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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.,
LL.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:—

“*‘Sli b-creagán-ne an Gacóruim, do ífol Cíbhí,
'S caillleádháin an n-ádháine do'n dnoimh céadna;
Feannanar na n-állacon a g-cúic Fhéibílm,
Tuz réalas me gan feargáineacé an beinn ríéibe.*”

“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 O'Keeffe and his brother bards, see my *Poets and Poetry of Munster*, second edition, p. 38.

RÍSH CONNACHT.

Առմ մա՛ս Կաթալ Երոյծբերոյ՝ ծո չձախլ ոյժա՛ւտ Կոռա՛ւտ յար
մ-նար ա ձարս: Պեյ՛ս Hugo de Lacý ծո շա՛ւտ ա դ-Երոյտն ծո ոյժ-
տոյլ ոյժ՝ Տաքան ադ Եկաճայո ըոյ; քոյնայրլ շոյա՛ծ աշար քոյրայո
ծ'բար ա դ-Երոյտն ըե կոյո նա մեյ՛ս ըոյ Hugo de Lacý, ադ Չհալլա

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 necessities 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.

ազար ար Յհօրձեալայն Երբեան, ո՞ն շար իրէշեաճար Յալլ Երբեան
յա յ-ճայծ, ազար Յօ ո՞ն յօնարբրատ յաճ Յ-Ալլեայն Յօ Յ-Պօ
Օ'Նէլլ յի՛շ Օլիչ; ազար շար ո՞ն յօնօրհրետ Յալլ ազար Յօրձեյլ
Երբեան ճա յ-յօնորայնի՛ծ, եաճօն, Պօճ մաճ Կաճայլ Կրօյնձեյրն,
յի՛շ Կօնյաճէ; Փօնյաճ Կայնրեաճ Օ'Բրայն, յի՛շ Կաճ-Պիւնիան;
Պարմայն Կլարաճ Պաճ Կարեայն, յի՛շ Պար-Պիւնիան; ազար
մայե՛ Երբեան, ար ճեան, լեյ՛ ճարի՛ ճօ յիւեալ Եճայն ազար
Կօնայլլ; շար յալլշեաճ յաճ տար մայն Պարեյրմե Յօ Փոն-Պալշան,
շար ճա ան ին ճ'յարմաճ շեյլ ազար Կրայնձե ար Օ'Նէլլ ազար ար
մաճայն Hugo de Lacy, յօնար Յօ յ-ճարմաճ ի՛շ եաճօրմա ան տան ին.

Anno Domini, 1224. Կիւրե մօր լե Յալլայն Երբեան
ա յ-Պէ-Կլաճ. Պօճ մաճ Կաճայլ Կրօյնձեյրն ճօ ճլ ճ'յօնորայնի՛ծ յա
կիւրե ին; ազար քալլաճ ար ան, ո՞ն Յօ ճ-տարիճ Ալլիամ
Պարմալ, մաճ Եարա Պարմալ, եաճօն, ա ճարմաճ յօնարի քեյն
Յօ յ-ա քօճարմաճ ար լար յա կիւրե կիւրե; շար յաճ լեյր ար եյշեան ա
լար յա կիւրե ամաճ է, յօնար շար յիճօլայն յօնրան աճա է.

Anno Domini, 1228. Փալա Պօճ մաճ Կաճայլ Կրօյնձեյրն,
ճօ ին Կօնյե յե Յալլայն, եաճօն, յե Յ-Ալլիամ Պօրմեյր մաճ Տիւե՛-
քա Պօրմեյր, աճ Լաճայլ Կարե-Կարեյն, Յօ ճ-տարիճ Ալլիամ
Պօրմեյր ան ին; ազար յի ճեաճայն տար Լաճայլ անար ճէտ աճաճ
ճօ ճեաճ-ճօրմայն, եաճօն, Կօրմաճ Պաճ Կօնալտայն, ազար Պարմայն
մաճ Պաճարմա, ազար Պաճայնար Պաճ Պարեյրմեայն Յ-Ալ Կօն-
կիւնար, ազար Կաճ Պաճ Պաճայնա Յ-Ալ-Կիւրի, ազար Կարմայն
Օ'Պօրմեյրեանար. Կարիճ արմար Ալլիամ Պօրմեյր ազար օճար
մարմաճ իր ան Յ-Կօնյե. Իր ան ին արմար ճօ կարմար Պօճ ան
քալլ ազար ան մեաճար ճօ յիւեաճ ար ա յ-Պէ-Կլաճ; ազար ճօ եյրնի՛ծ
Պօճ ան տան ո՞ն կարմարիճ յա Յալլ, ազար ճօ կար ա ճեաճ-լարմա
ան-Ալլիամ Պօրմեյր ազար ճօ ին Կրայն ճօ Լաճար ճօ քեյն ազար ճօ
Պարմայրի Տեյրմե, ազար ճօ Hugo Յարմոն; ազար ո՞ն մարմաճ
Կօրմալա Պաճ Լարմա ճօ Լաճար ան ին; ազար ճօ կար Ալլիամ
Պօրմեյր ազար ան կար եյլ ճօ յա Յալլայն տար Լաճայն քար. Դօ Կա
Յիւն քօճար ճօ Կօնյաճայն ան Յիւն ին, եաճօն, մաճ Տիւե՛քա
ճօ ճաճար, օր քարմարմաճ ա մաճ ազար ա յիճօն, ազար Կրայնձե Կօն
յաճէ արմաճ, ազար ի՛շ ճօ Կօնյաճայն.

