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## III. *On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill.* *By* GEORGE PETRIE, Esq., R.H.A., M.R.I.A.

Read 24th April, 8th May, and 22nd May, 1837.

THE Ordnance Map of the County of Meath being on the eve of publication, I am permitted by Colonel Colby to read to the Academy a portion of the memoir written to illustrate that map, which, from its importance to ancient Irish topography and history, can scarcely fail to excite a general interest, and at the same time to prove in a very striking manner the value and importance of the great national work of which it will constitute a portion.

The locality to which this paper relates is the well-known hill of Tara,—a spot which has been celebrated by native as well as foreign writers as the chief seat of the Irish monarchs, from the earliest dawn of their history down to the middle of the sixth century, at which period it was deserted. But though its ancient splendour has been the theme of most modern Irish antiquaries and historians, their labours have thrown but little light either on its past state or existing remains, and have made but little impression on the minds of the learned. Nor could a different result have been anticipated from careless and inaccurate notices of its ruins, and conclusions drawn from vague references to Irish authorities. The progress of the Ordnance Survey at length afforded an opportunity for a more satisfactory, because a more accurate investigation; and by a scientific plan of the remains at Tara, joined to an examination of such ancient descriptive notices of its former state as are still remaining, we are put into possession of all the information now likely to be obtained in any way leading to its successful illustration. Before, however, I lay the result before the Academy, it may not be uninteresting to give some detail of the mode of investigation adopted on this occasion.

The first step was to get all the existing vestiges laid down, according to measurement, on the map: this was done under the immediate direction of Captain Bordes, who had the charge of the Survey in the district.

While this survey was in progress, a careful search was made in all the ancient Irish manuscripts accessible, for such documents of a descriptive or historical character as would tend to identify or illustrate these existing vestiges. The success which had already attended this mode of investigation in respect to the ancient fortress of the kings of Ulster on the hill of Aileach, near Derry, led us in the present instance to anticipate an equally fortunate result, and we were not disappointed. In the same ancient Irish topographical work—the *Dinnseanchus*—in which the account of Aileach was discovered, we found several ancient documents relating to this spot, some of which describe with considerable distinctness and accuracy the remains existing on Tara Hill at the periods of their composition.

The topographical tract which contains these interesting documents constitutes a portion of those invaluable miscellaneous compilations of ancient Irish literature, called the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, which our Academy are so fortunate as to possess. Other very ancient copies of this tract are preserved in the library of Trinity College, and in that of the Duke of Buckingham, at Stowe; and a transcript of one of the documents which it contains—the poem of O'Lochain,—is also preserved in our library in another work, namely, the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests. This transcript, which is very valuable for its accuracy, is in the hand-writing of Peregrine O'Clery, one of the celebrated annalists called the Four Masters, and the best scribe among those industrious compilers. Of these previously untranslated and unvalued documents translations were made by Mr. O'Donovan, a gentleman eminently qualified for the task.

The map having been prepared, Captain Bordes, Mr. Larcom, and myself proceeded to the hill of Tara, where we called in the co-operation of Mr. O'Donovan, then employed on the Survey in the district, that we might have the advantage of his assistance in our endeavour to ascertain how far the various monuments still remaining could be identified with those anciently described. Our first labour was to go over the ground with the map, in order to be satisfied of its accuracy, and that no vestige of any ancient remain had been omitted. The propriety of this examination was soon apparent: in our progress many important features were discovered, not previously noticed, and which required the aid of antiquarian science to appreciate; and some interesting

traditional information was obtained respecting objects now changed or obliterated. Till this task was completed we made no use of the written documents, lest we might be led into false or unwarranted conclusions from imperfect data; but having satisfied ourselves that we had omitted nothing, and distorted nothing to answer a theory, we commenced, with the map in hand, a second examination of the remains in the order pointed out by the ancient descriptions. This examination, fortunately, we were able to make with little difficulty, as the first object mentioned was one in the identification of which we could not be mistaken, namely, a remarkable spring, whose locality on the side of the hill is distinctly pointed out, and which is stated to be the source of a stream which turned the first watermill ever erected in Ireland.

Subsequently to this investigation several other historical documents, also tending to illustrate this interesting locality, were obtained, and are made use of in this memoir. They were chiefly found in the Book of Glendalough, in the library of Trinity College, and in the *Leabhar Breac*, or Speckled Book of Mac Egan, another compilation of Irish literature belonging to our Academy.

Having premised thus far, as to the mode by which the information was obtained from which our evidences have been derived, I now proceed to the notice of this interesting locality, as drawn up for the Survey.

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The hill of Tara, though undistinguished either for altitude or picturesqueness of form, is not less remarkable for the pleasing and extensive prospects which it commands, than for the associations connected with it, as the site of the residence of the Irish monarchs from the earliest times. In both these circumstances it bears a striking similitude to the hill of Aileach, near Derry—the residence of the kings of Ulster—and to the hill of Emania, near Armagh, another residence of the Ulster kings, but who were of a different race. All these localities have shared a similar fate in the destruction of their monuments at distant periods, and all equally present striking vestiges of their ancient importance.

According to the Irish Bardic traditions, the hill of Tara became the chief residence of the Irish kings on the first establishment of a monarchical govern-

ment in Ireland under Slainge, the first monarch of the Fir-bolgs or Belgæ, and continued so till its abandonment in the year 563.

> "Slainge o Fearaib bolg co mblaith, gar tocbad ar tuis Temair."
> Slainge of the Fir-bolgs of fame (was he) by whom Temur was first raised.
> *Poem ascribed to Caoilte Mac Ronain in MS. T.C.D. Class H.* 1. 15. *f.* 58.

The Bardic history of Ireland states, that there reigned within these periods one hundred and forty-two monarchs, viz. one hundred and thirty-six Pagan, and six Christian. Of these, nine are stated to have been of the Belgic colony; nine of the Tuatha De Dannan; one hundred and twenty-three of the Scotic or Milesian; and one a Plebeian: and the time assigned to this interval, according to the corrected chronology of O'Flaherty, amounts to one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five years. Of the one hundred and thirty-six Pagan monarchs, and the manner of their deaths, O'Flaherty gives the following amusing summary;

> "Ex his porro 136, centum ferrum sustulit: septemdecim naturæ concesserunt: sex pestis absumpsit: tres fulmine percussi; et decem diversis aliis modis singuli e vivis excesserunt: unus quippe idolatriæ vitam devovit; alter membris dilaceratis extinctus, alius in patibulum actus; alius sine vi, sine morbo, sine coloris mutatione animam exhalavit; hic aquis obrutus; ille igni in cineres versus; animi mœrore confectus alius; alium equus quem regnum non valuit sessorem deturbavit; huic spina piscaria faucibus inhæsit, atque alium per artus serpens pessumdedit venenum."—*Ogygia*, pp. 420, 421.

It is not necessary to the subject of this memoir to enter upon any minute investigation of the truth of historical traditions referring to times so remote: they are adduced here solely as evidences of the extreme antiquity assigned by the Bards to Tara as a regal residence; and that this antiquity was really very great may, perhaps, be safely concluded from the notices of several of its ancient kings, given in the Annals of Tighearnach, which are now generally regarded by the learned as trustworthy. In these annals the name of a king of Tara occurs in the very first notice, as follows:

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| "*In anno xviii. Ptolemæi initiatus est regnare in* Emain, Cimbaoth *filius* Fintain *qui regnavit annis xviii. Tunc in* Temair Eachach buadhach adair Ugaine." | In the eighteenth year of Ptolemy, Cimbaoth, the son of Fintan, began to reign in Emania, who reigned eighteen years. Then in Temur, Eochy the Victorious, the father of Ugony. |

The commencement of the reign of Cimbaoth, the seventy-fifth monarch of the Irish lists, which is assigned to the year 305 before Christ, is the period which Tighearnach regards as the limit of authentic Irish history: "*Omnia*

*monumenta Scotorum ante* Cimbaoth *incerta erant.*" But though the authority of Tighearnach may seem sufficient to establish a very great antiquity for Tara, it is not to be inferred that it was at all times the seat of the monarchy, or that every thing related of its royal occupants preceding the known use of letters in Ireland has a foundation in truth. On the other hand, however, it would be equally premature to reject these traditions as wholly fabulous, as to receive them as real history, until the whole body of evidence contained in the Irish MSS. shall be subjected to critical examination, by being laid before the public with literal translations. In the mean time, without collecting all the matter relating to the history of Tara, which would in fact be nothing less than a history of Ireland, it will be necessary, for the satisfaction of the reader, and the completeness of this memoir, to bring forward the notices of the more remarkable events in connexion with its early state, whether apparently authentic or apocryphal, without minutely canvassing their claims to credibility. And for facility of reference, these notices will be given as often as possible from the published Annals of Tighearnach, Ulster, and the Four Masters.

It is stated in the Annals of the Four Masters, from the Book of Clonmacnoise, that Ollamh Fodhla, the fortieth monarch of Ireland, according to the lists, first instituted the triennial assemblies, and erected the *Mur Ollamhan*, or House of *Ollamh*, at Tara.

Aoir doṁain, tri mile naoi ced fiche aro. Iar mbeit da fichet bliadain i rigi Erenn o 'Ollaṁ Fodla atbail ima ṁur buden i Temraig. Ar e ceona ri lar a noernad fer Teaṁrach, acus ar lair do dógbad mur n Ollaṁan i o Temraig. Ar e din ro ordaig taoirioch ar gach triochait ced, acus brúgaid ar gach baile, acus a brogṁaṁ uile do rig Erenn. Eochaid ced ainm Ollaṁan Fodla, acus ar aire ad rubrad Ollaṁ frir, ar a beit 'na Ollaṁ ergna cédur acus 'na rig Erenn iaraṁ.

A. M. 3922. Ollamh Fodhla, after having been forty years in the government of Ireland, died in his own house at Temur. He was the first king by whom the Assembly of Temur was instituted; and it is by him that *Mur Ollamhan* was erected at Temur. It is he also that appointed a chief over every barony, and a farmer over every townland, and who were all to serve the king of Ireland. Eochaidh was the first name of Ollamh Fodhla, and he was called Ollamh from his having been first a learned *Ollamh* (chief poet), and afterwards king of Ireland.

On this passage it may be remarked, that though the date assigned to the foundation of these institutions is so very remote, as to make it appear wholly incredible, yet there is the testimony of Tighearnach that a monarch known by

this cognomen did really exist; and the ancient lives of St. Patrick, as well as the authentic annals, sufficiently prove that triennial assemblies at Tara, whatever may have been the exact time of their institution, had certainly existed from a very remote period preceding the introduction of Christianity.

It must be confessed also, that the doubts created by the great antiquity assigned to Ollamh and his institutions have been considerably increased by the pompous amplifications given by the most learned modern Irish antiquaries of the simple records of the original annalists. It is not easy to read without incredulity the following passage from O'Flaherty, which may serve as an example of this amplification:

"Ipse literis apprimè excultus Ollamh-Fodla, .i. per Hiberniam quæ Fodla lingua nostra dicitur, præcipuus literarum professor (cui Achaio prius nomen datum) ob insignem literaturæ peritiam meruit appellari. Qui ad promovendum etiam literarum studium Mur-Ollamhan, i. Doctorum murum Temoriæ erexit. Gymnasium, Canopum, Prytaneum, Academiam, vel Lyceum dicas; de quibus ultimis accipe hos Ciceronis versus:

"Inque Academia umbrifera, nitidoque Lyceo
Fuderunt claras fæcundi pectoris artes."—*Ogygia*, p. 214.

By a reference to the passage previously quoted from the Four Masters, on which this evidently rests, it will be seen that the only foundation for a belief in the existence of this college or Lyceum, is an etymological inference from the name of the house or *mur*, in which Ollamh Fodhla died, a name which, when translated grammatically, can have no other meaning than the House of Ollamh himself, as the genitive singular form of *Ollamh* is *Ollamhan;* and it is thus understood by Keating, who has not a word about the college of the *Ollamhs*, or Professors, but simply states that Ollamh Fodhla died in his own house (ina tig fein).

In like manner, the late Irish lexicographer, Edward O'Reilly, in his Essay on the Brehon Laws, translates the following passage in the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Invasions:

Ar é ceona rig lar a noeaṁaḋ fer Teaṁṙach a muiṙ Ollaṁain i tTeamraiġ, &c.

He was the first king by whom was held the Feis of Tara in the College of Professors.—*Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xiv. p. 147.

The same writer elsewhere (*Irish Writers*, p. xv.) states, that the laws promulgated by this monarch, Ollamh Fodhla, are quoted in Cormac's Glossary, a work of the ninth century; but on a careful examination of that work, it has been found that this assertion is not true.

The oldest authority for this name, *Mur Ollamhan*, is a poem in the *Leabhar Gabhala*, ascribed, though erroneously, as its language shews, to Ferceirtne, a poet of the first century; but this poem gives no stronger evidence of the meaning ascribed to the name than the passages already quoted:

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| Ollaṁ Fodla feóchair gal | Ollamh Fodhla, of brave fight, |
| Do forainn múr n-Ollaṁan | Erected *Mur Ollamhan;* |
| Ceṫa rí ruana co rath | The first king, powerful with prosperity, |
| Lar aṫearnad Fér Teamrach. | By whom was established the *Fes* of Temur. |

It will be seen hereafter that the *Mur Ollamhan* is not mentioned among the vestiges described by the ancient topographers; and indeed there is every reason to believe, that it had no existence save in the etymological inference of O'Flaherty, as the older writers do not appear to have understood the name in the sense stated by him.

Of the nature of the *Feises*, or triennial meetings, perhaps the most ancient authentic record is that preserved in the following poem, quoted by Keating, who ascribes it to Eochaidh O'Flynn, a poet who died in the year A. D. 984:

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| Feis Teaṁrach gach tres bliaġain | The *Feis* of Temur each third year, |
| Do ċoṁall reaċt ir riaġail | To preserve laws and rules, |
| Do ġniéi ann sin go teann | Was then convened firmly |
| Aġ rioġaiḃ aṁra Eireann. | By the illustrious kings of Erin. |
| Do riġne Caṫaoir cleaṁnach | Cathaoir of sons-in-law convened |
| Feis roċaoiṁ na riġ-ṫeaṁrach | The beautiful *Feis* of regal Temur; |
| Tangadar leis, feisde ḋe, | There came with him (the better for it) |
| Fir Eireann go haonḃaile. | The men of Erin to one place. |
| Tri lá ria Shaṁuin do ġres | Three days before *Saman*, always, |
| Tri lá na diaiġ fa ḋéiġḃéar | Three days after it—it was a goodly custom— |
| Do'n sluaġ ro buḋ dioṁór dóiġ | The host of very high fashion spent, |
| Aġ riorol sir an reaċtṁoin | Constantly drinking during the week. |
| Gan ġoid, ir gan ġoin duine, | Without theft, without wounding a man |
| Aca a n-uiread sin uile, | Among them during all this time; |
| Gan imirt airm, gan alaḋ, | Without feats of arms, without deceit, |
| Gan eaċraḋa d'iomraḋa. | Without exercising horses. |
| Gíbe do ġníḋ níḋ diḃ sin | Whoever did any of those things |
| Fa bíoḋḃaḋ troċ go dtroimniṁ, | Was a wretched enemy with heavy venom; |
| Ni geaḃta ór i fann uaiḋ | Gold was not received as retribution from him, |
| Aċt a anam re haonuair. | But his soul in one hour. |

*Haliday's Keating*, p. 330.

Passing over a long series of monarchs, of whom nothing very important is recorded in connexion with this subject, the attention is next arrested by the notices in the annals respecting the reign of Tuathal *Teachtmar*, or Tuathal the Acceptable. Of this remarkable epoch in Irish history the following brief notices are given in the Annals of Tighearnach.

128. Fiacha findolaidh *interfectus est in Temoria, vel* a Muig bolg *ut alii aiunt,* o Elim Mac Conrach, .i. o rig Ulad, *qui cecidit* hi cath la Tuathal Teachtmar a noigal a athair.

128. Fiacha Findolaidh was slain at Temur, or, as others say, at *Maghbolg*, by Elim Mac Conrach, that is, by the King of Ulster, who [afterwards] fell in a battle by Tuathal Teachtmar in revenge of his father.

130. Tuathal Teachtmor *regnavit, annis xxx.* Is he cetna ro nairc Borumha Laigen agus is fir ro iacad ar tus.

130. Tuathal Teachtmar reigned thirty years. He is the first who exacted the *Borumh* (Boarian mulct) of Leinster, and it is to him it was first paid.

160. Tuathal Teachtmar *occisus* · la Mal Mac Rochraide, Ca Ri n-Ulad oc Linn an gabuno in Dail araide.

160. Tuathal Teachtmar was slain by Mal Mac Rochraidhe, King of Ulster, at *Linn-an-gabunn* in Dalaradia.

In these notices there is nothing likely to be untrue; but the Annals of the Four Masters, besides their usual difference in dates, add to the simple facts of Tighearnach some particulars from the Bardic poems not so easy to be credited; and, as in the case of Ollamh Fodhla, already noticed, the modern historians, as Keating, Lynch, O'Flaherty, and O'Conor, have collected so much minute historical details as must excite considerable doubts in the minds of unprejudiced readers, until their claims to authenticity shall be tested by a severe critical examination. The reign of Tuathal Teachtmar is the great epoch at which, according to Charles O'Conor, the history of Ireland becomes as well minute as accurate; and, indeed, it must be confessed that it presents but little inconsistent with the laws of historical probability: but as it would be wandering too far from the object of this inquiry to examine those details, except as far as they immediately relate to Tara, it is only necessary to cite the following particulars from the Bardic history, as given by the historians already referred to.

1. That Tuathal, after having obtained possession of the crown, proclaimed a convention at *Tara*, to which the princes and nobility of the kingdom repaired, and at which they all swore by their heathen deities, the sun, moon, and all the other celestial and terrestrial divinities, that they and their posterity

would maintain an inviolable attachment, subjection, and obedience to him and his posterity as kings of Ireland, as long as Irish soil should be surrounded by the sea. 2. That he formed the territory of Meath by a union of four portions from the four provinces, as mensal lands for the support of the monarchy. 3. That in three of the four portions thus united solemn assemblies were held every year, one at *Tlachtga*, in the Momonian portion, on the last day of October, celebrated by night to appease the local gods, through the ministry of the Druids, by immolating victims and lighting fires; another on the first of May, at *Uisneach*, in the Connaught portion, for the sale of merchandizes; and the third at *Tailteann*, in the Ultonian portion, about the first of August, to contract marriages by the consent of parents and friends. And 4. That in the fourth, or Lagenian portion, namely, Temur, a convention was held every third year for the administration of public affairs. In addition to these, Keating further adds, that Tuathal erected *longphorts*, or fortified habitations, at these four places.

With regard to these statements, as the writers last referred to give no authorities for them, it is not easy to determine how far they may be true or otherwise. But for the summoning of the princes and nobles of Ireland to Tara by Tuathal, their swearing by the objects of their pagan adoration to be faithful to him, and the formation of the territory of Meath, as mensal lands for the support of the monarchy, very ancient authorities are found in all the copies of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests.

Ir la Tuathal tra do dichcheannad cach coiced in Erinn, conad de a derar Mide ria .i. Meidi cacha coicid, no, ir o Midi, mac Dratha a derar, *unde dicitur* midi. Do gob tra Tuathal rigi foirchrén fer-mail for Erinn, tar éir a danar acus dunbiudad do fcrir. Do rondad tra Fér Temrach la Tuathal Techtmar iartain, acus tancadar coicedaich Erenn na chomdail co Temraid. Ir iad fo imorra na coicedaich thanic and .i. Fergus Febal acus Eochaid Mac Conrach i comrigi for Ulltuib, ocus Eogan, Mac Aililla Eran, for Desmumain, ocus Conrach Mac Derg

"It was by Tuathal that every province in Ireland was *decapitated* to form Meath, which was thence called *Meidhe*, that is *neck*; or, it was called from *Midi*, son of Bratha. Tuathal assumed a mighty and manly reign over Ireland, after having cut off its *Danars* and enemies. Tuathal Teachtmar afterwards convened the *Feis* of Temur, and the provincialists came to him to Temur. These were the provincialists who came thither, viz. Fergus Febal and Eochaidh Mac Conrach [who were] in the joint government of Ulster, and Eogan, the son of Ailill Eran, over Desmond, and Conrach Mac Derg over the Connacians, and Eochaidh Mac Dairi over great

for Chonnaċtaib, acus Eochaiḋ Mac Dairi, for Mumhain moir ocus Eochaiḋ Mac Eachach Doimlén do Domnannchaib, for Laigniḃ. Ro gob som sna sachaḋ gheni ocus ersa ocus each cumachtaich fil for nim ocus for talmain, ciamdais coimnesc coicedaich Erenn, conartais coimnesc fri a cloind sin co brath.

Munster, and Eochaidh, the son of Eochaidh Doimhlen of the Damnonii, over Leinster. These then swore by the sun and moon, and by every power which is in heaven and on earth, that even though the provincialists should be able, they would never contend with his descendants."—*Leabhar Gabhala, in Book of Lecan, fol.* 296.

The word *Danar* in the above extract, which literally signifies *Dane*, but is there figuratively used, as it is to the present day, to denote a cruel person, a foreigner, shews that the prose part of this work was compiled after the Danish ravages in Ireland; yet as several MSS. of it of the twelfth century exist, its antiquity cannot be brought lower than that age, while the poems which it quotes as authority are usually some centuries earlier. The poems given for the events of Tuathal's reign are the compositions of Maelmura Othna, a distinguished poet and historian, who was Abbot of Fahan, in the County of Donegal, and who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, died in 884. They are quoted by O'Duvegan, who died in 1372, from King Cormac's Psalter, written, as it is believed, before the year 900.

In one of these poems the form of the pagan oath of the Irish Chiefs, as recorded to have been sworn on this as well as on other important occasions, is more minutely stated than in the prose; and as this is perhaps the most ancient authority in which it is found, and as it has never been hitherto published, it is here given with a literal translation.

Atse sachsa so gob Tuathal,
Tren fri tobach,
Nem, talam, grian, ersa iuan,
Muir, tir torad,
Cosa, lama, beoil im theangtha,
Cluasa, suile,
Echroiḃ, gai, sceith, cloidim croda,
Co na n-duirne,
Dreacha daine, druċt la daithgen,
Traig la tuili;
Ith, bliċt, mes, cać maiḃ ar ċena
So gni duini.
Do sasad uili na sachsa,
Sin iar n-oligeḋ,

These are the sureties which Tuathal took,
Mighty at exacting,
Heaven, earth, sun, pure moon,
Sea, fruitful land,
Feet, hands, mouths with tongues,
Ears, eyes,
Horses, javelins, shields, valiant swords
With their hardness,
Countenances of men, dew with colours,
Strand with flood;
Corn, milk, fruit, each good likewise
Which man doth.
These sureties all were given,
According to law,

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| Fri cloinn Tuathail, ir fri chenel, | To Tuathal's children, to his race, |
| Ir fri cinead, | And to his tribe, |
| Airec mairer muir im Erinn, | While the sea exists around Erin, |
| Ninnsi nuaidi, | Insulated, solitary, |
| Co na coisentai Temair triaidi | That the lordly Temur would not be defended |
| Re cloinn Tuathail. | Against Tuathal's children. |

But for the other statements no authority older than Keating has been found; and it will be seen hereafter that no monumental memorial of the era of Tuathal existed at Tara in the time of the poets by whom its ancient remains are described.

At the year 218, Tighearnach records the commencement of the reign of Cormac Ulfada, the grandson of Con of the Hundred Battles, and commonly called Cormac O'Cuinn and Cormac Mac Art. As the reign of this monarch is the epoch at which most of the monuments remaining at Tara had their origin, and as the circumstances recorded of his life bear, with few exceptions, the stamp of true history, it may be desirable to present to the reader a more ample detail of them than it was deemed necessary to give of those recorded as distinguishing the lives of his predecessors. As a chronicle of these events the Annals of Tighearnach are selected as the most authentic authority.

A. D. 218. Cormac Ulfada, hua Cuinn, *regnat annis xlii.*

222. Kl. Cath Granairo, ria Cormac hua Cuinn, for Ultaibh. Cath Medha for Connachto. Cath Anaeith, cath Cinndoire, cath Srutha for Ultaib. Cath fidgeoh Cuailgne.

K. *iii.* Cath Atha Beitheach, cath Ratha Duine.

K. *v.* Cath Chuile Tochair fo tri, ocus tri catha a nDuibfid.

K. *vi.* Cath Allamuigh, ocus *vii.* catha Eillne.

K. *vii.* Cath Muige Techt. Loingeas mor Cormaic Mic Airt tar magh fein fri se teora mbliadhon.

Kl. *i.* Ceithre catha for Mumhain la

218. Cormac Ulfada, the grandson of Con, reigns forty-two years.

222. The battle of *Granard*, by Cormac Ua Cuinn, against the Ultonians. The battle of *Medha* against the Connacians. The battle of *Anaeith*, the battle of *Cinndoire*, the battle of *Srutha*, against the Ultonians. The battle of the pass of *Cuailgne*.

The battle of *Ath Beitheach*, the battle of *Rath Duine.*

The battle of *Cuil Tochair* three times, and three battles in *Duibhfidh.*

The battle of *Allamuigh* and the seven battles of *Eillin.*

The battle of *Magh-Techt.* The large fleet of Cormac Mac Art over the sea for the space of three years.

Four battles by Cormac against the Momo-

Cormac, cath Beirre, cath Locha Lein, cath Luimnigh, cath Greine for Mumhain beour. Cath Clarraigh, cath Muirisc, cath Ferta, a torchair Eochaid Taebhfhada Mac Aillila Uluim, cath Aird cairn. Ocus orgain na ningen is in Claenferta a Temraig la Dunlaing mac n-Enda Niadh Righ Laigheann. .i. xxx. righingen ocus c. ingen la gach n-ingin dibh. xxx. an ccc. uile sin. Da rig dec do bith Cormac iarom do Laighnibh ar galaibh aen fir, ocus forcaidm na Boruma co na torcmach lair.

Kl. *iii.* Cormac hua Cuind dathrighadh o Ultaibh.

236. *Bellum* ocFothaird Muirtheimne. Mebuig se Cormac hua Cuind, ocus se Fiachaig Muillethon, Righ Mumhan, for Cruithniu, ocus for Fiachaig Araidhe, *ubi et ipse cecidit ut alii aiunt.*

248. K. *ii.* K. *iii.* Tearbhaidh Cormaic hui Chuind fri se vii. mirr.

K. *iiii.* Aithrighadh Cormaic hui Chuind o Ultaib iarom.

Cath Crinda Dregh ria Cormac ocus ria Taog mac Cein mic Aillila Uluim, co n-a trichad rig ocus co n-a caecad cathmile ocus co n-a sluag diarmide ar cena, ocus ria Lugaid Laigha mac Mogha Nuadhat for Ultaib, a torchratar na tri Fergusa.i. Fergus Foltleabair, ocus Fergus Cairrdiacluch, ocus Fergus Duibdeadach, lar in aen oclach, la Lugaid Laigha, co ruc lair a tri cinda co ro tairelb do Cormac a n-eraic a athar .i. Airt mic Cuind, ro bith som a Mug Mucruime. Ocus ro brir Taog iiii. catha is in aen lo sin .i. cath Conachaigh, ocus cath Sithbe, ocus cath Druma Fuaid, ocus cath Cairge Eolairg.

nians, the battle of *Beirre*, the battle of *Loch Lein*, the battle of *Luimneach*, the battle of *Grian*, likewise against the Momonians. The battle of *Clasach*, the battle of *Muirisc*, the battle of *Ferta*, in which was killed Eochaidh of the Long Side, the son of Aillil Olum, [and] the battle of *Ardcam*. And the slaughter of the daughters [girls] in the *Claenferta*, at Temur, by Dunlaing, the son of Enda Niadh, King of Leinster, i. e. thirty royal daughters and one hundred daughters with each daughter of them. Thirty and three hundred was the entire number. Cormac put to death twelve kings of the Lagenians for the deed of one man, and the *Borumha* was exacted by him with an increase.

Cormac Ua Cuinn was deposed by the Ultonians.

236. A battle at *Fothaird Muirtheimne* [Faghard]. The defeat was given by Cormac Ua Cuinn and Fiacha Muillethan, King of Munster, to the Cruthni and Fiacha Araidhe, where he himself [i. e. Fiacha Araidhe] fell, as some say.

The expulsion of Cormac Ua Cuinn for the space of seven months.

Cormac Ua Cuinn afterwards dethroned by the Ultonians.

The battle of *Crinna*, in Bregia, by Cormac and Teige, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, with his thirty kings, fifty heroes, and innumerable forces also, and by Lugaid Lagha, son of Mogha Nuadhat, against the Ultonians, in which (battle) fell the three Ferguses, viz. Fergus of the Long Hair, and Fergus of the Crooked Teeth, and Fergus of the Black Teeth, by the one young hero, Lugaid Lagha, who brought their three heads and presented them to Cormac as *Eric* for his father Art, the son of Con, who had been killed in *Magh Mucrime*. And Teige gained four battles on that one day, viz. the battle of *Conachaigh*, the battle of *Sithbe*, the battle of *Druim Fuaid*, and the battle of *Carraig Eolairg*.

Iarr na catchaib do breatch Taog ani do timchillreoh a carpad do muig Breg o ro mebuigh in cath co haidhchi. Ireo sin do thimchil Tricha ced Cianachta, o Glair nera co cnoccaibh Maile doaigh, ic abuind Life.

After the battles Teige obtained as much of the plain of Bregia as he was able to surround with his chariot from the time the [last] battle was gained till night. What he then surrounded was the *Tricha ched* of *Cianachta,* [which extends] from *Glaisnera* to the hills of *Mail Doaith,* which are at the river Liffey.

251. Cath Crinna Fregabail, ria Cormac Ua Cuind, for Ultaib, *ubi cecidit* Aengus Find mac Fergusa Duibdetaig, co n-ár Ulad.

251. The battle of *Crinna Fregabail,* by Cormac Ua Cuinn, against the Ultonians, in which fell Aengus Finn, the son of Fergus of the Black Teeth, with the slaughter of the Ultonians.

254. Indarba Ullad a h-Erind a Manand, la Cormac hua Cuind. Ar de ba Cormac Ulfada dia ro cuir Ulte a fad.

254. The expulsion of the Ultonians from Ireland to *Manann,* [the Isle of Man] by Cormac Ua Cuinn. It is thence he was [called] Cormac Ulfada, because he drove the Ultonians afar.

K. *i.* Guin Chellaig mic Cormaic, ocus marbadh Setna mic Dlae mic fechtaire na Temrach. Ocus fuil Cormaic hui Chuind do bridh do aen forgum la h-Aengus macFiacha Suigi, mic Feidhlimid Reachtmair, *unde* Aengus Gabuaibtheach *dictus est.* Ro bris iarom Cormac iiii. catha for na Deisib, conus fai a Mumain, ocus co ro tarind ass a tir.

The wounding of Ceallach, the son of Cormac, and the killing of Setna, the son of Blae, son of the lawgiver of Temur. And the eye of Cormac Ua Cuinn broken with one blow by Aengus, the son of Fiacha Suighi, the son of Feidhlim Rechtmar, whence he was called Aengus Gabhuaibhtheach, [i. e. Aengus of the Dreadful Spear]. Cormac afterwards gained four battles over the Desii, so that he drove them into Munster, and expelled them from their [original] country.

Kl. *iii.* Cormac hua Cuind cet catchaig do ec a Cleitech dia mairt, iar leanmain cnama brasdin ina bragait, no, ar iad na siabrada ro n-ortsadar, iar na Brath do Maelcinn Draoi, o nar chred Cormac do.

Cormac, the grandson of Con of the Hundred Battles, died at *Cleiteach,* on Tuesday, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat; or, it is the sheevree [genii] that killed him at the instigation of Maelcinn, the Druid, as Cormac did not believe in him.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that these details have all the marks of authenticity; nor is it necessary to their credibility to concede to the Irish of those times the use of letters, as oral tradition alone would have been sufficient to preserve such meagre details until the introduction of Roman literature with Christianity into Ireland in less than two centuries afterwards. Whether the Irish had or had not the use of letters anterior to this epoch is, at the same time, a subject open to investigation; but it would be foreign from the purpose of this memoir to enter upon an inquiry so laborious; it is sufficient to observe,

that no fact can be more incontrovertibly established, than that the Irish committed to writing, in their native language, immediately after the introduction of Christianity, not only the laws, bardic historical poems, &c., of their own time, but those which had been preserved from times preceding, whether traditionally or otherwise. Till this point, however, be determined, much of the matter stated by the later annalists in connexion with Cormac and his times will necessarily be received with suspicion by the learned, as in the additional details given in the following passage, recording the death of Cormac in the Annals of the Four Masters:

A.D. 266. Ceathracha bliadain do Corbmac Mac Airt mic Cuind hi rige n-Erenn, go bruair bar i g-cletti, iar lenmain do énaim braidain ina bragait, trer an riabrad ro imir Mailgenn Drai fair, iar n-iompod do Chorbmac ar na draoidib fo bithin adarta de do tairrib; conad aire rin ro aimrig diabal eirium tre furailiam na noruad, go d-tuc bar dochra do. Ar e Corbmac do érac tegurcc na rig, do coimed mod, ber, agus follamnugte na rige. Uaddar oirdere eiride i noligthib, hi ccoimgnib agus hi senchus; ár ar e ro fiol reacht, riagail, agus dirgiatha gacha haoi, agus cecha cairgne iar ccoir: conad e a oligte ro fmacht for chach baoi for congbail leo gur an aimrir freacnairc.

Ar e an Corbmac ro mac Airt beor ro éinoil Chroinice Erenn co haonmaigin go Temraig, gur ro forcongair forra Chronic Erenn do fcriobad i n-énliubar, dar bo h-ainm Fraltair Temrach. Da hirin liubar rin batar coimgneda agus comaimrina rioghraide Erenn fri rioghaib agus Impiridib an Domain, agus ríogha na gcoicced fri rioghaib Erenn. Da hann dan ro fgriobad ina noligfad ri Erenn do na Coicceadacaib, agus cíor, agus oligthe na gcoicced o a fomaimgte o cha uaral co hiseal. Da hann sra baoi-crioch agus torann Erenn or ino or,

A. D. 266. Cormac, the son of Art, the son of Con, after having been forty years in the government of Ireland, died at Clettỳ, the bone of a salmon having stuck in his throat, through the Sheevra, whom Mailgenn, the druid, induced to attack him, after Cormac had turned from the druids to the adoration of God; wherefore a demon attacked him at the instigation of the druids, and gave him a painful death. It is Cormac who composed the *Teagasc na Riogh*, to preserve manners, morals, and government in the kingdom. He was an illustrious author in laws, synchronisms and history; for it is he that promulgated law, rule and regulation for each science, and for each covenant according to justice: so that it is his laws that restrained all who adhered to them to the present time.

It is this Cormac Mac Art also that assembled the chroniclers of Ireland together at Temur, and ordered them to write the Chronicles of Ireland in one book, which was called the Psalter of Temur. It was in that book were [entered] the coeval exploits and synchronisms of the Kings of Ireland with the Kings and Emperors of the world, and of the kings of the provinces with the monarchs of Ireland. It was in it was also written what the monarchs of Ireland were entitled to receive from the provincialists, and what the provincialists [i. e. provincial kings] were entitled to receive from their subjects from the noble to the subaltern. It

o tha coicceo co tuaith, o thuaith co baile, agus o baile co traigid do ér. Oirdeirc na neiéiri i Leabar na h-Uidri. Ar follus iatt i Leabar Dinnsenchusa.

was in it also were [described] the bounds and meres of Ireland from shore to shore, from the province to the territory, from the territory to the bally, (townland,) and from the bally to the *traigid* of land. These things are conspicuous in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*. They are also evident in the *Leabhar Dinnshenchusa*.

This detail, it must be confessed, has but little agreement with the meagre and unsuspicious account given by Tighearnach. On every thing stated by the Four Masters the earlier annalist is silent, except the notice of the cause of his death, and even in this what is doubtfully put by the one, is made positive by the others. Whether, however, those details be true or false, or in whatever degree they may be so, it is due to the character for veracity of the Four Masters to mention, that they found what at least appeared to them sufficient evidence upon which to ground their statements, in very ancient documents. The additional facts of importance stated by the Four Masters are three:—1. That Cormac was the author of the ancient tract called *Teagasc na Riogh*, or Instruction of the Kings. 2. That he was the author or compiler of laws which remained in force among the Irish down to the seventeenth century. And 3. That he caused the ancient chronicles of the country to be compiled in one volume, which was afterwards called the Psalter of Tara. On each of these facts a few remarks may be permitted.

1. The work called the *Teagasc Riogh* has been ascribed to Cormac by the Irish universally from a very remote period, and whether it be his or not, it is certainly one of the most ancient and valuable documents preserved in the language. The following verse of an ancient poet is a good authority for this statement:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cormac Dreidem na mbreth fir, | Cormac Brehon of true judgments, |
| E do thaet Tecasc na Rig; | Composed the Instruction of Kings; |
| Ni fagbar ugdar ir fern | No better author is found |
| Air dligeib aerda Erenn. | Upon the aged laws of Erin. |

In an ancient manuscript in Trinity College library (Class H. 1. 15. p. 149.) it is stated, that it was the custom at the inauguration of the Irish chiefs to read the *Teagasc Riogh* and the Laws of Cormac; and this statement is corroborated by a passage in the Annals of the Four Masters recording the death of an Irish

chief, in which it is stated that he governed his subjects by the *Teagasc Riogh* and the Laws of Cormac.

It must be confessed, however, that it was the opinion of the venerable Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, that this work "should not be considered as the composition of King Cormac, but as the epitome of some writer of an ulterior age." But it would seem more probable that the work, as at present preserved, is rather an amplification than an epitome of the original work, of which he is supposed to be the author.

Copies of the *Teagasc Riogh* are preserved in the Books of Glendalough and Ballymote, and translated specimens will be found in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214, 215, and 231, 232. The whole would be well worthy of publication, as affording probably the best evidences now to be obtained of the wisdom and amount of civilization current among the Irish in very distant times.

2. As the institutor of laws the claims of Cormac appear to stand on a firmer basis than his title to the authorship of the *Teagasc Riogh*. Several tracts of his laws are preserved in MS. in our public libraries, and they are quoted in Cormac's Glossary, an undoubted work of the ninth century. The most perfect copy of these laws, as explained and enlarged by Cennfaela, a writer whose death is recorded in the Annals of Tighearnach, at the year 679, is preserved in a MS. supposed to be of the fourteenth century, in the library at Stowe. A very interesting dissertation upon the contents and age of this MS. will be found in the Stowe Catalogue, by the late Dr. O'Conor, and, as this Catalogue is of extreme rarity, a few extracts from that dissertation are here given.

"*Description of the MS. of Brehon Laws now before us.*

"On the first leaf, Cennfaelad states that this work consists of two parts. The first is—'*Cuid Cormaic mc Airt Righ Eir*—The part composed by Cormac, the Son of Art, King of Ireland; the second is—'*Cuid Cendfaelaid mc Ailill*—The part composed by Cenfaelad, 'the Son of Ailil.'

"Cenfaelad's part consists chiefly of a gloss on the law terms used by Cormac; but this gloss is of the seventh century, the law terms of which are as unintelligible now as those of the third century were then. He adds that Cormac composed his part at *Acill*, near Temora, after he had resigned the sovereignty to his son Carbre. We have already seen that Cennfaelad was a writer of the seventh century, and that Acil was one of the Royal residences of Meath.

" The first words of this fragment are—

" 'In ainim de fo—Locc don liubhairi daire lubran 7 aimser do aimser domnaill mc. aedo mc. ainmireach 7 perra do cenoedaela mc. aill. 7 eac. a denma a hincind dermaic do be m acenn chinoedaela ik. maighe rath.

" 'Teora buadha in k.a fin .i. maimd ar congal claen in a gae dian domhnall in a fhirinde 7 fuibhne geilt dodul fe geltachd 7 aincinn dermaic do be in acind cinoedaela ik. Maighe Rath.

" 'Ire in [a]f ardaedbuaidh maimd ar congal in a gae fen domnall inafirinde, uair buaidh maimd afin anfiren friar an firen.

" 'Ire in [a]f. ardaedbuaidh fuibne geilt do dul fe geltachd .i. ar ar facaibh do laidhibh 7 dorgelaibh agarfiticach orimille.

" 'Ir e an [a]f ardaedbuaidh aincinn dermaic do bein acind cinoedaela uair ir ann do righned a leigar iduaim drecain icomrac nadi fraithed ic. eighibh nadirfuadh .i. fairenechair 7 fairlechta 7 faileigind 7 doneochrochandair nadirfcola canlai fo bidh aicerium driageire ainedlechta cannaidhche 7 ineoch bahintair fenta ler de fob. edhgluinraithe fui 7 fo ferfibhtha aice icaile liubhair.

" 'No cumadhi inc7 ramadh buaidh .i. feroderaib er 7 feroderaib alban dodul tairir roir gan luinggan eathair .i. dubhdiadh mac damain 7 fer dogaidelaib.—Locc aimser iardennaela rin madhiardormac imm. loc do aicill araice demair 7 aimserdo aimser cairbre lifecair mc. cormaic 7 perra do cormac budein 7 tacait adeinma .i. caech. fula cormaic doaengus gaebuaibnech iar fuatach ingine folair mc airt cuirb arraith ed. do cell. mc. cormaic, &c. I re cuit cormaic donliub. ra am araser er. 7 na blai. I re cuit cenoedaela na fil otha sinsir. Nacomadae cormac don7hhe 7 comade ceanodael dob. ad gluinraithi filir.a rai 7 deirmerr. air. Lethbr. meitgid rath coli. cormacuacuind dor rigne in leth .ii. iarmotha cennfael mc aill.a. Da perra aired tra cenofael mc aill.a. Iar narc oltad irin cath—he do rigne duil forcadach.' "

" This title has been transcribed with the greatest care, separating the words, which are joined in the text. What follows is a literal translation: but it is fair to confess that in no other translation has the Compiler of this Catalogue found the difficulty which the abbreviations and some of the terms themselves, being Law terms of the most obscure antiquity, have in this instance imposed upon him.*

*Literal Version.*

" 'In the Name of God, this —— The place of this book (i. e. where it was written) was *Daire-lubran* (i. e. the Oak Grove of Lubran), and its time was when Donnald, the son of Aod,

* " In the Collectanea Hibernica, a very short fragment of these *Blai* is quoted, vol. ii. p. 8, &c. where the reading is very corrupt and different from this, and we are informed, after a few broken quotations, at page 20, that 'all the rest of the *Blai* are wanting, and all that part composed by Cinfæla and promulgated by Donald.'

son of Ainmire, was King of Ireland;* and the person (i. e. the writer) was Cennfaelad, the son of Alill; and the occasion of composing it was because Dermod's ignorance yielded to Cennfaelad's skill, at the battle of *Moraith*,—(fought in 634. Annal. IV. Mag.)

" 'Three victories were gained there. Congal, the Crooked, was defeated in his falsehood by Donnald in his truth;† and Subne the Mad ran mad on that occasion; and the unskilfulness of Dermod yielded to the skill of Cenfaelad.‡ The cause of the victory of Donnald over Congal, in truth, was this, that falsehood must always be conquered by truth.—The cause of the victory gained by Subne the Mad's turning mad, was, that he lost some Poems and Narratives, of which others availed themselves after.—The cause of the victory of Dermod's unskilfulness yielding to Cennfaelad's skill, was, that he (Cenfaelad) was educated at *Tuam-Drecan*, at the meeting of the three roads, between the houses of three learned men—that is, a Man skilled in Genealogies, and a Man skilled in Poetry, and a Man skilled in difficult reading; and whatever these three schools taught in the day, he, by the acuteness of his intellect, pondered over each night, and whatever was most difficult, he unknotted, and wrote down in his book of hard questions. We must not omit a fourth victory gained at that time—that is, that a man of Ireland, and another man of Albany, passed over to the East, without a ship of burthen, without a ship of war—namely, *Dubdiad*, the son of Daman, and another of the Gael.

" 'The *place* and *time* of Cenfaelad's work is stated.—If you ask for Cormac's, the place where he wrote was *Acill*, near *Temora*: the time was when *Carbre Liffecar*, his son, was King of Ireland. The person who wrote it, was Cormac himself; the occasion of his writing it was, that being deprived of an eye by Angus of the Fearful Spear, after the daughter of Solar, the son of Art the Bastard, was violated in Rath-Aodh, by Ceallac the son of Cormac, and (being consequently disqualified to reign,) he retired to Acill, &c.

" 'Cormac's part of this book is the Science of the laws of Ireland, and the *Blai*.—Cenfaelad's part is the Laws which follow them. The precepts of Cormac to the aged, the Precepts of Cenfaelad, to explain Law terms, difficult meanings, and devices.

" 'The half the laws against falsehood—Cormac O'Con composed that half.
'The next after that Cenfaelad, the son of Alill, (composed.)
'A man of skill was he Cenfaelad, the son of Alil.
'He defeated the Ultonians in battle, and he composed the war songs.'§

" The sections of this fragment are 62. Each section begins with an ornamented initial, of a larger size than the other capitals, which mark the minuter divisions. The four first leaves con-

* " That is from 628 to 642.—This King *Donnald* is mentioned by Adamnan, in his Life of Columba, l. 1, c. 39, in Triade, p. 349.—'De bello in munitione *Cethirni*, in quo, ut multi norunt populi, Domnallus Aidi filius Victor sublimatus est.' The same battle is mentioned in the Irish Annals of the *IV Masters*, an. 624.

† " This seems to have been a Religious war between the Christian king Donnald and the Pagan Congal.

‡ " This was written before the art of dating by the Christian æra was known in Ireland, and therefore the author collects a number of cotemporary facts of universal notoriety, which served to establish his date. The Druids were not entirely suppressed in the 7th century.

§ " These four lines are written in the original as if they were prose.—What enables the translator to ascertain that they are in verse, is a regular cadence throughout, dividing the sentences into equal number of syllables. Vide next page.

tain 19 sections; the first and second of which give the *title*, as above, with some additional circumstances, relating to the life of King Cormac.—Cenfaelad states in the third, that the Laws of the Irish are derived from four sources—the *Hebrew*, the *Greek*, the *Latin*, and the *Irish*; adding that there are several ancient *Irish* terms of Law, which are here explained in detail, and also eight *ernails* (or interpretations) of *Etgens* (or crimes) which are also explained in the sequel. The following inference is drawn near the end of this section:—'Is ar sin is follus o biar fis in cinaid ac duine gon coroibh fis nahesce conach ainfis lan fiach—i. e. and hence it is plain that when once man comes to know a crime, though he knows not the punishment attached to it, he is liable to be punished accordingly.'

"The fourth section begins with the words 'Eislis folla eitgiodh or f. im cia leas no cia lin do ernailib esta fas o bheilitgth in tes. is com. f. lathan icintaighe 7 i flaintigh.' These words are interlined with a very ancient gloss by *Cenfaelad*, from which it appears that this section treats of the various aggravating circumstances of crimes, and how each crime may be distinguished by its *êrnail*, or signs and tokens. It also treats of *proofs of crimes*, and the necessity of corporal presence to establish evidence,—adding that the ignorant, and the Coward, who resemble brutes, must not be permitted to give evidence, even though their personal presence be ascertained: and here is quoted the authority of an ancient Poet, called *Fer-Muman mac Echgain*, whose words, in the ancient Irish idiom, are—

"'Coniod de at. fot faitc. 7 anfhotanfaitc.
Diohcach cafhaitchus isois—is bres. ciaimtiagaitoig.'

"These verses are written without any distinction of lines, or even of words, except rarely; and they are so written, that the second line must be read before the first. Several instances of this occur in Irish MSS. of great antiquity. Usher observes on an ancient MS. in which he discovered one of Columbanus's Poems, that it is all written as if it were prose. See his Sylloge, p. 99 and 122. Many similar instances occur in the writings of the middle ages, as noticed in the *Rerum Hibernicarum*, vol. 1. The above Irish verses may be interpreted thus:

"1. Whoever is in terror is a *Fot*.—He is false though he should strut as a champion.

"2. Wherefore it is said that *Fot* means a coward, and a confirmed *Fot* is a confirmed coward.

"The idiom alone sufficiently proves that these verses must be referred to a very remote period, even were it not for the circumstance of some of the words not being divided from each other, and being wholly unknown at this day: and though there are undoubtedly, in Cennfaelad's gloss, and in the parts of this work composed by him, some references to Laws enacted by the Christian Kings of Ireland in the 6th and 7th centuries, the parts ascribed to King *Cormac* are written in an idiom so very obscure and remote, as to justify, *ab intrinseco*, the positive assertion of *Cenfaelad*, that they are the genuiue Laws of that Prince.

"The 5th section is *Cenfaelad's* interpretation of the Law terms of Cormac's work, beginning, 'Ciaanmand nacma sin—What are the names of those crimes.'

"The 6th begins, 'Ro tannchiagaith a cethair gach ne—Four qualities make known the extent of each crime.'

"The 7th is 'Teora foohlagaghla,—Three are the distinctive qualities of plunder.'

"The 8th is, 'Ria beao piacha ferg—Let the extent of prosecution be proportioned to the degree of anger.' This treats of murder and manslaughter; the different legal names annexed to each degree of guilt, in respect to both; and the *erics* to be paid for them.

"The 9th is intitled, 'Cmeic ae feren ceno rig,' &c. It treats of seven degrees of *erics*, and seven degrees of punishment for crimes, &c.

"The 10th begins, 'Cmeic ara fer er follur,' &c.—The 11th, 'Cmic ara fein er feineachc,' &c.—The 12th, 'Cmeic ar Cinrluag for aen fer,' &c.—The 13th, 'Agur cinaenrin for sluag,' &c.—The 14th begins, 'Cmeic arniur f. cir neorao 7 oeor .f.' &c.—The 15th, 'Cmeic arncinrig forchuaich,' &c.—The 16th, 'Cmic arafeir er ferrechta,' &c.—The 17th, 'Cmic arafeichc aenfer imam,' &c. The 18th, 'Cmic arafersin fiachu.'—The 19th, 'Cmic arafeifer fer irren,' &c.—The 20th, 'Cmic ar blai oilri,' &c.—The 21st, 'Olai mogа mug-raine,' &c.—22d, 'Olai echaenach,' &c.—23d, 'Olai echaenach.'—24th, 'Olai oroinoeoin,' &c.—25th, 'Olai conconggal,' &c.—26th, 'Olai Druich oibrucun, i. e. Laws concerning the expulsion of Druids.'—27th, 'Olai Mer cuirmtech.'—28th, 'Olai mein mioclair.'—29th, 'Olai con cong,' &c.—30th, 'Olai echuirimurchur aporc a porc,' &c.—31st, 'Olai Ciaghlinao,' &c.—32d, 'Olai fer catha,' &c.—33d, 'Olai Surcuaich.'—34th, 'Olai crann curaim,' &c.—35th, 'Olai nuchlechnur achtror voliar,' &c.—36th, 'Olai Suren Sairre,' &c.—37th, 'Olai tarb 7 rethe varmna,' &c.—38th, 'Olai faebur comleng.'—39th, 'Olai vunaval.'—40th, 'Olai mucc orcel,' &c.—41st, 'Olai Ciachroit lorg poll 7 locc,' &c.—'42d, 'Olai noi imrom.'—43d, 'Olai Ciachroire urreur fairhce,' &c.—44th, 'Olai cetering tulcomruc,' &c.—45th, 'Olai robcubao,' &c.—46th, 'Olai rene tellach,' &c.—47th, 'Olai Carrat Oenuch, &c.—48th, 'Olai Cairе combruch,' &c.—49th, 'Olai-vamh vamhgal,' &c.—50th, 'Olai cuirhech fliab,' &c.—51st, 'Olai Mogа biail,' &c.—52d, 'Olai Cumul lecc.'—53d, 'Olai iarachc oirdirhio tairirio ogrlan,' &c.—54th, 'Olai ar murgal,' &c.—55th, 'Olai muilenn bleirh,' &c.—56th, 'Olai cleramnuig cleir.'—57th, 'Olai etha irhlaimo,' &c.—58th, 'Olai iarunn airlech,' &c.—59th, 'Olai etar gaire imguin.'—60th, 'Olai bancacha ban,' &c.—61st, 'Olai cuaille airbe.'—62d, 'Olai veilge vae,' &c.—63d, 'Olai Tuath threga.'

"That these Brehon Laws bear indisputable marks of original rudeness and simplicity, it is needless to say. Bede seems to advert to them where he says that the Irish permitted the *Picts* to intermarry with Irish women, provided the inheritance should pass to the descendants of these marriages in the female line,* which was contrary to the Laws of the Irish themselves, who never permitted inheritance except to the male line, and when that was extinct, to the senior male of the same name and next a-kin to the deceased. But whether Bede adverts in this passage to written or unwritten Laws, certain it is that the written Laws of Ireland are referred to by the *Ante-Danish* Poets of that Country, and by *Cenfaelad* in the 7th century; as well as by *Probus*, in the 10th; by *Tigernach*, in the 11th; and by the *Magnates Hiberniæ*, in the 14th.—Placed in the extremity of Europe, secluded from the rest of the world, unconquered, unmixed, and never affected by the concussions of the fall of the Roman Empire, the Irish must have possessed primeval institutions, which this MS. is the best calculated to unfold."

* "Bede, l. 1, c. 1."

These remarks of Dr. O'Conor are well worthy the attention of the learned, and should excite an ardent desire for the publication of documents so important to the history of Western Europe. It should be stated, however, that in the translation of the preface to this work, Dr. O'Conor has fallen into several errors, but it is not considered necessary to enumerate them here, as, excepting in one instance, none of them affect the general sense of his version. This instance occurs in the last line of the quatrain, where "war-songs" is incorrectly given as the translation of *Duil Rosgadhach*, which is, in fact, simply the title of Cennfaela's Commentary on the Laws, as appears from Cormac's Glossary, in which it is frequently quoted.

3. That the Psalter of Tara was really, as stated, compiled in the time of Cormac, is an assertion the truth of which is much more difficult to prove than his claims to the authorship of laws. The very title given to this work is sufficient to excite well-founded suspicion of its antiquity ; and no allusion to it has been found in the works of any author anterior to the eleventh century. It may also be remarked, that if such a work had ever existed, it would naturally be expected that, even though lost, it would have been quoted as authority, like the Psalter of Cashel, in the great compilations of Glendalough, Ballymote, Lecan, and Hy-Many; but no extract from it, at least nothing given as such, has been found in any of those or other works. It is true that the Four Masters refer to *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* and the *Dinnseanchus*, as containing transcripts from the Psalter of Tara; but on an examination of those MSS., nothing has been found that could, at least in their present mutilated form, be considered as the composition of so remote an age. The oldest authority yet discovered for the existence of the Psalter of Tara is to be found in the following verses in a poem by Cuan O'Lochain, which will be given entire in the course of this memoir.

| | |
|---|---|
| Coṁac ro clai caeḋ cach, | Cormac gained fifty battles, |
| Do ṙiaḋ ṙalṫair Ṫeaṁṙach ; | He compiled the Psalter of Temur ; |
| Iṙ in ṫṙalṫair ṙin a ṫa | In this Psalter is |
| An uṙ ḋeach ṙuim ṙeanchuṙṙa. | What is a good summary of history. |
| Iṙ ṙi in ṫṙalṫoiṙ ṙin aḋ beiṙ | It is this Psalter that gives |
| Seiṫ n-aiṙoriġ Ḟenn inoḃiṙ ; | Seven monarchs of Erin of harbours ; |
| Coic ṙi na coicceḋ ṙoṙ ġn. | Five kings of the provinces it makes, |
| Ri Ḟenn iṙ a h-eṙṙi. | The King of Erin and her toparchs. |
| Iṙ inneṫ a ṫu ḋe ceċ leiṫ | In it are [entered] reciprocally |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ino a noliġ cech ri cuicciu, | What each king of a province is entitled to, |
| Ino a noliġ ri Temrach toir | What the King of Temur in the east is entitled to |
| Do riġ cech cuiccid ceolṁoir. | From the king of each harmonious province. |
| Coimgnu comaimrerai caich, | The chronology and synchronism of all, |
| Cech riġ die roile dorairch, | Of each king with each other, completely, |
| Criochaḃ cech coicciu o chuaic, | The boundaries of each province from the hill, |
| O ta traiġiḃ co trom tuaiṫ. | From the *Traigid* to the heavy [large] *tuaith.* |
| Tricha ar trichait ced nor ġeiḃ | Thirty above a *Triocha ched* [barony] it finds |
| Do trichuib ced cec cuicciḃ. | Of *Triocha cheds* in each province. |
| In cech cuiced diḃ a ta | In each province of them are |
| Seċt rrim ricit rrim dingna. | Seven full score of chief fortresses. |

A stronger objection, however, than any of the preceding, and which would apply to the other works ascribed to Cormac, as well as to the one in question, is the general belief of the learned that the Irish were wholly unacquainted with letters until the establishment of Christianity in the middle of the fifth century.

To the preceding objections it may, however, be answered, that it is not likely that a work called the Psalter of Tara could be thus referred to in a genuine poem of the eleventh century, written by one of the most distinguished men of his time, if such a work had not, at least, an existence in the popular traditions of the time; and it may be further argued, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive how the minute and apparently accurate accounts found in various MSS. of the names and localities of the Atticotic tribes of Ireland in the first century, could have been preserved, without coming to the conclusion, that they had been committed to writing in some work, whatever may have been its original name, within a century or two of the times to which they relate.

It may be also urged, that, without conceding the use of letters to the Irish generally before the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that their use might have been known to a few, and, among those, to Cormac. Even the sceptical Innes says, "It may have very well happened that some of the Irish before that time, passing over to Britain or other parts of the Roman empire, where the use of letters was common, might have learned to read and write." The probability, moreover, that Cormac did not share in the imputed illiterateness of his countrymen, will be greatly increased by a consideration of the ancient tradition of his being an author, and still more from the sufficiently conclusive evidences derived from all the ancient authorities of his belief in the true God. But, without insisting on this argument, it may be

urged with greater force, that there is considerable evidence to shew that Christianity itself had made no small progress in Ireland long before the middle of the fifth century, the period assigned to its general establishment. This fact is sufficiently manifest from the record of the mission of Palladius in the Chronicle of Prosper :—" Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Celestino primus episcopus mittitur."

It even appears certain that there were bishops in Ireland before Patrick, though not commissioned from Rome, as, in a passage in Tirechan's Life of St. Patrick, written in the seventh century, it is stated that the Bishop Colman offered his church of *Cluain Cain* in *Achud* as a votive offering for ever to Patrick, who committed it to the care of the holy men, that is the priests, Medb and Sadb.

" Colmanus episcopus aeclesiam suam, id est, ***cluain cain in Achud*** Patricio episcopo de votiva immolatione in sempiternum obtulit et ipse eam commendavit sanctis viris, id est, prespitero Medb et prespitero Sadb."—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 17, p. a. col. 1.

And again, in a passage somewhat obscure, it is stated that a certain Irish bishop came to him from Caragh, in Connaught, to *Magh Tochuir*, in Donegal.

" Et exiit ad campum *Tochuir* et fecit aeclesiam ibi, et in quo loco quidam episcopus venit de genere Corcu Theimne ad eum de Cellola *Toch* in regiones *Temenrigi i Ceru* contra solis occassum; episcopus cum sorore unâ monachi Patricii, et est locus eorum cum familia *Clono* et ingemescunt viri loci illius."—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 15, p. a. col. 2.

These passages receive corroboration from the words of St. Chrysostom, in his *Demonstratio quod Christus sit Deus*, written, according to Montfauçon, in the year 387, in which he states that the British islands situated outside the Mediterranean Sea, and in the very ocean itself, had felt the power of the divine word, churches having been founded there, and altars erected.

" *Καὶ γὰρ αἱ βρετανικαὶ νῆσοι, αἱ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκτὸς κείμεναι ταύτης, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οὖσαι τῷ ὠκεανῷ, τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ῥήματος ἥψθοντο. καὶ γὰρ κἀκει ἐκκλησίαι, καὶ θυσιαστήρια πεπήγασιν.*"—*Opp. Edit. Bened. Tom. I.* p. 575, B.

And equally strong evidence, not only to this effect, but even to shew the use of letters at the same time, is derived from the historical notices of Celestius, the favourite Irish disciple of the heresiarch, Pelagius, as quoted by Archbishop Ussher from the work of Gennadius, *De Script. Eccl. Catal.* :

" Celestius antequàm Pelagianum dogma incurreret, imò adhuc adolescens, scripsit ad parentes suos de monasterio Epistolas in modum libellorum tres, omnibus Deum desiderantibus necessarias. Moralis siquidem in eis dictio : nihil ibi vitii postmodùm proditi, sed totum ad virtutis incitamentum tenuit."

If, therefore, Celestius, while a youth, wrote letters from a foreign monastery to his parents at home, the conclusion is almost unavoidable, that his parents were able to read them. And as it appears from Marius Mercator that Celestius had been a disciple and hearer of Pelagius some twenty years before the disclosure of the Pelagian heresy in 405, the natural conclusion is, that letters were certainly known in Ireland, at least to some persons, in the beginning of the fourth century, and might possibly have been known nearly a century earlier, a period which would extend to Cormac's time.—See Ussher's *Primordia*, pp. 206 and 211, and *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores; Prolegomena*, p. lxxxiii.

Be this, however, as it may, it seems certain that Cormac must have had some knowledge of Roman civilization. It was this knowledge that enabled him to introduce the use of the water-mill into Ireland, as will be shewn in the course of this memoir; and, if such knowledge had not been acquired from Christian missionaries at home, it might have been an acquisition made during the three years which, according to the Annals of Tighearnach, he spent with his fleet abroad.

The preceding remarks may serve to excite inquiry into this interesting subject; but it is not, as already stated, the object of this paper either to affirm or deny the use of letters in Ireland before the formal introduction of Christianity; what has been said is intended solely to prove that the Four Masters, in their additions to the ancient annalist, had authorities which they believed sufficient for their assertions, and which should not be too hastily rejected as fabulous.

Before this subject is closed, however, it will be necessary to notice other amplifications of a more recent antiquary, which have tended in a larger degree than those already noticed, to create suspicions of the truth of the Irish histories of this time. The learned author of the Ogygia, not content with the statements of the Four Masters, adds, that there were three schools instituted by Cormac at Tara, in the first of which was taught military discipline, in the second history, and in the third jurisprudence. "Concerning these three schools," he continues, "and the magnificence of Temur in Cormac's time, and his encomiums and exploits, there is extant in O'Duvegan's book, fol. 175, a poem of 183 distichs, which begins—

"'Teamair na riogh, rath Chormaic. "'Temur of the kings, fort of Cormac.'"

How far the poem here quoted by O'Flaherty, which is a composition of the

fourteenth century, if not of an earlier age, may be received as authority for his statement with respect to these schools, the writer of the present memoir has no means of ascertaining, as the book of O'Duvegan, one of the most valuable repertories of ancient Irish literature existing, which formerly belonged to Sir William Betham, is now in the possession of a distinguished MS. collector in England; and no other copy of the poem is known to exist in Ireland. But the general silence of all the other ancient authorities on the foundation of these establishments, is in itself a presumptive evidence either that O'Flaherty had mistaken the sense of his author, as in the instance of *Mur Ollamhan*, or that the old poet himself had indulged in the common Bardic propensity to exaggeration.

The reign of Cormac is memorable, as the period in which the celebrated Finn Mac Cumhail, the Fingal of Mac Pherson's Ossian, flourished. His death is recorded by Tighearnach, at the year 272; but the true date, according to O'Flaherty, is 284. This distinguished man was the son-in-law of Cormac, and general of his army, which, as Pinkerton remarks, seems to have been an imitation of the Roman legions. "He seems," says the writer, "to have been a man of great talents for the age, and of celebrity in arms. His formation of a regular standing army, trained to war, in which all the Irish accounts agree, seems to have been a rude imitation of the Roman legions in Britain. The idea, though simple enough, shows prudence, for such a force alone could have coped with the Romans had they invaded Ireland. But this machine, which surprised a rude age, and seems the basis of all Finn's fame, like some other great schemes, only lived in its author, and expired soon after him."—*Inquiry into the Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 77.

As the successors of Cormac Mac Art, at Tara, to the time of Dermot Mac Ceirbheoil, belong to a period of history now generally received as authentic, and are all in some degree connected with the monuments now or formerly existing there, it will be proper in this place to give a list of them in chronological succession, with an abstract of such important events of their reigns as bear particularly on the subject of this memoir. In this list the authority of Tighearnach will, as usual, be preferred to that of the later annalists; but, as there is a chasm in the former from the year 360 to the year 489, it will be necessary to use the other annals to supply the requisite links in the historical chain.

1. Eochaidh Gunnat succeeded Cormac, and reigned one year. The

Four Masters, whose chronology at this period is very inaccurate, place the death of this monarch in the year 267 : according to the chronology of Tighearnach, the year would be 255 ; but the true year, according to O'Flaherty's corrected chronology, is 277. It should be observed, however, that the reign of this prince, though given in all the historical poems, &c., is not noticed in the Annals of Tighearnach, because, as Dr. O'Conor judiciously remarks, that annalist sometimes omits illegitimate kings.

2. CAIRBRE LIFEACHAIR, son of Cormac Mac Art, and the one hundred and twenty-eighth monarch of O'Flaherty's list, succeeded, and, according to Tighearnach, after a reign of twenty-five years, was killed in the battle of Gabhra, near Tara, in the year 283. O'Flaherty, however, allows only sixteen years' reign to this prince, and dates the battle of Gabhra at 297.

3. FIACHA SRAIBHTINNE, son of Cairbre Lifeachair, reigned twenty-seven years, according to Tighearnach ; thirty-seven, according to the Four Masters ; and thirty, according to the Book of Lecan and O'Flaherty ; and was killed in the year 322, or, according to O'Flaherty, in 327.

4. COLLA UAIS, grandson of Cairbre Lifeachair by his son Eochaidh Doimhlen, reigned four years, and was driven from the throne into Scotland in the year 326, or, according to O'Flaherty, in 331.

5. MUIREADHACH TIREACH, son of Fiacha Sraibhtinne, succeeded after having been king of Connaught ; and, after a reign of thirty years, according to Tighearnach, or twenty-six, according to O'Flaherty, was killed at the battle of Dabhall, in Oriel, in the year 366, or, according to O'Flaherty, in 357.

6. COELBADH, of the line of the Dalaradian kings, after a reign of less than a year, was killed by his successor. This monarch, like Eochaidh Gunnat, is omitted, as an usurper, by Tighearnach.

7. EOCHAIDH MUIGHMHEADHOIN, son of Muireadhach Tireach, ascended the throne in the year 358, and, after a reign of eight years, died at Tara.

8. CRIMTHANN, son of Fidhach, succeeded, according to the Four Masters, in 366, and, after a reign of thirteen years, was poisoned in 378.

9. NIALL NAOIGIALLACH, or Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, by Carinna, a Saxon lady, ascended the throne, according to the Four Masters and O'Flaherty, in 379 ; and, after a reign of twenty-seven years, was killed near the Ictian Sea, in 405. Although the events of the reign

of this monarch are very imperfectly preserved by the Irish annalists, enough remains to indicate that he extended the power of the Irish monarchy farther than any of his predecessors within the limits of authentic Irish history.

10. DATHI, son of Fiachra, and nephew of the preceding monarch, succeeded, and, according to the Four Masters, after a reign of twenty-three years, was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, in 428, or, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in 427. With this monarch the line of the pagan princes of Ireland closes; and though this line is as yet enveloped in deep obscurity beyond the reign of Tuathal, in the second century, there appears to be nothing in the time succeeding to excite doubt in a rational and unprejudiced mind. It is true, indeed, that the learned and judicious Sir James Ware has rejected, as of no certainty, the whole list of Irish kings anterior to the establishment of Christianity; but this overcautious rejection will have little weight now, even with the most judicious investigators, and in the opinion of Pinkerton, one of the most sceptical of modern antiquaries, "was at best rash." "Mr. O'Connor," says this writer, "remarks that Tuathal's reign forms a new and certain epoch in the progress of Irish history. Foreigners may imagine that it is granting too much to the Irish to allow them lists of kings more ancient than those of any other country in modern Europe: but the singularly compact and remote situation of that island, and its freedom from Roman conquest, and from the concussions of the fall of the Roman Empire, may infer this allowance not too much. But all contended for, is the list of kings, so easily preserved by the repetition of bards at high solemnities; and some grand events of history. For to expect a certain detail, and regular order, in the pagan history of Ireland, were extravagant. The Irish antiquists will, on the other hand, exclaim against this rejection of so many fables, which they call, and perhaps, if the human mind can be so debased, really think history. Mr. O'Conor says that the period from Tuathal to Leogaire is the most useful and important of the whole heathen history of Ireland. In which he is certainly right: and the traditions and bardish rhymes, with the early attention of the Irish, after conversion, to such learning as was then in vogue, promise considerable veracity to this last pagan period."—*Inquiry into the Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 51.

In the list of Christian monarchs who ruled at Tara, now to be subjoined, Laoghaire, the son of Niall, will be placed at the head, for the sake of con-

formity with the usual arrangement of Irish historians, founded on the Bardic poems and the majority of the published lives of St. Patrick, which allege the conversion of Laoghaire to Christianity before his death. As Dr. Lanigan, however, well observes, "this cannot be reconciled with what we read in other lives concerning his obstinate infidelity, nor by the saint in his confession:" and the correctness of this conclusion will be presently confirmed by an authority unknown to that most critical investigator, extracted from the annotations of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh.

I. *Laoghaire*, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, succeeded, according to the Four Masters, in the year 429; and, after a reign of thirty years, died in 458. The Annals of Ulster, however, place his death in 462, (which, as Ussher correctly observes, corresponds with 463 of our common era,) and O'Flaherty says that the thirty years allowed to his reign must be understood as subsequent to the conversion of his family to Christianity,—"ut in codice Lecano (fol. 306, *a*) ita Latinè explicatur: *Triginta annis regnum Hiberniæ post adventum Patricii tenuit.*"—*Ogygia.* p. 249.

With this account the computation of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, very nearly concurs, as follows: "A passione autem Christi colleguntur anni ccccxxxvi usque ad mortem Patricii. Duobus autem vel .v. annis regnavit Loiguire post mortem Patricii. Omnis autem regni illius tempus xxxvi ut putamus."—fol. 9, p. a, col. 2.

The Annals of Ulster, Innisfallen, and the Four Masters, as well as all the other ancient authorities, attribute the death of this monarch to the violation of his oath on the divine elements, which he had sworn to the Lagenians, that he would never again demand of them the Borumean tribute. This oath was taken in the year before his death, as stated in the Annals of the Four Masters:

Aoir Chriṫ ceiṫre ċeo caoga a reache. A naoi richeṫ do Laoġaire. Cath Aṫha dara ria Laiġniḃ for Laoġaire mac Neill. Ro ġaḃaḋ don Laoġaire iṙin cath ṙin, aġur do rao Laoġaire ratha Greine aġur Gaoiṫe aġur na n-dul do laiġniḃ nach tiocraḋ forraḋ ṫria biṫhin ar a léġaiḋ uaḋa.

"A. D. 457. In the twenty-ninth of Laoghaire. The battle ot *Ath dara* by the Lagenians, against Laoghaire, the son of Niall. Laoghaire was captured in that battle, and Laoghaire gave the guarantees of the sun, and of the wind, and of the elements to the Lagenians that he would never come against them on their letting him from them.

Aoir Chriṫ ceiṫre ceo caocca a

"A. D. 458. Laogaire, the son of Niall of the

hochc. Iar m-beiḋ deiċ m-bliaḋna ṡiċeċ hi riġe n-Erenn do Laoġaire mac Neill Naoiġiallaiġ ac bach i deaḃ Caiṙri eiṙ Erinn agus Albain .i. da cnoc iad fein filed i n-Uiḃ Faolain, agus Grian agus Gaoḋ for marḃ fom, ár ro ráraiġ iad conid do rin ac berc an fili—

Nine Hostages, after having been thirty years in the government of Ireland, died at the side of *Caisse*, between *Ere* and *Alba*, two hills, which are in *Hy-Faolain*. And the sun and the wind killed him because he had violated [his oath by] them. Of that event the poet said:

Ac bach Laoġaire mac Neill,
For daoḃ Caiṙri, glar a cir,
Duile de ad raegaid raiḋ,
Duc rac dail in báir forr an riġ.

Laoghaire, the son of Niall, died
On the side of Caissi, green its land.
The elements of God, whose guarantee he had violated,
Executed the doom of death upon the king.

The preaching of Christianity in Ireland by Palladius and Patrick, and its alleged establishment by the latter during the reign of this prince, invest that reign with a degree of historical interest which does not appertain to any other portion of Irish history, whether antecedent or subsequent. Yet, though it might naturally be expected, from the importance of the events and the acknowledged use of letters in Ireland at this period, that a clear and authentic record of the preaching of the Gospel would be preserved, it must be confessed that the fact is far otherwise. The acts of Patrick, or perhaps the Patricks, for there appear strong grounds for presuming the existence of more than one preacher of the name, are involved in obscurities and contradictions which even the learning and judgment of Ussher and Lanigan, as well as of many others, have failed to penetrate and explain. Still, however, the labour should not be abandoned as hopeless. Many ancient documents, unknown to, or beyond the reach of former investigators, still exist; and the examination of these holds out a hope to those who may devote their time and learning to the subject, that their exertions may be crowned with success. Such an examination, however, would be as much beyond the limits as it would be foreign to the object of this memoir; but as the preaching of Patrick at Tara is one of those facts on which all authorities concur, and as this event is, moreover, connected with some of the remains to be illustrated as still existing on the spot, it will be necessary to give some account of it in this place; and, for the sake of brevity, this will be given in the condensed abstract furnished by Dr. Lanigan.

