

THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS



THE JOURNAL OF THE LARSEN







So seallib Norðra in suempe nistoes. Dia hiepe  
in p hiepe la f i don mico. 3 l uapet na matet se cat  
nais eipe eile dast comaim. tustide. secht lize  
o toua f uapet do btepn eliz hiepe lici do blich uca u  
neois ap in glit t lorge o thupen by ap in glit som  
sa plet 7 uonae noim hiepe. Sanct l uapet u ap  
do f i t i u mat mstb tpe. 21 na maslae 33 in seupat  
don d. 21 e hie u neoyar na eathrach toy comdaim  
clooh dnotacht la iyl shraie in tan by size no f  
bap uge. f on seathra u nimb coe chuthapou n romu  
21 nuy o u bap thie e hie u steuch upe. ois in f i l toy  
ap tem upe. so cornu t la lueht u hnotachta an  
seathraie so r hiepeach senapit u sehtat iyl shra  
le in t hiepe romu in tan. 21 ta u sepeinle 7 u p  
athinte as lueht u hiepepeu nuy gab 7 nq toslad  
f i m so hiepepeu. 21 lueht lueht na eathrach u mat  
ap euea so so onepuch aipmteuch. eupit coirte  
21 u saie ap so sehmigdi sechnoin na eathra f i x  
u hiepe 7 u eapenit so hiepe. 21 lueht upe  
hiepele upe eapit so hiepepeu na eathra. 21 t upe  
e f i m so p upeleuch iyl upeuch toy. eupit t supm  
lueht by upe sepe amip. 21 f i l roeib upe na chomfoin  
u p i m i d i d i o i s so upe nepeletoib eliz eimlecha ap na  
seom p upele topan seathra. 21 f i m in u p upeleuchapit  
oipit upepeu so p i m i d i d i o i s o hiepe eliz hiepepeu  
so p i m i d i d i o i s e hiepepeu 7 p i m i d i d i o i s in t upe mst  
u lueht 7 mstb toltanuch se lueht u eathrach.

C upele lueht lueht upe upe eliz 7 upepeu  
ap in seathra iyl upe na p upepeu sume 33 in f i l upe  
chomthapou na mstb mstb. T upe o eimam to e b i g u p o i

1609



# THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

BY  
TADHG Ó CIANÁIN

*EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPT,  
WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES*

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941.56

2833



941.56



Page 6, note 6. Doctor Séamus 'O Ceallaigh has pointed out to me that this identification is wrong. On the map of Tyrone made in 1609 the lake of Craobh is marked "Lo Creue," and is placed to the north of Dungannon and south of Tullahogue. It must have lain not far from Stewartstown.

Page 7, note 9. In a note in *Seachran Chairn tSiadhail* (Dublin, 1904), page 154, the same scholar has shown that *Beigfhine* probably gave name to the present townland name of Glenviggan, in the parish of Ballynascreen, County Derry. The townland borders on the parish of Bodoney, the ancient *Muintear Luinigh*.



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2833



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## CORRIGENDA

Page 4, line 3, for *gcomhairchiss* read *gcomhairrchiss*; p. 10, l. 31, *ac* is covered by a blot of ink, which was on the manuscript when I first saw it; p. 14, l. 23, for *bhat* read *bat*; p. 22, l. 22, for *letreadha* read *letreacha*; pp. 34, 66, 130, 136, 146, *lassam* (with mark of abbreviation); *lasamhain* occurs written out on p. 240, and *lasamna* on pp. 186, 234; p. 34, l. 5 from end, for *ffiadhniussi* read *ffiadhnuissi*; p. 44, l. 8, for *si* read *sin*; p. 52, l. 21, the manuscript has *lochrainn*; p. 54, l. 15, read *letreachoibh*; p. 56, l. 1, for *o* read *a*; l. 17, the *r* of *raingce* is written on *d*; p. 58, l. 8, the manuscript puts the stop after *sodain*; p. 62, l. 17, the words *ar na mharach* belong to the preceding sentence; p. 66, l. 16, *ospitail* occurs written out on pp. 182, 246; p. 70, l. 18, for *dithoghluide* read *dithoghlaide*; p. 86, l. 9, the comma should be a full stop; p. 94, l. 7, opposite *mharta*, on the right margin, the manuscript has 1608; l. 12, for *ierla* read *iarla*; pp. 96, 98, the manuscript has stops after *bliadhna* and *bas*; p. 100, l. 16, see corrigendum of p. 66; p. 110, l. 23, read *hAdhomh-chloinne*; p. 113, note, read  $\gamma$  *archaingil*; p. 116, l. 6, read *at[ch]aiss*; p. 118, l. 3 from end, read *bliadhnoibh*; p. 122, l. 25, read *turaiss*  $\gamma$  *deuosioin*; p. 124, l. 4, for *imchien* read *imchein*; l. 9 from end, for *i n-* read *for*; p. 136, l. 26, read *glomhaiss*; the stop should be after *sodain*; p. 148, l. 4 from end, omit the brackets; p. 152, l. 24, read *thairmcheimniugadh*; p. 170, l. 29, for *diardaoin* read *dia dardaoin*; p. 176, l. 4, for *ttri* read *tri*; p. 192, l. 4, for *tturuis* read *tturus*; p. 196, l. 20, read *primhecluis*; p. 208, l. 2, the manuscript has only *Romhan*; p. 212, l. 12, for *chomdach* of the manuscript read *comdach*; p. 220, l. 8, read *talmain*; p. 232, l. 11, read *ag inotacht*  $\gamma$  *ag aittrebhadh*; p. 240, l. 5 from end, for *sin* read *si*; p. 248, l. 22, for *Francisco* read *Fransisco*; p. 250, l. 15, for *delp* read *dealp*; p. 252, l. 23, *la horsnaithe* in the manuscript, with a dot over the *n*, *la h* having been altered (as also on p. 256, l. 10) from *d*.

Page 9, line 21, for "driver" read "driven"; p. 37, l. 7, after "twenty-first" add "[recte twenty-second]"; l. 24 for "[and]" read "or" (*inaid* = *no* as on p. 130, l. 26); p. 41, l. 13 for "Monday [recte Sunday] the twenty-eighth" read "Monday the twenty-eighth [recte twenty-ninth]"; l. 4 from end, after "thirtieth" read "[recte thirty-first]"; p. 45, l. 10, for "a sergeant-major" read "the sergeant-major of the town"; p. 59, n. 3 for "Ruaidhri" read "Rughraighe"; p. 63, l. 17, omit "on the next day"; l. 23, for "midnight" read "midday"; p. 71, last line, read "Brussels"; p. 83, l. 18, for "namep" read "named"; p. 84, nn. 1 and 2, *Niderharga* is *Niderhergheim* (compare *Oberhergheim*, about ten miles south of Colmar), 'O Cianáin reverses the order of this name and *Otmers* (= *Ottmarsheim*); p. 99, l. 23, omit "city"; p. 107, l. 28, for "Wednesday the seventeenth [recte sixteenth]" read "Thursday the seventeenth"; p. 241, l. 9, for "eighteenth" read "eighth."







## PREFACE

THE Flight of the Earls deserves to rank as one of the most important events in Irish history. Its more immediate effect was the clearing of the way for the agrarian settlement known as the Plantation of Ulster, while it exerted a profound influence years afterwards in the affairs connected with the rebellions of 1641 and 1689. It marked the beginning of a new era, and was the most significant evidence of the passing away of the old. With the Flight of the Earls the Gaelic organisation of Ireland, which had made a vigorous resistance during three quarters of a century, surrendered the last stronghold, and the new order entered into that complete mastery which it has since maintained.

In this all-important proceeding the principal personages involved were Aodh O Néill, Rughraighe O Domhnaill, and Cúchonnacht Maguidhir, princes respectively of Tír Eoghain, Tír Chonaill, and Fir Manach in Ulster. Aodh, son of Fear-dorcha, son of Conn Bacach O Néill, was reared by the English, was taught the habit of his masters, and was styled Earl of Tyrone, a title which his grandfather was the first to bear. He was the pet of English governors in Ireland, and even wielded the sword in the Queen's right. In the end, however, he broke with her Majesty's servants, and for years carried on rebellion in defence of, as he frequently protested, Catholicism and the hereditary rights of O Néill of Ulster. He defeated in his most successful battles the best generals and armies that Elizabeth could send against him. At length he concluded peace, on practically his own terms, at the commencement of the new reign. The liberties and guarantees granted him by Mountjoy, were not, however,



respected by Chichester, a later Lord Deputy. The discontents of the under-tenants of O Néill were encouraged by the King's Government. He was involved in a tedious lawsuit with O Catháin, his most important subject, and in other annoyances. He became apprehensive of his personal safety, and determined to seek the means of redress in a foreign land. A messenger was dispatched to the Continent. A vessel arrived on the coast of Donegal in September, 1607, and O Néill, gathering his friends and his belongings, set sail on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, never again, as it proved, to lay eyes on Ireland.

Rughraighe O Domhnaill, who had been invested with the title of Earl of Tyrconnell after the conclusion of the peace, was a brother-in-law of O Néill. He was a younger brother of Aodh Ruadh, who, kidnapped and imprisoned by Lord Deputy Perrot, became a fierce opponent of the English, and was so great a danger to the English power that Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, had him poisoned in Spain. Rughraighe had taken part in the rebellion, and had been selected by Aodh Ruadh to govern his people in his absence from Ireland after the fatal day of Kinsale. Niall Garbh O Domhnaill, who was his cousin, and was married to his sister, was maintained by the English to check his power. He was not yet forty when the Flight took place. His wife, whom he left behind him, was a lady of an Anglo-Irish family, Brigid Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, and their only son, an infant, accompanied his father, and grew to manhood on the Continent.

Cúchonnacht Maguidhir was a younger brother of Aodh Maguidhir, prince of Fir Manach, one of O Néill's staunchest supporters during the war. That he was a dangerous man from the point of view of the Government we can gather from two facts: first, Conchubhar Maguidhir, a kinsman, who was styled *gallda*, "the anglicised," was strongly supported in opposition to him, and had half the county of Fermanagh allotted to him; second, Aodh Ruadh O Domh-



naill, who would have no dealings with a weakling, had Cúchonnacht proclaimed Maguidhir when his brother Aodh was slain in 1600. After the war we learn little of him until the year of the Flight. He left Ireland in the spring or early summer, engaged the ship in which the chiefs embarked for Spain, and arrived with the vessel in Lough Swilly in September. He died while still young on August 12, 1608, at Genoa, and the Four Masters relate of him that he had "wisdom, a fine appearance, and every goodness."

The work which is edited and translated in the present volume describes the doings of these princes from the time that they left Ireland. The author was Tadhg O Cianáin, whose family had for generations served as chroniclers to that of Maguidhir. He was one of the party that accompanied the chiefs, and he was an eye-witness of all he describes. His narrative is the only work of its kind in Irish literature, and it is a pity that, if he continued it down to a later period, the conclusion is not forthcoming. The manuscript from which the text is derived, penned in his own neat and graceful hand, is preserved in the convent of the Franciscans, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, whither it was conveyed from Rome in 1872. The writing occupies one hundred and thirty-five pages, and the narrative breaks off abruptly at the end of November, 1608. Page 96 was written on September 23rd, 1609 (see note, page 192), and it is unlikely that the story was not carried down to that date, or a later one. Of this latter portion nothing is known—whether it exists at all, and if it exists, where it may be.

O Cianáin never refers by name to himself in the body of his work. There are, however, several entries like *Tadhg O Cienain do scribh isàn Roimbh*, 1609, made for the purpose of completing the last line of a page; while the fact that he was the author, and not a mere transcriber, appears from a passage on page 40: "as the roads from Douai to Tournai were dirty, and the highways narrow



and uneven, *the writer and narrator* of this could not easily note or observe the country or the land along the route."

The work contains no enumeration of the members of the retinue which accompanied the princes. We learn, however, that as the ship entered the mouth of the Seine she carried in all ninety-nine persons. Of this number fifty-six have been identified in the course of this book. A list preserved among the Borghese Papers in Rome gives the names of some others. They are as follows :

57. The wife of Art óg O Néill, son of Cormac Mhac an Bharúin, and nephew of O Néill.
58. Brian O Néill, another nephew of the chief.
59. The wife of Sean na bpunta O h'Agáin.
60. The wife of Eamonn gruamdha Mac Daibhid.
61. The Franciscan friar Muiris Ultach.
62. Colmán, the Earl's priest.
63. Donnchadh Mac Suibhne, the son of Mac Suibhne Baghaineach.
64. Gearóid, son of Gearóid O Conchubhair.
65. "Cayer Mac Tamalin."
66. "David Craffort."

We thus know the names of over sixty persons in all, and these embrace every one of rank and importance who shared in the perils of the voyage.

A noteworthy feature in the narrative is the silence regarding the various agencies which placed difficulties in O Néill's way at the courts of France, Spain, and Flanders. With the single exception of a rather mild account of the scheming of the English ambassador at Paris, there is no reference to those who thwarted his plans at almost every turn. O Néill had intended to land in Spain, but stress of weather compelled him to put into a French harbour. Wishing to proceed direct overland, he was prevented by the French King on various pretexts. Sir George Carew



so far scored a success, though he could not prevail on the King to deny a free passage to Flanders. In the month of November O Néill proposed going to Spain by way of Italy, hoping at the same time to pay a short visit to the Pope. He had already set out when the Spanish Ambassador, acting under directions from the King of Spain, had him detained in Flanders by order of the Archduke. His object in endeavouring to reach Spain was to procure assistance for an attack on Ireland, but the King's demand that he would express his purposes and wants by letter, was merely a way of putting him off altogether. O Néill next turned to the Pope, but the Papal ambassador told him that he must expect no help in that quarter. Meanwhile Sir Francis Edmonds, the representative of the court of England, continued to press the Archduke to send him out of Flanders, and, finally, definite orders were given in February, 1608, that he should quit the country.\* On these various moves on the part of the enemies of the Irish, O Cianáin has nothing to say, and we can only conclude that he was not one of those who helped to arrange their plans, or shared all their confidences.

The story of the events of the Flight commences abruptly ; there is no exordium or preface save three words : *i n-ainm De*, "in God's name." A modern writer would surely have discussed the causes that led to it, but to O Cianáin the causes were, no doubt, too obvious to need explanation. The Government, when the Flight was accomplished, pretended to believe a story of an alleged plot, and it served admirably the purpose of those who were about to inaugurate the policy of the Plantation of Ulster. The charge of conspiracy was first secretly made by Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Baron of Howth, a gentleman of English extrac-

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\* See the Borghese Papers, *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. IV, pp. 215-310.



tion. St. Lawrence had served as an officer with the Queen's forces in Ireland in the course of the war, and despairing of a suitable recompense from the Lord Deputy, had gone into England in August, 1606, "expecting," as he himself acknowledges, "to obtain some employment or pension from the King's Majesty." He subsequently passed into Flanders, and in the course of the next year, returned to London and commenced to make his disclosures to Salisbury. Salisbury appears to have treated them lightly, for he seems not to have made any note of them. The general drift of them must, however, have been conveyed to Chichester, for the latter, in forwarding the letter placed at the door of the council-chamber on May 18/28, says he transmits it because it "concurs in many parts with the discovery made unto your Lordship." Howth arrived in Ireland about June 26/July 6, and forthwith set about repeating his informations to the Lord Deputy. His story was that there was a plot of a general insurrection afoot, and that he himself, Lord Delvin, the Earl of Tyrconnell, and others, were implicated. He added, at the same time, that, howsoever he had hearkened to the conspirators, "he meant not to partake with them in the business." He involved Lord Delvin particularly, with the result that that nobleman was arrested in November.

These revelations, made by a man of the character of Howth, did not seriously perturb the Government. "I like not his look and gesture when he talks with me of this business," says the Lord Deputy; and the Privy Council in England were of opinion that "he rather prepared the propositions he speaks of than that the persons he names did originally propound them to him." The Flight, however, lent colour to his accusations, and Chichester was determined to investigate the matter further. Delvin was arrested, and the burden of his information was that he had discussed with the Earl of Tyrconnell the project of seizing Dublin Castle with the aid of certain Spanish forces.



Even if we believe Delvin's story, there is no evidence of conspiracy on the part of O Néill or Maguidhir. O Domhnaill may possibly have discussed his grievances and hopes of redress too freely, and he may have learned that he was looked upon with suspicion by the authorities as a result of Howth's informations. But it is extremely unlikely that he entertained fear of discovery as early as May, 1607, for Howth was in Flanders up to that period. Yet, at that time "the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell had sent one John Bath into Spain to pray the King of Spain's favour and assistance, they being fearful to be taken or sent for into England." A month before the Flight word came from Flanders that O Néill, who had been summoned to England, would never return to Ireland again, and that the Earl of Tyrconnell would be committed in Ireland, and they were ordered to be in readiness to attend the coming of a ship which would be sent for them soon after.

O Domhnaill's unwise conversations with Delvin, even if it were certain that the informers spoke the truth, and that the Government believed them, do not, therefore, account satisfactorily for the Flight. They did not involve O Néill or Maguidhir, and the story of a great conspiracy, in which all the chief men in Ulster and in the Pale were concerned, was worked up during the latter months of 1607, when it was necessary to sustain a charge so "that their countries be made the King's by this accident."

In preparing this *editio princeps* of the narrative of Tadhg O Cianáin I have made constant use of the Rev. C. P. Meehan's "Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell," a brilliant work issued over a generation ago. The many references to it in my notes are to the third enlarged edition, which appeared in 1886. I have also extensively quoted the official Calendar of the State Papers of the reign of James I, but I regret that the extracts from the Borghese Papers printed in *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. IV., referred to above, were not available when the notes were commenced.



To Professor Osborn J. Bergin, of University College, Dublin, who read a proof of the work, I am particularly indebted for help and criticism. His accurate scholarship saved me from many an error. The Rev. Michael Sheehan, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, read portion of my translation, and contributed largely to its improvement. Even with the help of these scholars it would be too much to hope for absolute accuracy, and I desire to accept responsibility for whatever errors the book contains. The reader will understand that the division into chapters was made for the purpose of facilitating reference, and that the text represents the orthography of the scribe and author.

Finally, I wish to express my deep gratitude to the Rev. T. A. O'Reilly, O.S.F., Librarian of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, to the manuscripts in whose care I have had free access at all times.

PAUL WALSH.

*Lá Samhna,*

1915.



# SUMMARY OF DATES AND EVENTS

Days and dates arrived at by calculation are enclosed in brackets.

1607

September	PAGE
Thursday 7 [ <i>recte</i> 6]. 'O Néill at Baile Shláine. He learns by letter that Cúchonnacht Maguidhir and others have come with a ship to take himself and his friends from Ireland .	3
Saturday [8]. He goes to Sir Garret Moore's house at Mellifont .	5
[Sunday 9]. He goes to Srádbhaile Dúna Dealgan .	5
Monday [10]. He pushes on by way of Ard Macha and Dún Geanainn to Craobh .	7
Tuesday [11]. He stays at Craobh. .	7
Wednesday [12]. He goes to Muinntir Luinigh .	7
[Thursday 13]. He reaches Bun Diannaide at midday. At night-fall he crosses Loch Feabhail, and takes with him Cathbharr 'O Domhnaill from Droichead Adhamhnáin .	7
Friday [14]. At daybreak they reach Ráith Mealltain, where they find the Earl of Tyrconnell putting stores into the ship .	9
The nobles and their followers embark at midday and hoist sail. They endeavour to put in at Ara for food and drink, but are driven off by a storm .	9
[Saturday 15]. Storm. They steer for Spain opposite Cruach Pádraig, and experience bad weather for thirteen days .	11
Sunday 30. They propose putting into harbour at Le Croisic near the mouth of the Loire in France .	11
October	
Tuesday [2]. They sight three vessels which inform them that they are in the Flemish Sea. A storm at night obliges them to pull in sail .	11
[Wednesday 3]. At dawn they find themselves off the Channel Islands. They hoist sail and sight France. They engage a pilot, but the wind subsides. Later a pilot from Rouen directs them during the night .	13
Thursday 4. They land at midday at Quilleboeuf at the mouth of the Seine, having been twenty days at sea .	15
[Friday 5]. The Governor of the town dines with 'O Néill. The ladies and children leave for Rouen by boat. Seventeen of the gentlemen ride to La Bouille .	19
[Saturday 6]. They are arrested. Some of them set out to see the Marshal of Normandy at Lisieux .	21
The ladies stay that night at St. Georges .	21



	PAGE
Sunday [7]. The ladies reach Rouen . . . . .	21
Monday [8]. Three of the gentlemen come by boat to Rouen . . . . .	23
[Tuesday 9]. They are informed that the Governor of Rouen has written to the King of France for directions regarding them . . . . .	23
In the course of the week Matha óg 'O Maeltuile, after a fruitless journey to Paris, learns that the party must betake themselves to Flanders, and sets out before them to prepare the way . . . . .	25
Meanwhile the English ambassador at Paris sends a messenger to London . . . . .	25
Saturday [13]. The Governor of Rouen orders the ladies to leave the city by the following Monday . . . . .	27
Sunday [14]. All the gentlemen arrive in Rouen . . . . .	27
[Monday] 15. They leave Rouen . . . . .	27
They reach La Boissière. Maighbethadh 'O Neill loses the party . . . . .	29
[Tuesday 16]. They pass through Neufchatel and Aumale to Poix . . . . .	29
[Wednesday 17]. They reach Amiens, and stop for the night at Contay . . . . .	31
[Thursday] 18. They meet Maighbethadh 'O Néill again at Arras. They stop there for a few days and Doctor Eoghan Mag Mathghamhna comes from Douai to meet them . . . . .	33
Monday 21 [ <i>recte</i> 22*]. They proceed to Douai. They visit the Irish College, and meet Father Flaithrí 'O Maelchonaire and Doctor Robert Mac Artúir . . . . .	37
Friday 26. They reach a village near Tournai . . . . .	39
[Saturday 27]. They are received in the city . . . . .	39
Monday 28 [ <i>recte</i> 29†]. They go to Ath . . . . .	41
[Tuesday 30]. They pass through Enghien to Hal . . . . .	41
Wednesday 30 [ <i>recte</i> 31‡]. 'O Néill's son, Enrí, Colonel of the Irish Regiment in Flanders, comes to meet them . . . . .	41
November	
Saturday [3]. They are visited by Spinola, the Spanish Commander-in-Chief in Flanders. The Archduke invites them to his country residence near Binche . . . . .	43
Sunday 4. They reach Nyvel . . . . .	45
[Monday 5]. They visit the Archduke, and return to Nyvel. . . . .	45
[Tuesday 6]. They return to Hal . . . . .	47
[Wednesday 7]. They dine with Spinola in Brussels, and return to Hal . . . . .	49
Friday 9. They proceed to Louvain . . . . .	53
Sunday 25. The party leaves the ladies in Louvain, and sets out for Spain. They remain at Perwez that night . . . . .	55
[Monday 26]. They reach Namur, and are ordered by a post from the Archduke to return to Louvain . . . . .	55

\* This correction should have been made in the text at p. 37.

† The date, not the day, should have been corrected at p. 41.

‡ This correction should have been made in the text at p. 41.



# SUMMARY OF DATES AND EVENTS xvii

	PAGE
[Wednesday 28]. They travel back to Wavre . . . . .	57
Thursday 29. They reach Louvain, where they spend the Christmas season . . . . .	57
Between Christmas and the feast of the Epiphany they hear that Cormac, brother of 'O Néill, Lord Howth, and Lord Delvin have been arrested in Ireland, and that Brian, 'O Néill's nephew, has been executed . . . . .	59

## 1608

### February

[Monday] 18. They visit Mechlin, where they are interested in the tomb of St. Romoldus, an Irishman and the patron of Flanders . . . . .	65
[Tuesday 19]. They visit Antwerp . . . . .	67
[Wednesday 20]. They visit the Irish College there. They proceed to Willebroeck . . . . .	69
[Thursday 21]. They return by way of Vilvorde to Louvain . . . . .	71
Thursday 28. They set out for Italy. They reach Wavre . . . . .	73
[Friday 29]. They are escorted by cavalry to Namur, where Colonel Enrí 'O Néill takes leave of them . . . . .	73

### March

[Saturday 1]. They reach Marche . . . . .	75
Sunday 2. They reach Bastogne . . . . .	75
[Monday 3]. They reach Arlon . . . . .	75
Tuesday [4]. They enter Lorraine, and stay the night at Fillieres . . . . .	75
[Wednesday 5]. They proceed through Mars-la-Tour* to Conflans . . . . .	77
[Thursday 6]. They reach Pont-a-Mousson, where they stay two nights . . . . .	77
[Saturday 8]. They reach Nancy . . . . .	77
[Sunday 9]. They are entertained by the Duke of Lorraine. . . . .	79
[Monday 10]. They proceed through St. Nicholas to Lunéville . . . . .	81
Tuesday 11. They reach St. Die . . . . .	81
[Wednesday 12]. They pass through Bonhomme and Kaysersberg to Colmar . . . . .	83
[Thursday 13]. They reach Niederhergheim . . . . .	83
[Friday 14]. They proceed through Ottmarsheim to Bâle and Liesthal . . . . .	85
[Saturday 15]. They reach Sursee . . . . .	85
Sunday 16. They advance through Sempach, Lucerne, and the Lake to Flüelen . . . . .	97
[Monday] 17. St. Patrick's Day. They pass through Silenen and Devil's Bridge to Piedemonte. A horse of 'O Néill's, carrying £120, falls over a cliff . . . . .	87
[Tuesday 18]. 'O Néill stops to search for the money . . . . .	89
[Wednesday 19]. He sets out again after a vain effort to recover it. He crosses the Alps by way of the St. Gotthard Pass to Airolo, the Gate of Hell, and Faido . . . . .	89

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\* This is the town referred to on p. 76, n. 2.



	PAGE
[Thursday 20]. They reach Bellinzona . . . . .	91
[Friday 21]. They pass by Monte Ceneri to Lugano. . . . .	91
[Saturday 22]. They sail Lake Lugano, land at Capo Lago, and proceed to Como . . . . .	93
Sunday 23. They reach Milan . . . . .	95
Wednesday [26]. They are received by Count de Fuentes, the Spanish Governor of Lombardy . . . . .	95
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Friday [4]. Good Friday. They visit the cathedral of Santa Maria del Duomo . . . . .	99
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\* Mistranslated "Wednesday," p. 107. There is no error in the text.



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FLIGHT OF THE EARLS





## FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

I. A n-ainm Dhé. Ag so páirt do scēloib 7 d' imthechtoib Uī Néill ōn uair forfhāgoip sē Eire. Ar tūs buī O Néill a ffoch-air Iuistis na Hēirenn, Sir Artuir Sitsestar, a mBaili Shlāine. Do ghlac sē leitir ō Sheōn Bat dia dardaoín, in seachtmadh lá Septembris, a aois in Tigerna in tan sin míle 7 sē chētt 7 seacht

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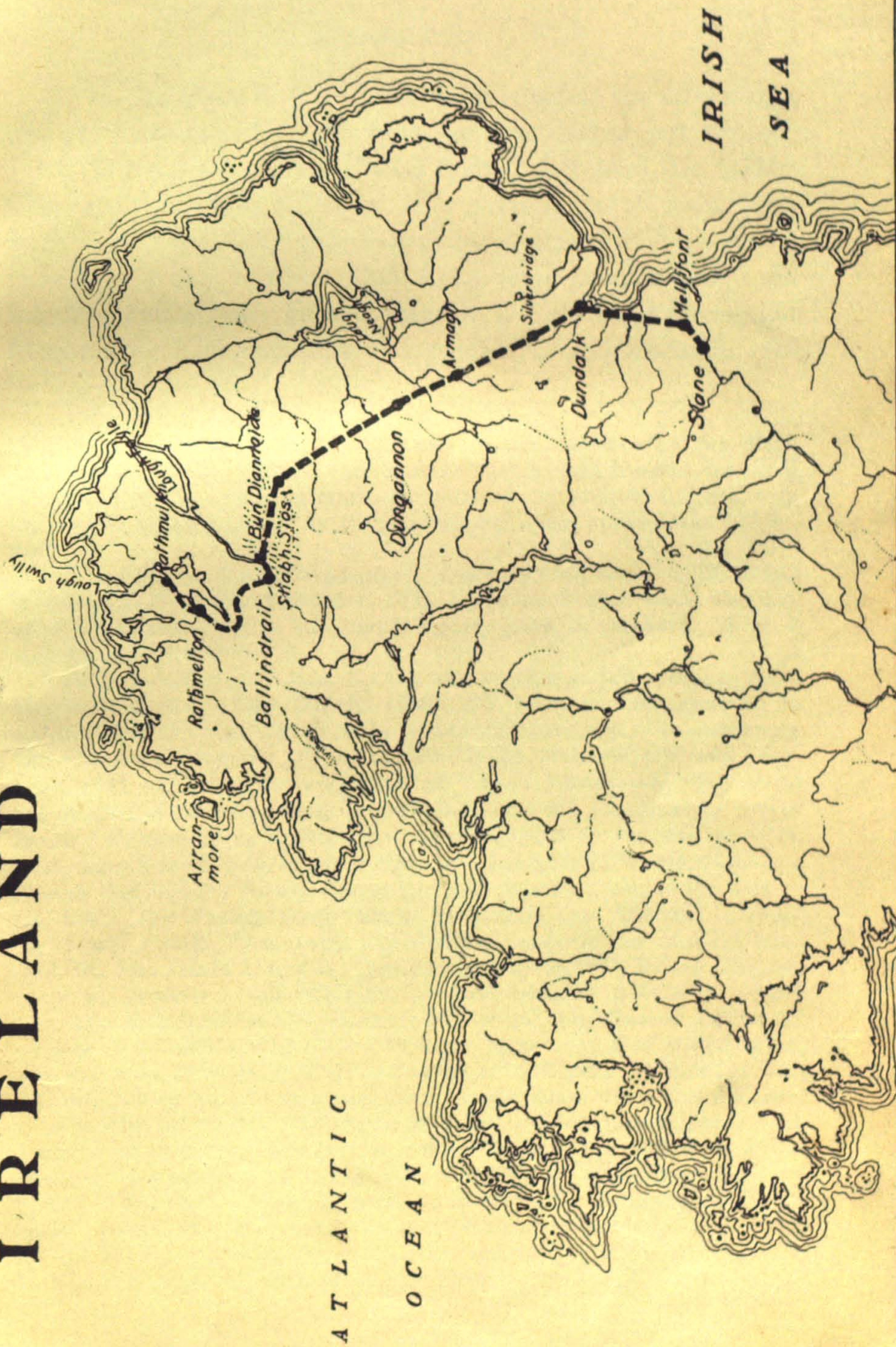
<sup>1</sup> Sir Arthur Chichester was appointed Deputy in succession to Sir George Carey, and had the sword delivered to him on the 24th February, 1605. He became Lord Lieutenant on Mountjoy's death in April, 1606, and held that post until his dismissal on the 27th November, 1615. His term of office was characterised by a series of forgeries and robberies, which have been described admirably by Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., in his book, *Stolen Waters*.

<sup>2</sup> *Baile Shlāine*. Slane on the Boyne, midway between Drogheda and Navan. The place had been in the hands of the Fleming family from the Norman Invasion. William Fleming was owner of the castle in 1607. The property was sold by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates to Henry Conyngham in 1703.

<sup>3</sup> John Bath, emissary from Tyrone to James VI. in 1598 (Cal. St. Pa. 1598-9, 464), was a Drogheda merchant, who five or six months prior to the flight was sent into Spain to pray the King's favour and assistance (Cal. St. Pa. James I., vol. 2, 298). He provided the ship, which was a Frenchman, for Mag Uidhir, and acted himself as master and captain (*ibid.* 267, 299). He had already been in Spain after the battle of Kinsale (D'Alton, King James' Army List ii, 214). Fr. Meehan says: "Bath, the captain of the vessel purchased by Cuconnaught Maguire, made his appearance in Slane, and there found Tyrone" (p. 75), but our narrative makes it clear that he merely sent a missive. Upon their first coming to Lough Swilly, Donnchadh 'O Briain, referred to later, landed by night and went to the Earl of Tyrconnell to acquaint him of the arrival of the ship, whereupon Tyrconnell sent notice thereof to Tyrone by Owen Magrath, Superior of the Franciscans. The latter was the bearer of a similar message to O'Donnell's Countess at Maynooth. In a letter received on the 1st (11th) of October, she writes to Chichester that on the 16th (26th) of September, as far as she can remember, Owen Groome Maccra met her at Moyglare garden, brought her gold as a token from her lord, and said that if he had known sooner of his going he would have taken her with him (Cal. St. P. 296). Bath lived at Rome with 'O Néill for four years, and was employed in 1612 to negotiate with the



# IRELAND



O'Neill's Route from Slane to Rathmullen







## TRANSLATION.

I. In the name of God. Here are some of the adventures and proceedings of 'O Néill from the time that he left Ireland. First, 'O Néill was with the Lord Justice of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester<sup>1</sup>, at Baile Shláine.<sup>2</sup> He received a letter from John Bath<sup>3</sup> on Thursday,<sup>4</sup> the seventh [*recte* sixth] of September, the year of the Lord at that time being one thousand six hundred and seven. It was stated in the aforesaid letter that Maguidhir (Cúchonnacht Maguidhir)<sup>5</sup>, Donnchadh 'O

English representative at Brussels for an agreement with the Earl. Anxious to enrich himself, he betrayed trust and turned informer (Meehan 245 ff.). A John Bath assassinated 'O Súillebháin Béara in the streets of Madrid on the 16th July, 1618 (Hist. Cath. Hib. (1850), 337).

<sup>4</sup> *Thursday the sixth of September.* The year 1607 began on Monday; therefore Sept. 6 was Thursday. The following Friday week, the day of embarkation at Ráith Maoláin, is rightly given as the 14th. Sept. 6 was August 27 Old Style.

<sup>5</sup> *Cúchonnacht Mag Uidhir.* He was half-brother and successor to Aodh Mag Uidhir who + 13th March, 1599/1600, from wounds received in a skirmish near Cork (Life of Aodh Ruadh 226), and son of Cúchonnacht 'og + 1589 and Margaret O'Neill (ZfcPh. ii. 328, 359, 360, O'Grady Catalogue 454). O'Grady remarks that the "Four Masters are silent as to the manner of his succession," but the Life of Aodh Ruadh gives a very graphic account of how that chief, in opposition to the wishes of 'O Néill, gave him the title of Maguidhir at a banquet in 'O Néill's house, though Conchubhar Ruadh Maguidhir, his opponent, sat at the side of the host. See Father Denis Murphy's edition, pp. 228-232. Under Sir George Carey, Fermanagh was divided between him and his rival (Cal. St. Pa. James I. ii. 23). In the summer of 1607 he left Ireland, came to Brussels about Whitsuntide, and received a sum of money from the Archduke for the purchase of a ship. Sir Thomas Edmonds, writing to Salisbury, 21st (31st) October, says "the fact stated in his last letters is true, that M'Guire passed into Britain [Brittany], and there disguising himself as a merchant, bought some wines and salt, and hired a ship at Nantes wherein he laid his merchandise, together with a provision of fishing nets to give colour to his going to fish upon the coast of Ireland, and so brought that company away from thence" (Cal. St. Pa. 628). From Dunkirk they sailed for Ireland, having on board sixteen pieces of ordnance and three score soldiers (*ibid.* 301). On the subsequent movements of Cúchonnacht see the narrative. He died at Genoa on the 12th of August 1608.



mbliadhna. Buī ar in litir remhrāite go ttāinic Maguidir (Cúchonnacht Maguidir), Donnchadh O Briain, Matha ōg O Maeltuile, Seōn Rat, go loing fFrangcaigh a gcomhairchiss Uī Nē[i]ll 7 Ierla Thīre Conaill go cuan Suiligi Mōire as ur-chomair Rāthā Maolāin a fFānait. Gapuis O Nē[i]ll a ched ag in Iustis in sathorn 'n-a degheidh sin. Tēid an oidhche sin gus in Mainistir Mōir, āit a mbuī Sir Gerōid Modhar. Ar n-a mhārach dó go Srādbaili Dūna Dealgan. Gluaissis dia luain

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<sup>1</sup> *Donnchadh 'O Briain.* The Four Masters give him a fuller title, Donnchadh mac Mathgamhna mic an Espuicc Uí Bhriain (vi. 2352). He set sail for Spain in June, 1602, after the battle of Kinsale (Pac. Hib. Bk. ii. ch. 22). O'Grady styles him "a gentleman of Clare attached to O'Donnell," and says "he had broken prison at Athlone and fled abroad to escape the bribes and threats wherewith Lord Deputy [Chichester] sought to have him inculcate the Earl of treasonable practices" (Catalogue 398; cf. Cal. St. Pa. 372). His father was killed at Cluain Dubháin (Clonoan), 22nd March, 1586, and his grandfather Toirrdealbach was bishop of Killaloe and + 1569 (FM. v. 1884, 1630). In the Bill of Attainder (1613) Donogh M'Mahon O'Brian is said to be "late of Rathmullen" (Meehan 264).

<sup>2</sup> *Matha 'og 'O Maeltuile* was with Aedh Ruadh in Spain before his death, and had a pension of 25 crowns a month from the King. According to the Information of James Bath, brother to John Bath above, "he was driven to run away out of England in great danger from the Earl of Salisbury," and went into Spain about Christmas, 1605. The same informant says he, Father Florence, and Rory Albanach were instruments of the plot of the Earls' going out of Ireland. So, too, Domhnall 'O Cearbhaill, who + 8th of August, 1608, writing from Rome, 10th Nov., 1607, begs to be commended to Matthew Tullie "unto whom all our country is bound for ever for this his attempt." He acted as secretary to Tyrconnell (Cal. St. P. James I., vol. 2, 301, 325, 366).

<sup>3</sup> *John Rath.* Sir Thos. Edmonds, the ambassador at Brussels, writes to Salisbury, Nov. 4th (14th), that "order has been taken for erecting a new company for the common persons who came out of Ireland with Tyrone, and the commandment thereof at his recommendation is committed to John Raythe who served for pilot to bring him out of Ireland" (*ibid.* 632).

<sup>4</sup> *Earl of Tyrconnell.* Rudhraighe 'O Domhnaill, younger brother of Aodh Ruadh, was left by the latter to govern his people on his departure for Spain after the battle of Kinsale, 3 January, 1602 [Thursday, 24 December, 1601, Old Style] (FM. vi. 2327). He submitted a few months after his brother's "removal" and, having superseded Niall Garbh in the king's favour, was created Earl of Tyrconnell in 1603. He died at Rome, 28 July, 1608. In the flight he took with him his son



Briain,<sup>1</sup> Matha 'Og 'O Maoltuile,<sup>2</sup> and John Rath<sup>3</sup> came with a French ship for O Néill and the Earl of Tyrconnell<sup>4</sup> to Cuan Suilighe móire,<sup>5</sup> opposite Ráth Maoláin<sup>6</sup> in Fánaid<sup>7</sup> 'O Néill took his leave of the Lord Justice on the following Saturday. He went that night<sup>8</sup> to the Mainistir Mór,<sup>9</sup> where Sir Garret Moore<sup>10</sup> was. On the following day he went to Srádbhaile Dúna Dealgan.<sup>11</sup> He proceeded on Monday from Srádbhaile by the high road of the Fiodh,<sup>12</sup> to Beal Atha an

Aodh, who was less than a year old, but left behind his wife, Brigid, daughter of Henry, Earl of Kildare, and a daughter unborn.

<sup>5</sup> *Cuan Suilighe móire*. "The Harbour of the Great Swilly," now Lough Swilly, into which a river of the same name discharges itself near Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.

<sup>6</sup> *Ráith Maoláin*. Rathmullen, on the west side of Lough Swilly, in the barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegal. At the castle of Mac Suibhne Fánad in that place the capture of young Aodh Ruadh was effected by Sir John Perrott in 1587 (Life 11 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> *Fánaid* (d. sg.). Fannat peninsula lies between Lough Swilly and Mulroy Bay.

<sup>8</sup> *That night*. It was Saturday, September 8th. Father Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell* (3rd ed.) 75, says that Tyrone took leave of the Deputy on the eighth and proceeded "two days afterwards" to Mellifont, which is incorrect. The error is repeated by Healy, *op. cit.* 92.

<sup>9</sup> *In Mhainistir Mhór*. "The great monastery" of Mellifont, about five miles from Slane, in Co. Louth. "He ['O Néill] went from Meliphant on the Sunday in the afternoon," Chichester to Salisbury, April 7th, 1608.

<sup>10</sup> *Sir Garret Moore*. This nobleman resided at Mellifont, a grant of which his father received. In 1566 the fine for the lease was fixed at £45 (Morris, *Patent Rolls* i. 539). Sir Garret befriended Aodh Ruadh after his escape from Dublin Castle in 1592. To him 'O Néill entrusted one of his younger sons, Seán, "who was brought up in Sir Garret's house" (Cal. St. Pa. 463). Notice that 'O Cianáin does not write 'O Mórdha, Sir Garret being of English extraction; but O'Grady, *Catalogue* 453, Gaelicizes his name Geróid 'O Mórdha.

<sup>11</sup> *Srádbhaile Dúna Dealgan*. "The town of Dundalk."

<sup>12</sup> *In Fiodh*. The high road from Dundalk to Armagh passed through the district of the Fewes barony, in the south of Co. Armagh. 'O Néill's stepfather, Enri 'O Néill, resided there until his death about the time of James' accession. His son, Toirrdhelbhach, half brother to the Earl of Tyrone, died in 1640 (FM. vi. 2402). O'Donovan, FM. vi. 1922, and Father Murphy, *Life of Aodh Ruadh* 30, n. 2, confound this Toirrdhelbhach with his grandson, Toirrdhelbhach, son of Enri, who married the daughter of Ruaidhri 'O Mórdha, the famous leader of 1641.



ass in Srādbaili tria bhealach mōr in Fhedha go Bēl Atha in Airgit, tar Sliap Fuait go Hard Macha, tar Abainn Mōir, go Dūn Genainn, gus in gCraoip .i. baile oilēn dia bailtibh. Dognī sē comnaidhe 7 oirisemh ar in Chraoibh dia māirt. Gluaisidh a n-ainm Dē dia cēdaoín ōn Chraoibh tar Sliap Sīoss. Buī an oidhque sin a Muinntir Luinigh ar comhgar Locha Beigfhine. Ar n-a mhārach dō go Bun Diennoide. Buī i n-a chomhnaidhe ō aimsir mhedhōin laoi go comthuitim na hoidche. Iar sin lēigis tar Fersait Mōir ar Loch Feabail ē gach ndīreach go Droichet Adhamnāin. Buī mac Uī Domnaill (Cathbarr mac Aoda meic Magnusa) ar a gcionn annsin. Gapsat go Rāith Mealltain, an lā ag soillsiugadh orra in tan

<sup>1</sup> *Bél átha an airgit*, "the mouth of the Silvery Ford," now Silverbridge, in Co. Armagh, about ten miles from Dundalk. It lies on the main road between that town and Newtown Hamiltown, on the border of the Baronies of Upper Fews and Upper Orior.

<sup>2</sup> *Sliabh Fuait*. O'Donovan remarks that in his time this name was still preserved and applied to the highest mountain in the Fews (which name, be it observed, has nothing to do with Fuaid in Sliabh Fuaid), and Father Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon* 608, gives it as his opinion that Sliabh Fuaid is the mountain, the western summit of which is Carrigatuke, and the eastern the Deadman's Hill, between which the road from Dundalk to Armagh passes.

<sup>3</sup> *Ard Macha*, the ancient city of Armagh. Quite close to it lies the scene of 'O Néill's victory on the 10th August, 1598, over the English at Bēl an 'Atha bhuidhe, "the Yellow Ford."

<sup>4</sup> *Abha Mhór*. "The great River," now the Blackwater, flows for portion of its course between the counties of Tyrone and Armagh. It was known by the name of Dabhall in ancient times. The road from Armagh to Dungannon crossed it close to the fort of Charlemont, which had been built by Mountjoy, and was then commanded by Sir Toby Caulfield. 'O Néill left Caulfield with the Deputy, who, on Monday, 10th of September, despatched him down into Tyrone to see what the Earl's hurried movements meant (*Cal. St. P.* 463).

<sup>5</sup> *Dún Genainn*, 'Dungannon.' "This Countie [Tyrone] hath not Townes, but divers ruined Castles, as Dungannon, the Earles principal Hous, which himself cast down to the middest after he had well builded it and covered it with lead, when Sir William Russell, late Lord Deputie, approached with the Armie thereto" (*Ireland in 1598*, p. 27).

<sup>6</sup> *An Craobh* 'Creeve.' This is a small lake in the parish of Aghaloo and barony of Lower Dungannon, Co. Tyrone. It gave its name to the townland of Creevelough, which lies adjacent to it on the north side. "Island fastnesses in inland lakes formed the universal system of defence in the north" (*Ireland in 1598*, p. 22, note n.).

<sup>7</sup> *Sliabh Síos*. O'Donovan in a note to FM., 1607, translates this



Airgid,<sup>1</sup> across Sliabh Fuaid,<sup>2</sup> to Ard Macha,<sup>3</sup> over the Abha Mór<sup>4</sup> to Dun Geanainn,<sup>5</sup> to the Craobh,<sup>6</sup> one of his island habitations. He made a stop and a rest at Craobh on Tuesday. He proceeded in the name of God from Craobh on Wednesday over Sliabh Síos.<sup>7</sup> He was that night in Muinntear Luinigh,<sup>8</sup> in the vicinity of Loch Beigfhine.<sup>9</sup> On the following day he reached Bun Diannoide.<sup>10</sup> He rested from mid-day till nightfall. After that he passed over Fearsaid Mór<sup>11</sup> on Loch Feabhail, straight forward to Droichead Adhamhnáin.<sup>12</sup> The son of 'O Domhnaill<sup>13</sup> (Cathbharr, son

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as a common name, but there was a particular district and mountain range so called. See Cal. St. Pa. (1607) 151, 376. In a Relation of the proceedings of the Lord Deputy and others, July–September, 1609, we read: "the 24th [August] they marched towards Coleraine [*i.e.*, the county]; the mountains of Slewshishe and Slewgannon not being passable with carriages, they were constrained to pass by Deserte Linn and Glanconkane, near to Kilulter." They are now known as the Sperrin Mountains

<sup>8</sup> *Muinntear Luinigh*. The Uí Luinigh 'O'Looneys' were originally seated in the barony of Raphoe, Co. Donegal, but being driven over the Foyle by the Cenél Conaill, settled in the barony of Strabane in the north of Co. Tyrone (FM. ii. 939). Here Toirrdhelbhach Luineach 'O Néill, who was inaugurated on the death of Seaán an díomais in 1567, was fostered.

<sup>9</sup> *Loch Beigfhine*, a lake in Tyrone, the exact position of which is unknown to me.

<sup>10</sup> *Bun Diannoide*. 'The mouth of the Dianaid or Swift little River,' now known as Burn Dennet. This river flows through the parish of Donaghedy, and barony of Strabane, and enters the Foyle about six miles below Lifford.

<sup>11</sup> *Fersaid móir* (ac. sg.), 'the great shallow,' on the river Foyle (Loch Febhail), below Lifford.

<sup>12</sup> *Droichead Adhamhnáin*, 'Adamnan's bridge.' In the indictment of Tyrone, Tyrconnell and the rest of the fugitives presented by Sir John Davys to juries at Lifford and Strabane about Christmas, 1607, we find the name of "Caffer O'Donnell late of Droghedownan" (Cal. St. Pa. (1608), pp. 389, 555). The place is now called Ballindrait, and lies in the parish of Clonleigh, and barony of Raphoe, Co. Donegal.

<sup>13</sup> *The son of 'O Domhnaill*. A younger brother of Aodh Ruadh was Cathbharr, son of Aodh dubh (Black Sir Hugh) and Inghean dubh, daughter of Mac Domhnaill, Lord of the Isles. He married Róis, daughter of Seaán óg 'O Dochartaigh and sister of Cathaoir (Sir Cahir), by whom he had issue two sons, and who after his death in 1608 married Eoghan Ruadh 'O Néill. Cathbharr + the 15th September, 1608, and was buried in the habit of St. Francis in the Church of St. Pietro Montorio.



sin. Eirgit go Ráith Maoláin áit a mbuī in long adupramar ar angcairip. Fuaratar Rugraighi O Domnaill, Ierla Thīre Conoill, gus na daoibh uaisle remráite maille re mōrān d'oireacht 7 do lucht lenamhna in Ierlæ ag cor stōruiss bīdh 7 dighe asteach 'san loing.

II. [p. 2] Tiaghaid asteach ar bord loinge timchíol mheadhōin láei dia haoine do shonnradh. Tōgbhaid a seolta ainnsēin. Lēigit ar comhghar in chuain iad. Cuirít lucht dā bhát do thōgbáil uisque 7 d'ierroidh connaidh. Beiris mac Mheic Suipne Fānat 7 drong do dhaoibh in tīre a ttōraigh-eacht orra. Troidit re aroile. Is ar ēigen tugatar foirionn na mbád uisque 7 connadh leō. Timchíol mheadhōin na hoidhche cētna sin tōgbhait a seolta an athuair. Lēigit amach go comhfairsing sa ffairgi iad. Bá taitnemhach fēith-chiūin an oidhche go ngaoith anier-ndesss. Mesait annsin dol asteach go hAroinn a riachtanus a less bīdh 7 dighe do thabairt chuca. Eirgiss ainfine imarcach agus doinionn dermhair maille re ceō 7 fleachadh dōip as gur hinnarbadh ō chomhghar in tīre íad. Gabhait in fhairgi go comhfairsing. Ba marthanach in stoirm 7 in mīchiūnus sin go medhōn oidhche buī ar a gcionn. As a haithle dīrgit a gcūrsa clēlāimh re Tīr Conaill tar chuan Sligigh gach ndīreach go rapatar as urchomhair Chruaiche

<sup>1</sup> *Ráith Mealltain*. Rathmelton, situated on Lough Swilly, where the river Leanann enters its waters, about five miles to the north of Letterkenny.

<sup>2</sup> On Sept. 12/22 Davys reported the events of the flight to Salisbury, and his account is in substantial agreement with our narrative. See Cal. St. Pa. 270 and Meehan *op. cit.* 97.

<sup>3</sup> *At anchor*. *ar angcuirip* misrendered by O'Donovan "in this vessel" (FM. vi. 2354).

<sup>4</sup> *Friday*. The Four Masters under the year 1607 state that this day was the festival of the Holy Cross, *i.e.*, September 14th. "Understand for certain that the Earl of Tyrone, &c., did ship themselves in a French ship, about the burden of three score tons, and on Friday morning, being the 14th hereof, set sail for Spain" (The Lord Dep. and Council to the Privy Council, Cal. St. Pa. ii. 267). Aodh óg 'O Néill, son of the Earl by Siobhán, sister of Aodh Ruadh 'O Domhnaill, and styled Baron of Dungannon, having gone to Derry to buy bread and other necessities, rejoined the company at Lough Swilly (*ibid.* 260). Davys says "they took some beeves from one Francis Whyte an Englishman and killed them for their provision" (Cal. St. Pa. 270).



of Aodh, son of Maghnus) was there awaiting them. They went to Ráith Mealltain,<sup>1</sup> the daylight shining upon them at that time. They proceeded to Ráith Maoláin,<sup>2</sup> where the ship we have mentioned was at anchor.<sup>3</sup> They found Rughraighe 'O Domhnaill, Earl of Tyrconnell, with the aforesaid gentlemen, together with many of the tribe and followers of the Earl, putting stores of food and drink into the ship.

II. They went in on board ship about mid-day on Friday.<sup>4</sup> Then they hoisted their sails. They moved close to the harbour-side. They sent two boats' crews to get water and to search for firewood. The son of Mac Suibhne<sup>5</sup> of Fánaid, and a party of the people of the district came upon them in pursuit. They fought with one another. With difficulty the party from the boats brought water and firewood with them. About the middle of the same night they hoisted their sails a second time. They went out a great distance in the sea. The night was bright, quiet, and calm, with a breeze from the south-west. Then they proposed putting into Ara<sup>6</sup> through need of getting food and drink. An exceeding great storm and very bad weather arose against them, together with fog and rain, so that they were driven from proximity to land. They traversed the sea far and wide. That storm and unsettled weather lasted till the middle of the following night. Afterwards, leaving Tír Conaill on the left, they direct their course past the harbour of Sligeach,<sup>7</sup> straight ahead until they were opposite Cruach Pádraig<sup>8</sup> in Connacht. Then they feared that the King's fleet, which was in the harbour of Gaillibh,<sup>9</sup> would meet with them. They proceeded out into

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<sup>5</sup> One of the jurymen who swore to the indictment of the Earls at Lifford and Strabane (v. *supra* p. 7, n. 12) was "Donel M'Swyne Fanet." He appears in the confession of Ingean dubh which led to the arrest of Niall garbh 'O Domhnaill in 1608.

