperfect, edition of the works of Ussher began to appear in 1847;²⁰ the first published edition of Clogie's *Life of Bedell* in 1862;²¹ and William Bedell the younger's life of his father a decade after that.²²

Finally, with respect to Bedell, there appeared two works which performed for the Bishop's twentieth-century reputation the defining function achieved by Burnet's *Life* in the eighteenth century. These were a Camden Society edition (1872) of William the younger's *Life*, edited by T.W. Jones; and a Cambridge University edition of both lives (Clogie's and William the younger's) edited by E.S. Shuckburgh (1902). Shuckburgh added to his volume an appendix consisting of sixty-three letters to and (mainly) from Bedell, for the most part from the later (Irish) years of his life. Shuckburgh had taken the project over only at the last minute from another Cambridge scholar, J.E.B. Mayor, and the scholarly apparatus of his volume was minimal, but that deficiency was remedied by the Camden Society volume, which included nearly two hundred pages of 'supplementary chapters, genealogical and historical'. The two volumes together constitute a reasonably complete and accurate archive for a modern life of Bedell.

The two contemporary lives of Bedell (that of Clogie and William Bedell the younger) are different in detail and point of view, but agree in fundamentals, and are largely complementary. They are not only congruent with each other, but support the broad lines of Burnet's admiring *Life*, and the picture painted in the correspondence published by T.W. Jones.²³ An investigation of the 'hagiography' of William Bedell does not, then, lead to iconoclasm, or to the overthrow of the bishop's good name but reveals that the file is thin, the lacunae many, and the commentators wholly partisan.

The two most substantial recent appreciations have both been brief, and in keeping with the tradition described above. Gordon Rupp, in his Cambridge commemorative lecture of 1971 (marking the 400th anniversary of Bedell's birth) was unapologetically reverential.²⁴ Aidan Clarke, in his more popularly oriented radio talk of 1989, stressed Bedell's idealism, his 'seeking always to preach the word of God to those who had not heard it; [his] embodying that minority tradition in the Church of Ireland which insisted [against Wentworth and Bramhall] that the religious vocation had to do with saving souls, not with resource management, capital accumulation and book-keeping'.²⁵

Is it possible to get beyond this 'hagiography', so long in the making and of such enduring appeal? One way of doing so is to ask whether Bedell's scheme for the conversion

of the Irish – for which his biographers so much admire him – had any real hope of success, and whether in particular, adoption of the vernacular – Bedell's unique contribution – was as critical as he and his supporters believed. The Reformation in Wales appears to have benefitted from early translations into the vernacular, but as Philip Jenkins and others have shown, what assisted it more materially was a disinclination in both Church and State to regard the Welsh language as a threat to good order.²⁶

The Counter-Reformation in Ireland was as indifferent to the printed vernacular as was the Protestant State Church, with no evident cost to its campaign for the allegiance of the people. Recent work by Dr Jane Dawson on the popular reformation in Gaelic Scotland shows that considerable success was achieved there with little use of printed texts. In fact, when, in 1690, a Gaelic bible was finally provided in Scotland, it was Bedell's 'Irish' Bible, reset in Roman type.²⁷ Dr Dawson has coined the arresting term 'Gaelic Calvinism', and suggests that in Scotland it 'only lasted as long as the oral culture of the learned orders itself' [roughly, the 1690s].²⁸ So Gaelic society was evidently not resistant to Protestantism in some elemental way, and in Ireland did not cling to Roman Catholicism merely because of a shortage of protestant literature in the vernacular.

According to Dr Dawson, the key to the success of Calvinism (or the 'Popular Reformation') in Gaelic Scotland was the 'commitment' of two groups: the Gaelic learned orders, and the Highland aristocracy. This success 'in one of the most unpromising environments in Europe' showed 'that Calvinism could flourish in communities with the scattered settlement patterns of upland pastoral areas. It also demonstrates that it was possible for Calvinism to survive with little help from the printing press and without a popular literate culture based on the printed word.'²⁹

Thus, in Wales, the Reformation made good progress with the help of abundant printed works in the vernacular 'in one of the most linguistically alien and distinctive components of any European state',³⁰ while in parts of Scotland it succeeded substantially without the benefit of any vernacular literature at all.

Dr Dawson's evidence from the Highlands and Islands (the approximate area of the Scottish *Gaidhealtachd*) has not been lost on the historians of the Continental Reformation. Aired at an Oxford conference in September 1993, it was noted by Robert Scribner, and makes an appearance in his concluding 'overview' to *The Reformation in National Context*.³¹ 'There has been in Reformation historiography,' Scribner remarks, 'a tendency to link printing and the Reformation too closely and too exclusively, as though humanists had not previously realised the propagandist and educational potential of the printing press, nor put it fully into service in the cause of their own programme.'³² 'The power of oral dissemination is attested by the reception of evangelical thought in Hungary, as well as by the effectiveness of its propagation in the Gaelic-speaking highlands of Scotland, for which there was virtually no printed matter to transmit the evangelical message, not even a Gaelic Bible.'³³

Insofar as Bedell promoted the vernacular in both its oral and literate forms, he can be seen as trying to accomplish in Gaelic Ireland what was, in fact, accomplished in Gaelic Scotland. But perhaps the literary part of his enterprise – the providing of a protestant catechism, as well as the translation of the Old Testament – should be seen as less important than his efforts to fill the livings in the Gaelic-speaking parts of his diocese(s) with Gaelic-speaking (often native) clergy. Despite his affecting determination to learn and

use Gaelic, Bedell did not, and could not, belong to either of the Irish counterparts of Dr Dawson's two 'key groups': the 'Gaelic learned orders' and the 'Highland aristocracy'. In such a comparison his exogenous and foreign nature leaps into prominence, and our attention is drawn back to the Gaelic and Old English aristocracies, and to the Gaelic learned orders in Ireland, for the necessary clues to the reasons for the Reformation's failure.

The Welsh comparison suggests the structural reasons why no amount of Irish-speaking, or even Irish-preaching, clergy was likely to have transformed the Irish situation. If the 'key groups' could not be won over, and if, on the contrary, they regarded the new faith as the stalking horse of a foreign and hostile order, the chance of popular success in Ireland must have been very small. The battle had probably been lost well before Bedell's arrival in 1627.³⁴ What was conclusive was the coincidence (and co-terminous quality) of ethnic and religious division. Had the conquest of Ireland long preceded the attempted religious reformation – as was the case in Wales – the reformers might well have found fertile soil in which to sow their seeds. As it happened, the struggle for political control disfunctionally coincided with the directives for change in Church and Faith. In that circumstance, the sincere reformers, of whom Bedell was one of the most distinctive, faced odds which were insuperable, not because of some elemental Romanism in the Irish, but because their agenda was undercut by the political currents of the time.³⁵

Notes

- 1 Aidan Clarke in *Worsted in the Game*, C. Brady (ed.) (Dublin 1989), although this was clearly not the way Bishop Bedell was characterised in the essay itself.
- 2 An example of this phenomenon is Anthony Milton's *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge 1995), in which Bedell's 'theology', along with that of other 'moderate Calvinist Episcopalians', is given careful consideration.
- 3 A. Ford (ed.) 'Correspondence between Archbishops Ussher and Laud', *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlii (1991–2), p. 10.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 See John McCafferty, 'John Bramhall and the Church of Ireland in the 1630s' in *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, A. Ford, J. McGuire and K. Milne (eds) (Dublin 1995). 'By 1636,' McCafferty states, '... [Ussher] had become a figurehead' (p. 102).
- 6 The *locus classicus* for this view of the Church of Ireland is A. Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641* (Frankfurt 1987).
- 7 The principal variants of it are most accessible in *Two Biographies of William Bedell* ed. E.S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge 1902), pp. 74–5, and 205–6.
- 8 It was joined to *The Judgment of the Late Archbishop of Armagh* [James Ussher, obit, 1656] (London 1659).
- 9 We are still dependent on the only modern study, R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh* (Cardiff 1967); and the provocative essay of H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh', in his *Catholics, Anglicans and*

- Puritans* (London 1987). There is, however, a 1991 University of New South Wales (Australia) PhD thesis by Amanda Louise Capern: 'Slippery Times and Dangerous Days: James Ussher and the Calvinist Reformation in Britain, 1560–1660'.
- 10 Nicholas Bernard, *The Life and Death of ... Dr James Usher* (Dublin 1856).
- 11 Bedell fits easily into the category of 'Prelate as Pastor' created by Kenneth Fincham in his monograph, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford 1990).
- 12 Clogie, a Scot, married Bedell's step-daughter, Leah Mawe, in November 1637. She died very shortly thereafter. See *A True Relation of the Life and Death of William Bedell* ed. Thomas Wharton Jones (London, Camden Society, 1872), p. 212.
- 13 For dating of Clogie's manuscript, see *True Relation*, Jones (ed.), p. 216
- 14 Clogie to Sancroft, 9 June 1679. Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, xxxvii, f. 41, quoted in *True Relation*, Jones (ed.), p. 217.
- 15 *The Life of William Bedell, D.D., Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland* (London 1685).
- 16 See *True Relation*, Jones (ed.), pp. 132–3.
- 17 George Hickes, *Discourses Occasioned by the Funeral Sermon of Bishop Burnet upon Archbishop Tillotson* (London 1695), p. 27.
- 18 Gilbert Burnet, *Reflections on a Pamphlet by George Hickes* (London 1696).
- 19 *The Life of William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore* (London).
- 20 *The Whole Works of ... James Ussher*, C.R. Elrington (ed.) (Dublin 1847–64). A contemporary life of Ussher, by Richard Parr, had been published in 1686.
- 21 Edited by Walter Wilkins (London).
- 22 Edited by J.E.B. Mayor (London 1872).
- 23 This is true, in general, but on specific details the nineteenth-century editor, T. W. Jones often excoriated Clogie's account for 'blundering' and 'inaccuracy'. See, e.g., *The Life and Death of William Bedell ...*, T.W. Jones (ed.), pp. 123 and 186. Burnet, of course, was blamed for accepting his 'facts' uncritically. It is also the case that there are several manuscript variants of Clogie's 'life', only two of which (Tanner and Harleian) are reflected in Shuckburgh's *Two Biographies*. A third is in the Hastings MSS at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- 24 William Bedell (1571–1642) published pamphlet, Cambridge, 1972.
- 25 'Bishop William Bedell (1571–1642) and the Irish Reformation', in *Worsted in the Game: Losers in Irish History*, Brady (ed.), p. 68.
- 26 Philip Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church and the Making of Welsh Identity', an unpublished paper read in October, 1994, but see also by the same author, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536–1990* (London 1992) and 'The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience', in Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485–1707* (London 1995).
- 27 Dr Dawson's essay, kindly lent to me in advance of publication, appears in A. Duke, G. Lewis, and A. Pettegree (eds), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 231–54.
- 28 In a letter from Dr Dawson of 25 July 1994.
- 29 Jane Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland', in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, Duke, Lewis and Pettegree (eds.), pp. 252–3.
- 30 Philip Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church and The Making of Welsh Identity, 1630–1720'.

- 31 Edited by Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge 1994).
- 32 Ibid., p. 218
- 33 Ibid., p. 219, crediting Jane Dawson's essay.
- 34 See my 'The Failure of the Reformation in Ireland: *Une Question Bien Posée*' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), and *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, Ford, McGuire and Milne (eds).
- 35 Examples of the obstacles they faced can be found in Colm Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of the Reformation* (Dublin 1989), and in Ute Lotz-Heumann 'The Protestant Interpretation of History in Ireland: The Case of James Ussher's Discourse', in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Bruce Gordon (ed.) (Aldershot, Scolar Press 1996, pp. 107–120).

Learning, the learned and literacy in Ireland, c.1660–1760

Toby Barnard

Early in 1735 a couple were sitting either side of their chimney-piece in a smart Dublin house. Their children played around them and a servant fiddled with the window curtains while the parents read.¹ The husband, as a bishop of the Church of Ireland, had a duty to expound the Word. He himself wrote tracts and published sermons. He also owned an impressive library: so much so that a brother had remarked to him a few years earlier, 'you formerly wanted books for your room and now you will want room for your books'.² In turn the bishop, Robert Howard, having inherited assorted law and history books, grumbled, 'a great number of books, unless one hath very convenient room for them, are a greater plague than I ever imagined'.³ Books, then, might be regarded as either plague or blessing. Nevertheless it could not be denied that their possession and uses were important to families, like the Howards, at the heart of the Protestant Interest. Just how print and writing fitted into the lives of the members of that interest, the professionals, graduates, townspeople and landowners, will be explored in this essay.

I

Bishop Howard despatched some of the unwanted and unsaleable books which he had inherited to his see house at Elphin. To them he added volumes calculated 'for the instruction and amusement of country gentlemen and parsons'.⁴ In this spirit he acquired Chambers's *Dictionary*. He admitted, 'I know such collections can never be very complete. However, it is a good book for the country and a sort of library in one volume'.⁵ He shelved the works for diversion and instruction in the parlour rather than among the more abstruse materials in his study.⁶ Thereby Howard further differentiated the elements in his collection. At Elphin he was continuing the efforts of active prelates in the Church of Ireland, at least since the 1690s, of encouraging the reading of improving literature among the parochial clergy and interested laity.⁷ When Howard died in 1740, the Elphin library, numbering 383 items, was bought as part of the episcopal improvements by his successor, Edward Synge. Bishop Synge, like Howard, was a discerning reader and occasional author. He cast a somewhat jaundiced eye over his predecessor's choices, sniffing at a folio of Strabo's *Geographia* as 'a very bad edition'.⁸ Synge soon enlarged the Elphin stock. He avidly scanned the newspapers for novelties which he might order from Dublin. His books, nevertheless, resembled Howard's. They had arrived by several

routes and for varied purposes. Some were inherited with lumber; others were procured to instruct children, servants and neighbours; a few might be prized as heirlooms or talismen; *desiderata* arrived only after laborious quests.⁹ Thus opportunism even serendipity, as much as choice, explained the nature of most libraries in later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland.

The example of Robert Howard reminds how highly print was valued in the consciously cultivated circles of the urban and urbane in Ascendancy Ireland. Books assisted towards professional qualification and advancement. They informed about the duties of magistracy, agricultural improvement, innovative gardening and bog drainage. As assets they could when necessary be cashed in. Moreover, the volumes now displayed on shelves or in glazed cases, smartly bound and stamped with gilt, instead of being jumbled together in a closed trunk or cupboard, contributed to the decor and so announced well-being, civility and status. In the Howard family, however, the place of books was at once more complex and not always so welcome. Bishop Howard's father, one of Dublin's most fashionable physicians after 1689, bequeathed his library to his three sons. The medical treatises passed to William Howard, in order to finance his legal studies in England; the works of history were left to the aesthetic Hugh Howard; the remnant was inherited by Robert Howard, whose already promising career at Trinity College Dublin would soon embrace a fellowship, high preferment and, ultimately, the bishoprics of Killala and Elphin.¹⁰ The doctor's widow set about converting part of the bequest into money for her sons' education. But efforts to sell the volumes proved frustrating. By 1711 Mrs. Howard complained, 'there is abundance of young physicians in this town that I daresay wants books, but they want money more'.¹¹ Redoubled exertions convinced her that the trainees 'will not take of an old physician's study, but it is now the fashion to practise without reading'.¹² William Howard, at the start of his own career at the Middle Temple in London, needed works different from those of his father. A heavy load of about fifty, weighing 116 lbs, arrived from Dublin. Although primarily legal, the consignment also included classics, topography and theology.¹³ Thus instructed, and perhaps entertained, young William Howard prospered. Back in Dublin he harboured professional and political ambitions. In 1727, after a fierce contest, he was elected to parliament for Dublin city.¹⁴ For this public career he adopted what he took to be the appropriate style. As a result he embellished his Dublin house according to the modes recommended by his fashionable brother in London. When the former added a gallery, Hugh Howard contrasted its restricted use in England, where it was generally hung with a few paintings and walked in, with continental practice. There it served as a library or study: a habit, it was said, now being imitated 'by some of the best taste' in London and (by implication) by William Howard in Dublin.¹⁵

Certainly William Howard, keen to appear as the cynosure of modishness, dramatically enlarged his collection of books. The sudden death of the recently arrived Lord Chancellor, Richard West, gave Howard his chance. He lavished £600 on purchasing West's library. Later, Bishop Howard censured his brother for having paid too much, because 'he made very little enquiry about them, nor had time to look into them'. William Howard had been inspired chiefly by self-promotion and fashion. 'He thought it was a thing of figure to purchase a fine collection of books which a Lord Chancellor seemed to value himself, and indeed, he was most under the influence of such motives as any body I ever observed'.¹⁶ Bishop Howard sharply distinguished his brother's from his own, better informed, attitude

towards books. Yet, the fact remained that his collection no less than his ambitious brother's included items acquired by odd means and for differing motives.

When William Howard died in 1728, the books, so lately bought from West, rapidly recirculated. Some were sold immediately in Dublin. The £300 which they raised compared well with £100 paid for the silver and another £100 for the furniture.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the motley collection was impossible to shift in its entirety. The library, strong on feudal law, weaker in English history, also contained 'mere rubbish. You well know what old books of an ordinary sort are'.¹⁸ Selected volumes were shipped to London for sale. Soon Bishop Howard despaired of vending what remained. He repeated his mother's earlier complaint, probably with more cause in the depressed conditions of 1729: books 'went off very heavily in this country where there is little money and too little inclination to read'.¹⁹ Much of the residue was accordingly packed off to Elphin where, presumably, any book was welcomed. This meant that some of what Bishop Synge hesitantly bought in 1740 was once part of Dr Ralph Howard's or Lord Chancellor West's libraries.

Collections were built adventitiously as much as purposefully. Attitudes towards their contents were similarly diverse. Mrs. Howard had contrasted the bookishness of her husband's generation with the lack of interest among the younger generation of novice doctors. Bishop Howard, marooned in the countryside, craved spirited talk about 'manners, sentiments, books, antiquities, new sights, etc.'. ²⁰ Well-read, well-travelled, leisured and affluent, he contrasted his own cultivation with the inanition of his unlettered neighbours: a theme which recurred among sophisticates faced with the *longueurs* of the provinces. An earlier observer had sketched a squirearchy whose members 'understand nothing beyond a horse or dog, and can talk of nothing besides it'.²¹ Bishop Howard, bent on improvement, set out to stimulate, and then satisfy, bookishness among the parish clergy and Roscommon squireens. The bishop implied a difference between urban and rural habits in reading; his brother in London hinted at the gulf between European and metropolitan standards and those in backward England and remote Ireland. Both mocked the reasons why their brother had grabbed Lord Chancellor West's books. Robert Howard, from his days as a young don at Trinity, had selected carefully from the shelves of the college library.²² Much in his political and philosophical outlook could be traced back to his reading. Later, his purchases delighted his children. The sumptuously illustrated *Roma Aeterna*, together with the 'card books' sent from Paris, diverted his young son, and may have first introduced him to a world of visual wonders which turned him into a compulsive traveller and connoisseur.²³ Books also helped to while away hours by the Elphin or Dublin firesides. Even a new life of St Patrick, greedily devoured, though refreshingly free from the usual 'idle, legendary miracles', disappointed simply because it was 'not very entertaining'.²⁴ He eagerly enquired after new offerings from favourites like Bentley, Pope or Swift.²⁵ Other wants, such as the supplement to Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, were ordered specially from Holland.²⁶ Manuals on hydrostatics were urgently requested in the hope that they would assist the building of a great drain to save the palace at Elphin from damp and flooding.²⁷ If some tomes were reserved for the privacy of the study, many served as essential props to the conviviality of the Elphin parlour and Dublin house. The bishop, in sending a parcel of books to London added four bottles of whiskey true to his belief in 'reading and drinking often going together'.²⁸

II

The unsurprising evidence of members of the early eighteenth-century Protestant *élite* participating greedily in the multiple worlds of print is confirmed, and varied, by a second example. Bishop Howard's contemporary, James Traill of Killyleagh, valued his books as religious, ethical and utilitarian aids. Traill had not accumulated his collection as 'a thing of figure'. Yet not all that he owned had he purchased. One of his wife's relations, a local inspector for the barrack board, left him the *vade-mécums* for landlords, litigants, magistrates and parish constables which supplemented Traill's own holdings of divinity and religious history. Traill noted that his books had cost £22.9s. For a man whose income, estimated in the 1720s at over £100 p.a., was under 5 per cent of that enjoyed by Bishop Howard, but whose collection was a third of the size of Howard's at Elphin, this outlay represented a proportionately greater investment.²⁹

Traill pored over his Bible. For his own satisfaction he digested the books of the Old Testament. In *Proverbs* he found rules 'for the government of families, cities and kingdoms as well as of particular persons', and concluded, 'that this book is an invaluable universal instruction and direction for all men, and for the whole of life, containing frequent instruction on what is to be done on all occasions'. His strong sense of religious destiny had been awakened partly by reading. When he came to memorialise his own conversion, he again betrayed the influence of, and connected himself with, the worlds of print. His personal chronicle, constructed with the artlessness which revealed his familiarity with the classics in the genre, ordered the otherwise random happenings of his life. Education and reading threaded strongly through his account. He remembered, for example, the fondness of his step-father for drinking and reading. The former hastened his death, but the second prepared him better to face it as a penitent. Traill himself attended the Latin school at Killyleagh; boarded for some months in Belfast with a kinsman, the Presbyterian patriarch, John McBride, in order to continue his education; returned briefly to Killyleagh school; toyed with being apprenticed to a merchant; and then prepared at a Dublin school to enter Trinity College. But Traill, fearful of the beatings inflicted on pupils who failed to memorize their Greek themes, absconded and took himself to a private tutor. In the event he dropped schemes to matriculate at the university, buy an army commission or go to sea, and instead, married.

A rural life, farming his inheritance in County Down, might offer scant scope for the literate skills which Traill had accumulated. However, like Howard and Synge when at Elphin, he regarded books as essential armour against bucolic indolence. He worried when a son threw up his medical studies at Glasgow and instead opted for farming, because the youth's 'want of relish for useful books' would disable him from the proper enjoyment of country life just as much as from doctoring. Through his wife, Traill senior had been drawn into a group of serious Presbyterians. The same care which marked his public responsibilities also informed his supervision of the household. He instituted prayers each morning in the family and set himself a course of regular scripture readings. A relation came to live in the family who taught two of the children to read the Bible 'distinctly'. Rather than expose his sons to physical and moral perils by sending them away to school, he joined with a cousin to educate them at home. Traill's regime of self-help soon extended to religious services. Dismayed by an inadequate pastor and that 'so

many illiterate people are so ill instructed', he purchased 500 sermons, 'the best that I could choose, some of which I read to my family every Lord's Day'. These tracts, many of which must have been manuscript copies, enabled Traill to separate from his illiterate and reprobate neighbours, Protestant no less than Catholic. He built on those traditions in which devout tradespeople had taken notes of sermons, which were then pondered.³⁰ Traill joined with the like-minded of his community to puzzle over books and tracts. Then, as age limited his physical exertions, he contentedly retired into his study to read and re-read his library.³¹

III

The importance of books in the lives of those professionally or privately committed to penetrating and expounding sacred mysteries occasions no surprise, even in an Irish context. Protestant propagandists claimed, and later analysts have confirmed, how religious zeal impelled some ardent Protestants to learn to read, so that they could study religious texts.³² By the end of the seventeenth century Catholics also treasured print. Priests, no less than their Protestant counterparts, collected large libraries.³³ But Catholic priests, hampered by poverty and penalties, appear in the surviving evidence as cultural panders less prominently than Protestant clergymen. Bishops of the Church of Ireland linked the literate and urbanized professions of the capital with the provincial gentry. As many bishops passed more months in their dioceses, so that they not only set an example of polished sociability but introduced and popularized the implements of refined literacy. Personal libraries, like Howard's and Synge's at Elphin, or the institutional ones created by Maule and Pomeroy in Cork, Bolton at Cashel, Otway in Kilkenny, Forster in Raphoe, King at Derry and Este in Waterford, simultaneously enlivened and enlightened their neighbours.³⁴

Collections of the size assembled by Howard and Synge were still uncommon in early eighteenth-century Ireland. Sizeable libraries often belonged to dignitaries of the Church of Ireland. The early activities of Bishop Bale and of figures associated with the youthful Trinity College, Ussher, Bishop Henry Jones and Miles Symner,³⁵ were continued after 1660 by the likes of Ezekiel Hopkins,³⁶ Samuel Foley,³⁷ the two Veseys (John, Archbishop of Tuam, and his son, Sir Thomas, Bishop of Ossory),³⁸ William Palliser,³⁹ Nathanael Foy⁴⁰ and William King.⁴¹ As in France and New England, considerable libraries were more likely to be collected (and sold) by members of the professions than of the landed aristocracy.⁴² In seventeenth-century Ireland, to be sure, notable libraries were formed by grandees such as Conway, Ormonde and Orrery.⁴³ However, of the 175 owners of libraries sold in Ireland between 1741 and 1760, nearly 69 per cent were owned by professionals and merchants, and only 18 per cent by the landed.⁴⁴ Similarly, in a large sample of Parisian libraries inventoried in the eighteenth century, only about 17 per cent were owned by nobles.⁴⁵ Among a pitifully small group of Cork inventories saved by Caulfield, the two which listed many books belonged to an apothecary and a clergyman.⁴⁶ Members of professions other than the church interested themselves in the potential of print. Choice collections were made by the government functionary, James Ware (whose great library is still being reconstructed meticulously by William O'Sullivan) and medical doctors

including Jeremiah Hall, Charles Willoughby and Edward Worth.⁴⁷ Reformers might counsel these professionals to experiment more or rely on experience, but book learning remained essential to their training.

Written and printed materials assisted professional qualification; increasingly they were also valued as adjuncts of elegant and polite society. They instructed in, and facilitated, social as well as ethical virtues. Because books offered striking examples of correct behaviour, great care must be exercised in their choice. As the craze for reading novels spread into Ireland in the 1750s, the worried argued over the wisdom of letting women and children sample these potent brews.⁴⁸ Eighteenth-century Irish Protestants prided themselves on subscribing to a creed which fostered sociability, and therefore seized on suitable reading. As a result, the ownership and discerning use of books were regarded as means through which the *élite* could further differentiate itself from those of its own – or other – confessions who lacked the social graces. The cultivated looked to well-chosen volumes to awaken curiosity and vivacity, and so animate the otherwise sluggish exchanges in the provinces. Landowners, obliged to swap the excitements of London or Dublin for rural retirement, arranged to receive regular parcels of newspapers and the latest printed pamphlets.⁴⁹ Print quickly cleaned away any 'strange, old-fashioned rust' caused by country air.⁵⁰

In the 1720s William Flower of Castle Durrow was one who dreaded rustic catalepsy. Affecting an almost Virgilian pose, his classical education equipped him to translate and pen verses. Flower's acquaintance, Dean Swift, excepted him from his mordant observations on the intellectual torpor which enervated much of the landed *élite*. Swift indeed speculated that no more than thirty-five members of the Irish House of Commons could read and write.⁵¹ Others feared lest country life sap intellect and morals. Thus a Dubliner of the 1720s compared his own rigorous regime with the sloth of his daughter, now living west of the Shannon. Accordingly he lectured her, 'half an hour spent in writing some pleasant history or observation in my opinion were well employed'.⁵² Such exercises would both discipline and entertain her, and reassure him. Members of the landed order who failed to read or write methodically often suffered from other defects, being careless of their accounts and responsibilities.

Reading and writing passed time which might otherwise hang heavily or be wasted in vicious pastimes. Others besides Bishops Howard and Synge and James Traill occupied their solitude with books. In 1721 a correspondent in County Galway begged Agmondisham Vesey to lend him a copy of a history of the Council of Trent as suitable winter diversion.⁵³ Also west of the Shannon, Mary Crofton, despairing of escaping from her genteel poverty by farming, planned to spend the winter reading through Corneille's plays, probably as a preparation for resuming school-teaching.⁵⁴ Bishop Synge lightened his long summers away from his beloved daughter at Elphin by intensive reading and writing. In his expert hands, the characters and meanings in books were woven together with the living into parables and morality tales.⁵⁵

Books, therefore, stood in for company when none was to be had. Even those who were not isolated in their fastnesses might read privately: in closet, study and bedchamber. Only in the spacious houses of the prosperous could rooms be arranged to cater specifically for reading and writing. Privacy, even when it was desired by the sophisticated, was difficult to achieve.⁵⁶ In any case, books formed valuable props to social gatherings.

They were read aloud or within the family circle. Advertised, recommended, exchanged and lent, their merits were much debated.

IV

Numerous gauges – larger imports, more printers and newspapers, inventories, catalogues and records of auctions – indicate how print was permeating Irish Protestant society by the end of the seventeenth century.⁵⁷ Something of this new availability and visibility of print, and consequent changes in attitude, are suggested by less often noticed signs. These include the ways in which books were kept and so how they were viewed, and the places where reading and writing were done.

New standards for storage and use were most memorably embodied in Burgh's colossal new library for Trinity College, erected between 1712 and 1732. A few of the episcopal and parochial libraries of the early eighteenth century, such as Marsh's in Dublin, Bolton's at Cashel or Dean Maule's in Shandon, stimulated special buildings or fittings. But these lavish dispositions were hardly practicable or necessary for private owners. Nevertheless, methods of housing and display altered. In 1641 a collection in County Limerick, valued – probably optimistically – at £60, was kept in a great trunk.⁵⁸ In 1656, the Earl of Kildare's volumes still in his Dublin residence were heaped in a 'standard' or closed chest.⁵⁹ However, by the 1670s when the Orrerys' books were packed into trunks, boxes and hogshead barrels, this was probably to transport them from one residence to another. Certainly Lady Orrery, a keen book buyer on her own account, stored some of hers in a bookcase with shelves.⁶⁰ Another County Cork collection of the same period, that of the Oxford educated Sir John Perceval, was housed in a room designated as 'the study'. There other sedentary and cerebral pleasures were also satisfied, since, as well as five hundred volumes 'of all sorts, great and small', the room held a jointed field bed, a bass viol, a 'pair of organs' and his 'scritoire'.⁶¹

Similar arrangements persisted into the early eighteenth century. Simon Digby, successively bishop of Limerick and Elphin, is remembered better as a painter than as a pastor. His two country houses, tributes to a worldliness which enabled him to prosper as a landowner, accommodated his artistic and literary interests. At Abbert in County Galway, a bedchamber was equipped with writing table and walnut desk. In addition, in a closet off the bedroom stood a deal table, walnut escritoire, two copper plates and magnifying glasses needed to limn his miniatures. He also possessed a considerable library: 74 folios, 76 quartos, 215 octavos and 121 duodecimos. They were valued at £27. In his second house, a 'study' held more books – 77 folios, 66 octavos and 95 duodecimos. How, if at all, Digby had decided which books to keep where is unknown. In the second study were also to be found a 'scritoire desk', an oak chest of drawers, a wooden man (over which to drape clothes for portraits), colours and other tools for painting, including three pairs of spectacles.⁶²

Not until the 1730s, as fashions spread or were learnt from Europe, did the smartest establishments have rooms labelled as 'libraries', with architectonic and glazed bookcases.⁶³ An early, perhaps the earliest, example of a 'library' in Ireland appears in the Dublin mansion of the Bishop of Derry. The bishop, Thomas Rundle, an undesirable

Arian recently shipped from England, imported tastes which the revenues of his diocese allowed him to indulge. By 1739 he had created at Spring Garden House, off St Stephen's Green, a room sixty-four feet in length, with a bow window overlooking the neighbouring gardens. The room was dominated by thirty-two three-quarter columns of the Ionic order. Rundle's largest books were kept in the space afforded by the pedestals on which the columns stood: others were arranged 'uniformly'. The bishop designed this room not for quiet but society. Quickly he gathered a salon: 'gentlemen and ladies, old and young, rich and poor, soldiers and bishops, meet together often in my library'. Learning spiced the 'chit-chat'. The company may have been impressed more by the architecture than the books, but – as the bishop announced – it was his visitors who 'have dignified it with the considerable name' of library.⁶⁴ Rundle's innovation was soon copied by those of comparable cultivation, notably the Delanys at Delville.⁶⁵ There too the library, decorated with care, was consecrated more to sociability than to solitary study.