After narrating the progress of St. Patrick, during the latter end of the year 432 and part of 433, until the approach of Easter, when he determined on

celebrating that festival near Tara, the Doctor proceeds thus :—" On the following day, which was Easter-eve, or Holy Saturday, St. Patrick continued his journey, and arrived in the evening at a place called *Ferta-fer-feic*, now Slane. Having got a tent pitched there, he made preparations for celebrating the festival of Easter, and accordingly lighted the paschal fire about night-fall. It happened that at this very time the king, Leogaire, and the assembled princes, were celebrating a religious festival, of which fire-worship formed a part. There was a standing law, that, at the time of this festival, no fire should be kindled for a considerable distance all around, until after a great fire should be lighted in the royal palace of Temoria or Tarah. St. Patrick's paschal fire was, however, lighted before that of the palace, and, being seen from the heights of Tarah, excited great astonishment. On the king's inquiring what could be the cause of it, and who could have thus dared to infringe the law, the Magi told him that it was necessary to have that fire extinguished immediately, whereas, if allowed to remain, it would get the better of their fires, and bring about the downfall of his kingdom. Leogaire, enraged and troubled on getting this information, set out for Slane, with a considerable number of followers, and one or two of the principal Magi, for the purpose of exterminating those violators of the law. When arrived within some distance from where the tent was, they sat down, and St. Patrick was sent for, with an order to appear before the king and give an account of his conduct. It was arranged that no one should show him any mark of respect, nor rise up to receive him. But, on his presenting himself before them, Herc, son of Dego, disobeyed the injunction, and standing up, saluted him, and receiving the Saint's blessing, became a believer. He was afterwards Bishop of Slane, and celebrated for his sanctity. Passing over certain contests between St. Patrick and the Magi, and some partly prodigious and partly ridiculous fables, we find St. Patrick the next day (Easter Sunday) in the palace of Tarah, preaching before the king and the states general, and disconcerting the Magi. The only person, that on his appearing there, rose up to pay his respects to him was Dubtach, an eminent poet and instructor of Fiech, son of Erc, who afterwards became Bishop of Sletty. Dubtach was the first convert on that day, and the saint became greatly attached to him. Thenceforth he dedicated his poetical talents to Christian subjects, and some works of his are still extant."—*Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 223-5.

For the facts stated in the foregoing abstract it is not necessary here to quote the original authorities, particularly as a sufficient agreement is found, not only in all the lives of Patrick published up to Lanigan's time, but also in those which have been since published from the Book of Armagh; and though these lives exhibit all the usual admixture of miraculous fables so characteristic of the lives of Irish Saints, there is nothing in them which should impeach the truth of the leading incidents which they record. There is, however, connected with this important event an ancient document still preserved, though hitherto unpublished, of such singular interest, whether considered as the oldest undoubted monument of the Irish language remaining, or as an illustrative record of the religious doctrine inculcated by St. Patrick, that a more than usually copious account of it can hardly fail of being acceptable to the readers of this memoir. The document here alluded to is an ancient Irish hymn of St. Patrick, which he is stated to have composed and sung with his followers when approaching Tara, surrounded by his pagan enemies. The circumstances which occasioned the composition of this hymn are thus detailed in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, a compilation of the ninth or tenth century, but, as Colgan, who has published a Latin translation of it from the original Irish, supposes, first written by St. Evin in the sixth century, though subsequently interpolated.

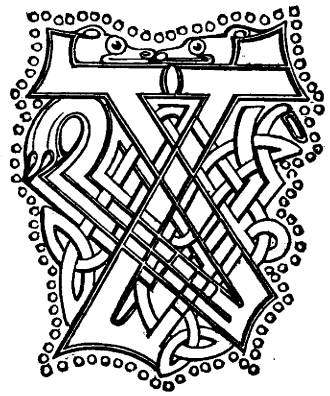
" Cùm perversus Rex videret se non posse viâ jam excogitatâ sanctum virum è medio tollere, excogitavit et aliam. Invitat ipsum Temoriam, promittens quod ibi coram regni proceribus facturus sit publicam fidei professionem, et in Christum coram toto regno crediturus. Hæc fuit professio oris, sed longè alia meditatio cordis iniqui tyranni. Per loca enim, per quæ sanctus Pontifex transiturus erat, varias instruxit insidias ad ipsum, antequam Temoriam veniret, è medio tollendum. Sed licet servus Christi fidelis Domino revelante hæc non ignoraret, in Domino tamen jaciens suum cogitatum, statuit Temoriam proficisci, et discrimen imminens divinæ relinquere dispositioni. Promittit ergò se Regem ponè secuturum: et sequitur cum octo clericis, et Benigno puero: quos sua sacra benedictione et oratione contra paratas insidias, et omnia pericula munivit. Et sic per medios insidiantium cuneos transibant: quorum et oculi tenebantur, ne eos agnoscerent. Obtutibus enim ipsorum solùm apparuerunt octo cervi cum uno hinnulo, in cujus dorso videbatur aliqua sarcina jacere. Sic ergò mirificus vir sociique cum beato puero Benigno sacrum Bibliorum codicem in humeris gestante, per medios hostes salvi et incolumes Temoriam usque pervenerunt, salvifico orationis viri Dei præsidio, velut sacrâ ægide, muniti. Tunc vir sanctus composuit illum Hymnum patrio idiomate conscriptum, qui vulgò *Feth-fiadha*, et ab aliis *lorica Patricii* appellatur; et in summo abinde inter Hibernos habetur pretio: quia creditur, et multa experientia probatur, piè recitantes ab imminentibus animæ, et corporis præservare periculis."—*Septima Vita Tripartita S. Patricii*, pars I. cap. lx. Tr. Th. p. 126.

That the hymn or psalm thus distinctly named as the composition of Patrick is the identical one which will now be presented to the reader, will appear sufficiently obvious from the ancient preface prefixed to it, in which its origin is accounted for in nearly the same words. The MS. from which it has been taken is the celebrated *Liber Hymnorum*, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a manuscript which, in the opinion of Archbishop Ussher, as expressed in a letter to Vossius, was in his time a thousand years old.—See *Epist. ad Vossium, in Dissert. de Symbolis Antiq.* For the satisfaction of the learned, an interlineary Latin translation is given, as it would be impossible to retain the sense in the original order of words in an English one ; and, as the orthography of the words generally varies from that of more modern productions, and as many of the words themselves have been long obsolete, authorities for their explanations will be appended in notes. The characters used in the text will give a good general idea of those in the MS., and the ornamented capital is a *fac-simile* of the original one. It is only necessary to add here, that this hymn is in that ancient dialect of the Irish called *Bearla Feine*, in which the Brehon Laws and the oldest tracts in the language are written.

### *Hymn of St. Patrick.*

Patraicc do rone inn immun ro. In aimsir Loegaire meic Neil do rigned. Fat a denma h. dia dider co na manchaib ar náimdib in bais ro batar in ecarnid ar na cleircheib. Ocus is luirech hirre inro fri himdegail cuirp ocus anma ar demnaib ocus duínib ocus dualchib. Cech duine nos geba cech dia co n-imnithem leis i n-dia ni chairiffed demna fri a gnuis. Did didin do ar cech neim ocus fordmat. Did comna do fri diandas. Did luirech dia anmain iar n-a étrechtt. Patraicc ro chan ro in tan do rata na hecarnaidi ar a chinn o Loegaire, na digred do filad chreidme co Temraig ; conid annsin ata cherda fiadluchtt na n-ecarnaide comtis aige alta, ocus iarnoe i n-a n-diaid .i. benen. Ocus fetch Fiadha a hainm.

"Patrick composed this hymn. In the time of Loegaire, the son of Nial, it was composed. The cause of its composition was to protect himself with his monks against the enemies unto death, who were in ambush against the clergy. And this is a religious armour to protect the body and soul against demons, and men, and vices. Every person who sings it every day with all his attention on God, shall not have demons appearing to his face. It will be a protection to him against every poison and envy. It will be a safeguard to him against sudden death. It will be an armour to his soul after his death. Patrick sang this at the time that the snares were set for him by Loegaire, that he might not come to propagate the faith to Temur ; so that it appeared to those lying in ambush, that they were wild deer, and a fawn after them, that is Benen. And *Feth fiadha* is its name."



[1] Ꭺ, in, or at: *sic hodie.*

[2] ᏖOMRIUᏩ: apparently an obsolete form of Ꭲeaṁpuiġ, dat. of Ꭲeaṁuiṙ.

[3] IᏁᎠIU, to-day: now generally written inıu or anıu in Irish, but *andiu* in the Erse.

[4] ᏁIURᏖ, strength, force, power: so written in many ancient MSS., but now always neapc.

[5] ᏖRᎬᏁ, strong, mighty: so written in all the ancient MSS., but in the modern ones cpéan.

[6] ᏖOᏩAIRM: used as a noun in the modern MSS. and in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1577, in which sense it is taken by O'Clery, who, in his dictionary of obsolete Irish words, explains it by aċaċ no ġuiḋe ḋian, i. e. a supplication or earnest entreaty: but here it is certainly employed as a verb, and means, I invoke, beseech, implore.

[7] ᏖRIᏁOIᏖ, the Trinity: now always written Cpionoıo. In the ancient MSS. c is frequently used for the o of the moderns. The same change is observable in the Welsh, Spanish, and Italian.

[8] CRᎬᏖIM, I believe: now cpeıoım.

[9] ᏖRᎬOᎠAᏖAIᎠ. This word is now obsolete, but its meaning is evidently triplicity, or tripartite division. The termination aċaıo is no longer in use.

[10] ᎮOISIᏁ, under the, is compounded of the preposition poı under, and the article an or ın, the, the p being inserted to avoid a hiatus, as in cpep, leıp, ıp, annp.

[11] OᎬᏁᎠAᏖAᎠ, unity: now written aonoaċc. In the ancient MSS. ae and oe are almost invariably used for the ao of the moderns.

[12] IᏁ, the: now written an, but in the ancient MSS. almost invariably ın.

[13] ᎠUᏟᎬMAIᏁ, gen. form of ouıleṁ, the Godhead, the Creator of the Elements: a word evidently of pagan origin; it is derived from oul, element. At this day the phrase pıġ na n-oúl is universal in Ireland, and is understood to mean God, i. e. the King of the Elements.

[14] ᎠAIᏟ: now ouıl, of the elements.—See quotation in O'Reilly's Dictionary *in voce* oul. In an old Litany preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 121, *b*, the Creator is thus addressed: "Ꭺ Ꭰhe uli chomaċtaiġ, a ḋe na plóġ, a ḋe uapail, a ėiġepna an ḋoṁain, a ᎠhUIᏟIMh na ᏁᎠUᏟ,—Ꮹpchip ḋinn." And again, in the same Litany: "Ꭰepchep ap n-úṡpaċc cpéṁuıpa ı pıaonuıpe ın Ꭰúileṁan, áp nıc piú pinn péin áp n-éptechc," let our devotedness be carried through thee in

a tomriuġ indiu niurt ġene[15] crist[16] co n-a[17]
Apud Temoriam hodie virtutem nativitatis Christi cum eâ ejus

baṫhius,[18] niurt crochṫa[19] co n-a adnocul,[20] niurt
baptismi, virtutem crucifixionis cum eâ ejus sepulturæ, virtutem

n-eseirġe[21] co fresġabail,[22] niurt toniuḋ[23] do[24] bre-
resurrectionis cum eâ ascensionis, virtutem adventûs ad ju-

ṫhemnas[25] bratha.[26]
dicium æternum.

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the presence of the Godhead, (*Duileman,*) for we ourselves are not worthy of being heard. In Columbkille's Latin Hymn in praise of the Trinity, this phrase dúilem na nDúl is expressed thus: "Deus princeps principum, elementorum omnium."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 476.

[15] ġene, of the birth, gen. of ġen, the birth; Greek γινομαι.

[16] crist, *sic hodie.* The nom. form is written Críost in modern books.

[17] cona, with his, compounded of co, Lat. *cum*, with, and a, his, the n being inserted to avoid a hiatus: now written ġo n-a; but cona is found in this sense in modern MSS. as well as ancient.

[18] baṫhius, baptism: now always written baiṫe. Both are apparently derived from the Greek, βαπτισμα, through the Latin, though they bear a strong analogy with the primitive Irish word baṫaḋ, to drown, and baṫ, the sea. The form of the word here used is found in very old MSS. as in the preface to a fragment of the *Seanchus Mor*, preserved in a MS. in Trin. Col. H. 3, 17, p. 1. "Patric do ṫaidecaṫ i n-Eirinn do filaḋ daiṫiri ocus creidme."

[19] crochṫa, of the crucifixion, gen. of croċaḋ, which is derived from croċ; Lat. *crux*, the cross. This word is still used by the Irish.

[20] adnocul, burial: now written aḋlacaḋ, but adnocul is used in all the ancient MSS., and explained in the Glossaries of Cormac and O'Clery as signifying burial—"Adnacal .i. cuir marb .i. aḋlacaḋ."—*O'Clery.* This is a primitive Irish word, not borrowed from the Latin.

[21] eseirġe, resurrection: *sic hodie*, and derived from air, again, and eirġe, to rise.

[22] fresġabail, ascension: now deargaḃáil. In every part of Ireland where the Irish language is understood, Ascension Thursday is called Diardaoin Deargaḃála. The word is thus explained by O'Clery in his dictionary of obsolete Irish words: "Freagabail .i. dul an neam do Chriosd, *ascensio.*" This also is a primitive Irish word.

[23] toniuḋ, coming. This word is now entirely obsolete, but O'Clery explains it by teacṫ, coming: "Ioméoiniuḋ .i. iméeacṫ; ioméoiniuḋ lae agus oiḋce .i. iméeacṫ laiṫe agus oiḋce; oir is ionann toiniuḋ agus teacṫ." This is the root from which the present taing is formed.

[24] do, to: now always ġo, but do is used after a verb of motion in many old MSS.

[25] breṫhemnas, judgment: now in common use, but spelled, according to the modern orthography, breiṫeamnas. This is a primitive Irish word, formed from breiṫem, a judge.

[26] bratha, of eternity: *sic hodie.* Go brath is still used to mean for ever, and la an Bratha and la an Breiṫeamnais, the Day of Judgment. This also is a primitive Irish and British word.

a tomriuȝ indiu niurt ȝrad[27] hiruphin[28] in[29] urla-
Apud Temoriam, hodie virtutem amoris Seraphin in obse-
taid[30] ainȝel,[31] hi[32] frescisin[33] eseirȝe ar cenn[34] fochraice.[35] in ernaiȝthib[36] huasal[37] athrach[38] i tairchetlaib[39] fatha.[40] hi praicceptaib[41] apstal,[42] in hiresaib[43]
quio angelorum, in spe resurrectionis ad adipiscendum præmium. In orationibus nobilium patrum in prædictionibus prophetarum, in prædicationibus apostolorum, in fide

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[27] ȝrad, of the love: *sic hodie*, but the d is always aspirated.

[28] hiruphin: evidently intended for *Seraphin*.

[29] in, in, on: *sic hodie*.

[30] urlataid, humility. This word is explained in O'Clery's Glossary, by the modern word umaloid, obedience, obeisance. The latter bears a close affinity to the Latin, the former none whatever.

[31] ainȝel, of angels: *sic hodie*, but spelled n-ainȝeal.

[32] hi, in: the aspirate h is frequently prefixed to the preposition i, in.

[33] frescisin, expectation. It is now obsolete; but it is of frequent occurrence in this sense in the *Leabhar Breac*.—See fol. 18, *b*, 1, and 127, *b*, 1.

[34] ar cenn, literally, on head, is used as a compound preposition in the best Irish MSS. to signify for, towards, for the purpose of, to the end that.

[35] fochraice, reward: this is the gen. form of fochraic, which O'Clery explains by luaidheachd, reward, recompense; and in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1541, it is used in the sense of eternal reward. This word is of frequent occurrence in the *Leabhar Breac*: "mára erdálta iarum immad na fochraice nemdai."—*Fol.* 127, *b*, 1.

[36] ernaiȝthibh, prayers, dat. pl. of ernaiȝe, prayer. The modern word is urnaiȝe.

[37] huasal, noble: now uasal. In the old Irish MSS. h is frequently prefixed to words beginning with vowels, sometimes to avoid a hiatus, and sometimes for no apparent reason.

[38] athrach, of fathers: *sic hodie*.

[39] tairchetlaib, prophecies, dat. form of tairchetal, prophecy. In the more modern MSS. it is written tairceasal, which is the spelling adopted in O'Clery's Glossary, in which it is xplained by fáistine, the modern word for prophecy, borrowed from the Latin *vaticinium*.

[40] fatha, prophets: *sic hodie*, Lat. *vates*.

[41] praicceptaib, dat. plural of praicept, preaching. This word is written precept in Cormac's Glossary, under the word cruimther, a priest, and proicept in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1441. In a passage in the same Annals, under the year 1020, cathair na proiceptha, literally, the chair of preaching, is used to express a pulpit.

[42] apstal, of the Apostles: *sic hodie*. This was certainly borrowed from the Latin.

[43] hiresaib, dat. plural of iris, faith, religion. "Do filad creidme ocus irse."—*Life of St. Patrick* in the *Leabhar Breac*. "Na h-irse Catholici," of the Catholic faith.—*Ibid.*

fuismedach,[44] in endaid[45] noem[46] ingen,[47] hi ngnimaib[48]
confessorum in castitate sanctarum virginum, in actis

fer firean.[49]
virorum justorum.

a Temraiz indiu niurt nime,[50] soilse[51] greine,[52]
Apud Temoriam hodie potentiam coeli, lucem solis,

etrochta[53] snechtai,[54] ane[55] theined,[56] dene[57] loichet,[58]
candorem nivis, vim ignis, rapiditatem fulguris,

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[44] **fuismedach**, confessors, from foirid, confession: now obsolete. An example of the meaning of this word occurs in a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 1, 11, p. 114: "Do coid aimsigin na marcrach agus na b-fairmeadach."

[45] **endaid**, purity: now obsolete, but explained glaine.—See O'Reilly's Dictionary *in voce* eangada, which he explains from an old Glossary by the modern word glan.

[46] **noem**, holy: now written naomh. See Note [11].

[47] **ingen**, daughter, girl, virgin: *sic hodie*, but written inghean.

[48] **gnimaib**, deeds, works, dat. pl. of gnim: *sic hodie*, but written gniomh.

[49] **fer firean**, of just men: *sic hodie*, but written b-fear b-fírean.

[50] **nime**, of heaven, gen. of neamh, heaven: *sic hodie*. Lat. *nimbus*.

[51] **soilse**, light: *sic hodie*.

[52] **greine**, of the sun, gen. of grian, the sun: *sic hodie*. It is remarkable that no cognate is found for this word in any of the other Indo-European languages. The Hebrew חרס is not far from griod and crior, other Irish forms of this word, and the Algonkin *Grounia*, and the Kabyle *Gronhia* are still closer to grian.—See *Ordnance Memoir of Templemore*, p. 212.

[53] **etrochta**, brightness, whiteness: written eadrochta in less ancient MSS. It is formed from drochd, dark, thus: drochd adject. dark, drochta, subst. darkness, negat. edrochd, bright, edrochta, brightness. In like manner edrom, light, is formed from drom, heavy.—See O'Clery *in voce* drochd. Various examples of its meaning are found in the *Leabhar Breac*. Thus: "Co n-etrochta greine," with the brightness of the sun, &c. fol. 126, *b*, 2. "Comgaine ocus comroillri fri hétrochta reulenn," with a purity and brilliance equal to the brightness of a star.—*Ibid.* fol. 127, *b*, 2.

[54] **snechtai**, of snow: *sic hodie*, but written sneachta. Neacta, which is cognate with the Latin *nix*, is another ancient form of this word.

[55] **ane**, force, quickness. "Aine .i. luas no déine."—*O'Clery*.

[56] **theined**, of fire: *sic hodie*, but spelled teined; old Germ. *tinden*, to kindle.

[57] **dene**, rapidity, a substantive formed from the adjective dian, rapid: *sic hodie*.

[58] **loichet**, of lightning. This word is explained in the margin of the MS. by the word lasrach, flame or lightning. It is of frequent occurrence in the ancient Irish MSS. in which it is used to signify lightning or a thunderbolt. Thus in Cormac's Glossary, under the word sruth: "bad luaiditer loidiu for garmain," more rapid than lightning (striking) against a pillar. It is written loicead by O'Clery, who explains it "saighean, caorlasair, no siaba soluisa."

luathe[59] gaethe,[60] fudomna[61] mara,[62] tairisem[63] tal-
velocitatem venti, profunditatem maris, stabilitatem ter-

main,[64] cobsaidechd[65] ailech.[66]
ræ duritiam petrarum.

a tomriug indiu niurt de dom luamarachd,[67]
Ad Temoriam hodie potentia Dei me dirigat,

cumachta[68] de dom chumgabail,[69] ciall[70] de domm
potestas Dei me conservet, sapientia Dei me

imthus,[71] rosc[72] de dom reimcise,[73] cluas[74] de dom
edoceat, oculus Dei mihi prævideat, auris Dei me

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[59] luathe, swiftness: *sic hodie*, but spelled luaithe.

[60] gaethe, of the wind: *sic hodie*, but written gaoithe.

[61] fudomna, depth, profundity: formed from domain, deep. O'Reilly explains fodomain a gulf; but he gives no example or authority to support that meaning.

[62] mara, of the sea, gen. of muir, the sea: *sic hodie.*

[63] tairisem, stability. "Taiririom .i. toiririom .i. comnuige."—*O'Clery.*

[64] talmain, of the earth, gen. of talam, the earth: now talmhan; Lat. *Tellus.* It is remarkable that the gen. form of talam, the earth, and duilem, the Lord of the Elements, differs in this hymn from that found in the best Irish MSS., in which it is formed by adding an.

[65] cobsaidechd, solidity, firmness. This word is used in medical MSS. to express firmness, but is not explained in any Irish dictionary.

[66] aileach, of rocks. This word is thus inflected: nom. aileach, gen. ailige, dat. ailig. "Ror erceno bloid dono ailig fo fuil Neide:" a splinter of the rock flew at the eye of Nedhe.—*Cormac's Gloss. in voce* gaire.

[67] luamarachd, piloting. This word, formed from luamaire, which is explained by O'Clery, loingfeóir, i. e. mariner, is of frequent occurrence in the Annals of the Four Masters in the sense of piloting, steering, &c. See also Cormac's Glossary *in voce* Nemgnacht,

[68] cumachta, power: *sic hodie*, though sometimes written comachta. It is compounded of com, which has the same power as the Latin *con*, and macht, *might* or *power*; German, *macht*; Engl. *might.*

[69] chumgabail, keeping: now congbail, compounded of cum, and gabal, like the Latin *com-prehendo.*

[70] ciall, sense, wisdom: *sic hodie.* Gen. céille; obliq. céill.

[71] imthus, instructing. "Iomchúr .i. fgéala."—*O'Clery.*

[72] rosc, the eye. "Rorg .i. cuicrin no fuil."—*O'Clery.* This word is still understood.

[73] reimcise, foreseeing. This form is now obsolete, but it is obviously from reim, before, of the same force as the Latin *præ*, and cidim, I see. In the more modern MSS. reimfecham and reimdechrin are the forms most generally used.

[74] cluas, the ear: *sic hodie*; Greek, κλυω, to hear.

ESTECHT,[75] BRIATHAR[76] DE DOM ERLABRAI,[77] LAM[78] DE
exaudiat, verbum Dei me disertum faciat, manus Dei
DOMM IMDEGAIL,[79] INTECH[80] DE DOM REMTHECHTAS,[81]
me protegat, via Dei mihi patefiat,
SCIATH[82] DE DOM DITIN,[83] SOCHRAITE[84] DE DOMM ANU-
scutum Dei me protegat, exercitus Dei me defen-
CUL,[85] AR[86] INLEDAIB[87] DEMNA,[88] AR ASLAIGTHIB[89] DUAL-
dat, contra insidias dæmonum, contra illecebras viti-

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[75] ESTECHT, hearing: *sic hodie*, but spelled éirteacht.

[76] BRIATHAR, word: *sic hodie.*

[77] ERLABRAI, to render eloquent: now urlabrad. The prefix er is frequently used in ancient Irish MSS. for the modern ur or or, as erdirc for oirdearc, illustrious; erdam for urdam, an apartment in a house; erdalta for urdálta, certain; ernaige for urnaige, prayer.

[78] LAM, hand: *sic hodie*, but the m is always aspirated.

[79] IMDEGAIL, protecting or shielding; "imdeadail .i. anacal."—*O'Clery.* "Sgiath imdeagla na daime."—*Shane O'Mulconry of Ardchoill.* "Imdeagla .i. anacla."—*Teige O'Rody of Crossfield.* "Tabair dam do noém spirait dom imdegail ocus dom imdíden:" give me thy holy spirit to protect and shelter me.—*L. Breac, fol.* 121, *b.*

[80] INTECH, way. "Intead .i. slige."—*O'Clery.* "Intead .i. slige."—*Peter Connell.*

[81] REMTHECHTAS. This form is not given in any Irish Dictionary, but remthecht and remthechtaire, words similarly compounded, are of constant occurrence, the former signifying coming before, and the latter a forerunner.

[82] SCIATH, a shield: *sic hodie.*

[83] DITIN, sheltering, protecting: now dídin.—See Note [78].

[84] SOCHRAITE, a host: *sic hodie.* This word is of constant occurrence in the Annals of the Four Masters, in the sense of host, army, multitude.

[85] ANUCUL, protection: of constant occurrence in the Annals of the Four Masters: "na daige ernuide do anacal lairr co n-a luchd do chlóidh de agus do lobraidh."—*Four Masters, ad ann.* 919.—See this passage, translated in Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 296.

[86] AR, on, against: *sic hodie*, but generally written air.

[87] INTLEDAIBH, snares, *insidiis*, dat. plur. of intell, snare. This word is of frequent occurrence in the Irish Annals: "Ro himled in cealg."—*Four Masters.* The only form of this word now in use among the Irish is innleog, a snare. In the ancient Irish MSS. nd and nt are often used for the nn of the moderns. In a MS. in Trin. College, H. 3, 18, p. 524, the phrase inna hintledaib is glossed by the more modern form ir na hinnlib, i. e. *in insidiis.*

[88] DEMNA, demons: now written deamna. This word is evidently derived from the Latin *dæmon.*

[89] ASLAIGTHIB, temptations, dat. plur. of arlach, temptation. See O'Reilly *in voce* arlach, and Annals of the Four Masters, in which the word occurs in the sense of solicitation, &c. This

CHET,[90] AR IRNECHTAIB[91] AICNID,[92] AR CECH[93] NDUINE[94]
orum, contra inclinationes animi, contra omnem hominem

MIDUS[95] THRASTAR[96] DAM[97] I CEIN[98] OCUS[99] IN OCUS[100] I
qui meditetur injuriam mihi procul et prope

N-UATHED[101] OCUS HI SOCHAIDE.[102]
cum paucis et cum multis.

TOCUIRIUS[103] ETRUM[104] THRA[105] NA[106] HUILE[107] NERT SO[108]
Posui circa me sane *tas* omnes potentias has

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word occurs in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 121, *b*, in the sense of temptation, allurement, &c. "Dom imdegail ocus dom anacol ar demnaib, co na ulib aimrigedb ocus arlaigib:" to defend and protect me against demons and all their attacks and temptations.

[90] DUALCHET, vices: now written dubailced.

[91] IRNECHTAIB, inclinations: now obsolete.

[92] AICNID, of the mind, *animi:* now aignid.

[93] CECH, every, occurs in all the old MSS., but is now always written and pronounced gach.

[94] DUINE, person: *sic hodie.*

[95] MIDUS, who meditates. This occurs frequently in the old MSS., but in modern books and dictionaries it is written miodar. The word midemnam, which is a verbal noun formed from this, is explained by O'Clery thus: "midemnam .i. fmuaineadh ar a dusgedar *meditatio.*" "Co ro fégsair ocus co ro mígsir ifern."—*Leabhar Breac*, fol. 127, *b*, 2.

[96] THRASTAR, injury, opposition, adverseness. It is formed from the adjective trasa or trasta, cross, perverse.

[97] DAM, to me: *sic hodie.* This is one of those instances of a union of a pronoun and preposition in one word, peculiar to the Irish and its cognate dialects.

[98] I CEIN, afar, at a distance: *sic hodie,* but generally written a gcéin or i g-céin.

[99] OCUS, and: now always written agus; Lat. *atque,* which may have been originally written *acque.*

[100] IN OCUS, near: now i n-fogus and i b-foccus.

[101] IN UATHED, alone, or with a few. This phrase is of constant occurrence in the Annals of the Four Masters, and is thus explained by O'Clery: "uaded .i. aon ní amáin .i. an noithir aonda, gus ab uime sin a deisdear uaeda se beagán ar bid."

[102] SOCHAIDE, an army, host, or multitude. This, as well as fochraice, *quod vide supra,* is of frequent occurrence in the Annals of the Four Masters.

[103] TOCUIRIUS, I have placed, indic. past, first pers. sing. of the verb tocuirim, I place, an intensitive form of the verb cuirim, which is still in common use. "Tocur, placing."—*O'Reilly.*

[104] ETRUM, between me: now eorum, or eadrum.

[105] THRA, an expletive similar to the Latin *sane, autem,* or the Greek δε.

[106] NA, the, nom. plur. of the article an, in.

[107] HUILE, all: *sic hodie.*

[108] NERT SO, these powers: *sic hodie,* but written neirt.

fri[109] cech nert n-amnas[110] n-etrocar[111] fristi[112]
contra omnem potentiam hostilem sævam excogitatam

dom[113] churp[114] ocus domm anmain,[115] fri tinchetla[116]
meo corpori et meæ animæ, contra incantamenta

saibfathe,[117] fri dubrechtu[118] gentliuchta,[119] fri saib-
pseudo-vatum, contra nigras leges gentilitatis, contra pseudo-

rechtu[120] hereteco,[121] fri himcellacht[122] n-idlach-
leges hæreseos, contra dolum idololatriæ,

ta,[123] fri brichta[124] ban[125] ocus gobann[126] ocus druad,[127]
contra incantamenta mulierum et fabrorum ferrariorum et druidum,

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[109] fri, against, with. This preposition occurs in all the ancient MSS., and has various meanings, according to the noun which it governs.

[110] amnas, severe. "Ro fearaib cæ aṁnar ecorra."—*Four Masters, passim.* "Aṁnar .i. doilig."—*O'Clery.*

[111] etrocar, unmerciful: now eatrócaireach.

[112] fristi, prepared, or directed: now obsolete; but freastal, attendance, is formed from the root frith, or fres.

[113] dom, to my; compounded of do and mo: *sic hodie.*

[114] churp, body: now chorp.

[115] anmain, soul, dat. sing. of anam: *sic hodie.*

[116] tinchetla, incantations. "Da ṫeneḋ foinmeaċ do gnitir na draiḋe con tinchetlaib moraib," two goodly fires the Druids used to make with great incantations.—*Cormac's Glossary, in voce* ḋelltaine.

[117] saibfathe, false prophets: now faoḃfáiṫe; Lat. *pseudo-vates.*

[118] dubrechtu, black laws: now spelled dub-reaċta.

[119] gentliuchta, of Gentilism or Paganism: now Geinṫlíḋeaċta.

[120] saibrechtu, *pseudo-laws,* false or bad laws: now written faoḃ-reaċta.

[121] hereteco, of heresy, gen. of heretec, heresy: now written eiriceaċt.

[122] himcellacht: now obsolete. It literally means circumvention.

[123] idlachta, of idolatry: now written iodlaċta.

[124] brichta, incantations, spells, or charms: it is the plural of bricht, which, like the Latin, *carmen,* is used to express a poem and an incantation. "Ocus dichain briċta dim for fan ċranorin," he then pronounced incantations on that staff.—*Cormac's Glossary, in voce* nercoit.

[125] ban, of women, gen. plur. of bean, a woman: *sic hodie.*

[126] gobann, of smiths: *sic hodie,* but written gobann, no, as has been already remarked, being used in ancient MSS. for the nn of the moderns. For an account of the incantations pronounced by Goibhne, the smith, on his staff, see a story in Cormac's Glossary under the word Nercoit.

[127] druad, of Druids: *sic hodie.*

fri cech fiss[128] a ra chuiliu[129] anman duini.[130]
contra omnem scientiam quæ occœcat animum hominis.

crist dom imdegail indiu ar neim,[131] ar los-
Christus me protegat hodie contra venenum, contra com-

cud,[132] ar badud,[133] ar guin,[134] conomchair[135] liar[136]
bustionem, contra demersionem, contra vulnera, donec meritus essem multum

focraice.[137]
præmii.

crist lim,[138] crist rium,[139] crist im degaid,[140] crist
Christus [sit] mecum, Christus ante me, Christus me pone, Christus

innium,[141] crist isum,[142] crist uasum,[143] crist dessum,[144]
in me, Christus infra me, Christus supra me, Christus ad dextram meam,

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[128] fiss, knowledge: now written fior.

[129] a ra chuiliu, which blinds. "Coilleaḋ .i. caoċaḋ."—*O'Clery.*

[130] anman duini, the soul of man: now written anam duine.

[131] neim, poison: *sic hodie*, but the m is always aspirated.

[132] loscud, burning: now written loscaḋ.

[133] badud, drowning: now written báḋaḋ, or baċaḋ.

[134] guin, mortal wounding: *sic hodie.*

[135] conomchair. This is obscure in the MS., but its meaning seems sufficiently clear from the words which follow—liar focraice, much reward: until I deserve much reward.

[136] liar, much: now obsolete, but of constant occurrence in the Irish Annals, and explained in all the Irish dictionaries, glossaries, &c. "Iolar .i. iomaḋ: iolar fluaġ."—*O'Clery.*

[137] focraice.—See Note [34] *supra.*

[138] lim, with me: now spelled liom. It is compounded of le, with, and me, me.

[139] rium, before me: now roṁam, but riu is written for roiṁ, before, in the best Irish MSS.

[140] im degaid, after me: *sic hodie*, but generally written am ḋeaġaiḋ, or am ḋiaiġ.

[141] innium, in me: now spelled ionnam; it is compounded of inn, in, and me, me.

[142] isum, below me. This word is compounded of ír, under, and me, me; it is now obsolete, but is explained by foum, now fúm, under me, in the gloss on Bishop Sanctan's Hymn, preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum.*

[143] uasum, above me: now obsolete. This word is compounded of uar, above, and the pronoun me, me. It occurs also in Bishop Sanctan's Hymn: "ḋennacht De achar uarum."

[144] dessum, at my right: now obsolete; the modern phrase is dom ḋeir. In Bishop Sanctan's Hymn the phrase Dia derrum is glossed by the more modern form, Dia fuim a ndeir. It is a remarkable fact, as Dr. O'Brien has learnedly shown in his Irish Dictionary, that the Irish, as well as the Jews, used the same words to express the right hand and the south, the left hand and the north, the front and the east, and the back and the west.

CRIST TUATHUM,[145] CRIST ILLIUS,[146] CRIST ISIUS,[147] CRIST I
Christus ad lævam meam, Christus hinc, Christus illinc, Christus a

NERUS.[148]
tergo.

CRIST I CRIDIU[149] CECH DUINE IMM IMRORDA,[150] CRIST
Christus [sit] in corde omnis hominis quem alloquar, Christus

I N-GIN[151] CECH OEN RODOM LABRATHAR,[152] CRIST IN
in ore cujusvis qui me alloquatur, Christus in

CECH RUSC NOM DERCAEDAR,[153] CRIST IN CECH CLUAIS[154]
omni oculo qui me videat, Christus in omni aure

RODAM CHLOATHAR.[155]
quæ me audiat.

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[145] TUATHUM, at my left. This word is still used in some parts of Ireland, but dom clí is more general. In Bishop Sanctan's Hymn it is glossed by frim a tuaith.

[146] ILLIUS: now obsolete.

[147] ISIUS: now obsolete.

[148] I NERUS, at my back: now obsolete. This form of prayer, namely, placing God and the persons of the Blessed Trinity at the right, left, above, below, &c., is still in use among the Irish, and found in the most ancient MSS., as in Bishop Sanctan's Hymn, already referred to, and in an old hymn preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, thus: "Críst fúm, Críst bam chind, Críst cechtar dom thoeb, com chride, com chiab, rig nime na noeb." Also in Maelisu's Hymn, preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*: "In Spirut Noeb immunn, innunn ocus ocunn; In Spirut Noeb cuccunn; In Spirut Noeb d'airtheb ar cuirp ir ar n-anma; diar fnaidid co folma ar gábud, ar galra," &c.

[149] CRIDIU, heart: now written croide in Ireland, but *cridhe* in the Highlands of Scotland.

[150] IMRORDA: now obsolete, but explained in an old glossary quoted by O'Reilly: "Iomrordus, I said; iomradaidisiu, they said."

[151] GIN, mouth. "Gion .i. béal."—*O'Clery.* "Nim cruimic a n-gion goa .i. braon drúcta a mbéal na fairge."—*Idem.* Welsh, *geneu*, mouth.

[152] RODOM LABRATHAR, who speaks to me. This form is now obsolete, and is peculiar to the dialect called *Bearla Feine.* The verb labraim, I speak, is still the word used in Ireland, but it is inflected differently. Ro liom labrar is the nearest form to this which would now be understood. Ad labrathair is another form found in the best MSS., to express who speaks.

[153] NOM DERCAEDAR. This form of expression is now obsolete, but the verb dearcaim is still well understood. Nom' derchathair is another ancient form of this phrase.

[154] CLUAIS, dat. form of cluar, the ear: *sic hodie.*

[155] RODAM CHLOATHAR, that hearkens to me. This phrase is also obsolete in the modern Irish, but is explained in the old Irish Glossaries. "Cloda .i. cloidim: ro cloda .i. do clos no do cuadlad."—*O'Clery.* Rom' chluinethair, is another ancient form of this phrase.

A TOMRIUG INDIU NIURT TREN TOGAIRM TRINOIT.
Ad Temoriam hodie potentiam præpollentem invoco Trinitatis.

CRETIM TREODATAID FOISIN OENDATAD IN DULEMAIN
Credo in Trinitatem sub ꝛn Unitate ꝛou numinis

DAIL.
elementorum.

DOMINI EST SALUS, DOMINI EST SALUS, CHRISTI EST
Domini est salus, Domini est salus, Christi est

SALUS, SALUS TUA, DOMINE, SIT SEMPER NOBISCUM.
salus, salus tua, Domine, sit semper nobiscum.

## HYMN OF ST. PATRICK.

At Temur to-day I invoke the mighty power of the Trinity. I believe in the Trinity under the Unity of the God of the Elements.

At Temur to-day [I place] the virtue of the Birth of Christ with his Baptism, the virtue of his Crucifixion with his Burial, the virtue of his Resurrection with his Ascension, the virtue of the coming to the eternal Judgment.

At Temur to-day [I place] the virtue of the love of Seraphin; [the virtue which exists] in the obedience of angels, in the hope of the Resurrection to eternal reward, in the prayers of the noble fathers, in the predictions of the prophets, in the preaching of the apostles, in the faith of the confessors, in the purity of the holy virgins, in the deeds of just men.

At Temur to-day [I place] the strength of heaven, the light of the sun, the whiteness of snow, the force of fire, the rapidity of lightning, the swiftness of the wind, the depth of the sea, the stability of the earth, the hardness of rocks [between me and the powers of paganism and demons.]

At Temur to-day may the strength of God pilot me, may the power of God preserve me, may the wisdom of God instruct me, may the eye of God view me, may the ear of God hear me, may the word of God render me eloquent, may the hand of God protect me, may the way of God direct me, may the shield of God defend me, may the host of God guard me against the snares of demons, the temptations of vices, the inclinations of the mind, against every man who meditates evil to me, far or near, alone or in company.

I place all these powers between me and every evil unmerciful power directed against my soul and my body, [as a protection] against the incantations of false prophets, against the black laws of Gentilism, against the false laws of heresy, against the treachery of idolatry, against the spells of women, smiths, and Druids, against every knowledge which blinds the soul of man. May Christ to-day protect me against poison, against burning, against drowning, against wounding, until I deserve much reward.

Christ [be] with me, Christ before me, Christ after me, Christ in me, Christ under me, Christ over me, Christ at my right, Christ at my left, Christ at this side, Christ at that side, Christ at my back.

Christ [be] in the heart of each person whom I speak to, Christ in the mouth of each person who speaks to me, Christ in each eye which sees me, Christ in each ear which hears me.

At Temur to-day I invoke the mighty power of the Trinity. I believe in the Trinity under the Unity of the God of the elements.

Salvation is the Lord's, salvation is the Lord's, salvation is Christ's. May thy salvation, O Lord, be always with us.

That this hymn is the real composition of St. Patrick it might be difficult to prove satisfactorily; but that it was considered as his in the seventh century, and is at least a composition of the highest Christian antiquity, can perhaps be proved in as satisfactory a manner as any question of this kind could admit of. Of this early antiquity evidences have been already adduced, to which it may be added that this hymn is distinctly alluded to in Tirechan's annotations on the saint's life, written in the seventh century, and preserved in the Book of Armagh, in which it is stated that his *Irish* Hymn ought to be sung for ever:

"Patricius sanctus episcopus honorem quaterna [quaternum ?] et omnibus monasteriis et aeclessiis per totam Hiberniam debet habere, id est.

"I. Sollempnitate *dormitationis ejus honorari in medio veris per .iii. dies et .iii. noctes* omni bono cibo præter carnem quasi Patricius veniisset in vita in hostium [hospitem ?].

"II. Offertorium ejus proprium in eodem die immolari.

"III. Ymnum ejus per totum tempus cantare.

"IIII. *Canticum* ejus *Scotticum* semper canere."—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 16, p. a, col. 1.

But perhaps the strongest proofs of its antiquity are those derived from the internal evidences furnished by the hymn itself, which is so tinged with pagan allusions as to indicate a period for its composition antecedent to the full development of the Christian doctrine in the country. A Christian living after the establishment of Christianity would hardly invoke the Deity to protect him from the spells of *women, smiths*, and *Druids;* and that part of the prayer in which the saint places the natural properties of the Creator's works between himself and the powers of evil can find no parallel in any later Christian authorities. Indeed, on this account, and from a comparison of the hymn with those confessedly composed in Ireland in the fifth century—for example, the one composed in praise of Patrick by Secundinus—it may be questioned whether this production would be regarded as orthodox in times subsequent to the assumed period of its composition; and hence perhaps the remarkable fact, that in all the more modern lives of St. Patrick no allusion is made to it, but rather to the hymn of Secundinus, to the repeating of which, though in Latin, and of considerable length, were annexed the same blessings as those promised to such as should repeat the Hymn of

Patrick. Nor is it easy to conceive any other reason why Colgan, who must have had a copy of it in his possession, takes no farther notice of it than stating in his list of the Saint's works, that such a hymn was composed by Patrick. But, notwithstanding this silence of writers for so many centuries on this document, it is remarkable that the *Luireach Phadruig* is still remembered popularly in many parts of Ireland, and a portion of it is to this day repeated by the people, usually at bed-time, with the same confidence in its protecting power as, according to St. Evin, was placed in it previously to his time.

Though the subject is of great interest, it would be too great a digression from the purpose of this memoir to illustrate the belief in the magical powers attributed in this hymn to *women*, *smiths*, and *Druids;* but it may be shortly stated, that there is abundant evidence of the continuance of such superstitious credulity, not only in the Irish accounts of succeeding ages, but also in the popular belief of the people in several parts of Ireland, to the present time.

In connexion with the history of Tara at this period, two very important events are stated by the modern historians generally, of which it will be necessary to take some notice here, with a view to ascertain their claims to credibility. These events are: 1. The compilation of a great work called the *Seanchus Mor*, which consisted of the ancient historical records and laws of the country, purified from error by a committee of nine persons, consisting of three kings, three bishops, and three bards or antiquaries; and, 2. The burning, by St. Patrick, of the books in which the mysteries of the Druids were preserved.

I. For the first of these statements the authority usually relied on is the following record in the Annals of the Four Masters:

Aoir Crirt ceicre céo triocha a hocht. An deachmad bliadain do Laoghaire. Seanchus agus Fénechus na h-Erenn do glanad agus do fcribad an dreaclamad fcreaptrad agus feilleadar h-Erenn co haonmaigin ar impide naoim Patraicc. Atiad hand fo na naoi failge fochaideacha lar a ndernad ind fin .i. Laoghaire .i. ri Erenn, Corcc agus Daire an triur rioġ; Raoraicc, Benen, agus Cáirneach, an triur naoṁ; Ros, Dubthach, agus Fergus, an triur feanchad, amail dearbus an fann—

A.D. 438, the tenth year of Laogaire. The *Seanchus* and *Fenechus* of Ireland were purified and written, the writings and old books of Ireland having been collected together at the request of St. Patrick. These are the nine supporting props by whom this was done, namely, Laoghaire, i. e. King of Ireland; Corc and Daire, the three kings; Patrick, Benen, and Cairneach, the three saints; Ross, Dubhthach, and Feargus, the three antiquaries, as this quatrain testifies—

| | |
|---|---|
| Laogaire, Corc, Daire the stern, | Laoġaire, Corc, Dáire dúr, |
| Patrick, Benen, Cairneach the just, | Paoraicc, ḃenen, Cairneaċ cóir, |
| Ross, Dubhthach, Fergus with goodness, | Ros, Duḃċach, Fergus go feḃ, |
| The nine props these of the *Seanchus Mor*. | Naoi failġe fein Seanchuir móir. |

As, however, it is not from the original Irish of the Four Masters, but from Colgan's translation of it, that subsequent Irish writers have formed their conclusions as to the nature of this work, it should be stated that Colgan renders the words Seanchus and Fenechus Ereno, *Hiberniæ Antiquitates et Sanctiones Legales:* but, although this honest writer rendered these words accurately according to the sense in which they were understood in his time, it will be presently shewn that the accuracy of his translation may be very open to doubt. That the truth of this record of the Four Masters should have been unquestioned by modern writers will excite no surprise, when it is considered how customary it was with them to copy from one another without inquiry, or, as it is expressed by Toland,—who was, notwithstanding, himself the greatest of sinners in this way,—eternally to serve up the same dishes at every meal. But it could not escape the critical honesty of Dr. Lanigan that this statement is quite inconsistent with the true history of the times. This able writer thus speaks of the *Seanchus Mor*, which he says was foolishly ascribed to St. Patrick by some of the antiquaries :—"They tell us it was compiled in the year 439, and that St. Patrick was assisted in this mighty undertaking by two holy bishops, one of whom was Benignus, three kings, and three antiquaries, who, according to this notable history, formed the famous *Committee of Nine*, appointed for this purpose by the senate, called the *Fes* of Temor or Tarah. So then St. Patrick and other ecclesiastics would have been members of the national assembly of Ireland, and that at a time when the far greatest part of the persons entitled to sit in it were Pagans. Would king Leogaire, who was never a Christian, have allowed a place in that meeting to a foreigner, or, what would be still more strange, recognized his authority? And how could Benignus have been a bishop in 439, or even a senator, and chosen on a committee? In that year St. Patrick was better employed, preaching in Connaught, than in attending senates. The mixture of ecclesiastics with laymen in the states-general of nations was quite unknown in St. Patrick's days. What has become of the *Seanchas More* is uncertain."—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 371.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to answer some of these objections, and others of still greater force might have been added; for example, the impossibility of Corc, King of Munster, having been one of three kings constituting this committee, when it appears from the concurrent testimony of all the Irish histories that he must have been dead long before the period of its supposed formation, as his grandson, Aengus, was the contemporary of Laoghaire, and the first king of Munster converted to Christianity by St. Patrick. And in like manner St. Cairneach could not have been of this committee, as he was the cousin and contemporary of the monarch Muircheartach Mac Erc, who died in 534, and as his own death is placed by Colgan about the year 530. To these objections might be further added the facts that all the ancient lives of St. Patrick, with the exception, perhaps, of that compiled by Jocelyn in the twelfth century, are silent respecting this work, and that the most ancient accounts preserved by the Irish respecting its origin shew that it is involved in great obscurity.

It is, notwithstanding, certain that the Irish had a work called the *Seanchus Mor*, of which portions, if not the whole, are still preserved; and that the tradition respecting its supposed authors is of an antiquity anterior to the ninth century. It is quoted several times in Cormac's Glossary, and the same account of its origin is given in that work under the word Noıpıp, or knowledge of nine, as that already extracted from the Annals of the Four Masters; and it is also frequently quoted, and referred to Patrick's time, in the Brehon Laws of later ages. The antiquity of the *Seanchus Mor* is therefore beyond a doubt; but as the character of this work, and its probable age, are questions which have been hitherto left in nearly total darkness by all the modern historians, it may not be wholly improper, even at the hazard of a slight digression from the immediate object of this paper, to take the present opportunity of investigating a subject of so much historical interest.

And, first, with respect to the nature of the work, the clearest evidences will be derived from the ancient prefatory accounts prefixed to fragments of it still preserved in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, (Class H. 3. 17; and H. 3. 18,) which are here presented to the reader with as literal a translation as the idiom of the English language will allow.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cairé locc, ocuſ aimſiſ, ocuſ tucaiſ ſcriбino, ocuſ peſſa do'n ſ-Senchuſ maſ? | What is the place, and time, and cause of writing, and author of the Senchus Mor? |

Locc oo, Nith, ar in conflicht i po lasat na gentse ano fri Patraic. Aimser oo, i flaithius in rig Laegaire Mic Neill. Ferta oo, Fergus filid, ao naeth ruanemain fou la Patraic iar tiaehtain a n-Erinn. *Dicunt alii* Temuir ocus Laogaire, ocus Dubthach mac U Lugair, ri-filid inis Erenn. Oro veriah oige na creoini la fini Erenn, ocus ro fris-gaid roisscél Chirt doib uile, ocus ro sasaigeo Laogaire cona druidaib tre firtu ocus mirbuili veimaire oo rigne Patraic i riaonuis fer n-Erenn; guna iarum ro creitsit ocus foruisiusur oighér Phatraic, ar ro congra huaid forinna fer n-Erenn oo eulaeaet in aon inaid fri aontaio n-imagallma im corus a m-bercnai ocus a nechta; ocus oo cuas uaithib co Patraic, co taidchiset oon dail. A laithe oin ria tiachtain oo Phatraic cucu imas nas larasar fir Erenn aturru im a n-etar. Cio tra, ol Laegaire fris, ar annsam lib ro fristaio in clerech duib? Nim. cain dilgud, ar iat, ár in uair gebus cach duine ceill for dilgud oo neoch oo gena de ulc, ni bia comus for fogluib ocus gonaio cach fer alaile, &c. Cio din oo denum frisin? Ireb aisic mo aisic sa de, ol Laegaire, más i bus comerle ri, fromthus a aigneb féisin, .i. gonear nech dia muinter ar a belaib; masa loga, bemidne fris in nechta sin; mana dilgea doib, &c.

Ro fuidiugaid, din, a comairli Laogaire ocus fer n-Erenn, fer sunsaig oo guin mas ao bui ar belaib Patraic amail oo nicfed an dail: *quod completum est* tri rad Laegaire. Iar sin, din, ro bid in fer oo muinter Patraic ar a gnuis og tairlim isin carbat. Do seccae Patraic suas oo dum a rochraici; Laraim ro gab crith ocus talumcumscugao mas inis n-Erenn ocus a firu,

Its place is *Nith*, [so called] from the contention which the Gentiles had there with Patrick. Its time, in the reign of Laoghaire Mac Neill. Its author, Fergus the poet, who joined Patrick after his arrival in Ireland. Others say Temur and Laoghaire, and Dubhthach Mac-U-Lugair, royal poet of the island of Ireland. When the purity of the faith was acknowledged by the men of Ireland, and when the Gospel of Christ was preached to them all, and when Laoghaire, with his Druids, was defeated by the great wonders and miracles wrought by Patrick in the presence of the men of Ireland, it was then they believed and did the will of Patrick, who requested of them that the choice part of the men of Ireland should come to one place to hold a conference respecting the justness of their covenants and laws; and messengers were sent by them to Patrick [to state] that they would go to the assembly. The day before Patrick went to them, the men of Ireland conferred on the subject of their meeting. Why, said Laoghaire to them, does what the Cleric has preached to you seem difficult? They replied, The law of forgiveness is so, for when every one is convinced that what he does of evil will be forgiven, there will be no power over plunderers, and one man will stab the other, &c. What, then, shall we do with him? My advice is this, said Laoghaire, if it meets your approbation, let his own mind be proved, that is, let one of his people be wounded before his face; if he forgive, we will agree with that law; if he does not, &c.

It was then agreed upon in the council of Laoghaire and the men of Ireland, that a certain person of Patrick's people should be wounded before his (Patrick's) face, when they should approach the assembly, which was done at the request of Laoghaire. After this, then, one of Patrick's people was wounded in the face as he was descending from the chariot. Patrick went up to the crowd, upon which the island of Ireland shook

ocur ro la in sluag bui ir in dail dar a ceann. *Et timuerunt timore magno, et facti sunt velut mortui*, &c. Dairin din, sleċtair Daoġaire ocur formna noaġduine n-Erenn for oigreir n-De ocur Patraic. Aimne, ainmne, a cleriġ, olsaid sir Erenn, ro sruicheḋsat uilġa! Maiṫ, eṁ, ol Patraic, reḋuic uili sir Erenn: rasic iarum sir Erenn sri Patraic *ut dictum est*, tabair comairle fair. Ir iar sin iarum ar bert Patraic, ro cerd-sa, tra, ol se, a ber rigfilid inri Erenn .i. Dubċach Mac U Dugair, lertar lán do srath in Spirasa Naimb. Maith, em, ol Dubċaċ; dursann duit a rad frium, a cleiriġ, ol Dubċaċ, ir amnus dam beṫ ir in dail sin istir Dia ocus duine .i. ár maḋeḋ at bérra nem-eric in gnimara ber bid olc dot incaibsiu, ocus ni bat ro lat; maḋeḋ, don, arbér a eric ocus a innechlann ber ni ba maith la dia son don, ár irreḋ fil i soiscelai oġdiliġud caċa uilc ho caċ comnerum dia laile. Maiṫ tra, ol Patraic, an do bera Dia for ṫ'erlabrai raiḋ. *Amen, non vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis*, &c. Ní sib buaem laibesur aċt sriasc m'aṫar a ta innsib laibesur uaiḃ. Bennachuis iarum Patraic a ġin siuṁ, ocus do luiḋ rath in Spirasa Naimb for aerlabra condereṫ,

"In cuch i ngintlechd," &c.

Raġam a les tra, olsaid sir Erenn, suiḋiugaḋ ocus orduġaḋ cach sechta lind cid cinmota imreo. Ir fess, ol Patraic, a denam, ocus ir annsin tairscomla cach aos dana la h-Erind, co tairsen cach a cerd siad Patraic ar beluiḃ cach flatha la h-Erind: ir ann ro herbad do Dubċhach tairsennad brethemnusa ocus a uili filidechta Erenn and quaked, and the men trembled, and the host which was at the assembly came to meet him. And they feared with a great fear, and became as dead men, &c. Upon this Laoghaire and the choice of the men of Ireland submitted to the will of God and Patrick. Patience! patience! O! cleric, said the men of Ireland, you have preached forgiveness. Very good, said Patrick, let all the men of Ireland consider it. The men of Ireland then said to Patrick, as it is said, Give advice upon it. It was after this that Patrick said, I will leave it to the decision of the royal poet of the island of Ireland, that is Dubhthach Mac-U-Lugair, a vessel full of the prosperity of the Holy Spirit. Very good, said Dubhthach; it is severe in thee, O, cleric, to say so to me; it is disagreeable to me to be in that decision between God and man; for if I say that no *eric* is to be given for this deed, it will be evil for thy protection, and thou wilt not deem it good; and if I say that *eric* and mulct are to be given for it, God will not deem it good, for it is in the Gospel that full remission for every evil is to be given by one neighbour to another. Very good, said Patrick, God will say to thy decision, "*Amen, non vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis*, &c." It is not ye that speak but the spirit of your* Father which speaketh in you.† Patrick afterwards blessed his mouth, and the prosperity of the Holy Spirit descended upon his eloquence, and he said,

"In cuch i ngintlechd," &c.

We require, said the men of Ireland, to settle and arrange every other law whatever among us as well as this. It is better, said Patrick, to do so; and it is then that the professors of each science in Ireland came forward, and each explained his own art to Patrick in the presence of every chief in Ireland; and Dubhthach was told to explain the judicature and all the poetical compositions of

* In the Irish it is incorrectly translated m'aṫar, of *my* father.

† Quoted from Matth. x. 20.

ocuſ necha ſechtа ро ſallnaraс la ſeraiь Ерено hi ſechс aicnio, ocuſ hi ſechс raiòi, ocuſ ſileouiь. Ocuſ na raiòi aiſcechnaoar oo icра in berla mban mbiaio .i. Canoin; ar in Spiraс naem ро labruraiſ ocuſ oo aiſceċain ċria gnu na ſer ſiſeon ce oo raбaraſ i n-iniſ Ерено, aṁail oon aiſċeċain ċria gnu inna ꝑrimraiòio ocuſ inna n-uaral aiġech i ſechс Ретarlaice; ár ро riachс ſechс aicnio маſ na ſochс ſechс liġe ina briaṫra De. Fíraicniò ċra oin ро labruraiſ in Spiraс naoṁ ċre gnu breċemon ocuſ ſileò ſiſeon ſer n-Ерено, o conġbaò in inſi ſeo co creoeaṁ anall; oor airfén Dubċhach uile oo Ratraic in ni oin na cuṫcaio ꝑri breiṫ n-De i ſechс liġi, ocuſ Nuaſiaòniuſi, ocuſ ꝑri coibſina creſion.

Conairġeo in oro brechemnaſa la Patraic, ocuſ Ecailſi ocuſ flaiṫi Ерено, oo neoch ро baoiſ ſechс aicnio uile inġe creoem ocuſ a coiſ, ocuſ a comuaim n-eclaiſi ꝑri cuaiṫ; conio he Senchuſ Маſ anoſin.

Nonbuſ ċra oo erġlura oo oroуġao in liubair ꝑiu .i. Patraic ocuſ Denignuſ ocuſ Cairneċ, ċri h-Erruic; Laeġaire Mac Nel, ocuſ Dairi ri Ulaо, ocuſ Coſc Mac Luġach ó Múṁain, na ċri. riġu; Dubċaċ Macc U Luġair, ocuſ Roſ Mac Trechim, ꝑui ḋerla Féni, ocuſ Ferguſ, na ċri filiu. Noſir oin, ainm in liubair ро ħoroуiġriо .i. ſir nonbuir, &c. Ir ſ, ċra in Cain Patraic: irreo nao cumaing neċ breċem oennae oo Gaeoeluiь oo caiṫneċ nech ni ро gaba i Senċuſ Маſ.

Co cainic Patraic ċra ni caburcha urlabra aċt oo ériur a n-Erinn: fer coigne, ꝑri h-airner ocuſ ſcélúgaо, fer ceroa ꝑri molaò, ocuſ aír, breċem ꝑri breċemnuſ á Roſcaò ocuſ Faſach [.i. ſir oġ in Fé-

Ireland, and every ordinance used by the men of Ireland in the law of nature, and in the law of the Magi and Fileas. And the Magi had foretold the coming of the bright language of life, i. e. the Canons; for the Holy Spirit had spoken and sung through the mouths of the just men who were in the island of Ireland, as he had spoken through the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the Old Law, for the law of nature had reached where the law of the letter and of the word of God had not penetrated. The Holy Spirit, indeed, had spoken true wisdom through the mouths of the Brehons and just Fileas of the men of Ireland, from the [first] colonization of the island until [the establishment of] the faith; and Dubhthach shewed to Patrick all that would not agree with the word of God in the written law, the New Testament, and the confession of faith.

Such of the order of the Brehons, and of the church, and of the nobility of Ireland as adhered to the law of nature, were all converted by Patrick to faith, to justice, and to harmony of church and laity, and that is the Senchus Mor.

Nine persons were appointed to prepare this book, namely, Patrick, and Benignus, and Cairnech, three bishops; Laoghaire, the son of Nial, and Dairi, King of Ulster, and Corc, the son of Lughaidh of Munster, the three kings; Dubhthach, Mac-U-Lughair, and Ros Mac Trechim, Professor of the *Berla Feine*, and Fergus, the three poets. *Nofis* is the name of the book which they arranged, i. e. the Knowledge of Nine, &c. This is the *Cain Patraic:* and it is a fact that no individual Brehon of the Gaël has dared to abrogate any thing found in the *Seanchus Mor*.

Until Patrick came only three in Ireland were permitted to have *Urlabra*, namely, a Chronologist to relate events and tell stories, a *Fer Cerda* to eulogize and satirise, and a Brehon to pass sentence from the *Roscadh* and *Fasach** [the poetical

* For the difference between the Roſcaò and Faſach see Manuscript Lib. Trin. Col. Class H. 4. 22, p. 79.

nechuiṙ]. O ṫainic imoṗṗu, iṙ ṗoṁamuṙ a ṫa caċ uṙlabṙa ḋona haib hiṙiu ḋo ṗeṙ in beṙla ḃain .i. na Canoine. O'n uaiṙ ṗonuc Amoṙgein Glun-gel céo bṙeṫ in-Eṙinn ṗo ba la Fileḋaib anaonuṙ bṙethemnuṙ cuṙ in imacallaim in ḋa ṫuaṙuṫ i n-Emuin Macha .i. Feṙceiṙtne ocuṙ Neiḋe Mac Aona, ima ṫuiġin ṗuaḋ ḃai aġ Aona Mac Cuiṫiṙ. Ḋa ḋoṙcha ḋin in labṙa ṗo labaiṙṙeṫ na filiḋ iṙ an ṗuiġell ṗin, ocuṙ niṙ ba ṗell ḋo na flaiṫiḃ in bṙethemnuṙ ṗonucṙaḋ. Iṙ laiṙ na ṗeṙaiḃ ṗi anaenuṙ a m-bṙeṫ ocuṙ a n-eoluṙ olḋaḋ na flaiṫi. Iṙ ḋo'n ġaba ḋon ḋo ṙime leo, "niṫuicemne ceḋamuṙ aṙṙaiḋe." Iṙ inn ḋon, ol Concoḃaṙ biaiḋ cuiḋ ḋo cac ainn ṗum o noiu, aċt an bṙeṫ ḋuṫaiġ ḋoiḃṙium ḋe, niṙ ṙiċṙe anaill. Ġebaiḋ cach a bṙechṫa ḋe.

Ḋo allaḋ ḋin bṙethemnaṙ aṙ fileḋaiḃ achṫ a n-ḋuṫhaiġ ḋe, ocuṙ ṙo ġab cach ḋe ṗeṙuiḃ Eṙenn a bṙechṫ ḋen bṙethemnaṙ, amail ṙo ġabṙaṫ bṙeṫha Eochа Mic Luiṫṫa, ocuṙ bṙeṫha Fachṫnai Mic Sencha, ocuṙ ġubṙeṫha Caṙuḋmaiṫ Mic Teṙcéi, ocuṙ bṙeṫha Moṙainn Mic Maín, ocuṙ bṙeṫha Eoġain Mic Ḋuiṙṫeċhṫ, ocuṙ bṙeṫha Ḋoeṫ Menċhem, ocuṙ bṙeṫha Ḃṙiġa m-Ḃui, ocuṙ Ḃṙeṫha Ḋiancechṫ o leġaiḃ, ġe ṙo baṫuṙ ṙiḋe iṫuṙ, &c.

Iṙ in aimṙiṙ ṙin ḋo miḋeṫuṙ maiṫi ṙeṙ n-Eṙenn ṫomuṙ naċ ocuṙ imṙċe ḋo caċ iaṙ na miaḋaṁlaċt ṙo ġabṙaḋ iṙ na Ḃṙeṫaiḃ Neiṁeḋ, &c. Iaṙ ṙenchaiḋiḃ na Ġaiḋilġi in ṙo anuaṙ; iaṙ ṙenċuṙ in ecna aṫa ṙo ṙiṙ, &c.

and common law]. Since his arrival, however, the privileges of these professions are under the control of the man of the pure language, that is, the man of the Canons. From the time that Amorgin Glungel passed the first sentence in Ireland, the judicature belonged to the Fileas alone until the contention happened between the two sages at Emhain Macha, namely, Fercertne and Neidhe, the son of Adhna, for the professor's robe which had belonged to Adhna, the son of Cuithir. Obscure indeed was the language which the poets spoke in that disputation, and it was not plain to the chieftains what sentence they pronounced. "These men," said the chieftains, "have their sentence and knowledge to themselves," and, among other complaints enumerated by them, added, "We do not, in the first place, understand what they say." Then said Concobar, all shall partake in it from this day forward, but that part of it which is meet for these [the poets] shall not be transferred to any other. Each shall have his part of it.

The poets were then deprived of the judicature, except that part of it which was meet for them, and each of the men of Ireland took his own share in it, as did the authors of the following judgments, namely, the judgments of Eochy Mac Luchta, and the judgments of Fachtna Mac Sencha, and the false judgments of Carudmath Mac Tescthi, and the judgments of Moran Mac Main, and the judgments of Eogan Mac Duirthecht, and the judgments of Doet Memthem, and the judgments of Briga Bui, and the judgments of Diancecht of the physicians, but these [last] had existed before this period, &c.

At this time the chiefs of the men of Ireland made a classification of all, men and women, according to the dignity they received in the *Bretha Neimhedh*, &c. The preceding is according to the Irish historians; the following is from the Philosophical Senchus, &c.

The treatise then goes on to explain conjecturally the etymological meanings of the word *Senchus*, and afterwards the technical law terms used in the work.

A similar account of this work is given in another ancient MS. in the College Library, Class H. 3. 17, formerly the property of the celebrated Duald Mac Firbis; but in this account the miracles of St. Patrick are omitted, and the place and time of its composition are thus stated with greater distinctness:

Loco, ocur aimrir, ocur perra, ocur tucuiorgribinn in t-senchusa: loco do, Temuir i samrad ocus i fogmur (.i. ar a glaine ocus ar a haibne,) ocus Raith Guthairdo i ngimrid ocus i n-Erruch. (.i. ir uime ro bidis a Raith Ghuthairdo ar gaine leo a connaid ocus a huisci, ocus ar a tearaigthe .i. raith inaisrotha nech inn gu nard, no ina gu inoligthu; no o gothaib na nart .i. na laoch, no o gothaib na nard .i. na n-uasal.)

The place, and time, and author, and cause of writing the Senchus. Its place Temur, during summer and autumn, (i. e. from its cleanness and amenity,) and *Rath-Guthaird* during the winter and spring. (They remained at *Rath-Guthaird*, from the convenience of its fire-wood and water, and from its sheltered situation. *Rath Guthaird* means Rath of the punishment of a person for his loud voice or for his unlawful voice; or it may have been named from the voices of the *arts* i. e. heroes, or from the voices of the *ards*, i. e. the nobles.)

Ar brú Nitha Nemanche (.i. Nith ainm do'n abuinn, no iarra nith do rinnit na druidhe re Patraic ann .i. ar in conflucht no nithgain do rinnedh ina farra ann. Nemanche .i. Nemandach hi iarr in ni fogebdais mill nemand inud, no, nemfoinomech hi, iarr inni na fabuigthus fomaine ercc na dorad inte.)

On the brink of *Nith Nemanach*. (i. e. *Nith* is the name of the river, or it was so called from the *nith* which the Druids made there with Patrick, i. e. from the conflict or contention made there with him. *Nemanche*, i. e. *Nemandach*, or pearly, from the fact that lumps of pearl were found in it, or *Nemhshoinnmhech*, i. e. unprofitable, from the fact that no profit of fish or produce is found in it.)

Raith Gue ard inid rin in bail ita Lecc Patraic inid i nglinn na mbodur i brocur don Nith Nemandach, .i. nemand, uasal .i. baile i noernrat na huasal-nim.

*Rath-Guthaird* is the place where, at this day *Lec-Patraic* is situated, in *Glinn-na-mbodhur*, near the [river] *Nith Nemannach*. *Nemann* is noble, i. e. where they made the *uasal nim* [noble gems].

Ocur aimrir do, aimrir Laogaire Micc Nell, ri Erinn; ocur Teodosi fop airdrigh in domuin in tan rin, ocus deirmbirech air:

And its time, the time of Laoghuire, the son of Niall, King of Ireland; and Theodosius was Emperor of the World at that time, according to this quotation:

Patraic do baithis co li
In aimrir Teodosi
Preidis foircéla cin brath
Do fuaid moldtad mac Miled.

Patrick baptized with glory
In the time of Theodosius;
He preached the Gospel without falsehood,
To the worthy people of the sons of Milé.

Ocuſ peſſa oo, noí peſſanı in e-ſenchuſa, ocuſ oeıſmbıſechc aıſ:

Ċaogaıſe, Coſcc, Ďaıſe ouſ,
Paſaıc, Ďınen, Caıſnech coıſ,
Roſ, Ďuďchach, Feſguſ co feıb
Noı ſaılge ſın Senċuſ moıſ.

In can oo broıſ monbuſ ann, ıſ ann oo nıo he, ocuſ in can ba h-eſbaďuch feſ oıb, ıſ ann oo nſoſ na ſoıcechea.

Ocuſ cuccuıo a oenum, Paıſıc oo caıďechc ı n-Eıſınn oo ſılaď baıchıſ ocuſ oſeıome .ı. ıſınomaď bliaďain ſlaıchiuſa Ċeoıoſı, ocuſ ıſın ceıhſuma bliaouın ſlaıchiuſa Ċaogaıſe mıc Neıll, ſı Eſenn.

Iſ e lın ınnſeſ Paſaıc oo ėeċc a n-Eıſınn oechnebuſ, aſ eſı ſıċıb, no oechnebuſ aſ ſıchıc, gur caſnġıſſeċ a oſuaıďe oo Ċaogaıſe Paſaıc oo ėıachcaın a n-Eıſınn, ocuſ ıſ aṁluď ſo caſnġeſſeċ:

Ċıucaıď Ċaılgınn, oaſ muıſ meſgınn,
A cſoınn cſoımcınn, a cınn coılcınn,
A mıaſa ı n-oıſchef a cıġ
A ďéſuıċ uıle amen, amen.*

And its author, the nine persons of the Senchus, according to this quotation:

Laoghuire, Corc, Daire the sturdy,
Patrick, Binen, Cairnech the just,
Ros, Dubhthach, Fergus with goodness,
The nine props these of the Senchus Mor.

When these nine met together they compiled it, (the Senchus,) and when one of them was deficient, they made a subdivision of the work.

And the cause of its compilation was the coming of Patrick into Ireland to propagate baptism and faith in the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laoghuire, son of Niall, King of Ireland.

The number Patrick is said to have brought to Ireland is seventy, or thirty; and his Druids foretold to Laoghaire, the coming of Patrick to Ireland in this form:

Tailgins shall come across the stormy sea,
With their crooked headed sticks, their shorn heads;
Their utensils shall be in the east of their houses,
And all shall say Amen, Amen.

* Whether this very ancient verse was really composed by the Druids of Laoghaire or not, it may be stated as a curious fact in support of its antiquity, that it is translated into Latin by Probus in his Life of St. Patrick, written in the tenth century, and by Mocutenius, who wrote in the sixth or seventh, and that both these writers state that the words of this little verse are obscure in consequence of the idiom of the language. Probus writes: "His, et aliis verbis magi illi concitaverunt tàm Regem, quàm omnem populum in odium S. Patricii Episcopi: et prophetando præcinebant in modum cantici lyrico modo compositi, ante adventum sancti viri duobus aut tribus annis decantantes de eo. Hæc sunt autem verba cantici secundùm linguæ illius idioma in latinum translata, non tamen manifesta: Adveniet artis caput, cum suo ligno præcurvi capitis: ex eo omnis domus erit capite perforatâ, incantabit nefas ex suâ mensâ; ex anteriore parte domus suæ respondebit ei sua familia tota; fiat, fiat. Quod nostris verbis potest manifestius exprimi: Adveniet totius artis magister cum signo suæ crucis; et quod omne cor hominum compungitur: et de altari Sacramentorum convertet animas ad Christum: et omnis populus Christianorum respondebit; amen. Quando erunt hæc omnia, tunc regnum nostrum gentile non stabit. Quod sic totum posteà completum est. Eversis enim in adventu Patricii idolorum culturis, fides Christi omnia nostra loca ad adventum sanctissimi Spiritus replevit."—(*Trias Thaum.* p. 49, col. 1.)

And Mocutenius, after mentioning the prophecy of the Druids, thus alludes to the obscurity of the Irish verse: "Hæc autem sunt versiculi verba pro linguæ idiomo non tam manifesta. Adveniet Asciciput cum suo ligno curvi capite: ex sua domu capite perforato incantabit nefas a sua mensa; ex anteriore parte domus suæ respondebit ei sua familia tota; fiat, fiat. Quod nostris verbis potest manifestius exprimi. Quando hæc omnia fiant, regnum nostrum quod est gentile non stabit: quod sic potest ea [*recte* postea] evenerat. Eversis enim in adventu Patricii idulorum culturis, fides Christi Catholica nostra replevit omnia."—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 2, p. *b*, col. 1. It is also given in the Tripartite, and by Jocelin, who attempts an explanation of it.

Is i so in chain Patraic sea, ocus ised na cumuic nech dhechetmain daonna do Gaedelaib do taitbiud ned ni fo gebus a Senchus Mor.

This is the *Cain* of Patrick, and it is a fact, that no individual Brehon of the Gaels has dared to abrogate any thing found in the Senchus Mor.

The writer then proceeds, as in the former instance, to explain the etymological meanings of the word *Senchus*, of which the following will afford a sufficient specimen:

Dunad ocus inne ocus airbirt connaoup don focul ar Senchus, .i. bunad do foene a Ebra, foene a Greig, no, faeno a Ebra foosa a Greig, *ratio* a Latoin, dligeth a n Gaoidelg; ocus dligeth a airbirt.