<sup>6</sup> *Ara*, the island of Arranmore, off the west coast of Donegal.

<sup>7</sup> *Sligeach*, a river which gives its name to Sligo and Sligo Bay.

<sup>8</sup> *Cruach Pádraig*. This is the well-known mountain in the south of Co. Mayo, anciently called Cruach Aigle, now Croaghpatrick.

<sup>9</sup> *Gaillibh*. The river Gaillibh gave its name to the city and bay of Galway.



Pātraic a gConnachtoip. Imeglaigit ainnséin loingess in rīgh buī a gcuan na Gaillbhe do thegmhāil riú. Lēicit amach sa ffairrge iat do dēnomh ar in Spāinn gach ndīrech dā mad ēidir leō. Bātor ier sin trī lā dég for fairrge maille re hainfine imarcaigh 7 re droich-shín chonntabartaigh. Tug comhfhortacht adpol dōip mar do chuiretair sa ffairrgi a ffoilenmhain na loinge cros ōir buī ag O Néill i n-a roipe rann-chuid don chroich chēsta go n-imat religiass oile. A fforcionn na haimsire sin tegmhaidh do chūiss ingantuis dōibh a gceirt-mhedhōn na fairrge dā sheapac bhega .i. merilliúin do thoirling forsán luīng. Ro gapadh na seabaic. Do bethaigedh as a haithle.

III. Dia domhnaigh in dechmadh lā fichet Septembriss tāinic in gaoth go coimhdhīreach a gcertaghoidh na loinge. Gapsat na marnēlaigh do láimh, ō nach roibhe ar comas dōip dol don Spāinn, go mbeittis a gcuan Croissic issin mBritāinn fo chionn dā lō go n-oidhche. Comhairlighit na tigernaíde [p. 3] bátor san loing, do bīthin teirce a mbīdh 7 a ndighe go háirighthe, fōs do brīgh a ffuaratar gusin tan sin do docomal 7 meirten na fairrge, gur uo himairgidhe dōip a lēigen gach ndīreach gusin fFrainc. A gcētōir dīrgit a gcūrsa gusin fFrainc. Dā lā 7 dā oidche dōip ar siobal fo lān seōil. Nī rāngator tīr ar dōman in comhfhad sin. Fōs ní maith rofhitiset cia in cōsta āirigthe ba himfhoixe dhōip.

IV. Timchiol mheadhōin lāi dia māirt adchīd trī longa adhbalmōra ag ascnamh ōn aird uo dhess mar do thicfaitis ōn Spāinn. Ge gur imeglaigset in loinges sin gur mesatar gur d'armāil rīg Saxan ar ttoigheacht 'n-a n-íermhoirecht iad, brethnaigit aca fēin gur uo ferr dōip dēnomh orra do chor a gconāich a gconntabairt, mad nāimde iad, nō madh catoilce, d'ierroidh scēl 7 eōluis orra, inās bheith san guasacht dermhair a mbātor a ttāp se[ac]hrāin 7 aineōluis 7 teirce dighe. Riccit fēin 7 in loinges ar comhghar a chēile deōigh laoi. Eirgis ainfine adpol in tan sin as nach rāngator fēin 7 in loinges go

<sup>1</sup> *Le Croisic*, a town on the west coast of France, situated near the mouth of the Loire, and in the department of Loire Inférieure.



the sea to make for Spain straight forward if they could. After that they were on the sea for thirteen days with excessive storm and dangerous bad weather. A cross of gold which 'O Néill had, and which contained a portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion and many other relics, being put by them in the sea trailing after the ship, gave them great relief. At the end of that time, much to their surprise, they met in the middle of the sea two small hawks, merlins, which alighted on the ship. The hawks were caught and were fed afterwards.

III. On Sunday, the thirtieth of September, the wind came right straight against the ship. The sailors, since they could not go to Spain, undertook to reach the harbour of Croisic<sup>1</sup> in Brittany at the end of two days and nights. The lords who were in the ship, in consequence of the smallness of their food-supply, and especially of their drink, and also because of all the hardship and sickness of the sea they had received up to that, gave it as their advice that it was right for them to make straight ahead towards France. Forthwith they directed their course to France. They went on for two days and two nights under full sail. They reached no land at all in that time. Not even did they know well what particular coast was nearest to them.

IV. About midday on Tuesday they saw three very large ships approaching from the south as if coming from Spain. Although they feared that squadron, and though they thought they belonged to the King of England's armament and were in pursuit of them, they considered that it was better for themselves to make for them and imperil their success if they were enemies, or, if they were Catholics, make inquiries and seek direction, than to be in the great danger in which they were in regard to going astray and mistaking the direction and scarcity of drink. They and the squadron came near one another at the end of day. A terrible storm arose at that time so that they and the squadron could not for a time come within speaking distance of one another. Afterwards, however, they spoke with the crews of the ships. They made enquiries



cenn aimsire toigeacht a gcōir chomhrāidh re aroile. As a haithle tra laprait re lucht na loingsi. Ierroit scēla orra. Innissit gur do chrīchoibh Lochlann a mbunadh<sup>us</sup>, go rapsat ag tērnōdh tar aiss ōn Spāinn go a n-atharrdha badēin. Adbertsat gur sa ffairrge fFleminnaig bātar-san d'āirigthe. Mar do buī in cuan sin ar comghar chōsta na Saxan nī mōr gurab ann ba rōmhaith lesna maithib sin tegmhāil a n-aois na huaire sin. Fōs nī roipe pilōit fessach nō eōlach sa chuan sin aca. Gapsat ag foilenmhain na loingsi remrāite gur ben comdhorcha na hoidhche a radharc dīp.

V. Adbert Frangcach āirigthe buī san loing: Nā bīodh dibergōit nō imsnīomh oraip, a mhaithi, ol sē; treōraighfet-sa ria n-ēirgi grēine amārach a ttīr sa Normainnti [p. 4], prouensi oirrderc gabhus le rīg na Fraingce, sibh. An Chruinne, prīmchathoir oireghdha gapus le rīg na Spāinne, chom ar thriallsat ō thūs. Do mhēt na scīssi 7 in docomail ro fhuilngetair nī mōr nach roibhe a urdail do deigh-inntinn 7 do shupailchip aca fo dol a ttīr sa Normainnti 7 mar do ragdaoiss sa gcathraigh sin. Dīrgit a gcūrsa gusin gcuan sin. Timchíol medhōin oidche ēirghiss in fhairrgi i n-a tonnoibh tul-borba tinnesnacha trēn-tuinnsemhacha dōip. Trōcaire na Trīnōite ru-s-tesaire gan in long co n-a mbuī innte do bhāthadh. Drong do na daoineibh uaisle bātar uas taiste, nī mōr nach rapsat a gconntabairt a mbreth amach a gcertmedōn na fairrgi ó lāidire na gaoithe agus ō līnmaire na ttonn. Ba hēicen dōip a seōlta do legad la tolgān 7 trethan na ttonn, an long do lēigen do réir thoile Dē ar a haradhain fēin seachnōin na fairrge.

VI. Bātor dā oilēn gabhus le rīg Saxan, dar comhanmanna Gorgi 7 Garsíi, a n-imfhoixe dōib. Muna bheith legadh na seōltæ bātor a gconntabairt dermhair a gcomhmbualadh fo nechtar don dā oilēn sin. Nō dia raghdaoiss a ttīr ō n-a ttoil uodēin, nīr uo saigidh deghe[h]arat a gcēin dōip gnūissi na

<sup>1</sup> *Lochlainn*. This is a wide term, being applied to various northern peoples, Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, Finns, &c. Here it probably refers to the Danes.

<sup>2</sup> *Corunna*, a seaport in the north-west of Spain. It was the common point of embarkation for Ireland. There Aodh Ruadh landed in Janu-



of them. They told them that they were natives of Lochlainn,<sup>1</sup> and that they were returning from Spain to their own country. They said that it was in the Flemish sea in particular they were. As that sea was near the coast of England, these princes would scarcely have liked to fall there by chance at that moment. Besides, they had no pilot who knew the way or had experience of that sea. They went after the squadron aforementioned until the darkness of the night took it out of their sight.

V. A certain Frenchman who was in the ship said: "Be not troubled nor concerned, princes," said he; "before sunrise tomorrow I will direct you to land in Normandy, a famous province belonging to the King of France." To Corunna,<sup>2</sup> a great city belonging to the King of Spain, they had originally intended to go; in consequence of the amount of weariness and hardship they had endured, they were almost as well pleased and as glad to land in Normandy as to reach that city. They directed their course to that harbour. About midnight the sea rose in violent, quick, strong-sounding waves against them. It was the mercy of the Trinity that saved them and kept the ship and all that was in it from being drowned. A party of the gentlemen who were above the hatch were almost in danger of being carried out into the middle of the sea by the strength of the wind and the number of the waves. They were obliged to take down their sails by reason of the strength and power of the waves, and to leave the ship to itself to drift over the sea as God should will.

VI. There were two islands belonging to the King of England called Jersey and Guernsey<sup>3</sup> near them. Were it not for the taking down of the sails they were in great danger of striking on either of these two islands. Even if they landed of their own free will, the faces of the inimical merciless

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ary, 1602, shortly after the battle of Kinsale. In English writings of the period it is commonly referred to as "the Groyne."

<sup>3</sup> 'O Cianáin's attempts to reproduce foreign names in Irish spelling are, as a rule, very crude.



n-eritchedh nāimhdidhi n-ēttrōcar bātar ar a ccionn isna hoilēnoip. A moch-shoillsi na maitne adchīd go follus na hoilēin ar a gcomhghar. Du-s-rat in Frangcach remrāite aithne forra. Adbert gur uo Saxanaigh bātar dia n-inotacht 7 dia n-aittreabadh.

VII. Tōgbhait a seōlta ainnsēin. Lēicit ar siobal iat. Iar ffāgbhāil radhairc na n-oilēn adconnarcatar go comhfhair-sing talam na Fraingce. Ar ttoigheacht ar comhghar in chuain dōip gapuis crith-egla 7 imfhaitchess in Frangcach. Adbert go roibi aimsir imchian ō ro buī sa chuan ria sunn, go mbuī a n-ainffioss [p. 5] 7 a gconntabairt dermhair um eólus dingmālta do dhēnomh asteach sa chuan. Gar ier sin adchīd bātt beg Frangcach ag ascnamh chuca. Fochtait scēla dia fhoirinn. Adbertsat tra gurap ō Ruadhān dōip, prīm-chathair oirrderc gapus le rīg Franc. Tairgit gnē chomhadh dōip ar eólus do dēnomh astech sa chuan. Geallait a dēnomh. Bātor rompa 7 na ndeaghaidh car in chaomh-laithe. In tan ro-īssligh in ghaoth deōigh laoi 7 nach roipe ar comus don loing dol asteach sa gcuan, gapsat tra muinnter na beg-loingi a gcead aca-san. Atbertsat nach roipe maith aca re a dēnomh dōip, nach ierrfaitiss lōighigheacht na mathessa nach dernsat. Dīr-git fēin a gcūrsa go Roán. Gidheadh chena ro sheōlatar chuca-san gan mhoille aroile bhāt i n-a mbuī pilōit Rodhāin. Tic tra in pileōt ar bōrd loinge chuca a gcomdhorcha na hoidhque. Tōgbait a seōlta. Bātor ar siobal seachnōin na hoidhche. Ar maidin ar n-a mhārach treōraigidh in pilōit cētna iad a ruibér Rodhāin ar in tæp bhodeass don chuan nua dar comainm Harboure de Grace. Timchiol meadhōin laoi dia dardaoin, lā S. Pronsēiss do shonnradh, in cethramadh lā Octobriss 7 in t-ænmad lā fichet dōip ar fairrge, tiagait a ttīr a mbaili beg ar brū in ruibér chētna dar comhainm Cilbuf. Dognīt gnē chiūnais 7 chomnaidhe ann in mēide buī rompa don lō gus in oidhche ar a gcionn. Persa d'uiresbaidh ar chēt

<sup>1</sup> *Havre (Harbour) de Grâce*, now Le Havre, prior to 1516 was a place of no importance. Francis I., 1494–1547, began the construction of the harbour, and named from the Church of Notre Dame de Grâce in the



heretics who were before them on the islands would not be as at a meeting of good friends in a foreign land. At the dawn of day they saw clearly the islands near them. The above-mentioned Frenchman recognised them. He said that Englishmen were occupying and inhabiting them.

VII. Then they raised their sails. They proceeded on their way. After leaving the view of the islands they saw widely extended the land of France. When they came near the harbour fear and trembling came upon the Frenchman. He said it was a long time since he had been there before, and that he was in ignorance and great doubt, and could not give suitable guidance into the harbour. Shortly after that they saw a little French boat making for them. They made enquiries of its crew. They said they were from Rouen, a famous city belonging to the King of France. They offered them some gifts for piloting them into the harbour. They agreed to do so. They were before them and behind them throughout the day. When the wind subsided in the evening and the ship could not enter the harbour, the crew of the small ship took leave of them. They said that they could do them no service, and that they would not ask reward for a service they had not rendered. They themselves direct their course to Rouen. However, they sent to them without delay a certain boat in which there was the Rouen pilot. The pilot came on board to them in the darkness of the night. They raised their sails. They were proceeding throughout the night. In the morning on the next day the pilot directed them into the river of Rouen, south of the new harbour called Harboure de Grâce.<sup>1</sup> About midday on Thursday, St. Francis' Day, the fourth day of October, and their twenty-first at sea, they landed at a little town on the bank of the same river called Quilleboeuf.<sup>2</sup> They had some rest and repose there for the remainder of the day until the following night. There were

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neighbouring village. Our author speaks of the Seine as "the river of Rouen"; see also "the river of Antwerp" ch. xlv. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Quilleboeuf. This is a small town situated at the mouth of the Seine, on the south side, in the department of l'Eure.

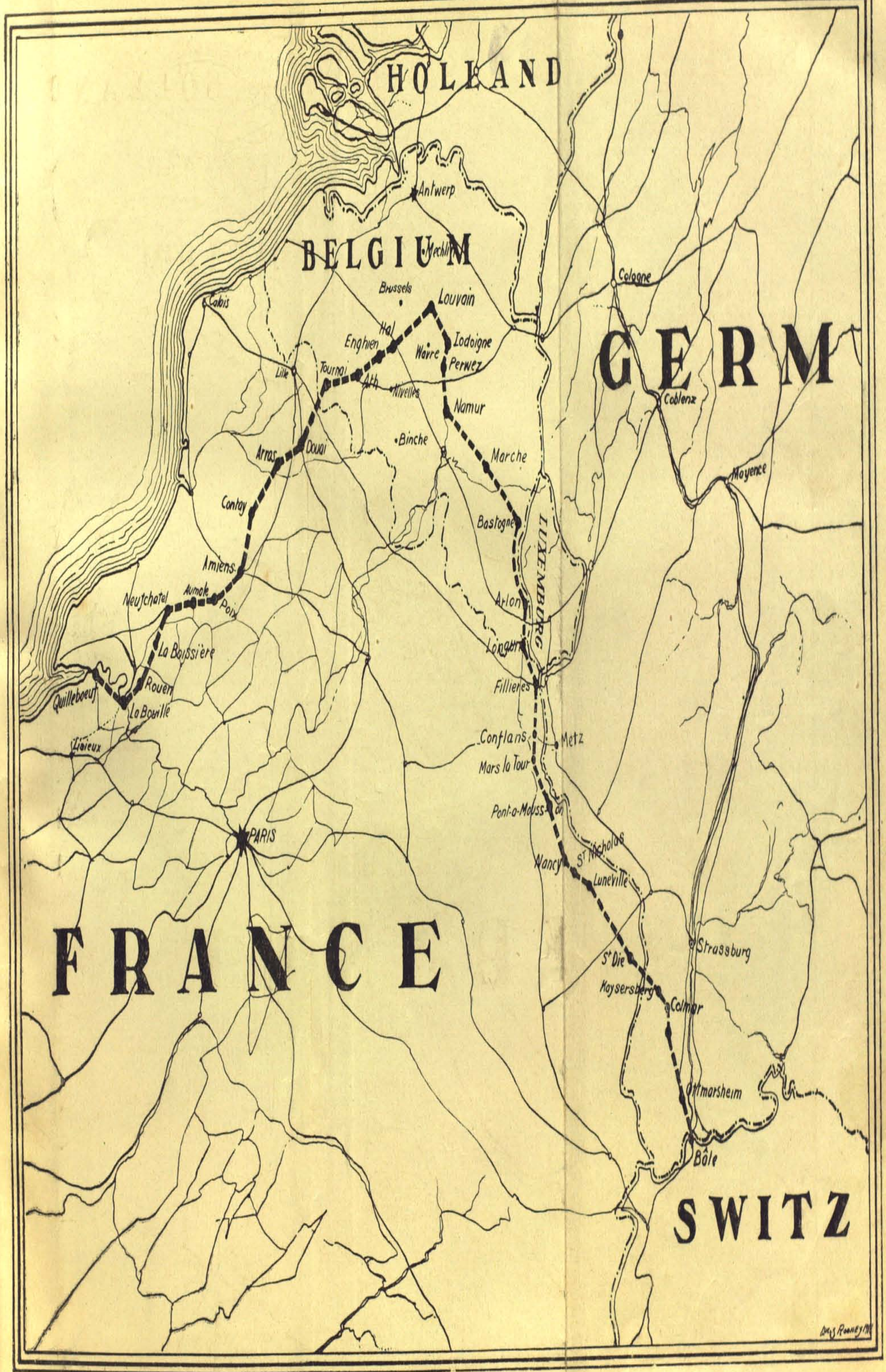


isleadh bátor sa loing. Nī roibi do shupstaint digi aca ag fāgbāil na loingi acht cōic galūin beōra 7 nī *badh* lugha nō ēnbairille amháin uisce.

<sup>1</sup> *Ninety-nine.* More than half of the ninety-nine may be accounted for as follows :—

- (1) Aodh 'O Néill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, son of Feardorcha, son of Conn Bacach, 1st Earl (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 435, 555).
- (2) Countess Cataríona, his third wife, daughter of Aodh Mag Aonghusa (Sir Hugh) + 1595, and sister of Art (Sir Arthur), who married Tyrone's daughter, Sorchá (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 436),
- (3) Aodh, Baron of Dungannon, son of the Earl by his first wife, Siobhán + 1590, sister of Aodh Ruadh 'O Domhnaill. He died at Rome, 23rd September, 1609, aged twenty-four; see his epitaph, Meehan *op. cit.* 342. The Four Masters record his death at 1608 (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 435, 555).
- (4) Seán, son of the Earl by the Lady Cataríona, under seven years at the flight (Cal. St. Pa. 260). He became a major-general in the Spanish army, and was killed in 1640
- (5) Brian, Tyrone's second son by the Lady Cataríona, murdered at Brussels, 16th August, 1617; see Mooney, translated by Meehan, *Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, Dublin, 1872, p. 17 (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 260).
- (6) Art óg 'O Néill, son of Cormac, the Earl's brother (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 435, 555). Cormac was imprisoned immediately after the flight.
- (7) Feardorcha, grandson of the Earl. His father, Conn, was "Tyrone's base son," *Pacata Hibernia* Bk. i. ch. 4 (FM. 1607). See his pedigree, FM. 1599.
- (8) Aodh óg, son of Brian mac Airt 'O Néill and grand-nephew to Tyrone. Brian mac Airt was seized in 1607, and put on his trial for the manslaughter of a kinsman at the house of Toirrdhealbhadh mac Enri of the Fews. "He is besides so gracious and popular that after the decease of the Earl it is credibly thought he will attempt to restore the name of O'Neile again," Chichester to the Council, 4th August. "The hand of justice has cut him off, which is a notable example to all the kingdom and a great security to that province," Davys to Salisbury, 11th December. At Louvain the Earl heard of his execution; see *infra*, ch. xlvii. (FM. 1607).
- (9) Henry Hovendon, Tyrone's secretary. "Henry Ovington has protested that he had no manner of knowledge of this resolution of the Earls till the night before his departure, being surprised by that short warning and precipitated into the journey, whereof he now repents, and that he would be glad to return if he hoped he might recover his means and the favour of the State," Sir Thomas Edmonds to Salisbury, 4th November (Cal. St. Pa. 555).
- (10) Enri 'O h'Agáin (Cal. St. Pa. 555). "In Tulach óg 'O Néill was inaugurated and 'O Catháin and 'O h'Agáin inaugurated





The Earls' Route from Havre to Bale

Wm. Roomey 1891



ninety-nine<sup>1</sup> persons in the ship. As they left it all the drink they had was five gallons of beer and less than one barrel of water.

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- him," Céitinn, *Forus Feasa* Bk. ii. sect. 1. After the victory of the Béal an 'Atha buidhe (August 10th, 1598) Enri was sent to Scotland to tender James VI. the crown of Ireland, later, in 1605/6, he was at the English court, visited Mountjoy, then Earl of Devonshire, and passed to the continent on 'O Néill's errands.
- (11) Seán na bpunta 'O h'Agáin, O'Néill's rent-gatherer (*Cal. St. Pa.* 436, 555). Contemporary English writers mostly transform the forename into "John O'Punty." Similarly Mac Suibhne na dtuath becomes M'Swyne O'Doe, Brian na samthach, that is, Brian of the battleaxes, Bryan O'Saw, &c. In November, 1609, Chichester is to acquaint the Lord Treasurer that O'Quyne, chief of his name, whom the Earl of Tyrone carried with him, has sent over a boy to his brother, Owen Roe O'Quyne, and to his wife to procure him licence to return hither. The like is demanded by Shane O'Pouny, who was here the Earl's purse-bearer.
- (12) Richard Weston, a Dundalk merchant (*Cal. St. Pa.* 435, 555). In January, 1599, Sir Geoffrey Fenton sends extracts of a letter from Richard Weston, whom he had long employed about Tyrone for intelligences, and whom he had often found to do the best services (*Cal. St. Pa.* 1598-9).
- (13) John Bath; see p. 2, n. 3. (*Cal. St. Pa.* 555).
- (14) Christopher Plunkett, 'O Néill's master of horse (*Cal. St. Pa.* 436, 555).
- (15) Muircheartach 'O Coinne. He is described by Sir John Davys as 'O Neill's marshal, (*Cal. St. Pa.* 389, 555).
- (16, 17) "Ever M'Connell's two sons" (*Cal. St. Pa.* 435). There is reference here to children of 'Eimhear mac Conuladh Mag Mathghamhna, lord of Firmanach, who was a competitor for the headship of the name in 1589, and is frequently mentioned in the State Papers as Ever Mac Cooly or Collo. One of them, Séamus mac 'Eimhir mac Conuladh, took fever at Ostia and died six hours before Cúchonnacht Maguidhir at Genoa, 12th August, 1608. Dr. Eoghan Mag Mathghamhna, ch. xxii. *infra*, was another son of 'Eimhear.
- (18) The Earl of Tyrconnell, Rudhraighe 'O Domhnaill, son of Aodh Dubh + 1600, son of Magnus + 1563; see p. 4, n. 4. *supra*.
- (19) Cathbharr 'O Domhnaill, younger brother to the last mentioned (*FM.* 1607, *Cal. St. Pa.* 435, 555); see p. 7, n. 13 *supra*.
- (20) Nuala, sister of Aodh Ruadh, Rudhraighe and Cathbharr 'O Domhnaill, and daughter of Aodh Dubh by his second wife, Inghean Dubh. She married Niall Garbh 'O Domhnaill, whose father, Conn, was her first cousin. She deserted her husband in 1600 when he went over to the English: *Asper eam occasionem opportunam ratus ad Anglos se confert, ob id a Nolla*



VIII. Ar n-a mhārach tra buī guibernōir in baile a ffochair Uī Néill ar a medhōn laoi. Bronnaiss dō na seabaic ēdāla ingāntacha sin ro gabadh for in ffairrgi. Tar ēiss mhedōin laoi glacait bādaidhi. Cuirit in chuntaois 7 ingen Uī Domnaill, na leinimh bātar mailli riū, pāirt dā ndaoinibh uaisle 7 dā

coniuge sua O'Donelli sorore desertus (Historia Catholica 171). To her was addressed the poem of Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart*.

- (21) Aodh 'O Domhnaill, son of the Earl by his wife Brigid Fitzgerald, daughter of Henry, Earl of Kildare (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 267). At the time of the flight he was under a year old. He died in 1642 (Report on the Franciscan MSS. 195).
- (22) Róis, wife of Cathbharr 'O Domhnaill (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 436); see p. 7, n. 13 *supra*.
- (23) Aodh 'O Domhnaill, son of Cathbharr and Róis, then aged two years and three months (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 267). The boy was at fosterage when the ship arrived at Rathmullen. "There the Earl of Tyrconnel sent for the foster-father of his brother Caffar O'Donel's son, willing him to bring the child with him. He presently repaired with the child towards the place where the Earls lodged, but being met by the way by the Baron of Dungannon and Caffar O'Donel himself, they took the infant violently from him, which terrified the foster-father, so that he escaped by the swiftness of his horse, their horses being tired with travelling. Of this child they have a blind and superstitious prophecy, because he was born with six toes upon one foot; for they affirm that one of their saints of Tyrconnel hath prophesied that when such a one, being of the sept of O'Donel, shall be born, we shall drive all the Englishmen out of Ireland," Davys to Salisbury, September 12th, 1607. His body lies with that of his mother in the Franciscan convent of Louvain, where the latter died in 1660.
- (24) Domhnall óg, son of Domhnall, half-brother to the Earl, who on the imprisonment of Aodh Ruadh sought to deprive his father of the chieftainship and was slain at Doire leathan (Derrylahan), near Teilionn, 14th September, 1590 (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 555).
- (25) Nechtain 'O Domhnaill, second cousin of the Earl (FM. 1607).
- (26) Seán Crón mac Daibhid, referred to as "Shane Groome, his [Tyrconnel's] steward," Cal. St. Pa. 435, and as "John Crone M'David," *ibid.* 555. He was in attendance on 'O Néill as late as 1615.
- (27) "Edmond Grome M'David," Cal. St. Pa. 555.
- (28) "John Rath, merchant," Cal. St. Pa. 555. See p. 4 n. 3, *supra* and p. 54, n. 1 *infra*.
- (29) "Hugo M'Donnel O'Gallacher," Cal. St. Pa. 555, that is, Aodh mac Domhnaill 'O Gallchobhair.
- (30) Tirlagh Carragh O'Gallacher, Cal. St. Pa. 555, that is, Toirrdhealbhadh Carrach 'O Gallchobhair.



VIII. On the next day the governor of the town was with 'O Néill at dinner. He gave him those valuable strange hawks which had been caught at sea. After dinner they hired boats. They sent the Countess, and the daughter of 'O Domhnaill, and the children which were with them, and some of the gentlefolk and their attendants with their luggage by the

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- (31) "Captain John Connor," Cal. St. Pa. 435.  
 (32) "Edmund Brannaugh," 'Eamonn Breatnach, anglicised 'Walsh,' Cal. St. Pa. 435.  
 (33) "Henry O'Kelly," Cal. St. Pa. 435.  
 (34) "George Cashell, gentleman," Cal. St. Pa. 555.  
 (36) Tadhg 'O Cianáin, writer of our narrative (Cal. St. Pa. 555). An allowance of £22 6s. 8d. was made to his wife, a relative of the Earl of Thomond, as the latter "alleged that the said Teig sent him intelligence from beyond the seas," Cal. St. Pa. 543.  
 (37) Cúchonnacht Maguidhir (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 435); see p. 3. n. 5 *supra*.  
 (38) Donnchadh mac Mathghamhna mac an easpuig 'O Briain (FM. 1607, Cal. St. Pa. 435, 555); see p. 4 n. 1 *supra*.  
 (39) Matha óg 'O Maeltuile (Cal. St. Pa. 555); see p. 4, n. 2, *supra*. At Cal. St. Pa. 435 he is referred to as "his [Tyrconnel's] secretary," without further qualification.  
 (40-42) A page and two lackies of 'O Néill (Cal. St. Pa. 436).  
 (43-50) Four serving men, a page, and three lackies of 'O Domhnaill (Cal. St. Pa. 436). The page's name was Muiris, and he died of fever, 3rd August, 1608.  
 (51-53) Three waiting women (Cal. St. Pa. 436).  
 (54) Maigbheathadh 'O Néill, who parted from the company at Rouen and joined them again at Arras. See *infra*, chapters xvii and xxii.  
 (55) "James Bath," Cal. St. Pa. 436, but this may be a mistake for John, no. 13, above. However, as John did not return to Ireland before February, 1608, the following shows there was another Bath in the ship. "There has arrived here, from among the fugitive traitors in the Low Countries, one Bath, son of the widow of Sir William Warren, dwelling near this place," Sir Oliver St. John, master of the ordnance and adviser to Chichester, to Salisbury, February 18th, 1608. Sir William Warren lived at Drumcondra, and in his house 'O Néill was married to Mabel Bagenal. His wife was Elinor Preston of Gormanstown, whose first husband was John Bath + 18th July, 1586. Meehan erroneously states *op. cit.* 349 that Captain John Bath was her son, but John Bath, son of John and Elinor, lived at Balgriffin, Co. Dublin, in 1611 (Inq. Jac. I., nos. 19, 60).  
 (56) "A Spaniard that lived with Tyrone since the year 1588, and fled with him," Cal. St. Pa. (1610) 537.



lucht [p. 6] coimhideachta co n-a ttrongcaib san athghairid triasan ruibér go Rodhán. Gabhuiss O Néill 7 in t-ierla, na tigernaídh 7 na daoine uaissle bātar maille riū, seacht fīr dég dōibh, ar eachraidh gusin mbaile ar in ruibér chētna dar comhainm Laboill, seacht lēige ō Chilbuf, 7 ō Chilbuf sīos gusin gcuan nua deich lēige. Ar n-a mhārach tra re hucht in baili d'fāgbáil dōibh adchīd guibernōir Chilbuf chuca. Cuiris gné riastāla orræ. Adubairt go gcaithfediss dol do lāthair ard-mharuscail na Normainntí. Ro umhlaigset chuige sin. Gabhsat aitherrach eachraidhe. Gluaissit begān buidhne gusin mbaili dar comhainm Liegeuuaie, airm a mbuī in maruscal, seacht lēige dég ar comgar na Britāinne. Gabuis in maruscal chuige go ro-onōrach deg-haigtheach iad.

IX. Imthūss na mban uassal, gluaissit as Cilbuf a mbādoibh. Bātor seolta tōgaibthe sealat aca, sealat oile ag imramh. Mar sin dōibh go comhdhorcha na hoidhche. Impaidhiss in lān mara i n-a n-aghaidh maille re nert 7 lāidire in ruibéir as gur cuiredh tar a n-ais aimser imchian íad. Ba dīfhaisnēissi re a innissin mar do thigedh tuile 7 aithbhe in ruibéir sin. Nī roibhe tra cūiss imthnūith aca re guasacht nō ainfine dier fhuilngetair ar fairrge a n-athfhēgmhuis a ffuaratar do dho-comhal 7 do c[h]onntabairt a mbāiss in tan sin, acht amhāin buī fīon 7 uisce ar comus dōibh a n-inbaidh a ttarta. Ticit drong do lucht aittreaptha in tīre go mbādoibh maithe dia gcomhfhortacht. Eirgit an oidhche sin go baile beg buī ar brū in ruibéir. Ar n-a mhārach fuarator aimsir romhaith. Cēimnigit seachnōin in ruibéir go rāngator baile eguilsí dar comhainm Mainistir Sanct Seoirsi ar in tæp bathuaidh don ruibér. Oirissit ann an oidhche sin. Cuirit teachtaire go Rodhán do threōrugadh gach riachtanuis cōistighi 7 bhaigīnidhe rāngatar a les. Tēigit co n-a n-uile chuideachta go Rodhán timchiol mhedhōin laoi dia domhnaigh.

X. [p. 7]. Seachnōin na haimsire si buī Maguidir 7 na

<sup>1</sup> *La Bouille*, in the department of Seine Inférieure, east of Quilleboeuf and south-west of Rouen.

<sup>2</sup> *New Harbour*. It has been referred to above, chapter vii. Havre de Grace, or Le Havre, is the modern name.



short route on the river to Rouen. 'O Néill and the Earl and the lords and the gentry who were with them went with seventeen men on horses to the town on the same river called La Bouille,<sup>1</sup> seven leagues from Quilleboeuf, and from Quilleboeuf down to the new harbour<sup>2</sup> was a distance of ten leagues. On the next day, as they were about to leave the town, they saw the governor of Quilleboeuf approaching them. He put them under a kind of arrest. He said they would have to go before the Chief Marshal of Normandy. They agreed to that. They procured a change of horses, and proceeded with a small company to the town called Lisieux,<sup>3</sup> a place seventeen leagues away, near Brittany, where the Marshal was. The Marshal received them with honour and kindness.

IX. As for the women, they proceeded from Quilleboeuf in boats. They had sails up for a while, for another while they had to row, and thus they were until the darkness of the night. The tide turned against them, together with the strength and force of the river, so that they were brought back a long distance. It would be difficult to describe how the ebb and flow of that river used to come. They had no cause of complaint with any danger and storm they endured on sea in comparison with all the trouble and danger of death they experienced then, except that they had wine and water within reach when they were thirsty. A party of the inhabitants of the country came with good boats to assist them. They went that night to a little town on the bank of the river. On the next day they got very good weather. They advanced along the river until they reached a church town called the Abbey of St. Georges, on the north side of the river. They stayed there that night. They sent a messenger to Rouen to direct to them everything in the shape of coaches and waggons which they needed. They went with all their company to Rouen about midday on Sunday.

X. During this time Maguidhir and the gentry who were

<sup>3</sup> *Lisieux*, in the department of Calvados in Normandy, derives its name from the ancient Lexouii. The governor of Normandy was Henry, Duke of Montpensier.



daoine uaisle bātor a gcoimhiteacht na ttigernadh so fo riasta a Laboil. Messait go rapatar na mnā uaisle co n-a gcuideachta a mbraighdenus mar nach ffuatarar ēn-fhocal dā scēloibh. Aithrister dōib deōigh laoi dia domnaigh a ndol tairrsibh go Rodhān. Gabhait triar do na daoineibh uaisle bát. Imrait seachnōin na hoidhche. Rāngatar Rodhān a mocha laoi dia luain. Innissit scēla na ttigernadh mar do éirigh dōip a ttæp a riastāla 7 iad i n-a persanoibh badén do dol do lāthair in ard-mharuscail go Liegeciuaie. Ba himeglach imomhnach iad san ier gcloss na scēl sin. Rugator scēla ar n-a mhārach orra gur scrīp in guibernōir le posta go rīgh Frangc dia fhoillsiugadh go ttāngatar san a ttīr mar adupramar, 7 dia fhioss crēd badh indēnta riū, 7 go gcaithfediss foighite do bheith aca fo bheith i n-a gcomnaidhe go rochtain direxioin in rīg dia saigidh.

XI. Eirgiss Matha O Mæltuile a posta go Pairis. Ba luaithe posta in guibernōra do lāthair rīg Franc nō Matha. Fuair freagra. Filliss tar a aiss. Buī in rī ag filleadh ō fhiadhach. Tēid Matha i n-a lāthoir. Labruis aghoidh a n-aghaidh friss. Adféd dō uile imthūss na ttigernadh, mar do cuireadh in gnē thoirmeisc sin orra fo rīghacht na Fraingce do shiopal go breith augdarrāis in rīg orra. Adbert in rī go honōrach degh-aigtheach gur glac letreadha ar chūiss na ndaoine uassal roimhe sin, gur scrīp gus in nguibernōir dia ttaop. Tēid Matha do lāthair secretāir in rīgh. Adubairt in fer sin nach tticfadh urchōid ar bith do na maithibh as chūiss in braigdenus 7 go madh taosga deigh-fhreagra ōn rīgh ag breith orra nō Matha do thērnōdh tar a aiss.

XII. [p. 8] Dorala ambasadoir rīgh Saxan sa gcathraigh

<sup>1</sup> *Monday.* October 8th.

<sup>2</sup> *Ambassador.* Sir George Carew belonged to a Cornish family, and sat in Parliament between 1584 and 1601. He was knighted after the accession of James I. in July, 1603, and served as ambassador at the Court of France, 1605–9. He afterwards became Master of the Court of Wards on Salisbury's death, and died a few months afterwards, 13th November, 1612. He is to be distinguished from the famous Sir George Carew, Earl of Totnes, who was President of Munster under Mountjoy. Salisbury writes to Sir Thomas Edmonds, the ambassador at Brussels, on the 14th/24th October, as follows: "More certain information has been



with these lords were under arrest in La Bouille. They thought the ladies with their company were in prison, as they got no account of them. It was told to them on Sunday evening that they had gone past them to Rouen. Three of the gentlemen took a boat. They rowed throughout the night. They reached Rouen at break of day on Monday.<sup>1</sup> They gave an account of the lords, how it happened they were arrested, and how they went in their own person before the chief Marshal to Lisieux. The ladies were in fear and dread when they heard that. They got information the next day that the governor had written by post to the King of France to make known that they landed as we have said, and to learn what was to be done with them, and that they must have patience in regard to being detained until direction from the King reached him.

XI. Matha 'O Maeltuile went post-haste to Paris. The governor's messenger reached the King of France sooner than Matha and got a reply. He returned. The King was returning from hunting when Matha went into his presence. He spoke face to face with him. He told him all the adventures of the lords, how they were prohibited to traverse the kingdom of France until they should have the King's authority. The King said respectfully and kindly that he had received letters concerning the gentlemen before that, and that he had written to the governor about them. Matha went to the King's secretary. He said that no harm at all would come to the princes because of their detention, and that a friendly answer from the King would reach them sooner than Matha would have returned.

XII. The ambassador<sup>2</sup> of the King of England was in the  

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received that they, being weatherbeaten at sea, are put in at Kilboeuf in Normandy, and at their landing obtained leave of the Duke of Montpensier for their safe passage towards Brussels, with all their retinue. Whereof Sir George Carew being advertised, addressed himself to the French King, and provisionally desired him to make a stay of them so long there till he might receive further order out of England in that behalf; which request he the rather grounded upon the French King's speeches proceeding from his own mouth at his last audience, which was



in tan sin. Buī ag dēnomh a lān-dīthill aidhmillte 7 urchōide do na maithip dia madh ēidir leiss. Tēid sin a ndīmhaoiness 7 a mī-tharbha, ōir ní thug in rī audiens nō ēisteacht go fedh trī lā dō, acht ag dol d'fíadhach gacha laithe. As a haithle sin mar do buī a dheimin aige na tigernaidhe do bhe[i]th a n-ait *badh* hinnill leó, adubairt go ndeachatar ō n-a chomachtoibh, 7 dia ttegmhadh nach raghdaoiss, nach dingnadh fēin urchōid ar bith do dhaoinibh uaisle ar a gcuirfidhe d'fiachaibh a n-atharrda bhunaidh d'fāgbāil ar son a gcreidimh agus a n-ēgcomhthroim, fōs go roibhe ar comus do na huilip chatoilcip gabāil gan buaidhirt ar bith trē rīghacht na Fraingce. Lēigiss in t-ombasadoir duine uassal do threibh na hAlban a posta go Lundain dia faisnēis do rīgh Saxan go ttāngatar na daoine uaissle si a ttīr sa fFraingc 7 nār chuir in rī toirmesc orra fo gabāil triasan fFrainc. Buī in duine uassal sin a Rodhān sa tigh ōsta a mbātar na mnā uaisle in oidhche sol tāngatar na tigernaidhe.

XIII. Ar ttoigheacht do Mhatha ōg go Rodhān, mar fuair deimin scēl gurab ē ordugadh 7 direxion fuaratar san gabāil go Flonndrus ō thūss, 7 gan gabāil gach ndīrghe don Spāinn go mbeitiss a fFlonndrus, gluaisis fēin a posta go Flonndrus dia innissin do mac Ui Neill, corenēl na nEirinnach. a fFlonndrus fo chomachtoip rīg na Spāinne, go ttāngatar na tigernaidhe si as Eirinn, gur ēirigh buaidhirt 7 aineōlus fairrgi dōibh, a tteacht a ttīr a rīghacht na Fraingce, gnē thoirmeisc do chor annsin orra as nār léigedh dōip comhghar na sligedh gus in Spāinn do gabāil, do bīthin gur uo hēiccen dōip dēnamh ar a gcert-agaidh go Flonndrus go rabhatar ag a iarraidh ar in chorenēl teacht i n-a gcomdhāil go coicrīch na Fraingce, fōs paspart 7 barāntus in arsdīuc [p. 9] d'fagāil

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but a few days before, when the French King thought they had been landed in Spain that the King of Spain did wrong to His Majesty to receive them. Notwithstanding, he now made a quite contrary answer, that France was a free country for passengers, and that the Duke of Montpensier, having already given his word for their safety, the King could not revoke it" (Cal. St. Pa. (1607)). Again, to Shrewsbury the



city at that time. He was doing his full best to injure and harm the princes if he could. His efforts were idle and of no avail, for the King gave him no audience or hearing for the space of three days, but went to hunt every day. After that, as he was assured that the lords were in a place which would be secure for them, he said they had gone from his power, and if it chanced that they had not, he would not do any injury to noblemen who would be obliged to leave their paternal inheritance because of their faith and the injustice done to them, and also that all Catholics were free to go without any interference through the kingdom of France. The ambassador sent a gentleman of the Scottish race post-haste to London to announce to the King of England that these nobles landed in France, and that the King did not hinder them to go through France. That gentleman was in Rouen in the hostel in which the ladies were the night before the lords arrived.

XIII. When Matha óg came to Rouen, and when he learned that the order and direction they received was to go to Flanders first, and not to go to Spain direct until they should be in Flanders, he himself went post-haste to Flanders to tell 'O Néill's son, the Colonel of the Irish in Flanders<sup>1</sup> under the power of the King of Spain, that these lords came from Ireland, that they had trouble and lost their way on sea, that they came to land in the kingdom of France, that they were there hindered so that they were not allowed to take the short journey to Spain, that they were obliged to make straight for Flanders, that they were asking the colonel to come to meet them to the border of France, and also to procure for them a passport and warrant from the Archduke

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12th-22nd October: "The English ambassador, wishing Henry [IV.] to stay them, had for answer, 'France is free.'"

<sup>1</sup> 'O Néill's son, Enri, was sent by his father to the Spanish court in 1600, being then aged about fifteen. He studied at Salamanca under Mac Cathmhail, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, and having become colonel in the Archduke's service, died unmarried.



chuca coimhinann 7 buī barāntus rīg Franc go comrac a rīgachta badēin.

XIV. Dia sathairn do shonnradh tig guibernōir chathrach Rodhāin gusin dū a mbātar na mnā uaisle. Ro fhōgair dōibh in gcathraigh d'fāgbāil gan mhoille in lā cētna sin, nō tērnōdh tar a n-aiss gusin loing ōa ttāngatar. Gabhait sen sin 'n-a imsnīomh 7 'n-a dhupachus chuca, ōir do messatar gur do bīthin mīchinnemhna d'ēirghi do na tigernaigibh fuaratar fēin in fhōgra thul-obann sin. Trē chūis impide 7 onōrachuis ro aontaigh in guibernōir dōip as a haithle furnaidhe isin gcathraigh gusin luan buī ar a gcionn. Um t[h]rāth esparta dia domnaig tigit na tigernaigh maille re paspart 7 barāntus rīg Franc go Rodhān.

XV. Bātor sa gcathraigh an oidhche sin. Ar n-a mhārach tra, in cōicedh lā dēg Octobriss, gluaissit as Rodhān ēnmarcach dēg ar fhichid ar eachraidh, cūpla cōiste, tri uaigín, timchiol dā fhichid dia gcoiss. Dodheachaidh guibernōir Chilbuf 7 mōrān do dhaoineibh uaisle in baile dia ttiodhlacadh sealat ōn gcathraigh. Gapsat a gced ag in nguibernōir. Glacait barāntus rīg Franc uaidh. Tucsat dō mar ioc a sligedh, ge gur thaissealbh a aingidheacht 7 a dhroichinntinn roimhe sin dōip, timchiol dā fhichid ēiccin tunna saloinn buī sa loing ar a ttāngatar.

XVI. Ba haoibhinn ēxamail faircsin chathrach Rodhāin don fforadh-chnoc ard oiregdha i n-a ndernsat na maithe si ceilibhradh dieroile. Ba hadpal a mētt 7 fairsinge na cathrach 'sī ro-dhaingen ro-lāidir go n-ilimat daoine, go loingesss \* līnmhair, go gcēidhe bo lōr feabhus, go ruibér ro-mhaith chēimniges sechnōin in tīre go roich Pairis. Līnmaireacht mhōr d'oilēnoip ro-aoibhne ar in ruibér go n-imat fīnemna 7 do chrannoip torthacha. An talamh is comthroime [p. 10] 7 ba ferr aittrebugadh 7 ba torthaighi dier thadhaill na hEirinnaig sin go meinic gusin tan sin timchuairt in ruibéir.

XVII. Búi in creidemh catoilce 7 comachta na heguilsi naoimhe go ro-oirrderc ro-lāidir a Rodhān. Bātor tri tem-

\* Read *loingis*.



the same as the warrant of the King of France to the border of his own kingdom.

XIV. On Saturday<sup>1</sup> the governor of the city of Rouen came to the place where the ladies were. He ordered them to leave the city without delay that same day, or else to return to the ship from which they came. They received that order with concern and grief, because they thought it was by reason of misfortune happening to the lords that they themselves got this sudden command. Because of their request and to honour them, the governor consented afterwards that they might remain in the city until the following Monday. At the time of vespers on Sunday the lords came to Rouen with the passport and warrant of the King of France.

XV. They remained in the city that night. On the next day, the fifteenth of October, they left Rouen with thirty-one on horseback, two coaches, three waggons, and about forty on foot. The governor of Quilleboeuf and many of the gentry of the town came to conduct them a distance from the city. They took their leave of the governor. They received the warrant of the King of France from him. To pay their way they gave him about forty tons of salt which was in the ship in which they came, although he had shown his unkindliness and his ill-feeling before that to them.

XVI. Beautiful and varied was the view of the city of Rouen from the high commanding eminence where these nobles bade farewell to one another. Great was the size and extent of the city, fortified and strong, having very many people, with extensive shipping, an excellent quay, and a very good river which extends across the country to Paris. There were many very beautiful islands in the river having much vines and fruitful trees. Around the river there was the levellest, the best inhabited, and most fruitful land that these Irish had ever traversed till then.

XVII. The Catholic Faith and power of the Church was conspicuous and strong in Rouen. There were thirty-three

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<sup>1</sup> *Saturday.* October 13th.



*paill* dēg ar fhichit do themploib porrāiste sa gcathraigh 7 coimhthinōil cheithre mainistrech ndēg d'ordoip riaghalta gusin stātūs is onōraighe chostusaigi a fformhōr na crīstaigh-echtæ.

XVIII. Iar ngabāil lāimhe ar imtheacht do na maithib si bātor tra seacht lēige ō Rodhān an oidhche sin a uillage beg dar comhainm Labourshuire. Ag fāgbāil Rodhāin dōibh tarla gnē sheachrāin 7 aineōluis eidir Aodh ōg O Néill, mac Briain mheic Airt, 7 in chuideachta. Fillis O Neill (Maighbheathadh) go Rodhān a n-íermhoracht mheic Briain. Tarla mac Briain don chuideachta. Ier ttērnódh do Maighbheathadh ō Rodhān lenuiss slicht-lorcc marcshlaighi oile ro fhāgoib Rodhān. Nī tharla dia muinntir badēin é go rāngatar Arass.

XIX. Ba nemhonōrach in t-ōsta fuaratar na maithe sin isin mbaile mbeg ndeireōil adupramar, ge tharla gur uó sgiemhach torthach aoibinn in talomh ro thaistilset othá Rodhān gusin dú sin. An baile beg a nglionn ro-aoibhinn ar abhainn roi-dheiss. A moch-shoillsi na maitne ar n-a mhārach as sin dōip trī lēige go baile dar comhainm Nueuochattel. Oirissit ann gor ēistset aiffrenn \* onōrach canntaireachta 7 orgān go ndernsat a medhōn laoi. Gluaisit in lā cētna gusin mbaili dier comhainm Oumalle, cōig lēige. An diūc dier uo selb in baile sin, buī in tan sin ar innarbadh 7 deōraidheacht ō rīgh Frangc a fFlonndrus a ffochair an arsdīuc. Ro buī a uile chīos 7 tighernus dia thōgbāil chuige go Flonndrus. Lēigit as sin iad an oidhche sin gusin mbaili dar comhainm Poeise, cōic lēige. Ge go rāngatar deōigh [p. 11] 7 ier nōin laoi in baile sin, fuaratar betha imqubaidh 7 āit chumhsanta ba cosmail. Atā caisslēn daingen go mbārdaibh lāidire ō rīg Franc sa mbaili chētna sin. Nir uo imchien in slige in lā sin, acht ba cnocaighi ghairbhe riasganta nemhthorthaighe ī oldāit na sligthe oile.

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\* MS. *aiff rinn*.

<sup>1</sup> La Boissière is situated about 25 kilometres in a north-westerly direction from Rouen in the department of Seine Inférieure.

<sup>2</sup> Neufchatel lies in the department of Seine Inférieure, about 40 miles north-west of Rouen.



parish churches in the city, and communities of fourteen monasteries of religious orders, with the most splendid and costly town hall in the greater part of Christendom.

XVIII. These nobles, having set about departing, were seven leagues from Rouen that night, in a small village called La Boissière.<sup>1</sup> As they were leaving Rouen, Aodh óg 'O Néill, the son of Brian, son of Art, separated from the company and lost his way. Maighbethadh 'O Néill returned to Rouen to search for him. Brian's son came in with the company. When Maighbethadh returned from Rouen he followed the track of another mounted party which had left Rouen. He did not meet his own party till they reached Arras.

XIX. It was an humble hostel these princes got in the poor little town we have mentioned, although it happened that the land they had traversed from Rouen to that place was fair, fruitful, and delightful. The little town was in a very beautiful glen on a pretty river. Early in the morning on the following day they proceeded three leagues from there to a town called Neufchatel.<sup>2</sup> They remained there until they heard High Mass with singing and music, and until they partook of dinner. They advanced the same day five leagues to the town called Aumale.<sup>3</sup> The Duke who owned that town was then in exile, and banished by the King of France to Flanders, and was with the Archduke. All his rent and claims were being taken to him in Flanders. They proceeded five leagues from there that night to the town called Poix.<sup>4</sup> Though they reached that town late in the evening, they got suitable accommodation and a convenient place to rest. The King of France has a firm castle with strong defences in that same town. The journey was not long on that day, but it was more hilly, rougher, more marshy than on the other days, and the country more barren.

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<sup>1</sup> Aumale is to the east of Neufchatel, lying in the department of Seine Inférieure and close to the border of that of Somme.