Few had either the space or the need to devote a room to books. Only as books became essentials of fashionable life was spending diverted from the table, stable and wardrobe. The volumes, like other objects of heavy expenditure, were more likely to be displayed. Bindings ceased to be simply utilitarian.⁶⁶ The decorated spine rather than the unbound edge was turned to the viewer. This change can be seen in the two volumes of Moren's *Le Grand Dictionaire* which Jeremy Hall willed to Trinity in 1688. While still in Hall's library, the books had been numbered on the edge of the pages. Once in the library after 1690 they were shelved the opposite way.⁶⁷ Archbishop King, owner of perhaps the largest private library in early eighteenth-century Ireland, of over 7000 volumes, stacked many in boxes.⁶⁸ But by then private collections were coming out of trunks and closed cupboards, if not always out of the closet. In the 1740s, Sir Edward O'Brien at Dromoland in County Clare was provided with a design of grand architectural 'alphabetic bookcase'.⁶⁹ By the 1750s Lord Grandison at Dromana on the River Blackwater possessed a room designated as a 'library' in which stood three glazed bookcases. These, it has been argued, may have been imported from England in the 1730s.⁷⁰ Similarly when Stackallen in County Meath was let in 1757 it too contained a bookcase, 'sashed to the front', valued at 10s 10d. By then the furnishings of this mansion, obtained earlier in the century, looked distinctly old-fashioned.⁷¹ Bishop Syngé in 1749 gave orders for a bookcase to be made, either of Irish or Danzig oak, to match one already in his Dublin house.⁷² In 1748 an estate carpenter at Castle Durrow was paid for making two bookcases, and two wills from the diocese of Killaloe at much the same time mentioned bookcases among other goods.⁷³ In 1760 when Thomas Ronayne in the city of Cork requested that some of his father's most interesting books be sent from nearby Ronayne's Grove, he had to delay until more bookcases could be constructed.⁷⁴ Much later, at Moate in County Westmeath in 1829, a small bookcase was bequeathed with other personal effects to a legatee rather than being included in the goods to be sold at auction.⁷⁵ By 1801 Antrim House in Merrion Square in Dublin boasted several glass-fronted bookcases, in a room described still as 'the study'. Reading continued to be linked here with other pastimes, notably painting and music. One of the Antrims' bookcases was crammed with 'several small articles of shell-work'.⁷⁶

Books were, then, used to furnish stylish rooms. In the past they had been valued for talismanic qualities. So much was implied when in 1665 the Bishop of Derry bequeathed large octavo bibles and prayer-books to his grand-children, 'for them to use not to look

upon'.⁷⁷ Books as objects may by the mid-eighteenth century have come to be valued more for their decorative than their magical properties. The terms of bequests of books suggest a continuing variety of attitudes, from the sentimental to the vocational and mercenary. John Booker, a gentleman of Clonmel, when he sailed from Bristol to Ireland in 1665, allocated 10 shillings to a son to buy himself a bible 'which I desire him diligently to read, he having hitherto been a stubborn prodigal son'.⁷⁸ A few years later the vicar of Clonmel left twenty of his best books to any of his nephews who proved to be a scholar. In the same town in 1746, a Catholic woman bequeathed all her books to one legatee.⁷⁹ Dr Jeremy Hall, the Mr Samgrass of later seventeenth-century Ireland who had guided several scions of the nobility around the hazards of Catholic Europe, carefully distributed specific volumes to favoured pupils, donated luxuriously illustrated tomes to his old college and arranged for the humble pupils of his intended school in Limerick to be supplied with the cheap staples of Protestant literature.⁸⁰

More often, even the owners of valuable libraries gave no special orders for their future, so that they were treated simply as other assets and sold. Thus, although no instructions had been left by the first earl of Orrery about his library, his widow, believing that it contained 'choice books', wanted it to be bought for £50 on behalf of a grandson.⁸¹ As we have seen, the books first of Dr Ralph Howard, then of his sons, William and Robert, were all sold. In 1741 when the property of the Balfours was auctioned, it was left to an executor and guardian to buy articles of particular sentimental appeal. Thus, eighteen family portraits and 'a stone' picture, the silver soup tureen in which the Balfours were christened and books to the value of £30 were kept in the family.⁸² The increasingly frequent dispersal of sizeable libraries, often in specialist auctions for which catalogues were issued, made Dublin a happy hunting ground for the passionate bibliophile. By the 1690s the unexpected finds in such auctions supplemented the meagre lists of what was published in Dublin or imported from England. A compulsive English book collector, working temporarily in Dublin, spent more on books in Ireland than he did in a comparable period in England.⁸³

The greater range of print routinely on offer in eighteenth-century Ireland can be deduced from an advertisement in 1729. At 'the Pamphlet Shop' in Dublin's Skinner Row were sold 'Bibles, and Prayer Books, school books and histories, paper, pens, ink, parchment, shop books, pocket books, letter cases and all sorts of stationery'.⁸⁴ By 1769 such choice had spread to the provincial towns. A palace of print in Limerick beckoned to consumers with 'great variety of books, stationery ware, maps, prints'. There were to be had bibles of all dimensions and prices, one hundred plays and farces, dictionaries, expositors, manuals on book-keeping, algebra, surveying and measuring, novels, poetry and the classics, alongside 'account books of all prices, ruled and unruled, leases, bonds, workmen's accounts and all kinds of printed papers'. Children were now wooed as valued customers, with Latin, Greek, French and English school books, small histories, primers, spelling books and frivolous trifles.⁸⁵ Yet there remained limits to what could be supplied. The amateur scientist, Thomas Ronayne in Cork in 1763, obtained foreign reviews which kept him abreast of electrical experiments, but was unable to locate a copy of an Italian treatise by Père Beccaria.⁸⁶ More startlingly, perhaps, a schoolboy at Clonmel in 1768 requested the despatch from home of personal items including picture books because none were to be had where he was.⁸⁷

Those who inhabited the commonwealth of letters could activate their English and European connections to supply rarities. Certainly it took time, money and dedication to gather together a library of the quality and size of Archbishop's King's or that of the Vice-Provost of Trinity, Claudius Gilberts.⁸⁸ Yet an ardent Dublin bibliomane admitted in 1701 that he could buy items 'as cheap if not cheaper from the Dublin bookseller than I can have them myself from Oxford and London'.⁸⁹ The grumbles of others suggested that Dublin was more likely to be glutted with old books which too few wanted. A restricted and faddy audience for print, if it frustrated those – like the Howards – eager to unload unwanted books, continued to impede and sometimes to wreck ambitious Irish publishing ventures.⁹⁰

The recreational and routine uses of print were spreading steadily through early eighteenth-century Ireland. The foundation and, more importantly, the survival of newspapers, first in Dublin, then in provincial towns, announced the enlarged audience. More public functions involved print and written words. Proclamations declared the will of the state. Houses and lands were advertised.⁹¹ Tickets, receipts and invitations regulated polite society.⁹² Shops and streets were visibly named.⁹³ Ominously print assisted sedition. In 1757, for example, a 'publication posted on the church door at Ballynaboy' heralded a campaign to withhold payment of tithes.⁹⁴ Furthermore, number was joining script as a necessary part of daily life. Few, perhaps, shared the passion of the pioneering political arithmetician, Sir William Petty, to express all in 'number, weight and measure'.⁹⁵ Yet mathematics, if less commonly and more expensively taught than writing, gained hold as a useful subject.⁹⁶ The English state in Ireland necessarily busied itself with acreages, numbers of inhabitants and totals of taxes. Similarly, the care of estates meant attempts at quantification and accounting. The increase in houses in Dublin, even of papers and books in libraries and offices, led to enumeration and filing by numbers. Points in the constructed landscape were related to one another by mileages. Watches and clocks, in private as well as public places, divided and measured time. Watches themselves, when mislaid or bequeathed, were recognizable by the number engraved by the maker.⁹⁷ As more invested in stocks or lottery tickets, number became the essential distinguishing mark.⁹⁸ However, a mathematical view of the operations of quotidian life and of the universe did not exclude superstition. In 1721, when one of the revenue commissioners clubbed together with an Irish peer to purchase lottery tickets, he confided to their agent, 'we will not give you the trouble to pitch on the numbers. That we intend to consult the stars for.'⁹⁹

Despite its pervasiveness, print did not completely supplant, nor necessarily compete against, older, oral modes of communication. Naturally it was expected that the proclamations and diurnals would be read.¹⁰⁰ Nor would landowners and their agents have persisted in advertising properties in the press and by posted bills, or paid to insert the dates of fairs and markets in almanacs, unless they thought the notices were read by potential customers.¹⁰¹ However, the impact of these printed descriptions did not depend on all being able to decipher them. Read aloud, their message, like that of a sermon, was quickly grasped by unlettered auditors. The authorities certainly exploited the newly standardised methods of communication. After Charles II's return, two boroughs in County Cork – Kinsale and Youghal – subscribed to receive the news regularly.¹⁰² At this date manuscript rather than printed mercuries may have been sent by the news agency. The

governments of Charles II and James II, edgy about opposition and the uncontrolled dissemination of information, regulated and censored news.¹⁰³ Soon enough Kinsale and Youghal discontinued their subscriptions, and reverted to more traditional written and oral means of learning what was – or was rumoured to be – happening.¹⁰⁴ The importance of public proclamation and the oral spread of news continued in societies where literacy was spreading unevenly. In 1679 seventeen of the thirty-eight principal inhabitants of the Cavan borough of Belturbet could not sign their names.¹⁰⁵ This situation lasted in country areas well into the eighteenth century. In the 1740s parish constables around Castle Durrow and churchwardens at Agher in County Meath were still illiterate.¹⁰⁶ The potential for inefficiency in the local workings of the Protestant state when its agents might misconstrue or mistake their orders was considerable. These unlettered functionaries could turn to adepts for aid. Sometimes such neighbourly relationships may have been idealised. Maybe clergymen, scribes and landlords disinterestedly helped. But the unscrupulous, from the first earl of Cork downwards, used venerable documents to trick and intimidate by falsifying their meanings.¹⁰⁷ Also, the arcane language and scripts of many official papers, whether the black letter press of proclamations and some Bibles, Irish characters or cryptic court hand, foxed all but initiates.¹⁰⁸ In the 1660s, to take an extreme case, if the Acts of Settlement and Explanation were printed for all to read, few could afford them, fewer still read them in their entirety, and in a town like Youghal, only one inhabitant – a lawyer – understood what he had read.¹⁰⁹ Literacy allowed its possessors to cross a vital threshold into the temple of knowledge. Thereafter, as with Tamino in his quest for enlightenment, the adventurous could decide whether or not to progress through a series of increasingly baffling chambers.

V

The greater volume of print in early eighteenth-century Ireland would hardly have existed had not more leapt the barrier into functional literacy. More schooling, evident in dioceses as far apart as Raphoe and Limerick,¹¹⁰ higher educational attainments and rudimentary measures of the literate all suggest that this was so. In the aftermath of the Catholic *revanche* of the late 1680s, shocked Protestants, particularly in Dublin, belatedly made amends by looking to the duties of religious instruction.¹¹¹ Between 1697 and 1732, at least twenty-five Protestant schools opened in the capital.¹¹² Typical of them was one of the first, in St. John's parish. There fifteen boys and five girls were enrolled initially. Some pupils quickly ran away; occasionally one died. The intention of the benefactors was to apprentice pupils in the manufacturing and processing crafts of the quarter. Each year the school placed between three and five of its apt scholars with shoemakers, glaziers, pattern-drawers, tailors and coopers. All at the school, whether or not they were apprenticed, worked with horn-books, primers, catechism, paper, quills and ink.¹¹³ No doubt the monotonous drilling rolled off the impermeable hides of many, but others were released into the community to consume cheap print.

This training in the basics of literacy underlay the second front in the Protestant assault on ignorance and ungodliness. A hail of free or affordable tracts was directed by zealous clerics on to their unsuspecting parishioners. Primate Marsh, it was remembered, 'caused

abundance of good books for the common people to be printed and dispersed'. Idealists these activists may have been, but they also knew Dublin well,¹¹⁴ if not its hinterlands. They grounded their enterprise in the literacy of craftsmen, tradespeople and apprentices. The catechism issued under Marsh's auspices in 1699, and intended to be handed out by the clergy, parents, masters and mistresses, by 1713 had reached its seventh edition.¹¹⁵ In a similar spirit, a bishop asked in 1716 that a tract of his own be reprinted as a single sheet and sold for 1d, because 'such papers as are designed for every body's reading ought as near as may be to be accommodated to every body's purse as well as capacity'.¹¹⁶ In 1736 another Dublin publisher excused the poor quality of a leaflet because it was designed 'for pasting up in the several apartments in houses, being worthy of the persusal of old and young, who have a desire to live and die well'.¹¹⁷

Some confirmation that these reformers were not totally utopian when they predicated their schemes on the existence of a literate population among the skilled and semi-skilled of Dublin is offered by three surviving bail books of the corporation. These, covering the years 1651–2, 1693–4 and 1699–1700, record sureties on behalf of those involved in debt cases before the Dublin Tholsel Court.¹¹⁸ Although the sums for bail were set low – no more than a few shillings – those willing to stand surety had some stake and status in the locality. Thus, though the bailsmen followed diverse occupations, all may have offered their security because they belonged to some now unknown hierarchy of income and skill within their respective callings. This evidence, limited in many ways, does allow us to penetrate further into the courts and alleys of later seventeenth-century Dublin. The three books, spaced over nearly a half century, do not prove conclusively that literacy increased within the capital. The first, for 1651–2, contains only 80 names. The two later books list 453 and 506. Conditions in the early 1650s reflected the dislocations of warfare. The bailsmen divided sharply between an *élite* of esquires, gentlemen, merchants and aldermen, almost all of whom could sign their names, and an overwhelmingly illiterate group of humbler figures. In this small sample for 1651–2, 66 per cent signed, 34 per cent did not. By 1693–4 and 1699–1700 the number of sureties is larger, more occupationally mixed and with a smaller proportion of civic notables. Yet, while the contingent of the socially elevated has been almost halved, nearly 80 per cent of all those named could sign: an index, surely, of spreading literacy among the *menu peuple* of Dublin.

Too much should not be built on any trends in these tiny selections. After all, between 1685 and 1705 the city's population was estimated to have risen from 45,000 to 62,000.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the findings are suggestive, since they accord with what we know about the improved opportunities to acquire literacy and the vocational imperatives in the thriving capital to do so. In 1693–4, all the obvious members of the local *élite* – a baronet, esquires, gentlemen, aldermen, merchants and professionals – could write their names; and in 1699–1700 only one 'merchant' could not. Craftsmen working with textiles, metal, leather and wood or in building show levels of literacy between 70 and 80 per cent. Among those who followed the most common calling, shoe-making, a sizeable 30 per cent were unable to sign. In the drink trade, where capital and accountancy may have been helpful, the literate constituted 80 per cent of the total. Only in other branches of the food trades, such as baking and butchery, do illiterates predominate. Butchers may have originated in and maintained strong links with the agricultural world in which rates of literacy were

lower.¹²⁰ Certainly, of the few yeomen and gardeners within Dublin, as with hauliers, watermen and mariners, only a minority could write.

The gap between rural and urban levels of literacy is confirmed by evidence from the Adair estates around Ballymena in County Antrim in the later seventeenth century.¹²¹ There, while only one third of the farmers and yeomen could inscribe their signatures, thirty-one from a group of thirty-three tradespeople could. Writing, it is clear, was usually learnt separately from, and later than, reading. The outlay for a writing master, if less than that for lessons in music and dancing, together with the utensils, deterred many from taking this second step.¹²² Something of the gradations in learning can be recovered from the records of educational achievement of the pupils who entered Bishop Foy's school in eighteenth-century Waterford.

Foy's foundation, similar to several endowed by anxious clerics in the larger Irish towns, testified to his fears about how ignorance and irreligion had visibly and psychically weakened the Protestant Interest during his own lifetime. Foy required his school to teach 'poor indigent children' to read and write, and so equip them for apprenticeship or places in grammar schools. Over its long history the orientation of the foundation altered. After 1750 it concentrated its efforts almost exclusively on the local Church of Ireland population. In the second half of the century it seems to have succeeded better in its aims: never less than 60 per cent, often 80 per cent, of each cohort was placed with masters of trades. The school occupied an intermediate place in educating the young. After 1753 the pupils were usually nine or ten when they arrived. Now they were also classified according to accomplishment. Of those admitted during the next five years, 13 per cent could already read and write, 19 per cent could read, 39 per cent could spell and a further 16 per cent knew their alphabet. Only 13 per cent were returned as knowing nothing. After 1760, the situation deteriorated: none of the incoming boys could write, and by the 1770s only 25 per cent of entrants could already read. Matters improved again in the 1780s.¹²³ These fluctuations in the recorded attainments, not obviously related to the changing ages of entrants, hint at variations in the amount, cost and quality of petty schooling in the city. The well-documented institutions, such as Foy's, Maule's Greencoat school in Cork or the King's Hospital in Dublin, floated on an often hidden substructure of essential teaching. It was in the family, household and neighbourhood that rudimentary literacy was often acquired. Devout educationalists realised this when they scattered cheap primers and devotional manuals in such places.

VI

In the hierarchy of literate skills, it is widely agreed that writing ranked higher than reading. The evidence so far considered suggests that both accomplishments spread further into Protestant Ireland. (About the Catholic majority we are much less well informed.) Whereas reading was frequently treated as a recreation and sociable activity, writing, more arduous and expensive to learn, tended to be more utilitarian and yet, paradoxically, more private. Perforce, writing did take place publicly. In most houses space was too cramped and undifferentiated for any to be reserved primarily for this pursuit. The busy man in Dublin could pop into a stationer's shop, coffee house or tavern, and call for the

implements with which to dash off a letter.¹²⁴ Writers required more concentration and room than readers. They might break off if interrupted by other members of the household or callers.¹²⁵ In the houses of the well-to-do, portable writing desks – early versions of the lap-top, and the standishes for ink, sand, quills, knives and wax, stood in the more private apartments, often in bed-chambers. But, of their nature they could easily be shifted from room to room as needed.

Writing, more than reading, generated special furniture. In 1638, at Roscommon Castle Sir Malby Brabazon owned a desk.¹²⁶ After the Restoration, the appropriate tone was set by the Duke of Ormonde. At Dublin Castle in 1679, his closet contained a 'scritoire'; the inner closet, 'a writing table'. Similarly in the closet of his half-brother and agent, Colonel George Matthews, stood 'a large writing table'.¹²⁷ Ormonde's trusted secretary for many years, Viscount Lanesborough, carried into his own mansion at Rathcline something of the order which he had imposed on the duke's voluminous papers. Lanesborough's closet, soberly hung with grey fabric, boasted 'a standing press with an alphabet of holes', a leather covered table at which to write, bundles of papers and accounts, and an Italian-English dictionary.¹²⁸ The wider spread of comparable furnishings can be charted. In 1695 the goods of the County Waterford heiress, Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers, included a small writing desk covered with black velvet.¹²⁹ In 1728 a resident of Carlingford bespoke an *escritoire* from Dublin.¹³⁰ The Ingoldsbys' Dublin house, when sold in 1731, had a 'little closet' so well fitted that it may have served as a school room. There were to be found 'an oak alphabet with folding doors', a writing desk covered with green cloth, a black deal chest also covered with green cloth on which to write, a large walnut *escritoire* with drawers under it, an oak board on which to read, two framed slates, a hand reading-glass, a shagreen writing box, scissors, pen-knife and hone with which to prepare quills, paper and wax, and a pewter standish.¹³¹

Writings, no less than writing, occasioned fresh arrangements. Like books in the seventeenth century, they moved out of lockable chests and into the desks and *escritoirs* at which they had often been composed. The value and volume of these papers obliged better care. Only in the 1740s, as William O'Sullivan's patient researches have revealed, did the manuscripts at Trinity College, already separated in cupboards from the books, receive special attention.¹³² This paralleled, but probably did not influence greatly, the treatment of public and private muniments. At the highest level, the disorder of the public records, heaped into the Bermingham Tower and other eyries in and around Dublin Castle, dismayed the historically minded. Lord Anglesey, in search of evidence for his polemical history of the 1640s, chanced upon 'abundance of printed acts, proclamations, relations and other books...There were many of all every sorts...they being but as waste paper when I was there'.¹³³ The depredations of vermin and regular fires intensified the campaign to house these materials more safely. Yet space was not found when parliament moved to its spacious new building on College Green.¹³⁴ It was left to individual office-holders, the profits of their patentee places intimately linked with the efficiency of their operations, to introduce greater method into the arrangement of institutional records. The Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, for example, after 1715 improved his department. The main office was relocated, the documents were sorted and cleaned, procedures were reformed and, in advance of an official directive, fees were tabulated and displayed.¹³⁵ Self-interest spurred these officials to order their papers more carefully, as it did other

professionals and traders whose livelihoods depended on words, numbers and paper.

Similar systems appealed to vigilant landowners. The routine documentation of even a modest estate – charters, letters patent, counterparts of leases, rentals, receipts, maps and surveys – soon escaped the confines of the largest *escritoire*, ‘alphabet’ or bureau. Materials were scattered: between different rooms, separate residences, Dublin and the countryside, or Ireland and England. Bundles could be scooped up and carried away by agents, attorneys or litigious kinsfolk. Some disappeared into murky offices or chancery exhibits. Those who appreciated how vital these evidences were to the continuing health of their apanages, like the first and second earls of Cork, were punctilious about their records.¹³⁶ Yet, even on the best run estates, the chances of inheritance and temperament could swiftly spread a disorder through the archives which mirrored the chaos of the property.

Most, no matter how negligent, discriminated between precious private writings and the bulkier documentation of the estate. Written confidences could be locked into the recesses of *escritoires*, alphabetical pigeon-holes or bureaux. Thus, in 1688 when Sir John Temple rushed back to England, he had tucked his most important papers into the drawers of his *escritoire* at Palmerstown.¹³⁷ In 1749 Bishop Syngé, down in the country, directed his daughter to search for the receipt for the plate chest, temporarily deposited with a banker, ‘in one of the little drawers of the *Scriptoire*’.¹³⁸ Dominic Sarsfield in 1766 kept a copy of his will in his *escritoire*.¹³⁹ As with other types of furniture, that connected with writing was progressively elaborated. The act of writing and the storage of the results might still be combined. The arrival in Ireland of the bureau, probably from England in the 1710s, facilitated this.¹⁴⁰ Otherwise, writing tables and *escritoires* catered to the distinct functions. Exotic woods supplanted oak in the houses of the wealthy: walnut and mahogany for bureaux; walnut for *escritoires*. Syngé’s daughter was told to search ‘within what is called the prospect’, presumably a central compartment ornamented with a landscape either painted or inlaid in marquetry or parquetry.¹⁴¹

The hand-written and unique, as well as the printed, still bulked large in eighteenth-century Ireland. Just as images painted onto canvas or board still hung in the most conspicuous positions even after printed engravings had proliferated, so too writings were valued. Manuscript genealogies, such as those compiled by Charles Lynegar, were prized.¹⁴² Families of such disparate origins and antiquity in Ireland as the Domvilles, Lanes, Villiers of Dromana and Antrim Macdonnells, traced and advertised their links with royal, ducal and comital houses.¹⁴³ Those who commissioned pedigrees, often decorative objects of considerable beauty, were not all shallowly rooted Protestant interlopers eager to age their dynasties overnight. Organisations and individuals, notably sectarian congregations and pious introverts, collected their histories.¹⁴⁴ So, too, did families like the Blennerhassets in Kerry, the Wares of Dublin and the Edgeworths of County Longford. Rarely did these personal annals find their way into print.¹⁴⁵ The few accounts of the leading Irish families that were published, such as lives of the first and second dukes of Ormonde, and of the Boyles, owed their appearance to topical and partisan uses.¹⁴⁶ In 1725 an opportunist herald painter, Aaron Crossly, felt it worth his while to publish a ramshackle Irish peerage.¹⁴⁷ Full of errors, it was improved upon by Lodge’s more compendious volumes in the 1750s. Noble families included in these armouries continued to preserve their own evaluations. For those outside the peerage only manuscript memorials, such as the celebrated ‘black book’ of Edgeworth, enshrined their sense of

descent, worth and place.¹⁴⁸

Print could foster a stronger or different understanding of how the individual related to kin, locality, confession, profession and nation. From the 1680s the rich could buy Petty's engraved maps of Irish counties, and see better where their holdings fitted. By the 1740s published histories of a few counties assisted a more precise ordering and understanding of locality.¹⁴⁹ The spread of the mezzotint and engraved portraits and views cheapened and speeded these ready reminders of personal and political linkages. However, what print could achieve in Ireland even amongst the *élites* was limited. Not until the 1770s did published maps record minutely the human topography of the Ascendancy with seats itemised.¹⁵⁰ The extent and distinctive character of individual estates were captured only in holograph surveys. Detailed explorations of the terrain, history and peoples of the Irish provinces, like the successive county surveys of the 1680s and 1730s, remained unpublished.¹⁵¹ A precocious Irish manual on building practice of the 1690s was never issued. Ireland failed to generate the ambitious conspectuses of seats and mansions on the model of *Britannia Illustrata* and *Vitruvius Britannicus* which so gratified English landowners in the early eighteenth century.¹⁵² Engraved images of Speaker Conolly and the Prince of Wales were reproduced through print.¹⁵³ But if they were used to decorate walls it was usually in subsidiary rooms or on staircases.¹⁵⁴ Pride of place was generally accorded to oils on canvas, even when they had been copied from family heirlooms elsewhere.¹⁵⁵

VII

It may be wayward to celebrate an outstanding custodian and historian of manuscripts by chronicling collectors and collections of printed books. However, the worlds of print and script have never been sharply demarcated in William O'Sullivan's career.¹⁵⁶ Nor were they among the owners or in the arrangement of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century libraries. In the circles of cultivated Dublin graduates, like Robert Howard, the Molyneuxs, Maddens, Claudius Gilbert and John Elwood, medals, coins, engravings, paintings and statuary as well as printed volumes were prized.¹⁵⁷ Books both informed and entertained. Notions about which were useful and which simply diverting dictated how they were shelved. Bishop Howard at Elphin, as we have seen, differentiated between those kept in the public rooms and the more technical literature housed in his study and reserved for private edification.

If a few books were treasured as objects and others furnished rooms, some opened up arcane worlds. The best-stocked collections were not accessible to all. The Irish scholar, Charles Lynegar, although associated with Trinity College, read rarities from its library only when fellows of the college borrowed them on his behalf.¹⁵⁸ In some quarters so strong was the belief in a body of hermetic knowledge closed to all but favoured adepts that in 1812 the polymath Charles Vallancey supposed answers to the riddles about ancient Ireland were 'imprisoned for ever ... in the manuscript closet of Trinity College'. There, he feared, the materials 'will never be perused'.¹⁵⁹ Initiates jealously guarded the texts on which their professional monopolies over the law, religion, medicine and scholarship rested. The Bible itself, notwithstanding the publication of cheap editions and popular

digests, was a treatise at once too abstruse and contentious to be handled by all.

Some were disinclined to share their books and learning. However, the tendencies by the early eighteenth century were for more to own some books and for some collections to contain more. The contents, look or mere possession of books helped, both practically and figuratively, to make and define the *élites* of Protestant Ireland. Owners scarcely cared whether these aids were printed or written in manuscript. The new mechanization dispersed print more thickly over Ireland, but did not oust – indeed, sometimes strengthened – older modes of communication. Written mercuries still spread news; topical verses might be published scribally; landowners and merchants grappled with voluminous accounts, contracts, leases and rentals. The same groups which most avidly devoured books also generated prodigious quantities of manuscripts. These documents, like the majority of books, assisted daily routines and were treated accordingly. Clergymen and the godly, such as James Traill, paraphrased the Bible and noted what they had heard or read. Bishop Howard, although he published a few of his topical sermons, preserved most in manuscript, the fair copies ready for delivery on later Sundays.¹⁶⁰ The oversight of his diocese multiplied paper. His see was ruled through carefully kept visitation books, certificates of ordination, institution to benefices and of sacramental conformity, licences to preach and teach, petitions, admonitions, counterparts of leases and receipts. This bulky accumulation would be passed to his successor, along with his library of printed books.¹⁶¹ Similarly, while barristers bought published cases, statutes and commentaries, they compiled their own notebooks of precedents and judgements.¹⁶² By the eighteenth century landowners and merchants could buy standardized printed leases, bonds, recognisances and receipts. Yet, they still needed numerous hand-written instruments which only scribes, surveyors, attorneys or they themselves could supply.

Since manuscripts catered to the mundane, connoisseurs who hunted out the rare were few. However, the upheavals in seventeenth-century Ireland dislodged treasures. As a result both dedicated and casual collectors were afforded unusual chances. Henry Bathurst, for example, acquired some prizes in the course of a legal career in Munster. In 1675 he decided that his more discerning brother, the president of Trinity College, Oxford, should select for its library, 'such of the old manuscripts' as he judged worthy of the institution.¹⁶³ In 1730 Claudius Gilbert and Robert Howard eagerly scanned the printed catalogue of the library of Samuel Molyneux, Howard's kinsman, soon to be auctioned in London. Howard expressed his disappointment. With no particular feeling himself for manuscripts, he was pained to learn that Gilbert intended to spend £20 on a manuscript 'relating to the natural history of Ireland', in which, Howard averred, he would find little.¹⁶⁴ But another Trinity graduate, the clergyman James Smythe, shared Gilbert's opinion that sometimes manuscripts offered what books lacked. In 1732 Smythe prodded a brother to commission a copy of Sir Henry Piers's history of Westmeath. Piers's account, written about 1685, was esteemed 'such a monument of antiquity' that 'it would be valuable in a family'.¹⁶⁵ Some families, as we have seen, recorded their own annals, which then remained in hand-written volumes. The Smythes' quest for an antique ancestry stimulated acts of scribal patronage. In this respect, as in so many others, the recently established dynasties of Protestant Ireland copied habits from those whom they had so lately supplanted, and so followed the old ways as much as they introduced new.

Notes

- 1 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 23 Jan. 1734[5], National Library of Ireland (N.L.I.) PC 227.
- 2 Hugh Howard to Robert Howard, 8 Sep. 1716, *ibid.*
- 3 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 22 May 1729, *ibid.*
- 4 Same to same, 7 Dec. 1734, *ibid.*
- 5 Same to same, 19 Nov. 1734, *ibid.*
- 6 Inventory of goods of Bishop Howard at Elphin, 21 June 1740, *ibid.*, PC 225 (4).
- 7 T.C. Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners: the religious societies in Dublin during the 1690s' in *Historical Journal* xxxv (1992), pp. 805–38; Barnard, 'Protestants and the Irish Language, c. 1675–1725' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* xlv (1993), pp. 243–72; D.W. Hayton, 'Did Protestantism fail in early eighteenth-century Ireland? Charity schools and the enterprise of religious and social reformation, c. 1690–1730' in *As By Law Established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* A. Ford, J. McGuire and K. Milne (eds) (Dublin 1995), pp. 166–86.
- 8 List of books in study at Elphin, 12 June 1740, N.L.I., PC 223 (6). Bishop Howard's will of 13 Oct. 1736 left his executors to dispose of the library. *Ibid.*, PC 351 (1).
- 9 *The Synge Letters. Bishop Edward Synge to his daughter Alicia, Roscommon to Dublin 1746–1752* ed. M.L. Legg (Dublin 1996), p. xx, and index, s.v. 'books'.
- 10 Katherine Howard to William Howard, 31 Aug. 1710, N.L.I., PC 227. For Dr Ralph Howard and his portrait by his son, Hugh: A. Crookshank and D.A. Webb, *Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin 1990), p. 72.
- 11 Katherine Howard to William Howard, 23 Jan. 1710 [11], N.L.I., PC 227.
- 12 Same to same, 26 April 1712, *ibid.*
- 13 Same to same, 26 May 1709, *ibid.*
- 14 J. Barry, W. Power and T. Sheridan to W. Howard, [1727], *ibid.*, PC 223 (6); *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 2–6 May, 30 May–3 June, 28–31 Oct. 1727.
- 15 Hugh Howard to William Howard, 21 May 1726, *ibid.*, PC 227. For Hugh Howard, see: M. Wynne, 'Hugh Howard: Irish portrait painter' in *Apollo* xc (1969), pp. 314–17.
- 16 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 6 Jan. [1728], 7 Jan. 1728[9], N.L.I., PC 227.
- 17 Same to same, 9 April 1729, *ibid.*
- 18 Hugh Howard to Robert Howard, 28 Feb. 1726 [7]; Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 27 Nov. 1730, *ibid.*
- 19 Same to same, 18 Sep. 1729, *ibid.*
- 20 Same to same, 28 Aug. 1730, *ibid.*
- 21 R. Lingard, *A letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman leaving the University* (London 1671), sig. [A4], pp. 52–3. Cf. [Francis Boyle], Viscount Shannon, *Moral Essays and Discourses upon Several Subjects* (London 1690), p.61.
- 22 Trinity College Dublin (T.C.D.) MS 2089, loans to Howard.
- 23 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 24 Dec. 1734, 28 Jan. 1734[5], 20 March 1734[5], N.L.I., PC 227; bill from H. Howard to R. Howard, *ibid.*, MS 8390/4.
- 24 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 9 Sep. 1727, *ibid.*, MS 12149.
- 25 Same to same, 4 March 1730[1], 24 Dec. 1734, 20 Nov. 1735, 28 Jan. 1737[8].