The root, import, and meaning of the word *senchus*. Its root is the Hebrew *soene* or the Greek *soene*, or the Hebrew *saeno*, in Greek *soosa*, which is *ratio* in Latin, and *dlighedh* (law) in Irish; and its import is law.

It is also stated in these prefaces, as well as in many other very old Irish documents, that the ancient laws of the Irish previously to St. Patrick's time

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This very ancient quatrain is better given in the Life of Saint Patrick, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, thus:

"Tisfai taillceno, tar muis meisceno,
A bratt toillceno, a crano cromceno,
A miar a n-aitches a tige
Friscerut a mumter uli, amen, amen."

It is also given by the Scholiast of Fiech, and thus translated by Colgan in his *Trias Thaum.* p. 5, col. 2.

"Veniet tonsus in vertice trans mare vorticosum,
Cujus toga (i. e. cassula) erit desuper perforata, cujus baculus erit præcurvi capitis,
Cujus disci sive utensilia erunt in parte Orientali suæ domus:
Eique decantanti, tota ipsius familia respondebit *Amen, Amen.*"

A somewhat different reading of this verse is given in the Life of Patrick, preserved in the Book of Lismore, thus:

"Tiscfat tailcinn, tar muis meiscenn,
A m-bruit toillcenn, a crainn cromcenn,
A miara a n-aitches a tigi,
Frisceras uile, amen."

Immediately after this quatrain, another, wanting the fourth line, is introduced from the *Buile Chuinn*, [the phrensy of the Druid Conn,] in a Life of St. Patrick preserved in a MS. in Trinity College, Class H. 3. 18.

"Tiscfat tailcinn conucras Ruama
Noisis cella ceoiltigi benacha
Benchomus iliaid himbachla."

This is also translated into Latin by Colgan, as follows:

"Adveniet cum circulo tonsus in capite; cujus ædes erunt ad instar ædium Romanarum:
Efficiet quod cellæ futuræ sint in pretio et æstimatione:
Ædes ejus erunt angustæ et angulatæ et fana multa: pedum pastorale dominabitur."

*Trias Thaum.* p. 123, col. 2.

had been called *Feinechas;* and some of these ancient etymological conjecturers suppose that the one was formed from the other by a *Ceannfochras,* or change of initials, but such conjectures are of very little value, as the words are obviously from different roots. The word *Feinechas* is evidently derived from *Feine,* a name very anciently applied to the Irish people, as appears from Fiech's Hymn; and hence the old language of Ireland, in which the laws were written, was called the *Béarla Féine,* and the old laws themselves are constantly called *Dlighthe na Féine.* In like manner the word *Senchus,* applied in this instance to express an ancient code of laws, but which the Irish themselves say would be applied with equal propriety to any other ancient writing, is obviously formed from the Celtic root *Sen,* old, ("ab eo quod est senex,"—*Cormac's Glos.*) which has direct cognates, not only in the Indo-European families of languages, but in the Semitic; for it is observable, that in Arabic *Sen* or *Senha* is used to signify old, ancient, while *Suna,* a word very similar in structure, is understood by the Arabs, Tartars, and Moguls, to mean that body of traditional laws which exists apart from the Koran.—See *Millius de Mohammedismo,* p. 54. "Arab. *Sunnah,* institution, regulation, &c.; Pers. *San,* law, right," &c.—*Richardson.* "*Sanna* Phoenicibus idem fuit quod Arabibus *Sunna,* lex, doctrina, jux canonicum."—*Bochart. Geogr. Sac.* l. ii. c. 17. Opp. Tom. i. col. 771. Lugd. Bat. 1712.

The preceding accounts of the *Senchus Mor* are, it must be confessed, like all the narratives of the middle ages, very largely tinctured with fable; but such documents furnish the only evidences of the history of remote times, and the truths on which they are grounded, should not be rejected because of the intermixture of the marvellous incidents and anachronisms with which they are blended. Indeed it often happens, that from such anachronisms and fables the truth is most easily elicited. Thus, while it appears certain from these accounts that the story of the Committee of Nine had no better authority than an old anonymous Bardic poem, and the question of authorship, even among the Irish themselves, was involved in great obscurity, it is equally certain that the *Senchus Mor* was not, as all the modern historians have supposed, a History or Chronicle of Ireland, but a body of the ancient laws of the country modified at some period subsequent to the introduction of Christianity, to agree with its doctrines; and this is corroborated by a quotation from the work, given in Cormac's Glossary under the word ɲɛɾcóɪt, as follows:

Ner ainm do'n beim, ocus do, n éicc, *ut est* is in t-Senchas Már:

A gráinib cech tomas, a fénib cech forus.

A moenib cech mess, a dirib cuirp duine,
Cid ar ile fuile, fo orbaiged ner.

.i. Ainail bes urgnaethar in baill isin duine a fuirmithes in chéit, is fai don bid an eraic: *verbi gratiâ*, mad in agaid, no in énan, no in fmeis, fuirmithes ino aithis, is móide an éraic, ainail fo gab isin Senchus Már; mad fo étaid bes in chneo, no in aimsi, is lugha fon, &c.

*Nes* is the name of the blow and of the wound, as is in the *Senchus Mor:*

From grains every measure, from the *Feni* each science.

From *moeni* each *mes*. The fines for man's body
Are various according to the situation of the wound.*

That is, the *eric* is according to the exposure of the part of a man's body on which the wound is inflicted; for example, if the blemish be on the face, or on the forehead or chin, the *eric* is greater according to the *Senchus Mor;* but if the wound or blemish be under the clothes the *eric* is less, &c.

Hence also it would appear that the *Senchus Mor* is the work described by Jocelyn in the following words: "*Magnum etiam volumen*, quod dicitur *Canoin Phadruig*, id est, *Canones Patricii* scripsit; quod cuilibet personæ, seu sæculari, seu etiam Ecclesiasticæ, ad justitiam exercendam, et salutem animæ obtinendam, satis congruè convenit."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 214, col. 1.

On the whole, then, it may be safely concluded from the preceding evidences, that the *Seanchus Mor* was not, as Colgan and the subsequent writers supposed, a mixed compilation of history and law, but a body of laws solely; and though perhaps there is not sufficient evidence to satisfy an unprejudiced inquirer that the Apostle of Ireland had any share in its composition, or even that its origin can be traced to his time, little doubt can be entertained that such a work was compiled within a short period after the full establishment of Christianity in the country. It is even highly probable that St. Patrick, assisted by one of the bards, converted to Christianity, may have laid the foundation of a revision of such of the pagan laws and usages of the country as were inconsistent with the doctrines of the Gospel; and that such a work, when completed by the labour of his successors, was ascribed to him to give it greater authority with the people. And this con-

* From these ancient verses, the sense of which is exceedingly obscure, it may be gathered that the laws of the *Seanchus Mor* were, at least in part, preserved in the form of Bardic rhymes; and this inference will appear the more reasonable from a passage in the account given of the *Seanchus Mor*, in which it is stated that that work was in part composed of the *Dichedal Filedh*, or Lyrical Poems of the *Fileas* or Bards, who, previously to the reign of Conchubhar Mac Nessa, in the first century, were, according to the Irish historians, the only Brehons or Judges. For an explanation of the above verse see manuscript Lib. Trin. Col. H. 4. 22, p. 19, and H. 2. 15, pp. 130, 131.

jecture is supported by the Annals of Ulster, so remarkable for their accuracy, which record at the year 438 the composition of the *Chronicon Magnum*, or, as it is called in the original Irish, in the fine MS. of these Annals in Trinity College, *Seanchus Mor*, a statement most probably derived from the older Annals of Tighearnach, which are now defective at that period.

2. If, as has been shewn, there is not sufficient historical evidence to establish the fact of the compilation of the *Seanchus Mor* by St. Patrick, or the celebrated Committee of Nine, it follows that the statement with respect to the burning of the Druidical books by Patrick, as consequent on that supposed proceeding, cannot be sustained. Indeed, for this statement, which has been so much dwelt upon by Kennedy, Toland, O'Conor, and others, as an argument for the use of letters anterior to the introduction of Christianity, no ancient authority or reference has been found; and it appears to rest solely on an assertion of O'Flaherty, derived, as he states, from a letter addressed to him by the celebrated Duald Mac Firbis :—"Postremo Dualdus Firbissius patriæ antiquitatum professor hæreditarius ex Majorum monumentis, literis datis refert 180 Druidum, seu Magorum disciplinæ tractatus S. Patricii tempore igni damnatos."—*Ogygia*, p. 219. But though a careful search has been made, no such statement as that here attributed to Mac Firbis has been as yet discovered in any of the works of that antiquary.

In concluding this notice of the most important facts connected with Tara during the reign of Laoghaire, it may be briefly stated that it will be shewn from very ancient historical evidences, which will be adduced in the succeeding portion of this memoir, that Laoghaire was interred after the manner of the pagans, within his own rath, on the Hill of Tara.

II. *Oilioll Molt*, son of Dathi, the predecessor of Laoghaire, after being King of Connaught, succeeded, and, after a reign of twenty years, was killed by Lughaidh, son of Laeghaire, in the battle of *Ocha*, in the year 482 or 483 of the common era, as thus stated in the Annals of Ulster:

A.D. 482. *Bellum* Oche la Luġaiḃ Mac Laeġaire aġur la Muirchearṫach Mac Erca, *in quo cecidit* Alill Molt.

*A Concobaro filio Nesse, usque ad Cormac, filium Airt, anni cccviii. A Cormac usque ad hoc bellum ccvi., ut Cuana scripsit.*

A.D. 482. The battle of *Oche*, by Lughaidh, son of Laeghaire, and by Muircheartach Mac Erca, in which fell Alill Molt.

From Concobar, the son of Nesse, to Cormac, son of Art, 308 years. From Cormac to this battle 206, as Cuana has written.

The Annals of Ulster, in the reign of this prince, record, from various ancient authorities, the celebration of the *Feis*, or supposed triennial assembly of Tara, as having occurred, according to some, in the year 467; according to others, in 469; and according to others, in 470; but as it can scarcely admit of doubt, that these entries, as the statements of the annalist imply, refer to the one meeting only, and as no subsequent record is found of the assembling of the *Feis* in this prince's reign, either in these or any other ancient authorities, it would appear certain that the meetings of Tara, if they were ever triennial, ceased to be so subsequently to the introduction of Christianity, and that these assemblies were held but once in the reign of each prince, or, if oftener, upon some important emergencies. Thus also, in the reign of Laoghaire, the same Annals record only one celebration of the *Feis Teamhrach*, namely, at the year 454; and that this was the only assembly of the kind held in his reign is clearly proved from the following entry at the year 461:—"*Leogaire filius Neill post Ceana* [cænam] *Teamro, annis vii. et mensibus vii. et diebus vii. vixit.*" Indeed these records sufficiently indicate that such assemblies were of rare and irregular occurrence; for, if they had been held annually, or in a triennial cycle, it is highly probable that the circumstance would not have been considered remarkable enough to require a distinct record. Hence, it may be remarked, a historical doubt worthy of attention must arise, as to the truth of the statement found in so many of the old lives of St. Patrick, that it was during the *Feis Teamhrach*, in 433, that the saint made his famous attempt to convert the monarch and nobility of Ireland. It should be stated, however, that in the oldest lives of St. Patrick, those preserved in the Book of Armagh, as well as in the original Irish MS. copies of the Tripartite Life, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac* and Book of Lismore, this meeting is no where called the *Feis*; and the statements made in all the lives, that the time at which it was held was the eve of Easter Sunday, sufficiently shew that it was not the great national assembly so called, which, according to all the ancient authorities, was always held at the feast of *Samhan*, or 1st of November. It may be further stated that the accounts given of this meeting concur in shewing that it was not a political assembly, as the *Feis* is stated to have been, but rather a religious festival for the celebration of the *Bel-tine*, or fire of *Baal*. Thus, to adduce one of many testimonies, there occurs in the Life of Patrick, by Mocutenius, the following passage:

"Contigit vero in illo anno, idolatriæ sollempnitatem quam gentiles incantationibus multis, et magicis inventionibus, nonnullis aliis idolatriæ superstitionibus, congregatis etiam regibus, satrapis, ducibus, principibus, et optimatibus populi, insuper et magis, incantatoribus, auruspicibus, et omnis artis, omnisque doni [*recte* doli] inventoribus doctoribusve vocatis ad Loigaireum, velut quondam ad Nabcodonossor regem, in Temoria istorum Babylone exercere consuerant, eadem nocte qua Sanctus Patricius Pasca illi illam adorarent exercerentque festivitatem gentilem.

"Erat quoque quidam mos apud illos per edictum omnibus intimatus, ut quicumque in cunctis regionibus sive procul, sive juxta, in illa nocte incendisset ignem, antequam in domu regis, id est, in palatio Temoriæ, succenderetur, periret anima ejus de populo suo.

"Sanctus ergo Patricius sanctum Pasca celebrans, incendit divinum ignem valde lucidum et benedictum, qui in nocte reffulgens, a cunctis pene plani campi habitantibus vissus est.

"Accidit ergo ut a Temoria videretur, vissoque eo conspexerunt omnes et mirati sunt: convocatisque senioribus et majoribus natu ['dixit ad eos Rex; quid est hoc? quis est, qui hæc tanta ausus est facere in regno meo? pereat ille de populo suo. Respondentibus autem omnibus Senioribus, et Majoribus natu'—*Probus,*] regi nesciisse illum qui hoc fecerit; Magi responderunt; Rex in æternum vive. Hic ignis quem videmus quique in hac nocte accensus est, antequam succenderetur in domu tua, id est, in palatio Temoriæ, nissi extinctus fuerit in nocte hac qua accensus est, numquam extinguetur in æternum; insuper et omnes ignes nostræ consuitudinis supergradietur; et ille, qui incendit, et regnum superveniens a quo incensus nocte in hac, superabit nos omnes, et te, et omnes homines regni tui seducet; et cadent ei omnia regna; et ipsum inplebit omnia et regnabit in sæcula saeculorum."—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 3, p. *b.* col. 1 & 2.

Many other passages might be adduced to shew that this assembly at Tara met for the celebration of a religious festival; and the conclusion, therefore, is unavoidable, that the word *Feis*, applied to this meeting in some of the lives of Patrick, if not an error of interpolators, was only used in a general sense, as applicable to a convention, feast, or festival of any kind. That this meeting, moreover, was the Druidical festival of *Bel-tinè* is apparent from the fact stated in all the lives of Patrick, respecting the prohibition to light a fire in the district until the sacred fire of the Druids had been first kindled at Tara; since, according to all the Irish histories, such a prohibition was always either issued or understood on the occasion of the lighting of the *Bel-tinè* in every district in the country. This prohibition is thus distinctly referred to in the original Irish of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac:*

Teit Pátraic iar sin cu Fertu fer Feicc. Doánnsaig tenid occa is in inud sin i persom na Cass. Fergaithen Loegaire oc chí in

Patrick goes afterwards to *Ferta fer Feic.* A fire was kindled by him at that place on Easter-eve. Laeghaire is enraged as he sees the fire, for

ceniu, ar ba hírin ġeir Temrach oc Ġoedeluib; ocus ní lamad nech ceniu dracóid i n-Eirinn irin lou sin, no cu n-accannca hi Temraiġ ar cur irin follamain.

that was the privilege of Temur among the Gaël; and no one dared to kindle a fire in Ireland on that day until it should be first kindled at Temur at the solemnity.—*Leabhar Breac*, fol. 14, *a*, 1.

The custom of the celebration of the *Bel-tinè* is thus distinctly recorded by Cormac Mac Cullenan in his Glossary, under the word *Belltaine:*

Belltaine .i. bil-cene .i. cene bil .i. cene roinnech .i. na cene roinnech do ġnicír na draíce co cinceclaib moraib forraib, ocus do deroir na cetra eturra ar ceomanduib cecha bliadna.

*Belltaine*, i. e. *bil-tene*, i. e. the goodly fire, i. e. two goodly [lucky] fires, which the Druids were used to make, with great incantations on them, and they were used to bring the cattle between them, against the diseases of each year.

And thus in a MS. in Trinity College, Class H. 3. 18, p. 596:

Beltaine .i. Bel-dine: Bel, dan, ainm do idol: ir ann do caitrealbéa dine cacha cetra for feilb Bhéil; *unde* Beltine. No, Beltine .i. Bil-tine .i. cene tromneac .i. na cenid do ġnídir Druid co cinceclaib mora, ocus do légdir na cetra etarra ar ceomanduib cacha bliadna.

*Beltaine*, i. e. *Bel-dine: Bel* was the name of an idol: it was on it [i. e. the festival] that a couple of the young of every cattle were exhibited as in the possession of *Bèl; unde Beltine.* Or, *Beltine*, i. e. *Bil-tine*, i. e. the goodly fire, i. e. two goodly fires, which the Druids were used to make with great incantations, and they were used to drive the cattle between them against the diseases of each year.

It may, perhaps, be contended, against this conclusion, that the Druidical festival of *Bel-tinè* was, as it still is, celebrated on May-day, which is yet popularly called *Lá Bealltaine*, or the day of Baal's fire, and that it could not, therefore, be held on Holy Saturday, which at this period agreed with the vernal equinox. It has, however, been argued by Dr. O'Conor, with great ingenuity and plausibility, that the *Bel-tinè* of the pagan Irish was not the May-day of subsequent ages, and that the former, which was celebrated in the vernal equinox, and consequently fell about the 21st of March, was, after the establishment of Christianity, transferred to the 1st of May, to prevent an interference with the Christian Lent. To state and examine in detail the arguments of Dr. O'Conor in support of this conclusion, as given in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. i., and in the Stowe Catalogue, would demand an inquiry inconsistent with the limits proposed in this memoir, but his theory may be briefly stated as follows:—I. That the year of the pagan Irish was luni-solar, consisting, like that of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, of 365 days

and 6 hours. II. That it was divided by them, as it is among the moderns, into four *rathas*, or quarters. III. That these four *rathas*, or quarters, were called, as, with slight orthographical variation, the seasons are to this day by the modern Irish, *Samh-ratha*, Summer; *Foghmhar-ratha*, Autumn; *Geimh-ratha*, Winter; and *Iar-ratha*, (now *Earrach*,) Spring; the first of these quarters commencing at the vernal equinox, the second at the summer solstice, the third at the autumnal equinox, and the fourth at the winter solstice. IV. That at the beginning of each of these *rathas* a religious festival was celebrated, and that though the names of these festivals, as well as those of the *rathas*, are still retained, the periods at which they were celebrated were changed by the early Christians to agree with the Christian festivals, and so obliterate the recollection of the origin of the pagan rites, which they were not able utterly to abolish. Such is the theory of Dr. O'Conor; and among the various ingenious arguments which he advances in support of it, the strongest is that derived from the fact already alluded to, that the celebration of the Druidical fire at Tara in 433 occurred on Easter Eve. "All the writers of the life of S. Patrick," he states, "who wrote before the Anglo-Norman conquest, agree that S. Patrick celebrated his first Easter Eve in 433, that the fire which he had then lighted in his tent, near the hill of Temora, caused the greatest degree of curiosity as well as indignation, because it was an act so repugnant to the laws of the Kingdom, that he was conveyed as a criminal to the King, and that this gave occasion to his first preaching at Temora. Now Easter day in 433 agreed with the vernal equinox; therefore the *Baal-tinne* of the Irish concurred with that time of the year."—*Stowe Catalogue*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

While, however, the plausibility of this theory can scarcely be denied, without impugning the veracity of the facts given in all the ancient lives of St. Patrick, as to the period of the year at which he visited Tara, and the circumstances connected with it, on the other hand, it is but fair to state that the Doctor's arguments are throughout more ingenious than satisfactory, and that his references to authorities in support of his conclusions are such as, on examination, will seldom be found to bear him out in his assertions.

It does not appear from any of the Irish authorities that Oilioll Molt was ever converted to Christianity.

III. *Lughaidh*, the son of Laoghaire, succeeded Oilioll Molt, according to

the Four Masters, in 479, or, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in 480; but the more accurate Annals of Ulster place the beginning of his reign in 484, which would allow an interregnum of two years. O'Flaherty, without noticing this interregnum, places the commencement of his reign in 483. His death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster at 506, and again, from a different ancient authority, at 511, but it is correctly placed by Tighearnach in 508, with which O'Flaherty, in his corrected chronology, concurs.

From all the ancient historical accounts of the reign of this monarch, it appears certain that, like his predecessors, he died an obstinate unbeliever in the Christian religion; and there are many circumstances connected with the history of Christianity in Ireland during his reign, which have not hitherto received that attention from historians which they seem to merit. It has been already stated, at page 53, that the history of the propagation of the Gospel in Ireland, as collected by historians from the lives of St. Patrick and other documents, is involved in obscurities and contradictions, which the learning and judgment of the most critical investigators have been unable to penetrate and explain; and though the objects of, and limits assigned to the present memoir, will not allow of any elaborate attempt to elicit the truth as regards this most important and interesting feature in the history of the country, a few remarks may here be permitted, for the purpose of drawing the attention of future historians to facts not hitherto noticed in connexion with this subject.

That the acts attributed to one Patrick may be referable to, at least, two of the name, has been already hinted at in the passage just adverted to; and the probable correctness of this conjecture will derive support from the Irish records now to be adduced; and first, from the following historical notice of the reign of Lughaidh, as preserved in the Book of Lecan:

Do gob thra Luġaid Mac Laeġairi rigi n-Erenn fé coic bliadain, cor chuir techta d'iarraid na Boroma; ocus ni uair can chath; ocus ro thinóil uairsi Leithi Cuinn do tobach na Boruma; ocus tánca-dur Laiġniġ co Magh n-Ailbi. Do cuiredh thra cath Muiġi Ailbi etrru, cor fraíneadh for Luġaid, ocus for Muirchertach Mac Earca, ocus for Chairbri Mor Mac

Lughaidh, the son of Laeghaire, assumed th government of Ireland for five years; and he sent messengers to demand the Boru; and he did not receive it without a battle; and he assembled the nobles of *Leath Chuinn* to force the Boru, and the Lagenians came to *Magh Ailbhi*. The battle of *Magh Ailbhi* was fought between them, in which a victory was gained over Lughaidh and Muirchertach Mac Earca, and Cairbri Mor, the

Neill; conad i n-igail [*recte* i n-oigail] in chatha sin nár scuir Muirchertach ocus Cairpri do Laignib cén so bo beo iat. Airmit eolaig nár thabaig Lugaid in doroma acht aen echt co hearbadach.

Is a n-amsir Lugdach tanic Patraic i n-Erind; ocus do chuaid co Temraig co airm a roibi Lugaid, ocus targaid do chruithnechtaib cen ár, ocus bithlacht oc buaib re a lind, ocus nem a roiscend a saegail, ocus son con, ocus eich, ocus rigna saith; ocus nir saeth Lugaid sin, ocus ó nár aeth do earcain Patraic hé, ocus ro earcain a rigan .i. Ailldind ingen Aengusa, Mic Nadfraich, rig Muman; conad o sin innall ita dimbuaid rigna for Themraig ocus cen buaid con or Temraig fós. Co fuair Lugaid Mac Laegairi bár i n-achad farcha tre arcuine in Tailgind .i. farcha tennidi do nim sor marb iar n-diultad in Tailgind.

son of Niall; and in revenge of this battle Muirchertach and Cairbri did not desist from [attacking] the Lagenians, as long as they lived. The learned state that Lughaidh never forced the Boru but once [and that] imperfectly.

It is in the time of Lughaidh that Patrick came to Ireland; and he went to Temur, where Lughaidh was, and offered him wheat without tillage, constant milk with kine during his time, and heaven at the end of his life, and success of hounds and horses, and of a queen upon him; and Lughaidh did not assent to that, and because he did not, Patrick cursed him, and also cursed his queen, i. e. Aillinn, the daughter of Aengus Mac Nadfraich, King of Munster; so that thenceforward there is an ill luck of queens on Temur, neither has it success of hounds. And Lughaidh, the son of Laeghaire, died at *Achadh Farcha*, in consequence of the curse of the *Tailginn* [saint], i. e. a flash of lightning struck him dead from heaven for having rejected the *Tailginn*.

It may be observed, that the preceding passage, which is quoted from an abstract of the history of Ireland from the time of the preaching of the Gospel, in the reign of Laoghaire, to that of Roderic O'Conor, is obviously taken from the ancient historians of the country, and that, at the period of its composition, whatever inducement might have existed for fabrication to sustain the received history of the Apostle Patrick's life, there could not have been any to controvert it. Indeed, that the compiler of this condensed history clearly understood that the Patrick alluded to in the preceding passage was different from another of the name, who preached the Gospel in the reign of Laoghaire, will appear manifest from the following notice relating to the reign of that monarch, in which the death of a *Senex Patricius* is recorded: "Do gob thra Laegaire Mac Néill Naoigiallaig rigi tricha *annis post adventum Patricii tenuit. Secundinus et senex Patricius in pace dormierunt*," i. e. Laoghaire, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, held the government thirty years after the arrival of Patrick. Secundinus and *old* Patrick slept in peace. As the passage last quoted has been extracted by O'Flaherty from the Book of Lecan, it is certain that he was

not ignorant of the preceding one; and the conclusion is therefore unavoidable that he, as well as those other writers who were familiar with the Book of Lecan, must have intentionally suppressed it from a perception that it would contradict the received history of St. Patrick, as drawn up from his lives. The passage, however, is of great importance, as tending to indicate that the acts of, at least, two distinguished preachers of Christianity in Ireland may have been blended together, and thus furnishing a sufficient explanation of the apparent chronological and other contradictions in which the various lives of our saint abound, and which, in consequence, may be regarded as the result of an anxiety to ascribe the honour of the conversion of Ireland to a single individual. Should such a conclusion be ever established, the following passage in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, relative to the infidelity of King Lughaidh, and in which the displeasure of the Christian teacher is referred to the Patrick who preached in the reign of Laoghaire, might illustrate the manner in which the writers of the saint's lives constructed their legends for the purpose of transferring the acts of one saint to another:

"Factâ tantâ plagâ in populo, accedit vîr Dei ipsum Regem, eique minatur scelerum suorum præsentem vindictam, subitamque mortem, nisi in Christum credat, desinatque veritati tot prodigiis probatæ ampliùs resistere. Loegarius timore et tremore perculsus, habitâ ad Proceres concione, concludit præstare sibi credere, quàm certam, præsentemque mortis subire sententiam. Rex igitur flexis genibus petit veniam, promittit emendationem, et se monita, et doctrinam viri Dei amplexurum. Ipse igitur, et hominum aliquot millia cum eo amplectuntur fidem Christi. Cùm autem vir sanctus videret Regem jam tandem superatum, et in alium hominem mutatum, ait ad ipsum; quandoquidem meis monitis tandem obtemperaveris, et paratus sis in propositâ veritatis viâ ambulare, nec sceptro nec vitâ privaberis; sed annis multis vives, et regnabis: quia tamen mihi et doctrinæ cælesti tam pertinaciter restitisti, et in via veritatis, tot signis monstratæ, ambulare recusasti, regni sceptrum de semine tuo in fratrum tuorum progeniem transferetur; tuaque posteritas eorum inserviet posteritati. Tunc Regina Angussa nomine, genua flectens humiliter virum Dei deprecatur, ut istius duræ sententiæ dignetur mitigare rigorem, et saltem ea non feriatur infans, quem ipsa tunc in utero gestabat. Annuit vir sanctus ejus petitioni, dicens; mea maledictio ei non nocebit, donec ipse propriis exigentibus demeritis mereatur maledici, et meæ maledictionis fulmine feriri. Et ita evenisse eventus evidenter monstravit. Nam Lugadius filius, qui tunc in utero matris gestabatur, regnum posteà universæ Hiberniæ obtinuit, tenuitque usque dum quadam die iter agens, venit ad locum quendam *Achadh-farcha* appellatum; ubi conspiciens quandam Ecclesiam in colle positam, ait; nunquid illa est Ecclesia istius clerici, qui iniquo prophetiæ spiritu, prædixit nullum de Leogarii patris mei semine Regem vel Principem proditurum? Et statim ac hæc protulit, fulminis è cælo missi, et in verticem ejus cadentis, ictu extinctus illicò interiit. Undè et locus nomen abinde sortitus, *Achadh-farcha*, i. e. collis fulminis appellatur."—Lib. 1. c. LXVII. *Trias Thaum.* p. 128, col. 1.

However improbable the statement in the Book of Lecan may be, that the Irish Apostle did not come to Ireland before the time of Lughaidh, it is still not wholly impossible that it may be true; and, if it be, this legend must necessarily be regarded as a fiction invented to reconcile the account given of the opposition of Lughaidh to Patrick, with other legends in the lives of the saint manufactured at various subsequent periods. But, however this may be, the mere fact of the opposition, as stated in the Book of Lecan, would certainly seem to be borne out by the notice, taken literally, of the death of Lughaidh, in the authentic Annals of Tighearnach:

508. Ðarr Luġdach, mic Laeġaire, riġ Temrach in Achad Fharcha .i. farcha cenoiðe do nim fo marb iar noiulcad in Tailġinn.

A. D. 508. The death of Lughaidh, the son of Laeghaire, King of Temur, at Achadh Fharcha; i. e. a flash of lightning from heaven killed him after rejecting the Tailghinn.*

It is true that the account in the Book of Lecan of the coming of St. Patrick to Ireland in the reign of Lughaidh, cannot be reconciled with any of the other accounts preserved of the acts of the Irish apostle; but there is the less reason for suppressing any new fact bearing upon the subject, where the entire of the details given are in themselves so self-contradictory. Even the learned Dr. Lanigan appears to have succumbed to the difficulties that presented themselves in the consideration of this question, for though he has laboured with great ingenuity, and with even more professional zeal than he usually displays on other subjects, to place the life of Patrick on a solid foundation, he has not succeeded to such an extent as would satisfy a critical inquirer; and indeed the very line of argument which he has chosen has rather tended to involve the question in deeper obscurity.

As already stated, however, it is not intended in this memoir to enter fully upon an inquiry of such magnitude, but it may not be improper to state briefly the most striking difficulties which Dr. Lanigan has attempted to remove,—difficulties so great as to have even induced some learned men too hastily to deny the existence of St. Patrick altogether.

From the various authorities, as honestly published by Colgan, one would, at first sight, be inclined to believe, that instead of the one Patrick of Dr. Lanigan,

* For *Tailghinn*, in this passage, the Chronicon Scotorum has *Padruig*, and it has been shewn at pp. 77 and 78, that *Tailghin*, which is translated *Asciciput*, in the Book of Armagh, *Archicapus* in the third life, *vir cum corona decorata* in the fourth life, *artis caput* in Probus, and *in circulo tonsus in capite* by Jocelin and Colgan, was a name given to Patrick by the Druids.

there were five saints of that name, all of whom flourished in Ireland, and who were severally known by the names Palladius or Patricius, Sen-Patraic or Senex Patricius, Patrick the Apostle, Patrick junior, and Patrick *Aistire* or *Ostiarius*. The account furnished by Colgan is in these words:

"Præter S. Palladium, qui et ipse Patricius legitur appellatus, quatuor ad minus Patricii, qui sanctitatis laude in Hibernia floruerunt, à nostris Hagiographis recensentur. Primus fuit Magnus Patricius Hiberniæ Primas et Apostolus. Secundus, S. Patricius cognomento senior, Episcopus primò Ros-delanus in regione de *Magh-Lacha*, et posteà, vivente adhuc sancto Patricio Apostolo Episcopus Ardmachanus: qui colitur Glastoniæ in Britannia, et Ardmachiæ in Hibernia, ubi ejus reliquias asservatas et summo olim in honore habitas lego. Tertius, S. Patricius junior S. Patricii Apostoli discipulus, et ex fratre nepos. Et horum quidem singuli floruerunt sæculo quinto: nam primum obiisse anno 493, secundum verò anno 457, tradunt Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus ad eosdem annos: Tertius autem, et qui S. Patricii patrui sui jam defuncti acta conscripsit, vixit post annum 494. Et comparatione hujus dicti *Junioris* videtur præcedens Patricius *Senioris* cognomentum sortitus; vel fortè idcircò quod antè hunc et sanctum Patricium Magnum Hiberniæ Apostolorum è vita decessit. Quartus fuit Patricius Abbas aliàs Episcopus qui floruit sæculo nono," &c.—*Acta Sanct.* p. 366.

And again, in his Trias Thaum. p. 7, col. 1, note 22, he makes mention of another Patrick, a native of Auvergne, whose festival fell on the 16th of March.

Of these Patricks, the one called Palladius, and generally known by that name, may for the present be thrown out of the question, as he remained but one year in Ireland, and his era is too well known to admit of controversy. And in like manner the Patrick *Aistire*, may be dismissed, as he flourished in the ninth century. The inquiry will, therefore, have reference but to the remaining four; and of these four, three are thus distinctly alluded to in the following rhymes of an old monk of Glastonbury, quoted by Archbishop Ussher in his Primordia, p. 895.

"*Sunt hujus nominis, tene certissimè*
*Tres Sancti Præsules: primus Hiberniæ*
*Archiepiscopus; alter Averniæ,*
*Quâ natus fuerat ternus Hiberniæ.*
*Archiepiscopus primus Hiberniæ,*
*Is primus postea Abbas Glastoniæ,*
*Natus Britanniâ præclaro genere:*
*Ut sua Vita declarat optimè.*"

Of Patrick of Auvergne, here mentioned, however, so little is known, that the Bollandists and Lanigan have come to the conclusion that he was no other than the Apostle of Ireland himself; and even though he were a distinct person, it is obvious that he could have had no connexion with Ireland, as his bishop-

ric existed in France. The entire number is thus diminished to three, and even of those three there is one,—the one already alluded to under the name of Patrick junior,—whose very existence is problematical. It is true indeed that Archbishop Ussher has, without including the Bishop of Auvergne, stated that there were three Patricks in Ireland, and it is upon his authority that Colgan has included the third Patrick, or Patrick junior, in his list; but for the existence of this Patrick there is at least no Irish authority whatever, or even any presumptive evidence beyond a mere surmise of Ussher, grounded on the following passage in Jocelin: "*Sanctus Patricius filiolus ejus, qui post decessum patrui sui Britanniam remeans in fata concessit, in Glasconensi Ecclesiâ sepultus honorificè.*"—*Primordia*, p. 817. Ussher, reading this passage, and knowing from various authorities, as well Irish as foreign, that a Patrick called *Sen* or *Senex*, and whom he supposed a different person from the Irish apostle, was interred at Glastonbury, at once adopted the notion that this Patrick mentioned by Jocelin must have been a third Patrick, and accordingly gave him the name of *Patricius junior*. The statement of Jocelin, however, as the Bollandists observe, can be entitled to very little attention. It manifestly proceeded from his desire to reconcile the vivid tradition existing in Glastonbury Church, with the adverse impressions of the Irish people; and as he wrote in the popular belief of his day, that the Apostle of Ireland was buried at Down, and knew, besides, that another Patrick was buried at Glastonbury, the expedient probably suggested itself to him of creating that nephew of the apostle, whom Ussher supposed to have been a separate Patrick. The Irish authorities are, however, at variance with Jocelin on this point, for they all agree that the saint who was buried at Glastonbury was Sen-Patrick. And in the list of homonymous saints preserved in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, as well as in the ancient calendars, only three Patricks are mentioned, thus: "Patraic Mac Calpurnn, Patraic Ruirr Dela, Patraic Airtire: *tres sunt.*" The Patrick last named died in the ninth century. Thus, then, three of the five Patricks may be considered either as non-existent or unconnected with the subject under discussion; and the question reduces itself to this: whether the acts of the remaining two have been confounded, and referred to one individual, or whether there was in reality, but one saint of the name.

That there were indeed two Patricks of great celebrity was the opinion of

Archbishop Ussher, who endeavours to shew, from a great number of Irish and foreign authorities, that the first, or Sen-Patrick, was a bishop in Ireland, and died and was interred in the Abbey of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, in 457; and that the second, the great Apostle, died in 493, and was interred at Downpatrick, in Ireland. On the other hand, according to Dr. Lanigan, the Sen-Patrick was the only Patrick, and his death and burial occurred at Downpatrick in the year 465.

It is probable that Ussher may be wrong in the supposition that Sen-Patrick was not the first Patrick who taught Christianity in the country, but it seems infinitely more probable that Lanigan is wrong in the conclusion which he has struggled so laboriously to maintain, that the Sen-Patrick was the only saint of the name. To establish this conclusion he is obliged to reject all the records in the Annals as well as foreign authorities, which place the death of Patrick in 493, and to assume that the true year of Patrick's death was either 458, 471, or, truly, as he maintains, 465, and that the story which makes him live 120 years is a mere fabrication to assimilate him with Moses. He is forced also to maintain that all the statements relative to the death and burial of St. Patrick at Glastonbury are monkish forgeries, and that the Patrick of Glastonbury was an abbot of the name, who retired there in the year 850, or some other Patrick, perhaps of the seventh or eighth century, who died on the 24th of August.

Had Dr. Lanigan, while he asserted that the Sen-Patrick of the authorities was the real Apostle of Ireland, acknowledged the existence of a second Patrick in the same age, to whom the title was erroneously given, it might be difficult to controvert his arguments; and many ancient authorities unknown to him could be adduced to strengthen his position: nor would it have been necessary, in placing the death of the Irish Apostle at any of the years recorded by the annalists as the date of Sen-Patrick's death, to have reduced the period of his life thirty years, in opposition to all the authorities, to accord with his assumed chronology, as those dates would sufficiently support him. Thus the Annals of Tighearnach place the birth of Patrick in 341:—"A. D. 341. *Patricius nunc natus est.*" And again, his captivity in 357, which identifies this Patrick with the author of the *Confessio*:—"A. D. 357. *Patricius captivus in Hiberniam ductus est.*"

These dates, it will be at once obvious, would very nearly agree with the date of 457, as laid down in the Annals of Ulster, as the year of the death of Sen-Patrick, allowing one hundred and twenty years to his life; or, what is very remarkable, would agree exactly with the date 461, which is given in the same Annals from other authorities. Dr. O'Conor indeed objects to those dates in Tighearnach, that they are errors of the transcriber in copying the numerals; but he should have perceived that this was an unsatisfactory mode of accounting for the difficulty, as the entries in the Annals are ranged in strict chronological order, and the entry relative to the captivity of Patrick is made to synchronise with the mission of Julian the apostate into Gaul, and with the first year of the reign of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin. There is, however, the most direct evidence to shew that this was not an error of the transcriber, but, on the contrary, is in accordance with the ancient records of the Irish, as appears from the following passage in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, formerly in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, and now in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin:

"*Scoti de Hibernià sub rege suo Neill Nœigiallach multùm diversas provincias Britanniæ contra Romanum imperium, regnante Constantio filio Constantini, devastabant: contendere incipientes Aquilonalem plagam Britanniæ. Et post tempus, bellis et classibus Hibernienses expulerunt habitatores terræ illius; et habitaverunt ipsi ibi.* deinde, aliquibus interjectis. *Ductus est itaque sanctus Patricius ad Hiberniam captivus, primo anno regni Juliani imperatoris apostatæ, qui regnavit post Constantium; anno autem nono regni Neill Nœigiallach regis Hiberniæ, qui* XXVII. *annis potenter regnavit; quique Britanniam et Angliam multùm devastavit, ibique in bello cecidit.*"—*Primordia*, p. 587.

In like manner the Annals of Connaught place the nativity of Patrick in 336, and refer his captivity to the year 352. "*S. Patricius in Hiberniam captivus ducitur anno Christi* CCCLII. *et post sex annos à captivate liberatur.*" And allowing one hundred and twenty years to his age, this would very nearly agree with the date of the death of Sen-Patrick in the same Annals, at the year 457: "*Anno* CCCCLVII. *dormitatio sancti Senis Patricii Episcopi Glosoniensis Ecclesiæ.*" And this is supported by the notice in Tirechan, already given at page 52, that the death of Patrick occurred two or five years before that of Laoghaire.

It may be objected indeed that the ninth year of the reign of Niall does not, according to Irish chronology, synchronise with the first year of the reign of

Julian the apostate: but the annalists above quoted are more accurate in their chronology, and even if it were otherwise, in a question beset with so many difficulties, this could be but of small weight, the chronology of the kings of this period being technical, and evidently shaped into form at a comparatively modern age, as may be seen in the extract from the Book of Cuana, an authority of the seventh century, quoted from the Annals of Ulster, above, p. 81; and it may be observed that the Book of Clonmacnoise, as translated by Connell Mageoghegan, makes the reign of Niall Naoighiallach synchronise with the reign of Julian, as it places the reign of the former about the year 360. Any shade of doubt, however, that might exist on this point will be removed by the following decisive record, preserved both in the Annals of Tighearnach and Ulster, of which no notice has been hitherto taken, and from which it must be inferred that the date of 461, given in the Ulster Annals as the year of Patrick's death, has been copied from the Annals of Tighearnach, which are defective at that year: "A. D. 663. *In Campo Ito Focairt exarsit mortalitas primo in Hibernia, a morte Patricii* cc iii. *Prima mortalitas* c xii."—*Annal. Ult.* Tighearnach gives nearly the same words, but places the first appearance of this plague in 664, which is the true year, as has been demonstrated from a very remarkable eclipse by which, according to both annals, this plague was preceded in the same year.

Thus far the authorities adduced would seem to sustain Dr. Lanigan's hypothesis, that Sen-Patrick was the Apostle of Ireland; and the very epithet of *sen*, or old, prefixed to his name, would be a characteristic cognomen to one who, according to all the Irish accounts, had lived to so great an age. But this very appellation is in itself a strong evidence that there must have been another Patrick of later age, or who was not so remarkable for longevity, as the Irish have never applied the epithet *sen*, old, or *og*, young, to a man's name, except for the purpose of contradistinction either with regard to age or time. But if no other Patrick be allowed, these authorities would impugn altogether the dates assigned to the birth, captivity, and mission of the Apostle, as well as the time and place of his death. And hence Dr. Lanigan involves his theory in inextricable difficulties by denying the existence in Ireland of any other saint of the name, and is consequently forced to set himself in opposition to all the ancient authorities, which allow about one hundred and twenty years as the period of the duration of Patrick's life. He is, moreover, obliged to repudiate as

monkish forgeries the authorities which state the death and burial of Sen-Patrick at Glastonbury, and the Irish authorities to the same fact as forgeries later and consequent on the former.

But these authorities are not to be destroyed so easily, for they are supported by evidences with which the Doctor was unacquainted, or which, at least, he has kept out of sight. Thus, when he asserts that the monks of Glastonbury forged the connexion of the Irish Apostle with Glastonbury out of an abbot Patrick, who died there in the ninth century, or some other (unheard of) Patrick, who died there in the seventh or eighth, he should have recollected that he had himself stated that the memory of Patrick was venerated there as the patron saint from the earliest times, as shewn by Ussher from the Charters of Baldred, Ina, and Eldred; and that the church of Glastonbury, when rebuilt by the Saxons, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Patrick. And again, when he treats the scholiast of Fiech, who states the same fact as applicable to Sen-Patrick, as of no authority, he should have known and acknowledged that Colgan considered him an author of the seventh century, and that, at all events, his *scholia* are preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, which cannot be later than the ninth. But evidence to this fact is found in another work, the authority of which the Doctor has himself maintained, and which indeed it is impossible fairly to impugn, namely, the *Feilire*, or Festilogy of Aengus, written before the close of the ninth century. A copy of this work, as old as the tenth century, was in the possession of the late Edward O'Reilly, and there is another preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, which is supposed to be of the twelfth century. The passage alluded to is given at the 24th of August, as follows:

lasreith sloig srenatii
Flamma populi srenatii

ata sceoil ro clotha
Est fama quæ audita est

sen patraic cinn catha
Senex Patricius caput prœlii

coem aite ar sротha.*
Mitis præceptor nostri patroni.

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* In explanation of *Srenatii* the Glossographist of Aengus says, "i.e. i n-Gloinestir na n-Gaedel i Saxanaib .i. in Britanniâ;" that is, in *Gloinestir* of the Gaël, in England, i. e. in *Britannia*

On this point, indeed, the Martyrology of Tamlacht, compiled in the ninth century, that of Cashel, compiled in the eleventh, and all the later Martyrologies concur, as thus stated by Colgan, who had them all in his possession:

"Colitur Patricius Senior die 24. Augusti (qui ab Hibernis primus mensis Authumni vocatur) ut tradunt S. Ængussius, Marianus, Mart. Tamlactense, Calendarium Casselense et Maguir ad eundem diem, qui dicunt quod Ros-delæ in Mag-lacha tractu Ossoriæ in Hibernia: et addunt Calendarium Casselense, Scholiastes Mariani, et Maguir quod verius sit quod *Patricius Senior sepultus Glastenberiæ Hibernorum* (hoc est Glastoniæ ubi multi olim erant sancti Hiberni) *in Australi parte Britanniæ:* et quod Reliquiæ ipsius asserventur Ardmachæ: et addit Maguir quod fuerit Doctor sive Magister nostri Apostoli Patricii."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 7, col. 1.

But if any doubt existed that the Irish and English both considered the saint of Glastonbury as the Sen-Patrick of the Irish, it would be removed by the two following passages, quoted by Ussher, one from the Annals of Connaught, and the other from the Life of St. Dunstan, the author of which, as he states, lived in the time of that distinguished man:

"Ejus obitum in Annalibus Connaciensibus ita consignatum invenimus. *Anno* CCCCLIIII. *dormitatio sancti Senis Patricii Episcopi Glosoniensis Ecclesiæ.* quod de *Glastoniensi* Ecclesiâ ut accipiamus, verba illa antiquissimi Vitæ Dunstani scriptoris suadere videantur. *Hibernensium peregrini prædictum locum Glestoniæ, sicut et cæteræ fidelium turbæ, magno colebant affectu; et maximè ob beati* PATRICII SENIORIS *honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur."—Primordia,* p. 895.

And again, the same learned investigator, in treating of the first occupation of Glastonbury by the Saxons, adduces the following authorities to shew the connection of Patrick with that monastery:

"Sed Glastonienses CCL. ante Dunstanum annis, primum Anglicæ gentis abbatem sibi præfuisse

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And in explanation of coem aice ar proċa, he writes between the lines, "Aice Patraic Macha, *Sancti Patricii Episcopi doctor.*" And in the margin of the MS. is written the following note:—"Sen Patraic o Rus ċela a Muig Locha: *sed verius est* comad i n-Glastingberra na nGaeḋel i n-ḋeiscirt Saxan ata; *Scoti enim prius in peregrinatione ibi abitabant.* Aċt a tati a ṫhairi i n-Ulaid. Sen Patraic i n-Armacha." i. e. old Patrick of Ros-dela in Magh Locha; but it is more true that he is (i. e. is interred) in Glastonbury of the Gaël, in the South of England, for the Scoti were dwelling there on a pilgrimage. But his reliques are in Ulster. Old Patrick at Armagh. In Cormac's Glossary, under the word Moġeme, Glastonbury is also called Glaistimbir of the Irish. "Glastimbir na n-Gaeḋel .i. Cell mor for bru mara n-Iċt." Glaistimbir of the Gaël, a large church on the margin of the Ictian Sea.

tradunt Beorwaldum vel Brithwaldum: primum verò simpliciter **B. Patricium* nostrum; de quo, †in Additionibus ad Guil. Malmesburiensis librum de cœnobii illius antiquitate, ita legimus. *Certissimum est, S. Patricium Hiberniensium Apostolum apud nos requiescere, et nostri Monasterii primum Abbatem fuisse, tam ex scripturis antiquis, quàm etiam ex ejusdem sancti Chartâ.* Et pòst. *Glastoniam veniens anno Domini* CCCCXLIX. *duodecim fratres anachoriticè viventes ibidem reperiens congregavit: Abbatisque omnium voluntate et electione, licèt invitus suscipiens officium, eosdem vitam agere docuit cœnobialem. Per hunc enim religio Monachorum in Glastoniâ sumpsit exordium; vitam ducentium monachorum more Ægyptiorum. Nondum enim exortum erat sidus aureum, scilicèt pater Benedictus, quod orbem terræ suâ doctrinâ et exemplo foret illustraturum.* Et in ipso Malmesburiensis libello. *His diebus mortuo Vortigerno, regnabat supra Britones Aurelius Ambrosius: et Saxones invalescebant, et multiplicati sunt valde. Sanctus verò Patricius Hiberniensium Apostolus, et in insulâ Avalloniæ Abbas primus, postquàm prædictos fratres regularibus disciplinis convenienter informaverat, et eundem locum terris et possessionibus de dono Regum ac aliorum principum competenter ditaverat; post annos* XXXIX. *ab adventu suo in insulam Avalloniæ decursos, naturæ cessit.* Illi *S. Benignum* successisse affirmat ibidem Guilielmus: ac deinde addit. *Successerunt ibidem plures de natione Britonum abbates; quorum tam nomina quàm gesta et memoriam oblivionis nubilo obducens delevit antiquitas. Ipsam tamen Ecclesiam apud magnates Britonum in maximâ fuisse veneratione, ostendunt eorum exuviæ ibidem requiescentes.* Item: *Effluxis à tempore S. Patricii annis* CCLXVII. *regnante post Kynegilsum filio suo Kenwalco, qui et Cenwalli est dictus, primus de Anglis præsedit in Glastoniâ abbas Britwaldus.*"—*Primordia*, pp. 109, 110.

Thus, then, it might perhaps be assumed with as much certainty as a question of such extreme difficulty could permit, that the Sen-Patrick of the Irish, and the *Patricius senior*, of Glastonbury, were one and the same, and that Dr. Lanigan was not justified in his conclusions that the notices respecting him, however blended with fable, were modern forgeries and of no authority; and hence it would follow as a necessary consequence, that if this Patrick be, as Dr. Lanigan states, the real apostle of the Irish, the facts relative to the place and year of his death, and more particularly the 24th of August, the day of his death, on which the authorities all concur, must also be received as facts equally proved. But hence would arise a new question of greater difficulty than the preceding; for, if Dr. Lanigan be correct in his conclusion that there was no other saint of the name in Ireland, contemporaneous, or nearly so, with Sen-Patrick, it would naturally be asked,—Are all the authorities, Irish as well as

* "MS. libell. de reliquiis cœnobii Glaston. circa temp. R. Henrici III. script. Johan. Tinmuthensis in Vitâ Patricii. Tabula magna Glastoniens. &c.

† "MS. in Bibliothecâ Collegii S. Trinitatis, Cantabrig."

foreign, which place the death of the Irish Apostle in Ireland, on Wednesday, the 17th of March, in 491, 492, or 493, to be abandoned as groundless forgeries? If so, the whole history of the propagation of Christianity in Ireland would be thrown into utter confusion, and it would be difficult to place confidence in any thing written on the subject. On the other hand, should the existence of a second Patrick, subsequent to the former, be allowed, it would also necessarily follow that much, if not nearly all that has been written respecting his life, more properly belongs to the former Patrick, and has been fraudulently given to the second for the purpose of investing him with the honor of the apostleship of Ireland. It is not, however, as already stated, the object of this memoir to establish any conclusion, but to furnish such facts as may be of use to others who may apply their minds to this interesting subject; and, as the evidences have been given in favour of the former conclusion, it will be proper also to add an analysis of the authorities on which the latter rests.

Assuming then that there was a second Patrick in Ireland in the fifth century, and that many of the acts of the former have been falsely ascribed to him, it may be stated that the Irish as well as foreign authorities nearly concur in the following facts:

1. That he was born in the year 372.

2. That he was brought captive into Ireland in the sixteenth year of his age, in 388, and that after four or seven years' slavery he was liberated in 392 or 395.

3. That on the death of Palladius, in 432, he was sent to Ireland as archbishop, having been first, according to some authorities, consecrated by Pope Celestine, or, as others state, in Gaul, by the archbishop Amatorex or Amator.

4. That he arrived in Ireland in 432, and, after preaching there for sixty years, died in the year 492 or 493, at the age of about 120 years.

5. That he was interred either at Saul or Down.

Of these facts the following summary is found in the *Leabhar Breac*, (fol. 99, *b.* 1,) the oldest and best Irish MS. relating to church history now preserved, or which perhaps the Irish ever possessed:

*Debemus scire quo tempore Patricius Sanctus Episcopus atque præceptor maximus Scotorum inchoavit venire ad Hiberniam,*

We ought to know at what time Patrick, the holy bishop, and chief preceptor of the Scoti, began to come to Ireland to preach and baptize, and

*prædicare, et babtizare, et mortuos suscitare, et sanare omnes morbos, et effugere omnes demones de Hibernia, et sanctificare et consecrare, et ordinare et benedicere, et decertare et cumsumare,* [*recte* consummare,] *quia Apostolus ait, Certamen bonum certavi et cursum consumavi, &c.*

Da hi tra bliadain tanic Patraic do cum n-Erenn, Nim. irin treas bliadain *xxx.* ar *cccc.* o Incholluga, irin nomad bliadain flatha Teothaner, rig in domain, ocus irin cetna bliadain Epscopoi Xirti, comorba Petair, ocus ir in ceathramad bliadain flatha Loegaire Mic Neill i Temair, ocus irin *lx.*-adma bliadain a aisi foden. *Lx.* bliadain tra, do ic baistead ocus ic foircetul fer n-Erenn, amail at bert Fiacc:

Prithchair tri fichte bliadna
Crochi Crist do thuathaib Fene, &c.

Is he in fo tra tesus h-Eleráin for Patraic, in tan tuccad tair Patraic chuca do Cluain h-Iraird:

Da min, ba már Mac Calpuirn,
Croeb fine fo mess,

to resuscitate the dead, and to cure all diseases, and to banish all the demons from Ireland, and to sanctify and consecrate, and to ordain and bless, and to contest and consummate; for the Apostle says, I have fought a good fight, and I have finished my course, &c.*

The year, then, Patrick came to Ireland was in the thirty-third year above four hundred from the Incarnation,[1] in the ninth year of the reign of Theothanes,[2] [*recte* Theodosius,] king of the world, and in the first year of the Episcopacy of Sixtus,[3] the coarb [successor] of Peter, and in the fourth year of the reign of Loeghaire,[4] the son of Niall, at Temur; and in the sixtieth year of his own age.[5] He was sixty years baptizing and instructing the men of Ireland, as Fiec says:[6]

He preached for three score years
The crucifixion of Christ to the tribes of the *Feni*.[7]

Here is the character given by Heleran[8] of Patrick, when he brought them an account of him to Clonard:

Meek and great was the son of Calphurn,
A vine branch under fruit, [i. e. bearing fruit]

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* II. Tim. iv. 7.

[1] 433, i. e. reckoning from the conception, not the birth of Christ.

[2] Counting from the death of Honorius, in the year 423, the ninth year of the reign of Theodosius would be 432, which is the year in which, according to all authorities, St. Patrick came to Ireland.

[3] That is, in the first year of Pope Sixtus III., who succeeded Celestine on the 10th of August, 432.

[4] King Laoghaire succeeded, according to the Four Masters, in the year 429; 432 would consequently be his fourth year.

[5] According to this chronology Patrick was born in the year 372, which is also the date given in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, but this is thirty-one years later than the period assigned to his birth by Tighearnach, and thirty-six later than that given in the Annals of Connaught.

[6] This would fix Patrick's death in the year 492, or, reckoning from the period of the Conception, as some of the Irish annalists do, in 493.

[7] By *Feni* Fiec certainly means the people of Ireland, who, according to all the Shanachies, were called *Feni*, *Gaël*, and *Scoti*, from three of their celebrated progenitors. See Fiec's *Scholiast*, *Trias Thaum.* p. 7.

[8] Eleran, generally called *Eleranus Sapiens*, is supposed by Colgan to be the author of the fourth Life of Saint Patrick published in *Trias Thaum.* He died a very old man in 664, according to the Four Masters, Ware, L. 1, c. 13, and Ussher in his Chronological Index. This quotation from Eleran is also given in the Litany of Aengus.

Nip boi náo caith aċc * *
Co pipao a lepp.
Sechc coecac pancc ppuchepfcoip
Ro hopone in cáo,
Imm cpi cec cpuimchep n-óg
Foppa popmaig gpao.
Cpi cec apgiepech po pcpib,
Da bil lió a lam'.
Sechc cec cell cain conacaib, [conpagaib]
Dop nócaib do lap.

He never expended * *
Until it should be required.
Seven times fifty saintly senior bishops
This saint ordained,
With three hundred pure priests,
On whom he bestowed dignity.
Three hundred alphabets he wrote,
Good was the coloring of his hand.
Seven hundred holy churches he left,
Which he raised from the ground.

Re porbanurcaip cpa Pacpaic a pich m-buaoa ipin *xx.*amao bliaoain pop ceo a aipe .i. i mbliaoain *vii. xx.* p. *Kl.* Enaip pop Aine, ocup cec bliaoain pop birex.a, hi *xvi.* imurro *Kl.*ne April na bliaona pin pop Céccaín, ocup *xiii.* puirri. Ip ann do pala écpechc Pacpaic Mic Alpuirn .i. ipin dechmao bliaoain placha Cúgoach Mic Coegaipe, ocup ipin nomao bliaoain déc abbdaine Copmaic, Comorba Pacpaic; ocup ip e pin cecna abb do coid i cathair Pacpaic; ocup ip i cpiarr bliaoain placha Echach, Mic Aengupa, pig Caipil, ocup placha Piachna Conno, Mic Coelbaid, pig Dal n-Araide, ocup placha Maine, Mic

Patrick finished his victorious course in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age,[9] that is, on the 27th year [of the solar cycle] the Calends of January on Friday, the first year after the bisextile, on the 16th of the Calends of April, which in that year fell on Wednesday, the 13th [of the moon].[10] The death of Patrick, the son of Alphurn, [*recte* Calphurn,] occurred in the tenth year of the reign of Lughaidh,[11] the son of Loeghaire, and in the ninth year of the abbacy of Cormac, Coarb of Patrick,[12] the first abbot who went in Patrick's chair, and in the third year of the reign of Eochaidh, the son of Aengus, King of Cashel,[13] and of the reign of Fiachna Lonn, son of Coelbadh, King of *Dalaradia*,[14] and of the reign of Maine,

[9] This agrees with the calculation that he was sixty years old when he arrived in Ireland in 432, and that he preached for sixty years more.

[10] According to Sir W. R. Hamilton, all these astronomical definitives agree with the year 493, except 27 for the solar cycle, which, to agree with the Calends of January on Friday, should be 26. The error probably originated with the transcriber. See *Lanigan*, vol. i. p. 131, and *Ussher, Primordia*, p. 882. The *Book of Ballymote* states that Patrick was born, baptized, and died on Wednesdays—"Cpi cecaine Pacpaic, a gein, a baccaip, a bap."

[11] According to the Annals of Ulster, which reckon the year of Christ from his conception, not his birth, Lughaidh succeeded Oilioll Molt in 484, but correctly, according to O'Flaherty, in 483. Consequently the tenth year of Lughaidh would be the four hundred and ninety-third from the birth of Christ.

[12] Cormac is called *Bishop* of Armagh, and the *heir*, i. e. coarb or successor of Patrick, in the Annals of Ulster, in which his death is recorded at the year 496. He is called Episcopus and Coarb of Patrick by Tighearnach, who places his death in 497. He succeeded Iarlath, who died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 481, which, as Dr. O'Conor proves, should be 483, and therefore the ninth year of his abbacy (or episcopacy) would be 492.

[13] According to the Annals of Tighearnach Aengus Mac Nadfraich was killed in 490. The third year of the reign of his son and immediate successor would, therefore, be 493.

[14] Not recorded by Tighearnach. He is, however, mentioned by the Four Masters as King of Dalaradia, at the year 478.

Cerbaill, rig Uirnig, ocus Domangoirt, Mic Fergusa, rig Alban, ocus Fraech, Mic Finnchuda, rig Laigen, ocus Duach Tenga-huma, rig Connacht, ocus Muirchertaig, Mic Erca, rig Ailig, ocus Coirill, Mic Muiredaig Muinderg, rig Ulaid. Iteat rin fobtar frecnairce ecrechc Patraic amail at fiadat liubair ocus eolaig.

Tri bliadna *xxx.* din, ó bar Patraic co bar m-Brigte irin *lxx.*mad bliadain a haire. In oen bliadain dia, bár Brigte ocus in cetna Ailill abb Aird Macha. Se bliadna *xxx.* o bár Brigte co cath Cúile Dremni. Coic bliadna *xxx.* o cath Cula Dremni co bár Colum Cilli .i. irin *lxxvi.* a aire. Teora bliadna *xl.* o bár Colum Cilli co cath Muige nath. *V.* bliadna *xx.* o ath Muige nath cor in m-Buide Chonaill, dia n-erbaile

son of Cerbhall, King of *Uisneach*,[15] and of Domangort, son of Fergus, King of Scotland,[16] and of Fraech, son of Finnchadh, King of Leinster,[17] and of Duach Tenga-Uma, King of Connaught,[18] and of Muirchertach Mac Erc, King of Aileach,[19] and of Coirell, son of Muiredhach Muinderg, King of Ulidia.[20] These were present at the death of Patrick, as books and learned men testify.[21]

Thirty-three years from the death of Patrick to the death of Bridget in the seventieth year of her age.[22] In the same year occurred the death of Bridget and that of Ailill I. Abbot of Armagh.[23] Thirty-six years from the death of Bridget to the battle of *Cuil Dremni*.[24] Thirty-five years from the battle of *Cuil Dremni* to the death of Columbkille in the seventy-sixth year of his age.[25] Forty-three years from the death of Columbkille to the battle of Moira.[26] Twenty-five years from the

[15] Not noticed by Tighearnach. The death of Maine Mac Cearbhaill is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 531, but by the Annals of Ulster at 537.

[16] Domangart, King of Scotland, succeeded, according to Pinkerton, from the best authorities, in 506, and ruled four years. It is, therefore, a mistake to synchronise the period of Patrick's death with any year of this king's reign.

[17] Fraech, the son of Fincha, was killed, according to Tighearnach, in 495.

[18] Duach Teanga Uma, King of Connaught, succeeded in 480, and was killed, according to Tighearnach, in 500.

[19] Muirchertach Mac Erca, the Hector of the northern Scoti, became King of Aileach in 48, was elevated to the throne of Ireland, according to Tighearnach, in 509, and died in 534.

[20] Cairell, the son of Muireadhach Muinderg, is mentioned by Tighearnach at the year 508, as King of Uladh or Ulidia. His father died, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, in 479; and his own death is recorded in the same Annals at the year 526.

[21] The literal meaning of frecnairce is present, either with respect to time or locality, and it must be here understood in the former sense, as it is hardly possible that all these kings could have been personally present at Patrick's death.

[22] "Dormitatio Sanctæ Brigidæ LXXXVIII. ætatis suæ, vel LXX tantum, ut alii dicunt."—*Tighearnach.* "Obiit Brigida anno ætat. 70, anno XXX post mortem Patricii, æræ C. 523."—*Dr. O'Conor, Ann. Tig.* p. 130, n. 28. "Omnes, uno ore, referunt obitum S. Brigidæ ad ann. XXX post excessum S. Patricii."—*Dr. O'Conor, Annal. Ult.* p. 11, note 3.

[23] The Annals of Ulster place the death of St. Bridget under the years 523 and 525, at the latter of which they record the death of Aillil, Bishop of Armagh. Dr. O'Conor argues that 523 is the true year. This is an additional proof that 493 is the year intended by the writer for the death of Patrick.

[24] This would place the battle of *Cuil Dreimni* in the year 559, which seems the correct year. The Annals of Ulster record this battle first at the year 559, and again, from a different authority, at 560, which is also the year given by Tighearnach.

[25] This would place the death of Columbkille in the year 594, which is the date given in the Annals of Ulster. "594. Quies Col. Cil. v Idus Junii, an. etatis sue lxxvi."

[26] This would place the battle of *Maghratha* in 637, which is the year given by Tighearnach.

Diarmait ocus Blathmac, da mac Aeda Slaine. *V.* bliadna *xx.* ón Buidhe Chonaill co rus maith Finachta, Mac Maeluain, mic Aeda Slaine in Boirme do Moling. Teora bliadna *xxx.* o rus maith in Boirme co cath Almaine i torchair Fergal, mac Maeluain. Se bliadna *x.* o chath Almaine co cath Uchbuid. *Xl.* bliadain o chath Uchbaid co bas Neill Frassaig, Mic Fergaile. *V.* bliadna *l.* o bas Neill Frassaig co hec Conchobair, Mic Donnchadha ocus Artri, comorbai Patraic.

* * * Ocus dm, is in aimsir sin do chotar buada martra .i. Ciprianus ocus Cornilius. Fiche bliadain sra, o'n *vii.*mad insheim co gabail Erenn do Chormac h-Ua Cuind, is in tres bliadain flatha *Probi Imperatoris.* *V.* bliadna *xx.* iar sin in nomad insheim *sub*

battle of Moira to the *Buidhe Chonaill,*[27] [a plague,] of which died Dermot and Blathmac, two sons of Aodh Slaine.[28] Twenty-five years from the *Buidhe Chonaill* until Finachta, the son of Maelduin, the son of Aedh Slaine, remitted the *Boru* to Moling.[29] Thirty-three years since the *Boru* was remitted to the battle of *Almhain,* in which Fergal, the son of Maelduin, was slain.[30] Sixteen years from the battle of *Almhain* to the battle of *Uchbadh.*[31] Forty years from the battle of *Uchbadh* to the death of Niall Frassach, son of Fergal.[32] Fifty-five years from the death of Niall Frassach to the death of Conchobhar, the son of Donnchadh,[33] and of Artri, coarb of Patrick.

* * * * At this period[34] Cyprianus and Cornelius[35] received the victory of martyrdom. Twenty years from the seventh persecution[36] until Cormac Ua Cuinn assumed the government of Ireland, in the third year of the reign of Probus the Emperor.[37] Twenty-five years after that the

[27] This would place the first appearance of the *Buidhe Chonaill* in the year 662, which is one year earlier than the date given in the Annals of Ulster. This dreadful plague, which raged all over Europe, was preceded by an eclipse, which the Annals of Tighearnach and Ulster record to the hour. Dr. O'Conor proves that the true year was 664, which is the date given by Tighearnach.

[28] They died in 465, according to the Annals of Tighearnach.

[29] Finachta abdicated, and became a clergyman, in 687, according to the Annals of Ulster, which agrees with the year of his remission of the Boru to Moling, the great patron saint of Leinster.

[30] This would place the battle of Almhain in the year 720, which is one year earlier than the date given in the Annals of Ulster, and two years earlier than the year given by Tighearnach.

[31] This would place the battle of Uchbadh in the year 736, which is too early by a year or two. The Annals of Ulster place this dreadful battle in 737, and Tighearnach in 738, which Dr. O'Conor proves to be the true date.

[32] That is, in the year 776, one year earlier than the date in the Annals of Ulster.

[33] That is, according to this calculation, in 831, which is one year earlier than that in the Annals of Ulster. "A. D. 832, Artri Mac Concobhair, Abbot of Armagh, and Concobar Mac Donnchadh, King of Tara, died in the same month."

[34] There is something omitted here in the original, as is obvious from the context. After carrying on the chronology from the period of St. Patrick to the death of Artri, Archbishop of Armagh, the writer here commences in a very abrupt manner a second series of foreign chronology, from the period of Cyprian, the martyr, down to the mission of Palladius and Patrick to Ireland.

[35] St. Cornelius was martyred in 252, St. Cyprian in 258.

[36] The seventh persecution was commenced in the beginning of 250.

[37] Probus, the emperor, succeeded in 276, and died in 282. This would fix the first year of the reign of Cormac Ua Cuinn in the year 279; and from the commencement of the seventh persecution to the third year of the reign of Probus would be twenty-nine, not twenty years.

*Dioclitiano principe.* Sechc m-bliaona iar sin cetcomrac Senaid Nece .i. *viii.* n-aposcoip *x.* ar *ccc.* isin dail sin. Tricha bliadain iar sin co hetsechc Anncóin manaig. Sechc mbliadna *x.* iar sin co bas Helair Escoip Pictaue. *Vii.* m-bliadna iar sin co etsechc n-Ambrois. Noi mbliadna *x.* iar sin co etsechc Martain. Da bliadain iar sin co gabal Escopoidi do Augustín in Hipone in-Affraic. *V.* bliadna *xx.* iar sin co bás Augustín. Dech m-bliadna o bas Augustín co ro foided *Palladius a Papa Celestino* co sorcéla Iais do Patraic dia proicept do Scotaib. Is si imo sin in oenmad bliadain ar *cccc.* o chroich Crist; mad o thóis domain, is da bliadain *xxx.* ar *cccccc.* ar *v.* mile. Is in bliadain iar sin do decha Patraic do proicept do cum n-Erenn. *Equus et Valerianus* da immis na bliadna sin. Is in bliadain sin sos [gad] Xistis ais-chinnecht Roma i n-degaid Caelestíne. Is hi sin *iiii.* bliadain flatha Loegaire Mic Neill i Temair. Da herrid in tres sis *x.* do

ninth persecution under the Emperor Dioclesian.[48] Seven years after that the assembling of the Synod of Nice,[39] at which three hundred and eighteen archbishops were present. Thirty years after that to the death of Anthony the monk.[40] Seventeen years from that to the death of Hilary,[41] Bishop of Pictavia. Seven years from that to the death of Ambrose.[42] Nineteen years from that to the death of Martin.[43] Two years from that until Augustin assumed the bishopric of Hyppo[44] in Africa. Twenty-five years from that to the death of Augustin.[45] Ten years[46] from the death of Augustin until Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine, with a gospel for Patrick, to preach it to the Scots. This was the four hundred and first[47] year from the crucifixion of Christ; and if we reckon from the beginning of the world, five thousand six hundred and thirty-two years. In the year after this[48] Patrick went to preach to Ireland. Equus [*recte* Aetius] and Valerianus [*recte* Valerius] were the two emperors [*recte* consuls] of that year. It was in this year Sixtus assumed the [ecclesiastical] supremacy of Rome after Celestine. This was the fourth year

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[38] Dioclesian was elected emperor in 283, twenty-four, not twenty-five years from the third year of Probus.

[39] The Council of Nice was held in 325, forty-two, not seventeen years after the commencement of the reign of Dioclesian.

[40] St. Anthony died in 356; that is, thirty-one, not thirty years after the convention of the Council of Nice.

[41] St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, became bishop in 355, and died in 372, sixteen years after the death of St. Anthony.

[42] St. Ambrose died in 397, twenty-five, not seven years after the death of St. Hilary.

[43] The death of St. Martin is referred to the year 397 by Gregory of Tours, and by Sigebertus to the year 402, but Dr. O'Conor attempts to prove that 401 is the true date. No authority places his death nineteen years after the death of St. Ambrose, as stated here.

[44] St. Augustin became Bishop of Hyppo in 396, before the death of St. Martin, and not twenty-one years after it, according to this chronology.

[45] St. Augustin died in 430, thirty-four, not twenty-five years after his appointment to the Bishopric of Hyppo.

[46] This, if not an error of the transcriber in writing *dech* for *da*, is entirely wrong; for, according to Prosper, Palladius was sent to Ireland in 431.

[47] The four hundred and first year from the crucifixion of Christ would be the year 434.

[48] According to this calculation Patrick would have come to Ireland in 435, but as his coming is synchronised with the consulship of Aetius and Valerius, and with the first year of Pope Sixtus, the year intended is certainly 432, and the error must have originated with the transcribers.

ꝑaḷḷnuṙcaiṙ Ꮎiṙe hó aimṙiṙ na v. ṙiꝫ n-auṙ-
ꝺeṙc ṙo ꝑanoṙaꝺ Ꮎiṙe ecaṙṙu hi coic .i.
Conċobaṙ, Ailḷil, Coiṙṙṙe, Ꮎochu, Cuṙi.
Ala bliaꝺain aṙ cccc. iaṙ ṙin hó cṙoich
Cṙiṙꝺ; ocuṙ ṙeṙ bliaꝺain xxx. aṙ ccccc.
aṙ v. míle o ṫhúṙ ꝺoṁain.

Finiṫ, Amen.

of the reign of Loeghaire, son of Niall, at Temur. He was the thirteenth king, who governed Ireland since the period of the five famous kings, who divided Ireland between them into five parts, viz.: Conchobhar, Aillil, Coirpre, Eochu, [and] Curi. This was the four hundred and second year from the crucifixion of Christ, and the three and thirtieth year above six hundred and five thousand from the beginning of the world.

*Finit, Amen.*

The age of the preceding document, which has not been hitherto published, or even noticed, may be ascertained with tolerable accuracy from a catalogue of the successors of St. Patrick, in the see of Armagh, which immediately follows it in the same MS. and which is constructed on the same scheme of chronology, and appears to be the composition of the same writer. The last archbishop named in this catalogue, and in whose time it was obviously drawn up, is Domhnall, the son of Amhalghaidh, who succeeded in 1091 or 1092, and died in 1105; and as the writer allows only eight years to his episcopacy, it is clear that he wrote about the year 1100. That the chronology of these documents was drawn up in accordance with, as well as to sustain the popular belief of the period respecting the important eras of the saint's life, is sufficiently obvious; and it may, therefore, be regarded as the best existing authority in support of the system which it was intended to uphold. That its chronology is almost entirely erroneous in whatever precedes the assumed period of Patrick's mission, has been shewn in the preceding notes, as well as its general accuracy from that period forward. The inaccuracies in the former are, however, of small importance in this inquiry, as the only question to be investigated is, whether the dates usually assigned to Patrick's birth, mission, &c., can be sustained by historical evidences or not, and to this inquiry the subject now naturally turns.