<sup>2</sup> Poix, a town in the department of Somme, about twenty miles south-west of Amiens



XX. Ar n-a mhārach dōib go prīmh-chathraigh oiregdha oirrdirc sa fFrainc dar comhainm Amiaunce .i. aird-gepta cosnamha na Fraingce, sē lēige bhega. Do congbdhadh sealat a ndorus na cathrach iad go rochtain direxioin ō guibernōir in baile chuca. Eirgit asteach as a haithle. Ier ndēnomh a medhōin laei dochotor go tempol ro-breghdha ro-dhealraigtheach dar comainm tempall Muire. Taiselbthor tra dōib cenn Eōin Baptaist. E a ngloine cristail soillēir sofhaircsenā do na huilip do bhiadh dia lāthoir go n-ilimat fert 7 mīrbal. Cruinn-chathoir dhess dhaingen in baili sin chom a ttic ruibér ōn fhairrge ar a ttathaigit bāid gusin mbaili re socomhal 7 comfhortacht na fairrge. Atā in ruibér cētna sin ier n-a chomhtharraing 7 ier na chomhroinn a ndībh rannoip dēg seachnōin na cathrach, go riachtanus a les droichet ar gach bengān fo leith dīp. Ier ttērnōdh tar aiss ō thempull Muire dōib gabhait a post-eachraidh nār uo holc. Lēiccit go gepta Flonndruiss íad. Ar in tæp astigh do ballaigip na cathrach adchīd port ro-dhaingen ba lōr lāidire ag lucht na cathrach dia thōgbāil go n-iliomat lochta saothair 7 oibre. Ar in taobh amoig do na ballaigip taispentar dōib na treinn-sighe talman 7 na daingnidhe dīchra dorōnadh la rīg Franc in tan buī siege nō forbaissi aige ar Amens, a n-aimsir a beith a seilb rīg na Spāinne, ier n-a gabāil go glic uassail-inntlech-tach roimhe sin re trī cuidechtoib Eirenncha.

XXI. As sin dōib cōic lēige go bilāiste beg dar comhainm Pountau. Ba nemhshāsta bātar an oidhche sin. Mar doralā a n-imfhoixe chomraic na Fraingce 7 Flonndruiss íad, ní mōr nach roibhe [p. 12] gnē imfhaitchis ar dhroing aca. Tugsat ar fhormhōr a ndaoine beith suas i n-a n-armaibh ag forchoimēt dōib an oidhche sin, 7 ge tharla go rapatar go lōr a dhaingne as focal 7 as onōir rīgh Frangc, ní lughaide-sa-chāch ro-imeglaighset mar do chonnarcatar drem dā ndaoinibh ro gap aitherrach sligedh ag toigeacht go hAmens, trūp mōr marc-

<sup>1</sup> The Somme.

<sup>2</sup> Amiens was captured by the Spanish in 1597, and retaken after a



XX. They went the next day to an important famous city in France named Amiens, the gate of defence of France, a distance of six short leagues. They were detained for a time at the gate of the city till they got directions from the governor of the place. They entered afterwards. After dinner they went to a beautiful gorgeous church called the Church of Mary. The head of John the Baptist was shown to them. It was in a glass of crystal, evident and visible to whomsoever would be present, with many wonders and miracles. A pretty, strong, round city was that town; to it a river<sup>1</sup> comes from the sea, on which boats travel to the town with ease and the help of the tide. That same river is brought and divided in twelve divisions throughout the city, with the necessary bridges over each branch of them. When they came back from the Church of Mary, they took their good post-horses. They proceeded to the Flanders gate. Inside the walls of the city they saw a very strong fort of great strength being built by the people of the city, with many labourers and workmen. Outside the walls there were pointed out to them the trenches and the strong fortresses which were made by the King of France when Amiens was besieged<sup>2</sup> by him at the time it was in possession of the King of Spain, being taken previously with skill and ability by three Irish companies.

XXI. They proceeded from thence five leagues to a small village called Contay.<sup>3</sup> They were uncomfortable that night. As they approached the frontier of France and Flanders some of them were somewhat afraid. They obliged the most of their people to remain up in arms watching for them that night, and although the pledges by word and honour of the King of France were sufficient, nevertheless they were afraid when they saw some of their own party who took a different road coming

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protracted siege by Henry IV., King of France, on the 25th of September in the same year.

<sup>3</sup> Contay is situated to the north-west of Amiens, on the road between that city and Arras. The initial in the Irish form is an error.



shlaighi go n-eachraidh ro-mhaith go n-ēidigip plāta go pistaloibh.

XXII. A moch-dheghōil na maitne ar n-a mhārach eirgit a n-ordugadh a gcossanta dā lēige as sin go coicrīch Flonn-druiss 7 na Fraingci. Comhnaighit ann begān aimsire. As a haithle lēigit go hAras iad seacht lēige. Ní mōr nach roibhe gnē d'imegla \* na sligedh orra uidhe in laithe sin d'āirigthe. Ar ndol asteach sa prīm-chathroigh sin dōip timchíol mhedōin laoi in t-ochtmadh lā dég Octobris dognīt oirissemh 7 comnaidhe gusin luan buī ar a gcionn. Magbethadh ro sgar riū ag fāgbāil Rodháin fuaratar rompa sa gcathraigh sin é, ge gur mhessatar go mōr go madh baoglach in slige dō. An guibernōir buī ō rīgh na Spāinne sa mbaili, glacuis fēin 7 maithe na cathrach na tigernaidhe si chuca go subhailceach onōrach. Ticit ar cuairt dia saigidh go mbangcēd maith 7 go ffīntoibh. Cuirit athair onōrach maille re cōistigip taitnemhacha dia ttreōrugadh gusna prīmheguilsib oirrderca bātar sa gcathraigh. Taispentar ilimat do religiassoibh ro-naomhtha mōrlōigigheachta dōibh ar a mbuī rann-chuid mhōr don chroich chēsta, cenn S. San Sem, cuid d'folt Mūire Madalēn, cupa as ar ibh in Slānaigtheōir fēin deoch in tan buī a gcolainn daonna ar in saogal, go n-imat dī-āirmhe oile. Ticis Eogan Mag Mhathgamhna, in doctūir, i n-a gcomhairrchiss ō Doua gus in dū sin.

XXIII. Prīm-chathoir oirrderc oireghdha in chathair si sī ro-dhaingen lāidir daoineachoir deghefhoirgenta ní is mōo dheissi nō Amens, acht gan ruibēr ar a comghar [p. 13]. Státūss onōrach a gcert-mhedhōn na cathrach ar a mbionn gārda lāidir do gnāth-muinntir in baile fēin go sīrraidhe. Gārda oile do shaighdiūirip in rīgh ag geptaigip in baile

\* *d* and *orra* added later in different ink.

<sup>1</sup> Arras now lies in French territory in the department of Pas de Calais. It was the scene of a memorable defence by Eoghan Ruadh 'O Néill in 1640.

<sup>2</sup> *Eighteenth.* The day of the week was Thursday.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. xviii. *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Eoghan Mag Mathghamhna.* "Owen M'Ivor M'Mahon, one of



to Amiens, a large troop on horseback with good horses, coats of armour, and pistols.

XXII. Early on the morning of the next day they went, arranged ready for defence, two leagues from there to the boundary of Flanders and France. They rested there for a short time. Afterwards they proceeded seven leagues to Arras.<sup>1</sup> They were somewhat afraid of the road, especially of the journey of that day. Having entered that chief city about midday on the eighteenth <sup>2</sup> of October, they remained and rested until the next Monday. They found Maigbheathadh, who separated from them leaving Rouen,<sup>3</sup> in that city, though they strongly believed that the road would be dangerous for him. The governor himself, whom the King of Spain had appointed in the town, and the chief men of the city received these lords with kindness and respect. They came to visit them, and held a splendid banquet with wines. They sent a reverend father with beautiful coaches to direct them to the famous churches which were in the city. Many holy precious relics were shown to them, including a large portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion, the head of St. James, portion of the hair of Mary Magdalen, a cup out of which the Saviour Himself took a drink when He was in human flesh in the world, and numerous other things. Doctor Eoghan Mag Mathgamhna<sup>4</sup> came to meet them from Douai to that place.

XXIII. A famous important city this was, strongly fortified, firm, extensive, well-built, greater and more beautiful than Amiens, but with no river near it. There was a splendid town hall in the middle of the city having a strong guard of the people of the town continually. There was another

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the sons of Ivor M'Collo, who is farmer to my lord of Essex in the Ferny, is designed bishop of Clogher, but is now in Germany," Davys to Salisbury, November 12th, 1606. He was transferred to Dublin on the death of Matthew de Oviedo, on the 2nd of May, 1611. He died on the continent in 1623. He is sometimes called Eugene Matthews, or Eugenius Matthaëus. Meehan, *op. cit.* 83, inadvertently states that he met the travellers at Douai.



d'oidche 7 do ló. Cūirt ro-mhōr 7 tempol Muire. Cathair ard-easpoig na prouensi gusin reilic is ferr 7 is onōraighe a fformhōr na crīstaigheachtæ ar in tæp amoigh do ballaigibh na cathrach. Isin egluiss Muire sin ro thuit do nemh prīmhlōchrann lassamail cíera. Do ratsat lucht aittreptha na cathrach fodera sēpēl onōrach do thōgbāil ar in taop astigh do na ballaighip fo chomhair in lōchrainn nāmtha sin d'imfhaitchess nāmat dia rochtain. Dā chēd bliadain imlān ar adhnadh 7 ar comhlasadh don lōchrann d'oidhche 7 do ló, nī ro caithedh tra ēn-lethōrdlach amhāin de frissin rē sin. Feacht n-aon ticc aroile banscāl āirigthe do dhēnomh urnaigthe gusin altōir ar a mbuī in lōchrann. Ro ingantaig go mōr mētt mīrbal 7 grāssa in lōchrainn. Ro fholāir in mhī-cheinneamain fuirre ar go ffessadh crēd in mital dāirigthe dia mbuī in lōchrann. Amhoil fuair in sēipēl go huaigheach 7 lucht coimhētta an lōchrainn seachnōin na cathrach tēid ar amus in lōchrainn, glacuis dia lāmhoip ē, benuis screapall beg don chiaraigh de. Gabuis tra in lōchrann ag comhlassadh 7 in chēir ag tionadh 7 ag legadh. Bidgaiss in ben ier n-a fhaixin sin. Ba haithmhēlach imnāir lē a ndorōine. Ar ndol amach assin recclēss teacmhait lucht coimhētta in lōchrainn di. Ba machtnadh dermhair leō mar fuarator in lōchrann dia chomhchaithemh. Oirdercaigther in scél fon gcathraigh. Comhchruinnigit clier 7 meic eguils in baile 'mun aird-easpog. Cuirit a gceist 7 a n-ingantus dermhair mar do éirigh don lōchrann. Innissit lucht a choimhētta gur fhāgoibset i n-a aignedh badēin ē ag dol fon gcathraigh dōib, gan duine saegalta i n-a fhochair acht in banscāl remrāite, ar ttegmhāil na mnā dōip ar a ttoigeacht astegh san egluiss, go ffuaratar in lōchrann [p. 14] ag tinadh 7 ag leghadh 7 ar n-athrugadh a staide. Du-s-radadh in macaomh mnā do lāthoir. Dorōnadh tra examen 7 scrūdadh gēr uirre. Ro adoimh a ffiadhniassi Dē 7 na heguils naoimhe gur ben screapal beg don lōchrann. Du-s-rad a coibhsena as a haithle. Comhairligit an chlier ieromh an lōchrann do mhūchadh 7 a chomhdach go sīraidhe a fforaithmhet a mōrmhīrbhal. Adhantor 7 soillsigther a prīmhfhéstoibh uaisle ē



guard of the King's soldiers at the gates of the town by night and by day. There was a great court there and a church dedicated to Mary. There was, besides, the seat of the archbishop of the province, with the best and most splendid cemetery in the greater part of Christendom outside the walls of the city. In that church of the Blessed Virgin a bright waxen torch fell from heaven. The inhabitants of the city caused a splendid chapel to be built inside the walls for that holy torch lest enemies should reach it. The torch was lighted and shining for two hundred full years by night and day, but not even one half-inch of it was wasted during that time. Once a certain woman came to pray to the altar on which the torch was. She marvelled much at the greatness of the miracles and the graces of it. Misfortune drove her to find out what particular substance it was made of. When she found the chapel bereft of people, and the guardians of the torch gone throughout the city, she went to the torch, touched it with her hands, and broke off a little piece of the wax of it. The torch commenced to flame, and the wax to waste and to melt. The woman got frightened seeing that. She regretted and was ashamed of what she had done. The guardians of the torch met her when she left the sanctuary. They were very much surprised when they found the torch wasting away. The news of the event was spread through the city. The clergy and ecclesiastics of the town gathered with the archbishop, and they were very much troubled and surprised concerning what happened to the torch. The guardians said they had left it in its usual state when they were going to the city, with no one near it except the afore-said woman, and that, after meeting the woman as they entered the church they found the torch wasting and melting and in a different state. The woman was brought before them, and a scrutiny and strict examination of her took place. She admitted in presence of God and the Holy Church that she broke a small piece off the torch. She made her confession afterwards. The clergy advised that the torch should be



Mairidh fōss ag dēnomh fert 7 mīrbal, na mīlte do dhaoínibh ag toigheacht chuicce 7 uaidh dia n-oilithre d'adhradh 7 d'ettorguide nāmMuire óighe n-a fiadhnuissi. Fuaratar na maíthe si a thaispenadh.

XXIV. Dia luain in t-aonmadh lā fichet don mhī chēttina ceilibrat do lucht na cathrach. Eirghit cōic lēicce oile go cathraigh oirrdirc dar comhainm Doua. Gapsat muinnter na cathrach go ro-onōrach chuca iad. Toirlingit ag colāiste Eirennach buī ar costus rīgh na Spāinne sa mbaile. Doghnít fēin oirissemh sa gcolāiste. Lēicit forgla a lochta coimhiteachtæ fon gcathraigh. Bātor i n-a gcomnaidhe gusin aoine buī ar a gcionn. Beiriss orra as Flonndrus an t-athair onōrach Flaithrí O Maelconaire, prouincial uird minūir S. Pronsēiss a nEirinn 7 in doctūir Roibert Mac Artuir. Rissin rē aimsire si gabsat ag siobal ar cholāistibh na cathrach. Glacait coimhthinóil na gcolāistidhe chuca go ro-onōrach subhailcech íad mailli re uersaidhip 7 orāidip laitne grēgissi 7 bērla do dēnam dōip. Ro chomhairimh aon don chuideachta a gcolāiste na iesuuit begān d'uiresbaidh ar dā chētt dég a n-ēn-cholāiste amhāin.

XXV. Prīm-chathoir chomhfairsing neimhsciamhach teghdhuisidhi inaid foirgenta Doua acht amhāin na colāistidhe. Ruibēr ar a tticcit báit ōn ffairrge ar n-a chomhroinn ar dō

<sup>1</sup> Douai is now in French territory, and lies in the department of the Nord.

<sup>2</sup> The Irish College was founded in 1594 by Father Christopher Cusacke, S.J., a native of the County Meath (Hogan, Distinguished Irishmen of 16th Century, 4).

<sup>3</sup> Flaithrí 'O Maelconaire, the 'Father Florence' of the State Papers, was born in 1560, and belonged to the learned family of 'O Maelconaire, so well known to students of Irish. He studied at Louvain and Spain. He returned to Ireland in 1584, became a Franciscan, and left again for Spain. He sailed with the Armada, and is supposed to have been wrecked on the coast of Scotland. Subsequently he joined Del Aguila's expedition in 1601, and accompanied Aod Ruadh from Ireland a few days after the rout at Kinsale. He attended that prince in his last hours. Later he came to Flanders and, joining the fugitives, proceeded to Rome, where he was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam in 1609 (30th March). 'O Maelconaire founded the Franciscan house at Louvain, to which Ireland owes so much. He never revisited Ireland, but his in-



quenched and covered for ever to commemorate its miracles. It is lighted and shines on great principal feasts. It still continues to work wonders and miracles, thousands of people coming to it and from it in pilgrimage to venerate and implore the Holy Virgin Mary in its presence. It was shown to these nobles.

XXIV. On Monday, the twenty-first of the same month, they bade farewell to the people of the city. They proceeded five more leagues to a famous city called Douai.<sup>1</sup> The people there received them with great respect. They alighted at the Irish College<sup>2</sup> which was supported by the King of Spain in the town. They themselves stayed in the College, and they sent the better part of those with them through the city. They remained there until the following Friday. The reverend father, Flaithri O Maolconaire,<sup>3</sup> Irish Provincial of the Friars Minor, and Doctor Robert Mac Arthur<sup>4</sup> met them here, having come from Flanders. During this time they went walking through the colleges of the city. Assemblies of the colleges received them kindly and with respect, delivering in their honour verses and speeches in Latin, Greek, and English. One of the company counted in the Jesuit College a little less than twelve hundred belonging to a single college.

XXV. Douai is an extensive city with unsightly houses [and] buildings, except for the colleges.<sup>5</sup> There is a river<sup>6</sup>

dustury and care for religion in his native country never abated. He died on the 16th November, 1629, and his remains after twenty-five years were transferred from Madrid to Louvain.

<sup>1</sup> "One Robert M'Arthur, a Jesuit, is now in England in the habit of a captain, and doth from thence advertise the Earls of all occurrences. This man was some five years since sent into Spain from the Earl of Tyrone, and now carries some other name." Information of Sir Neale O'Donnell, 7th August, 1606.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with the University of Douai, founded in 1562, an English College was opened in 1568, and in the same year another was founded by two monks of Anchin and handed over to the Jesuits. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. Douai.

<sup>3</sup> River. The Scarpe, on which Douai is situated, joins the Scheldt above Tournai.



thrīthe. Ge tharla gur do na seacht ttīribh dēg prouens Artoes 7 prouens Flonndruiss an ruibēr sin amhāin eidir-dealaiges etorra. Ba torthach aoíbhinn go n-imat messa 7 cruithnechta 7 degthoradh [p. 15] go gcoilltib roi-dhessa in prouensi sin Artoes.

XXVI. Dia haoíne in seissedh lā fichet don mī so gluaissit na maithe si go cathraigh oirrdirc oile dar comhainm Turnuie secht lēige ō Dhoua. Fuirighit do bīthin deighenaigh laoi do beith aca a ndorp ar in sligidh trī lēige ō Thurnæ. Buī ar in sligidh rompa fert 7 adhnacal naoimh Eireннаigh, Sanct Linard a ainm. Dognī Dia imat mīrbal trīd. Ar n-amhārach gusin gcathraigh dōip. Adchīd a ndoras na cathrach tor comhdhaingen cloch conróacht la Iuil Sessair in tan buī sige nō forbhaissi aige fon gcathraigh a n-inbaidh chocaidh chatharrdha na Rōmhānach. Anuas ō a bharr tēighther asteach air, ōir nī fhuil doras ar doman air. Ro cosnadh tra la lucht a hinotachta an gcathraig\* go sēitreach sonairt a gcert-agaidh Iuil Sesair 7 an tsenaidh Rōmhānaigh an tan sin. Atā a gcroinicil 7 a fforaithmhet ag lucht a haittreptha nār gabadh 7 nār togladh riem go haimhdeónach í.

XXVII. Glacuit lucht na cathrach na maithe si chuca go ro-onōrach airmhitneach. Cuirit cōistidhe día saighidh as go gcēimnigdiss sechnōin na cathrach d'faixin a heguilsí 7 a daingnig co n-a hingantus go huilidhe. Tieghait as a haithle ar cuairt go haird-easpog na cathrach. Ru-s-taispein ē fēin go supailceach ilghairdeach dōib. Oirissit tra gussin luan buī ar a gcinn annsin.

XXVIII. Ruibēr ro-aoibhinn ar n-a chomhroinn a ttrīp

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\* The acc. case for the nom. in archaic style.

<sup>1</sup> Artois, an ancient province of the Netherlands, now forming part of France and included in the department of Pas de Calais. It derived its name from the ancient tribe of the Atrebates.

<sup>2</sup> The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, as organised by Charles V., father of Philip II., were the duchies of Brabant, Gelderland, Limbourg and Luxemburg, the counties of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, and Zutphen, the margraviate of Antwerp, and the five lordships of Triesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overijssel and Groningen.

<sup>3</sup> Father Meehan remarks that this is a mistake, "for the saint was



divided in two through it, on which boats come from the sea. Although Artois<sup>1</sup> and Flanders were among the seventeen provinces,<sup>2</sup> nothing except the river divides them. This province of Artois is rich and beautiful with much mast and wheat and good fruits, and very pretty woods.

XXVI. On Friday, the twenty-sixth of this month, these princes went on towards another great city called Tournai, seven leagues from Douai. They stopped because it was late in the day at a village on the road three leagues from Tournai. On the road before them was the tomb and burial place of an Irish saint,<sup>3</sup> Saint Linard was his name. God performs many miracles through him. And the next day they went to the city. They saw at the gate of the city a strong stone tower which was built by Julius Cæsar when the city was besieged by him in the time of the Roman civil war.<sup>4</sup> It is entered from the top, for it has no door at all. The city was defended by the inhabitants with strength and power against Julius Cæsar and the Roman Senate at that time. It is chronicled and commemorated by its inhabitants that it was never taken or stormed by violence.

XXVII. The people of the city received these nobles with honour and respect. They sent coaches to them so that they might go through the city to see its church and its fortress and all its wonders. They went afterwards on a visit to the archbishop of the city. He showed himself kindly and well-disposed towards them. They remained there till the next Monday.

XXVIII. There is a very beautiful river<sup>5</sup> divided in three parts through the city, with three well-made bridges in position, and the city itself is remarkable and ancient with nice

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not Irish, but a Frank of the Court of Clovis I. The hamlet in which he reposes is called Rache, anciently frequented by pilgrims. Martin, *Histoire des Saints de la province de Lille*," *op. cit.* 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Civil war.* The Roman civil war did not take place until after Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul, 58-50, nor was Northern Gaul the scene of any of Cæsar's exploits in the war with Pompey or his party, 49-46 B.C. Tournai lies in the territory of the ancient Nervii, and we have here probably a reminiscence of their vigorous resistance in 57 and 54 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> *River.* Tournai is built on the Scheldt, the ancient Scaldis.



rannoibh go ttrī ndroichetoibh deig-dhēnmhacha ar n-a gcomhshuidhiugadh triasan gcathraigh, sī fēin i n-a prīm-chathraigh oirrdirc arsanta go sen-teghdhuisip dessa degh-fhoirgenta, go n-imat sliūs chomhfhostus 7 imtheilges in t-uisce mar is lainn 7 mar is toltanach re lucht na cathrach. Caisslēn lāidir lān-daingen ag a ffuil cennus 7 uachtarānacht ar in gcathraigh uile ag rīgh na Spāinne sa mbaili gusin ruibēr ar n-a chomhtharraing 'n-a mhōirthimchioll \* [p. 16]. Míle saighdiúir, go síorraidhe co n-a n-uile ríachtanus a less órdanāiss mhōir 7 munisioin ar doman, ag bārdacht 7 ag forchoimhētt in chaissléin. Reiglēss onōrach astigh aca ar imfhaitchess go mbíadh comhthathaighi etorra amne 7 lucht na cathrach. Mar do bātar tra sligthe salchæ 7 ard-bhōthair imchomhga aimhréidhe ō Doua go Turnæ, nī hinnill rug fer a scrīptha 7 a fhaisnéissi so mess nō brethnughadh ar in regiōn 7 ar in talmhain mōir-thimchiol in prīm-róitt.

XXIX. Dia lúain an t-ochtmadh lā fichet don mí chētna cēimnigit assin gcathraigh sin. Bātor tra a mbaili bheag dhess dhaingen, Aat a ainm,† seacht lēige ōn gcathraigh remhráite. Tig guibernōir in baili tar ballaighip amach i n-a gcomdháil 7 dia nglacadh chuicce go honōrach airmhitneach. Dódheachaidh badéin a persain día ttreórugudh go a ttighthibh ósta. Comhscaoílder uile ordanāss in baile mar onórachus 7 mar shupailcibh a ttoigeachtæ. Tig fēin go maithip an bhaile dia n-áithreōss as a haithle. Taissealbhuiss a shupailche co n-a dheig-inntinn dōip. San mbaili sin tra doralá Caip-tín Seōn Blint a ngairessún. Buī go hāilghen cennsa forffaoilidh rompa san.

XXX. Ar n-a mhārach dhōip seacht lēige ō Aat go Noutre

\* Here we have a scribal entry: *Tadhg O Cienain do scribh isan Roimh* 1609, Tadhg O Cíanain wrote [this] in Rome, 1609.

† MS. *Aat ainm*.

<sup>1</sup> Ath, like Tournai, lies in the modern province of Hainault.

<sup>2</sup> *Tournai*. Literally "from the aforesaid city."

<sup>3</sup> Halle lies in the province of South Brabant, near the field of Waterloo.



well-built old houses, and with many sluices which stop and direct the water wherever the people of the city please or desire. The King of Spain has a strong, fully-defended castle in the town, commanding and having power over the whole city, and the river is drawn around it. There are a thousand soldiers always guarding and watching the castle with everything they require of great ordnance and ammunition. They have a splendid church inside that there may be no communication between them and the people of the city. As the roads from Douai to Tournai were dirty, and the highways narrow and uneven, the writer and narrator of this could not easily note or observe the country or the land along the route.

XXIX. On Monday [*recte* Sunday], the twenty-eighth of the same month, they left that city. They came to a small town, pretty and fortified, which was called Ath,<sup>1</sup> seven leagues from Tournai.<sup>2</sup> The governor of the town came outside the walls to meet them and to receive them with respect and honour. He himself in person came to direct them to their hostels. All the ordnance of the place was fired at once to do honour and show pleasure at their coming. The governor himself and the principal men came afterwards to visit them, and he showed them kindness and sympathy. Captain John Blint happened to be in garrison in that town, and he was gentle, kind, and pleased at meeting them.

XXX. Next day they went seven leagues from Ath to Notre Dame de Hal.<sup>3</sup> On their way they passed through a pretty town which had been formerly in the time of the war<sup>4</sup> in the possession of the King of France. As the rent of it was of no use to the King he accepted fifty thousand pounds from the Duke of Hal for the ownership of the town. It was called Enghien.<sup>5</sup> They went that night to Notre Dame. It rained heavily on them throughout the journey.

XXXI. The next day, the thirtieth of October, 'O Néill's

<sup>4</sup> The war between Henry IV. of France and Philip II. of Spain lasted from January, 1595, until the peace of Vervins, 2nd of May, 1598.

<sup>5</sup> Enghien lies nearly midway between Ath and Halle.



*shuf* Dam de Hauer. Ar in sligidh rompa gapait tria baile dhess buī ria sunn a seilp rīgh Franc a n-inbaidh in chocaidh do bheith ann. Mar nach deachaidh cíoss an bhaile a ttorbha don rīgh, gabuis deich míle ar dā fichit míle ponnta ō dhiūc de Haura ar bith-dīlseacht an bhaile. Inginn a ainm. Tíaghait tra an oidche sin go Noutre Dam. Fleachadh 7 ferthain dermhair aca seachnōin na sligedh.

XXXI. Ar n-a mhārach trá. 30. Octobriss ticc mac Uī Néill, corenēil na nEirinnach, chuca go mbuidhin ndermhair ndeigh-innill [p. 17] do chaip̄tīnibh, do dhaoínibh uaissle do Spāin-neachaibh agas d'Eirinnchaibh 7 do gach nasiōn archena dia mbātor. Dia sathairn buī ar a gcinn tāinic marcūēs Spinnala, ard-general armāla rīgh na Spáinne a fFlonndrus, go n-imat do dhaoínibh ro-onōracha chuca ō Bruxel. Dognī forffāilte friū. Glacuis chuicce go honōrach iad. Do-rad cuireadh dōip chom a medhōin laói ar n-a mhārach a mBruxel. Ro aontaighset chuigi sin. Téid trá in marcēiss do shléchtaine go hegluiss Muire búí ar comhghar dōip. Gar ier sin adchīd secretāir in arsadiūc chuca dā iarraidh orra bheith a ffochair in arsadiūc in luan buī ar a gcionn a Marimount, foraoiss fiadaigh buī ag in arsadiūc naoí lēige ōn mbaili sin. Ar n-a chlos sin don marcēs gabuis a ched. Lēigiss tar a aiss go Bruxeil ē. Cuiriss chuca san ar maidin dia domhnaigh a riachtanūs a less cōistidhe 7 eachraidhe as go raghdaoiss go hinnill onōrach do lāthoir in arsadiūc.

XXXII. Ier n-éisteacht aiffrinn dia domnaigh in cethramadh lā Nouembriss gluaissit na tigernaídhí a gcōistighip

<sup>1</sup> "He ['O Néill] is shortly expected here, but it is said that he takes the way to pass by Bruges, where his son is remaining, having his regiment lodged in these parts," Sir Thomas Edmonds to Salisbury, 14th (24th) October. Our text shows that if 'O Néill ever intended passing through Bruges, he must have altered his plans. The information of James Roche, *alias* Loach, printed by Meehan *op. cit.* 156 and Cal. St. Pa. (1607) 358, is inaccurate in stating that Colonel Enrí met his father at Douai, as well as in several other particulars.

<sup>2</sup> Ambrogio, Marquis Spinola, was an Italian nobleman who entered Spanish service in 1602 and distinguished himself at the taking of Ostend (1604) and the relief of Ghent (1605). He was a prominent figure in the military history of the Catholic Netherlands until his death in 1629.



son, the Colonel of the Irish [regiment], came to them<sup>1</sup> with a large well-equipped company of captains and of noblemen, Spanish and Irish and of every other nation. On the following Saturday the Marquis Spinola,<sup>2</sup> the commander-in-chief of the King of Spain's army in Flanders, came to them from Brussels with a large number of important people and welcomed them. He received them with honour and gave them an invitation to dinner on the next day in Brussels. They consented. The Marquis went to pray to the church of Mary which was near them, and shortly afterwards they saw the Archduke's secretary coming towards them to ask them to be with the Archduke on the following Monday in Marimont,<sup>3</sup> a hunting forest which he had nine leagues away from that town. When the Marquis heard that, he took his leave and went back to Brussels. On Sunday morning he sent them all the coaches and horses they needed, that they might be well and suitably provided going before the Archduke.<sup>4</sup>

XXXII. On Sunday, the fourth of November, after having heard Mass, the lords set out in coaches, their nobles and

<sup>3</sup> *Marimont*, the Archduke's summer palace, was near Binche, in the province of Hainault.

<sup>4</sup> On September 30th (= October 10th) Salisbury despatched a missive to Sir Thomas Edmonds informing him of the flight of the Earls about the 3rd/13th September, and praying him, "when he speaks of these matters, to observe carefully how they are apprehended there [in Brussels], and especially amongst the Irish that are there in service, and to report with the first despatch what he may find of it." Accordingly, from the first moment the exiles laid foot on foreign soil their movements were all duly reported to James's ministers. Observe the accuracy and detail of the following: "He [the Archduke's minister, President Richardot] confessed that the Marquis Spinola intended to invite Tyrone to dinner at his coming to this town, only, as he said, in respect of his being a stranger. Tyrone and his whole company remain at Notre Dame de Hal, four leagues hence, where the Marquis Spinola saw him a few days since, going thither to speak with the secretary [of the Archduke], Manciscider, who came from the Court to confer there with the Marquis. Since, the Marquis sent his coach unto Tyrone to take him to the Court at Beins," Edmonds to Salisbury, 28th Oct./7th Nov.



a ndaoine uaissle[7] a lucht coimhideachta ar eachroidh. Rān-gatar in lā sin go Neeuel cōic lēige uaidhip, baile dess daingen i n-a mbuī gairessūn ōn rīgh. Guibernōir Spāinneach ba huachtarān sa mbaili. Tig co n-a shaigdiūirip\* i n-a gcomhdhāil. Forffāiltighis friú. Ier ttoirling dōibh du-s-rad eochracha in baile go hUa Nē[i]ll. Diūлтаiss O Néill na heochracha. Dorad in guibernōir cuireth dōip chom a suipēir an oidche sin. Ní ro aontaighset tra in cuireth si. Buī in guibernōir a ffochair Uī Nē[i]ll an oidhche sin. Du-ss-rad lucht ciūil 7 mūissice 7 raingce i n-a choimhitecht. A n-inbhaidh chodalta dōip cuiriss sarsen maior in baile d'ierroidh focail na faire ar O Nē[i]ll. Tug O Néill buideachus dō san. Do ierr air fēin an focal do thabairt uaidh mar dobeiredh gach n-oidhche.

XXXIII. Gluaissit ar n-a mhārach, an guibernōir dia gcoimhitecht tar tōrainn in baili. Tiaghait go Bench cōic lēige uaidibh, airm a mbuī in t-arsadiūc. Tic diūc de Suna, in secretari, Don Rodrico, maior dommo [p. 18] in arsadiūc, go gcōistigip maithe 7 go ndaoinibh uaisle onōrachæ i n-a gcomhairrchiss. Fāiltighit a n-ainm in arsadiūc friū. Tēid in diūc badēin issin chōiste a mbātor. Ar ndol dōip don mbaili toirlingit ag pālās in maior dommo. Bátar ann sealat mar do buī in lá go ffeachadh ndermhair roimhe sin. Ro cuireth tra a lucht coimhitechta 7 a n-eachradh a n-āitibh comhnaidhe. Tiaghait as a haithle d'fēchain sēipēil in arsadiūc.

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\* MS. *shaigdiuip*.

<sup>1</sup> *Nyvel* or *Nivelles* is situated in the province of South Brabant, 19 miles south of Brussels. A little further south, on the road to Binche, is Seneffe, where William of Orange was defeated by Condé, 11th August, 1674.

<sup>2</sup> *Philip III.*, King of Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the particulars of the visit of 'O Néill and his party to the Archduke, and other matters also, the examination of James Loach, Cal. St. Pa. 358, Meehan 157, is most unreliable. Compare, for instance, the text with this: "He saith that the Archduke, receiving news from Tyrone of his arrival, and coming towards him at Notre Dame, three leagues from Brussels, where they accordingly met, after many compli-



retinue attending them on horseback. They came that day to Nyvel,<sup>1</sup> a distance of five leagues. It was a nice town, well fortified with a garrison of the King.<sup>2</sup> The governor was a Spaniard. He came with his soldiers to meet them and welcomed them. When they dismounted he offered to give up the keys of the city to 'O Néill, but he refused to accept them. The governor invited them to supper that night, but they did not consent to go. The governor stayed with O Néill that evening, and brought musicians and dancers with him. As they were about to retire he sent a sergeant-major to 'O Néill to ask him to give the watch-word. 'O Néill thanked him, but requested himself to give it as he was accustomed to do every other night.

XXXIII. On the next day they started, and were accompanied by the governor until they had left the town. They went five leagues to Binche, where the Archduke was.<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Ossuna, the Secretary,<sup>4</sup> and Don Rodrigo,<sup>5</sup> the major-domo of the Archduke, came with good coaches and great noblemen to meet them, and welcomed them in the Archduke's name. The Duke himself went in the coach in which they drove. When they reached the town, they alighted at the major-domo's palace. They remained there for a time, as the day had previously been very wet. Their attendants and horses were put up, and they went next to see the Archduke's chapel.

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ments the Marquis, attended with many gallants, brought him to Brussels, and he entertained him that night." Edmonds to Salisbury, 28th Oct./7th Nov., gives the true account. See the passage cited above, p. 43, n.4.

<sup>4</sup> He is several times referred to by name as Manciscider in the contemporary papers. His full title was Don Juan de Manciscider. About 1615 there was a report of a proposed marriage of his daughter to Henri 'O Néill, colonel of the Irish Regiment, regarding which Turnbull, the English minister at Brussels, wrote that it was high time "some underhand means were used to prevent the match," Meehan 326.

<sup>5</sup> *Don Rodrigo de Laiso*, a Spanish nobleman who joined the Armada, and, being wrecked off the coast of Belgium, became later the Archduke's chief chamberlain.



XXXIV. As sin dōip gusin pālāss. Tigiss Infanta ingen rīgh na Spāinne 7 in t-arsadiūc go dorus in pālāiss i n-a gcomhdháil. Glacuit chuca go ro-onōrach airmiteach forffáilteach degh-aightheach maille re cūirtissighip mōra íad. Beirit leō dia gcodal-tigh íad. Bátar sealat ag comrádh \* 7 ag coimhfhiérfaighe sgéul dieroile. Gabhait a gced. Eirgit fēin 7 diūc de Sana 7 diūc de Oumal 7 mōrān do dhaoibh uaissle oirrderca oile do dēnomh a medhōin laoi. Gluaissit as a haithle, cōistidhe 7 aitherrach eachraidhe ō' n-alteiss leō, go mbātar tar a n-ais an oidhche sin a Neeuel. Nī nem-onōraighi-sa-chāch fuaratar an oidhche sin oldāss an chēd-oidhque.

XXXV. Ar n-a mhārach tra dōibh go Noutre Dam. Oirissit ann an oidhche sin. A moch-dheghōil na maitne lēigit go Bruxel iat trī lēige. Ticc corenēl Francisco go līnmhairecht do chaipīnīp Spāinneacha agus Eadāilleacha, Eirennacha 7 Flonndrusacha, i n-a gcomdháil amach assin gcathraigh. Gluaissit uile tria shráidip oireghdha in baile go rāngatar dorass pālāiss in marcēiss. Tāinic in marcēiss fēin 7 nunsius in pāpa 7 ambasadōir rīgh na Spāinni 7 diūc de Suna dia nglacadh as a gcōistighip. Ier fforffāiltiugadh re aroile go līnmhar dōip tiaghait assa haithle ar halla in marcēiss. Bātor sealat ag bríathar-chomrádh re aroile. Eirghit 'n-a dheaghaidh gusin tteghduis i n-a ngnāthaigedh in marcēiss a chuid do chaitheamh. An marcēiss badēin ba hé ro shuidigh cāch. Cuiriss O Néill [p. 19] i n-a shuidhe i n-a ionadh fēin a gcert-édan in būird, nunsius in pāpa dia lāimh dheiss, íerla Tíre Conaill dia lāimh chlī, clann Uī Néill 7 Maguidir síoss ōn ierla, ambasadōir rīgh na Spāinne 7 diūc de Umaar ar in taop oile síoss ōn nunsius. Coimhlín in būird do dhaoinip uaissle oirmhitnecha onōracha cenmothā sin, an marcēiss badēin 7 diūc de Suna ag fīr-chionn in būird as comhair Uī Néill. Ba lōr a onōraighi 7 a rō-chostusaighi ar bith, dia madh

\* MS. had *chomraidh* at first, but the correction was made later in different ink.

<sup>1</sup> *alteis*, from the French *altesse*.

<sup>2</sup> *Guido Bentivoglio* (1579–1644), Cardinal and Archbishop of Rhodes and Palestrina, was appointed Papal Nuncio to Flanders on June 1st,



XXXIV. They went next to the Palace. The Infanta, the King of Spain's daughter, and the Archduke came to the door of the Palace to meet them. They received them with honour and respect, with welcome and kindliness, and showed them great courtesy. They brought them to their own private apartments. They spent a while in conversation and questioning one another. Afterwards they took their leave. They [the Irish] and the Duke of Ossuna, the Duke of Aumale, and many other illustrious noblemen went to dinner. They set out afterwards, taking coaches and a change of horses from their Highness<sup>1</sup> with them, and returned that night to Nyvel. They were treated with as much honour that night as the first night [they spent there].

XXXV. The next day they proceeded to Notre Dame de Hal, and stopped there that night. Early the next morning they went to Brussels, three leagues' journey. Colonel Francisco, with many Spanish, Italian, Irish, and Flemish captains, came out of the city to meet them. They advanced through the principal streets of the town to the door of the Marquis's palace. The Marquis himself, the Papal Nuncio,<sup>2</sup> the Spanish Ambassador, and the Duke of Ossuna came to take them from their coaches. When greetings had been exchanged in abundance, they entered the hall of the Marquis and spent some time in conversation. Afterwards they entered the apartment where the Marquis was accustomed to take food. He himself arranged each one in his place, seating 'O Néill in his own place at the head of the table, the Papal Nuncio to his right, the Earl of Tyrconnell to his left, O Néill's children and Maguidhir next the Earl, and the Spanish ambassador and the Duke of Aumale on the other side, below the Nuncio. The rest of the illustrious, respected nobles at table, the Marquis himself, and the Duke of Ossuna, were at the end of the table opposite 'O Néill. The excellent dinner which they partook

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1607. He was the author of a number of valuable works, including a history of the wars in Flanders.



rī no-biadh ann, lāin-fheabhus in medhōin laoi dorōnsat. Nīr uo messa-sa-chāch in bangcéd. Do taispenadh plāta ōir 7 airgīt astigh nār uo himnāir do rīgh nō prinnsa sa crīstaighecht do bheith aige. Bātor sealat ag conuersāit 7 ag áines bhríathar. Gabhait a gcet maille re buidhechus do thabairt dia chēile. Léigit tar aiss an oidhche sin go Noutre Dam iad.

XXXVI. Baile beg édaingen ēdlūith in baile sin, acht chena nīr toghladh 7 nīr gapadh go haimhdeōnach ríamh re nāimhdib ē. Nī do nert lámh nō do līnmhairecht sochraide nō do daingne ballaidhī doralā sin, acht fiodhair 7 pictūir 7 dealbh Muire mīrbhailighī atā a n-ēgluiss Muire sa mbaili doghní ilimat fert 7 mīrbal chom a ttigit ilmīlte do na regiōn-oibh comhfhoixe dia n-oilithre d'adhradh 7 d'edorguidhe naemh-Muire ōighe. Feacht n-aon ro chuir Gramuiriss 7 scrīstōiridhe na heguilsī catoilce lēiger ar in m<sup>6</sup>paile sin. Na canōin riaghalta gusin ordanāss mōr ro sgaoiltidhe friss. Is amhlōidh tōgaibhthe do na nāimhdip bean uassal go n-édaigip glē-glana, naipicīn glēigeal in-a dess-láimh sí n-a sessomh ar in mballa i n-a ffrithchētfaidh. Ro-ss-gap issin naipicīn ina huile peilēir ru-s-caithedh frissin mbaili gan cumhsgugadh cloch gan brissedh balla gan marbadh duine. Ro lēigedh sīoss go cennuiss áilghen ar in tæp astigh don bhalla na peilēir ar in talmhain assin naipicīn. Mairit fōss go marthanach issin reicclēss a fforaithmhet na mōr-mīrbal [p. 20]. Ní mar neach nemh-láidir trá do mesfaidhe in fer do thōigēbadh ēn-pelér amhāin ō thalmhain dībh. Tōgbhait na nāimhde ōn mbaili mar doconnarcatar na mōir-fherta. Gach līnmhaireacht aimsire riemh ro shuidhset nāimhde i n-a thimchiol tāinic a chosnam go mīrbhaileach do grāsoibh Dē 7 naomh-Muire ōighe. On pictūir 7 ōn imhāidh sin amhāin sloinnter 7 ainmnigther an baile 7 is bladhbheg sin d'ingantus a mōir-mīrbal.

<sup>1</sup> Again Edmonds describes accurately the movements of the Irish party in a letter to Salisbury, November 4/14th: "After the Earl of Tyrone had been at the Court of Beins [Binche], where it is said he was very favourably used by the Archduke, and was allowed the grace of personages of the greatest rank to speak with the Archduke covered, he came one day hither from Notre Dame de Hal, accompanied by the



of was grand and costly enough for a king, and nothing inferior was the banquet. Gold and silver plate was displayed inside that no king or prince in Christendom might be ashamed to have. They spent some time in conversation and chatting, and then took leave and returned thanks to one another. They returned that night to Notre Dame de Hal.<sup>1</sup>

XXXVI. It is a small badly-fortified and incompact town, yet it was never stormed or taken by force by enemies. It was not by reason of strength of hands or greatness of numbers or firmness of walls that that was so, but a figure and picture and statue of Mary the Wonder-worker, in the church of Mary in the town, that causes many miracles and wonders, and very many thousands of people from the neighbouring districts come on pilgrimage there to venerate and implore the Holy Virgin. At one time Gramoures and the destroyers of the Catholic Church laid siege to that town. Regular cannon and large ordnance were discharged against it. There appeared to the enemy a lady with bright garments, and a white napkin in her right hand, standing on the wall opposite them. She caught in the napkin all the bullets that were thrown against the wall, so that no stone was moved, no wall was broken, and no person was killed. Inside the wall she laid down quietly and gently on the ground the bullets out of the napkin. They remain still in the church to commemorate the great miracles, and he who would lift one of them from the ground would be considered a strong man. The enemy raised the siege of the town when they saw the great miracles. Every time since that enemies came about it, it was defended miraculously by the grace of God and the Holy Virgin Mary. From the picture and image alone the town gets its name and designation, and that is but a small portion of its wonderful miracles.

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Earl of Tyrconnell and M'Guire, and the principal persons of their company, and was feasted by the Marquis Spinola, there being also present the Nuncio, and sundry others of the best quality here. He made no longer stay in this town, but only to come to receive that entertainment and after dinner he returned back to Hal, from whence he is since removed to Louvain [on the 9th ; see chapter xli. *infra*]," Cal. St. Pa. 361.



XXXVII. A n-aimsir an lēigir adupramar do bheith ag Graumoreiss ar in mbaili adbeart aroile caiptín dīomsach dia muinntir trē bhogāssaigh urlapra 7 trē dhānacht glōir fhochuidmidh 7 fhanamhait go raghadh fēin asteach san egluiss 7 go mbenfadh a lām̃h don imháidh, ōs dā mīrbailibh buī an baile dia imchosnam̃h. Gar ier sin ēirghis deabaidh 7 dechētfaid eidir shlōghaip in bhaile 7 in nām̃hait. Eirgiss in caiptín remhrāite go mbrígh 7 go mborrfadh n-adhbal-mōr a gcoma chāich ar in troid. Bentar a dhí lām̃h de. Ro gabadh ē badéin. Adm̃haiss chena a ffiadhnuissi na himháidhe 7 in popail gur chan in mēide sin d'uabhar-bhriathraibh mī-tharbhacha. Atāit in dī lām̃h re a ttaispenadh go follus issin reclés.

XXXVIII. Gar ier sin issedh ro taisspenadh do Graumuiriss ar folāirem̃h aingil na clēlām̃he cainneal ba lōr métt sa doman do chor da himdēnom̃h, a lān pūdair do bheith a n-inmhedhōn na coinnle, imdēnom̃h cíera ar in tæp amoigh. Cuiriss trē chūiss cheilcce teachtaireacht go huachtarān na na heguilsi. Adbeart gur gap aithmhēle 7 aithreachus dermhair ē 'mun iarroidh sin do thabairt ar in reclés onōrach i n-a mbuī an imháidh mhōr-mhīrbailech, gur chuir lōchrann cíera a gcomartha aithreachuiss 7 leapar-gnīm̃ha dia saighidh. Ro íarr a n-impidhe 7 a n-athchuingidh an lōchrann do bheith ar comhlassadh do lō 7 d'oidche a ffiadhnuissi na himháidhe go forcionn a thochaithm̃he, ier sin tra go gcuirfedh lōchrann oile i n-a ionadh [p. 21]. Deimhin leis sen tra madh dia loisgthe in lōchrann go roichedh in pūdar, ier gcomhlassadh don pūdar, go mbrissfidhe 7 go loiscfide in egluis co n-a mbiadh innte, go tticfadh losgadh 7 milledh in baile dessidhe. Gapuiss in t-uachtarān 7 in chlár an teachtaireacht go messarrdha iomqubaidh chuca. Adhnait 7 comhlassait in lōchrann a ffrithchédfaidh 7 a ffiadhnuissi na himháidhe.\*

XXXIX. Ar mbeith aimsir āirigthe mar sin go ttāinic a gcomhfhoccus 7 a n-imfhoixe don āit i n-a mbuī in pūdar,

\* *in lochrainn* was written first, but *puncta delentia* were added, and the correct reading follows immediately.



XXXVII. At the time of the siege of the town by Gramoures, which we have mentioned, a certain haughty captain, one of his officers, in boasting speech and vainglorious mockery and insult said that he himself would enter the church and would strike the image with his hand, since the town was being defended by its miracles. Shortly afterwards conflict and battle commenced between the defenders of the town and the enemy. The above-mentioned captain advanced with great strength and vigour into the fight like every one else. His two hands were cut off, and he himself was captured. He then confessed before the image and the people that he had spoken so much idle, vain words. His two hands are yet plainly to be seen in the church.

XXXVIII. Shortly afterwards it was suggested to Gramoures by the devil to get a very large candle made, and to fill the interior of the candle with powder, leaving a coating of wax on the outside. In treachery he sent a message to the superior of the church, saying that he had much regret and repentance for attacking the venerable church where the miraculous image was, and that he was sending a wax candle to it in token of his repentance and penance. He asked as a request that the candle should be lighted by day and night before the image until it was wasted, and that then he would send another candle in its place. He was certain that if the candle burned until the powder would be reached, it would catch fire, and the church and all that was in it would be blown asunder and burned, and that the burning and destruction of the town would be the result. The superior and clergy of the church accepted the gift fittingly and appropriately. They lighted the candle in presence of the image.

XXXIX. After a certain time then it had burned so that it was near the place where the powder was, and on a certain night, when all the doors of the church had been closed, about midnight the bells and chimes of the church of themselves rang miraculously, and were heard all over the town. The clergy and the people of the town arose at once, and pro-



aroile oidhche, ier n-íadhadh 7 ier gcomhdhūnadh uile dhorass na heguilsi, timchiol mhedhōin oidhche do shonnradh, benait cluig 7 ceōlāin na heguilsi go mīrbaileach uaidhip fēin go gclos fon mbaile uile íad. La sodhain tra ēirghit in chlier 7 muinnter an baile a gcētōir. Ar ndol dōip go dorass in reclēssæ dogeibhit na doirrsi foriadhta ar a gcionn. Ticc in t-aistreōir gussna heochrachaibh. Tiaghait astech assa haithle. Fuara-tar in lōchrann ar lassadh a ffiadhnuissi na himhāidhe 7 na cluig ag comhmbuain. Ba machtnadh 7 ba hingantus der-mhair leō.

XL. Smuainit 7 tuigit ier sin gur go mīrbhaileach for-caomhnagair in chūiss 7 in chaingen. Lēicit ar a nglūinip iatt. Gapsat ag aithrighi 7 ag urnaighthe 7 ag etorghuidhe naemh-Muire ōige a ffrithchētfaidh na himáidhe. Ar mbeith treimhsi 7 selat fon samhla sin dōibh, a n-inbaidh in lōchrainn do chomhloscad gusin pūdar, mar nā ro thuigset in popal rūndiemhoir na mōi-mhīrbal, sīniss a láimh gusin lōchrann. Ōdchonnairc uachtarān na heguilsi sin du-s-rad aithne gur do bīthin adhgaill 7 urchōide do beith sa lōchrann ro sínedh in lāmh 7 ro bēnsat na cluicc. La sodain tra íermúchaidh in lōchrann. Sochtait na cluig a gcētōir. Comhthairrngit in chlier rann-chuid beg don maiste ro buī a gcert-lār in lōchrainn. Airighit boltanugadh an pūdair. Sgaoilit begān don lōchrann. Ba hamhloidh forcaomnagoir nach roipe leth-ordlach amhāin gan chaithemh [p. 22] 7 gan chomloscadh de gusin āit i n-a rapatar suim āirigthe do bairillighip pūdair ar n-a gcomhshuidhiugadh sa lōchrann. Atā immorro in lōchrann cētna gusin pūdar gcealgach re a thaispenadh aniū go follus a fforaithmet na mór-mhīrbal

XLI Dia haoine, in nōmadh lā Nouembriss, gluaissis O Nēill 7 in t-ierla gussna maithip bātar maille riū as Noetor Daam. Bātor an oidhche sin a prīm-chathraigh oirrdirc oireghdha, Louāine a hainm, secht lēige. Buī O Nēill a ttigh óstæ dār comhainm tegh an impire, an t-ierla a ttigh oile. Oirisit tra fon innus sin go cionn deich lá. Ier sin tic Sir Uuilliem Stanlui, senridire saigdiūirthe Saxanach buī a



ceeding to the door of the church, they found the doors closed against them. Then the doorkeeper came with the keys and they entered. They found the candle burning before the image and the bells ringing, and they wondered and were very much surprised.

XL. After a time they surmised that it was miraculously the affair happened. They went on their knees and commenced repenting and praying and invoking the Holy Virgin Mary in presence of the image. When they were a while thus, and the candle was burning to the powder, as the people did not understand the mystery of the miracle, the image pointed its hand to the candle. When the superior of the church saw that, he knew that it was because of harm and evil being in the candle that the hand was pointed and the bells had rung. Thereupon he put out the candle, and the bells became silent at once. The clergy drew out a piece of the match which was in the centre of the candle, and they found the smell of the powder. They then broke off a piece of it. There was hardly half an inch of it left unburned to the place where there were a number of barrels of powder placed in it. The same candle and treacherous powder is today plainly to be seen to commemorate the miracle.