- 26 Hugh Howard to Robert Howard, 19 May 1726, bill of 1 April 1729, *ibid.*, PC 227.
- 27 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 12 July 1731; Hugh Howard to Robert Howard, 19 Aug. 1731, *ibid.*, PC 227.
- 28 Robert Howard to Hugh Howard, 24 May 1729, *ibid.*
- 29 Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast (P.R.O.N.I.), D 1460/1; Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, MS 24 K 19.
- 30 *The Tanner Letters* ed. C. McNeill (Dublin 1943), p. 452.
- 31 Autobiography of James Traill, P.R.O.N.I., D 1460/1.
- 32 T. Lacqueur, 'The Cultural origins of popular literacy in England, 1500–1800' in *Oxford Review of Education* ii (1976), pp. 255–69; M. Spufford, 'First steps in literacy' in *Social History* iv (1979), pp. 407–35; J. Barry, 'Literacy and literature in popular culture, reading and writing in historical perspective' in ed. T. Harris, *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500–1800* (London 1995), p. 79; K.A. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England* (New York 1974), pp. 97–101.
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- 34 M. Tallon, *Church of Ireland Diocesan Libraries* (Dublin 1959); Barnard, 'Protestants and the Irish Language', pp. 261–5; Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', p. 836.
- 35 For Bale, H. McCusker, *Johan Bale, dramatist and antiquary* (Bryn Mawr 1942); W. O'Sullivan, 'The Irish "remnaunt" of John Bale's manuscripts' in *New Science out of Old books*, R. Beadle and A.J. Piper (eds) (Aldershot 1995), pp. 374–87. For Ussher, W. O'Sullivan, 'Archbishop Ussher as a collector of manuscripts' in *Hermathena* lxxxviii (1956), pp. 34–58; T.C. Barnard, 'The Purchase of Archbishop Ussher's library in 1657' in *Long Room* iv (1971), pp. 9–14. On Henry Jones, W. O'Sullivan, 'The Donor of the Book of Kells' in *Irish Historical Studies* xi (1958–9), pp. 5–7. For Symner, T.C. Barnard, 'Miles Symner and the New Learning in seventeenth-century Ireland' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* cii (1972), pp. 129–42; O'Sullivan 'Bale's Manuscripts', pp. 378–9.
- 36 Tallon, *Diocesan libraries*, p. 11.
- 37 T.C.D., MSS 1995–2008/494.
- 38 Catalogue of the Veseys' library, Damer House, Roscrea, de Vesci MSS, T/2A; bill for books of J. Milner, 10 Dec. 1699 [1700], *ibid.*, J/3; bill for books of S. Pepyat, 13 July 1709, *ibid.*, J/3; W. Perceval to T. Vesey, 14 May 1701, *ibid.*, J/3A.
- 39 Abp. W. Palliser to W. Perceval, 8 Feb. 1700[1], 22 Aug. 1702, P.R.O.N.I., D 906/58, 62.
- 40 N. Foy to W. King, 18 Sep. 1697, P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/15/2/3; T.C.D., MSS 1995–2008/204 and 217.
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- 45 A. Pardailhé-Garabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy* (Oxford 1991), pp. 176–8.
- 46 T.C.D., MSS 2015/388, 391.
- 47 Ibid., MSS 10 and 12; Public Record Office, London (P.R.O.), PROB 11/405/100.
- 48 Charles O'Hara's diary, c. 1758, N.L.I., MS 20389; *Synge Letters*, pp. 145, 151, 155, 209–10, 335, 402, 408; *The Diary of Mary Mathew*, M. Luddy (ed.) (Thurles 1991), pp. 4–5; Barry, 'Literacy and literature in popular culture', pp. 82–7.
- 49 T. Fitzgerald to T. Vesey, 10 Jan. 1698[9], 31 Oct. 1704, Damer House, Roscrea, de Vesce MSS, J/2; receipts for newspapers for 1720–2, N.L.I., Flower MSS, MS 11481/2; receipts of 13 April 1726, 25 Dec. 1728, 25 Dec. 1729, 16 May 1745, 25 Dec. 1746, *ibid.*, MS 11468; annual payments for newspapers, 20 June 1737, N.L.I., Edgeworth MSS, MS 1512, p. 30; 3 July 1739, *ibid.*, MS 1513, p. 31; 27 March 1742, *ibid.*, MS 1515, p. 105; 17 Feb. 1742[3], *ibid.*, MS 1515, p. 229; 11 Aug. 1743, *ibid.*, MS 1516, p. 61; June 1770, *ibid.*, MS 1536, p. 191; *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, H. Williams (ed.), 5 vols (Oxford 1963–5) iii, p. 319; *Synge Letters*, pp. 34, 44, 253.
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- 53 M. Keon to A. Vesey, 5 Oct. 1721, National Archives, Dublin (N.A.), Sarsfield-Vesey letters, no. 152.
- 54 M. Crofton to W. Smythe, 18 April 1737, N.L.I., PC 436.
- 55 *Synge Letters*, pp. 209–10.
- 56 Notes on building of Samuel Waring, 1690s, P.R.O.N.I., D 695/229, p. 25; J. Bold, 'Privacy and the Plan', in *English Architecture: Public and Private*, John Bold and Edward Chaney (eds) (London and Rio Grande 1994), pp. 107–119; L.A. Pollock, 'Living on the stage of the world: the concept of privacy among the élite of early modern England' in *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570–1920 and its Interpretation*, A. Wilson (ed.) (Manchester 1993), pp. 78–91.
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- 62 Inventories of Abbert and Lackan, c. 4 July 1720, N.L.I., French of Monivac MSS, envelope 26.
- 63 Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration, Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London 1993), pp. 82, 85–7, 102–3, 202–3; Thornton, *Seventeenth-century Interior Decoration*, pp. 304–15; Thornton, *Authentic Decor: the Domestic Interior 1620–1920* (London 1984), p. 150; C. Wainwright, 'The Library as living room' in *Property of a Gentleman: the formation, organization and dispersal of the private library 1620–1920*, R. Myers and M. Harris (eds) (Winchester 1991), pp. 15–24.
- 64 *Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, LL.D ... to Mrs. Barbara Sandys*, 2 vols (Gloucester 1789) i, pp. cxxv–cxlv; *Records of Eighteenth-Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin*, 5 vols (Dublin 1909–13) ii, p. 114.
- 65 *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany, Lady Llanover* (ed.), 1st series, 3 vols (London 1861) ii, pp. 473–4; iii, p. 562.
- 66 Maurice Craig, *Irish Bookbindings 1600–1800* (London 1954); J. McDonnell and P. Healy, *Gold-tooled Bindings Commissioned by Trinity College Dublin in the Eighteenth Century* (Leixlip 1987).
- 67 P.R.O., PROB 11/405/100. Now T.C.D. pressmark N.bb 3, in Hall's enumeration it was 'L.3'. Hall owned more than one copy of this two-volume compendium. In 1687 Sir John Temple, then Irish solicitor-general, paid Hall for Moreri's two volumes. Temple, whom Hall knew well, was originally to have had the pick of the latter's library. In a codicil of 6 July 1689, provoked perhaps by Temple's departure for England, this bequest was revoked. Whether the Trinity copies are the ones for which Temple had paid remains a possibility. Account book of Sir John Temple, especially entries for 19 July 1687 and 14 Feb. 1686[7], Southampton University Library, Broadlands MSS, BR 7A/1, ff. 71^v, 87^v.
- 68 Matteson, 'King: Basiraena and Laneana', p. 336.
- 69 N.L.I., MS 2791/16.
- 70 Ballynaparka, Co. Waterford, Villiers-Stuart MSS, T 3131/F/2/17; [Desmond Fitzgerald], Knight of Glin, *Irish Furniture* (Dublin n.d.), unpaginated.
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- 72 *Synge Letters*, p. 116.
- 73 Receipts of James Bullen, carpenter, 25 March 1748, N.L.I., MS 11469/3; B.L.,

- Add. MS 31882, ff. 131, 187.
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- 80 P.R.O., PROB 11/405/100; T.C.D., MS 571, f.4; T.C. Barnard, 'The political, material and mental culture of the Cork settlers, c. 1650–1700' in *Cork: History and Society*, P. O'Flanagan and C.G. Buttimer (eds) (Dublin 1993), pp. 341–2; M. Quane, 'Dr. Jeremy Hall Endowed Schools, Limerick' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* xi (1968), pp. 47–50; E. Wilson, 'Dr. Jeremy Hall and his charities' in *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1956), pp. 1–10. Another who made a specific bequest of his valuable books was Dr Marmaduke Coghill in 1736. P.R.O., PROB 11/695/74.
- 81 'Queries', Petworth House, Orrery MSS, general series 15; J. Hall to Dowager Countess of Orrery, 20 June 1681, *ibid.*, general series 29; L. Beecher to same, 9 Feb. 1682[3], 31 March 1683, *ibid.*, general series, 30; *Calendar of the Orrery Papers* ed. E. MacLysaght (Dublin 1941), p. 274.
- 82 N.L.I., MSS 9534, 10279.
- 83 Christ Church, Oxford, Evelyn MSS, bound letters, f. 667^v; box xi, bill for books (this collection has recently been acquired by the B.L.); F. O'Kelly, 'Irish Book-Sale Catalogues before 1801' in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Ireland* vi, no. 3 (1953), pp. 36–8.
- 84 *Dublin Journal*, 14–18 Jan. 1728[9].
- 85 J. Ferrar, *An History of the City of Limerick* (Limerick 1767), pp. [157]–158.
- 86 F.W. Knight, 'Notes on the family of Ronayne or Ronan of Cos. Cork and Waterford' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* xxiii (1917), p. 103. The work sought was probably G. Beccaria, *Dell' Eletticismo Artificiale e Naturale Libri Due* (Turin 1753).
- 87 R. Crone to J. Crone, 11 July 1768, Cork Archives Institute, Crone of Byblox MSS, PR3, box 2.
- 88 T.C.D., MS 11.
- 89 Abp. W. Palliser to W. Perceval, 8 Feb. 1700[1], P.R.O.N.I., D906/58; cf. T. Belanger, 'Publishers and writers in eighteenth-century England' in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, I. Rivers (ed.) (Leicester 1982), p. 12.
- 90 Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*, p. 93.
- 91 'Lord Thomond's publick notice for setting his lands', Cambridge University Library, Hlib. 00.704.1; P.R.O., C 110/46/366, 377, 431, 433, 439; N.L.I., MS 4919,

- f. 65^v; *ibid.*, Inchiquin MSS, no. 2588; N.A., Sarsfield-Vesey MSS, accounts nos. 59, 66A, 79; H. Hatch to Lord Blundell, 10 Jan. 1746[7], P.R.O.N.I., D 607/23; *ibid.*, D.2707/B1/9B and 9K; Lord Doneraile to J. Crone, 8 Feb. 1763, Cork Archives Institute, Crone of Byblox MSS, box 1; D. Daly to E. Malone, 9 Aug. 1725, Barber MSS, box III.
- 92 Day Book 1707–1713, Wentworth estate, Co. Wicklow, Sheffield City Archives, WWMA 758, 10 Feb. 1707[8]; invitation to funeral of Ellen Taylor at Killister, c. 1730, N.A., M. 1502; W. Colles to B. Colles, 5 April 1766, *ibid.*, Prim MSS, 87; N.L.I., MSS 1535, pp. 167, 168; 4919, f. 77; [D. Fitzgerald], Knight of Glin, 'Early Irish trade-cards and other eighteenth-century ephemera' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* ii (1987), pp. 115–32; J.H. Harvey and V. Kinane, 'The earliest known printed Irish seed catalogue' in *Long Room* xxxviii (1993), pp. 49–52; W. Hawkins, *The Order of Proceeding to the Funeral of the Rt. Hon. William Conolly Esq.* (Dublin [1729]).
- 93 As is evident in the scenes of Dublin taken in 1791 by Thomas Malton and published as *Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* in 1799. For the persistence of the older ideograms, H.F. Berry, 'House and shop signs in Dublin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in *Journal of the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland* xl (1910), pp. 81–98.
- 94 P.R.O.N.I., D 2702/B1/44; Royal Irish Academy, MS 24 K 25.
- 95 *The Petty-Southwell Correspondence 1676–1687*, H.W.E. Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquess of Lansdowne (ed.) (London 1928), pp. 51, 97, 298, 322. On this theme: P. Buck, 'Seventeenth-Century Political Arithmetic' in *Isis* lxxviii (1977), pp. 67–84; Buck, 'People who counted: political arithmetic in the eighteenth century', *ibid.* lxxiii (1982), pp. 28–45; K.V. Thomas, 'Numeracy in early modern England' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, xxxvii (1987), pp. 102–32.
- 96 Note of 18 June 1752, N.L.I., MS 1520; *ibid.*, MS 12938, p.9; N.A., M 1504, pp. 341, 342; J.B., *A Tutor to Arithmetick* (Cork 1719); D. Dickson, 'Philip Ronayne and the publication of his *Treatise of Algebra*' in *Long Room* viii (1973), pp. 13–18; D. Dowling, *Mercantile Arithmetic* 2nd edn (Dublin 1766); 'John Hamett His Fair Book' in M. Mulcahy (ed.), *Calendar of Kinsale Documents*, 4 vols continuing (Kinsale 1988–95) iv; [H. Maule], *Pietas Corcagiensis* (Cork 1721), p.22.
- 97 'Abstracts of Wills', in *The Irish Ancestor* xiii (1981), p.69; *Dublin Courant*, 12–16 June 1744; *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 19 Feb. 1726[7].
- 98 T.C.D., MS 2011/21; N.L.I., MS 1524, p. 182; *Diary of Mary Mathew*, p. 50.
- 99 B.L., Add. MS. 34778, f. 58^v.
- 100 N.L.I. MS 2505/85, 97, 101, 105, 110, 113, 117, 121, 125, 133, 137. In 1663 proclamations, as well as being declaimed, were 'affixed to give public notice'.
- 101 Payment of 2 Nov. 1676, Petworth House, Orrery MSS, general series 17; J. Smythe to R. Smythe, Nov. 1751, N.L.I., PC 445/28; payment on behalf of Bishop Howard, 1739, *ibid.*, PC 223/4; *ibid.*, MS 4914, f. 65^v; *ibid.*, French of Monivae MSS, envelope 26; J. Alcock to A. Mason, 24 Sep. 1739, Ballynaparka, Villiers-Stuart MSS, T 3131/B5/7.
- 102 Mayors' accounts of 1665 and 1684–5, Cork Archives Institute, Youghal Municipal

- Records, U/138; *Calendar of Kinsale Documents* i, pp. 74, 120; ii, p. 12.
- 103 J. Vesey, Sermon preached on 5 Sep. 1683, Abbey Leix, Co. Laois, de Vesci MSS (now in N.L.I.), G/1; John Vesey, *A Sermon Preached at Clonmell, on Sunday the Sixteenth of September, 1683* (Dublin 1683), pp. 14–15; M. Pollard, 'Control of the press in Ireland through the King's Printer's Patent' in *Irish Booklore* iv (1980), pp. 85–91.
- 104 *Kinsale Documents* i, pp. 86, 120; ii, p. 12; *Council Book of the corporation of Youghal*, R. Caulfield (ed.) (Guildford 1878), p. 394.
- 105 N.A., M 3573.
- 106 Receipts for 'assize taxes', N.L.I., MS 11468/4; Vestry Book of Agher, 16 April 1754, *ibid.*, MS 5246. Of the twelve watchmen in the Dublin parish of St. Thomas in 1750 and 1753, four could sign, eight could not. In 1752, sixteen failed this test and four signed. N.A., M 4691.
- 107 T.C. Barnard, 'Land and the Limits of Loyalty: the second earl of Cork and first earl of Burlington (1612–1698)' in *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, T. Barnard and J. Clark (eds) (London and Rio Grande 1995), p. 169; Barnard, 'The Worlds of a Galway Squire: Robert French of Monivae' in *Galway: History and Society*, G. Moran (ed.) (Dublin 1996), pp. 273–4.
- 108 In 1668 Thomas Martin of Galway had been enjoined to write to an English courtier in 'a plain English character, for that my hand writing is difficult to be read, which I confess it is, for that I never learned to write well'. Staffordshire County Record Office, Dartmouth MSS, D 1778/I/i, 257. Also, Barnard, 'Protestants and the Irish Language', pp. 245–7, 259, 270–1.
- 109 Barnard, 'Cork settlers', p. 345.
- 110 Representative Church Body Library, Dublin (R.C.B.), D 13/1/1–15; 61/2/13; M. Quane, 'Raphoe Royal School' in *Donegal Annual* vii (1967), pp. 151–6.
- 111 Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', pp. 805–20.
- 112 Hayton, 'Did Protestantism fail in early eighteenth-century Ireland?', p. 184.
- 113 R.C.B., P 328/12/1.
- 114 William Beveridge, *A Sermon Concerning the Excellency and Usefulness of the Common Prayer* (Dublin 1698) sig. A2^v.
- 115 *The Church-Catechism Explain'd and Prov'd by Apt Texts of Scripture* 7th edn (Dublin 1713).
- 116 Abp. E. Synge to Abp. W. Wake, 22 Sep. 1716, Christ Church, Oxford, Wake MSS, 12, f. 77.
- 117 W. Jackson, *The Righteous Shall Be Had in Everlasting Remembrance. Maxims for the Conduct of Life* (Dublin 1736). Additional evidence is offered in: H. Maule to H. Newman, 24 June 1723, Christ Church, Oxford, Wake MS 14/149; *An Abstract of the Church Catechism: Briefly Containing the Substance of All that is Necessary to Salvation* (Dublin 1717); *A Letter from a Residing Member of the Society in Dublin, for Promoting Charity-Schools in Ireland* (Dublin 1721), p. 47; T.C. Barnard, 'Improving Clergymen, 1660–1760' in *As By Law Established*, Ford, McGuire and Milne (eds), p. 147.
- 118 Dublin Municipal Archives, C1/J/4/1–3. A fuller analysis of this material will appear in my forthcoming study of *The Protestant Ascendancy*.

- 119 D. Dickson, 'The demographic implications of Dublin's growth' in *Urban Population Development in Western Europe from the late Eighteenth to the early Twentieth Century*, R. Lawton and R. Lee (eds) (Liverpool 1989), p. 180.
- 120 D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge 1980), pp. 123–40; R.A. Houston, 'Illiteracy among Newcastle shoemakers, 1618–1740' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series, x (1982), pp. 145–6.
- 121 P.R.O.N.I., D 929/F2/1, 2 and 4 (I owe this reference to Raymond Gillespie); G. Kirkham, 'Literacy in North-West Ulster, 1680–1860' in *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland*, M. Daly and D. Dickson (eds) (Dublin 1990), p. 74.
- 122 N.L.I., MS 12938, pp. 5, 9; payments, 10 Sep. 1743, *ibid.*, 1516, p. 67; 8 Mar. 1743 [4], *op.cit.*, p.88; 18 June 1753, *ibid.*, MS 1520; 5 Mar. 1755, 8 April 1755, *ibid.*, MS 1521, pp. 176, 181; 28 Jan. 1758, *ibid.*, MS 1524, p.58; N.L.I., MS 11468/2.
- 123 Register of Bishop Foy's School, 1711–1902, R.C.B., MS 523; M. Quane, 'Bishop Foy School, Waterford' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* lxxi (1966), pp. 103–22; Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* (Dublin 1746), pp. 191–3. An extended analysis of the eighteenth-century section of the register will appear in Barnard, *The Protestant Ascendancy*.
- 124 N.L.I., MS 1508, p. 38; T.C.D., MSS 1995–2008/1132.
- 125 J. Smythe to W. Smythe, 'Wednesday morn?' [c. 1748], N.L.I., PC 449.
- 126 Inventory of Malby Brabazon, 9 Feb. 1637[8], Barber MSS, box III.
- 127 N.L.I., MS 2554.
- 128 Inventory, 10 April 1688, N.L.I., MS 8644/5.
- 129 Villiers-Stuart MSS, Ballynaparka, T 2131/A/25/8.
- 130 J. Stenhouse to A. White, 24 March 1727[8], 30 April 1728, N.L.I., MS 20997. Cf. will of Bishop William Nicolson of Derry, 30 March 1725, *ibid.*, D 27164; *ibid.*, Inchiquin MSS, no. 1804.
- 131 *A Catalogue of the Household Goods of the late Henry Ingoldsby, esq ... To be sold by Auction in Mary's-Street, on Monday the 29th Day of November, 1731* (Dublin 1731).
- 132 W. O'Sullivan, 'The eighteenth-century rebinding of the manuscripts' in *Long Room* i (1970), pp. 19–28; O'Sullivan, 'Introduction to the collections' in *Trinity College Dublin. Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, M. Colker (ed.) (Aldershot and Dublin 1991), pp. 28–31.
- 133 N.L.I., MS 2481, f. 3^v.
- 134 Palmerston to H. Hatch, 2 Dec. 1727, same to R. Roberts, 12 Aug. 1729, 9 Feb. 1730[1]; same to T. Burgh, 12 May 1730, Southampton University Library, BR 2/7.
- 135 H. Temple to D. Reading, 26 July 1716, 9 April 1717, 9 Nov. 1717, 7 Jan. 1717[18], 21 March 1718[19]; *ibid.*, BR 2/2; D. Reading to H. Temple, 17 July 1716, *ibid.*, BR 4/221b.
- 136 N.L.I., MS 7195; Barnard, 'Land and the limits of loyalty', pp. 169, 172–3; C.J.F. MacCarthy, 'A Youghal Library in 1707' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* lxxiv (1969), pp. 84–6; A. Crotty to Burlington, 8 July 1725, Greater London Record Office, Q/CMI/10/1; Sheffield City Archives, WW

MA 758, 16 July 1708, 25 May 1712.

- 137 'Note of deeds and writing left in my closet at Dublin', 1692, Southampton University Library, BR/150.
- 138 *Synge Letters*, p. 173.
- 139 T.C.D., MS 2011/21.
- 140 H. Temple to W. Flower, 13 Feb. 1717[18], 25 March 1718, Southampton University Library, BR 2/2; N.L.I., MS 4918, p. 219; G.A. Kenyon, *The Irish Furniture at Malahide Castle* (Dublin 1994), pp. 84–5; J. Hardy, 'The Adare Bureau-Cabinet and its origins' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 12 (1995), pp. 168–9. Cf. C. Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture 1700–1950* (New Haven and London 1993), pp. 136–37.
- 141 *Synge Letters*, p. 173.
- 142 See Katharine Simms, 'Charles Lynegar, the Ó Luinín family and the study of Seanchas'.
- 143 For Lane, N.L.I., MSS 8643/1; 8644/2 and 4; 8646/2; Barnard, 'The Protestant Interest', pp. 228–9. For Domville, W. Domville to W. Legge, [1665], Stafford County Record Office, D 1778/V/1148; for Villiers, Ballynaparka, Villiers-Stuart MSS, T 3131/A/27/1. The Ormondes had a framed and glazed genealogy hanging in their house in St James's Square in London in 1685, N.L.I., MS 2522/88. The Lynegar genealogy of the Antrim Macdonnells is P.R.O.N.I., D 2977/5/1/4/3.
- 144 T.C. Barnard, 'Identities, ethnicity and tradition among Irish dissenters, c. 1650–1750' in *The Irish Dissenting Tradition 1650–1750*, K. Herlihy (ed.) (Dublin 1995), p. 40. For edifying materials preserved in manuscript form within the Digby and French families, see N.L.I., MS 19821; T.C.D., MS 5096.
- 145 Blennerhasset, P.R.O.N.I., D 680/3/1; Ware, N.L.I., MS 2563; Edgeworth, *ibid.*, MS 7361.
- 146 T. Carte, *A History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde* 3 vols (London 1735–6); *A Genealogical History of the Noble ... House of Butler in England and Ireland* (London 1771); *Memoires de la Vie de my Lord Duc D'Ormonde* (The Hague 1737), translated into English in 1738 and also 1741; *Some Account of the Family of Butler, but more particularly of the late Duke of Ormonde* (London 1776); *A Collection of the State Letters of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle* (London 1742); E. Budgell, *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles* (Dublin 1775).
- 147 A. Crossly, *The Peerage of Ireland* (Dublin 1725); J. Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland* 4 vols (London 1754). For contemporary awareness of Crossly's errors: P.R.O., C 110/46/371.
- 148 N.L.I., MS 7361. A change in the view of print may be detected with the publication of the lucubrations of the next generation in 1820 as *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq.*, 2 vols (London).
- 149 Between 1744 and 1766 the histories of Counties Down, Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Kerry prepared by Walter Harris and Charles Smith were published.
- 150 J.H. Andrews, 'Charles Vallancey and the Map of Ireland' in *Geographical Journal* cxxxii (1966), pp. 48–61; *Taylor and Skinner's Maps of the Roads of Ireland, Surveyed 1777* (London and Dublin 1778). Inhabitants of the larger towns were offered a clearer sense of the urban topography as early as 1728. *New History of*

- Ireland. IV. Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691–1800*, T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds) (Oxford 1986), pp. 751–2; C. Casey, 'J. Ravell's *A Map of the Town and Suburbs of Drogheda 1749*' in *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* xxii (1992), pp. 361–3.
- 151 Accounts of Irish counties prepared for Moses Pitt's atlas in 1682 are in T.C.D., MS 883. Those compiled in the 1730s are in Armagh Public Library, G II 23, while drafts of Charles Smith's histories of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary are in Royal Irish Academy, MS 24 G 9. Other ambitious surveys which remained unpublished include those of Reverend William Henry and Charles O'Hara: N.A., M 2533; N.L.I., MS 20397.
- 152 P.R.O.N.I., D 695/229, p. 23; C. Casey, 'Subscription networks for Irish architectural books 1730–1760' in *Long Room* xxxv (1990), p. 45.
- 153 B.L., Add MSS 2228, ff. 102, 110; N.L.I., MS 2522/178; *ibid.*, MS 1522, pp. 150, 180; *Dublin Journal*, 13–16 Feb. 1741[2].
- 154 N.A., 1148/5/3; T.C.D., MSS 1995–2008/2438; D. Chaloner, 'The Rev. John Chaloner' in *The Irish Ancestor* xvii (1985), p. 61.
- 155 Lord Cornbury to Sir G. Lane, 18 Oct. 1662, N.L.I., MS 8643/3; Massareene to Newdegate, 8 Nov. 1683, Warwickshire County Record Office, Newdegate MSS, CR 136/B 285; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Eng. Lett. C.53, f.52; P.R.O.N.I., D 695/69; N.L.I., MS 1524, ff. 153, 249.
- 156 W. O'Sullivan, 'Binding memories of Trinity library' in ed. A. Bernelle, *Decantations: a Tribute in Honour of Maurice Craig* (Dublin 1992), pp. 168–76.
- 157 T.C.D., MS 11, f.1.V; N.L.I., MS 8390/1, 2 and 5; D. Molyneux to H. Howard, 20 June 1736, *ibid.*, PC 225; J. Smythe to W. Smythe, 17 Feb. 1737[8], *ibid.*, PC 449/28; R. ffolliott, 'The furnishings of a Palladian House in 1742–3: Barbavilla, Co. Westmeath' in *Irish Ancestor* xi (1979), p. 91.
- 158 Library loan book, Trinity College, Dublin, T.C.D., MS 2089, s.v. Mr. Bindon, Mr. Hamilton, 1710, 1713.
- 159 C. Vallancey, *An Account of the Ancient Stone Amphitheatre lately discovered in the County of Kerry* (Dublin 1812), pp. 25–9 (I am grateful to Scott Ashley for this reference).
- 160 N.L.I., MS 7238.
- 161 *Ibid.*, PC 222, 223 (4), 223 (6), 225 (4).
- 162 *Ibid.*, MSS 4917, 16709; T.C.D., MS 1170.
- 163 Will of Henry Bathurst, 24 Aug. 1675, Bathurst of Cirencester MSS, Gloucester County Record Office, D 2525, box 45.
- 164 R. Howard to H. Howard, 28 Feb. 1729[30], N.L.I., PC 227. This may be lot 25 of Molyneux's manuscripts, described as 'William Molyneux's collection relating to the Natural History of Ireland': *A Catalogue of the Library of the Honble. Samuel Molyneux, Deceas'd ... to be Sold by Auction on Tuesday the 20th January, 1729–30* ([London 1730]).
- 165 J. Smythe to W. Smythe, 11 Nov. 1732, 5 Dec. 1732, N.L.I., PC 449/25. More generally on Smythe, T.C. Barnard, 'Improving Clergymen, c. 1660–1760' pp. 149–50. Piers's account was published in ed. C. Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (Dublin 1770) i, pp. 85–125.

A description of County Mayo c. 1684 by R. Downing

Nollaig Ó Muraíle

The text which here appears in print for the first time is one of a series of accounts of more than twenty Irish counties, in whole or in part, commissioned by the Dublin writer and scientist William Molyneux in the years 1682–5.¹ Molyneux (1656–98), who in 1683 was a co-founder and first secretary of the Dublin Philosophical Society, had been engaged to contribute a description of Ireland to an ambitious, even grandiose, work entitled *The English Atlas* which the London bookseller and publisher Moses Pitt had been planning since 1678.² The *Atlas* came to a halt after four volumes (covering northern Europe), of a projected eleven, had appeared; Pitt had run into financial difficulties and been declared bankrupt in 1683; he took refuge in Ireland for a time but was eventually arrested in April 1685 and imprisoned for debt. Molyneux, meanwhile, had set about gathering materials for the Description which he planned to write, but, in disgust at Pitt's arrest, he later burnt all that he himself had written. Fortunately, however, he preserved the work of the other contributors.

Having published a questionnaire in May 1682, Molyneux engaged some of his relations to help him. A brother-in-law, Sir William Domville, was able to forward the first (very brief) draft of an account of Co. Carlow and Queen's Co. by the very next month,³ while a cousin, Nicholas Dowdall, reported in August on his efforts – so far unsuccessful – to get someone to describe Roscommon and Westmeath; Dowdall himself would later pen an account of Co. Longford.⁴ In the following month Molyneux obtained, via another brother-in-law, Bishop Anthony Dopping of Meath, a revised version of an account of Westmeath which Sir Henry Piers had written some years before.⁵ Several accounts were ready by the spring of 1683, but Roderick O'Flaherty's celebrated description of Iar-Connaught (i.e. west Co. Galway) was not completed until 5 April of the following year⁶ – about three weeks after John Keogh's account of Co. Roscommon which bears the date 'March 14th 1683/4'. Further accounts arrived in the summer of 1684, but some of Sir Richard Cox's material on Co. Cork did not reach Molyneux until November 1685.⁷

Some of the items, including the present one, are difficult to date with precision; but, given that Molyneux wrote in March 1684 to John Keogh, of Strokestown, asking for suggestions as to who might furnish him with descriptions of Cos. Mayo and Sligo,⁸ we can take it that Downing's accounts of those two counties may date – at the earliest – from mid- to late 1684.

The precise identity of our author is somewhat problematical. Apart from the fact that he was called 'R. Downing', our information about him is exceedingly scanty. Almost

the only things we know for certain of him are that

- (i) in addition to the present text, he also wrote accounts of Cos. Clare, Down, Louth and Sligo and possibly Longford,⁹ and
- (ii) at his request, Roderick O'Flaherty in January 1682 addressed to him a tract entitled 'Observations on Dr. Borlace's Reduction of Ireland.'¹⁰

The recipient of the present well-deserved *Festschrift* – with whom I have discussed aspects of this paper on various occasions over the years – has ventured the opinion that the author may be identical with one 'Richard Downing who graduated from TCD in 1691',¹¹ but this strikes me as a little unlikely. Would it not be rather strange for Downing to have written descriptions of five Irish counties some seven years before graduation, and still earlier been in communication with O'Flaherty – unless he was what in modern parlance is termed a 'mature student'? In addition, there is the fact that he is referred to as *Robert* Downing by the nineteenth-century writer James Hardiman,¹² and there are at least two additional instances of his being called 'Robert':

- (i) in 'Thorpe's curious Catalogue of the Southwell MSS., A.D. 1834, No. 348', in relation to the autograph of O'Flaherty's aforementioned 'Observations' – the notice begins: 'These observations were transmitted to Mr. Robert Downing...';¹³ and
- (ii) in an 'endorsement, twice repeated, "County of Lowth, by Robert Downing"' written on 'one of the two blank leaves, now mutilated (evidently the original outer wrapper)', which were attached to five leaves containing an account of Co. Louth which R.A.S. Macalister published 80 years ago. (He adds: 'There are three different handwritings in these endorsements.')
¹⁴

The tract on Co. Louth is of a kind with Downing's other works, but for some reason it was not preserved along with them in the Library of TCD. Instead, it lay for many years in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham;¹⁵ on the dispersal of that great collection, it was acquired by a London bookseller named Harding, from whom Macalister bought it a short time before its publication by him in 1917. I do not know its present whereabouts.¹⁶ Macalister confessed that he could not

find anything as to who Robert Downing may have been. The name 'Robert Downing, Gent.' occurs in a deed, a copy of which is preserved in the Patent Roll, III James II: but no address is given, and there is no evidence connecting him with the author of the MS. From the absence of any honorific prefix or suffix to the name in the endorsement of the MS., I suspect its writer to have been a person comparatively unimportant – possibly a clerk, writing for so much a page.

The people referred to in the text as living at the time, so far as they can be identified, date the document to about 1670–1680 ...¹⁷

There is one piece of evidence which may shed some interesting light on the question of Downing's identity (and also support the view that his first name was indeed Robert). It takes the form of the following entry in R. Hayes, *Manuscript Materials for the History of Irish Civilisation* (Boston 1965) i, p. 936: 'Genealogical Office MS 67, pp. 79–80. Funeral certificate of Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Inchiquin and eldest daughter of Rt Hon. Sir William Sentleger with accounts of her offspring, taken by Robert Downing, Gentleman Deputy Ulster [?read Gentleman, Deputy Ulster], Nov. 22, 1685.' I have not had an opportunity to examine this document but, taken at face value, it suggests that Downing was deputy to the Ulster King of Arms. Moreover, the date suits an identification of that Robert Downing with the author of the work edited below. The work printed occurs in TCD MS 888/2 (formerly I.4.19). A later, and much more legible – but very inaccurate – copy, of the tract is to be found in TCD 883.2 (I.1.3). That later copy is apparently the work of a clerk who transcribed it and other works for William Molyneux's son, Samuel, who planned to publish a 'Natural History of Ireland'.¹⁸ The more than twenty extracts quoted by John O'Donovan and his colleague Thomas O'Connor in the Ordnance Survey Letters [OSL] for Co. Mayo all appear to have been taken from the clerk's copy (apparently via a copy made for George Petrie).¹⁹ The other printed extracts known to me (in O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach*²⁰ and Hardiman's *H-Iar Connaught*²¹) seem to have been taken from the same source, but the text would appear to have been compared with the earlier copy, albeit rather hastily and incompletely, and somewhat tidied up and standardised. As an indication of the level of inaccuracy in the transcript (or clerk's copy), the following are the forms of some of the proper names mentioned in the paragraph corresponding to §2, below, followed (after the slash) by the form in the original: *Clanmore/Clanmoris*; *Romaine or Coolagh/Kilmayne or Coolagh*; *Costellone/Costellowe*; *Showle/Burrishowle*; *Grist in Grisdundonnell/Irris in Irisdundonnell*; *Tirawly, severally of Mayo/Tirawly*, formerlie of Moyne.

While the clerk's copy is a rather sloppy transcript, his exemplar was – it must be conceded – far from satisfactory. Some of it is roughly written in what can only be characterised as a scribble, and overall it resembles the handwriting of an earlier period – the discrepancy between it and the very legible penmanship of the clerk's copy (written only a short time later) is quite marked. Indeed, given the virtual indecipherability of parts of Downing's script, it is sometimes difficult to blame the clerk for his inaccuracies! Also notable are the numerous deletions, interlineal additions, items added at an angle of ninety degrees in the side margins, examples of dittography and the often rather strange syntax. In this context it is interesting to consider some of Macalister's remarks on Downing's account of Co. Louth; referring to a 'curious mistake' and a 'clumsy correction', he remarks that they

suggest that the document was merely a draft meant for a more finished report: the whole has an air of disorder, as though Downing had put down things as they came into his head, intending later to arrange them systematically.²²

The text appears to be not quite complete. For example, in §§44–50 nothing is entered under the heading 'Nature of the soyle' – in contrast to what we find in §42 and in the first half of §43.²³ In order to save space, therefore, the lists of parish-names in §§44–50

have not been set out in the columnar form in which they occur in the MS. Note also the absence of anything other than the heading in §4.

The presence of the opening portion of an account of Co. Longford (§51) is puzzling. Did Downing, perhaps, commence a description only to break off when he became aware of Nicholas Dowdall's account?²⁴ penned two years earlier? Or could it perhaps represent the beginning of a first draft of a second account of Co. Longford (rather shorter than Dowdall's), which survives only in the later 'clerk's copy'? Unfortunately, there seems to be no ready answer to these questions. Neither is the purpose of the notes on f. 138r (§52) at all clear. However, given that the brief, incomplete remarks on Co. Longford occur on the recto of a single, separate leaf, while the notes just referred to occur on the recto of yet another leaf, it may well be that the presence of this material immediately after the account of Co. Mayo is purely fortuitous.

It may be noted that Downing clearly had some familiarity with the Irish language. The items in Irish quoted at §14 – whose source is said to be the noted Co. Leitrim antiquary Tadhg Ó Rodaighe (d. 1706)²⁵ – are accurately written in satisfactory Irish script.