1. With respect to the period of Patrick's birth, it may be briefly stated that Ussher assigns it to the year 372, and Colgan to 373. For either of these dates, however, no record has been found in the Irish Annals, and it rests solely on the authority of the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, compiled in the twelfth century. The Bollandists assign his birth, conjecturally, to the year 377, and Dr. Lanigan thinks he settles the point by placing it ten years later, and this solely on

a conjecture of Tillemont's, founded on certain passages in the *Confessio* of St. Patrick, which passages, even if authentic, would be indeed a very uncertain guide, but which are in reality not found in the oldest and purest copy of that work extant, namely, that preserved in the Book of Armagh, which is stated to have been transcribed from the original, written by the Saint's own hand.—See *Lanigan*, vol. i. pp. 135, 136. As already stated, the only notices on this point found in the Irish authorities refer it to 333, or, as Tighearnach has it, 341.

2. With respect to the date of his captivity, a few words will also suffice. Ussher, in accordance with the statement of the fact in the *Confessio*, that he was sixteen years old at the time, assigns it to 388, to agree with the assumed year of his birth; and Lanigan, in like manner, to suit his theory, places it in 403. The assumption of Dr. Lanigan is, however, of no weight, as the conclusion on which he founds it has been already shewn to be groundless; and in this, as in the former case, the Irish Annals of Tighearnach, which assign his captivity to the year 357, are opposed to the conjectural dates of both.

3. The year of his mission. This is the point on which the whole question as to the existence of a second Patrick hinges, and, as stated by Ussher, is that on which nearly all the authorities concur :—"In mortis anno designando, ut vides, magna est inter istos discrepantia: de anno missionis in Hiberniam nulla."—*Primordia*, p. 880. It might be supposed, therefore, that this point was beyond the reach of controversy, and yet unfortunately it is that on which many learned men have since felt the greatest degree of doubt; nor has any sufficient evidence been found that would set this important question at rest. The foreign authorities for the fact reach no higher than the eleventh century, when, it might be argued, the Irish legends of his life had been worked up and dispersed over Europe, through the innumerable missionaries which Ireland had sent out. The authorities in the Irish Annals on this subject are of uncertain antiquity, and their notices of this, as well as the circumstances connected with it, seem to have been wholly derived from the popular lives of the saint. It is to be regretted that on this important point the authority of the ancient Bodleian MS. of Tighearnach is wanting, as the portion of it relating to the period is lost; but there can be little if any doubt that the passages wanting in that copy are preserved in the more modern copies of his Annals in Dublin, called the *Chronicum Scotorum*, which record the mission of Patrick at 432, but omit that

of Palladius. The Annals of Ulster do, however, record both, and give their authorities in a passage, the importance of which has not hitherto been sufficiently appreciated.

"An. ab incarnatione Domini ccccxxxi. Palladius ad Scotos a Celestino urbis Romæ Episcopo, ordinatur Episcopus, Aetio et Valeriano Coss; primus mittitur in Hiberniam, ut Christum credere potuissent, anno Theodosii viii.

"An. cccexxxii. Patricius pervenit ad Hiberniam ix anno Theodosii junioris, primo anno Episcopatus Xisti xlii Episcopi Rom. Eccl. Sic enumerant Beda et Marcellinus, et Isidorus, in chronicis suis."

Here then are references made to authorities, which, if correct, should at once settle the question; but, unfortunately, no passages relating to Patrick's mission are found in any printed edition or MS. copy of the works of the writers referred to, while the mission of Palladius is recorded in them all. Indeed the silence of Bede, as well as the earlier chroniclers, has long been felt as a negative argument, not easily refuted, against the mission of Patrick. But, however fatal this silence, particularly of Bede, may be to the mission of a Patrick following Palladius, in order of time, it should not be considered as an objection to the existence of a preacher of the name in Ireland anterior to that period; and indeed the ancient churches and other monumental remains connected with his name, found in all parts of Ireland, as well as the vivid traditions still universally current, are sufficient to satisfy any candid inquirer, that such a personage must have existed, whatever may have been the period at which he flourished.

Another objection which has been made to the truth of these accounts is, that, whether Palladius died, as the Bollandists state, on the 6th of July, 431 or 432, or the 24th of January, 432, as Lanigan argues from other authorities, there would still be too little time between that and the period of the death of Celestine, on the 6th of April that year, for the account of that event to have reached Rome, or at all events, for Patrick to have travelled thither to be consecrated and commissioned by him; and Lanigan acknowledges that Patrick could not have heard of the death of Palladius until about the latter end of February, or beginning of March. Dr. Lanigan, therefore, is obliged to reject the fact stated in some of the lives respecting Patrick's visit to Rome and consecration there by Pope Celestine, after the death of Palladius; and he endeavours to meet the difficulty by the supposition, which he thinks satisfactory, but for which there is no authority, that St. Patrick was ordained second in the mission,

though not consecrated bishop, at the same time with Palladius, and that consequently on the death of the latter he proceeded no farther than Gaul to receive the Episcopal dignity, and was accordingly consecrated there by a bishop, Amathus, Amatorex, or Amator. But this again involves a new difficulty, as this Amatorex, according to the Scholiast of Fiach, and several of the lives, was Bishop of Auxerre; and, as the only bishop of that name had died fourteen years before, it is manifest that he could not have consecrated Patrick a bishop at the period assigned. To meet this objection, Dr. Lanigan, while he acknowledges that no other Gallican prelate of the name is found in the history of the times, offers another equally improbable conjecture, namely, that his consecrator was a Bishop Amandus of Bordeaux, and that the name Amandus might have been easily changed into *Amatus*, *Amathœus*, or *Amator*. But with those who may be disposed to consider the true era of Patrick as earlier than that usually assigned to him, this conjecture will have but little weight, and the statement respecting Amatorex of Auxerre will carry evidence in favour of the truth of their hypothesis.

From the preceding observations it will be evident that the authorities hitherto quoted are insufficient to establish the mission of a second Patrick, if the claim of Palladius to the name be allowed. It remains then to inquire how far the *Confessio* and the lives in the Book of Armagh sustain this assumed fact.

And, first, of the *Confessio*, it may be briefly stated, that this interesting document, which the learned generally have considered genuine, does not, in that most ancient and uninterpolated copy preserved in the Book of Armagh, contain even a single passage which would throw the slightest light on the obscurities of the question. It might, in fact, be equally applicable to any earlier Patrick as to the reputed one of this period.

The collections in the Book of Armagh, relating to the Life of Patrick, are supposed, apparently with justice, to have been written in the seventh century, and their authority must therefore be taken in preference to that of all the later lives, which are evidently but systematized amplifications of them. Yet it will be seen that even in those documents the statements are so vague and contradictory that nothing very conclusive can be gleaned from them. The first of these lives, which, in a ruder style, is nearly the same in substance as that published by Colgan under the name of Probus, is ascribed by Ussher to Maccuthenius, a writer of the seventh century. In this life no statement of the consecration or

mission of Patrick by Pope Celestine is found. It mentions, however, somewhat ambiguously, that Patrick, while with St. Germanus, desiring to proceed to Ireland, the latter sent an old priest called *Segitius* with him as a companion and witness; and, that Patrick hearing in Ebmoria, a city of Gaul, of the death of Palladius, applied to a neighbouring bishop, Amathorex, to receive the episcopal dignity, after having obtained which he proceeded to Ireland.

" Oportuno ergo tempore imperante comitante divino auxilio coeptum ingreditur iter ad opus in quod ollim præparatus fuerat utique ævanguelii, et missit Germanus seniorem cum illo, hoc est Segitium prespiterum ut testem comitem haberet, quia nec adhuc a sancto domino Germano in pontificali gradu ordinatus est.

" Certe enim erat quod Paladius Archidiaconus Pape Caelestini Urbis Romæ Episcopi, qui tunc tenebat sedem apostolicam quadragensimus quintus a Sancto Petro Apostolo, ille Palladius ordinatus et missus fuerat ad hanc insolam sub brumali rigore possitam convertendam; sed prohibuit illum [Deus convertere gentem illam—Probus], quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de cælo. Nam neque hii fieri et inmites homines facile reciperunt doctrinam ejus, neque et ipse voluit transegere tempus in terra non sua, sed reversus ad eum qui missit illum revertere vero eo hinc et primo mari transito, coeptoque terrarum itenere in Britonum finibus vita factus [*recte* functus].

" Audita itaque morte Sancti Paladii in Britannis, quia discipuli Paladii, id est Augustinus et Benedictus et cæteri redeuntes retulerant in Ebmoria de morte ejus; Patricius et qui cum eo erant declinaverunt iter ad quendam mirabilem hominem summum æpiscopum Amathorege [*recte* Amathoregem] nomine in propinquo loco habitantem, ibique Sanctus Patricius sciens quæ eventura essent, ibi episcopalem gradum ab Mathorege sancto episcopo accepit, etiam Auxilius, Iserninusque, et cæteri inferioris gradus eodem die quo sanctus Patricius ordinati sunt.

" Tum acceptis benedictionibus, perfectis omnibus secundum morem, —— venerabilis viator paratam navim in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis ascendit et pervenit Brittannias. Et omissis omnibus ambulandi anfractibus præter commone viæ officium, nemo enim dissidia quærit Dominum, cum omni velocitate, flatuque prospero mare nostrum contendit."—Fol. 2, p. *a*, col. 1 & 2.

In the amplifications of the above obscure and apparently defective passage, as given in the Tripartite and other later lives, it is stated that Patrick was sent by Germanus to Rome to receive the approbation of the Pope to his mission, and to be consecrated for the purpose. But that Maccuthenius did not intend to convey any thing like this appears clear from the headings of the chapters prefixed to his work to be noticed presently, and in which it is distinctly stated, that going to the apostolic see, where he wished to learn wisdom, he met with St. Germanus in Gaul, and *therefore went no farther*. This is also shewn from the interpolated version of his life by Probus, which, however, sends Patrick to

Rome to receive the apostolic blessing, after having preached unsuccessfully in Ireland many years *before* the mission of Palladius.

The next notice bearing on the question is found in the following passage appended to this life, called the *Dicta* of St. Patrick: but in this passage, which is very obscure, it is merely stated that the saint travelled through Gaul, Italy, and the islands in the Terrhene Sea. It appears, however, to be the groundwork of the amplified details to this effect, found in the later lives.

"Timorem Dei habui ducem iteneris mei per Gallias atque Italiam, etiam in insolis quæ sunt in mari Terreno. De sæculo requissistis ad Paradissum *Deo gratias;* aeclessia Scotorum immo Romanorum, ut Christiani, ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur vobiscum oportet omni hora orationis vox illa laudabilis *Curie lession, Christe lession,* omnis æclessia quæ sequitur me cantet *Cyrie lession, Christe lession, Deo gratias.*"—Fol. 9, p. *a*, col. 1.

The next document in the collection is the annotations of Tirechan, which, as the transcriber states, were taken "from the mouth or book of Ultan," who was the first bishop of the *Dal-Conchubair*, at Ardbraccan, and flourished in the beginning of the seventh century. In this tract, which is a collection of traditional notices, not a regular life of the Apostle, the mission of Patrick, after the death of Palladius, is thus distinctly recorded:

"Xiii anno Teothosii Imperatoris a Celestino Episcopo, Papa Romæ, Patricius Episcopus ad doctrinam Scottorum mittitur; qui Celestinus xlv episcopus a Petro Apostolo in Urbe Roma.

"Paladius Episcopus primo mittitur, qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur; qui martyrium passus est apud Scottos ut tradunt Sancti antiqui. Deinde Patricius secundus ab anguelo Dei, Victor nomine, et a Celestino Papa mittitur; cui Hibernia tota credidit; qui eam pene totam babtizavit."—Fol. 16, p. *a*, col. 1.

The next tract is the preface addressed by Maccuthenius, the author of the first life in this volume, as already noticed, to Aidus, Bishop of Sletty, for whom it was written; and this is followed by a table of the heads of the chapters contained in the first book. This preface and table have been placed out of their proper order, through the ignorance of the transcriber, who was a different scribe from the person who copied the life itself; and hence Ussher, who had this book in his possession, says on one occasion,—*Primordia*, p. 818,—that the Life of Patrick, by Maccuthenius, contained only the heads of chapters; and yet, subsequently seeing his error, although it did not occur to him to state it, he several times refers to the life itself as the work of this author, and on one occasion, p. 832, gives a long extract from it. This apparent inconsistency did not escape the observation

of Colgan, though he was not able to account for it.—See *Trias Thaum.* p. 218, col. 1. That this preface and table of contents belong to, and should have been prefixed to the first book of the work of Maccuthenius, is satisfactorily proved by their perfect agreement with the matter contained in it, and by the fact that a similar table is prefixed to the second book, and which is in its proper place.

The settlement of this point is of considerable importance, as it determines, beyond a doubt, the age of the life itself. And as the preface clearly shews that, even at the period of the composition of this work, which is undoubtedly the foundation of all the subsequent lives, as well as the notices in Erric of Auxerre and Nennius, the greatest uncertainty existed respecting the history of Patrick, and as the writer acknowledges that his authorities were doubtful, and their truth suspected by many, it necessarily follows, not only that the details of subsequent writers on the points under consideration, not contained in this life, must have but little claim to historical authenticity, but also that even the statements of Maccuthenius himself, must be received with considerable caution.

The preface alluded to runs as follows:

"Quoniam quidem, mi Domine Aido, multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem utique istam secundum quod patres eorum, et qui ministri ab initio fuerunt sermonis, tradiderunt illis; sed propter difficillimum narrationis opus, diversasque opiniones, et plurimorum plurimas suspiciones, numquam ad unum, certumque historiæ tramitem pervenierunt: ideo, ni fallor, juxta hoc nostrorum proverbium, ut deducuntur pueri in ambiteathrum, in hoc periculossum et profundum narrationis sanctæ pylagus, turgentibus proterve gurgitum aggeribus inter acutissimos Carubdes per ignota aequora insitos, a nullis adhuc lintribus, excepto tantum uno patris mei cognito, si expertum atque occupatum ingeni olim ei puerilem remi cymbam deduxi. Sed ne magnum de parvo videar finguere, pauca hæc de multis Sancti Patricii gestis parva peritia, incertis auctoribus, memoria labili, attrito sensu, vili sermone, sed affectu pissimo, caritatis et sanctitatis tuæ et auctoritatis imperio oboedens, carptim, gravatimque explicare aggrediar."—Fol. 20, p. *a*, col. 1.

After the table of contents the following notice is appended:—"Hæc pauca de Sancti Patricii peritia et virtutibus *Muirchu Maccumachtheni*, dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis Episcopo conscripsit."—Fol. 20, *b*, 1.

It is greatly to be regretted that the first folio of this life has been lost since the book was in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, but the subjects of which it treated are preserved by Probus, though, as usual, in an amplified or interpolated form, as appears from the titles of the chapters given in the table already referred to. These titles, however, throw but little light on the subject now

under consideration; but, though they seem to shew that the writer believed that Patrick never went to Rome, they concur with the other lives in referring the date of his consecration to a period subsequent to the death of Palladius. The titles of the lost chapters, as well as those relating to his mission, are here given: (Fol. 20, *a*, 1.)

"De ortu Patricii et ejus prima captivitate.
De navigio ejus cum gentibus et vexatione diserti cibo sibi gentilibus divinitus delato.
De secunda captura quam senis decies diebus ab inimicis prætulerat.
De susceptione sua a parentibus ubi agnoverunt eum.
De ætate ejus quando iens videre sedem apostolicam voluit discere sapientiam.
De inventione Sancti Germani in Galliis et ideo non exivit ultra.
De aetate ejus quando vissitavit eum anguelus ut veniret adhuc.
De reversione ejus de Gallis et ordinatione Palladii et mox morte ejus.
De ordinatione ejus ab Amathorege Episcopo, defuncto Palladio.
De rege gentili habeto in Temoria quando venerat Sanctus Patricius babtismum portans."

The remaining tract is called the Book of the Angel. It relates chiefly to the rights due to the See of Armagh; and contains nothing which throws any light on the subject under consideration. It is, in fact, a mere fabrication to support the authority of the church of Armagh; and indeed it is not easy to avoid a suspicion that all the lives in this Book of Armagh have been written with a view to serve the same purpose.

On the whole, then, it will be seen that these are the most ancient lives of the saint now extant, and the originals from which all the more amplified lives published by Colgan have been derived; and the conclusion therefore follows, that the mission of a Patrick in 432 rests on authorities as early as the seventh century. Still it must be confessed that these authorities are so uncertain and contradictory, and, as Maccuthenius acknowledges, derived from such doubtful, and even then suspected sources, that it is difficult to refrain from a suspicion that this Patrick may be no other than the Palladius of the Roman authorities, and that the particulars of his life may have been drawn up from materials as properly belonging to the biography of the Sen-Patrick of the Irish authorities as to his own. The probability of the truth of this conjecture will be increased by an investigation of the authorities which treat of the time of his death and place of his burial, to be next noticed.

4. The year of his death. On this point the authorities are all at variance.

The dates in the oldest documents,—the lives in the Book of Armagh,—appear to agree with those to which the death of Sen-Patrick is referred by the annalists. The life by Maccuthenius is, indeed, silent on this head, but, as it states that the saint was one hundred and twenty years of age when he died, and as a similar statement is made in the life by Tirechan, in which the death of Patrick is placed two or five years before the death of Laoghaire,—that is, according to the chronology of the Irish Annals, in 458 or 461,—it may be concluded that both biographers concur on this point; and it is remarkable that Giraldus Cambrensis also places the death of Patrick the Apostle in 458. It has, however, been already shewn that these are the dates assigned by the Irish annalists to the death of the first or Sen-Patrick; and that these dates must refer to him is obvious, as, if they belonged to the Patrick who came in 432, it would contradict the statement in all the lives, that he was sixty years preaching in Ireland.

But the Irish annalists, as well as a crowd of foreign writers, place the death of Patrick, the Archbishop and Apostle of the Irish, in 491, 492, or 493. Thus the entry in Tighearnach, which has been copied by most of the subsequent annalists, quotes an ancient Irish quatrain as authority for the date 493:

"A. D. 493. *Patricius Archiepiscopus et Apostolus Hibernensium anno etatis sue centesimo vigesimo, xvi. Kal. April. quievit.*

| | |
|---|---|
| "O ȝenemain Cpiꝛc, ceim aiꝛ, | From the birth of Christ, a pleasant period, |
| Ceᵭpe ceo ꝓop caem noċaiꝺ | Four hundred above fair ninety, |
| Ƭeopa bliaꝺain ꝓaep iap ꝼein | Three noble years after that |
| Co bap Ꝓaopaic ꝑꝛim Apꝛcail." | To the death of Patrick, chief Apostle. |

This quatrain is also quoted by the Four Masters, and in all the copies of the *Chronicon Scotorum* preserved in Dublin, and most correctly in Duald Mac Firbis's copy of that work, preserved in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which is here given with Colgan's translation, *Trias Thaum.* p. 234:

| | |
|---|---|
| "O ȝenap Cpíꝛc,—áipeaṁ aiꝛ, | A nato Christo (calculando rectè), |
| Ceᵭpe céaꝺ ꝓop caoṁnoċaiꝛ | Quadringenti cum nonaginta, |
| Ƭeopa bliaꝺna beaċ iap ꝑin | Et tribus annis insuper, |
| Ƽo báp Ꝓaopaiȝ ꝑꝛiom Apꝛail. | Usque ad mortem Patricii, præcipui Apostoli nostri." |

And thus, if this passage be not an interpolation, which is not very probable, it would appear that Tighearnach understood this Patrick, the Archbishop and Apostle, as a different person from an earlier Patrick, whose birth, captivity, and death he had before recorded. But still the accuracy of this date will be apt to

be doubted by the impartial investigator, when it is considered that it is not found in the original lives of the Saint, and a suspicion can hardly fail to arise that it owes its origin to the necessity for reconciling the sixty years assigned to the Saint's mission in Ireland with the year 432, in which it is asserted to have commenced. As to the foreign authorities, they can have little weight in this question as the most ancient of them, that of Florence of Worcester, is not earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century.

Another point connected with this question is the reputed day of his death; and on this the authorities, ancient as well as modern, all concur in the statement, that it was the 17th of March. Thus in the earliest, the Book of Armagh:

"——— Quod in die xvi Kal. Aprilis peractis totius ejus vitæ annis .cxx. et provenerat sicut omnibus totius Hyberniæ annis celebratur."—*Maccuthenius.*

"Sollempnitate dormitationis ejus honorari [debet] in medio veris per .iii. dies et .iii. noctes omni bono cibo præter carnem quasi Patricius veniisset in vita in hostium."—*Tirechan.*

So also in the *Feilire* or *Festilogium* of Aengus, at the 17th of March:

Lasair greni aine,
Flamma solis puri,
aspol erend oige,
Apostolus Hiberniæ sacræ,
patraic comet mile
Patricius custos millium
rop ditiu diar troige.
Fuit præsidium nostris miseris.

Here then is a perfect agreement of all the authorities, ancient as well as modern, as to the day at present universally received as the festival of the Irish Apostle; and this day is altogether different from that assigned to the death of Sen-Patrick, as well as different from any one of the days, for there are several, assigned as that of the death of Palladius. But though these records seem clearly to establish the fact that a second Patrick, the reputed Apostle, died on the 17th of March, the very great degree of uncertainty respecting the day as well as year of the death of Palladius, leave it by no means clear that this may not as properly be his day. The day of Palladius's death is variously assigned to the 15th and 25th of December, 431, and to the 27th of January and 6th of July, 432; and where three of these dates must obviously be wrong, it is not unreasonable to conclude

that the fourth may be wrong also. But, however this may be, it is obvious, that without rejecting the most ancient historical evidences, the existence of a second Patrick cannot be questioned, whether this Patrick was Palladius or not; and if he were not Palladius, it will be difficult, if not wholly impossible, to collect any authentic circumstances relative to his history. It is indeed impossible to come to any other conclusion on this head without rejecting as fabrications all the historical dates of the annalists and the authority of Aengus and Fiech's Scholiast, relative to the elder Patrick; but this rejection would be wholly unwarrantable, for though there might have been a motive to fabricate authorities in support of the history of the second Patrick, after it had been shaped into something like form, it is obvious that there could have been none to induce those writers to do so in opposition to that history, and thus contradict even their own statements. Dr. Lanigan, who, on this question, rejects the best authorities when they war with his hypothesis, and admits the worst when they support it, finding that the dates assigned by the annalists to the death of Sen-Patrick, whom he wished to make identical with the apostle, would not agree with the tradition of the Irish that the latter died on a Wednesday, assigns the death of Patrick to the year 465, and this solely on the authority of the Annals of Innisfallen, and because he found that the 17th of March in that year fell on Wednesday, as well as in 493. But he should have acknowledged that the Annals of Innisfallen, with respect to their chronology, are weak authority indeed in comparison with the more ancient annals, and particularly when they are not corroborated by other documents; and even if the fact were otherwise, the passage in question could not be received as an authentic record, because it bears the evidence of an error in the transcription, as can be clearly shewn. The passage is as follows;—"*An.* cccclxxxviii. Kl. *Quies Patricii in* xvi Kl. *April. Anno* ccccxxxii. *a passione Domini. Quies Meic Cuilind Luscai.*" Thus it appears that the year intended was 488, and that the death of Mac Cuilinn, Bishop of Lusk, is placed in the same year with that of Patrick. But Mac Cuilinn died, according to the Annals of Tighearnach and Ulster, in 495; and as all the events in the Annals of Innisfallen at this period are a few years antedated, it is obvious that an error has been committed in the numerals, from which Dr. Lanigan's conclusion was drawn.

5. The place of his interment. It will have been recollected that the Irish, as well as the Glastonbury authorities, concur in the statement that Sen-Patrick,

or Senex Patricius, was interred at Glastonbury; but according to the lives, Patrick the Apostle was buried at Saul or Downpatrick. On this point, however, the accounts are so legendary and contradictory, that, if any conclusion could be drawn, it would be that they are all fabulous, and that nothing was known on the subject. This is acknowledged by Tirechan, who writes that where his bones are no one knew:—"*ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit.*" It is true, that he afterwards states that his place of burial was pointed out at Saul-Patrick by St. Columbkille, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit:

"Colomb cille Spiritu Sancto instigante ostendit sepulturam Patricii, ubi est confirmat, id est in *Sabul* Patricii, id est in aeclesia juxta mare, ubi est conductio martirum, id est ossium Coluimb cille de Brittannia, et conductio omnium Sanctorum Hiberniæ in die judicii."—Fol. 15, *b*, & 16, *a*.

But this legend was evidently fabricated after the death of Columbkille, for the purpose of giving to Saul the honor of having the sepulchre of both.

The life by Maccuthenius has a more ridiculous legend to account for his interment at *Dun-leth-glaisse*. It states that the saint, feeling his end approaching, commanded himself to be carried to Armagh, but was prevented by an angel, who desired him to return to Saul; and that afterwards the same angel advised him as to his burial, and directed that after his death two untamed oxen should be suffered to proceed wherever they wished, and that where they should rest a church should be founded in honour of his body, which was accomplished accordingly, the Son of God guiding them to *Dun-leth-glaisse*, where Patrick was buried. These legends require no comment; and it is pitiable to find such a man as Dr. Lanigan endeavouring to account for the uncertainty on this point apparent in the lives, by the supposition that the *exact* spot of his grave only was meant. But, according to Maccuthenius, the exact spot was known, for he says that in after times, when the church was in progress of building over his body, the men who were digging the ground perceived fire to break out from the grave, and retiring, they fled with fear from the flame. It is enough to state that on this point the ancient annals are silent, with the exception of the Annals of Ulster, in which is transcribed from the Life of Columbkille, the legend that narrates that saint's discovery of the sepulchre of Patrick, but without naming the locality.

From the preceding data, then, it will be apparent:

1. That the Irish authorities clearly prove the existence of at least two teachers

of Christianity in Ireland popularly called Patrick, namely, Sen-Patrick, and Patrick the Archbishop; and, that the attempts of Dr. Lanigan to shape a consistent life of the Irish Apostle, by making him identical with the Sen-Patrick of the Irish and Glastonbury authorities, can only be sustained by an unwarrantable rejection of the most ancient records bearing on the subject, and by substituting in their place conjectures either wholly gratuitous, or, at best, founded on documents of inferior credit.

2. That the most ancient Irish annals appear to make a distinction between the first Patrick and the second, the one being called St. Patrick, or Sen-Patrick, and the second Patricius Archiepiscopus et Apostolus, an epithet which is obviously applicable to the Patrick of Celestine; and that while the death of the latter is placed in the year 492 or 493, the death of the first Patrick is placed by the same annalists in 458 or 461.

3. That the acts of these two Patricks have been so blended together by the biographers—if they may be so called—of the supposed apostle's life, that it is now impossible to separate them, or to determine, with any degree of certainty, the acts which properly belong to either; though this much may perhaps be gathered, that the first, or Sen-Patrick, appears to have preceded the mission of Palladius; that he was the author of the *Confessio*, and the Irish Hymn, which last is now first published in this memoir, if these productions be not spurious; and, that he died about the year 461, and was interred at Glastonbury, whither he had retired, as it would appear, previously to the mission of the second Patrick.

4. That the acts of the second Patrick are so feebly supported by ancient historical evidences with respect to dates, time and place of birth, death, and burial, and every thing except his mission, as to lead to the suspicion that even on this point there may have been a fabrication, and that he may have been no other than the Palladius of the Roman authorities, whose life is involved in an equal degree of mystery.

In support of this perhaps novel conjecture many facts from the ancient lives and other authorities might be adduced, of which a few will suffice:

1. That the oldest Irish authorities shew that Palladius was also called Patrick.

2. That the Roman authorities, as well as Bede, while they record the mission of Palladius, are wholly silent respecting Patrick.

3. That Prosper ascribes the same success to the mission of Palladius that the Irish do to that of Patrick.

4. That in the various copies of the Annals of Tighearnach, known by the name of the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and which supply the chasms in the Bodleian copy of those annals, no mention is made of the mission of Palladius, but of that of Patrick only.

5. That in the different versions or copies of the Saxon Chronicle, as remarked by Ussher, where the mission of Palladius is recorded, no mention is made of that of Patrick, and that where that of Patrick is given that of Palladius is omitted, and that the dates are the same in all, and the words the same, excepting in the names, whether referring to the one or the other.

An. ccccxxx. Her þar Pallaðius a fenð fram Celestine þam Papan to boðiande Scottum fullihte.—*Cod. Cot.*

An. ccccxxx. Her þar Patricius a fenð fram Celestine þæ Papan to boðnianne Scottum fulluhte.—*Cod. Petroburg. et Laud.*

6. That in the extract given in the preceding sheet from the *Leabhar Breac* Palladius is stated to have brought with him from Rome a copy of the Gospel for St. Patrick, a circumstance which would hardly be explicable if the Irish Apostle succeeded him.

7. That Sen-Patrick is stated, in the oldest authorities, to have been the master or instructor of the patron of Ireland, and in the life by Probus it is stated that the latter was ordained priest by a St. Senior.

8. That Palladius, according to an ancient authority quoted by Ussher, was, like Patrick, a Briton.

9. That Patrick and Palladius, according to the lives, landed at the same harbour in Wicklow, and were opposed by the same chief.

10. That Palladius and Patrick are stated to have brought the same relics of the Apostles from Rome, though, according to Maccuthenius, St. Patrick never proceeded farther than Gaul.

11. That Palladius, according to Prosper, was the instigator of the mission of Germanus to Britain to root out the Pelagian heresy, while, according to the lives, Patrick accompanied Germanus to Britain for the same purpose.

12. That Palladius is said to have been unsuccessful in his mission, and that he left Ireland to return to Rome; and the oldest of the lives published by

Colgan, that by Probus, states that Patrick also was unsuccessful, and revisited Rome to obtain the apostolic benediction, but that he afterwards returned to Ireland.

13. Lastly, it may be repeated, that nothing certain is known of the year in which either this second Patrick or Palladius died, or the place where they were interred, which could hardly have been the case if Patrick died in Ireland, nor could the relics of Sen-Patrick *only* have been venerated at Armagh, as it is stated they were, if those of the second Patrick could have been obtained.

These coincidences are thrown out for the consideration of the learned, with a hope that they may assist in promoting a spirit of impartial investigation of this interesting portion of the history of Ireland; and though the subject has led to a much more extensive apparent digression from the immediate object of this memoir than was anticipated, or was desirable, still it cannot be considered as out of place in a dissertation on the history of a spot in which the first great effort is said to have been made to establish Christianity in the country, by the conversion of its monarch and chieftains. But, even if it were otherwise, it is hoped that an effort to assist in the elucidation of a subject so interesting in itself, and so important as that on which the whole chronology of Irish history has been erected, by the publication, in a faithful and ungarbled manner, of ancient documents, bearing upon the subject, and hitherto locked up from the learned, may be received in a spirit of indulgence.

To resume the list of kings:

IV. *Muircheartach Mac Earca* succeeded Lughaidh, according to Tighearnach, in the year 509, but, according to the Annals of Ulster, with which Ware and O'Flaherty agree, in 513, there having been, according to the latter annals, an interregnum of five years' duration.

The following notice of the reign of this prince is given in the Book of Lecan, fol. 306, p. *a.* col. 1:

Do gob era Muirchertach (.i. Mac Erca) Mac Muiredaich, mic Eogain, mic Nell Naigiallaich, rigi n-Erenn ré ceathra bliadan fichet.

Muirchertach, (i. e. Mac Erca,) son of Muredhach, son of Eogan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, assumed the government of Ireland for a period of twenty-four years.

Is airi deirthea Mac Erca re Muirchertach .i. fers chucaraip Errog Erc Slanga do, dia nderbrad so:

Muirchertach was called Mac Erca, because Erc, Bishop of Slane, placed his affection upon him; of whom was said:

Erroc Erc, ———
Cech ni con cerdad fa cert.
Cach aen berer co cert cáir
Forrbaid bermacht Erroic Erc.

No, ir í Earc, ingen Loairn, a mathair, ocus ir airi a derthea Mac Earca de.

Do chuir thra Muirchertach techta d'iarraid na Boroma, ocus ni uair ach cath do gellad do; ocus do thinoil Muircheartach fir Leithi Cuind ocus uarli cloind Conaill Gairbreag, mic Neill. Teacait tra Laignig co Bregaib na n-agaid do chur chaid re huib Neill, im Illand Mac Dunlaing, im rig Laigen; ocus cuirther cath Deata i mBregaib etarru, ocus marbéar ann Ardgal Mac Conaill Gairbreag, ocus Colcu Mac Cloithi, mic Crunn, mic Fedlimthe Casan, mic Colla Da-crich, ri Airgiall; ocus brister for Laignib in cath sin, ocus cacha imda aili, cor thoboig cen chath in boroma in cén ro ba beo iarum. Ir do na cathaib sin do chuir Muirchertach .i. cath Eiblinni, ocus cath Maigi Ailbe, ocus cath Almaine ocus orcain na Cliach for Laignib, dia noebrad:

Cat Chinneich, cat Almaine,—
Fa h-aimsir airdrigi ampe;—
Orcain na Cliach, cath Aidne,
Ocus cath Maigi Ailbi.

Bishop Erc, ———
Whatever he adjusted was right.
Whoever judges justly and fairly
Will receive the blessing of Bishop Erc.*

Or, Earc, the daughter of Loarn, was his mother, and from her he was called Mac Erca.

Muirchertach sent messengers to demand the Boru, and he did not obtain it, but a promise of a battle instead. And Muirchertach assembled the men of *Leath-Cuinn* and the nobles of the race of Conall Earrbreagh, the son of Niall. The Lagenians came to Bregia against them, under the conduct of Illann, the son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster, to give battle to the Hy-Niall. And the battle of *Deata*, in Bregia, was fought between them, in which were slain Ardgal, the son of Conall Earrbreagh, and Colcu, son of Cloithi, son of Crunn, son of Fedhlimidh Casan, son of Colla Dacrich, King of Airgiall; and the Lagenians were defeated in this battle, and in many others, so that he raised the *Boru* without a battle, while he lived afterwards. Among those battles fought by Muirchertach, were the battle of *Eibhlinne* and the battle of *Magh Ailbhe*, and the battle of *Almhain*, and the devastation of the *Cliachs* against the Lagenians; of which was said:

The battle of *Cinn-eich*, the battle of *Almhain*,—
It was an illustrious, famous period;—
The devastation of the *Cliachs*, the battle of *Aidhne*,
And the battle of Magh *Ailbhe*.

Muirchertach, according to Tighearnach, perished in the house of Cletty, over the Boyne, in 534, after a reign of twenty-four years. His death, and the manner of it are recorded in the Annals of Ulster thus:—"A. D. dxxxiii. *Demersio Muircertaig, filii Erce, in dolio pleno vino, in arce Cletig supra Boin.*"

It appears from all the authorities that Muirchertach was a Christian; and he should therefore be regarded as the first Irish monarch who was so. In the

* This quatrain is also quoted by Tighearnach, who ascribes it to St. Patrick.

record of his death given by Tighearnach, the following fragments of very ancient poems are quoted, to the understanding of which it is necessary to premise that, according to a curious Irish tale, a copy of which, on vellum, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, (H. 2. 16, p. 316.) this monarch fell a victim to the revenge of a concubine named *Sheen*, for whom he had, for some time, abandoned his queen, but whom he afterwards consented to put away at the command of his relative St. Cairneach of Tuilen. This concubine, according to the tale, which is of a wild and imaginative character, having lost her father, mother, sister and others of her family, who were of the old tribe of Tara, by the hand of Muirchertach in the battle of Cirb, now Assy on the Boyne, threw herself in his way and became his mistress for the express purpose of wreaking her vengeance upon him with the greater facility. And the story states that she burned the house of Cletty over the head of the monarch, who, when scorched by the flames plunged into a puncheon of wine in which he was suffocated. These verses appear to have been quoted by Tighearnach from a very ancient copy of this tragical story. In the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clery's the first quatrain of this extract is attributed to St. Cairneach, who is said to have foretold that the king would come to this fatal end. It should also be stated that the text of these Bardic verses, as printed by Dr. O'Conor, is so full of errors as to render their meaning unintelligible, but the true reading is here restored from the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clery's, the Book of Lecan, and from the copies of Tighearnach, the Chronicon Scotorum, and Annals of the Four Masters, in the Library of Trinity College :

ST. CAIRNEACH'S PROPHECY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ir om oman ar in ben, | I am fearful of the woman, |
| Im a luiri lar rin,* | Around whom many storms shall move, |
| Ar an fear loiscfider i cen | For the man who shall be burned in fire |
| For caeb Cleitich baithfear fín. | On the side of Cletty wine shall drown. |
| Sin in ben no marb thu, | *Sin* is the woman who kills thee, |
| A Mec Erca, mar ro chiu ; | O, son of Erca, as I see ; |

* Im a luairi lar rin. This line is intentionally made oracular, so as to convey a double meaning, like the responses of ancient oracles, and seems to have been put into the mouth of St. Cairneach by the writer of the tragical death of Mac Earca. The verb luairi would also mean *will report ;* and rin, the last word in the line, which signifies *tempest* or *storm*, might be taken for the name of Mac Earca's concubine.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ðıo ımoa a hanmanna bur, | Many shall be her names here, |
| Cuıppıo nech por aıneólur. | She will put one astray. |
| Nı h-ınmaın ın ben, | Not loving the woman |
| Ðıanao comaınm Sın, | Whose name is *Sin*, |
| Mo oaıġ ın pıġ loırcep cen; | For whose sake fire shall burn the king; |
| I cıġ Cleıcıch baıóþıò pín. | In the house of Cletty wine shall drown him. |
| *Sin* said, in telling her names: | |
| Ir mıre Ðaecan ın ġen, | I am Taetan, the woman, |
| Ðo cep aıpech Neıll; | Who shall slay the heir of Niall; |
| Ir Ġamaoaıġ mo aınm, | Gamadaig is my name, |
| In cać aırm ar pen. | In every place and road. |
| Ornao, Ɛarnao, Sın cen oıl, | Osnad, Easnad, Sin, without reproach, |
| Ġaeṫ, Ġarḃ ocur Ġemaoaıġ, | Gaeth, Garbh, and Gemadaig, |
| Ocrao, Iacrao, rao cen ġaı, | Ochsad, Iachtad, saying without falsehood, |
| Ice m'anmanna ar aen cai. | Are my names in one way. |
| Cennfaela *cecinit*: | |
| Fıllır ın pıġ Mac Ɛrca | The King Mac Erca returns |
| Illeıch hua Neıll, | To the side of the Hy-Niall, |
| Sırıc ſuıl ſepnu | They seek the blood of men |
| A muıġ ḃroġaır cricha Cem. | In Magh Brogais, of the country of Cian.* |
| Fa ſeċṫ ſeparr nai cairpchiu, | Seven times he fought nine battles, |
| Ocur bıo cıan bur cumain, | And long it shall be remembered, |
| Ðo berc ġıallu Ua Neıll, | He obtained the hostages of the Hy-Niall, |
| Ċa ġıalla muıġı Muman. | With the hostages of the plain of Munster. |

It should perhaps be added, that, according to the historical tale already noticed, the interference of St. Cairneach with King Muircheartach was instigated by his queen, Duaivseach, the daughter of the King of Connaught, whose spiritual adviser he was, and that Cairneach, on coming to the house of the king at Cletty, to remonstrate with him, having been refused admittance, became filled with religious indignation, and, erecting a monument for the monarch, ascended it, declared his reign at an end, and pronounced a curse on the dishonoured mansion and its locality, in the following words:

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*The meaning of this line appears from the tale already noticed which states that, when St. Cairneach ratified a league of friendship between the Hy-Niall and Kianachts, he mixed the blood of both tribes in one vessel, and then wrote the conditions on which peace was established between them. "Ðo ġnıcep ıarum covaċ ann rın ecuppu, ocur cumaırcıò Cairnech a ſuıl ın oen leacrar ıblınıb; ocur ſcrıḃur amail vo ſonrac ın covaċ ann rın."—H. 2. 16, p. 316.

Ouma na clog fo co brath,
Fodeisi fo finfa cach,
Geaict in tenfir Mic Erca,
Nir ba claid a imdeacta.

The mound of the bells this for ever;
For the future all shall see it,
The monument of the hero Mac Erca,
Whose proceedings were not feeble.

Mallact forr an tulaig-si—
For Cletiuc cétaib cuana;
Nar ar maith a ith na a blict,
Sur ar lán d'fuath ir d'anrict.

A curse [be] upon this hill—
Upon Cletty of beautiful hillocks;
May not its corn nor its milk be good;
May it be full of hatred and misery.

Nar ab ann rig na ruirech;
Ni oig neac arr co buidech.
Dio cumain lim-sa nem la
Geict rig Erenn 'sin ouma.

May neither king nor chief be in it;
No one shall depart from it grateful.
I shall remember during my day
The monument of the King of Erin in the mound.

Ro ercain Cairnech sra in dún ann sin, ocus fo benn a chlocc ann, ocus tainic arr iar sin fo brón ocus fa doirri.

Cairnech then cursed the *Dun*, and rang his bell in it, and afterwards departed under sorrow and sadness.

That the preceding verses, though very ancient, as their language shews, are of a later date than the time referred to, can scarcely be doubted; yet the fact which they record is at least historical, and the form of the malediction is likely to be also true, as it seems certain that in consequence of the saint's curse, the house of Cletty was for ever after deserted by the Irish princes.

V. *Tuathal Maolgarbh*, the great grandson of Niall, succeeded, according to Tighearnach, in 534, and, after a reign of eleven years, was killed in 544, in the battle of *Greallach Eilte*, at the foot of Slieve Gamh, in Leyny, in the County of Sligo. Nothing remarkable is recorded of the reign of this monarch, except that, like his predecessors, he forced the Lagenians, after a successful battle, to pay him the Borumean tribute, which he received without further contest during the subsequent years of his reign. The annalists do not record the celebration of the *Feis-Teamrach* either in the reign of this monarch or in that of his predecessor.

VI. *Diarmaid Mac Fergus Ceirbheoil*, who was also a great grandson of Niall the Great, succeeded, and, after a reign of twenty-one years, according to Tighearnach and the Annals of Ulster, was killed in 565, at *Rathbeg*, in Moylinny, in the now County of Antrim. His head was buried at Clonmacnoise, and his body at Connor, near where he was killed.

Though this monarch was, at least nominally, a Christian, yet it is curious

to observe that there is the clearest evidence that Druidism still lingered in the country during his reign, and even that Dermot himself kept a Druid in his service. These facts appear from a notice of the battle of *Cuil-Dreimne*, as given in the Annals of Tighearnach, and still more distinctly from an account of this battle in the *Leabhar Buidhe* of the Mac Firbises of Lecan, a vellum MS. of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 2. 16, p. 873:

Tinoilid Colum Cilli Ua Neill in Tuaiscirt do digail a comairci for Diarmait. Tecait leis iarum Fergus ocus Domnall da Mac Muirchertaig Mic Earca, ocus Ainmire Mac Sedna, ri Cineóil Conaill, ocus Ninnid Mac Duach, ocus Aed Mac Echach Tirmcarna, co Conachtaib leo. Do gni Fraechan Mac Tenisain, imorru, drai Diarmata, airbi druad eter in da fluag. Is ann sin ar bert Colum Cilli iro:

A Dia cid nach n-dingbai dind[1]
In cia dus in nemnmair ar a lin?[2]
In t-sloig do boing breatha dind,[3]
Slog do cing a timcell cairn!
Is mac ainbéi no dor mairn.
Is e mo Drai, nim era,[4]
Mac De ir firne co n-gena.[5]
Is alaind ferar alluag,[6]
Gabar Baetain riar in fluag![7]
Fo la Baetan fuilt buide,
Beraid a her. fuirri.[8]

Columbkille assembled the Hy-Niall of the North to revenge his protegee on Diarmait. There came with him then Fergus and Domhnall, the two sons of Muirchertach Mac Erca, and Ainmire, son of Sedna, King of the Kinel-Connell, and Ninnidh, son of Duach, and Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, having the Connacians with them. Fraechan, son of Tenisan, the Druid of Diarmait, then made the *Druidical Airbhi* between the two hosts. Then Columbkille said this:

O God! why wilt thou not drive from us
This mist which envelopes our number?
The host which has deprived us of our judgment,
The host which proceeds around the *carn!*
He is a *son of storm* who betrays us!
My Druid,—he will not refuse me,—
Is the Son of God and truth with purity.
How grandly he gives the onset—
The steed of Baetan before the host!
Power by Baetan of the yellow hair,
Will be gained from Erin on him [the steed].

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[1] A dia, cid nach dingba an cia, Dus a n-erma(i)r mír a lín.—*Chron. Scot.*

[2] In ceo dupp in puirmeir a lin.—*Ann. Tig.* H. 1. 18, p. 60.

[3] An t-sluaig do boing breaga dín.—*Ann. Tig.* An t-sluaig do boing beatha din.—*Four Masters.*

[4] Ni mela, i. e. It is no reproach.—*Chron. Scot.* Columbkille here alludes to the Druid of King Dermot, who was engaged in pagan incantations.

[5] Mac De ir lium co n-geba, i. e. The Son of God, and may he side with me.—*Ann. Tig.*

[6] Is alainn ferar in luad.—*Ann. Tig.*

[7] Gobar daodain fer in fluag.—*Chron. Scot.* "I an gobar an tan ir eac, é an tan ir gabar."—*O'Clery.*

[8] Beraig a h-Erenn fuirre.—*Ann. Tig.* and *Chron. Scot.* Baetan afterwards became king of Ireland.

Tic Tuatan Mac Dimai, mic Saṙain, mic Coṙmaic, mic Eogain, mic Neill, ocuṙ cuiṙiu inn aiṙbi n-Druad taṙ a cheann, ocuṙ linǥid taiṙṙi, ocuṙ beanaiṙ imǥai do'n leith naill, ocuṙ maṙbtaṙ he, ocuṙ iṙ e aen feṙ nama ṙainic baṙ do muintiṙ Coluim Cilli.[9] Maid foṙ Diaṙmait iaṙ ṙin.

Tuatan, son of Dima, son of Saran, son of Cormac, son of Eogan, son of Niall, came and put the Druidical *airbhi* over his head, and sprang over it, but he was met by a javelin from the other side and killed; and he was the only man of Columbkille's people who was killed. Diarmait was routed after that.

The record of this battle, as given by Tighearnach, is nearly to the same effect, but its text, as printed by Dr. O'Conor, is quite corrupt, and the translation of it totally erroneous; as for example, the phrase aiṙbi n-druad, the Druidical *airbhi*, or charm, is translated "*ut expelleret Druidas*," though, as the passage above shews, the aiṙbi was in reality the charm, whatever that may have been, which the Druid of Dermot had placed between the armies.

It was in the reign of this monarch that the last *Feis*, or assemblage of the Irish states, was held in Tara, as thus recorded by Tighearnach, at the year 560:—"*Cena postrema* Temṙach la Diaṙmait Mac Ceṙbuill." i. e. The last *Feis* of Temur by Diarmait Mac Cerbuill.

From the following passage in the Yellow Book of the Mac Firbises, (p. 871,) it would appear that two other meetings were held in the same year, one at *Uisneach*, in Westmeath, and the other at *Tailltean*, (Teltown) in East Meath:

Do ǥniter moṙdail Uiṙniǥ la Diaṙmait ocuṙ la feṙa Eṙenn i m-Delltaine: áṙ ṙobdaṙ iad tṙi aṙd dala Eṙenn iṙ a n-aimṙiṙ ṙin .i. Dál Uiṙniǥ i m-Delltaine, ocuṙ Oenach Tailltean im Lugnaṙṙad, ocuṙ Féiṙ Temṙach im Samain, ocuṙ cebe no chided

The convention of *Uisneach* was celebrated by Diarmait and the men of Ireland in May: for there were three great assemblies convened in Ireland at this time, namely, the assembly of *Uisneach*, in May, the fair of *Tailltean*, in August, and the *Feis* of Temur, in November;

[9] This passage is more correctly given in the MS. Annals of Tighearnach thus:—"Fṙaoċan, Mac Tenuṙain a ṙe do ṙine ino aiṙbe n-druad do Diaṙmoid. Tuatan, Mac Saṙain, mic Coṙmaic, mic Eogoin iṙ é ṙo la in aiṙbe druad daṙ a ċeann. Maǥline ṙo ċinǥ taiṙṙi *qui solus occisus est.*" And still more distinctly by the Four Masters thus:—"Fṙaochan Mac Tenuṙṙain, aṙ e do riǥne ino eṙbe n-druad do Diaṙmaid. Tuaṫan Mac Dimmain, mic Saṙain, mic Coṙmaic, mic Eogain, aṙ e ṙo la ino eṙbe druad daṙ a ceno. Tṙi mile ṫa iṙ e toṙchaiṙ do muintiṙ Diaṙmada. Aoiṙfeṙ iṙṙeb toṙcaiṙ do'n leiṫ naill,—Maǥlam a ainm. Aṙ aṙ é ṙo chinǥ taṙ an eiṙbe n-druad." i. e. Fraochan, the son of Tenussan, was the person who made the *Erbhe Druadh* for Diarmait. Tuathan, son of Dimman, son of Saran, son of Cormac, son of Eogan, was the person who put the *Erbhe Druadh* over his head. Three thousand was the number slain of Diarmait's people. One man only was slain on the other side; Maglam was his name. For it was he that sprang over the *Erbhe Druadh.*

ꝺaıppıb o ꝼeꝼaıb Ꝺıno ꝼa bıoba baıꝛ ın ꝺı no mılleaꝺ ın cana ꝼın.

and whoever of the men of Ireland refused to attend those meetings, or violate this regulation, was considered an enemy unto death.

The reign of Dermot is, however, most memorable, as that of the last monarch who held his residence at Tara, as, according to all the ancient authorities, it was abandoned after his death in 565, in consequence of the curse of St. Ruadhan, the patron of Lorrah, in the County of Tipperary. This fact is thus stated in an ancient Irish poem on the dates of the desertion of the palaces of the different Irish kings:

O ꝼeımıoꝛ Ꝺıaꝛmaꝺa ꝺuınn,
Mıc Ꝼheaꝛgυꝛa, mıc Chonuıll,
O bꝛeıṫıꝛ Ruaꝺáın ꝺa ṫoıġ
Nı ꝼaıḃ ꝛıġ a ꝺ-Ꝺeamꝛoıġ.

From the reign of Diarmait, the brown [haired]
Son of Fergus, son of Conall,
From the judgment of Ruadhan on his house,
There was no king at Temur.

*MS. Trin. Col.* H. 1. 17, fol. 97, p. 2.

The cause assigned by the poets and monkish chroniclers for the abandonment and consequent ruin of this most ancient residence of the Irish kings, is, as usual, of a somewhat legendary character. It is thus related in the Book of Clonmacnoise, as translated by Connell Mac Geoghegan in 1627:

"King Dermott, to mak manifest unto his subjects of the kingdom his magnificence, apointed a sergiant named Backlawe, with a speare, to travaile through the kingdom, with power to break such doores of the nobilities as he should find narow in such manner as the speare could not enter into the house thort wayes, or in the breadth of the doores.

"The sargiant travailing to and fro' with his directions, putting in execution the king's pleasure in that behalfe, by breaking of either side of such doores as he could find unfitt for that purpose, untill at last he came to the house of one Hugh Gwarey, in I maine in Connaught, where being desired by those of the house to enter in the absence of the said Hugh, the sargiant said, he could not bring in his speare as he ought. Noe, said they of the house, wee will break the doore of either side, and make it in such manner as you may bring in your speare, as you desire, which they accordingly did. The sargiant haveing the doore broken, entred and feasted with them; and soon after Hugh Gwarey came to the towen, and seeing his doore broken, he asked who brok it, and being tould that it was Backlawe, the king's sergiant, he entred the house in a rage, and without much a doe killed the sargiant presently, and tooke his flight himselfe to Roadanus Abbot of Lohra, who was his mother's brother, thinking by his sanctitye and meanes to secure himselfe from the king's furie for killing the sargiant.

"Roadanus sent his said nephew to the King of Wales, who was his well-wisher, and one in whome hee reposed great trust. The King of Ireland heareing of the killing of his sargiant by Hugh Gwarey, caused narrow search to be made for him, and understanding that he was sent to the

King of Wales, wrote to him that he should send him back, or refuseing soe to doe, that he with all his forces would goe over to him, and destroy his kingdome, and remaine there untill he had found Hugh Gwary, which the King of Wales perseaveing, sent him back to Roadanus the abbot againe.—When King Dermott understood how he was sent over, he prepared to come to Lohra with a few of his guard, and in his coach came to Lothra aforesaid, and sent one of his men to know where Hugh Gawry was. The man looked about him, and could see none but Roadanus, that sate in his accustomed chaire or seat, where he did use to say his prayers, under whose feet, or neere adjoyning, he caused a hole to be made in the floore, for Hugh Gwary to rest in, whereof nobody had knowledg but Roadanus himselfe, and one more that carried him his meat at the times of refections. The king, seeing the man brought him noe tydings, he entred himselfe, and was confident, Roadanus being inquired of the place where Hugh Gawrey was, would not lye, but tell truth as was his custom. The king accordingly entred, and saluted him with harch salutations of bitter and pinching words, such as were unfitt to be spoken to such a holy and vertuous man, saying that it did not belong to one of his coat to shelter or keep in his house, one that committed such a fact, as to kill his sargiant that was imployed in the execution of his instructions, and prayed that there would be noe abbott or monk to succeed him in his place in Lothra. By God's grace, said Roadanus, there shall be abbots and monkes for ever, and there shall be noe kings dwelling in Tarach from hence forward. When they had thus bitterly spoken, the king asked where Hugh Gawry was; I know not where he is said Roadanus, if he be not where you stand, for soe he was indeed right under the king's feet. The king thinking he spoke in jest, departed, and being out of the house, thought with himselfe, that the holy man spoke truth, and that Hugh Gwarey was under the place where he stood, and sent one of his men in againe with a pick-ax to digg the place, and to bring him out by force. As soon as the man came to the place, he struck the earth with the pick-ax, his hands lost all their strength on the sudaine in such manner as the party could not lift the pick-ax from the ground, then he cryed mercy, and besaught Roadanus for forgiveness and remission, with his benediction, which Rodanus accordingly gave him, and kept the man thenceforth with him in the habitt of a monke. The king seeing him not returning entred himselfe, and caused the hole to be digged, where he found Hugh Gwairie, whom he carried prisoner to Tarach.

" Roadanus seeing himselfe violently abused, and bereft of his kinsman, sent for others of the church, and followed the king to Tarrach, and there craved Hugh Gawry of the king, which he abselutely refused. After supper the king with the nobles of his court, and prelates of the church, went to bed, and about midnight the king being heavely asleep, dreamed that he saw a great tree that rooted deeply into the earth, whose lofty top and braunches were soe high and broad, that they came neare the cloudes of heaven, and that he saw 150 men about the tree, with 150 broad-mouthed sharp axes cutting the tree, and when it was cut, when it fell to the earth, the great noyse it made at the time of the falling thereof, awaked the king out of his sleep; which dream was construed, interpreted, and expounded thus:—that this great tree, strongly rooted in the earth, and braunched abroad, that it retched to the very firmament, was the king whose power was over all Ireland; and that the 150 men, with sharp axes cutting the tree, were these prelates saying the 150 Psalmes of David, that would cut him from the very rootes to his destruction, and fall for ever. When the morning came the king, nobles, and prelates arose, and after the clergymen had don

with their prayers, they besaught the king againe to enlarge unto them Hugh Gwairye, which he did as absolutely refuse as hee did before; and then Roadanus and a bushop that was with him tooke their bells that they had, which they rung hardly, and cursed the king and place, and prayed God that noe king or queen ever after would or could dwell in Tarach, and that it should be wast for ever, without court or pallace, as it fell out accordingly. King Dermot himself nor his sucessors kings of Ireland could never dwell in Tarach, since the time of that curse, but every one of the kings chose himselfe such a place as in his one discression he thought fittest, and most convenient for him to dwell, &c., as Moyleseacluin more, Donasgiah; Bryan Bowrowey, Kyncory, &c. Roadanus being thus refused, he tendered a ransom of 30 horses, which the king was content to accept, and soe granted him Hugh Gwairye."—*MS.* in *Trin. Col. Dub.* F. 3. 19, p. 45, *et seq.*

The same account, but at greater length, is given in an Irish manuscript in Trinity College, class H. 1. 15. It is also given in the chapter, "*Qualiter maledixit Themoriam,*" in the Life of St. Ruadhan, in the *Codex Kilkenniensis*, an ancient vellum MS. of Lives of Saints, in Marsh's Library, Class V. 3. Tab. 1. No. 4. F, and in the life published by the Bollandists, at the 25th of April, from the *Codex Salmaticensis.*

The detail of circumstances connected with this event, as above given, are, it must be confessed, strongly marked with those marvellous incidents which characterize the writings of the middle ages; yet, there is no reason to reject the groundwork of facts on which the superstructure of fable has been raised, and which appears simply to have been, that the monarch Dermot had for some offence captured the relative of the Saint of Lorrah, and that the latter in the manner usual with the saints of that age, took revenge by cursing him and his palace, a curse which in a superstitious age had the effect of deterring the succeeding monarchs from residing there. It cannot indeed admit of doubt that Tara was abandoned at that period: the malediction of Ruadhan, with its consequences, is referred to by the ancient Scholiast on Fiech of Sletty's Irish Poem in praise of St. Patrick, preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum;* and an ancient Icelandic work called the *Konungs-skuggsio*, or Royal Mirror, states that it had been abandoned and utterly destroyed, in revenge of an unjust judgment pronounced by a king who had once ruled over it.—See *Johnstone's Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 287, *et seq.*

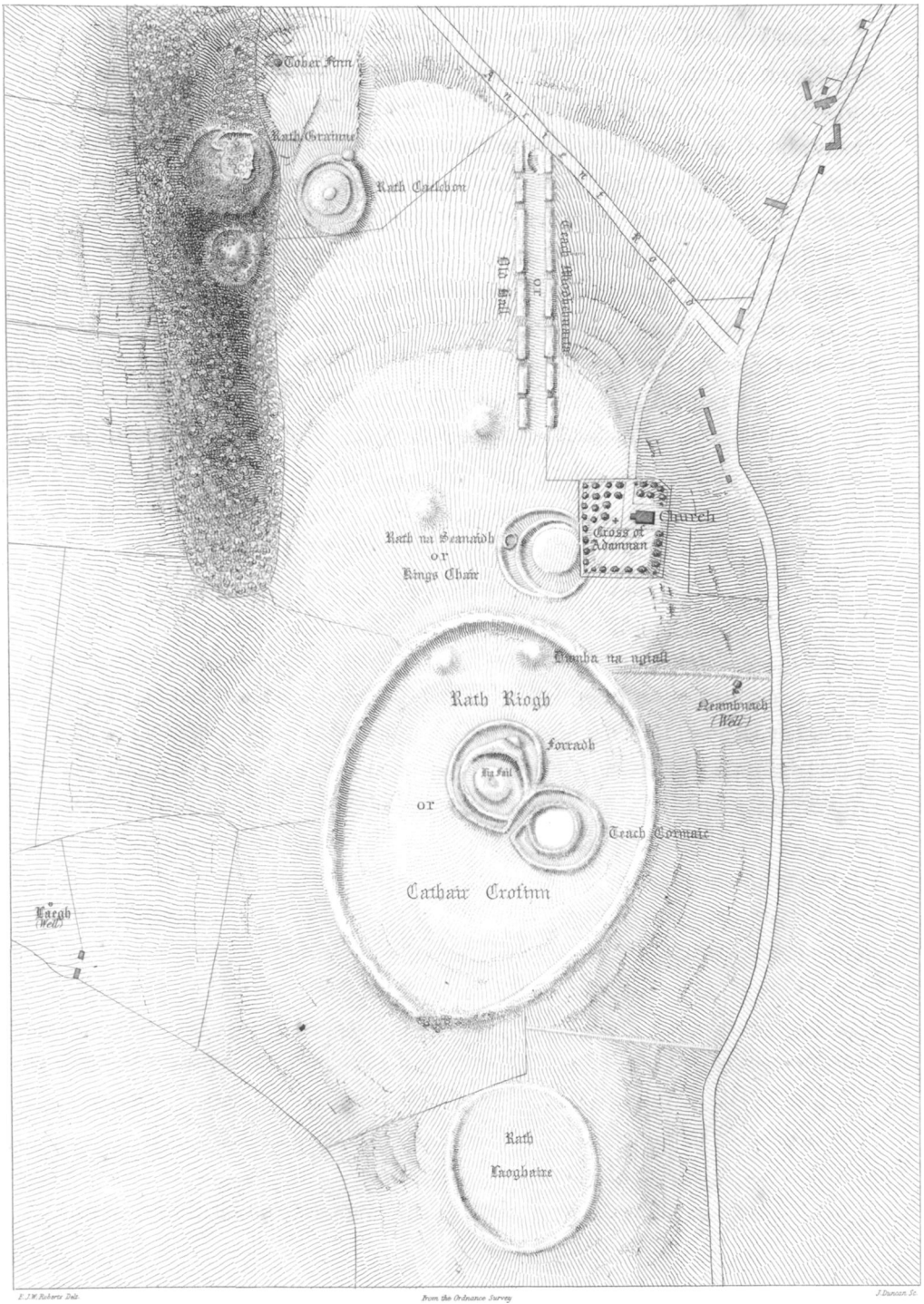
This desertion of Tara, in consequence of the malediction of an ecclesiastic, affords a striking, but, as already shewn, not a solitary example of the power of the clergy in a superstitious age; for, though the Irish monarchs continued to

take their title from this distinguished place from the death of Dermot till the extinction of the monarchy, it seems quite certain that it was never after used as a royal residence. This remark was necessary, as some popular modern historians, finding the title of King of Temur applied in the ancient authorities to the later Irish monarchs, have fallen into the error of supposing that their residence was still at Tara. It appears, however, that these monarchs had never after any fixed or common residence, but that, as the Book of Clonmacnoise states, in the extract just given, and also according to the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecan*,—col. 321,—each of them chose for himself a residence most convenient or agreeable, which residence was usually, if not always, within their own hereditary principalities. Thus the kings of the family of the northern Hy-Niall appear to have resided chiefly at their ancient fortress of Aileach, near Derry, and those of the southern Hy-Niall, first, at the Rath, near Castlepollard, now called *Dun-Torgeis*, having afterwards become the residence of the Danish king, Turgesius, and subsequently at *Dun-na-Sciath*, on the margin of *Loch Ainninn*, now Lough-Ennell, near Mullingar.

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From the preceding historical notices, it will not appear surprising that a spot of such ancient importance as Tara should have been a favourite theme not only with the ancient bards, but also with most of the modern antiquaries and historians of Ireland; or that the latter should indulge in the common, though foolish national vanity of exaggerating its claims to architectural splendour, by vague references to ancient authorities which they never allowed to see the light. To expose the errors in the accounts given of Tara by O'Conor, Vallancey, and others, would be but an idle combat with shadows. However gratifying they may have been in their day to the Milesian national vanity, they have made but little impression on the cooler minds of the uninterested, or unprejudiced, and are now wholly disregarded. The existing remains, though but time-worn vestiges, are the best evidences of the original character and extent of the works which a people not far advanced in civilization raised in distant ages; and whatever claims to truth the ancient accounts of the place may have, they must now rest on their agreement with these vestiges.

It will be seen from the accompanying plan of the earthen works still exist-




E.J.W. Roberts Delt. From the Ordnance Survey J. Duncan Sc.

HILL OF TARA 1837

ing on the hill of Tara, that, to use the words of Stanihurst, "doubtless the place seemeth to bear the shew of an ancient and famous monument;" and it will also appear, from an examination of the ancient Irish accounts of these remains, that their origin is not assigned to a period which may properly be regarded as beyond the limits of true Irish history. It should not, indeed, be expected that such accounts would be wholly free from fable, particularly in whatever relates to the earlier national traditions; but it should be anticipated that the names and particular descriptions of the state of the monuments at the time would necessarily have the character of truth, as there could be no inducement for fable in such matters; and that they really have this veracious character will appear quite manifest from their agreement with the present vestiges of the monuments to which they refer.

The principal ancient Irish tracts written in illustration of the origin and names of Tara, and describing the localities, &c. of the hill and its monumental remains, are preserved in the ancient topographical work called the *Dinnseanchus*, a compilation of the twelfth century. Most of the documents found in this work are, however, evidently of an earlier age, though in many instances not of the antiquity ascribed to them; and though some of them are of little value to the present investigation, it has been thought advisable to present them to the reader without mutilation or selection; for, however worthless in other respects, they are of importance as monuments of the ancient Irish language, and as shewing the character and real value of the bardic history of the country.

The first document in this collection is a short treatise in prose, explaining the meaning and origin of the various names by which the hill of Tara was anciently called. It is ascribed to Amergin, a poet of the sixth century, and is followed by a poem to the same effect, ascribed to Fintan, a poet supposed to be of the same age, but of whom many fabulous accounts are given by the Irish Bards. They are as follows:

Dinnseanchus Erenn anoso, do rigne Amergein, mac Amalgada, mic Mailedúin, do na Deisib Temrach, ba fili fen Diarmada, Mic Cerbaill. Is e do rad ailgius for Fintan, mac Bocna i Temraig, dia mbai mordail fer n-Erenn i Temraig, im rig n-Erenn, im Diarmaid, Mac Cer-

The Dinnseanchus of Ireland here, made by Amergin, the son of Amalgaidh, son of Maelrain, of the *Desii* of Temur, who was the poet of Diarmaid, the son of Cearbhall. It is he that made the request of Fintan, the son of Bochna, at Temur, when there was an assembly of the men of Ireland at Temur, with the King of Ireland,

baill ocur im Flann Febla, mac Scannlain, comarba Patraic, ocur im fai fear n-Erenn, im Ceanfaelad, mac Ailiolla, mic Eogain, mic Neill, agur im Fhintan, mac Bochna, arfeanoir Erenn; ocur co ro eroirc Amirgein tri laide ocur tri haidce for Fintan, i fiadnaisi fear n-Erenn, fceo mac ocur ingen, i Temraig; conelcciur do feandara fira dind n-Erenn, fodeig ro lad cach duine ocur cach dine di o aimsir Ceasra ingine Beasa, ir i cetna ro gab Ere, go flaith n-Diarmada Mic Cearbaill; co n-epert.

Temur, din, ol Amairgen, mur Tea, ingini Luigdeach, mic Itha, dia luid co Geid n-Ollgothach. Ir na flaithes ba binnidir la cach nduine in Erin guth araile beoir tesa ind croth, ar med in tsida ocur na caindine bae la cach diaraili in Erinn; conid aire sin ir fruithi in mur sin *quam* gach mur fobith. Ite cetna saer cuir h-Erend cuir Teo, ingini Luigdech, fri Gede.

No Temair .i. Tephimur .i. Mur Tephi, ingini Bachtir, ri hispaine. Ir i bai ic Canthon, mac Caithmend, ri Bretan; cor bo marb occo hi; ocur do radad Etirun ioal na m-Bretan fri a tairteg ca mbad beo no marb hi. Rugad hi iarum iar na bar co heaspain, co ndearnad mur impi and .i. Tephi mur. At connairc Tea din bean Eremoin innsin .i. mur Tephir; luid fen don co h Erinn le a fear, ocur do beread di cach tulach togad in h-Erinn, conid le iarain con arnecte mur amuil mur Tephir conad inde ro adnacte; *unde* Temuir *dicitur*. Temair ocur Druim Cain ocur Liath druim ocur Cathair Crofinn ocur Druim n-Descen, cuig anmanda Temrach in sin.

*Vel ita*, Temair. *A verbo Graeco* Te-

Diarmaid, the son of Cearbhall, and with Flann Febla, the son of Scannlan, Coarb of Patrick, and with the learned men of Ireland, with Kinfaéla, the son of Ailill, the son of Eogan, the son of Niall, and with Fintan, the son of Bochna, chief senior of Ireland; and Amergin fasted three days and three nights on Fintan, in the presence of the Irish, both sons and daughters, at Temur; so that he (Fintan) manifested unto him the true histories of the *Dinns* of Erin, and the proceedings of every person and every tribe of it from the time of Ceasair, the daughter of Bith, who was the first that took Ireland, until the reign of Diarmaid, the son of Cerbhall; so that he said:

Teamuir, then, said Amergin, is *múr Tea*, i. e. the wall of *Tea*, the daughter of Lughaidh, son of Ith, who went to Geide Ollgothach. In his reign, the voice of each other was sweeter to the men of Ireland than the strings of the harp, from the greatness of the peace and friendship that each had for the other in Erin; so that this *mur* was more melodious than any *mur* in existence. The first royal crime of Ireland was the crime of Tea, the daughter of Lughaidh, with Gede.

*Aliter* Teamuir, i. e. *Teph-múr*, i. e. the wall of Teph, the daughter of Bachtir, king of Spain. She was married to Canthon, the son of Caithmend, King of Britain, till she died with him; and *Etirun*, the Idol of the Britons, had been given as a guarantee for her restoration either dead or alive. After her death she was brought to Spain, and a *mur* was there erected around her called *Tephimúr*. Tea, the wife of Heremon, saw this *mur;* she afterwards came to Ireland with her husband, and he gave her every hill she chose in Ireland, so that she erected a *mur* similar to the *mur* of *Tephi*, where she herself was afterwards interred; whence it is called *Teamair*. *Temair* and *Druim Cain* and *Liathdruim*, and *Cathair Crofinn* and *Druim n-Descen* are five names of Temur.

Or thus, *Temair*. Authors affirm that the

moria, [θεωρεω?] *quod Latine interpretatur* conspicio, *hujus oppidi quod Temoriam vocamus nomen esse derivatum auctores affirmant; omnisque locus conspicuus et eminens, sive in campo, sive in domu, sive in quocunque loco sit, hoc vocabulo, quod dicitur* Temair, *nominari potest. Sic in proverbio Scotico reperitur, ut dicitur,* Temair na tuaithi, *et* Temair in taighe, *quam sententiam, in suo silencio,* Cormaccus de hoc nomine disputando, posuit. Hoc igitur opidum, multorum sive commune, vendicat, nunc cunctis enim Hibernensibus oppidis excellens, congruenter eorum commune vocabulum possidet; quippe cum hujus rector, usque hodie, tocius insole Scotorum monarchiam sortitur.*

name of this town, which we call Temoria, is derived from the Greek word *Temoria,* (θεωρεω?) which in Latin is interpreted *conspicio;* and every place which is conspicuous and eminent, either in a plain or a house, or in whatever place it be, may be called by this name, *Temair.* Thus it is found in this Scotic saying, *Teamair na tuaithi* and *Teamhair in taighe;* which sentence Cormac, in treating of this name, has inserted in his glossary.† This, therefore, being a town of many, or a common town, and now excelling all [other] Irish towns, aptly possesses their common name; for its ruler, even to this day, holds the sovereignty of the entire island of the Scots.

| | |
|---|---|
| Teamair Breagh cid ni dia da | Teamhair of Bregia whence it is [named] |
| Indisid a Ollamna! | Tell, O Ollaves! |
| Coin do degail dir in mbruig? | When did it separate from the *Bruigh?* |
| Cuin do bo Teinair Temair? | When was Teamhair [called] Teamhair? |
| In ac Partalan na cat, | Is it with Partholan of battles, |
| No ac cead gabail Ceasrach, | Or at the first invasion of Ceasair, |
| No'n ac Nemed cu nem nur, | Or with Nemed of noble valour, |
| No ic Ciugal garb glingarglun? | Or with Ciogal, the rough and knocker-knee'd? |
| In ac Fearaib dolg na mbag | Is it with the Firbolgs of battles, |
| No'n ac line Luigdech? | Or of the race of Luighdech? |
| Sloindid ca gabail dib sin | Tell, in what invasion of these |
| O dia Temair ar Temair. | Was Teamhair called Teamhair. |
| A Thuain, a Finnchaid fheil, | O Tuan, O generous Finnchadh, |
| A Broin, a Chu alad em, | O Bran, O active Cu-alladh, |

* This seems to be a mistranscription for some word denoting glossary [lexico?] The Irish word is *Sanasan.*

† The writer alludes to the Glossary of Cormac Mac Cullenan, in which it is conjectured that *Temhuir* is derived from the Greek verb θεωρεω, *conspicio,* and the Scotic phrase Temair na tuaithe, agus Temhair an taighe, quoted as an illustration of it, thus:—Temuir .i. Temhur .i. Mur Tea, ingine Luighdech Mic Ithe: No, Temhuir .i. Grec ro thuailned ann .i. Temoro [θεωρεω] *conspicio:* Temhuir dun .i. cac loc ar a m-bi aurgnamh do écrib itir magh agus tech; *unde dicitur* Temair na Tuaithe .i. tulach; agus Temhair an taighe .i. grianán, i. e. Temhuir, i. e. *Te-mhur,* i. e. the *mur* of Tea, the daughter of Lughaidh, son of Ith. Or, it is a corruption of the Greek θεωρεω, *conspicio.* Temhuir then is every place where there is a meeting of the learned both in the plain and in the house. Unde dicitur *Temhuir* of the country, i. e. a hill, and *Temhuir* of the house, i. e. a *Grianan.* The Book of Glendalough also quotes this derivation as Cormac Mac Cullenan's.

A Dubain,—nap coicep cain,
Cid, on, cid dia ta Temair?
Do bi tan, ba call coill ćain,
A n-aimsir mic ain Ollcain,
No go po sleċt in ċoill cas
Liaċ mac Laigne leaċanglas.
O sin amaċ ba Druim Leiṫ,—
A h-arbur ba harbur meṫ,—
No go toraċt Cain gan cras,
Mac sen Fiaċa Ceinnsinnain.
O sin amaċ ba Druim Cain,
In tulaċ cus tegdis mais,
No go toraċt Crosin cain,
Ingean Alloid ollblaṫaig.
Caṫair Crosinn, nis bo cam,
A hainm ac Tuaṫa De Danann,
Gor toraċt Tea nar cle,
Ben Eremoin go n-arogne.
Ro claiṫea clad im a teaċ
Ag Tea, ingin Luigdeach,
Ro h-adnaċt 'n-a mur amuig,
Conad uaiṫi ta Temuir.
Forad na rig ba hainm di;
Rigraid mac Miled innti;
Cuig anmand uirri ar sin,
O Fordruim gu Temair.
Is mise Fintan fili,
Nis fam egni en linni,
Is ann som togbad ar sin,
Ar an fod brug os Temair.

