

## An Historical Tract in Irish Relating to the Confederate Wars in Ireland

Smith [Mac Gabhann], P. P. (2017). An Historical Tract in Irish Relating to the Confederate Wars in Ireland. Studia Hibernica, 43, 25-52. https://doi.org/10.3828/sh.2017.2

Link to publication record in Ulster University Research Portal

Published in: Studia Hibernica

**Publication Status:** 

Published (in print/issue): 30/09/2017

DOI

10.3828/sh.2017.2

**Document Version** 

Author Accepted version

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## AN HISTORICAL TRACT IN IRISH RELATING TO THE CONFEDERATE WARS IN IRELAND

#### INTRODUCTION

## The Manuscript

During research on the medieval poem *A eolcha Érenn airde*, <sup>1</sup> I encountered an historical tract that appears to have been written within about fifty years of the end of the Confederate Wars in Ireland. <sup>2</sup> The tract has only survived in fragmentary form. It has been preserved in the Royal Irish Academy under the shelf mark manuscript B 1 1a and the catalogue number 1078. <sup>3</sup> The historical tract forms part of a miscellany of materials that has been assembled under the title: 'MS. Fragments, O'Conor Papers, etc.' The catalogue description declares:

Mainly 18<sup>th</sup> cent. These fragmentary sections of MSS have been wrapped separately, and numbered in pencil by the present cataloguer. Nos 3-7, though not all by the same hand, were originally part of the same MS. Nos. 4-6 are in the handwriting of Conchubhar Úa Luinín, see signature in 4.<sup>4</sup>

The section in which our historical tract has survived has been assigned the title 'Section 4' by the cataloguer. It is comprised of 17 folios, the dimensions of which are circa 8 x 6 inches. Folio [1] opens up with the statement:

Acc so na gniomha et na héachta oirdhearca do rónna a nÉrinn on bliadhainsi d'aois ar Tighearna Íosi Críost mile, céud, sé bliadhina cco bas Toirrdhealbhaigh Uí Conchabhair Righ Éireann co ffreasabhra mile céad, cáoga sé bliadhna<sup>5</sup>

'Herewith are the deeds and illustrious achievements that were carried out in Ireland from the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand, one hundred and six years until the death of Toirrdhealbhach Ua Conchabhair King of Ireland with Opposition, one thousand, one hundred and fifty-six years.'

There follows a copy of a portion of a [twelfth-thirteenth century?] chronicle which is concluded with the colophon:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'A eolcha Érenn airde: a medieval poem on the pre-Christian kings of Ireland', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 60 (2013), 175-238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> J. Kenyon & J. Ohlmeyer, Jane (eds), *The Civil Wars* (Oxford, 1998); T. Royle, *Civil War: The Wars of the Three Kingdoms 1638–1660* (London, 2004); P. Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War* (Cork, 2001); G. A. Hayes McCoy, *Irish Battles* (Belfast, 1990); J. Scott-Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin, 1999). D. Plant, 'The Confederate War 1641-1652'. See <a href="http://bcw-project.org/military/confederate-war/">http://bcw-project.org/military/confederate-war/</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E. FitzPatrick, Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Fasciculus 24 (Dublin, 1940), 3016-3019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> E. FitzPatrick, 3016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> FitzPatrick, 3018. The text is as transcribed by FitzPatrick; the translation is mine.

Do chuir mé annso síos gac a ndearnadh do ghniomha suainidh a nEirinn ó bhas Thoirrdhealbhuidh Uí Conchabhair cco marbhadh Muircheartaigh Uí Lachloinn... Mise Conchabhar Úa Luinín do sgriobh só.<sup>6</sup>

'I have set down here all of the remarkable deeds in Ireland from the death of Toirrdhealbhach Ó Conchabhair [d. 1156] to the killing of Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn [d. 1166]... It is I, Conchabhar Ua Luinín, who have written this.'

A portion of *A eolcha Érenn airde* occupies the space between the colophon on folio 4 verso and folio 6 recto. The historical tract has been preserved on the folios that run from folio 6 verso to folio 10 recto [recte 9r].

#### **State of Preservation of the Historical Tract**

The recto and verso of each folio were prepared for between 24 and 26 lines. Folio 6 verso now lacks most of line 21 in addition to lines 22-26. Folio 7 recto has 24 lines. Damage to the top left corner of the folio has resulted in the loss of the beginning of lines 1-5, the greatest loss being in line 1. Also lost through damage is the bottom left corner of the folio at line 18-24. Folio 8 recto and verso do not belong to the historical tract; rather, folio 8 belongs to the preceding chronicle and has been misplaced by the modern restorer. Folio 9 recto contains 26 lines. The bottom of the folio has been damaged. As a result, lines 21-16 inclusive are incomplete. Folio 9 verso contains 26 lines. The bottom portion of folio 9 verso has been badly so damaged that most or all of lines 23-26 have been lost to us.

#### **Subject Matter**

The text is divided into three sections. The beginning of each section is indicated by the use of upper-case letters in red ink. Sub-sections are indicated by the use of upper-case letters. Section 1, which begins at folio 6 verso, line 1 with the words  $M\acute{I}LE~S\acute{E}$   $CH\acute{E}UD~DH\acute{A}~FHITHCHEAD~AGUS$  and ends at folio 6 verso, line 15 with the word go hiomlán. Section 1 contains the scribe's thoughts on the implications of the Confederate campaign from an Irish perspective. Ó Luinín's view was that the campaign was ill-conceived —  $m\acute{i}bheartach~(6v5)$ .

Section 2 begins at folio 6 verso, line 16 with the words O O O O O O and ends at the bottom of folio 8 recto at which juncture a cataloguer has inserted the number '[38]'. It should be noted that other than the figure '[38]', the folio bears no number. As noted above, the final lines of section 2 have been lost by damage to the manuscript. The section enumerates the battles fought in Leinster, then in Munster, and finally in Ulster.

The third and final section of the tract which records the names of the Ulster Irish noblemen who lost their lives in the Confederate wars, begins at the top of folio 9 verso with the words ACC SO NA DAOÍNE UÁISLE. This folio should bear the number 8 verso, and is referred to hereafter as '9 [8v]'. That section concludes on a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> E. FitzPatrick, 3018. The text is as transcribed by FitzPatrick; the translation is mine.

folio which I number as 9 recto. A restorer or cataloguer has incorrectly inserted the figure '[39]' at the base of the folio. My conclusions regarding the sequence of the folios are summarized below:

Cataloguers Number	Cataloguers Number	My Numbering
Top of Folio	Base of Folio	
'6v (4)	Blank	6 verso
7 (4)	Blank	7 recto
7 v (4)	Blank	7 verso
9 (4)	[38]	8 recto
9 v (4)	Blank	8 verso
(4)	[39]	9 recto

### **Significance of the Historical Tract**

The only other extant comparable work is *Cin Lae Ui Mhealláin* ('The Journal of O'Mellan'), a text which may have been written in the Brantry, in South-East Tyrone. Our historical tract allows us to gain a much better picture of life and death in Ireland in the 1640s than has hitherto been possible when considered within the context of the evidence available from indigenous sources such as the genealogical tracts and poems on the O'Reillys<sup>8</sup> on the one hand and the colonial sources such as the Depositions on the other. 9

## The Uí Luinín and Irish Scholarship

The scribe, Conchabhar Ó Luinín, belonged to the Uí Luinín family who furnished the Mág Uidhir (Maguire) of Fermanagh with professional historians for several centuries. Fr. Livingstone noted the link between Uí Luinín in their capacity as an *airchinneach* family and the church of Doire Mhaoláin (Derryvullen) near Irvinestown. Their name was anglicised as Lunny in Fermanagh, and their chief

<sup>10</sup> For a comprehensive survey of the work of the Fermanagh scribes, see C. Ó Baoill, 'Scríobhaithe agus saothrú an léinn i dtuaisceart na hÉireann ó c. 1300 i leith: tús taighde' *Léann* 1 (2007) 77-91: 81-82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For the Irish text, see T. Ó Donnchadha, (ed.), 'Cín Lae Ó Mealláin', *Analecta Hibernica* 3 (1931), 1-61. Ó Donnchadh was of the opinion that Father Toirdhealbhach Ó Mealláin, a Franciscan Friar from the Brantry (ibid, 1) wrote the text between 1641 and 1647. Digital images of the text as preserved in Cork, University College, Murphy MS 3, are available online on the Irish Script on Screen site at: isos.dias.ie. See M. Nic Cathmhaoil 'The seventeenth century text, "Cín Lae Uí Mhealláin", with introduction, translation and notes' (Coleraine, University of Ulster, Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> J. Carney (ed.), A genealogical history of the O'Reillys: written in the eighteenth century by Eóghan Ó Raghallaigh and incorporating portion of the earlier work of Dr. Thomas Fitzsimons, vicar-general of the diocese of Kilmore (Cavan, 1959); J. Carney (ed.), Poems on the O'Reillys (Dublin, 1950; reprinted 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> http://1641.tcd.ie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> P. Livingstone, *The Fermanagh story: a documented history of the county of Fermanagh from the earliest times to the present day* (Enniskillen, 1969), 41.

residence was located in the townland of Arda, in the parish of Derryvullan and the Islands and the Barony of Tirkennedy. The full form of the townland name was Arda Mhuintir Luinín.<sup>13</sup>

The Uí Luinín family produced some of Ireland's most notable scholars. They played an important role in the compilation of the Annals of Ulster. The earliest copy of the Annals of Ulster — H — was written by Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín for Cathal Mac Maghnusa, the Dean of Lough Erne. That text runs to the year AD 1489. It is now preserved as Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 1282 (H. 1. 8). The second copy of the Annals of Ulster — R — was written for Ruaidhrí Mac Craith of Tearmann Mhic Craith, near Pettigo in South-East Donegal. Now preserved as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 489, the was written by four scribes, including Ruaidhrí Ó Casaide, archdeacon of Clogher (d. 1541), who wrote from the beginning to folio 32ra9 (AD 952) and Ruaidhri Ó Luinín, *ollam* to Mág Uidhir (d. 1528), who continued the work to folio 107vb12 (AD 1507). Among the scribes who contributed to later folios was Ruaidhrí's grandson, namely, Matha, Matha, Matha, Natha, Ruaidhri is recorded under the year 1588 in *The Short Annals of Fermanagh*:

Matha O Luinin ollamh Mheguidhir re seanchus mighistir maith & oide foghlama do sgolaibh Eirionn a seanchus & a b-filidheacht &

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Livingstone believed that they were synonymous with the Muintir Luinigh who together with the Uí Ghormlaigh comprised the Cineál Moain. In the early Middle Ages, the Cineál Moain inhabited Mag nÍtha in the parish of Cluain Laoigh / Clonleigh, barony of Raphoe on the West Bank of the Foyle river system. They were later pushed eastwards, however, into the barony of Strabane as a consequence of the expansion of the Uí Dhomhnaill; see *The Fermanagh Story*, 431. There may be some substance to this theory as *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh* contains a story entitled 'Síomus Ó Luinín', (Dublin 1933; repr. 2015) 41-45.