Ճօ Կ Պօճ, մաճ Կաճայլ Կրօյնձեյրն, ճեյրմե Կրայնաճ ա յի-
ճաճ Կօնյաճէ, արմար ա ճեյր Փօնյաճ Կաճաճ Պաճ Կարմաճ յ
Պարմալ-Կօնարմա :—

Ճօ Կ Կաճ Կրայնաճ յա Յ-Կաճ,
Կօրմաճ յիճյե Կաճայն;
Կեյրմե Կրայնաճ, Կարմաճ ճան ճեյրն,
Պաճ Պօճ, մաճ Կաճայլ Կրօյնձեյրն.

Պօճ, մաճ Կաճայլ Կրօյնձեյրն, ճօ մարմաճ ճ'աօն-Կարմաճ ճօ կարմար
քարմաճ ա Յ-Կիւրե Տիւե՛քա Պօրմեյր, ազար է աճա քօլաճ աճ մարմաճ ան
տ-քարմա. Ան քարմա լար ո՞ն մարմաճ է, եաճօն, Տեյն Փոնյաճ, ճօ
քօճաճ ար յա մարմաճ լե Տեաճարմա Պօրմեյր. Իր քրմե քարմարմա մեյր

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 Connail; 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 Geoffry Morris, at Lathach of Caichtuaithbhil¹. 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 Caichtuaithbhil*, i.e., Caichtubil's *slough*, now Bel-Lathaigh, a townland 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 Lacý ar Ulliam Mhoiréir, mac an Shuiréir, do rionad an feall riu ar Aod áluinn O'Concúbair, a zur a deirid araisle zur ab tne éad do buair an raor é; óir n'í n'asf a n-Eirinn aen duine ba áirne, ba beóda, a zur ba éróda, na Aod O'Concúbair.

Jr amlaíó dleaztair níz Connacht do ríozad, éadon, O'Concúbair, amlaí do rionad a n-allód, a zur amlaí n'ó órdaiz Patraic an la n'ó ríozardar Duach Galac, mac Buiar, m'c Eacac Mhuirze-mheadair, éadon, dá Earboz deaz n'ó b'í aza ríozad, malle me Patraic, a zur d'ízd cómairburde na n-Earboz riu do beir aza ríozad, éadon, cómairba Phatraic, ó Ailrinn; cómairba Bhuirze ó Bhaile Tobair Bhuirze; Cómairba Mhaconna, ó Ear M'ic n-Eiric; cómairba Bheozard, ó Aird Capna; cómairba Bheairaz, ó Chluairn Coirbde; cómairba Fhaileinn, ó Chluairn Tuaircirt; cómairba Bheannairn, ó O'zdeala; Cómairba Cholmair, ó Mhaizeo; cómairba Siarair, ó Mhaiz Siarair; cómairba Earboiz Soicill, ó Loc Salceair; cómairba Shreallair ó Chraoib; cómairba Chaillín, ó Fhjódnach; a zur cómairba Fhineir, ó Chluairn Creana. Dleaztair umoirna dá éairac deaz r'íl Mhuirdeaz do beir aza ríozad, éadon, O'Flannazair, O'Maoilbheannairn, O'Fionnacair;—jr iad riu aet M'az Oirneactair do cur leó, a éiríne ríozt-éairiz;—O'Flairn, O'Fallairn, O'h-Ailíde, O'Buir, O'Conceannairn, O'h-Eirín, O'Seacnair;—Do édz O'h-Eirín a zur O'Seacnair a éairizéact dóib féir ó níz Connacht;—O'Tairdz or cionn teazlaiz níz Connacht na éairac teazlaiz; a zur dleaztair do'n ríozair eirle riu beir aza ríozad, éadon, r'íocet Aoda Fhínn, mac Fearzua m'c Fearzua,

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 Connaught by the *twelve* chieftains of Silemori, twelve Coworbas, and other spirituals that were accustomed to use the ceremonies usual at the time of the Investiture of the King."—*Annals Clon.*

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

³ *Ballytober* (Baile tobair Bhuirze) 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-uí-Fhloinn*, *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 Clooncorby. 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 Eochaidh 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 Coirbhte⁶ [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. Brenainn 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 Lisdisfarne 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 Salchern 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 Ghreallain, 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 Ahascra, 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 Clooncraff, 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 ^h, p. 1157.