For convenience, I have divided the work into numbered paragraphs or sections, and after each of these I have inserted appropriate annotation/commentary. The latter makes no pretence to being exhaustive but – it is hoped – will help elucidate certain textual references.²⁶ There remain some references which quite escape me – notably the mention of 'Buculcerus' in §26 and the problematical names and other words in §34. (William O'Sullivan was among those I consulted and who confessed themselves sorely puzzled over some of these points.) Details of those portions of the text which have hitherto appeared in print – including those in the mimeographed edition of the Ordnance Survey Letters for Co. Mayo issued in the 1920s – are given in parentheses at the beginning of each section of commentary/annotation.²⁷

While I have faithfully reproduced the orthography of the original text, I have taken the liberty of bringing punctuation and capitalisation into line with modern practice. For example, initial 'ff' has been written 'F' when a capital is intended. Most abbreviated words are silently expanded: 'ye' and 'yt' (as 'the' and 'that' respectively); 'sd' ('said'); 'nxt' ('next'); 'wch' ('which'); '&c' is written 'etc.'. Words inserted later (usually between the lines or in the margins) are indicated by hooked brackets – { }. Items which the author/scribe has deleted (usually by drawing a line through them) are put in parentheses and followed by '*del.*' Editorial insertions (e.g. of words or letters accidentally omitted by the scribe) are enclosed in square brackets. Empty square brackets indicate missing or illegible material.

The following brief barony-index to Downing's text (plus a list of the principal places in each barony mentioned in the 'Description') may be of assistance to the reader (the numbers denote the paragraphs of the edition printed below):

BURRISHOOLE 31 (Burrishoole 31)

CARRA 15–20 (Fionnloch Ceara, Annagh 15; Burriscarra 16; Ballintober 17; Castlebourke 18; Ballynacarrow/Belcarra 19; Castlebar 20)

CLANMORRIS 3–5 (Mayo, Brees, Balla 3; Ballinsmaula 5)

COSTELLO 27–30 (Castlemore 27; Urlaur 28; Mannin Lough 29; Ballyhaunis 30)

ERRIS 35–7 (Cross 35; Blacksod Harbour, Broadhaven 36; Kilcommon and Kilmore 37)

GALLEN 21–4 (Strade 21; Ballylahan 24)

KILMAINE 6–14 (Ballinrobe 6; Cong 9–10; Ballyloughmask 11; Shrute 12–3; Cillín Bhréanainn/Moorgagagh 13; Fairche Thuama, etc. 14)

MURRISK 32–4 (Cathair na Mart 32; Murrisk, Croagh Patrick 33; Clare Island 34)

TIRAWLEY 25–6, 38–41 (Ardnaree 25–6; Moyne 38; Rosserk, Rathfran, Crossmolina, Errew, Bofeenaun 40; Killala 41)

Here follow details of those portions of the Molyneux survey which have hitherto appeared in print and of those which have not yet been published.²⁸ A county name in square brackets indicates that only part of that county is covered in the account referred to. I also append information on the manuscripts in which the texts occur.²⁹ It should be clear from this that the accounts vary greatly in length (and, indeed, in quality); for example, Domville's remarks on Carlow and Queen's County run to less than a single folio, while Piers's 'description' of Westmeath extends over 17 closely written folios.

A: Published editions

- 1a Co. Antrim, R. Dobbs (G. Hill, *The MacDonnells of Antrim*, Belfast 1873, 377–86).
- 1b Co. Antrim, Carrickfergus, R. Dobbs (ibid. 386–9).
[See Trinity College Dublin [TCD] MS 888.2, f. 33r; the entire text, plus some related letters, occurs in a later transcript in TCD 883.1, pp. 177–211.]
- 2 Co. Cork, R. Cox (S.P. Johnston, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland [JRSAI]* xxxii (1902) 353–63, +nn. on pp. 363–76).
[TCD 888.2, fos. 61r–67r; 883.1, pp. 244–58.]
- 3 Co. Down, Ards, W. Montgomery (R.M. Young, *Old Belfast*, Belfast 1896, 138–43).
[TCD 883.1, pp. 149–58.]
- 4 Co. Galway, Iar Connaught, R. O'Flaherty (*A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, AD 1684, by Roderic O'Flaherty, Esq.* ed. J. Hardiman, Dublin 1846 [henceforth *H-Conn.*], 1–122).
[TCD 883.1, pp. 101–35.]
- 5 Co. Kerry, J. Kennington, E. Curtis and unknown author (W. O'Sullivan, *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society [JKAHS]* iv (1971), 35–47).
[TCD 888.2, ff. 92r–94v = TCD 883.2, pp. 11–22; 883.1, pp. 264–6.]
- 6 Co. Kildare, T. Monk (E. MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Shannon 1969), 313–19).
[TCD 883.1, pp. 290–8.]
- 7 Co. Leitrim, T. Roddy and unknown author (J. Logan, *Bréifne* iv/14 (1971), 325–34).
[TCD 888.2, fos. 16r–17r = TCD 883.1, pp. 135–8 (unknown author); Royal Irish Academy [RIA] MS 12 W 22 = TCD 883.1, pp. 138–44 (by 'Mr Rody').]
- 8 Co. Longford, N. Dowdall (R. Gillespie, G. Moran, *Longford: Essays in County History*, Dublin 1991, 207–11).

- [TCD 883.2, pp. 258–67; see also p. 61.]
- 9 *Co. Louth, R. Downing (R.A.S. Macalister, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy [PRIA]* xxxiii C (1917), 495–9).
[TCD 883.2, pp. 267–72.]
- 10 Co. Westmeath, H. Piers (*Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* i, ed. C. Vallancey, Dublin 1774, 1–126).
[TCD 888.2, ff. 71r–87v = TCD 883.1, pp. 298–343; TCD 888.2, ff. 97–104r = TCD 883.1, pp. 344–5 (this last represents only about half of f. 97r in TCD 888.2).]
- 11a Co. Wexford, S. Richards, R. Leigh (*JRSAI* vii (1862), 85–91 [Richards]; *JRSAI* v (1859) 451–67 [Leigh]).
- 11b [Co. Wexford] Forth, — Sinnot (*JRSAI* vii (1862), 57–84).
[TCD 883.1, pp. 40–62 (unknown author – Sinnot?); 266–82 (Leigh); 283–90 (Richards).]
- * Original not preserved in TCD Library.

B: Unpublished portions

- 1 (Co. Armagh) Oneilland, W. Brooke
[TCD 888.2, fos. 39r–40r = TCD 883.1, pp. 222–4.]
- 2 Co. Carlow & Queen's Co., W. Domville
[TCD 888.1, fo. 46r–v.]
- 3 Co. Clare, R. Downing; H. Brigdall
[TCD 888.2, ff. 41r–55r = TCD 883.1, pp. 224–34 (Downing); TCD 883.1, pp. 234–9 (Brigdall).]
- 4 Co. Donegal, ?
[TCD 888.2, ff. 35r–36v = TCD 883.1, pp. 211–15.]
- 5 Co. Down, R. Downing
[TCD 888.2, ff. 18r–31v = TCD 883.1, pp. 168–77.]
- 6 Co. Limerick, D. Hignet
[TCD 888.2, ff. 57r–59r = TCD 883.1, pp. 239–44.]
- 7 (Co. Londonderry) Magilligan, T. Beck
[TCD 883.1, pp. 218–20.]
- 8 Co. Longford, ?
[TCD 883.2, pp. 254–8 – see also A 8, above.]³⁰
- 9 *Co. Mayo, R. Downing
[TCD 888.2, ff. 106r–38v = TCD 883.2, pp. 48–59 (+61).]
- 10 Co. Monaghan, ?
[TCD 888.2, f. 15r = 883.1, p. 135.]
- 11 Queen's Co.: see Carlow, no. 2, above.
- 12 Co. Roscommon, J. Keogh (short extract, from pp. 159–60, in *The Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, J.O. O'Donovan (ed.) (Dublin 1844) [*Hy-F*], pp. 453–4).
[TCD 883.1, pp. 158–68.]

13 **Co. Sligo, R. Downing

[TCD 888.1, ff. 34r–42r.]

14 Co. Waterford, A. Stanhope

[TCD 888.2, ff. 69r–70r = TCD 883.1, pp. 258–63.]

* Edition printed below.

** An edition which I have prepared is soon to be published in a volume entitled *A Celebration of Sligo: Essays for the 50th Anniversary of Sligo Field Club*, edited by Martin A. Timoney.

Before concluding, I wish to record my gratitude to the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, for granting permission to reproduce Downing's account from the manuscript in their possession. I must thank Dr Katharine Simms for her guidance and, most particularly, William O'Sullivan for various useful suggestions in relation to this text – made, I should stress, while quite unaware of the plans for this *Festschrift* in his honour! (Incidentally, apart from the interest he has shown in various aspects of Downing's account over many years, and his own edition of another text in the series – that on Co. Kerry – it seems to me particularly appropriate that the present article should appear in a work dedicated to William O'Sullivan, since he has left all historians of seventeenth-century Mayo in his debt with his fine edition, produced almost four decades ago for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, of *The Stafford Inquisition of County Mayo* (1958).)

Abbreviations

bar. barony

del. delete

par. parish

tld townland

tn town

A Description of County Mayo

1 [106r] This county took its name or denominacion from the towne therein soe called, together with the Aug[ustinian] abby thereof which was founded by St. Gerardus or Gerard about the latter end of the seventh century of Christ {anno 665}, who is said by Colganus, Beda and many others to be the first abbott thereof. This towne was likewise a bishop-seat, a little before the (invasion of Ireland – del.) suppression in King Henry the (second's – del.) 8's time, and then united to the archbishouprick of Tuam and still soe enjoyed (as parte thereof – del.). It is said that [there] were severall colledges in the towne. It is called in many auncient historyes Civitas de Magio, or Mayo (ne Saxon being – del.), being auncientlie surrounded with walls, wherof parte or [?] sunke into the earth, being growne boggy, and most parte thereof fallen, nothing of note remayneing, other then the ruines of severall old structures, and not one house therein now in repayre.

It was built in a most fertile country. {Granted to John Bourke, ffourth sonn of Ulick, Earle of Clanrickard. Out of this towne alsoe was the Lord Viscount Mayo dignified, the title being granted by King Charles the [I] to Sir Theobald Bourke, Kt., in the [I] yeare of his reigne.}

[(Ordnance Survey Letters for Co. Mayo, Royal Irish Academy MSS mainly by John O'Donovan and Thomas O'Connor, 1838 [henceforth OSI Mayo] ii, pp. 442–3.) The county was named from the early monastic site Mag nÍo na Sachsan ('plain of yews of the Saxons'). The circumstances of the monastery's foundation – in the aftermath of the Columban secession from Northumbria which followed the victory of the Romanist party in the paschal controversy at the synod of Whitby, 664 – are recounted by Bede in his early eighth-century *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (bk. iv, ch. 4). The shadowy St Gerald/Garailt (d. 732) was associated with the place. His Latin life – characterised by Charles Plummer (*Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford 1910) i, p. lxxi) as 'extremely fabulous' – is printed by Plummer (*ibid.*, ii, pp. 107–15) and before him, by John Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Louvain 1645), pp. 599 ff. The monastery gave its name to a diocese established at the Synod of Kells, 1152, and eventually merged with the archdiocese of Tuam. In the later medieval period it was the site of a house of Augustinian Canons. The John Bourke, fourth son of Ulick, earl of Clanrickard, mentioned by Downing was John, son of the third Earl; known as 'John of Dunsandle' (d. 1633) he was created Viscount Burke of Clanmorris in April 1629. The title Viscount Mayo was granted by Charles I to Theobald Burke, Tiobóid na Long, son of Gráinne Ní Mháille/Grace O'Malley, in February, 1626. The foundation-date 665 – at least a few years too early – occurs in James Ware, *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus*, London 1654 ed. [DHA], p. 220. (The catalogue of ecclesiastical sites in Co. Mayo given by Ware in the 1654 edition of *DHA*, pp. 220–3, is reproduced verbatim in the 1658 edition of the book – also printed in London – pp. 255–8.)]

2 BARONYES IN THIS COUNTY, viz. Clanmorris (a quo the same in Kerry), formerly called the Barony of Crosbohine, where the auncient shire towne stands; out of this baronye now the Viscount Clanmore is dignified; Kilmayne or Coolagh; Carra of [*sic*] Borriscarra, soe [106v] called in the time of Sir John Perrott's Composition, 1685 [*sic*]; Gallen; Costellowe; the Owles or Malye's Country [in] this county; the baronyes of Burrishowle and Muriske; the half baronye of Iris in Irisdundonnell; and Tirawly, formerlie of Moyne.

[(An unsatisfactory rendering of the early portion of this paragraph – from 'a quo' to 'stands' – occurs in OSI Mayo ii, p. 453.) Clanmorris was formerly called Crossboyne, Crois Bhaoithín, the name of a parish in this barony. The County Kerry barony to which reference is made is now generally written Clanmaurice. Does the shire town mentioned here refer to Crossboyne, where there is now no trace of urban development, or to the town called Clare? (The latter has been more generally known since the later nineteenth century as Claremorris; the Irish form Clár Chlainne Mhuiris is on record since earlier in the same century.) The first Viscount Clanmorris was the

John Bourke of Dunsandle (d. 1633) mentioned in the commentary on §1, above. The third and last holder of the title was the celebrated fifth earl and first marquess of Clanrickard, Ulick, who died in 1656. The alternative name for the barony of Kilmaine, Coolagh, probably reflects the ancient population-group name Conmaicne Cúile Tolad. Roderick O'Flaherty, writing at the same period as Downing, links that name with a place called Cuileagh (*Ogygia*, p. 174) – see also §6, below. Carra is called respectively the Barony of (a) *Borishkara* in *The Compossicion Book of Conought*. (1585) ed. A.M. Freeman, Dublin 1936 [henceforth *CBC*], p. 97, and (b) *Borriskarra alias kerra* in *CBC*, pp. 100, 103 (AD 1585) – the source which Downing dubs 'Sir John Perrott's Composition' and wrongly postdates by a century. The same source (pp. 95, 100–3, etc.) refers to *Gallen, alias Beallalahin* (Gaileanga alias Baile Átha Leathain), *Costellow, alias Bellahawnish* (Coistealaigh alias Béal Átha hAmhnais), *Borrishowle, Murriske in the Owles* (Buiríos Umhaill, Muraisc in Umhall Uí Mháille), *Irrish* (Iorras Dúna Domhnaill, rectius Dúna Domhnann, from the ancient people, the Fir Dhomhnann, associated with this area), *Moyne alias Tireavly* (An Mhaighin alias Tír Ambhlaidh.)

3 TOWNES {OR PLACES} OF NOTE IN THIS COUNTY: First is that of Mayo in Clanmorris afforesaid first mentioned; next to that is the Bryes, being an auncient mannour form[erly] of the Fitzmawrices, now and since Queene Elizabeth in the posesion of the heres of John Moore Esquire, deceased. There is likewise the ruines of another auncient towne in this barony called Balla altogether gonn (?) to rui[n]e.

[(All but the last sentence is found in OSL Mayo ii, p. 443.) Mayo is now known locally as Mayo Abbey, a small village beside the site of the ancient Saxon monastery; some miles to the east, in Brees (a name locally rendered Brize), is the stump of a castle which was once the seat of the family referred to in Irish sources as *Clann Mhuiris na mBri* (C.J. Lynn, 'Some 13th-century castle sites in the west of Ireland: notes on a preliminary reconnaissance', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society [JGAHS]* xl (1985–86), pp. 90–113 [henceforth Lynn, 'Sites'], p. 98, no. 11). We may note that, according to *Books of Survey and Distribution, 1636–1703*, vol. ii, County of Mayo, ed. R.C. Simington, Dublin 1956 [henceforth *BSD*], pp. 52–77, one John Moore was an extensive landholder in the barony of Clanmorris in the year 1641; I have not been able to establish his relationship to the Elizabethan gentleman of the name. The small town of Balla derives from an ancient monastic site associated with a saint named Crónán (also known by the hypocoristic form Mo Chua) – see N. Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places: Their Names and Origins* (Dublin 1985), pp. 35–6. (For at least the past century and a half – e.g. in S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, i–ii, London 1837 [Lewis, *Top. Dict.*, 1837] – the name in an English-language context has been pronounced as a monosyllable: 'Bal'.)]

4 CASTLES OF LESSER NOTE: []

[The absence of material under this heading is puzzling – it seems to be yet another indication of the incomplete state of the work.]

5 There is like[wise] another abby in this barony called Ballinsmalla, before the disolucion of the Order of Carmelites, built by the familie of the Prendergast. (See Sir James Ware.)

[(OSL Mayo ii, p. 450.) Tld Ballinsmaula, par. Kilcolman, where extensive ruins survive of a Carmelite friary established in 1288: see A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland*, London 1970 [henceforth *MRHI*], p. 287; its prior at the time of the dissolution was named O'Gorneally. The Prendergasts were among the earliest Norman families to arrive in Ireland, Maurice de Prendergast having landed at Bannow Bay, Co. Wexford, in May 1169. The final reference is to *DHA*, p. 221.]

6 [107v] Kilmayne or Coolagh {called Conwackny Coolagh}: In this barony standeth the now shire towne called Ballinrobe, takinge its name from the river or rivilett. In this towne is the ruines of auncient Augustinian mindicants' ffriery or priory built by Tutallus Ô Maly, lord of the Owles in the reigne of Brianus Boruvius, {King of Ireland} about the begining of the cleaventh century; this was the first of {his} name that assumed a surname of his familie, that king being the inventor of surnames in this Kingdome, {or in his time it begunn}. There was likewise a small abby or cell of the Joanitars called Taghown {or St. John's House}, now altogether gone to ruine.

[(OSL Mayo ii, pp. 192–3; all but the opening sentence is printed in *H-Conn.*, p. 251.) Ballinrobe, Baile an Róba, does indeed take its name from the river Robe. The Augustinian friary – whose ruins have recently undergone preservation work designed to prevent further disintegration – is said to have been founded c. 1312 by the English wife of John de Burgo, son of the Red Earl of Ulster (see *MRHI*, p. 296; *DHA*, p. 221). I have no further information on any Tuathal Ó Máille who allegedly flourished about the year 1000 (which in any case is two and a half centuries too early for an Augustinian friary); a man of the name died in 1361 (*The Annals of Loch Cé*, 2 vols, H.H. Hennessy (ed.) (London 1871) [*ALC*], ii, p. 22, and *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 7 vols, J.O'Donovan (ed.) (Dublin 1848–1851 [*FM*], iii, p. 620), but there is no indication that he had any connection with the friary's foundation. On the House of St John at Ballinrobe – Teach Eoin – see H.T.Knox, *History of the County of Mayo to the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, Dublin 1908, [Knox, *Mayo*], p. 95, idem, *Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry*, Dublin 1904, [Knox, *Tuam*], p. 301, and *MRHI*, p. 296. For a variant form of the puzzling term 'Joanitars' – as 'Joantarie' – see §35, below.)]

7 There was likewise a small cell near the said towne called Kilcrava; it was a small house of nunnns. {There is a fayre large and a good house therein now belonging to Francis Cuffe, sonn of Sir James Cuffe Kt., deceased.}

[(OSL Mayo ii, p. 193; the first sentence is printed in *H-Conn.*, p. 251.) Killecennacrava nunnery is mentioned by Knox, *Mayo*, p. 95. The Cuffe family was still present, at Creagh House, in the nineteenth century – Lewis, *Top. Dict.* (par. Ballinrobe) refers to J. Cuff, Esq. See also *MRHI*, p. 321.]

8 Next towne of note in this Barony is Kilmayne aforesaid which was an auncient burgesse towne as appeares by the auncient rentrolls or courtrolls of the See of Tuam, the Lord Archbishop of Tuame being demesne lord thereof. In this towne stands two parish churches, vizt. Kilmayne More and Kilmaynebegg.

[*OSL Mayo ii*, p. 243.] Kilmayne, Cill Mheáin, represents the *Cellola Media* referred to by Tírechán in his late seventh-century account of St Patrick (L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, Dublin 1979, p. 150). The distinction between Kilmainebeg and Kilmainemore is attested in Bodkin's Visitation of 1565 (Knox, *Tuam*, p. 208) and the Valor Beneficiorum of 1584–5 (*ibid.*, p. 221) and other such sources, but already in the early fourteenth-century Ecclesiastical Taxation of dioceses of Tuam, Achonry and Killala, 1306–7, in *Calendar of Documents, Ireland v*, ed. H.S. Sweetman, Dublin 1886, pp. 217–9, 225–34 [henceforth *Eccl. Tax.*], p. 230, there is mention of 'Kilmedon (Church of the Apostles)' and 'Kil-medhon (Church of St Patrick)', denoting – apparently – the smaller and larger churches respectively.]

9 Next place of note is the town of Conge where stand the ruines of an auncient abby or comandry of the Order {[of] the Channons Regular} of St. Augustine, the superior whereof was called Lord Abbott; he (?) is said to have had a mitre and crosier, tho' hee is not mencioned amongst the [108r] abbotts that had suffrage in Parliaments before the Reformation. Though Sir James Ware makes noe mention of him nor of any other abbott in Connaught that [had] suffrage in Parliaments. {Sayd to bee built by Donald McEdány {or called Hughe McAmbirviry} [king] of Ireland, anno Dm. 628 to 642 reigned the 19th Christian [king], regnavit 14 yeares kinge.} This town is said by Jonsonius to bee a Bishopricke and by Dr. Keating called a Bishoprick. {In this towne dyed (and was []) Roderick, the last Monarch of Ireland, 29th Novr. 1198, buried at Cluonmcnois.}

[*OSL Mayo ii*, p. 97; the sentence in parenthesis – about 'Donald McEdány' – *ibid.* 98.) See *MRHI*, p. 166, for a detailed note on Cong. A house of Augustinian Canons was established by Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair in the early twelfth century on the site of the seventh-century monastery attributed to St Féichín. The name 'Donald McEdány' is at first sight puzzling, but what seems to be his alternative appellation is easily recognisable as that of Áed mac Ainmirech, a celebrated Northern Uí Néill high-king. However, the dates given by Downing are problematical. Áed was killed in battle in 598 while his son, Domnall mac Áedo, was king of Tara from 628 to 642. The name Donald McEdány would therefore appear to be a somewhat corrupt version of Domnall mac Áeda. (See *DHA*, p. 222: 'Donaldus Aedi sive Hugonis filius, Amirachi nepos rex Hiberniae, anno 624 ...') I do not know who Jonsonius was, but Geoffrey Keating (*Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn i–iv*, ed. D. Comyn and P. Dinneen, London 1902–14 [*FFÉ*], iii, pp. 298, 304) lists Cong among the dioceses established at the synod of Ráth Breasail in 1111. The death of Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair in Cong is recorded in *ALC*, i, p. 202, and *FM*, iii, pp. 112–14.]

10 This towne of Conge stands in an island at the head of Loughcurb, {in briefe ancientlie (?) Lough Urhshon}, which extends upwards of thirtie myles in length from the said

Conge to the towne of Galwaye and about three leagues broad in some places, and in some places broader and some other places narrower. In this lough stands severall small islands {num. 365 or more}.

[(OSL Mayo ii, pp. 97–8.) Lough Corrib was anciently called *Loch (n)Orbsen* – see *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae*, E. Hogan (ed.), Dublin 1910 [*Onom. Goed.*], p. 503; also *H-Conn.*, pp. 20–1. The anglicised form reflects the more modern Irish form *Loch Coirib*.]

11 Next place of note to Conge is Loughmaske or Ballyloughmaske Castle upon another lough called Loughmaske, which lough empties itself under rocks into Lough Curb afforesaid. Where stands an auncient large pile of a castle and mannor house of the familie of the Bourks called McWilliam Fighter or the Lower McWilliam. That castle was in 1641 the proprietie of one Sir Thomas Bourke, a gallant servitor in Queene Elizabeth's time at Kingsale and many other places in her reigne.

[Baile Locha Mesca: see *Annála Connacht, The Annals of Connacht*, A.M. Freeman (ed.), Dublin 1944 [*AConn.*], p. 807, where it is placed in par. Ballinchalla, bar. Kilmaine – Loughmask Castle in tld Knocknamucklagh. (The castle is referred to *ibid.*, 1471.16 as the '[tech] Meic Uilliam [Íochtair] Burc', 'Macwilliam Burke's house'.) Sir Thomas Bourke is mentioned in *BSD*, p. 21, as holding *Knockmucklagh* in 1641. See also Lynn, 'Sites', p. 104, no. 31. Mention of 'Kingsale' relates to the famous battle at Kinsale, Co. Cork, on Christmas Eve 1601 in which Lord Mountjoy defeated the armies of O'Neill and O'Donnell.]

12 There is in this Barony upon the extreame bounds there[of] an auncient ffayre castle and mannour house (house – *sic*) called [108v] Shrowle now and since the begininge of King James regn belonginge to the Earles of Clanrickard but till then since the English invasion to another familie of great note formerlie of the said Bourke called Bourke of Shrowle, and of late yeares of Cloghans, who is said to be the eldest branch of the Bourkes of Mayo.

[According to *BSD*, p. 16, Shrule (*Shroule Towne*) belonged to the Earl of Clanrickard both before and after 1641. See *ibid.*, p. 43, for a reference to Walter Bourke as holding Cloghans in par. Kilmainemore in 1641 – and some years earlier, according to *The Strafford Inquisition of Co. Mayo*, ed. W. O'Sullivan, Dublin 1958, p. 51.]

13 There is likewise another abby in this Barony neere Shrowle afforesaid called Killinbrenan of the Third Order of St. Francis his rule, sayth Sir James Ware found [].

[(OSL Mayo ii, p. 242.) The earlier name of the parish of Moorgagagh was Cillín Bréanainn – *MRHI*, pp. 271–2; see also Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places*, pp. 75–6. I have failed to locate the reference by Ware (e.g. in *DHA*).]

14 a[109] {At the senate held at Rathbreassall anno 1106 by Murtaugh O Bryen, King of Ireland:

Fairche Thuama ó Shuca go hArdcharna & ó Áth an Termuinn go Sionuinn;
 Fairche Chonga ó Abhuinn Ua mBriúin budh thuaidh go Neumhthainn 7 ó Áth an
 Tearmainn síar go Cill Alad;
 Fairche Arda Carna no Ardachad .i. ó Ardcharna go Sliabh an Iarainn 7 o Cheis Choruin[n]
 go hUr Coillten.
 T. Rody, f. 148.

b Briotán mc. Fearguis Leithdeirg, mc. Neimhidh, mc. Adhnamain, mc. Paimp, mc.
 Tait, mc. Seaara, mc. Srú, mc. Easrú, mc. Braiment, mc. Aitsan, mc. Magog, mc. Iaphet,
 &c. Thady Rody.

c From the said Britan's posterity Britannia (Wales) inhabited said land from him named
 Britania; the said name thus came into Ireland according [to] the Eusebian calculation
 anno M. 2850. Britan went out of Ireland after anno 3066. The year that Conang's Tower
 was ruined, post Deluvium about 630 years, came Nemethus into Ireland et[c]., remained
 and his posterity before Britan left it 236 et[c].
 T. Rody.

d These out of the Leabhar Ghabhala, sc. the prime booke of the Kingdome mentioning
 all the conquests of Ireland refined by the five prime antiquaries of Ireland anno 1631
 which I have here, et[c]. }

[The list of diocesan boundaries is from *FFÉ* iii, p. 158; see also J. McErlean, 'The synod of Ráith Bressail', *Archivium Hibernicum* iii (1914), pp. 1–33. The correct date of the synod of Ráith Breasail is 1111. It is worth noting that Tadhg Ó Rodaighe had some connection with (perhaps he owned?) the exemplar of a copy of *FFÉ* (RIA MS 24 N 4 – see *RIA Cat.*, p. 2755) written by the well-known Munster scribe Mícheál mac Peadair Uí Longáin in 1752. For an account of Ó Rodaighe's career, see P. Ó Ciardha, 'Tadhg Ó Rodaighe', *Bréifne* vi/18 (1977–78), pp. 266–77. The brief pedigree in §14b represents a portion of the 'official' genealogy of St Patrick – see P. Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985) §1. A version close, but not quite identical, to the one given by Ó Rodaighe is to be found in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's Book of Genealogies (Leabhar Genealach an Dubhaltach Mhic Fhirbhisigh: Mac Fhirbhisigh's Book of Genealogies, University College Dublin Add. Ir. MS 14 [LGen.DF], pp. 40–1). The reference in the final paragraph is clearly to the recension of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* compiled by the 'Four Masters' – Mícheál Ó Cléirigh and three companions – and Giolla Pádraig Ó Luinín (i.e., 'the five prime antiquaries') at Lisgoole, Co. Fermanagh, in October 1631.]

15 [110r] The Barony of Carra or Borrescarra next which to Kilmayne which standeth upon the brink of a great lough called Lough Carra, by the auncients Finloughcarra, {which is said to bee one [of] three loughs in Ireland that first sprung}. A small abby or rather nunnery called Annagh or Anny it was founded and given by Thomas Bourk, chiefe then of the Bourkes of Mayo, to the abbott of Conge afforesaid, upon condicion

that if any woman of his posteritie would vow chastitie that the abbott of Conge should mayntaine {her} durence her life, as appeares by the severall inquisitions after the dissolution of Conge.

[*(OSL Mayo ii, pp 74–5; H-Conn., p. 4 n.)* For a legendary account of the naming of Find-loch Cera see E.J. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas* iii, Dublin 1913, pp. 378–9; also R. O’Flaherty, *Ogygia, seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*, London 1685 [*Ogygia*], p. 164. Annagh: *DHA*, pp. 220–1; *MRHI*, p. 312.]

16 Next place of note in this Barony is the abby of Borrescarra of the Order of St. Augustine standeing upon the side of the said lough or lake.

[*(OSL Mayo ii, p. 75.)* Burriscarra: *MRHI*, p. 296–7. The abbey was founded in 1298 for the Carmelites by the Stauntons; abandoned after 80 years, it was re-established by the Augustinian friars.]

17 [110v] Next to that of Borrescarra is the abby of Ballintobber upon the same lough where there is the ruines of a very large and fayre structure the comander whereof was of the same Order (but not rule) of St. Augustine; hee was stiled abbott. Here is the sepulture of the familie of Mayo and severall other families of the Bourks and other gentlemen of this Countie.

[*(OSL Mayo ii, p. 61.)* Ballintober, one of the most celebrated ecclesiastical sites in Co. Mayo, was supposedly a Patrician foundation. The well from which the name Baile an Tobair, earlier *Baili Topair Pátricc* (*AConn.*, s.a. 1248.5), derived was said to be the *Fons Stringille* mentioned by Tírechán in his late seventh-century account (Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, p. 150), and rendered *Topar Stringle* in the ninth-century *Vita Tripartita* (K. Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic, The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, Dublin 1939, p. 70). The house established there in the early thirteenth century was for Augustinian Canons, rather than friars – hence the remark about ‘order’ and ‘rule’. (*DHA*, p. 221–2; *MRHI*, p. 158–9). The tomb of the Bourkes may still be seen in the abbey.]

18 [111] Next to that of Ballintobber, within halfe a myle thereof, stands Castle Bourke, one of the houses of the afforesaid Lords of Mayo upon the same lough. Next to that (is) (?) within ffoure myles stand Kinturke, another chiefe house of the said familie.

[*(OSL Mayo ii, p. 473.)* For references to Castlebourke see Knox, *Mayo*, p. 287; also pp. 164, 350; and to Kinturk, *ibid.*, pp. 248, 287–8, 350.]

19 Next to that stands the ruines of a verry auncient demolished castle belonging to the same familie being the head of a mannour called Belcarrow or Ballynecarrow; it stands upon a passe or passage; here is a stone bridge.

[*Tld Ballycarra/Baile na Cora, par. Drum, bar. Carra.* The forms of the name in normal local usage are ‘Belcarra’ and ‘Balcarra’; this is the native place of Dr Thomas

Mitchell, current Provost of TCD. For references to 'Ballynacarra' and 'Ballycarra' see Knox, *Mayo*, pp. 288, 349.]

20 Next to this towne four myles distant stands Castlebarry, a corporation {it is called in the King's writt the most westernne corporation} and a very fayre large bawne and two round towers or castles therein and a good large {house} in the possession of Sir John Bingham and his heirs { – youngest brother of the three knight Bingham's that comanded Connaught and Countie of Clare fourteene yeares in Queene Elizabeth's reigne – } since Queene Elizabeth[']s time, that is, hee left it to Sir Henry Bingham his nephew havinge noe issue of his {owne} body. This castle did likewise formerlie belong to the Bourkes. First of all after the Invasion it [is] said to belong to the Barryes of which it tooke its name.

[(OSL Mayo ii, pp. 476–7 and *Hy-F*, pp. 160–1n.) Henry Bingham was created a baronet by Charles I in 1634; he was MP for Castlebar in the Irish parliaments of 1634–5 and 1639–48. A great-great-grandson of his married a grandniece of Patrick Sarsfield, earl of Lucan, in or about 1730; this no doubt had some bearing on that later Bingham's grandson being created Baron Lucan of Castlebar and later Earl of Lucan, towards the close of the eighteenth century. For some details of the history of the de Barry family in Co. Mayo, see Knox, *Mayo*, pp. 288, 295–6; see also the account of Ballyhaunis, §30, below. The long clause in the middle of the paragraph – 'youngest brother ... Queene Elizabeth's reigne' – is written in the margin at an angle of 90 degrees.]

21 [112v] The Barony of Gallen – of the countrey soe called: In this Barony stands the ruines of a fayre Dominican ffriery {of Strade} built by the Lord Baron of Athlahen als. Mc Jordan de Exeter and Basilia Bermingham his wife or Lady {daughter of the Lord Baron of Athenry} in anno []. Shee perswaded her husband after the foundation and building hereof and dedicating to St. Francis to obtayne a bull from the Pope to alter it to St. Domnick's Order. This familie was a Lord Baron and one of the auncientest in Ireland and by the followeing of the Irish custome, and not the succession, they became discontinued of the dignitie without any cause by forfeiture. The familie, however, till King James reigne did enjoye the said Barony till one of them gave his title to Sr. Theobald Dillon Kt., afterwards Lord Viscount Dillon of Costellowe and Gallen.

[(OSL Mayo ii, 362.) Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (LGen.DF 828) has the genealogy of Mac Siúrtáin d'Eseatra; see also 'The O'Clery Book of Genealogies', S. Pender (ed.), *Analecta Hibernica* xviii (1951), §2335. On the monastery of Strade, also called Templemore, see *MRHI* 230. For an account of Theobald Dillon's career see B. Cunningham, 'Theobald Dillon, a newcomer in sixteenth-century Mayo', *Cathair na Mart* vi/1 (1986), pp. 24–32.]