<sup>13</sup> See for example, the entry U1540.12: *Plaig do beth a n-Arda Muinntire Luinin & Neime O Luinin d'eg & a bean & clann*. ('Plague in Arda Muintir Luinín and Neime Ó Luinín died together with his wife and children'); for the electronic edition, see http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G100001C/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See S. Mac Airt & G. Mac Niocaill, (ed.) *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)* (Dublin 1983). W. M. Hennessy & B. Mac Carthy, *Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat: a chronicle of Irish affairs from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1540.* 4 vols. (Dublin, 1887-1901, repr. [with fresh introduction and bibliography, ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle] Dublin, 1998). Volume 1, AD 431–1056; volume 2, 1057–1378; volume 3, 1379–1588; volume 4, introduction and indexes. See also, 'The Cuana Group' in D. P. Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals: Their Genesis, Evolution and History* (Dublin 2008) 313-24; and D. P. Mc Carthy, 'The Original Compilation of the Annals of Ulster', *Studia Celtica* 38 (2004) 69-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See also A. Gwynn, 'Cathal Mac Maghnusa and the Annals of Ulster', *Clogher Record* 2 (1957-59) 230-43; 370-84. See also D. P. Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals*, 84.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Trinity College Library* (Dublin 1921) 20.
<sup>17</sup> For the obits of Mac Craith and Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín, see Rawl. B 489, fol. 119 (127, 115) va 1-6; repeated va 7-13. For the image see

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msrawlb489</u>. Ruaidhrí is described there as *ollamh Mhēg Uidhir re seanc*us ('chief historian of Mág Uidhir').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See also, B. Ó Cuív, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries, Part 1, 153-63: 156-157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The above bibliographical details have been drawn from 'Manuscript Sources' for the *Annals of Ulster* on celt@ucc.ie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See Francis John Byrne, 1000 years of Irish Script (Oxford 1979) [sect. ] 19.

fear tighe aoidheadh & congmhalach maith d'aois ealadhna & do dhaoinibh diomhaoin d'éag 4 May. <sup>22</sup>

'Matha Ó Luinín, Maguire's leading scholar of history, a good master and teacher in Ireland's schools of history and poetics and a man who kept a guesting house and a good helper to artists and to people who had no fixed employment died on 4 May.'

That particular Matha Ó Luinín wrote London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. VII (Extract),<sup>23</sup> a vellum and paper manuscript of 26 folios in 1571.<sup>24</sup> It contains a law tract entitled *Córus Bretha Nemed* ('Judgements Concerning the Privileged Classes') that focuses on the privileges of the poets and the bards. London, British Library Egerton, a 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century vellum manuscript also contains annotations that may be in Matha's hand.<sup>26</sup>

Giolla Pátraic Ó Luinín assisted Míchél Ó Clérigh during his sojourn at Lios Gabhail between 22 October and 22 December 1631 when he was working on his own recension of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (The Book of the Invasions of Ireland).<sup>27</sup> That material has been transmitted in a number of transcripts, including National Library of Ireland G 168<sup>28</sup> and Royal Irish Academy 23 K 45 (# 481) which dates to 1746<sup>29</sup>

## Other Extant Works by Conchabhar Ó Luinín

Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS G 129, a paper manuscript of dimensions 19.8 x 15 cms contains 92 pp. 30 Pages 67 and 91 give the name of the scribe as *Conchabhar Ó Luinín* and the date of writing as 1676 (pp. 67, 91). This miscellany of poetry features the *Iomarbháigh na bhFileadh* ('The Contention of the Poets'). 31 In 1693 Conchabhar wrote the manuscript which is now preserved as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> P. Walsh, *Short Annals of Fir Manach*, *Irish Book Lover* 23 (1935) 710; reprinted in *Irish Chiefs and Leaders* (Dublin 1960) 5866. For the electronic edition, see <u>celt@ucc.ie</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> S. H. O'Grady, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [Formerly the British Museum], (London 1926; this reprint, Dublin 1992) 141-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For the text and translation, see L. Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Riar*, 20-57. See also, F. Kelly, A Guide to Early Irish Law (Dublin 1988) 260; see also n. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> S. H. O'Grady, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [Formerly the British Museum], (London 1926; this reprint, Dublin 1992) 78-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> N. Ó Muraíle (ed.), *Micheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St. Anthony's College, Louvain* (Dublin 2008) 16, 86-87. See also P. A. Breatnach, The Four Masters and their Manuscripts: Srudies in Palaeography and Text (Dublin 2013) 62, n. 15.

See N. Ní Shéaghdha, Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, Fasciculus
MSS G 161-G 207 (Dublin 1979) 15-16.
For a full description of the manuscript and its history, see W. Wulff and K. Mulchrone, Catalogue

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> For a full description of the manuscript and its history, see W. Wulff and K. Mulchrone, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, Fasciculus 10 (Dublin 19??) 1289-1292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> N. Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, Fasciculus 4, MSS G 115-160 (Dublin 1977) 46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> L. McKenna (ed. & trans.), *The Contention of the Bards*, Parts 1-2, Irish Texts Society 20-21 (London 1918-20); Joep Leerssen, *The Contention of the Bards and its Place in Irish Political and Literary History* (London 1994).

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, manuscript A iii 2 (735).<sup>32</sup>

National Library of Ireland G 448 is a paper manuscript of 19 x 15 cms.<sup>33</sup> It contains 124 pages. The manuscript was written by *Conchubhar Ua Lunin / Cornelius Lunin* in 1711-1712 according to the information given on pages 89, 111 and 119. The material comprises a miscellany of prose and poetry. Most notable among the prose texts are the early modern romantic tales *Imtheacht agus Bás Cearbhaill agus Farblaidhe* ('The Departure and Death of Cerball and Farbhlaidh; pp. 1-25), and *Ceasacht Inginne Guile* ('The Complaint of the Daughter of Goll'; pp. 52-67); a modern version of the Old Irish Ulster Cycle tale *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó* (pp. 67-89) and a modern version of the King Cycle tale, the Death of Conn Cétchathach (pp. 90-104). Among the poems is *Mór do-níd daoine dhíobh féin* (p. 109) by Fear Feasa Ó'n Chainte.

Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 459 is a paper manuscript of 20 x 14 cms,<sup>34</sup> containing 68 pages.<sup>35</sup> The date 1676 is given in the upper right corner of page 31. Under the date is written *aon do leabhraibh Stiabhna RÍghis arna sgriobhadh leis fein san mbliadhuin 1719* ('One of the books of Stephen Rice having been written by himself in the year 1719'). The cataloguer declares that the 'hand throughout the manuscript is, nevertheless, Ó Luinín's'.<sup>36</sup> Conchabhar Ó Luinín's name and the date 1676 appear on page 65 as *Conchabhar o Luinín 1676*. The text which has been preserved in the manuscript is: *Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair*, which is also known by the variant title, *Eachtra Mhic an Iolair* ('The Adventure-Tale of the Eagle's Youth / Son').<sup>37</sup> It finishes with the words: *Ag sin duit a Thordhealbhaigh Ui Gábhan* ('That is for you, o Toirdhealbhach Ó Gabhan'; read 'Ó Gabhann'?).

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS A iii 3 (# 735), a paper manuscript of 12 ½ x 7 ½ inches was written by *Conchabhar Ó Luinín* in Muintir Chinaith in 1693. It contains three sections. The first contains the text of Séathrún Céitinn's *Eochair Sgiath an Aifrinn* (fol. 1-37); the secnd section contains a translation of the *Vita Christi* into Irish by Tomás Gruama Ó Bruacháin (fols. 38-87); and the third section contains part of two poems on the residence built by Aodh Ó Conchubhair (d. 1309) at Cluain Fraoigh, County Roscommon.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See G. Murphy and W. Wulff, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, fasciculus 18 (Dublin 1936) 2236-2237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This manuscript and G 459, which is discussed below, were bought from Edward O'Reilly's collection by Lord Rossmore for the Library of Rossmore House, Co. Monaghan. <sup>33</sup> The collection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> N. Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, Fasciculus 10, MSS G 434-G 500 (Dublin 1987) 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> For the digital image of the manuscript, see https://www.isos.dias.ie/resources/image.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> N. Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, Fasciculus 10, MSS G 434-G 500 (Dublin 1987) 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Macalister, R. A. S. (ed. and tr.), Two Irish Arthurian Romances. Eachtra an Mhadra Mhaoil, Eachtra Mhacaoimh-an-Iolair: The Story of the Crop Eared Dog, the Story of Eagle Boy, Irish Texts Society 10 (London 1908).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Muintir Cionaith is anglicised as Muntir Kenny. It is located in the barony of Dromahaire, county Leitrim. According to Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, it encompasses the district between Lough Allen and the River Arigna.