O! Dubhan,—ye venerable five,
Whence so named is *Teamhair?**
There was a time, when it was a fine hazel wood,
In the time of the famed son of Olcan,
Until felled that knotty wood
Liath, the son of Laigin Leathan-glas.
From thence it was [called] *Druim Leith*,—
Its corn was rich corn,—
Until the coming of Cain without misery,
The son of Fiacha Ceinnfinnan.
From that time forth it was [called] *Druim Cain*,
This hill to which the great were wont to go,
Until the coming of Crofin the fair,
Daughter of the far-famed Alloid.
*Cathair Crofinn*, not inapplicable
Was its name among the Tuatha-De-Dananns,
Until the coming of Tea, the just,
Wife of Heremon of the noble aspect.
A wall was raised around her house
For Tea, the daughter of Lughaidh,
[And] she was interred in her wall outside,
So that from her is *Tea-múr*.
*Foradh* [seat] of the kings was its appellation;
Kings of the sons of Milidh (ruled) in it;
Five names it had before then,
From *Fordruim* to *Teamhair*.
I am Fintan the poet,
I was not the salmon of *one* flood,
Where I was after that raised
Was on the sod-fort over *Teamhair*.

* Fintan is here represented as addressing the five oldest men in Ireland, by whom the traditions of the country are said to have been preserved. These were Tuan Mac Cairill of Ulster, Finnchadh of Leinster, Bran of Burren, in North Munster, Cu-alladh of *Cruachain Conallaidh*, probably in South Munster, and Dubhan of Connaught. Fintan, himself, on whom this poem is fathered, was believed, by the old Irish Shanachies, to have lived from the time of the first colony which came into Ireland, until the reign of Dermot Mac Ceirbheoil; having during this period undergone various transmigrations. For an account of Fintan, see a curious story in *Leahhar na h-Uidhre*; and for the traditional account of the five seniors here mentioned, see the *Leabhar Buidhe* of the Mac Firbises, p. 244. O'Flaherty remarks on this legend, that it might be inferred from it that the Irish Druids held the doctrine of the Metempsychosis: "Ex hac autem fabulâ colligere est Pythagoricæ, ac Platonicæ scholæ de animarum migratione, seu in quævis corpora reditu, deliramenta apud Ethnicos nostros Druidas viguisse."—*Ogygia*, p. 4. But a more important inference, which may be drawn from it, is, that the fictions relative to the early colonization of Ireland were first concocted in the reign of Dermot.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cuan O'Lochain *cecinit* ro rir.* | Cuan O'Lochain composed the following. |
| Do beir mairi do na mnaib | Gives beauty to the women |
| Temair gan tairi ar tocbail. | Temur without weakness after being erected. |
| Fuair ingen Luigdech na laim | The daughter of Lughaidh received in her hand |
| Tulmag buo liaé do lotbaid. | A hill-plain, which was sorrowful to a harlot. |
| Ellom ro guid ben Gede | The *portion*,† which the wife of Gede requested |
| For a ceili, ro éuala, | Of her husband, I have heard, |
| Dingna daéglan dréim naine, | [Was] A fair coloured *dingna* of delightful ascent, |
| Dad aélam aine im huaga.‡ | Which she was active and skilful in selecting. |
| Arus, bad dun, bad daingean, | A habitation, which was a *dun* and a fastness, |
| Dad casur mur cen mandur, | Which was the glory of *murs* without *demolition*,§ |
| For mbiad leéc Tea iar tuinem, | On which was the monument of *Tea after her death*‖ |
| Comad tuilled dia hallad. | So that it was an addition to her *dowry*.¶ |
| Dai ic Eremon umal | The humble Heremon had |
| Den i nglemeadon gemel, | A woman in beautiful confinement, |
| Rug uad ceé roga romer, | Who received from him every thing she wished for, |
| Ad noimead ceé ni ad bered. | He gave her whatever he promised. |
| Dregatea dreab tuillmeach, | Bregatea, [was] a meritorious abode, |
| Ro cluinter uair ba hairdrebad, | It is heard that it was once a high abode, |
| Fert forr fuil in mor Mergeé** | [Where lies] The grave under which is the great Mergech, |
| In rom relcceé nar h-airgead. | The burial place, which was not violated. |
| Ingen Forraind colin airec, | The daughter of Pharaoh of many champions, |
| Tephi rolaind luaided leirg, | Tephi, the most beautiful that traversed the plain, |

* In the copies of the *Dinnseanchus*, preserved in the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2. 15. p. 229, and H. 3. 3, p. 2, this poem is ascribed to St. Cairneach; and it would appear from the language that it is some centuries older than the time of Cuan O'Lochain, to whom it is ascribed in the Book of Ballymote.

† In a gloss on this poem, preserved in a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, H. 2. 17, p. 871, this word ellam, which is there written eallaṁ, is thus explained, eallaṁ .i. coibéi : amail a deir :

Ellam ro gaid ben Gheide
For a ceile, ro cuala,
Dingna daéglan dreimi noaine,
Dad aélaṁ aine im huaga.

‡ The three copies differ in the last word of this line. In the Book of Ballymote, and in the gloss already referred to, it is written huaga, as in the text, but in the copy preserved in H. 3. 3, the line runs thus: Ra h-aélam aine m-buada, and in the one preserved in the Book of Glendalough, da aélam aine im uaga.

§ In the gloss on this poem above referred to, the word mandur which is there written mannar, is explained gaílead, loosening, demolition.

‖ In the same gloss this phrase iar tuinnem is interpreted iar mbár, *after death*.

¶ Dia hallaṁ .i. dia coibéi.—*Gloss.*

** Fert for fuil in mor Mergech.—H. 3. 3.

| | |
|---|---|
| Rocum caṫraiġ, croda in cuirp, | [Here] Formed a *cahir*, strong the circle,* |
| Dia luirg for torna ir dia delg,† | Which she described with her wand and bodkin. |
| Do rad ainm dia caṫraiġ cain— | She gave a name to her fair cahir— |
| In ben co naib rathmair rig— | The woman with the prosperous royal smile— |
| Mur Tephi frir toirgse dail, | Mur-Tephi, where the assembly met, |
| Ar tra oirgead cen ngrain ceċ ngnim.‡ | And where every action was achieved without treachery. |
| Ni cleiṫi in run ria rada, | It is not a mystery to be said, |
| Mur dar Tephi, ro ċuala, | A *mur* [was raised] over Tephi, I have heard; |
| Foraim runo cen dual dimġa,§ | Strength this without contempt, |
| Cumrat morrigna ruama. | Which great proud queens have formed. |
| Fad leṫet eigse Tephi, | The length, breadth, of the house of Tephi, |
| Dan freiṫi miut ruiṫi, | The learned have measured it without ignorance, |
| Serca traigeo can claiṫe, | Sixty feet without weakness, |
| Con regrad faid ir druid. | As prophets and druids have seen. |
| Ar cuala in Erran uillig‖ | Spain the angular has heard |
| Ingin lerċain, laeċuillig | Of the mild, fair, comely daughter |
| Cino daṫir, mac Duirrig, | Of Cino Bactir, son of Buirrech, |
| Dor rug Canton caem cuinoig. | Whom Canthon, the beautiful hero, married. |
| Tephi a ainm or gaċ ngerad, | Tephi her name, [distinguished] above every virgin, |
| Mairg forr mberad a murad ! | Wo to him who had to entomb her ! |
| Sercad traigeo cen tolad, | [A tomb of] sixty feet without addition, |
| Leo do ronad dia runad. | By them was made to enshrine her. |
| Nir dug rig dreogain cen bron, | The King of Braganza without sorrow did not cease, |
| Ciar bo meabaig la Canton, | Though it was defeat to Canthon,— |
| Co m-beiṫ a hairec dia hon, | Until she should be restored from her sojourn, |
| O ri na m-Dreatan mblad mor. | By the King of the Britons of great fame. |

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* Cuirp .i. ceirp no obair no caṫir, ut est: Rochum caṫraiġ croḋa in chuirp, dia luirg for torna, ir dia dilg. Agur aṁail adeir duine bron cerp Cuinn .i. cuirp Cuinn .i. caṫir cuinn.—*Gloss.* The word cuirp certainly signifies circle, circuit, or ambit. See *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*, pp. 212 and 213, where the origin of the word caṫair and its cognates is inquired into.

† Dia luirc for toraind ir dia delg.—H. 3. 3. Dia luirc rus toṁair, &c.—H. 2. 15, p. 229.

‡ Ar noircead gaċ grain gaċ gniom.—H. 3. 3, and H. 2. 15.

§ Fuil ram runna cen dimġa.—*Lib. Glendalough.* Faerin runn cen dual dimġa.—H. 3. 3, and H. 2. 15.

‖ The epithet uillech, angular, and tre-uillech, triangular, is applied to Spain in old Irish poems, from which it would appear that the writers of them had a chart of that kingdom. Thus in the Book of Lismore, p. 151:

"Tar domġnar Neptuin anunn,—Go crich Fresen ic reḋum,
Ocus mo ḋerḃaiḋ dar muir,—Seoch in Erran tre-uillig."

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| Eg truag Tephi tainig tuaid, | The piteous death of Tephi, who went to the north, |
| Nir gnim cleithe fe oen uair | Was not a concealed fact for one hour. |
| Canthon fo leig luing cen luaig. | Canthon put his ship without cheerfulness |
| For tuind in t-faili t-ferb-fuaid. | On the surface of the bitter-reddish brine. |
| Coimdiu Cantóin, ni clithi, | The *God** of Canthon, it is not concealed, |
| Ethiarun, ba hercride, | *Etherun*, in whom faith was placed, |
| Ir fluag na nglar deirc gleithi, | And the host of the bright green eyes, |
| Dad fri tairrec trian Tephi. | Had been pledged for the restoration of proud Tephi. |
| Ro fart bar Breatan on bruch, | The chief of Britain shouted from the shore, |
| Ar ba etal hettiarun, | For *Etherun* was an idol— |
| Comar blaid fria merr don mur, | That it would be fame and respect to the *mur*, |
| Tiar a tarblaig Tephi fun. | South in the famous shrine of Tephi.† |
| Ir fon famla sin, funda, | It was in this manner, in this place, |
| Gnid gu calma a cetdcuma | They nobly made the first form |
| Temra gan taidbliur truma, | Of Temur‡ (which is) without an equal |
| Ar aibniur, ar eurumha. | For amenity, for lightness. |
| Teamair cach ard, cach ingna, | Temur [means] every height, every eminence, |
| Forr mbid forta, fo dingna, | On which is a dwelling, a good fortress,§ |

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* Coimdiu, *God;* Divinity, *numen.* In the copy of this poem, preserved in the Book of Glendalough, the word erlaith, a patron saint, or tutelary god, is substituted here for coimdiu; and in the prose account of this *Tephi*, Ethiarun is called the Idol of the Britons—idal na m-Breatan. It can be no other than the *Taran* of the British antiquaries and historians, by which they understand the chief God or Jupiter of the Pagan Britons.

† The meaning of this quatrain is very obscure, and some error has crept into the text through the ignorance of transcribers. The three copies of it differ in orthography and words, and each is equally obscure. The meaning seems to be, that Canthon took a figure of the British god Etherun or Taran with him to Spain, to be placed on the tomb of Tephi, that it might add to its fame and venerable character.

‡ The meaning is, that the tomb which was erected in Spain for Tephi was the model after which Heremon built the monument or *mur* of Tea on the hill of Temur, from which it took its name.

§ The words dinn, dingean, and dingna, which seem cognate with *Ting* in the Scandinavian dialects, are of constant occurrence in ancient Irish MSS., and employed to signify a fort, fortress, or palace. The Hag's Castle in Lough Mask is, in the Annals of the Four Masters, called the dingean daingean of Connaught. As the words dinn and dingna are of such constant occurrence in these documents, and not explained in any dictionary, a few examples of their use are here given from the Book of Lismore, one of the best Irish MSS. now extant. Thus, describing a city in the east, the word dind is used in the sense of tower: "Tri dorus imdai for cech ceathramtain di, ocus Dind diadglaidi for ced n-dorus," &c. And again: "Ocus ni le nech don aithrigi Dinn na cairlen dá fuil for a fed, act coimdes da gach aen iad fum."—p. 123. Again: "Do nithi a fuath do finnad in gach Dind a rigi na Tartraigeach."—p. 111. The word dingna is used throughout the same MS. to signify a fortress or habitation: Arcaid uaim-ri doib, ar Aengus og, Mac in Daghda, .i. dunad ocus Dingna, ocus baile rigda romora cu fonnacuib rid-arda, ocus go n-grianánaib gleórda, glaindi.—p. 190. In the same MS. Tara is called the dingna of Ireland.

Teamair ceċ benn naċ birṫa,
Acht mad Emain for irgna.
Da targa triath ocus tor,†
Rob adba niad nith co neim,
Teamair cen tarri, cen traig,
A mairi do mnaib do ṫeir.‡

Temur every *Ben* not pointed,*
[Exceeding all] except Emania in distinction.
It was the meeting-place of lords and chieftains,
It was the habitation of warriors of venomous contest,
Temur without weakness, without misery,
Their beauty to the women gives.

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Do dingnaib na Temrach in so sis.

Nemnach .i. tirra fuil ic on t-sid, i n-airṫiur tuaiscert na Temrach. Glair[1] don teid á Nemnaig .i. Nid a h-ainm, ir fuirri a ta in ceona muilend da ronad i n-Erne la [*recte* do] Ciarnaid cumail Cormaic.

Laṫrach tige Mairiren fil or in trid fri Nemnaig a tuaid, ocus teora cloca bega [imbe].[2] Ir amlaid ro fuidigeḋ in teaċ sin, Lár[3] ard ocus tuarad airiṙel. Mairiṙeo, don, banṫnebach bae im corae fri Cor-

Of the remarkable remains of Temur.

*Neamhnach*, a well which is at the *Sidh*, to the north-east of Temur. From this well flows a stream called Nith, on which is the first mill erected in Ireland by [*recte* for] *Ciarnaid*, the *Cumhal* (bondmaid) of Cormac Mac Art.

The ruins of the *House of Mairiseo* lie from the Shee (hill ?) to the north of *Neamhnach*. There are three small stones around it [or in it]. In its structure, this house had a high middle and low *tuarad*. Mairiseo was a widow who was co-

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* This line is corruptly given in the Book of Ballymote thus : Temair cać benoach birṫa, which would mean "Temur means every peaked and pointed hill;" but the true reading given above in the text is found in the Book of Glendalough, which is an older and more correct MS., and in the Gloss on this poem in H. 2. 17. The Book of Glendalough gives another quatrain here between the lines Acht mad Emain for irgna and Da targa triath ocus tor; but it is probably an interpolation, as it is not to be found in any other copy. It repeats the Scotic proverb, Temair tuathi ocus tigi, from which Cormac Mac Cullenan inferred that the word might be derived from the Greek. It runs thus :

"Teamair Tuathi ocus tigi,—Cen luathi, cen laeċmiri,
Maċair anai ceċ fini,—Conor bratharg beaṫ bini."

† The word tor literally signifies a tower, but it is here, and in many other compositions, used in a figurative sense to mean lord or chief. Tuirrgin, a word formed from it, is also used to signify a pillar or post which supports a house; and also a king.—*See Cormac's Glossary and the Forus Focal.*

‡ A mairri for mnaib ni cheil.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[1] In the copy of the Diinnseanchus, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, H. 2. 18, this passage is given as follows : I glairi bec theit á Temraig rair, ir fuirri a ta in muilleno ceta dernad do Chiarnait ċumail Chormaic, a small stream which flows from Temur eastwards ; on it is the first mill erected for Ciarnat, the bondmaid of Cormac.

[2] This word is omitted in the Book of Ballymote. But it is here supplied from the Book of Glendalough. In H. 3. 3, ann, i. e. *in it*, is here used for imbe, *around it*. But it is now impossible to decide which is the better reading, as the monument is totally destroyed.

[3] Iar ard in H. 3. 3.

mac.[4] Caċ teċ ruiġur in tuċt rin,[5] ni ba duabreaċ, ocus ni bia cen ana ano.

Raċ Laeġairi Mic Neill frisindi a tuaid. Cethri primdoirri cacha airda inte. Ocus no ruiġeḋ [corp][6] Laeġairi fo a sciaċ gaisciud[7] frisin in cloc n-imeċtraċ n-airtheir derscertach na riġ raċa Laeġairi i Temraiġ; ocus a aġaid fo der ic catugud fri Laiġniu .i. fri clainn Breasail Breic.[8]

Ata i taeb Raċa Laeġairi a n-airdeis Leċt Mata Morġlonnaiġ .i. amus bratbeartach[9] so bai i fail Cormaic. Ro báoar la ano ceaċtar oclaeċ i g-cluiċi i taeb Raċa Laeġaire a n-airdeis. Foendirim Mata a cetrar dar cuimgib aller i talum.[10]

Raċ Riġ i taeb Raċa Laeġairi a tuaid. Atat tri decra irruiḋiu[11] .i. Laċtaċ Tige temporary with Cormac. Every house situated in that manner, was not sorrowful, nor without plenty.

*The Rath of Laoghaire, the son of Niall,* lies to the north of this. There are four principal doors on it, facing the cardinal points. The body of Laoghaire was interred with his shield of valor in the external rampart, in the south-east of the royal *Rath* of Laoghaire at Temur, with his face to the south, [as if] fighting with the Lagenians, i. e. with the descendants of Breasal Breac.

By the side of *Rath Laoghaire,* to the south-east, lies the *Monument of Mata Morglonnach,* a treacherous soldier, who lived with Cormac. One day, there were four youths playing at a [certain] game by the side of *Rath Laoghaire,* to the south east, Mata buried the four down to their hips in the ground.

*Rath Righ* is by the side of *Rath Laoghaire* to the north. There are three *deccra* here, viz.;

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[4] I compe ri Cormac, i. e. cotemporary with King Cormac.—H. 2. 18.

[5] Amlaid rin. In H. 2. 18.

[6] Corp. Supplied from H. 2. 18.

[7] Fo a sciaċ eoġ ruibni.—H. 2. 18.

[8] This is also stated by Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, fol. 10, *a*, 2, "Nam *Neel* pater meus non sinivit mihi credere, sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus *Temro* quasi viris consistentibus in bello, quia utuntur Gentiles in sepulcris armati prumptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem *Erdathe* apud magos, id est judicii diem Domini. Ego filius Neill, et filius Dunlinge *im Maistin* in Campo Liphi pro duritate odivi ut est hoc." See also *Leabhar na h-Uidhri,* in which it is stated, that Laoghaire was interred in a standing position, with his face turned to the south, as if bidding defiance to the Lagenians, the hereditary enemies of his family.

[9] Instead of amus bratbeartach, the copy preserved in the Book of Glendalough has amus do Laiġnib, a soldier of the Lagenians.

[10] This sentence is given entirely different in the copy in the Book of Glendalough, thus, Do ro lic Matta urchur de chloich ano, co n-decaid for cunt a da lerr, co n-erbailt in t-oclaċ de.

[11] The reading in the Book of Glendalough differs considerably from this. It runs thus: Atatt tri decra ingantea i ruidiu .i. Lathraċ imo rig ṫaiġe Chormaic i n-airthiur derciurt na racha allech fri raith Loeġairi fo derr; lathrach imo Fhorraid la taeb in rig-ṫaiġe a n-iar; mur Tea etarru allech fo derr .i. Tea ben h-Erimoin. Liathdruim ocus Druim Cain, ocus Mur Tea, ocus Cathir Crimo, ainmand Temraċ i torrud. Ra hainaċt iarum Tea, ben h-Erimoin etir lathraċ imo Fhorraid ocus imo rig ṫaiġe; conid de sin ra ainmniġeḋ Temair .i. Tea-

Cormaic i n-airtiur decuirt na ratha illeith fri Raith Laigairi fo der; Latrach in Forrait i taeb Latraigi Tige Cormaic a n-air; Mur Tea a leith der, conid o rain fo hainmniged Temair .i. Tea mur .i. in cnoc bec fil etir in da mur fo der ir ano a ta.

the ruins of the *House of Cormac* in the south-east side of the Rath, facing *Rath Laoghaire* to the south. The ruins of the *Forradh* alongside the ruins of the *House of Cormac* to the east. *Mur Tea*, i. e. the wall [or enclosure] of *Tea* is on the south side. From this *Teamhuir*, i. e. *Tea-mur* is named. It is in the little hill which lies between the two *Murs* to the south.

Caprac Cormaic .i. tipra fil fo taeb Raith na Rig a nair; ocus tri hanmand fuirri .i. Liaig ocus Tipra bo finni, ocus Derc dub: ir de ata,—ni taet a laeg go a liaig. In dalanai á Temraig rair, ocus aroili a Temraig riar.[12]

*Caprac Cormac*, i. e. a well which lies under the side of *Rath na riogh* to the east. It has three names, viz.; *Liaigh* and *Tipra Bo-finne* and *Dearc dubh:* hence is [the saying] ní taét a laég go a liaig.—The calf does not visit his physician. The one is to the east of Tara, and the other to the west.

Dubo na bo[13] .i. in Glair Temrach fri Duma na n-giall[14] a niar.

*Dumha na bo*, i. e. *Glas Teamhrach*, lies to the west of *Dumha na n-giall.*

Duma na n-giall, fri Latrach in Forrait i n-airtuaid.

*Dumha na n-giall* (the Mound of the Hostages) lies to the north-east of the ruins of the *Forradh.*

Fal i taeb Duma na n-giall a tuaid, .i. in cloc no gerred fo corrait cach rig no gebed h-Erne. Fal ainm na cloice sin .i. fo ail .i. ail fo si.

*Fal* lies by the side of *Dumha na n-giall* to the north, i. e. the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of [the throne of] Ireland. *Fal*, the name of this stone, means fo ail, the *under* stone, i. e. the stone *under* the king.

Leacht Con ocus Cetten isin Leitir i comarsuus Raith Rig siar. Atat di cloic ano, Leacht Con in dalanai, Leacht Cethen aroili, conid gnathfocal,[15]—Dom gnius Cu

The *Monuments of Cu and Cethen* lie on the *Leiter* (slope) in the vicinity of *Rath riogh* to the west. There are two stones here; the one, the monument of Cu, the other, that of Cethen. So

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mur .i. cnoc bec fil etir na da mur alleth fa derr ir ano a ta. i. e. There are three wonderful features in this, namely, the ruins of the royal house of Cormac in the south-east of the Rath, by the side of *Rath-Laoghaire*, (which is) to the south; the ruins of the *Forradh*, by the side of the royal house, to the west; the *Mur* of Tea between them, at the south side. Tea was the wife of Heremon. *Liathdruim*, and *Druim-Cain*, and *Mur-Tea*, and *Cathair Croinn*, were the first names of Temur. Tea, the wife of Heremon, was interred between the ruin of the *Forradh* and the royal house; and hence Temur was named *Tea-mur*. It is situate in a small hill, between the two *Murs*, to the south.

[12] This, which was omitted through the negligence of the transcriber of the Book of Ballymote, is supplied from H. 3. 3. The Book of Glendalough has, In dalanai a Temair fair, alaile a Temair siar.

[13] Duma na bo in the Book of Glendalough and H. 3. 3, which is more correct.

[14] Omitted in L. Ballymot. Supplied from the Book of Glendalough.

[15] Annfocal in the Book of Glendalough, and nathfocal in L. Ballymot. The true reading is restored from H. 3. 3.

ocuſ Ceċen, .ı. Cu ſo marb Cechen, ſannaiſi Coſmaic ar lár in ṫiġe co ra ġaib caċ oiſġi ſoſc ſoiġaiſ na Ṫeamſach ſiar conaſſaſ ann, conid ſo marb bṙaṫair in ṡiſ ſo marbſom, ocuſ ac beſc Coſmac na ſo marbṫa Cu, ocuſ ni ṫarṡur aeḋarġaire co ſo marbaid *simul*.[16]

Ata ṫoſar iſ in Compan[17] o Leċt Ceċen ſo ṫuaid, Laeġ a h-ainm; ſiar caċ n-oiſġa bſuinneaſ. Ata laṫraċ na Cuċṫraċ Coſmaic ſoſ a bſu iſin leiṫiſ oſ Laeġ anaiſ.

Raṫ na Senuḋ i comaiſ Ḋumai na n-ġiall. Raṫ Senaid ſſi Fal a ṫuaid.

Laṫraċ Puſaill Adomnain iſ in ſaṫ ſin, ocuſ a ṙoſ ar belaib na ſaṫa ſaiſ, ocuſ a ſuiḋi, ocuſ a ḋuma ſſi cſoiſ anneaſ.[18]

Leċt Maine Mic Muinſeamaiſ ſſi Raṫ na ſiġ anaiſ.

Ata laṫraċ in ṫiġe ſo loiſceaḋ ſoſ Ḋenen ġilla Paṫraic, ocuſ ſoſ Lucad Mael, oſuiḋ Laeġaiſe, eaḋ beag o Chroiſ Adomnain ſaiſ-ḋeſ .ı. i ṫaeb a ſaṫa[19] a ṫuaid.

[Adaaṫ ṫeoſa cloċa beca i ṫoeb Raṫa na Senaḋ ṫuaid,[20] .ı.] ṫeoſa cloċa ſo laiṫi ſoſſ na oſuiḋib; iṫe a n-anmann .ı. Mael ocuſ Ḃlocc ocuſ Ḃluicni; Mael ſaiſ, ocuſ Ḃlocc ſo ḋeſ, ocuſ Ḃluicni ſo ṫuaid.

that it has become a common saying, "*They have acted like Cu and Cethen*," i. e. Cu slew Cethen, Cormac's butler, in the middle of the house; and he passed directly under the height of Temur to the west, where he was overtaken and killed by the brother of him whom he had slain. And though Cormac said that Cu should not be killed, no interposer overtook them until he was killed likewise.

There is a well in the *Compan* (slope) to the north of *Leacht Cethen*. Its name is *Laegh*, and [its streamlet] flows directly westwards. The ruins of *Cuchtair Chormaic* are on its brink in the *leiter* over *Laegh* to the east.

*Rath na Seanadh* (fort of the synods) lies opposite *Dumha na n-giall*, and to the north of *Fal*.

The site of *Pupall Adamnain* (pavilion or tent of Adamnan) is in this Rath, and his (Adamnan's) *Cross* is opposite the fort to the east, and his *Seat* and his *Mound* are to the south of the cross.

The *Monument of Maine the son of Muinreamhar* lies to the east of *Rath na Riogh*.

The ruins of the house, which was burned over Benen, the boy of Patrick, and Lucad Mael, the druid of Laoghaire, are a short distance to the south-east of *Cros Adamnain*, that is, at the side of the Rath to the north.

There are three small stones at the side of *Rath na Seanadh* to the north. These three stones were placed over the druids who were named Mael, Blocc, and Bluicni: Mael to the east, Blocc to the south, and Bluicni to the north.

[16] Co ro marbait anoſr in the Book of Glendalough, i. e. so that both were killed.

[17] For compan, the Book of Glendalough and H. 3. 3, have cobran, *a slope*.

[18] Better thus in H. 3. 3, Laṫrach Puraill Adomnain ſſir in raiṫ a ṫuaiḋ, ocuſ a ṙoſ ar belaib an ḋa raṫ ſaiſ, ocuſ a ſuiḋi ocuſ a ḋuma ſſi cſoiſ a n-ḋeaſ. i. e. The site of Adamnan's Tent lies north of the *Rath*, and his *Cross* opposite the two *Raths* to the east, and his *Seat* and his *Mound* south of the cross.

[19] For i ṫaeb a ſaṫa a ṫuaiḋ, the Book of Glendalough has i ṫoeb na conaiſe anaiſ abic. i. e. At the side of the road, a little to the east.

[20] The words included here in brackets, which were evidently omitted through the negligence of the transcriber of the Book of Ballymote, are supplied from the Book of Glendalough.

Ata Leċt in abuicc friu anair. Ir mlaiu ata in cubaid fairder ocus fiar der: tri troigti nama a tomus [in da lige[21]] naerscaiu bicc eir; ir amlaid ita in lige ocus cloch beg fo talmain in a [airtiur ocus alaile na[22]] iartus. Fo gabċar tri traigid imo in dara feċt, a tri co leiṫ in feċt n-aili.

Atat da duma frir in Cubaid a tuaid .i. Dall ocus Dorċa, .i. Dall tesr ocus Dorċa tiar;[23] ocus cać fo marb araili dib. Ocus ni fuil mur atusfu ocus na cloċa ocus in Cubaid.

Mur na tri cogus i fail Luinge na m-ban.

Lia na fian fri fligi anair,[24] ar belaib Raṫa Senaig.

Ata Long na m-ban .i. Teać Miḋċuarta o'n duma airṫearaċ fiarṫuaiḋ. Ir amlaid fo furoiged laṫraċ in tige fin, leiṫ foa[25] fu tuaid, ocus a uraid fo der, ocus comtogbail mur uimi anair ocus a niar, ir filte[26] big an leṫ tuaiscertaċ de; fo tuaid ocus fo der a ta a coir. Fuaṫ tige fota, con dib dorrib deg fair, no a ceaṫair deg,[27] .i. feċt fiar, ocus feċt fair. Ocus ar bertaḋ ir ano fin do melti Fer Temrach; deiṫbir fin, ár na ṫallaḋ forgla fer n-Erenn ano[28]

The *Monument of the Dwarf* is east of them. The *Cubhat* (grave) extends south-east and south-(north-?) west. Three feet only is the measurement of the two stones. There is a small *eascaid* below. This grave has a small stone under ground to the east and another to the west. It is found to be three feet at one time [of measuring] and three feet and a half at another.

There are two mounds north of the *Cubhat* called *Dall* and *Dorcha*, *Dall* towards the south, *Dorcha* towards the west, and these [i. e. the persons interred under them] slew each other. And there is no wall between them, and the stones and the *Cubhat*,(dwarf's grave.)

*Mur na d-tri g-cogur* is in the vicinity of *Long na m-ban.*

*Lia na b-fian* (the Stone of the Fians) is to the east of the road, opposite *Rath Senaigh.*

*Long na m-ban*, i. e. *Teach Midhchuarta*, is to the north-west of the eastern mound. The ruins of this house are situate thus: the lower part to the north, and the higher part to the south; and walls are raised about it to the east and to the west. The northern side of it is enclosed and small; the lie of it is north and south. It is in the form of a long house, with twelve doors upon it, or fourteen, seven to the west, and seven to the east. It is said, that it was here the *Feis Teamhrach* was held, which seems true; because as many men

[21] Supplied from H. 3. 3.

[22] Supplied from the Book of Glendalough.

[23] The reading in the Book of Glendalough is thus: Dall ainm in duma iartharaig, ocus Dorcha dan ainm in duma airtheraig. i. e. *Dall* is the name of the western mound, and *Dorcha* the name of the eastern mound.

[24] Instead of fligi, *road*, the copy in H. 3. 3, has ligi, *a grave.*

[25] Leithed foe forhuaid.—*Book of Glendalough*, and H. 3. 3.

[26] Ocus ir faellite biuc.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[27] In the Book of Glendalough better thus: A ceṫar dec de doirrib imo, no a xii, *ut alii dicunt.*

[28] Thus in the Book of Glendalough: Deithbir fun or no tailled ermor fer n h-Erenn ano, ocus f he fin in ted i m-biu amuir. i. e. This is likely, for the greater part of the men of Ireland would fit in it, and his is the house in which the soldiers used to be.

do doimb, ocus is e sin in teach mor milib amus.

Ata duma beg fri laeraċ in tige i n-airdeis is in airċinn dessceirtaig, .i. Duma na m-ban-amus [a ainm[29]].

Ata Compoc[30] Caelcon ocus a rach i comardus in ċinn tuaisceirtaig do Cuing na m-ban. Caelchu ano sin Mac Loairn, mic Ruaid, mic Cais, di Eoganaċt Caisil, [nech do bered buaid sdimciall fer Muman amaċ; o tat suisiġ Ros Temraċ[31]] Is dia sil Tuaċ Cir oc Teamraig.

Treduma Nesi, ingen Echach Salbuidi, maeir Concobair, is in chinn airderaċ tuaisceirtaċ[32] i comardus ċinn airdir tuaisceirtaig Cuinge na m-ban.

Rath Concobair Mic Nesa i taeb in Treduma a tuaid, ocus a dorus sair i comardus corusa Cinn ocus Medi Conculainn.

Ata laeraċ Sceiċ Conculainn co n-a Tul i comardus na Meidi sair tuaid. Samlaid a ta sae curdma cormail srir in talmain, ocus cnocan beag na medon, lan na teala de huir.[33]

Ata Sercann Temrach i comardus Cuinge na m-ban siar tuaid .i. Sercann salaċ beg sil i taeb Cairn na macraidi a n-der.

Ata Raċ Graine o Sercann Temrach a niar for forard na telcha.[34]

would fit in it as would form the choice part of the men of Ireland. And this was the great house of a thousand soldiers.

There is a small mound to the south-east of the ruin of this house in the southern end, called *Dumha na m-ban-amus.*

The *Grave of Caelchu* and his *Rath* are near the northern head of *Long na m-ban.* This Caelchu, the son of Loarn, son of Ruadh, son of Cas, was one of the Eoganachts of Cashel, and the most distinguished of all the men of Munster for wisdom; and from him the chiefs of *Ros-Teamrach* and the tribe of *Tuath-Cis*, at Temur, are descended.

The *Treduma* (triple mound) *of Nesi*, the daughter of Eochaidh Salbhuidhe, the mother of Concobhar, [Mac Nesa,] at the north-eastern end near the north-east head of *Long na m-ban.*

The *Rath of Concobhar Mac Nesa* alongside the *Treduma* to the north; its door faces the east opposite the *Ceann* and *Medhi* of *Cuchulainn.*

The ruins of *Sciath Chonchulainn* and its *Tul* are near the *Medhi* to the north-east. The *Rath* is level with the ground, and there is a small hillock in its centre *lan na teala de huir.*

The *Sheskin* of Temur is close to *Long na m-ban* to the north-west. This dirty little *Sheskin* (moor) is south of *Carn na macraidhe.*

*Rath Grainne* (Grania's fort) is west of the *Sheskin* on the height of the hill.

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[29] Supplied from the Book of Glendalough.

[30] Cubac in the Book of Glendalough, and cuuac, which is intended for cubac in H. 3. 3. The word is used in the oldest Irish MSS. to signify a tomb or grave.

[31] Supplied from H. 3. 3.

[32] Airdeir ċuaisceirtaċ in the Book of Glendalough, which is the correct reading.

[33] Thus in the Book of Glendalough: Is amlaid a tá ráth cormail ċuscma fos sin talmain, ocus cruaichne beos in a medon; lán inela de úir. In H. 2. 16, better thus: Is amlaid ata raith cuscma cormail srir in talmain ocus cnocan bec 'na meadon, lán na tealċa dia húir.

[34] For forard na telcha, in the Book of Glendalough.

Ata Fothaḋ Ratha Grainn a tuaid[35] Fan na carbad i comarbus na Claenferta tuaiscertaig fair.

Atat na di Claenferta fri Raith Grainni a niar. Is in Claenferta descertaig ro orc in ingenraid la Laigniu dia Samna. Is in Claenferta tuaiscertaig rug Lugaid [Mac Con[36]] in gubreiḋ is in glaisin do orgain do na caircaiḃ[37]

Ata Carn macraidi Laigen i taeb Sercaind Temrach a tuaid.

Ata Crosc Fergusa noebailitir. (Is e boi i Carraic Clumain,) i taeb Cairn na macraidi a niar.[38]

A ta Deisel Temrach eter da Carn na macraide .i. eter in carn descertach ocus in carn tuaiscertach.

Ata Carn macraidi hua Neill i taeb deiss na Temrach a tuaid.

Raiḋ Colmain Mic Caelḋon o Carn macraidi h-Ua Neill fair tuaid .i. in[39] carn tuaiscertach.

Ata Duma ind Luchduind i taeb Ratha Colmain Mic Caelcon aniar.

Ata Adlaic [ocus Diadlaic[40]] i comarbus Raṫa Colmain fastuaid, .i. hi taeb na leitreaḋ a nairṫuaid; .i. di tirrait ind fin, Adlaic indarnai ocus Diadlaic arailli, ár ni uil deoḋuin acurru.[41]

*Fothath Ratha Grainne* is to the north of *Fan na Carbad*, near the northern *Claenfeart* to the east.

The two *Claenfearts* are to the west of *Rath Grainne*. It was in the southern *Claenfeart* that the virgins were slaughtered by the Lagenians on Saman's day, (1st of November). It is in the northern *Cleanfeart* that Lughaidh Mac Con pronounced the false sentence concerning the green field being eaten by the sheep.

The *Carn of the Leinster Youths* lies alongside the Sheskin of Temur to the north.

The *Cross of Fergus* the holy pilgrim, (who was in *Carraic Clumain*,) is alongside the *Carn of the Youths*, to the west.

*Deisiol Teamhrach* is between the two *Carns of the Youths*, i. e. between the southern *Carn* and the northern *Carn*.

The *Carn of the Hy-Niall Youths* is alongside *Deisiol na Teamhrach* to the north.

The *Rath of Colman, the son of Caelchu* is north-east of the *Carn of the Hy-Niall Youths* i. e. of the northern carn.

The *Mound of Luchdonn* is alongside the *Rath of Colman Mac Caelchon* to the west.

*Adlaic* and *Diadlaic* are in the vicinity of the *Rath of Colman*, to the north-east, i. e. in the side of the *Leiter*, (side of the hill,) to the north-east. These are two wells, the one called *Adlaic*, and the other *Diadlaic*, but there is no difference [separation ?] between them.

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[35] I tuaid, i. e. in the vicinity of, as in H. 3. 3, which seems the true reading.

[36] Supplied from H. 3. 3.

[37] This passage is thus given in the Book of Glendalough: Is in Cloenfertaig tuaiscertaig tucaḋ in mbreth in aghaid Mic Con. Ḋreth i fuc Cormac imm an glaisrin. i. e. In the northern Claenfert the sentence was given against Lughaidh Mac Con, that is, the sentence which Cormac passed concerning the green field.

[38] Thus given in the Book of Glendalough: Atta crosc Fhergusa .i. naemailitir (is he fil i Carraic Clumain) i taeb Cairn na macraide a n-der.

[39] O'n carn in the Book of Glendalough, *et recte*.

[40] Supplied from H. 3. 3, and Book of Glendalough.

[41] This passage is better given in the Book of Glendalough, thus: Ata Adlaic ocus Diadlaic i comar-

The text of the following poem is selected from the copy preserved in H. 3. 3 of the MS. Library of Trinity College, as no other copy so ancient, and, at the same time, so perfect, has been yet found. It has, however, been most carefully compared with the copies preserved in the Book of Ballymote, the *Leabhar Buidhe* of the Mac Firbises of Lecan, and the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy:

| Cuan O'Ċochain *cecinit.* | Cuan O'Lochain *cecinit:* |
|---|---|
| Ṫemair tocca [toghа] na tulach, | Temur choice of hills, |
| Fo ata Ḟri inḟoḋoċ,[1] | Under which is Ireland warlike, |
| Airdcaṫair Cormaic mic Airt, | [Was the] chief city of Cormac, son of Art, |
| Mic Cuinn Ceḋ cathaiġ comnairt. | Son of the puissant Conn of the hundred battles. |
| Cormac ba cunḋuil[2] a maiṫ, | Cormac—prudent was his goodness— |
| Ḃa raoi, ba fili, ba flaiṫ, | Was a sage, was poet, was prince, |
| Ḃa fir breiṫiom fer feine, | Was true Brehon of the men of Feine; |
| Ḃa carai ba cocceilea. | Was friend, was companion. |
| Cormac ra clai caecaḋ caṫ, | Cormac gained fifty battles, |
| Ḋo filaḋ[3] Saltair Ṫemrach, | He compiled the Psalter of Temur; |
| Ir in tsaltoir fin ata, | In that Psalter is |
| An urr ḋeach fuim fenchurra. | What is a good summary of history. |
| Ir fi in tsaltoir fin aḋ beir, | It is that Psalter which gives |
| Seċt n-aiririċc Ḟireno inḋir; | Seven monarchs of Erin of harbours; |
| Cuic fi na coicceḋ for gni, | Five kings of the provinces it makes, |
| Ri Ḟirinḋ ira herrti. | The King of Erin and her toparchs. |
| Ir innti ata ḋe ceċ leiṫ | In it are [entered] reciprocally |
| Inḋ a n-dliġ ceċ fi coicciḋ; | What each king of the provinces is entitled to; |
| Inḋ a n-dliġ fi ṫemrach toir | What the King of Temur in the east is entitled to |
| Ḋo riġ ceċ cuiciḋ ceolmoir. | From the king of each harmonious province. |
| Coimceniu comaimsera caiṫ, | The chronology and synchronism of all, |
| Ceċ riġ ḋie roile ḋarairt, | Of each king with each other completely, |

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dur Ratha Colmain Mic Caelċon fair tuaith i taeb na letsraċ frirr in fraiṫ anair-tuaiḋ .i. di sirraic inorin .i. Adlaic inḋalanai ocus diaḋlaic alaile acht nad fil deirin etarru. i. e. *Adlaic* and *Diadlaic* are in the vicinity of *Rath-Colman Mac-Caelchon* to the north-east, on the side of the *Letter* (slope of the hill), and to the north-east of the fort. These are two wells, the one is called *Adlaic*, and the other *Diadlaic*, but there is no *difference* [?] between them.

[1] Inḟoḋoach.—*L. Ballymot.*, and *L. Buidhe Lecain.*

[2] Cunḋal.—*L. Ballymot.* In more modern MSS., in which nn are used for nḋ, the word is written Connaill. Written canḋail in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, and *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys.

[3] Ilaiḋ Saltair Ṫemrach.—*L. Ballymot., sed perperam;* Ro filaiḋ Saltair Ṫemrach.—*L. Buidhe Lecain.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cṙiochaḋ ceċ coiccḭḋ ṙo cṙuaiṫ,[4] | The boundaries of each province from the hill, |
| Oṫa ṫṙoiġḭḋ co ṫṙom ṫuáiṫ. | From the *troigidh* to the heavy [large] *tuaith.* |
| Ṫṙicha aṙ ṫṙiochaiḃ ceḃ noṙ ġeiḃ, | Thirty above a *Triocha ched* [barony] it finds |
| Ḋo ṫṙichuiḃ ceḃ ceċ cuiccḭḋ. | Of *Triocha cheds* in each province. |
| In ceċ cuiceḋ ḋiḃ aṫa | In each province of them are |
| Seċṫ ṗṙimṙiṫiṫ ṗṙimoinġna. | Seven full score of chief fortresses. |
| Roṙ ṙiṫiṙ Coṙmac ṙa ṙi, | It is known, that Cormac, the king, |
| Ro la cuaiṙṫ Éiṙenn ṙo ṫhṙi, | Made a visitation of Erin thrice; |
| Ṫuc ġiall ceċa muiṙ amuiċċ, | He brought the hostage of every fortress out, |
| Co noṙ ṫaiṙealu[5] a Ṫemṙuiġ. | And exhibited them at Temur. |
| Ḋuma na n-Ġiall[6] ġloine n-ġlac, | The *Mound of the Hostages* of fair hands |
| Ḋona ġiallaiḃ ṫuc Coṙmac, | To the Hostages Cormac gave; |
| Ḋo Coṙmac ṫaṙṙaṙ na ṫoiċċ, | To Cormac was shown[7] in his house |
| Ceċ ḋecaiṙ aṫa a Ṫemṙoiġ. | Every *decair*, which is at Temur. |
| Roṙ ṫaiṙṙaṙ ḋ'Ṙeṙġuṙ muiṙṫa,[8] | To Fergus was shewn in a vision |
| Aiṫ a ṙuil Cṙoṙ Ṙeṙġuṙṙa, | The place where is [stands] the *Cross of Fergus*,[9] |
| Ṙan na caṙṙuṫ con ceṙṫa,[10] | *Fan na carput* is exactly |
| Éṫoṙṙau ṙaun Claoinṙeṙṫo.[11] | Between them and the *Claenferts.* |
| Claoinṙeṙṫo a n-ġaoḃḋaoiṙ aiṁoṙi, | The *Claenferts* in which the girls were slaughtered, |
| Claoinṙeṙṫa na claon caiṁġni, | —The *Claenferts* of the treacherous covenant— |
| O Raiṫ Ġṙainne aniaṙ anoiṙ[12] | From *Rath Grainne* down to the west |
| Aṫaiḃ cen eṙċṙu anaon diṙ.[13] | They are, without obscurity,[14] both. |
| O Raiṫ Ġṙainḋe ṙaiṙ ṙan ġlinn, | From *Rath Grainne*, east in the glen, |

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[4] Cṙiċaḋ ġach coiġḭḋ o ċṙuaiṫ, O ṫa ṫṙaiġḭo, &c.—*L. Ballymot.* Cṙiochaḋ cech Coiccḭḋ ṙo cṙuaich.—*Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys. O'Flaherty understands *traigidh* or *troigidh* as meaning the smallest subdivision of land in use among the Irish.

[5] Ṫaiṙealb.—*L. Ballymot.*, and *L. Gabhala* of the O'Clerys.

[6] Omitted in *L. Ballymot.*, but given in the *L. Buidhe*, and *L. Gabhala* of the O'Clerys.

[7] This alludes to a tradition among the Irish, that King Cormac foresaw in his house of meditation every building and other feature that would be on the hill of Tara in after ages. For an account of Cormac's house of meditation, see the Book of Lismore, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

[8] Ṫaṙṙaṙ ḋ'Ṙeṙġuṙ baile ita.—*L. Ballymot.*

[9] This refers to another Irish tradition, that Fergus, the pilgrim of *Carraic Clumain*, saw in a vision that a cross would be erected in honour of himself near *Fan na Carput*, on the Hill of Tara.

[10] Conceṙcca.—*L. Ballymot.* Conceṙta.—*L. Buidhe* of Lecan, and *L. Gabhala.*

[11] Éṫuṙṙu iṙ na Claenṙeṙṫa.—*L. Ballymot.*, and *L. Gabhala.*

[12] Ṙṙi Raiṫ n-Ġṙainoi aniaṙ aniṙ.—*L. Ballymot.* O Raiṫ Ġṙainne aniaṙ aniṙ.—*L. Buidhe*, and *L. Gabhala.*

[13] Aṫaṫ ġan uṙċa n-aonmiṙ.—*L. Ballymot.* Aṫaṫ cen eṙċa n-aiṁḃiṙ.—*Leabhar Buidhe.* Aṫaṫ cen eṙċa an oeinoiṙ.—*L. Gabhala.*

[14] i. e. They are both conspicuous.

| | |
|---|---|
| Atá Seiscinn Temrach sinn; | Is the *Sheskin* of strong *Temur;* |
| Atá fri feiscinn anoir [anoir] | To the east of the *Sheskin* are |
| Raith Nessa, Raith Conchobair. | The *Rath of Nessa*, the *Rath of Conchobhar.* |
| Corus Cinn Conculainn cruaid, | The *Corus Cinn of Cuchulainn* the hardy, |
| O Raith Conchobair fairtuaid, | From the *Rath of Conchobhar* north-east, |
| Tomar a Sciath fo Cobrad[15] | The measure of his *Shield* under *Cobhradh,* |
| Ir ingnadh, ir imdabal.[16] | Is wonderful, is prodigious. |
| Lige Mail ocus Midhna | *The Grave of Mal and Midhna* |
| A n-Temraigh, iar na tidhbai, | At Temur, after their deaths, |
| De ata alligiu fa leacht, | Hence are their grave and monument, |
| Daig in cinn fo commaidheacht.[17] | In consequence of the head which they exhibited. |
| Imraidim for Long nallaech,[18] | Let us mention also *The Long of the Heroes,* |
| Frir a n-abar barc ban mbaeth; | Which is called the *Barc of the* vain *Women;* |
| Teach na laech nir bo loncc lacc[19]— | The *House of the Heroes* was not a weak house— |
| Co ceithri doirrrib deac. | With fourteen doors. |
| Duma na mban, iar na mbrath, | The *Mound of the Women*, after being betrayed, |
| For ano innell uathairach;[20] | At the upper extremity; |
| Dall ir Dorcha frir a n-der, | *Dall* and *Dorcha* to the south of it, |
| Ro fromtha fri comuigcur. | Who were killed by their competition. |
| Dall ther, tiar Dorca dogra, | *Dall* south, the sorrowful *Dorcha* west, |
| Da dib Duma Dall Bodhra; | Of them is the *Mound of Dall Bodhra;* |
| Ro marb cechar aile, | Each of these killed the other, |
| Hi cornam a n-almsaine.[21] | Fighting for their alms. |
| Do luid an t-abac—truag do! | The dwarf went—pity of him! |
| Do etorgair etorra,[22] | To interpose between them, |
| Co ro marbrat in t-abac | So thatthey killed the dwarf |
| Fo a ccosaib, ger claen amarc.[23] | Under their feet, though a piteous sight! |
| O lechtar an abaic sin siar,[24] | From the monument of that dwarf west, |

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[15] Fo a cabrad, that is, under his *Cabradh.*—*L. Ballymot.* Fo cobrad.—*L. Gabhala.*

[16] Ir ingnad, ir imdabal.—*L. Ballymot.*

[17] Daig an chinn ro commaidhedh.—*L. Gabhala.* Ait an cinn ro commaidhedh.—*L. Buidhe Lecain.* The change in the text was made for the sake of rhyme.

[18] Luing na Laech.—*L. Ballymot.*

[19] Teach na fian ni long lag.—*L. Ballymot.*

[20] Ar a oathair uathairach.—*L. Ballymot.*

[21] Ic cornam a n-almsaini.—*L. Ballymot.*

[22] Do eadargain ettorro.—*L. Ballymot.* Deargaire —*L. Buidhe.*

[23] Iar crin-amarc.—*L. Ballymot.*

[24] O leacht in aduic sin siar.—*L. Ballymot.*, and *L. Buidhe.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Maol, ḃloc, ḃluicni, ḃorḃ a ciall, | *Mael, Bloc, Bluicni*, [druids] of powerful sense, |
| Forḋai hi caiṫ na tri cloca[25] | On them are the *three stones* |
| Dus fasclaic Mal mor Macai. | Which the great Mal of Macha cast. |
| Mur cleiṫi na tri cocar, | The *Mur of the concealment of the three conspiracies*, |
| Iṫir Long ir Laoċ sorar ; | Between the *Long* and the *Heroes' Well ;* |
| Lia na Fian fri fliġe mair, | *Lia na Fian* to the east of the road, |
| Ar inchaiḃ Racho Senaiġ ; | Opposite the *Rath of the Synods ;* |
| Raiṫ Senaiḋ regda ceċ mbuaiḋ, | The *Rath of the Synods* of great virtues, |
| Fri Fal na Temraċ aduaiḋ ; | To the north of the *Fal* of Temur ; |
| On raiṫ rair adaoḃ an liaġ,[26] | East of the Rath by the side of *the Stones*, |
| An teċ ar terno ḋiniaḋ. | The house out of which Benignus escaped. |
| Senaḋ Patraic o'n raiṫ rain ;[27] | The synod of Patrick [was held] in this great Rath ; |
| Senaḋ ḃrenainn ir Ruaḋain ; | The synod of Brendan and of Ruadhan ; |
| Senaḋ Adamnain iar sin, | The synod of Adamnan afterwards, |
| Ac ercaine Irgailiġ.[28] | In cursing Irgalach. |
| O Raiṫ na Riġ rair [*recte* siar], ni go, | From *Rath na Righ* east, [*recte* west,] no falsehood, |
| Leċt Con, Lechṫ Cethen, Cnoc bo, | *Lecht Con, Lecht Cethen, Cnoc bo*, |
| hi ta frir sin raiṫ anair[29] | Of this *Rath* eastward is |
| Leċt Maine Mic Munremair. | The *Lecht of Maine son of Munremhar.* |
| Mairiḋ fri Raiṫ Riġ hi n-der | South of *Rath Righ* remain |
| Raiṫ Laeġaire ir a Ler, | The *Rath of Laoghaire* and his *Lis*, |
| Ir a Leċtar for lar a Lir,[30] | And his *Lecht* in the middle of his *Lis*, |
| Firen fiaḋaiṫ ro forḃsirr. | Which an upright witness partly broke. |
| Feġaiḋ Teċ Muirisġi m-benn,[31] | Behold the *House of Muirisc* the famous, |
| Primaiṫi aile Eirenn, | [Who was] the chief beauty of Erin, |
| Aro anair, sparo an tuaiḋ, | High at the west, very high at the north, |
| Irisul uaiḋ rair, ba raer buaiḋ.[32] | Low to the east, sign of prosperity. |
| Ir ann ro suidiġeḋ re | The place in which was situated |

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[25] Forru a tad na tri cloca.—*L. Ballymot.*

[26] Uaiti rair i taeb imo liacc, in teaċ a terno ḋeniat.—*L. Ballymot.* O Raiṫ rair a taeb na liaġ, An tech ar terna ḋeniaḋ.—*L. Buidhe.*

[27] 'Con raiṫ rain.—*L. Ballymot.*

[28] Aġ ergaine Iorgalaiġ.—*L. Buidhe, et recte.*

[29] Ata frir in raiṫ anair.—*L. Ballymot. et recte.* A nairṁtiher na raṫa rair ita.—*L. Buidhe.*

[30] Ir a leċt for lar a lir.—*L. Ballymot.*

[31] Feġaiḋ Teċ Mairire meann.—*L. Ballymot.*

[32] Irel uait rair ba rainbuaiḋ.—*L. Ballymot.*

| | |
|---|---|
| An teach ar bru Nemnaighe ;[33] | The house is on the brink of *Neamhnach;* |
| Mon teċ rin, tar Mide amach, | About this house, out over Meath, |
| Ro fultha tighe Temruċ.[34] | The houses of Temur are spread. |
| Temair, diatha Temair Breagh, | The Temur, from which is Temur of Bregia, |
| Mur Tea, mna mic Mileaḋ, | Was the *Mur* of Tea, the wife of the son of Milè, |
| Nemnach uad fair fruċ fo glenn, | *Neamhnach* from it east [pours] a stream into the glen, |
| Forr tard Cormac ced muilenn. | On which Cormac placed the first mill. |
| Ciarnaid, cumal Cormaic coir | Ciarnaid, the bondmaid of the just Cormac, |
| Ced no biathaḋ a broin,[35] | By whose quern a hundred were fed, |
| Deċ meiġ le ceċ lai do bleiġ, | Was used to grind ten *miachs* each day, |
| Nir obair duine deinmeich. | Not work for a vain person. |
| Ror tarraḋ aicce in ri fan | The noble king took her to him |
| In a tig a h-aonuran, | Into his house alone, |
| Cor fo toirrcertair fo ċleiġ, | So that he secretly made her pregnant, |
| Ier sin fo eimiġh fo bleith. | After which she refused to grind. |
| Cormac, fo cluinim, ua Cuinn,[36] | Cormac, I hear, the grandson of Con, |
| Tuġ saor muilinn tar mor tuinn, | Brought a millwright over the great sea, |
| Ced muilenn Cormaic Mic Airt, | [Who erected] the first mill of Cormac Mac Art, |
| Ro bo cobair do Ciarnaid. | Which was of assistance to Ciarnaid. |
| Carraċ Cormaic a Raiġ Riġ, | *Caprach Cormaic* at *Rath Righ,* |
| O Raiġ Riġ sair, ir e a fir, | From *Rath Righ* east, it is the truth, |
| Atha in topur tuirme clann,[37] | Is the well of *Tuirme Clann,* |
| Frir a n-abar tri h-anmann, | Which is called three names, |
| Liag dael dubh, Duirlh Tuathlinne, | *Liag dael dubh, Duirlh Tuathlinne,* |
| Ocus Tipra Bo Finne : | And *Tipra Bo Finne :* |
| Tri hanmanna fen floiter imaċ,[38] | These three names are called out, |
| Do filad tobair Temrach. | To produce the wells of Temur. |
| Tobar aile aobal trer | Another well of great strength |
| A Temraiġ filer siarthess,— | Flows south-west of Temur,— |
| Laeġ a ainm, ġen co din bu, | *Calf* is its name, though not the young of cow: |
| Cuċtair Cormaic for a bru. | *Cuchtair Cormaic* [is] on its brink. |

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[33] Thuaid for bru Neamnaidhe.—*L. Buidhe.*

[34] Ro silta tiġe Temrach.—*L. Ballymot.*

[35] Mor ċeo no biathaḋ a broin.—*L. Ballymot., recte.*

[36] Iar sin for oirċir ua Cuind.—*L. Ballymot., recte,* and *Gloss on this poem* in *H.* 2. 17.

[37] Co a ta in tobar truimi clann.—*L. Ballymot.* Muirne clann.—*Copy in H.* 2. 15. *p.* 232.

[38] Tri h-anmand dia floind imaċ.—*L. Ballymot.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ꝺꝛuimoiḋ a Ƭemꝛaiġ anƭuaiꝺ, | In Temur, at the north spring, |
| Ⱥꝺluic Ꝺiaꝺluic an ƭ-ꝛluaiġ, | *Adluic* [and] *Diadluic* of the host, |
| Ꝺa ƭobaꝛ, ꝛo ꝺeoċaiꝛ ꝺe,[39] | Two wells, no separation between them, |
| Siꝛ co Caꝛn na macꝛaiꝺe. | [Flow] down to *Carn na macraidhe.* |
| Ieiꝛ ꝺa caꝛn na n-ġilla | Between the two *carns* of the youths |
| Ꝺeiꝛiul Ƭemꝛach, ƭeꝛ cꝛinnae,[40] | Is *Deisiul Teamhrach*, south of Crinna, |
| Ꝼoƭ co ꝛaṫ ꝛia n-ꝺul aꝛ ceul, | A sod with luck before going to heaven, |
| Ⱥ ꝛoiꝺꝺiꝛ ꝺaine ꝺeiꝛeal.[41] | Where men turned to the right. |
| Ⱥ ƭuaiꝺ ꝼꝛiꝛ in ƭulaiġ ꝺꝛuim | North of the mighty hill |
| Raiṫ Colmain, in Ꝺomnain ꝺuinn ; | Is the *Rath of Colman*, the brown-haired Domnan ; |
| Ƶecht Caelcon, ꝛo cochma cloċ, | The *Lecht of Caelchu*, a heap of stones, |
| Saiꝛƭuaiꝺ o Ƶuinġ ban Ƭemꝛaċ.[42] | North-east of *Long ban Teamhrach.* |
| Caolcu, mac Ƶoaiꝛn, mic Ruaiꝺ, | Caelchu, the son of Loarn, son of Ruadh, |
| Mic Coꝛmaic Caiꝛ, beꝛeꝺ buaiḋ, | Son of Cormac Cas, who gained the victory, |
| Ꝼꝛimġiall ꝼeꝛ Muman amaċ, | The chief hostage of the men of Munster, |
| O ƭaiƭ ꝓuiꝛiġ Ruiꝛ Ƭemꝛaċ. | From whom are [descended] the chiefs of *Ros Teamhrach.* |
| Ƭeċ Ƭemꝛaċ imb aƭa in ꝛaiṫ, | The house of Temur around which is the Rath, |
| Ⱥꝛ ƭaꝛꝺaḋ oliġeḋ ꝺi caċ, | Whence law was distributed to all, |
| Maꝛuiꝺ-ꝼoꝛ ꝺꝛoncc ꝺia ꝛamlaiḋ, | There exist still people like them, |
| Ⱥc ꝛiġcaiḃ, ac ꝛiġꝺamnaiḃ. | With kings, [and] with Roydamnas. |
| Ri ocuꝛ ollaṁ ꝼiliuꝺ, | King and Ollave poet, |
| Sai, bꝛuccaiḋ, beiꝛeiꝛ olicciuḋ, | Sage, *Brooee*, who distributed law, |
| Ƶeꝛaiḋ na loiꝛcéi loiche, | [Had] beds which lightning did not burn, |
| Ƶaaꝛc ocuꝛ lonꝛoicheaꝛƭ. | [And] the *laarc* and *lonchroicheat.* |
| Ƶiaċc, iꝛ ꝺailiuꝺ, ġoꝺa ġuꝛ, | Physician, and cup-bearer, stout smith, |
| Rechƭuiꝛi, ꝛanꝺuiꝛi ꝛuin, | Lawgiver, lusty butler, |
| Maoil na ceeꝛa ꝺoiḃ uili, | The *maoil* of the cattle to them all, |
| Ⱥ ƭoiċc anꝺ ꝛiaċ baꝛꝛꝺuiꝺhe. | In the house of the yellow-haired king. |
| Rinꝺuiꝺi, ꝛaiḃꝺuiġi ꝛel, | Engraver, and skilful Rath-builder, |
| Sciaṫaiꝛi, iꝛ ꝼianuiḋi ꝼeiġ, | Shield-maker, and vigorous soldier, |
| Ⱥ ƭiġ ꝛiġ ꝺo iḃeiꝛ coꝛm, | In the king's house used to drink beer, |
| Ꝺa he a n-oliġeḋ oiliꝛ ꝺoꝛn. | It was their lawful privilege. |

[39] Ꝼo ꝺecaiꝛ ꝺe.—*Copy* in *H.* 2. 15, p. 232.

[40] Ƭeꝛ cꝛinna.—*H.* 2. 15.

[41] Ⱥ ꝛuiḋꝺiꝛ ꝺaine aꝛ ꝺeiꝛel.—*H.* 2. 15.

[42] The four quatrains from ƭobaꝛ aile aꝺbal ƭheꝛ down to this line, both lines inclusive, are omitted in the Book of Ballymote, most probably through inadvertency of the transcriber, as the wells and the Rath, described in these quatrains, are mentioned in the prose account of the remains at Tara, prefixed to the poem in that book.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ḋṙai, ṗıocellaiġ, ṗuiṙṙeoiṙ ṗaon, | Druid, chess-players, and arch-buffoon, |
| Cuiṙleṅoaiġ, cleṙaiḋi claon, | Pipers, and tricky jugglers, |
| Colṗta a cuiṫ ṗeola, ıeṙ ṗiṙ, | The *Colptha* for their share of meat, in truth, |
| In ṫan ṫiaġaḋ ı ṫeċ ṗiġh. | When they come into the king's house. |
| Riġṫeċ cuiṫ ṙenmoiṁ ṗaoṙ, | The *Rightheach* the share of the noble preacher, |
| Caiṙleoiṙ iṙ ceṙḋa maṙaon. | Of the Cashel-builder and artisan likewise. |
| Coṙnoiṙi, buinoiṙe aṙḃṙiġ, | The cupbearer, and vigorous footman, |
| Ḋeiḋi ṙo meloiṙ miḋ meṙ. | Both drank cheering metheglin. |
| Muiṙiḋin ḋo mal Miḋi. | The *muiridin* to the chief of Meath. |
| Caiṙiomhoiṁ, iṙ ciorṁuiṙiu, | The embroiderers, and fullers, |
| Ḋliġṫiu ḋo n ḋroiṁcc ṫṙeḃuiṙ ṫṙeiṁ, | Are entitled, as a people skilful, important, |
| Ichṫoṙ ṙemoṙ ın ṫṙlınneiṁ. | To the fleshy lower part of the shoulder. |
| Ḋṙomanna ḋroṁna ın ceċ ṫṙeḃ, | The straight backs in every tribe, |
| Ḋo ḋṙuiḋiḃ, ḋo ḋoiṙṙeoṙaiḃ. | To druids, and doorkeepers. |
| Uṙuṙclae ḋiṅgeiṁ cenaċ, | What fortress will be protected, |
| Ieṙ n-ıṁḋraḋ ṫiġċi Ṫemraċ?[43] | After the suppression of the house of Temur? |
| Colum Cilli, cṙenuiu bṙoiu, | Columbkille, who purchased hostages, |
| Ḋo ṙaḋ an caṫ ḋo Ḋiarmaiḋ, | Gave the battle to Diarmaid, |
| Re n-ḋula ḋo aṙ muiṙ amaċ,[44] | Before his going over across the sea, |
| Ḋo ġiallraḋ ṫuiṙ na Ṫemraċ.[45] | The chiefs of Temur gave him hostages. |
| Cṙeiḋim Cṙiṙṫ ṙo ċeṙ a cṙi, | The faith of Christ tormented his heart, |
| Ḋo ċuiṙ ceċ neṙṫ ṙoṙ nemoni,[46] | He brought all strength to nought, |
| Aṙ bṙón ḋo ḋaim Ḋe na ṫoiġ; | In consequence of the sorrow of the people of God in his house; |
| Ni ṫaṙṫ ṫeṙmonn ḋo Ṫemroiġ. | He extended no protection to Temur. |

Taking the preceding ancient documents as a guide, the remains on the Hill have been identified with the descriptions given of them, in the following order:

1. The Well *Neamhnach*. This is marked in the poem as lying east of the *Mur Tea*, which is within the principal rath of Tara; and more accurately in the prose tract, as north-east, and supplying the stream on which the first mill was

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[43] The preceding eight quatrains are omitted in the Book of Ballymote, that is, from Ṫech Ṫemraċ imb aṫa ın raiṫ, down to Ieṙ n-ıṁḋraḋ ṫiġċi Ṫeṁraċ, both lines inclusive, but they are given in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, and in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys. The verses following seem to be the production of a later writer, as they are not found in the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, and other ancient vellum MSS.

[44] Re n-ḋul ḋo ḋaṙ muiṙ ımaċ.—*L. Ballymot., recte.*

[45] Ron ġiallraḋaṙ ṫuiṙ Ṫemraċ.—*L. Ballymot.*

[46] Ro ċuiṙ caṫ neṙṫ aṙ neṁṫni.—*L. Ballymot.*

erected in Ireland. This well was at once identified, as it is the source of a stream which has turned a mill on the site of the ancient one to the present day.

2. The next grand feature identified was *Rath na Riogh*, the most important enclosure on the Hill, which is clearly pointed out by its locality in relation to the Well *Neamhnach*.

3. These two points being ascertained, no doubt remained of the situation of *Rath-Laoghaire*, which was situated immediately south of *Rath na Riogh*.

Having ascertained beyond question these three grand features, the smaller monuments within the enclosure of *Rath na Riogh* were at once identified. These are described in the prose only, and are as follows :

4. *The ruins of the House of Cormac*, in the south-east of the Rath, facing *Rath-Laoghaire*, which is to the south.

5. *The ruins of the Forradh*, beside the House of Cormac, which is to the east.

6. *Tea-Mur*, the ruins of which were, according to the prose, as given in the Book of Glendalough, situated between the *mur* of the *Forradh* and the House of Cormac.

7. *The Mound of the Hostages*, which, according to the prose, lies to the north-east of the ruins of the *Forradh*.

8. *The Mound of Glas Teamhrach*, which, according to the prose, lies to the west of the Mound of the Hostages.

9. The *Lia-Fail*, which lies by the side of the Mound of the Hostages.

10. *The Rath of the Synods* was the monument next clearly identified. This, according to both the verse and prose, was situated immediately to the north of the *Lia-Fail* and the Mound of the Hostages, and within it were the remains of *Adamnan's Pavilion*.

11. *The Cross of Adamnan*, which, according to the prose, was situated to the east of this rath, is found in the situation pointed out, but in a mutilated state.

12 and 13. South of these was the *Mound of Adamnan ;* but this, as well as the *House of Mariseo*, to the north of the Well *Neamhnach*, have long been destroyed, and their site occupied by the church dedicated to St. Patrick, and erected since the time of the writers of these ancient documents.

14. However clearly the preceding remains were identified, they were less distinctly pointed out than the next grand monument now to be noticed—namely,

the *Teach Miodhchuarta*, or banqueting house, which is described with a remarkable accuracy as an oblong structure, having its lower end to the north, and higher end to the south, with walls to the east and west. In these walls, according to the prose account, there were twelve or fourteen doors, six or seven on each side ; and it is a curious fact, that there is a difficulty in ascertaining, at the present moment, whether the number was twelve or fourteen.

15. The next important feature is the *Sheskin*, or Marsh, of Tara, which is described as lying to the north-west of *Teach Miodhchuarta*. This spot, though now dry, was a marsh, within the memory of some of the present inhabitants, one of whom, by stopping the well and cutting a drain below it, has changed its ancient character. The ancient name of the well is, however, still preserved, namely, *Tobar-Finn*. This feature being ascertained, the few which remain were at once identified.

16. *Rath Graine*, which, according to the verse and prose, lies west of the *Sheskin*, on the height of the Hill.

17. *Fothath Ratha Graine*, which, according to the same authorities, lies to the south of the preceding.

18. The *Rath of Caelchu*, which, according to the prose, was near the northern head of *Long na m-ban*.

19 and 20. And lastly, the two *Claenferts*, or declivities. Of these the northern was memorable in Irish history for the slaughter of the virgins by the Lagenians on Saman's day ; and the southern, for a false sentence pronounced there by a king named Lughaidh Mac Con, for which he was afterwards dethroned.

The remaining important features noticed in these ancient tracts, many of which they describe as being even then nearly effaced, are now totally destroyed.

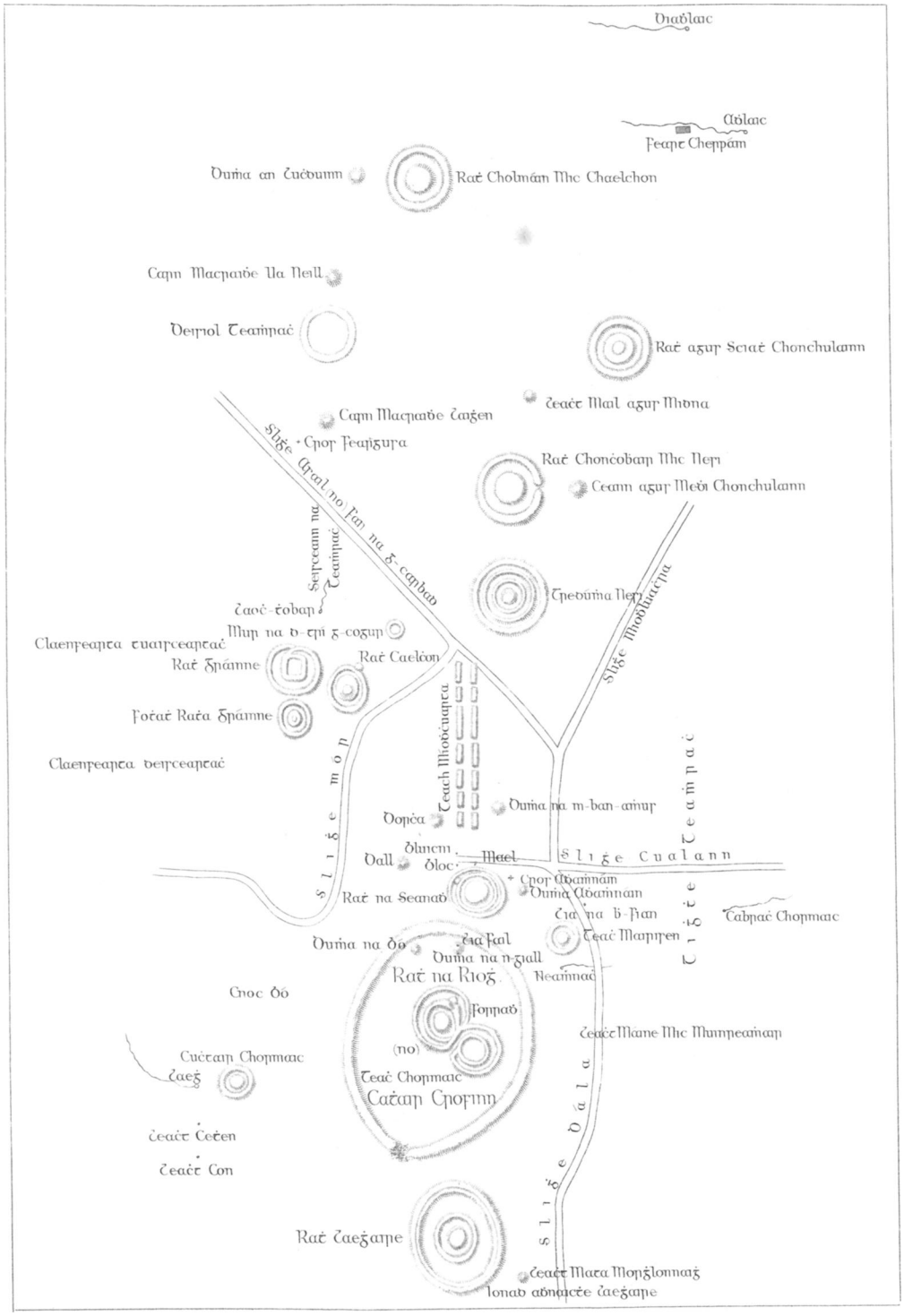
It will have been seen that the veracity of these ancient documents has thus been proved, beyond the possibility of rational doubt, by many of the principal monuments which they describe, and which still remain. And from this light the names of these monuments, which had been lost to tradition for centuries, have been restored on the Ordnance Map, where they are likely to be preserved for ever.

The monuments still existing on the hill of Tara being thus identified from ancient authorities, the next important point is to ascertain the various eras of their origin, as far as they can be determined from historic evidences in con-

nexion with their ancient names. But, to make this inquiry satisfactorily, it will be necessary to extend it to the monuments now wholly destroyed, as well as to those of which there are still vestiges remaining.