22 All {or} most parte of this Barony in former time were all woody. This Barony, exceptinge one half parish thereof in Tuam (diocese lyes) in the Dioecesse of Achonry, in Latine Achadensis. It is sayde to have taken the name of Gallen from one Cormocke

Gallenagh, auncestor of O Hara of Liny in the Countie of Sligoe, O Gara and severall other meere Irish in septs theire ffollowers or underlings, who were propretors and possessors hereof till the Invasion in King Henry the Second's time, soe that all the lands contayned in this Diocesse before the Invasion afforesaid did appertaine to Ô Hara as afforesaid. This ÔHara etc. is descended of one Kean or Koén, third sonn of Olill Óluim, King of Munster about [1]. Hee was {one of} the third sonn sonns {of the said Olill Oluim} that the King of Connaught called to his ayde to helpe in some warrs against the neighbour kinge and give him those cuntryes for recompence. Kean Ô Hara Esquire being as it is said head of that familie, the onlie meer Irish man that cept his estate in the late times.

[*(OSL Mayo ii, p. 301.)* Downing correctly recounts the Irish genealogical doctrine relating to the descent of the Gailenga – represented in later times by such families as those of O'Hara/Ó hEaghra and O'Gara/Ó Gadhra – from Cormac Gaileng and from Cian son of Oilill Ólom. The Kean O'Hara mentioned as head of the family in the 1680s is Cian son of Cian son of Tadhg. The second-mentioned – elder – Cian, son of Tadhg, died in 1675 and his father in turn had died in 1616; I have no date for the death of the younger Cian, but his son, Cormac, died in 1776 (L. McKenna, *The Book of O'Hara: Leabhar Í Eadhra* (Dublin, 1951) p. xiv). The parish of Kildacommoge is said by Lewis, *Top. Dict.*, to lie wholly in the diocese of Tuam. Most of this paragraph – from the third word onwards – is in a lighter coloured ink than is found in the preceding text.]

23 [113] Next Strade stands upon a fine river called Moy stands [*sic – repetition*] an auncient large old bawne and a verry large gatehouse and the ruines of a good new house, the new house built {said formerlie to bee a corporation} by the Lord Dillon onelie, which was the auncient seate of residence and dignitie of the said Lord Jordan de Exeter till the latter {end of} Queene Elizabeth reigne (see Sr. James Ware about the foundation of Strade afforsaid); since it belongs to the Lord Dillon of Costellowe and Gallen.

[*(OSL Mayo ii, p. 363.)* For details of the bawn in question, at Ballylahan, Béal Átha Leathain, see Lynn, 'Sites', p. 95, no. 9, and Knox, *Mayo*, pp. 103–4, 149, 307, 365–6, etc. (See Lewis, *Top. Dict.*, par. Templemore, for an account of a 16-arch bridge near Ballylahan.) On Strade friary – Franciscan, later Dominican – see *DHA*, p. 223, and Knox, *Mayo*, pp. 95, 193, 307–8, 311–12, 356, 360, 363, etc.; also §21, above.]

24 Next that towne or castle of Athlahen, now called Bellalahen, was latelie built {or erected} by John Bingham Esquire a new plantation of English and Scotts {and ironworks} about two myles from thence upon the same river {called now Foxford olim Bellassa}, which occations a great deale of good {and quiet} in that countrey {which} hee built in greate dark woods where a man in 1672 (soe late) could not travayle that roadd without the danger of being killd or robbed by woodkerne or outlawes, of late yeares called Toryes, which haunted and frequented there and made it theire head quarters, soe that under tenn men well armed {with fire armes} it {was} dangerous to travayle there, which the said Mr. Bingham's said plantation made one of {the} civilized partes of the province of Connaught.

[(OSL Mayo ii, p. 355.) This is the earliest equation of the quite separate names Foxford and Béal Easa ('mouth of [the] waterfall/cataract'). Lewis, *Top. Dict.* (par. Toomore), has an account of Foxford iron works. For details of the celebrated tory leader Dubhaltach Mac Goisdeilbh, alias Dudley Costello, who met his death in this area in March 1667, see J.P. Prendergast, *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660 to 1690*, London 1887, pp. 82–90; 'Final report of the commissioners ... [on] the Carte Papers in the Bodleian Library', Appendix I to *32nd Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, pp. 92–8; also *BSD*, pp. xlv; his pedigree occurs in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Book of Genealogies*, where he is referred to as Dubhaltach Caoch (LGen.DF, p. 827), and in his shorter genealogical work (called the 'Cuimre', RIA MS 24 N 2, p. 416), where he is called Dubhaltach Colonel. (See also N. Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary, Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–71: His Lineage, Life and Learning* (Maynooth 1966), pp. 236 and 279, n. 27).]

25 [114] Next place of note in this Barony or, rather, though of one the same side of the said river of Moy, in the Barony of Tirawly stands the ruines of an old castle called Ardnary which formerlie did belong before the English Invasion to the familie of the Ó Dowds, soone after to the Lord Bermingham and, last of all, to the said Sr. Thomas Bourke till 1641. Here is a most delicatt river navigable up to or neere this castle for indifferent bigg vessells.

[Ardnaree: see Lynn, 'Sites', p. 93, no. 3; also *Hy-F*, pp. 122–4, 307–8n. For details of the Augustinian friary at Ardnaree, see *MRHI*, p. 295–6, and T. McDonnell, *The Diocese of Killala from its Institution to the End of the Penal Times*, Ballina 1976, pp. 83–5.]

26 Here Sr Richard Bingham Kt., chiefe Governour of Connaught and Clare, about the month of October 1586 defeated the Earle of Arran, eldest sonn, as it is said, of the Duke Hamilton and the Lord Baron Farnhurst, another Scottish lord, together with three thousand Highland Scotts which the[y] brought with them to assist an invasion of Ireland, together with several thousand of the natives that joined then with them. Hee overcame them, comeing upon them on the sudden on the breake or dawne of the day, did put them all to flight and killed or [] most parte of the Scotch (sayth Abraham Buculcerus (?) (in his *Index Chronologicus* [*sic*]{*monstrans seriem annorum*} *a condito mundo usque ad* (mortem – *del.*) {*obitum*} *Rodolphi Imperatoris*, 1612), with lesse then five hundred {men} sayth severall historiographers.

[Details of the slaughter at Ardnaree may be found in G.A. Hayes McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565–1603)*, London 1937, pp. 174–5, 355–6; C. Ó Lochlainn, 'Ár ar Ard na Riadh', *Éigse* v (1946), pp. 149–55; T. McDonnell, 'Bad day at Ardnaree', *North Mayo Archaeological Society Journal* i/4 (1986), pp. 9–13; Knox, *Mayo*, pp. 212–3, etc. The author cited by Downing, and apparently surnamed Buculcerus (if I have deciphered the name correctly), is something of a puzzle to me: I have as yet been able to trace only one further reference to him (see the 'additional note' at the very end of this chapter) and none at all to his work of 1612.

(The printing of the work's title in bold is editorial.)

27 [115r] The Barony of Castellowe als. Kerry Arny and Kerry Oughtir: In this Barony stands an {auncient} castle called Castlemore in Costellowe from the Costellowes, chiefe lords thereof from the {auncient English or British} invasion till about the latter end of Queene Elizabeth's reign. One John McCostellowe als. Shane McCostellowe, chosen captain of or head of that familie, gave an interest therein to Captain Theobald Dillon, afterwards Sr. Theobald Dillon {and last of all} Lord Vizcount Dillon of Costellowe and Gallen. I finde that Queene Elizabeth in anno. Dmni. 1587, in the time of Sr. John Perrot's government {of Ireland and Sr. Richard Bingham's of Conaught}, did graunt all the said Barony to the said John by the name of Shane McCostellowe. This familie is said alsoe to have beene aunciently Lord Barons the originall of their name, Nangle or de Angulo, bearing the same armes as doth the ffecodall Baron of Navan in Meath. It is beleived they discontinued the title and dignitie by ffollowing the Irish lawes as did theire neighbour, the Lord de Exeter.

[(OSL Mayo ii, pp. 288–9; 381.) On the name of this barony, Coistealaigh al. Ciarraighe Airne al. Ciarraighe Uachtair, see §29, below: see also *FM* iii, p. 214n. For details of Castlemore see Lynn, 'Sites', pp. 98–9, no. 14; and Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places*, p. 46. On relations between the Costellos and Dillons see Cunningham, 'Theobald Dillon'; and on the origins of Clann Ghoisdelbh/de Angulo/Nangle see Knox, *Mayo*, pp. 313–15; also *ibid.*, pp. 420–2, and LGen.DF, pp. 827–8.]

28 There is a Dominican ffriery in this Barony called Orlare or Monosterenorlare scituate upon the brinke of a ffine lough, about [] miles from Castlemore afforesaid, where the sepulture of that familie is. It was built by the said familie, built by Edmond Costellowe and Ienola Rufa, the daughter of O Connor Dun his wife.

[(OSL Mayo ii, p. 374.) For details of the 'monastery' of Urlaur/Urlár, Mainistir an Urláir, see *MRHI*, p. 231; also *DHA*, p. 223, and Ó Muraíle's *Mayo Places*, p. 67. The founders appear to have been Eamonn an Mhachaire Mac Goisdeilbh (killed 1437) and Fionnghuala Ruadh Ní Chonchubhair Dhuinn.]

29 This country was likewise sometime in the posesion of the scept of Cayr or Ker, a quo the Countie of Kerry. The upper ffoure parishes thereof is said at the first invasion of English to belonge to an auncient scept of the race of the said Keir called Ô Lochnane, who gave severall lands to [the] see of Tuam, though since the Reformation is lost. [115v] There is likewise a fine lough in this Barony called Lough Arny in former times. At the west end thereof stands an auncient ruines of a castle called Manin which (?) is said to have taken its name from Manananus filius Iair, a quo Mona Insulâ, the Isle of Man, who was the onelie man in that age {of the world} famous for the negromantick art. Here [are] several other loughs in thiss country: one by or neere the (the – *sic*) abby of Orlare cald Lought Ninoge, from Oga, one of the daughters of the said negromancer {called Oga}, and another fine lough called Loughglinn, from Glina, another of his daughters.

[(First half of the paragraph – to 'a castle called Manin' – in OSL Mayo ii, p. 289; final two sentences, *ibid.*, p. 395.) The Ciarraige were supposedly derived from Ciar, alias Mug Airtt, mac Foirbsen Máir; their territory in east Mayo appears to have comprised four parishes, Aghamore, Annagh, Bekan, Knock. The ruling family in the later medieval period bore the surname Ó Céirín; the reference to Ó Lachtnáin (?) is puzzling and is unsupported by any other source known to me. The lake referred to here by a name which seems to correspond to the Irish form *Loch Airne* is called in later medieval annals *Loch na nAirneadh*, but this appears to me to be a later rationalisation of a name such as *Loch Nairne* – almost certainly deriving from the name Nairne (occurring as *Nairniu Toisciurt*) in Tírechán (Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, p. 122; see also Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places*, pp. 22 and 33). The lake is now called Lough Mannin and the older name is utterly forgotten; indeed, the equation of the two rests entirely on this statement of Downing's. The present name is derived from that of the townland of Mannin (par. Aghamore) which borders the lake to the north. On Mannin Castle see Lynn, 'Sites', p. 103, no. 29. The linking of the various places called Mannin (Irish *Manainn*) – including the Isle of Man – with the early Irish mythological figure/god Manannán mac Lir is commonplace. The second lake mentioned, Lough Nanoge, may share an element with the placename *Áth na Donnóige* which occurs in the well-known legend of Úna Bhán. (Some folklore versions of the legend link Úna with this general area.) The final lake, Lough Glynn/Loch Glinne, which also gives its name to a small village, is in fact located in the barony of Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon.]

30 Here is another Augustinian ffriery or priory (Mindicants Eremitae) in this Barony (at the west – *del.*) or south parte thereof {called Bella Hawnus} built by another scept or tribe of the same familie called Sleight Jordan Duffe, that is, the Children of Black Jordan Costelow, or Nangle, who had large possessions about this priory. It stands upon a faire hill over a small river. It is said to bee before the foundation thereof a mannour house belonginge to the Lord Barry about [116] (about) the beginninge of the English Invasion, for certaine it is that upon the begininge thereof the Fitz Geraldts, auncestors of the Earles of Desmond and Kildare, the Lords Barons of Kierry, and the {said} Barryes had large possessions in the Counties of Mayo and Sligoe till they were droven thereout by one Bourke {and last of all called the [] Earles for the Fitz Gerald built or at least founded the Abby of Sligoe, and that a scept of the Fitz Geraldts enjoyed the barony of Clanmorris in Mayo till Queene Elizabeth's reigne, the chiefe whereof was stiled Fitzmaurice or Mc Maurice of the Brees, and is said to bee formerlie a Lord Baron but discontinued, as is beleived by the manner (?) as his neighbours, the De (De – *sic*) Exter and Costellowe {were discontinued}. To them did belong the Barony of Clanmorris afforesaid (as appears by Doctor Sir James Ware, Dr. Keating, &c.).

[(Two-thirds of the paragraph – down to 'thereout by one Bourke' – in OSL Mayo ii, pp. 296; 393–4; *Hy-F*, p. 161n; the remainder of the paragraph is marked for deletion in the MS.) According to the most recent research, the Augustinian friary at Ballyhaunis/Béal Átha hAmhnais ('fordmouth of strife/contention') appears to have been founded c. 1419. (See Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places*, p. 89, which was, however,

written before the discovery of evidence pointing to that date.) The genealogy of the branch of the Mac Goisdeilbh/Costello family called Sliocht Siúrtáin Duibh is preserved by Mac Fhirbhisigh (LGen.DF, p. 827–8); see also Knox, *Mayo*, p. 421. Knox (*ibid.*, p. 316) remarks: 'In the seventeenth century tradition told that [Ballyhaunis] had been founded on a manor house of the de Barrys.' It is very likely, however, that the 'tradition' in question is none other than Downing's statement as given in OSL Mayo ii, pp. 296 and 394. For other evidence of the presence of the de Barry family in Co. Mayo, see the passage on Castlebar, §20, above; for some details of Fitzgerald holdings in Connacht see Knox, 'Occupation of the County of Galway by the Anglo-Normans after 1237', *JRSAI* xxxi (1901), pp. 366–7; *idem*, 'Occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans after A.D. 1237', *JRSAI* xxxii (1902–3), pp. 136–7, 401–4; *idem*, *Mayo*, pp. 120–4. On the foundation of Sligo abbey, see *MRHI*, pp. 229–30; the family of Mac Muiris na mBrí has been mentioned at §3, above; see also *DHA*, p. 221 (re Ballinsmaula – §5, above). I do not understand the reference to Keating, as his work does not appear to include any reference to Clann Mhuiris na mBrí, De Exeter, Costello, etc. Page 117 of the manuscript contains a scribbled list of names which clearly belongs elsewhere; it is accordingly inserted in §39, below.]

31 [119] The Barrony of Burrishowle, formerlie a corporation: In this Barrony is a town soe called, which is now since Queen Elizabeth's [time] in the hands of the {noble} house of Ormond who recovered it then from the auncestors of Lord Viscount Mayo upon a Petition of Right or some auncient right thereto, being it was said built by the Butlers at there first coming with the Conquest. There is a Dominican ffriery built by the Butlers, as Sr. James Ware sayes, neere this towne.

[(OSL Mayo ii, p. 4.) For some details of the Butler lordship of this area, see E. Curtis, 'Original documents relating to the Butler Lordship of Achill, Burrishoole and Aughrim (1236–1640)', *JGAHS* xv (1933), pp. 121–8; also *BSD*, pp. 97–8 and (in relation to par. Burrishoole – including the townland of the same name) 105–7 – where the Earl of Ormond is named as proprietor in 1641; elevated to the dukedom of Ormond, he retained possession after the restoration. On the Dominican friary, founded c. 1469, see *MRHI*, p. 222; also *DHA*, p. 222.]

32 [120r] The Barony of Muriske: In this Barony stands an auncient castle (or mannour – *del.*) of Ó Malye's called Cahirmemart neere the sea where small barques {comes up to it}. This Ó Malye was before {the} English Invasion Lord of these westernne countryes of Mayo and the onelie meer Irish familie that detained any lands in that Countie of Mayo till 1641, being as it is supposed enfranchized by some of the Kings of England. After the Conquest one Owen Ó Maly, chiefe or captaine of that familie, about the yeare 1596 dealt most kindlie with Queene Elizabeth's souldiers that garisond in his castle by carryeing them awaye by sea to the Countie {of Clare}, when the rest of the countrye were upp in an insurrections against the Queene.

[(OSL Mayo i, pp. 441–2.) For some minor details of the history of Cathair na Mart, see *FM* v, p. 1802; also Knox, *Mayo*, p. 306. There is mention of 'Teige roc O Mayly

of Cahirmemorte' in *CBC*, p. 93, and of 'Feige roe O Maylie of Cahirmemarte' and 'Oyn o Malie' *ibid.*, p. 99. The Owen Ó Maly mentioned by Downing is no doubt identical with 'Owen O Maly, of Kearnemart, gent.' mentioned in Fiant no. 6683 (AD 1602), *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns* [hereafter *Irish Fiants*], 4 vols, Dublin 1994, iii, p. 576; see also Fiant no. 5948 (AD 1595), *ibid.*, p. 257. Also A. Chambers, *Granuaile, The Life and Times of Grace O'Malley, c. 1530–1603*, Dublin 1979, p. 30, and S. Mulloy, *O'Malley People and Places*, Westport 1988, p. 75.]

33 About ffoure myles thereof distant westward of Cahirmemart neere the sea stands the abby of Muriske, being an Augustinian Mindicant priory built under the foot of the great hill called Cruogh Patricke or St. Patricke's Reek. This priory was built by the said ffamilie [120v] near the hill called Cruoghpatricke; there is a chappell dedicatt to St. Patricke upon the (verry – *del.*) topp thereof where many comes from far in the Summer season comes from affarr and more to doe pilgrimage and pennance there. It is a verry high and steep hill.

[(OSL Mayo i, p. 439.) On Murrisk friary, founded in 1456 on land donated by Tadhg Ó Máille, see *MRHI*, p. 300; *DHA*, p. 222; also Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places*, pp. 26–7. The principal subject of this paragraph, Croagh Patrick, is one of the two most celebrated early ecclesiastical sites in Co. Mayo (the other being Ballintober – §17, above). The designation 'St. Patricke's Reek', translating Cruach Phádraig, recalls the mountain's popular name in the west of Ireland – 'The Reek'. (The MS reads: 'Near the hill ... There is a chappell ...' Note also the dittography – 'comes from far ... comes from affarr'.)]

34 [121] In this Barony of Murriske in an island called Cliera, about two leagues from the mayne lands, stand a small (priory – *del.*) {abby of St. Bernard of Cliera filia Cnockmoyae} built by Dermitius (Claudus) O Maly for the Order of St. Bernard []; this Dermitius O Maly {and Maud Curvan f. nadatilene morti (?) O Connor} is there burryed and all or most of his familie buried till of late. Since 1641 it and the isles of Inisboffin was the propietie of the saide Ó Maly till King James his reigne.

[(OSL Mayo i, p. 477.) The name-form given here is almost identical to the Irish name of Clare Island, *Clíara*. On the status of the island's Cistercian abbey as a daughter-house of Abbeyknockmoy, see also *MRHI*, pp. 129–30. The two individuals named here appear to be identical with the Diarmuid Bacach O'Malley and his wife, Lady Maeve O'Connor, mentioned in a document of 1656 (see *MRHI*, p. 300) in relation to the foundation of Murrisk friary (§33, above); Diarmuid, it is suggested, may have been an uncle to the Tadhg who gave the land on which that friary was built. The writing immediately following the word which I read as 'Curvan' is a complete puzzle to me; the clause 'and Maud ... O Connor' is written in pencil. (The 'Clerk's copy' of Downing's account – in TCD MS 883.2 – reads the names of the two people as 'Dermitius Caladus O Maly' and 'Morti O Connor'.) On the O'Malley ownership of Inishboffin, see *Irish Fiants* ii, p. 399 (no. 2989, AD 1577) and p. 684 (no. 4698, AD 1585), which refer to 'Molaghlin O Male or O Mallie' and 'Melaughlen

O Maly' in relation to the island. No one of the name is mentioned in BSD as being a proprietor there in 1641. That date as mentioned by Downing appears to be a mistake. The final portion of the passage could arguably be punctuated differently – '... till of late, since 1641. It and the isles ...']

35 [122] The halfe-Barony of Iris formerlie called Iris Downon: In this Barony stands the abby or caella of Crosse (being as some sayde a particle of the Abby of Ballintobber in Carra – *del.*) said to belonge to the Joantarie.

[(OSL Mayo i, p. 256.) On the name Iorras Domhnann, see §2, above. On the abbey of Cross, see *MRHI*, p. 168; also *DHA*, p. 222; and Lewis, *Top. Dict.* (par. Kilmore-Erri): 'some ruins of the small monastery of Cross, or the Holy Cross, which was dependent on the abbey of Ballintobber'. The term 'Joantars' occurs in §6, above.]

36 In this halfe-Barony (stands one – *del.*) is one of the largest and best harbours in Ireland called Blacksodd Harbour, by some {another called} Broadhaven and in Irish Inver{-More}. Within this countrey is verry good {land} once one passeth the Mullett {being an arm of the sea (soe cald – *del.*)}, but betweene Burrishowle and the Mullett afforesaid for sixteene myles is one of the worse wayes in Christendome.

[(OSL Mayo i, p. 256.) Blacksod Bay and Invermore/Broadhaven/An tInbhear Mór are actually two separate inlets, south and north of the isthmus respectively – the latter occurs as *Brod hauen* on the Map of Co. Mayo (except bars. Clanmorris, Costello, Gallen) drawn by John Browne of the Neale for Sir Richard Bingham, 1584 – see Martin J. Blake, 'A map of the County of Mayo in 1584: with notes thereon ...' *JGAHS* v/3 (1908), pp. 145–58 [Browne's Map]. The treatment of the Mullet as an arm of the *sea* is strange.]

37 In this half Barony are two Parishes, vizt., Kilcoman and Kilmore.

[(OSL Mayo i, p. 256.) Kilcommon, the largest parish in Ireland, covers the mainland portion of the barony of Erris, while Kilmore is co-extensive with the Mullet peninsula and adjacent islands. (The word 'halfe' is written ' $\frac{1}{2}$ '.)]

38 [123] The Barony of Tirawly or Moyne: The towne whereof was Moyne where stands a fayre abby or priory of the same of St. Francis Order.

[On the friary at Moyne (founded 1455), see *MRHI*, p. 255, and *DHA*, p. 222.]

39 This Barony or country tooke its name from Amlanus or Amlanie, in short Awly, the word 'Tire' signifieng a countrey – this is the countrey of Awly, soe Tirawly. It is a very large spatious barony and one of the largest and best in the Province. This Awly was of the family of Feaghrorum as Sir James Ware calls them. In that parte of Counaught called O Dowde's were proprietors thereof till the said Invasion afforesaid, and then this Barony and the halfe-Barony of Iris next to it, the then proprietie of the said Ó Dowds,

were planted with severall British colonyes that were for severall hundred of years past tributary to the noble familie of Bourke, if not from the first Conquest. The families, vizt., Barretts, Lynodds, Andrewes (in Irish McAndrewes), Padins, [117] {Fants, Athy, Kirvan, {Inish} (vel Curwyn – *del.*), Mandevills, Maires, Linches, {Maxima}, Butlers, Bodkins, Skerrets, Kerryes {th[r]ough extent from the Lord Kerry (supposed Maurices)}, Deanes, Martines, Penrice vel Rice, Trenches, Browne vel Le-Brun, Blake à Cadellis, Berminghams, Beling (Kirowan Hibernius), Allen vel Allan, Arundelia, Comitum Stirps, Skerret vel Skarrett, Fallon (Hiberni), of the Linches severall families and armes, Bodkins (ex stirp. Desmoniae Comitum), Gifford, Kerviceord, (Hiberni), Flahertys, Flemmings, Russell, Walsh or Wallis, Vavazour vel Vavasor, Cogan, de Lacyes, Crena, Dorsie, Joyce, Labarth, Nolane, Quinn, Porter.}

[For some details of the history and traditions of Tirawley, see see *Hy-F*; also T. Ó Concheanainn, 'Aided Nath Í and Uí Fhiachrach genealogies', *Éigse* xxv (1991), pp. 1–2, and Ó Muraíle, *Mayo Places*, pp. 28–9. Ware's reference to 'familiâ Hyfiachriorum' occurs in that writer's last published work, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* (Dublin 1665), p. 280. The story of the overlordship of the Burkes and other British/Welsh families occurs in *Hy-F*, pp. 334–8 (derived from Mac Fhirbhisigh's Book of Genealogies, LGen.DF, pp. 842–3); it inspired Samuel Ferguson's long poem 'The vengeance of the Welshmen of Tirawley'. One wonders if the list of families designated 'British colonies' by Downing is in fact a record of 'outside' surnames to be found in Tirawley in the 1680s. Some of the names are of Gaelic origin – e.g., Kirwan, Fallon, Flaherty, Dorsie, Nolane, Quinn – while several have a decided 'Galway' flavour – Fant, Athy, Kirwan, Lynch, Bodkin, Skerret, Martin, Browne, Blake/Cadell, Bermingham, etc. Much of the writing in the latter part of this paragraph is very difficult to decipher, being little more than a scribble, and the page on which it occurs is displaced (being numbered '117').]

40a [123v] The abby or priorie of St. Francis of Rosserke.

b [125r] The abby of St. Domnicks Order of Rathbranna.

c [125v] The priory of St. [] of Crosmolina.

d [126r] The abby of St. Augustine's {Order of} Mendicants of Errew. S. Ternanus Errew's founder.

e [126v] The abby of the Order formerlie of the Knights Templars of Boghwynann.

[The houses mentioned are dealt with in *MRHI*: Ros Éirc, p. 274 (*DHA*, p. 223); Ráth Bhrannaibh, p. 223 (*DHA*, p. 258); Crois Mhaoilíona, p. 168; Oireadh (the foundation attributed to St Tighearnán), p. 304; Both Faonáin, p. 303 (and p. 269) (*DHA*, p. 222?).]

41 [127] In this Barony of Tirawley stands the towne of Killala als. Aladensis, the

episcopall seat in that country where the Right Reverend Thomas {O}tway, then Lord Bishopp thereof and of Achonry or Achadensis, built {latelic} a new cathedrall church upon his owne costs before hee was translated {to} the Bishopricke of Ossory. This towne stands neere the sea where there is a mightie strand and a harbour for shippinge upon the inlet of Moy.

[Bishop Otway was appointed to Killala (and Achonry) in October 1670, translated to Ossory in 1680 and died in 1693; he was succeeded in Killala by the shortlived John Smith who died just over a year after his appointment. He in turn was succeeded by Henry Smyth who, however, was translated to Raphoe some months later. Smyth's successor was Richard Tennison (1682–91).]

42 [128]

Clanmorris Barony

Parishes therein	nature of the soyle
Kilcolman	good fine lands
Balla	good lands
Taghkeen	good lands
Kilvine	good lands
Crosbohine	good lands
Templegerard or Mayo Parish	very fine lands

[Ordnance Survey (OS) forms of parish-names in Clanmorris: Kilcolman, Balla, Tagheen, Kilvine, Crossboyne, Mayo.]

43 [129]

Kilmayne Bar.

Parishes	nature of the soyle
Conge	generally rocky limestone but good land in most places
Kilmolara	good lime stone lands, in some places rocky
Balychalla	good but somewhat []
Kilcomon	very fine lime stone lands
Kilmaynmore	very fine lands
Kilmaynbegg	
Robine	
Templemore or Ballnrobe	
Morgagagh	
Shrowle	

[OS forms of parish-names in Kilmaine: Cong, Kilmolara, Ballinchalla, Kilcommon, Kilmainemore, Kilmainebeg, Robeen, Ballinrobe, Moorgagagh, Shrule.]

44 [130]

Carra Barr.

Parishes	nature of the soyle
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Ballyovy — Bellaheane — Ballintobber
 Borriscarra — Roslea
 Turlogh [+small representation of round tower]
 Dromenenaghane — Eglischoyne — Breaghwy

[OS forms of parish-names in Carra: Ballyovey, Ballyhean, Ballintober, Burriscarra, Rosslee, Turlough, Drum, Aglish, Breaghwy.]

45 [131]

Gallen Bar.

Parishes nature of the soyle
 Meelick — Templemore — Bughola
 Killasser — Kilconduff — Killedan
 Towmore — Attymasse — Kilnegarvan
 Kildacomoge

[OS forms of parish-names in Gallen: Meelick, Templemore, Bohola, Killasser, Kilconduff, Killedan, Toomore, Attymass, Kilgarvan, Kildacommoge.]

46 [132]

Costellowe Bar.

Parishes nature of the soyle
 Aghamore — Annagh — Kilbehagh
 Knock — Beakan — Castlemore
 Kilcolman — Kilmovy

[OS forms of parish-names in Costello: Aghamore, Annagh, Kilbeagh, Knock, Beakan, Castlemore, Kilcolman, Kilmovee.]

47 [133]

Barrishowle Bar.

Parishes: Island Eden — Barrishowle — Kilmcasser — Kilveena-Aghagower

[OS forms of parish-names in Burrishoole: Islandeady, Burrishoole, Kilmaclasser, Kilmeena, Aghagower.]

48 [134]

Muriske Bar.

Parishes nature of the soyle
 Kilgeever — Oghavale — Aghagower

[OS forms of parish-names in Murrisk: Kilgeever, Oughaval, Aghagower.]

49 [135]

Irris halfe Bar.: Kilmore

[OS form of parish-name in Erris: Kilmore.]

50 [136r]

Tirawly Bar.

Parishes: Templemurry — Crosmolina — Ballynehaglish
Killobeday—Rathreagh — Lackan — Dooniny — Kilfyan
[136v] Killalla — Adergowle — Kilbreedy — Ballysickere
Kilmoremoye — Moygawnagh

[OS forms of parish-names in Tirawley: Templemurry, Crossmolina, Ballynahaglish, Kilbelfad, Rathreagh, Lackan, Doonfeeny, Kilfian, Killala, Addergoole, Kilbride, Ballysakeery, Kilmoremoy, Moygawnagh.]

51a [137] The Countie of Longford olim Anilia.

b This countie takes its name from the {shire} towne soe called Longford signifying a house or place of abode of a Brin ... (?) great Lord.

c This countie did since the time of the Incarnation or some time before it belong to the scept of the race of Ire or Hire, one of the three sonns of Miletius, a quo the Lord [...] of Iveagh, Magenis, cum multis alijs which are generallie called Clancony.

d This country was divided into two severall division, that is, Ô Ferrall Bane or White Ô Ferrall and Ô Ferrall Buoy or Yellow Ô Ferrall. The first whereof had these Baronies in the

[b] Anilia: Anghaile, the ancient territory of the Ó Fearghail family, who belonged to the Conmaicne Maige Réin. (*Brin* ... – lege ‘prince’?)

(c) For details of Síl Ír mec Míled – allegedly derived from the third son of Míl Espáinne – see M.E. Dobbs, ‘The history of the descendants of Ir’, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* xiii (1921), pp. 308–59; xvi (1923), pp. 43–144. According to accepted Irish genealogical doctrine, the family of Mág Aonghusa, lords of Uí Eachach Uladh, did – as stated by Downing – belong to Síl Ír. I do not know what ‘Clancony’ is meant to represent – ?Clann Chonmhaicne.

(d) The passage breaks off abruptly here. The two family-names are Ó Fearghail Bán and Ó Fearghail Buidhe. See ‘Description of the County of Longford by N[icholas] Dowdall Esqr., 1682’, in R. Gillespie and G. Moran (eds), *Longford, Essays in County History* (Dublin 1991) pp. 207–11.]

53a [138r] begin 1602.

b 1062. Bryen Boruvius killed at Clonturfe Good Friday 23rd of April 1013 {ali[i]s 1014}.

- c Tordelbach nepos at Kincorr dyed 1086, etat 77.
- d Mordácus his sonn 20 yeares reigned, dyed 10th Martij 1119, Regab. (?)
- e Doncanus filius Briani Borovi.
- f [138v] Transcribed.

[(a) The import of these words is unclear (a date, or a page of a manuscript?).

(b) Brian Bórainmhe, high-king of Ireland, killed by Viking warriors in aftermath of battle of Clontarf, Good Friday, 1014. I do not understand what the figure '1062' refers to – also a date, or a page of a manuscript?

(c) Toirdelbach, grandson of Brian and 'king of Ireland with opposition', died at Kincora/Ceann Coradh, Co. Clare, 1086.

(d) Muirchertach, son of Toirdelbach and virtual high-king of Ireland, died 1119. I do not understand the final word.

(e) Donnchad, son of Brian, king of Munster, abdicated 1063 and died the following year while on pilgrimage in Rome.

(f) The single word on this page is written at an angle of 90 degrees.]

Notes

- 1 See maps indicating the areas covered by the accounts in a chapter by Dr J.H. Andrews in *New History of Ireland (NHI)* iii, T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds) (Oxford 1976), p. 456, and in F.V. Emery, 'Irish geography in the seventeenth century' in *Irish Geography* iii (1954), p. 269
- 2 W. O'Sullivan, 'William Molyneux's geographical collections for Kerry' in *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society [JKAHS]* iv (1971), p. 28; J. Logan, 'Tadhg O Roddy and two surveys of Co. Leitrim' in *Bréifne* iv/14 (1971), pp. 320–2; J.G. Simms, *William Molyneux of Dublin* (Dublin 1982), pp. 34–6; also K.T. Hoppen, 'Samuel Molyneux's tour of Kerry, 1709: an introduction' in *JKAHS* iii (1970), p. 62; Emery, 'Irish geography', pp. 269–73.
- 3 William O'Sullivan ('W. Molyneux's ... collections', p. 30) says the draft account was of the Queen's County, while the county attributed to Domville in the maps cited in n. 1, above, is Carlow; in fact, both counties are treated of, albeit very briefly.
- 4 See R. Gillespie and G. Moran, *Longford, Essays in County History* (Dublin 1991), pp. 207–11.
- 5 O'Sullivan, 'W. Molyneux's ... collections', p. 30; Emery, 'Irish geography', p. 271. For some details of Molyneux's relationship to the individuals just mentioned, see Simms, *William Molyneux*, p. 16 (genealogical table, where 'Anthony Dropping' should of course read 'Anthony Dopping').
- 6 J. Hardiman, *A Chorographical Description of West or H-lar Connaught, AD 1684, by Roderic O'Flaherty, Esq.* (Dublin 1846), p. 122.