#### Conchabhar Ó Luinín and Rawlinson B 512

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, one of the most important extant Irish vellum manuscripts, was written during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Marginal comments prove that it was in the possession of the Uí Luinín as late as 1710. Conchabhar's name appears on the margin of folio 129rb. The births of 'Patt. Linan'; 'Rynold Linan'; 'Phillip mc Linan Edmond & son', a mistake perhaps for 'Phillip mac Edmond mc Linan, son' [?]; 'Catharine Linan' and 'Onora' are recorded on folio 139vb.<sup>39</sup>

## Cormac Ó Luinín / Charles Lynegar

Cormac an Chúil mac Mhatha Bháin Uí Luinín *aka* Charles Lynegar (c. 1678-c. 1732) of Trinity College Dublin appears to have been the last professional scholar of the Uí Luinín family. He taught Irish to the Divinity students of Trinity College from c. 1708-1729 and compiled a series of genealogies. Examples of his surviving are *A Risteard mhuirnidh na ccreach* and *Fáilte dhuit nóchad is trí chéud*. Examples of his surviving

#### Muintir Luinín and the End of a Tradition

Preserved in St. Colman's College in Fermoy, Co. Cork is a manuscript containing genealogical materials relating to the great families of Fermanagh. That manuscript was assigned the label 'CF 6' by its cataloguer, Pádraig Ó Fiannachta. While that particular manuscript was written by Pól Ó Longáin in 1842, it is itself a transcript of a now lost exemplar, the details of which have survived. The colophon in Ó Longáin's hand tells us that the exemplar was written by a scribe called *Labhras Ó thArán* [Ó hAráin] in 1809. The colophon states that Ó hAráin [Labhras mhic Thomáis Mhic Niocláis mhic Alasdruim] was a native of Fermanagh, but was latterly resident in Dublin. Fortunately, he recounted his own genealogy including the fact that his mother was called Siudhán Ní Luinín. He also asserted that his maternal grandfather was called Conchubhar son of Piaras son of Giolla Pádraig Ballach son of Brian son of Corbmac Óg son of Matha. Matha Ó Luinín, possibly an uncle of Ó hAráin, was still alive when he was writing in 1809. It is implied, however, that he

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See B. Ó Cuív, Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College Libraries, Part 1, Descriptions (Dublin 2001) 238-239.

See K. Simms, 'Charles Lynegar, the Ó Luinín Family and the Study of Seanchas' in T. Barnard, D. Ó Cróinín & K. Simms (eds.), A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan (Aldershot 1998) 266-83: 266. For a poetic satire on him, see M. H. Risk, 'Charles Lynegar: Professor of the Irish Language 1712', Hermathena 102 (1966) 16-25.
P. Ó Conchubhair, 'Charles Lynegar, Professor of Irish at TCD from 1708', Éigse 4, Part 2 (1943) 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> D. O'Sullivan, 'A Courtly Poem for Sir Richard Cox', *Éigse* 4, part 4 (1944) 284-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> D. Greene (ed.), 'A Dedication and Poem by Charles Lynegar', *Éigse* 5 (1945-1947) 4-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See P. Ó Fiannachta, *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Leabharlanna na Cléire agus Mionchnuasaigh*, Fascúl 1 (Dublin 1978) 72-73. See [Cormac Ua Cadhla], 'Genealaighe Fearmanach', *Analecta Hibernica* 3 (1931) 62-150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The original text has: mar a bhí, Conchubhar Ó Luinín, mac Piaruis m[h]ic Giolla Pháttruig Bhallaigh m[h]ic Briain mhic Corbmaic Óig agus Matha Ó Luinín (Annalecta Hibernica 3 (1931) 6); see also P. Ó Fiannachta, Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: Leabharlanna na Cléire agus Mionchnuasaigh, Fascúl 1 (Dublin 1978) 73.

was a very old man at that time. This evidence would suggest that a grandson or grandnephew of our Conchubhar Ó Luinín was still writing Irish manuscripts in the early nineteenth century.

#### The Edition and Translation

The text presented here is a diplomatic edition. No attempt has been made to arrive at a consistent spelling system. Historical texts traditionally favoured conservative spellings over contemporary spellings. Thus, the spelling system in any given text could exhibit in the main a conservative spelling system, but also an intrusive contemporary spelling system as a consequence of the scribe losing focus and allowing modernisms to slip into his text.

#### **Editorial Policy**

Editorial intervention has been kept to a minimum. Expansion of scribal abbreviations has been indicated by the use of italicisation. Scribal indication of the presence of lenition or aspiration by the use of a *punctum* or dot has been signified by the use of italicised *h*. The *sineadh fada* has not been supplied editorially to indicate vocalic length, except in the translation.

The scribe has used upper case letters to indicate section and sub-section headings. Some section headings and particularly important points of reference within the text have been rubricated by the scribe. In such instances, the scribe's own practice has been retained.

Ó Luinín has been inconsistent in a minority of instances in his capitalisation of the initial letters of personal and place names. This can be problematic as the difference between his uppercase and lower case initials is not always clear. Where the scribe's intention is uncertain, I have written an upper case initial. To have done otherwise, would have impeded the reader's enjoyment of the original Irish text. In all other respects, the scribe's punctuation has been retained, even when he has capitalised an initial letter where a modern writer would no longer do so. Square brackets have been used, albeit sparingly to indicate that something has been supplied by the editor.

A translation has been provided. As far as possible, it adheres to the layout of the Irish text which has been reproduced as it appears in the manuscript. A contextual commentary follows the text and translation.

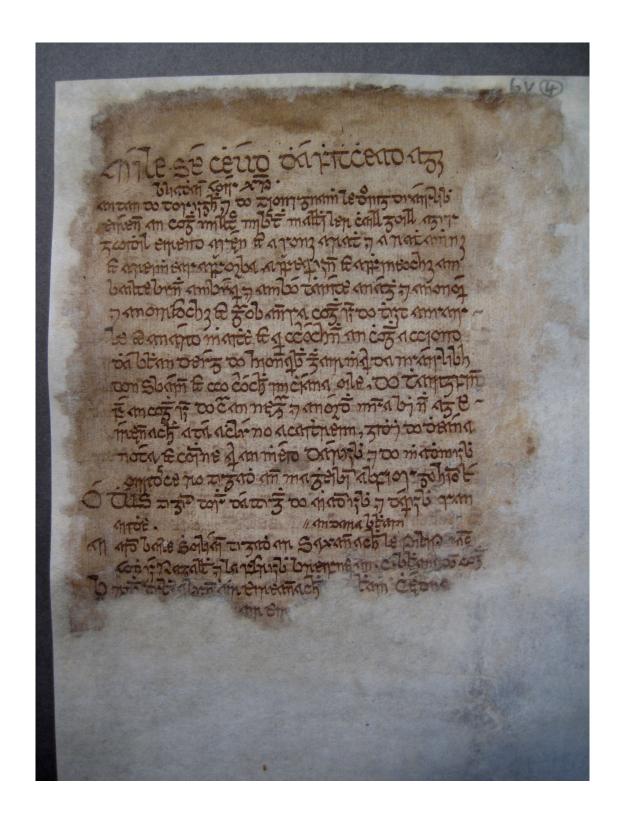
#### **Some Conclusions**

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Conchabhar Ó Luinín, a member of one of Ulster's most important scholarly families, wrote the present text at some time during the period 1650-1700, possibly in modern day County Cavan. It appears that one of his other manuscripts was written for an Ó Gabhann. The reference to members of the Uí Ghabhann family, the only non-Uí Raghallaigh people from Bréifne to be mentioned in the text might suggest an Ó Gabhann patron. There is, however, no firm evidence to support this suggestion. All we can conclude with any certainity is that the present text was written in the second half of the seventeenth-century or in the

very early years of the eighteenth century by Conchabhar Ó Luinín of Fermanagh. It emphasises the important role played by the Irish lords of South Ulster in the 1641 War.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for granting me permission to publish material from RIA MS B 1 1a and to reproduce a digital image of a folio from that manuscript. I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr Éamonn Ó Ciardha and to our editors for their kind and patiant assistance.



Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS B 1 1a, Section 4, folio 6 verso. Copyright: Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 6	v	
MÍLE SÉ C <i>H</i> ÉUD D <i>H</i> Á F <i>H</i> ITA	HCHEAD AGUS	1
BLIAD <i>H</i> AIN AOÍS X-I	P	
an tan do tosuigheadh,7 do dior	nignam $h$ le d $ro$ ing dúaislib $h$	
eírend an cog <i>adh</i> millt <i>each</i> mib	heartach mallaithi ler chaill Goill agus	
Gaoid <i>h</i> il Eireand a sé <sub>a</sub> n Et a sor	nus a rath ,7 a rathamhnus	5
Et a reim <i>h</i> eas a fforba, a ffearui	ind Et a ffineochus a m	
bailte bun <i>aidh</i> a mbu <i>air</i> ,7 a mb	ó tháinte a nágh ,7 a nonóir	
, 7 a noireochus et gurob ann sa	cogadh sin do thuit anuais-	
le et an árdmhaithe Et ar ccríoc	hnughadh an chogaidh a cciond	
d <i>h</i> á bliadhan deúg do hion <i>dar</i> ba	adh gach air mhair da nuáislibh	10
don Sbáinn et cco ccríochaibh i	mchíana oile. DO THAIRGFINN	
féin an cogadh sin do chur a ne	ag <i>ar</i> ,7 a nórd <i>ughadh</i> mu <i>n</i> a b <i>eadh</i> n <i>each</i> ag E-	
íre $_{\mathrm{a}}$ nnach $aibh$ atá a c $h$ lú no a ca	ithréim, gidheadh do dheána	
nóta Et coi <i>mh</i> ne <i>air</i> an mhéid d	á ruib <i>h</i> ,7 do m <i>h</i> ad <i>h</i> muib <i>h</i>	
oirrd <i>eir</i> ce ro tugadh ann ma ghe	eibim a bfios go hiomlán	15
Ó THÚS Tugi <sup>d</sup> tos <i>ach</i> dá ttug <i>ad</i>	dh do mhadhmuibh ,7 dáruibh san	
Midhe.		
	// An dara bl <i>iadh</i> ain	
	Saxannachuibh le PILIP MAC	
AODH <sub>A</sub> UÍ RAGHALL	AIGH, 7 la feruibh Breifne an ced bliadhain don	20
cogaidh.		
Bris <i>eadh Th</i> ul <i>aigh Á</i> luin <i>n</i> air E	ireannachuibh <> bliadhain chéadhna	
< text effaced> ai	ir eir < <i>text effaced</i> >	

## [B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>

THE YEAR OF CHRIST ONE THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE. was the time that there was begun and prosecuted by a group of the nobles of Ireland the destructive, ill-conceived and accursed war as a result of which the foreigners and

the Gaeil of Ireland lost their prosperity and their happiness, their bounty and their abundance:

and their sway over their ancestral land, their country and their patrimony, their homesteads, their kine, and their herds of cows, their deer [?], and their honour, and their status[.] And it is in that war that there fell their nobility and the aristocracy. And at the end of the war in twelve years time all that was left of their nobles had been banished

to set forth in an orderly fashion that if there were not such a one among the Irish.

Nevertheless, I will make a note and record of all of those who participated and of the famous battles that were fought there if I can ascertain full knowledge of them.