The monument of first importance, both as to size and antiquity of construction, seems unquestionably to be the great Rath, or enclosure, marked in the descriptions by the name of *Rath na Riogh*, or the Rath, or Fortress of the Kings. This great enclosure seems to have been formed of two *murs*, or parapets, having a ditch between them, as described in the prose account. The great or external diameter, taken north-west and south-east, is 853 f., the interior 775. It encircled the southern brow of the hill; the northern side being on its top, and the eastern, southern, and western, on its slopes. The rings have been in most parts removed; and, it is to be regretted that, the proprietor is yearly removing more of them to spread on his land. A portion of the outer ring still remaining is $2\frac{1}{2}$ f. above the natural hill; and the ditch, or bottom, is 4 f. below it, so that from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the outer ring is $6\frac{1}{2}$ f.

Independently of the superior importance, as to extent, of this great enclosure, its situation on the apex of the hill is a strong evidence in favour of its priority of origin to all the other remains. There is, however, in addition to these circumstances, the corroborative testimony of the poem of Cuan O'Lochain, in which the *Tea-mur* appears to be clearly identified with the *Rath na Riogh;* and, though the prose description makes the *Tea-mur* only a feature within this enclosure, this notice must, and does obviously, only apply to the sepulchre, or monumental mound, to which bardic tradition had given that name. Indeed, as already observed, the legendary existence of the Spanish queen Tea, as a portion of the Milesian story, must be left out of consideration in sober investigations, till the truth of that national tradition be placed on a more solid foundation. From the preceding documents it will have been seen that, as early as the ninth century, this derivation of the name of *Teamhuir* from the Milesian queen, was doubted by the learned Cormac Mac Cullenan; who, in his valuable etymological vocabulary, substitutes, as a more probable conjecture, a derivation from the Greek, (*θεωρεω*,) "because," as he adds, "the Scots [meaning the Irish] have a saying in common use, *Teamuir na tuaithe agus Teamuir an toighe*," that is literally, "Teamuir of the country, and Teamuir of the house;" of which appellations he says, the former signifies a hill, and the latter a *grianan*,




MONUMENTS OF TARA HILL RESTORED FROM ANCIENT DOCUMENTS.

or palace, and hence he conjectures, that *Teamhuir* simply means any conspicuous place. The same etymology is given in the Latin language in all the copies of the *Dinnseanchus*.

Cuan O'Lochain also, though he repeats the legend of the origin of the name *Tea-mur* from queen Tea, asserts that *Teamhuir* signifies any flat-topped hill on which there is a fortified residence. This mode of accounting by fabulous personifications for ancient names of places—as Britain from Brute, Scotia from Scota, Denmark from Dan, Rome from Romulus, Brabant from Brabo, France from Francus—has been a general practice among all ancient nations; and seeing that, in the present instance, the probability of such a derivation was more than doubted by the learned among the ancient Irish themselves, it would be extremely puerile now to consider it as of any value. Indeed, the probability is much stronger that the Milesian queen owes her name and even her very existence to Temur than Temur its to her. Nor would it be difficult to adduce many evidences to support this hypothesis, if this were the place to do so. But, though such would necessarily lead to an inquiry inconsistent with the limits of this memoir, namely, the origin and age of the Scotic or Milesian colony in Ireland, a few remarks will not be inconsistent with its present object. Those who are familiar with the learned and ingenious arguments of Innes, in support of his hypothesis that the Scots were a northern or Teutonic colony, who could not have come into Ireland much sooner than the first century, will be surprised to find in the references in the ancient poem of O'Lochain, and the prose prefixed to it, given among these documents, evidences which would support this hypothesis, and thus settle the long disputed era and origin of the Milesian colony. According to these authorities, the supposed queen Tea, the daughter of Lughaidh Mac Ith, who was the uncle of Milesius, was also the wife both of Heremon and of Gede Ollgothach. It would appear, however, from Irish history, that Gede and Heremon were only different names for the one person, or at least, that the names of three of their children were the same. Now it is a singular fact, that the Pictish authorities make this Gede the eighth of the Pictish kings, and the son of Cruithne, or Cathluan, who was the progenitor of the Picts, as the Irish make Heremon the son of Milesius, who was the progenitor of the Scots. But the Irish authorities make Gede also king of the Irish and Scottish Picts, but the son of Ollamh Fodhla. For example :—

Ollam Fodla dno *v.* mic Lair .i. Cairbre, Finnachta, Slanoll, ocus Gede Ollgothach; ocus Labraid, dia tat rigraid Ulad .i. Clann Labradha.

Ollamh Fodhla had five sons, namely, Cairbre, Finnachta, Slanoll, and Gede Ollgothach; and Labhraidh, from whom are the Kings of Ulster, namely, the Clann Labhradha.

*Book of Lecan*, fol. 138, *b*, 2.

Again: Ollamh Fodhla, according to the corrected chronology of O'Flaherty, would have flourished about 500 years before Christ, while according to the Pictish list of kings, Gede could not have reigned earlier than the first century; and yet all the Irish authorities acknowledge not only that the Pictish list of kings is correct, but also that the arrival of the Picts was cotemporaneous with that of the Scots, and that their wives were Scots. But, as already remarked, this is not the place to follow up an inquiry of such magnitude and importance; and it has only been touched on here, for the purpose of showing how necessary is a thorough investigation of all the MS. authorities still existing in Ireland to the final settlement of the ancient history of the British Isles. The Bardic etymology of the name *Tea-mur* may, at all events, be very well rejected as legendary; nor is it necessary to adopt the mere conjecture of Cormac and other ancient writers respecting its Greek derivation, as a more probable origin of the name appears to be found in the Irish words, *teach*, a house, and *mur*, a wall—*Teach-mur*, house of the walls, or enclosures, for defence; a name particularly applicable to the place. As it is obvious, then, that *Tea-mur* and *Rath na Riogh* are but different and equally appropriate names of the same fortified regal habitation, there can be no rational doubt of the priority of origin to be assigned to this work above all the others circumjacent to it. But, though its great antiquity is thus established, it would be a useless labour to endeavour to assign a period to the foundation of a work erected so long anterior to the dawn of chronological history. That it was considered by the Irish as of the most remote age is clear from their historical tradition, which assigns its first erection to the Fir-Bolg and the Tuatha De Danann colonies, the predecessors of the Milesians, or Scots, and by the latter of whom it was called *Cathair Crofinn*, a name explained by the bards, as signifying the city of Crofinn, a Tuatha De Danann queen, but the most obvious interpretation of which appears to be—the circular stone fortification of the fair house or enclosure. It may, indeed, be objected to the truth of this historical tradition, and to the interpretation here given of the name, that no remains of a *Cathair*,—a term never applied by the Irish to

any but a circular stone fortification, without cement,—are now to be found on the hill: but a negative objection of this kind should have but little weight, in reference to a monument so long subjected to every destructive influence; and if it were allowed, it would equally apply to all the stone monuments described as existing on the hill in the twelfth century, and of which but a few vestiges can now be found. It is obvious, moreover, that the absence of stones from the hill, if such were the fact, might be sufficiently accounted for by the assumption, that they were used in the erection of the old church and the wall of the cemetery, as well as of the houses of the adjacent village. It is not the fact, however, that no stones are found on the hill. They are found in considerable quantity in the very situation in which they should be looked for, as remains of the ancient *Cathair*, namely, forming a portion of a wall of the enclosed ring of *Rath na Riogh*. This wall occupies about the fifth part of the whole circle, and is composed of stones well adapted to the purpose of building; the remaining part of the enclosure being nearly levelled with the ground. For their preservation in this portion of the circle a sufficient cause is found in the circumstance, that they serve to mark the mearing of two townlands; and, though it might be conjectured that they were originally brought thither for this purpose, the objection is met by the fact, that as soon as the boundary diverges from the circle of the fort it is wholly formed of earth, and that no other ditch or mound on the hill is formed of stones. The assumption, therefore, that these stones are not of ancient existence on the spot, has no foundation even in probability; and it is only a rational inference that these are a portion of the material of the ancient *Cathair Crofinn*. In ancient Irish poems, this fortification is sometimes called ᴛᴜᵲ ᴛʀᴇᴎ Ƭᴇᴍʀᴀċ, the strong *tower* of Temuir, an appellation never applied to a *Rath*, but constantly to a *Cathair*, or circular stone fort; and Mac Firbis has preserved from an ancient authority the name of its artificer, "Troylane, who cut figures, (Ƭʀᴏɪʒʟᴇᴀċᴀɴ, ᴀ ᴅʟᴜɪʒ ᴅᴇᴀʟʙᴀ)."

In the prose description the monuments next noticed are those situated within the external rings of *Rath na Riogh*. There are, according to this account, three *decras*, or, as it is better stated in the copy in the Book of Glendalough, three *decra inganta*, or wonderful monuments, within this Rath:

1. The *Ruins of the House of Cormac* in the south-east of the Rath, facing *Rath Laoghaire*, which is to the south.

2. The *Ruins of the Forradh*, which were alongside the ruins of the House of Cormac, and to the west.

3. The *Mur-Tea*, or wall of *Tea*, which was between the two preceding monuments, and on the south side.

There are, in addition to these, three other monuments within the inclosures of *Rath na Riogh*, whose situation is described with equal accuracy, namely:

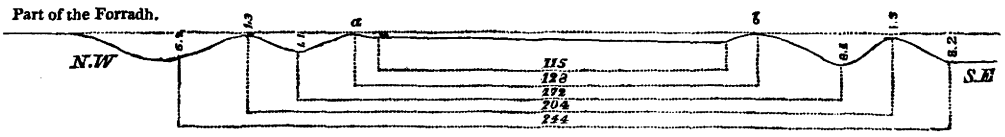
1. *Dumha na Bo*, or the Mound of the Cow, which is described as being situated to the west of the *Dumha*, or Mound of the Hostages.

2. *Dumha na n-Giall*, or the Mound of the Hostages, which is described as being situated to the north-east of the ruins of the *Forradh*.

3. *Fal*, or the *Lia Fail*, which is described as lying by, or at the side of, the Mound of the Hostages, to the north.

Of these remains, the only one whose age can be conjectured from historical evidences connected with its name is the House of Cormac. Supposing it to have been erected no earlier than the time of the monarch after whom it was called, it must be assigned to the period between the year 218, when he mounted the Irish throne, and 254, when he abdicated it in favour of his son.

The House of Cormac is a Rath, with an outer ring, having a ditch between the inner and outer inclosure. The measurements of this Rath will be seen in the accompanying section taken north-west and south-east, on a scale of 60 f. to an inch:

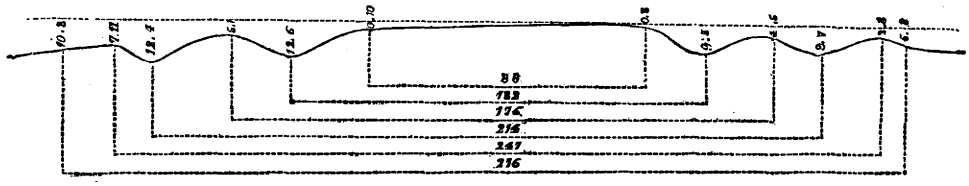



The parapet at *a*, on the north-west side, is 1 f. 1 in. higher than at *b* on the south-west; and is 2 f. higher than the interior of the Rath: the parapet at *b*, on the south-east side, is also 2 f. higher than the interior of the Rath.

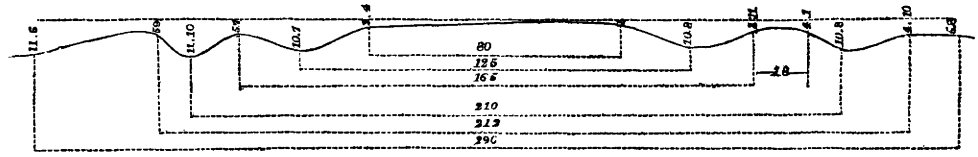
Of the other monuments, described as situated within the *Rath na Riogh*, that called the *Forradh* seems to be the first in importance. This, as already shewn, is evidently the rath described as situated to the north-west of the house of Cormac, and which is connected with it.

This monument is a Rath very similar in appearance to the House of Cormac,

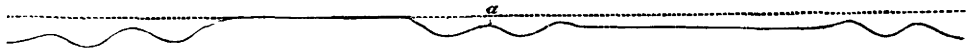
but having two outer circles, with ditches between them. The parapet of the mound itself is now levelled. The measurements will be seen in the sections here given, which are on the same scale as the preceding. The first section is from north-west to south-east,




From the second section, which is from south to north, it will be seen, that the mounds are not quite circular:




The connections of this Rath with that called the House of Cormac will appear from the section following, which shows how the two monuments are united by a common parapet, or circle, at *a*. This section, which is taken north-west and south-east, is on a scale of 90 f. to an inch.




For determining the age of the *Forradh*, no distinct historical evidence has hitherto been discovered. The general similarity of its construction might, indeed, very fairly lead to the conclusion, that it is coeval with the House of Cormac with which it is connected, and such is most probably the fact. There are, however, many reasons, from which it might be inferred to be of prior origin; as, first, that it occupies the usual central position within the outer circumvallations which indicates its original and coeval erection with them; secondly, that it is a more important monument as to size, than the House of Cormac, and that its form is more regular, the latter exhibiting an irregularity apparently the effect of its adaptation to that of the earlier and more symmetrical work. It might also be urged from the ancient poem attributed to Fintan, given above, that the

name of this monument, *Forradh*, was applied even to the palace of Tara itself, from its earliest occupation by the Scotic or Milesian kings, so that it might with every probability be regarded as the earliest of the monuments now remaining there. The meaning of its name would also seem to support this conclusion, as it is properly explained by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 141, col. *b*, to signify a place of public meeting, like the *Tings* of the Orkneys and of the Isle of Man. It also signifies a judgment seat, a bench, and is probably cognate with the Latin word *forum*, or perhaps the Icelandic *for-rad*, Lat. *vis*, *dispensatio*. At all events, its erection cannot be ascribed to a later period than the other, and an interesting illustration of its antiquity and use appears to be found in the following passage from the *Konungs-skuggsio*, or Royal Mirror, *Antiq. Celto-Scand.* p. 289 :

" *Enn þar sem hæd þótti borgarinnar vera, þa átti Kongurinn þar kastala fagrann ok vel georfann, í þeim kastala átti hann fagra haull ok mikla, ok í þeirri haull var hann vanur at sitia yfir dómum manna.*"

" In editiore quopiam civitatis loco splendidum et tantum non Dædaleum castellum Rex, et intra castelli septa palatium structum et nitore superbum habuit, ubi solebat litibus incolarum componendis præesse."

But as the preceding translation is rather overstrained, a more literal one in English is here added :—" And in what was considered the highest point of the city [*Themar*] the king had a fair and well-built castle, in that castle he had a fair hall and spacious, and in that hall was he wont to sit in judgment."

The next important monument noticed is that called the *Tea-mur*. Of this there is now no vestige, but its situation is pointed out as on a little hill, which lies between the two *murs* (*septa*) to the south of *Rath na Riogh*, and the poem of Kineth O'Hartigan indicates that it was 60 f. in extent, and contained within it the sepulchre of the Milesian queen Tea.

Of the less remarkable monuments within the *Rath na Riogh*, the first is *Dumha na Bo*, or, the Mound of the Cow, called also *Glas Teamhrach*, which is described as lying to the west of *Dumha na n-Giall*. This is a circular mound 6f. high, and 40f. in diameter at the base. In illustration of the name or origin of this mound, no historical or even legendary account has been discovered. It may, however, be remarked, that innumerable legends respecting the cow, *Glas*, which belonged to the Tuatha De Danann smith, Gaibhnionn, are still traditionally current throughout Ireland.

The second of these monuments is *Dumha na n-Giall*, or, the Mound of the Hostages. It is a circular earthen mound similar to that last mentioned, but of greater size, being 13f. high, 25f. in diameter at the top, and 66f. in diameter at the base. The original purpose of this monument is, like that of the preceding, very obscure. In the poem of O'Lochain it is stated, that "King Cormac made a visitation of Ireland thrice, and brought a hostage from every fortress, which he exhibited at Temur, and that to these hostages he gave *Dumha na n-Giall.*" From this passage, therefore, it would appear that this mound was the site of a habitation.

It was at the side of the preceding monument that the celebrated coronation stone, called the *Lia Fail*, was located in the time of the writers of the prose and verse already referred to; and it remained in the same situation till some years after 1798, when it was removed to its present situation in the Rath, called the *Forradh*, to mark the grave of the rebels, slain at Tara in the insurrection of that year. But the mound is still popularly called *Bod Fhearghais*, that is, *Penis Fergusii*, an appellation derived from the form of this stone.

The *Lia Fail* is spoken of, not only in these authorities but by all the ancient Irish writers, in such a manner as to leave no doubt that it remained in its original situation at the time when they wrote. Thus in the poem of Cuan O'Lochain:

"The Rath of the synods of great powers
To the north of the *Fal* of Temur,
East of the Rath at the side of *The Stones*,
Is the house from which Benen escaped."

And the prose account of the monument in like manner states, that "*Fal* lies by the side of *Dumha na n-Giall* to the north, i. e. the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of the throne of Ireland. *Fal* was the name of this stone, that is *Fo-ail*, that is, the under stone, that is, the stone under the king."

A still stronger proof of its existence at Tara is furnished in the following verse quoted by Keating, and by the books of Lecan and Ballymote, from a poem of Kineth O'Hartigan, who, as already stated, lived in the tenth century:

| | |
|---|---|
| In cloċ forr tait mo ḋá ṡáil | This stone on which are my *two heels* |
| Huaiti raiteas Inis Fail | From it is called *Inis Fail*, |

| | |
|---|---|
| Eτeαp ὸα ṗaiġ ėuile ėeiṁn | Between two shores of strong floods, |
| Maġ Ḟail uile ṗop Eiṙinn. | *Magh Fail* [is a name] for all Erin. |

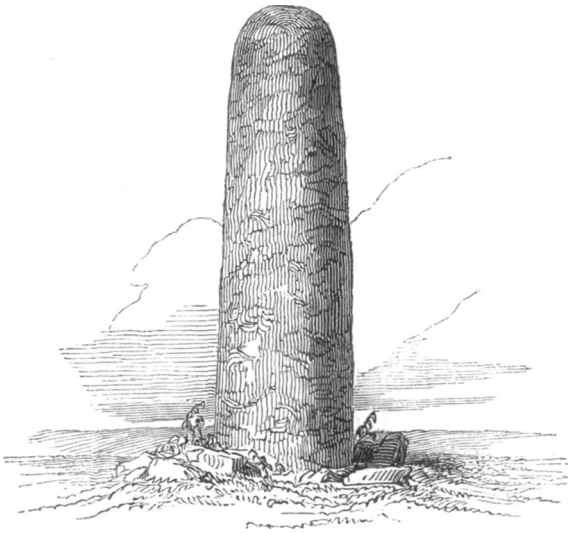
Dr. O'Conor, indeed—*Stowe Catalogue*, p. 27,—states, that "this stone is said to have been removed from *Temora*, the royal *Rath* of Meath, to *Cruachan*, the royal *Rath* of Connacht, at a remote period of time, and to have ceased to emit its usual sound, after it was profaned by Cuchullin, who resented its silence when his friend *Fiach*, an usurper, was inaugurated." But Dr. O'Conor appears to have entirely mistaken the sense of his author. The passage was obviously fabricated to sustain the claim to the Irish throne put forward in the twelfth century by the Connacian princes; and the statement found in the Irish MS. is simply, that the monarch, Cormac Mac-Art, saw *in a dream*, that the *Lia Fail* would be removed from Tara to Croghan, as in the following passage from the College MS. H. 2. 7, "Aiṙliṅġ ḋo connaic Coṙmac ua Cuinḋ i Teṁṙaiġ .i. Eoco Ġunnat ṙiġ Ulaḃ, ḋaṙ leiṙ, ḋo ṫiaċtain cu Teṁṙaiġ, ocuṙ coiṙṫi na n-ġiall ḋo ṫocbail ḋo a Teṁṙaiġ ṙeċtaiṙ, ocuṙ a bṙeṫ cu Cṙuaċain, ocuṙ a ṙaḋuḃ ḋo a ṙaiṫ Cṙuaċan." i. e. Cormac O'Cuinn saw a vision at Temur: that Eochy Gunnat, king of Ulster, came to Temur, and took the Stone of the Hostages away from Temur, and carried it to Croghan, and stuck it in the Rath of Croghan. The only value of such passages, however, is—and this is an important one—that they clearly identify the *Lia Fail* with the stone on the Mound of the Hostages. What then is to be thought of the legendary account given by all the Scottish historians from Fordun, Winton, and Boetius, down to the present time, that this stone—"the stone of fate," as they call it—was sent from Ireland for the coronation of Fergus Mac Erc, the first of the Dalriadic kings, in the fifth century, and that it was carried by Edward I. to Westminster, where it still remains, under the coronation chair of the monarchs of the British Isles? Now it is a remarkable fact, that though this Scottish account has been adopted by the Irish themselves, since the succession of the house of Stuart to the British throne seemed to verify the ancient prediction connected with it, yet no Irish account has been found to support it earlier than that of Keating, who evidently adopted the statement of Boetius' well known verse, which he quotes, with the palpable view of sustaining the right of the first Charles to his throne:—

> "Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
> Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem."

It may also be observed, that between the Irish and Scottish accounts of the history of this stone there is a total want of agreement, which shews that the Scottish writers, when they recorded this tradition, were not acquainted with, or disregarded, the accounts of it preserved by the Irish. The Irish accounts uniformly state, that the *Lia Fail* was brought into Ireland from the north of Germany by the Tuatha De Danann colony; the Scottish, that it was brought from Spain by the Milesian chief, Simeon Breac, who, according to the Irish histories, was not a Milesian but a Fir-Bolg, or Belgian. The oldest Scottish authority for the tradition is the *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, written, as Innes would infer, at the close of the thirteenth century. But as this was about the period when the dispute commenced respecting the respective claims of the British and Scottish crowns to the ancient monarchy, and which shortly afterwards gave birth to the acknowledged forgeries which Fordun put into historic order, such accounts should be received with a caution proportioned to their improbability: and it is in the highest degree improbable that, to gratify the desire of a colony, the Irish would have voluntarily parted with a monument so venerable for its antiquity, and considered essential to the legitimate succession of their own kings. However this may be, it is an interesting fact, that a large obeliscal pillar-stone, in a prostrate position, occupied, till a recent period, the very situation on the hill of Tara, pointed out as the place of the *Lia Fail* by the Irish writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; and that this was a monument of pagan antiquity, *an idol-stone*, as the Irish writers call it, seems evident from its form and character. Shortly after the year 1798, as already stated, it was removed from its ancient situation to the adjacent mound in *Rath na Riogh*, called the *Forradh*, to mark, as a grave stone, the remains of the rebels who fell there at that memorable period. And whether this stone be considered as a monument of remote antiquity, or as a record of the events of our own times, it must be regarded with interest; but if, in addition to this, such evidences have been adduced as may justify the supposition that it is the *Lia Fail* of Irish history, it will be difficult to find a rude monument of antiquity with which so many national associations can be connected.

The material of which this monument is composed is a granular lime-stone, very probably from some primary district; but whether it be Irish or foreign has not been ascertained: it may be remarked, however, that no granular lime-

stone occurs in the vicinity. The stone is at present but 6 f. above ground, but its real height is said to be 12 f. To exhibit its form the accompanying wood-cut is given.



The features next claiming attention as situated on the eastern and western sides of the hill adjacent to *Rath na Riogh* are the wells called *Neamhnach* and *Caprach-Cormaic* on the east side, and that called *Laegh* on the west. *Neamhnach* is described, both in the verse and prose accounts, as pouring into the valley a stream called *Nith*, on which king Cormac first erected a mill in Ireland.

It is an interesting circumstance, that the historical fact here recorded respecting this mill is still vividly preserved, not only in its immediate locality, but also in many other parts of Ireland; and a mill—now called Lismullen Mill, from the district through which it flows—and situated on the north side of the river Guara, still exists on the reputed site of the ancient one. It may also be worthy of remark, that the present miller considers himself, and is considered by the people of the district, as the lineal descendant of the Pictish millwright brought over by king Cormac, though the original name of the family—*Mac Lamha*, or Hand—has, through the failure of the male line in his grandfather, become extinct.

Respecting the meanings of the names of the well, *Neamhnach*, and the stream, *Nith*,—which is the name of a river in Scotland, and of another in the duchy of Triers, in Germany,—the conjectural etymology of the Irish writers has been already given at p. 76. On these conjectures nothing can be offered, except that *Neamhnach*, which signifies crystalline, clear, bright, would be an appropriate appellation for the well to which it was applied.

The probable truth of the historical tradition that this mill was the first of its kind erected in Ireland has been already inquired into, in the Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore, p. 215; but, as the passage is more immediately connected with the local history of Tara than of that parish, it will not be improper to give it in this place.

"It might be supposed from a passage in Dr. Ledwich, (see *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 373,) that water mills were nearly unknown in this island until a comparatively recent period; but it would appear from ancient authorities, that they were even more common in ancient than they are in modern times, when the mechanical force of the mill, and the facilities of communication by roads, have been both increased. It is clear, from the Brehon Laws, (MS. *Trinity College*, Class E. Tab. 3, No. 5,) that they were common in the country at a very early period, and in the records of the grants of land to the monastery of Kells, preserved in its ancient book, [MS. *T.C.D.*—A. 1. 6,] it would appear, than whenever the locality permitted, the *mill* was a common appendage to a *ballybetagh*, or ancient townland. For example: "Muinter Cennanra ro eodraiṙ Ard camma .i. Baile in Uidrín cona muilind ocuṙ cona herund uili ocuṙ Baile ui Comgain cona herund uili ocuṙ cona muilind do Dia ocuṙ do Cholumcille," &c. "The family of Kells granted Ard-camma, i. e. Ballyheerin, with ITS MILL and with all its land, and Ballycoogan, with all its land and with ITS MILL, to God and to Columbkille," &c. (*Book of Kells*, MS. *Trinity College.*) This grant was made in the middle of the eleventh century, and similar notices occur in the registry of Clonmacnoise about the same period. The charter also of lands granted to the monastery of Newry by king Muircheartach, or Mauritius M'Loughlin, about the year 1161, after enumerating the several townlands, adds, "*Has terras cum* MOLENDINIS, *ex dono meo proprio dictis monachis confirmavi*," &c. (*Clarendon* MSS. in the British Museum, vol. xlv. in Ayscough's Catalogue, 4792, Plut. VIII. c. p. 179.) The lives of

Irish Saints show, that mills were erected by ecclesiastics, shortly after the introduction of Christianity, as the mills of St. Senanus, St. Ciaran, St. Mochua, &c. (See the lives of these Saints.) The mills of St. Lucherin and St. Fechin are noticed by Geraldus Cambrensis, and a mill at Fore, built on the ancient site of the latter, still exists, and is called St. Fechin's Mill. The Annals of Tighearnach, at the year 651, record, that the two sons of Blamac, (King of Ireland,) son of Hugh Slaine,—Donchad, and Conall,—were mortally wounded by the Lagenians in Maelodrain's mill. The Four Masters also, at the year 998, record, that a remarkable stone, called *Lia-Ailbe*, which stood on the plain of Moynalvy, in Meath, fell, and that the king Maelsechlain made four mill-stones of it.

From the preceding authorities, as well as from the classical etymology of the name, in Ireland as in every country in Europe, it might be supposed, that water mills were first introduced by Christian ecclesiastics. There is reason, however, to believe, that their introduction is of higher antiquity. Cuan O'Lochain, chief poet and lawgiver of Irerand, whose death is recorded in the Annals of Tighearnach, at the year 1024, states in his poem on the ruins then existing at Tara, that Cormac, the son of Art, chief monarch of Ireland, in the third century, had a beautiful *cumal*, or bondmaid, named Ciarnaid, who was obliged to grind a certain quantity of corn every day with a *bro*, or quern; but that the king observing her beauty, took her into his house, *and sent across the sea* for a millwright, (ꞇuꝫ ɾaoɾ Muillino ꞇaɾ móɾ ṫinꝺ,) who constructed a mill on the stream of Nith, which flows from the fountain of Neamhnach to the north-east of Tara. The ancient Irish authorities all agree in stating, that this was the *first* mill ever erected in Ireland; and it is remarkable, that this circumstance is most vividly preserved by tradition, not only in the neighbourhood where a mill still occupies its site, but also in most parts of Ireland. Tradition adds, that it was from the king of Scotland the Irish monarch obtained the millwright; and it can be shown, that the probability of its truth is strongly corroborated by that circumstance.

Professor Tennant, of St. Andrew's, in an ingenious essay on Corn-mills, states, that "the first corn-mill driven by water was invented and set up by Mithridates, king of Cappadocia, the most talented, studious, and ingenious prince of any age or country. It was set up in the neighbourhood of his capital, or palace, about seventy years before the commencement of the Christian era.

It was probably from this favourable circumstance of the invention of the water-mill, and the facility thereby afforded to the Cappadocian people for making cheap, good, and abundant flour, that the Cappadocian bakers obtained high celebrity, and were much in demand for two or three centuries posterior to the invention of mills, throughout all the Roman world. Coincident with the era of the inventor, as mentioned by Strabo, is the date of the Greek epigram on water-mills by Antipater, a poet of Syria, or Asia Minor, who is supposed to have lived sixty or eighty years before Christ. This epigram may be thus translated :—

> " Ye maids who toil'd so faithful at the mill,
> Now cease from work, and from these toils be still;
> Sleep now till dawn, and let the birds with glee
> Sing to the ruddy morn on bush and tree ;
> For what your hands performed so long, so true,
> Ceres has charged the water-nymphs to do:
> They come, the limpid sisters, to her call,
> And on the wheel with dashing fury fall,
> Impel the axle with a whirling sound ;
> And make the massy mill-stone reel around,
> And bring the floury heaps luxuriant to the ground."

" The greater convenience and expedition in working of these water-mills soon made them be spread over the world. In about twenty or thirty years after their invention, one was set up on the Tiber. They must have been not uncommon in Italy in the age of Vitruvius, for he gives a description of them. Yet it is rather surprising that Pliny, whose eye nothing of art or nature escapes, has taken no notice of them."

This learned writer, however, errs respecting Pliny. The following passage is quite conclusive on this subject: "*Major pars Italiæ ruido utitur pilo, rotis etiam quas aqua verset obiter, et molat.*" (*Hist. Nat.* lib. 18, c. 10.) Whitaker shews that a water-mill was probably erected by the Romans at every stationary city in Roman Britain : they were certainly numerous during their time ; and this fact strongly corroborates the date assigned to the erection of the mill near Tara, as well as the tradition which refers its origin to Scotland, and particularly to the Roman portion of it, which lay nearest to Ireland, and was, during the reign of Cormac, in the possession of the Picts.

The well, *Caprach-Cormaice*, which is described both in the verse and in the prose accounts, as situated under *Rath na Riogh* to the east, and consequently south of the well *Neamhnach*, is no longer to be found; nor is any tradition of its former existence now preserved; but the name *Caprach*, or *Cabrach*, as it is written by the O'Clerys, is still preserved in the adjacent townland, through which its streamlet evidently flowed. No certain etymology of this word *Cabrach* can be given, though it is the name of several townlands in Ireland. According to the prose account, this well had three other names: *Liagh*, *Tipra-bo-finne*, and *Deare dubh*:* of these, the first, *Liagh*, signifies a physician, cognately with the English word *Leech*; the second, *Tipra-bo-finne*, the well of the white cow; the third, *Deare-dubh*, the dark eye.†

The third and last of these wells is that called *Laegh*, situated, according to the verse and prose accounts, on the slope of the hill west of *Rath na Riogh*, and sending a stream directly westwards. This well is also dried up, or diverted from its original situation, but the ground immediately below its site is still watery. The signification of the name of this well is placed beyond conjecture by an ancient Irish saying, quoted in the prose description, in allusion to its situation as contradistinguished from that of the well *Liagh*: "The calf (*Laegh*) never goes to the physician, (*Liagh*,) the one," it adds, "being to the east and the other to the west of Temur." The meaning of the name is also explained in a passage full of interest, in Tirechan's annotations on the life of St. Patrick, —fol. 10, *b*, 1.

Porro fundavit aeclesiam *i Carric Dagri*, et alteram æclesiam *immruig Thuaithe*, et

Moreover he founded a church at *Carric Dagri*, and another church at *Mruig Thuaithe*, and

---

* In Cuan O'Lochain's poem, as preserved in the O'Clerys' *Leabhar Gabhala*, the three additional names of this well are *Lia*, *Daeldubh*, and *Duirbh Tuath-linde*. In the copy preserved in the Book of Ballymote the three names are Dael, Duirbh Tuath-linde, and Tipra Bofinne. In another poem, ascribed to Caoilte, describing *Tara*, mention is made of a well at Tara, called *Poll tocair na tuiliche*, which is probably only another name for this. It is described as boiling with great strength from the ground, and as having been used for the ordeal by water—the guilty person who went into it being marked with a black spot on his skin, and the innocent one appearing fairer than ever.

† Thus in Hebrew, עין־גדי, "kid's eye"—the En-gedi of Scripture. *Eye* is commonly used for *well* in Hebrew.

scripsit elimenta Cerpano; et intravit in domum regiam, et non surrexerunt ante se, nisi unus tantum, hoc est Hercus sacrilegus, et dixit illi, Cur tu solus surrexisti in honorem Dei mei in me? Et dixit ei Hercus, nescio quid; video scintellas igneas de labiis tuis ascendere in labia mea. Sanctus quoque dixit, si babtisma Domini accipies, quod mecum est? Respondit, accipiam. Et venierunt ad fontem *Loigles* in Scotica, nobiscum *vitulus civitatum.* Cumque aperuisset librum atque babtitzasset virum Hercum, audivit viros post tergum suum se inridentes ad invicem de rei illius consideratione, quia nescierunt quid fecerat. Et babtitzavit tot milia hominum in die illa.

he wrote elements for Cerpan; and he entered into the royal house, and they did not rise up before him, except one only, that is Hercus Sacrilegus,* and he said unto him, Why hast thou alone risen up to the honour of my God in me? And Hercus replied to him, I know not why; I see ignited sparks ascend from thy lips to mine. The saint also said, Wilt thou receive the baptism of the Lord, which is with me? He answered, I will. And they came to the fountain [called] in the Scotic *Loigles*, with us the *calf* of the *cities.* And when he had opened the book and had baptized Hercus, he heard men behind his back deriding him on account of that thing, because they knew not what he had done. And he baptized many thousand men on that day.

The ruins of *Cuchtair Cormaic*, or Cormac's Kitchen, now obliterated, were situated over the brink of this well, to the east; that is, between it and the external ring of *Rath-na-Riogh.*

On the same *Leiter*, or slope of the hill, in which this well was situated, and not far to the west of *Rath-na-Riogh*, the prose account places two stones marking the sepulchres of Cu and Cethen. These monuments were to the south of the well, and, like it, have disappeared. The verse, with equal distinctness, points out the situation of these monuments, but adds another feature called *Cnoc-bo*, or the Hill of the Cow, of which also there is no trace. The destruction of these monuments is at once accounted for by the fact, that this side of the hill has been long under cultivation. Respecting *Cnoc-bo*, no historical account is given, but the sepulchral stones of Cu and Cethen, according to the prose account, owe their origin to two distributors, or servants, of Cormac's household, as thus stated:

"Cu slew Cethen, Cormac's *Rannaire* (distributor) in the presence of Cormac, in the middle of the house, and then passed westwards under the height of Temur, but was pursued and killed by the brother of him whom he had slain. And though Cormac said that Cu should not be slain yet no one interposed until

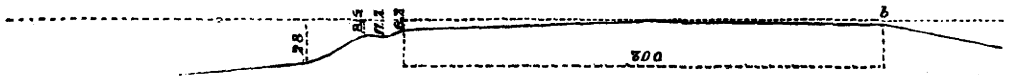
* Query *lawgiver?* "Ar e an t-Easpuc Eirc ri ro ba breithem do Patraic." i. e. It is this Bishop Eirc who was brehon [judge] to Patrick.—*Four Masters, ad ann.* 512.

he was killed (simul) at once, so it has become a common saying, 'they have acted like Cu and Cethen.'"

On the slope of the hill, to the east of *Rath na Riogh*, the same authorities place the *Leacht*, or Monument, of *Maine, the son of Muinremhar*. This also has been destroyed by the progress of cultivation, and nothing has been discovered relative to its history. Muinremhar, the father of Maine, according to the ancient tale entitled *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, was Lord of *Mughdhorn*, a district in the County of Monaghan, in the time of Cuchullin, who flourished in the first century.

Imperfect as the historical notices of the preceding monuments are, it will be seen that they are nearly all connected with king Cormac's time, or the close of the third century, a period quite within the limits of real Irish chronological history.

The great feature next to be noticed is of still later date, namely, the *Rath of Laoghaire*, who, as already shewn, according to all the Irish authorities, became monarch of Ireland in 428 or 429, and died in 463. The situation of this Rath, with its *Lios*, or circumvallation, is distinctly pointed out in all the authorities as south of *Rath na Riogh*; and it is stated in the prose account, that "it had four principal doorways facing the cardinal points." The progress of cultivation on the hill has totally destroyed the internal features, and nearly effaced a considerable portion of the external rampart of this fortress. But though the western portion of the rampart only remains in any degree of preservation, it is sufficient to show that, like that of *Rath na Riogh*, it consisted of a double ring, of which the outer one only is now strongly developed. This Rath occupies that part of the southern end of the hill at the foot of the first slope, where there is a piece of nearly flat ground. The part of the outer circle now remaining is on the edge of the western slope, and the accompanying section, which is from west to east, and on a scale of 120 feet to an inch, will shew the measurements along the slopes.




The eastern, southern, and northern parts have been levelled, but the line they occupied can still be traced, and the diameter appears to have been 300 f.

Of the *Rath* there are no remains. The poem states, that the monument of Laoghaire was in the middle of his *Lios*, partly broken by an upright witness. The prose account, with greater distinctness, states, that the body of Laoghaire stood (interred) in the external rampart of his royal Rath, to the south-east, with his shield of valour, and with his face to the south, (as it were) fighting against the Lagenians.

This is still more distinctly detailed in a historical tract in *Leabhar na Huidhre*, a MS. written at Clonmacnoise in the twelfth century, in the possession of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, entitled "The Meeting of Patrick at Tara and the Death of Laogaire:"—fol. 76, p. *b*, col. 2.

Doí Loegaire tríca m-bliadan iar sin isin h-Erinn, hi comling fri Patraic, ocus ba do réir Patraic cena boireom. Luid iarom Loegaire slogad co Laigniu, do éuincid na Doromi foraib. Ro éimolset Lagni ocus do rastad cath dó, ocus maith for Loegaire in cath, .i. cath Átha dara. Ro gabad Loegaire ir in áth, ocus do breth fadessa fri Laigniu, .i. grian ocus esca, usci ocus aer, la ocus adaig, muir ocus tír, conná iarfad in m-Doromi céin bad beó. Ro leced arr iarom. Iress tra do taisnigned do Loegaire co mbad eter Erinn ocus Albain, fogebad a aitid, conid de sin na deodaisium muisdéblaé siam. Luid tra Loegaire dosidisi slogad már co Laigniu, do raigid na Doromi faraib. Ní éuc imorru a fadessa di did. O ranic iarom Sliabh n-Daphil, for taeb Chassi, immaig Life, eter na da cnoc .i. Erin ocus Alba a n-anmand, atbath and sin o grein ocus o gaith, ocus o na fadaib ar cena, ár ní laemdi cuidecht taisniu ir ind ambir sin. Conid de sin ar bert in fili:

At bath Loegaire, Mac Neill,
For taeb Chassi—glas a tir—
Dúli de, ad foegaid fairi,

Loeghaire was afterwards thirty years in the government of Ireland, in friendship with Patrick, and obeying Patrick's will. Loeghaire went afterwards with an army to the Lagenians, to demand the Boru of them. The Lagenians assembled and gave him battle, and Loeghaire was defeated in it, that is, in the battle of *Athdara*. Loeghaire was taken in the battle, and he gave the Lagenians guarantees, that is, the sun and moon, the water and the air, day and night, sea and land, that he would never during his life demand the Boru. He was then set at liberty. It was prophesied to Loeghaire that he would receive his death between *Erin* and *Albain*, [Ireland and Scotland,] for which reason he never went on a naval expedition. But Loeghaire went again with a great army to the Lagenians, to demand the Boru of them. [For] he did not pay any regard to his oaths. But when he reached *Grellach Daphil*, by the side of *Cassi*, in *Magh Liphi*, between the two hills, *Ere* and *Alba* their names, he was there killed by the sun and the wind, and by the other guarantees, for no one dared to dishonor them at that time. Of that, the poet said:

Loeghaire, son of Niall, died,
By the side of Cassi—green the land—
The elements of God, whose guarantee he had violated,

Tucrad dal bair forr in rig.
In cath i n-Ath Dara déin,
Irragbad Loegaire, Mac Neill,
Nárad fír na n-dula de,
Ired ro marb Loegaire.

Tucad dan corp Loegaire aner iartain, ocus ro h-adnacht co n-arm gaisciud ir in éiud imechtrach airéer-decertach frigrada Loegaire hi Temraig he, ocus a aiged fo der for Laignib oc cathugud friu, ár ro ro nama rom na biú do Laignib.

Dia ri dan Ráth Loegaire Teoch Midchuarta in tan sin, ocus ir aire con aitech rom a adnacul and.

Inflicted the doom of death on the king.
In the battle of the rapid ford of *Dara*,
Was Loeghaire, son of Niall, taken;
The just vengeance of the sacred elements
It was, that killed Loeghaire.

The body of Loeghaire was afterwards brought from the south, and interred with his arms of valour in the south-east of the external rampart of the royal *Rath Loeghaire*, at Temur, with his face turned southwards upon the Lagenians, [as it were] fighting with them, for he was the enemy of the Lagenians in his lifetime.

*Rath-Loeghaire* was the *Teach Midhchuarta* at that time, and it was therefore he requested that he should be interred therein.

This passage, which is so valuable for the information which it affords respecting the objects of worship among the pagan Irish, is corroborated to a considerable extent by an authority of still higher antiquity, the annotations on the life of St. Patrick, by Tirechan, in which the following statement appears:

"Perrexitque ad civitatem *Temro*, ad Loigairium, filium Neill, iterum quia apud illum foedus pepigit ut non occideretur in regno illius, sed non potuit credere, dicens: Nam *Neel* pater meus non sinivit mihi credere, sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus *Temro* quasi viris consistentibus in bello: quia utuntur gentiles in sepulcris armati prumptis armis facie ad faciem usque ad diem *Erdathe* apud Magos, id est judicii diem Domini. Ego filius Neill et filius [filium?] Dunlinge *im Maistin* in Campo *Liphi* pro duritate odivi, ut est hoc."—*Fol.* 10, *a*, 2.

And he [Patrick] repaired again to the city of *Temro* to Loigairi, the son of Niall, because he had ratified a league with him that he should not be slain in his kingdom; but he could not believe, saying, For Neel, my father, did not permit me to believe, but that I should be interred in the top of *Temro*, like men standing up in war. For the pagans are accustomed to be buried armed, with their weapons ready face to face, [in which manner they remain] to the day of *Erdathe*, among the Magi, i. e. the day of the judgment of the Lord. I the son of Niall, hated the son of Dunling, in *Maistin*, in the plain of the *Liphi*, for his severity, *ut est hoc*.*

Close to the south-east side of this *Rath Laoghaire*, the prose description places the *Leacht*, or monument of *Mata Morglonnach*, (the great-deeded,) a treacherous soldier of Cormac's household. Nothing is told of him but that he

* Something wrong here in the original MS.

buried alive four youths who were playing at a game at a spot lying to the south-east of *Rath Laoghaire*, that is, as it would seem, on the spot on which the monument was afterwards raised; for though the monument popularly bore the name of Mata, it is more probable that it was raised as a memorial of the event, according to the custom still preserved in Ireland, than as a sepulchre for Mata. This monument is also destroyed.

Proceding now to the monuments situated to the north of *Rath na Riogh*, the first in importance is that called *Rath-na-Seanadh*, that is, Rath of the Synods. The situation of this enclosure is distinctly pointed out both in the verse and prose accounts, as lying opposite to the Mound of the Hostages and north of the *Lia Fail*. It is evident, that the age of this Rath is anterior to the events of which it was the theatre, and from which it received the popular name preserved in these records, but its original name cannot now be ascertained. The ecclesiastical assemblies held here, are noticed only in the poem; and were, first, the synod of Patrick; second, the synod of Ruadhan and of Brendan; and lastly, the synod of Adamnan, pronouncing a curse against Irgalach. The occasion of the first and second of these synods has been already noticed, namely, the attempt to convert the monarch Laoghaire and the Irish chiefs by Patrick, and the cursing of King Dermot by Ruadhan, which was the cause of the desertion of Tara, on the death of that monarch, in 565.

Of the synod of Adamnan no account has been found more satisfactory than the indistinct notice in this poem, but the purpose for which it was held is stated in the following somewhat legendary manner in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 38, *b*. and a similar account is found in the Book of Lecan, fol. 166, p. *a*, col. 4.

Adamnan do ralai in aroile lou oc imdecht Muige Breag, ocus a maethair fos a muin, co n-accatar na da chath ic omthuarcain a chelliu. Ecmaing dim Ronait, maethair Adamnain, conus accaid in mnai ocus corran iarraind in a laim, ocus fi oc tarraing na mna eli ar in chath chotarrnai, ocus hi lenmain a cich fride boi in corran. Ar cuma no bitis fir ocus mnai oc tabairt chathai ir in aimrir sin. Suidis Ronait iarum, ocus ac bert nim berusa

Adamnan happened to be travelling on a certain day through the plain of Bregia with *his mother on his back*, when they saw two armies engaged in mutual conflict. It happened then that Ronait, the mother of Adamnan, observed a woman with an iron reaping-hook in her hand, dragging another woman out of the opposite battalion with the hook fastened in one of her breasts. For men and women went equally to battle at that time. After this Ronait sat down, and said thou wilt not bring me from this spot

lat ar in maid ra co ra raerthar mná tria bithiu ar in n-gne ucut, ocus ar fechet ocus fluagud. Gellaid iarum Adamnan in ni sin. Ecmaing tra iarum morcail i n-Erind, ocus teit Adamnan co forglai clerech Erend ir in dail-sin, ocus raerair na mna ind.

Itiat so in ceithre Cana Erend .i. Cain Patraic, cen clerchiu do marbud; Cain Dari Chaillech, cen bu do marbad; Cain Adamnain cen na mna do marbad; Cain Domnaig cen tairmthechet and.

until thou exemptest women for ever from being in this condition, and from excursions and hostings. Adamnan then promised that thing. There happened afterwards a convocation in Ireland, and Adamnan, with the choice part of the clergy of Ireland, went to that assembly, and he exempted the women at it.

These are the four *Cains* of Ireland, namely, the *Cain* of Patrick, not to kill the clergy; the *Cain* of Dari, the Nun, not to kill cows; the *Cain* of Adamnan, not to kill women; the Sunday *Cain*, not to travel on it.

Respecting this synod of Adamnan, the Irish annals are silent; but Colgan, *Acta SS.* p. 566, and *Trias Thaum.* p. 503, speaks of a synod held by Flan, archbishop of Armagh, in 694, or 695, to the Acts of which the names of the saints Mochonna and Adamnan were subscribed. It appears, however, from the Acts of this synod, a copy of which was in Colgan's possession, and of which there is also a copy in Marsh's library, in a book entitled *Presidents of the See of Armagh*, MS. p. 395, that this synod must have been a different one from that held at Tara, which was probably convened for the purpose of denouncing the unchristian custom still remaining among the people of Bregia, in his time, as the Iorgalach whom Adamnan denounced was, according to the Annals of Tighearnach, king of Bregia; and was killed by the Saxons in 701. And if conjecture may be indulged as to the date of this synod, it was, most probably, in the year 697, when, according to the Annals of Tighearnach, Adamnan brought a law with him into Ireland—Adomnan tuc fechet leis in Erind an bliadain sea; or, as it is stated in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 696, which are a year antedated; *Adomnanus ad Hiberniam pergit, et dedit legem innocentium populis.* The renewal of this law in Ireland is recorded at the year 727, by Tighearnach—*Adamnani reliquiæ transferuntur in Hiberniam, et Lex renovatur.* However this may be, the passage in the *Leabhar Breac* is valuable for the light which it throws on several records in the Irish annals, respecting the establishment at various times of the *Cain Phatruic*, *Cain Dairi*, *Cain Adamnain*, and *Cain Domnaigh*, which records Dr. O'Conor most erroneously supposed to refer only to the establishment of monastic rules. Thus of the *Cain Phatruic*, which is otherwise called in the annals *Lex Patricii.*

A. D. 737. *Lex Patricii tenuit Hiberniam.*

737. The Law of Patrick prevailed in Ireland.—*Tig.*

A. D. 782. Scaṁach ꝑoꝛuꝛ cano *Patricii* hi Cꝛuaiċniḃ la Ḋuḃḋaleiṫi ocuꝛ la Ṫiꝑꝑaiṫi *filium* Ṫaiȝȝ.

782. The promulgation of the Law of Patrick at Croghan by Dubhdalethe and by Tipraite, the son of Tadhg.*—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 798. *Lex Patricii* ꝑoꝛ Conachṫa la Ꝺoꝛmȝal Mac Ḋinnaṫaiȝ.

798. The Law of Patrick in Connaught by Gormgal, the son of Dinnatach.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 805. *Lex Patricii* la hAeḋ Mac Neill.

805. The Law of Patrick by Aedh, the son of Niall.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 810. Nuaḋa Abaḋ Aꝛmaċhae *migravit* cu Connachṫa *cum lege Patricii, et cum armario ejus.*

810. Nuada, abbot of Armagh, went to Connaught with the Law of Patrick and with his armory.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 822. *Lex Patricii* ꝑoꝛ Mumain la Ꝼeiḋlimṫhe Mac Cꝛemṫainn, ocuꝛ la h Aiꝛṫiȝ Mac Concobaiꝛ, .i. Eꝛꝛcop Aꝛḋamacha.

822. The Law of Patrick in Munster by Feidhlimidh, the son of Cremthann, and by Airtri, the son of Concobhar, Bishop of Armagh.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 824. *Lex Patricii* ꝑoꝛ ṫeoꝛa Connachṫaiḃ la Aiꝛṫiȝ Mac Concoḃaiꝛ, .i. Eꝛꝛcop Aꝛḋamacha.

824. The Law of Patrick in the three divisions of Connaught by Airtri, son of Concobhar, Bishop of Armagh.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 835. Ḋeꝛmaiṫ ḋo ḋul co Connachṫa *cum lege et vexillis Patricii.*

835. Dermait went to Connaught with the Law and *Vexilla* of Patrick.—*Ann. Ult.*

And thus of the *Cain Dairi:*

A. D. 811. *Lex* Ḋaꝛii ꝑoꝛ Conachṫu.

811. The Law of Dari in Connaught.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 812. *Lex* Ḋaꝛii la hu Neill.

812. The Law of Dari among the Hy-Niall.—*Ann. Ult.*

A. D. 825. *Lex* Ḋaꝛi co Conachṫa *iterum.*

825. The Law of Dari [brought] into Connaught again.—*Ann. Ult.*

And again of the *Cain Domhnaigh:*

A. D. 884. Ananloen, an ṫ-ailiṫiꝛ, coꝛ in Eꝛiꝛṫil ḋo ꝓaḋaḋ ḋo nim in leꝛuꝛalem co cain Ḋoṁnaiȝ aȝuꝛ ꝼoiꝛcṫeḋlaiḃ maiṫe ḋo ṫiaċhṫain an Eꝛinn.

884. Ananloen, the pilgrim, came to Ireland with the epistle which was given from heaven at Jerusalem, with the Sunday Law and with good instructions.—*Four Masters.*

Though these four *cains*, or laws, are stated in the *Leabhar Breac* to be pre-eminently the four *cains* of Ireland, yet the establishment of several other *cains*

* Dr. O'Connor knew so little of the nature of these *cains* that he translates this entry in the Annals of Ulster most erroneously, thus:—"Solutio tributi scientiarum S. Patricii, facta in Regia Connaciæ, dicta *Cruachan*, a Dubdaletheo, et Tipratio filio Thadæi."

is also recorded, the nature of which remains to be ascertained. Of the penalties consequent on the infringement of some of these, including the *Cain Adamnain*, a statement is found in a fragment of the Brehon Laws preserved in the Library of Trinity College,—H. 4, 22, p. 37, col. *b*.—which is given below, though, till a glossary of the technical terms in those laws be discovered the sense must remain in a great degree obscure.*

From the preceding notice of a convention, or synod, having been held at Tara in the seventh century, it appears, that though no longer the residence of the kings, Tara was still occasionally selected as a place for ecclesiastical assemblies. A later instance of such assemblies there is thus recorded in the Annals of Ulster at the year 779: "Congressio Sinodorum Nepotum *Neill* et *Laginensium* in oppido *Temro*, ubi fuerunt Scribe et Ancorite multi, quibus dux erat *Dublitter*."

Of the illustrious man whose name is connected with this and other monuments at Tara, it would be superfluous to give any lengthened notice in this place. As the distinguished author of the Life of St. Columba, his predecessor in

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* Rıė cana Phaτpuic co morṙeıup .ı. ṙechτ cumaıli caċ laiṁe co moıp ṙeıṙıup.

Rıė cana Ðıarmaoa co nonbuṙ .ı. ṙechτ cumala caċa laıme co nonbuṙ.

Rıτ cana ðoıleachτa co ceo laech .ı. leıė ṙechτ cuṁala cacha laiṁe co ṙıa ceo laech.

Rıė cana Aoaṁnaın co mıle .ı. ceċh-ṙaımτhe, ṙeċτ cumala caċa laıme co mıle.

Rıė caıṙoe ⁊ oliġeo oıġona co τṙı nonðuṙaiḃ; alaınṙıaċaıḋe aceτṙaımτı ṙıaċ laın ṙıaċ aṙ ın ceo nonðuṙ, ocuṙ leτṙıach aṙ noenbuṙ τanaıṙτı ocuṙ ceıṙaımėı aṙ ın τṙeṙ nonbuṙ a caıṙoe .ı. ṙechτ cuṁala cacha laıme co τṙı nonbuṙ a noliġeo oıġona τṙı cuṁala a ṙlıchτ ṙlóıġ a caıṙoı. ṙıė comoıṙ ṙeıṙeṙ no co τṙı nonðuṙaiḃ oona h-eıτıreḋaiḃ, ocuṙ a m-beıτ co oıaṙme oo na heıτıreoaiḃ.

The *Rith* of *Cain Patrick* [extends] to seven, i. e. seven *cumals* for every hand, as far as seven.

The *Rith* of *Cain Dermot* [extends] to nine, i. e. seven *cumals* for every hand, as far as nine.

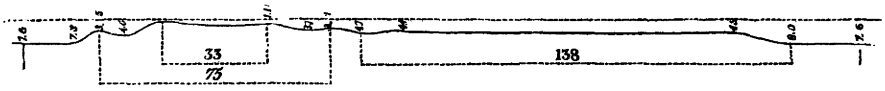
The *Rith* of *Cain Boileachta* [extends] to one hundred laics, i. e. the half of seven *cumals* for every hand as far as one hundred laics.

The *Rith* of the *Cain Adamnain* [extends] to one thousand, i. e. the fourth of seven cumals for every hand as far as one thousand.

The *Rith* of respite and the law of *Digon* (wounding) [extends] to three times nine persons; the full fine extends to four *cerraimthi;* the full fine on the first nine, half fine on the second nine, and a quarter fine on the third nine among friends, i. e. seven *cumals* for every hand as far as three times seven persons in the Law of *Digon*, three cumals for a *slicht sloigh* in the *Dligheđ Ciarde.*

the Irish abbacy of Iona, and of the description of the places of the Holy Land, from the relation of Arculph, a French bishop, but still more as the person of whom such an honorable character is given by Bede—as a wise and good man, and one exceedingly well versed in the Holy Scriptures, greatly studious of peace and unity,—the celebrity of his acts must be familiar to the readers of British history. He was born in 624, and died at Iona in 704. Some works of his—as the *Visio Adamnani*—not yet published, are preserved in the Library of Trinity College.

The remains of the Rath of the Synods, which is now popularly called the King's Chair Rath, are situated on the top of the hill. It appears distinctly to have had two external fosses and parapets; but the outer ring has been partly destroyed on the eastern side by the erecting of the church-yard wall, and part of it has been removed on the southern side to spread over land. Within these enclosures are two Raths or mounds, of which the larger, situated to the south-east, is 106 f. in diameter, and the smaller, situated to the north-west, is 33 f. It is this latter mound which is popularly called the King's Chair; but it should properly be called the Mound of *Pupall Adamnain*, or the Tent of Adamnan, which, though unnoticed in the verse, is distinctly described in the prose as being situated within this Rath. This mound is surrounded by a ditch, and is higher than the larger Rath, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ f. from the ground on its north-western side, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ f. on its south-eastern side, while the larger Rath is but 4 f. from the ground. The general measurements will appear from the section, which is taken north-west and south-east, and on a scale of 60 f. to an inch.




The other memorials of Adamnan noticed in the prose account as being situated to the east of the Rath of the Synods are: first, his Cross; and south of this, his Mound and his Seat. The locality of these monuments is enclosed within the boundary of the churchyard, and the Mound and Seat no longer exist; but the shaft of the Cross still remains in the very situation described. It is of red sandstone—the usual material of such monuments—and has a figure rudely sculptured in relief on one side. Its height is about 6 f., and its breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ f.



A short distance to the south-east of Adamnan's cross was situated, according to the prose account, which is corroborated by the verse, the house from which Benen, the disciple of St. Patrick, escaped, and in which Lucad the Bald, the druid of king Laogaire, was burned. The site here pointed out is also within the boundary of the churchyard. The legend with which this feature was connected is of the class commonly found in the lives of the saints, and is given with various degrees of detail in all the lives of St. Patrick. Its origin, however, is of very high antiquity, as it appears in the tripartite life, and in the notices of the saint's life, by Maccuthenius and Tirechan, preserved in the Book of Armagh. The story is thus told by Maccuthenius; and, as the text is very corrupt, an English translation is added: (Fol. 5, p. *a*, col. 2, *et seq.*)

His autem omnibus in conspectu regis [mirabiliter gestis—*Probus*] inter magum Patriciumque, ait rex ad illos; libros vestros in aquam mittite, et illum cujus libri inlessi evasserunt, adorabimus, Respondit Patricius, faciam ego; et dixit magus, nolo ego ad judicium aquæ venire cum isto, aquam enim deum habet; certe audivit babtisma per aquam a Patricio datum. Et respondens rex ait, per-

"All these things being done in sight of the king, between the magician [*Lucetmail*] and Patrick; the king says to them, cast your books into the water, and him whose books shall escape uninjured, we will adore. Patrick answered, I will do so. And the magician said, I am unwilling to come to the trial by water with that man, because he has water as his god: for he had heard that baptism was given by Patrick with

mitte per ignem ; et ait Patricius, prumptus sum ; at magus nolens dixit, hic homo versa vice in alternos annos, nunc aquam, nunc ignem, deum veneratur. Et ait Sanctus ; non sic, sed tu ipse ibis, et unus ex meis pueris ibi tecum in separatam et conclaussam domum, et meum erga te, et tuum erga me erit vestimentum ;* et sic simul incendemini. Et hoc consilium insedit, et aedificata est eis domus, cujus dimedium ex materia viridi, et alterum dimedium ex arida facta est : et missus est magus in illam domum in partem ejus viridem, et unus ex pueris Sancti Patricii *Bineus* nomine, cum veste magica in partem domus [aridam—*Probus*]. Conclussa itaque extrinsecus domus, coram omni turba incensa est : et factum est in illa hora, orante Patricio, ut consumeret flamma ignis magum cum dimedia domu viridi, permanente cassula Sancti Patricii tantum intacta, quia ignis non tetigit. Felix autem *Benineus* e contrario cum dimedia domu arida, secundum quod de tribus pueris dictum est, non tetigit eum ignis, neque contristatus est, nec quicquam molesti intulit, cassula tantum magi, quæ erga eum fuerat, non sine Dei nutu, exusta.† Et iratus est valde rex adversus Patricium de morte magi sui, et inruit poene in eum, volens occidere, sed prohibuit illum Deus : ad precem enim Patricii, et ad vocem ejus, discendit ira Dei in verticem suum ; et timuit rex vehimenter, et commotum est cor ejus, et omnis civitas cum eo."

water. And the king answering said, allow it by fire : and Patrick says, I am ready ; but the magician, being unwilling, said, this man alternately in each successive year, adores as God, water and fire. And the saint says, not so, but thou thyself shalt go, and one of my boys shall go with thee, into a separate and closed house, and my vestment shall be on thee, and thine on him ; and thus together you shall be set on fire. And this counsel was approved of, and there was a house built for them, the half of which was made of green wood, and the other half of dry : and the magician was sent into that part of the house which was green, and one of the boys of St. Patrick, *Bineus* by name, with the vest of the magician, [was sent] into the dry part of the house. The house then being closed outside was set on fire before the whole multitude : and it came to pass in that hour, by the prayers of Patrick, that the flame of the fire consumed the magician with the green half of the house, while the garment of St. Patrick remained untouched, because the fire did not touch it. But the fortunate *Benineus*, on the contrary, together with the dry half of the house, according to what is said of the three children, was not touched by the fire, neither was he annoyed, nor did he experience any inconvenience, only the garment of the magician which he had about him, was burned, not without the permission of God. And the king was greatly indignant against Patrick on account of the death of his magician, and he had almost rushed upon him, desiring to slay him, but God prevented him : for at the intercession of Patrick, and at his entreaty, the wrath of God descended on his head, and the king feared excessively, and his heart was disturbed, and all the city with him."

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* Et meum apud te, et tuum apud meum puerum erit vestimentum.—*Probus.*

† Non tetigit ignis, neque contristavit, nec quicquam molestiæ intulit, vestimento Magi, quod circa eum fuerat, non sine Dei nutu, exusto.—*Probus.*

The same legend is told by Jocelyn, but in far better language and order of narration.—See *Trias Thaum.*, and Swift's translation of Jocelyn, p. 67. The boy Binen, or as his name was Latinized, Benignus, was afterwards placed over the church of Armagh by St. Patrick, in 455. He resigned this dignity in 465, and died in 468.

The feature next to be noticed was also evidently situated within the boundary of the churchyard, or perhaps a little to the south of it, namely, the House of Mariseo. The poem states, that this house was situated to the north, on the brink of the well Neamhnach; and the prose account agrees. It is stated to have been high at its northern and western sides, and low at the eastern—a description which would apply to its locality on the side of the hill. The poem states, that Mariseo was the female of greatest beauty in all Ireland; and the prose adds, that she was a widow who was cotemporary with Cormac.

The poem adds an interesting particular connected with this locality, that from this house out towards Meath, that is, along the side of the hill to the east of the road, the houses, or dwellings of Temur, were spread.

Proceeding in the order of the prose description, the monuments next to be noticed are the three stones which marked the graves of the druids, Mael, Blocc, and Bluicni. These stones were situated at the side of the *Rath of the Synods*, to the north; and with respect to each other, that of Mael to the east, Blocc to the south, and Bluicni to the north. The poem states, that these stones had been cast or thrown here by the great Mal of Macha. This Mal, according to the Annals of Tighearnach, was king of Emania, or Emhain Macha, for thirty-three years, and commenced his reign in the year 130.

It would appear from a legendary story of very great antiquity, preserved by Duald Mac Firbis, that two of these stones were supposed to have served a higher purpose than as mere gravestones; and that they acted a part in the royal drama of the coronation not less important, though less noisy, than the *Lia Fail* itself. This story is as follows:

A m-batar Laigin, ocus Cineul Cuinn Ceud-chathaig ag denam rig i n-Temair ar eis Eterpigeil, baoi carbat rig i n-Temraig no gabdaois da each aondatha, nad ragbaois riam fo'n g-carbat. An ci nad

When the Lagenians and the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles were electing a king at Temur after Ederscel, there was a king's chariot at Temur, under which were yoked two horses, of one colour, which had never been yoked under a chariot before. This

aipeimeaò ṗlaiṫ Ceaṁraċ conoġbaṫ an caṗṗaṫ ṗṁ co naċ mo caṫ, agur conleicṫ na h-eiṫ ṗṁ; agur baoi caṗal riġ ir in caṗṗaṫ, agur in ṫi naṫ uiṗmi ṗlaiṫ Ceaṁraċ bo ṗo ṁóṗ vo an caṗal. Agur baṫṫaṗ va liaġ i v-Ceamaiṗ .i. ḃloc agur ḃluicne, an ṫi aṗ a ṗemoiṗ, aṗ ṗo oiṗilceiṗ ṗṁ ġo v-ṫeiġeaò an caṗbaṫ eaṫoṗṗa. Agur ḃui Ṗal ann, ṗeaṗb cluiṫe ṗo ṫinn aonaiġ an ṫaṗbuiv. An ṫi ṗoṗ ṗaoṁaò ṗlaiṫ Ceaṁraṫ, vo ġlaoḋaò an Ṗal ṗṁ ṗonnaò an caṗṗaṫ conid g-cluineaò caṫ. An ṫi naṫ upaoṁaò ṗlaiṫ Ceaṁraṫ, ni aṗṗlaiceiṗ riaṁ na va liaiġ .i. ḃloc agur ḃluicne. Aṗ e maò ṫiġeaò eoṫaiṗ laiṁe eṫoṗṗa; agur an ṫi naṫ upaoṁ ṗlaiṫ Ceaṁraṫ ni ṡṗṁeaò Ṗal ṗṁa ṗonnaò. Ni aṗ ṗo eṫaṫaṗ Ċuġaiò Riaḃ n-ḋeaṗġ iaṗ n-ġuin Ḃiṫiṗṗġeoil.

chariot would not admit any person unworthy of the throne of Temur, and the horses would start at his presence; and there was a king's *casal* in the chariot, and it would be two large for any one unworthy of the throne of Temur. And there were two stones at Temur called *Bloc* and *Bluicni*, which used to open out so that the chariot of the worthy person might pass between them. And *Fal* was there, a rounded lump of a stone at the head of *Aonach an Charbuid*. And when the throne of Temur was to be ceded to the worthy person, the *Fal* used to roar at the motion of the chariot so that all heard. But when the person was not eligible to the government of Temur, the two stones *Bloc* and *Bluicni* did not open out before him. They were so placed as to admit the breadth of the hand only between them; and when the candidate was not eligible to the throne of Temur, the *Fal* would not roar to the motion of the chariot. In this manner they refused Lughaidh Riabhderg after the fall of Edersceol.

Ḋ'eiṗġiṫ Conaiṗe co Ceaṁraiġ cona ṫuiṗiḃ agur cona caṗbaṫ na ṗlaṫa. Anaiṗ an caṗṗaṫ cona eaṫoiḃ aṗ a cionn; agur ġo g-caṗal inn riġe ir in caṗbaṫ. Anṗaṫ na h-eiṫ an ṫi leiṫ aṗ cionn Conaiṗe. Ir in caṗbaṫ ṫaoṫ, aṗ a maṫaiṗ; Ceiṫ Conaiṗe inn; áṗ vo ṗaoṁ an caṗṗaṫ é. Ġab iomoṫ, von, ol ṗi, an caṗal. Ġabaiṗ uime ina ṡeaṗaṁ ṗi ṗiaḋ na ṗluaġaiḃ; ba coimṗi vo an caṗal. Ceiṫ an caṗṗaṫ ṗoe, aṗ é 'na ṡeaṗaṁ ann. Ceiṫ vo chum Ṗail ġoṗ na ṗluaġaiḃ uime, a maṫaiṗ riaṁ. Ġlaoḋaiġ an Ṗal aṗo eṫ Ṗal ṗoṗ in ṗluaġ uile, ṗa ṁeṫ an ṫ-ṗluaġ baṫṫaṗ i v-Ceaṁaiṗ cach ṗṁiu; agur ġiallaiṫ vo Conaiṗe agur vo ḃeṗaṫ coṁoṗḃuṗ a aṫaiṗ ḋo.

Conary went up to Temur to the chiefs and the kingly chariot. The chariot with its horses waited for him, the *casal* of the king was in the chariot. The horses on either side waited for Conary. "Into the chariot go," said his mother; Conaire did so, for the chariot received him. "Put on the *casal*," said she. He put it on in the presence of the multitudes; the *casal* was a fit for him. The chariot moved under him, while he stood in it. He went to *Fal* with the multitudes about him and his mother before him. The *Fal* roared to the hearing of all the multitudes who were at Temur; and they delivered hostages to Conaire, and gave him the coarbship of his father.—*The Book of Duald Mac Firbis*, p. 384.

Of these stones, two still remain; and are, probably, not far from their original locality. They are rudely-shaped obeliscal pillar-stones, situated within the churchyard, and are pointed out by the people as the stones left there "by

the giants of Tara." They are each about 2f. 6in. in height, and about the same in breadth.



To the east of these stones, according to the prose account, was situated *The Monument* of the Dwarf, but of which there are now no remains. This tomb is stated to have been three feet in length, on the first measurement, and three feet and a half on the second! To the understanding of this statement, it will be necessary to observe, that the miraculous power of this tomb to adapt itself to the size of every person is recorded in many ancient Irish poems and prose tracts, as one of the thirteen wonders of Ireland. In one of these poetical accounts called *Mirabilia Hiberniæ*, which is given in a Latin translation by O'Flaherty, the tomb of the dwarf at Tara is thus described:

> "Temoriæ Nani tumulum lapis obtegit, in quo
> Vir, puer, aut infans tres, et non amplius, æquat,
> Quisque pedes longo: numerum discrimine nullo
> Multiplicat, minuitve pedum proportio dispar."
>
> *Ogygia*, p. 290.

The same statement occurs in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 140, page *b*. col. *b*., and is also thus given in an ancient poem on Tara, ascribed to Caoilte Mac Ronain, in the Library of Trinity College, H. 1, 15, p. 38.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cuiġi an aḃaic a Ꞇeaṁraiġ, | The tomb of the Dwarf at Temur, |
| Ni ċuala ingna aṁlaiġ: | I have heard no wonder like it: |
| In uair do luiġ for in lic | From the hour that lay under the flag |
| Sen bec Seaġra, ua Eibric, | Little Sen of *Seaghais*, grandson of Eibric, |
| In fear ir mo d'fearaiḃ Fail | To the largest man of the men of Fail |
| An fear ar luġ in a ḋail | The smallest man along with him, |
| Cuirpime doiḃ ceaċtar de | Its adaptation to either of them |
| Ḋa d'ingantaiḃ na liġe. | Is of the wonders of the tomb. |

A similar legend is given by Nennius, in his tract entitled *De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ*, but in which the monument is stated to have been on *Crucmaur* in *Cereticum ;* and hence Sir James Ware considered, that it should properly have been placed among the wonders of England as it is found in some copies. But, however this may be, the absurdity of the superstition connected with the monument at Tara should not invalidate the fact of its former existence. The tomb of St. Coemgene, or Kevin, the patron saint of Iris Hier, one of the South Islands of Aran, is still universally believed by the people of the west of Ireland to have a similar miraculous power, a belief which no demonstration of its fallacy can shake.

It was in the immediate vicinity of these monuments, namely, in a mound, or bank, near the churchyard, that about the year 1810, the golden Torques were found, which are now happily saved from the usual fate of antiquities of the kind discovered in Ireland, by the liberality of the Members of the Royal Irish Academy, and other patriotic individuals. These Torques are of a spiral or screw pattern, as will be seen from the subjoined wood-cuts ; and though the design is simple, the workmanship is of great beauty. In both instances the twist is formed of four equidistant radiations from a common centre, subsequently twisted into this spiral form. The first is five feet seven inches from one extremity to the other, and weighs 27 oz. 9 dwts.



The second Torque, though of equal diameter, is of more delicate construction and greater lightness—the weight being only 12 oz. 6 dwts. A great dif-

ference will be also perceived in the form of the thin rod, which springs from the extremity at one side.



Torques of similar size, and generally of the same pattern, have been frequently found in Ireland, and are often accompanied by *Armillæ*, or bracelets, of the same description. A model of such a Torque is preserved in the museum of Trinity College, and smaller specimens in gold may be seen in the cabinets of several collectors of Irish antiquities.

The term *Torques*, by which antiquarians usually designated these ornaments, is one of frequent occurrence in the classic authors, and is generally derived from the Celtic *Torc*, a twisted collar; or, perhaps, more correctly, a twisted circular ornament of any kind, as the ancient Irish called a collar, or neck-chain, *Muntorc*. And since the Latin verb *torqueo* has no cognate in Greek, it is probably formed from the same Celtic root.

Collars of this kind seem to have been common to all the Celtic nations, as appears from ancient writers. Livy tells us, that Publius Cornelius, in his triumph over the Boii, a Gallic nation, collected, among the spoils, no less than fourteen hundred and seventy *Torques:* and Propertius states, that Virdumarus, king of the Gauls, wore such an ornament. Dio Cassius notices a Torque of this description, as ornamenting the person of the British queen, Boadicea; and even within a few centuries of the present time, a Welsh prince was called Llewellin *aur dorchag*, or Llewellin of the Golden Torque. The Torques found in France

and Wales are exactly similar to the Irish: a fine one found near Harlech, in the year 1692, is preserved in the Mostyn family in Flintshire.

It has been supposed by some antiquarians, that the use of these ornaments was derived from the Romans. But the great number discovered in Ireland is opposed to such a conjecture; and they may, perhaps, with much greater probability, be referred to a Celtic origin. It does not appear, that they were generally worn by the Romans; and the very appellation, *Torquatus*, which was bestowed on Titus Manlius, from the golden Torque taken by him from a Gaul, whom he slew in the year of Rome 393, and which was continued as a surname in his family, seems to indicate, that the *Torques* was not familiar to the Romans at the time.

