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has become for us a very necessity of our daily lives, was either utterly unknown, or was enjoyed as a luxury, rarely and with extreme difficulty to be obtained.

INAUGURATION
OF
CATHAL CROBHDHEARG O'CONOR,
KING OF CONNAUGHT.

TRANSLATED BY MR. JOHN O'DALY, WITH NOTES BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ.,
L.L.D., M.R.I.A.

THE following tract, on the inauguration of Cathal Crobhdhearg (the red-handed) O'Conor, last king of Connaught, was written by Donogh Bacach (the lame), son of Tanaidhe O'Maelconaire, who was present at the ceremony, and whose privilege it was to place the royal rod in the hands of the king, when he assumed the sovereignty of Connaught. I made the copy from a manuscript written by Eoghan O'Keeffe,¹ a celebrated Munster poet and scribe in the year 1684, which is the only copy I ever met with.

Eoghan O'Keeffe, the transcriber, was born at Glenville, in the county of Cork, in the year 1656, and died, parish priest of Doneraile, in 1720. He wrote several excellent poems, on national events, in his native tongue—one of which, on the defeat of the Irish at the battle of Aughrim, where St. Ruth's jealousy of the Irish officers caused the destruction of James' last army, is in my collection, and begins thus:—

“*Ար ծուեարշան-ու առ Եածնսյո, ծո իշու Ելիս,*
‘*Տ այլեամայն առ յաձարի ծո՞ն ծրոյշ չեածնա;*
‘*Քարանդար ու ո-Ջալլաշոն Հ շոյց Ֆհեյծիյ,*
‘*Ծայ թալած ու զան թարշանուած առ ելլու թեյթե.*”

“The slaughter of Heber's race on Aughrim's plain,
And the loss of the battle-field by the same,
The inheritance of the Stranger in Felim's land,
Has left me awhile, comfortless, on a mountain side.”

I have made copies of almost all his compositions from the originals, some of which are in the Hudson collection, in the Royal Irish Academy, while others have been carried to a foreign land.

To Dr. O'Donovan's kindness the reader is indebted for the valuable notes which accompany the text.

¹ For a further account of Eoghan *Poets and Poetry of Munster*, second O'Keeffe and his brother bards, see my edition, p. 38.

ΕΑΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΙΟΝΙΩΝ

CHATHAJL CHROJBHDFHEJRJ H-J CHONCHUBHJAJR,
KJSH CONNACHT.

Anno Domini, 1224. Caéal Crobdearil mac Toirbdealbaird mòr h-J Chonchubair d'fádhail báir, eadon, níj Connacht; an duine ba mò gráin agur earr-éuaile ari zaé leaé a n-Éllinn. Duine ar mò do iùi do chneacáilb agur do loigréilb ari Thalla agur ari Thaoisdeala do b'or iha a'zair. Duine ar cniódha agur ar a'ndneanadh ne h-earr-cailidh tâinead iùam. Duine ar mò do nò-dall, nò-mairb, agur nò-rmaictear do m'leileacailb agur d'earcailidh. Duine b'fearri r'je agur r'famé do tòisailb Éireann iùam. Duine ar mò do tòisailb do tèamhrallaiq agur do t'ainmhrneacailb agur do c'òlmhiond-bhail c'innse an a'nmharr a' beata é. Duine ar mò do nò-ráraib do bochtairb agur do b'is-leanaib Dé é, uim b'laib, uim éadaic, agur uim zaé earrbaird f'aozalta do b' iùam, iha t'is f'eli. Duine ar mò iùam oileisibh Òrla zaé mairc iha a'nmharr f'eli a n-Éllinn é. Duine umorium da d-tuig Òrla mear, tlaib, agur ionad zaéca toimad ne a linn. Duine ar zeanamhaidh agur ar zeanamhla ne zaé aon nò b' ne a linn f'eli é. Duine umorium iò c'ontzairb é f'eli ari aon tòimad pòrda agur do c'ontzairb c'ontlioneir mairc agur feabhaéit tair éir a tòimad pòrda d'imeacéit agur d'fádhail báir uailb' guri ba mairb e f'eli. Duine déaricad, deirgeanach, a d-tuac agur a n-Éaslaib é. Duine c'ui, ceannair, a'lgéan ne tòimairb; f'ail, f'ailrean, f'oilb-f'ailtead ne f'ileadairb agur ne h-aoril zaéca c'ellidh, ari ceannair, nò b' a'nmharr, nò t'ingzéallad a'beir do n'ell leabair a m-bealaib naoim agur f'iondair. Duine ar mò da d-tuig Òrla ionad tairbhair agur uacbhair a z-eacailb agur a z-cumad-còimhrzleodairb, agur nò f'aoi Òrla é; agur nì tòimic do f'aoilead r'iu, ziléad nò c'ontailb agur nò tòisailb Òrla ar zaé do g'ruairig é. Duine t'rean ó laet a' b'iu me é. Duine do éajt a f'laisteanáig zo f'ori-créan feanamhail e. Duine do b'elliead a d'li'ze f'eli d'eadlaib Dé é. Duine f'iondair, f'oilzéidh, conaib, c'raibh-tead, ceairt-bheacácas é. Duine na nò tòimad nead feall na fionzairill f'ori neac' l' an domhan ne h-uabair earrionta nò f'ellizé iùam é; zo b'ruairi bár ion-molta iari m-buas oiscte agur a'fri'zé. Tuis a lea'ztoir guri ab é Caéal Cariac O'Conchúbair do b' a'z zileis f'ra c'eanamh na c'olzé r'iu Chonchubair ne Caéal Crobdearil, agur zo iuabair Thail iha da iùam a'z c'uidiushad leo f'ori zaé leat, éadaon, Seana de Cariac le Caéal Crobdearil; agur Uilliam mac Aldeir-meij le Caéal Cariac.

Aos mac Caéail Crobdearil do zábhail n'isgáid Connacht iari m-bár a' a'cair. Meic Hugo de Lacéy do t'ea'c a n-Éllinn do m'f'orl níj Sacrañ an b'laibdail r'iu; f'oilbairr éisgáid agur f'oilhain d'far a n-Éllinn ne linn na meic r'iu Hugo de Lacéy, ari Thalla

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
CATHAL, THE RED-HANDED O'CONOR,
 KING OF CONNAUGHT.