FROM THE START let you understand that the very first of the battles that were given and of the massacres that occurred were in Meath.

// The Second Year

The battle of Julianstown was won by Philip son of Aodh Ó Raghallaigh and the men of Bréifne over the English in the first year of the war.

The defeat of the Irish at Tullyallen, Co. Louth [in the] same year.

to Spain and to other distant lands. I MYSELF WOULD OFFER

B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 7 <sup>r</sup>	
<>arbh alias mulach masden air Eírennachuibh	1
<> gn <i>ach</i> air Eíren <i>n</i> ach <i>uibh</i>	
<>ge moir nde <sub>a</sub> lb <i>h</i> a air Eírean <i>n</i> ach <i>uibh</i>	
<>ge Molin <i>n air</i> Eiren <i>n</i> achuibh	
[Bri]seadh Chlún na nGall air Eirennachuibh	5
Briseadh Pháirce in Bloinnsi air Shaxannachuibh	
Maidm ,7 ár Atha Clíath air Eírennachuibh	
Ár Locha Garmann air Eírennachuibh	
Briseadh Locha Garmann uáir eile air Eirennachuibh	
MÁD <i>HM</i> A <i>ET</i> T <i>RO</i> DA C <i>H</i> UIG <i>IDH</i> MU <i>MH</i> AN SUNDA.	10
Briseadh ag Mainistir Fhérmuigh air Shaxanachuibh.	
Bris <i>eadh</i> Lios Ce <i>ar</i> bhuill air Eireannach <i>uibh</i> .	
Bris <i>eadh <sub>7</sub> re</i> tha Bhaile an Aird ar Eireannach <i>uibh</i> .	
Briseadh dhroichid Thighe Mo Luige air Eireannachuibh.	
Toghuil Chaisil Mumhon le Barún Innsi í Chuinn, 7 lé	15
Saxannachuibh anar marbhadh Sagairt agus Braithre	
maille re hiomad oile déireandachuibh	
<text effaced=""> Saxan<i>nachuibh</i> ag Clúin Meala</text>	
<text effaced=""> Chnuic na nDos air chaindealaibh Eireand 7 Alban</text>	
<text effaced=""> airc Alasdronn mac Colla Chiotaig mhic</text>	20
[Domh]nuill aonbhéol fer nEireand, 7 Alban an úair sin do	
<text effaced=""> gach .7 ler dhuit iomad do Ghaedealuibh</text>	
<entire effaced="" line=""></entire>	
[MÁD <i>HM</i> A <i>ET</i> T <i>RO</i> DA C <i>H</i> UIG <i>IDH</i> ] <i>CON</i> NO <i>CHT</i> [SUNDA]	24

## MS RIA B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>

The defeat of the Irish at the battle of *<Text effaced>*. otherwise called Mullach Mast.

The defeat of the Irish at < text effaced>.

The defeat of the Irish at Delvin ['Major'].

The defeat of the Irish at Timoline.

The defeat of the Irish at Clonegal.

The defeat of the English at Blanchville Park.

The defeat and slaughter of the Irish at Dublin.

The slaughter of the Irish at Wexford.

The defeat of the Irish again at Wexford.

HERE ARE THE MUNSTER BATTLES AND COMBATS

The defeat of the English at Fermoy.

The defeat of the Irish at Liscaroll.

The defeat and rout of the Irish at Ballinard.

The defeat of the Irish at the Bridge of Timoleague.

The seige of Cashel by the Baron of Inchiquin, and by the

English in which were killed Priests and Friars

together with many of the Irish

<text effaced> of the English at Clonmel.

<text effaced> over the [Gaeil] of Ireland and Scotland at Knochnanuss.

<text effaced> over Alasdar son of Coll Ciotach son of

<text effaced> of the men of Ireland and of Scotland at that time

<text effaced. And as is obvious to you many of the Gaeil.

---<entire line effaced>

Dublin RIA MS B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, folio 7 <sup>v</sup>	
Maidm Sléibhe n-t air Eíreannachuibh	1
Briseadh ag Ros Comáin air Eíre[nnachuibh]	
Briseadh ag Ros Camáin air Saxan[naibh]	
Briseadh na Croisi riabhaigh air Saxannachuibh le Máolm[orrdha]	
Briseadh Sligidh air Eíreannachaibh anar marbhadh áirdeaspocc	5
agus móran oile do m <i>h</i> athuib <i>h Con</i> no <i>cht</i>	
Bris <i>eadh</i> laim re Gaill <i>imh</i> air Saxanach <i>aibh</i>	
Bris <i>eadh</i> Mhoighe Fionncha air Eírennachuibh	
Bris <i>eadh</i> Shleibhe Roisil air Eirennea[c]h <i>uibh</i> .	
MADMA TRODA, ET AÍR CUIGEADH ULADH andso	10
Maidm Bhun Doroige air Ghalluibh, Alasdron mac Colla	
Chiotaigh dob fhearr lam[h] and sin.	
Maidm Lios na cCearbhach air Eireannachuibh	
Maidm Ghlinne Cuind air Eirennachuibh Alasdronn mac	
Colla Chiotaigh do bfhearr lám[h] and sin.	15
Ár adhbhal mhór a cCeinél Fhairt <i>igh</i> air fhEruibh air mhnáibh	
et air leanbuibh Eíren <i>n</i> .	
Ár an <i>n</i> ar marb <i>hadh</i> a roibh dfhearuibh do mhnáibh et [lean]	
bhuibh anOilén Mheg Gáoth.	
Ár ag Iúbhir Chionntrágha air Eiren <i>n</i>	20
ach <i>uibh</i> et ann ar báitheadh morán [?] d <i>h</i> o [fhear?]	
-uibh do mhnáibh, 7 do l[eanbhuibh] <text effaced=""></text>	
<text effaced=""> orduigh ris sin do <text effaced=""></text></text>	
<text effaced=""> abhadh do bhí s<text effaced=""></text></text>	24

## Dublin RIA MS B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, folio 7<sup>v</sup>

The rout of the Irish at Sliabh?

The defeat of the Irish at Roscommon.

The defeat of the English at Roscommon.

The defeat of the English by Maol Mórdha at Crosreavey.

The defeat of the Irish at Sligo in which were killed the archbishop and many others of the gentry of Connacht.

The defeat of the English near Galway.

The defeat of the Irish at the Plain of Finnea.

The defeat of the Irish at Sliabh Russell.

# HERE ARE THE ROUTS, COMBATS, AND MASSACRES [WHICH OCCURRED] IN THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

The rout of the foreigners at Bun Daroige, Alasdar son of Coll

Ciotach was the most effective there.

The rout of the Irish at Lisnagarvey.

The rout of the Irish at Glennmaquin. Alasdar son of Coll Ciotach was the most effective there.

A terrible massacre in Cineál Fhartaigh of the men and women and children of Ireland.

A massacre there in which were killed all the men and women and children in Island Magee.

A massacre of the Irish at Newry in which were drowned many of the men / and of the women and of the children

Two lines of text effaced or badly damaged.

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy B I 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 9 <sup>r</sup> , recte fol. 8 <sup>r</sup>	
doirbhir a ngeall air chomh dhuibh bréige an baile ní fríth	1
fios oidhe aríamh.	
Ár ar Slíabh cCuilinn air fearuibh air mhnáibh, 7 air leanb=	
uibh Eíreannachuibh. Maidm Clúin Éisi air Eogon ua –	
Néill, 7 air Maithibh chúigeadh Uladh.	5
MAIDHM NA BINNE BOIRBE alias D-	
roma flithe air Ghalluibh, 7 Eogan Ó Néill agus	
uáisle Ul <i>adh</i> ro chuir an maidm sin an treas ár is	
mó tug <i>adh</i> air an ccogadh sin an Eírinn.	
Maidm Inis Scceilleinn air Eirennachuibh.	10
Maidm Lios na Srían air Eirennachuibh, 7 ar Albanachuibh.	
Briseadh Dhroma Lighean air Saxanachuibh	
MAID <i>H</i> M NA SÚIL <i>IGH</i> E <i>ALIAS</i> LEITIR	
cceanuind air eirennachuibh, áit sin inar cuirEdh uáis-	
le uladh cco dithfine, 7 do rad Seilb Eíreand gan	15
imreasuin dfearuibh Saxann.	
IS olc liom gan fhios agum ca líon do thuit dEíreann	
achuibh dAlbanachuibh Et do Saxanachuibh ann gach	
maidm ann gach briseadh, 7 an gach iomairce da ttugadh	
[and?] sin. Et mEsuim gur biothmhairg don muidhm	20
<erasure> sin Et ro thosuigheadh ar tús é do réir mar</erasure>	
< erasure> Inis Ceileann air Aodh	
< erasure> na air Feilim < erasure> rúagh.	
Final line completely erased.	24

## Dublin, Royal Irish Academy B I 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>, recte fol. 8<sup>r</sup>

of grief [.] On account of how intensely deceitful the town was the circumstances of death were never discovered.

Massacre on Sliabh Gullion of the Irish men, women and children. The rout of Clones was suffered by Eoghan Ua

(Ó) Néill and the gentry of the province of Ulster.

The rout of the foreigners at Benburb alias of Droim

Fliuch, and Eoghan Ó Néill and the nobility of Ulster effected that rout, the third biggest slaughter that happened during that war in Ireland.

The rout of the Irish at Enniskillen.

The rout of the Irish and of the Scots at Lisnastrain.

The rout of the English at Drumleen.

#### THE ROUT OF THE SWILLY ALIAS LETTERKENNY

was suffered by the Irish. That was a place in which the nobility

of Ulster were brought to the point of being destroyed as a kin-group, and the possession of Ireland was given without a fight to the men of England.

Alas, I know not how many of the Irishmen and

Scotsmen and of Englishmen fell in every battle and in every encounter that occurred then. And I think that that cataclysm is a source of eternal regret.

And it was started first as <erasure>

- < erasure> Enniskillen on Aodh
- <erasure> nor on Feidhlim Ruadh
- < Final line completely erased >.