The Torques of the Irish are spoken of in the most ancient MSS. under the names of *Mun-torc*, and *Muinche*, or *Moinche*, by which they were also called. Thus, in a description of the person of Cormac Mac Art, in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 14, *b* 2, it is stated, that he had a fine purple garment about him; a golden brooch in his breast; a *Mun-torc*, or collar of gold, around his neck; a belt ornamented with gold and precious stones about him, &c. "bratt corcra cartechta uime; liathbelg oir for a bruindi; MUN-TORC oir im a braithiu; crir óir go n-gemaib do lig logmair tairir," &c. And again in H. 3. 18, p. 391, in the MS. Library of Trinity College, a distinct allusion seems to be made to the lumps usually found at the extremities of the Torques, as in the Tara examples: Da uball* óir for de gabail a moince, med fearndairn cach n-ae;" that is, two *apples*, or balls, of gold on the two forks of his *moinche*, each the size of a man's fist.

The following curious reference to the golden Torque of Dermot Mac Cearbheoil, the last king of Ireland resident at Tara, is found in the life of St. Brendan, preserved in the *Codex Kilkenniensis* in Marsh's Library, fol. 60.

"Venit aliquando sanctus Brendanus visitare sanctos in regione Midi manentes. Tunc Diarmoyt filius Cearbuyll rex Hibernie qui regnabat in urbe *Themoria* in regione Midi sompnium vidit .i. duos angelos *torquem regiam* de collo ejus tollentes et dantes homini sibi ignoto. Crastino jam die, pervenit sanctus Brendanus ad regem illum: cumque vidisset eum rex dixit amicis suis;

* It should be observed, that in Irish MSS., as well as in the spoken language, the word *abhall* (apple) is applied to any knob or rounded termination.

hic est vir ille cui vidi *torquem* meam dari. Tunc sapientes dixerunt regi. Regnum Hybernie usque nunc erat regibus; a modo dividetur inter sanctos Hybernie regnum tuum O Rex. Et hic *sanctus magnam parrochiam* per Hyberniam habebit. Hoc sompnium et interpretacionem ejus audiens sanctus Brendanus ait ad omnes. Ita erit, quia Deum colentibus hic et in futuro bona dabuntur, ut est illud: Querite primum regnum Dei et alia bona addentur vobis. Et Rex Diarmoyt honorem dedit sancto Brendano, justi tenax enim et Catholicus erat ipse rex."

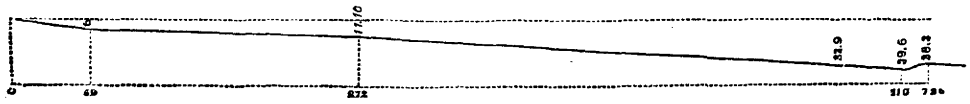
Though the name of the original wearer of the Tara Torques is, perhaps, now lost beyond the possibility of recovery, yet the certainty of their locality invests them with a high degree of antiquarian interest, and goes far towards determining their antiquity, which, there can scarcely be a doubt, is at least anterior to the desertion of Tara, in the sixth century.

The monuments next noticed in the prose account, as being in the immediate vicinity of the Grave of the Dwarf, and north of the Rath of the Synods, are the mounds called *Dall* and *Dorcha*—the tombs of the two blind mendicants so named, who slew each other. The accounts of the situation of these monuments, as given both in the prose and verse, are very indistinct; the prose, as given in most copies, states, that they were to the north of the Dwarf's Grave, *Dall* towards the south, and *Dorcha* towards the west; or, as given in the Book of Glendalough, *Dall* the name of the western mound, and *Dorcha* the name of the eastern. From the indistinctness and apparent contradiction in these accounts, it is not possible to assign, with any degree of certainty, the proper names to the two mounds, which still remain to the north and north-west of the Rath of the Synods; but there can be but little doubt that they are the mounds alluded to, as otherwise they would be unnoticed features in all the descriptions.

The next existing monument, which these records identify with certainty, is the *Teach-Miodhchuarta*, or Banqueting Hall, so celebrated in Irish history and tradition. Of this building, the verse only states, that it was called Long na Laeċ—the House of the Heroes; Barc na m-ban—the House of the Women; Teac na Laeċ—the House of the Heroes; and adds, that it was no weak house, and that it had fourteen doors. The words *long* and *barc*, applied by the poet to this edifice, both which literally signify a ship, have evidently a figurative reference to the long shape of the building, a form very rare in Ireland, and of which this hall was probably the first instance previously to the introduction of Christianity into the country. The word *long* is explained by Cormac Mac Cul-

lenan as a ship—"*ab eo quod est longa;*" and again, "Long .i. Saxanbeṗla, i. e. lanz .i. ṗaoa, *et inde dicitur* Longz."—a ship.* The prose account describes with great accuracy its situation and form. *Long na m-ban*, i. e. *Teach-Miodchuarta*, lies to the north-west of the eastern mound. Its ruins are situated thus: the lower part to the north and the higher part to the south, and walls are raised about it to the east and to the west; the northern side of it is enclosed and small; the lie of it is from north to south. The *fuath* (foundation) of this long house has twelve doors upon it, or fourteen, seven to the west and seven to the east. It is said, that it was here that the *Feis Teamhrach*—meeting or assembly of Temur—was held, which seems true, as so many men would fit in it as would form the choice part of the men of Ireland. This was the great house of the thousand soldiers.

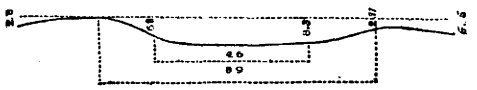
The situation of this ruin is on the north slope of the hill, and its lie, or direction, is very nearly north and south. Its length, taken from the road, is 759 f., and its present breadth at the bottom is 46 f., but its original breadth must have been about 90. The accompanying section, which is from south to north, and on a scale of 150 f. to an inch, will shew the slopes and measurements of the length of the building as at present remaining; but the original length must have been greater, as the northern end appears to have been cut away by the road.



It will be seen, that the bottom of the Hall has not a regular slope from the

* He elsewhere derives the word longz, a ship, from the Latin *longus*. "Longz bíṙ ṗoṙ muiṙ, *ab eo quod est longa* .i. *lang* .i. ṗoca .i. ṗoca bíṙ ṗoṙ muiṙ." i. e. *Long*, that is on the sea, *ab eo quod est longa*, i. e. *lang*, i. e. long, i. e. it is long on the sea. Whether Cormac be right or not in his supposition that the word *long*, as applied to a ship, was derived from the Saxon, it is probable that *long*, as an adjective, must have been an original word in the Irish, as a branch of the Indo-European family of languages; and it appears even to have been applied to a ship at a very remote period, from the epithet *Loingseach*, mariner, applied to Labhra, an Irish monarch, who led a Gaulish colony into Ireland before the Christian era.

south to the north. The section from east to west, which is on a scale of 60 f. to an inch, shews thus :



From these sections, as well as from the ground-plan on the map, it will be seen that in the preceding accounts of this building there is nothing stated which is not fully corroborated by the ruins still existing; and it may be again remarked, as a curious proof of the accuracy of the prose description, that the uncertainty as to the number of doors being twelve or fourteen remains a difficulty at the present time.

There is, however, another ancient account of this building, also preserved in the *Dinnseanchus*, which enters into details more likely to awaken scepticism, namely, the poem of Kineth O'Hartigan, written about the middle of the tenth century; and, certainly, if the object of this investigation were any other than the discovery of truth, it might, perhaps, be most prudent to follow the example of the Irish literati, by allowing it to slumber in the darkness of its ancient language. But as this document is the sole authority from which the Irish writers of the two last centuries have drawn their startling accounts of the magnificence and splendour of the regal palace of the Irish monarchs, it is necessary that its statements should be exposed to rational investigation without any partial suppression, or mutilation; nor should those parts, which receive corroboration from existing circumstances, be hastily rejected in consequence of their being associated with traditional details dressed in the garb of bardic exaggeration, and which, viewed even as fictitious, are still valuable as evidences of the notions of civilization prevalent at the time.

It must, indeed, be confessed, that while the garbled extracts hitherto given from this poem have helped to bring the early Irish authorities into disrepute, they have also led to conclusions which it by no means authorizes. A remarkable example of this result occurs in the second volume of Mr. Moore's able history of Ireland, incomparably the best which has yet appeared. In recording the death of the poet, Kineth O'Hartigan, Mr. Moore adds: "A poem of this writer is still preserved, descriptive of the beauty of the celebrated hill of Tara,

and moralizing mournfully over its history; nor should those who visit, in our days, that seat of long extinguished royalty, feel any wonder on not discovering there some vestige of its grandeur, when told, that even in the time of this poet, *not a trace of the original palace still remained;* while the hill itself had become a desert overgrown with grass and weeds."—p. 132.

It will be seen, however, that this statement, which would completely nullify the accounts given in the preceding pages of this memoir, is not substantiated by any passage in the poem.

It should be remarked, that in the following translation the various copies have been compared, and that of these the best is preserved in a MS. in Trinity College, H. 3. 3, transcribed in the sixteenth century, at *Ard Choill* in the county of Clare, for the celebrated historian and poet, John O'Mulconry. It is from this copy the text is here printed; but, as the various readings in the other copies will be given in the notes, it will be proper to prefix a list of the several copies referred to, with their present localities. The first is in the Book of Glendalough, class H. 2. 18; the second, in the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, H. 2. 16, p. 403: these two MSS. are in the Library of Trinity College. The third is in the Book of Ballymote,—fol. 189, p. *b.* col. 1; the fourth, in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys: both of these are in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. It will be proper also to premise, that from the great obscurity of the language, and the differences found in the readings of this poem in these several copies, it is not always possible to decide on the most correct reading, or to convey, with any great degree of certainty, the author's original meaning. But the general sense, as far as history is concerned, will at least be preserved, as on this point no material difference occurs in any of the copies, and particularly as an ancient Gloss on this very poem has been found in the College Library,—H. 3. 18, p. 467.

Suiòiugaò Tiècci Miocuarta ann ro rior buo oerai.

Tech Miocuarta[1] imorro an amrir Cormaic h-Ui Cuinn: tri cet troiccid a tomur an tige rin, ocur *vii.* cubait a rad an

The situation of *Teach Midhchuarta* here follows.

*Teach Midhchuarta* in the time of Cormac O'Cuinn: three hundred feet [was] the measurement of that house, and seven cubits the

[1] Teach Miodchuarta imorro i Teamraig, &c.—*L. Gabhala* of the O'Clerys.

teillech,[2] ocus fechtt comeolbruig isin bruig-in sin. Da fechtt n-dorus forr in ri-tech sin. Tri caecad imdaig imba imdaig Cormaic; tri caecad laech in gach imdaig. Caecad fectaire ac Cormac. Caecad laech ind a feram i fiadnuse and rig in cein a bid ic caitheb. Tri caecad dailium is in dun sin. Tri caecad fadbai a carmocol, ocus d'argcad, ocus d'or. Caecad ar mili fe a n-airiom tegdaid an rig sin.

Cinaed h-Ua Artagain *cecinit*:[3]

Doman dutain[4] alainne!
Comol[5] cairi cet cuiri,
Dirrec ilur lid[6] fea labrad,
Act adrad ri na n-uili.
Ro faid cec fechtt imraad,[7]
Ro fcait ced cert co griaan;[8]
Temair, aniu cid farad,
Doi tan[9] ba narad[10] niadh.
Ro ba blaid a tor[12] daobad,

length of the fire-place, and seven chandeliers in that palace. Twice seven doors in that royal house. Three times fifty *imdhas* besides the *imdha* of Cormac; three times fifty heroes in each *imdha*. Cormac had fifty lawgivers. Fifty heroes stood up in the presence of the king while he was eating. Three times fifty cup-bearers in that *dun*. Three times fifty goblets of carbuncle, of silver, and of gold. Fifty above a thousand to be enumerated the household of that king.

Kineth O'Hartigan *cecinit*:

World of perishable beauty!
The banquet of a hundred parties,
False the many solemnities to mention,
But the adoration of the king of all.
Every law of fame has passed away,
Every justice destroyed to the ground;
Temur, to-day though a wilderness,
Was once the meeting-place[11] of heroes.
Fair was its sided tower,

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[2] Rigth tig.—*L. Gabhala.*

[3] Headed in the Book of Ballymote thus: Cinaed h-Ua Artagan *hoc carmen cecinit* do fuidigeb tige Cormaic. i. e. Kineth O'Hartigan composed this poem on the situation of the House of Cormac. In the Book of Glendalough, however, this poem is ascribed to *Cormac Fili*, a poet of the same century.

[4] Dutain, mortal, perishable, is the opposite of fudain. Many Irish words, beginning with f, form their opposites by changing f into d, as fona, dona; folar, dolar; fuairc, duairc; forda, dorda, &c. &c.

[5] In H. 3. 18, p. 640, this line is explained as follows: comol.i.ceangal; *ut est*:

Domain dutain alainne, Comol cairi ced cure,
Dreg ilur lid fe labra, Act adra rig na n-uile.

In H. 2. 16, p. 403, this line runs thus: Comol catri ced cuiri.

[6] In a gloss on this poem, preserved in H. 3. 18, p. 533, the word lid is explained by follumain, a festival or solemnity, and this verse quoted.

[7] Ad chiu cach fedt imroad.—*Book of Glendalough.* Ro faith cech feachtt marraad.—*L. Gabhala.*

[8] Dechliu cert co grian.—*Book of Glendalough.* Ro fcaich gach cert co griaan.—*L. Gabhala.*

[9] For tan the *L. Gabhala* has fé, with which it is perfectly synonymous.

[10] In H. 3. 18, p. 467, the word narad, in this line, is glossed gnadugad.

[11] Cluichi, no oenach, no aurtach, ir do ir ainm Narrad. A game, fair, or meeting, is called *Nassadh.*—*Cormac's Glossary.*

[12] Nir bo éraig a tort toebach.—*Book of Glendalough.*

Dier bo h-aonaċ rcor rcelach,[13]
Dui mor n-dam dier domgnur,[15]
Aniu ciò ronn glarr feurauch.
Da dino n-oirdnigi n-imglic,
Da roirccliuhe co m-baob-flaic:[18]
Ria taidbrin ba druim n-oirrderc,
An aimrir h-Ui Cuinn, Cormuic.
Dia m-boi Cormac fo clothae,
Da fel, fo blad a featha,
Ni frith dun amail Temair;
Ro b'e fun beluigh beathae.[20]
Dailc a brig fin uar buidnib,
Ind rig fin do gab Temruig;
Is ferr duinn, doluib fine
Tuirim, a tighi teagluigh.
Nai cluid, no cluideaib gairdtenn,[21]
Da nai n-duma[22] 'n a timceall,
Re find airbert na finnchann,[23]
Caṫair imairderc imtenn.
A tech mor milibh amurr,

At which was the meeting[14] of heroes of story,
Great was the host to which it was inheritance[16],
Though to-day a green grassy land.
It was a famous *dinn*[17] of wisdom,
It was noble with warlike scions:[19]
To be viewed it was a noble hill,
In the time of O'Cuinn, Cormac.
When Cormac was in his glory,
Conspicuous, famous his motions,
No *dun* was found like Temur;
It was the secret of the road of life.
Strong the vigor of him over hosts,
Of that king who took Temur;
It is better for us, the many tribes
To reckon, the fair multitudes of his household.
Nine *cluids*, or rough, strong ditches,
With nine mounds around it,
With the fair *airbert* of the fair trees,
A famous, strong *cahir*.
His great house of a thousand soldiers,

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[13] Diar b'oenaċ rcoit rcelaċ.—*Book of Glendalough.* Ger bo aenach rcelaċ.—H. 2. 16. Ciar bo, &c.—*L. Ballymot.* Ger bo.—*L. Gabhala.*

[14] Aonaċ is now understood to mean a fair, but in ancient Irish MSS. it is used to mean any meeting of the people.

[15] Socaid diar bo domgnar.—*L. Ballymot.* Daoi mor n-damh diar bo domgnar.—*L. Gabhala.*

[16] Domġnur, also written domġnar, signifies dominion, inheritance. In a poem in the Book of Lismore the sea is called domġnar Neptuin, the dominion of Neptune, which places the meaning of the word beyond dispute.

[17] For the meaning of dinn, see page 135, note §.

[18] Da fond n-oirdnidi n-imglic, ba borgbile co m-blad blaic.—*Book of Glendalough.*
Da dino n-oirdnidi n-imglic, bad foirgloi co m-blad loic.—H. 2. 16.
Da dino n-oirdnide n-imglic, da boirgbile co m-bodu-flaic.—*L. Gabhala.*

[19] Daob-flaic, warlike scions. Daṁh was the *Bellona* of the pagan Irish, and hence young warriors are poetically called scions of *Bellona*, daṁh-flaic.

[20] Da fi fun belaig betha.—*Book of Glendalough.* In the Glosses on this poem, preserved in H. 3. 18, pp. 467 and 533, belaig betha is explained beoil beda, the passage or opening of life.

[21] Noi cluid nir clui gairdeno.—*Book of Glendalough.* Nain cluid no clai gairdteand.—*L. Ballymot.* Naoi ccluiḋ, no cluda gairdenn.—*L. Gabhala.*

[22] N-dui.—*Books of Glendalough* and *Ballymote.*

[23] In airbirt na findclann.—*Book of Glendalough.* Le fionn-airbert na b-finnclann.—*L. Gabhala.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Con dimid, nip bo doluрр,[24] | With tribes, it was not sorrow, |
| Caċair glan gleрib[25] glainfer, | A fair bright *cahir* of fine men, |
| Tri cet traigeo a tomur. | Three hundred feet its measurement. |
| Nir tairmċell[26] bairi burbae, | It was not a circle of ignorant folly, |
| Na cumga gairri gargai; | Nor a narrowness of austere wisdom; |
| Nip bo po beg fri therba, | It was not too small for separation, |
| Se coic cubat a h-aroaei.[27] | Six times five cubits its height. |
| Adba rig, ri uar finni,[28] | Habitation of a king, king over Erin,[29] |
| Forr n-dailte fion co finni.[30] | In which was distributed wine with brightness. |
| Da dion, ba dun, ba dingna, | It was a *dinn*, a *dun*, a *dingna*,[31] |
| Tri caecad imdaigh inneee.[32] | Three times fifty *imdhas* in it. |
| Di coeca laech co laindib, | Fifty heroes with swords, |
| Nir uo broce baoċ ar bruiccin, | Our city was not a silly city, |
| Da he luċt limb dinccna, | Were the inmates of the *dingna*, |
| Ceċa h-imdaig di fuidhibh.[33] | In each *imdha* of these. |
| Ro b' alainn in flog famlaid, | Grand was the host thus [stationed], |
| Taiṫniom oir ar a niodnoib,[34] | The glittering of gold upon their weapons, |
| Tri caecad airel erenaib, | Three times fifty splendid *airels*, |

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[24] Co n-daimib nir bo donur.—H. 2. 16.

[25] Glepe.—*L. Gabhala.*

[26] "Tairmceall .i. timċioll."—*O'Clery.*

[27] These two quatrains, from "A tech mor milibh amurr," to "Se coic cubat a h-aroaei," are omitted in the Books of Glendalough and Ballymote.

[28] Adba in rig, ri aoranna.—*Book of Glendalough.* Adba rig ri uarranod.—*L. Ballymot.* Adba Rig, Ri uar roinde.—*L. Gabhala.*

[29] Ri uar finni. This ancient phrase is thus explained by O'Clery: Rinne .i. Eirinn: rig or Rinne .i. rig or Eirinn.

[30] Co a n-dailti fin co finde.—*L. Ballymot.*

[31] For the meanings of these words see page 135, note §. They are, however, so nearly synonymous that it is not often possible to discover a peculiar meaning in one distinct from the others.

[32] Inde.—*Book of Glendalough.* Uime.—*L. Ballymot.* Imi.—H. 2. 16. Inne.—*L. Gabhala.*

[33] Tri coicait laeċ collaine, Nir bo borg ar bruidin, da ré luċt linaib dingna. Caċ imda de fuidib.—*Book of Glendalough.* Diid caeca laeċ co laimib, Ro bo broc baeċ ar bruidin, he a luct limb dingna, Caċa imda do daigib.—*L. Ballymot.* Dao caeca laech co laindib, Nir bo borb baeth ar bruigin, da hé a luct limb dingna, Gaċ imda di fuidiu.—H. 2. 16. In the margin of this MS., ro ba is given as a different reading for nir bo. Doi caecca laech co laindib, Nir bo brog baeth ar bruigin, da he luchc limb diongna, Cecha h-iomda di fuidib.—*L. Gabhala.*

[34] Taitneo oir or a airel, i. e. the glittering of gold over his bed.—*Book of Glendalough.* Taitneo or ar a dingnaib.—*L. Ballymot.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Caoca in ceċ airel inmain.[35] | Fifty in each agreeable *airel.* |
| Sechc cubuc cinoaċ cunoil, | Seven cubits without any sparingness, |
| Fiaḋ in oaim, oronġ oreim,[36] | (Before the host, people of exertion, |
| Fri h-aonaḋ fuṡall folur, | For lighting the flambeau of light,) |
| Ḋa he comur an cellaicch. | Was the measurement of the fire-place. |
| A ṡechc naili, ro cualae, | Seven also, I have heard, |
| Fri cerc n-ġlaine, cen c-renaie, | With perfect brightness, without denial, |
| Seġoa, raineṁlai, raora, | Splendid, beautiful, noble, |
| Caoma cainnelbrai creḋaie. | Fair chandeliers of brass. |
| An caṫair ġrianach, ġlan rin, | That sunny, fine city, |
| Fleḋach, ianach,[37] co roinrib ; | Of feasts, of goblets, of springs ; |
| Innei ra roicle folur, | In it joyous was the light, |
| Ḋa ṡechc n-doruṙṙ oi doirrib. | Twice seven doors of doors. |
| Ḋa he oligeaḋ ano riġ rin, | It was the law of that king, |
| Ol nor nibiḋ[38] an floġ rin, | To drink before that host should drink, |
| Ḋa meḋ, mor mor in lan rin, | Great, very great that number, |
| Tri ceḋ ol ir ino ol rin.[39] | Three hundred drinkings in that drinking. |
| Caoca ṙeċċairṙe ramoa,[40] | Fifty noble lawgivers, |
| Ċar an flaiṫ falḋa, firoae, | With the noble, upright prince, |
| Caoca for fleḋaċ, firġlan, | Fifty also truly fine, festive companions, |
| Ċa coecai rrimlaoċ rrimoa. | With fifty chief distinguished heroes. |
| Caoca laoch[41] ino a ṙeraṁ, | Fifty heroes standing up, |
| Conḋoiṫir an faol foraiḃ,[42] | To attend on the warlike king, |

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[35] In the Glosses on this poem, preserved in H. 3. 18, pp. 467 and 533, this quatrain is quoted as an example of the words airel and oingnaib: Airel .i. imdai, *ut est;*

Rob' alainn in floġ ramlaiḋ, ċaiṫeṁ ar a n-oingnaiḃ (.i. ar a fleġaiḃ)
Tri coecat airel egnaiḋ, Coecaḋ in ġac airel inmuin.

The last line of this quatrain is thus given in the *L. Gabhala:* Caoccaḋ in cech airel niomduiḃ ; and in H. 2. 16, the last word in this line is written oimdaiḃ.

[36] Seċt coicait can naċ connail, Fiaḋ in daim n-dronġaiċ n-diennoiġ.—*Book of Glendalough.*
Seċt cubaiḋ ceanḋach conḋail, Fiaḋa an daim dronġaiġ dreanḋaic.—H. 2. 16.
Seachc cubat cennach conḋail, Fiaḋa an doim dronġaċ dremeaċ.—*L. Gabhala.*

[37] Ianach.—*L. Gabhala.* Fianach.—*Book of Glendalough,* and H. 2. 16.

[38] Nor n-ibeaḋ.—*L. Gabhala.* Ol ar n-ibeḋ.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[39] These four quatrains, from Sechc cubuc, &c., to Tri ceḋ ol, &c., are omitted in the Book of Ballymote.

[40] Ramoa.—*L. Ballymot.*

[41] Caeca feap.—*L. Ballymot.*

[42] Connaiṫir in faol forraiḋ.—*Book of Glendalough.* Connetir in fael forruḋ.—*L. Ballymot.* Coneiṫir in faol foraiġ.—*Gloss in* H. 8. 18, p. 467. In this Gloss the word coneiṫir is explained by co frieċeoldir. i. e. That they might attend on. Conóġair an fael forach.—*L. Gabhala.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cén bioo anopi gh ac ool,[43] | While he was feasting, |
| Ar na ba doadh dorgain.[44] | That no mischief might befal him. |
| An uall noidec pia n-uabup,[45] | The harmonious shouts of pride, |
| Na puipeć puaḋ, na painpep,[46] | The valiant chiefs, the mighty men, |
| Ni dac dimdaig don aipeṁ.[47] | It is not unpleasant to enumerate them. |
| Tri cet dailem nop dailed.[48] | Three hundred cup-bearers distributed. |
| Tri caeca pcaba[49] dogа, | Three times fifty choice goblets, |
| Piaḋ cec daim, dolai duile, | Before each party, of great numbers, |
| Sec ba capmocal n-glan m-balc, | Which were of pure strong carbuncle, |
| Da hop, ba hapccad uilea. | Of gold, or of silver all. |
| Tri coeca coicea n-galach, | Three times fifty stout cooks, |
| Cenaċ nannac, pri puipec, | Without any anger, in waiting, |
| Pri h-aipep cendaċ doloċ, | With food in great abundance, |
| Na pig pogaċ na puipeċ. | Upon the great kings and chieftains. |
| Da mo don mal ba moo, | This greatest prince had a greater, |
| Ar cec loo ba liaa, | Every day a greater number, |
| Tricha cet, noċ no puipged[50] | Thirty hundred, were supported |
| Mac Aipt duipmed ceċ dia. | By the son of Art each day. |
| A dronec pilid ba pirda, | His train of poets were upright, |
| Cuingoip dlicceaḋ a *n-dala*,[51] | They kept the laws of Ireland, |

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[43] Cein bid in pí ac a ol.—*Book of Glendalough.* Cen bioḋ an Ri acc oal.—*L. Gabhala.*

[44] Ar nabbad doad dorrom.—*Book of Glendalough.* Ar na ba dood dorum.—*L. Ballymot.* Ar na ba doad aoraṁ.—*L. Gabhala.* Conabad doad doron.—H. 2. 16.

[45] A nol nuag pri uabup.—*Book of Glendalough.* Nuall, &c.—*L. Ballymot.* An uall nuideach pri h-uabap.—H. 2. 16, and *L. Gabhala.*

[46] Na puipeaċ puam na paideaḋ, &c.—*L. Ballymot.* Na puipeach puad na painpeap.—H. 2. 16.

[47] Ni bo dimdaid in aipem.—H. 2. 16. Nip bod dimdaig dia n-aipeaṁ.—*L. Gabhala.*

[48] Tricha dalem nop dailed.—*Book of Glendalough.* Tri caeca po dop dailead.—H. 2. 16. Caocad dailem nop daileaḋ.—*L. Gabhala.*

[49] Noi coicait pcaba pogа, ba pi dal togа a duile.—*Book of Glendalough.* All the other copies agree with the text as given above. In the Glosses on this poem, preserved in H. 3. 18, pp. 467 and 533, the word pcaba is explained by the modern word poigéeć, a vessel, and the above quatrain quoted as an example, thus:
Tri pcaba do gaċ pig dola duile, Seċ ba copmogal glan mac, ba hop, ba hapgad uile.—p. 467.
Tri coeca pcaba togа do gac daiṁ, dola duile pec ba capmogal glan mac, ba hop, ba hapgac uile.—p. 533. Scaḃa is also explained in Cormac's Glossary by the word lepcap, a vessel.

[50] All the other copies agree very nearly with the text, except the Book of Glendalough, in which this quatrain runs thus: Da hán do'n mál ba mou, Ar caċ lou ba lia, Tri mile ba naipmec, Mac Aipt eipned caċ dia.

[51] This line is explained by Michael O'Clery thus: Cuingoip .i. do congḃaidip no apaidip: "cuingoip dligeaḋ nalla .i. do congbaidip dligeaḋ a Eipeannaib."

| | |
|---|---|
| Ocuſ ni baoſ ci ao beſa[52] | And what they said was not folly |
| Co n-aoſ cena cec oana.[53] | With the professors of each art. |
| Tuiſmim teglaċ na tolaiḃ | I enumerate the household of the hosts |
| Tige Temraċ oo oiniḃh ;[54] | Of the house of Temur of tribes ; |
| Iſ e ſo an aiſiom ſiſe,[55] | This is the true enumeration, |
| Caoca aſ mile oo mhilibh.[56] | Fifty above a thousand of heroes. |
| Dia m-boi Coſmac a Temaiſ | When Cormac was at Temur |
| A ſo blaḋ uaſ gaċ ſogein ;[57] | His great fame was over every select one ; |
| Rig aiṫgen mac Aiſe Ainſiſ[58] | A king like the son of Art Ainfir |
| Niſ cin oo oaoinib oomain.[59] | There came not of the men of the world. |
| Coſmac co caime cſotha,— | Cormac of the fair form— |
| Da ſoca connbalc flaṫa[60]— | A pillar of a mighty king— |
| Genſ o Echtaig, imgil,[61] | He was born of Echtghe, the fair, |
| Mac oo ingin Uilccaicheee.[62] | He was son of the daughter of Uilcaiche. |
| O boi Solaṁ ſri ſiſioo, | Since Solomon was inquiring, |
| Fer gaċ cinit oo comol,[63] | A man who united each tribe, |
| Cein buo com mait ſri Coſmac,[64] | An offspring as good as Cormac, |
| A De, in coſmolt an oomain ?[65] | O God, has the world consumed ? |

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[52] Ocuſ ni baiſ ceo ao beſa.—H. 2. 16. Ocuſ ni baeſ cia at beſa.—*L. Gabhala.*

[53] The last word in this line is defaced in H. 3. 3, but is supplied from the other copies. In the Book of Glendalough the quatrain is given thus : Ceno oſong ſileo ſo ſiſoa, Saigoiſ oligeo a n-oala, Iſ oeſb ni baeſ ci at beſa, Cenaſ chena caċ oana.

[54] In the Gloss on this quatrain, preserved in H. 3. 18, pp. 467 and 533, oiniḃ is explained by aiſeṁ. For oiniḃh, H. 2. 16, has oainib, and the *L. Gabhala* oaoiniḃ.

[55] Iſ e ſeo an e-aiſeam ſiſi.—H. 2. 16. Aſ é ſo an e-aiſeṁ ſiſe.—*L. Gabhala.*

[56] This quatrain is given thus in the Book of Glendalough : Tuiſmem teglaċ i n-oalaib, Taige Temraċ ó oínib, Iſſ hi ſeo an aſim ſiſe, Triċa mile oe milib.

[57] Aſ ſo blat uaſ caċ ſogail.—*Book of Glendalough.* A ſo blat uaſ gaċ ſogaiṁ.—*L. Ballymot.* A ſo blao oſ gaċ ſogain.—H. 2. 16. A ſo blaḋ oſ gaċ ſogain.—*L. Gabhala.*

[58] Rig aogein mac Aiſe Aenſiſ.—*L. Ballymot.*

[59] Ni ſriṫ oe oinib oomain.—*Book of Glendalough.* Niſ cin oainib oomuin.—*L. Ballymot.*

[60] Da ſocha ſonobalc flaṫa.—*Book of Glendalough.* Da ſoċa ſonnbalc.—

[61] Genaiſ o Echtaig imgil.—*Book of Glendalough.* Genaiſ o Eaichtge ſinngil.—*L. Gabhala.*

[62] Uilcacha.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[63] Feſſ cach ciniuo ſri comul.—*Book of Glendalough.* Fer cech cinn oo chomal.—*L. Gabhala.*

[64] Gein bao ċumma ſri Coſmac.—*Book of Glendalough.* The word Cein in the text is evidently an error of the transcriber for gein, as appears from the more ancient MS., the Book of Glendalough.

[65] A oe in coſmalt ooman.—*Book of Glendalough.* A Dhe an ctoſmalt an oomain.—*L. Gabhala.* The two last quatrains of this poem are wanting in the Book of Ballymote, and in H. 2. 16.

It would be absurd to receive as a historical evidence, a bardic poem which only pretends to record the floating traditions of circumstances more than six hundred years anterior to the period of its composition; neither should a document of such undoubted antiquity be wholly rejected as a poetic fable, without some inquiry as to the possibility of its having at least a groundwork of truth—and particularly if in those statements respecting the size, &c., of the buildings, which the existing ruins enable the investigator to test, they should not be found wanting in veracity. Now it is remarkable that the only disagreement between the measurements of this building, as given in the poem, and in the present remains, is that the latter are actually more than twice the length stated, namely, near eight hundred feet; for respecting its alleged height there is nothing to awaken scepticism; and even the apparent disagreement just noticed may be explained by a plausible if not natural conjecture. Those measurements may be true as applied to the Hall, or Place of Assembly, while the remaining space on each side might have been occupied by apartments of lesser importance; and, indeed, the triple names applied by the poet to this building seem to require such a subdivision, for the Hall of Assembly could scarcely be called with propriety the House of the Women, nor the House of the Fians, or common soldiers. At all events the disagreement, such as it is, does not tend to stamp the poem with the character of exaggeration; and its statement of the number of persons, which this "great house of a thousand soldiers" was capable of accommodating, is well supported by the cautious remark of the prose account, that it would seem true, for, that as many men would fit in it as would form the choice part, that is, the chiefs, of the men of Ireland. It is not easy, however, to avoid considering as a poetic fiction the statement of the number of one hundred and fifty resting or sleeping apartments, with fifty soldiers in each—or in all seven thousand five hundred—which sleeping places are stated to have been about or around the house; yet it is evident that considerable accommodation must have been necessary for the military attendants of the provincial and other princes who came to the assembly; and it may not perhaps be puerile to remark, that a very ample space on each side of the Hall, and in which such apartments may be supposed to have existed, was unoccupied with any monumental remains at the time when the descriptive accounts were written. Such apartments were evidently of timber, and therefore no vestiges would be found

in succeeding ages. The statement respecting the hundred and fifty drinking vessels of carbuncle, gold, and silver, and the seven brazen lamps, or *candelabra*, will be received with still greater incredulity. Yet even this statement will not be regarded as wholly fabulous by those who have seen the magnificent gold ornaments, now in the possession of the Academy, which were found within a few yards of this very spot, or the brazen vessels of more exquisite workmanship, and probably of higher antiquity, often found in Ireland, and of which there is a beautiful specimen in the Belfast Museum. Golden vessels have been frequently found in Ireland; and a passage in the Annotations of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, *fol.* 17, *b*, 1, affords an interesting evidence of their existence anterior to the introduction of Christianity. In adducing this passage it will be proper to state, that it has been copied (as indeed all the extracts hitherto given from that most valuable work have been) from the original MS., which has been most kindly placed in the hands of the writer by its proprietor, the Rev. Francis Brownlow. The passage runs as follows :—

Dipprocel* Cummen ocus Brechan Ochtair n-Achid co n-a feilb, ier fid ocus mag ocus lenu, co n-a lliur ocus a llubgort. Ogoilef din du Chummin lecth in dorri fo, in doim, in duiniu, con ficcatar a feuit frie .i. *iii.* ungai argait, ocus crann argit, ocus muince, *iii.* n-ungae co n-droch oir fen-merib fenaidcib, log† leith ungae di muccib, ocus log leith ungae di chairib.

Cummin and Brethan purchased *Ochter n-Achid* with its appurtenances, both wood and plain, and meadow, with its fort and its garden. Half of this wood, and house, and *dun*, was mortmain to Cummin, for which they paid [from] their treasure, viz. three ounces of silver, and a bar of silver, and a collar, three ounces of the base gold of the old dishes of seniors, the equivalent of half an ounce in hogs, and the equivalent of half an ounce in sheep.

As to the cups of carbuncle, if the account be taken literally, it must of course be set down as romance; but the word carmogal, derived apparently from the Latin, is applied loosely by the ancient Irish to any shining stone of a red colour, such as the garnet, a production of the country; and the authentic annals record many gifts from Irish princes to the monasteries at an early period, of cups adorned with gems.

* Dipprocel, he purchased, is found in many Irish deeds and charters, variously written duprocel, do froicel, dorprocel, do fuaicel, and even do fuacail. It is explained in O'Clery's Glossary by the modern words ceanaċ, no do ceanaiġ, i. e. a purchase, or he purchased.

† Log, now written luaċ, occurs frequently in the charters in the Book of Kells, in the sense of price, value, &c.

In connexion with the ancient history of the *Teach Miodhchuarta*, there exists another ancient poem, which, from the curious and valuable illustration which it affords of the state of society in Ireland at a very remote period, should on no account be omitted in this memoir. Of this poem two copies are preserved in ancient vellum MSS., in the College Library; one, in the Book of Glendalough—a MS. compilation of the twelfth century, H. 2. 18; the other in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, or Yellow Book, of the Mac Firbises of Lecan, H. 2. 16. In both these MSS. the poem is illustrated by a ground-plan of the principal compartments of the house, with the names of the several ranks, professions, and trades, which were privileged to sit in them, and the order in which they were located—with the names of the different portions of the meat to which each was entitled. And, as the copies of this curious ground-plan are slightly dissimilar, and of different ages, fac-similes are given of both. Of the name or age of the writer of the poem no record remains, but that its antiquity is higher than that of any of the documents already given, and possibly anterior even to the desertion of Tara, will not be doubted by any person conversant with the Irish language; and indeed the obscurity of the language is so great, from the obsoleteness of the words, that the translation of it has been attended with the greatest labour and difficulty, and in several instances it has been impossible to determine with certainty the meaning of the names of the things described. An attempt to illustrate this singular remain was made by the late General Vallancey,—with what success may be judged from the translation here given. To the poem is prefixed a prose preface, giving descriptions of the House of Laoghaire, the House of Cormac, and the *Teach Miodhchuarta*, or Banqueting-Hall; and the accuracy of these descriptions is sustained by the existing remains of the monuments, nor indeed is there, either in the prose or verse, anything inconsistent with probability. It may, perhaps, be objected that no accurate accounts of this kind could have been preserved from so early a period as that anterior to the desertion of Tara, but that the use of letters was prevalent in Ireland very near, if not at, the time to which these descriptions refer, has been shewn in the earlier portions of this memoir; and from the poem of Cuan O'Lochain it appears that the customs observed at Tara were continued by the Irish kings in his own time.

"There exist still people like them,
With kings and with princes."

And thus, even should its antiquity be questioned, this poem should still be received as an authentic illustration of the customs of the Irish in remote times.

Suidiugad Tigi Midchuarta. Ní cach ri lar ta[1] i n-diu amail bae la Conn Cet-cathach, ocus tech n-Airt, ocus Cormaic, ocus Cairpri Lifhecair, ocus tech Cathair Mair, ocus tech gach rig ro fallna i Temraig co Niall Naicclech,[2] arrulaed fo tri, ocus fo giall h-Eriu[3] do fo tri. Samlaid bae tech Laegaire Mic Neill, iar cein, ired fo riacht trian tigi Cormaic.[4] *ccc.* traigid hi taig Laegaire; *l.* imdaig ann; *l.* fer in gach imdaig; *l.* airel eirrib; *xx.* fer in gach airiul. *Iiii.* cubat a theallach; ocus *ix.* cubat a foirbthe; ocus *xxx.* cubat a airdi fuar.[6] *Vii.* threm[7]

The situation of *Teach Midhchuarta.* Each king who has it at this day does as was done in the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and [when it was] the house of Art, and of Cormac, and of Cairbre Liffeachair, and the house of Cathair Mor, and the house of every king who ruled in Temur to Niall of the Nine Hostages, who made a visitation thrice, and to whom Ireland rendered hostages thrice. The house of Laoghaire, the son of Niall, [erected] long afterwards, was one-third of the extent of the House of Cormac. Three hundred feet in the House of Laoghaire; fifty *imdas*[5] in it; fifty men in each *imda;* fifty *airels* out from

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[1] In an imperfect copy of this document in the same MS.—col. 810—from which the text is here copied,—H. 2. 16, col. 244,—this passage is better given thus: Suidiudeb Tigi Midchuarta ac each rig lar ada i n-diu amail ro bui i torad. Teach Cuind Cet-chadaich, ocus teach Airt Oenfir, mic Cuind Cet-chadaig, ocus teach Cormaic, mic Airt, ocus teach Cairbri Lifeachair, ocus teach each rig, ro bui i Temraich co Niall Noi-giallach. Ar arlaered cu fo dri, ocus fo giall h-Eiriu do cu fo dri.

[2] Tech cach rig ra boi i Temair co Niall Noi-giallach.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[3] Vallancey has printed this word *hiu,* having mistaken the contraction for h-Erin, Ireland; but in H. 2. 16, the word is written in full, which puts the true meaning beyond dispute. Vallancey has translated the passage in the following ridiculous manner, which is severely censured by Dr. Campbell, in his Strictures on the History of Ireland: "The palace of Tamar was formerly the seat of Conn of the hundred battles; it was the seat of Art and of Cairbre Liffeachar, and of Cathar Mor, and of every king, who ruled in Tamar, to the time of *Niall of the nine towers,* formed or constructed on three, for he *had vowed to build three towers.*"—*Collect.* vol. iii. p. 514.

[4] In H. 2. 16, col. 810, this passage is given differently: Mad ruidiged thigi Temrach la Cormac, ba mó fom anna each. *Ix. c.* traigid ir ind raid re lind Chormaic; *vii. c.* traigid a thech feirin. i. e. If [we treat of] the situation of the house of Temur in the time of Cormac, it was larger than all. There were nine hundred feet in the Rath in the time of Cormac, seven hundred feet in his own house.

[5] This word is now used in the north of Ireland to signify a couch, or bed, and in a Gloss on the poem of Kineth O'Hartigan, above given, the word airel is explained by it; but it appears from the ground-plan in the Book of Glendalough, and H. 2. 16, that the *imdas* were the apartments in which the different ranks sat at the banquet.

[6] Better thus in H. 2. 16, col. 810: Ocus tricha cubat a adae in tigi. And thirty cubits the height of the house.

[7] Sechi threma immon tech, ocus ocht n-doirri forri in raith. i. e. Seven *tre-dumas* around the house, and eight doors on the Rath.—*Book of Glendalough.* This passage is given differently in the copy preserved in H. 2. 16, col. 810: *viii.* threma imonn rath, ocus *viii.* n-doirri foraib; tri l. comad timcell forri in fluag [**] carlaid norda ano; ocus l. learcar finoruine, ocus l. ridel n-orda forri

immon raith; ocus *vii.* n-doirri forraib; *lll.* comol 'n a timcholl forr in tṙlaig; *l.* corrn clarach n-oṙda; *l.* learcar finnruimi frir in rigraid ferrin; *c.* n-ool imna dabaig; *v.* cubat a chaindelbrai; *vii.* doirriairedа fur; *vii.* ranairre; ocus *vii.* n-dailemain fur. In chappait foraigthaig immo thenid fo chuairt. In druide ocus in druith a cumachtae, ocus in chleramnaig ocus ind airrisig nama ir in tig rin. In t-rluaig olchena ir ind forcraigi mon teach, dia nechtair, itir in da mur, acht in ti do gairti o Laegaire do dum an tigi rin, &c.

Suigiugad tig Temrach la Cormac,[13] ria them; twenty men in each *airel.* Four cubits [the extent of] the fire-place; and nine cubits [that of] the *foirdles*;[8] and thirty cubits its height upwards (perpendicularly). Seven *tredui* (triple mounds) around the Rath; and seven doors on them; one hundred and fifty *comols* around it [and] the company; fifty grooved golden *corns* (horns); fifty vessels of *finnruini*[9] with the nobles themselves; one hundred drinkings in the vat;[10] five cubits in the candelabra;[11] seven doorkeepers; seven distributors; and seven cup-bearers in attendance. The chariot-drivers about the fire around. The druid and the *druith* in the same place, and the mimics and the minstrels only in this house. The people in general were in the *forthaigh*[12] around the house, on the outside, between the two *murs*, but the person that was called into the house by Laoghaire, &c.

The situation of the House of Temur with

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in airiuig .i. in dabach; *v.* cubaid in caindelbrae; *vii.* n-dorraire, ocus *vii.* randaire; na hanaid in chappait forbai imon teni imacuairo; in druid acu inad airbithe ind rig; ni conrcuiread nach aen o alaile for lar in tigi dib. Rigdamna ir in tig; in t-rluaig olcheana imon teach dia neachtair. i. e. Eight *treduma* around the Rath, and eight doors on them; three times fifty [* * * * * *] and fifty vessels of *Findruine*, and fifty golden cups on the *airedig*, i. e. the vat. Five cubits in the *candelabra*; seven door-keepers, and seven distributors; the drivers of the principal chariot about the fire around. The Druid at the *inad airbithe* of the king; none of them separated from the other in the middle of the house. The nobles were within the house; and the rest of the *host* (i. e. the people in general) around the house outside.

[8] This word is not explained in Irish dictionaries, and it is omitted altogether in Vallancey's printed copy, though he published that copy from this very MS. In H. 2. 16, col. 810, forlerr. The word occurs in the Book of Lismore in such a manner as that its meaning can be inferred. Thus, in describing a palace in the East: "Ni raibi forler fora fed nach le h-or do hiatta." There was not a *forles* throughout which was not closed with gold.

[9] The word *finnruine*, or, as it is most generally written, *finndruinne*, is not explained in any dictionary; but it occurs very frequently in Irish romances, and appears to be the name of a whitish metal, perhaps pewter.

[10] The word *Dabhach*, a vat, is explained in Cormac's Glossary as signifying the two-handed vessel.

[11] This word is evidently borrowed from the Latin, and means a chandelier, or large candlestick.

[12] *Forthaigh* is the plural of *forradh*, a seat, bench, &c.

[13] This is given differently in the Book of Glendalough, thus: Mad ruirigud tigi Temrach la Cormac, ba mo son; .i. fecht cet traigid a teg rain; noi n-dui immon teg rain; tri coicait imdaid ir in taig, ocus tri coicait fer in cach imdai; ocus tri coicait airel erib, ocus coica cach airel. i. e. If [treating of] it, the situation of the House of Temur with Cormac (i. e. as Cormac had it), it was larger [than at any other period]; seven hundred feet in his house; nine circumvallations around that house; three times fifty seats in the house, and three times fifty men in each seat; three times fifty *airels* out from them, and fifty men in each *airel.*

ꝼunn, ba ꝼain ꝼon; *ix.* [ceᴄ] ꝼaiġeḋ a ᴛech; *vii.* n-ᴅui imo ꝼaᴛh immon ᴛech; *lll.* imᴅaiġ ann; *lll.* aiꝼeol eꝼꝼiḃ; *lx.* ꝼeꝼ in ġaċ aiꝼeal; *ix.* cubaᴄ a ᴛeallaċ; ᴛꝛi *ix.* cubaᴄ a ꝼoiꝼoleꝼ; *lll.* coꝼn com no ol; *xv.* cubaᴄ [***] *xii.* ᴅoꝼuꝼ. Mili no o ᴛhꝛaᴅ Coꝼmac caċ laei,[15] cen mo ᴛha aeꝼ ᴅana ocuꝼ ꝼimnola, ᴅi oꝼ ocuꝼ aꝛġuᴄ, ocuꝼ caiꝼꝛḋiu, ocuꝼ eochu, ocuꝼ eꝼꝼeḋa iꝼin.

Suiġiuġaḋ Tiġi Miḋchuaꝛᴛa ino, .i. ᴅa imᴅa ᴅec ino hi ceaċᴛaꝛ a ᴅa leiᴛhi; ocuꝼ ᴛꝛiaꝛ in ġaċ imᴅaei; ocuꝼ *vi.* ꝼiꝼ ᴅec hi ceċᴛaꝛ a ᴅa aiꝼiᴛeꝼ; ocuꝼ ochᴛuꝼ ᴅi ꝼannaiꝼiḃ; ocuꝼ ꝼeaċᴛaiꝼeiḃ, ocuꝼ ᴅailemnaiḃ, in ꝛaꝼᴛuꝼ in ᴛiġi; ocuꝼ ᴅiaꝛ hi ceċᴛaꝛ a ᴅa imᴅai iꝛ in ᴅoꝼuꝼ. *C.* ꝼeꝼ huile in ꝼin. Da bae, ocuꝼ ᴅa ᴛhinne, ocuꝼ ᴅa muicc, a ꝼꝛainn ꝼuinn: ꝯoecaᴄ ꝼoꝼ cechᴛaꝛ in ᴅa bo, ocuꝼ na ᴅa mucc, ocuꝼ ꝛia ᴅa ᴛhinne; leᴛh ᴅo leaᴛh ocuꝼ leᴛh illeiᴛh n-aili. Ḋꝛuiᴅen Miᴅcuaꝛᴛa ainm in ᴛiġi ꝼin.

Suiᴅiuġaᴅ Tiġi Miᴅchuaꝛᴛa
Miᴛhiᴅ ᴅun a ꝼaᴅ;

Cormac, [which had existed] before this,[14] was different; nine [hundred] feet in the [extent of the] house; seven circumvallations around the house; one hundred and fifty *imdas* in it; one hundred and fifty *airels* out from them; sixty men in each *airel;* nine cubits in the fire-place; three times nine cubits in the *foirdles*, one hundred and fifty drinking cups; fifteen cubits [* * *] twelve doors. Cormac gave presents to one thousand persons each day, besides poets and musicians, in gold and silver, and chariots, and horses, and garments.

The situation of *Teach Midhchuarta* here, viz.: twelve seats in each of its two sides; and three men in each seat; and sixteen men in each of its two *airithers;* and eight distributors; and law-givers, and cupbearers, in the back part[16] of the house; and two in each of the two seats at the door. One hundred men the entire.[17] Two cows, and two *tinnés*, and two pigs, was the quantity for dinner: fifty for each of the two cows and, of the two pigs, and of the two *tinnés;* half to one half and half to the other half. *Bruiden Midhchuarta* [was] the name of this house.

The situation of *Teach Midhchuarta*
Time for us to describe;

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[14] That is, which had existed before the House of Laoghaire last described.

[15] This passage is given differently in the Book of Glendalough, thus: Ꝺeoꝛa mili ceċ lai no eꝼneᴅ Coꝼmaᴄ, cen moᴅa aeꝼ ᴅana ocuꝼ ꝼimᴅeli, ocuꝼ caċ oen ᴅo ꝼaiġeᴅ in ꝼíġ. i. e. Three thousand every day King Cormac used to give presents to, besides poets and musicians, and every other person who came to visit the king. The verb eꝼneaᴅ is translated *largiri* in Cormac's Glossary, under the word cumlaċᴛaiḋ, and by Colgan in *Trias Thaum.*, p. 515. In the copy in the Book of Glendalough the description of the House of Cormac is given before the House of Laoghaire, which is the correct arrangement of the description.

[16] The *iarthur* of the house means that end of it opposite the door.

[17] 24 × 3 = 72, + (16 × 2) = 104, + 8 + 4 = 116, the true calculation. In the ground-plan of *Teach Miodhchuarta* the house is shewn as divided into five divisions, which are again subdivided into several others. Each of the two divisions extending along the side walls is shewn as subdivided into twelve *imdas*, which here means seats; each of the two divisions adjoining them into eight; and the central division is represented as containing three fires at equal distances, a vat, a chandelier, and an *erlarcaich*, besides two compartments on each side of the door, and three in the other extremity of the house opposite the door, occupied by the distributors, cupbearers, and *reachtaires*.

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| Cia h-aġa, cia h-airmech[18] | What lawful share, what distinction |
| Ir choir oi cach graḋ. | Is due to each degree. |
| Cethramthu Tigi Miochuarta | The fourth part of *Teach Miḋchuarta* |
| Dio ri rig amar ;[19] | Is to the back[20] of the king ; |
| Teora cethramain aili | The other three quarters |
| Sair co dorus dian.[21] | Eastwards (frontwards) to the door. |
| Canam, ailem, airneidem | Let us sing, extol, relate |
| Inda nad bi doer,[22] | The place which is not ignoble, |
| Cia haġa, iar na dligud, | What share, according to law, |
| Do beir do each oen. | It gives to each person. |
| Araid, ir moer foer fona, | A charioteer, and free affluent steward, |
| A n-iarthur in tigi ; | In the back of the house ; |
| Na cuind doib, ni dligeḋ dona,[24] | The *cuinn*[23] to them, not a bad law, |
| Ar belaib na n-ili ; | Before the many ; |
| Indem cruiti co ceolaib,[25] | The harpers with music, |
| Do narcnai fegann, | With whom the *segans*[26] are ranked, |
| Co muc [formuin] in ainerlam, | Have a hog's shoulder in readiness, |
| Ir cuibrenn eroll.[27] | Which is a distinguished share. |
| Ollam brithemon, co m-buaid, | The ollave-brehon, with power, |
| Aire forgill, fir, | The *aire forgaill* 'tis true, |
| Do berar lonchroćait doib, | To them a *lonchrochait* is given, |
| Dunachir cic rim.[28] | From which no sadness proceeds. |
| Sui litteri, ir ri ruirech, | A *saoi* of literature, and a royal chief, |
| Irreim cormail choir,[29] | In a just similar rank, |
| Dligait athbach, maethglan min, | Are entitled to the soft, clean, smooth entrails, |

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[18] Cach aġa, cać airenać.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[19] Dio fri rig amar.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[20] That is, the king sits in the house with his face turned to the principal door, having the one-fourth of the extent of the house behind his back.

[21] Teora cethramtha aile.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[22] Innar nad bi daer.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[23] "Cunn, the body, trunk or chest."—*Peter Connell's MS. Dictionary.*

[24] Cunno doib ni dligeḋ dona.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[25] Inniodem cruitt co ceolaib.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[26] Seġuini, huntsmen. This word is explained in the Glossaries of Cormac and O'Clery, as hunter of wild deer. "Seaġuinid .i. fear ġoineas no marbas fiaḋać.—*O'Clery.*

[27] Co muc formuin in aenerlam, ir cuibrend n-eroll.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[28] Ollam bretheman co m-buaid, Aire forġgaill fir, Do ber lonċruaċait dóib, Du nać tic rim.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[29] Ir reim cormail cóir.—*Book of Glendalough.*

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|---|---|
| Ir prim-chroċaiṫ doib.[30] | And to a *prim-chrochait.*[31] |
| [Do ber] da ollamain filed,[32] | [Is given] to the ollave-poet, |
| Ir do aire aird, | And to the *aire ard,* |
| Larac maith min, miad nad borb, | A good smooth *larac,*[33] honor not rude, |
| Noco labra laiog.[34] | It is no false saying. |
| Briugu ocus aire tuisi, | The *briugu* and *aire tuissi,* |
| Con hilur a farach, | With extensive pastures, |
| Do berar doib, ni rad n-irrel, | To them is given, no low saying, |
| Larac dia farad.[35] | A *larac* to satisfy them. |
| Do ollomain fencada, | To the ollave-historian, |
| Cirri airm hi fuil, | Wherever he sits, |
| Loarc do dia thurgorud, | [Is given] a *larac* to comfort him, |
| Du hi fanntar cluich.[36] | Where fame is distributed. |
| Soer, ir airich echta, | An artificer, and *airich echta,* |
| Cáin a techta lib, | Fair their due ye will deem, |
| Do bertar doib muc formuin, | To them is given a pig's shoulder,[37] |
| Cenid mair no dligg.[38] | A long time it has been established. |
| Drui, ocus aire dessa, | A druid, and *aire dessa,* |
| Dechenn nad bi doer, | Two who are not ignoble, |
| Diblinaib dleagair ol, | Both are entitled to drink, |
| Eblair colptha coem.[39] | They eat a fair *colptha.*[40] |

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[30] Ir prim-ṡruaċair dóib.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[31] Cruachair, or crochair, means a steak.

[32] Do ber do filid ollomna.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[33] Larac is in modern MSS. written larg. It is thus explained by Peter Connell: "Larg, the leg and thigh, or leg or thigh; lon-larg, the hip and thigh." It is translated *furca* by Colgan in *Trias Thaum.*, p. 173, note 21; and thus in a MS. in Trinity College, H. 1. 13, p. 360, line 15: "Laarg .i. gabul, *ut est* aṫ da laarg .i. da gaḃal."

[34] Loarg maiṫ, min, miad nad borb, Nad ċoid labra laog.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[35] Driuga ocus aire dega, La ilar * * *. Do ber doib, ni rad irel, loargg dia farad.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[36] This line is omitted in the Book of Glendalough.

[37] Muc formuin, as a compound phrase, is not explained in any Irish Dictionary, but, as formna is explained the shoulder, shoulder-blade, it seems obviously to mean a pig's shoulder.

[38] Sair ocus aire ecta, Canai tecta lib, Do ber doib muc formuin, Canadmair no dlig.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[39] Diblinaib ebair ol, Dlegair colpa caem.—*Book of Glendalough.* The meaning is different from that given in the text: "Both refuse to drink, They are entitled to a fair *colptha.*"

[40] Colṫa, the calf of the leg: "calpada, i. e. *calpoda*, i. e. *bonus pes, vel pedes.*"—*Cormac's Glossary.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Coṁnaiṁe, ocuṡ cuċhcaiṁe,[41] | The trumpeter, and cook,[42] |
| Cuiṁem maṡ coṁṁaiṡ; | Let us place in their order; |
| Miḋ miṡ, ni moḋ ġaeċmoṡ, | Cheering mead, not a flatulent kind, |
| Ḟṡi ool no ḋaiṁail.[43] | To drink is given them. |
| Aileiṁe, ocuṡ ṡaċhbuiġi, | The house-builder, and rath-builder, |
| Raiċh ṡiéiṡ, huaṡ bṡuiġ, | The *raith-fitheir*, above the *bruigh*, |
| Do biuṡ milġiḋan, ṡṡia ḋoil, | To them is given a *milgitan*,[44] by consent, |
| Si an h-eḋal ciṡṡi chuin.[45] | 'Tis their share every time. |
| Caiṡemain, iṡ ḋoṁḋiṁe, | Shoemaker and turner, |
| Co muinḋeṡaṡ choiṡ, | With proper friendship, |
| Ni bec in miṡ, monuṡ n-oṡemun, | Not small the share, fierce work, |
| Remuṡ n-imḋa ḋoib.[46] | The fat [part of the] shoulder[47] for them. |
| Doṡṡaiṁe, oṡuiċh ḃelma aiċ, | The door-keeper, the noisy humorous fool, |
| Ceċheṡn oiṡciṡ oṡuiċ, | The fierce active kerne, |
| Deġma a naṡṡocṡa co holl, | Their duty is to call aloud, |
| Ḋonn a cuiḃṡenn cuiċ.[48] | The chine is their share. |
| Cuiṡlennaiġ ṡeil, ṡiċhċeallaiġ, | Good pipers, chess-players, |
| In auṡṡaiḋin aiṡċhaiṡ, | In the eastern *aurraidin*,[49] |
| Iṡ colṡċha coiṡ ciaṫġleiṡ, | A proper *colptha* is given for their skill, |

---

[41] Coṁnaiṁe ocuṡ cuċhġaiṁe.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[42] Cuċḋaiṡ, a kitchen: cuċhcaiṁe, a cook.

[43] Ḟṡi ol no ḋa ail.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[44] This word is explained in Cormac's Glossary thus: "Milġeḋan .i. mol-ḋuiḋen .i. cuiċ Muil, ḋoṡṡaḋa Teṁṡaċ: Mol *dicitur* a ainmṡiḋe ḋaġ an muil ṡo ṡeṡaḋ ṡoṡṡ na ḋoimiḃ .i. a ḋaoṫ aṡ, ḋaoṫ imḋ: *inde dicitur* Molaċ." It is also explained in a Glossary in H. 3. 18: "Milġeḋan .i. mol-cuiṫan .i. cuiċ Moil, aṡ iṡ é áiġe ḋo beṡḋa ḋo." i. e. *Milgedan*, i. e. *Mol-cuitan*, i. e. the share of *Mol* [the door-keeper of Temur], for it was the lawful share given him.

[45] Aelḋaiṡe ocuṡ naṫbuiġi, Iṡ naioṡiṡ naċ ṫan, Do beṡ milġeḋan ṡṡia ḋoil, ni eḋal ciṡ ṫan.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[46] Caiṡemain maiṡṡ muṡiġi, Co muinḋeṡaṡ ċoiṡ, Ni bec, min, ni moṡ n-ḋemon, Remoṡ n-imḋa ḋoib.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[47] Imḋa, see p. 149, where this is expressed by ichḋoṡ ṡemoṡ in ḋ-ṡlinnem. Teige O'Rody, in his Gloss on the inauguration Ode of Brian na Murtha O'Rourke, explains imḋa by the modern word ṡlinnean, a shoulder. It is also so explained by Michael O'Clery, and thus used in Cormac's Glossary *in voce* ḋeaċ: "Claiḋem ṡon ó ṫa imḋ na láime co ṡice in alt ṡil iṫṡ in imḋa acaṡ in maeṫán." i. e. From the extremity of the hand to the joint between the *imdha* and the *maethan* is called the *claidhemh*.

[48] Ḋleġaiṫ auṡṡocṡa co ol, Ḋonḋ ḋia caema cuiṫ.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[49] The *airidins* are the two divisions of the house on each side of the centre. Each of the *airidins* contained eight *imdas*, or seats, in each of which two persons sat at dinner.

| | |
|---|---|
| Doib for a meir cuirchir.[50] | Is put for them on their dish. |
| Scolaigi, ocus deogbaire, | The *scolaighi*, and the cupbearer, |
| Debrad tathur brig; | Receive what props their strength; |
| Lerr-chroicte doib ir cuit buan, | A *less-chroichte* is their constant share, |
| Fo glun ruad ir rig. | Under the knee of the *suadh* and the king. |
| Raid cearda, ocus humaidid, | The *raidh cearda*, and the brazier, |
| Immurraidi cach, | As all assert, |
| Do beir crochait medón doib, | A middle *crochait* is given to them, |
| Ni deroil in grad. | Not small the dignity. |
| Gobainn, legi, luad cen air, | Smiths, physicians,—mention without satire— |
| Airect nad bi raeb, | A party who are not foolish, |
| Norr co braith ar conaire, | A custom to be for ever in existence, |
| Ar dorreire moel. | To them is given a *moel*. |
| Mid do thuathaib, ir luamnaib | Mead to the *tuatha*[51], and the mariners |
| Luaire dar muir nglan, | Who sail over the clear sea, |
| Milgiedain doib, digrad mod, | A *milgitain* for them, constant the custom, |
| For meir fo dur car. | Upon a dish is put. |
| Saer charpait, ir creacoire, | The chariot-maker and the *creacoire*, |
| Cengait fir fria n-dán, | Abide true to their art, |
| Dlegait cam-chnaim fiad gach rig, | Are entitled to a *cam-chnamh* before each king, |
| Ir digrair in dail. | The custom is constant. |
| Clerramnaig, fleo furfeoire, | Jugglers, and buffoons, |
| Soinmech a n-grad n-gloir, | Pleasant their noisy calling |
| Nirr coimtig aga bad ferr, | No better share than theirs, |
| Do ber colpda doib.[52] | A *colptha* is given to them. |
| Cuit cainti, ocus braigire, | The share of the satirist, and *braigire*, |
| Ni lecedar hi fail, | Is not neglected, |
| Remuir n-imda doib co grinn, | The fat of the shoulder to them pleasantly, |
| Ni dimda fri fainn.[53] | Not unpleasant to be divided. |

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[50] Cuirlennaig feil, fiochellaig, I n-airiuiu airchir, Ir colpda coir, cia firt gleir, For a meirr cuirchel.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[51] In H. 2. 16, col. 929, the word *tuathait* is explained as signifying the persons that covered the shields with hides; and in Cuan O'Lochain's poem, given above, page 148, they are called *sciathaire*, i. e. shield-makers.

[52] The preceding six quatrains are omitted in the Book of Glendalough.

[53] Cuit cainte ir braigire, Ni leicther i fail, Remur n-imda, nuall co grinn, Ni dimda fraind.—*Book of Glendalough.* The *braigire* or *braigitori*, as it is written on the ground-plans to follow, was obviously a Buffoon as well as the *fuirseoire*; and the different nature of their buffoonery is thus explained in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, col. 936:—"Furfeoraig .i. do nid an furfeoraid ar a m-bealaib—Drigeoiri .i. do niad in bruigeoraid ar a conaib." The passage, however, will not bear a translation, but the office of the *braigitori*, as indicated, will be understood from the following line of Dante:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rannaire, bailemain bein, | The distributor, the swift cupbearer, |
| Raichtaire réim froeir,[54] | The *rachtaire* of free course, |
| In iarthar thigi, for lar, | In the back of the house, in the middle, |
| Ar dorbert moel.[55] | To them is given a *moel.* |
| Medam nimi, nuall cen áir, | The balancer of heaven, boundless wonder, |
| Rannur do gach daen, | Distributes to each person, |
| Etir di choem, digrair, fath, | Both to the mild, faithful, wise, |
| Ocus cach bar chloen.[56] | And to each unjust person. |
| Cid bec ri cach uan a chuit, | Though each think his share small, |
| In arrannaib ric, | In the divisions in which it reaches him, |
| Mac Muire ar n-dailem, ar coicc, | The son of Mary is our cupbearer, our cook, |
| H-ir he con dagr ric. | It is he who gives. |
| A mic, mad cobra in fleid, | My son, if the feast was cheerful, |
| Fomna molaid luid, | Which I have praised in my poem, |
| Cach iar n-airilliud hirtig | All after being arranged inside |
| Fri ramugud fri ruith—[57] | In comfort and pleasure— |
| Teach Miduarta Rig Nimi, | The *Teach Midhchuarta* of the King of Heaven, |
| Ni bai tech ba ruilliu, | There is no house more joyful, |
| Acht tol De cach do dangniu | But except those who do the will of God |
| Noc a m-bi hi ruidiu. | None will be in it. |

It remains now to give an explanation of the ground-plans, or tables, illustrating the preceding poem, as given in the two MSS. from which it has been copied; and, first, of the more ancient—that found in the Book of Glendalough. As the matter of these tables has, however, been already to a great extent ex-

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"*Ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta.*"—INFERNO, canto 21, line 139.

It may not perhaps be unworthy of remark, that a manor in England is said to have been formerly held by the tenure of a *saltus*, a *sufflatus*, and a *crepitus ventris*, enacted in the presence of the king.

[54] This word would signify either a lawgiver, or a herdsman, in which latter sense it is thus explained in O'Clery's glossary: "Reachtaire .i. aodaire aodaire airneidhe." *i.e.* a herder of cattle. It is obviously used in this sense here.

[55] Rannaire cein dalemain, Rechtaire reim raer, In iarthur tigi for lár, Arroperte mael. —*Book of Glendalough.*

[56] Meda mine nual caen air, Rannair do cach oen, Etir di chaem digrair fáth, Ocus fáth bar chaem.—*Book of Glendalough.*

[57] Cid bec la cach uan a cuit, Im a rannaib ric, Mac De ar n-dailem, ar coic, ir e con dic. A meicc mad cobra in fleid, Fonma molaid luid, Iar na rullud cach irtig, Fri ranrigud ruid.—*Book of Glendalough.* There is evidently some defect in the text of these concluding verses, as appears from a comparison of the two copies. The reading in the Book of Glendalough is the more correct, but it is to be regretted that the last quatrain of this poem is entirely effaced in that manuscript.

Tech. miḋchuḟda.

Huado mc̄ ḟelc̄on mc̄ allboit mc̄ cuaṫaid
nc̄ cairt catorchind cṫna ḟri laṫ ndṡmad
cṫh mór mḋchuarḋa ⁊ cṡ in hṡ.

Dabach

Dalem ain mel doib

Rectge mel doib

Fidcellaig colpcha .d.

Deogbge lir chrua chaic doib

Umaidid rscrua chaic .d.

Cho mel doib

Cuamarn milgtan .d.

Crecc arn cam cnam .d.

Dgaigtid in ṁnur nmda .d.

Drucb ṁig dromā .d.

Doṫrarn ṁig dron na doib

//Flaing 7 cladarn ṁnur in da .d.

Aṫaid cuid doib.

Sgunni mc̄ ṫozmuī doib

Airig Fgaill lon cruachaic .d.

Muirig lon cṫuaccaic .d.

Aire ard lo arg dó.

Airi dṫa loarg dó.

Ch. cāchnaī do.

Snccaid cā chnaim .dó.

Aire echta mc̄ ṁuī dó

Cano cā cnaī .d.

Airi dṫa 7 doṡ colpcha doib.

Mcc ṫuṁid 7 ṫochloc in chruachaic .d.

Cuchcairn 7 mdoimn le mur nmda .d.

Rathbuige 7 obgaige mil/ getan doib.

Ranna ine mel doib.

Curlin naig col pda doib

Scolai ge-lir chrua chaic .d.

Gobann mcel .d.

Cuaccaic milge tain .d.

Cappat ṫrep cā chnaī .d.

Clṁan aig colp cha .d.

Corna 7 bunni in·midi mir cond .d.

Ranna 7 iarcai in·milge tan doib

Caine main 7 corca ṁnur nmda doib.

Dauḋ

Cir

Cocle

bir bgunir

Fidn 7 drum 7 cōmlid colpcha doib

Aitaine 7 fa cruachaic .d.

Aincaig cuind doib

Cruiceirn mc̄·f·muin doib.

Drichtmaī lonc̄ṁuāic doib

Suid ltcri lon chrua c̄aic doib.

Tanaire ruad lir̄cruac̄aic .d.

Ollam filid loarg doib

Aincch fit cam c̄naī .d.

Dgnuga cltoc̄ loarg dó.

Aigtgnī poichnech dó

Fáidi 7 drum 7 cōmlid colpcha doib

Æltaire 7 fa cruachaic .d.

TEACH—MIODCHUARTA from the BOOK OF GLENDALOUGH

plained in the translation of the poem, it will only be necessary here to resolve the contractions in the text, and translate it in the order of the plan—first reading the two external columns, and then the two internal in like manner, as it appears from the poem that the several ranks of the household were arranged in this order. It should, however, be remarked that the texts of both these tables—which are evidently copied from different originals—not only disagree from each other in several instances, but also from the text of the poem itself; and, though these differences may have arisen in part from the carelessness of the transcribers, it is obvious that in some instances they originated in attempts to shape the words of the original documents according to their own ideas of their meanings, and particularly in the transcript in the Book of Glendalough, which is much less accurate than that in the *Leabhar Buidhe*.

The following are the names in the external division to the left:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Marcaig:—cuino doib. | Horsemen:—*cuind*[1] for them. |
| 2. Cruitheiri:—muc-formuin doib. | Harpers:—a pig's shoulder for them. |
| 3. Brithemain:—lon-chruaċaiṫ doib. | Brehons:—a *lon-chruachait*[2] for them. |
| 4. Suio litteri:—lon-chruaċaiṫ doib. | Professors of literature:—a *lon-chruachait* for them. |
| 5. Tanaire fuad:—les-chruaċaiṫ doib. | Tanist-professors:—a *les-chruachait*[3] for them. |
| 6. Ollam filed:—loarg doib. | Ollave-poets:—a *loarg* for them. |
| 7. Anroth filed:—cam-chnaim doib. | *Anroth*-poets:—a crooked bone for them. |
| 8. Briuga cetoc:—loarg dó. | *Briuga cetoch*:[4]—a *loarg* for him. |
| 9. Augtarsairsi:—roichnech dó. | *Augtarsairsi*:—a *roichnech* for him. |
| 10. Fáith, ocus druith, ocus commilid:—colptha doib. | Augurs, and druids, and *commilid*:—a *colptha* for them. |
| 11. Aeltaire, ocus fair:—cruachaiṫ doib. | House-builders, and carpenters:—a *cruachait* for them. |

In the external division to the right:

| | |
|---|---|
| 12. Arai:—cuino dóib. | Charioteers:—*cuind* for them. |

[1] Cuino, or cuinn, is the plural of cunn, which is explained corp, the body, in all the Glossaries.

[2] Cruachaiṫ. See note 3, page 208.

[3] Les-chruachaiṫ, steak of the thigh.