XLI. On Friday, the ninth of November, 'O Néill and the Earl and the nobles with them left Notre Dame de Hal. They were that night in a great city called Louvain, seven leagues distant. 'O Néill stayed in a hostel called "The Emperor's House,"<sup>1</sup> the Earl in another house. They remained thus for ten days. Then Sir William Stanley,<sup>2</sup> an

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<sup>1</sup> *Charles V.* (1500–1558), Roman Emperor, and, as Charles I., King of Spain, spent his young days in the old Castle in Louvain, a few fragments of which still exist on Mont César

<sup>2</sup> *Sir William Stanley* (1548–1630) was born a Catholic, and served in the Netherlands in 1567 under Alva, the Spanish general. He came to Ireland in 1570, shared in the defeat of Lord Grey of Wilton by Fiacha mac Aodha 'O Broin, was passed over in the division of Desmond's estates, and returned to England shortly after the rebellion. He commanded an Irish section in the Spanish wars under Leicester (1585), and subsequently entered the service of Spain. He died at Ghent in 1630.



seirbhíss rígh na Spáinne, go morán do dhaoibh uaisle dia fféchain 7 ar cuairt chuca. Ro glacsat assa haithle cúpla pālās onōrach issin gcathroigh ar gnē chīossæ a fforcionn gacha mīossa.

XLII. Dia domhnaigh do shonnradh in cōicedh lā fichet Nouembris tochomhláid na maithe si, deichnemhor ar fichit marcach dōip. Ba hāil leō dol don Spāinn. Ro fhagoipset a mnā uaissle 7 drong oile dia lucht coimhitechta a Louāin. Fuaratar tra ar a gcionn a Sídonā trúp marcshlaighi an arsa-diūc dia ro herbadh dol dia ttidhlacadh. Bātar an oidhche sin a ndorp bheg, Puruue a ainm, sē lēige do droich-shligidh grānna.

XLIII. Ar n-a mhārach dōip a fflichshneachta dhermhair go Namures trī lēige. Ar ndol asteach issin gcathraigh dōibh beiriss post ō Bruxel go letreadhoibh ōn arsadiūc orra dia fhōgra dōip gan ascnamh nī badh sía go breith aitherraigh direxioin orra 7 tērnōdh tar aiss arīss go Louāine. Lēicit sen in dara post guīn arsadiūc ar go ffeidiss fāth a ttoirmeisc. Bahē ordugadh fuaratar filledh go Louāin. Do-gnīt amhlōidh. A ffritheing na conaire dōip sē lēige go baile beg dar comhainm Uafer. Nī mōr immorro nach roibhe gnē imfhaitchis [p. 23] 7 choimhegla orra an oidhche sin do bíthin édaingne an baile 7 in nāmhait, armāil Graumores, a n-imfhoixe 7 a gcomhghar dōip. Ar n-a mhārach tra in nōmadh lā fichet Nouembris, dia dardaoin ar aoi laithe sechtmaine, go Louāin dōibh sē

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<sup>1</sup> By this time Salisbury's spies had insinuated themselves into the exiles' company. His principal agents were James Rath (not John Rath, the pilot who brought them out of Ireland, as the editors of the State Papers affirm, 1608-10, p. xl.) and one Travers, a Munsterman. James Rath was a brother to John Rath, and made use of the latter's intimacy with the Earls to collect information for his employer. Finding another on the same errand, he became jealous, and secured his dismissal, alleging that "Munstermen are as false as the devil," Edmonds to Salisbury, 2nd/12th Dec. "Delivered to Travers his Lordship's message that he would not use his service, who departed much discontented. Of the other's [Rath's] employment this man knows nothing, and he [Edmonds] hopes his Lordship will receive good satisfaction in his ser-



English veteran warrior in the service of the King of Spain, came with many nobles to see them and pay them a visit. Afterwards they took two beautiful palaces in the city at a certain rent, payable at the end of each month.<sup>1</sup>

XLII. On Sunday, the twenty-fifth of November, the princes set out with their retinue, thirty horsemen in all. Their intention<sup>2</sup> was to go to Spain. They left their ladies and another portion of their retinue in Louvain. They found before them in Iodoigne<sup>3</sup> a troop of the Archduke's cavalry, to whom it was entrusted to escort them. They remained that night in a little village called Perwez,<sup>4</sup> having journeyed six leagues on an ugly road.

XLIII. On the next day they went in great sleet three leagues to Namur.<sup>5</sup> When they entered the city a post from Brussels with letters from the Archduke overtook them, ordering them not to proceed any further until they should

vice, but he says that the persons with whom he lives are very secret and wary in the carriage of their business. He repeats that Travers told Tyrone that he and some others were employed by his Lordship to poison the said Earls, which is the cause that Tyrone has taken a straight order that there shall be no access to his kitchen," *Cal. St. Pa.* 641. Rath was a most unprincipled scoundrel and traitor. In September, 1608, Edmonds "understands that James Rath, upon whom his Lordship bestowed so much money, went not to Rome with Tyrone, but remained ever since amongst the Irish at Herentabes [Herenthals, east of Antwerp], and that, for bragging there of the correspondence which he had held with his Lordship, he was of late put out of the town by the governor," *ibid.* 669.

<sup>2</sup> Salisbury was informed of Tyrone's purpose to leave by a letter of Edmonds dated 11th–21st November: "Tyrone was again in this town two days since, and lay a night at his son's lodging here [Brussels]. He went to visit the Marquis Spinola, and afterwards repaired to the Nuncio, with whom he had a long private conference. The Marquis has now furnished him with money for his journey, so that he is to depart within a day or two at the farthest; and he is said to take with him to the number of 40 persons, that by the show of greatness he may make himself the better respected in the places where he goes," *ibid.* 635.

<sup>3</sup> Iodoigne, a town about ten miles nearly due south of Louvain.

<sup>4</sup> Perwez lies a few miles west of "Ramillies bloody field" on the southern frontier of the province of South Brabant.

<sup>5</sup> Namur is the capital of a province of the same name, and is situated at the junction of the Sambre and the Meuse.



lēige. Airissit 7 comhnaighit o Louāin gusin ochtmadh\*<sup>lā</sup> fichet Februaríí buí ar a gcionn.

XLIV. Ro buí immorro sneachta adpal-mōr 7 oighreadh frissin rē sin ann as go nim[th]eōchdiss eachradh 7 cōistidhe 7 uaigīnide uile locha, aibhne 7 ruibēir in tīre. Do grāsoip Dē ro roichedh la hordaibh riagalta na heguilsí a gcūrsa aiffrenn, trāth 7 senmōr 7 ernaigthe do dēnomh isna heguilsip. Aroile athair Eirennach d'ord Sanct Pronsēiss, Diermait Ō Conchubair, ō Chiennacht Ghlinne geimin, ro inniss a ffiadh-nuissi Uī Néill gur fhulaing an urdail sin d'fuacht in comhfhad buí ag celibhradh in aiffrinn mōir issin mainistir gur shilset páirt dia mhéoraibh frassa fola.

XLV. Baoí leac oigridh adpal ar ruibēr Anuerp.† Ba gnāth re lucht na cathrach dol gacha laithe do chaithemh aimsire 7 d'finnfhuaradh a n-aigenta ar in leic. Laithe n-áon dia ndeachatar go līnmhar dronga aca ag caithemh bīdh 7 dighe, ag reapradh 7 ag raingce, teighiss in leac ō aidhbhle 7 ō līnmhaire na ndaoine 7 ro-ss-lēic bēiceadh adpol-mhōr ōs

\* MS. *ochtchtmad.*

† MS. *Anuepp.*

<sup>1</sup> The defeating of 'O Néill's purpose to go direct to Spain was Edmonds' work. He writes to Salisbury on 18th/28th November: "The Spanish Ambassador here professes an extraordinary desire to maintain amity between His Majesty [King James] and the King, his master; and after he [Edmonds] had speech with him of this matter of Tyrone, he counselled him to speak plainly to the Archduke to make him sensible of that which passed amissed therein [viz., by the entertaining and honouring of the exiles], saying that he [the ambassador] would have opposed himself against that which was done if he had been before informed of these particulars which had been related to him since his return from Binche. He [Edmonds] prayed him to transfer the performance of these good offices to the King, his master, to whom they will be no less needful, which he promised to do. It seems that these speeches have made them better bethink themselves for the taking of a new resolution in some things, as two days since [26th November, as in our text] there was a post sent after Tyrone, who was advanced but a day's journey on his way, to call back Father Florence, the Friar, with whom after conference here had, he was immediately despatched to Tyrone." A week later he writes again: "When he wrote to his Lordship last week he understood nothing of the order which was then newly come from Spain to the Ambassador here for the staying of Tyrone, that he should not pass into Spain, to avoid giving discontentment to His Majesty," Cal. St. Pa. 638, 639.



get instructions again, and to return to Louvain again.<sup>1</sup> They sent a second post to the Archduke to know why they were detained. The order they received was to return to Louvain. They did so. They travelled on their backward journey six leagues to a small town named Wavre.<sup>2</sup> They were somewhat afraid that night because of the insecurity of the town, and the enemy, Gramoures' army, lay in proximity to them. Next day, the twenty-ninth of November, Thursday by the day of the week, they went six leagues to Louvain. They rested and remained in Louvain until the twenty-eighth of February following.

XLIV. There was a very great snow and frost during that time, so that horses and coaches and waggons might travel on all the lakes and rivers of the country. Only by God's grace could the Regular Orders of the Church perform their course of Masses, offices, sermons, and prayers in the churches. An Irish father of the Order of Saint Francis, Diarmaid 'O Conchubhair<sup>3</sup> from Ciannacht Ghlinne geimhin,<sup>4</sup> stated in the presence of 'O Néill that he endured such cold while celebrating High Mass in the monastery that portion of his fingers shed large quantities of blood.

XLV. There was a great sheet of ice on the river at Antwerp, and the inhabitants of the city were accustomed to go out on the ice every day for amusement and to cool themselves. One day, when large numbers went to eat and drink, to sport and dance, the ice warmed because of the crowds and numbers of people, and gave a very great roar

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<sup>2</sup> *Wavre* is situated nearly midway between Brussels and Namur.

<sup>3</sup> Early in 1615 there was a report that O Néill intended to come to Ireland, and Turnbull writes from Belgium to the King that he had sent "Crone [Sean Cron MacDaibhid no, 26 p. 18. *supra*] and Conor with orders to stir up factions and seditions in that Kingdom," Meehan 304. "Conor was a priest, and Tyrone's Irish confessor. He grew sick at Rome and came into this Kingdom [Ireland] for his health. He landed about Tredagh, and died about Armagh in his travels towards Colerain, where he was born," Cal. St. Pa. (1615) 70.

<sup>4</sup> *Cianacht Glinne geimhin* is now known as Keenaght, a barony in the north-west of Co. Derry.



āird. La sodhain tra tic gnē imdheghla 7 eidirdealoighthe eidir sī 7 in tīr. Mar fuair in ruibēr ro-láidir an comht[h]uitim sin san leic, 7 í ar scaradh frissin tīr, gluaississ leiss í co n-a roibhe ag marcaighecht uirre. An lucht ro buī ag fastaeim, ag āiness 7 ag aoipness roimhe sin, ní mōr nār uo toltanaighe leō beith astigh go comhnaigtheach a gcert-mhedhōn na cathrach ināss beith ar in seōltōracht sin, bīdh nach beittiss a n-aighthe ar in sen-fhairrgi ar a gcomhghar. Eighit 7 gáirit. La sodain in lucht bātar ar tīr, cuirit méid [p. 24] āirighthe do chōrdoibh cnāipe 7 do refedhoibh 7 do pīcidhip chuca. Ba toil la Dia go rāngatar anacal 7 tairrtheachtain acht cōic persana amhāin.

XLVI. Bātor na maithe si tra a Louāin a n-aimsir na notlac buī ar a gcionn maille re menmain maith 7 re deg[h]c[h]aithemh aimsire, mar is onōraighe chostusaighi ba hēittir leō. Ticdiss tra maithe na cathrach d'ilghairdiugadh inntinne dōip go n-ilimat d'innstrumeinntibh ciūil 7 mūissice, do lucht raingce 7 clessaigheachta. Daóine úaisle Spāinneacha bātar sa gcathraig, ba gnāth leō beith ag imthath-aigidh orra.

XLVII. Rucatar scéla as Bruxel orra gur cuiredh Corbmac mhac an barūin, derbrāthair Uī Nēill, go Saxoip, a chor a mbraighdeanus a ttur Lonndan, tigerna Beinne hEttoir 7 barūn Dealpna a lāimh, a gcaislēn in rīgh a mBaili Atha Cliath, fōs gur marpadh Mag Mathgamhna a nEirinn le guibernōir

<sup>1</sup> "Sir Cormac M'Baron O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone's brother, brought the first news of their [the Earls'] departure, and reported that the Earl his brother sent one O'Hagan unto him, who persuaded him to accompany his brother into Spain, but he would not be moved by his persuasion, but presently made his repair to the State to acquaint the Lord Deputy with this accident; howbeit it was noted that Sir Cormac had his private end in this, for withal he was an earnest suitor to have the custodiam of his brother's country, which perhaps might be to his brother's use by agreement betwixt them; and therefore for this and other causes of suspicion the constable of the Castle of Dublin has the custodiam of him," Davys to Salisbury, 12/22 September (Cal. St. Pa. 273). An abstract of his voluntary confession and offers made shortly afterwards shows his character: "He offers his service for discovery from time to time, and presumes he may get good intelligence of his brother's intentions and drifts as well as any other, which he promises faithfully to impart unto the state, if he may be licensed . . . If he may have leave to write to the fugitive Earls, he will write in Irish and



aloud. Then there came a cleft and separation between it and the banks. When the strong river got the ice moving and separated from the banks, it carried it and all that were on it with it. The crowd which had been sporting and playing and merrymaking before would almost have preferred to be at rest inside in the centre of the city than to be drifting thus, even though their eyes would not be on the sea, which was near to them. They shouted and screamed. Then those who were on the banks threw in cords and ropes and poles to them, and it was God's will that all except five persons reached safety and protection.

XLVI. The prince remained in Louvain during the Christmas time following, in pleasure and enjoyment, with as much display and costliness as they could. The nobles of the city used to come to make amusement for them with musical instruments, dancers, and performers. Spanish noblemen who were in the city were accustomed to visit them.

XLVII. Intelligence from Brussels reached them that Cormac, mac an Bharúin,<sup>1</sup> 'O Néill's brother, had been sent to England and put in the Tower of London, that Lord Howth<sup>2</sup> and the Baron of Delvin<sup>3</sup> were confined in the

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acquaint the Lord Deputy and State with his letters and answers from time to time," *ibid.* 314-5. On 11/21 December he was despatched to London in the company of Lord Howth. In September, 1611, he petitioned the Lords of the Privy Council for an allowance for his wife and children, who had been turned out during the Plantation of Ulster.

<sup>2</sup> *Lord Howth.* For this nobleman's earlier career see Introduction. He was arrested early in November, 1607, but was set at liberty the following March, carrying with him Salisbury's special commendations. A few months later he secured by royal letter the command of a company of 150 foot.

<sup>3</sup> *Richard Nugent*, eldest son of Christopher Nugent, Baron of Delvin, succeeded to his father's estates in 1602, and was knighted at the creation of Ruaidhri 'O Domhnaill Earl of Tyrconnell the following year. For some account of his share in the events which led to the flight see Introduction. He was arrested along with Howth, and confessed before Chichester on November 6/16th. A fortnight later he broke prison and remained at large until May, 1608, when Chichester reports that he has come in and humbly submitted without word or promise of protection or pardon. He secured the king's favour, and was created Earl of Westmeath in 1621. He resided at Clonyn, Co. Westmeath, and died in 1641, after harsh treatment by the rebels.



Saxanach buí a Muineachán in uair sin, baile longpuirt Meg Mhathghamhna badēin. Go gar assa haithle rug orra gor cuireadh Brían O Néill, mhac Airt mheic in bharūin, chom báiss le Sar Artuir Sitsetsar, giústiss na hEirenn. Bith nār uo ro-mhaith fuair in giústiss in bāsugadh sin re a dēnomh, araoi sin tra ba neimh-ingnadh ainchridhe 7 aingidecht inntinne do beith aige don Brían sin, ōir is meinic ro dhīsligh fēin co n-a shlōghaibh na slinnēin dō in airet bātar araon a gcomh-chomharsnacht cocaidh a tTrían Congail Chlāireinigh mic Rughraidhe, 7 do bhen a chreacha 7 a airccthe de go lān-marbadh a dhaóine. Ro chuirsetar tra ina huile droch-scéla sa gnē doimenman ar na maithib si, acht chena tucsat altugadh buideachuiss don trīnōit nemhdha um gach éin-chinnemhain no theigēmadh dhóip. Gar ier sin fuaratar scéla ba maith eō .i. Mag Mathgamna do mharthain.

XLVIII. Lā na hEpefane i n-a degheidh a n-inbaidh 7 a n-aimsir mhedōin laoi ier n-ēistecht aiffrinn isna hegúilsibh ēirghit [p. 25] lucht aittreptha na cathrach dia ttighthibh 7 dia tteghduissip. Tarla do beirt saighdiūir d'āirighthe go ndechator astech i n-aroile egluis naem-Muire ōige. For-caomhnagoir tra delb 7 imhāidh Muire go ffiodhair a meic i n-a hucht forsan altōir, corōin mōr-lōig dērscaigthe deal-

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<sup>1</sup> *Brian (mac Aodha Oig + 1577) Mag Mathghamhna* was Mag Mathghamhna in 1595. The author of *Pacata Hibernia* writes thus of him: "Tuesday, the two-and-twentieth of December [1601], Brian mac Hugh Oge MacMaghon, a principal commander in the Irish army, whose eldest son, Brian, had many years before been a page in England with the Lord President, sent a boy to Captain William Taffe praying him to speak to the Lord President to bestow upon him a bottle of *aqua vitæ*, which the President for old acquaintance sent to him. The next night, being the three-and-twentieth, by the same messenger he sent him a letter preying him to recommend his love to the President, thanks for his *aqua vitæ*, and to wish him the next night following to stand well upon his guard, for himself was at the council wherein it was resolved that on the night aforesaid towards the break of day the Lord Deputy's camp would be assaulted both by Tyrone's army, which lay at their backs, and by the Spaniards from the town [Kinsale], who upon the first alarm would be in readiness to sally," Bk. ii, ch. 21. This horrible act of treachery is all the more disgusting and unpardonable, as Mag Mathghamhna was married to Mary, 'O Néill's daughter. In the end of



Castle of Dublin, and also that Mag Mathghamhna<sup>1</sup> had been killed in Ireland by an English Governor<sup>2</sup> who was then in Muinechán, Mag Mathghamhna's stronghold. Shortly afterwards they were informed that Brian, son of Art, son of the Baron, 'O Néill was put to death<sup>3</sup> by Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Justice<sup>4</sup> of Ireland. Although he did not find that execution a good thing to do, still it was natural that he should hate and detest that Brian, for he [Chichester] and his army had often turned their backs on him while they were neighbours at war in Trian Congail Chláireinigh<sup>5</sup> mic Rughraighe,<sup>6</sup> and [Brian] had often plundered and robbed him and slain his people. All this ill news dispirited the princes, yet they rendered thanks to the heavenly Trinity for every event that befell them. Shortly afterwards they received good news that Mag Mathghamhna was living.

XLVIII. On the day of the Epiphany following, having heard Mass in the churches, the inhabitants of the city went at midday to their houses and homes. A certain pair of soldiers chanced to go into a certain church of the Holy Virgin Mary. A statue and image of Mary with the figure of her Son in her bosom happened to be on the altar, with a precious, beautiful, bright, conspicuous crown of red gold on the image

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December, 1607, the Privy Council are instructed that "some others of this country begin to be upon their keeping and refuse to come to the King's officers, of which kind are Sir Bryan M'Mahowne and Sir Donagh O'Cane," Cal. St. Pa. 362. He came in in a month or so, but was discharged, Chichester detaining his eldest son, Brian óg, as a check upon him. It was falsely reported to the Earls that he was put to death, but the true account reached them later. Brian mac Aodha óig was father of Aodh, "grandson to the traitor Tyrone," who was concerned in the attack on Dublin on October 23rd, 1641.

<sup>2</sup> The governor of Monaghan at this time was Sir Edward Blaney.

<sup>3</sup> He was executed on a charge of manslaughter about November, 1607. His grandfather, the Baron, was Ferdorcha, father to the Earl and son of Conn Bacach.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* Lord Lieutenant.

<sup>5</sup> The 'O Néill's country of Clannaboy in Down and Antrim. Chichester was governor of Carrickfergus during the closing years of the rebellion and afterwards, until his appointment to the Deputyship.

<sup>6</sup> *Rughraighe* is ancestor of the Ulidian heroes in the old Irish tales and genealogical tracts.



raighthech deiligt[h]e derg-ōir forsan deilp Muire, aroile for de[i]lb in meic. Ba headh immorro ro chomairligh in diapal dōib sen dealb Muire 7 a meic do chomshārugadh 7 do dērach 'mun dī chorōin 7 a lēiccen gussin fFrainc assa haithle. Ar ccinneadh na droch-c[h]omairle ēirghiss in dara fer suass forsan altōir. Ro-ss-ben go mī-thrōcairech mī-chinnemnach a corōin do deilb Muire. Du-s-rat a lāim in dala n-æ. Sīniss a lāimh gusin lenom, ōir ba hāil laiss a chorōin do buain de. Cuiris tra in lenb a lāimh badēin a gcert-agaiddh a lāimhe sen d'imchosnamh a chorōine. Bidgaiss 7 crithnaigiss in droch-duine. Gabuis gnē aithmēle ge nār uo haithrechus fīrinnech. Lēigit assin egluiss iad. Eirgit go tigh ósta áirigt[h]i issin gcathraigh. Ier ndēnom a medhōin laoi nochtait pāirt don scēl do beirt ban buī issin tigh. Assin gcathraigh dōib assa haithle. Ascnaid ierom for sligidh na Fraingce. O aimsir medhōin laoi go comhthuitim na hoidche dōibh ag comhaister 7 ag sīr-shiopal 7 ōtha sin go moch-shoillsi na maitne. Ar n-a mhārach gapsat fordal 7 merugad sechnōin na hoidche.

XLIX. Ar ttoigheacht immorro don c[h]lēir gusin egluiss deōigh laoi ba hesbadhach aithmēlach imnāir leō mar rāngatar in delbh Muire gan chorōin eidir. Nī fhitirset tra crēd dodēndiss. In dīs sin ro goid in chorōin do sonnradh, ier mbeith ar comhaister dōip ō medhōn laoi go maidin, is amhlaidh fuaratar iad araon astigh a n-egluiss Muire ag soillsiugadh don lō [p. 26]. Ar toigheacht do dīs do mhac-clēirchip āirigthe isin reclēs a moch-dheghōil na maitne ro-s-fuaratar in beirt saighdiūir remráiti astig go gcorōin Muire fo oxail in dala n-æ. Dobheredh ierraidh meinic ar a him-fholach fo n-a brat. Nī roibi tra sin ar comus dō. La sodain timairgit 7 comchruinnigit clier na heguils go gcom-arsnachai**bh** comfoixe na cathrach. Rāinic a corōin gusin deilb Muire. Ergapthor in dīs amne. Oirdercaigther in scēl mīrbaileach sechnōin na cathrach. Ro-s-adaimhset immorro in dīs sin a mōir-fhiadhnuissi chille 7 tuaithe na cathrach amoil tarla dōib ō thūss go deiredh. Nī thucsat claonadh nō clethramh ar bith don scēl acht mar atā i n-ar



of Mary, and another on that of her Son. The suggestion which the devil made to them was to commit an outrage on the image of Mary and her Son and to strip them of the two crowns, and to go into France afterwards. When they decided upon this, one of the men ascended the altar, and without feeling or scruple, took the crown off the image of Mary. He put it into the other's hand. He then stretched towards the Child, desiring to remove His crown. The Child put up His own hand against his to protect His crown. The wicked man became startled, and trembled and conceived a sorrow which was not true repentance. They then went out of the church and entered a certain hostel in the city. When they had taken their dinner they made known part of the affair to two women who were in the house. Afterwards they left the city and hied them on the road for France. From midday until nightfall and from that to the dawn of day they kept continually journeying and walking. On the next day they took a wrong road, and went astray during the whole night.

XLIX. When the clergy came to the church in the evening they missed the crown, and were sad and ashamed when they found that the image of Mary was without it. They did not know what to do. But the two men who stole the crown, having travelled from midnight till morning, found themselves inside the church at the dawn of day. When a certain pair of young clerics entered the church early in the morning they found the two soldiers inside, and the crown of Mary under the arm of one of them. He often endeavoured to conceal it under his coat, but could not succeed. Then the clergy of the church and all the neighbouring people of the city gathered and came together. The crown was taken to the image, and the two men taken prisoners. The miraculous event was made known all through the city. The two men confessed before the clergy and laity of the city how everything from beginning to end happened. They did not distort or conceal anything of the affair, but told it as above, saying also that the women knew something of it. No penance



ndíagh, fōss go roipe gnē do sceloib in sceōil ag na mnáib remráitte. Nīr cuiredh tra pennait nō docomal ar doman orra in airet bātar ag dēnomh na hadmhāla so acht uile-innissin in sceōil ō n-a ttoil badēin. Tēit floss na mōir-mīrbal go Bruxel 7 go prīm-chathrachaibh oirderca na rīghachta. Iar sin tra ticc ordugad ōn arsadiūc go guibernōir na cathrach fon dīs sin do chrochadh. Dorōnad samhloidh. Ro nochtadh na mnā as a haithle 7 nīr gapadh comha no cennach dār thairccset gan a ngēir-sgiūsadh go himnāir aithmēlach seachnōin na srāide 7 mōir-thimchell in mhar-gaidh mōir.

L. An t-ochtmadh lā Februarii 1608 ticc gnē fhleachaidh 7 fherthana issin aimsir. Gluaissis mēide ēiccin tuile isna mionaib ge nār brissetair leaca oigridh na prímhabhann. An ruibēr gabus go Louāine buī bengān beg ar n-a chomh-tharraing ar in taep amoigh do na ballaighibh 7 a n-imfhoixe don dī pālās a mbātor na tigernaidhe. Buī glaissīn beg-shrotha ba lór laighet ar doman ag dol gusin mbengān remhrāiti, ē ag cēimniugadh ōta gāirdīn [p. 27] ro buī eidir in dā pālās. Aroile fer do muinntir in ierla buī ag dol re toisc ēiccin gusin pālās i n-a roibhe O Néill, adchī bradān ro-mhōr a poll beg tabhuill buī forsan nglaissīn. Tairngidh arm a gcētōir. Marpuiss in bradán. Rug leiss do lāthoir in ierla. Tic assin do lāthuir Uī Néill. Tāngator tra in mēide ba himfhoixe dōip do mhaithip na cathrach d'fēchain in bradāin. Ingantach leō a roi-mhēd 7 a fagbāil mar a ffrīth. Adupratar nach ffacatar fēin in gcēin bātor i n-a mbethaidh 7 nach gcualator ō a seinnseroip rompa go ffrīth bradān ar ruibēr Louāin nō ar in mbengān sin d'āirigthi roimhe sin ríemh.

LI. Bātor tra na maithe si a Louāin gussin ochtmhadh lā dēg don mī chētna. Eirgit ier sin go Maiclīn, prīm-chathoir oirderc do prouensi Flonndruis. Ier ndēnomh a meadhōin laoi a ffochair Sar Uuilliam Stanlui lēigit tar abhainn mōir tēid ō Bruxel go Hanuorp iad. Oirisit an oidche sin a mbaili beag ro-baoi a gcomhf[h]ochraibh na



or hardship was put on them while making this confession, but the whole admission was made of their own will. Intelligence of the miracle went to Brussels and the great cities of the kingdom. Afterwards an order came to the governor of the city from the Archduke to hang the two men, and that was done. The women were stripped then, and no offer or condition that they made was accepted, but they were scourged disgracefully and mercilessly round the city and through the great market-place.

L. On the eighth of February, 1608, the weather became somewhat damp and wet. A certain amount of thaw set in in the small rivers, though the ice of the large ones did not break. On the river which comes to Louvain there was a small branch going round the outside of the walls near the two palaces where the lords were. There was an exceedingly small streamlet entering this branch and flowing from a garden between the two palaces. A certain man of the Earl's people, who was going with some message to the palace where 'O Néill was, saw a very large salmon in a small hole in a plank on the stream. He drew a weapon at once and killed the salmon. He brought it to the Earl, and came then to 'O Néill's presence. All the nobles of the city who were near them came to see the salmon. They were surprised at his size, and that he was got where he was found. They said they never saw during their lives, and never heard from those who lived before them, that a salmon was ever before got on the river of Louvain, or on that particular branch of it.

LI. The princes were in Louvain until the eighteenth of the same month. They then went to Mechlin,<sup>1</sup> a famous city in the province of Flanders. Having dined with Sir William Stanley, they crossed the great river<sup>2</sup> which goes from Brussels to Antwerp. They stayed that night in a little town

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<sup>1</sup> Or Malines.

<sup>2</sup> A small river which passes near Brussels, joins the Dyle below Mechlin. The Dyle is a tributary of the Scheldt, on which Antwerp is built.



habhann. Maiclīn dono cathoir oirrderc is lōr mētt ar n-a comhshuidiugadh a nglionn ro-aoibhinn. Roi-dhes a tighthi 7 a tegduisidhi deg-dēnmacha. Ruibēr is lōr mētt 7 feabhus triasan gcathroigh, ē ar n-a chomhroinn 7 ar n-a tharraing trē uile shrāidibh in baili, go n-imat droichet, go mbādoib līnmhara. Prīm-thempall ro-mhōr a gcert-meadhōn na cathrach 's ē ar n-a imdēnomh 7 ar n-a oibriugadh go ro-shaothrach deig-feruistighi, go n-altōiribh peinntēlta deal-raigthecha degh-ímháidheacha gusin gclocāss is aidbhle 7 is airde a fformhōr na crīstaigheachta. Fert 7 adhnacal naóimh Eireннаigh isin egluis sin. Do-rinne Día ilimat fert 7 mīrbal trītt. Ba mac do rī[gh] Eirenn ē. Ro-mhór airmhitnigit 7 adhamraighit lucht na cathrach tomba 7 fidhair in naoimh sin do bīthin oirrderca na mīrbal do-rinni Día trīd. Lōch-rainn lasamla chiera ōs a chenn d'oidchi 7 do lō go seruīs Dē go sīorraidhe [p. 28]. Atā ospitēl ar mhaithip in domain isin chathraig i n-a ngapthor gach ēn-duine galraighthe don uile nasiōn ar c[h]ostus rīgh na Spāinni.

LII. Ar n-a mhārach dōib go Hanuerp. Ar in sligidh rompa gabait tar ruibēr ro-mōr tic ō Gant. Leac oigridh adbal-mhōr ar in ruipēr. Beirit a n-eachroidh ar aradhnoibh leō go methōn in tsrotha ar in leic. Cuirit ainnsēin a mbātoib íad do chēidhe oighridh, 'n-a mhac samhla a ttīr don taobh arail. Rāngator fort atā as urchomhair chathrach Anuerp, Cenn Flonndruiss a chomhainm. Fāgaibset ann a n-eachroidh. Dodeachator badēin a mbāttoibh gusin gcathraigh. Ier ngabāil tighi ōsta ēirgit d'f[h]aixin chaīslēin Anueirp. Mesait 7 brethnaigit cāch go ffuil in caislēn sin i n-a mēide fēin ar oibreachoip lān-daingne na crīstaigeachta. An ruibēr ar n-a chomhtharraing i n-a mōir-thimchioll. Mile Spāinneach go sīraidhe d'oidche 7 do lō ag a bhārdacht go ro-imat canōn riaghalta 7 ordanāiss mōir gusin uile chomghar 7 ríachtanas ricit a les. Eagluis roi-dess aca astigh. Dā gunna

<sup>1</sup> *Saint Rumoldus*, whose feast is celebrated on July 1st. See O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. VII.



close to the river. Mechlin is a famous city of great extent, situated in a very pretty valley. Its houses and well-constructed buildings are very beautiful. There is a good, large river through the city, divided through all the streets of the town, with many bridges and boats. There is a very large cathedral in the centre of the city, built and ornamented with much labour and artistic work, having bright painted altars with beautiful statues, and a belfry, one of the largest and highest in Christendom. There is the tomb of an Irish saint<sup>1</sup> in that church. God performed many wonders and miracles through him. He was the son of the King of Ireland. The people of the city venerate and reverence very much the tomb and image of that saint because of the greatness of the miracles God did through him. There are lighted waxen torches over the tomb both night and day, with divine service continually. There is one of the finest hospitals in the world in the city, where every class of sick person of all nations is admitted at the cost of the King of Spain.

LII. The next day they went to Antwerp. As they proceeded they crossed a very large river<sup>2</sup> which comes from Ghent. It was covered with an enormous sheet of ice. They led their horses by the reins over the ice to the middle of the river. They then put them in boats from a quay of ice, and landed them on a similar one on the other side. They reached a fort in front of the city of Antwerp called "The Head of Flanders." They left their horses there, and came themselves in boats to the city. When they had taken a hostel, they went to view the castle of Antwerp. All admit that that castle is one of the greatest fortresses in Christendom. The river surrounds it, and there are a thousand Spaniards continually guarding it by night and by day, with much regular cannon and large ordnance provided with every convenience and necessity that is required. They have a very pretty church inside. There are two large guns of brass in a

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<sup>2</sup> *The Scheldt*, the ancient Scaldis, a branch of which encircles the city. On the main arm of the river the Museum of Antiquities, on the Quai Van Dyck, was established in the remains of the ancient stronghold of Antwerp. It dates from the tenth century, but was restored in 1889.



mōra prāiss 's íat ar n-a suidiugadh go hártt, sē troigthe dēg ar fichit in gach gunna. Nī mōr nach gcuirit trī lēige d'ath-chor a pelér, mar aithrisit in uárda. Nī lēicit naslōn ar bith oile d'f[h]échain nō do brethnugadh na hoibre acht Spāinneach nō Eirennach amháin.

LIII. Céimnigit ier sin timchuart bhallaidh in baile. Ge nach sēt samhla tra re daingne in chaislēin in balla, ar aói sin atā a gcosmhailes, oír atāit cōic troighthi fichet a ttighi a mhūir 7 a thairimtheachta gan an caislēn ochta do chomhairem go ro-imat do sconsaigip is lōr lān-daingne 'sa doman, iad fēin ag coimhētt dia chéile. Dīog mōir-lethan timchell in balla. O aidple na leice oigridh ní fhettamar a doimhne. Ge tharla gur fhōbair go tteigēmadh sgiūrsad urchóidech do lucht na cathrach ar in leic oigridh go gar roimhe sin, amhoil [p. 29] atā i n-ar ndíaigh, bātor tra timchiol fiche mīle persa in tan sin ag reabradh [7] ag raingce a n-ēinfheacht uirre. Go haimsir esparta do na maithip si ag dēxain na cathrach. As a haithle tiaghait dia lōistínibh.

LIV. Ar maitin ar n-a mhārach ēirghit ar cuairt gusin gcolāiste Eirennach buī issin gcathraigh. Ba roi-dhes tegh-duis-līnmhar go scolāirip imdha in colāiste sin tra. Eistid aiffrenn onōrach canntairechta go n-orgānoib comhmbinne ceōlmhara go n-imat d'innstrumainntib mūsice 7 gach oirfitidh archena. Petarca, duine uassal onōrach do threip na Spāinne, buī ōs cionn in cholāiste. Nír gap uaidip gan bangcēd onōrach do chaithemh maille fris. Ruc leiss iad as a haithle d'f[h]aixin a thighi badēin. Du-s-rad d'Ua Nēill 7 don íerla dā imhāidh Muire ōighe neoch do-rōnadh don chrann oirrderc i n-a ffrīth in dealp Muire mhírbhaileach dār comhainm Noutre Daam do Buaiss ru-s-frīth \* go gar roimhe sin 7 shlānaighes go līnmhar laithemail, do mōr-grāsoib Dē 7 Naemh-Muire, lucht treabhlaite galoir 7 esslāinte. Eirghit d'f[h]échain tighi 7 gārdīn in bourgomāigistir, ard-oifficigh in baile. Ba roi-dhess aoibinn in taispēnadh sin co n-imat

\* Added in paler ink.

<sup>1</sup> It was founded in 1600 by Father Sedgrave. A well informed agent reports in July, 1607, that "the president of all the Irish Colleges



high position, each gun thirty-six feet long. They carry almost three leagues in shooting their bullets, as the garrison say. They allow no nation at all to see or examine the work, except Spaniards or Irishmen.

LIII. Next they went round the walls of the town. Though the wall is not to be compared with the castle as regards strength, still it is in keeping with it, for the rampart and circuit is twenty-five feet thick without counting the breastworks and sconces, as strong as any in the world, and well protecting one another. There is a great wide ditch around the wall. We could not learn the depth of it because of the great sheet of ice. Although there had nearly been a disaster to the inhabitants of the city a short time before that, as stated above, still there were about twenty thousand persons then sporting and dancing at one time on the ice. The princes remained till evening viewing the city, and then went to their lodgings.

LIV. The next morning they went on a visit to the Irish college in the city.<sup>1</sup> That college was very beautiful, with numerous apartments and many students. They heard High Mass that was sung, with sweet, melodious organs and instruments of music of all kinds. Petarcha, a Spaniard of noble birth, was in charge of the college. He insisted on their being present at a banquet with him. Afterwards he brought them to see his own house. He gave to 'O Néill and the Earl two images of the Virgin Mary that were made of the famous tree in which had been discovered shortly before that the miraculous statue of Mary called Notre Dame de Buais, which heals daily and in large numbers the diseased and the infirm by the grace of God and Holy Mary. They then went to see the house and gardens of the Burgomaster, the chief officer of the town. Very pretty and beautiful was that sight, with many statues and pictures of apostles, saints, and holy people,

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in Brabant and Flanders is one called Father Cusacke ; the Irish Colleges are five, at Douay, Tournay, Lisle, Antwerpe, and one other at Louvayne," Cal. St. Pa. 230. No doubt Petarcha was his subordinate in Antwerp.



do delbhoip 7 pictūiribh apsal naemh 7 firén ier n-a n-imdēnomh do marmar glē-glan. Assidhe gussin dū i n-a ndingentaide na gloinidhe. Examail ingantach inntleachtach innus 7 cruth mar do-rōnadh 7 mar do hullmaighedh ō thūs in teine a ndēntar iad. Buī ar comhlassadh go sīrraidhe d'oidche 7 do lō fri rē ēn-bliadna dēg roimhe sin. Madh dia ndeachadh scur nō cosc ar a hadhnadh 7 ar a comhlassadh ēn-uair amháin, nī lugha-sa-chāch nō cúic cēd pon do caithfidhi re n-a cor suas an athhúair sol ticfadh ēn-ghloine amháin ullamh este [p. 30]. As sin dōib go stātūss ro-onōrach buī a gcert-mhedhōn na cathrach. Ba roi-dhess daingen dess deig-dēnmach in tegh sin, acht do bīthin in chocaidh buī ann in tan sin, nī roibhe tathaighe air. Eirghit go tegh oile ro-oirrderc dār comhainm gestūs. Atāit tra seomraidhe codalta go tteghduissip tomhaltuiss ag gach traibhlēraidhe d'uile naisiōn sa chrīstaigecht urdhalta san tigh sin. Cathair Anuuoirp immorro i n-a mēide badēin ar chathrachoip saidpre dessa daingne dī-thoghluide deghfhoirgenta na crīstaigheachta, go ruibēr ro-aoibhinn, go gcomhghar mara agass tīre i n-a himfhoixe.

LV. Ascnaít assin gcathraigh tar ēiss mhedhōin laoi trī lēige. Riccít ruibēr Gant. Eirgit go baile beg ar brū in ruibēir i n-a ffuil caislēn daingen ag in rīgh. Cēd saigdiūir go sīrraidhe dia bhārdacht. Milbruc a ainm. Ar n-a mhārach dōib go Filfort, baile ro-dhaingen i n-a ffuil caislēn lāidir ag in arsdīuc. Gach aon d'uaisslip an tīre atruilles dia mí-ghnīmharthaibh badēin bāss d'f[h]aghāil do-geip mar chūiss impidhe 7 onōrachuisss gan bāss fiadhnach nō follus a ffiadhnuisi cāich d'f[h]aghāil, tochuirter iatt gusin gcaislēn gcētna sin. Faoí Dia acht in guibernōir nī himda persa ar talmáin is fessach crēd an oigedh nō in bāss geipit, acht nī thērnoíghit tar aiss amach go bráth.

LVI. Eirgit in lā sin badēin go Louāine gussin prīmchathraigh n-oirrdirc n-arsanta. Comhfairsing a ttimchúairt a ballaidhi. Rannchuid di bān ga[n] aittreabadh nō inotacht, sī des degfhoirgenta, go ro-imat tempall 7 mainis-



made of pure white marble. They went from there to the place where the glasses were made. Strange and wonderful and skilful was the method and manner in which they made and prepared from the beginning the fire in which they are made. It had been continually lighted by day and night for eleven years before that time. If once a cessation or quenching should come on its flames, not less than five hundred pounds would be spent in kindling it again before one glass could come out of it completed. They went from that place to a very imposing town hall in the centre of the city. That house was very beautiful, strong, and well-built, but because of the war that had been there at that time, it was not open to visitors. They went to another remarkable house called a "guest-house." There are in that house sleeping-rooms and dining-rooms prepared for every traveller of every nation in Christendom. The city of Antwerp ranks among the richest, most beautiful, strongest, most impregnable, and best built cities in the world, with a very beautiful river, and both sea and land in proximity to it.

LV. They hastened out of that city after midday, and went three leagues till they reached the river [which flows through] Ghent. They went to a small town on the bank of the river where the King has a strong castle, with a hundred soldiers always guarding it. Willebroeck<sup>1</sup> is its name. The next day they went to Vilvorde,<sup>2</sup> a very strong town where the Archduke has a strong castle. Every nobleman of the country meriting death by his own misdeeds, who obtains as an act of grace and concession that he shall not suffer death in public before the people, is brought to that same castle. Under God, not many persons in the world except the governor know what death and end they meet, but they never come out again.

LVI. That day also they went to Louvain, the famous

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<sup>1</sup> It lies between Antwerp and Brussels, but not on the river Scheldt, which flows from Ghent to the former city. It is, however, not far from the Dyle, its tributary.

<sup>2</sup> Situated a few miles north of Bru



trech, go līnmhaireacht ord 7 degh-sheruissi Dē. Tempall Petair a gcert-lār in baili ar n-a dēnomh 7 ar n-a oibriugadh go ro-mhaith go ndeilbh ndeiligthe ndealraigthe Muire oige do-gnī go follus laithemail imat fert 7 mīrbal, go leith-chēd altōir onōrach go pictūirip peinntēlta [p. 31], seiruiss Dé go sīraidhe for gach n-altōir dīop. Mīle beg ōn gcathraigh cūirt roi-dhess ag diūc de Ascot, sī ar n-a himdēnomh 7 ar n-a hoibriugadh go ro-shaothrach mōr-chostuiss, go ruibēr ro-mhaith ag a timchiolladh, go ngāirdínip deigh-dēnmhacha inntleachtacha uisgemhla. Sēpēl ro-onōrach ar dheissi in domain ar n-a chomdach lesin diūc badēin as urchomhair na cúirte i n-a ffuil pictūir, stair 7 tomba in diūc, go starthachaibh 7 go pictūirip a sheinnser roimhe ō Adhamh anuass. Ar ruibhēr na cúirte cētna sin muilionn ro-inntleachtach do-ghní a n-éin-fheacht bleith in arbha 7 sgoltadh in adhmaid gan lāmh-chongnamh ar doman acht a oifícech dia dīrgadh i n-a aignedh cōir.

LVII. Día dardaóin do shonnradh in t-ochtmadh lá fiched Februarii 1608 triallait na maithe si gus in Edāill, dā fher dég ar f[h]ichit dōip ar eachraidh. Cōiste ag a mnāip uaissle. Fāgbhaitt dīss mac Uī Néill, Seān 7 Brian, an barūn mac in ierla, 7 Aodh mac Cathbharr, O Coinne 7 Seān O Hāgāin [7] drong oile dā ndaoibh uaissle 7 día lucht lenamhna a fFlonndrus a ffochair in chorenēil.

LVIII. Bátor an oidhche sin tra a mbaile dier comhainm Uuafer ceithre lēige ō Louāin, trūp marcshlaighi in arsadiúc

<sup>1</sup> The Cathedral of Louvain was commenced in 1423. Several remarkable paintings are still preserved there.

<sup>2</sup> The year 1608 began on Tuesday, therefore the data here are accurate. But Edmonds writing to Salisbury 18/28th February, says: "The Earl of Tyrone departed *yesterday* from Louvayne," in which particular he is wrong, as our narrative indicates.

<sup>3</sup> Defeated in his purpose to go to Spain, as has been described in ch. xliii and note, 'O Néill determined to proceed to the Eternal City by way of Lorraine, Switzerland and Italy. Edmonds learned this towards the end of January, and at once indicated to the Duke of Lorraine that his service to His Majesty King James I. required that no favourable entertainment should be afforded to the fugitives. See his letter and enclosure to Salisbury, Cal. St. Pa. 644-5.



ancient city. The circuit of its walls is extensive. Portion of it is unoccupied by house or habitation. It is beautiful and well-built, having many churches and monasteries, with a large number of clergy and much divine service. The Church of Saint Peter<sup>1</sup> is in the centre of the city, well-built and decorated, with an excellent white statue of the Virgin Mary, which daily performs visibly many miracles and wonders ; also fifty splendid altars with painted pictures, and divine service continually at each altar. A short mile from the city the Duke of Ascot has a very pretty court, built and decorated with much labour and expense, with a good river surrounding it, and well-made, artistic, well-watered gardens. There is a beautiful church, one of the prettiest in the world, built by the Duke himself, in front of the court, in which there is a picture, history, and tomb of the Duke, and histories and representations of his ancestors before him, from Adam down. On the river of that same court there is a cleverly constructed mill, which at one time grinds corn and splits timber, without any assistance except that of a driver directing it in its proper function.

LVII. On Thursday, the twenty-eighth of February,<sup>2</sup> 1608, the princes, with their retinue, set out for Italy,<sup>3</sup> in all thirty-two riding on horseback. Their ladies had a coach. They left two of 'O Néill's sons, Seán<sup>4</sup> and Brian,<sup>5</sup> the Baron,<sup>6</sup> the Earl [of Tyrconnell's] son, Aodh,<sup>7</sup> the son of Cathbharr, 'O Coinne,<sup>8</sup> Seán 'O Hágáin,<sup>9</sup> and others of their nobles and followers in Flanders with the Colonel.

LVIII. They came that night to a town called Wavre,<sup>10</sup> four leagues from Louvain, with a troop of the Archduke's

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 16 (4) *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 16 (5) *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 18 (21) *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 18 (23) *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 17 (11) and (15) *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 17 (11) *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> This town lies 14 miles south-east of Brussels in the province of South Brabant. Grouchy defeated the Prussians there on the day of Waterloo. The scene of the main action is a short distance to the west.



dia gcoimhiteacht 7 dia ttiodhlacadh. Ar n-a mhārach dōibh sē lēige do dhroíchshligidh grāna go Namures. Oirissit ann an oidhche sin. Tāinic tra guibernōir na cathrach līnmaireacht do dhaoibh maithe d'f[h]orffāiltiugadh friū 7 dia nglacadh chuca go hiomchubaidh onórach. Cuiriss cuideachta go leith saighdiūir dia ttiodhlacadh ar n-a mhārach d'imegla námat díá rochtain. Fo bhíthin aimhréidhe uiscemhla na sligheadh rompa fāgbhait a gcōiste sa gcathraigh sin. Cuirit a gcailleacha ar eachroidh [p. 32]. Gabhuiss in corenēl co n-a lucht coimhideachta a gced friú annsin.

LIX. Cruinn-chathoir dhess dhaingen dheghfhoirgenta in baile sin go tteghduissip ro-maithi deig-dēnta ar n-a suidhiugadh a nglionn ro-aoibhinn. Ruibhér ro-mhaith ar n-a chomhtharroing 7 ar n-a chomroinn go līnmhar thríthe, go n-imat droichet, go mbādoip līnmhara. Caisslēn ro-lāidir ag rīgh na Spāinne ar foradh-chnoc ard aoipinn uas an gcathraigh ag a ffuil commanndar, cennus 7 uachtarānacht ar in mbaili uile, go marcsшлаigh mōir go saigdiūirip līnmhara go sírraidhe.

LX. As sin dōibh go Mars ocht lēige. Tigit saigdiūiridhe in baili i n-a gcomhairrchiss lēige ōn mbaili. Bātor ann an oidhche sin. Baile beag daingen i n-a ffuil fort ag an rīgh go sochraide lāidir in baile sin tra.

LXI. Ar n-a mhārach díá domhnaigh .2. Martii sē lēige dōip go baile dar comhainm Bastoinn. Nī rāngatar a less tiodhlacadh in lā sin. As sin dōip sē lēige go Harlon, baile gapus lessin rīgh.

LXII. Ar n-a mhārach dia māirt go baile le diúc de Lorēne ceithri lēige. Bator conuaidh leō gonuigi sin. Ann-sin chomraicess 7 etorscaruss ferann in rīg 7 duthaigh diúc de Lorēine re aroile. Fort ro-dhaingen ar n-a imdēnamh lessin diúc sa mbaili sin go mbādoip lāidire līnmhara d'im-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 55 n. 5 *supra*. The old citadel referred to in the next chapter is situated at the junction of the Sambre and the Meuse.

A town of Belgium, about 28 miles south-east of Namur.

<sup>3</sup> *Bastogne* lies to the south-east of Marche.



cavalry attending and escorting them. The next day they went six leagues of an ugly, bad road to Namur.<sup>1</sup> They remained there that night. The governor of the city came with a large number of noblemen to welcome and receive them with propriety and honour. He sent a company and a half of soldiers to escort them the next day, for fear the enemy might meet them. Because of the unevenness and wetness of the road ahead of them, they left their coach in that city. They put their women on horses. The Colonel and those who accompanied him took leave of them there.

LIX. This is a compact, fine, strong, well-built city, with good, well-made houses, situated in a very beautiful glen. There is a good river directed and divided in many parts through it, with a large number of bridges and a great supply of boats. On a beautiful high hill over the city the King of Spain has a very strong castle, which has command, headship, and mastery over the whole town, [manned] with a large body of cavalry and numerous soldiers always.

LX. From there they went eight leagues to Marche.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers of the town came out one league to meet them. They stayed in it that night. That town is small and fortified, and the King [of Spain] has a fort in it with a strong garrison.

LXI. The next day, Sunday the second of March, they went six leagues to a town called Bastogne.<sup>3</sup> They required no escort that day. From there they went six leagues to Arlon,<sup>4</sup> a town belonging to the King [of Spain].

LXII. The next day, Tuesday, they went to a town<sup>5</sup> belonging to the Duke of Lorraine, four leagues distant. They had a convoy with them as far as that. It is there the King [of Spain's] country and that of the Duke of Lorraine meet and separate from each other. There is a very strong fort, built by the Duke, in that town, with many strong

<sup>1</sup> Arlon lies south of Bastogne, near the modern French frontier.

<sup>2</sup> Though 'O Cianáin does not give the name, it can hardly be any other but Longwy (*longus vicus*), situated just inside the French frontier in the department of Meurthe and Moselle.



dheghoil 7 d'imchosnamh tóronna a thíre ar chomharsnach-aibh. Ní mór immorro léigther d'f[h]échain nō do breth-nugadh in daingin sin amháin. Ba ro-olc aimhréidh uisgemoil na slighthe ō Namures gussin dú sin, go gcoilltip imdha, go tteirce n-aittrebadh. Eirgit in lá cētna sin dā léigi go baile dar comhainm Feilirs.