Anno Domini, 1224. Cathal Crobhdhearg, son of Turlogh Mor O'Conor, king of Connaught, died. He was a man calculated to strike fear and dread more than any other Irishman of his day ; he was a man who burned the greatest number of homesteads, and took the greatest number of preys from both the English and Irish who opposed him ; he was the most valorous and undaunted man in opposing his enemies that ever lived. It was he who blinded, killed, and subdued the greatest number of rebels and enemies. He was the most gentle and peaceable of all the kings that ever reigned in Ireland. It was he who founded and endowed the largest number of churches and monasteries, and established permanent congregations, of any of his contemporaries. He was a supporter of the poor and humble people of God with food, raiment, and all other necessaries of life, in his own palace. He was the man above all men whom God endowed with the greatest benignity, and on whom He bestowed prosperity, plenty, and abundant crops during his reign. He was, without exception, of all his contemporaries, the man who won for himself the character of purity of mind and amiability towards all persons. He was, indeed, a man who remained contented with his lawful wife, and who, after her demise, observed the strictest continence until the day of his own death. He was a charitable discreet man towards laymen as well as ecclesiastics ; he was mild, respectful, and tender towards females ; liberal, open-hearted, and friendly to poets, and all professors of science without distinction ; he was the same person whose existence had been predicted by saints and holy seers ; a man who witnessed the most strange scenes and valour in course of his battles and conflicts, but God preserved him, yet it was often feared he would not escape ; God, however, supported him and delivered him from all his difficulties. He was endowed with courage since he left the milk of his nurse. He was a man who sustained his dignity with a rare degree of bravery and manliness ; a man who never refused to concede her own proper laws to the Church ; he was a just, upright, friendly, pious, justice-loving man ; a man who never meditated treachery or injustice against any man, even when provoked or angry, up to the moment of his universally-lamented death, on which occasion he received the sacrament of Extreme Unction, after having done penance for his sins. It is necessary to remark, for the reader's information, that Cathal Carrach O'Conor disputed the sovereignty of Connaught with Cathal Crobhdhearg ; and that the English took part in the contention in support of both claimants, viz., John De Courcy supported Cathal Crobhdhearg, and William Fitzadelm, Cathal Carrach.

աշար ար Ֆիլաութեալի Ելլեան, ո՞ զար էլլիցեածար Ֆայլ Ելլեան լին ո-ազալծ, աշար Յօ լո յօնարերատ լած Յօ հ-Ալլեալ Յօ հ-Աօծ Օ'Նելլ ոյշ Օլիչ; աշար զար լո չոնօնիլրետ Ֆայլ աշար Ֆաօլթել Ելլեան ճա ո-յօնորալչիծ, եածոն, Աօծ ուած Կաչալ Շիոլթելլիչ, ոյշ Սոնաէտ; Դոյնէած Կալիթեած Օ'Բլյալո, ոյշ Տուած-Ֆիլիման; Փիլիմալ Շլարած Ֆիլ Կալիթալչ, ոյշ Պեր-Ֆիլիման; աշար տալէ Ելլեան, ար շեանա, լեյշ առայշ ծո չուեալ Յօնչալ աշար Շոնալ; զար լուալշեած լած տալ տալչ Ֆիլիթելլու Յօ Փու-Գեալշան, զար աբ առ րի ծ'լալրած շելլ աշար երալչե ար Օ'Նելլ աշար ար տակալ Հուգո դ Լաչ, յօնար Յօ ո-եալինած րիշ եատորիա առ տան րիո.

Anno Domini, 1224. Կնիլ տօր լե Ֆալլալ Ելլեան ա ո-Աէ-Շիաէ. Աօծ ուած Կաչալ Շիոլթելլիչ ծու ծ'յօնորալչիծ նա սկյուտ րին; աշար քեալած ալր առ, ո՞ Յօ ծ-տալոյւ Ալլիկան Ֆիլարշալ, ուած յալլա Ֆիլարշալ, եածոն, և ձալալ յօնուար քելու Յօ ո-Ա բօւրածե ար լար նա սկյուտ չուզե; զար լուզ լեյշ ար էլլեան և լար նա սկյուտ առած է, յօնար զար չոյօնալ յօնիլալ սածա է.

Anno Domini, 1228. Պալա Աօծ ուած Կաչալ Շիոլթելլիչ, ծո լին սօլու լե Ֆալլալ, եածոն, լե հ-Ալլիկան Ֆիլիելլ ուած Շեաւ-բրա Ֆիլիելլ, ազ Լաւալ Շայշ-Տուալչել, Յօ ծ-տալոյւ Ալլիկան Ֆիլիելլ առ րի; աշար ոյ ծեաչալ տալ Լաւալ ասսոն աշտ սածած ծո ծեաչ-ծօնիլ, եածոն, Հումակ Ֆիլ Տուալչալչ, աշար Փիլիմալ ուած Ֆիլշուրա, աշար Ֆիլչատապար Ֆիլ Ֆիլիթեարտալչ հ-Ալ Շոն-չնալու, աշար Տած Ֆիլ Ֆիլչատա հ-Ալ-Չելլիս, աշար Բուալծի Օ'Ֆիլօլիքեանան. Տալու սուուրո Ալլիկան Ֆիլիելլ աշար օշտար տալիւած լր առ լո-սօլու. յր առ րի սուուրո ծո չուուիլ Աօծ առ քեալ աշար առ մեախալ ծո լինեած ալր ա ո-Աէ-Շիաէ; աշար ծո էլլիցիծ Աօծ առ տան ո՞ չոյլիլինցրետ նա Ֆայլ, աշար ծո չույլ և ծեաչ-լալա առ-Ալլիկան Ֆիլիելլ աշար ծո լին երալչ ծո լաւալ դե քելու աշար ծո Ֆիլիթիրլի Տելինե, աշար ծո Հուգո Ֆայրու; աշար լո՞ տալիած Կորտաբլա Աէա Լուայ ծո լաւալ առ րի; աշար ծո չույլ Ալլիկան Ֆիլիելլ աշար առ չոյծ բել ծո նա Ֆալլալ տալ Լաւալ շուար. Քօ բա շոյօն բօւալ ծո Շոնհաէտալ առ շոյօն րիո, եածոն, ուած Շեաւ-բրա ծո չուալի, օլր բալլիլու և տած աշար ա լոյշոն, աշար երալչե Կոն սաշտ սիլ արծ, աշար րիշ ծո Շոնհաէտալ.