- 7 Emery, 'Irish geography', pp. 272–3.
- 8 Logan, 'Tadhg O Roddy', p. 322 – from RIA MS 12 W 22, p. 9.
- 9 See lists A and B at the close of this Introduction. (As to the possibility that he may have written an account of Co. Longford, see n. 30 below.)
- 10 Hardiman, *H-Conn*, pp. 431–4.
- 11 O'Sullivan, 'W. Molyneux's ... collections', p. 33, n. 21.
- 12 Hardiman, *H-Conn*, pp. 4 n. and 251.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 422.
- 14 R.A.S. Macalister, 'Robert Downing's History of Louth' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy [PRIA]* xxxiii C (1917), p. 422.
- 15 William O'Sullivan recently remarked to me that Phillipps might have obtained the account of Co. Louth through his relationship (?by marriage) to the Molyneux family. I have not yet been able to follow up this suggestion. It may be noted, however, that Ó Rodaighe's account of Co. Leitrim (now in RIA MS 12 W 22) was acquired by Sir Thomas 'in 1834 from Thomas Thorpe, the London bookseller' and 'originally formed part of the Southwell collection' (Logan, 'Tadhg O Roddy', p. 325, n. 25). (Note also the reference to Thorpe's Catalogue of the Southwell MSS in the passage cited in n. 13, above.)
- 16 Like Ó Rodaighe's account of Co. Leitrim, it might be in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, although the Leitrim account has only been there since 1962, having been presented by Fr Arthur Cox. See Logan, 'Tadhg O Roddy', p. 325, n. 25, where it is stated that the latter work was acquired by Arthur Cox's father, Dr Michael Cox, at a sale of manuscripts from the Phillipps collection at Sothebys in June 1910. Macalister would appear to have obtained the Louth tract some years later. He speaks (*idem*, 'R. Downing's Hist. of Louth', p. 499) of having bought it from a Mr Harding, a London bookseller, 'a short time' before he read his paper on the subject to the Royal Irish Academy (on 13 November 1916). The recent lengthy closure of Academy House for renovation has prevented me from searching there for Downing's account of Co. Louth.
- 17 Macalister, 'R. Downing's Hist. of Louth', p. 499.
- 18 O'Sullivan, 'W. Molyneux's ... collections', p. 33; also *ibid.*, p. 31.
- 19 Ordnance Survey Letters for Co. Mayo, mainly by John O'Donovan and Thomas O'Connor, 1838, MSS in Royal Irish Academy [OSL Mayo] i, p. 183. It is referred to as 'an extract headed "County of Mayo by Mr. Downing" (from Mr. Petrie's collections).' George Petrie (1790–1866), a remarkable polymath, was at that time in charge of the Ordnance Survey's Topographical Department, and John O'Donovan was his most celebrated employee. Details of the citations of Downing's account in the OSL are given at the openings of the appropriate sections of the commentary or annotation to the text, below. See also n. 27, below.
- 20 J. O'Donovan, *The Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, (Dublin 1844) [*Hy-F*], pp. 160–1 n.
- 21 On the pages cited in n. 12, above.
- 22 Macalister, 'R. Downing's Hist. of Louth', p. 500.
- 23 In private conversation, William O'Sullivan has once or twice raised with me the question of whether the various Downing texts might not themselves be transcripts,

- although in print he has stated that they 'are probably autographs' ('W. Molyneux's ... collections', p. 33, n. 21). On balance, Macalister's view that they were, in fact, first drafts strikes me as being quite likely.
- 24 See nn. 4, above and 30, below.
- 25 See P. Ó Ciardha, 'Tadhg Ó Rodaighe' in *Bréifne* v/18 (1977–8), pp. 266–77, and Logan, 'Tadhg O Roddy', pp. 322–5.
- 26 Information on members of the nobility, which has been included in the commentary/annotation of the above text, has been taken from such standard works on the subject as the *Complete Peerage*, Burke's *Peerage*, Burke's *Extinct Peerages*, Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*, etc. More specific references to these works have been considered unnecessary.
- 27 Downing's account is cited in OSL Mayo at the following places: i, pp. 256, 439, 441–2, 477; ii, pp. 4, 61, 75, 97–8, 192–3, 242–3, 288–9, 296, 301, 355, 362, 374, 381, 393–5, 442–3, 450, 473, 476–7. (See also n. 19, above.)
- 28 There are no descriptions, either long or short, of any part of the following counties: Cavan, Fermanagh, Kilkenny, King's County (now Offaly), Meath, Tipperary, Tyrone and Wicklow.
- 29 I have examined in some detail the copies of the various sections of the 'Survey' preserved in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, but I have not yet been able to look at copies in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy – of which there is at least one (see nn. 15 and 16, above) – nor to search for any copies which may repose in other collections.
- 30 One wonders what connection, if any, there may be between this work (and A 8, above) and one of the items described as follows in R. Hayes, *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation* (Boston 1965), i, p. 936: 'MSS 10, 224–10, 225. Descriptions of the county of Longford by N. Dowdall and R[obert] Downing, 1682, and early [sic] 17th c. (Photostats of originals in St. Mel's College, Longford, formerly Phillipps MSS, 6681–6682.'

Additional note:

When this edition of Downing's account of Co. Mayo had been completed and sent to the printers, I received a small but interesting snippet of additional information on the Abraham Buculcerus whose work, *Index Chronologicus* (dating from the year 1612, or shortly thereafter), is cited by Downing in §26. The information came from none other than William O'Sullivan, with whom (as I mentioned above) I had discussed the problem of Buculcerus's identity on a number of occasions. Mr O'Sullivan drew my attention to what seems to be another reference to this author – in the Bodleian Catalogue of 1605. The following are the title, place and date of publication of that Catalogue: *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Publicae qvam vir ornatis. simus Thomas Bodleius Eques Auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit; continet avtem Libros Alphabeticè dispositos secundum quatuor Facultates ... auctore Thomas James. Ibidem Bibliothecarie. Oxoniae, Apud Iosephum Barnesium. Ann. Dom. 1605.* The principal divisions of the work are as follows: *Libri Theologici*, pp. 1–162; *Libri Medici*, pp. 180–218; *Libri Iuris*, pp. 219–74; *Libri Artium*, pp. 275–

415; a series of appendices occupies pp. 427–655. On the page headed ‘B.14’ (=p.29 of the volume) the following entry occurs (all written in a single line):

6 Abrah. *Bucholceri* Chronol. Isagog. 1580.

As I have not yet had a chance to search for this work in the Bodleian Library, I have no idea of its contents, but it is interesting that – like the work cited by Downing – it appears to be some form of chronology. If and when it is located, we may learn a little more about its rather mysterious author, but we still await further details of the later work of his which apparently contains an account of the bloody encounter at Ardnaree in 1586. (For example, we do not know if that later work was ever published – Downing may well have been relying on a manuscript copy.)

Charles Lynegar, the Ó Luinín family and the study of Seanchas

Katharine Simms

Manuscript 1288 (H.1.14) in the library of Trinity College Dublin contains a satirical poem '*A uaisle Éirionn searc mo chuim*' composed about 1712 and ascribed there to Aodh Ó Dálaigh, but elsewhere attributed with perhaps greater probability to Seán Ó Neachtain, a member of the same scribal and literary circle.¹ The butt of its wit was the *soi-disant* 'Captain' Charles Lynegar, variously known as Séarlus, Cathal or Cormac Ó Luinín, a direct descendant of the Ó Luinín hereditary historians to the Mág Uidhir chieftains of Fermanagh, who styled himself on occasion 'Master and Professor of the Irish language in Trinity College' and '*ard ollamh Éireann*'.² There was some justification for his use of these high-sounding titles, in that up to the late seventeenth century members of his immediate family continued to pursue their hereditary studies, using titles such as 'chief antiquary and king at arms of Ireland'³ and *ollamh Mhic Guibhir*,⁴ while he himself supplemented his starvation wages as lecturer in Irish to the divinity students at Trinity College c.1708–1729 by drawing up pedigrees for patrons of Irish or Anglo-Irish ancestry.⁵ The poem accuses Lynegar of reneging on his Catholic faith, of pretentious vanity and of manufacturing unreliable genealogies, all charges that seem largely borne out by what is known otherwise of the man and his career.⁶ However when the author jeers

If Ó Luinín yonder receives a prize from any ungenerous, hard man the nimble knave,
be he Gael or Gall, is (henceforth) a descendant of kings⁷

he is repeating an accusation levelled against all professional *seanchaidhe* by various English and Anglo-Irish observers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the art of *seanchas* was still widely practised. For instance the apothecary Thomas Smyth in 1561 berated the

Shankee, which is to say in English, the petigreer. They have ... great plaintye of cattell ... they make ignoraunt men of the country to belyve that they be discended of Alexander the Great, or of Darius, or of Caesar, or of some other notable prince; which makes the ignorant people to run madde, and cerieth not what they do; the which is very hurtful to the realme.⁸

Edmund Spenser was also critical of the bardic chroniclers' 'desire of pleasing perhaps too much and ignorance of art and pure learning'⁹ though interestingly Henry Piers'

humorous account of an interchange between a young representative of the New English in Ireland (whose mother came from an old Gaelic family) and a professional *seanchaidh*, does not show the Irish genealogist inventing a string of names when his information ran out.

This gentleman merrily requested the antiquary to rip up his pedigree also; the confident time-talker replied, that I can do with great ease, for you are the son of such a person, naming his father, the son of such a person, naming his grand father, the son of such a great person, naming his greatgrandfather by surname, who came over, and there stops; what says that merry gentleman, can you go no further? No says the genealogist, not by your father's side; but if you will have your pedigree by your mother's side, I will set you up to the devil's house! speaking the last words in a far differing tone, and as a man rapt up in an ecstasy.¹⁰

It is noticeable that these three authors and others writing in English in the early modern period avoid calling the *seanchaidhe* 'historians', referring to them instead as antiquaries, chroniclers and genealogists, or 'pedigreeers'.¹¹ One reason for this distinction may be found in Stanihurst's wordy dedication of his 1577 'Treatise' to Sir Henry Sidney, in which he follows the teaching of classical writers like Sallust and ecclesiastical scholars such as the Venerable Bede¹² in positing a moral purpose for the writing of history:

In perusing this hystorie, you shall finde vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, loyaltie exalted ... who so will be addicted to the reading of hystories, shall readily find diuers eventes woorthy to be remembered, and sundry sounde examples daily to be followed. Vpon which grounde the learned haue, not without cause, adiudged an hystorie to be the Marrowe of reason ... the lanterne of trueth, the lyfe of memorie, the doctresse of behaiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chivalrie.¹³

Irish *seanchas*, however, never developed a moral or philosophical bent. It could be viewed perhaps as a 'register of antiquity', or a 'trumpet of chivalry' but hardly as a 'doctress of behaviour'.

Indeed if we look back to the earliest Irish texts, we might wonder if the customary translation of the terms *seanchaidh* and *seanchas* as 'historian' and 'history'¹⁴ is not somewhat misleading. In the Old Irish glosses on the Pauline Epistles to Timothy and Titus in the Codex Paulinus Wirzburgensis, conventionally dated to the mid-eighth century, *senchas* is repeatedly used to translate the Latin *fabula* in contexts where St Paul is contrasting the outdated precepts of the Jewish law and pagan mythology with the new Christian way.¹⁵ *Senchas* also occurs in this manuscript with reference to the Old Testament tale of Abraham's two sons, Isaac and Ishmael,¹⁶ and in another place describes the non-biblical tradition known to St Paul on which he drew for the names of the Egyptian 'druids' contending with Moses.¹⁷ There is thus no apparent contrast for the glossators between the idea of written and unwritten tradition, or between historical narrative and law. The legal and pre-Christian associations of *senchas* in the Old Irish glosses are reinforced by the very title of that great compilation of Old Irish law tracts, the *Senchus Már*, and by the contents of its 'pseudo-historical prologue', which compares the body of

'natural law' observed in pre-Christian Ireland with the law of Moses, and claims that it was collected and purified for Christian use by a committee of nine, three clerics, three kings and three men of learning (two poets and a jurist). In pagan times, the prologue states, pronouncements were made in Ireland not only by the jurist according to maxims and precedents, but also by the *fer comgne* (historian?) for narrative and storytelling, and the poet for praise and satire. Originally indeed the poets had had a monopoly of all judgements, but their discussions had been found unintelligible, and their jurisdiction confined to their own concerns. Now all three classes were subject to the clerical scholar.¹⁸

The implication that at an early period the practitioner of *senchas* had a role in delivering judgements is supported elsewhere in the law-tracts. In *Berrad Airechta* we are told that 'no-one is a *senchae* (the original form of the word *senchaid*)¹⁹ who does not order an oath, there is no oath without lot-casting, no lot-casting without equality of persons', a passage Thurneysen takes as implying a judicial role for the *senchae*,²⁰ and similarly in the tract *Di Astad Chirt ocus Dligid* it is stated 'if thou search the whole judgments of antiquaries (*seanca*, glossed *na senchad*) with the Feine, the 'eric-fines' for intention and concealment are equally high'.²¹ At the very least this makes the *senchae* the custodian and interpreter of the law, and it is in this role that the *senchae* or *senchaid* is depicted in an Old Irish text on court procedure. After describing the 'back court' or supreme court, where the king, the bishop and the 'expert in every legal language with the rank of *ollam*' are judges, the tract goes on to talk of

The side court, it is there that there are custodians of tradition (*senchaid*) and over-kings and hostages and property-sureties and hostage-sureties, and it is for this reason that it is [called] the side court, because it is on the lore (*senchus*) of the custodians of tradition and the clarification (*rellad*) of the custodians of tradition that the court relies.²²

The *senchaid* was equipped to serve as an expert witness not only on the contents and meaning of old customs, but on the facts of a person's ancestry, the historical boundaries of some estate or territory, or the amount of tax or tribute it had rendered in the past. Seemingly it was as this kind of factual witness that 'an antiquary of long memory' (*sencha sir-cuimne*) is cited among a list of reliable sources of evidence in one of the Additional Heptads.²³ As late as the beginning of the sixteenth century a brehon law pleading concerning land inheritance introduced as an argument not only the number of witnesses and historians giving evidence in support of either side, but their relative willingness, reliability and qualifications (*a n-ais 7 a n-indric 7 a tochus*).²⁴ Similarly in a passage of commentary on *Bretha Comaithchesa*, the legality of a fenceline is established by the memory of law-worthy or trustworthy historians (*cuimne seanchad indraice*) concerning events overlapped by their own lifetime. The concept of overlapping lifetimes was crucial to the Irish understanding of reliable tradition, because it could refer to events that took place in the lifetime of older historians who communicated the facts personally to the next generation. We find the phrase 'the common memory of two old men (*comcuimhne da tsean*)' which in the Old Irish prologue to the *Senchus Már* probably referred originally merely to the need for contemporary corroboration of one old man's statement, subsequently glossed as 'Senior hands down to Senior, i.e. master to disciple; and it is this which preserves it to another; i.e. the common memory which the two

seniors had These are the two seniors who are mentioned here, for Sencha mac Ailella overlapped the end of the lifetime of Sen mac Aige; this is what is called Sen's Senchus'.²⁵ In cases where it was the *senchaid's* task to certify officially facts known to him (or relayed to him) personally, he seems almost comparable to a public notary. It has been estimated that between published and unpublished Irish genealogical texts the names of some 20,000 individuals are recorded from the pre-Norman period alone,²⁶ and perhaps we should see the exhaustive detail of these genealogical records as resulting more from the *senchaid's* legal functions than from his political or propagandist role.

Just as the medieval poets looked to their legendary forerunners, Aithirne the Importunate and Dubthach moccu Lugair as establishing patterns for the practice of their profession,²⁷ so a character from the Ulster cycle, Sencha mac Ailella, represented the virtuous archetype of the professional *senchae* in the Old Irish period,²⁸ and it is quite striking how little this person seems to have to do with history as we know it.

In the law-tracts Sencha mac Ailella is hardly to be distinguished from two namesakes or near-namesakes, Sen mac Aige and Sencha mac Cuil Claoin, as one of the great legendary judges of the pre-Christian period, being listed alongside Morann of the magic collar and his pupil Nera, and referred to as the father of two more such judges, Fachtna and the 'female-author' Brig Ambue.²⁹ Similarly in the Ulster tale *Mesca Ulad* (Book of Leinster version) he is described as father to the even more just-judging Caine Caínbrethach³⁰ whose name sounds suspiciously like the legendary first law-giver of Ireland, Cáí Caínbrethach.³¹

In general, though, this treatment of Sencha in a closely related group of Ulster tales found in the Book of Leinster together with a corresponding addition in Hand H to *Lebor na hUidre*³² gives him more the character of an arbitrator than a formal judge. His office could be compared to that of a medieval herald, since most of the disputes he settles arise between the Ulster nobles or their wives over questions of precedence.³³ He is also a silver-tongued orator, a sage, an *ollam* who takes up his position directly in front of King Conchobor mac Nessa, interviews a subject in the presence of his king, and prepares his (the king's?) speech.³⁴ He advances to greet strangers as an envoy of the Ulster host.³⁵ His emblem of office was 'Sencha's branch of peace' (*in craib sidamail Senchada*) or 'hand-wood' (*bascrand*) which he shook or struck to obtain silence before speaking, and to calm quarrels in assemblies.³⁶

Interestingly, in texts less central to the Ulster Cycle, or later in date, Sencha loses his distinctive character as an orator and is treated either as one among a number of poets,³⁷ or simply as another heroic warrior in the Ulster court, like Conall Cearnach.³⁸ In the comparatively real world of the Irish annals there is only one notice of an *ollamh aurlabhraidh*, a 'master of eloquence', a title corresponding to the descriptions of Sencha mac Ailella as *ollam*, and *erlabraid Ulad*. It comes in the Annals of the Four Masters under the year 884 with reference to the death of Colcu son of Connacán, Abbot of Kinnitty, who is also called the best *senchaidh* in Ireland in his own time.³⁹ It is possible that the court orator was a recognised post at an early period which was becoming obsolete by the twelfth century, and so Sencha's role was modified or ignored in later sagas.

With their conversion to Christianity in the fifth century, the Irish were to encounter and subsequently adapt to their own needs a specifically Christian form of history, compounded of hagiography, biblical commentary, the computistical study of time and

the Eusebian synchronisms combining biblical and secular records of the past.⁴⁰ In Latin texts early Irish writers refer to such 'scientific' history as *peritia* or *historia*.⁴¹ As Byrne has pointed out, in the extant genealogical manuscripts of the twelfth century or later the Latin term *peritia* can be and is replaced with the Irish *senchus*,⁴² but it is possible the two forms of history were not always so directly equated. Isidore of Seville, whose works had a considerable influence in Ireland, distinguishes very strongly between *fabulae*, fables of mythical monsters or talking beasts, narratives of events which not only did not happen, but could not happen, and *historiae* dealing with events witnessed by the writer, or found written in earlier annals.⁴³ One early word for historian seems to have been the *fer comgne*, the 'man of combined knowledge, or complete knowledge' (*com* + *ecnae*), a term which has been taken as alluding to the synchronisms so typical of Christian history,⁴⁴ although in the pseudo-historical prologue to the *Senchus Már*, the *Bretha Nemed*, and *Uraicecht na Riar*, the context indicates that *coimgne* refers rather to tales and genealogies.⁴⁵

An eleventh-century commentary on the seven grades of church learning found listed in the Old Irish law tract *Uraicecht Becc* identifies the fourth grade from the top as the *staraigi* or historian, adding that in the case of a historian who has been instituted by the king of a great territory, his honour-price and status are advanced to second place from the top, directly after the *suí litre* or *fer leigind*, the 'sage of letters'. He would then enjoy the title of *tánaí suad* or 'deputy-sage' which was otherwise reserved for the biblical scholar, the *suí canóine*.⁴⁶ The same teaching, that the *staraige* ranked fourth in the seven grades of church learning, is also found in a poem attributed to Maelsuthain Ó Cerbaill (d. 1010), preserved in the Bodleian manuscript Laud Misc. 610.⁴⁷ One could argue that this church scholar confined himself exclusively to hagiography and martyrologies and other strictly ecclesiastical subjects, but the fact that he is appointed to his post by the local king suggests he dealt with secular history also. However, before the end of the Old Irish period the *senchae* of the law tracts, the witness to a living tradition passed on to him personally by an older generation, had become officially merged with the scholar of biblical history, whose genealogies were traced back to Noah and Adam, and whose synchronisms gave dates in the Christian era to Conchobhar mac Nessa and Cormac mac Airt. I use the expression 'officially' because a legend was produced to explain the merging of memory and prehistory, the legend of Fintan mac Bóchra. In the text *Airne Fíngéin*, considered by its editor to have originated in the ninth or tenth century, we are told that among the wonders heralding the birth of Conn of the Hundred Battles was the return of speech and eloquence to old Fintan, an eye-witness of Noah's Flood. Until this night when he spoke again, the truth of Ireland, its history (*coimgne*), its prophecy (*fáitsine*) its tradition (*senchus*) and its just dues (*dligeda córa*) had all lain hidden.⁴⁸

This theme is elaborated in two further texts. The tenth- or eleventh-century narrative *Suidigud Tellaich Temra* shows us the sixth-century High-King Diarmait mac Cerbaill about to define the household lands of Tara, and in need of reliable testimony as to 'how it was before their day and how it would be after them for all time'. This was the kind of case that typically required the witness of old men and *senchaidhe* in the law-tracts, but we are told that in those days there were very few learned men. Anachronistically the king summoned the seventh-century scholar Cennfaelad mac Ailella (d. 678) and Flann Febla, Abbot of Armagh (d.715) before eventually calling on Fintan mac Bóchra, the

great-grandson of Noah, who was then living in Kerry with an army of sons, grandsons and remoter descendants. The court then examined him on the length of his memory, perhaps a reflection of a real process, and were told he had outlived a yew-tree he planted himself, and outlasted the wooden vessels carved from the dead tree. He was invited to take the judge's chair (*cathair bretheman*), not on the score of learning, but on the score of age: 'it is transgression of an elder's judgement (*tiachtain tar breith senórach*) to transgress thy judgement'. He then recites two poems giving the testimony of his personal experience as to the successive invasions of Ireland and the earliest judgements given in the past, from God's condemnation of the devil, through the judgements of Moses, Féiniús Farsaid and Amaigen to the new Christian dispensation. However when requested again to deliver judgement concerning the household lands of Tara, he resorted to testimony derived from his instruction face to face by an older authority still. While attending an earlier assembly summoned by Conaing Bec-eclach, king of Ireland, he saw a wondrous being approach them – 'he was an angel of God or he was God himself' – who told them Christ had been crucified that day. This being already occurs in *Airne Fíngéin* as propagating an offshoot from the Tree of Life in Irish soil, or giving a berry of this tree to Fintan to plant, but now he is said to have summoned all the *seanchaidhe* of Ireland together and narrated to them 'an arrangement of history and foundations of the chronology' (*sreith senchusa & ailgi chomgni*) for every part of Ireland, entrusting Fintan in particular as the oldest *seanchaidh* he could find, to retail the information to the Irish host.⁴⁹

Without this framework of personal testimony, overlapping generations and memories gleaned over an extraordinarily prolonged lifetime, the churchmen's history of the world from the time of its creation, based on Eusebius, Orosius, Isidore and Bede, would not have met the legal criteria for reliability applied to the testimony of *senchaide* in the Irish law-courts.⁵⁰ This origin tale thus marks the merging of two kinds of history. Exactly when such merging was felt to have taken place in practice is obscured by the continued use of Latin in original annal entries during the eighth and ninth centuries. However Mael Mura (d. 887) from the church settlement of Fahan in Inishowen, who composed the long versified narrative on the origin of the Milesians, *Can a mbunadas na nGaedel?*, is not only described as *righfile Erenn*, 'king-poet of Ireland' in the Annals of Ulster, but an early quatrain added in the margin by Hand I calls him a *sencha amra*, an 'illustrious historian', while the Four Masters call him a *staraidhe*. The phrase *sencha amra* is also applied in the Annals of Ulster to Daniel (d. 918) of Cluain Coirpthe or Kilbarry, another church settlement.

In terms of surviving compositions, many of them preserved in the Book of Leinster, the period 850 to 1150 was to be the golden age of the poet-historian, although the Four Masters, with what authority is unclear, already refer to the famous early poet Ruman mac Colmáin (d. 747) as sage also 'in ecclesiastical learning (and) in chronicling' (*saoi in ecna i ccoirnic*). The Old Irish text in *Uraicecht na Ríar* explicitly demands only of the highest grade of poet, the *ollam*, that he should be 'knowledgeable in all historical science' (*éola i cach coimgniú*) glossed as 'genealogy' and 'tales', but the Middle Irish glosses on this tract by defining the terms *dán* and *drécht* as also referring to 'tales', require knowledge of a certain number of tales from every poetic grade, from the *ollam* with three hundred and fifty down to the humble *oblaire*, who is acquainted with only

five.⁵¹ The Old Irish tract on poetic inspiration *Coire Goiriath* has a passage acclaiming the 'Cauldron of Inspiration' (*Coire Érmæ*) as 'craftsman of *comgne*' which the Middle Irish gloss interprets as meaning that its possessor has 'knowledge of the synchronism of kings (*eólus comamserda aice na rí*)'. There is an interesting link made between music and history in such texts. The same section of *Coire Goiriath* glosses the phrase 'where one approaches musical art' (*cengar sési*) with the words 'Many varieties of knowledge are approached in it, i.e. tales and genealogies'.⁵² Similarly a fragment of *Bretha Nemed* defines the skills of a middle grade of poet, the *cano* as 'Correct ... playing of music to every company in the merry house of a mead-hall, eloquence applied to historical lore (*soindsne for coimgne*), proper arrangement and harmony are what confer dignity on a *cano* who sings in harmony bardic compositions'.⁵³ This image of the harmonious relaying of the historian's researches in more entertaining fashion by the less learned poet is reminiscent of the well-known passage in the poem *A theachtair thig ó'n Róimh* attributed to the thirteenth-century Giolla Brighde Mac Conmidhe:

Were it not for poetry, sweet-tongued harp or *tiompán* would not know of a goodly hero after his death, nor of his reputation nor his prowess.

Noble men would have no knowledge of their traditions (*a seanchais*) and nobility; allow these to be composed in poetry or else bid farewell to their ancient histories (*dá seinsgéalaibh*).⁵⁴

This quotation from the high middle ages serves to point up the fact that the lore relayed by the poets is described in the earlier texts as synchronisms, genealogies and tales, but not as *senchas*. The outlook this implied soon changed, however. The increased emphasis on tales as between the Old Irish texts on poets and the later glosses may relate to the emergence of the official tale-lists, perhaps towards the end of the tenth century. In the narrative introduction to one of these lists, *Airec menman Uraid mac Coise*, the poet Mac Coisse (d. 990 or 1023) referred to the whole body of narratives as 'the *coimcne*, tales, historical traditions (*senchusa*) and takings of Ireland such as had come to pass from the first taking of Ireland after the Flood until the time in which he himself lived' and an undateable summary in a fifteenth-century Edinburgh manuscript speaks of this material as knowledge required of every learned man of art, *ollaman & airdfiled & saersenchada* (of ollamh, poet and noble historian).⁵⁵ In a Middle Irish poem attributed to Dubthach moccu Lugair, and appended to the late eleventh-century Book of Rights, the fully qualified *ollam* of poetry is ordered to be a *saí senchada*, an eminent *seanchaid*, in a more technical sense, knowing not only the history of Ireland, but the stipends and tributes due to and from each territory in the island.⁵⁶

Even after they had established the *bona fides* of the churchmen's elaborately biblical genealogies and narratives of remote prehistory, the medieval *seanchaidhe* apparently still felt a need to guarantee the reliability of the extant written texts. In *Scél na Fír Flatha* we are told that Fintan mac Bóchra, with the other *seanchaidhe* and old men of Ireland, was present in person when Cormac mac Airt caused the *Saltair Cormaic* to be compiled, a written anthology of historical tales or synchronisms (*coimgnedha*), genealogies (*craeba coibniusa*), lists of kings (*remind a rígh*), their battles, conflicts and antiquities (*a catha & a comruighthi & a n-arsata*), in short all the texts that were to

become 'a root and a foundation and a source for Éirín's historians from thence to the present day'.⁵⁷ Ó Riain has argued that the original 'Psalter of Cormac' was the 'Psalter of Cashel', a real manuscript compilation of perhaps tenth- or early eleventh-century date, sometimes associated with the king-bishop of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuilennáin, but by Mageoghegan credited to the initiative of Brian Bóruma, whereas the 'Psalter of Tara' was a mythical rival invented by Ó Lothcháin, a supporter of Maoileachlainn II, for propaganda purposes. In so far as its contents can be reconstructed – the Book of Rights, the Dindshenchas, the genealogies of Irish kings and saints, a version of the *Historia Britonum*, the list of Patrick's successors at Armagh and a group of learned poems – they 'set the fashion for all the great codices that were to come in the second half of the eleventh, the twelfth and subsequent centuries'.⁵⁸

While the twelfth-century Book of Leinster appears to have been largely compiled, with the assistance of the bishop of Kildare, by the abbot of Terryglass working under the patronage of the king of Leinster,⁵⁹ Ó Concheanainn has shown that the late fourteenth-century Book of Ballymote was written c. 1384–1395 for his own personal benefit by a young member of a family of lay hereditary historians, Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin, working with two scribal assistants.⁶⁰ Similarly the Great Book of Lecan was compiled c. 1397–1418 as a family heirloom by Giolla Íosa Mór Mac Fírbhisigh, head of his kindred and *ollamh* in *seanchas* for the territory of Uí Fhiachrach in West Sligo.⁶¹ These two manuscripts at least would seem to correspond to the later medieval brehon law compilations in being designed as a source-book for the schools,⁶² rather than an ornament in some aristocratic library. On the other hand, the Book of Uí Mhaine, Laud Misc. 610 and the Book of Fermoy, though similar in content, were compiled for clerical and lay aristocratic patrons by professional *seanchaidhe*.⁶³

Studies by Walsh of four leading families of *seanchaidhe*, the Uí Dhuibhgeannáin, the Uí Mhaolchonaire, the Clann Fhírbhisigh and the Uí Chuirmín,⁶⁴ demonstrate that two of these, the Uí Dhuibhgeannáin and the Uí Chuirmín first became prominent as historians in the fourteenth century. Both were hereditary church tenants and had a number of clerical members, while the other two septs, Clann Fhírbhisigh and the Uí Mhaolchonaire were already practising their learned professions before the Church Reform of the twelfth century had driven a wedge between bardic learning and the church schools. The Clann Fhírbhisigh acted as *filidh*, or professional poets, in the Ó Dubhda territories of Uí Amhalghadha and Uí Fhiachrach where Amhlaimh Mór Mac Fírbhisigh, abbot-elect of Cong, is also described (in the 'Annals of Tigernach') as '*ollam O Fiachrach uile re senchus & re filidhecht & saí clerigh*' as early as 1138 A.D. Two years previously, Néidhe Ó Maolchonaire is described as '*an seanchaidh*', while the 'Tanaidhe' whose poem on the Tuatha Dé Danann appears in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster is identified as 'Tanaidhe Ó Maolchonaire' in the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Book of Lecan.

In the post-Norman period these secular *seanchaidh* families gradually took over from the church the upkeep of contemporary annals,⁶⁵ an activity Isadore of Seville had seen as distinguishing *historia* from *fabula*. Some of the great manuscript collections of saga and historical material produced by the pre-reform church schools passed into their possession, such as the Book of Glendalough, known to Míchéal Ó Cléirigh as *Leabhar Muintire Dubhgendáin*.⁶⁶ In the mid-fourteenth century the Clonmacnoise manuscript *Lebor na hUidre* may have been in the possession of the Ó Sgingín family, who originated

as hereditary churchmen in Connacht before becoming *seanchaidhe* to the Ó Domhnaill kings of Tír Conaill. It was as ransom for the son of Ó Domhnaill's *ollamh* of *seanchas* that this book passed into the possession of the victorious Cathal Óg Ó Conchobhair (d. 1362), lord of Sligo, before being forcibly recovered for the men of Tír Conaill by their king Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill in 1470.⁶⁷ In between these two dates sagas, genealogies and historical poems were to be copied and adapted by the *seanchaidhe* of North Connacht not only from *Lebor na hUidre* but from the Books of Leinster and Glendalough also.⁶⁸

Irish historians of the high middle ages also produced original works. Reference to a genealogy (*senchas*) of Brian Breaghach Mag Shamhradháin (d. 1298) drawn up by Mac Fírbhisigh may be related to an extant series of versified pedigrees of the chieftains of Breifne, composed in the late thirteenth century and subsequently copied out by Ádhamh Ó Cianáin (d. 1373).⁶⁹ A long poem on the genealogies of West Munster in the fourteenth century, *Éistidh re coibhneas bhur gcath*,⁷⁰ was composed by Cathán Ó Duinnín, while the *ollamh* of Uí Mhaine, Seaán Mór Ó Dubhagáin (d. 1372) composed a number of versified tracts, including one on the kings of Cashel, one on the Cineál Fiachach, and his famous, though incomplete survey of the kingdoms and dynasties of all Ireland, *Triallam timcheall na Fódla*.⁷¹ Ó Dubhagáin also composed a poem on the church calendar, *Bliadain so solus a dath*,⁷² and may have been an influential figure in promoting the renewed interest shown in mid- to late-fourteenth-century Connacht in the contents of the manuscript anthologies written by the twelfth-century ecclesiastical antiquarians,⁷³ an interest that spread in the fifteenth century to Munster, with the compilation of the component parts of the Book of Fermoy, the Saltair of MacRichard, and the Book of Lismore.

Through the work of the eleventh- and twelfth-century scholars in the first instance, and the preservation and renewal of their texts in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries by the secular hereditary learned classes, lawyers as well as historians, Ireland has been singularly blessed with a wealth of vernacular literature from the early middle ages, of a kind that may have existed at one time in other Celtic countries, and even elsewhere in Europe, but was not transcribed into later manuscripts in the same way. As is well known, if we were dependent on contemporary manuscripts for our Old Irish material, little but glosses on Latin biblical and grammatical texts would remain. While some of the great codices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may have been produced as archives or teaching resources for the *seanchaidhe*'s schools, the decisive factor in their compilation and preservation was the patronage shown to the historians themselves by the Irish and Anglo-Irish lords. As a result of the collapse of the Dublin government's authority over two-thirds of Ireland during the later middle ages, the rulers of these areas needed a recognised link with the past to legitimise their present power, and were prepared to pay handsomely for the privilege. In 1519 Maoilín son of Tóma Ó Maolchonaire was described by the Annals of Connacht as 'a man full of good fortune and wisdom; who had been chosen by the FitzGerald and the Galls from all the ollavs of Ireland; who used to get jewels and treasure from all of whom he sought them'. The same source calls Muirgheas son of Páidín Ó Maolchonaire on his death in 1543: 'a ridge-pole of poetry, a bower of history, revcaler of all knowledge and wisdom to the disciples, chief institutor of learning in all the arts, a charitable, humane, rich, prosperous man'.