LXIII. Ar n-a mhārach dōip secht léige go baile posta dar comhainm Malatur. Gabhait in [p. 33] lā cētna sin tria baile roi-dhess Countflaune. Buī ruibēr ro-docomhlach go ttuile ro-lāidir ar a roibhi droichet trīd. Fuair an t-athair Tomāss Strong 7 Magbethadh *contabhairt* bāitte ar in ruibēr sin, ōir ro trascradh a each fo gach aon aca. Ba hēiccen dōip gan a snámh do dhermat.

LXIV. As sin dōip cōic léige go Pontemountson, baile lāidir dess le diūc Lorēn i n-a ffuil pālāss ro-mhaith ag in diūc. Oirissit ann dā oidche. Lēicit daoine rompa gussin diūc dia fhoillsiugadh go roipe a ttriall chuigi. Ruibēr ro-oirrderc triassan mbaili go ndroichet is lōr feabhas, caislēn ro-daingen go mbārdoip līnmhara ar c[h]noc ard uassa, 7 is uaidh ainmnigt[h]er in baile.

LXV. Cēimnigit as sin ar in taop chlē don ruibēr trī léige, a mbāttoip ier sin tar in ruibēr. Eirgit go Nancside dā léige, prīmh-chathoir in diūc badēin. Ba ro-aoibhinn ēxamail in

<sup>1</sup> This town is still in French territory, slightly to the north-west of Audun-le-Roman, and close to the German frontier.

<sup>2</sup> It was evidently situated to the north of Conflans, in the department of Meurthe and Moselle, but I find no trace of it on the maps.

<sup>3</sup> *Conflans* in the department of Meurthe and Moselle, and lies west of Metz, close to the German frontier.

<sup>4</sup> *The Orne*, on which Conflans is situated, joins the Moselle below Metz.

<sup>5</sup> A Waterford friar who, according to informations given to Parsons, Clerk of the Crown and Peace in Munster, returned to Ireland from Spain in 1608 on political business. He is described as "of low stature and thick, about 40 years of age; the colour of his hair is dark brown inclining to black; is of a yellow complexion; he has an infirmity in his eyes, which causes him to open and shut them, and to twinkle with them," Cal. St. Pa. 540. On October 17th, 1624, the Earl of Cork writes to the Deputy: "Friar Strong arrived at Waterford in the beginning of May last, being employed from beyond seas to prepare the chieftains' hands,



guards to protect and defend the frontier of his country against neighbours. Not many are permitted to view or examine that one fortress. The roads from Namur to that place were very bad, rough and wet, and there were many woods and few houses. They went that same day two leagues [further] to a town called Fillieres.<sup>1</sup>

LXIII. The next day they went on seven leagues to a post-town named Malatur.<sup>2</sup> They proceeded that same day through a very pretty town, Conflans.<sup>3</sup> A difficult river,<sup>4</sup> with a very strong current, over which there was a bridge flowed through it. Father Tomás Strong<sup>5</sup> and Magbhethadh ['O Néill] were in danger of being drowned in it, for the horse fell under each of them. They were obliged to resort to swimming.<sup>6</sup>

LXIV. They advanced from there five leagues to Pont-a-Mousson,<sup>7</sup> a strong and pretty town belonging to the Duke of Lorraine, in which he has a very good palace. They remained there two nights. They sent people before them to the Duke to announce that they were coming to him. There is a famous river running through the town, on which there is a fine bridge, with a very strong castle with numerous guards on a high hill over it, and from this bridge the town gets its name.

LXV. They proceeded from there three leagues on the left side of the river. They then crossed it in boats. They went to Nancy,<sup>8</sup> the Duke's chief city, a distance of two

and consents to join with the Pope and the King of Spain's army, that are to be shipped in the Low Countries and to arrive in Ireland about December next." The Earl notes that the friar has been disguised as a merchant, and that his agents have laid a plot for his apprehension. Cal. St. Pa. (1624) 535.

<sup>6</sup> *Lit.* "not to forget their swimming."

<sup>7</sup> *Pont-a-Mousson* is in the department of Meurthe and Moselle, 17 miles north-north-west of Nancy, and near the present German frontier. It is built on the Moselle, which divides the town into two parts, and is spanned by a bridge of the late sixteenth century; hence the name.

<sup>8</sup> *Nancy* is the capital of the department of Meurthe and Moselle. It lies due east from Paris.



talomh tria ar gapsat in lā sin go līnmhairecht fīnemhna 7 cruithneachta, go gcoilltip mes-torthacha, go n-imat n-ait-treabadh. Timchiol dā lēige ōn gcathraigh ar foradh-chnoc ard aoipinn caislēn ro-dhaingen go mbārdoip līnmhara. Ann bīd clann in diūc ag a ttegusc 7 ag á ttapairt suass a n-inbaidh a n-aóide. Cuiriss tra in diūc cōistide 7 daoine uaisle i n-a gcomhdhāil sealat ōn chūirt. Ier ttoirling dōip tic stībhard in diūc dia ttochuiredh gusin pālāss mōr. Gapait a leith-scēl do bīthin a n-aisstir an oidhche sin. Ier n-ēistecht aiffrinn ar n-a mhārach tic in fer cētna go gcōistigib maithi i n-a gcomhairrchis. Eirgit ier sin don pālāss. Bātor ag sibal 7 ag spaisteōracht a ngalari ba lōr mētt 7 feabhus 7 deissi sa doman in comhfhat buī in diūc issin eagluiss ag ēistecht aiffrinn. Ticis in diūc ōn egluiss as a haithle. E fēin a n-ēdach imchubhaidh [p. 34]. Drong dia dhaoínip uaisle ag comhrādh friss. A dhīss mac i n-a deghoundh. Gārda roidhess. Pāitside līnmara ar gach taop de. Ar ndol dā halla cuiriss tigernaídhí mōra i n-a gcoinne sen. Tēighit dia lāthoir. Glacuis chuicce go honōrach forffāilidh iat, a chlann mar an gcētna. Bātor sealat ag imagallamh 7 ag āines bhriathar re aroile. As a haithle suidit ar a medhōn laoi. Seiser dōib, an diūc co n-a dīss mac, O Nēill, in t-iarla 7 in barún. Imat do daoínib uaisle ro-onōracha ag feithemh orra. Beiris leis dia sheomra codalta i n-a deghoundh iad. Bātar ann sealat Gabuit a gced. Eirgit dia lōistīnibh. Ierla ba hard-stiuarth don diūc i n-a gcoimhitecht. Fōgrais a pēin mōir gan ōr nō airget do glacadh uaidip in airett nō-beittiss issin chathraigh, acht a n-uile chosstus frisin rē sin do beith ar in diūc.

LXVI. Prīmh-chathair oirrderc oireghdha ar dhaingne lāidire daoineachaire na regiōn gcomhfhocus in chathair-si. Dīog ro-domain mōir-t[h]imchell a balla. Trí gepta ar druim a chēile go ngārda līnmhar. Ceithri slata dēg a ttighi in balla gan in caisslēn ochta do chomhairiomh. Ar in táob \* uo dess don chathraigh cūirt derschaignthech deghe-oibrighthi ag a cor suass lesin diūc, go ndā pālāss ro-onōracha ar n-a suidiugadh go hinntleachtach. Baile mōr ar n-a thōgbāil mōirthimchell

\* Corrected from *taob*-.



leagues. Very beautiful and varied was the country through which they journeyed that day, with plenty of vines and wheat, fruitful forests, and many houses. About two leagues from the city, on a beautiful high hill, there is a very strong castle with a large number of guards. It is there the Duke's children are instructed and brought up in their youth. The Duke sent coaches and noblemen a distance from the Court to meet them. When they alighted the Duke's steward came to invite them to the great palace, but they excused themselves for that night because of their journey. After they had heard Mass on the next day the same man came to meet them with good coaches. They then went to the palace. They remained walking and passing the time in an extensive, excellent, beautiful gallery while the Duke was in the church hearing Mass. He came from the church afterwards. He himself was in becoming dress, with some of his noblemen discoursing with him, and his two sons after him. He had a very beautiful guard, and many pages on either side of him. When he came to his hall he sent great lords for them [the Irish]. They went into his presence. He received them with joy and honour, and his children did likewise. They remained for a time discoursing and conversing with one another. Afterwards they sat down to dinner. They were six in number, the Duke and his two sons, 'O Néill, the Earl, and the Baron [of Dungannon]. There were many honourable noblemen waiting on them. He brought them afterwards to his private apartment. There they remained for a time. They then took their leave and retired to their lodgings. There was an Earl, who was head-steward of the Duke, accompanying them. He proclaimed under severe penalty, that no one should accept gold or silver of them while they should be in the city, but that all their expenses during that time should be borne by the Duke.

LXVI. This is a famous and distinguished capital city, one of the strongest, best defended, and most spacious in the countries near it. There is a very deep trench around its



na nua-chūirte sin comchengailte risin sen-chathraigh. Dā thempall roi-dhessa, colāiste costusach, mainistir ro-mhaith go gcoimhthinól capusīnech ar n-a gcor suas lesin diūc a n-imfhoixe na nua-chathrach. Sa sen-chathraig badēin imat do reclēsoip roi-dhesa, tempall dīp i n-a ffuil in ceathramadh rann do chorp Sanct Seōirsi ier n-a chomdach go ro-onōrach airmītneach a gcomhraid airgit go n-imat gcloch lonnradhach [p. 35]. Sen-pālāss ro-mhōr roi-dhess ag in diūc uodhēin isin gcathraigh go ngaleri \* is lōr feabhus go tteghdhuissip līnmhara lōghmhara mōr-dhaoineachoire. Teinis-cūirt ro-mhaith i n-a mbīt clann in diūc go ndaoineibh uaisle ar comhgar seomra codalta in diūc i n-a mbī faircsin 7 radharc reabhraidh 7 cluithide na ndaoine uassal aige. Stápla lān-fhota go n-imat gcruinn-each roi-dess nār uo mōr isin chūirt as urchomhair in pālāiss. Plāss i n-a mbīt marcshlach 7 daoine uaisle ag giūstāil 7 ag marcaigheacht, ag comhmbrissedh lannsaidhe ar bruinnib 7 ochtaip aroile 7 a chēile.

LXVII. Ar n-a mhārach immorro ēirgit na maithe si go gcōistigip ōn diūc go hegluiss Sanct Niclās dā lēigi ōn chathraigh remrāite. Taisselbhthor dōip aroile do lāmhoip S. Niclās. Gluaissit asside go baile beg ar brū in ruibēir rémh-eptmar, Luueaniell a ainm. Dia māirt in t-aonmadh lā dēg do mī mhārta céimnighit as sin ocht lēige gusin mbaile dar comhainm Saungdi. Ba ro-mhaith in aimser 7 na sligthe frissin ré sin. Ar n-a mhārach dōip tar eliap Sanct Martin tria shlight[h]ibh doirpe docomhlacha go n-imat sneachta 7 oigrid. Comhnaigit sealat a mbaili bheg, dú a n-imchomraic 7 a n-etorscar dūthaigh in diūc 7 in Almāinn re aroile. Ferann in diūc ro fhāgoibhset † i n-a ndeghaidh go n-imat ffinemna

\* Corrected from *daleri*.

† -set added later.

<sup>1</sup> The city at present consists of two portions, the *Ville Vieille* and the *Ville Neuve*.

<sup>2</sup> St. Nicholas is to the south east of Nancy, and in the same department.

<sup>3</sup> *Luneville* lies east of St. Nicholas, the last-mentioned town, and in the same department.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Die* is in the department of Vosges and near the present German frontier.



wall. There are three gates one behind the other with a large guard. The wall is fourteen yards in thickness without counting the breastworks. On the south side of the city there is a splendid, well-built court in process of erection by the Duke, with two grand palaces artistically situated. There is a great town built around that new court, and joined to the old city.<sup>1</sup> There are two very beautiful churches, a wealthy college, and a good monastery, with a community of Capuchins, built by the Duke in proximity to the new city. In the old city itself there are many fine churches, in one of which there is a fourth part of the body of Saint George, splendidly and reverently enclosed in a shrine of silver with many bright precious stones. The Duke himself has a great beautiful old palace in the city, having an excellent gallery and many splendid spacious apartments. There is a good tennis-court, where the Duke's children and nobles play, near his private room, where he can view and see their sport and games. There is a long stable, with many beautiful, well-shaped horses, which are not large, in the court opposite the palace. There is a *place* where horsemen and noblemen joust and ride, breaking lances on one another's breasts.

LXVII. The next day the princes set out on coaches which the Duke gave them to the church of Saint Nicholas,<sup>2</sup> two leagues' journey from the aforesaid city. One of the hands of Saint Nicholas was shown to them. They advanced from there to a little town called Lunéville,<sup>3</sup> on the bank of the river we have already mentioned. On Tuesday, the eleventh of March, they proceeded from there eight leagues to the town named St. Die.<sup>4</sup> The weather and the roads were very good throughout that period. On the next day they crossed the mountain of Saint Martin, over hard, difficult roads covered with ice and snow. They stopped for a short time in a small town where the Duke's country and Germany meet and separate from each other. They left behind them the Duke's territory, with its abundance of



7 cruithneachta 7 gach degh-thoraidh archena, go ruibēroibh ro-aoipne, go maighnesoip mōr-fhairsingi sroth-imdha uis-cemhla, go gcoilltip comharda cnuas-torthacha ar ruibēr Nancsií dar comhainm Marsee. Secht tteghdhuissidhi ag in diūc i n-a ndingentor 7 i n-a n-ullmhaighther salann. Mellion amhāin tēit a ttorbha don diūc gacha bliadhna do bīthin chīssa na secht tteghduissidhi sin \* [p. 36]. Cathoir beg oile sa tīr as a fflagann in diūc ēn chēd dēg tucsaoit fhīna mar chīoss gacha bliadhna. Or 7 airget dia bhualadh dō do gnāth. Nī hē gach ēn rī corōntæ sa crīstaigecht sháraigess a gcīss 7 a ttorbha a tigernuis gacha bliadhna ē. Comfhat a dūthaighi cōic lēigi dēg ar fichit sí mar gārdīn a gcert-medhōn na crīstaighechta gan umhla nō urraim do rīgh nō prinnsa fon uile doman, sesmhach sīrraide lāidir nem-chlaon a gcreidemh eguilsī Dē.

LXVIII. As sin dōip go Bounhom ēn lēigi amhāin, an cēd-baili ba himfhoixe dōip don Almāinn. Tar in sliab dōib dā lēige go baile dar comhainm Ceizerspell. Gabait tria glionn ro-ā[o]ibhinn i n-a roipe ruibēr ro-mhaith, go n-imat ffīnemhna 7 degh-thoraidh, go mbeg-bailtip desa línmhara. An oidhche sin dōip trī lēige go cathraigh n-oirrdirc dar comhainm Columbier sī ro-daingen lāidir daoinechair. An mag is āille fhairsingi chomthruime degh-thorthaighe a fformhōr na crīstaighechta ar a comhghar. Eiritchide immorro atāit dia hinotacht 7 dia haittreabadh. Bātor ann an oidhche sin. Ar n-a mhārach dōip gusin ruibēr dar comhainm Campser eidirdealaiges eitir in rann sin don Almāinni 7 pāirt don mBorgondíí, dūthaigh gabhus lessin arsadiūc, tria prīm-choill dhairghennaig droipeōil

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\* Here the scribe asks a prayer of the reader: *Tabair bennacht for anmain in scribhnóra*, Give a blessing for the soul of the writer.

<sup>1</sup> Six miles below Nancy it joins the Moselle, which enters the Rhine at Coblenz.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "who excels him in rent and in profit from his lordship each year."

<sup>3</sup> *Bonhomme* is situated in Alsace, very near the modern French frontier. At one time it belonged to the French department of Haut Rhin.



vines and wheat and every good fruit, its beautiful rivers, its wide, many-rivered, watery plains, and its tall, fruit-laden woods on the river of Nancy, which is called Meurthe.<sup>1</sup> The Duke has seven mines where salt is manufactured and prepared. He makes one million profit each year by the rent of the seven mines. There is another small city in the country out of which he gets eleven hundred hogsheads of wine for rent every year. Gold and silver are being continually coined for him. It is not every crowned king in Christendom whose rent and profit out of his dominions each year exceeds his.<sup>2</sup> His country is thirty-five leagues in length, and it is as a garden in the very centre of Christendom, giving neither obedience nor submission to any king or prince in the world, but ever steadfast, strong, and unbending in the faith of God's Church.

LXVIII. From that place they went one league to Bonhomme,<sup>3</sup> the German town that was nearest to them. They travelled two leagues across the mountain to a town named Kaysersberg.<sup>4</sup> They passed through a very beautiful valley in which there was a very good river, much vines and good crops, and numerous pretty villages. That night they went three leagues to a remarkable city which is called Colmar,<sup>5</sup> and is very strong, powerful, and extensive. Near to it is the most beautiful, wide, level, and fruitful plain in the greater part of Christendom. Heretics, however, occupy and inhabit it. They remained there that night. The following day they went through a great, trackless, difficult, unfrequented wood to the river which is named Campser,<sup>6</sup> and separates that portion of Germany and part of Burgundy, a country which belongs to the Archduke. The length of the wood was about two leagues. That night they reached

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<sup>1</sup> *Kaysersberg* lies eastwards from the last-mentioned town in Alsace.

<sup>2</sup> *Colmar* is the chief town in Upper Alsace and was once capital of the French department of Haut Rhin.

<sup>3</sup> This river I cannot identify.



diamair. Samhalta tra fri dā lēige a fod. An oidhche sin go baile beag dar comhainm Hotmers, cōic lēige uile.

LXIX. Gapait ar n-a mhārach triasan mbaili dar comhainm Niderharga lēige, gusin ruibēr ro-oirrderc .i. in Rēen. Ascnaít go Basalea, cathair des daingen \* arsanta oiregdha atā ar n-a comhshuidhiugadh ar in ruibēr sin. Droichet ro-maith a gcert-medhōn na cathrach tar in ruibēr, go mbāttoib línmhara beires comgar chuici 7 uaithi ōthá Flonndrus 7 mōr-t[h]imchell in ruibēir [p. 37]. Eritchide thrá lucht a hinotachta 7 a haittreptha. Tempall ro-mór a gcert-mhedhōn na cathrach i n-a ffuilit dealpa 7 pictūiridhe Luter 7 Caluvin 7 mhōrāin do droch-ughdaroip diabhlaidhi oile. An chathoir sin amne stāt fo leith lē fēin gan umhla nō cennus ag rī[g] fon domhan uirre. Is ī amhāin iss prímhgepta do dūthaigh na Susser dar comhainm Eliuesia. D'imfhaitchess chomhaonta na n-eiritchedh fāgbhait in chathoir ass a haithle. Eirgit dā lēige clē-lāmh risin ruibēr go baile beg daingen, Leistel a ainm. Catoilce lucht a aittreptha. Is gnāth a mBasalea gnē chustaim do bhuain as eachroidh na ndeōradh 7 na ttraiblēir thairmchēimnigit triasan tīr. Ba comchomthrom aoibhinn an slige ag comchēimniugadh rissin ruibēr a nglionn lān-fhada go n-imat ndegh-thoraidh. Dī shliap arda go n-imat fīnemhna 7 degg-thoraidh i n-a thimchuairt.

LXX. Ar n-a mhārach dōip cōic lēige gusin mbaile dar comhainm Sursei. Sliap ard aoibhinn go n-imat crann giúais [7] d'fiodhbhaidh oile dia ttair[rng]ther pic ar in sligidh rompa. Ascnaít in lā sin trē dā baile dar comhainmanna Oula 7 Ophinga siad go mballaigibh ro-daingne

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\* The words *cathair des daingen* are written over the line.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be Ottmarsheim on the Rhine, but according to the next chapter the Rhine was not reached until the next day.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know what place is referred to here.

<sup>3</sup> *Susser* "a native of Switzerland" is derived from the native term *Schwyz* or *Schweizer*, properly "a native of Schwyz."



a small town called Hotmers,<sup>1</sup> having travelled five leagues in all.

LXIX. On the following day they travelled a league, through the town called Niderharga,<sup>2</sup> to the very famous river Rhine. They moved on to Bâle, a fine, strong, old, remarkable city which is built on it. There is a very good bridge in the centre of the city over the river, and numerous boats afford a means of leaving it and getting to it from Flanders and the country around the river. Those who occupy and inhabit it are heretics. There is a very large church in the middle of the city in which there are images and pictures of Luther and Calvin and many other wicked evil writers. That city is an independent state in itself, and no king in the world claims submission or authority in it. It alone is the main entrance to the land of the Swiss<sup>3</sup> called Helvetia. Afterwards, through fear of conspiracy by the heretics, they left the city. They proceeded two leagues up<sup>4</sup> the river to a small strong town named Liesthal.<sup>5</sup> Its inhabitants were Catholic. It is usual to demand custom in Bâle for the horses of strangers and travellers who cross through the country. The road was even and beautiful, advancing beside the river in a long rich valley. There were two high mountains, with much vines and good crops, on either side of it.

LXX. The following day they went five leagues to the town named Sursee.<sup>6</sup> On the road before them there was a beautiful high mountain with many fir and other trees from which pitch is extracted. They passed that day through two towns with very strong walls, Olten and Zoffingen,<sup>7</sup> on

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<sup>1</sup> Literally "their left hand to the river."

<sup>2</sup> *Liesthal* lies south-west of Bâle.

<sup>3</sup> *Sursee* is close to the northern end of the lake of Sempach.

<sup>7</sup> Both these towns are situated between Liesthal and Sursee, but neither is on the Rhine. Olten is on the Aare, a tributary of the Rhine, and Zoffingen lies on a small river which joins the Aare. Compare p. 71, n. 1, *supra*.



ar brū na Rēene. Bentor custam as a n-eachroidh in gach baile dīp.

LXXI. Tar ruibēr na Rēene dōibh ar n-a mhārach, dia domnaig in seissedh lā dēg do mhí Mhārta, ar droichet lānfhata go gcomhdach ro-maith ōs a chionn go huilide. Fāgbuit gnē chustaim ag doirseōiribh in droichit. Gabhait tria baili roi-dhess dar comainm Desampach. Asside tra go prímh-chathraigh oirrdirc, Luserna, dá lēige lānfhota. Catoilce tra lucht a hinotachta, Nunsius in pāpa sa chathraigh sī ar n-a suidhiugadh ar in Rēen go mballaigibh ro-dhaingne go tteghdhuissip degfhhoirgenta [p. 38] dessa līnmhara go n-ilimat bād 7 ethor. Trī droichit tar in ruibēr. As sin dōip tria loch chomhfairsing a mbāttoip co n-a n-eachraidh. Naoi lēige a chomfhat, lēige amhāin i n-a leithet. Ampse a ainm. Sliap Alpa i n-a mhōirthimchell. Ar imramh dōip triasan loch go rāngator baile beg, Fliella Pourlacu, a n-aimsir mhedhōin oidhche. Comhnaighit ann an oidhche sin.

LXXII. Ar n-a mhārach tra, lā fhēile Pātraig do shonnradh, in sechtmadh lā dēg do mhí Mārta, gapait go baile beg oile, Flelan a ainm. As sin dōib trē shliap Alpa. Buī immorro an sliap līnta lān do shneachta 7 d'oighredh, do shligthib 7 do chassrachoip\* caol-chumhga corracha. Rāngatar droichet comhartt buī i nglionn ro-domain, Droichet in Diabail a chomhainm. Aroile d'eachroidh Uī Nēill ar a roibhi pāirt dā airget† dia imachor, timc[h]eal sē fichit ēigin ponta, tuitiss sīoss re beinn an ailt imaird oighreta

\* The nom. is *cassair*, usually *cossair*, "a litter, something spread out."

† *da airget* is written over the line.

<sup>1</sup> This is an error, as the Rhine is not near Sursee. Possibly the river which emerges from Lake Sempach and joins the Aare is meant. Compare the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Sempach* at the south-east extremity of a lake of the same name, a place of note in Swiss history.

<sup>3</sup> The name, which in early times was *Luciaria*, is probably connected with that of the patron saint (Leudegar or Lutgar) of the Benedictine monastery founded there about 750.



the bank of the Rhine. In each of them custom was taken from them for their horses.

LXXI. The next day, Sunday the sixteenth of March, they crossed the river Rhine<sup>1</sup> by a very long bridge which had a good roof over the whole length of it. They payed custom to the keepers of the bridge. They advanced through a very pretty town named Sempach,<sup>2</sup> and from there to a remarkable city, Lucerne,<sup>3</sup> a distance of two long leagues. The population is Catholic. There is a papal Nuncio<sup>4</sup> in the city, and it is situated on the Rhine,<sup>5</sup> and has strong walls, numerous, beautiful, well-built houses, and many boats and vessels. There are three bridges over the river.<sup>6</sup> From there they and their horses went in boats across a great lake called Alpnacher-See,<sup>7</sup> which is nine leagues in length and one in breadth. The Alps are all around it. They rowed through the lake till they reached a small town, Flüelen Pörlacu<sup>8</sup> at midnight. They remained there that night.

LXXII. The next day, Saint Patrick's day precisely, the seventeenth of March, they went to another small town named Silenen.<sup>9</sup> From that they advanced through the Alps. Now the mountains were laden and filled with snow and ice, and the roads and paths were narrow and rugged. They reached a high bridge in a very deep glen called the

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<sup>1</sup> The residence was established in 1601, and remained until 1873.

<sup>5</sup> *Lucerne* is built on the Reuss, which, of course, ultimately enters the Rhine. See note on chapter lxx *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> The Capellbrücke, the Hofbrücke, and the Mühlenbrücke.

<sup>7</sup> This is really the name of only one arm of the lake, the whole being called Vierwaldstätter-See.

<sup>8</sup> There seems no doubt that the modern Flüelen, the natural point of egress from the lake on the south, is meant, but I do not know what the appendage "Pörlacu" means.

<sup>9</sup> *Silenen* is less than ten miles south of Flüelen on the present Lucerne-Saint-Gothard-Milan route. It is about 17 miles from Hospenthal, at the foot of the Saint Gothard pass; this would agree with the fact mentioned later that the next day's journey was six leagues. The Irish name shows contamination with the preceding.



shneachtaigi buī as urchomhair in droichit. Frīth saothar dermhair ag tabairt an eich amāin \* anīoss. Cinniss 7 comhairligiss in t-airget anmhain ag imchoimhēt in tsrotha aggairp imdomain ainiarmartaigh gabhus faoi in droichēt tria cert-lār in ghlenne. Bātor tra an oidhche sin a mbaili beg dar comhainm Pede Montain. Sē lēige a n-aister in lā sin.

LXXIII. Ar n-a mārach lēiciss in t-ierla tar sliap Alpa ē. Airississ O Nēill sa mbaili adupramar. Lēiciss drong dia daoinebh d'athiarraidh in airgit. Ge gur fhulaingset gnē shaot[h]air, acht chena ba dīmhaoin dōip. Fo bīthin snechtamhla chorraighi oigreta in tslēipe rompa, ní mōr go mbuī ar comus dōip ar n-a mhārach bheith ag marcaighecht acht mar is gnāth tar sliap Alpa. Bātor doimh [p. 39] rolāidire go slemhnānoibh i n-a ffoilenmhain ag treórughadh gacha mēide nār uo hinaistir dhībh tar in imdhoraidh. Sēpēl onōrach a ffīr-mhullach in tslēibhe ar n-a imdhénamh 7 ar n-a chomhdach a n-onōir S. Gotardo. Uaidhe rō-s-gap in rann sin don sliap ainmniugadh. Tegh ósta imchubaidh i n-a fflaghait deōraidh 7 lucht gabāla na sligedh comhfhortacht bethadh re a chennach a n-imfhoixe dó. Nīr uo rīg-rōit rīgdha 7 nīr uo sligthe comthroma coimhlenga ar eachroidh ēgcennaiss uaiprigh aimhriadhta na sligthe i n-ar gapsat ōn sēpēl sin a gcētōir, acht ag toirnemh don sliap sligthe oigreta clochacha caol-chumhga corracha go rāngator go baile dar comhainm Airola. Trī lēige amhāin anacair 7

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\* MS *amain amain*, with deletion marks under the second word. *an eich* is over the line.

<sup>1</sup> The old Devil's Bridge, or Teufelsbrücke, still remains over the Reuss some miles north of the Saint Gotthard.

<sup>2</sup> This seems a descriptive name for Hospenthal or Andermatt, close to which villages the immediate ascent of the Saint Gotthard road commences.

<sup>3</sup> Saint Gotthard was bishop of Hildesheim in Hanover, and died in 1038. It is not known what was his connexion with the church on the summit of the Alps.

<sup>4</sup> It is mentioned as early as 1331.





The Earls' Route from Bale to Rome



Devil's Bridge.<sup>1</sup> One of O Néill's horses, which was carrying some of his money, about one hundred and twenty pounds, fell down the face of the high, frozen, snowy cliff which was in front of the bridge. Great labour was experienced in bringing up the horse alone, but the money decided to remain blocking the violent, deep, destructive torrent which flows under the bridge through the middle of the glen. They stayed that night in a little town named Piedimonte.<sup>2</sup> Their journey that day was six leagues.

LXXIII. The next day the Earl proceeded over the Alps. O Néill remained in the town we have mentioned. He sent some of his people to search again for the money. Though they endured much labour, their efforts were in vain. Because of the snow and ruggedness and ice of the mountain in front of them, they were scarcely able to ride the next day except in the way that is usual when crossing the Alps. There were strong oxen with sleighs yoked to them bringing all of them that could not travel over the hard road. There is a splendid chapel on the very summit of the mountain erected and built in honour of Saint Gotthard.<sup>3</sup> From it that portion of the mountain has taken its name. Near it there is a convenient hostel<sup>4</sup> in which strangers and those who pass the way get supplies to buy. The roads over which they travelled immediately after having departed from that chapel were neither excellent nor such as would be level enough for riding on wild, spirited, untamed horses, but as they descended from the mountain they were icy, stony, narrow and rugged until they reached a town called Airolo.<sup>5</sup> The worst and hardest portion<sup>6</sup> of the mountain is only three leagues long. After that they went through a very beautiful valley until they reached the

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<sup>5</sup> *Airolo* is situated on the Ticino close to the exit of the Saint Gotthard tunnel.

<sup>6</sup> It is to be noted that this portion of the pass is now practically unfrequented, as the great tunnel opened in 1882 penetrates the mountain far below the highest point of the road traversed by the Irish chiefs.



docomal in tslēibhi. Gabhuit assa haithle trē ghlionn ro-aoipinn go rāngatar gusin ngepta dar comhainm Gepta Iffrinn. Buī scrīptha uassa a ttengaidh Edāillisi, fo pēin bāiss, gan duine ar doman do dol faoi nō thairiss acht le custam do dhīol. Nīr dhermait tra in doirseōir gan in custam d'iarraidh 7 d'fagāil. Slighe garp chorrach chumhang aimhrēidh go n-abhainn ndocomhlaigh ndoirp rompa go rāngator Faído. An t-íerla ag furnaidhe friū annsin a ttigh ierla don tīr bhīoss go forfāilidh onōrach re gach ndeōradh 7 re gach aos n-anaithnidh chēimniges triassan sligidh. Dobeir proinn 7 tomhaltus go hullamh degh-thapaidh dōibh. Nī mó nō leth-chorōin amhāin dhīluss gach aon aca sa chionn cunntuis re māigistir in stāpla ar son na heachraidhi, gan in seomairlīn ināid oifficigh in tighi do dermat ōs a chenn sin. Oirissit ann an oidhche sin tra. Sē lēige a n-aister.

LXXIV. Ar n-a mhārach dōip tria glionn ro-aoibhinn, ē go n-imat fīnemhna [p. 40] 7 cruithnechta 7 degh-thoraidh 7 gacha messa archena, go maighnessoip mōr-fhairsinge, go ruibēr roi-dhess, go min-srothoip fīr-uisce. Eirgit go baile dess daingen dar comhainm Belunsona, ocht lēige. Trī caisslēin lāidire ag a ffuil cennus 7 uachtarānacht ar in mbaili 7 ar imfhoixe na sligedh ann, go mbārdoibh lāidiri līnmhara.

LXXV. Ar n-a mhārach dōip ag cēimniugadh triasan nglionn chétna. Riccit páirt oile do shliab Alpa dar comhainm Mons Senerum. Coillte līnmhara ar gach tæp don sligidh sí aimhrēidh clochach corrach docomhlach dīaistir, bīth nach roipe sneachta uirre. Búi ilimat fīnemhna ar bennoip 7 ar tæpoibh in tslēibhi timchuairt na sligedh. Rāngator glenn ro-aoibhinn oile, Lucana a ainm. An

<sup>1</sup> Evidently in the Ticino valley, but the exact position of the place is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> *Faído* is a well-known village, the capital of the Leventina, or Ticino valley district.

<sup>3</sup> The road from Airolo to Faído crosses the Ticino several times.



gate called the Gate of Hell.<sup>1</sup> Over it was written in Italian that no one, under pain of death, should go under it or past it without paying custom. The keeper did not neglect demanding and receiving it. The road was rough, rugged, narrow, and uneven until they reached Faido,<sup>2</sup> and [was crossed by] a hard difficult river.<sup>3</sup> The Earl was there waiting for them in the house of an earl of that country who does kindness and honour to every foreigner and every class of strangers who pass the way. He quickly and readily gave them dinner and provisions. Each of them paid no more than one half-crown at the settlement of their account with the master of the stable for the horses, the chamberlain and servants of the house being not forgotten besides. They remained there that night. Their journey was six leagues.

LXXIV. On the following day they went through a very beautiful valley which had much vines, wheat, crops, produce of every kind, with great wide plains, a very beautiful river, and small streams of spring water. They advanced eight leagues to a fine fortified town called Bellinzona.<sup>4</sup> There are three strong castles with many powerful guards in it, which maintain supremacy and command over the town and all the country in the neighbourhood of the road.

LXXV. The next day they continued to advance through the same valley. They reached another portion of the Alps named Monte Ceneri.<sup>5</sup> There are numerous woods on either side of the road, which was uneven, stony, rough, difficult and hard to travel, although there was no snow on it. There were plenty of vines on the summits and sides of the mountain-range near the road. They came to another very beautiful valley called Lugano. That night they

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<sup>4</sup> Like Faido and Airolo, *Bellinzona* is in the Ticino valley. The three castles, which still remain, are the Castello Grande, the Castello di Mezzo, and the Castello Corbario.

<sup>5</sup> *Monte Ceneri* with its fine woods is still admired by travellers..



oidhc[h]e sin dōib go baile ro-mhór dar comhainm Caput de Lacu, sē lēige.

LXXVI. Assidhe dōib co n-a n-eachroidh a mbāttoip tria loch Lucana eidirdealaighess in Edāill 7 Eliuesia, dúthaigh na Susers, re aroile. Trī lēigi amāin tarsna 7 leithet an locha. Sē lēige is dā fichit issedh ro chēimnighsed do dūthaigh na Susers sī lāidir ro-dhaingen aimhréidh slēptemail daoineachoir droich-shligtheach, gan cennus umhla nō uachtarānacht ag rīgh nō ag prinnsa for talmain orra. Stát ēxamail ingantach āirigthe iad badhdén. Toghait tra a rogha deissi do guibernōracht in tīre gacha bliadhna. A cethair dēg immorro do prīm-chathrachaibh oirrdherca aca. A leith i n-a gcatoilcip, araill i n-a n-eiritchibh siad ō choinghioll 7 ō mhinnoip mōra coimhchengailte re aroile chom a n-imdhītin 7 a n-imdheghla badhdēin ar in uile chomharsain fon doman do thriallfadh fuachtain nó frith-chétfaidh friú [p. 41] an tarbha puiplidhi do chongbáil suass go messarrda imqubaidh. Anmanna na gcathrach remhrāite immorro Luserna, Basillea, Ualis, Soluturum, 'Iug, Sesnort,\* Buriegh, Uernu, Uríí, Ueredinasdea, Glaris, Friburg, Siafusial, Appensel. Atā immorro do thuaruscbáil ar lucht an tīre si gurab íad is fīrinnighi dhírghe neimhfhealltaighi nemhchoillemhnaighe ar a ffocloibh fon doman. Nī lēicit tra slad nō duine-mharbhadh do dēnomh i n-a ttīr gan dīghailt a gcétōir. Ass foirfeacht a ffīrinne issiád amháin iss gárdæ do rīghoip 7 prínnsaighibh catoilce na crístaigh-eachta.

LXXVII. Eirgit na maithe si a ttīr a mbaili bheag dar comhainm Codelacu. Assidhe go cathraigh ro-mhōir ro-

\* The word might also be read *Sesnoat*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the town of Lugano, situated at the head of the lake which bears the same name. There is contamination here with the name of the next-mentioned place, Capolago. Compare the note on Silenen p. 87 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The Italians call it Lago Ceresio.



reached a very large town named Capo di Lago,<sup>1</sup> having travelled six leagues.

LXXVI. From there they and their horses went in boats across Lake Lugano,<sup>2</sup> which separates Italy and Helvetia, the country of the Swiss, from each other. The lake is only three leagues in width. They had traversed forty-six leagues of the country of the Swiss, and it was strong, well fortified, uneven, mountainous, extensive, having bad roads, and no supremacy, rule or claim to submission by any king or prince in the world over the inhabitants. In themselves they form a strange, remarkable, peculiar state. They make their selection of a system for the government of the country each year. They have fourteen important cities.<sup>3</sup> Half of them are Catholics and the other half are heretics, and by agreement and great oaths they are bound to one another for their defence and protection against any neighbour in the world who should endeavour to injure them or oppose them in upholding the public good with moderation and appropriateness. The names of the aforesaid cities are Lucerne, Bâle, Valais, Soluthurn, Zug, Schwyz, Zürich, Bern, Uri, Stanz,<sup>4</sup> Glarus, Fribourg, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell. It is said of the people of this country that they are the most just, honest, and untreacherous in the world, and the most faithful to their promises. They allow no robbery or murder to be done in their country without punishing it at once. Because of their perfect honour they alone are guards to the Catholic kings and princes of Christendom.

LXXVII. The nobles landed at a small town called

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<sup>3</sup> The states or cantons of the Swiss Confederation are somewhat inaccurately described as "cities." Schwyz, Uri, and Obwalden formed the nucleus, and the alliances with the other cantons were made at different times in the middle ages.

<sup>4</sup> The peculiar name *Ueredinasden* must represent in some way the canton of Unterwalden (Obwalden and Nidwalden). Most of the inaccuracies in 'O Cianáin's proper names occur in the first syllable; possibly, therefore, *Uere-* is an error for *Uese-*. Stanz is a town in Nidwalden.



oirrdirc don Eadāilli, a comhainm Comma, ar n-a suidh-iughadh ar brú locha lán-fhairsing, loch Comma a ainm. Tēid immorro ceithre fichit lēige seachnōin na hAlmāinne. Tar in loch sin amne ticc riachtanus a less fīna d'formhōr gacha mēide is imfhoixe dō don Edáill.

LXXVIII. Dia domhnaigh do shonnradh in tress lā fichet do mhī Mhárta, ier n-aiffrenn d'ēisteacht dōibh, ēirgit gusin prīmh-chathraigh n-oirrdirc n-adhamhra .i. Milan, ocht lēige. Slighthe ro-mhaithe rompa, an lā go ffeachadh 7 go ndoininn ndermháir. Comhnaighit ag lēiccen a scíssi a haithle a n-aistir gusin gcētaoin buī ar a gcionn. Ierla ro-mhōr ro-onōrach, ar lāin-fheabhus sensaigdiūir in domain i n-a chomhaimsir fōss, mar do dhearp a bhuaidh 7 a chonāch catha 7 a deigh-c[h]innemain go follus fiadhnach don chrístaigheacht, count de Fonte a chomhainm, búí i n-a árd-guibernōir 7 i n-a úachtarán ō rīgh na Spāinne uassan gcathraig sin tra 7 uassan Lumbardi go huilidhi. Cuiriss ambasadōir in rīgh tarla [p. 42] issin gcathraigh in tan sin .i. ambasadōir Luserna d'forffāiltiugadh friū san 7 dia nglacadh go honōrach. Eirgit na maithe si i n-a persanoip badhdēin do lāthoir an ierla dia cēdaoín. Gapuiss chuicce go honōrach airmhitneach íad. Bātor tra imat do daoínibh uaisle go ngārda ro-mhōr ar gach tæp de. Oirissit trī sechtmhaine imlāna sa gcathraigh. Fri rē na haimsire sin onōrachus dermhair ag in ierla i n-a ttimcheall.

LXXIX. An chathoir sin tra acht Pairiss sa fFrainc 7 Lisboarn a rīghacht na Portengāl ar prīmh-chathrachaibh

<sup>1</sup> *Capolago* is situated at the south-east extremity of Lake Lugano.

<sup>2</sup> *Como* was called *Comum* by the Romans, and the lake *Larius*; the latter survives in modern Italian *Il Lario*.

<sup>3</sup> This is an error, as the lake is only 30 miles long. The Adda connects it with the Tyrol.

<sup>4</sup> Milan was a dependency of the Spanish crown from 1535 to 1714. Fuentes was, as O Cianáin says, a famous soldier. The English ambassador at Venice reported the arrival of the Irish as follows: "The Earl of Tyrone, with his wife and about 40 men of their crew, arrived by the way of Switzerland this last week in Milan, on horseback, well armed with



Capolago.<sup>1</sup> From there they went to a great remarkable Italian city, Como by name, situated on the side of a great lake named Lake Como.<sup>2</sup> It goes a distance of eighty leagues<sup>3</sup> through Germany. Over that lake, therefore, all the wine that is required comes to the greater part of the portion of Italy which borders it.

LXXVIII. On Sunday the twenty-third of March, after having heard Mass, they proceeded to the great remarkable famous city Milan, a distance of eight leagues over good roads, the day being wet and very stormy. After their journey they remained resting until the following Wednesday. A great respected earl, one of the most excellent soldiers in the world in his time also, as his victory and fortune in battle and good luck showed clearly and evidently to Christendom, Count de Fuentes by name, was chief-governor and representative of the king of Spain over that city<sup>4</sup> and over all Lombardy. He sent the King's ambassador at Lucerne, who happened to be in the city, to welcome them and to receive them with honour. On Wednesday the nobles went in person into the presence of the earl. He received them with honour and respect. There were many noblemen and a very great guard on either side of him. They remained three full weeks in the city. During that time the earl had great honour shown them.<sup>5</sup>

LXXIX. Omitting Paris in France and Lisbon in the kingdom of Portugal, this city is one of the greatest cities in

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arquebuses and pistols, to the no small wonder of the beholders; the governor there having formerly denied entrance into the city with arms of that quality, even to the ambassadors of great princes. The governor also, besides this favour, sent to them, immediately upon their arrival, his *cameriere maggiore*, with banqueting stuff, and such other refreshments, and with words of much affection." Sir Henry Wotton to the King, April 4, Cal. St. Pa. 651. On the same day he writes, partly in cipher, that he "has sent one to Milan who shall accompany Tirone and his gang over all Italy," *ibid*.

<sup>5</sup> Both Wotton at Venice and Cornwallis at Madrid protested strongly against the welcome extended to the Irish at Milan. See their letters Cal. St. Pa. 652 and Meehan *op. cit.* 166.



mōra na crīstaigehta. Gnē chompráiti 7 chommōrtuiss eidir sī 7 in Rōimh agass in Naples. Atā ar n-a suidhiughadh go comhfairsing dlūith daoineachoir deigh-innill ar ferann chomthrom choimrēidh go pālāsoibh 7 go ttegduissibh deigh-dēnta degħ-fhoirgenta. Ruibēr ro-maith chēimnighess ō loch Couma ar n-a chomroinn go līnmhar trítthe go n-imat ndroichet. Ticc mōrān do shochar na cathrach 7 an tīre ar in ruibēr sin ō C[h]ouma 7 ōn Almāinn. Caisslēn lāidir ar daingne in domhain, mīle saighdiūir Spāinneach go sīrraidhe ag a bhārdacht d'oidhche 7 do ló co n-a n-uile chomhgar 7 riachtanus a leith-imiol na cathrach ag a ffuil a cennus 7 a huachtarānacht. Cōic cēd gunna mōr ar n-a gcomhshuidhiugadh ar in gcaislēn. Guibernōir ar leith fo lāimh in ierla uassa. Nī līnmhar a lēicther ann acht Spāinnig [7] Eireннаigh amháin. Páláss is lór feabus ag in ierla badhdéin a gcertmedón na cathrach. Cuidechta shaigdiūir do gnāth i n-a n-armoibh mar gārda i n-a thimchill d'oidche 7 do ló. Prīmħ-eglus na cathrach, Sancta Maria del Duomo, a n-imfhoixe in pālāiss. Atā immorro i n-a hegluiss romhōir roi-dheis go gcōic srethoip do cholomhnoip marmair go ttairimtheacht marmair. Sēpēl onōrach ar n-a chomhdach fo altóir [p. 43] mhóir in tempaill, airm a ffuilit imat do thaisibh naom 7 fīrēn. In mhacroidh oirrdherc ro bās-saigedh la hIruath mac Antepater ag ierroidh Chríst, fer is deichnemor dīop sa sēpēl sin. Lā na macraidhi gacha bliadhna taisselbthor a gcuirp 7 a gcolna do na huilip. As urchomair na prīm-altōra mōire adhnacol 7 tomba chardenāl Borromeo ba hardespoc sa gcathraigh naoi mbliadhna

<sup>1</sup> There is no immediate river connexion between Lake Como and Milan. The reference here is to the canal of the Martesana, constructed under Francesco Sforza (1450–1466), which connects the city with the Adda and the lake mentioned. Milan is situated on the Olana which rises near Lake Maggiore and ultimately joins the Po.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Castello Sforzesco which dates from 1450 and stands in the Parco Nuovo. It was restored in the last decade of the last century and now contains an archaeological museum and the municipal art-collections.



Christendom. There is some likeness and rivalry between it and Rome and Naples. It is situated on level, even ground, wide, firm, extensive, and well-equipped, having palaces and well-made, well-built houses. There is a good river, which flows from Lake Como,<sup>1</sup> divided into many portions through it, and having many bridges. Much of the supplies of the city and the country come by that river from Como and from Germany. There is a strong castle,<sup>2</sup> one of the best fortified in the world, having a thousand Spanish soldiers equipped with all conveniences and requisites always guarding it by night and day, at the side of the city, which it controls and commands. There are five hundred great guns planted on the castle. A special governor subordinate to the earl is in command. Not many people, Spaniards and Irish alone excepted, are allowed into it. The earl himself has a splendid palace<sup>3</sup> in the very centre of the city. A company of soldiers always armed act as guard about it both night and day. The city cathedral of Santa Maria del Duomo is close to the palace. It is a very great and beautiful church with five rows of marble columns and a marble architrave. There is a splendid chapel built beneath the great altar of the church where there are many relics<sup>4</sup> of saints and holy people. Of the famous Innocents that were slain by Herod, son of Antipater, when searching for Christ, there are eleven in that chapel. On the feast of the Innocents each year their bodies are shown to all. In front of the great high-altar is the body and tomb of Cardinal Borromeo, who was archbishop in the city nine years<sup>5</sup> before

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<sup>3</sup> This was the Palazzo di Corte, the mansion of the lords of Milan, the Visconti and the Sforza. Its site is now occupied by the Palazzo Reale erected in 1772.

<sup>4</sup> These are said to include the bones of Saint Ambrose.

<sup>5</sup> There is an error here, as Charles Borromeo died on the third of November, 1584. Possibly the manuscript does not give exactly what the writer intended. See the note on the text on the next page. The body of the Cardinal is now kept in a crypt under the choir.



roimhe sin.\* O fuair bās messait cāch a bheith naomhtha [7 atā] canosātion chom a dhēnta go hobonn sa Rōimh air.

LXXX. Ticcit tra na maithe si ar cuairt gusin egluiss remrāite deiredh laoi áine in chēsta. Adchītt ilimat do chēdoip fer a prosession onōrach go ttōirsigibh comhlasta ciera i n-a n-uirthimchell, a ngnūissi 7 a n-aighthe ar n-a n-imfholach as nach aitheōntaidhi iad. Bātar ag gērsiūrsadh, ag coimletrad 7 ag comthuarcaín a gcorp 7 a gcolann gur uó † crōdherc na srāide 7 na heguilsi a sibhlaitis dia ffuil 7 dia ffulradh. Ba mōr immorro in grād 7 in ‡ scrūdadh croide a gcoimdēcsain.

LXXXI. Eidir themploibh 7 mhainistreachoip co n-a n-uile choimthinōl ord 7 sacart trī tempaill is dá fichit is dá chēd sa chathraigh, gan rīm nā āiremh ar imat sēpēl do tōgbadh le daoineibh uaissle chom a ndeuōsion do choimhlīnadh. Altōir ro-maith ar n-a comhdach in gach plāss margaidh seachnōin na cathrach a mbītt aiffrinn gacha laithe. Trī tempaill porrāiste isin chaisslēn. Stāsion 7 luaigigeacht a ttemploib 7 a reclēsoibh na cathrach deich lā is ceithri fichit sa mbliadain. Nī gnāth fir 7 mnā a n-ēinfhecht ag stāsion dīb, acht roinnit in aimsir timchell in medhōin laoi. Secht prīmheguilsi ag a ffuilit uile lōighighecht secht prīmeglus gcatharrdha na Rōmha issin chathroigh. Ba hē in tres Grigōir dēg in pāpa do shonnradh dorad na grāssa sin don chardenāl [p. 44] Sērlus Boremeus ba hairdespog a Milan in tan sin. Anmanna na n-eglus tra, an prīmeglus mōr Sancta Maria del Duomo, S. Simplisiano, S. Uictor al corpo, S. Ambrosio maggiore, S. Nastaro maggiore, S. Laurentio maggiore, S. Steffano Parimente maggiore. Ilimat reliciass do thaissib naomh 7 fīrēn isna temploibh sin tra. Gach lā pātrūin ticit lucht ceirde na cathrach a prosession onōrach mōrthimchell na reclēs remrāite go mbrat-

\* After *sin* the words *naoi mb* are written. Deletion marks are added under them.

† *uó* was inserted later in different ink.

‡ *gd* (with siglum) and *7 in* added over the line in different ink.



that time. Since he died everyone thinks he is a saint, and he will soon be canonised <sup>1</sup> in Rome.

LXXX. The princes came on a visit to this church on the evening of Good Friday. They saw many hundreds of men in a splendid procession, with lighted waxen torches about them, and their faces covered so that they might not be recognised. They were scourging, smiting and whipping their bodies until the streets and the churches in which they walked were red with blood and gore. To behold them moved one much to charity and self-examination.

LXXXI. Including the churches and monasteries of communities of religious and priests, there are two hundred and forty-three churches in the city, not counting many chapels that were erected by noblemen for the practice of their devotion. There is a good altar erected in every market-place in the city, where Masses are celebrated each day. There are three parish churches in the castle. On ninety days in the year there is a station and indulgence in the churches of the city. It is the custom that men and women be not together at any station, but they divide the time about the middle of the day. There are seven chief churches in the city which are privileged with all the indulgences of the seven great city churches of Rome. It was Pope Gregory XIII who granted these privileges to Cardinal Charles Borromeo, who was archbishop of Milan at the time. The names of the churches are, the great cathedral of Santa Maria del Duomo, San Simpliciano, San Vittore al Corpo, Sant' Ambrogio Maggiore, San Nazaro Maggiore, San Lorenzo Maggiore, and San Stefano Parimente Maggiore. There are many relics of saints and holy people in these churches. Every patron day the tradesmen of the city come in splendid procession to them with banners and standards, and distribute alms and charity at the cathedral. There are six special days each year for the

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<sup>1</sup> He was canonised on the first of November, 1610.



achoib 7 stannardoip. Dobheirit imat almsan 7 dērice uaidibh ag prīmh-egluiss na cathrach. Sē laithe sonnradh-acha chom dēirce gacha bliadhna, lā āirigthe ag gach gepta sa chathraigh go fiū sē ngepta, chom in tempaill mōir do chor suass. D'fiachaibh ar lucht inotachta na cathrach badhdēin almsa 7 offrāil do dēnomh ag na geptaigibh is comhgaraighi 7 is imfhoixe dōibh. Acht amāin bennugadh 7 coissreacadh na sacramente naomtha, neimhionann sermoniass 7 ord ceilibartha don chathraigh si 7 don chūirt Rōmhānaigh, ōir ro lensatar stair 7 sermoniass in naoimh oirrdirc S. Ambrōss. An cethramadh bliadain dēg ar trībhfichtip ar trībhcēdoip d'aois in Tigerna issedh ro gairmedh airdespog a Milan don naem sin .i. S. Ambrōs. Ba hē amāin faoi Dia du-s-ratt in Edāill go huilidhi fo chuing chreidmhe 7 crābaidh. Conrótacht leiss badhdēin sē reiclēsa ro-mhaithe 7 ospitēl sa gcathraigh. A chorp 7 a adhnacal a ttempall dīp i n-a ffuil sāmhad 7 coimt[h]inōl manach. Comhainm in laithe dodeachaidh a seilbh na hespogōide taissellebthor a chorp 7 a cholann go bliadhnaimail. Onōrachus 7 supāilce mōr go līnmhairecht almsan 7 dēirce ag a dēnamh sa gcathraigh 7 seachnōin na dīosis uile in lā sin. Lā na hEpifane do shonnradh, eagluss [p. 45] Eustorgios i n-a ttaisselbthor airc na ttrī rīgh dodeachator \* d'aithreōss Críst a n-aimsir a lenbachta, go pīssa don ōr doratsat dō, dobheirit uachtarāin na heguilsi in lā sin ar son Dē crodh do nōnmhar ōgbhan. Imat dēirce immorro 7 do deigh-ghnīmarthoibh bennaigthi ag a ndēnomh sa gcathraig sin, acht is eimilt iad \* re a n-uile-fhaisnēis.