Ծո ել Աօծ, ուած Կաչալ Շիոլթելլիչ, չելշու եկածնա և լոյշած Շոնհաէտ, ասիսլ և ծելլ Դոյնէած Բաւած Ֆիլ Տանալծ յ Ֆիլաօլ-շոնալլու:—

Ծո ել Բած Շիլաւածն սա լո-սած,
լորձած լոյշու Եաչահ;
Չելշու եկածնա, եւալտ շառ չելչ,
Ազ Աօծ, ուած Կաչալ Շիոլթելլիչ.

Աօծ, ուած Կաչալ Շիոլթելլիչ, ծո տալիած ծ'առ-եսուլ ծո չուալչ բօւուր և լո-Կնիլ Շեաւ-բրա Ֆիլիելլ, աշար է աշա բօւուր ազ տուալ առ տ-բօւուր. Ան քեալ լայ լո՞ տալիած է, եածոն, Տեօն Փոնդնաէ, ծո չուուած ար նա տալիւած լե Տեաւ-բրա Ֆիլիելլ. յր տրե բոյալկու մեյշ

Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, assumed the sovereignty of Connaught after the death of his father. The sons of Hugo De Lacy came into Ireland the same year, contrary to the will of the king of England. Wars and dissensions arose among the English and Irish, in consequence of the arrival of these sons of Hugo De Lacy. The English of Ireland rose up in arms against them, and expelled them into Ulster, under the protection of Hugh O'Neill, king of Aileach. The English and Irish who mustered in opposition to them were, Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, king of Connaught, Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien, king of Thomond, Diarmuid Cluasach (i. e., with the *large* ears) Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, and the chief men of Ireland indiscriminately, except the Cineal Eoghain and Connacht; and they forced pledges and hostages from Hugh O'Neill and the sons of Hugo De Lacy, and by that means peace was ratified between them.

Anno Domini, 1224. A great assembly of the English of Ireland was held in Dublin. Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, who attended that meeting, was betrayed; but William Marshall, son of the earl Marshall, his bosom friend, with a strong body of forces, entered the assembly, rescued him from amidst the multitude, and restored him to liberty.

Anno Domini, 1228. Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, agreed to meet the English in a conference, namely, William, son of Geoffrey Morris, at Lathach of Caichtuathbhil¹. William Morris attended there, but did not cross the Lathach. He (Hugh) brought a few of his chief men along with him, namely, Cormac Mac Tomalty, Diarmuid Mac Manus, Mahon, son of Muircheartach O'Conor, Teige, son of Mahon O'Ceirin, and Rudhraidhe O'Maelbhreanuin [O'Mulrenin.] William Morris, accompanied by eight horsemen, came forward to meet them. At that moment Hugh recollected the bad faith and treachery practised against him in Dublin, and as soon as the English alighted, having seized William Morris in his robust arms, made him prisoner that instant, together with Master Sliney and Hugo Gardin. The constable of Athlone was slain on that occasion; and William Morris and the rest of the English were sent across the Lathach or slough. The capture of the son of Geoffrey proved to be an advantageous event to Connaught; for he wrested from them his son, daughter, and other prisoners belonging to Connaught, that were in their custody, together with a peace for the Connaughtmen.

Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, reigned four years over the province of Connaught, as Donogh Bacach, son of Tanaidhe O'Maelconaire records:—

“ Rath Cruaghan of the battles,
The habitation of [Meave] the daughter of Eochaidh;
Was four years, without deception,
Possessed by Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg.”

¹ *Lathach of Caichtuathbhil*, i.e., Caichtubil's *slough*, now Bel-Lathaigh, a town-land and small village on the west side of the

town of Athlone, in the parish of St. Peter's. This lathach so memorable in the local traditions, is now dried up.

Hugo de Lacÿ ari Uilliam Moiléir, mac an Tighlertir, do ionad an feall ríi ari Aodh alaigh O'Concúbaill, aizur a deilid aitagle le gair ab tuis éad do bual ñi raoir é; óir ní raibh a n-Éllinn aen daingne ba ailtne, ba beoða, aizur ba ériða, ná Aodh O'Concúbaill.

Ir aitlaigd delaðcari níj Connacáit do níosadh, éadon, O'Concúbaill, aitnail do ionad a n-allóid, aizur aitnail ní ñírdalz Ráthairc ait la ní ñíosadhair Ñuach Ñalaé, mac Ñigair, mhc Ñacáe Ñíhuigé-mheadair, éadon, ña Ñarboz ñeaz ní bñ aizur níosadh, maille ne Ráthairc, aizur díligrd cónairbuiðe ná n-Ñarboz ríi do beit aizur níosadh, éadon, cónairba Ñháthairc, ó Ñileann; cónairba Ñhílge ñe Ñhále Tobair, Ñhílge; cónairba Ñháconna, ó Ñar Ñíle; n-Éllinn; cónairba Ñheoðair, ó Ñiud Ñaumha; cónairba Ñheanairz, ó Ñhluain Coirbte; cónairba Ñhátlinn, ó Ñhluain Tuairceann; cónairba Ñhreanuinn, ó Ñóðdeala; cónairba Cholmáin, ó Ñháilzéod; cónairba Ñjalain, ó Ñháiz Ñjalain; cónairba Ñarboz Sogjill, ó Ñoc Salceanuinn; cónairba Ñhneallain ó Ñhlaorib; cónairba Ñhállinn, ó Ñhjóðnach; aizur cónairba Ñhínein, ó Ñhluain Cneamha. Ñleáðcari umorua ña ñaorlreac ñeaz ríi Ñhílgeadairz do beit aizur níosadh, éadon, O'Ñlannazain, O'Ñhaoilbheanuinn, O'Ñionnaéctairz;—Ir isd ríi ait Ñháiz Ñílgeacátaiz do cùil leð, a cérteige níosadh-ðaoirr;—O'Ñlann, O'Ñallain, O'Ñh-Áinlídhe, O'Ñílin, O'Concúbaill, O'Ñh-Ælðin, O'Ñeacñaralz;—Do éos O'Ñh-Ælðin aizur O'Ñeacñaralz taoirrjeacétt dñib feli ñi níj Connacáit;—O'Ñairz of cionn tealaiz níj Connacáit ná ñaorlreac tealaiz; aizur delaðcari do'n níosadh eile ríi beit aizur níosadh, éadon, ríocé Aodha Ñhílin, mac Ñealzna mhc Ñealzna, a.