Besides their political function, now grown very important, the later medieval historians' continued link with the law-courts is demonstrated not only by the citation of *seanchadha* as expert witnesses in a case concerning land inheritance,⁷⁴ but by the fact that Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin, compiler of the Book of Ballymote, was a foster-son or pupil of Mac Aodhagáin, head of the Ormond law-school, and included the law-tract *Uraicecht Becc* in his anthology,⁷⁵ while Grioghair son of Seaán Ó Maolchonaire, the makings of a sage in history (*adbur suadh re senchus*), died while at school with Mac Aodhagáin of Ormond in 1432.⁷⁶ Conversely Giolla na Naomh Mac Aodhagáin (d. 1309) recommended the company of a historian, versed in *coimhgne* and *seanchas*, to his law-students.⁷⁷

An awareness of all the prosperity and public recognition his family's profession had earned in the past must have been particularly galling to Charles Lynegar, who ended his career a bankrupt in the Dublin Marshalsea, or debtors' prison.⁷⁸ That he was vividly conscious of his heritage is shown by his use of the title *ardollamh Éireann*. The Uí Luinín held an intermediate rank among the medieval *seanchaidhe*, not as wealthy and nationally renowned as the Uí Mhaolchonaire, nor as obscure as the Uí Chuindlis.⁷⁹ Like the Ó Duibhgeannáin and Ó Cuirmín families mentioned above, they are first recorded in the annals as historians in the fourteenth century, and were also hereditary ecclesiastical tenants, being *airchinnigh* or 'erenaghs' of Arda, with a one-third share in the administration of the church-lands in the parish of Derryvullan, Co. Fermanagh.⁸⁰ They were a multi-talented family. The first Matha or Matthew on record (d. 1396), erenagh of Arda, is described as skilled in praise-poetry, history, music, Latin learning and other arts. His successor, Piarus the Crooked (d. 1441), was poet and historian as well as erenagh, a tradition continued by his son, Matha II (d. 1477), while Tadhg Fionn Ó Luinín (d. 1478) is called a sage in medicine as well as history.⁸¹ Ruaidhri (d. 1528), the son of Matha II Ó Luinín was scribe of a large part of both the A and B versions of the Annals of Ulster,⁸² as was proudly noted in 1579 by his grandson, Matha Ruadh (d. 1588) or 'Matthew O Lonine of the Arde', also mentioned in the annals as *saoi re senchus*, 'a sage in history'.⁸³

Even during the seventeenth century, the partial salvage of fortune by some members of the MágUidhir or Maguire ruling dynasty of Fermanagh in the wake of the Ulster plantation was reflected in continued scholarly activity among their hereditary historians. Giolla Pádraig Ó Luinín of Ard Uí Luinín collaborated with Fr Míchéal Ó Cléirigh and others in producing a version of the *Lebor Gabála* for Brian Mág Uidhir of Tempo, a younger brother of the last chieftain of Fermanagh, Cúchonnacht Óg. Another copy of this work was made by the same team for Fr Proinsias Mág Uidhir, Franciscan Provincial, which contained genealogies of the Méig Uidhir, including Fr Proinsias, drawn up by Giolla Pádraig himself, together with a prose summary of Ó Dubhagáin's poem, *Triallam timcheall na Fódla*.⁸⁴ This Giolla Pádraig would seem identical with the Pádraig Ballach Ó Luinín, *ollamh* to Brian Mág Uidhir of Tempo, said to have been ordered in 1638 to copy out texts from a number of valuable books his master had collected.⁸⁵ In 1641 a colophon of Pádraig Ballach Ó Luinín claimed to reissue not merely a genealogy but 'the privileges which are called *jus patronatus*' from his family archives.⁸⁶ The year 1641 of course, ushered in a period in Ireland's history during which many old rights and privileges were being reasserted. By 1671 the pendulum had swung back again, and Matha Ó Luinín of Ard Uí Luinín now styled himself Mathew Lynegar of Mount Lynegar, 'chief antiquary and king-at-arms of Ireland', and drew up pedigrees for the new English settlers.⁸⁷ Charles

Lynegar tells us this Mathew was his grandfather, and his extensive collection of English and Anglo-Irish genealogies seems to have been an important source for Charles' own work.⁸⁸

The careers of Mathew and his grandson Charles Lynegar could be regarded as an experiment in transferring the profession of *seanchas* not merely from one set of patrons to another, but from one cultural milieu to another. It was an experiment that failed, for many reasons. Many of the New English Protestant Ascendancy saw the cultivation of Irish language and letters as a threat, because they felt it bolstered the 'Irish interest' in a political sense.⁸⁹ Others were specifically hostile to the traditional *seanchas* version of Irish history, ostensibly because it was unscientific nonsense, but more subtly because it was resented as encouraging national separatism.⁹⁰ In 1682 Sir Henry Piers remarked of the 'native' nobility and gentry:

you shall meet with one or more antiquaries, as they are termed, that is deducers of their pedigrees, in every great family, who will with as much confidence and assurance, rip up even to Adam, such a person's progenitors ... nevertheless they are forced by the way to step into Spain, and then again to touch at Egypt, in both of which places I dare to venture my credit, very little will be found on inquiry, that can sustain their confident deductions. As for England they love it not so well as to honour it with their pedigrees; and yet in all likelihood this island must have been first peopled out of it.⁹¹

Richard Cox's dismissal of the *seanchaidhe*'s 'lewd lies and idle genealogies'⁹² aroused the wrath of one hereditary historian, Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín, whose criticism was said to have provoked Cox into committing him to gaol for a year, and may have inspired Charles Lynegar into penning an uncharacteristically brave poem calling down satirical benedictions on Cox's head, if indeed Mac Cruitín himself was not the true author of this piece.⁹³ As realistic hopes of a Jacobite restoration faded, the interest of such older families as still possessed the means of patronage could be expected to cool, while the new establishment based their claims to power on conquest and parliamentary legislation rather than hereditary right.

Such regular salary as Lynegar achieved was not paid for his freelance services as a pedigree, but in his capacity as language teacher to the Anglican divinity students at Trinity College, for the express purpose of promoting the conversion of his fellow-countrymen to Protestantism. The fact that this lectureship was not financed out of central College funds, but by voluntary contributions taken up among the Fellows of the College,⁹⁴ demonstrates the very half-hearted support many establishment figures felt for the prospect of mass conversions to Protestantism among the Irish population which would undermine their own privileged position, and change the character of the church itself.⁹⁵ Even for those who favoured the cultivation of Irish, incomplete mastery of the language remained a barrier to full appreciation of the texts from the high middle ages which formed the stock-in-trade of the *seanchaidh*. Greene has argued that the scissors-and-paste method adopted by Lynegar when composing adulatory poems in Irish for his Anglo-Irish patrons suggests they were not expected to possess a discriminating taste in such literature.⁹⁶ Indeed Henry Piers in 1682 remarks of the native Irish aristocracy: 'I know several persons of worth, who not only speak, but write and read their tongue exceedingly well, who

profess they not only meet with many hard words they understand not, but some whole Irish books, of which they are not able to give any manner of account'.⁹⁷

In this case the problem was not merely the elevated register of the literary language, but the linguistic age of some of the texts. There is a fascinating passage in a letter written c. 1700 to the Welsh antiquary Iddward I Iwyd by Tadhg Ó Rodaighe. Tadhg was an educated patron of the learned classes in the tradition of his ancestors, the hereditary coarbs of Fenagh, and here he states quite definitely and circumstantially that the training of the professional *seanchaidhe* enabled them to read Old and Middle Irish fluently, together with *Béarla na bhFíleadh*, or as he expressed it: 'having five dialects, viz., the common Irish, the poetic, the law or lawyer's dialect, the abstractive and separative dialects'. He explains:

I have several volumes that none in the world now can peruse, though within 20 yeares there lived three or four that could read and understand them all, but left none behinde absolutely perfect in all them books, by reason that they lost the estates they had to uphold their publique teaching, and that the nobility of the Irish line, who would encourage and support their posterity, lost all their estates too, so that the antiquaries posterity were forced to follow husbandry, etc., to get their bread, for want of patrons to support them. *Honos alit artes*.⁹⁸

He makes his meaning still plainer in a quatrain he wrote elsewhere, translated by John O'Donovan as:

Morann's Testament, Treigean Breatha
The Royal Precepts of the monarch Cormac
Although I think I know them all,
I read them not without errors.⁹⁹

Although Ó Rodaighe explains the ending of patronage for the *seanchaidhe* in purely economic terms, one fundamental reason for the extinction of Lynegar's hereditary trade had to be the loss of social function. With the ending of Brehon law jurisdictions in the reign of James I, the *seanchaidh*'s function as an expert witness in the law-courts vanished. After the Battle of Aughrim in 1691 the legitimization of a quasi-regal authority for Gaelic chieftains and Anglo-Norman barons became irrelevant, and all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the development of scientific 'foot-noted' history was to supersede the essentially medieval learning of the *seanchaidhe*. If the Abbé MacGeoghegan is right, the work of Geoffrey Keating was resented by the Four Masters.¹⁰⁰ By the mid-eighteenth century the last representatives of two learned families, Doiminic Ó Duibhgeannáin, and Cornán Óg Ó Cuirnín, '*ollamh Breifne*', worked as scribes for Charles O'Connor of Belnagare, reproducing texts they had inherited, and updating the pedigrees of his circle of relatives,¹⁰¹ but the actual writing of Irish history was to be the domain of their aristocratic employer, his friends and opponents.¹⁰² The final insult came when members of the committee of the Gaelic Society c. 1817 borrowed, without ever returning, the Ó Cléirigh manuscripts containing the Book of Genealogies, the *Lebor Gabála*, the Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell, the *Amhra Choluim Chille* and the Ó Dubhagáin poem *Triallam*

timcheall na Fódla from their owner, John sòn of Patrick son of Cosnamhach son of Cairbre son of Diarmuid son of Cúcoigríche Ó Cléirigh (this Cúcoigríche having been one of the Four Masters), then a scribe and gate-clerk at the gas-works in Great Brunswick Street, Dublin.¹⁰³ The nineteenth-century scholars would have done well to remember that a cardinal virtue demanded of the medieval *seanchaidh* was *ionnracas* or 'honesty'. It was Charles Lynegar's alleged lack of this indispensable quality that had caused him to be satirised by a colleague.

Notes

- 1 M.H. Risk, 'Charles Lynegar, Professor of the Irish Language 1712' in *Hermathena* cii (1966), p. 19.
- 2 Royal Irish Academy (R.I.A.) MS 997, pp. 2, 11, 40.
- 3 Ibid., p. 146.
- 4 R.I.A. MS 673, p. 106.
- 5 Copies of genealogies compiled by Charles Lynegar are to be found in Genealogical Office MSS 94 (pedigrees of Fagan /O'Hogan); 516 (pedigree of Thomas Mongan); and National Library of Ireland (N.L.I.), MSS 5,326 (family of Delamar); 11,069 (pedigree of House of Ormond); and G 709 (Maguire pedigree). He himself was the scribe of genealogies in R.I.A. MSS 997 and 1035.
- 6 See C. Quin, 'A manuscript written in 1709 by Charles Lynegar for John Hall, Vice-Provost of Trinity College Dublin' in *Hermathena* liii (1939), pp. 127–37; D. O'Sullivan, 'A courtly poem for Sir Richard Cox (Cormac an Chúil mac Mhathabháin Uí Luinín cc.)' in *Éigse* iv pt 4 (1944), pp. 284–6; D. Greene, 'A dedication and poem by Charles Lynegar' in *Éigse* v pt 1 (1945), pp. 4–7; B. Ó Cuív, 'Sgiathlúithreach an Chochaigh' in *Éigse* v pt 2 (1946), pp. 136–8; F. Carroll, 'Captain Charles Linegar, professor of the Irish language' in *Irish Book Lover* xxxii no. 2 (1953), p. 42; Risk, 'Charles Lynegar', pp. 16–25.
- 7 Risk, 'Charles Lynegar', p. 25.
- 8 H.F. Hore (ed.), 'Irish bardism in 1561' in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 1st ser.vi (1858), p. 166.
- 9 W.L. Renwick (ed.), *A View of the Present State of Ireland by Edmund Spenser* (Oxford 1970), p. 40.
- 10 H. Piers, 'A Chorographical Description of the County of Westmeath' (reprinted Naas 1981) from *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, C. Vallancey (ed.) i (2nd edn Dublin 1786), p. 110.
- 11 See also *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, D. Murphy (ed.) (Dublin 1896 – *Ann. Clon.*) s.a. 1310; *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns* introd. K. Nicholls (reprinted from the Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Ireland, 1875–90, 4 vols, Dublin 1994, vols ii and iii: *Fiants – Elizabeth*, henceforth *Fiants, Eliz.*), no. 6504.
- 12 On the influence of these writers on the western tradition of historiography, see R. Ray, 'Historiography, Western European' in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, J.R. Strayer (ed.) vi (New York 1985), pp. 258–65.
- 13 L. Miller and E. Power (eds), *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle* (Dublin 1979), p. 9.

- 14 E.g. *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, J. O'Donovan (ed.), (7 vols, Dublin 1851, henceforth *A.F.M.*) s.a. 1136; *Annála Connacht, Annals of Connacht*, A.M. Freeman (ed.) (Dublin 1944, henceforth *Ann. Conn.*) s.a. 1310; *Annála Uladha, Annals of Ulster*, W.M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (eds), (4 vols, Dublin 1887–1901, henceforth *A.U.*) s.a. 1441, 1528.
- 15 W. Stokes and J. Strachan (eds), *Thesaurus Paleo-Hibernicus* I (Cambridge 1901, repr. Dublin 1975), pp. 684, 696, 699 (I Tim. iv, 7; II Tim. iv, 4; Tit. i, 10, 14).
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 626 (Gal. iv, 22).
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 695 (II Tim. iii, 8).
- 18 See K.R. McCone, 'Dubthach maccu Lugair and a matter of life and death in the pseudo-historical prologue to the *Senchas Már*' in *Peritia* v (1986), p. 9; *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth 1990), pp. 25, 96–7.
- 19 K.R. McCone, 'OIR. *senchae*, *senchaid* and preliminaries on agent noun formation in Celtic' (*Ériu* xlv, forthcoming).
- 20 R. Thurneysen, 'Die Bürgschaft im irischen Recht' in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1928), Phil. Hist. Kl. 2, 31 §83 n. 3.
- 21 *Ancient laws of Ireland*, W. Hancock et al. (eds) (6 vols, Dublin 1865–1901, henceforth *ALI*) v, pp. 458–9; *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, D.A. Binchy (ed.), (6 vols, Dublin 1978, henceforth *CIH*) i, pp. 233–4. Glosses explain the crimes as conspiracy to steal and receiving stolen goods.
- 22 F. Kelly, 'An Old Irish text on court procedure' in *Peritia* v (1986), pp. 85, 93n.
- 23 The others were 'worthy witnesses, surety of prescription (that is, of long occupation); immoveable rocks (boundary stones?), a divine old writing, testament at death' *ALI* v, pp. 368–9; *CIH* iii, p. 751, iv, p. 1376; see J. Carey, 'The testament of the dead' in *Éigse* xxvi (1992), pp. 1–12.
- 24 *CIH* v, p. 1622.
- 25 C. Plummer, 'Some passages in the Brehon laws' in *Ériu* viii (1916), pp. 128–9; *ALI* i, p. 36, iv, p. 140; *CIH* i, p. 201, ii, p. 346.
- 26 D. Ó Corráin, 'Irish origin legends and genealogy: recurrent genealogies' in *History and Heroic Tale. A Symposium*, T. Nyberg et al. (eds), (Odense 1985), p. 55.
- 27 D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach and A. Breen, 'The laws of the Irish' in *Peritia* iii (1984), pp. 420–2; M. Dillon (ed.), *Lebor na Cert* (Dublin 1962), pp. 120–3.
- 28 Thurneysen, 'Die Bürgschaft', pp. 31–2.
- 29 *CIH* i, p. 209; ii, p. 356; iii, pp. 883, 908, v, p. 1654. See also W. Stokes, 'The Irish Ordeals' in *Irische Texte* iii, W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds), (Leipzig 1891), pp. 187, 191, 205, 209.
- 30 *Mesca Ulad*, J.C. Watson (ed.) (Dublin 1941, repr. 1967), p. 34.
- 31 On this figure see McCone, *Pagan Past*, pp. 31, 101–2, 106, 231.
- 32 See K. Hollo, 'Conchobar's "Sceptre": the growth of a literary topos' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* xxix (1995), pp. 11–25.
- 33 R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle 1921), pp. 454, 456, 466, 482. See *Fled Bricrenn: the Feast of Bricriu*, G. Henderson (ed.) (London 1899), pp. 16–17, 32–3, 70–1, 96–7; *Mesca Ulad*, Watson (ed.), p. 40.

- 34 Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, pp. 205, 272, 480; *Táin Bó Cúailgne: Recension I*, C. O'Rahilly (ed.), (Dublin 1976), pp. 110, 222; *Táin Bó Cúailgne from the Book of Leinster*, C. O'Rahilly (ed.), (Dublin 1970), pp. 120, 256; *Compert Con Culainn*, A.G. Van Hamel (ed.), (Dublin 1968), p. 7; *Mesca Ulad*, Watson (ed.), p. 33.
- 35 Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, pp. 368, 456, 480; *The Book of Leinster* iv, R. I. Best and M. A. O'Brien (eds), (Dublin 1965), p. 766 (*Cath Ruis na Ríg*); *Fled Bricrenn* ed. Henderson, pp. 70–1; *Mesca Ulad*, Watson (ed.), pp. 37–8.
- 36 Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, pp. 375, 462n., 476, 482, 489; *Book of Leinster* ii, p. 416 (*Aided Guíll*) iv, p. 777 (*Cath Ruis na Ríg*); *Fled Bricrenn*, Henderson (ed.), pp. 35–36; *Mesca Ulad*, Watson (ed.), pp. 6, 41.
- 37 Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, pp. 329 (*Oided mac n-Uisnig*), 371 (*Cath Ruis na Ríg* Version B); idem, 'Mittelirische Verslehren' in *Irische Texte* iii, W. Stokes and E. Windisch (eds), (Leipzig 1891), p. 66.
- 38 Thurneysen, *Heldensage* pp. 518, 627, 648, 650, 659; L. Breatnach (ed.), 'Tochmarc Luaine agus Aided Athairne' in *Celtica* xiii (1980), p. 13; *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, E. Knott (ed.), (Dublin 1963), p. 37.
- 39 *Ann. Clon.* s.a. 871 translate this 'the best and elegantest Poet in the kingdome and their chiefest chronicler'.
- 40 See D. Ó Cróinín (ed.), *Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin 1983), *passim*.
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Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale

Ms 18, 29–39

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek

Hs I 2 quarto, 65

Bamberg, Stadtsbibliothek

Ms bibl. 140, 39

Boston Public Library, Massachusetts

Ms 202, 125

Boulogne, Bibliothèque Nationale

Ms 11, 39

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale

Ms 5301–20 (4641), 62

Ms 7672–4, 56, 66, 91–100

Ms 7763, 63

California, Huntington Library, San Marino

Ms HM. 36336, 130

Cambridge, Emmanuel College

Ms 35, 127, 129

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College

Ms 732/771, 123

Cambridge, Pembroke College

Ms 221, 126, 133

Cambridge, St John's College

Ms G.21, 127

Cambridge, Trinity College

Ms O.2.56, 129

Ms O.8.26, 129

Cambridge, University Library

Ms Add. 6578, 126

Ms Hh. IV.3, 126

Ms Kk. VI.41, 125

Chatsworth House, Derbyshire

15th-century copy of Walter Hilton, *Scale of Perfection*

Chester Beatty

Ms western 50, 124–5

Dublin, Genealogical Office

Ms 67, 238

Ms 94, 278

Ms 516, 278

Dublin, Marsh's Library

Ms Z3.I.5 (D), 65, 66

Dublin, National Library

Ms 5326, 278

Ms 11069, 278

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy

Ms 471, 282

Ms 481, 282

Ms 476, 41

Ms 535, 68–90

Ms 537–9, 68–90

Ms 997, 278

Ms 1035, 278

Dublin, Trinity College

Ms 55, 1–28

Ms 56, 1–28

Ms 58, 2, 29–39

Ms 159, 129

Ms 179, 54, 63

Ms 321, 128

Ms 496, 101–21

Ms 580, 53, 59

Ms 678, 126

Ms 786, 137–63

Ms 883/1, 235, 240–1

Ms 883/2, 235, 238, 240–1

Ms 888/2, 236–65

Ms 1288, 266

Ms 1316, 40

Ms 1318, 41, 44, 68–90

Ms 1336, 40–9

Durham, Dean and Chapter Library

Ms A.II.10, 2

Ms A.IV.24, 124

Eichstätt, Stadtsbibliothek

Cod. 698, *olim* 269, 53, 62

Fort Augustus Abbey

Rat. I, 'Codex of Marianus' (now in Scottish National Archives), 61

Gottweig

Hs XII.1, no. 33, 60, 65

Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

Ms 292, 124

Heiligenkreuz

Hs 11, 65

Hs 14, 58–9, 65

'Magnum Legendarium Austriacum', 52–67

Hohenfurt Stiftsbibliothek

Ms 71 (now Princeton University Library), 60

Lampeter, St David's University College Library

Ms 1, 124

Lilienfeld

Hs 58, 65

Lincoln Cathedral Library

Ms 57, 124

Ms 64, 124

London, British Library

Add.Ms 4789, 94

Add.Ms 4821, 94

Add.Ms 15835, 136

Add.Ms 24661, 127

Add. Ms 37049, 126, 127, 128

Arundel 278, 123

Cotton Julius A.IX, 123

Cotton Nero A.III, 123

Cotton Otho D.VIII, 54

Cotton Vitellius F.XI, 33

Egerton 1821, 136

Egerton 2006, 126

Harley 1802, 11–28

Harley 1808, 115

Harley 2017, 123

Harley 2788, 35

Harley 3776, 124

Harley 6576, 127

I.A. 55141, 127

IC. 56a, 125

Royal 5.A.V., 129

Royal 8.A.VII, 127, 133

London, Lambeth Palace

Ms 413, 123

London, Westminster Archdiocesan Archives

Ms H.38, 127

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Ms Vit. 13–1, 37

Melk

Hs C 12, 65

Hs F 8, 65

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

Ms C.26 Sup., 1

Ms C.29 Sup., 4, 26

Ms D. 23 Sup., 1

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Ms clm 903, 53, 64

Ms clm 2240–5, 64

Ms clm 2928, 65–6

Ms clm 2240–5, 64

Munich, Universitätsbibliothek

Cod. 2° Ms 312, *saec.* xii, 55

Oxford, Bodleian Library

- Ms 549, 125, 126
- Ms Auct. F.3.15, 2
- Ms Bodley 277, 132
- Ms Douce 262, 124
- Ms e. Mus. 160, 128–9
- Ms Gough liturg. 9, 124
- Ms Latin bib. c.11, 125
- Ms Latin liturg. c.21, 124
- Ms Latin th. d.27, 128
- Ms Latin th. e.36, 128
- Ms Laud Misc. 610, 273
- Ms Rawl. B.485, 56, 66, 91
- Ms Rawl. B.488, 68–90
- Ms Rawl. B.502, 47, 48, 72
- Ms Rawl. B.505, 56, 66, 91–100

Oxford, St John's College

- Ms 177, 129

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

- fonds Latin 1841, 11–28
- fonds Latin 4884, 35
- fonds Latin 12048, 29
- fonds Latin 12168, 29
- fonds Latin 13025, 35
- fonds Latin 13159, 29

Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale

- Ms 17, 29

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek

- Ms 51, 33
- Ms 904, 2
- Ms 1395, 2

Schaffhausen, Stadtsbibliothek

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- Bibl., fol. 23

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale

- Ms F.IV.24, fol. 93, 2

Trier, Stadtsbibliothek

- Ms CGM. 1176/478, 4°, 66

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek

- Ms 940, 11–28
- Vindobonensis 1247, 60

Zwettl

- Hs 13, 65
- Hs 15, 65

Index

- A theachtaire thig ó'n Róimh 272
Abbeyderg, Co. Longford 91, 95
Abraham 46, 47, 267
Achill 255
Achonry, diocese of 246, 250, 259
Act of Uniformity 148–9
Adair estates 221
Adam of Eynsham 130
Adamair 81
Adergowle, Co. Mayo 261
Aed Ruad mac Baduirm 80
Aengus Tuirmech 81
Aghagower, (Costellowe) Co. Mayo 260
Aghagower, (Muriske) Co. Mayo 260
Aghamore, Co. Mayo 254, 260
Agher, Co. Meath 219
Ailbe of Emly, St 59
Aildergdóit 77
Ailill 77
Ailill Caisfiachlach 81
Ailill Finn 79
Ailill mac Conaill Grant 86
Ailill mac Ferdaigh 87
Airec menman Uraird mac Coise 272
Airne Fíngéin 270–1
Albinus 59
Alexander the Great 80
Alexander, king of Scots 109
Allen, battle of 86
Allen, *vel* Allan 258
Amairgen 271
Ambrose 6, 20
Amhra Choluim Chille 277
Amiens 29, 32, 34, 35, 37
Andrew, St 34
Andrews, family of 258
Angela of Foligno 129
Annagh, Co. Mayo; abbey 239, 248;
parish 248, 254, 260
Annals of the Four Masters 244, 266
Annesley, Arthur, 1st earl of Anglesey
222
Annesley, Sir Francis 170
Antrim, County 183, 221, 223, 240
Antrim House, Dublin 216
Ardagh, Co. Longford 201
Argatmár 79
Armagh, Abbot of, 270; Archbishop of,
172; Book of, 2; City of, 41; County of
93, 246
Arran, earl of, son of Duke of Hamilton
252
Art Aenfhér 84
Art Imlech 78, 89
Art m. Luigdech 79
Arundelia 258
Assyrians 74–6
Atkinson, Roger (Atchinson, Achison)
169, 189
Attymasse (Attymass), Co. Mayo 260
Audeleic, Hugo de 111
Aughrim 255, 277
Augsburg 156
Augustinian 55, 91, 94, 95, 242, 243,
245, 246, 249, 254, 256
Augustus Caesar 58
Aungier, Sir Francis 172, 191
Axholme, Lincolnshire 123, 128, 129

Bacchus, St 34
Bacon, Michael 200
Bacon, William 200
Bale, John, bishop of Ossory 213, 227
Balfour, family of 217
Balfour, Sir James 170, 171, 189, 217
Balla, Co. Mayo 239, 244, 259
Ballastar 70
Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo 240, 245, 260
Ballinsmalla, Co. Mayo 245
Ballintober, (Ballintobber), Co. Mayo
239, 249, 256, 257, 260

- Ballylahan, Co. Mayo 240, 251
 Ballymena, Co. Antrim 221
 Ballymote, *see* *Book of Ballymote*
 Ballynaboy, nascent sedition in 218
 Ballynahaglish, (Ballynahaglish), Co. Mayo 261
 Ballyovy, (Ballyovey), Co. Mayo 260
 Ballysikere, (Ballysakeery), Co. Mayo 261
 Balma, Hugh de 126
 Baltimore, Co. Cork 174, 191
 Balychalla, (Ballinchalla), Co. Mayo 247, 259
 Bangor, antiphonary of 4, 5, 10, 29
 Barnard, Toby 177, 191, 196
 Barrett, family of 258
 Basle 123, 133
 Bathurst, Henry 225
 Bayonne (Bayun) 111, 118
 Beale, Emmanuel 174, 192
 Beauvale, Nottinghamshire 123, 128
 Bececlach, Conaing 79, 271
 Becket, Thomas 202
 Bede, the Venerable 243, 267, 271
 Bedell, William 201–8
 Bedell, William the younger 203
 Beling, family of 258
 Bellaheane, (Ballyheen), Co. Mayo 260
 Belturbet, Co. Cavan 219
 Benedict of Nursia 6
 Bentley, Richard 211
 Bergamo, Venturinus da 128
 Bermingham, Basilia, wife of Baron Athlahan 250
 Bermingham Tower, Dublin Castle 222
 Bernard of Cliera, St 256
 Berngal 77
 Bernried, Paul von, co-founder of St Mang 55
 Berwick 110, 111
 Betson, Thomas 126
 Beverley, Yorkshire 128
 Bieler, L. 24, 28, 55, 58, 246, 249
 Billericay, Essex 175
 Bingham, Charles, 1st Earl of Lucan 250
 Bingham, Sir Henry, nephew of Sir John 247, 248, 250
 Bingham, John 250, 251
 Bingham, Sir Richard 253
 Bischoff, Bernard 2, 6, 8, 10, 16, 20
 Blacksodd Harbour; Blacksod Bay 240, 257
 Blackwater, river 216
 Blair, Robert 172
 Blake à Cadellis 258
 Blake, M.J. 257
 Blayue 111
 Blennerhassets, of Kerry 223
 Blount, Charles, 8th Lord Mountjoy and 1st Earl of Devonshire 247
 Boate, Gerard 168, 173, 177, 179–80, 188, 194, 198
 Bobbio 1, 2, 4
 Bodkin, family of 258
 Bodkin, visitation by 246
 Boghwynann (Both Faináin) 258
 Bohola 260
 Bollandists 53, 54, 55
 Bolton, Theophilus, archbishop of Cashel 213, 215
 Boniface VIII, pope 118, 120
 Book of Ballymote 48, 273, 275
 Book of Fermoy 273, 274
 Book of Glendaloch, Lebar Glinne Dá Locha 273, 274
 Book of Lecan 68–90, 273
 Book of Leinster 69, 74, 89, 269, 271, 273, 274
 Book of Uí Mhaine 273
 Booker, John, gentleman of Clonmel 217
 Borrisca Co. Mayo 243, 260
 Both Faonáin 258
 Bourges 32
 Bourke, barons of Brittas 183
 Bourke of Mayo, family of 250, 258
 Bourke, John, of Dunsandle, 1st Viscount Clanmorris 243–4
 Bourke, John, son of Ulick, fourth earl of Clanrickard 243
 Bourke, Sir Theobald 243

- Bourke, Sir Thomas 247, 254
 Bourke, Walter 247
 Bowater, Nicholas 173, 191
 Boxted, Essex 200
 Boyle, Richard, 1st earl of Cork 165, 171, 177, 178, 185, 223
 Boyle, Roger, 1st Earl of Orrery 213, 215
 Brabazon, Edward, Baron Ardee 169, 192
 Brabazon, Sir Malby, owner of a desk, 222
 Bramhall, John, bishop of Derry, arch-bishop of Armagh 202, 204
 Brantingham 128
 Breaghwy, Co. Mayo 260
 Breatnach, P 53
 Brechin 107, 120
 Bréifne 274, 277
 Brendanus 56
 Bres 78
 Bresal Bódfbad 82
 Bretha Nemed 270, 272
 Brian 245, 261
 Brigid, saint 54
 Bristol 217
 Brown, T.J. 1
 Browne, John, of the Neale 257
 Browne, Nicholas 186
 Browne *vel* Le-Brun, 258
 Brus 107, 108, 114, 117
 Brussels 53, 56, 96, 98
 Buculcerus, Abraham 239, 252, 264–5
 Bughola (Bohola), Co. Mayo 257
 Burdett, George 200
 Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Salisbury 201, 202, 205
 Burrishoole (Burrishowle), Co. Mayo 238, 239, 244, 257, 260
 Caelbad 85
 Caí Caínbrethach 269
 Caine Caínbrethach 269
 Cairbre Cinn Chait 83
 Cairpre Lifechair 85
 Calvinists 154, 155
 Cambrensis, Giraldus 137, 156
 Cambridge; Trinity College, 165; Trinity Hall, 165
 Canisius, Heinrich 55
 Carew, Sir George 131, 145
 Carlingford, Co. Louth 222
 Carlow, county of, 236, 240, 241, 262
 Carmelites 245, 249
 Carra 239, 243, 248, 249, 257, 259–60
 Carrick 117
 Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim 240
 Carthusians 122–36
 Cary, Sir George, lord deputy 148
 Cashel 58
 Castle Coote, Co. Roscommon 176
 Castle Durrow, Co. Laois 214, 216, 219
 Castlemore, Co. Mayo 239, 253, 260
 Cath Móna Trogaide 69
 Cathaír Mór 74, 84
 Catherine, St 34
 Caulfield, Richard 213
 Cecil, Robert 148, 149
 Celestine V, pope 110, 118
 Chambers Dictionary 209
 Charles II, king of England 218–19
 Chichester, Sir Arthur, lord deputy, compared to Nero 144, 151, 153, 154
 Christ, Jesus 8, 9, 15, 21, 31, 33, 34, 37, 38, 126, 128, 172, 271
 Chromatius 6, 7, 11
 Church of Ireland 147, 165, 201–8, 209, 213, 221
 Ciarraige (Uí Céirne), family of east Mayo 253
 Cimbaeth 80
 Clanmorris, formerly Crossboyne 239, 243, 244, 254, 255, 259
 Clanrickard, earls of 243, 244, 247
 Clare, county of 169, 183, 197, 216, 235, 237, 241, 250, 252, 255, 262
 Clarke, Aidan 204
 Climacus, John 129
 Clogher, register of 91, 94, 96; patron of, 92; diocese of, 97