LXXXII. Gapait tra na tigernaide si a gcead ag count de Founte in dara lā dēg Aprilis.† Degh-aightheach forffāilidh ē rompa ag toigeacht, tuirseach i n-a ndeghaidh. Doratt dōibh mar chomartha cuimhnigthe buiden do rāpēroip 7 do daigēroib ro-dessa, go mbeirtibh cloch uaissle cum-

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\* *deachator* and *iad* above the line.

† 1608 is added on the right margin.



giving of alms, a day for each gate of the six gates of the city, for the building of the great church. Those who live in the city itself are obliged to give their alms and offerings at the gate nearest to them. Except for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the ceremonies and liturgy of this city are different from those of the Roman Court, for it continued the practice and ceremonies of the great Saint Ambrose. That saint was declared bishop of Milan in the year of Our Lord three hundred and seventy-four. Under God he alone brought all Italy to Christianity and piety. Six good churches and a hospital were built by him in the city. His body and tomb is in one of these churches, where there is a congregation and community of monks. On the anniversary of the day on which he took possession of the bishopric his body is exhibited each year. Works of devotion and great piety, as well as the distribution of much alms, are performed that day in the city and throughout the diocese. On the day of the Epiphany the superiors of the church of Sant' Eustorgio, where the sarcophagus of the three kings who came to visit Christ in His Infancy, and a piece of the gold they gave Him, are exhibited, bestow for God's sake a dowry on nine maidens. Much charity and good holy deeds are performed in that city, but it would be tedious to enumerate them all.

LXXXII. The lords took their leave of Count de Fuentes on the twelfth of April. He had been kindly and friendly to them at their coming, and he was sad when they left. He gave them as a token of remembrance a collection of rapiers and fine daggers, with hilts of ornamented precious stones, all gilt, and belts and expensive hangers. That night they were in a town seven leagues away named Lodi,<sup>1</sup> a fine, strong, compact place where the King of Spain has a garrison. They had very good roads through

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<sup>1</sup> *Lodi* is south-east of Milan, on the Adda.



daigh, ar n-a gcomhōradh go huilidhi, go gcressoip 7 hainger-soip comdáora. Bátor an oidche sin seacht léige a mbaili dar comhainm Lodi, cruinn-baili dess daingen i n-a ffuil gairessūn ag rīgh na Spāinne. Slight[h]e ro-mhaithe tria thalmain torthaigh aca in lā sin, an oidhche doinennta uiscemail toirneach teinntighe.

LXXXIII. Tochomhlait ar n-a mārach seacht léige go sen-chathraigh sonnradaigh dar comhainm Pesense. Ruibēr ro-oirrderc a n-imfhoixe na cathrach. 'E ro-mōr ro-lethan. Ingantach re lucht a nemthathaighi mar tēigit daoine 7 eachroidh thairiss a mbādoip, ōir is bāid oile go gcordoibh cnāibe bhīoss ag a n-imluadh go hinntlechtach gan seōlta gan imramh. Ainm in ruibēir El Po. Sen-chaislēn daingen go mbārdoip līnmara lāidire go ffaith[c]he gcoimhréidh is lōr feabhus 7 imfhairsingi isin gcathraigh. Dā beg-loing dessa go tteghduisip lonnradhacha ag diūc de Parma ar in ruibēr i n-a mbī fēin ag āines 7 ag caithem aimsire sechnōin in ruibēir an tan ba toil leis. An sruth sin amne etorscarus 7 eidirdealaighes dūthaigh diūc de Parma 7 in Lombardíi re aroile.

LXXXIV. [p. 46] Ar n-a mhārach dōip go Parma, dā léige dēg. Ruibēr ro-aoipinn rompa forsan sligidh go ndroichet lān-fhata ba lōr díen-fheabhus, go n-imat do ruibēroibh oile. Ier ttoirling dōip ag cathraigh Parma tig íerla onōrach don tīr d'forffāiltiughadh friū 7 dia nglacadh go honōrach a n-ainm diūc de Parma. Tāinic ar n-a mhārach immorro go gcōistighip ro-mhaithe i n-a gcomhdhāil dia ttreōrugadh gusin airm a mbuī in diūc. Gabuis tra in diūc chuicce go honōrach airmhitneach iatt. Bátor sealat ag imagallamh 7 ag āiness briathor re aroile. Gapait a gcead as a haithle. A n-imfhoixe gāirdīn in diūic taisselbthor

<sup>1</sup> *Piacenza* is less than half-a-mile from the south bank of the Po.

<sup>2</sup> The Duchy of Parma dated from 1545, when Pope Paul III presented it to his son Pierluigi Farnese, the first of eight dukes of the family. At the time to which our narrative refers the ruler was Rannucio I (1592-1622).



a fruitful country that day, but there was storm, rain, thunder and lightning in the night.

LXXXIII. The next day they travelled seven leagues to an ancient remarkable city named Piacenza. There is a very remarkable river <sup>1</sup> close to the city. It is very great and very wide. Those who have not seen it before admire the manner in which people and horses cross it in boats, for it is other boats with hempen ropes that move them skilfully without sails or rowing. The name of the river is the Po. There is a strong old castle, with many strong guards and a level, excellent, wide green, in the city. The Duke of Parma <sup>2</sup> has two small pretty boats with white houses, in which he himself delights and amuses himself up and down the river whenever he wishes. That river divides and separates the Duke of Parma's country from Lombardy.

LXXXIV. The following day they went to Parma, twelve leagues' journey. On their way there was one very beautiful river, with a long and firm bridge, <sup>3</sup> and many other rivers besides. When they dismounted at the city of Parma a noble earl of the country came to welcome them and receive them in the name of the Duke of Parma. The next day he came with good coaches to them to conduct them to where the Duke was. He received them with honour and respect. They remained speaking and conversing with one another for some time. Then they took their leave. Near the Duke's garden <sup>4</sup> they were shown a leopard and two lions. They went to see a strongly fortified castle <sup>5</sup> which the Duke has at a distance from the city. It has a plan and structure and position similar to those of the castle of Antwerp in Flanders and the castle of Milan in Italy. There is an army of twenty thousand men, horse and foot, with

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<sup>3</sup> This is probably Ponte Taro, on the river Taro, six miles from Parma. It and all the others referred to flow into the Po.

<sup>4</sup> This is now the Giardino Pubblico.

<sup>5</sup> The modern Cittadella is close to the city.



dōip lipartt 7 dā leōman. Eirgit d'faixin chaisslēin ro-dhaingin atā ag in diūc sealat ōn prīm-chathraigh. Cosmailes innill 7 imdēnumh \* 7 suidhiughadh dó 7 do chaisslēn Anuoairp a fFlonndrus 7 do chaisslēn Milan san Eadāill. Armāil fichet míle fer eidir marcshlaigh 7 troigtheach, go līnmhaireacht munisioin 7 in uile riachtanuiss, go mbārttoib lāidire līnmhara, ar in gcaisslēn sin. Obair thalmaidhe ar n-a tōgbāil go hinntleachtach a fferann chomthrom choimhréidh a gcert-medhōn chuirrigh imdomain uisgemail an caisslēn sin tra. An t-ierla onōrach adupramar i n-a gcoimhiteacht frissin rē sin. Beiriss leiss chom a pālāiss badhdēin iad. Iar ndēnomh a medhōin laoi taispentar dōip cūpla camhall. Ba hingantach a ffaircsin. Eirgit go teghduiss stuidéir in ierla. Orgáin ingantacha adhmait ier n-a n-oibriugadh dia lāmhoip badhdhéin, go n-ilimat leapar canntaireachta 7 starthach sa stuití sin. Celiprait don ierla. Tiagait di[a] ttigip ōssta. Ascnaít assin gcathraigh as a haithle cōic lēige gusin mbaile mbeg dar comainm Region, airm a ffuil pictūir 7 dealp naemh-Muire ōighi dognī imat fert 7 mīrbal do ghnāth [p. 47]. Cathoir Parma thrá sí ro-dhaingen lāidir dess daoineachair go ttigthip 7 go tteghdhuissip deighdēnta deghe-fhoirgenta. Ruibēr ro-mhaith is lór feabhus ag céimniughadh tríasan gcathraigh. Droichet ro-mhaith go mbādaibh imdha ar in ruibēr.

LXXXV. Dia māirt in cōicedh lā dēg Aprilis † tochomhlaid na maithe si dā lēge dēg gusin mbaili dar comhainm Bologna. Ascnaít in lā sin tria fort ro-dhaingen gabhus le diūc de Parma. Assa haithle tra tar ruibēr ro-aoibhinn eidirdealaighes 7 etorscarus dūthaigh [diūc] de Parma 7 dūthaigh diūc de Modona re aroile. Gabhait immorro trē prīm-chathroigh Modona. Triall 7 ullmhugadh mōr ag a dēnomh sa chathraigh sin trá d'oirchill reabraidh 7 giústála in láoi ar n-a mhārach. An lā sin do shonnradh buī mac in

\* -umh is written over -ta.

† 1608 is added on the right margin.



abundance of stores and every requisite, and numerous strong defences in that castle. It consists of earthworks raised with skill in a level flat plain in the middle of a watery, deep marsh. The noble earl we have mentioned was in their company during that time. He brought them to his own palace. After they had taken their dinner they were shown two camels. The sight of them was strange. They then went to the earl's study. In it there were wonderful wooden organs which he had made with his own hands, as well as numbers of books on singing and history. They bade farewell to the earl and went to their hostels. Afterwards they hastened from the city for five leagues to the small town named Reggio,<sup>1</sup> where there is a picture of the holy Virgin Mary which is continually working miracles and wonders. The city of Parma is well-fortified, strong, beautiful and extensive, with well-made well-constructed houses and buildings. There is an excellent river going through the city, having a good bridge and frequented by many boats.

LXXXV. On Tuesday, the fifteenth of April, the princes advanced twelve leagues to the town named Bologna. They passed that day through a strong fort belonging to the Duke of Parma. Afterwards they crossed a beautiful river<sup>2</sup> which divides the country of the Duke of Parma from that of the Duke of Modena.<sup>3</sup> They went through the city of Modena. There were great preparations being made there for the amusements and jousting of the next day. On that particular day the Duke's son was bringing home the daughter of the Duke of Savoy.<sup>4</sup> In boats they

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<sup>1</sup> *Reggio*. This town is south-east of Parma.

<sup>2</sup> It is called the Secchia and is a tributary of the Po.

<sup>3</sup> In 1598 the duchy of Modena fell to Cesare d'Este, who lived till 1628. He was the lineal ancestor of Mary of Modena, wife of James II. of England.

<sup>4</sup> Alfonse III. d'Este, who became duke of Modena and Reggio in 1628, married in 1608 Isabella, daughter of Charles Emmanuel I., duke of Savoy. In 1629 he abdicated and became a Capuchin.



diúc ag tabairt ingine dhiúc de Sauoi dia thigh. Gabhait a mbādoip tar ruibēr Pannara etorscaruss in diúiceacht sin 7 ferann buird in pāpa. Caisslén ard ar n-a imdēnomh a gcert-mhedhōn in ruibēir doghnī comhfhortacht mōr a n-aimsir tuile 7 ainfine d'eathroibh 7 do bhādoip a thairimt[h]-eachta. Eirgit go baile beg dess daingen lessin pāpa, Castel Franco a ainm. Go Bolonia assa haithle. Cardenāl ro-onōrach sa gcathraigh cuiriss drong dia dhaoineibh uaissle d'forffāiltiugadh friū 7 díá nglacadh go honōrach airmiteach i n-a ainm dia ttochuireadh chuige ar a suipēr. Gapait tra a leithscēl fo bhīthin a n-aistir an oidche sin.

LXXXVI. Ar n-a mhārach immorro téid O Néill do lāthair in chardenāil. Gabuiss chuige go ro-onōrach airmiteach forffāilidh ē. Bolonía immorro prīm-chathoir ro-mhōr ro-dhaingen dhaoineachoir dheigh-dēnta deg-fhoirgenta go línmhairecht reclés 7 mainistrech. Corp an erláimh uassail adhamra oirrdirc [p. 48] Sanct Domnic a ttempall onōrach sa gcathraigh, Sanct Sēm a chomhainm. Pālāss ro-mhōr is lōr lāin-fhebbhus ag in chairdenāl badhdéin a gcert-medhōn na cathrach. Tipra fhīr-uisce ar n-a suidhiugadh go hinntlechtach assa ffuilit imat srepān ag coimheirghe súas a ffīr-áirde as urchomhair in pālāiss. Ascnaít na maithe si assin gcathroigh. Eirgit go baile dar comhainm Sanct Niclās. Assidhe go fort ro-dhaingen lessin pāpa dar comhainm Fattio Sancti Petri. Cēimnigit tra an oidhche sin go cruinn-baili dess daingen, Imola a ainm, seacht légi.

LXXXVII. Dia dardaoín in seachtmadh lā dēg don mí chétna ascnaít tria fort ro-dhaingen gabhus lessin pāpa, Castel Burneis a chomhainm. Tria chathroigh ro-mhōir oile dōip, Faensa a hainm, go baile mōr, Farlingrando a chomhainm. An oidhche sin dōibh go baili mōr oile dar

<sup>1</sup> Like the Secchia, the boundary of the duchy of Modena to the west, the Panaro enters the Po.

<sup>2</sup> This small town is but a short distance from the river Panaro just mentioned. It is supposed to be the *Forum Gallorum* of Roman history. It was fortified in 1628 by Urban VIII.



crossed the river Panaro<sup>1</sup> which divided that duchy from the mensal land of the Pope. There is a high castle built in the middle of the river which gives great help in times of flood and storm to vessels and boats that are crossing. They went to a pretty little fortified town named Castelfranco<sup>2</sup> belonging to the Pope. Next they went to Bologna. A noble cardinal<sup>3</sup> in the city sent some of his household to welcome them and receive them with honour and respect in his name, and to invite them to come to supper to him. They excused themselves that night because of their journey.

LXXXVI. The following day 'O Néill went before the cardinal. He received him with great honour, respect and welcome. Bologna is an important city, very large, very strong, extensive, well-built and well-constructed, with numerous churches and monasteries. The body of the great famous noble patron, Saint Dominic, is in a splendid church in the city named Saint James'.<sup>4</sup> The cardinal himself has an excellent large palace in the centre of the city. In front of the palace there is a fountain of spring water skilfully arranged, and from it many streams of water shoot up on high. The princes left the city and went to a town named Saint Nicholas. From there they proceeded to a very strong fort belonging to the Pope named Castel San Pietro.<sup>5</sup> That night they went from there to a fine, strong, compact town named Imola, a distance of seven leagues.<sup>6</sup>

LXXXVII. On Wednesday, the seventeenth [*recte* sixteenth] of the same month, they passed through a strong

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<sup>3</sup> Alfonso Palaeoti was cardinal of Bologna from August 18, 1597, to October 18, 1610. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, III. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Why O Cianáin names the church St. James' is not clear. The body of St. Dominic, who died in 1221, is preserved in the church of San Domenico.

<sup>5</sup> It is fifteen miles from Bologna.

<sup>6</sup> Imola is just 21½ miles from Bologna.



comhainm Sensena. Deich léige ro aisstrighset in lá sin. Caisslén ro-láidir go mbárdoibh línmhara laidire ag in pápa sa mbaili sin trá.

LXXXVIII. Ar n-a mhārach dōip trī léige go fort daingen lessin pápa, Salignano a ainm,\* go prīm-chathraigh n-oirrdirc n-oireghdha dar comhainm Rimini. Annsin rāngatar radharc 7 faircsin forsan ffairrgi dar comhainm Adriaticia. Uirre amhāin conrótacht an prīm-chathair oirrdirc adhamra,† Uéniss a hainm. Fiche léige ōn gcathraigh remrāite go cathraigh Ueniss. An oidhche sin dōip clēlāmh re fairrgi gussin mbaili mbeg Catolica. Deich léige a n-aister in lá sin. Ba ro-mhaith na slighthe aca.‡ [p. 49] Talomh torthach aoibhinn go n-imat fínemhna 7 cruithneachta 7 gach degh-thoraidh archena mōirthimchell na sligedh amne. Iomat do thoraip dessa daingne ar brū na fairrge ag in pápa d'imfhaitchess na tTurcach do thecht do § dēnamh urchōide na hEdāille.

LXXXIX. Dia domhnaigh ier n-ēisteacht aiffrinn an fichetmadh lá don mī chētna ascnait go prīm-chathroigh n-oirrdirc gabhass le diūc de Borti, Pensaro a comhainm. Assin dōibh go cathroigh ndeiss ndaingin oile .i. Feno, go prīm-chathraigh oirrdirc oireghdha oile gapus lessin diūc chētna, Sinigaglia a comhainm, sī ar n-a suidhiugadh go hinntlechtach ar ruibēr ro-aoipinn go línmhaireacht sochraide dia himchosnam. Nī mōr do daoine dhomain léiccit d'faixin in chaislēin ier n-inmhedhón. Tegh ōsta ba lōr feabhus 7 deissi sechtair na cathrach. Ruibēr roi-dhess go ffaith[ch]i nōinīnigh sgoth-shemraigh chomthroim chomh-

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\* The MS. is here slightly injured by a splash of ink.

† After this word *oirrdc.* is written again.

‡ Here there is an entry by the writer: *Tabair bennacht for anmain in Taidg fuair gne dia shaóthar so 7 cetera*, Give a blessing for the soul of the Tadhg who had somewhat of the labour of this, et cetera.

§ MS. *de.*

<sup>1</sup> It is but 4½ miles from Imola.

<sup>2</sup> *Faenza* is the *Farentia* of early Roman History.

<sup>3</sup> This is the place now known as Forli. It is south east of Faenza.



fort belonging to the Pope, Castel Bolognese<sup>1</sup> is its name. Then they went through a great city named Faenza<sup>2</sup> to a large town called Forligrande.<sup>3</sup> That night they advanced to another large town named Cesena.<sup>4</sup> Ten leagues they travelled that day. The Pope has a very strong castle with many strong defences in that town.

LXXXVIII. The following day they went three leagues to a strong fort belonging to the Pope named Savignano,<sup>5</sup> and then to a great and famous city called Rimini.<sup>6</sup> It was there they came in sight of the Adriatic Sea. On it is built the famous and remarkable city of Venice. It is twenty leagues from Rimini<sup>7</sup> to Venice. That night they advanced with the sea on their left to the small town Cattolica.<sup>8</sup> Their journey that day was ten leagues. The roads were very good, and as they went along there was fair fruitful land, with much vines, wheat, and abundance of every crop on either side of the road. The Pope has many fine strong towers on the sea-coast through fear of the Turks coming to harm Italy.

LXXXIX. On Sunday, the twentieth of the same month, having heard Mass, they passed through a great city belonging to the Duke of Urbino named Pesaro.<sup>9</sup> From there they went to another beautiful strong city, Fano,<sup>10</sup> and to another remarkable famous one, belonging to the same Duke, named Senigallia,<sup>10</sup> picturesquely situated on a very beautiful river, and having large numbers to defend it. They do not allow many people into the interior of that castle to see it. There is an excellent and pretty hostel outside the city. There is a very fine river and a daisy-covered, clover-

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<sup>1</sup> *Cesena* lies still further to the south-east.

<sup>2</sup> *Savignano* is midway between *Cesena* and *Rimini*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rimini*, on the Adriatic coast, is the ancient *Ariminum*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "from the aforesaid city."

<sup>5</sup> It is on the Adriatic.

<sup>6</sup> *Pesaro* and the duchy of *Urbino* became part of the Papal States in 1626 under Urban VIII.

<sup>10</sup> These towns are on the Adriatic.



fhairsing a n-imfhoixe in ósta-thighe sin tra. Deich léige ro aistrigset in lā sin.

XC. Ar n-a mhārach dōibh clē-lāmh re fairrgi gusin prīm̄h-chat[h]raigh n-adhamra n-oirrdirc .i. Ancona. Trī caisslēin ro-dhaingne ag in pāpa sa gcathraigh sin go mbārd-oip lāidire līnmhara co n-a n-uile riachtanus. Cennus 7 uachtarānacht na cathrach 7 imfhoixe in chuain aca. Ascnaít as a haithle go Loreta. Naoi léige a n-aister. Comhnaigit 7 airissit immorro an oidche sin. Ar n-a mhārach tra dognīt turus na heguilsí bennaigthe mōr-lōigighechta sin. Comhnaigit issin mbaili in dara hoidche.

XCI. 1. Do rēir mar fuaramar scrīptha a sen-starthach-aibh, a n-ainm Dē laipeōram uaite do ilibh .i. begān do mōrān ar shupāilcip Loreta: Sēppēl Loreta immorro buī ar n-a ordugadh 7 ar n-a thogha ōn Athoir nemdha cien-aimseria n-a thōgbāil for talmáin do threibh Iesse. A prīm-chathraigh oirrdirc adamra oirdnide, Nasaret Galale [p. 50], conrotacht in tegh sin ō thūss. Ann ro chomhnaig 7 ro thairissimh Iaicim 7 Anna, athoir 7 māthoir náomhMuire óighe. Ann fōss ro coimpredh, ro geinedh, ro hoilemhnaigedh in næm-ōgh. Isin tēgh chētna sin du-s-rat in t-archaíngel uassal Gabriel in techtaireacht ōn Athoir nemhdha go naomMuire triasa ttāinic saoradh na nAdhomh-chloinne ō chintoip 7 turcbhāloip peacadh na seinnsear. Isan\* tegh sin tra gan caillemhain a hōghachta isseadh rugadh ar Slānaigt[h] eōir Issa Crīst. Ro hoilemhnaigedh as a haithle ar geil-

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\* The *i* and the *n* were added in different ink.

<sup>1</sup> Clement VII took possession of Ancona in 1532.

<sup>2</sup> Loreto is 15 miles from Ancona. Wotton writes to the King that, "as he has cast up his [O'Neill's] travel, he could not be at Loreto before the 21st at night." Cal. St. Pa. 654.

<sup>3</sup> This long digression, which extends to p. 161, is of no historical value, but may possibly be of interest to students of the legend of the holy house of Loreto, and for that reason it is here translated. The whole question of the authenticity of the story has been fully discussed by Chevalier, Notre-Dame de Lorette, Paris, 1906, and after an examination of all available documents, he concludes that the legend relative to the translation is not of older date than 1472, and that by 1531 it had



flowered, level, wide green near that hostel. They had travelled ten leagues that day.

XC. The next day they advanced with the sea on their left to the famous city of Ancona.<sup>1</sup> The Pope has three strong castles there and many strong guards, with all necessaries [for defence]. They command the city and the country near the bay. Afterwards they pushed on to Loreto.<sup>2</sup> Their journey was nine leagues. They stopped and rested there that night. On the next day they made a pilgrimage to that holy and highly-indulgenced church. They remained in the town a second night.

XCI. I.<sup>3</sup> In the name of God we shall narrate a few of the many, or a small number of the multitude, of the miracles of Loreto, according as we found them written in ancient histories: The chapel of Loreto was ordered and selected by the heavenly Father long before its erection on earth by the tribe of Jesse. In the great, remarkable, worthy city of Nazareth in Galilee that house was first built. It was there that Joachim and Anna, the father and mother of the holy Virgin Mary, lived and remained. It was there too that the holy Virgin was conceived, born, and reared. In that same house the noble archangel Gabriel delivered the message from the heavenly Father to holy Mary whence came the redemption of the children of Adam from the sins and transgressions consequent on original sin. In that house without loss of her virginity she gave birth to our Saviour, Jesus Christ. He was nourished afterwards on

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grown into the expanded form here represented. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia, the balance of Catholic opinion is in favour of Chevalier's view. O Cianáin, it will be observed, confuses two different versions of the story. According to Baptist the Mantuan, the translation took place in the reigns of Heraclius, the Roman Emperor (575-642), and of Chosroes, Emperor of Persia (590-628): see his *Historia* in Chevalier p. 243. The later version, which was developed by Angelita in 1531, puts the first translation to Tersatto in the reign of Pope Nicholas IV. (1288-1292).



chīchoip naomh-lachtmhara na hōige go riacht in t-aingel do neim dia erbadh 7 dia fholāiremh fuirre dol co n-a Mac ar innarbadh 7 deōraidhecht gusin Egipt ar teithedh Iruaith meic \* Anntipater intan ro bāssaighedh in mhacraidh oirrdere adhamra. An dara bliadain dēg d'aoiss in Tigerna tērnoidhit tar aiss ōn Egipt gusin tegh cētna. Ann tra ro thochaith in naom-ōgh a laithe 7 a haimsir ar in saoghal ō sin suass. Ass immorro ro-ss-tōgaipset aingil 7 archaingil † in choimdedh chumhachtaigh a corp naomhtha go nemh n-ainglidhi go follus fiadhnach do na huilip chomhfhoixib. Iar gcumsanadh don nām-óigh ar nemh bátor tra apstail 7 discipail in Tigerna i n-a gcomnaidhe sealat sa teagh sin. Cinnit 7 comhairlighit ier sin a bennugadh 7 a choissrecadh assa mbíadh amháin i n-a teghduiss 7 i n-a dhuirrthech etorguide in choimdedh chumachtaigh aca. Ullmhaigit na hapstail amne dia lāmhoip bennaigthe badhdēin croch ro-mhaith mīrbaileach a ffiodhair 7 a fforaithmet chroiche Crīst. Fiodhair-dhealp 7 imhāidh nāmMuire óighe íer n-a himdēn-omh do lāmhoip Lūcāiss suiiscēl, issí amháin is [p. 51] mīrbailighe gan imressain fon uile dhoman. Atāit immorro ar n-a gcomhshuidhiughadh isan sēpēl sin. Fo bhīthin a imat fert 7 mīrbal 7 naomhthachta du-s-ratsat lucht inotachta 7 aittreptha prīm-chathrach Nasaret ro-onōir go priuilēid ndermháir ndíchra dō. Na rēgiōin chomhfhoixe ag a chomhmōradh mar in gcētna.

2. Ro buī immorro impire āirigthe íer n-a thogha issin Rōimh an inbaidh sin, Heraclius a ainm. Coimhchengluiss a n-aghoidh reachta 7 chreidimh ‡ eguilsí Dē fri Cosrat, rī na Persia. Scrissait 7 innarbait in creidemh catolice as talomh Ierosolima go huilidhi. Tōgbhait suass go hainffesach mīchreidmheach gnē dēe, Mahomet a c[h]omainm. Nī ro lēicc immorro in t-imfhaitchess § do lucht aittreptha na cathrach nō in rēgiōin umhla nō adradh do chreidemh Dē sa naomh-s[h]ēpēl sin. An pāpa in cethramadh Niclās buī issin Róimh trialluis cocadh 7 conblicht a gcertaghaidh na n-eritched sin. Cuiriss pāirt dia armāil go prīm-chath-



the white, milky, holy breasts of the Virgin, until the angel came from heaven to command and order her and her Son to go in exile and banishment to Egypt to escape Herod, son of Antipater, when the holy Innocents were slain. When our Lord was twelve years of age they returned from Egypt to the same house. There the holy Virgin spent the remainder of her days in this world. From it Almighty God's angels and archangels raised her holy body to the heaven of the angels plainly and evidently before all who saw it. When she rested in heaven, the apostles and disciples of the Lord dwelt for a while in that house. Afterwards they decided to bless and consecrate it so that it might serve only as an oratory and house wherein they might invoke Almighty God. Accordingly the apostles made with their own blessed hands a splendid miraculous cross in the shape of the Cross of Christ to commemorate it. Without doubt the only more miraculous image in all the world is that of the holy Virgin Mary made by the hands of Luke the evangelist. They were placed together in that chapel. Because of the number of its wonders and miracles and its holiness, the inhabitants of the city of Nazareth did great honour and showed exceeding great devotion to it. The neighbouring countries honoured it also.

2. Now there was a certain emperor named Heraclius elected in Rome at that time. He joined with Chosroes, king of Persia, in opposition to the law and faith of the church of God. They destroyed and banished the Catholic faith out of all the land of Jerusalem. They set up in ignorance and disbelief a supposed god by name Mahomet. The inhabitants of the city and the country were prevented by fear from submitting to God's religion in that holy chapel. Pope Nicholas IV, who was in Rome, commenced a war

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\* *ic* is superscribed.

† *archaingil* is written twice.

‡ MS. *chreidhimh*.

§ MS.—*thchess*.



raigh n-oirrdirc fuil isin Aissia, Tripoli a comhainm. Cuirit lēger fuirre. Ticit na rígha pāgānta adupramar dia comhfhortacht. A n-inbaidh na huaire 7 na haimsire sin immorro gluaissis in teagh naomhtha so Loreta co n-a uile oibriughadh 7 imdēnomh, é ag a imachor do grāsoibh Dē 7 nāmhMuire ar guailip 7 ar ochtoibh aingel 7 archaingel in choimdedh chumhachtoigh. Toirlingit 7 airissit ar foradh-chnoc aoibhinn adhamhra a magh choimhrēidh chomthrom chomhfairsing a tTersato a rīgacht Eschiouia timchell medhōin oidche do shonnradh in seissedh lā do mī Maíí don bliadain adupramar. Ba gnāthbhēss immorro la lucht\* inotachta 7 7 aittreptha in tīre sin comhchruinniugadh ar in magh remrāite isna laithip sin go fīr-chinnte gacha bliadhna go subāilcip 7 go sollamantus adbal-mōr [p. 52]. Ba machtnadh adpal 7 ba hingantus dermhair leō ō 'dchonnarcatar in sēpēl sonnradhach 7 nā fitirset cia leth ō ttudhchaidh. Eirgit ann astech assa haithle. Fogabhait ann dealbh 7 pictūir naomhMuire ōighe gussin gcroich remhrāite. Messait 7 brethnaigit ieromh gur uo'hē tegh 7 teghduis mīrbailteach coimperta 7 geinemhna mhāthar in tSlānaightheōra é. Glacait imegla ndermhair fo dháighin gluasachta 7 toighechta in tighe. Assa haithle tra gabhait cuca go hairmitneach onōrach é. Dogeibhdiss ilimat do lucht galair 7 esslāinte na rēgiōn gcomhfhocus comhaisseg 7 comhfhortacht a slāinte ann. Ro mhēdaigh sin immorro deuōsion 7 innfheithemh na gcinedhach gcomhfocus gusin teagh sin amne.

3. Aroile priōir ro-onōrach ro-s-buī i n-a uachtarān a mainistir Sanct Seōirsi. Brethnaigit cāch fo bhīthin a deigh-beathadh a bheith naomhtha. Allexandro a chomhainm. Gapuiss fiaprass teinntighe neimhneach in priōir. Earbais a threōrugadh go naoímh-theagh Loreta. Gnīther samhloidh. Ernaigiss 7 etorguidhiss in priōir gusin naomhōigh a ffrithchētfaid na himháidhe. Do connarcus don ōigh naomhtha eachtra fholaigtheach 7 ründiamair ro-dhiadha in tsēipēil oirrdirc adhamhra sin d'foillsiughadh 7 do thaisselbadh don naomh-priōir remrāite. An priōir immorro,



and an attack on these heretics. He despatched portion of his army to a great city in Asia named Tripoli. They besieged it. The pagan kings already mentioned came to relieve it. At that particular time, then, this holy house of Loreto, with all its materials and structure, moved away, being carried by the favour of God and holy Mary on the shoulders and breasts of the angels and archangels of Almighty God. They alighted and came to rest on a remarkable, beautiful eminence in a level, even, wide plain in Tersatto, in the kingdom of Slavonia, about midnight on the sixth of May of the year we have mentioned. Now the inhabitants of that country were accustomed to gather in this plain on these particular days each year for a festival and great ceremony. They were greatly surprised and wondered much when they saw the splendid chapel, for they knew not whence it came. After a time they went in. They found in it the image of the holy Virgin Mary and the cross already mentioned. Then they all came to the conclusion that it was the miraculous house and home where the Mother of the Redeemer was conceived and born. They feared greatly because of the transference and coming of the house. Afterwards they revered and honoured it. Many of the diseased and sick of the neighbouring districts had their health restored and benefited there. That also increased the earnestness and devotion to that house of the people who dwelt near it.

3. There was once a certain very noble prior superior in the monastery of Saint George. Because of his good life he is considered by everyone to be a saint. Alexandro was his name. This prior contracted a burning painful fever. He ordered that he should be conducted to the holy house of Loreto. That was done. He prayed and invoked the holy Virgin before the image. It seemed good to her to make known and reveal to that holy prior the secret history

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\* MS. *luchtcht*. The second *t* in the next word was added later.



mar ro buī naomhtha foghlomtha go n-imat eгна 7 rūndiamra  
 ōn Athoir nemhdha, ticcis in ōgh naomhtha cētna a persain  
 do briathradh 7 do chomrādh fris. Iar n-a taisselbadh  
 immorro go lōghmhar dealraigthech mīrbaileach dō ba headh  
 ro ráidh : Ag so meissi Muire māthair in tSlānaigtheóra as  
 do chomhair neoch ro ataiss 7 ro etorguidhiss go līnmhar.  
 Cuir h'uille dhōigh 7 inntinn 7 h'innfheithem am Mac mīr-  
 baileach 7 dia t[h]rocaire ro-d-fia sláinte [p. 53]. An teagh  
 naomhtha so trá, tuig gurab ann ro coimpredh, ro geinedh,  
 ro hoilemnaigedh mē. Is ann fōss ro-m-toghadh lassan  
 Athoir nemhdha mar mhāthoir chorparrdha día aon-Mhac  
 badhdéin. Ann fōss ro cheiliobhrainn trātha 7 urnaigthe,  
 immoinn 7 canntaireacht, ag ettorguidhe in choimdedh  
 chomachtaigh. Ann fōss ro-m-pōssadh do rēir in reachta  
 7 ru-s-gabhus mar chēile la Iosep fīrinneach. Ro choimhéatas  
 mh' óghacht gur glacus ōn Athoir nemhdha in t-uassal-  
 toirrchess triasa ttāinic comhsháoradh na hAdhomh-chloinne  
 ō peacoibh 7 turcbāloip na seinnsēar. Ro imchrass go  
 honórach assa haithle fri ré náoi mīoss go rugass go mīr-  
 baileach grāssamail, gan saothar, gan dochar sægalta, gan  
 docomhal nādūrtha, gan milledh mh' ōghachta, Dia 7 duine  
 a n-aoinpersain issin tigh sin amne. Ro oilemhnaighess  
 issin tigh chētna, ro bethaiges ar cíghoip m'ochta, ro imchras  
 7 ro altromus as a haithle go ttāinic in t-aingel do neimh  
 dia erbadh oram ascnamh lem Mac gusin Egipt for teithedh  
 Iruaith meic Anntipater. Iosep díer ttreōrughadh 7 ag  
 comfhortacht dūinn seachnóin na sligedh. In dara bliadain  
 dēg d'aoiss mo Mheic térnóidhemaoít tar aiss gusin tigh  
 gcētna. Oirissim 7 comhnaighim ann as a haithle an gcēin  
 ro buī [mé] a mbethaidh ar in saogal. Ar ndol damh ar nemh  
 n-archainglidhe du-s-fic Eōin bruinne gusin gcuid oile do  
 na hapstaloibh d'aittrebadh 7 d'inotacht in tighe. Doghnit  
 tabernacul 7 ionadh onōrach airmitnech adhamra urnaigthe  
 de. Scaoilit badhdéin seachnōin in domain as a haithle do  
 rēir aithne in choimdedh chumachtaigh do shīoladh chreidimh  
 7 chrābaidh. Athraigis in teagh go mīrbaileach \* ier sin



and the sacred mystery of that wonderful chapel. She came in person to speak and discourse with him, for he was holy and learned in wisdom and truths given him by the heavenly Father. Having miraculously appeared in splendour and brightness, she said: "Here before thee am I, Mary the Mother of the Redeemer, whom thou hast besought and invoked with many prayers. Direct all thy hope and intention and meditation to my wondrous Son, and by His mercy thou shalt have health. Understand that it was in this holy house that I was conceived, born, and reared. In it, too, I was chosen by the heavenly Father as bodily Mother for his own Son. In it, also, I celebrated the hours, said prayers, and chanted hymns, invoking the Almighty God. There I was espoused in accordance with the Law and became spouse to Joseph the just. I preserved my virginity until I received from the heavenly Father the great conception whence came the saving of the race of Adam from the sins and transgressions of the first parents. For nine months afterwards Him I bore with reverence, until by grace I miraculously gave birth without labour, without earthly pain, without natural difficulty, without harm to my virginity, to Him, God and Man in one Person in that same house. There I reared Him, I fed Him on the breasts of my bosom, I carried Him and nursed Him, until the angel came from heaven to command me to fly with my Son to Egypt, to avoid Herod, son of Antipater. Joseph guided us and supported us throughout the journey. When my Son was twelve years old, we returned to the same house. I lived there afterwards as long as I was in life in the world. When I went to heaven of the archangels, John of the Bosom, with the other apostles, came to dwell in the

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\* MS. *mirbailteach* with a punctum delens under the *t*. *Mirbailteach* is a form based on the plural of *mirbail*, and is quite correct according to spoken usage; compare p. 114. 'O Cianáin naturally prefers the other.



go rāinic gusin log so. Foillsigther immorro 7 comhoirrdherc-aighther let in stair 7 in eachtra so 7 na naomh-scēla do na huilip chomhfhoixibh 7 ro-d-fia slāinte ō mo Mhac glōrmhar grāssamail si.

4. Tigit a gcētōir ilimat do lēgiōnoibh aingel 7 archaingel do neimh a gcomairrchis [p. 54] 7 a gcomhdhāil na naómh-ōige. Gabuiss a ced ag in athair naomhtha sin ieromh. Fo bhīthin ruithenta lōgmair shubhāilcighe in boltanaighe dhíadha glōrmhair buī ar gach tæp di dogeibh in t-athoir slāinte a gcētōir. Du-s-rat in t-athoir altugadh buide don naomh-óigh 7 dia Mac mīrbaileach. Aistrighis dia t[h]igh ier sodhain. Aisnēidhiss na scēla sin do na huilibh adchídh.

5. Rāinic tra clū 7 alla 7 oirrdercass in sceōil \* gusin uachtarān buī ag guibernōracht an tíre, Nicolauss Fransisfane a chomhainm. Treōraigis chuicce an t-athair remrāite ar go ffessadh deimin agus bunadhus na mōr-mīrbal. Ier n-a gcloss dō cuiris d'fiachaibh fair ascnámh gan moille gach ndírech go prīm-chathraigh Nasaret d'fioss 7 do dearbadh an sceōil. Cethror immorro do daoīnibh oiregdha oirdnidhe adhamra onōracha in tíre i n-a choimhiteacht. Rāngatar Nasaret. Buī tra in slige go soirp socomhlach aca. Fochtait imthūss 7 turtthechta in tigi do maithib na cathrach. Adfēdsat dōip uile scēla 7 eachtra 7 mīrbaile in tige in airet buī aca badhdēin 7 a thōgbāil uaidhip assa haithle ar guailibh 7 ar ochtoip aingel go mīrbaileach 7 nā fitirset cia leth dodeachaidh. Araoi sin tra toimsit na teachta fundaimint in tige, a fod, a lethet, a himthacmhac. Tērnoidhit tar ais go Tarsato. Ba cudruma coimhinann don tegh ier n-a thomhus in tan sin frissin tomhus dorōnsator a Nasaret. Iarsna huile dearpthoip sin immorro dognit lucht aittrebhtha na gcathrach gcomfhocus 7 an rēgiōin go huilide onōir 7 airmitin adbal-mōr mun tigh, go n-imthathaidhi līnmair, go ndeuōsion ndīchra. Seacht mīssa ar trībhi bliadhnaibh ro buī in teagh i n-a chomhnaighe issin inadh remrāite. Imeglaigit immorro aittreabaigh in tire ainmīen 7 ansmacht, borrfadh 7 dīberg an impire .i. Heraclius.



house. They made of it a tabernacle and a venerable, honoured, holy place of prayer. Then they scattered throughout the world, according to the Almighty God's command, to plant the faith. Afterwards the house miraculously moved, so that it came to this place. Let this history and narrative and the holy tidings be made known and published by thee to all the neighbouring regions, and thou shalt have health from my Son, who is glorious and full of grace."

4. Immediately there came a multitude of legions of angels and archangels to meet the holy Virgin. Then she departed from that holy father. From the brightness and splendour, and the pleasantness of the divine heavenly odour on every side of her, he received health at once. He gave thanks to the holy Virgin and to her miraculous Son. He then journeyed to his home and narrated the events to all he saw.

5. The report and account of the matter reached the officer who was governing the country, Nicolas Frangipani was his name. He summoned to him the aforesaid father to learn the certainty and true account of the great miracle. When he heard them, he obliged the father to go without delay straight to Nazareth to find out if the story were true. There were four great, worthy, honoured noblemen of the country along with him. They reached Nazareth. Their journey was easy and without difficulty. They made enquiries of the great men of the city as to what had happened to the house. They narrated to them all the deeds and events and miracles connected with the house while it remained with them, how it was at length taken away from them miraculously on the shoulders and breasts of angels, and that they did not know whither it had gone. However, the messengers measured the foundation of it, its length, its breadth, and its circuit. They returned to Tersatto. That

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\* *in sceoil* over the line.



Tic asside gnē nemhthathaidhe [p. 55] 7 mainnechtnaige deuōsioin 7 imfhuaire i n-a gcroidhedhaibh do beith don naoimh-theagh oirrderc adhamra so, as nach ttucsat adhradh nō onōrachus \* dō mar ba gnāth. Ba toil immorro lassin Mac mhōr-mhírbaileach 7 lassin gcoimdidh gcomachtach an teagh do athrugadh assin dū a mbuī. Tōgbhait aingil 7 archaingil leō i n-a staid 7 i n-a innioll badhdēin gan cumhscughadh cloch nō clārach. Ascnaid seach mōrfhairrge gcoimhleathain gcomfhairsing Adriatica. Nīr hairisedh leō go riachtsat gusin Edāill. Toirlingit a prīmchoill chomhdhlūith a prouensi Marca a gcomhfhoixe senchathrach Recanati. Laureta comhainm na baintreabaighe uaissle dier uo sealp go sainigthe in choill sin chena. Araoi sin cuirid na poipleach[a] a ngnāthugadh dealb Muire Loreto do chomhghairm don pictūr. Aóiss in Tigerna in tan sin míle ar dā chēd ceithre bliadhna dēg ar cheithri fichit, in dechmadh lā Septembris. Ger uo comhdhlūith aimhrēidh imdorchu in fhiodhbhadh sin isin aimsir seachmataigh, araoi sin chena ba ruithen-sholus dealraigthech glōrmhar ōn soillsi ainglecdha ro-dus-fāgoibset na haingil issin tigh naomhtha 7 i n-a uile timchuairt 7 tochealladh. Messait 7 brethnaigit lucht a faircsena gur uo teinnte 7 tennāla bātor iar n-a gcomadhnadh issin ffidhbhaidh.

6. Bātor tra aodhairidhe ag forchoimēd a ttreōd ar a comhgar. Ar ffaixin an ingantuiss adpail ēxamail fāgbuid a ttrēda. Ar teithedh dien-tinnesnach iad gusin prīmchathraigh remráite. Adfētsat tra dia ttuistidip in scēl uathbāsach ingantach forcaomhnagoir. La sodhain tra attrachtsat lucht na cathrach ēirgi athlamh aoinfhir. Ascnaid gusin ffidhbhaidh a ttraide [p. 56]. 'Iar ffaixin an ingantuiss adbal-mōir dōibh gabuis omhan 7 imecla dermhair iat. Eirgit dronga aca go gcrith-egla 7 go gcomhfhaithches sechnōin na fidbaidi as a haithli. Rángator immorro i n-a cert-medhōn. An teagh onōrach airmitneach iar n-a imdēnomh go haughdardha inntlechtach go ffidhair-dheilbh Muire ōige 7 na croichi cēsta ann ier n-inmedhōn. Bidhgait



house, when measured then, had a measurement exactly equal to that which they had made at Nazareth. After all these proofs the people of the neighbouring cities and all the country gave great reverence and honour to the house, visiting it frequently with great devotion. For three years and seven months it remained in that place. The natives of the country, however, began to fear the passion and tyranny, the rage and rapine, of the Emperor Heraclius. For that reason the remarkable, wondrous, holy house became unfrequented, they neglected their devotion and their hearts grew cold, so that they did not give it such honour and respect as had been customary. But the great, wondrous Son and Almighty God were pleased to remove it from the place where it was. Angels and archangels carried it with them in its own form and shape, without change of stones or timbers, over the great, wide Adriatic Sea. They rested not until they reached Italy. They alighted in a dense wood in the province of the Marches, near the ancient city of Recanati. Laureta was the name of the noble widow whose private possession that wood was. For that reason the people acquired the habit of naming the picture the image of Mary of Loreto. The year of the Lord that time was one thousand two hundred and ninety-four, the tenth of September. Though that wood was close, intricate, and dark in olden times, yet it was gleaming, bright, and glorious from the angelic light the angels left in the holy house and around about it. Those who saw it believed that there were fires and conflagrations alighted in the wood.

6. Now there were shepherds guarding their flocks close to the wood. When they observed the great strange wonder, they abandoned their flocks and fled in haste to the city mentioned. They told their parents of the striking and wonderful event which had happened. Then the people



7 ingantaigit la sodain. As a haithle tra ba hí a ttoimdin 7 a mbaramail gur uo torchur-shēt tidlaictheach ro dīrigh in t-Athoir nemhda Dia uile-chomachtach chuca. Lēicit ar a nglūinib íat. Adhrait 7 ernaigit 7 etorguidit in coimde comhachtach go n-altugadh buidhi go línmar fo bíthin na mēide sin dá mōr-shupāilcip ēxamhla do thaissealbadh dōibh. Fōss dognīt orāite 7 caintic coimmbinn i n-a tten-gaidh uodēn. Ro chansat a mbriathraib millsī gur uo bennaigthe aoinDia uile-chomhachtach, fōs bennaigthe diadha glōrmhar in naomh-ōgh thrōcaireach, māthoir in Mheic mōir-mhīrbailigh, ro thoiligh 7 ro thidlaic dia mōr-grāsoib \* badhdēin a macsamhla sin do naom-thaispēnadh thrōcairech do thaisselbadh go mīrbaileach ēxamail ingantach dia popal bocht. As a haithle trá tērnoidhit na maithe si a ffritheing na conaire cētna go riachtsat gusin gcathraigh remhráite.

7. Ba gnāth-bēss la lucht na cathrach ier sin in gach uile aimsir imthathaidhi ro-onōrach maille re uisitātion 7 reuerens go n-imat adhartha Dē 7 næmMuire óighe do dēnom isin tig si amne. A aois galair 7 esslāinti 7 gach treablaidi archena ag foghbāil chomfhortachta 7 imaisic a slāinte gacha haimsire isin teg so do grāsoibh Dē [p. 57] 7 do thrōcaire ōghMhuire a ffritthchētfaidh na himháidhe 7 na croichi adupramar. Dia bhíthin sin immorro ticdiss ilimat do dhaoinip ō na rēgiōnaip oile do dēnomh turaiss, deuōsioin 7 oilithre gusin naoimh-theghdhuis sin ier n-oirrdercughadh a mhōr-mhīrbal. Ba gnāth la himat eiritchedh 7 bith-benach, mar ro buī in teagh a ndīthreb uaigneach imdorcha 7 comhthathaidhi na n-oilithrech chuice. 7 uaidhe, teacht do dēnomh sladaigheachta 7 duine-mharptha ar a chomfochraip. Ar n-a fhaixin sin immorro do Dhia uile-chomachtach earbuis ar dhroing dia ainglip an sēpēl d'aither-rach 7 do threórugadh go magh coimhréidh comhfairsing buī ar comhgar na fidbaidhi remhráite. Dognīt samhloidh. Comhshuidhigit é ar gāirdīn-chnoc aoibhinn oirrderc oiregh-dha go līnmhaireacht luibinn degb-bholtanach. Daoine



of the city arose with the ready rising of one man. They came to the wood at once. On seeing the great strange sight, fear and terror came upon them. Groups of them went trembling and in fright through the wood. When they reached the centre of it, they found the splendid venerable house, built with skill and dexterity, and having inside in it the images of the Virgin Mary and of the Cross of the Crucifixion. They were startled and amazed. Afterwards they considered that it was a bounteous gift which the Heavenly Father, Almighty God, had sent to them. They fell on their knees. They adored and prayed and invoked the Lord, giving Him abundant thanks for vouchsafing to them so much of his great graces. They prayed and sung a sweet canticle in their own language. They chanted in sweet-sounding words that the Almighty God was blessed, and that blessed, holy and glorious, too, was the merciful holy Virgin, the Mother of the wonderful Son, who was pleased to grant by her own graces that such a holy merciful sight should be miraculously exhibited to her poor people. In the end they returned by the same route until they reached the city.

7. After that the people of the city were wont at all times to make visits of respect in this house, visiting, reverencing and worshipping God and the holy Virgin Mary. Their sick and diseased, and those afflicted with any other trouble, found comfort and restoration of health always there, by God's grace and the mercy of Mary, in the presence of the image and the cross. For that reason many people from other countries came to make a journey, devotion, and a pilgrimage to the holy house, when its great miracles became known. But many heretics and robbers, as it was situated in a lonely dark waste, and as pilgrims went to and from it, used to go to rob and murder near it. When Almighty God

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\* The final *b* is followed by the line-and-dot compendium in anticipation of the next letter.



uaissle do lucht na cathrach, dīss derbrāthor díeroile, ba leō bith-dílsecht in magha sin tra. Ro buí imthathaidhi ghnāthach gusin sēpēl ar in magh sin do shonnradh fri rē imchien. Dogeibhdiss na daoine uaissle imat ōir 7 aircit 7 gacha maithessa archena día thorbha. Glacait fēin ier sin aingideacht fhīch-mheiscneach 7 imthnúth adpal-mōr re aroile. Ní mōr nach bītiss gach laoi ag fōbairt chomhmarptha a chēile. An mhāthair ō ar gheinsetair ba congnamh imbressna 7 etorchossāide dōibh, ōir in mac ba hinmaine 7 ba díchra serc 7 annsacht lē, adbeiredh fiadh na huilip gur uo leiss in magh tré fhīr-chert gan chomhroinn don fhior oile. Eirgiss ier sin cogadh 7 conbhlicht eidir na derbrāithrip amne fo chomhroinn torbha in tsēpēil. Ar n-a fhaixin so do Dhia uile-chomachtach, augdar 7 bunadhus [p. 58] na huile hsīthchāna\* 7 imbressna, réidhighiss go mīrbaileach deabaidh 7 dechētfaidh na nderbrāithrech remhráidhsemar. Cuiriss dā mōr-chomachtoip glōrmhara aingil 7 archaingil d'imluadh 7 do choimhthreōrugadh in næmh-shēpēil gur chomhshuidh-ighset é a n-inmedhōn 7 a gcert-lār in rīg-rōid rīgdha thairmnigess eitir prīm-chathraigh Recanati agas in sen-fhairrge, ionadh āirigthe ar nach roibhi cennus nō uachtarānacht no selb sonnradhagh ag ēn-duine fon uile dhoman. Atā issin dū sin gusin tan sa. Ag sin amhāin in tres imirci 7 athrugadh dorōnadh leiss ier riachtain dō tar fairrgi.