¹ *The lawful form.* Connell Mageoghegan tells us how the king of Connaught was inaugurated in these words:—

“A. D. 1316. Rory O'Connor went to Carn-Fraoigh, where he was invested King of Connacht by the twelve chieftains of Silemori, twelve Coworbans, and other spirituals that were accustomed to use the ceremonies usual at the time of the Investiture of the King.”—*Annals Clon.*

² *Aifinn*, now Elphin, in the county of Roscommon, of which St. Patrick is the patron.

³ *Ballytober* (baile tobair bñiðe) i.e. the town of St. Bridget's well, now Ballintober, in the county of Roscommon, where there is an old church and a holy well dedicated to St. Bridget of Kildare.

⁴ *Dachonna of Eas-mic n-Eirc*, i.e. St. Dachonna, son of Erc, patron of Eas-mic-n-Eirc, on the river Boyle, situated three-fourths of a mile west of the town of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon. The coarb of this church was O'Flynn, and the place is now called *Eas-uit-Flloinn*, *Anglicé* Assylin, from his name. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A.D. 748, 1209, 1222.

⁵ *Ard-Carna*, now Ardcarne, situated four miles due east of Boyle, in the barony of Boyle, and county of Roscommon. The patron saint of this place was Beo-Aedh, i. e. *Aidus vivax*, a Bishop, who died in the year 523. His festival was celebrated there on the 8th of March, annually. The coarbs of this saint were the O'Maoilciarains, now Mulherins.

⁶ *Bearach of Cluain Coirbhthe*, i.e. St. Barry of Clooneorby. This church is now more usually called Kilbarry, or Termonbarry, a celebrated church in the *Disert* or wilderness of Kinel-Dofa, in the east of the county Roscommon. His festival was annually celebrated here on the 15th February. The coarb of St. Barry of this place was Mac Coilidh, now barbarized Cocks, and Cox. The crozier of St. Barry is still preserved, and in the possession of Patrick, son of Roger O'Hanly, an attorney. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A. D. 916, 1128, 1146, 1151, 1155, 1238, 1385, 1405, 1441, 1452, and 1485.

⁷ *Faithleann of Cluain Tuaiscirt*, i.e. Faithleann, son of Aedh Damhain, of Clontuskert, an old church near Lanesborough,

Hugh, son of Cathal Crobhdhearg, was slain by a single stroke of a carpenter's axe, in the court of Geoffrey Morris, while he was a being bathed by the carpenter's wife. John Dundon, the man who killed him, was hanged next day by order of Geoffrey Morris. It was at the instigation of the sons of Hugo De Lacy, that William Morris, son of the justice, caused that treacherous deed to be committed upon the comely Hugh O'Conor. Others, however, assert that the carpenter killed him in a fit of jealousy; for there was not in Ireland a human being more handsome, vigorous, or valiant, than Hugh O'Conor.

This is the lawful form¹ of inauguration of the king of Connaught, namely, O'Conor, as it was established in the olden time, and ordained by St. Patrick on the day that he inaugurated Duach Gallach, son of Brian, son of Eochaiddh Muidhmheadhain, on which occasion there were at his inauguration along with St. Patrick twelve bishops. And it is necessary that the coarbs of these bishops should still be present at his inauguration, namely, the coarb of Patrick, at Ailfinn,² the coarb of Bridget of Ballytober,³ the coarb of Dachonna⁴ of Eas mic n-Eirc [now Assylin], the coarb of Beo-Aedh of Ard Carna,⁵ the coarb of Bearach of Cluain Coirbhthe⁶ [now Kilbarry], the coarb of Faithleann⁷ of Cluain Tuaiscirt, the coarb of Breanuinn of Oghdeala⁸ [Ogulla], the coarb of Colman of Mayo,⁹ the coarb of Gialan of Magh Gialain,¹⁰ the coarb of bishop Soichell¹¹ of Loch Salchearn, the coarb of Greallan of Creeve,¹² the coarb of Caillin of Fenagh,¹³ and the coarb of Finin of Cluain Creamha.¹⁴ It was also ordained that the twelve dynasts of the Sil-Murray should be present at his inauguration, viz.,

in O'Hanly's country, in the east of the county of Roscommon. The festival of this saint (who was not a bishop) was celebrated on the 4th of June.

⁸ *Oghdeala*, now the church of Ogulla, near Rathcroghan, to the east of Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon. The patron saint of this parish was the celebrated St. Brennain or Brendan, who was the founder of the see of Clonfert, and died in the year 576. His festival was celebrated on the 16th May.

⁹ *Colman of Mayo*. St. Colman had been bishop of Lisiisfarne in Northumberland, but he resigned this see and returned to Ireland A.D. 665, and founded an abbey at Magheo (plain of the yews), where he a company of Saxon monks, from whom it was called *Magh eo na Saxon*. See Colgan, *Acta SS.*, p. 604, 605.

¹⁰ *Gialain*. This should be Giallan.

¹¹ *Soichell*, a St. Soichell is set down in the calendars at 1st of August, but the name of his church is not mentioned. The name of Loch Sailchern is still preserved.

¹² *Greallan of Creeve*. There are several churches dedicated to this saint in Connaught, but the church referred to here is Craobh Ghrealain, now Creeve, situated in the west of Moylurg (barony of Boyle), in the county of Roscommon. This saint is said to have resuscitated Eoghan Sriabh, son of Duach Galach, king of Connaught. He was the chief saint of Ui-Maine, and his crozier was preserved at Ahasca, in the year 1836, in the keeping of John Cronelly, the lineal descendant of his ancient coarbs.