- Clogie, Alexander, son-in-law of Bedell
 203, 204, 207
 Clonenagh, Co. Laois 168–70, 175, 181,
 182, 187, 196
 Clones, Co. Monaghan 92, 94
 Clonmacnois, Co. Offaly 48, 273
 Clontarf, Co. Dublin 261
 Clotworthy, Sir John 183
 Cobthach Cael Breg 80
 Codex Salmanticensis 91–100
 Codex Usserianus 1–28
 Coemgenus 56
 Cogan, family of 258
 Cogitosus 55
 Coire Goiriath 272
 Coke, Sir John 141, 169
 Colcu, son of Connacán, Abbot of Kinity
 269
 Colgan, John 54, 55, 243
 Colla Uais 85
 College Green, Dublin 222
 Cologne 128, 129, 134, 144
 Columba, Life of 34, 54, 55, 56
 Columbanus 29, 56, 57
 Comin 107, 114
 Comitum Stirps 258
 Comyn, John 117
 Conaire Cóem 84
 Conaire Mór 83
 Conall Collamrach 81
 Conchobar Abratruad 83
 Cong, Co. Mayo 240, 246, 248, 259
 Congal Cláiringnech 82
 Conmael 75
 Conn Cétchathach 74, 84
 Connla 81
 Conolly, William 224
 Conques 52
 Constans of Eoinis, St 97
 Conway 115
 Conway, Edward, 2nd Viscount 213
 Coote, Sir Charles 174, 176–84, 190,
 194, 196–99
 Coote Hall, Co. Roscommon 176
 Corbet, Geoffrey 173
 Corbet, William 173
 Corbie Psalter 29–39
 Cork; City of, 216, 217, 221; county of
 174, 186, 191, 213, 215, 217, 218, 221,
 236, 240, 247; diocese of 97 *see also*
Boyle, Richard, Earl of Cork
 Cormac ua Cuinn 84
 Cornwallis, Charles 154
 Corrib, lough 93, 246–7
 Cosby, Alexander, son of Francis 169
 Cosby, Francis 169
 Cosby, Richard, son of Alexander 189
 Costello, barony of 243, 253, 254–5
 Costello, Dudley (Dubhaltach Mac
 Goisdeilbh) 252
 Costello (Mac Goisdeilbh), family of
 254–5
 Costellowe, Edmund 253
 Costellowe, family of 253, 255
 Cox, Sir Richard 236, 240, 276
 Creevelea, Co. Leitrim 176
 Crena, family of 258
 Crimthann Coscrach 82
 Crimthann mac Fiadaig 85
 Crimthann Nia Náir 83
 Crofton, Mary, in genteel poverty 214
 Crosboline (Crosboyne), Co. Mayo 243,
 259
 Crosby, Sir Piers 178
 Crosmolina (Crossmolina), Co. Mayo
 240, 261
 Crosmolina, abbey at 258
 Crossly, Aaron, cantakerous herald 223,
 234
 Crowe, William 170, 171, 190
 Cuffe, Sir James 245
 Daniel of Cluain Coirpthe 271
 Darker, William, of Sheen 124, 126, 133
 Dartford, abbey 125
 Davies, Sir John 152, 154
 Dawson, Jane 205–6
 Deane, family of 258
 de Exeter, Jordan, Lord 250, 251, 253,
 254

- Deguileville 127
 de Lacy, family of 258
 Delany, Mary and Patrick of Delville 216
 de M  rindol, C. 38
 Dempster, Thomas, claim concerning
 Schottenkloster 53
 Derrick, John 145
 Derrylahan, Co. Laois 181
 Derrynaseera, Co. Laois 181
 Derryvullan, Co. Fermanagh 94
 Diarmait 48
 Diderot, his *Encyclopedia* 203
 Digby, Simon, artistic bishop 215
 Dillingen 53, 54
 Dillon, Sir Theobald, Viscount Dillon of
 Costelowe and Gallen 250–3
 Dimma 1
 Dionysius the Areopagite 129
 Dobbs, Richard 240
 Dodesham, Stephen 125, 128, 133
 Dold, Alban 2
 Domville, family of 223
 Domville, Sir William 236, 241
 Dongan, William 170
 Dooning (Doonfeeny), Co. Mayo 261
 Dopping, Anthony, bishop of Meath 236,
 262
 Dorbb  ne, abbot of Iona 54
 Dorsie 258
 Douai 144
 Doubally, Co. Leitrim 176–7
 Dowdall, Nicholas 236, 239, 240, 261,
 Downing, Emanuel 164–200
 Downing, George, father of Emanuel 165
 Downing, Joshua, brother of Emanuel
 165, 170, 171, 185,
 Doyle, A. I. 96
 Dromana, Co. Waterford 216, 223
 Dromenenaghane (Drum), Co. Mayo
 249, 260
 Duach dalta Degad 83
 Duach Finn 78
 Duach Ladrach 79
 Dublin 53, 56, 59, 126, 128, 129, 139,
 144, 147, 149, 154, 161, 165–79, 181,
 186, 192, 200, 203, 204, 209–12, 215–
 25, 266, 274, 278 *see also*, *St*
 Werburgh's Church; *Trinity College*
 Dublin
 Dunfermeline 107, 113
 Durham 2
 Durrow, Book of 1, 2, 4; *see also* *Castle*
 Durrow
 Dysart, Co. Laois 181, 196

 E.S., early 17th century writer 154
 East India Company 171
   ber 46, 75
 Edgeworth, family of Longford 223–4
 Edward I, king of England 101–21
 Edward II, king of England 101, 116
 Eglishecoyne (Aglishe), Co. Mayo 260
 Eichst  tt 52
   istidh re coibhneas b  ur gcath 274
 Eleanor, Queen Mother 102, 115, 116
 Elin (Fraortes) 77
 Elin (Hadrianus) 83
 Elizabeth I, queen of England 144, 244,
 247, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255
 Elphin, diocese of 209–15, 224, 226; *see*
 also *Digby, Simon*; *Howard, Robert*;
 Synge, Edward
 Elwood, John, well-travelled fellow of
 TCD 224
 Emmeram St 54
   nna Aigneach 82
   nna Airgdech 76
   nna Derg 78
 Eochaid Ailtlethan 81
 Eochaid Airem 82
 Eochaid Feidlech 82
 Eochaid Fiadmuine 79
 Eochaid m. Aililla 79
 Eochaid Muigmed  n 85
 Eochaid Uairches 79
 Eochu Aphach 78
 Eochu   dgothach 76
 Eochu Faebarglas 76
 Eochu Gunnat 84
 Eochu Mumo 76

- Erfurt 52
 Érimón 75
 Errew, Co. Mayo 240, 258
 Erris, Co. Mayo 257
 Este, Charles, bishop of Waterford 213
 Eterscéil 83
 Ethriel 75
 Etienne, St 32
 Eudoxus 146
 Eusebius 271
 Exeter, diocese of 128
 Exmewe, Blessed William 123
- Fachtna Fathach 82
 Fahan, Co. Donegal 271
 Falkland, Lord, *see* Cary, Henry
 Fallon, family of 258
 Farnhurst, Lord Baron of 252
 Fay, Edmund 168, 169
 Febla, Flann, Abbot of Armagh 270
 Feidlimid Rechtmair 84
 Féinius Farsaid 271
 Feradach Finn Fechnach 83
 Fer Corb 81
 Fergal mac Máile Dúin 86
 Fergus Duibdéach 74, 84
 Fergus Fortamail 81
 Feriby, John, monk of Sheen 128
 Fermanagh, county of 93, 94, 248, 264, 275
 Ferneley, John 165, 185
 Fiacha Sraibtuine 85
 Fiachu Findoilches 77
 Fiachu Finnoilches 83
 Fiachu Fínscothach 76
 Fiachu Labrainne 76
 Fiatach Finn 83
 Field, Darby 200
 Finloughcarra 248–9
 Finn (Darius) 78
 Finnachta 77
 Finnat Már 82
 Fír Bolg 70, 75, 89
 Fischer, Bonifatius 2
- Fitzgerald, earls of Kildare 254; George, 16th earl of Kildare 215
 Fitzpatrick, family of 181, 196
 Fitzsimon, Henry 55
 Flaherty, family of 258
 Flanders (Flandriam) 105, 112
 Flannanus (Flannán) 56–9
 Flemming, family of 258
 Flower, William, of Castle Durrow 214
 Foley, Samuel, bishop of Down and Connor 213
 Forster, Nicholas, bishop of Raphoe 213
 Forth, Mary 166, 186
 Foy, Nathaniel, bishop of Waterford 213, 221
 Fraterherren Canons 122
 Fursa, St 29
 Furseus 56, 57
 Furth, Richard, alias de Methley, monk of Mountgrace 126
 Fyslake, Thomas 127
- Gallen 240, 243, 251–2, 257, 260
 Gallican 2
 Gallus, St 55–7, 127
 Gallus, Thomas 129
 Ganz, David 29, 32, 35–7
 Gebhard, co-founder of St Mang 55
 Géde Ollgothach 77
 Gerard, St 242, 243
 Giallachad 78
 Gifford, family of 258
 Gilbert, Claudius, vice-provost of TCD 218, 224, 225
 Glendaloch, *see* Book of Glendaloch
 Gorges, Radulfus de 111
 Gostlin, Samuel 174
 Gottweig 58, 59, 60
 Gowran, Co. Kilkenny 150
 Grande Chartreuse 123
 Gransden, Antonia 101, 115
 Grandison, Lord, *see* Villiers, John
 Gregorius 109
 Gregory the Great 6, 9, 11, 18, 19
 Grenchalgh, James 126 127, 129, 133

- Grey, Arthur, Lord 145
 Grienerwaldt 54
 Grosjean, P. 53, 64
 Groton, Suffolk 165, 186
- Hall, Dr Jeremy 214, 216, 217, 227
 Hamilton, Duke of 252
 Hardiman, James 237, 238, 240
 Hardy, T.D. 101
 Hauering, Iohannes de 111
 Heiligenkreuz 56–8
 Heist, W.W. 56, 91–3, 95, 98
 Henderson, George 32, 37
 Henry of Germany (Henricus de
 Alemania) 108
 Henry, Françoise 29, 30, 32, 34, 36–9
 Heslington, Dame Margaret, recluse at
 York 126
 Heylin, Dr Peter 165
 Hicke, Dr George, dean of Worcester
 203, 204
 Hill, John 176
 Hilton, Walter 126, 127, 129
 Hinton, charterhouse 127, 128
 Honorius, pope 109, 118
 Hopkins, Ezekiel, bishop of Derry 213
 Hore, John 173
 Horningshearth, Essex 201
 Houghton, St John, last Prior of London
 Charterhouse 129
 Howard, Hugh 210
 Howard, Ralph, doctor 211, 217
 Howard, Robert, bishop of Elphin 209–
 11, 224, 225
 Howard, Lord William 123, 132
 Howard, William, lawyer and Dublin
 M.P. 210, 211
 Howes, Edward 173, 200
 Hoyle, Joshua, TCD don 167, 172, 174,
 187
 Hugh of Grenoble, St 124
 Hugh of Lincoln, St 124, 130
 Hull, Yorkshire 123, 124, 126–9
 Hungary 205
- Iar-Connaught 236, 238, 240
 Ienola Rufa, wife of Edmund Costellowe
 253
 Ingoldsby, family of 222
 Ingolstadt 53, 55
 Invermore 257
 Ipswich, Suffolk 165, 170–2, 174, 200
 Irenius 146
 Irereo 81
 Irish World Chronicle 68, 72, 73
 Island Eden (Islandeady), Co. Mayo 260
 Isle of Man 253, 254
 Iveagh 261
- Jacob, Sir Robert, Irish Solicitor General
 154
 Jacobites 276
 James I, king of England 147–50, 277
 James II, king of England 203, 237
 Jamestown, Co. Leitrim 176, 182
 Jehu 153
 Jenkins, Philip 205
 Jerome 2, 6, 7, 8
 John of Beverley, St 124
 Jones, Henry, bishop of Meath 213
 Jones, Thomas, bishop of Meath 147,
 148, 151
 Jones, T.W. 204
 Joyce, family of 258
 Julian of Norwich 126
 Julian the Apostate 144
- Karrik 106, 113, 117
 Keating, Geoffrey 245, 246, 254, 255
 Kells, Book of 1, 2
 Kells, Synod of 243
 Keogh, John 236, 241
 Kerry, county of 169, 223, 234, 240, 242,
 243, 253, 271
 Kerrye, family of 258
 Kerviceord, family of 258
 Kevin, St 55
 Kilbehagh (Kilbeagh), Co. Mayo 261
 Kilbreedy (Kilbride), Co. Mayo 261
 Kilcolman, 245, 257, 259, 260

- Kilcoman (Kilcommon), Co. Mayo 240, 257, 259
- Kilcomon, Co. Mayo 240, 259
- Kilconduff, Co. Mayo 260
- Kildacomoge (Kildacommoge), Co. Mayo 260
- Kildare, earl of, *see Fitzgerald*
- Kilfyan (Kilfian), Co. Mayo 261
- Kilgeeever, Co. Mayo 260
- Kilianus 56, 57
- Killala, diocese of 210, 259
- Killalla (Killala), Co. Mayo 261
- Killaloe, diocese of 56, 216
- Killasser, Co. Mayo 260
- Killedan, Co. Mayo 260
- Killeshin, Co. Laois 41
- Killinbrenan abbey, Co. Mayo 261
- Killobeday (Kilbelfad), Co. Mayo 261
- Killyleagh, Co. Down 212
- Kilmaine (Kilmayne/Coolagh), barony of, Co. Mayo 238, 240, 243, 245, 246, 259
- Kilmaynbegg (Kilmainebeg), Co. Mayo 246, 259
- Kilmaynmore (Kilmainmore), Co. Mayo 247, 259
- Kilmclasser (Kilmaclasser), Co. Mayo 260
- Kilmolara, Co. Mayo 259
- Kilmore, bishopric of 201, 202
- Kilmore, Co. Mayo 260
- Kilmoremoye (Kilmoremoy), Co. Mayo 261
- Kilmovy (Kilmovee), Co. Mayo 260
- Kilnegarvan (Kilgarvan), Co. Mayo 260
- Kilvine, Co. Mayo 259
- King, Archbishop William, owner of library at Derry 213, 216, 218
- Kinsale, Co. Cork 218, 219, 247
- Kirwan, family of 258
- Knock, Co. Mayo 260
- Knox, Andrew, bishop of Raphoe 154
- Konstanz 52
- Labarth 258
- Labraid Loingsech 80
- Lackan, Co. Mayo 261
- Laegaire mac Néill 73, 86
- Lane, family of 223
- Lane, Sir George, Viscount Lanesborough 222
- Lane, Parr 139–163
- Lane, Sir Ralph 139
- Lane, Sir Robert, father of Parr 139
- Lanercost (Lanercoste) 111
- Laois, County 41, 49, 166, 167–70, 175–9, 181–2, 196, 198
- Laud, Archbishop William 201–3
- Laurence, St 94
- Leabhar Muintire Dubhgendáin 273
- Leabhar na hUidhre 41, 48, 273
- Leader, George 200
- Leader, Richard 183, 200
- Lebor Gabála Érenn 68–90, 275, 277
- Leinster, *see Book of Leinster*
- Leitrim, County 166, 176, 182, 183, 194, 239, 240, 263
- Lesley, Bishop John 53
- Limerick, County 183, 198, 200, 215, 217, 219, 235, 241
- Linch, family of 258
- Lincoln, 106, 113, 124, 130
- Lincolnshire 128–30
- Lismore, Co. Waterford 58
- Littleton 141
- Llwyd, Edward, Welsh antiquary 40, 277
- Loegaire Lorc 80
- Loftus, Adam, archbishop of Dublin 147, 148, 151
- Loftus, Sir Adam, 171, 175, 176, 194
- London 105, 108, 109, 111, 114, 122–30, 132, 156, 174, 177, 182, 183, 194, 210, 211, 214, 218, 225, 236, 263
- Longford, County 91, 95, 166, 223, 236, 239, 240–1, 261
- Lothar, German emperor 58
- Lough Ree 91, 95
- Louth, County 237, 238, 241, 263
- Louvain 54
- Lowe, E.A. 1, 4, 6, 29, 35

Lucan, Earl of, *see* *Bingham, Charles*
 Lugaid Iardonn 79
 Lugaid Laigdech 80
 Lugaid Lámderg 79
 Lugaid Luaigne 78
 Lugaid mac Conn 72–4, 84
 Lugaid Riab nDerg 83
 Luke, Gospel of 2, 7–9, 13, 15, 32, 35
 Lydgate 125
 Lynegar, Charles (Ó Luinín) 223, 224,
 266–83
 Lynodd, family of 258

 mac Áedo, Domnall 246
 mac Aige, Sen 269
 mac Ailella, Cennfaelad 270
 mac Ainmirech, Aed 246
 mac Ailella, Sencha 269
 mac Airt, Cormac 270, 272, 281
 Mac Aodhagáin, family of 40
 Mac Aodhagáin, school of in Ormond
 275
 mac Bóchra, Fintan 270
 McBride, John, presbyterian patriarch
 297
 Mac Cairthinn, family of 92
 Mac Cairthinn, Saint 94, 95, 97
 MacCarthy, Christianus 57
 Mac Cathasaigh, Matthew, chancellor of
 Armagh 97
 mac Cerbaill, King Diarmait 270
 Mac Coisse, poet 272
 mac Colmáin, Ruman 271
 Mac Conmidhe, Giolla Brighde 272
 Mac Crimthainn, Aéd 48
 Mac Cruitín, Aodh Buidhe 276
 mac Cuil Claoin, Sencha 268
 mac Cuilennáin, Cormac 273
 McEdány, Donald 246
 Mac Fhir Bhisigh, Thomás Cam, son of
 Giolla Iosa 68, 73, 74, 86
 mac fiachrach, Dathí 69
 Mac Fírbhisigh, Amhlaimh Mór 273
 Mac Fírbisigh, Dubhaltach 63
 Mac Fírbhisigh, Giolla Brighde 273, 274

MacFírbhisigh, Giolla Íosa, 40, 68, 73,
 74, 282
 Mac Geoghegan, Abbé 277
 McMurrough, David 169
 MacNéill, Laoghaire 73, 86
 mac Nessa, Conchobhar 269, 270
 Mac Tighearnáin, Seán 93, 94, 97
 Macalister, R.A.S. 69–71, 72, 74, 80, 87,
 88, 237, 238, 263
 Macha 40, 80, 89
 Madden, family of 224
 Mael Mura 271
 Mág Aonghusa, family of 261
 Mag Shamhradháin, Brian Breaghach
 274
 Mág Uidhir, Brian of Tempo 266, 275
 Magnam Legendarium Austriacum 52,
 55–8
 Mainistrech, Flann 73, 89
 Mainz 125
 Maire, family of 258
 Mál m. Rochraide 84
 Malachias Armachensis 56
 Mandevill, family of 258
 Mane, 'number' 70
 Mansuetus, bishop of Toul 53, 57–9
 Maoilín, son of Tóma Ó Maolchonaire
 274
 Marcus Antonius 73
 Margaret, wife of Edward I 101, 102,
 106, 111, 114, 116
 Marsh, Narcissus, primate of Ireland 215,
 219–20
 Martine, family of 258
 Mary, mother of God 31, 41, 44, 48
 Maryborough 168, 169, 175, 176, 181,
 182, 197
 Massachusetts Bay; Colony, 164–84
 Master Adam the Carthusian 127
 Matthews, Colonel George 222
 Maule, Henry, founder of Greencoat
 school in Cork 213, 215, 221
 Mayart, Samuel 170–2, 186, 191
 Mayo, county of 236–65
 McEdány, Donald 246

- Meath, Bishop of, 92, 97, 147, 172, 174, 236
 Meath, county 166, 186, 216, 219, 264
 Mechthild of Hackeborn 127, 129
 Medhope, Edmond 165, 170, 171, 189
 Medhope, Roger 165
 Meelick, Co. Mayo 165, 260
 Melge 80
 Memmingen 52
 Methven (Meffen) 107, 117
 Metley, Richard, *see* *Furth*
 Mhic Thighearnáin, Cúil 94
 Micheli, G.L. 29, 36, 37
 Mildmay, Sir Walter 201
 Míniugad 68–71
 Misyn, Richard 126
 Mitchell, Dr. Thomas 249–50
 Moate, Co. Westmeath 216
 moccu Lugair, Dubthach 269, 272
 Mochuille 56–9
 Mochulleus (Mochuille) 56
 Molyneux, family of 224, 263
 Molyneux, Samuel 225, 238
 Molyneux, William 236, 238
 Monaghan, County 93, 96, 99, 241
 Monastereven, Co. Kildare 176
 Monck Mason, H.J. 204
 Monk Bretton Priory 130
 Montfauçon, Bernard de 211
 Moone 33
 Moore, Gerald, Baron of Mellifont 169
 Moore, John 244
 Moorgagagh 240, 247, 259
 Moreri, Louis 216, 229
 Moses 47, 267, 268, 271
 Mountjoy, *see* *Blount, Charles*
 Mountmellick, Co. Laois 176, 194, 197
 Mountrath, Co. Laois 167–84, 186–99
 Moygawnagh, Co. Mayo 261
 Moyne, Co. Mayo 238, 240, 243, 257
 Moynerathe (Mountrath) 169
 Mug Corb 80
 Muinemón 76
 Muiredach Bolgrach 78
 Muiredach Tírech 85
 Mulchrone, Kathleen 68, 69–70, 88
 Mulling 1, 2, 8
 Munich 53 56
 Munster 57, 59, 138, 139, 141, 145, 147, 149, 150, 152, 162, 166, 171, 225, 251, 262, 274
 Murrisk (Muriske), Co. Mayo 240, 243, 256, 260
 Na Fothaid 85
 Nathí 85
 Nehemiah 152
 Newcastle 110
 New England 164, 173, 174, 178, 182–4, 198–9, 200, 213
 Newman, Jacob, Deputy Master of the Rolls 170–2, 186, 189
 Nia Segamain 81
 Niall Naíghiallach 85
 Nicholls, K.W. 94, 96
 Noah 40, 44–5
 Nolane 255, 256
 Nore, River 168, 180–1, 197
 Northumberland 105, 116
 Norton, John, Prior of Mountgrace 128, 130
 Nuadu Finn Fáil 78
 Nuadu Necht 83
 Nurenburg 52
 Nutton, John 174
 Nutton, Susan 174
 O' Brien, family of 56–8, 247
 O' Brien, Sir Edward of Dromoland, Co. Clare 216
 Ó Caiside, Ruaidhrí 94
 Ó Cerbaill, Maelsuthain 270
 Ó Cianáin, Ádhamh 274
 Ó Cléirigh, Fr. Míchéal 273, 275, 277
 Ó Concheanainn, Tomás 48, 273
 Ó Conchobair, Ruaidhrí 246
 Ó Conchobair, Toirdelbach 246
 O' Conor, Charles 72, 277
 O' Conor, Lady Maeve 256
 O' Conor, Thomas 238

- Ó Corráin, Donnchadh 56–8, 66
 Ó Cuilinn, Pádraig 94–6
 Ó Cuinnlis, Murchadh Riabhach 68, 73, 88
 Ó Cuimín, Ádhamh 68, 69, 70
 Ó Cuimín, Cornán Óg 275, 277
 Ó Dálaigh, Aodh 266
 Ó Domhnaill, Kings of Tír Connail 274
 O' Donovan, John 238, 243, 263, 277, 282
 O' Dowd, family of 257
 Ó Dubhagáin, Seaán Mór 273, 274
 Ó Dubhda, family of 273
 Ó Duibhgeannáin, Doimínic 277
 Ó Duibhgeannáin, Maghnus 273, 275
 Ó Duinnín, Cathán 274
 Ó Dúinchadha, Diarmaid 93
 Ó Ferrall, family of 261
 O' Flaherty, Roderick 236, 237, 240, 244
 O' Hara, Kean 251
 Ó Luinín, Giolla Pádraig 248
 Ó Luinín, Matta II 275
 Ó Luinín, Matthew 275
 Ó Luinín, Pádraig Ballach 275
 Ó Luinín, Piarus the Crooked 275
 Ó Luinín, Tadhg Fionn 275
 O' Malley, Diarmuid Baccach 256
 O' Malley, Grace (Gráinne Ní Mháille) 243, 256
 O Maly, Owen 256
 Ó Maolchonaire, Grioghair son of Sean 275
 Ó Maolchonaire, Muirgheas son of Páidín 274
 Ó Maolchonaire, Néidhe 273
 Ó Maolchonaire, Torna 274
 Ó Neachtain, Sean 266
 O'Neill, family of 246
 Ó Riain, Pádraig 86, 273
 Ó Rodaighe, Tadhg 239, 240, 248, 263, 277
 O'Sullivan, William 53, 88, 91, 96, 122, 159, 184, 213, 222, 224, 237, 242, 263, 264
 Oengus Ollam 81
 Oengus Olmucaid 76
 Offaly, County of 166, 178, 186, 188
 Offerlane, Co. Laois 181, 196
 Oghavale (Oughaval), Co. Mayo 258
 Ollamh (Ollam) 263, 266, 269–72, 274
 Ollom Fóitla 77
 Olmsted, Richard 167, 174–6, 181, 194
 Orghialla (Ergallia) 93–4
 Ormond, 40, 88
 Ormond, dukes of 213, 222, 223, 234, 255
 Orosius 1, 4, 271
 Orrery, Lord and Lady, *see Boyle, Roger*
 Otway, Thomas, bishop of Ossory 213, 259
 Oughaval 260
 Oxford 2, 47, 48, 56, 60, 68, 71, 205, 215, 218, 225
 Padin, family of 258
 Palliser, William, Archbishop of Cashel 213
 Palmerstown, Co. Dublin 223
 Partholón 74
 Patrick, St 34, 54, 55–6, 58–60, 94, 96, 211, 246, 248, 249, 256, 273
 Paul, St 43, 112, 113, 267
 Penn, William 182
 Penrice, *vel* Rice 258
 Perceval, Sir John 215
 Père Beccaria, author of Italian treatise 217
 Péronne 29
 Perrott, Sir John 193, 243–4
 Peter, St 8, 21, 34, 38, 39, 53, 58–9, 112, 113
 Petrie, George 238, 263
 Petty, Sir William 218, 224
 Phares, 'division' 70
 Philipstown 168
 Phillipps, Sir Thomas 237, 263
 Piers, Sir Henry 225, 236, 240, 241, 266, 276
 Pitt, Moses 236
 Plummer, Charles 243

- Plymouth, settlement 164
 Pomeroy, Arthur, dean of Cork 213
 Pontius 129
 Pope, Alexander 211
 Porete, Margaret 126
 Porter, family of 258
 Potter, clergyman, unmasked before third wife 144
 Prendergast, family of 245
 Prestwich, Michael 101, 148, 149, 150, 151
 Privy Council, English 148, 149, 150, 151; Irish 148
 Protestants 145, 152–6, 165–6, 181, 188, 212–4, 219–20, 276
 Prüfening 56
 Pseudo-Jerome 7, 10, 20
 Pseudo-Matthew 40, 44

 Quinn, family of 258

 Rathbranna, Dominican abbey 258
 Rathbreassall, synod of 247
 Rathcline, Co. Longford 222
 Rathreagh, Co. Mayo 261
 Reade, Edmund 183
 Rechtaid Rígderg 80
 Regensburg 52–60
 Regensburg, Andreas von 53
 Reims 34
 Rich, Barnaby 137, 138, 154,
 Richard III, king of England 127
 Riquier, St 29
 Robine, (Robeen), Co. Mayo 259
 Rolevinck, Carthusian scribe 128
 Rolle, Richard 126–9, 136
 Roman Catholics 142–5, 146–56, 175, 213, 214, 219–21, 266
 Rome 58, 59, 63, 262
 Ronayne, Thomas, interested in bookcases 216, 217
 Roscommon 211, 222, 236, 241, 254
 Roscrea, Co. Tipperary 175
 Roslea, (Rosslee), Co. Mayo 260
 Rosdorrach, Co. Laois 181
 Rosserke, abbey of St Francis 258
 Rothe, David, bishop of Ossory 53, 144–5, 147, 152, 155, 158
 Rothechtaid (Acrazapes) 76
 Rothechtaid (I'raortes) 77
 Ruanaanaus 56
 Rudraige 82
 Rundle, Thomas, bishop of Derry 215–16
 Rupp, Gordon 204
 Russell, family of 25888
 Ruysbroeck, John 126, 129
 Ryves, Thomas 144

 Saffron Walden, Essex 200
 Saint Amand, Eimeri de 111
 Sainte-Foy 32
 Salamanca 144
 Salehurst, Sussex 200
 Salisbury, Wiltshire 124, 128
 Sancroft, William, Archbishop of Canterbury 203
 Sant' Apollinare in Classe 34, 38
 Sarsfield, Dominic 223
 Sarsfield, Patrick 250
 Satan 15, 153
 Savile, Henry of Banke 123, 128
 Scéil na Fír Flatha 272
 Schottenkloster 52–60
 Scotus, Marianus 52
 Scribner, Robert 205
 Sebright, Sir John 40
 Sedulius 7, 22
 Senanus 56
 Senchae 267–9, 277–8
 Senchas 265–78
 Senchas Már 40, 270
 Serge, St 34
 Sétna 76
 Sétna Innarrad 78
 Sewell, Joan, nun of Syon 127
 Sharpe, Richard 91, 92, 93, 96, 99
 Sheen, Middlesex 122, 124–30
 Shillingford, Dr John 128
 Shrowle (Shrule), Co. Mayo 240, 247, 259

- Shuckburgh, E.S. 204, 207
 Sidney, Sir Henry 267
 Sidney, Sir Philip 145
 Síomón Brecc 78
 Sírlám 79
 Sírna 69, 70, 77
 Sixtus IV, pope 124
 Skerret, vel Skarret, family of 258
 Skinner Row, Dublin 217
 Slánoll 77
 Slieve Bloom Mountains 168, 175, 176
 Smith, John, emigrant from Ireland 200
 Smith, John, shortlived bishop of Killala 259
 Smyth, Henry, longer lived bishop of Killala 259
 Smyth, Thomas, apothecary 266
 Smythe, James, Archdeacon of Meath 225
 Sobairce 76
 Solomon 156
 Spaldyng, John 129
 Speldhurst, Kent 200
 Spenser, Edmund 138, 145–7, 266
 Springfield Bog 1
 St Albans 125
 St Emmeram, town of 54
 St Gallen, town of 1, 2, 6, 10, 54
 St Leger, William 92, 238
 St Mang 54, 55
 St Mark, Gospel of 8, 34; Lion of 34
 St Matthew, Gospel of 2, 6, 8, 9, 21, 34
 St Werburgh's parish in Dublin 165, 174, 176, 187
 Stackallen, Co. Meath 216
 Stafford, Nicholas 110, 118
 Stafford, Thomas 145
 Stalley, Roger 33, 38
 Stanihurst, Richard 267
 Stirling 112, 119
 Stokes, Whitley 72, 73, 86
 Stradbally, Co. Laois 49, 169
 Suidigud Tellaich Temra 270
 Swift, Jonathan, dean of St Patrick's 211; speculation of 214
 Symner, Miles, professor of mathematics 213
 Synge, Edward, Bshop of Elphin 209–10, 211, 213, 216, 223
 Syon Abbey 125–7
 Taghkeen (Tagheen), Co. Mayo 259
 Taghown, small abbey, Co. Mayo 245
 Tara, Co. Meath 246, 270, 271, 280, 281
 Temple, Sir John 223, 229
 Temple, Sir William, Provost of TCD 174, 201
 Templeguard, Co. Mayo 260
 Templemore, Co. Mayo 250, 251, 259, 260
 Templemurry, Co. Mayo 261
 Tenison, Richard, bishop of Killala 259
 Thecel, 'weight' 70
 Thomas, St 124
 Thurneysen, R. 69, 268
 Tiberius 58
 Tigernach, Annals of 68, 86
 Tigernmas 75
 Timothy, epistle to 267
 Tirawley, Co. Mayo 240, 257, 258, 261
 Titus, epistle to 267
 Toul 59
 Toulouse 130
 Towmore (Toomore), Co. Mayo 252, 260
 Traill, James of Killyleagh 212–13, 225
 Treadwell, Richard 173
 Tregooz, William, monk 124
 Trenche, family of 258
 Trialam timcheall na Fódhla 274, 275, 277–8
 Trim, Co. Meath 166
 Trinity College, Dublin 1, 40, 41, 101, 126, 128, 129, 166–7, 172, 174, 176, 185, 186, 191, 201, 210, 212, 213, 215, 222, 224, 225, 241, 242, 264, 266, 276
 Trinity Hall 165
 Trumroe, townland, Co. Laois 168
 Tuam, archdiocese of 213, 242, 243, 246, 250, 251, 253
 Tuatha Dé Danann 75

- Tuathal Techtmar 84
 Tullyhunco, Co. Cavan 94
 Turberville, Thomas de 102, 116
 Turin, gospels of 35
 Turlough (Turlough), Co. Mayo 260
 Turnberry (Turnebiri) 106, 113, 117
 Tynan, Co. Armagh 97
- Ua hUathgaile, Dublittir 41, 49
 Ugaine Mór 78
 Uí Chuindlis, family of 275
 Uí Chuimín 273
 Uí Mhaine, ollam to 273, 274; *see also*
 Book of Uí Mhaine
 Ulster Cycle, The 269
 Uraicecht Becc 270, 275, 280
 Uraicecht na Ríar 270, 271
 Ussher, James, archbishop of Armagh
 53–5, 59, 94, 139, 154, 172, 174, 175,
 191, 201–4, 213
- Vallancey, Charles 224
 Van Hamel, A.G. 68, 69, 71, 88
 Vavazour (Vavasor) 258
 Vergil 2
 Vesey, Agmondisham 214
 Vesey, John, nepotist and Archbishop of
 Tuam 213
 Vesey, Sir Thomas 213
 Vienna 52
 Villiers, John Fitzgerald, 1st Earl
 Grandison 223
 Villiers, Katherine Fitzgerald 222
 Virginia 164, 178
 Vita Brigidae 54
 Vita Flannani 56–7
 Vulgate 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 124
- Walsh (Wallis), family of 258
 Waltham Abbey, 132
 Walther, Hans 101
- Ware, Anne, wife of Emanuel Downing
 165, 182
 Ware, family, of Dublin 165, 182–3, 187,
 223
 Ware, James the younger 166, 213, 243,
 245, 246, 247, 251, 254, 255, 257
 Ware, Sir James 164–6, 171, 185–7
 Waterford 180, 213, 221, 222, 242
 Weld, James 174
 Wells, Somerset 126
 West, Richard, Lord Chancellor 210, 211
 Westmeath, county 216, 225, 240, 241
 Westminster 103, 108
 Westport, Co. Mayo 255–6
 Wexford, county 166, 185, 241
 Whitby, synod of 243
 White, Stephen 51–3, 57
 Wicklow, county of 166, 169, 187, 192
 William III, King of England 203
 Willoughby, Charles 214
 Wilson, William, giver of satisfaction to
 Christians 184
 Windesheim Canons 122
 Wingfield, Sir Richard, 1st Viscount
 Powerscourt 169, 189
 Winston, Suffolk 200
 Winthrop, John, Senior 164–7, 172, 173–
 6, 177–9, 182–4, 187, 192, 194, 196,
 199
 Winzet, Ninian 53
 Witham, Essex 125, 128, 132
 Woodstock, Oxfordshire 106, 113
 Woodward, Ralph 200
 Worth, Edward 214
 Wotton, Sir Henry 201
 Würzburg 52
- Yellow Book of Lecan *see* *Book of Lecan*
 Youghal, Co. Cork 174, 218–19
 Yporegia, Gulielmus de 128

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