8. Assa haithle sin immorro ingantaigit daoine simplidhe neimheacnaidhi issin tīr ēxamhlacht 7 ingantaighi eachtra 7 imircedb in tsēipēil. Cuirit i n-inntinn-chroidheadhoip lochta na cathrach gnē fondaiminti do chor n-a urthimchell, ōir ro imeglaighset trē ainffioss a athrugadh uaidip in cethramadh feacht. Teaglamait immorro 7 comhchruinnigit lucht na gcathrach gcomhfhocus 7 an tīre go huilidhi. Dognīt go lān-obbann gnē oibre 7 fondāsioin timchuairt in tsēpēil. Bātor tra na hEdāilligh 7 lucht na rēgiōn gcomfhocus ag imthathaidhe go lān-līnmhar fair. Ba machtnadh

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\* This is the spelling of the MS.



saw that, He ordered some of His angels to remove the chapel and bring it to a level wide plain in proximity to the wood. They did so, and placed it on a beautiful, fine, commanding garden-hill which had abundance of sweet-smelling herbs. Two noblemen of the city, brothers, had the ownership of that plain. The chapel was frequented as usual on the plain for a long time. The noblemen got much gold and silver and wealth of all kinds as a result. But then they conceived fierce enmity and great jealousy for each other. Almost every day they sought to kill each other. It was the mother who gave them birth who helped on their fighting and contention, for she used to say openly that to the son whom she liked and who was dearest to her the plain belonged by right, and that the other had no share in it. A fight arose between them in that way for a division of the profits of the chapel. When Almighty God, the author and beginning of all peace and contention, saw this, He settled by a miracle the dispute and disunion of the brothers. By His great glorious power He sent angels and archangels to move and bring the holy chapel until they placed it in the middle of the high road which crosses between the city of Recanati and the sea, in a particular place over which no one in the world had supremacy, mastery, or possession. It is in that place until the present time. That was the third moving and changing it had undergone since it had come across the sea.

8. After that, however, simple unwise people in the country wondered at the variety and strangeness of the movements and translations of the chapel. They suggested to the people of the city to put a foundation around it, for in their ignorance they feared lest it might be changed from them for the fourth time. The inhabitants of the neighbouring cities and all the country gathered and assembled. They quickly set works and a foundation around the chapel. The Italians and the people of the neighbouring countries frequented it in large numbers. They marvelled



dermair leō métt 7 imat a fhert 7 a mhīrbal co n-a uile eachtra 7 imtheachta. Ar n-a fhaixin sin don ōigh naomhtha bliadain āirighthe d'aóiss in Tigerna, mīle ar dā chētt sē bliadhna dēg ar cheithri fichit, ro fhoillsig mar so sīss uile scēla 7 turtheachta in tsēipēil.

9. Aroile senōir naom-arsanta go ndegh-airilte 7 go gcaóin-bhēssōip dōrala i n-a gnāth-chomnaighe ar comgar in tsēpēil. Ro gnāthaigedh a imthathaidhi go meinic maille re deuōsion díchra 7 re dūthracht inntinni [p. 59]. Taisseibhuiss in næmh-ōgh í badhdēin cétna a persain dó. Adfét dō feip ro innis don athair irisreach Alexandro, priōir Tharsato, toighecht 7 imthecht 7 uile eachtra 7 imthúsa in tsēipēil ōn chēd-uair riam gusin tan sin, a aistriughadh 7 a imachor go mīrbhailech ar guailip 7 ochtaibh aingel 7 archaingel, an aimsir 7 an inbaidh i n-a nderna gach athrugadh 7 gach imirce dia nderna. Earbuiss 7 folāiris fair ina huile scēla sin d'oirrdercugadh 7 d'fīr-fhaisnēis do na huilip poipleachaibh no-bheitiss i n-a chomhgar. A gcētōir tēt in senōir go cathraigh Recanati. Aisnēidiss na scēla mīrbaileacha do lucht inotachta na cathrach gusna huilibh choipnessoibh. Gapait tra na poipleacha d'formhōr na scēla so go hēttrom nemfhoirpthe mīchreidmheach chuca. Is suaill nach ag fochuidmedh 7 fanamait bātor fon senōir. Araoi sin chena mar do chonnarcatar ilimat na ffert 7 na mīrbal gacha laithi, cinnit 7 comhairligit do chomhaonta aroile sē fir dēg do roighnip na ndaoine ba crīnna foghlomtha chocubhassaigi fírinnighe \* a prouensi Marca do thogha 7 a gcor go Nasaret Galalee do chomhshaothrugadh bunadhuis 7 sēicrēide scēl in tsēpēil. Gapsat tra na sē fir dēg remhrāite loingess co n-a n-uile riachtanus aistir 7 imtheachta. Ascnaít assa hait[h]le. Dīrgit a gcūrsa tar cuan Adriatico. Mar sin dōib go riachtsat cuan 7 caladh-port a Sinonia. Asside gan mhoille go magh Tarsato. Innissit immorro 7 coimder-

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\* This word is inserted over the line; the next is *foghlomtha* with *puncta delentia*.



greatly at the magnitude and number of its miracles and wonders, and at all its travels and movements. When the holy Virgin saw that, in a particular year of the Lord, one thousand twelve hundred and ninety-six, she made known as follows the whole story and account of the chapel.

9. A certain holy old man of unblemished character and good life chanced to dwell near the chapel. He used to visit it frequently with great devotion and piety of intention. To him first the holy Virgin appeared in person. She told him, as she had told the pious father Alexandro, the prior of Tersatto, of the coming and going, and the whole story and adventure of the chapel, from the first up to that time, of its being transferred and carried miraculously on the shoulders and breasts of angels and archangels, and of the time and period at which it made every one of its changes and movements. She ordered and directed him to make known and truly narrate these things to all who were in his neighbourhood. At once the old man went to the city of Recanati. He told the wonderful tidings to the inhabitants of the city and all their kinsfolk. The people for the most part took small and imperfect heed of the story, regarding it with disbelief. They were all but mocking and ridiculing the old man. Still, when they saw the number of the wonders and miracles every day, they unanimously decided to select sixteen chief men, the wisest, most learned, most conscientious, and most truthful in the province of the Marches, and to send them to Nazareth in Galilee to investigate the origin and meaning of the story of the chapel. These sixteen men took a fleet, with all necessaries for a journey and travel. They set out then, and directed their course over the Adriatic sea. Thus they went till they reached harbour in Slavonia. From that they hastened to the plain of Tersatto. The inhabitants and dwellers in the country, and in that plain in particular, narrated and affirmed how that remarkable, wonderful, holy house came and descended on the plain, its wonders and miracles while it



pait aittrebthaidhe 7 lucht inotachta an tīre 7 in maga sin do shonnradh mar do thāinic 7 mar do thoirling in naoimh-thegh oirrderc adhamra sin ar in magh remráite [p. 60], a fherta 7 a mīrbaili in cēin ro buī ann, mar ro thaispein næmMuire ōgh dia mōr-thrōcaire í badhdēin d'Alexandro, go ru-s-fēt eachtra 7 uile scēla in tsēpēil, dol Alexandro gusin gcethror remráite go Nassare do promad agus do dherbadh an sceōil, 7 sin d'fagāil go huilidhi mar atā i n-ar ndíaigh, 7 an sēpēl do thōgbāil uaidip assa haithle 7 nā fitirset fon uile doman cia leth dochōidh. Lēicet sein ar siopal gach ndīrghi iat go ro riachtsat Nasaret. Ba guasachtach imomhnach na sligthe rompa trēsan mBarbiass bātar i n-a nāimdip bunaidh 7 i n-a scristōirib creidim Crīst. Ar ndol dōip go Nasaret rāngatar in t-inadh āirigthe gusin ffundaimint for ar comhshuidhigedh an teagh ō thūs. Messait 7 toimsit iaramh a fhod 7 a lethet 7 a imthacmac fri compāss in tige ro-dus-fāgoibset i n-a ndeghaidh issin Edāill. Ba cutruma coimhinann dōibh. Eistit ier sin ina huile dherptha 7 scēla ru-s-bātar ag lucht na cathrach um dhāighin in tighe, a ttaop a thōgbāla 7 a chomhshuidhigthe ō thūs 7 a im heachta go mīrbaileach ingantach assa haithle. Doratsat creidemain gur uo fīr-bríathra foirpthe gach ar chan in senōir issin Edāill, gur uo hē sin an teagh fīrinneach buī ar in inadh remráite ar n-a threōrugadh go mīrbaileach ēxamail do mōr-chomachtoibh an choimdedh chomhachtaigh in gach dū i n-ar chomhnaigh diaigh a ndíaigh gur oiris as a haithle isin log bennaigthi i n-a ffuil. Iar sin tra tērnoidhit na hEdāilligh dia ttīr. Fuilingit imat guasachta 7 mertin mara 7 tīre sechnōin na sligedh. Ar rochtain a n-atharrda badhdēin atfétsat tra go follus [p. 61] ina huile derptha 7 scēla fuaratar um dhāla in tighe. Creidit tra ina huile chinedhaigh ro-s-bātar sa prouensi gur uo fīr gach ar chansat. Doratsat altughadh \* buidhi do Dia uile-chomachtach. Adamhraighther 7 oirrdercaigt[h]er an scēl fo na rēgiōnoip

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\* The *t* is added in pale ink over the line.



was there, how the holy Virgin Mary in her great mercy appeared to Alexandro and told the story and account of the chapel, how Alexandro and the four men went to Nazareth to test and confirm the story, and how they heard it all as it is above, and that the chapel was removed from them afterwards, and that they did not know where in the world it had gone. They then proceeded right straight till they reached Nazareth. Their journey through the country of the Barbarians, who were hereditary enemies and destroyers of the faith of Christ, was dangerous and terrifying. When they went to Nazareth, they found the particular spot and the foundation on which the house was first seated. They estimated and measured its length, and breadth, and circuit in comparison with the house they had left behind them in Italy. They were equal and alike. They then heard the statements and accounts the people of the city gave concerning the house, how it was built and erected at first, and how it afterwards disappeared strangely and miraculously. These showed that the old man in Italy had spoken words really true, and that the house was the veritable house which once stood on the spot mentioned, and was brought by a strange miracle, by the great power of Almighty God, to every place where it had successively been, until it rested in the end in the holy place where it then was. Then the Italians returned to their country. They underwent much danger and sickness by sea and land throughout the journey. When they reached their own country. they told plainly all the accounts and information they had got about the house. All the people in the province believed that what they said was true. They gave thanks to Almighty God. The matter was made known and published in all the neighbouring countries. All increased their veneration, their visits, and their devotion to the chapel. Not only the Italians frequented it, but also many ecclesiastics of the regular orders of Christendom from other countries.



comhfhoixibh.\* Dognīt cāch ieromh métughadh onōra, tathaidhi 7 deuōsioin don sēpēl. Nī hiat na hEtāilligh amhāin bātar tathaigeach air, acht ilimat ō rēgiōnaibh oile do macoibh egailsi d'uile ordoib ríagalta na crīstaig-ehta.

10. Aroile duine uassal irisreach ro buī a n-aoiss foirpthe, a n-imfhoixe don sēpēl remrāiti ro buī a aittreb 7 a inotacht. Bat[ar] maithe a deghe-airilte 7 a chāin-bēssa. Paulus dela Silua a chomhainm. Ba gnāth-bēs dō uisitātion meinic 7 tadhall gnāthach ar in sēpēl naomhtha sin go līnmar gacha laithe. Oidhche n-aon a ffēil nati[ui]tatis Beate Marie Uirginis dō issin sēpēl ag adhradh 7 ag etorguidi nāmMuire ōighe, adchonnairc díā shūilip corparrda in soillsi ro-mhōir .i. prīmhlōchrann lassamail ag toirling anuass ar in sēpēl. Ba hī a thoimdin 7 a baramail dā throigh dēg i n-a chomhfhat go sē ttroigtibh i n-a lethet. Dā uair in chluig riassan lō do shoillsiugadh ba hedh ro thoirling samhloidh. Deich mbliadhna diaigh a ndiaigh comhainm na hoidche sin do shonnradh 7 a n-inbaidh na huaire cētna don duine uassal ag faixin rūndiemair na mōr-mīrbal. Nī ro fhaisnēis frissin rē sin do neach. Aimsir aithgerr ria mbāss cuiriss techta do thochuiredh espoig Recanati go n-espogoibh maithi oile. Adfēd tra dōibh na mōr-mīrbaili ēxamhla ingantacha forcaomhnacair issin sēpēl co n-a uile derbthoibh 7 deg-chomar-thoibh. Deimin lasna sruithibh sin amne gur uo hī in naom-ōgh badhdēin ināid aingil uaithe ro-s-ficedh comhainm na fēle [p. 62] uaissle ro rāidhsem d'onōrugadh 7 d'airmhitniughadh an tsēpēil uassail adhamra. Comhoirrdercaigther ier sin in s[c]ēl fo na rēgiōnoibh comhfhoixibh amail is folluss.

11. Feacht n-aon du-s-riacht espog chathrach Recanati dia oilithre go Loreto, Terremano a chomhainm. Dognī a thurus. Ier gcloisteacht ilimat fert 7 mīrbal an tsēpēil tērnoidhiss ar ais go cathraigh Recanati. Duine fīrēnta uassal Paulus Rinaltinus ro buī issin gcathraigh in tan sin, ro dearp don tigerna-easpog, a ffoirfecht aoissi 7 aimsire a shen-athar badhdēin, gur mhinnaig go fiadnach go ffacatar



10. There was a certain pious nobleman advanced in years who dwelt near the chapel. He was of unblemished character and good life, and Paulus de la Silva was his name. He was accustomed to visit frequently the holy chapel each day. One night, on the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as he was in it praying and beseeching the holy Virgin, he saw with his own eyes a great light, namely, a shining torch, descending on the chapel. He thought it was twelve feet in length and six in breadth. Two hours before the dawn of day it descended thus. For ten successive years, on the same particular night and at the same hour, the nobleman saw the mystery of the great miracles. During that period he never spoke of it to anybody. A short time before death he sent messengers to call the bishop of Recanati and other good bishops. He narrated to them the strange, wonderful miracles which took place in the chapel, giving all his proofs and confirmations. These prelates considered that it was the holy Virgin herself, or angels from her, who used to come at the recurrence of the noble festival mentioned to honour and venerate the great wonderful chapel. After that the story was made known to the neighbouring countries, as is manifest.

11. On one occasion the bishop of the city of Recanati, whose name was Terremano, came on a pilgrimage to Loreto. He performed his pilgrimage, and having heard the multitude of the wonders and miracles of the chapel, returned to the city of Recanati. A noble and just man, Paulus Rinaldutus, who was in the city at that time, assured the lord bishop that his own grandfather in his old age swore definitely that his own eyes saw the chapel being transported over the sea on angels' shoulders until, wonderfully and miraculously, it descended in the aforesaid wood. A certain



a shūile fēin in sēpēl ag a imachor tar in ffairrgi\* ar guaillibh aingel gu ro thoirling go mīrbailech ingantach issin ffidbaidh remráiti. Aroile priōir āirigthe ro buī issin chathraigh chētna sin, Fransisco a ainm, dorat a minna a ffiadhnaissi in espoig Terremano go ro minnaig a sen-athair badhdēin fo n-a chubhus a fforcinn sē fichet bliadan dia aoiss go ffacatar a shūile fēin in sēpēl ag ascnamh 7 ag cēimniugadh tar in ffairrge gur thoirinn 7 gur thoirling go mīrbaileach isin diamar-choill adupramar, go roibhi fēin ag urnaigthe 7 ag etorguide in choimdhedh chomhachtaig 7 nāmMuire ōighi go meinic isin inadh sin ann, an dara feacht ag dol go cnoc na deissi derbrāthor, in tres fecht ag ascnamh gusin dū i n-a mbaoi. Fo bīthin na n-ilimat derptha sin tra cinnit 7 comairligit na cinedhoigh d'ēin-inntinn amhāin gan examen nō cūiss amaruiss *badb* mōo do chor a leith in tsēpēil. Go hāirigthe ōs a chenn sin, ilimat a fert 7 a mhīrbal gacha laithi, gēr-scrūdaiss sin inntinn-chroidedha na rēgiōn 7 na gcinedach gcomhfhoccus chom adhartha 7 creidemna dō.

12. [p. 63] Buī aroile duine uassal adhamra issin fFrainc ria sunn, Petro Orgentoris a chomainm. A gcathraigh oirrdirc Granobile ro buī a inotacht 7 a chomhnaighe. Ro theacht mhnaoi a dhingbāla, sī ro-uassal go ndeilb nderscnaighigh do threibh ro-onōraigh issin fFrainc, dier uo comhainm Donna Antonia. Gapuis tra ben oile issin gcathraigh gcētna doigh ētta, imthnūith, 7 acaissi di imon ffer-scāl remhrāite. Dealbhuis breachta diablaidhechta 7 draoith-echta, īdhalachta 7 ainchreidmhe, i n-a haghaidh. La sodain gabuis mire 7 dāssacht dīfhulaing in chēid-ben. Ro thrēic a cēill 7 a cētfaidh. Brethnaigit lucht a faircsena gur uo droch-spirut buī ag inotacht innti amoil ba hoirrderc i n-a dheghaidh. Ascnaiss in duine uasal gusin mban-scāl remráiti ag iarraidh caomhna 7 comfhortachta di in gach reclēs 7 in gach ionadh bennaigthe mīrbaileach adcloss dō seachnōin na Fraingce. Nīr uo tarba dō. Treōraigidh ier sin go prīmh-chathraigh Melan issin Edāill í, go huasail-eclais S. Iulio, dū a ng[n]āthaigdis lucht na haicīde sin do



prior, also, who was in that same city, Francisco by name, gave his oath in the presence of bishop Terremano that his own grandfather swore by his conscience, at the age of one hundred and twenty years, that his own eyes saw the chapel coming and advancing over the sea until it alighted and descended miraculously in the wood we have mentioned, that he himself was praying and beseeching Almighty God and the holy Virgin Mary in that place there ; also, the second time going to the hill that belonged to the two brothers, and the third time proceeding to the place where it then was. Because of these many proofs the people decided with one accord not to enquire or doubt further concerning the chapel. Besides, in addition to that, the multitude of its wonders and miracles every day incited the minds of the countries and peoples in the neighbourhood to worship and believe in it.

12. There was a certain great nobleman in France before that time, Petro Orgentorix was his name. He lived in the great city of Grenoble. He had a worthy wife, of noble blood and great beauty, of a distinguished family in France, whose name was Donna Antonia. Another woman in the same city became smitten with jealousy, envy, and hatred of her because of the man. She performed charms of devilry and witchery, of idolatry and heathenism, against her. Thereupon madness and unbearable frenzy came upon the first woman. She lost her senses and intelligence. Those who saw her were of opinion that there was an evil spirit in her, and that became evident afterwards. The nobleman went with the woman, seeking help and relief, to every church and miraculous holy place that he heard of in France. It was of no avail. After that he brought her to the city of Milan in Italy, to the great church of San Iulio, where people afflicted with that disease were accustomed to get



shonnradh fōirigthin 7 comhfhortacht a riachtanuis 7 a n-anacra d'foghbbhāil go meinic mīrbaileach. Sealat dōip issin reclēs sin, acht chena ba dīmhaoin a ttoisc. Cēimnigit go cathraigh Madonain as a haithle, go prīm-thempall oireghdha i n-a ndingentaidhe a sēt samhla sin d'fertoib 7 mīrbailip go līnmar .i. tempall Gemeniano. Urnaighit 7 etorghuidit ann. Nī fhuaratar comhfhortacht bheōs. Tochomhlait tra as a haithle go prīm-chathraigh na Rōma. Fri ré mīsa go comlān dōip issin Róimh a prīm-thempall Petair Uaticano. Coloman adhamra oirrderc mīrbaileach go ngrát [p. 64] imremar ieroinn i n-a uirthimchell isin tempall, neoch atā aniū 7 ō do buī Crīst ar in saogal so ag buain drochspirut demnaidhe as lucht a imthathaidhi, do grāsoibh Dē, go follus fiadhnach don doman. Nī meinic \* tērnoidh ōn choloman sin fer nō ben ar a mbiadh an anacair sin gan comhfhortacht d'fagāil. Sealat āirigthe gacha laithe go forcinn na mīssa sin don ban-scāl remrāiti astig fo iadhadh issin ngrāta a ffochair in cholomain. Nīr uo tol la Día comhaiseg a slāinte d'fogbāil di bheōs. Ier sin tra gluaissit in chuideachta so go comhthuirsech díbergóideach. Acht trōcaire Dé amháin, ní mōr nā ro chuirsetar sūil do chabair. Mesait go dīchēillidhe mīdhōchusach, ō nach deachaidh a ttarpa dōip prīm-thurus mōr-oirrderc dia ndernsatar, ascnamh 7 cēimniugadh go a n-at[h]ardha bhunaidh 7 gan ní *badb* mōo do thurus do dēnamh go forcionn bethadh na mnā uaissle. Aroile ridire uassal d'ord Malta ro buī ag tērnōdh ō thuruss Loreto tegmaic dōib-sen forsan sét. Bennachoid cāch dia chēle dīp. Coimfhierfaigit scēla aroile. Adfētsat tra a n-uile eachtra 7 imthechta 7 amoil forcaomnagair dōip. Adhamhraighis 7 oirrdercaigis in rittiri remrāite ferta 7 mīrbaili naoim-shēipēil 7 fidair-deilpe 7 somplachroiche Loreto. Comhairligiss dōib-sen ascnamh go Loreto. Fo bīthin gach a ndernatar-san do stātion 7 d'oilithre a prīm-eguilsip oirrderca oile is súaill nā ro glacsat gnē mīdōchuisse, ōir ro mesatar nach rachadh a ttarpa dōip turuss ar bith dia ndingnedís. Iarruiss an ben uasal a n-athchuin-



assistance and relief often in their trouble and necessity by miracles. They spent some time in that church, but their quest was in vain. Next they went to the city of Modena, to a great church where miracles and wonders like that used to be wrought frequently, namely, the church of Geminiano. They prayed and invoked there, but yet they got no relief. Then they proceeded to the city of Rome. For a full month they remained in Rome in the church of Pietro Vaticano. There is a great, famous, miraculous column, with a stout iron grating around it, in the church, which to-day and ever since Christ was in this world drives demoniacal spirits out of those who visit it by God's grace clearly and plainly to the world. It is not often that any man or woman suffering from that malady goes away from that column without getting relief. The woman remained for a time each day to the end of the month within the enclosure of the grating beside the column. Even yet God was not pleased that she should obtain restoration of health. After that the company set out in grief and affliction. Except only the mercy of God, they had almost lost hope of assistance. Since none of the famous pilgrimages which they had made availed them, they thoughtlessly and in despair proposed to return to their native country, and to perform no other pilgrimage till the end of the woman's life. A certain noble knight of the order of Malta, who was returning from a pilgrimage to Loreto, met them on the road. They saluted each other, and each asked where the other had been. They told all their doings and adventures, and how they fared. The knight told and made known the wonders and miracles of the holy chapel, and the image, and the cross of Loreto, and advised them to go there. Because of all the stations and pilgrimages in other famous churches they had made,

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\* c is added in pale ink over the n.



gidh a treōrugadh go Loreto. Gnīt[h]er samhloidh an seachtmadh lā dēg Iulíí, [p. 65] aoiss in Tigerna in tan sin mīle ar cheithre chēt ocht mbliadhna ar cheithri fichit. Aroile canānach onōrach ba huachtarān issin sēpēl, buí go ndegh-bhethaidh, Steffanus Fransigena a chomhainm. Du-s-riacht i n-a gcomdhāil go macclēirchip imdha maille fris. Beiriss gusin sēpēl iad. Ar ndol astech dōip slēchtait, etorghuidhit 7 urnaigit a ffrithchētfaidh 7 a ffiadhnuisi imhāide Muire 7 na croiche remrāidsemar. Ro-s-gnī in t-athair onōrach sin ord coniurātion do rēir uird 7 forcetail na heguilsi Rómhānaighe chom na ndroch-spirut ndemnaidhe d'innarbadh asin mnaoi uassail. Nīr uo himchien dōip ier sin in tan ro fregairset secht ndemain a n-ēinfhecht as cert-medhōn na mnā uaisle do briathraibh neimhnecha nāim-demhla dó. La sodain tra fāgbuiss ēn-spirut amhāin demnaidhe in ban-scāl. Toirlingis ar lōchrann lassamail ciera ro-s-buī issin sēpēl. Nī roibhi ar comus dō a fāgbāil, acht buī ar n-a chrochadh leis go follus do na huilip. Adbert do glōr neimnech gur uo Sordo a ainm. Assa haithle tra fāgbuiss in darna droch-spirut í. Adbert gur uo Herot a chomainm 7 gur tria n-a aimsiughadh 7 áidhbhirseōracht tāinic marbadh dhiūc de Burgondi ro buī ag cothughadh 7 ag tōgbāil chreidimh 7 crābaidh eguilsí Dē. Ier sin ro gremoig do lōchrann oile dia mbuī issin sēpēl. Du-s-rat a chert-aghaidh grānna grāinemail forsan athair remrāite. Nochtaiss 7 glomaiss a draint-fhiacra imdorch[a] adhēitche. La sodain ro chan go follus do sherp-glōr dhiablaidhe : Nī tusa ro innarb sinne assin aittrep i n-a rabamar i n-ar gcom-naighe re haimsir imchēin, acht mōr-thrōcaire mīrbaileacha Muire. Beiriss in canānach na deōraidh uaissle adhamra sin leiss [p. 66] díá teghduis badhdēin an oidche sin. Onō-raigiss 7 fiadhaigis friū. Ar n-a mhārach dōip gusin sēpēl naomhtha. Guidhit 7 adhrait 7 urnaigit go dīchra gusin naomh-ōig a ffiadhnuisi a pictūire. Ro gní in t-athair in t-ord forcetail 7 celipartha cētna. Fāgbuis spirut oile demnaidhi in mnaoi n-uassail. Adbert gur uo hē \* a ainm



they had almost despaired, for they thought that any pilgrimage they would make would be of no use to them. The woman requested that she should be brought to Loreto. That was done on the seventeenth of July, the year of the Lord then being one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight. A venerable canon was superior in the chapel. He was a holy man, and Stephanus Francigena was his name. He came to meet them, having with him many young clerics. He conducted them to the chapel. Having entered, they prostrated themselves and invoked and prayed before the image of Mary and of the Cross. The venerable father read an exorcism according to the regulation and instruction of the Roman church to banish the demoniacal spirits out of the woman. It was not long then until seven devils with hateful inimical words answered him together out of the woman. Thereupon one diabolical spirit left her. It alighted on a bright torch of wax which was in the chapel. It could not leave it, but remained hanging from it visible to all. It said in a horrid voice that Sardo was its name. After a time a second spirit left her. It said that Herot was its name, and that through its agency and machinations there came about the death of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been establishing and supporting the faith and piety of God's church. After that it stuck to another torch which was in the church. It turned its ugly, horrible face on the father, and grinned and bared its dark, ugly teeth. Then it said plainly with a diabolical, bitter tone of voice: "It is not you that has banished us from the home in which we have been remaining for a long time, but the wonderful mercies of Mary." The canon brought these great, noble strangers with him to his own house that night, and gave them honour and welcome. On the next day they came to the holy chapel. They prayed, and worshipped, and in-



Horribile. Beiris i n-a bheōl go neimhnech nāimhdighi ar lampa airgit go soillsib līnmara buī crochta issin sēpēl. Aisnēidis go poiplidhi fiadnach gur uo hē badhdēin tria n-a anchomachtoib diablaidhi ro folāir ar popul *Iruaith* Eoin Baup̃taist do dīchennadh. Ro ēig 7 ro scret as a haithle 7 issead ro chan: A Muire, a Muire, is dien dīgaltach nāimdemoil sīrraidhe ataoi i n-ar n-agaid. Lo sodain tra gabuis in t-athair 7 cāch archena ag etorguide nāmMuire. Tāinic in cethramadh spirut assin mnaoi n-uasail. Du-s-rat a ainm ōs airtt .i. Aroto. Is meissi, ol sē, trem inntlecht 7 trem ealadhnoib diaplaidhi ro chuir fo inntinn *Iruaith* meic *Antipater* in macraidh oirrderc adhamra do dīchennadh for ierroidh Crīst a n-aimsir a geinemhna. Ier sin a gcētōir, nī ba neimnighe oldās in coicēle cealgach oile, gremaighiss 7 coimlenuis di eroile lampa dia mbuī isin sēpēl. Du-s-rat as a haithle a aghoidh go reacht 7 go ffræch neimhe ar chāch 7 do shonnradh forsan athair. Adbert ier sin: A Mhuire ōgh, is nert-lāidir nemchoimseach do mōr-chomachta mīrbailecha mōr-thrōcaireacha, ōir iss trē do mōr-grāsoip trōcairecha ro dhīchuiriss 7 ro innarbuiss sinne assin sossadh-chomnaighi i n-a rabhamar [p. 67]. Ar gcloistecht na mbriathor sin don athoir cuiris d'fíachaibh ar in diapal a n-ainm Iossa Crīst 7 Muire ōighe gach a mbuī do senchuss 7 do scēloip in tigi sin aigi d'foillsiugadh dō a ffiadhnuissi cāich a gcoitchinne. Fregruis in diabal dō: Ag so, ol sē, go fīrinneach teagh Muire ōige, māthair in choimdedh chomhachtaigh. Adbert in t-athair d'inchreachadh 7 do grennughadh in droch-spiruit gur uo briathor-chealga brēgacha ro chan. Nī headh go fīrinneach, ol sē, acht issī in naomh-ōg ro-m-coimēiccnigh um fhīrinne na mbriathor so do fhaisnēis; 7 dia derbadh sin ro thaispēin don athair go neimnech nāimhdighi in t-ionadh āirigthi 7 in āit chinnte isin sēpēl i n-a mbuī in naomh-ōgh in tan tāinic in t-archaigel do neimh lesin techtairecht ōn Athoir nemda, fōss in t-inadh i n-ar shessoimh 7 i n-ar oiris in t-archaigel in cēin ro buī ag tabairt na techtairechta uaidh. Ro fhaisnēidh ilimat do



voked earnestly the holy Virgin before her picture. The father carried out the same instructions and ceremony. Another demoniacal spirit left the woman. It said its name was Horrible. With its mouth it viciously and fiercely caught hold of a silver lamp with many lights which was hung in the chapel. It told publicly and plainly that itself, by its devilish powers, incited the people of Herod to behead John the Baptist. It wept and cried out then, and this is what it said: "Mary, Mary, strong, avenging, inimical, and constant art thou against us." Thereupon the father and the others commenced to invoke holy Mary. A fourth spirit came out of the woman. It pronounced its name loudly, namely, Aroto. "I am the one," it said, "which, by my cunning and infernal arts, put it in the mind of Herod, son of Antipater, to slay the Holy Innocents while seeking Christ at the time of His birth." Immediately afterwards, more viciously than the other treacherous one, it stuck and adhered to a lamp in the chapel. With rage and terrible frenzy it turned its face to all, and particularly to the father. It said: "Virgin Mary, strong and unmeasurable are thy miraculous merciful powers, for through thy great merciful graces thou hast driven and banished us from the habitation in which we were." When the father heard these words, he obliged the devil, in the name of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, to make known to him before all present all the knowledge and history of that house that he had. The devil answered him: "Here is, truly, the house of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Almighty God." To rebuke and provoke the evil spirit, the father said it had spoken deceitful, lying words. "Not so, truly," it said, "but it is the Virgin who compelled me to narrate the truth of these words." To prove that, it showed to the father, with hatred and enmity the particular spot in the chapel in which the Virgin was when the archangel came from heaven with the message from the heavenly Father, and also the place where the archangel stood and rested while he was



scēloip 7 mīrbailip in tigi cenmothā sin ar forchongra in athar. A haithle na mbriethor sin gerruis in t-athoir comhartha 7 signum na croiche cēsta. A gcētōir immorro tuitit trī spiruit dia ndupramar go mbātar fo chosoip in athor, an cethramadh spirut crochta frisin lampa, gan ar comus do nechtar aca comhfhortacht nō fóirithin \* dieroile. Cuiris in t-athoir d'fiachaibh ar in gcethror sin, as ucht in chomdedh chomachtaig 7 naomMuire oige, co n-a mbātar do droch-spirutoib isin mnaoi n-uasail coimēirgi suass a ffraigtip na firmeinnte 7 gan urchōidiugadh di ní *badh* mó. Iar sin tra sceinnit trī demoin oile asin mnaoi remrāite. Du-s-rat gach aon scret 7 ēigem adpal-mōr adhuathmar ōs aird. La sodain tra ēirgit a mōrseiser a ffiadnuisi na poiplech d'ēin-eitil aērdha ēnamail go ndechatar issin ær etorbuas a gcoimitechta na gaoithe glōraighi [p. 68]. Tuitiss in ben uassal a gcētōir a ttaissip 7 a ttāim-néloibh bāiss. Ro mesatar cāch a beith marp gan anmain. Ro-s-tōgbadh a corp forsan altōir atā a ffiadhnuisi na fiodhairdelbe mōr-mīrbailigi adupramar. A gcenn trill ier sin ro hathbeōaigedh in ben uassal. Eirgis i n-a suide as urchomair chāich. Du-s-rat signum na croichi cēsta fo a gnūis. Tug altugadh buide dermhair don Mac mōr-uilechomachtach 7 dia māthoir mōr-mīrbailigh uman trōcaire ndīmōir dorōnadh fuirre .i. athchor 7 innarbadh na seacht ndiapal este ier n-aittreabadh 7 ier n-inotacht ier gcēin mair dōib innte ier n-inmedōn. Eirgiss as a haithle cen galar gan esslāinti. Du-s-rat almsana mōra do chomdach na heguilsi mōire fuil timchuairt in tsēpēil. Altaigit ina huile poipleacha la Dia co n-a māthair glōrmhair na mōr-mīrbaili forcaomnagair. Ascnaiss in ben uassal 7 a fer co n-a lucht coimhitechta go a n-athorrdha bhunaidh. Rāngatar slān. Bātar ag comhfhoghom do Dhia 7 do Muire go a n-ēgoibh diaigh a ndiaigh a ndeig-bethaidh mharthanaigh go fforaithmhet 7 go ndeuōsion lān-līnmar ar Loreto mīrbaileach. Ba gnāth a mac samhla sin do mīrbailip ag a ndēnom isin sēpēl naomhtha sin go follus fiadhnach do na huilip itir



delivering it. It told also much of the story and miracles of the house at the command of the father. After these words the father made the sign of the cross, and forthwith three of the spirits fell under his feet, while the fourth hung on the lamp, none being able to assist or relieve the other. He forced these four, together with all the other evil spirits in the woman, in the name of Almighty God and the Virgin Mary, to ascend into the firmament and to injure her no longer. Three other devils then leaped out of the woman. Each of them gave a screech and great, horrible cry aloud. The seven of them arose before the people in birdlike flight in the air with the noisy wind. The woman fell at once into a fit and faint of death. All thought she was lifeless. Her body was placed upon the altar before the miraculous image. After a while she came to life, and sat up before all. She made the sign of the cross on her face and gave great thanks to the powerful Son and His merciful mother for the great mercy granted to her, namely, the banishing and expulsion of the seven devils out of her after they had dwelt a long time in her. She arose without sickness or disease. She gave much alms for the building of the great church which is around the chapel. All the people gave thanks to God and His glorious mother for the great miracles which had been wrought. The woman and her husband and their retinue returned safely to their own country. They served God and Mary continuously to their deaths, persevering in a holy life with great devotion to miraculous Loreto. Such miracles were frequently wrought in that holy chapel before all, both lay and cleric, but to narrate them all would be tedious. Still, one other miraculous story we shall tell, for it is confirmed by a stone in the chapel.

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\* *g* is written on *t*.



chill 7 tuaith, acht is eimilt a uile ferta 7 mīrbaile re a ffaisnēis. Araoi sin tra laipeōram aoin-scēl amhāin mīrbailech iēr n-a derbadh tria cloich āirighthi don sēpēl.

13. Báoi aroile ardespog onōrach airmitnech a prīmchathroig Cambria a rīgacht na Portengāl. Odcloss dō clū 7 alla 7 oirrdercus ilmat fert 7 mōr-mīrbal sēpēil Loreto is ead ba menmarc 7 ba hinntinn toltanach leis sēpēl do thōgbāil 7 do chomdach [p. 69] a n-onōir 7 a n-airmitin sēpēil Loretolo. Ro siacht gusin Róimh. Buī aimsir imchian issin Róimh ag siūit lessin pāpa ag a iarroidh a n-athchuingidh 7 mar grāsoip aon chloch amhāin do sēpēl Loreto do thabairt dó badhdēin as go mbiadh aigi mar reliciass onōrach issin sēpēl ba menmarc leiss do thōgbhāil i n-a espogōide fēin issin Portengāl. Iar n-aimsir imchēin du-ss-rat in t-athoir naomhtha maille re comairle 7 re foghar ro-mhōr an aiscidh 7 an athchuingidh sin dō. Cuiriss a letrecha 7 a aithne co n-a shēla mōr go priōir Loreto dia erbadh fair aon chloch amhāin don sēpēl naomhtha do thabairt don airdespog adupramar. Sagart altōra in airdeaspoig badhdēin mar thechtaire dearptha frisna letreachoib. Ier rochtain Loreto dōip taisspēnait augdarrāss 7 aithne in pāpa 7 na cūrte Rōmhānaighe don priōir. Nī ro lēic imegla in pāpa don priōir, ge gur dobrōnach dībergōidech leiss, gan a aithne do choimhlínadh. Ascnáis in t-airdespog ōn Róimh go cathraigh Thrent. Adbert go ndingnadh oirissemh 7 comhnaighe issin gcathraigh sin go roichedh in gcloich gusin sacart altōra é. Benuis in priōir 7 macclēirigh na heguilsi aon chloch amhāin assin sēpēl. Ier ffogbāil na cloichi don athoir gluaisis as Loreto an cēd lā do mhī Decembris do shonnradh, asside go cathraigh Ancona. Ro fhāgoipset Ancóna in tres lā don mī chētna. Bātor ar siopal car gach aon laithe go forcinn na mīssa sin amne, siad badhdēin co n-a n-eachroidh go mbrisedh croidhe saothair 7 docomail 7 gach \* imdhoraidh archena frisin rē sin. Ier sin rāngator Terento. An t-airdespog ar a gcinn ag furnaidhe friū isin gcathroigh. A gcētōir ru-s-fuaratar a n-eachraidh uile bāss



13. There was a certain honoured, venerable archbishop in the city of Coimbra in the kingdom of Portugal. When he heard of the fame, and renown, and greatness of the many wonders and miracles of the chapel of Loreto, his desire and intention was to build and erect a chapel in its honour. He came to Rome. He was a long time there pleading with the Pope, asking him as a grace and a favour to give him one stone out of the chapel of Loreto, that he might have it as an honoured relic in the church he wished to erect in his own diocese in Portugal. After a long time the holy Father, after consultation and much discussion, gave him that favour and request. He sent letters and a command, under his great seal, to the prior of Loreto, instructing him to give one stone out of the holy chapel to the archbishop. The altar priest of the archbishop himself was the special messenger who brought the letters. When these reached Loreto, they showed the authority and the command of the Pope and the Roman court to the prior. Fear of the Pope prevented the prior from not fulfilling his command, though he was sad and regretted it. The archbishop set out from Rome to the city of Trent. He said he would rest and remain there until the stone and the altar priest should overtake him. The prior and young clerics of the church took one stone out of the chapel. When the father got it he left Loreto on the first of December, and went from there to the city of Ancona. They left Ancona on the third of the same month. They were proceeding every day to the end of that month, they and their horses overpowered with toil, and labour, and every difficulty during that period. They reached Trent, where the archbishop had been awaiting them. Immediately all their horses died from the labour and toil they experienced carrying the stone. The father showed the stone with

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\* *gach* is inserted over the line.



fo bhīthin a ffuaratar do sáothar 7 do dhocomal ag imchar na cloichi [p. 70]. Taisselbuis in t-athoir remrāite an gcloich go sēcrēidech onōrach don airdespog. Forffāiltigis uile chroide 7 inntinn an airdespoig ier n-a faixin. Adbert ier sin sol do raghadh assan gcathraigh sin go gcuirfedh comdach 7 imdēnomh ōir 7 aircit i n-a hurt[h]imchell, go gcomraidh nderscnaigthigh ndegh-oibrighthigh, go peinntēladh ndealraigthech sechtoir. Ro forbadh 7 ro crīchnaigedh go habaigh ullamh gach nī de sin. In tan ba toltanach lassan airdespog ascnamh go a atharrdha bhunaidh gussan gcloich leiss gabuis tra galor 7 esslāinte neimhnech ē gur uo comhfhocus bāss dō. Doreglamadh uile doctūiridhe 7 fisice na cathrach dia innsaigidh. Adbertsat nā fitirset fon uile dhoman crētt *badh* cūiss esslāinte dō nō cinnus ro buī aca comfhortacht ar bith do dēnomh dhó. Ier sin dodeachaidh in t-airdespog a n-ēgcruas 7 a n-aimnirte adbal-mōir. Ro thōcoibset na doctūiridhe de ier gcor aithne i n-a aghaidh. 'O 'dchonnairc sagart altōra in airdespoig sin ba hedh ro taisspēnadh i n-a menmain 7 i n-a inntinn dó, ō dochuaidh leighess saogalta don airdespog, leiges spiratāilte d'iarraidh dó. Bātar cūpla do chaillechoip dupa onōracha a ndā mhainistir issin gcathraigh. Ro messatar cāch a mbeith go ndeigh-bethaidh naomhtha. Eirgiss in sacart gus in dū a mbuī aroile dīp. Ro ēгнаigh lē uile threplait 7 anacair an ardespoig. Ro ierr uirre a n-onōir Dhē uile-chomhachtaigh 7 naomMuire ōighe guide ar a shon. Adbert in naomh-chaillech: Guidhfetsa fom dhīthill ar a shon 7 ticidh-si dia in tres laoi dom aithreōss. Briathraigiss ier sin frisin dara ban-scál. Tingealluis mar in gcētna. Tic in tres lā. Fochtuis diaigh a ndiaigh do na caillechoip an dorōnsat amail ro geallsat. Fregruis in dara ben dō 7 isedh ro rāidh: Dorōnusa tra mo dhīthill etorguide 7 urnaighthe ar a shon [p. 71] acht chena ba dīmhaoin damh. Nī folāir dó go ro aisige a ndorat as naomh-s[h]ēpēl ōgMhuire Loreto. As a haithle sin ba héittir go tticfadh do grāsoip Dē 7 d'fertoip na bantigerna comhaiseg



reverence and in secret to the archbishop. His mind and heart were delighted at seeing it. He then said that, before he would leave that city, he would put a coffer and covering of gold and silver about it, with a beautiful, well-wrought shrine and splendid painting on the outside. That was all done and completed quickly and readily. When the archbishop wished to return to his own country with the stone, sickness and virulent disease came upon him, and he was near death. The doctors and physicians of the city were gathered to him. They said they did not know at all what was his ailment, or how they could give him any assistance. After that he became extremely feeble and weak. The doctors gave him up, although he had commanded them not to do so. When his altar priest saw that, it occurred to his mind, since earthly cure had failed, to seek a spiritual one for him. There were two venerable nuns in two monasteries in the city. Everybody believed that they led saints' lives. The priest went to the place where one of them was. He told her sorrowfully of all the sickness and malady of the archbishop, and asked her, for the honour of Almighty God and the holy Virgin Mary, to pray for him. The holy nun said: "I shall earnestly pray for him, and do thou come after three days to see me." Next he spoke to the other one. She promised likewise. He returned on the third day. He asked the nuns in turn if they had done as they had promised. One answered, and this is what she said: "I have done my best to pray and intercede for him, but it was in vain. He must restore whatever he has taken out of the holy chapel of the Virgin Mary at Loreto. Then perhaps, by the grace of God and the miracles of our Lady, he shall obtain restoration of health." He went then to the second nun. The words of both were the same. When the priest heard them he was startled and surprised, for up to that time he was certain that no one in the city knew the story or secret of the stone except the archbishop and himself. He went to the arch-



a shlāinte d'fagāil dó. Tēid ier sin gusin dara cailligh nduib. Ba coimhinann comhlapra dōibh. Bidhguiss 7 ingantaighiss in sacart la cloisteacht na mbriathar sin, ōir ba deimin leiss gussin tan sin nach roipe fiss scēl nō sēicrēide na cloichi ag aoinneach issin gcathraigh acht ag in ardespog 7 aigi badhdēin. Ier sin tra tēid gussin ardespog go mūich 7 go ttoirrsi ndermhair. Adfét dō uile scēla 7 briathra na mban-naomh. Gabuis aithmēle 7 aithreachus adpal-mōr an t-airdeaspog. Aitchis 7 etorguidiss naomMuire ōgh. Du-s-rat a choipsena di aroile athair irisseech. Admhaiss go truaighmēlech tuirseach \* dībergōidech gur uo dīmsach uaipreach ro ierr a n-aiscidh 7 a n-athchuingidh ar an pāpa gusin gcūirt Rōmhānaigh an sēpēl uassal-naomhtha do bloghadh agus do urissedh. Ro thingheall ier sin fognomh frichnamach 7 seruīss sīrraidhi go forcinn a bhethadh do dēnom do Muire maille re comhaisseg na cloichi go naomhs[h]ēpēl Loreto. Lá sodhain tra trialluiss in t-airdespog † in sacart remhrāite gussin gcloich for sēt Loreto ō chathraigh Trent timchell medhōin laoi dia haoine. Nī mōr go rāngatar amach assin gcathraigh amāin in tan fuair in t-airdespog comfhortacht ro-mhōr ōn uile treplait buī fair. Bātor a gcathraigh Ancona timchell medhōin laoi in luan baoi ar a gcinn gan saothar, dochor nō docomhal d'foghbāil dōip fēin nō dia n-eachraidh seachnōin na sligedh. Eirgiss post ō chathraigh Thrent i n-a ndeghoid go scēloip slāinte in airdespoig go mbuideachus ndermhair 7 go n-altughadh ndīchra do Muire ōigh [p. 72]. La sodain tra ro theglaimset sāmhadh 7 coimthinōl Loreto 7 lucht inotachta 7 aittrebtha in tīre la cloistecht in sceōil. Ascnaid ieromh go cathraigh Ancona a gcoinne 7 a gcomdāil na cloichi. Cōig léige ba hedh ro aistrighset. A prosesion onōrach dōip ag tērnōdh go Loreto in dara feacht, go ndā mīle laoch 7 clēirech go lōchrann lān-mhōr lassamail cíera a láimh gach aoin, an gcloich remrāite ag a himachor go honōrach airmitneach ag priōir na heguilsi. Bātor tra na hilmhīlte do shlóghaip 7 do shochaidhip cenmothā sin issin prosesion. Ar rochtain



bishop in great sorrow and distress, and told him all the doings and sayings of the holy women. Sorrow and intense regret came upon the archbishop. He besought and invoked the holy Virgin Mary, and made his confession to a certain holy father. He confessed in sadness, grief, and affliction that in pride and haughtiness he had requested the Pope and the Roman court to dismember and tamper with the holy chapel. He then promised to serve Mary earnestly and continually to the end of his life, and to restore the stone to the holy chapel of Loreto. Thereupon the priest set out with the stone from the city of Trent, on the road to Loreto, about midday on Friday. They had scarcely left the city when the archbishop got great relief from his ailment. About midday the following Monday they had reached the city of Ancona, neither they nor their horses having encountered toil, difficulty, or trouble on the way. A post set out from Trent after them stating that the archbishop was well, and giving great gratitude and thanks to the Virgin Mary. Then the community and assembly of Loreto, and the inhabitants of the country, gathered together when they heard the story. They went to the city of Ancona to meet the stone. They journeyed five leagues. They returned in a splendid procession to Loreto, two thousand laics and clerics with a great bright torch in the hand of each, and the stone carried solemnly and reverently by the prior of the church. There were also hosts of many thousands in the procession. When they reached Loreto, they placed and settled the stone in its proper place as it had been before. At once it miraculously, strangely, and wonderfully took hold of the proper adjoining stones, as if there had never been a separation of them from the first day until that time. Ever since it is plain to be seen in the

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\* Over the line.

† *in tairdesp.* should have deletion marks, but the scribe has overlooked inserting them.



Loreta dōip dīrgit 7 comhshuidhigit an gcloich i n-a hinadh 7 i n-a hadbadh badhdēin amail ro buī ria sunn. A gcētōir immorro gremaigiss 7 coimhlenuis an c[h]loch go mīrbaileach ēxamail ingantach dia coicēlip comadhus[a] cloch-chomhars-nach[a] oile mar nach biadh etorscaradh etorra riamh ōn chēt lō gussin tan sin. Atā go folluss re a taisspēnadh do na huilip issin sēpēl ōn uair sin anuass. Fiodhair na croiche cēssta innte do shonnradh a gcuimhne 7 a fforaithmet na mōr-mīrbal. Athascnáiss an t-athair remrāite go ro riacht cathroig Thrento. Ro-s-fairnic in t-airdespog ar a chinn gan neimh gan galar gan doilgess mar nach gcomhair-sedh urchōid fris, gur comhmōradh \* 7 gur hoirrdercaighedh ainm Muire ōighe 7 onōrachus a naoimh-shēipēil mōr-mīrbailigh trēsna fertoibh adh[am]raibh sin.

14. O'dchonnarcatar immorro na haithreacha naomtha ru-s-bātar i n-a pāpaidhip issin Róimh an ilimat fert 7 mīrbal so, ō rē 7 ō reimhess in dara Paulus .i. in cōicedh pāpa dēg ar dā chēt bātar a gcathaoir Petair issin Rōimh gusan inbaidh sin, aóiss an Tigerna in tan sin mīle ar cheithri chétt ceithri bliadhna ar trī fichit, du-s-rat in pāpa so badhdēin, in dara Pauplus remrāite, na loghaidh imlāna so do [p. 73] mhait[h]em a chinadh a peacadh 7 a t[h]urcbāl do gach aon téid maille fri hinneithemh 7 aithrechus 7 lebar-gnīmh do thurus Loreto, ō aóiss na haimsire sin gusin tan so, gach uile pāpa dia ttāinic isin Rōimh, go fedh dā pāpa ar fichit go reimhess in athor naomhtha so Paulus Quintus, a aois in Tigerna in tan so mīle ar sē chēd ar naoi mbliadh-noibh, ardaighit 7 onōraigít mōr-lōigidhecht Loreto diaigh a ndíaigh maille re daingniughadh gach priuilēide dia ttardsat na pāpaidhi rompa dō. Messait 7 brethnaighit cāch gurab ē Loreto, gan imressain gan† cūiss chomprāite nō chommōrtuis ar bith, aoin-tegh amhāin is onōraighi airmitnighe naomhtha mhīrbailighi mōr-lōighidhech[t]a † fon uile doman. Doratsat tra na pāpaidhi remrāiti ro-līnmaireacht bronntanus 7 deuōsion don teg so as go ffuil ro-shaidbir costusach gusin uile riachtanus rices a les. Rīgha agus prinnsaighi



chapel. The figure of the Cross is on it to commemorate the miracle. The father returned to the city of Trent. He found the archbishop there without pain, disease, or trouble, as if no injury had happened to him. The name of the Virgin Mary, and the fame of her holy, miraculous chapel, were rendered great by these remarkable wonders.