¹³ *Caillin of Fenagh*. St. Caillin was a bishop and patron saint of Fenagh, in the county of Leitrim. His festival was celebrated on the 13th of November. O'Rody, or O'Rodachain was his comharba.

¹⁴ *Cluain Creamha*, i.e. the lawn or meadow of the wild garlic, now Clooncraft, a parish near Elphin, in the county of Roscommon. O'Raghtagain (now Ratigan) was the coarb of St. Finnen at this church. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by John O'Donovan, A.D. 1488, note ^b, p. 1157.

éadomh, O'Ruairic, O'Ragallai, ríochtaí Thaibhre, ríochtaí Céin, ríochtaí Oilliólla Oluimh, éadomh, O'h-Éadair a dhuir O'Íathair a dhuir a b-foirtsealaíe zo léiri. Siúchtaí Íathairlannaíodh iad i meic Taibhre, meic Chaéail, aithníl atá Íac Ólairimh, siúdriodh Chalaic na Caireal, a dhuir mairte Connacht ó rí amach. Do O'Íathairlannaíodh iir cónaí ríat na hÍsé do éabairt a láimh J Choncúbaíri an la rí zéabair níos Connacht, a dhuir ní dlíseann aon duine do mairteibh Choncúbaír beirt ina fócaíri ari ari an 5-Cairn an tan rí, aict O'Íathairlannaíodh aithníl, a dhuir O'Connachtáin ari uict J Íathairlannaíodh; ní lári b-fioru ari uict J Íathairlannaíodh, a d'fóilliachreóileacáit an Chailín; a aithní a dhuir a éide a d'fíathairlannaíodh, a eac do éabairt do Choncúbaír Ólairimh, a dhuir dul do Ólairimh J Choncúbaíri ari ari eac rí. Uinseadh d'óri do O'Choncúbaír mairi éis ór fíorlannaíde záca bhláthna, a dhuir d'fíathairlannaíodh ari ari an Caisin do éorlácaid záca uairi nísear a leas.

Ait ro tuairimtaí siúdriodh Choncúbaíri, éadomh, da fícte deaibh loingseacáid, da fícte deaibh caoimh; da fícte deaibh mairt do O'Flannaganáin, a dhuir a d-tábaidh i n-Uí-mhail záca bealltaíne. An oifreadh eile rí an ait Íac Ólairimh, a dhuir a d-tábaidh i n-Uí-mhail a dhuir i n-Jóimháir. An oifreadh ceadna ait O'Íathairlannaíodh, a dhuir a d-tábaidh a d-tábaidh Fíathairlannaíodh, a 5-Cúil

¹ *O'Flannagan.* He was chief of Clann-Cathail, a territory lying between Mantua and Elphin, in the county of Roscommon.

² *O'Mulrenin.* He was chief of Clann-Tomalagh, a territory comprising the parish of Baslick, near Ballintober, in the county of Roscommon.

³ *O'Finnaghty.* He was chief of Clann-conway, lying on both sides of the river Suck, in the counties of Galway and Roscommon. His chief seat was at Dunamón. This family, now so plebeian, are senior to the O'Conors, and held the highest place at the table of the king of Connacht. They possessed forty-eight ballys, or old Irish townlands, situated on both sides of the river Suck.

⁴ *Mac-Oireachtaigh*, now Mageraghty, and Geraghty. He was chief of Muintir-Roduibh, and was seated in Magh Naoi, in the county of Roscommon. In 1585, he was at Moylough, in the county of Galway.

⁵ *Four royal chieftains.* These were of the same line of descent with O'Connor, and some of them, as O'Finnaghty, were senior to him.

⁶ *O'Flynn.* He was chief of Sil-Maelruain, comprising the parishes of Kiltullagh and Kilkeevin, in the west of the county of Roscommon. The chief of this sept had his seat at Ballinlough.

⁷ *O'Fallon.* He was chief of Clann-Uadach, in the barony of Athlone, county of Roscommon. In 1585, the head of this

family had his seat at Miltown, in the parish of Dysart, where the ruins of his castle are still to be seen. See *Tribes of Uí-Maine*, p. 19, note ^m.

⁸ *O' Hanly.* He was chief of Cinel-Dobhtha, a territory extending along the river Shannon, from Carranadoo bridge to Drumdaif, in the east of the county of Roscommon. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A. D. 1210, p. 169, note ^e.

⁹ *O'Beirne.* He was chief of Tir-Briuin na-Sinna, a beautiful district in the east of the county of Roscommon, situated between Elphin and Jamestown. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1218.

¹⁰ *O'Concannon.* He was chief of Uí-Diarmeda, or Corcamroe, a district comprising the parish of Kilkerrin, in the north of the county of Galway. *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1382, p. 687, note ^v.

¹¹ *O'Heyne.* He was chief of Coill-Uabha-Fiachrach, situated in the barony of Killartan, in the south-west of the county of Galway. See *Map to Tribes, &c., of Uí-Fiachrach*.

¹² *O'Shaughnessy.* He was chief of Cinel Aedha na-h-Echtge, forming about the south-eastern half of the barony of Killartan and county of Galway, and had his chief residence at Gort-Inse-Guaire, now the town of Gort.

¹³ *O'Teige.* This name is very common near Castlerea, in the west of the county

O'Flannagan,¹ O'Maelbreanan [Mulrenin],² O'Finnaghty,³ these, together with Mac Oireachtaigh [Geraghty],⁴ were his four royal chieftains,⁵ O'Flynn,⁶ O'Fallon,⁷ O'Hanly,⁸ O'Beirne,⁹ O'Concannon,¹⁰ O'Heyne,¹¹ and O'Shaughnessey.¹² O'Heyne and O'Shaughnessey gained the privilege of chieftaincy for themselves from the king of Connaught. O'Teige¹³ was chief of the household of the king of Connaught. It is also required that the following noble chieftains should be present at his inauguration, namely, the race of Aedh Fionn, son of Feargna, son of Fergus, i. e., O'Rourke¹⁴ and O'Reilly,¹⁵ the descendants of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, namely, O'Hara¹⁶ and O'Gara,¹⁷ with their followers; the descendants of Mulrony Mor,¹⁸ son of Tadhg, son of Cathal, that is, the Mac Dermots, chiefs of Caladh na Carraige,¹⁹ together with the other chiefs of Connaught. It is the privilege of O'Mulconaire²⁰ to place the royal rod in the hands of O'Conor, the day on which he assumes the sovereignty of Connaught, and it is deemed unlawful for any individual of Connaught to be along with the king on the Carn²¹ on that day, except O'Mulconaire himself, and O'Connachtain fronting O'Mulconaire, or, more truly, fronting O'Maelbreanainn, keeping the door of the Carn.²² His (the king's) clothing and arms were given to O'Mulco-

of Roscommon, but it is now usually anglicised Tigh.