MS B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 9 <sup>v</sup> , recte fol. 8 <sup>v</sup>	
ACC SO NA DAOÍNE UÁISLE	1
is oirdirce do thuit san cogadh sin on cuigeadh Uladh.	
Sir Feidlim ruágh ua Neill, do cu <sub>i</sub> readh cum báis	
an Áth Clíath.	
Concabhar mhá Guidhir Tigearna Inis Ceileann do	5
cuireadh chum báis a Lunnduin.	
EASBOG Clochair do cuireadh chonn báis an Innis Ceileann.	
AODH mac Mathghamna do cuireadh com baís a Londoinn.	
mac Briain mic Aodh Oíg, etc.	
CONN mac Coinn mic Neill mhic Briain Fhagartaigh	10
FEID <i>H</i> LIM mac Tuathail mhic Neill mic Briain Fhagartaigh	
ART Óg O Neill mac Toirrdhealbhaigh mhic Énrí mhic Feidlime. r[idire?]	
TOIRRDHEALBHACH mac Briain Mhic Enrí oig ui Neill	
MAGNUS mac Neill Ghairbh Í Dhomhnuill	
Aodh buidhe mac Toirrdhealbhuigh mhic Cabhar í Dhomhnuill	15
AN DÁ Ó C <i>H</i> ATHAN.	
SÉMUS MAC GOFFRAIDH Í CHATHAN fear lán diocht,	
dféile, 7 deineach	
MAC SÉMUIS M <i>H</i> IC GOFF <i>RA</i> IG <i>H</i> .	
MAGNUS RUAG <i>H</i> Ó CAT <i>H</i> ÁN	20
RUGRAID <i>H</i> M <i>H</i> ÁG UID <i>H</i> IR	
AODH MHÁG <> MHIC BRIAIN	
AODH <>	
Rest of Page illegible.	24

## MS B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, recte fol. 8<sup>v</sup>

#### HEREWITH ARE THE NOBLEMEN

who were the most illustrious who fell in that battle from the province of Ulster.  $\!\!/$ 

Sir Féidhlim Ruadh Ua Néill, who was put to death in Dublin.

Conchabhar Mhág Uidhir, the Lord of Enniskillen was put to death in London.

The Bishop of Clogher was put to death in London.

the son of Brian son of Aodh Óg etc.

Conn son of Conn son of Niall son of Brian Fhogartach.

Feidhlim son of Tuathal son of Niall son of Brian Fogartach.

Art Óg Ó Néill son of Toirdhealbach son of Énrí son of Feidhlim.

Toirdhealbach son of Brian son of Énrí Óg Ó Néill

Maghnus son of Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill

Aodh Buidhe son of Toirdhealbhach son of Cathbharr Ó Domhnaill.

The Two Cathánaigh.

Séamus son of Gofraidh Ó Catháin.

Maghnus Ruadh Ó Catháin.

Rughraidh Mhág Uidhir.

Aodh Mhág < text effaced > son of Brian.

Aodh << text effaced>

Rest of Page illegible.

B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 10 <sup>r</sup> , recte fol. 9 <sup>r</sup>	
AOD <i>H</i> MHAG M <i>H</i> AT <i>H</i> G <i>H</i> AMNA M <i>I</i> C <i>AIR</i> T OÍG	1
ART MAC RÚG <i>RA</i> ID <i>H</i> M <i>H</i> IC GIOLLA P <i>H</i> AD <i>RA</i> IG	
PÁD <i>RA</i> ICC M <i>A</i> C EÓGU <sub>I</sub> N M <i>I</i> C RÚG <i>RA</i> ID <i>H</i>	
AOD <i>H</i> ÓG MAC COLLA MAC EÍM <i>H</i> IR M <i>HIC</i> B <i>RI</i> ÁIN	
PAD <i>RU</i> <sub>I</sub> CC MAC <sup>//</sup> BRIÁIN MHIC <sup>//</sup> ÉIMHIR	5
ACC SO NA DAOÍNE IS OIRRD <i>IR</i> CA DO T <i>H</i> UIT O B <i>H</i> REIF	
NE Í RAGALL <i>aigh</i> .	
EOG <i>H</i> AN MAC SEÁAIN M <sup>IC</sup> P <i>H</i> ILIP	
AODH RUAG <i>H</i> M <i>A</i> C PILIP M <i>I</i> C AÓD <i>H</i> A	
MAOLMORRDA MAC PILIB MHIC MAOLMORRDHA	10
M <i>AOL</i> MORDHA M <i>A</i> C CATHAOÍR M <i>I</i> C SEAAIN .	
M <i>AOL</i> MORRDHA MAC SEAAIN S <i>ÉADH</i> ACH NA < <b>erasure</b> >	
TOIRR <i>DHEALBHACH</i> MAC CATHAOIR MHIC EOGHUIN	
SÉMUS MAC TOMÁIS MIC SEMHUIS BHUIDHE	
SÉAN ÓG O RAGHALL <i>AIGH</i> . SEMUS M <i>A</i> C CONC <i>H</i> AB <i>HUIR</i>	15
?? MAC SÉ <sub>A</sub> AI <i>N</i> M <i>H</i> IC AÓD <i>H</i> A. TOIRRDHEALBHACH M <i>H</i> AC CATH <i>AIN</i>	
M <i>H</i> IC AOD <i>H</i> A. PILIB Ó GABAN <i>N</i> . EOGAN Ó GAB <i>H</i> AN <i>N</i> .	
TOIRD <i>H</i> EALB <i>H</i> AC <i>H</i> ÓG O BOÍG <i>H</i> IL MAC TOIRR <i>DHEALBHAIGH</i> .	
<> gh. LEU. COL. Do marbhadh <illegible></illegible>	19

## B i 1a, Part 1, Section 4, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>, recte fol. 9<sup>r</sup>

Aodh mac Mathghamhna son of Art Óg.

Art mac Rughraidh son of Giolla Pádraig.

Pádraig son of Eoghan son of Rughraidh.

Aodh Óg son of Coll son of Éibhear son of Brian.

Pádraig son of // Brian son of // Éibhear.

## HEREWITH ARE THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PEOPLE FROM O'REILLY'S BRÉIFNE WHO FELL.

Eoghan son of Seán son of Philip.

Aodh Ruadh son of Philip son of Aodh.

Maol Mórdha son of Philip son of Maol Mórdha.

Maol Mórdha son of Cathaoir son of Seán.

Maol Mórdha son of Seaán Séadach of the <erasure>

Toirdhealbhach son of Cathaoir son of Eoghan.

Séamus son of Thomas son of Séamus Buidhe.

Seán Óg Ó Raghallaigh. Séamus son of Conchubhar.

?? son of Seán son of Aodh.

Toirdhealbhach son of Cathán

Son of Aodh. Philip Ó Gabhann. Eoghan Ó Gabhann.

Toirdhealbhach Óg Ó Baoighill, the son of Toirdhealbhach.

<...>. LEU. COL. <illegible> was killed.

#### Commentary

**6v11-12. DO THAIRGFIN** // féin an cogadh sin do chur an neagair muna beadh neach ag Eíreannachaibh atá a chlú no a caithréim ] There appears to be something missing from the text here. It is difficult to know whether we should be reading 'DO THAIRGFINN féin an cogadh sin do chur an neagair' and then supplying a full stop to give the meaning 'I myself would propose to depict that war [.] Alternatively, we could read 'DO THAIRGFINN // féin an cogadh sin do chur an neagair muna beadh neach ag Eíreannachaibh atá a cclú no a ccaithréim' and translate 'I myself would propose to depict that war if it were not for the fact that were one among the Irish one which is [already] famous [i cclú 'in fame'] or triumphant [i ccaithréim 'in triumph']. Is this perhaps a reference to the existence of the Cin Lae Uí Mhealláin?

**6v19. Maidm Baile Shoilían** ] The battle of Julianstown, Co. Meath occurred on 29 November 1641 when an English army on its way to restore order in Ulster was defeated by the Irish under Ruaidhrí Ó Mórdha (Rory O'Moore). This placename is written as 'Baile Giollan' in *Cin Lae*, Lch. 31, (sub. November 1641). Lenihan noted that most of the 'local Catholic nobility and most of the gentry still backed the government' until this incident; see *Confederate Catholics at War*, 1641-49, 34.

## 6v19-20. Pilib [mac Aodha mic Sheáin mic Aodha Conallaigh] Ó Raghallaigh ] The late Bob Hunter stated:

'The two principal O'Reilly grantees were Mulmory oge [Maol Mórrdha Óg] and Mulmory McHugh Connelagh [Maol Mórrdha mac Aodha Conallaigh]. As to Mulmory oge, we have already seen that substantial portions of his estate were dispersed. He died without heir in 1617, the remaining lands descending to his uncle Capt. Hugh, whose son, Philip McHugh O'Reilly, owned much of them in 1641.'

See R. J. Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608-41* (Belfast 2012) 216.

Pilib son of Aodh son of Seán son of Aodh Conallach Ó Raghallaigh, leader of the Irish army in County Cavan, lived at Béal Átha na Carraige Castle in the parish of Drung, barony of Tullygarvey. He was elected to the Irish Parliament in 1639. He captured Belturbet in 1641, but was unsuccessful in capturing Drogheda in 1642. As one of the colonels of Eoghan Ruadh, he fought at the battle of Benburb. After the final defeat of the Irish in 1653, he went into exile in Spain. He left Spain for the Lowlands in 1654 and died in 1655. He is buried in the Priory of St. Dominic in Louvain. His exile is lamented in the poem entitled *Tuireamh Philip meic Aodha Ui Raghallaigh*, which begins *Mo chreach is mo léun thú*, [a] Bhēul Ātha na Cairrge; cf. J. Carney, Poems on the O'Reillys, Poem XXVIII, pp. 139-46. His genealogy is given in J. Carney, A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys (Cavan 1959), 27, § 3. See also Cín Lae, Lch. 31, sub 1641 November 29. See also, B. Mc Grath, 'A Biographical Dictionary of the Irish Hosue of Commons, 1640-1641', (Dublin (Unpublished Trinity College PhD thesis) 1998).

**6v22.** Briseadh Thulaigh Áluinn J The battle of Tullyallen (53 44 N; 6 24 W), Co. Louth occurred around the time of the First Siege of Drogheda. I draw on Donald Schlegel's account of the siege in 'A Clogher Chronology 1641-2', Clogher Record 16, no. 1 (1997) 79-94: 89-91. The Irish attempted to take Drogheda on 20 December 1641. They were repelled by the English defenders. A siege ensued. The Irish again assailed the walls on 20 February 1642. They were again repulsed. The town was provided with reinforcements and food by means of its maritime approaches. The garrison commanded led a successful foray against the O'Reillys to the south. He followed this with another foray to the north about a week later. Schlegel (p. 90) wrote:

'On Saturday, March 5, the governor of the town led a force against the O'Neills' camp at Bewley and burned Newton. At the same time Lord Moore led 400 foot and 80 horse toward the McMahon and McKenna camp at Tullyallen. Many of the Monagahan men had entrenched themselves in the centre of the town, but they had little powder for their muskets. After exchanging three or four volleys they had to give way. Elsewhere on the field the Irish discerned Lord Moore and a large body of them attacked and wounded him, but were scattered by some of his horse. Some four hundred of the Irish were killed, including seven of their captains.'