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 Tighe.

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

Շնամա, Էջուր Էջ-Շյլ Շեարնամա. Արծ-մաօրայճեւո՛ւ Կ-Յ Շոն-
 Եւբար օ Կա Երլ յօջէօրբեւո՛ւ Էրլ Էջ Օ'Փլաննաչար. Եօրեւո
 շլալ Կ-Յ ՇոնԵւբար Էջ Օ'Արլիճե, շոնա րօճար. Եեարնար Էջուր
 Եարանթար Եաբար օ Տիլաճ Կ յարարն շօ Լարնեւո՛ւ Էջ Օ'Արլիճե
 Եար Կ Յ-Եեւոնա. ԵւլԵօրեւո՛ւ Էջուր Եօրլիճեւո՛ւ Շեիճիլնե, Էջուր
 Եօն-մաօրբեւո՛ւ Կ ՇոնԵւբար Էջ Եաճ Երանար. Եօրբեւո՛ւ Եալ-
 Լալճ Կ ՇոնԵւբար Էջ Պաճ Փալ յե ԵեաԵար, Եաճօն, րօլս, ԼեաԵալճ,
 Եալճե Ելճե Ելճ, Էջուր Կ Ելճ Եեաճ րօն Եօ ճլանաճ Կ Եա յլճ Լեար.
 Եօրեւո՛ւ Երեւո՛ւ Կ ՇոնԵւբար Կ Եա յար Եա յօն Եօնարլճե, Կ
 Օ'Փլաննաչար Էջուր Կ Օ'մ-Երն Էջուր Կ յարն Փալ յե ԵեաԵար.
 ԵւլԵօրեւո՛ւ Կ ՇոնԵւբար շոնա Եօրաճ, օ Շարլրեճ Շարն Երլճ
 շօ Եեարնար Կ Պիճե Էջ Պաճ Երանար; օ Շարլրեճ Շարն
 Երլճ յար շօ Շարաճ Բաճար Էջ Օ'Փլոն, Էջուր Կ մաօրայճեւո՛ւ
 րճար Եար Կ Յ-Եեւոնա, Կիլ ԵւԵարն Կ Էրլ :—

Կլճ Եւլլե Եօ Պարարճալ,
 Եօ Եօրբեւո՛ւ րօճ Օ'Եալլալճ;
 Ե' Արծ-մաօն Օ'Փլաննաչար,
 Օ'Փլոն Կ մաօն Եօ՛ւ Ե' Եալլալճ.

Եեարնար Էջուր Եարանթար Եօբար Կ ՇոնԵւբար Էջ Օ'ՓլաճԵար-
 Եալճ Էջուր Էջ Օ'Պալլե. Դար Եօրեւո՛ւ Կ րօճ Էջուր Կ մաօրնե

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 vassalage. 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 Murrek and Burrischoole, 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-Fhiachrach*, 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*, Եօբաճ. That is, O'Hanly of Sliabh Baghna (Slieve 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*, Եօն-մաօրբեւո՛ւ. Dr. O'Conor translates this "*joint-stewardship*" in the Stowe Catalogue (*ubi supra*); but he is decidedly wrong. See *Tribes of Ul-Maine*, pp. 90, 91. Եօն-մաօրբեւո՛ւ is the same as մաօրբեւո՛ւ Կ Եօն, the stewardship of his hounds, i. e. his grand veneur or chasseur. Եօն-օրեւոնարն, was a more degrading office, i. e. to rear the whelps till they were fit for the chase. The ancient Irish had several kinds of dogs, such as the *archu*, *mil-chu*, *gadhar-fiadhaigh* 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'Connor'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'Connor, 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'Connor, 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'Connor; 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 Branán has the office of henchman,¹¹ and chieftainship of the kerne, together with the care-taking of the hounds¹² of O'Connor. Mac Dail-re-deacair¹³ is the procurator-general to O'Connor; he was bound to furnish light, bedding, and thatch for the $\tau\dot{\iota}\dot{\varsigma}$ bea $\dot{\varsigma}$ ¹⁴ (the privy), to cleanse it when necessary. To guard the spoils of O'Connor, whenever he encamps to rest, is the duty of O'Flannagan, O'Beirne, and the Clann Dail-re-deacair. Mac Branán had the benefits arising from O'Connor'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 marshal,
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'Connor'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 $\tau\dot{\iota}\dot{\varsigma}$ bea $\dot{\varsigma}$. Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland, in the third century had such a $\tau\dot{\iota}\dot{\varsigma}$ bea $\dot{\varsigma}$, more usually called *Fiaiteach*, 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 *Ceanannas 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 Murrisk 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.

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'Maelbreannainn, 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 Conmaicne,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 Muir-eadhach, 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 Murreisk, 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.