¹⁴ *O'Rourke*. He was chief of West Breifne, or the County of Leitrim.

¹⁵ *O'Reilly*. He was chief of East Breifne, or the County of Cavan.

¹⁶ *O'Hara*. He was chief of Luighne, now the barony of Leyny, in the county of Sligo. This family is of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, king of Munster.

¹⁷ *O'Gara*. He was of the same race with O'Hara, and chief originally of Gailenga, in the now county of Mayo, but latterly of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo.

¹⁸ *Descendants of Mulrony Mor, son of Tadhg, son of Cathal*. This should be Maelruanaidh Mor, son of Tadhg, son of Muircheartach, son of Maelruanaidh, son of Conchobhar who was the ancestor of the O'Conors of Connaught. The last-mentioned Maelruanaidh was the eldest son of Conchobhar, but was deposed by his younger brother Cathal, the ancestor of the O'Conors. See a curious historical tract on this subject in *Lib. T.C.D.*

¹⁹ *Caladh na Carraige*, i. e. the callow, strath, holm, or ferry, of the rock. In 1231 Mac Dermott began the erection of a market town at this place, which is now a part of the townland of Rockingham, near Boyle. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A.D. 1336, p. 557, note k.

²⁰ This tract was written by Torna O'Mulconry, who was present at the inau-

guration of Felim O'Conor, in 1315, while the custom of inauguration of the kings of Connaught was in full force. An ancient copy of it on vellum is preserved in a MS. formerly at Stowe, but now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, along with the remainder of that collection. See *Stowe Catalogue*, *Codex* iii., fol. 28, and Hardiman's Edition of *O'Flaherty's Iar Connaught*, pp. 139, 140.

²¹ *On the Carn*. The Carn referred to here is Carnfree, not far from the house of the late Daniel Kelly, Esq., near Tulsk, in the townland of Carris. See *Annals of the Four Masters*. Ed. J. O'D., A. D. 1225, p. 221, note a. Of all the chiefs present O'Mulconry alone was permitted to stand on the carn along with O'Conor, to whom he handed the rod.

²² *Keeping the door of the Carn*. The carn at Carn Fraoich was enclosed with a wall, in which was a door or gate kept by O'Mulrenin, or in his absence, by O'Connachtain, who lived at the carn and kept it in repair. No one was permitted to admit the person about to receive the royal form, or those by whom he was to be inaugurated through this gate but O'Mulrenin, or his deputy (sub-sheriff) O'Connachtain. While the ceremony was being performed, O'Mulconry, who bore the royal wand or sceptre, stood on the side of the carn facing the gate, and, fronting him at the base of the carn, and between him and the gate, stood

Chnamha, ažur až-Cúl Cheapmaha. Ahd-mlaojnealzéac̄t h-J Choncúbaipi o n̄a t̄iū n̄iođcaolreac̄aib̄ eile až O'Flannagáin. Coiméad 5jall h-J Choncúbaipi až O'Apuljde, zóna ročaip. Ceannhaip ažur bařantara c̄ablaic̄ o Shl̄ab̄ an Jariapu zo Luimheac̄ až O'Apuljde m̄ar až 3-céadha. Cúlcoiméad ažur taoljrižéac̄t Chejélpine, ažur con-mlaojnealzéac̄t J Choncúbaipi až mac Bhanáin. Taoljreac̄ tealaic̄ J Choncúbaipi až Mac Dal ne deacaiji, éadon, rulur, leabair, tuilz̄e t̄jé 6i, ažur až t̄jé beaž rēip̄ do 6lanad až tan n̄iz alear. Coiméad c̄nead J Choncúbaipi až tan n̄ac̄ar c̄um coimhnealz̄e, aži O'Flannagáin ažur aži O'rn-Bílin ažur aži clainn Dal ne deacaiji. Cúlcoiméad J Choncúbaipi zóna 6orad, o Chuipiech Ceip̄ Eit̄iž zo Ceannhaip na 6jde až Mac Bhanáin; o Chuipiech Ceip̄ Eit̄iž r̄iari zo Chuac Pátriaic̄ až O'Flynn, ažur až mlaojnealzéac̄t r̄iupi m̄ar až 3-céadha, aithul adúbalip̄ až file:—

R̄iū báille do 6hlaipatzaip,
do éalorjreac̄ r̄ead O'Ceallaiž;
T' Ahd-mlaoj O'Flannagáin,
O'Flajin až mlaoj doo' t' eallaiž.

Ceannhaip ažur bařantara coblaic̄ J Choncúbaipi až O'Flajt̄beaip̄ 7taic̄ ažur až O'Wajlle. Feari coiméada a žead ažur a žaojne

O'Mulrenin, and, at the gateway, to open and close it, stood O'Connachtain, as the servant of O'Mulrenin. This is still the tradition among the O'Conors.

¹ *O'Mulrenin.* He got the clothing and arms, i. e. battle-dress and weapons of war. See *Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 440.

² *The coarb of Dachonna.* This was O'Flynn of Assylin, near Boyle. This privilege is not unlike to that ceded to the Pope by the Emperor of Germany, that is, to hold the stirrup while he was mounting; but the Irish ecclesiastic was more haughty!

³ *Subsidies*, i. e. wages in token of vas-salage. See *Book of Rights, passim*, and *Battle of Down*, in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, squabble between O'Brien and O'Neill.

⁴ *Umhall.* This territory comprised the baronies of Murrens and Burrishoole, in the west of the County of Mayo.

⁵ *Iorras*, now Erris, a barony in the north-west of the county of Mayo, adjoining Umhall.

⁶ *Tir-Fiachrach*, now the barony of Tireragh, in the north of the county Sligo.