- 7**r1. mulach masden** ] The Irish army under the command of Viscount Mountgarret was defeated at the Battle of Mullaghmast near Kilrush, Athy, Co. Kildare by the Earl of Ormond on 15 April 1642. The form 'Mullach Maistean' is found in the poem *An Siogaí Rómhánach*; see C. O'Rahilly, (ed.), *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* (Dublin 1977) 12-32: 31.
- **7r3. Briseadh Dealbhna** ] Battle of Delvin Co. Westmeath. I have not identified the details of this encounter. It must have occurred during the spring and early summer of 1643 during General Thomas Preston's campaign in Leinster. For his biography, see P. Lenihan, 'Preston, Thomas, first Viscount Tara (*b.* in or after 1585, *d.* 1655)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22731, accessed 15 Feb 2016].
- **7r4. Briseadh Mo Linn |** The Marquis of Ormond left Dublin on 2 March 1643 with the intention of taking the port town of New Ross, Co. Wexford so that the channels of communication between Kilkenny on the one hand and Waterford and Wexford and the other could be broken. On his way to New Ross via Timolin, Ormond eventually overcame stout resistance at Timolin Castle in S. Kildare. The castle had been secured early in the war by Mac Thomáis and Gerald FitzGerald. See *Cín Lae*, lch. 34.
- **7r5.** Briseadh Clu[a]in na nGall ] Battle of Clonegall, S. E. Carlow. I have been unable to identify the details of this encounter.

- **7r6.** *Ph*áirce in Bloinnsi ] The location is Páirc in Bhlóinsínigh (Blanchvillespark) Parish of Gowran, Barony of Gowran, Co. Kilkenny. I have been unable to identify the details of this encounter.
- **7r7. Átha Cliath** ] This may be a reference to the defeat of the Irish under Ormond at the battle of Rathmines in October 1649. See D. Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny*, *1515-1642: The Rise and Fall of Butler Feudal Power*, Cork Studies in History & Culture (Dublin 2003).
- **7r8.** Ár Locha Garmann air Eírennachuibh J On 2 October 1649 Cromwell arrived to besiege the town of Wexford with a force of 6,000 men. The town was successfully stormed by the Parliamentarians on 11 October 1649. 'The Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction' in Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, Vol. 2, Part 1 (Dublin 1880) tells us (p. 54):
  - 'Marchinge on, noe opposition was giuen, slaughteringe all that came in his [Cromwell's] way, without exception of sex or person, age or condition, onely such as were of the conspiracie; many of the soldiers for the most part Vlstermen, My Lord of Iveaghs regiment) saved themselves by boats and swiminge, but great moratalitie did accompanie that furie of both souldier and native, all sex and age indifferently there perished; ....
- **7r11.** Briseadh ag Mainistir Fhérmuigh ] This encounter is known by various names: the battle of Cloghleagh / Funcheon Ford / Manning Water. The battle occurred on 4 June 1643 on a site that is located between the river Funcheon and the river Blackwater to the north of the town of Fermoy. The Confederate Catholics under James Tuchet, the Earl of Castlehaven defeated a Munster Protestant Royalist army under the command of Sir Charles Vavasour.
- **7r12.** Briseadh Lios Cearbhuill ] In July 1642 Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, was victorious over a 6,000 strong Irish army led by Garrett Barry at Liscarroll, Co. Cork. As a consequence of this battle, Munster was secured for the king.
- The Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction' in Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, Volume 1, Part 1 (Dublin 1879) tells us (p. 38):
  - Monster was in a brave posture at this time, the enemie was there sticking to one moytie of the countie of Corke, and if not for the Baron of Insichuyne, an Irishman of the Brians, the enemie likely would have never a foote there.

See Patrick Little, 'O'Brien, Murrough, first earl of Inchiquin (c.1614–1674)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20463, accessed15 Feb 2016]

- **7r13. Briseadh** <sub>7</sub> **retha Bhaile an Aird** ] The details of this encounter which happened at Baile an Aird, possibly Ballinard Castle, near Fethard in South Tipperary are unknown to me.
- 7r14. Briseadh dhroichid Thighe Mo Luige |
- 7r15. Toghuil Chaisil Mumhon | Cashel was sacked by Lord Inchiquin on 15<sup>th</sup> September 1647.
- **7r18.** Clúin Meala ] The siege of Clonmel occurred between April-May 1650. The Irish were led by Aodh Dubh Ó Néill who led an army of 2,000 against a besieging army of 8,000 Parliamentarians. For an account of the siege from the Irish perspective, see 'Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction' in J. Gilbert (ed.), *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-1652*, Vol. 2, Part 1, (Dublin 1880) 75-80: 79. See also J. T. Gilbert, 'O'Neill, Hugh, styled sixth earl of Tyrone (*d.* 1660/61)', rev. Pádraig Lenihan, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20776, accessed 15 Feb 2016].
- **7r19. Chnuic na nDos** ] Alasdar mac Colla Chiotaigh Mhic Domhnaill (Sir Alasdar Macdonald) was *tánaiste* (heir-apparent to the leadership) of the Clann Iain Mhóir branch of the Clann Domhnaill of the

Isles. The son of Coll Ciotach son of Giolla Easpaig and Màiri the daughter of Ragnall Mac Domhnaill of Benbecula was born in Colonsy. His Christian name appears in our text as Alasdron. Variants are Alasdrom and Alasdar, the latter being the most common.

With the commencement of the war in 1641, Alasdar found himself in a predicament: he was in a Scottish regiment in Coleraine which had been ordered to suppress his Irish kinsmen. He and a group of other highlanders detached themselves from their regiment and rallied to the Irish cause.

He fought at Sir Feidhlim Ó Néill's side at the battle of Glenmaquin in county Donegal on 16 June 1642 where the Irish were defeated. Alasdar was among the injured. He returned to Scotland in July 1644 where he fought successfully alongside the Earl of Montrose. The combined Gaelic-Royalist army of Alasdar and Montrose won several great victories. Alasdar's decision to leave the side of Montrose to return to the Highlands to give the *coup de grace* to the Campbells was a major mistake. Montrose suffered a serious defeat at Philiphaugh in September 1645. King Charles ordered the royalist armies to stand down in mid-1646. Montrose did so and went into exile. Alasdar did not.

Mac Domhnaill was driven off the Scottish mainland and onto Islay, quickly abandoning Islay for Ireland and taking with him what was left of his army. He fought as a senior commander with Lord Taaffes Munster Irish army at Clonmel. The Irish were subsequently defeated by Lord Inchiquin's Munster Protestant army at Cnoc na nDos on 13 November 1647. Alasdar was captured after the battle and shot.

For the laments for Alasdar, see *McAllistrum's March* and *The Battle of Cnoc na nDos* as played by Uilleann piper, Peter Brown, on the Irish Traditional Music Archive site online. For Alasdar's biography, see also the entry entitled 'Mac Domhnaill, Alasdar mac Colla Chiotaigh' on the *Beathaisnéis* website at ainm.ie; see also David Stevenson, *Alasdair mac Colla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (1980). See further David Stevenson, 'MacColla, Alasdair [Sir Alexander MacDonald] (d. 1647)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17420, accessed 3 Dec 2015]. See also P. Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at War, 1641-49* (Cork 2001) 106 on Knocknanuss and 193-197 on Alasdar Mac Colla's battle tactics.

The poem entitled, Aiste Dháibhí Cúndún, which begins Is buartha an cás so 'dtárlaig Éire ('Sorrowful the situation in which Ireland has found itself') and was dated by Cecile O'Rahilly in Five Seventeenth Century Political Poems (Dublin 1977: 33-49: 46) to between 1654 and 1657, has the following lines:

is ó lá Chnuic na nDos ba dhéarach ionar fealladh ar Alasdram éachtach. 'and from the day of [the battle of] Kocknanuss, which was tearful, during which was treacherously slain Alasdar of the many feats of battle.'

- 7v1. Maidm Sléibhe n-t | I have not been able to identify this encounter.
- **7v2. Briseadh ag Ros Comáin**] On 10 July 1646 General Preston captured Roscommon Castle for the Irish Confederacy, an achievement which Lenihan has regarded as a 'relatively insignificant one.' See *Confederate Catholics at War*, 189.
- 7v4. Briseadh na Croisi Riabhaigh ] An unidentified encounter in Crossreagh townland in County Cavan. For Maol Mórdha Ó Raghalligh's background, see Eoghan Moore, "Mulmorie Oge O'Reylie, gent." alias Maol Mórdha Óg Uí Raghallaigh of Bellanacargy', *Breifne* 50 (2015).
- **7v5. Briseadh Sligidh** J Charles Cooke captured Sligo for the Parliamentarians on 7 July 1645. P. J. Corish noted that Archbishop of Tuam, Maolseachlain Ó Caollaidhe (1586–1645; Malachy Queally) lost his life under disputed circumstances at Ballisodare, Co. Sligo on 25 October 1645. See P. J. Corish, 'Queally, Malachy (1586–1645)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22937, accessed 15 Feb 2016].