[4] The *Brughaidh Cetoch*, or *Ceadach*, i.e. the centurion *Brughaidh*, or, Brughaidh of the hundreds, was so called, according to the *Leabhar Buidhe*, col. 921, because he was bound by the law to have one hundred slaves, or labourers, and one hundred of each kind of cattle and other animals, as cows, horses, pigs, sheep, goats, hounds, cats, hens, geese, bees, &c.

| | |
|---|---|
| 13. Seguinni :—muc formuin doib. | Huntsmen :—a pig's shoulder for them. |
| 14. Airig forgaill :—lon-chruachair doib. | *Airig forgaill* :—a *lon-chruachait* for them. |
| 15. Muirig :—lon-chruacáir doib. | *Muirig* :[5]—a *lon-chruachait* for them. |
| 16. Aire aird :—loarg dó. | *Aire aird* :—a *loarg* for him. |
| 17. Airi désa :—loarg dó. | *Aire desa* :—a *loarg* for him. |
| 18. Clí :—cam-chnaim do. | *Cli* :—a crooked bone for him. |
| 19. Senchaid :—cam-chnaim dó. | Historian :—a crooked bone for him. |
| 20. Aire echta :—muc-formuin dó. | *Aire-echta* :—a pig's shoulder for him. |
| 21. Cano :—cam-chnaim do. | *Cano* :—a crooked bone for him. |
| 22. Airi desa, ocus doss :—colptha doib. | *Aire desa*, and *doss* :—a *colptha* for them. |
| 23. Macc furmid, ocus fochloc :—ir-chruachair doib. | *Macc furmid*, and *fochloc* :—an *ir-chruachait* for them. |
| 24. Cuchchairi, ocus midimir :—femur n-imda doib. | Cooks, and *midimir* :[6]—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them. |
| 25. Rathbuirge, ocus obraige :—milgetan doib. | Rath-builder, and *obraige* :—a *milgetan* for them. |
| 26. Mairig, ocus cladairi :—femur n-imda doib. | *Mairig* and *cladairi* :—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them. |

## In the internal division to the left :

| | |
|---|---|
| 27. Rannaire :—Mael doib. | Distributors :—a *mael* for them. |
| 28. Cuirennaig :—colpda doib. | Pipers :—a *colpda* for them. |
| 29. Scolaige :—les-chruachair doib. | *Scolaige* :—a *les-chruachait* for them. |
| 30. Gobainn :—mael doib. | Smiths :—a *mael* for them. |
| 31. Tuaicait :—milgetain doib. | Shield-makers :—a *milgetan* for them. |
| 32. Carpat raer :—cam-chnaim doib. | Chariot-makers :—a crooked bone for them. |
| 33. Clerramnaig :—Colptha doib. | Jugglers :—a *colptha* for them. |
| 34. Cornairi, ocus bunnirí :—mid mir tond doib. | Trumpeters, and footmen :—cheering mead abundantly for them. |
| 35. Rannairi,[7] ocus iarcairi : —milgetan doib. | Distributors, and fishermen :—a *milgetan* for them. |
| 36. Cairemain, ocus torcairi :[8]—femur n-imda doib. | Shoemakers, and *toscairi* :—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them. |

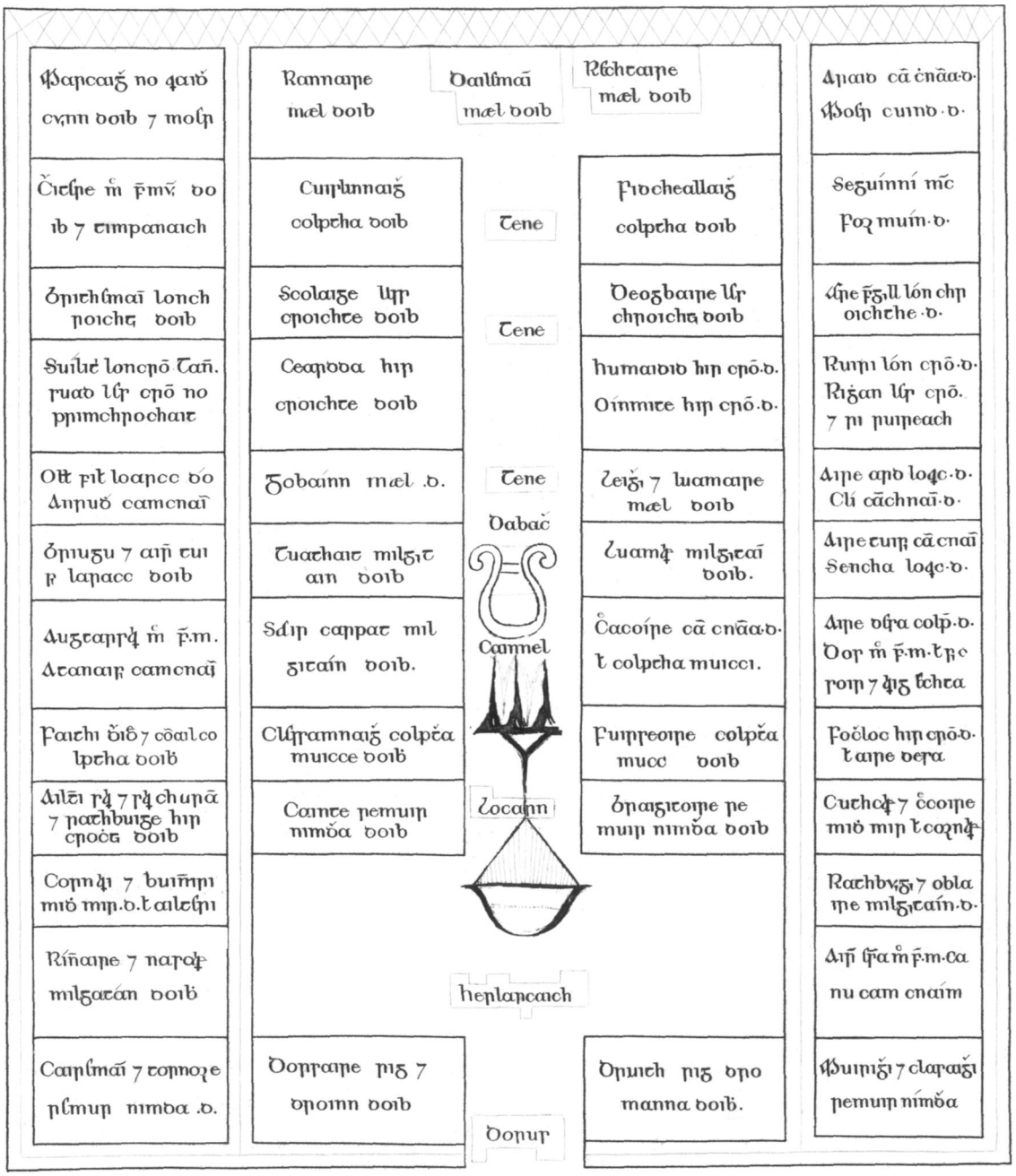
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[5] This word is written *Ruirig* in the table in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, and, as it would appear, more correctly.

[6] *Midimir* is a mistake of the transcriber, as will appear from the other table, and from the poem.

[7] These names are obviously incorrectly copied, as *Rannaire* is given before. In the table in the *Leabhar Buidhe* they are more correctly written Rinnaire ocus Narcaire, which would signify engravers and *nasc*, or ring, makers—the word *nasc* meaning a collar, bracelet, or ear-ring—any ring that opened.

[8] These words are written cairemain ocus tornoire, or shoemakers and turners, in the table in the *Leabhar Buidhe*.




TEACH-MIODCHUARTA from the LEABHAR BUIDE LECAIN

In the internal division to the right.

| | |
|---|---|
| 37. Reċtaiṙe :—mael doib. | Herdsmen:—a *mael* for them. |
| 38. Fiḋellaiġ :—colṙha doib. | Chess-players :—a *colptha* for them. |
| 39. Deoġbaire :—leṙ-chṙuachaiṫ doib. | Drink-bearers:—a *les-chruachait* for them. |
| 40. Umaiḋ :—iṙ-chṙuachaiṫ doib. | Braziers :—an *ir-chruachait* for them. |
| 41. Ċeaḋ :[9]—mael doib. | Physicians :—a *mael* for them. |
| 42. Ċuamaiṙi :—milġeṫan doib. | Mariners :—a *milgetan* for them. |
| 43. Creccairi :—cam-ċnaim doib. | *Creccairi* :—a crooked bone for them. |
| 44. Braiġeṫoṙi :—ṙemuṙ n-imḋa doib. | *Braigetori* :—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them. |
| 45 Druth riġ :—ḋromanna doib. | King's fools :—backs for them. |
| 46. Doṙṙaiṙi riġ :—ḋronna doib. | King's door-keepers :—chines for them. |

The following are the names in the central division of the house :—

| | |
|---|---|
| 47. Dabach. | Vat. |
| 48. Dalemain :—mael doib. | Cup-bearers :—a *mael* for them. |
| 49. Ċaṙṙaṙ. | Flame [of the lamp.] |
| 50. Dir bruinneṙ. | Spit. |
| 51. Daul. | Waiter. |
| 52. Ċeṙ. | Thigh [the piece of meat which the *daul* is roasting.] |
| 53. Ċóċeṫ. | Flame [of the fire.] |

An entry written over this ground-plan in the Book of Glendalough, preserves the name and pedigree of the builder of *Teach Miodhchuarta*. It runs thus :—"Nuaḋo mac Faelċon mic Alldoiṫ mic Tuaṫaiḋ mic Caiṫṫ caṫoṫchinḋ ceṫna ṙeṙ laṙ n-ḋeṙnaḋ ṫech móṙ miḋċuaṙḋa aṙ ṫúṙ in h-Eṙinn." i. e. Nuado, the son of Faelchu, son of Alldoit, son of Tuathaid, son of Caitt Catotchenn, was the first man by whom the great house of *Midhchuardda* was first erected in Ireland.

The references in the second ground-plan are as follows :—

In the external division to the left.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Marcaiġ, no araiḃ, ocuṙ moeṙ :—cuinn doib. | Horsemen, or charioteers, and stewards :—*cuinn* for them. |
| 2. Cruiṫeṙe, ocuṙ timpanaich :—muc-ṙoṙmuin doib. | Harpers, and tympanists :—a pig's shoulder for them. |

[9] In the *Leabhar Buidhe* this word is more correctly written Ċeiġ, physicians.

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. Ꝺꝛıchemaın :—lon-chꝛoıcheı voıb.[1] | Brehons :—a *lon-chroichti*[2] for them. |
| 4. Suí lıtꝛı :—lon-cꝛoıcheı. | Professor of literature :—a *lon-chroichti*. |
| Ƭanaıꝛe[3] ꝛuaꝺ :—leꝛ-cꝛochaıꝺ, no ꝑꝛım chꝛochaıꝺ. | Tanist professor :—a *les-chrochait*, or *prim-chrochait*. |
| 5. Ollam ꝑıleꝺ :—loaꝛcc ꝺo. | Ollave-poet :[4]—a *loarcc* for him. |
| Anꝛuꝺ :—cam-cnaım. | *Anrudh*:[5]—a crooked bone. |
| 6. Ꝺꝛıuguꝺ,[6] ocuꝛ aıꝛe tuıꝛı :[7]—Laꝛaccꝺoıb. | *Briugu*, and *aire tuisi* :—a *laracc* for them. |
| 7. Augtaꝛꝛaıꝛ :—muc-ꝓoꝛmuın. | *Augtarsair* :—a pig's shoulder. |
| A tanaıꝛı :—cam-cnaım. | His tanist :—a crooked bone. |
| 8. Ꝓaıtchı, ꝺꝛuıꝺe, ocuꝛ comaıl :—colꝓcha ꝺoıb. | Augurs, druids, and *comail* :—a *colptha* for them. |
| 9. Aılteꝛı, ꝛaíꝛ, ocuꝛ ꝛaıꝛ-chuꝛan, ocuꝛ ꝓatchbuıgꝺe :—h-ıꝛ-cꝛoćcı ꝺoıb.[8] | House-builder, carpenter, and *saer-churan*, and rath-builder:—an *ir-crochti* for them. |

[1] It is stated in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, p. 921,—that a Brehon, who knew the three *berlas* or dialects, i. e. of the *fenechas*, of poetry, and of the *leighenn*, or general literature, had the same rank and stipend with the *airech tuisi*.

[2] Lon is explained by O'Neachtain, the hip, and lon-laıꝛgꝺe, the shin and thigh; but cꝛoćaıꝺ is not explained in any Irish dictionary. It appears, however, from the context of many passages in which the word occurs, that it means a *steak*. Lon-cꝛoćaıꝺ then means the hip steak; leꝛ-cꝛoćaıꝺ, the thigh steak; ıꝛ-cꝛoćaꝺ, the rump steak; ꝑꝛım-cꝛochaıꝺ, the prime steak.

[3] Vallancey deciphers *suí litri* and *tanaise suad* thus—*suilitri* and *taman*, and translates them "Heralds and Tamans," which latter word he afterwards explains in a note as signifying magicians. But *sui litri* is used throughout the Irish Annals to signify "a man of letters, a teacher of general literature," and *tanaise suad*, erroneously read *taman* by Vallancey, who obviously mistook ꝺan. the contraction for ꝺanaıꝛe, for *taman*, means that person who was intended to succeed the *sui litri* in his profession. It is stated in the *Leabhar Buidhe*, that the *sui litri*, otherwise called *fear leighinn*, or professor, or, as Colgan translates it, *scholasticus*, had the same dignity with the chief of a *triocha ced* or barony. His tanist or intended successor had the same dignity with the *airech ard*; the *oc-sai*, otherwise called *forcedlaidh*, i. e. teacher, had the same dignity with the *airech forgill* of the lowest rank, and the *staraidh*, or historiographer, who was the fourth in rank under the *sui litri*, had the same rank with the *airech dessa*.

[4] Vallancey explains this professor of the *file*, but the *ollamh-file* means the head poet, or chief poet.

[5] Vallancey leaves this untranslated and unexplained, but its meaning is put beyond dispute in Cormac's Glossary: "Anꝛuꝺ, i. e. *nomen secondi gradûs poetarum*."

[6] Ꝺꝛıuguꝺ generally written bꝛúġaıꝺ, means a public victualler, a farmer.

[7] Aıꝛe or aıꝛeć is explained in the Glossaries of Cormac and O'Clery, as a general name for every degree of the nobility in a country: Ainm coıtcenꝺ cach ġꝛáꝺa ꝑlatha ı tuaıć.—*Cor. Gloss.* It appears from the Brehon laws that there were seven degrees of *airechs* in Ireland, and named, 1, *airi dessa*; 2, *airi echtai*; 3, *airi ard*; 4, *airi tuisi*; 5, *aire forggaill*; 6, *Tanaisi righ*; 7, *righ*. See H. 3. 18, p. 3. col. 1. In the account of these seven degrees, preserved in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 182, the next in rank to the king is called *ri-ruireach*, which was another name for the tanist.

[8] In the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, col. 921, *et sequen.*, a curious classification of these tradesmen is given. The most distinguished of them is called *ollamh suadh sairsi*, i. e. ollave or head tradesman, who was the builder of the *daimliags* and *duirtheachs*, that is of stone churches and penitentiaries. He is described as equal in dignity with the *airech ard*. The builder of *duirtheachs* only is ranked with the *airech dessa*. The next in point of rank after these are the chariot-makers, the house-builders, the smiths, the engravers, and *tuathaits* or shield-makers, all of whom are ranked with the

10. Coṙnaiṙi, ocuṙ buinniṙi,[9] no aiłceṙi :— miṡ miṙ doiḃ.
Trumpeters, and footmen, or house-builders :— cheering mead for them.

11. Rinnaiṙe,[10] ocuṙ naṙcaiṙe :—milġatan doiḃ.
Engravers, and ring-makers :—a *milgatan* for them.

12. Caiṙemain, ocuṙ coṙnoṙe :[11]—ṙemuṙ n-imda doiḃ.
Shoemakers, and turners :—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them.

## In the external division to the right.

13. Aṙaid :—cam-ċnama doiḃ.
Charioteers :—crooked bones for them.

Moeṙ :—cuind do.
Steward :—*cuind* for him.

14. Seġuínní :—muc-ṙoṙmuin doiḃ.
Hunters :— a pig's shoulder for them.

15. Aiṙe ṙoṙġill :—lón-chṙoichde doiḃ.
*Aire forgill* :—a *lon-chroichte* for them.

16. Ruiṙi :—lón-cṙoichde doiḃ.
*Ruiri* :[12]—a *lon-chroichte* for them.

Riġan, ocuṙ ṙi ṙuiṙeach :—leṙ-cṙoichde.
Queen, and royal *ruireach* :—a *les-chroichte* [for them.]

17. Aiṙe aṙd :—loaṙc doiḃ.
*Aire ard* :—a *loarc* for them.

Cli :—cam-chnaim doiḃ.
*Cli* :[13]—a crooked bone for them.

18. Aiṙe duiṙi : cam-cnaim.
*Aire tuisi* :—a crooked bone.

Sencha :—loaṙc do.
Historian :—a *loarc* for him.

19. Aiṙe deṙa :—colṙda doiḃ.
*Aire desa* :—a *colptha* for them.

Doṙ :—muc-ṙoṙmuin. *Vel sic :*
*Dos* :[14]—a pig's shoulder. Or thus :

Soiṙ, ocuṙ aiṙiġ echda.
Carpenters, and *airig echta.*

20. Ṙoċloc :—h-iṙ-cṙoiċde do. No : aiṙe deṙa.
*Fochloc* :[15]—an *ir-croichte* for him. Or : *aire desa.*

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tanist *Bo-airech.* The next after these are the turners, ring-makers, embroiderers or shoe-makers, *cirmuires,* and fishermen, all of whom are classed with a *fear midbadh* of the lowest rank, if they be lawful, that is, if they have learned their arts according to law; but, if they be unlawful, they have no rank, and receive no salary. The salary of each was four *screbals.*

[9] Vallancey translates this "the sacrificing priest and his attendants;" but coṙnaiṙe, which is derived from coṙn, a horn, means either a cup-bearer, or a trumpeter, and buinniṙe is always used to signify a footman, or messenger. It is thus explained by O'Clery, who was a perfect master of the ancient Irish language: "Ḃuinniṙe .i. Ġiolla cuṙaiṙ, eaċlaċ no coiṙiḋe," i. e. *Buinnire,* a messenger, envoy, or footman.

[10] Translated "astronomers and genealogists, or diviners," by Vallancey; but ṙinnaiṙe is of constant occurrence in Irish MSS. in the sense of carver, or engraver, and in no other.

[11] Vallancey has joined the word ṙemuṙ with coṙnoṙe, and so translated it, turners in *coarse wood;* but the adjective ṙemuṙ, fat, is joined with imda throughout, as can be proved from the poem.

[12] This word is thus explained in O'Clery's Glossary: "Ruiṙiġ—ṙiġ no ciġeaṙṙa," i. e. a king, or lord. It is lso used to denote a champion.

[13] *Cli,* a poet of the third order.—See *Cormac's Glossary.*

[14] *Dos,* a poet of the fourth order.—See *Cormac's Glossary.*

[15] *Fochloc,* a poet of the lowest rank.—See *Cormac's Glossary.*

21. Cuchcaire, ocus creccoire, no cornaire :—mid mir. — Cooks, and *creccoire*, or *cornaire* :—*midh mir.*
22. Rathbuigi, ocus oblaire :—milgitain doib. — Rath-builder, and *oblaire* :[16]—a *milgitan* for them.
23. Aire echta :—muc-formuin. Canu :—cam-cnaim. — *Aire echta* :—a pig's shoulder. *Canu* :—a crooked bone.
24. Muirighi, ocus clasaighi :—femuir n-imda. — *Muirighi*, and *clasaighi* :[17]—the fat [part of the] shoulder.

## In the internal division to the left.

25. Cuirlinnaig :—coltcha doib. — Pipers :—a *coltha* for them.
26. Scolaige :—less-croichte doib. — *Scolaige* :—a *les-chroichte* for them.
27. Cearda :—h-ir-croichte doib. — Artisans:[18]—an *ir-chroichte* for them.
28. Gobainn :—mael doib. — Smiths :—a *mael* for them.
29. Tuathait :—milgitain doib. — Shield-makers :—a *milgitan* for them.
30. Saeir carpat :—milgitain doib. — Chariot-makers :—a *milgitan* for them.
31. Clerramnaig :—colpta muicce doib. — Jugglers :—a pig's *colptha* for them.
32. Cainte :—femuir n-imda doib. — Satirists :—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them.

## In the internal division to the right.

33. Fidchellaig :—coltcha doib. — Chess-players :—a *coltha* for them.
34. Degbaire :—les-chroichti doib. — Drink-bearers :—a *les-chroichti* for them.
35. h-umaidid :—h-ir-croichti doib. — Braziers :—an *ir-chroichti* for them.
Oinmite :—h-ir-croichti doib. — Fools :—an *ir-chroichti* for them.
36. Leigi, ocus luamaire :—mael doib. — Physicians, and mariners :—a *mael* for them.
37. Luamaire :—milgitain doib. — Mariners :—a *milgitain* for them.
38. Creacoire :—cam-cnama doib, no coltcha muicci. — *Creacoire* :—crooked bones for them, or pig's *coltha*.
39. Fuirseoire :—coltca mucc doib. — Buffoons :—a pig's *coltha* for them.
40. Braigitoire :—femuir n-imda doib. — *Braigitoire* :—the fat [part of the] shoulder for them.

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[16] No authority has been found to explain this word. It is written obraige in the table in the Book of Glendalough, and would appear to be formed from the word obair, a work, labour, and to signify an artisan, or artisans—perhaps house-builders.

[17] These words in their compound or derivative forms are not found in any dictionaries; but there can be little, if any, doubt that they are formed from mur, a wall, and clar, a trench, and signify wall-builders and trench-makers. The word *muirighi*, would indeed signify a mariner; but, as this class is elsewhere expressed in the table, under the word *luamaire*, it could not be used in that sense here.

[18] In the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain* it is stated that the *kerds* worked in gold and silver only. In Ulster and Lower Connaught this word is now only applied to a tinker, and it is probable that the modern tinker is, in a modified and debased degree a representative of the ancient *kerd*.

In the *Iarthar*, or back of the house.

| | |
|---|---|
| 41. Rannaire :—mael boib. | Distributors (or dividers) :—a *mael* for them. |
| 42. Dailemain :—mael boib. | Cupbearers :—a *mael* for them. |
| 43. Rechtaire :—mael boib. | Herdsmen :—a *mael* for them. |

At the left side of the door.

| | |
|---|---|
| 44. Dorraire rig :—ocur dromm boib. | The king's doorkeepers :—and chines for them. |

At the right side of the door.

| | |
|---|---|
| 45 Druith rig :[19]—dromanna boib. | The king's fools:—backs for them. |

In the central division of the house.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tene. | Fire.[20] |
| Dabach. | Vat. |
| Cainnel. | Candle. |
| Cocarn. | Lamp. |
| h-erlarcaich.[21] | Common Hall. |
| Dorus. | Door. |

It will be seen from the occasional disagreement in the arrangement of the preceding tables, that they are not copied from the same original; and the inference is unavoidable, that both are only attempts of the old scribes to shew the arrangements of the Dining-hall, at Tara, as derived from bardic traditions, and their knowledge of the customs still prevalent among the Irish kings and great lords in their own times. That these ancient customs were indeed preserved to the times of the writers of the poems, has been already shewn from the statement of the poet Cuan O'Lochain; and it can scarcely be doubted that they were perpetuated, though on a limited scale, in the household of every chief, not only in Ireland, but also in the Highlands of Scotland, as late even as the sixteenth century. Of this fact a curious evidence is given by Martin, in his Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 109. After stating that "their antient leagues of friendship were ratify'd by drinking a drop of each other's blood, which was commonly drawn out of the little finger," and that "this was religiously

[19] "Druí .i. Oinmid, *quasi* Dirad .i. cin riad fair ina cintaib."—*Cormac's Glossary.*

[20] Three fire-places are marked in the second ground-plan.

[21] This word is not found in any dictionary, or MS. glossary; but it appears obviously to be a compound of the words Erlar, or Urlar, a floor, or hall, and cai, the genitive of cach, the whole, the people or commonalty.

observ'd as a sacred bond"—a custom, the antiquity of which in Ireland has been shewn at p. 121 in this memoir—he adds, that "before mony became current, the chieftains in the Isles bestow'd the cow's head, feet, and all the entrails upon their dependents; such as the physician, orator, poet, bard, musicians, *&c.* and the same was divided thus: the smith had the head, the piper had the, *&c.*" And it may not be unworthy of remark, that a remnant of these ancient usages is preserved in many parts of Ireland to this day, namely, that when a farmer kills a beef or pig, it is customary to send the head to the smith, whose kitchen often presents the spectacle of from fifty to one hundred heads obtained in this manner.

There is one feature in the first or more ancient of these tables, which requires some more particular illustration than a mere explanation of its name—the *Bir bruinneas*, or spit on which the *daul*, or waiter, is roasting a *les*, or round of beef! That the ancient Irish used instruments of this description for cooking is satisfactorily proved from innumerable evidences found in the most ancient MSS., and the spits used in the *Teach Miodhchuarta* at Tara have been deemed worthy of a particular description, and even the names of their supposed fabricators, or perhaps inventors, have been preserved by the bards. How far, indeed, these descriptions may be worthy of historic credit must be left to the judgment of the reader; but they are, under any circumstances, worthy of preservation, as evidences of the notions of mechanics existing in Ireland at the time of the writers, and they may with great propriety be adduced here in connexion with so many other illustrations of this locality.

The spit, represented in the plan or table alluded to, is called *Bir-bruinneas*—but though the word *bir*, which appears cognate with the Latin *veru*, undoubtedly means a spit, the meaning of the epithet *bruinneas* is by no means clear, as no explanation of it has hitherto been found. It is possible, however, that it may mean roasting, as the word seems to have some affinity to the German *brennen*, to burn; or it may be formed from the word bruinn, a caldron, as explained by O'Clery, and mean boiling, roasting, or cooking generally, as the ancient Irish do not appear to have had distinct words to express roasting and boiling. It appears from notices found in other MSS. that the spit at Tara was known by another name, partly derived from that of its inventor, namely, *Bir Nechin*, or *Dechin*, the spit of Dechin, who, according to these authorities, was the chief smith of

Tara in the time of the Tuatha-De-Dananns; as in the following passage from the *Leabhar Buidhe*, H. 2. 16, col. 245.

Inoeóin gnachach in Daġda oo gner in ro.

The usual *inneoin* of the *Daghda* here.

Ōir Nechin in ro .i. Neichen prim-goba na Temrać. Ir e cetna goba oo ro chinġ hi Tech Miochuarta, conid ro fuirmeaḋ in airm ar na roicheḋ teimid, co n-oeirġine bir co lúḋ co mao roicheao teimiḋ, ocus co timraigeo in a ourunn tan aili.

*Bir Nechin* here: Nechin was the chief smith of Temur. He was the first smith who went into *Teach Midchuarta*, so that he sunk the spot where a fire should rise, and he made a spit with motion that it might reach the fire, and that it might coil into its *durunn* another time.

This spit, as well as one of another description, called *Inneoin an Daghdha*, or the spit of the Daghdha, is thus noticed in another ancient MS. in the same library, H. 3. 18, p. 433.

Inoeoin in Daġḋa. Noćo nuil cinoeo fuiġiḋéi furri, acc ro laiġeḋ re grigraiġ ocus ro eirgeḋ re larair; ocus oo biḋ a leaḋb ar muin gać fir ar na marach.

*Inneoin* of the *Daghdha*. There is no fixed situation for it, but it used to lie with the cinders and rise with the flame; and its *leadhb* used to be on the back of each man on the next day.

Goibneno ir é oo rinoe in Ōir Deićen. Drinoe, mac Ćućair, ir e oo rinoe Inoeoi in Daġḋa; ocus ir amlaid ro bi, ocus maide gaća cino oi, ocus crano a mol,* ocus crann a roe, ocus iarano a ċorp; ocus oo baoar oa naí roth in a mol, go maḋ luathaide ag impoo, ocus tricha bir oo bid arr, ocus tricha drol, ocus tricha ferrao, ocus com luaṫ re luar frotha ag impoḋ: ocus tri nai m-berna, ocus tri nai cuill, ocus aen bir re fuineo, ocus aen gniaṫ ro ċuireo ar luth hí.

It was Goivnenn that made the *Bir Deichen*. It was Drinne, the son of Luchair, who made the *Inneoin* of the *Daghdha*; and it was thus: a stick at each end of it, and its axle was wood, and its wheel was wood, and its body was iron; and there were twice nine wheels on its axle, that it might turn the faster, and there were thirty spits out of it, and thirty hooks, and thirty spindles, and it was as rapid as the rapidity of a stream in turning: and thrice nine spits, and thrice nine cavities (or pots,) and one spit for roasting, and one wing used to set it in motion.

These cooking instruments, together with a third called *Fulacht na Morrighna*, or the spit, or cooker, of the great queen, are also noticed in a fragment of the Brehon Laws in the same MS., and on the same page.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Ir ri druine dana dleġair do'n goba ino

This is the *druine dana* which is due to the

* The word mol is now used in Ireland generally to express the axle or shaft of a mill, and it is used in the same sense in Cormac's Glossary.

ın ean ata eneclano comlan oo, .ı. ᵹır Deichen, ocur Mulaċt [*recte* Fulaċt] na Morṙıġna, ocur Inoeoın ın Daġḋa. ᵹır Deichın, .ı. bır ro bai aᵹ Deichın, ᵹoba ro baí ı Temraıġ; ocur ro roicheo o ṙraıġıḋ ᵹo teınıo, ı Tıᵹ Mıḋċuarta, ocur ro teıᵹṫea aırıᵹṫı Tıᵹı Mıḋċuarta aır, ocur ro tuılleo 'n a ṙboran ar na marach.

Fulacht namor-rıġna. Tri bıaḋa aır rıoe, .ı. bıaḋ bruıthe, ocur bıaḋ om, ocur ım; ocur nı ba luırᵹı ın bıaḋ bruıṫı, ocur ba bruıṫı ın bıaḋ om, ocur nı ba leᵹṫa ın t-ım, act amaıl ḃuḋ ċoır.

smith when his full remuneration is given him, viz. [*Bir Deichen*, and *Fulacht na Mor-righna*, and the *Inneoin* of the *Daghdha*. *Bir Deichen*, i. e. a spit which belonged to Deichen, a smith who was at Temur; and it reached from the roof to the fire, in *Teach Midchuarta*, and the *airigthe** of *Teach Midchuarta* used to be warmed on it, and it used to return into its purse on the next day.

*Fulacht na Mor-righna.* Three kinds of victuals on it, i. e. dressed victuals, and raw victuals, and butter; and the dressed food was not burned, and the raw food was dressed, and the butter was not dissolved, but as was proper.

The *Fulacht na Mor-righna* is also noticed in the MS., H. 2. 16, col. 245, as follows:

Fuluchᵹ na morṙıġna ın ro, .ı. blᵹ ḋı ṙeoıl h-uım ocur ar aılı ḋı ṙeoıl ṙonaıṫı, ocur mır n-ımmı ırre; ocur nı leᵹao an ım, ocur ba ṙonaıṫı an om, ocur nı ba loırṫı an bruıṫı, ocur moale no bıṫır a ṫıur ror ın m-bır.

Do ḋechatar ṫra *.ix.* cuıcı ṙeom, do cuıᵹıḋ Inoeóme do ḋenam ḋoıb, arḃoır ḋıberᵹaıḋ, .ı. Inneoın ocur *.ix.* n-aırle ınᵹı, ocur oo berᵹ cach ḋıḃ a aırıl 'n a laım can teıᵹoır caıḋchı, ocur conoırcır caċ ḋıb ror a corra rrı ar aılı ḋú láe; ocur no ṫhocabṫha co m-ba com aro rrı rer ın ean ba aḋlaıcc, ocur nı ba aırḋú or ṫenıo olḃar ḋorn ean aılı ror na coraıb ceṫna, cen leṫ-raḋ, cen ṫímḋıbı: ḋeıṫber ron ar ba ıarn a ḋomna.

*Fulucht na Mor-righna* here, i. e. a piece of raw meat and another of dressed meat, and a bit of butter on it; and the butter did not melt, the raw was dressed, and the dressed was not burned, even though the three were together on the spit.

There went to her [i. e. Mor-righain] on one occasion nine persons, to request that an *Inneoin* would be made for them, for they were outlaws, i. e. an *Inneoin* with nine ribs in it, and each of them carried his own rib in his hand wherever he went, until night, and they joined them all together on its posts when they met at the close of the day; and it used to be raised to the height of a man when it was desirable, and it was not higher over the fire at another time than a fist on the same posts, without breaking without diminishing: the reason was because its material was iron.

To proceed now with the remaining features: the monuments next described in the prose, as in the immediate vicinity of the *Teach Miodhchuarta*,

* *Airighthe*, i. e. the respective shares or portions allotted to the different ranks.

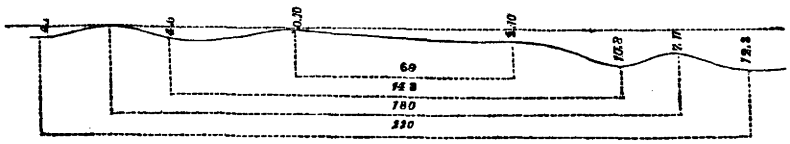
are *Mur na d-tri g-Cogur*, or the *Mur*, or Wall, of the Three Conspiracies, and *Lia na b-Fian*, or the Stone of the Heroes, or Soldiers. Of the first, it is only stated in the prose that it was situated in the vicinity of *Teach Miodhchuarta;* but the verse most distinctly marks that it was between the *Long* and the Heroes' Well. To this Well there is no other allusion in any of the documents, but this is sufficient to point out the locality of the *Mur*, as the Well is still to be found to the north-west of the Hall, though it is now generally dry. Of the monument itself there are no remains, and no illustration of its history has been found. With respect to the second feature, the Stone of the Heroes, the prose and verse both state that it was situated to the east of the road, opposite the Rath of the Synods—a locality now occupied by the village—and consequently no vestige of the monument remains; nor has anything been found that would serve to illustrate the history of this, any more than of the former monument.

The next monument described is *Dumha na m-ban-amus*, or the Mound of the Heroines, or, literally, Women Soldiers,* which, according to the prose, was a small mound situated to the south-east of the *Teach Miodhchuarta*, and at the southern end: the verse states, more simply, that it was situated at the upper or southern extremity, and calls it the Mound of the Women who had been betrayed. This mound has disappeared, and no historical illustration of it has been found.

Proceeding now to the northern extremity of the Hall, both the prose and verse place here the *Rath*, and the *Leacht*, or Grave, of Caelchu. These are described in the prose as being near the northern head of *Long na m-ban*, and the verse states that the Grave was to its north-east, and adds that it was a heap of stones; but there is every reason to believe that it should have been written north-west, as the Irish transcribers frequently mistake the word ꝓaıꝑ for ꝓıaꝑ. Both authorities state that this Caelchu was the great-grandson of Cormac Cas, and was one of the Eoganachts of Cashel, and the most distinguished of all the men of Munster for wisdom, and that from him the chiefs of *Ros-Teamrach* and the tribe of *Tuath-cis* at Temur were descended. He was cotemporary with the monarch Cormac Mac Art, and his son Cairbre Liffeachair. This

* For an historical evidence of the existence of female soldiers in Ireland, see p. 172.

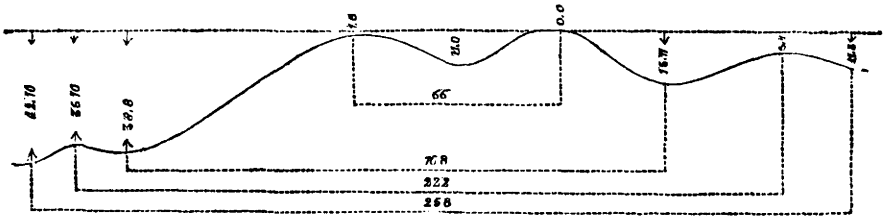
*Rath* and *Leacht* still remain, and the measurements of the former will be seen in the section, taken from west to east, and on a scale of 60 f. to 1 inch.




On the western side, the interior of this Rath is $5\frac{1}{2}$ f. higher than the ground on the outside, and at the eastern is 7 f. high. The *Leacht*, or Grave, is situated at the north-east side of the Rath, and is a small mound about 3 f. higher than the outer circle, which seems evidently to have been enlarged for it. This mound is of an oval form, and is 26 f. in diameter from north to south, and 20 f. from east to west at the base. It is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ f. higher than the surface of the hill, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ f. lower than the Rath.

To the north of the preceding monuments the prose account places the next feature—the *Sheskin*, or Moor, of Temur, close to *Long na m-ban*, to the north-west. This Moor has been already spoken of, and is only again noticed here to show the connexion of the contiguous monuments. Of these the first is *Rath Graine*, which, according to the prose, was situated to the west of the *Sheskin*, on the height of the hill.

*Rath Graine* lies on the summit of the western face of the hill, and on its abrupt slope. It appears to have had two concentric ramparts; but the external one is nearly obliterated, and a deep hollow has been excavated in the central mound, either for the purpose of obtaining gravel, or in search of treasure. Its measurements will be seen from the section, taken from east to west, and on a scale of 60 f. to 1 inch.




No historical allusion is made, either in the prose or verse, to the person from whom this fort was named, obviously because it was unnecessary, as only

one distinguished female of the name appears in Irish history. This was Graine, the wife of the celebrated Finn Mac Cumhaill—the Fingal of Macpherson. She was a daughter of the king Cormac, with whose time almost all the monuments at Tara are identified.

The infidelity of this lady to her puissant husband is remembered traditionally in most parts of Ireland, and has been made the subject of a celebrated prose romance among the Irish, and of a poem attributed to Ossian, which has been equally current throughout Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.

O'Flaherty, from the ancient Irish bardic histories, states, somewhat bombastically, that Cormac had a son-in-law, Finn, married to his daughter Graine, but she having eloped with Dermot, the grandson of Duibhne, he gave his other daughter, Abbea, to him in marriage. Finn was the son of Cubhal, by Mornea, daughter to the Druid Tadg, of the family of Hy-Baisgne, the descendants of Nuada the White, monarch of Ireland. He was generalissimo of the Irish militia, highly distinguished for his jurisprudence,—dissertations on which, written by him, are extant,—for his poetical compositions in his native language, and, as some write, for his prophecies. His noble military exploits have afforded a vast field of panegyric to the poets. He was reconciled to his wife, after she had, by an illicit connexion with Dermot, four sons, namely, Dunchad, Illand, Ruchlad, and Iorruadh.

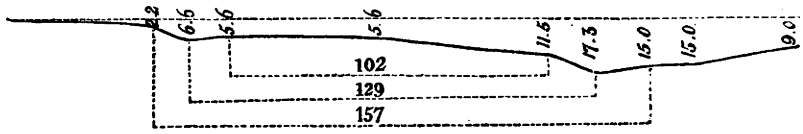
The infidelity of Graine is referred to in Cormac's Glossary, under the word Opc, and the death of Finn is thus recorded by Tighearnach:

A. D. 270. Finn h-Ua Baiscne, *decollatus* o Aicleach Mac Duibrenn, ocus o macaib Uirgrend, do Luaighib Temrach, oc Athbrea for Boind.

A. D. 270. Finn, the grandson of *Baiscne*, was beheaded by Aicleach, the son of Duibhdrenn, and by the sons of Uirgrend, of the *Luaighnians* of Temur, at *Athbrea* on the Boyne.

To the south of *Rath Graine* a smaller Rath is found, which is not noticed in the verse, but which, as it would otherwise be an unnoticed feature, there is every reason to believe must be the monument called *Fothath Ratha Graine*, and which is described as situated to the north, or in the vicinity, of *Fan na g-Carbad*, or the Slope of the Chariots, near the northern *Claenfeart* to the east. It must, however, be confessed that the description given of its situation does not appear to apply so accurately as those given of the other monuments. This Rath

appears to have had but a single rampart and ditch, as shown on the map and section following, which is taken from south to north, and on a scale of 60 f. to an inch:




Of the other monuments, or artificial features, noticed in the ancient documents there are no distinct remains, but the localities which they occupied are so accurately described as to leave little difficulty in ascertaining them with considerable exactness.

Of these the first in the order of the prose account are the two *Claenfearts*, which are described as being situated to the west of *Rath Graine*, or, as the verse states, down to the west. Of the nature of these monuments it is now perhaps impossible to speak with any certainty, as the etymological meaning of the name, which would simply express a sloping trench, fosse, or grave, gives a very uncertain idea of their character. These localities are memorable in Irish history. The first or southern *Claenfeart* was the scene of the massacre of the young females by Dunlaing, king of Leinster, in the year 222, as recorded in the Annals of Tighearnach, and already given in page 36 of this memoir. O'Flaherty, p. 335, calls this *Claenfeart* a *Gynæceum;* and Lynch, in his very learned work, entitled *Cambrensis Eversus*, p. 70, gives as his opinion that the young females, who were of royal birth, were vestal virgins, who were at Tara as if in a *Parthenion.* "Ausus est Rex Lageniæ Dunlingus Endæi Niadi filius triginta regias virgines, quarum singulis, triginta virgines aliæ famulabantur, Temoræ Clonfartam [Claenfeartam, *recte*] tanquam Parthenion incolentes internecioni dare."

The northern *Claenfeart*, as the verse states, was memorable as the place of the treacherous covenant, and, according to the prose, as the place where Lughaidh Mac Con, the predecessor of Cormac, pronounced the false judgment, concerning the grass of the green field which was eaten by the sheep. The account of this judgment, as given in the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests, compiled from ancient documents by the O'Clerys, is as follows:

Gabair Cucchaid, dar b'ainm Mac Con, an rigħe fri re triochat bliadan. Da ir in bliadain deidenaiġ dia rigħe do eliġ, ocus do aiṫċeoid, Corbmac Ua Cuinn an di breiṫ oirrderca imon Riġ Cuġaid. Feachd dia m-baoi mac an reachtaire, baoi la Mac Con hi Temraiġ an ionbaid sin, ar a baoiṫ-reim baoiri, ocus neabraid, con do rála go aroile each co m-briġ ocus borra,bai la h-oglaeċ n-amra hi Temraiġ. Do ċaeṫ an mac gan anacal gan imdeagail do iarṫar an eich. Dor rogaib ri a coir, ocus do bert dreib n-do, gur bo marb gan anmain do cedoir. Cuingid an rechtaire erais a meic; breasha an cuingid gur an riġ. Atiet breatha no coiccerta[1] ag riogaib Erenn go sin, "Gach ror[2] ina chionaid." Rucc Cuġaid an m-breiṫ g-cetna, .i. an ceṫramad cor, dia do buailed mac an rechtaire, do bein don each. Daoi sin Corbmac Ua Cuinn occa learugad do dicleiṫ la a chairdib, ar ni lámṫa la Mac Con a beiṫ or áird in n-Erinn, o do hortad a aṫair lair i g-cad Muiġhe Muicriomha, fecht riam. Do rala do don ċur sin a beiṫ oc ionġaire chaerach (dia diamlugad[3]) la bainṫreabṫaiġ baoi i n-garṫoccus do Themraiġ; ocus ot chuala an m-breiṫ irin do eliġ í, ocus at bert nar bo cionṫaiġe an chor dia do buailead an mac ol d-tát na teora cora oile batar occ iomṫulang an eich an oired sin. Daoi beor fer-gurt gabala lar an riġ i Temraiġ; do erṫuagairriḋe gan tairgeag nad anmanna do gebṫa ann. Teacomnacair co ror leicc an ri Corbmac caeire Caoimiġe, .i.

Lughaidh, surnamed Mac Con, had the sovereignty for a period of thirty years. It was in the last year of his reign that Cormac O'Cuinn questioned, and impugned, the two famous decisions of King Lughaidh. On a time that the son of the *reachtaire*, who was with Mac Con at Temur at that time, was running about in wantonness, and youthful folly, he went [among other places] to [where stood] a steed full of strength and spirits, which belonged to a noble youth at Tara. The boy went without defence or protection between the hind legs of the steed. The steed raised his leg, and gave him a kick, of which he died immediately. The *reachtaire* demanded *eric* for his son; the demand is brought before the king. The judgments which the kings of Ireland had hitherto pronounced were conformable to a rule which says, "Every transgressor for his transgression." (That is, the person, or animal, or thing, who committed a trespass, was to be given to the sufferer in satisfaction.) Lughaidh pronounced the same judgment, namely, that the fourth leg, by which the son of the *reachtaire* was struck, should be cut off the steed. Cormac O'Cuinn was at that time receiving education in disguise with his friends, for Mac Con would not allow him to be at large in Ireland, since he (Mac Con) killed his (Cormac's) father at the battle of *Magh Muicriomha*, some time previously. He (Cormac) happened at this time to be minding sheep (by way of disguise) belonging to a widow who lived near Temur; and when he heard that judgment he impugned it, and said that the leg which struck the boy was not more guilty than the other three legs which supported the steed at the time. The king had also a grassy field (paddock) at

[1] "Coiccert .i. breiṫeamnar."—*O'Clery.*

[2] See Cormac's Glossary *in voce*, Rogene, where it is stated that this law also prevailed in Britain.

[3] "Diamlugad .i. di-aiṫniugad no dorigad," disguise or disguising.—*O'Clery.*

na baintreabhaighe ir in glaisin, ocus ron baoi feisin ina fuidhe occa b-faisgedsin. Ruccsat coimhdaidhe na cluana forra, ocus don beasat leo. Do deachaid Caeineach do chuingedh na g-caerach gus an rigi co Luigh, cus ro acaoin a h-eccumhang fiadha. Ar bert an ri co ro cuirset ina g-cionaidh. Ro baoi Cormac occ eisteacht fris in rigi alla muigh d'urraimn an rigeidhe, ocus ar bert ba gu-breath an coicceat, doig roba lor lomradh na ccaerach i lomra na cluana, uair ara ir diblinidh. Or cuala Mac Con an m-breith occa h-eiliugadh, ro dech feacha, conus faca an macaom og, a mulchach, ocus ar chi forg rig ina chind, ocus do rat aithne gus bo he an mac faisnigeartach Cormac baoi ann. Ro lonnaigeadh ime, ocus atraigh la riudadh fuarnadach ferge i lenmuin an rig-meic. Imraoi-riom reime for a iomgabail. Gebidh an rigi aga dogra co digh air darochtach, gus ror cuir ro thri hi timcheall na Temrach é; ocus, ó na fuair fligi tar dorair beul na Teamrad amach, ro ling tar clasdh an muir. Ro thargair an mur ocus an rath, alla diar, uair ba ir in tan sin ro baoi mur na Temrach aga athnuadhugadh la Mac Con. Acht rula an macaom uad gan tarrachtain, conad aire sin ro h-ainmnigeadh Claonadh Teamrach for Mhac Con; ocus ar de beor ar senarus la gach gubred conceptar in Eirinn, co g-claonrad Teamhair fria. Cugaid tra ó do deacaid an foer-macdeim uad gan muvugad ro lion do dhoimenmain, doig ro aidhm co d-tairnic a reimhear uar Erinn, ocus ro accobair dul dia athardha don Mhumhain. Conad iarom ro h-ionnarbadh a Teamraigh la Cormac cona frochraidhi, co d-torchair la draoidh Oililla Oluim in Ard Feirchir ir in Mumain, iar n-a geogum do fiacail neime an Oililla cetna

Temur; and he gave warning that there would be no restitution of any animals captured in it. It happened that Cormac allowed the sheep of *Caeinech*, i. e. of the widow, to go into the *little green*, and he himself sat to watch them. The caretakers of the green caught them, and took them with them. *Caeineach* went to King Lughaidh to request him to restore her the sheep, and complained to him of her destitution. The king said they were forfeited for their trespass. Cormac was listening to the king outside the door-post of the royal house, and he said that the sentence was a false judgment, for that the fleeces of the sheep were sufficient payment for the fleece of the green, for they both grow. When Mac Con heard the judgment impugned, he looked to one side, and perceived a beautiful, beardless youth, and perceiving a royal eye in his head, he recognized in him the prophesied son Cormac. He became wroth at the sight, and rushed with rage and impetuosity in pursuit of the royal youth. He fled before him to escape from him. The king proceeds to pursue him with vigour and fury, until he drove him three times around Temur; and, as he found no passage out at the door-way of Temur, he sprang over the mound of the *Mur*. He knocked down the *Mur* and the *Rath*, on the western side, for at that time Temur was being renewed by Mac Con. However the youth escaped from him without being caught, so that for that reason Mac Con was called *Claonadh Teamrach* (violator of *Temur*); and hence also the old saying whenever a false judgment was pronounced in Ireland, that it violates Temur. When Lughaidh saw that the noble youth escaped from him without being killed he was filled with melancholy, for he perceived that his reign over Ireland was at an end, and he desired to return to his patrimony in Munster. He was afterwards expelled from Temur by Cormac with his hosts, so that he was afterwards slain by the Druid of Oilioll Olum at *Ard-Feirchis* in Munster, having

aeḋaiḃ ria ran ean rin. Aoir doṁain 5424; aoir Chriorc 225.

been sometime before wounded by the venemous tooth of the Oilioll aforesaid. The age of the world [at this time] 5424; the age of Christ 225.

The same legend is related, but more briefly, in the Book of Ballymote—fol. 142—but the name of the female is written Beannaid, very probably through an error of the transcriber. The passage is, however, worth adducing, as it attempts to account for the name Claenfeart, and indicates that it was a building.

ḋai ban-brugaiḋ a Temraig in inndiu rin, .i. ḋeannaid. Dotar a caerg-re co n-duabar glairin na rigna. Derar in riar co Dugaid. Ar rerc re na cairig in ic na glarne don rigain. Acc, ol Cormac. Deor lomrad na caerad a lomrad na glairne, ar raibe diblinaiḃ. Ir i in ḟir-ḃreṫ, ar cać, ir e mac na ḟir ḟlaṫa ruc in ḃreṫ. Duiḋ ro nall leṫ don taḋ i rucad in gud ḃrec meraid rainlaiḋ cu brad; conid rin Claenfeart Temrać.

There was a female *brughaidh* at Temur at that time, i. e. *Beannaid.* Her sheep went and eat the queen's *glaisin.* The case was brought before Lughaidh. He said that the sheep were forfeited to the queen for the *glaisin.* I deny it said Cormac. The fleece of the sheep is sufficient for the fleece of the *glaisin,* for both are of equal length. That is the true judgment, said all, and he is the son of the true king who has pronounced the judgment. The side of the house in which the false sentence was pronounced *leaned to one side,* and it will remain so for ever; and hence the *Claenfearta* of Temur.

The next feature noticed is that called *Fan na Carbad,* or the Slope of the Chariots, which is described in the prose as being situated near the Northern Claenfeart to the east, and in the verse as between the Cross of Fergus and the Claenfearts. This topographical feature still exists, and will be noticed more particularly in connexion with the other ancient roads diverging from Tara. The Cross here alluded to does not remain, but its locality can be fixed with nearly perfect certainty. To the holy pilgrim Fergus, who gave name to this Cross, no historical allusion has been found.

To the north of the *Sheskin,* or Moor, of Tara, were situated two cairns, or monumental heaps of stones, one called the Cairn of the Leinster Youths, and the other the Cairn of the Hy-Niall Youths. These cairns were situated north and south of each other, and between them lay the *Deisiol Temrach,* which is spoken of in the verse as a lucky spot before going to heaven, where people turned to the right, or sun-ways. This notice has evidently a reference to the

ancient pagan superstition of the Irish, not yet obsolete, that making a circle sun-ways was productive of prosperity, or good fortune. This custom is still observed in the Roman Catholic pilgrimages, burials, &c.

Martin, in his description of the Western Isles, gives many instances of this superstition. On his visiting the Island Rona, he says, "One of the natives would needs express his high esteem for my person, by making a turn round about me Sun-ways, and at the same time blessing me, and wishing me all happiness; but I bid him let alone that piece of homage, telling him I was sensible of his good meaning towards me: but this poor man was not a little disappointed, as were also his neighbours; for they doubted not but this antient ceremony would have been very acceptable to me: and one of them told me, That this was a thing due to my character from them, as to their chief and patron, and they could not, nor would not fail to perform it."—p. 20.

This custom still exists in many parts of Ireland, and a turning to the opposite or left side, is considered as unlucky. Hence the common Irish phrase, expressive of ill-will, "lompóḋ air mór chuaċhal chuġat," i. e. a full turn to the left to you."

From this custom the seat of the chief of the Maguires, in the county of Fermanagh, received its name *Tempo Deisiol*, now shortened into Tempo; and there was also an ancient locality in Derry, called the *Deisiol*.

The antiquity of this pagan usage is so satisfactorily shewn by Toland, in the following passage of his Critical History of the Celtic Religion,—p. 142, *et seq.*—as to preclude the necessity of further illustration :—

"The vulgar in the Ilands do still show a great respect for the *Druid's Houses*, and never come to the antient sacrificing and fire-hallowing *Carns*, but they walk three times round them from east to west, according to the course of the Sun. This sanctified tour or round by the south, is call'd *Deiseal*;* as the unhallow'd contrary one by the north, *Tuapholl*.† But the Irish and Albanian Scots do not derive the first, as a certain friend of mine imagined, from *Di-sul*, which signifies *Sunday* in Armorican British, as *Dydh-syl* in the Welsh and *De-zil* in Cornish do the same; but from *Deas*,‡ the right, understanding *hand*, and *Soil*, one of the antient names of the Sun, the right hand in

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* Dextrorsum. † Sinistrorsum. ‡ *Item* Deis.

this round being ever next the heap. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the *Deisiol*, as the Papists. Hereby it may be seen, how hard it is to eradicate inveterate Superstition. This custom was us'd three thousand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their ancestors the antient Gauls of the same religion with them; who *turn'd round right-hand-wise, when they worship'd their Gods*, as ATHENEUS* informs us out of POSIDONIUS a much elder writer. Nor is this contradicted, but clearly confirm'd by PLINY, who says, *that the Gauls, contrary to the custom of the Romans,† turn'd to the left in their religious ceremonies;* for as they begun their worship towards the east, so they turn'd about, as our Ilanders do now, from east to west according to the course of the Sun, that is, from right to left, as PLINY has observ'd; whereas the left was among the Romans reputed the right in Augury, and in all devotions answering it. Nor were their neighbors, the Aboriginal Italians, most of 'em of Gallic descent, strangers to this custom of worshipping right-hand-wise, which, not to allege more Passages, may be seen by this one in the *Curculio*‡ of PLAUTUS, who was himself one of them: *when you worship the Gods, do it turning to the right hand;* which answers to turning from the west to the east. It is perhaps from this respectful turning from east to west, that we retain the custom of drinking over the left thumb, or, as others express it, according to the course of the Sun; the breaking of which order, is reckoned no small impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, since this, if you have faith in HOMER, was the custom of the Gods themselves. VULCAN, in the first book of the *Iliad*,§ filling a bumper to his mother JUNO,

> To th' other Gods, going round from right to left,
> Skenk'd Nectar sweet, which from full flask he pour'd."

To the north-east of the *Carn* of the *Hy-Niall* youths, that is the northern Carn, according to the prose, was situated the Rath of Colman, the son of Cael-

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* Ουτοι θεους προσκυνουσιν, επι τα δεξια στρεφομενοι.—*Lib.* 4. p. 152.

† In adorando dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in laevum fecisse Galli religiosius credunt. *Hist. Nat. lib.* 28. *cap.* 2.

‡ Si Deos salutas, dextrovorsum censeo. *Act.* I. *Scen.* I. *ver.* 70.

§ Αυταρ ὁ τοις αλλοισι θεοις ενδεξια πασιν
Ωνοχοει, γλυκυ νεκταρ απο κρητηρος αφυσσων.—*Il.* 1. *ver.* 597.

chu. It will be recollected that this Caelchu—whose Rath and sepulchre, situated to the west of the hall, have been already described—was the hostage of the people of Munster, in the time of Cormac, and that he left after him at Tara a family, who became the chiefs of *Ros-Teamrach*, and of the tribe of *Tuath-cis*.

The same authority places the Mound of Luchdonn beside the Rath of Colman, to the west. Of this Luchdonn no historical notice has been found.

To the south-east of the Rath of Colman, beside the *Leitir*, or slope of the hill, the prose places the two Wells, called *Adhlaic* and *Diadhlaic*, which according to the verse flowed down to *Cairn na Macraidhe*, or the Carns of the Youths. These natural features have escaped total destruction, although an attempt to obliterate one of them was lately made. In the year 1837 this one was covered over, and, though there is still a strong flow of water at its site, it is no longer an open well. Up to this period these wells had been considered holy, and one of them was popularly called St. Patrick's Well; about a rood of ground around them had till that time been lay-ground, and kept in that state from a supposition that it had been a burial ground in ancient times, and it is highly probable that this belief was founded in fact. From a record in the Annals of Ulster, it would appear certain that there was a church or ecclesiastical establishment at Tara as early as the fifth century, as it records, at the year 503, the death of a Bishop Cerpan, or Cerban, of *Fearti Cherpain* at Tara:—"*Cerpan mortuus est—Eps.* o Fearti Cherpain oc Temuir." Tighearnach also records the death of Cerban, bishop of *Ferta Cerbain*, at the year 504, the true year—but without naming Tara; and the Annals of the Four Masters have an entry similar to that in the Annals of Ulster, but which is wholly in Irish, and erroneously placed at the year 499.

It would appear that this Bishop Cerpan was a convert made by St. Patrick on his memorable visit to Tara in the reign of Laogaire, as it is stated in a passage in the annotations of Tirechan, already quoted, p. 167,—that on this occasion he wrote elements, that is, an alphabet, for Cerpanus.

From the identification of these wells the greatest facility is afforded in discovering the situation in which the remaining monuments were located.

The *Tredumha*, or Triple Mound of Nesi, the daughter of Eochaidh Salbhuidhe, the mother of Conchobhar Mac Nesa, according to the prose, was at the north-eastern end of *Long na m-ban*, or the Banqueting Hall.

According to the same authority the Rath of Conchobhar Mac Nesa was situated beside the *Tredumha* to the north, with its door facing the *Ceann* and *Medhi*, or Head and Neck of Cuchullin. Near the *Medhi* were the ruins of the *Sciath* Chonchulainn*, or Shield of Cuchullin, with its *Tull*, or hollow. The Rath, it adds, was level with the ground, and there was a small hillock in its centre, with as much of his clay, or ashes, in it as would fill the hollow of his shield.† The verse places all these monuments to the east of the *Sheskin*, or Moor, and adds another, omitted in the prose, namely, the Grave and Monument of Mal and Midna.

Of the persons to whom the preceding monuments referred, there is little or nothing to be found in history, with the exception of Conchobhar or Conor Mac Nesa, king of Emania, or Ulster, and his cotemporary the celebrated hero Cuchullin. Tighearnach places the death of the first as occurring in the eighth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, or the twenty-second of the Christian Era. His mother Nesi, from whom the adjacent *Tredumha*, or triple mound, was named, is stated by the same authority to have been the wife of Cathbad the Druid, and to have borne him adulterously; she is the subject of many revolting legendary Irish stories.

The death of the hero Cuchullin is thus recorded by Tighearnach at the year 2.

A. D. 2. *Mors* Concullainn *fortissimi herois Scotorum*, la Lugaid Mac na tri Con, ocus la h-Erc Mac Cairbre Niafer; *vii.* m-bliadain a aer in uair do gab gaisced; *xvii.* in can bai a n-diaid tana bo Cuailgne, *xxvii.* an can ad bath.

A. D. 2. The death of Cucullainn, the bravest hero of the Scots, by Lughaidh Mac-na-tri-Con, and by Erc, the son of Cairbre Niafer; seven years his age when he was initiated into the military order; seventeen when he pursued the cattle spoil of Cuailgne, and twenty-seven when he was killed.

The plunder of Cuailgne, the country to the north of Dundalk where Cuchullin resided and where his Rath still remains, formed the subject of a romance called *Tain bo Cuailgne*, or the cattle spoil of Cuailgne, which is probably one

* This would appear to have been a mound of earth resembling a shield.

† Can in tela de huir. The meaning of these words in the prose account was not discovered when the sheet was printed.

of the most ancient in the language; a copy of it is preserved in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre.*

The notices of the monuments in Tara, called Cuchullin's Head, and Neck, would be very obscure but for the discovery of the following passage in the Book of Glendalough, giving an account of his death, from which it appears that these were monuments or mounds covering his divided remains.

Iar sin tra do fochair a claideam allaim Conculainn, co n-ecmoing a laim doi di Lugaid, cor faibi for lar. Benair a lam doi dan di Coinculann dia digail. Do cumlat ar iarm in t-sluag, ocus do berat leo cend Conculainn ocus a laim doi co cancatar Temair, conid ann atá adarlige a cind ocus a laime dói, ocus lan lainne a sceid di úir; conid de ar bert Cenfaelad Mac Aililla in aidedaib Ulad.

After that then the sword fell from the hand of Cuchullin, so that it struck off the right hand of Lughaidh, which fell to the ground. But in revenge his right hand was cut off Cuchullin also. The host then moved away from the place, and carried with them the head and right hand of Cuchullin until they reached Temur, where the burial place of his head and right hand is, and the full of the hollow of his shield of his clay; of this Kenfaela the son of Ailill spoke in his account of the deaths of the Ultonians.

Do cer Cuculann, cain cuir,
Tren-fer in n-Airbiu fo fir;
Reraig buidne ba mo clid
Fri mac tri Con, fri Luigdig.
Lín doo forchair fedba n-glé;
Nir bo duicim midlaige.
Cedri ocdair, cedri deic,
Cedri coicait, cain in treid,
Cedri tricait, tolgda rim,
Cedri cedracait, cruaid gnim,
Cedri ficit frid co feb,
Forroirtib Mac Suailtin.
Ro gaed in aidgiuba
Tricha rig di ercoraib,
Im *vii.* ficdiu ancinne,
For n-acaib diedbonaib.
Ata cend conar doo
Dron eirr in ochor Temro;
Uaigde iarom a forcedl
D'airrdiu Cairrde Niodfer.
Ata cend Echaid inniu
Irrid Nenta iar Urdiu;

Cuchullin, the beauteous tower fell,
The mighty man at Airbiu truly;
Hosts of fame went forth
With Lughaidh, the son of the three Cons.
The manly beauteous champion fell;
It was not the fall of a dastard.
Four times eight, four times ten,
Four times fifty, comely chiefs,
Four times thirty, proud the number,
Four times forty, great the deed,
Four times twenty men of might,
Were slain by the son of Suailtin.
He wounded in affliction
Thirty kings with his javelins,
Besides seven score champions,
Whom he left in agony.
There is a monument for his head
On the ridge at the upper part of Temur;
Buried subsequently was his forehead
With the neck of Cairbre Niafer.
The head of Eochaidh is to-day
At *Sidh Neanta* at *Uisciu;*

| | |
|---|---|
| Uaigée ceno Coppe cain ri, | Buried was the head of Cairbre the just king, |
| Do aipreiu Echoach i Teéba. | With the neck of Eochaidh in Teffia. |

The origin of the monument, or, perhaps, monuments, of Mal and Miodna, has been ascertained from an ancient Irish romantic tale called *Dearg-Ruathar Chonaill Cearnaigh*, or, the Bloody Rout of Connell Cearnach, a tale usually appended to the popular romance, called *Brisleac Mor Muighe Muirtheimne*, or the Great Breach of the Plain of Muirtheimne, which was the ancient name of the level country on either side of Dundalk. It is stated in this tale that, at the time when Cuchullin was slain and beheaded in the battle of Muirtheimne—his cousin, the celebrated Connell Cearnach, being "beyond the sea"—the wife of Cuchullin, Eimer, sent Lavarcaim, the slender-waisted, the female messenger of the heroes of the Red Branch, to discover where he was, and acquaint him with the death of her husband, in order that he should return to revenge it, as he was bound to do by a previous agreement. It happened that Lavarcaim, on coming to the sea-shore at Invermore, near Dundalk, descried and recognised the ship of Connell, named the *Eangach*, approaching to the shore; and, on his landing, she acquainted him with the subject of her message, which Connell heard with the deepest sorrow, and immediately resolved to discover who of the men of Ireland had slain him, that he might wreak his vengeance on them. Accordingly, having got his *carbad*, or chariot, ready, he drove at once to the plain of Muirtheimne, where he found the headless body of Cuchullin, over which he wept, and recited a dirge in which he expressed his sorrow, extolled the valour of his companion and foster-son, and repeated his determination to revenge his untimely death. He afterwards proceeded to Tara, where he found Mal and Miodna, two of the chiefs of Erc, the Irish monarch, engaged at the game of hurling, their ball being a human head! "What is this you are hurling?" inquired Connell. "Did you not hear," it was answered, "of the death of Cuchullin by the men of Ireland, and do you not know that this is his head?" "I did," replied Connell, uttering an exclamation of grief, "and you shall be headless for treating his head with such indignity;" on which he slew and beheaded both.

The tale, from which the preceding notice has been obtained, is one of a very numerous class of romantic stories, partly historical and partly fabulous—but certainly anterior in age to the tenth century—which are still preserved in

the Book of Glendalough, *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, and other ancient vellum MSS., and are all well worthy of translation, no less as specimens of the popular literature of their times, than as illustrations of the ancient manners, customs, and topography of Ireland. They are all in prose, but contain lyrical pieces, introduced to relieve the monotony of recitation; and there is no doubt that, as stated in the MSS., they were recited and sung at public entertainments—being, as Mr. O'Flanagan well remarks, the substitutes of the Irish for the dramatic entertainments of Greece and Rome. A specimen of these romantic tales, very accurately translated by Mr. O'Flanagan, will be found in the Transactions of the Gælic Society of Dublin, 1808. It is entitled "Deirdri, or the Lamentable Fate of the Sons of *Usnach*."

The only ancient topographical features of Tara Hill, which now remain to be noticed, are the ancient roads which led to it from the different provinces of Ireland. These roads are not described in the ancient documents hitherto used, but notices of them occur frequently in Irish histories, and their number, names, and historic origins, are stated in the same topographical tract—the Dinnseanchus—from which the accounts of the monuments of Tara already given have been chiefly derived. They are thus enumerated by O'Flaherty, in his account of the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles, on the night of whose birth they are recorded to have been found, or perhaps made; and who, according to O'Flaherty's chronology, ascended the throne of Temur in the year 177.—"Quinque viæ Temoriam versus, quæ Quinto rege nascente fuerunt, ut aiunt, detectæ, hæ memorantur; Slighe-asuil, Slighe-midhluachra, Slighe-cualann, Slighe-mhor, ubi Eskir-rieda se obviam offert, et Slighe-dhala. — *Ogygia*, p. 314.

The original account of these roads, as given in the Dinnseanchus, is as follows. *Book of Leacan*, f. 239, p. *b*, col. 1:

Coic prím-roiṫ Érenn, .i. Slige Dala, ocus Slige Asail, ocus Slige Midluaċra, ocus Slige Chualann, Slige Mor.

Slige Asail cheadamus fus fuair Asal, mac Doirdomblais ria n-oibeargachaib Mide, ac torocṫain co Temraid.

Slige Midluachra don fer fuair Midluachair mac Damairne mac Duibaltaich

The five principal roads of Ireland, viz., *Sligi Dala*, and *Sligi Asail*, and *Sligi Midluachra*, and *Sligi Cualann*, [and] *Sligi Mor*.

First, of *Sligi Asail*, which was discovered by Asal, the son of Dordomblas, before the plunderers of Meath, in going to Teamur.

*Sligi Midluachra* was discovered by Midluachair, the son of Damairne, son of Dupaltach, son of

mac ṁiġ Sṁuibe Ḃroin ic ṫoroċtain co fer Temṙach

Sligi Chualann fo fuair Finġin, mac Eogabail, ria Mesṙchuiṙib Sidi, ac foidin Temṙach.

Sligi Dala for fuair Setna, ferc-derg, mac Durbaidi, ria n-draidib Ṙmuman, ac faidiġ Theamṙach; no is Dala fodein for aisnecht do.

Sligi Mor .i. Escir Riada, isṁe compoinn na h-Eṙinn ince, .i. o Athcliath Cualann co h-Athcliath Meadraidi, for fuair Nar, mac Oenġusa Umaill ria laithib ġaile Isrus Domnann ac imchomnom thoraich conid iad toṙich do ṙirad Temṙaid.

Aidche ġene Cuinn tra fo ṙriṫ na foidsea, amail ar beṙt Airṁi Finġin mac Luċta.

the king of *Srub Broin*, at his going to the *fes* of Teamur.

*Sligi Cualann* was discovered by Fingin, the son of Eogabail, before Meschuirib of *Sidi*, on going to Teamur.

*Sligi Dala* was discovered by Setna Serc-derg, the son of Durbaide, before the Druids of *Irmumhain*, on their way to Teamur; or it was Dala himself that watched for him.

*Sligi Mor*, i. e. *Escir Riada*, which divides Ireland equally, i. e. from *Athcliath Cualann* to *Athcliath Meadhraidhe*, which was discovered by Nar, the son of Ængus of Umhaill, before the warriors of Iorrus Domhnann, keeping leadership, that they might be the first who would reach Teamur.

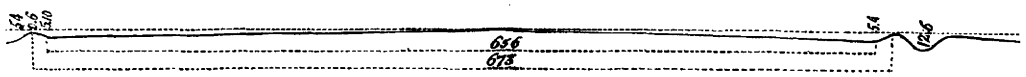
On the night of the birth of Conn these roads were discovered, as was sung by Airni Fingin, son of Luchta.

As the poem which follows in the original merely states the same facts, it is unnecessary to adduce it here.

Of some of these roads very indistinct traces now remain, but their localities are still remembered by the old inhabitants, though their ancient names, as well as those of other features at Tara, are unfortunately forgotten. And it is consequently impossible to fix with certainty the original names of some of these roads, or to trace their directions, till more distinct evidences are obtained from ancient sources. The roads which have been ascertained with the greatest apparent certainty are those called the *Slighe mor*, or great road, and the *Slighe Cualann*, or road to Wicklow, through Dublin, though the junctions of these roads with Tara are in both instances obliterated, and now only remembered traditionally. The *Slighe mor*, as marked on the ancient map, struck off from the *Fan na g-carbad*, or Slope of the Chariots, at the northern head of the Hall, and joined the Escir Riada, or great Connaught road from Dublin *via* Trim: the *Slighe Cualann* struck off from the *Fan na g-carbad*, or, perhaps more correctly, the *Slighe Miodhluachra*, near the present village, and led to Dublin *via* Ratoath. The *Slighe Miodhluachra*, as appears from various notices in ancient documents, was the north-eastern road from Tara,

and apparently proceeded in the direction of Duleek and Drogheda. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that the road still pointing in that direction is, to a certain distance at least, identical with that ancient road. The *Slighe Dala* led from the southern side of the hill in the direction of Ossory and East Munster, and it is most probable, that its track at its junction with Tara is still preserved in the southern road from the hill. There remains then only the *Slighe Asail*, and this, there can be little doubt, was a continuation of the ancient *Fan na g-carbad*, or Slope of the Chariots, which still remains, though little used, as it appears from a passage in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, that *Fan na g-carbad* was on the line of road leading from Tara to *Brugh na Boinne*, which is situated on the Boyne to the east of Navan.

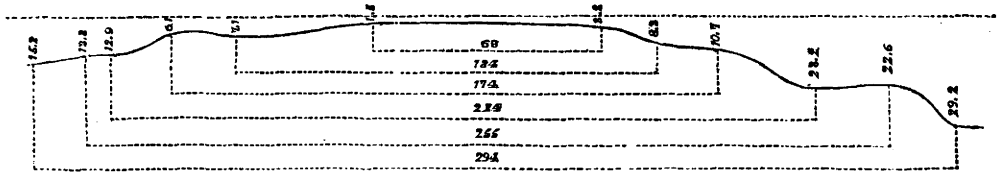
The monuments of Tara, described in the documents in the *Dinnseanchus*, have been all now illustrated; but, to make this memoir as satisfactory and complete as possible, it will be proper to include a notice of two remarkable similar monuments in its immediate vicinity, and particularly as one of them at least is of the same age, and is most intimately connected with its history. The monument here alluded to is that called *Rath Meadhbha*, or the Rath of Meve, which is situated on a height about a mile to the south-east of Tara Hill, as seen from which it is a striking object. This Rath appears to have been an inclosure with a single circular rampart, and without any ditch. A section from north to south, on a scale of 150 f. to an inch, gives the following measurements :—




The *Meadhbh*, or Meve, from whom this Rath was named, was, according to all the ancient Irish authorities, the wife of Art, the father of Cormac, as O'Flaherty thus writes, p. 324 : " Mauda filia Canani de Cualann, à qua *Rath-meadhbha* Temoriæ regia nomen sumpsit, è Lagenia genus trahens, fuit Arturi regina, sed Cormaci filii genitrix non fuit. Hanc diversam à Mauda Niacorbi, et Cormaci Cucorbi regis Lageniæ filiorum matre, ut superius attigi, satis evincunt diversa tempora."

The remaining feature to be noticed is that called *Rath Miles*, which is situated about a mile from the summit of Tara Hill to the north. The measure-

ments of this Rath will appear from the accompanying section, taken from south to north, and on a scale of 60 f. to an inch.




No historical illustration of this Rath has been discovered.

Having brought this somewhat tedious account of the ancient monuments of Tara to a conclusion, it only remains to add a few remarks. From the historical allusions adduced, it will have been seen, that with the exception of a few of those last described, they are all nearly cotemporaneous, and belong to the third century of the Christian era, a period quite within the limits of authentic Irish history. The era of the original Tuatha De Danann *Cathair* belongs to the remote period of uncertain tradition; and the only other early monuments of ascertained date are those of Conor Mac Nesa and Cuchullin, both of whom flourished in the first century.

These facts seem sufficient to prove, that before the time of Cormac Mac Art Tara had attained to no distinguished celebrity as a regal city, and sufficiently accounts for its omission in the map of Ptolemy, who wrote in the preceding century.

It will also have been seen that a uniform character pervades all these earthen works, and mark them as the monuments of one people; and this fact may go far in elucidating the history of that Scotic race, who ruled in Ireland at the period of their erection.

Of the character of the buildings, which were originally connected with these remains, it is scarcely necessary to remark, that they must obviously have been of wood and clay; and though stone houses as well as fortresses are commonly found along the northern, western, and southern coasts of Ireland, it is quite evident that, with the probable exception of the ancient Tuatha De Danann *Cathair*, nothing of the kind ever existed here. But, though the houses were unquestionably of those materials, it must not be inferred that they were altogether of a barbarous structure, or inferior in point of comfort to the cotemporaneous works

of other nations, equally remote from examples of Grecian and Roman civilization. It is not probable that they were unlike, or inferior to those of the ancient Germans, of which Tacitus speaks in terms of praise, and which he describes as being overlaid with an earth so pure and splendid that it resembled painting. And the observation of Mr. Moore, applied to these remains, though somewhat clothed in the language of the poet, is not unworthy of a philosophical historian; that, "however scepticism may now question their architectural merits, they could boast the admiration of many a century in evidence of their grandeur. That these edifices were merely of wood is by no means conclusive, either against the elegance of their structure, or the civilization, to a certain extent, of those who erected them. It was in wood that the graceful forms of Grecian architecture first unfolded their beauties, and there is reason to believe, that at the time when Xerxes invaded Greece, most of her temples were still of this perishable material."

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NOTE.—While this paper was passing through the Press, the wells called *Laegh* and *Cabrach Cormaic*,—the first on the western, and the second on the eastern side of the hill, and which were supposed to be obliterated,—have been discovered, and are inserted on the plan of the Antiquities, as restored from the ancient descriptions.

END OF VOLUME XVIII.