⁷ *Cuil Cnamha*, a district in the north-east of the barony of Tireragh, now believed to be coextensive with the parish of Dromard. See *Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 424.

⁸ *Cuil-Cearnamha*, now Coolcarney, a district in the barony of Gallen, county of

Mayo, comprising the parishes of Kilgarvan and Attymas. See *Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 246, note f.

⁹ *His three other royal chiefs.* That is, there were four chiefs under O'Conor, who were considered of equal dignity and called "royal," because they were of the same line of descent with O'Conor himself. These were Mageraghty, O'Flanagan, O'Mulrenin, and O'Finnaghty. But the other three consented to cede the office of high steward to O'Conor to their cousin O'Flanagan.

¹⁰ *Fleet, coblaic̄.* That is, O'Hanly of Sliabh Baghna (Sieve Baune) had the chief command of all O'Conor's boats on the Shannon, from its source in Sliabh-an-Iarainn to Luimneach, or the Lower Shannon.

¹¹ *Henchman, i. e. aide-de-camp.*

¹² *Care-taking of the hounds, con-mlaojnealz̄e.* Dr. O'Conor translates this "joint-stewardship" in the Stowe Catalogue (ubi supra); but he is decidedly wrong. See *Triles of Ui-Maine*, pp. 90, 91. Con-mlaojnealz̄e is the same as mlaojnealz̄e a 6on, the stewardship of his hounds, i. e. his grand veneur or chasseur. Con-óileamhain, was a more degrading office, i. e. to rear the whelps till they were fit for the chace. The ancient Irish had several kinds of dogs, such as the *archu, mil-chu, gadhar-fiadhlaigh* and *oirce*, which are frequently referred to in the old Irish laws.

naire,¹ and his steed to the coarb of Dachonna,² who was privileged to mount that same steed from O'Conor's back. An unga of gold was decreed to O'Connaghtan as a perennial tribute, under the condition of repairing the Carn when repairs became necessary.

The following are the subsidies³ to be paid to the Sil Muireadhaigh by O'Conor, namely, twelve score milch cows, twelve score sheep, and twelve score cows to O'Flannagan, which were to be levied on Umhall,⁴ and sent to him on every May-day. The same number to Mac Oireachty, which were likewise levied on Umhall and Iorras;⁵ and an equal number to O'Maelbreanainn, which were to be levied on Tir Fhiachrach,⁶ Cuil Cnamha⁷ and Cuil Cearnamha.⁸ The office of high steward to O'Conor, to be ceded by his three other royal chiefs,⁹ was given to O'Flannagan. O'Hanly was bound to keep the hostages of O'Conor; and O'Hanly also had the chieftancy and command of his fleet¹⁰ from Sliabh an Jarrainn to Luimneach, with all the perquisites belonging thereto. Mac Branan has the office of henchman,¹¹ and chieftainship of the kerne, together with the care-taking of the hounds¹² of O'Conor. Mac Dail-re-deacair¹³ is the procurator-general to O'Conor; he was bound to furnish light, bedding, and thatch for the $\tau\bar{1}\bar{5}$ bea $\bar{5}$ ¹⁴ (the privy), to cleanse it when necessary. To guard the spoils of O'Conor, whenever he encamps to rest, is the duty of O'Flannagan, O'Beirne, and the Clann Dail-re-deacair. Mac Branan had the benefits arising from O'Conor's marchership from Cuirrech Ceinn Eitigh,¹⁵ to Ceananas¹⁶ of Meath. O'Flynn had the marchership of the tract from Cuirrech Ceinn Eitigh to Cruach Phadraig,¹⁷ together with its stewardship, as the poet has recorded:—

The king of Boyle was thy marshall,
Thy chief treasurer was O'Kelly,
Thy high steward was O'Flanagan,
O'Flynn was steward of thy household.

The chieftainship and rule of O'Conor's fleet belonged to O'Flaherty¹⁸

¹³ *Mac Dail-re-deacair*. This name is now made Dockrey, in the county of Roscommon. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 1281 and 1366; and Hardiman's Edition of O'Flaherty's *Iar-Connaught*, p. 140.

¹⁴ $\tau\bar{1}\bar{5}$ bea $\bar{5}$. Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland, in the third century had such a $\tau\bar{1}\bar{5}$ bea $\bar{5}$, more usually called *Fiailteach*, at Tara, which argues no small degree of civilization in Ireland at that early period. For more on this subject, see "Cambrensis Eversus," c. xxix., and Rabelais's *Life of Garagantua*.

¹⁵ *Cuirrech-Cinn-Eitigh*, now Kinnitty, a townland in the parish of Kilbride, near

the town of Roscommon. The Cuirrech was a race-course.

¹⁶ *Ceananas of Meath*, now the town of Kells in Meath.

¹⁷ *Cruach Phadraig*, now Croaghpatrick, or "the Reek," a high mountain near Westport, in the barony of Murresk and county of Mayo.

¹⁸ *O'Flaherty*. He was originally chief of Ui-Briuin-Seola, on the east side of Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway; but for many centuries he was chief of all the tract of land west of that lake. It extended from the Killary harbour to the bay of Galway. He possessed also the great and middle islands of Arran.

azur an uile màiseara do biaò aizé, O'Ceallaig. Aibid-màharcal J Choncúbaig, Mac Diarmada Mac Fhearghais. Taolreac teaghlach J Choncúbaig O'Taidhg, Rómhaire J Choncúbaig O'Briain, Óiliúreoir J Choncúbaig, O'Fionnácta. Ollamh a feanára azur feair coimheada a dualgair, azur gáé rocaillir iir dual do O'Concúbaig do beir aizé, O'Mhaolconaire. Mac Tuile a lialig. Mac Aodháin, a bheirtear. Cheiste baile fíchead dúntach gáé taoifír do'n oíctar taoifreac tualché ro, màille ne feadmanach ó O'Concúbaig. Oíct m-baile azur dà fíeild aiz gáé níosdálaireac do na círeis níosdálaireacáib, màil atá O'Flannagáin, O'Mhaolbhreanáin, Mac Oliueac-taig, azur O'Fionnáctaig, màille ne ari màibhad d'feanára Easlaig an. Flaithe fulainz J Choncúbaig, éadoin, Táileanáin azur Tóirdealbhaig, Clann Chuail Chonmhaileach aizur Cheala, azur an dà Lúighe; gáé d-tu azá n-áilliom, ní b-ruil níos níosdálaire, taoifreac, feair tualché, tíre, na bhrúntach bó-céadach baile, ó Cearnaid do Lúigheac, na ó Uíneac Mac Béidé do h-Íomhá Bó Fionn, na ó Loc Eilimé do Loc Deilimé-deilic, na c b-ruil d'iosc azur dlíge d'ellige amach ríuaig Chonmhaileach ann ro, éadoin, Uí-Briain Bileifne, Uí b-Fiacraig Zeillirne azur coimheadeac J Concúbaig d'fílaigh aili.