- 7v7. Briseadh laim re Gaillimh | Possibly, Seán a Búrca's capture of Galway in 1643.
- **7v8. Briseadh Mhoighe Fionncha** ] Maol Mórdha Ó Raghallaigh repelled the Scots at the bridge of Finnea (53 46 N, 7 23 W) in County Westmeath on 5 August 1646. One of the English spellings given in the index of Gilbert's *Contemporary History* is *Finnawe* (Vol. 3, Part 2, Index, p. 418). This form comes from *Fionncha an Mhaighe* whereby the order of the elements of this toponym have been rearranged. On 'Myles the Slasher' of popular tradition, see also, Dr. J. J. O'Reilly, *The History of Breifne O'Reilly* (New York 1976 (?); reference here is to Long Riders' Guild Press reprint (no place; no date) 111-112.
- 7v Briseadh Shleibhe Roisil | I have been unable to identify the details of this encounter.
- **7v11. Maidm Bhun Doroige** ] The place concerned may be the townland of Bun Deirge (Bunderg) in the parish of Ardstraw, County Tyrone. However, the spelling does not support that suggestion. It implies an Irish original *Bun Dá Rige:* 'The Bottom of the Two *Rige'*'.
- **7v13. Maidm Lios na cCearbh** *ach* **]** On 6 December 1649 the Parliamentarians under General Charles Coote defeated a Royalist army led by Lord Clandeboye and Major General Munro near Lisburn.
- **7v14. Maidm Ghlinne Cuind** ] On 16 June 1642 the Lagan Army under Sir Robert Stewart and Sir William Stewart inflicted a heavy defeat on the Irish under Sir Feidhlim Ó Néill and Alasdair mac Colla Chiotaigh at Glenmaquin in Donegal. Alasdair was badly injured in that encounter. See K. McKenny, *The Laggan Army in Ireland, 1640–1685: The Landed Interests, Political Ideologies and Military Campaigns of North-west Ulster Settlers* (Dublin 2005). Lenihan reckoned this battle among the seven largest encounters of the period 1642-43; see *Confederate Catholics at War*, 69.
- **7v16.** Ár adhbhal mhór a cCeinél Fhairtigh ] This should be read as Ceinél Faghartaigh. That population group was located in the barony of Kinelarty, in S. Down. Mac Artáin was the lord of the Ceinél Faghartaigh. The massacre has not been unidentified.
- **7v19. anoilén mheg gáoth** ] Island Magee is a peninsula which is attached to the county Antrim mainland by a causeway. The Scottish army of East Ulster killed a number of the Irish residents of Island Magee on the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> January 1642. See E. Darcy, A. Margey and E. Murphy, *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion*, Number 6 (2012; Abingdon 2016) 134-38. See also John Gibney, "'What about Islandmagee?' Another Version of The 1641 Rebellion" *History Ireland*, 21, No. 1 (January / February 2013) 22-25.
- **7v20.** Ár ag Iúbhir Chionntrágha ] This is a reference to a massacre that occurred at Newry, County Down, possibly in the Spring of 1642.
- 9r, recte 8r3. Ár ar Slíabh cCuilinn | Unidentified massacre at Slieve Gullion, Co. Armagh.
- **9r, recte 8r4. Maidm Clú**<sub>i</sub>**n Éis**<sub>i</sub> ] On the 13 June 1643 the Lagan army defeated the Irish under Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill at Clones. See P. B. Ó Mórdha, 'The Battle of Clones, 1643', *Clogher Record* 4, no. 3 (1962) 148-54.
- **9r, recte 8r6. Maidm na Binne Boirbe** J On 5 June 1646 Robert Monro's army was defeated by Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill's army at Benburb. See 'Benburb, 1646' in G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *Irish Battles* (London 1969) 174-199.
- **9r** recte 8r10. Maidm Inis Scceilleinn | Enniskillen and Tully Castle were among the very few locations which were not taken by the Irish during the 1641 War. See W. Copeland Trimble, *The*

History of Enniskillen with Reference to some Manors in Co. Fermanagh: and other Local Subjects, 3 vols., (Enniskillen: 1919-1921).

**9r, recte 8r11. Maidm Lios na Srían** ] Hogan (*Onomasticon Goedelicum* lists this place name under the form *Lios na Sraon*. He noted that Ó Ragallaigh destroyed it and gives the reference 'Hx 853'. It is situated to the south-east of the town of Lisburn and appears in English as Lisnastrean. It is in the civil parish of Drumbeg, barony of Castlereagh Upper, county Down. *The Montgomery Manuscripts:* (1603-1706), which was edited by the Rev. George Hill (Belfast 1869), has the following note (pp. 191-92):

Our third Viscount with his few loyal followers and adherents, and the Earle of Clanbrasil, with his men (all that were preaching proof); their Lordships kept their forces together, and being personally present (as they were afterwards with Ormond) and by their example encouraging their soldiers, were routed at Lisnestrain (as it was said by Sir George Munro's mismanagement near Lisnegarvey aforesaid) by Sir Charles Coote and a party of O. C. army; Clanbrasil shifting with some flying horse, and his castle of Killyleagh standing out, he resorted to Ormond.

**9r, recte 8r12**. **Briseadh Dhroma Lighean** ] Drumleene is in the civil parish of Clonleigh and in the barony of Raphoe North. It is situated to the north-west of Lifford. The details of this encounter are unknown to me.

**9r, recte 8r13-14. Maidhm na Súilighe alias Leitir Cceanuind** ] The disasterous defeat of the Irish under the command of Bishop Éimhear Mac Mathghamhna occurred at Scariffhollis, two miles to the west of Letterkenny on 21 June 1650. This particular rout marked the end of the Irish army; see J. Silke, 'Scariffhollis 1650', *Clogher Record* 20 no. 3 (2011) 491-99: 499.

**9v**, **recte 8v3-4. Sir Feidlim ruágh ua Neill**] Sir Feidhlim (1603–1653), son of Toirdhealbhach son of Énrí Óg son of Énrí son of Seaán son of Conn son of Énrí son of Eoghan, was *Coronel na Marcshluagh* (Colonel of the Horse Regiments) and President of the Province of Ulster; see *Cin Lae Ó Mealláin*. See Jerrold I. Casway, 'O'Neill, Sir Phelim Roe (1603–1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20784, accessed 2 Dec 2015].

9v, recte 8v5. Concabhar mhá Guidhir Tigearna Inis Ceileann ] Conchabhar Mág Uidhir (Connor Maguire), the Second Baron of Enniskillen, (c. 1612-1645), was the son of Róis Ní Néill and Brian Ruadh Mág Uidhir. He was among those who encouraged Eoghan Ruadh Ó Néill (Owen Roe O'Neill) to return to Ireland to lead the Rising. He also participated in the plan to capture Dublin Castle. The betrayal of the plot led to his arrest along with that of Aodh Mac Mathúna (Hugh McMahon). They were confined to the Tower of London in June 1642 and eventually transferred to Newgate Prison. On 18 August 1644, Mac Mathúna and Mág Uidhir escaped from Newgate. They were reapprehended on 18 Sepetmber 1644. Mág Uidhir was subjected to a particularly brutal execution on 20 February 1645. See Brian Mac Cuarta, 'Maguire, Connor, second baron of Enniskillen (c.1612–1645)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17790, accessed 16 Nov 2015]. For the Méig Uidhir participation in 1641, see Donald M. Schlegel 'An Index to the Insurgents of 1641 in the County Fermanagh Depositions', Clogher Record 18, No. 2 (2004) 319-340.

The poem, *An Siogai Rómhánach* describes Mág Uidhir as *fuigheall na Féinne* 'of the remnants of the Fianna' (i.e Fionn mac Cumhaill's band of warriors); see O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems*, p. 23, line 117.

**9v**, recte **8v7**. Easbog Clochair ] Éibhear son of Maoleachlainn son of Art Mac Mathúna was a native of Kiltybegs, parish of Inishkeen, in the territory of Clancaroll, Farney, Co. Monaghan. He studied at the Irish College of Douai and then attended the famous Irish Franciscan College at Louvain. He returned to Ireland in 1633, before eventually becoming Vicar-General. He was appointed Bishop of

Down ad Conor in February 1642, before being transferred to Clogher. He was at the heart of much of the important political events that happened in Ireland between 1641 and 1650. He assumed the role of leader of the Ulster Irish after the death of Sir Feidhlim in late 1649. He led the Irish to a disasterous defeat at the hands of Sir Charles Coote in the battle of Scariffhollis on 21 June 1650. Mac Mathúna, badly wounded, escaped to Enniskillen where he was arrested, imprisoned and eventually hanged. See J. Silke, 'Scariffhollis 1650', *Clogher Record* 20 no. 3 (2011) 491-99; W. Kelly, 'Forlorn Alliances, The Ulster Army and the Battle of Scarrifhollis', in L. Ronayne (ed.), *Scarrifhollis* (Donegal 2001), 27-40; P. B. Ó Mórdha, 'The MacMahons of Monaghan (1600-1640)', *Clogher Record* 2, no. 2 (1958) 311-27; Séamus P. Ó Mórdha, 'Heber Mac Mahon, Soldier-Bishop of the Confederation of Kilkenny', *Clogher Record* 3, *Clogher Record Album: A Diocesan History* (1975) 41-62.

**9v**, recte **8v 8-9.** Aodh mac Mathghamna mac Briain mic Aodh Oíg ] This is Aodh Óg, the son of the Lord of Dartry, namely, Brian son of Aodha Óg son of Aodh son of Seaáin Buidhe. His mother was Lady Máire Ní Néill, daughter of Aodh Mór (Hugh O'Neill). He was executed for treason at Tyburn in November 1644. See *Cin Lae Ó Mealláin*, Lch. 1. See also Pádraig Lenihan, 'Mac Mahon, Hugh Oge (1606/7–1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17686, accessed 2 Dec 2015].

**9v**, **recte 8v10.** Conn mac Coinn mic Neill mhic Briain Fhagartaigh ] This is Colonel Conn Óg son of Conn son of Niall son of Briain Fogartach son of Niall Óg son of Niall Mór of Clann Aodha Buidhe / Clandeboy. He was killed at battle of Clones (*Cín Lae*, p. 17); see also *Cín Lae O Meallain*, Lch. 9.

**9v, recte 8v11.** Feidhlim mac Tuathail mhic Neill m<sup>ic</sup> Briain Fhagartaigh ] Lieutenant-Colonel Feidhlim son of Tuathal son of Niall son of Brian Fogartach of the Clann Aodha Buidhe. He fought at the battle of Scarbh Sholuis; see *Cin Lae O Meallain*, Lch. 34, 44.

**9v**, recte **8v12**. Art Óg O Neill mac Toirrdhealbhaigh mhic Énrí mhic Feidlime] Colonel Art Óg son of Toirdhealbach son of Énrí na nGarrthan son of Feidhlimid Ruadh Ó Néill of Tullydonnel in the Fews, S. Armagh; see Ó Doibhlin, *O'Neill's Own Country and its Families*, p. 177. He was captured in September 1644, *Cin Lae*, p. 25. See also See Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The O'Neills of the Fews', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 7, No. 2 (1974) 263-315.