Saoir-éigilte Mac Laoise, azur ríil Mac Uilleabhadhaig iuc Fealtrígura; azur gídead laodhig fíeill díbhidh feacáit azur ríuaigéad, Zeillirne azur coimheadeac, do éabhairt do O'Choncúbaig; azur dul leir cùm gáé éigeanntair azur cùm gáé ait-fórlainn iua m-biaò.

¹ *O'Malley.* He was chief of Umhall, which comprised the baronies of Murreesk and Burrishoole, in the west of the county of Mayo. It is stated in O'Dugan's topographical poem that there never was a good man of this family who was not a mariner

Duine màit níamh ní màit
D'Uibh Mäßle aict ná màrtas.

² *O'Kelly.* He was chief of Ui-Maine, which comprised five baronies in the counties of Galway and Roscommon. See *Tribes, &c.*, of *Hy-Many*, p. 65, note ^k.

³ *Chief Marshal.* Compare *Tribes of Hy-Many*, (ubiq spurr).

⁴ *O'Taidhg*, now Tighe. The chief of this family was usually called O'Taidhg-an-Teaghlach, i.e., O'Teige of the Household. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1132.

⁵ *Mac Tully*, now anglicized Tully, and sometimes Flood.

⁶ *Mac Egan.* The Mac Egans of Connaught lived at Dun-Doighre, now Duniry, in the barony of Leitrim, county of Galway, and at Park near Tuam, in the parish of Kilkerrin. Another family of them settled at Ballymacegan in lower Connacht, where

they kept a famous school for teaching the brehon laws, and compiled the MS. called the *Leabhar Breac*, "the Speckled Book of the Mac Egans."

⁷ *Dead church-lands*, i.e., lands taken at an early period from the Church by the oppressive conduct of the laity; and not claimed by the Church afterwards.

⁸ *Gaileanga*, i.e., the inhabitants of the Diocese of Achonry.

⁹ *Goisdealbhacha*, now Costello. These were Anglo-Normans, and the name is not in the old copy of this tract by Torna O'Maelchonaire.

¹⁰ *Clann Chuin*, a people seated in the north of the barony of Ceara, in the now county of Mayo, of which O'Quin was the ancient chieftain under O'Dowda.

¹¹ *Connachte*. There were several septs of this name in Connacht, as the Connachte-mara in the present Connemara, the Connachte of Dunmore, in the barony of Dunmore, near Tuam; the Connachte Cuile Toladh, in the present barony of Kilmaine, in the county of Mayo. They are all of the race of Fergus, king of Ulster.

¹² *Ceara*, now Carra, a barony in the county of Mayo.

¹³ *Easruaidh*, now Assaroe, or the Salmon

and O'Malley,¹ O'Kelly² was chief treasurer of his precious stones, and other species of wealth. Mac Dermot of Moylurg was O'Conor's chief marshall,³ O'Taidhg⁴ was commander of his household, O'Brien his chief butler, O'Feenaghty his chief door-keeper, O'Maelconaire historian and recorder of all the tributes which were due to O'Conor, Mac Tully⁵ is his physician, and Mac Egan⁶ his brehon (judge). Twenty-four townlands constituted the lawful patrimony of each of these eight chiefs, in payment for the office they discharged for O'Conor. Forty-eight townlands constituted the patrimony of each of his four royal chiefs, namely, O'Flanagan, O'Maelbreanainn, Mac Oireachty and O'Feenaghty, together with all dead church-lands.⁷ The chiefs tributary to O'Conor were those of Gaileanga,⁸ Goisdealbha,⁹ Clann Chuain,¹⁰ Connaicne,¹¹ Ceara,¹² and the two Leignes. In short, there was no king or righdamhna, a chieftain of a territory or a district, or a hundred-cattled farmer of a townland from Easruaidh¹³ to Luimneach,¹⁴ and from Uisneach,¹⁵ in Meath, to Inis Bo-finne,¹⁶ and from Loch Eirne¹⁷ to Loch Deirgdheirc,¹⁸ who was not specially bound to attend with his forces at the hostings of O'Conor.

The free states of Connaught are the following, namely, the Ui Briuin of Breifne,¹⁹ the Ui Fiachrach Muaidh,²⁰ and the race of Muirheadhach, son of Fergus;²¹ and even of these notwithstanding their freedom, two are bound to attend with their forces at the hostings of O'Conor, and to assist him in all his difficulties and troubles.

Leap, a celebrated cataract on the river Erne at Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal.

¹⁴ *Luimneach*. This was the old name of the lower Shannon. The city of Limerick was called Cathair Luimnigh, i. e., the city of the river Luimneach.

¹⁵ *Uisneach*, a hill in the county of Westmeath, about four miles east of Ballymore Loughseudy.

¹⁶ *Inis Bo-finne*, i. e., the island of the white cow, now Bophinis land, lying off the coast of Muresk, in the county of Mayo.

¹⁷ *Loch Eirne*, now Lough Erne, in Fermanagh.

¹⁸ *Loch Deirgdheirc*, now Lough Derg, an expansion of the Shannon, between Portumna and Killaloe.

¹⁹ *Ui-Briuin of Breifne*, i. e., O'Rourkes, O'Reillys, and their co-relatives.

²⁰ *Ui-Fiachrach Muaidhe*, the O'Dowdas of Tireragh.

²¹ *Sil-Muireadhaigh*, i. e., the O'Conors themselves and the remainder of their co-relatives.