**9v**, **recte 8v13. Toirr***dhealbhach* **mac Briain mhic Enrí oig ui Neill** ] *Cín Lae Ó Mealláin*, Lch. 27. First cousin of Sir Feidhlim and nobleman of Muintir Birn and Tuath Threana (Touranny).

**9v**, **recte 8v14. Magnus mac Neill Ghairbh Í Dhomhnuill** ] Maghnus was killed at the battle of Benburb; see *Cín Lae*, Lch. 38.

**9v**, recte 8v15. Aodh Buidhe mac Toirrdhealbhuigh Mhic Cabhar Í Dhomhnuill ] For this soldier's involvement as a leading officer, see 'Colonel Henry O'Neill's Relation of Transactions of General Owen Neill and His Party', in J. Gilbert (ed.), *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-1652*, Vol. 3, Part 2, (Dublin 1888) 196-216: 206.

9v, recte 8v17. Sémus mac Goffraidh Í Chathan | I have been unable to identify this figure.

9v, recte 8v18. mac Sémuis mhic Goffraigh | Unidentified.

**9v recte 8v20. Magnus Ruagh Ó Cathán** ] Maghnus Ruadh son of Cumhaigh Ballach son of Risteard Ó Catháin died in July 1645; see *Cin Lae*, Lch. 31. He appears as 'Manus Roe Ó Cane of the Parish of Armaghe' in Deposition 46 (Volume 1; John Constable, Drummad; 6 June 1643); as 'Collonel Manus Roe o Cahan' in Deposition 67 (Michael Harrison, Lisnagarvey, Co. Antrim, 11 February 1653; p. 106)

and 'Manus roe o Cane' in Deposition 82 (Volume 1; William Clarke, Derrykillultagh, Co. Antrim, 28 February 1653). Maghnus Ruadh was among the Irish lords who were excepted from pardon for life and estate by the 'Act for the Setling of Ireland', 12 August 1652; see Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, 1641-1652, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 341-44: 343.

**9v**, **recte 8v1. Rugraidh Mhág Uidhir** ] Possibly, Colonel Rughraidh Mhág Uidhir of Maguire's Bridge, brother to Lord Maguire; see Deposition, 160 (Volume 2; Francis Lovett, Clonen; n.d.); captured Sept. 1644, *Cín Lae*, Lch. 25.

#### Text incomplete.

**10r**, **recte 9r1. Aodh mhag Mhathghamna mic Airt Oíg** ]. Aodh son of Art Óg Mac Mathghamhna. Possibly one and the same as 'Hugh mc Art Roe mc Sir Patrick mc Art Moyle mcmaghan of Annaghae, Gent.', Schlegel's Index, 83b. See 'Hugh mc Art Roe mc Mahone gent,' in Deposition 259 (Henry Steele, Clontibret, 10 January 1642-Vol. 1, p. 255).

10r, recte 9r2. Art mac Rúgraidh mhic Giolla Phadraig ]. Art son of Rughraidh son of Giolla Pádraig Mac Mathghamhna was captured on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1642. His brother, Rughraidh, was killed; *Cin Lae*, Lch. 4). Art mac Rughraidh appears as 'Art Roe mc Rory mcMahone genteleman' in Deposition 259 (Henry Steele, Clontibret, 10 January 1642; Vol. 1, p. 256).

**10r**, **recte 9r3. Pádraice mac Eóguin mic Rúgraidh** ]. 'Patrick mc Owin mc Rory mcmaghan of Ballelisnesomane, Barony of Dartry'; Schlegel's Index, 87.

10r, recte 9r4. Aodh Óg mac Colla mac Eímhir mhic Briáin ]. I have not as yet identified this person.

**10r**, **recte 9r5. Padruicc mac** // **Briáin mhic** // **Éimhir** ]. 'Patrick mc Ever mcmaghan, and four brothers, near Castleblaney'; Schlegel's Index, 54. I think that this entry should be read as: *Pádruicc mac Éimhir mhic Bhriain*.

**10r**, **recte 9r8**. **Eoghan mac Seáain m**<sup>ic</sup> **Philip**] For the genealogy of Clann tSeáin mhic Pilip Óig Uí Raghallaigh, see *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys*, § 27 (pp. 51-52). He appears as 'Owen mc Shane mc Phillip Rellie' in Deposition 319 (Volume 2; Francis Graham, Drumgoon, 2 November 1642).

10r, recte 9r9. Aodh Ruagh mac Pilip mic Aódha ] This person is to be identified as Aodh Ruadh son of Philip son of Aodh son of Seán Ó Raghallaigh. Bob Hunter noted: 'A number of arrests were made in Cavan at this time. On May 12 [1634] the sherrif of Cavan was given a warrant to arrest Mulmory McPhillip O'Reilly, Hugh McMulmory O'Reilly, Phillip McDonnell O'Reilly, and David McConyn, some of them prominent landowners.' See Deposition no. 174 (Volume 2, Deposition of Patrick Atkinson, Gartylough, 21 July 1642) for a list of the leading O'Reillys. He is referred to as 'Hugh Roe Ó Rely' of the parish of Kilwater (Cill Uachtair) in Deposition 61 (Volume 2, Marmaduke Bateman, Ballyhaise, 13 April 1642).

10r, recte 9r10. Maolmorrda mac Pilib mhic Maolmorrdha] Two possibilities: Maol Mórdha son of Phillip (An Prióir) son of Maol Mórdha; or Maol Mórdha son of Phillip son of Maol Mórdha son of Éamonn Riabhach Ó Raghallaigh. His homeplace is given as Kilveghane in English in the Depositions (Volume 2; no. 319, Francis Graham, Drumgoon, 2 November 1642). A further 'Mulmore mc Phillip Ó

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Hunter, The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608-41 (Belfast 2012) 194.

Rely of Trinity Iland gent' was accused of rebellion, robbery and cruelty by witness 115; see Depositions, Volume 2, TCD MS 832, fol. 36r [= edition, p. 47].

**10r**, **recte 9r11** *Maol***mordha mac Cathaoír mic Seaain** ] This is Maol Mórdha son of Cathaor son of Seán son of Toirdhealbhach son of Fearghal Ó Raghallaigh. See, *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys*, § 17 (pp. 40-41).

**10r**, **recte 9r12. Maol Morrdha mac Seaain Séadhach na** ] *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* has: Maol Mórdha son of Seán na Seach son of Brian son of Fearghal Óg; see § 20 (p. 44).

10r, recte 9r Toirrdhealbhach mac Cathaoir mhic Eoghuin | This person may be one and the same person as Toirrdhealbhach son of Cathal son of Eoghan Ruadh Ó Raghallaigh who is listed as a son of Domhnall Ballach in *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys*, § 29 (p. 55). In the Depositions he appears as 'Turlough mc Cahir Ó Rely of Ballinecarge'; see, for example, Deposition 61 (Marmaduke Bateman, Ballyhaise, 13 April 1643). See also the 'Articles of Agreement concluded and agreed upon, the quarter given by Hugh Mac Shan Rely, and the rest of the gentlemen here under named to Sir Francis Hamilton', 4 June 1642, in which 'Tirlagh, [sic] Cahil Relie' is named; see *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1642-1652*, Vol. 1, Part 2 (Dublin 1879) 494-95.

10r, recte 9r14. Sémus mac Tomáis mic Semhuis Bhuidhe | This may be Sémus Óg son of Tomás son of Sémus Bán Ó Raghallaigh; cf. § 26.

**10r**, **recte 9r15**. **Séan Óg O Raghallaigh ]**. This person may be identifiable in the Depositions as 'Shane oge McOwen McTarlach' of Lios Clochair; see Deposition 324 ('List of Rebels') or as Captain 'Shane oge mc Conor Rellie of Balaghane'; see Deposition 319 (Francis Graham, Drumgoon). He is listed as a captain of his own company after the name 'Shane Oge OReilly' in a regiment commanded by 'Colonel Phillip McHugh O'Reilly' at Clonmel; see 'Muster of Ulster Horse and Foot at Clonmel, January, 1649-50', J. Gilbert, *Contemporary History*, Vol. 2, Part 2 (Dublin 1880) 502-504: 503.

**10r**, **recte 9r15**. **Semus mac Conchabhuir**]. This figure appears as 'Captain James McKnogher o Rely' in Deposition no. 376 (George Creighton, 15 April, 1643).

10r, recte 9r16. mac Sé<sub>a</sub>ain mhic Aódha ] This entry and the one above should perhaps be taken together to read: Semus mac Conchabhair mic Seáin mhic Aodha [Uí Raghallaigh] or Séamus mac Seáin mhic Aodh mhic Conchubhair.

10r, recte 9r16. Toirrdhealbhach mhac Cathain mhic Aodha ]. This name should perhaps be read as Toirrdhealbhach mhac Cathair mhic Aodha. If so, then he may be one and the same as 'Turlogh mc Cahir o Rely of Ballnecarge'; see Deposition 366 (Marmaduke Bateman, Ballyhaise, 13 April 1643).

**10r**, **recte 9r17**. **Pilib Ó Gabann** ]. 'Phillip Ó Gowne of the parish of Lawie' is accused of robbery by witness 60; 'Phillip Ó Gowen of Corfad yeoman' is accused of robbery and cruelty by witness 78; see *1641 Depositions*, Volume 2, Cavan and Fermanagh, TCD MS 832, fol. 15v, fol. 16r [= edition, pp. 22-23].

**10r**, **recte 9r17**. **Eogan Ó Gabhann** ]. 'Owen o Gowen' is mentioned in Deposition no. 271 (Deposition of Ellen Ward, Portmoylin, 24 January 1642). 'Owen mc Gowen of the par*ish* of kildrumfert yeoman' was accused of robbery; see *1641 Depositions*, Volume 2, Cavan and Fermanagh, TCD MS 832, fol. 15r [= edition, p. 21].

10r, recte fol. 9r18. Toirdhealbhach Óg O Boíghil mac Toirrdhealbhaigh ]. A Lieutenant Colonel called 'Terlough OBoyle' appears on a list of the officers killed or taken prisoner on the 21 June 'at the

field of Scarfhollis near Litterkenny'. For the list, see 'Military Operations in Ulster. — Sir Charles Coote to Henry Ireton, Lord Deputy in Ireland', in J. Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, Vol. 3, Part 1, Appendix, 147-150: 150.

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