14. When the holy fathers who were Popes in Rome saw the number of these wonders and miracles, from the time of Paul II, the two hundred and fifteenth of those who were in the chair of Peter in Rome up to that time, the year of the Lord being then one thousand four hundred and sixty-four (this Pope himself, Paul II aforesaid, gave these full indulgences for the forgiveness of his crimes, sins, and transgressions to every one who, with devotion, repentance, and penitence, goes to the pilgrimage of Loreto) to the present, every Pope who was in Rome, to the number of twenty-two, to the reign of this holy father, Paul V, the year of the Lord being now one thousand six hundred and nine, successively exalted and honoured the indulgences of Loreto by confirming every privilege which their predecessors had conferred on it. Everyone thinks and believes that Loreto, without doubt or comparison at all, is the most honoured, venerated, holy, miraculous, and privileged house in all the world. The Popes have granted many gifts and bequests to this house, and it is rich and wealthy, possessing every thing it needs. Kings, and princes, and the Catholic nobles of Christendom send as presents and gifts to it many splendid, precious gems of gold and silver, precious stones, splendid many-coloured garments, mass vestments of all colours, and chains of bright gold. Every nation in Christendom also, which comes to and from it, bestows on it. O Néill and the Earl, the lords and the

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\* *co* is written on *m*.

† *ga* is written on *no*.

‡ *d* is written on *g*, and vice versa.



7 daoine uaisle catoilce na crīstaighechta ag cor ilimat do sheōtoib uaisle onōracha oir 7 aircit, clocha uaisle, bruit onōracha ildathacha, culaidheacha aiffrinn d'ilraidh 7 d'ēx-amhlacht na n-uile dath, go slapradhoip derc-oir a presantoip 7 a ndeuōsion gusin tig si chena, mailli re deuōsion in uile nāsion don chrīstaigecht bīt ag imthathaidhi chuice 7 úaidhe. Fuair O Néill 7 in t-ierla, na tigernaighi 7 na daoine uaissle Eirennacha bātar maille friū, radharc 7 taispēnadh in oir-chiste sin. Nī rāngatar roimhe sin riem a sēd samhla.

15. Pāpa āirigthi dar comhainm\* dorat mar ardughadh glōire 7 onōrachuis don sēpēl naomhtha so, ro ordaigh aonach 7 lā margaidh lā āirigthi do mhí Decembris gacha bliadhna do bheith i n-a fhochair, a bheith coimdīless [do] nāsion sa chrīstaigecht toigecht gusin aonach sin. Dobheirit in lucht sin tra gusin mbaili 7 gussin tīr arc[h]ena in uile riachtanus 7 socomal ricit a less, as go ndeachaidh sin a ttormach 7 a saidbres adbal-mōr don mbaili 7 don tīr go huilidhi [p. 74]. Is gnáth in līnmairecht sin d'fertoip 7 do mīrbailip o aimsir go haimsir issin sēpēl naomhtha sin 7 do shonnradh a n-inbaidh 7 a n-aimsir na n-aonach so, dia mbeittis tengtha in domain a gcenn aon-duine, nach roichfedh leiss a rīmh, a n-āiremh, a ttuiremh nō a ffaisnēiss. Ba himairgide sōn tra fo bīthin nār uó duine talmaidhi nō corparrda amail Adhomh ro cruthaigedh† don talmain choitchinn ro inotaig 7 ro aittreb ann acht ar Slānaigtheōir Iossa Crīst ar n-a duiniugadh go mīrbaileach on Athoir nemhdha a mbruinne na naomh-óighe, fōss nach do chnáimh duine amail Eupa ro cruthaigedh í, acht a geinemain i n-a hōig genmnaigh isin tigh sin amne a n-agoidh chūrsa nādūrtha. Nī trī haingil amhāin ro bhātor issin tig si chena coimhinann 7 buī ag in uassal-athair Apraham, acht comnaighe 7 tairissemh an uile ord aingel 7 archaingel. Ann fōss buī sossadh 7 comnaighi ar Slānaightheōra Issa Crīst fri rē naoi mīss a mbruinne na náomh-óighe o n-a ffuair in tegh sin adhamhrugadh 7 oirrdercughadh fo bhīthin gurap ann amhāin ro coimhchengladh diadhacht 7 daonnacht Meic Dē bhī.



Irish noblemen with them, obtained a view of that treasure. They had never seen the like before.

15. A certain Pope, whose name was ———, as an increase of glory and honour to this holy chapel, ordered that, on a certain day in the month of December each year, a fair and market should be held beside it, and that any nation in Christendom had the right of coming to that fair. These people brought to the town and all the country every necessary and comfort that they needed, and that increased and greatly enriched the town and the whole country. That frequency of wonders and miracles happens from time to time in the holy chapel, and especially at the occurrence of these fairs. If one person had all the tongues in the world, he could not count, enumerate, estimate or narrate them. That was fitting, for it was no earthly or bodily man like Adam, who was made of common earth, who dwelt and remained there, but our Saviour, Jesus Christ, miraculously made man by the heavenly Father in the womb of the holy Virgin; also, it was not of the bone of a man that she was fashioned, like Eve, but was born a chaste virgin in that house contrary to the course of nature. It was not three angels alone that were in that house, as they were with the patriarch Abraham, but it was the abode and resting-place of all the orders of angels and archangels. In it, also, was the home and abode of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, for nine months in the womb of the holy Virgin, whence it acquired fame and notability, for in it alone the divinity and humanity of the Son of the living God were united. Everyone regards the mountain of Thabor as a holy place, and so it is. After having endured the Cross of passion and martyrdom, from it Jesus Christ ascended to the right hand of His Father. But this house is more noble,

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\* Space for the name is left vacant in the manuscript.

† *ch* is corrected to *cr*.



Messait cāch mar inadh naomhtha sliap Taboir 7 is fīr sōn. Iar ffulang chroichi pāissi 7 martra d'Iossa Crīst is de do-dheachoidh as a haithle ar deiss a athor. Is uaissle onōraighe airmitnighe adhamra in tegh so chena fo bíthin gurab ann ro geinedh 7 ro hoilemnaigedh an Tigerna, gurab ann fōs ro coimpredh ro geined 7 ro hoilemnaigedh a mhāthair mhírbaileach 7 ro thochaith a huile laithe 7 aimsir acht madh beg ar in saogal. Mestor bheōs mar inadh naomhtha onōrach oirdnidhe in tomba [i n-a roibhe] corp ar tTigerna marp gan anmain denuis-tréidhe 7 as ar ēirigh ō mharpoip as a haithle. Ba himairgidhe sōn tra. Is uaissle onōraighi airmitnighe go mōr in tegh in ro geinedh, in ro hoiledh é, i n-a roibhi cien-aimsir beō ar in saogal, i n-ar thomail bíadh 7 deoch go meinic aimserrdha ; i n-a nderna supāilque 7 conuersāit re n-a desciblaib, a ndēnadh urnaighthe 7 etorguīdhe gusin Athair nemda gacha laithi [p. 75]. Mess 7 brethnaig ō ēiffecht 7 aughdarrās uile theghdhuissidhi 7 inadha bennaigthe rūndiamra mōr-lōigh[igh]echta mīr-bail-echa in domain, tuicc 7 creid nach ffuil cūiss chomprāide nō chommōrtuis eitir in tegh so 7 aoin-inadh dīp. Is ē amhāin is uaisle onōraighi oirrderca adhamra oirdnidhe bennaigthi mīrbailighe dhiadha trōcairige ēxamhla ingantaighe. Is ēittir tegh Dē 7 a māthar do chomhgairm ar in saogal so de ier n-a imchor 7 ier n-a thair-chēimniugadh go mīrbaileach ar guailip 7 ochtoip aingel 7 archaingel in choimdedh chomachtaigh.

16. Doratsat tra rīgha 7 prinnsaighe 7 aoss gach titail archena do chatoilcip na crīstaigheachta in gcoibhēis sin do bronntanus ōir 7 aircit, do c[h]lochoip uaisle, do s[h]eōdoibh ēxamhla ingantach[a] airmitnecha, don uile innstrument na heguilsi naoimhe ō deuōsion díchra dó go ffuil ar thigthib saidbre costusacha na crīstaigechta gusin prīmh-egluis is deissi deg-fhoirgenta deig-dēnmaighe a fformhōr na crīstaigheachta go srethoip do cholomhnaib marmair aīngil i n-a urthimchell go ttairimthecht chomthrom choimhrēidh do c[h]lochoib coimlethna marmair. Sibal laoi go n-oidhche



honourable, and venerable, for in it the Lord was born and reared, also in it His wondrous mother was conceived, born, and reared, and spent all her days, except a few, in this world. The tomb, too, in which the body of our Lord lay dead and lifeless for three days, and whence it arose from the dead afterwards, is considered a holy, venerable, and worthy place, and that is fitting truly. Much more noble, honourable, and venerable is the house where He was born and reared, where He lived for a long time in the world, where He took many a time food and drink, where He kindly discoursed with His disciples, and where He prayed and invoked the heavenly Father every day. Consider and examine with all your power and authority all the houses and holy, mysterious, meritorious, miraculous places in the world, and understand and believe there is no comparison or similarity between this house and any place of them. It alone is the most noble, honourable, famous, wonderful, worthy, blessed, miraculous, holy, merciful, strange, and wondrous. It may be called the house of God and His mother in this world, transported and miraculously translated on the shoulders and breasts of the angels and archangels of Almighty God.

16. The kings and princes and the titled people of the Catholics of Christendom have given so many presents of gold and silver, of precious stones, of various, wonderful, splendid jewels, and of every instrument of the holy Church to it with earnest devotion that it is one of the richest and wealthiest houses in Christendom, having the fairest, best built, and best made church in the world, with rows of columns of white marble around it, and an even, level circuit of broad, marble stones. It is a walk of a day and a night from Loreto to the frontier of the kingdom of Turkey. There is perpetual, lasting war and conflict between the Pope, the head of the Church and God's vicegerent on earth, and the Turk. However, notwithstanding the number of the hostings and expeditions of the Turks in Italy, especially



ōthā Loreto go leith-imel rīghachta in Turcaigh. Cocadh 7 conbhlicht go sīrraidhi suthain eittir in pāpa, cenn na heguilsi, fer inaidh Dē a ttalmain, 7 in Turcach, araoi sin cena dia līnmaire fecht 7 slōighedh dorōnsat na Turcaigh issin Edāill 7 ar comhghar in baili do shonnradh, tāinic trē grāsoib 7 mīrbailip naomMuire óighe nā ro urchōidighset ō beg go mōr do Loreto oldās \* do lucht a aittrebtha 7 a inotachta, fōs na ro chaomhsat toigeacht fo dā mīle go leith i n-a imfhoixi ríamh.

17. An pāpa dar chomhainm in dechmadh Leo conrótacht leis [p. 76] mūr daingen dīthoghlaidhi, go n-iūdūsaip deptha 7 dechétfaidhi agus go túroip treapar-dhaingne trēn-lāidire, go n-ilimat canōn riagalta 7 gach ordanāiss mōir archena, co n-a n-uile riachtanus i n-a mōir-thimchell 7 a uir.† Trūp marclaighi gārda līnmar saigdiūr go sīrraidhi suthain ōn pāpa ag a imchoimhēt d'oidhche 7 do lō ar nach ttairsitis bith-nāimhde na hecuilsi a bhaogal.

18. Cebē dianab áil turus mōr-lōigidheachta Loreto do dhēnomh nī folāir dhó go ru-s-tarda dia úidh gurab o deuōsion dīchra 7 ō innfheithemh fīrinneach aistrighess chuicce 7 nach ō chūis no chaingin saogalta nō aimserrdha. Ier ttabairt a choipsen go huilidhi gan urchuidmedh fon doman an sacrament nēmhtha do chaithemh. Seachnadh tra 7 imgabadh droich-descipal gussin uile chūis as a tticfadh peacadh marptha. Madh dia ttegmha immorro egluss isin mbaili i n-a n-oirisfe in t-oilithreach gach n-oidhche, dēnadh slēchtaine go n-urnaighthe ndīchra ndūthrachtaig go naom-Muire. Bīodh nach biadh eglus issin mbaili dēnadh-san urnaigthe go sēicrēideach rūndiamair a n-aimsir luighe 7 ēirghe i n-a chubhachal chodalta. Eistedh aiffrenn gacha domhnaigh do shonnradh. Nī seachbaidh go ttarta go fiū a chomhaing dēirc 7 almsa do bochtoip 7 d'aidhilgneachaibh in choimdedh chomhachtaigh. Madh día tteghma go nach biaidh ar commus dō in dēirc do thapairt úaidh taisselbadh tra a dheigh-inntinn do na bochtaibh. Canadh Aue Maria amhāin do ráith anma gach aoin. Dia nu-s-teacmha



near the town, by the grace of God and the holy Virgin Mary it has come that they have not injured, much or little, Loreto or its inhabitants, and that they have been unable to come within two and a half miles of it at any time.

17. The Pope who was styled Leo X built a strong, impregnable rampart, with outhouses for defending and fighting, and with sure, strong, fortified towers, having many regular cannon and much big ordnance of every kind, with all their equipment, about it. The Pope has a troop of horse, and a large guard of soldiers, continually on the watch by night and day, so that no enemies of the Church may take it unawares.

18. Whoever wishes to perform the meritorious pilgrimage of Loreto must remember that it is with earnest devotion and perfect intention he must journey to it, and not for any earthly or temporal purpose. When he has made his confession completely, without any excuse at all, he must receive the holy Sacrament. Let him avoid any bad companion, and every cause whence mortal sin might come. If there be a church in the town where the pilgrim remains each night, let him prostrate himself with hearty and earnest prayers to holy Mary. If there be no church in the town, let him pray secretly at hours of going to bed and getting up in his sleeping chamber. Especially let him hear Mass every Sunday. He shall not neglect to give, to the extent of his means, charity and alms to Almighty God's poor and indigent. If it be that he is unable to give alms, let him show his kindly feeling to the poor. Let him say an Ave Maria for the soul of each. If weariness of mind or tribulation of spirit befall him, let him make the sign and image of the Cross of the Crucifixion upon himself. Let him consider after that the passion of Christ, or the virtues and

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\* o is written on the commencement of the letter n.

† This is probably intended for *uirthimchell*. The scribe has not deleted the three last words of the sentence, though apparently he meant to do so.



athtuirsi inntinne nō dībergōit dhoimenman chuide tardadh  
fidhair 7 signum na croiche cēsta i n-a urthimchell. Smúain-  
edh ier sin ar pāiss Crīst nō ar supāilcip 7 trōcoire naomh-  
Muire ōige, ar in mbās is airchionn [p. 77] do gach aon, ar  
breithemnus laoi brātha, ar glōir 7 aoibhness 7 adpchlōss  
in flaithemnuiss uachtaraigh a ffrithchētfaidh na Trīnōide  
nemdha, naomMuire ōige, aingel 7 archaingel 7 naoi ngrādh  
neimhe nā tairmdheachator, ar pientoip dīrimhe dofhaisnēisi  
iffrin a ffrithchētfaidh Lucifer co n-a daosgor-s[h]lōgh dem-  
naidhe, airm a ffuil 7 i n-a mbiaidh imat 7 ēxamhlacht ina  
n-uile pien 7 todhērnāmh trē bith sír, airm a mbiaidh crith  
for dētoip 7 toleagadh rosc, fuacht 7 gorta, tess 7 tart,  
dorchato dermair dīfhulaing, comhaonta 7 comhaittreb fri  
gnūissip daoscar-shloigh demnaidhe, nō tugadh dia úidh  
pāiss 7 martra aroile do na hapstaloip uaisle adhamra,  
nechtair do naomhoip nō d'fīrēnchaibh dier fhulaingset bāss  
7 martra ar in mbith ffre[c]nairc si ar son Dē uile-chomacht-  
aigh, nō smuainedh ēicin oile díadha d'inotacht 7 d'aittre-  
badh i n-a chroidhe a n-āit 7 a n-inadh in droch-smuainidh  
amne. Bīdh go hairech innill urnaigtheach seachnōin na  
sligedh. Tardadh dia aoídh nā ro chaille mōr-lōigidheacht  
a deagh-thuraiss fri buaidhirt 7 aimsiughadh in adhuerseōir.  
Dia no-s-teacmha magh sciemach scoth-shemrach go-n-imat  
mbláth 7 gach degh-thoraidh archena fris, smuainedh ar  
shoillsi, ar ghlōir, ar aoipness pardhuiss. La cloisteacht  
chelipartha na hēnlaithe smuainedh ceōl comhmbinn 7  
claiscetal ceōlmhar aingel 7 archaingel na Trīnōide nemdha.  
Ruibēir ro-aóibhne 7 min-srotha fīr-uisce do thegmāil dō,  
smuainedh tra sāsadh 7 glōir neimhe naomh-ainglidhi.  
Ier ttegmāil dō a nglenntoip doimhne dorcha 7 a ndroibēloip  
diamra docomhlachā smuainedh ar pientoip ēxamhla uath-  
bāsacha 7 ar dhorchacht dīfhulaing dofhaisnēissi iffrin \*  
[p. 78]. Ascnaidedh 7 cēimnigedh diaigh a ndiaigh gacha  
laithe, do réir a neirt 7 a chomhaing, nō go roichidh forcinn  
a thurais. Tuigedh tra 7 smuainedh ō n-a uile chridhe go  
ffuil a reimhes 7 a rē ar in mbith ffrecnairc si ag a tochaithemh  
gacha laithe go ru-s-siasat † fo dheōigh gusin gcrīch ndeige-



the mercy of the holy Virgin Mary ; death, which is in store for everyone ; the glory and pleasure and happiness of Heaven above, in the presence of the heavenly Trinity, of the holy Virgin Mary, of the angels and archangels and the nine orders of Heaven which did not transgress ; the innumerable, unspeakable pains of hell, in the presence of Lucifer and his demoniacal rabble, where there shall be a multitude and variety of all pains and grief forever, where there shall be gnashing of teeth and melting of eyes, cold and hunger, heat and thirst, great, unbearable darkness, union and habitation with the faces of the rabble of devils. Or let him contemplate the passion and martyrdom of some of the noble, great apostles, or some of the saints or just who suffered death and martyrdom in this present life for Almighty God, or some other holy thought should rest and dwell in his heart instead of an evil one. Let him be careful, prepared, and prayerful on his way. Let him take heed that he do not lose the merit of his pilgrimage by temptation and attack of the devil. If he meet a beautiful, blossomy plain, with much flowers and good fruit, let him think of the brightness, glory, and pleasure of paradise. When he hears the birds' song, let him contemplate the sweet music and melodious harmony of the angels and archangels of the holy Trinity. If he should chance upon beautiful rivers and streams of pure water, let him consider the contentment and glory of the angelic heaven. When he reaches deep, dark glens, and hidden, difficult, pathless places, let him think of the many horrid pains and the unbearable, unspeakable darkness of hell. Let him proceed and advance gradually each day; according to his power and strength, until he reaches his journey's end. Let him know and consider with all his heart that his period in this world is

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\* Here follows the entry : *Tadhg O Cienain do scrip 7 tabairsi mile ennacht for a anmain et cetera* 1609, Tadhg O Cianáin wrote this, and give thou a thousand blessings for his soul, et cetera, 1609.

† MS. *russiast*



noigh. Nī folāir do na huilip go ro oirichlit go hairech imomhnach imchoimhētach in slige sin, ōir issī amhāin crīch dēighenach 7 cinnem fhīr-chinnte gach aoin. Mad ēitir leis ticedh ō lō gusin mbaili as go mbiaidh aimsir imchupaidh slēchtaine 7 urnaighthi issin naom-reclēs bennaighthi aigi sol raghus día chodal-tigh. As a haithle tra caithedh in sacrament naomhtha ier ttabairt a uile choibsen do lēir ō chroide ghlan. Dēnad in turus ierdain ō innfheithemh 7 ō deigh-inntinn tessaide spiritāilte go n-aithrechuss n-implān i n-a peacoip 7 i n-a dupáilcip, go fforaithmet páissi Crīst 7 breithemnuis brātha, go ngrādh foirbthe dia chruthaigtheōir 7 dia chomharsnachaibh, go n-altughadh buide 7 reuerens ro-onōrach don naomh-ōigh nemdha fo bīthin gurap i n-a hainm 7 i n-a honōir ro-s-fuair in teagh bennaighthe grāssamail sin an uile mōr-lōigidheacht 7 priuilēit. Aitchedh 7 etorguidedh in Mac mōr-chomachtach 7 a māthoir mīrbailech a ffrithchētfaid na fidair-deilpe Muire 7 na croichi ro remrāidhsemar um slāinte anma 7 chuirp d'fogbāil dō badhdēin ōn choimsigh chomachtach ar impide 7 ar folāiremh na naom-óige, a uile riachtanus imchubaidh cenmothā, deg-stāit 7 grāsa in pāpa 7 in chreidimh chatoilce 7 lochta a chothaighi, go macoip eguils Loreto do shonnradh, go supáilcip in naoim-s[h]ēpēil badhdēin. A fforcinn a thurais madh [p. 79] ēidir laiss canadh in psalm Te Deum laudamus, nō tucadh do rēir a inntinne buidechus adpal-mōr don Slānaigtheōir fo bīthin a t[h]reōraigthe gusin naoim-t[h]eagduiss mōr-loigidhechta sin. Tabradh dia ūidh ier sin na ru-s-tegma d'aimsiughadh nō do chathugadh in aidberseōra dō, a haithle a thuraiss 7 a oilithre, mīchinmain nemchonáich assa gcaillfedh in deg-thurus mīrbaileach mōr-lōigidechta du-s-rōine. Oirrdercaigit 7 innissit 7 adhamhraigit \* na hoilithrigh do na huilip chinedhachaibh ru-s-tegmat friū in mēitte bus cumain leō d'fertoip 7 mīrbailip in tighi sin tra, as go ngabait lucht a nemthathaidhi imthnūth adbal-mōr chom a thuruiss 7 a chuarta do thabairt, as a ticfa saoradh 7 comfhortacht



being spent every day, and that his days shall finally come to an end. It is necessary for all to watch carefully, in fear, and on their guard, that journey, for it alone is the last end and certain fate of every one. If he is able, let him come by day to the town, so that he may have sufficient time to prostrate and pray in the holy church before he retires to rest. Then let him receive the holy Sacrament, after having made his full confession with a clean heart. Let him make the pilgrimage then with piety and a warm, holy intention, with full repentance in his sins and vices, with remembrance of Christ's passion and the last judgment, with perfect love of his Creator and his neighbours, with thanks and respectful reverence to the heavenly Virgin, for it was in her name and in her honour that blessed, holy house obtained all merits and privileges. Let him pray and beseech the all-powerful Son and His wondrous mother before the image of Mary and of the Cross we have mentioned that he may obtain safety of soul and body from the Almighty Lord at the request of the holy Virgin, all his suitable necessities besides, the welfare and grace of the Pope, and the Catholic Church, and those who support it, and of the clerics of Loreto in particular, and the glory of the holy chapel itself. In the end of his pilgrimage, let him sing *Te Deum laudamus* if he can, or, according to his ability, let him give great thanks to the Saviour for his being led to that meritorious house. Let him take heed afterwards that no unlucky misfortune befall him, by the temptation of the devil, after his journey and pilgrimage, whereby he might lose the wonderful, meritorious good he has done. Let the pilgrims make known and narrate to those who meet them all the wonders and miracles of this house that they remember, that those who have not been there may conceive a great desire to perform the pilgrimage to it, and that they may obtain for themselves relief and comfort of soul and body,



anma 7 cuirp dōib badhdēin go scris ngalar 7 aingcisi 7 gacha dodhaingi archena, go nglōir 7 go n-adbc[h]loss don Athoir nemda 7 do naomhMuire ōigh ro thoirbir na mōr-grāssa sin dó. Gacha sathairn go sīrraidhi cantar a gcanntairecht commbinn go n-orgānoip ceōlmara 7 go mūsice gnē letān ro chuirset an eglus amach a n-onōir do Muire d'oirrdercugadh 7 d'adhmolad na fidair-deilpe adupramar.

19. Guidhmit-ne tra aitchimit 7 adhramait in coimde comachtach ro-dus-cruthaigh 7 ro-dus-cennaig in Adhomh-c[h]lann, in naom-ōgh nemda ru-s-fuair na mōr-mīrbaile si don sēpēl uassal ēxamail si, go ru-s-tardat dūinn ar in mbith ffrecnairc si slighi a n-ascnaidfem, a gcēimnigfem, a ttreōraigfem gussin sossadh nemda 7 gusin sīodh suthain, go nā rabam a n-inotacht nō a gcomhaittreb re diapal co n-a daoscar-s[h]logh, acht a n-aontaidh aingel 7 archaingel, uasal-aithrech 7 fhāidhedh, naomh 7 naomh-ōgh in domain, a n-aontaidh apstal 7 descipal meic Dē uile-chomachtaigh, a n-aontaidh dēachta aguss daonnachta meic Dē [p. 80], a n-aontaidh naoi ngrādh neimhe nā tairmdhechator, a n-aontaidh naomMuire ōighe, isin aontaidh is uaisle nō gach áontaidh, a n-aontaidh na naomThrínōide uaisle, Athair Mac Spirut naómh. Ailem trōcoire Dē uile-chomhachtaig tre impidhe naomMuire go rīssam go ro aittrepam an aontaidh sin in secula seculorum. Amen.

XCII. Iar n-atach 7 ier n-etorguide naomMuire ōige 7 a meic mīrbailigh issin sēpēl naomhtha sin 7 ier ndēnamh a tturais do lēir do rēir uird na heguilsi, ceilibhraiss O Néill 7 in t-ierla, na tigernaidhi 7 na maithe ru-s-bātar maille friú, don fhiodhair-dheilp grāsamail, don chroich ro rāidhsemar, don naom-s[h]ēpēl diadha, don prīmh-egluiss archena. Ascnaid 7 cēimnigit tor sligidh na Rōmha an tres lā fichet aprilis, dia cēdaoín araoi laithi sechtmaine do shonnradh, 1608. Gabhaít tre prīmh-chathraigh Recanati aon lēige amháin ōthā Loreto, iar sin go cathraigh Maserata, ria ndeōigh laoi go Tolentino. Seacht lēigi ro aistrigset in lā sin.



destruction of disease, and pain, and every calamity, and glory for the heavenly Father and the Virgin Mary who granted these graces to it. Every Saturday let there be always sung with sweet chanting, and harmonious organs and music, litanies which the Church has published in Mary's honour, to render famous and renowned the image we have spoken of.

19. We beseech, implore, and adore Almighty God, who created and redeemed the children of Adam, and the holy, heavenly Virgin, who obtained these miracles for this great, strange chapel, that they may grant to us in this life a way in which we shall walk, and progress, and journey to the heavenly seat and the eternal peace, that we may not dwell or habitate with the devil and his rabble host, but in union with the angels and archangels, the patriarchs and prophets, the saints and virgins of the world, in union with the apostles and disciples of the Son of Almighty God, in union with the divinity and humanity of the Son of God, in union with the nine orders of heaven who did not transgress, in union with the holy Virgin Mary, in the union which is nobler than every union, in union with the noble, holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. We implore the mercy of Almighty God, through the intercession of holy Mary, that we may reach and occupy that union *in saecula saeculorum*. Amen.

XCII Having invoked and besought the holy Virgin Mary and her wondrous Son in that holy chapel, and having diligently performed their pilgrimage according to the regulation of the Church, 'O Néill and the Earl, the lords and the nobles who were with them, bade adieu to the holy image and the cross we have spoken of, to the holy chapel, and to the great church. They set out and proceeded on the road to Rome on the twenty-third of April, 1608, the day of the week being Wednesday. They went through a great city, Recanati,<sup>1</sup> distant one league from Loreto,

<sup>1</sup> *Recanati*, a town of the Marches, is a few miles inland from Loreto.



XCIII. Ar n-a mārach dōip triasan mbaili dier comhainm Ualsimára tre baile oile Poluerina. Assa haithle tra go Mutsia go Nueuocasa, naoi léige uile. Dā loch chomfhairsinge, do leith-leith na sligedh in lā sin. Iar sin dōibh go baile dess daingen dar comhainm Sarauale, des-lām fris ba hedh ru-s-gapsat, as a hait[h]le tre baili ro-fhata édlūith Uerchianno gusin prīm̄h-chathraigh n-oirrdirc dier comhainm Fulino. Baoi aroile dīthrebach go ndeigh-bheathaidh a scailp comhadhpail cairrgi do leith-imel na sligedh. Duirrtheach 7 aittreb dia lāmhoip badhdēin ar n-a imdēnomh leiss a n-inmedhōn na cairrgi cenn-gairpe sin. Eirghiss in t-íerla 7 an barūn, Maguidir 7 mac Uī Domnaill, drong do daoibh [p. 81] uaissle dia gcoimhiteacht, do dēnomh oilithre 7 turaiss ōtā Fulino gusin prīm̄h-chathraigh n-oirrdirc dier chomhainm Assidhis, airm i n-a ffuil corp in naoimh-ērloimh uassoil oirrdirc adhamra oirdnide, id est, Sanctus Frānsiscus, dier comhlān in chrīstaighecht go huilide dia s[h]upāilcip 7 fertoibh 7 mīrbailip, for ar mhuidhset cōic crēchta a ffidhair 7 a fforaithmet pāisi Crīst 7 na gcōic n-āladh do shonnrad. Atā immorro a chorp go n-onōir 7

<sup>1</sup> *Macerata* is 8 miles from Recanati.

<sup>2</sup> *Tolentino* lies about 11 miles from Macerata. The treaty made between Pius VI and Napoleon in 1797 is named from this place.

<sup>3</sup> On this day, April 24, King James' ambassador at Venice made a bid for a commission to have 'O Néill assassinated: "Four days since came unto me an Italian of middle age . . . . He was sent from a gentleman banished by a Prince with whom Your Majesty might do much, which gentleman had understood that in Milan were arrived certain dangerous rebels against your Majesty, whereof there was one said to be the head and leader of the rest, whom he would find a means to send *a casa del diavolo* (to the house of the devil), if he might be assured it would be so acceptable a piece of service unto Your Majesty, as it might merit your favourable letters for his repatriation. . . . As for my part, I have left him in the motions of his own will, and as Your Majesty shall be further pleased to command me, I will proceed in it." Sir Henry Wotton (pseudonymn "Ottavio Baldi") to James I, Cal. St. Pa. 657.

<sup>4</sup> *Valcimara* is a small town lying to the south-west of Tolentino.

<sup>5</sup> *Camerino*. The Irish form seems to be corrupt. Camerino is an episcopal town in the Marches.

<sup>6</sup> *Muccia* is not far distant from Camerino, and is nearly due south of that town.



then to the city of Macerata,<sup>1</sup> and before night to Tolentino.<sup>2</sup> Seven leagues they travelled on that day.

XCIH. On the following day<sup>3</sup> they proceeded through the town which is named Valcimara,<sup>4</sup> and through another named Camerino.<sup>5</sup> Afterwards they went to Muccia,<sup>6</sup> and to Nuovacasa,<sup>7</sup> in all a distance of nine leagues. There were two extensive lakes one on each side of the road they travelled that day. After that they advanced to a fine, strong town named Serravalle,<sup>8</sup> and passed it on the left. The direction they took next was through a very long, incompact town, Verchianno,<sup>9</sup> to the well-known, great city which is called Foligno.<sup>10</sup> There was a certain hermit of holy life in a great rocky cleft by the road-side. He had constructed, with his own hands, a house and a habitation in the middle of that rugged rock. The Earl and the Baron,<sup>11</sup> Maguidhir, and the son<sup>12</sup> of 'O Domhnaill, with a party of nobles accompanying them, proceeded from Foligno to the great, famous city named Assisi<sup>13</sup> to make a pilgrimage; in that place is the body of the noble, famous, illustrious, worthy patron, Saint Francis, of whose virtues, and miracles, and wonders the whole of Christendom is full, and on whom there broke forth five wounds like unto, and in commemoration of, the Passion of Christ and the Five Wounds. His body is preserved with honour and veneration, attended by wonders

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<sup>7</sup> This is the modern Casenove. It should be mentioned after Serravalle, not before it.

<sup>8</sup> *Serravalle*. The order of the places on this portion of the road is Muccia, Serravalle, Casenove, Foligno.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps this is for Colfiorito, a place between Serravalle and Casenove.

<sup>10</sup> *Foligno*, a town in Umbria, situated on the Topino, a tributary of the Tiber.

<sup>11</sup> This was Aodh, son of 'O Néill. The other Baron, the Earl of Tyrconnell's son, a mere infant, had been left behind in Flanders; see *supra*, ch. lvii.

<sup>12</sup> Cathbharr 'O Domhnaill; see *supra* p. 7, n. 13.

<sup>13</sup> A town in Umbria, famous for its connexion with St. Francis. Father Meehan's narrative, p. 169, would give the wrong impression that 'O Néill, and the main body of the party, passed through this place.



go n-airmitin, go ffertoip 7 go mīrbailip, a soilēr thalman ag a chongbāil suass go grāsamail ēxamail ingantach gan buain aigi frissin talmāin faoi nō frissin boutain uassa chenn. Nī cetaigther lessin egluiss a fhaixin acht mailli re haughdarrāss 7 ced spesialta ōn pāpa. Generāl in auird minūir sechnōin na crīstaigechta gusna cētoip do brāithrip 7 d'aithrechoibh onōracha for a gcinn issin mainistir. Gabhait chuca na hEirennoigh sin go ro-onōrach forffāilidh. Ier sin dognīt a tturas mōr-lōigidhechta. Taisealpthar ilimat do roignibh relicias dōip. Ascnaidhit a n-iermoracht Uī Nēill ierdain.

XCIV. Gabuis O Nēill go Montefalto. Aroile reclēs issin mbaili sin i n-a ttaispēntar go follus do na huilibh corp Sancta Clara ro buī i n-a hingin ag diūc Lombardi, ier gcomchlaochlūd̄h bethadh dā chēt bliadan roimhe sin, sī go ndeigh-bethaidh naomhtha ar in saogal. Nī mōr aitt[h]-errach nō claochlōdh ar bith dorōine a corp, acht mar do bhiadh i n-a toirrchim codalta. Cēssadh Crīst eitir a lāmoip bennaigthe. Ord onōrach chaillech ndup ro bennaigedh i n-a hainm badhdēin ar gach taopa di. In tan ro scoiltedh a croide ier n-a hēgoip ru-s-frīt[h] stair 7 \* instrument pāissi Crīst ier n-a gcruthugadh 7 ier n-a n-imdēnomh ann, fidhair chroiche 7 chorōine, chassūir 7 pinnsūir, sleigi 7 sgiūrsa, go ttrī ttairrngibh [p. 82]. As a haithle sin tra ro-s-frīth trī gema uaisle oireghdha i n-a croidhe. Cutruma comthroma coiminann commēide dōip. Aon chloch amāin dīb † do chor a meidh thomuis dobeir comthrom don dī cloich oile. Feacht n-aon dia ro tescadh screpal beac dieroile chloich ndīp, an screpal amne do chor a meidh thomais, dobeir comthrom cert do na trī clochoip. Messait tra 7 brethnaigit diadhairidhi na heguilsi 7 trāchtairidhi in ‡ screptra naoimhe gurab a ffidhair 7 a fforaithmet na nāmTrīnōide

\* stair 7 is over the line.

† dīb is over the line.

‡ Read *inna* or *na*.



and miracles, in a cellar in the ground, supernaturally, strangely, and miraculously supported, not touching the ground beneath it, nor the vault above it. The Church does not allow it to be seen except by the authority and special permission of the Pope. In the monastery, when they arrived, there were the General of the order of Minors in all Christendom, and hundreds of brothers and respected fathers. They received these Irishmen with great respect and welcome. After that they performed their meritorious pilgrimage. A large number of the finest relics were shown to them. Afterwards they set out to overtake 'O Néill.

XCIV. 'O Néill went on to Montefalco.<sup>1</sup> There is a certain church in that town where the body of Saint Clare, who was a daughter of the Duke of Lombardy, and who had died two hundred years before, having lived a good, holy life in the world, is exhibited plainly to all. Her body has not undergone much change or transformation, no more than if she were only asleep. There is a crucifix between her blessed hands. On either side of her there is a splendid order of nuns who were consecrated in her own name. When her heart was opened after her death, the inscription and the instruments of the Passion of Christ were found marked and figured in it, an image of the cross and the crown, of a hammer and a pincers, of a spear and a scourge, and three nails. After that three precious, splendid gems were discovered in her heart. The three were of exactly equal size. When one of them is put into a scales it balances the other two. On one occasion a small portion was broken off one of them, and the fragment, when placed in a scales, was exactly equal in weight to the three stones. Theologians of the Church and commentators on the Holy Scripture consider and are of opinion that it is as a figure and resemblance of the heavenly Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are co-eternal, alike, and equal, that these three splendid

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<sup>1</sup> *Montefalco* is situated  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Foligno.



nemda athair mac spirut naómh is comhshuthain coimhinann cutrama ro cruthaigedh na trī gema lōgmhara sin a gcert-medhōn croidhe na hōighe gusna hairrdhenoip ro rāidh-semar. Aroile do mēroip Sancta Anna .i. naom-māthair ōg-Muire, corr-mhér a clē-lāimhe do sonnradh agus \* in uile reliciass adupramar re a ttaispēnadh do na huilip gacha laithi a ffochair cuirp na ban-nacime uaisle issin eaghuis sin.

XCV. Ier ndēnom a thurais d'Ua Néill 7 día lucht coimitechta issin reclēs sin ascnaidhis as a haithle go ro siacht gussin prīmh-chathraigh díer comhainm Spoleto lēigi sī daingen daoineachair ar n-a comhshuidiughadh ar ferann chomthrom choimhrēidh do lethtaop slēibhe ro-airtt. Is meinic immorro urchōidigess tuile teinnesnach tolcānach trēn-tuinnsemach in tslēibi sin do lucht inotachta 7 aittretha na cathrach ier n-inmheadōn. Gnāthaigit gnē dhroichet thairmchēimniges adiu 7 anaill † uas na srāitibh itir thegh-duissip na gcomharsan a n-inbaidh 7 a n-inam in tuile threathain sin do bheith aca. A cethoir dēg d'eguilsip onōracha uassan gcathraigh ar lethtaop in tslēibhi. Sēpēl is lōr feabhus i n-a fhīr-mhullach go n-ord S. Pronsēis gusin altōir is daoire dheissi dealraighthigh[e] issin rann-chuid sin don Etāill. Caislēn lān-daingen go mbārdoip lāidire línmara ag in pāpa isin gcathraigh [p. 83]. Droichet romaith is lōr comháirde ‡ issin doman ier n-a imdénomh go hinntleachtach ōthā in caistēl go leith-imel in tslēibhi.

XCVI. Gluaisit na maithi si ar n-a mārach go Streectura, go Terni, go Nerni, go Hotriocli. Aon lēig[e] dēg issedh ro ascnaidset in lā sin. Dia domnaigh in t-ochtmadh lā fichet aprilis 1608 cēimnigit rompa ier n-ēstecht aiffrinn go Teuere, cathair i n-a mbīt bāit ag imchor daoine 7 eachraidhi tar ruibēr ro-lāidir na Tipiri. Asside tra go Borgeto, go Ciuita Castellana, go cathroigh Rignano go Castel Nouo.

\* *gu* is written on *clela*, a case of corrected dittography.

† Read *anall*.

‡ *comh* is added over the line.



gems were formed in the heart of the virgin with the qualities we have described. One of the fingers of Saint Anne, the holy mother of the Virgin Mary, namely, the forefinger of her left hand, and all the relics we have spoken of, are to be seen by all, every day, beside the body of the holy saint in that church.

XCV. When 'O Néill had performed his pilgrimage in that church, together with those who accompanied him, he moved on one league until he reached the great city which is called Spoleto,<sup>1</sup> and which is strong and extensive, situated on an even, level piece of ground by the side of a very high mountain. The rapid, rushing, violent torrent from that mountain frequently does harm to those who inhabit and dwell within the city. They are accustomed to use bridges of a certain kind which span the streets between either side, joining the neighbours' houses at the time and season of this violent flood. There are fourteen splendid churches above the city on the side of the mountain. On its very summit is an excellent chapel, belonging to the Order of Saint Francis, having the most costly, most splendid, and most beautiful altar in that part of Italy. In the city the Pope has a very strong castle, having many strong defenders. There is a very good bridge, one of the highest in the world, skilfully constructed from the castle to the side of the mountain.

XCVI. The princes went the next day to Strettura, then to Terni, to Narni, and to Otricoli.<sup>2</sup> Eleven leagues they travelled on that day. On Sunday the twenty-eighth [*recte* twenty-seventh] of April, 1608, after having heard Mass,

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<sup>1</sup> *Spoleto* is an important town south of Montefalco, but considerably more than a league distant from it. The "excellent chapel" on the summit of the neighbouring mountain is the Franciscan Convent on Monte Luco which rises to a height of 2,723 feet. The castle of Spoleto, known as *La Rocca*, is now used as a prison. The Piedmontese troops took it in 1860, after a gallant defence by Major Myles O'Reilly, with three hundred Irishmen and some other soldiers. The famous Ponte delle Torri connects the town with Monte Luco.

<sup>2</sup> These towns lie, in the order mentioned, between Spoleto and the point near Borghetto where the Via Flaminia crosses the Tiber.



Dā lēige dēg issedh ro aistrigset Ba hécnach dōip ōtā sin clogāis 7 ballaidhi na Rōmha.

XCVII. Ar n-a mārach dōip go Prima Porta trī lēige. Furnaigit ann an oidhche sin. Lēicit daoine rompa gusin Róimh. Ier sin go Pounte Male dā lēige. Du-s-riacht Petrus Lombardus ardespog Aird Macha 7 prīmáidh na hErenn go ndescipal onōrach i n-a choimitecht go līn-maireacht cōistidhi ō chardenāloip i n-a gcomdāil 7 i n-a gcomairrchis cusin dau sin. Tēit stíuartt gach aoin fo leith do droing áirigthi do na cardenāloip i n-a gcoinne d'forffāil-tiugadh friū 7 dia nglacadh go honōrach a n-ainm na gcardenāl. Eirgit a cōistidhip as a haithle. Cēimnigit go ro riachtsat in Rōim. Porta Popule comhainm an gepta do shonnradh ar a ndeachsat astech isin gcathraigh. Gluaisit ier sin go ro-onōrach trē prīmsrāidip oireghdha na Rōmha. Nīr hairissedh leō go ro riachtsat prīmthempall Petair in Uaticano. Scuirit a n-echraidh ann. Eirgit astech isin eacluis. Dognīt slēchtaine. Timchillit \* a modh thurais na secht prīmh-altōra prīuilēidecha † mōr-lōigidhechta fuilet isin egluis. Ascnaidhit ier sin go pālās ro-onōrach ro ordaigh naomhthacht in pāpa dōip a mBurgouechio Sancti Spiritus. Bātar tra cōic cōisti dēg gusin sē d'eachroidh [p. 84] ag comhtharraing gacha cōiste acht madh beac ag tairm-

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\* *a* is erased before *it*.

† This word is written after the next with marks to indicate that it is to be transferred.

<sup>1</sup> It is strange that 'O Cianáin has no reference to a bridge here. There is no "city" between Otricoli and Borghetto. The bridge on the Via Flaminia, now known as *Ponte Felice*, may have had a descriptive name *Ponte Tevere* 'Tiber Bridge.'

<sup>2</sup> *Borghetto* is a small place, on the right bank of the Tiber, about 40 miles from Rome.

<sup>3</sup> *Civita Castellana* is 33½ miles north of Rome.

<sup>4</sup> The full name of this town is *Rignano Flaminio*.

<sup>5</sup> It is *Castelnuovo di Porto* on maps, and lies 18 miles to the north of Rome.

<sup>6</sup> *Prima Porta* is 8 miles from Rome, and is named from a cutting made on the Via Flaminia between two hills.

<sup>7</sup> *Ponte Molle* or *Ponte Milvio* is the Mulvian Bridge of early Roman history.



they advanced to Tevere,<sup>1</sup> a city where boats convey people and horses across the very strong river Tiber. From that they proceeded to Borghetto,<sup>2</sup> then to Civita Castellana,<sup>3</sup> to the city of Rignano,<sup>4</sup> and to Castelnuovo.<sup>5</sup> The distance they travelled was twelve leagues. From that place they could see the belfries and the walls of Rome.

XCVII. The following day they went to Prima Porta,<sup>6</sup> a distance of three leagues. They stopped there that night. They sent on some persons before them to Rome. After that they went two leagues to Ponte Molle.<sup>7</sup> Peter Lombard,<sup>8</sup> the archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland, came with a noble young man<sup>9</sup> in his company, having a large number of coaches sent by cardinals, to meet them to that place. The steward of each of a certain number of the cardinals came to them to welcome them and to receive them with honour in the cardinals' name. Then they proceeded in coaches. They went on until they came to Rome. Porta del Popolo<sup>10</sup> was the name of the gate by which they entered the city. They went on after that through the principal streets of Rome in great splendour. They did not rest until they reached the great church of San Pietro in Vaticano. They put up their horses there, and entered the church. They worshipped, and went around, as if on a pilgrimage, the seven privileged altars of great merit which are in the church. Afterwards they proceeded to a splendid palace<sup>11</sup> which his Holiness the Pope had set apart for them in the Borgo Vecchio [and in the Borgo] Santo Spirito. They had fifteen coaches, all except

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<sup>8</sup> *Peter Lombard* was appointed to the see of Armagh on July 9, 1601. He was a native of Waterford city. He never visited his diocese, and died on September 5, 1625, aged seventy years.

<sup>9</sup> Probably Robert Lombard, nephew of the archbishop, who afterwards turned informer.

<sup>10</sup> This gate was constructed in 1562 on the site of the old Porta Flaminia. It was named after the neighbouring church of Santa Maria del Popolo.

<sup>11</sup> The Palazzo dei Penitenzieri lies between the Borgo Vecchio and the Borgo Santo Spirito, close to the church of San Pietro in Vaticano.



chēimniugadh dōip tria prīmsh-shráidip comfhata na cathrach in lā sin do shonnradh. A haithle a n-aistir 7 a n-imthechta oirissit 7 comnaigit ag lēicen a scīssi 7 a merten gusin domnach ar a cinn.

XCVIII. An cethramadh lā do mhī maíí domhnach araoi laithi *sechtm[ain]*e aoiss in Tigerna in tan sin míle ar sē chēt ar ocht mbliadhnaibh ro thoiligh naomhthacht in pāpa dōip as go ragdaois i n-a persanoibh badhdēin dá \* lāthair in tres uair ier medhōn láoi. Cuirit na cardenáil buidhen do chōistidhip ro-mhaithi go n-eachraidh ba lōr feabus 7 deissi issin doman i n-a gcomhairrchis dia gcoimht[h]reōrughadh gusin dū i n-a mbaoi in pāpa. Eirgit gussan pālāss ro-onōrach dar comhainm Monte Caualle. In t-athair naomtha Paulus Quintus ar a gcinn annsin. Ar ndol dia lāthair dōip gabuis chuice go ro-onōrach grāssamail mōrānta forfāilidh iad. Ier sin doratsat badhdēin co n-a lucht coimhitecht[a] diaig a ndiaig pōic dia chois bennaight[h]e maille fri humhla 7 reuerens. Bātar tra timchell uaire do lō i n-a lāthoir, é onōrach supāilcech deghe-aigthech ag comfhierfaighi a scēl 7 a n-echtra frisin rē sin. Gabhait a gcet ier mbenedixion mbennaighthi d'fogbāil. Dobeirit altugadh do Dia 7 don athair naomtha fo bhīthin a onōraighi airmitnighi ro thaisspēin a s[h]upāilce mōr-thrōcairecha dhóip. As sin dōip go cardenāl Burgeis mac derpsethar in pāpa. Ba fāilidh rompa. Ier sin gussin pālāss i n-a mbātar dīss derbrāthar in pāpa. Fāiltigit friū. Ro gapsat as a haithle go hambasadōir rīgh Frannc † ro buī ag fāgbāil na cathrach ar n-a mārach do shonnradh. Comnaigit cusin díardaoín buī ar a gcinn. Bātar tra cardenáil na cathrach

\* *a* is altered from *o*.

† MS. *Fravnc*.

<sup>1</sup> The following is Wotton's report of the Earls' entry into Rome: "Has received particular advertisement from Rome touching the Irish. Tyrone arrived on [Tuesday] the 29th of April. About two miles out of the town he was met by eight coaches, and six horses to every coach, sent by the Cardinals Montalto, Farnese, Colonna, and Barberini. The English papists, by commandment from the Pope, went to meet him, and



a few drawn by six steeds, as they traversed the long, chief streets of the city that day.<sup>1</sup> After their journey and their travel they rested and kept still until the following Sunday recovering from their weariness and exhaustion.

XCVIII. On the fourth of May, the day of the week being Sunday, and the year of the Lord being then one thousand six hundred and eight, his Holiness the Pope consented to their coming in person into his presence at three o'clock in the afternoon. The cardinals sent a number of good coaches, and some of the most excellent and most beautiful horses in the world, to them, to conduct them to the place where the Pope was. They went to the splendid palace which is called Monte Cavallo.<sup>2</sup> The holy Father, Paul V, was awaiting them there. When they appeared before him, he received them with respect, with kindness, with honour, and with welcome. Then they themselves and their followers, one after another, kissed with humility and reverence his holy foot. They were about one hour of the day in his presence, and he was courteous, glad, and kind to them during that time, asking them of what occurred to them and how they had fared. They took their leave after having received holy benediction. They gave thanks to God and the holy Father for the respect and the reverence wherewith he had exhibited his great, merciful kindness to them. From there they went to Cardinal Borghese, the son of the Pope's sister.<sup>3</sup> He showed them

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he was thus conducted to St. Peter's church in the Vatican, where he first set foot on ground, and so, after a short Ave Maria, was brought to a palace close by furnished for him by the Pope, who defrays all his charges." Wotton to Salisbury, May 9, Cal. St. Pa. 654.

<sup>2</sup> This palace is now called *Regio Palazzo del Quirinale*, and the piazza in front of it was named Monte Cavallo from two marble figures of horse-tamers still preserved there. Since 1870 the palace has been the residence of the king of Italy.

<sup>3</sup> Hortensia, sister of Pope Paul V, married Marco Antonio Caffarelli, and had an only son, Scipio Caffarelli, who took the name of Borghese. He was created cardinal on July 18, 1605, and became archbishop of Bologna in 1610.



frissin rē sin ag cor mēitte āirigthi do dhaoinibh uaisle adhamra 7 d'oificechaibh ro-onōracha d' forfāiltiughadh friú aguss dia nglacadh go hairmitneach as a n-ucht badhdéin.

XCIX. [p. 85] A haithle a scīssi 7 a n-aistir cuirir rompa cuairt do dēnomh ag na cardenēloip diaig a ndiaigh i n-a pālāssioip badhdēin. Dia dardaoin do shonnradh in t-ocht-madh lā maíí ēirgit do lāthoir chardenāil Colona, sen-Rōmānach uassal d'fīr-threib in tsenaidh Rōmānaig. Gabhuis chuigi go honōrach. Acht atā ní chena, do rōnsat cuairt fo leith ag gach aon do sheacht gcairdenāloip dēg ar fichit diaig a ndiaigh. Bātor uile tra go deghe-aigthech forffāilidh onōrach rompa. Bātor cōicer cardenāl oile issin gcathraigh nach rāngatar a ffaixin sol do fhāgoipset in gcathraigh.

C. Día dardaoin desgabāla do shonnradh in cōicedh lā dēg maíí gacha bliadhna dobeir in pāpa benedixion generāilte go follus do ua huilip catoilcip theagmus as a urchomhair. An lā cētna sin chena ro togadh do na maithip si bheith a pālāss chardenēil Ascoli a ffrithchētfaidh pālāis mōir in pāpa. Is gnāth lasna hilmīltip do daoinip toigheacht d'ierroidh in benedixion sin. Iar sin adchíd an t-athoir naomhtha ag teacht ar ailiff \* aird aoibhinn fuil a leith-imiol in pālāiss sī ar n-a himfholach do bratoip saitīn 7 sīoda d'ēxamhlacht na n-uile dhath. 'E fēin ag a imchor go honōrach airmitneach a gcathaóir dheiligthe dealraigt[h]igh sī ar n-a comdach d'ór 7 do miliuent deirg, a chorōin derg-ōir ier n-a himchengal do dēmōnt 7 do c[h]lochaibh uaissle um a chenn. An chloch uassal ro buī ag comdūnadh a bruit ēxamail ro chosain † . Na cairdenēil 7 na hespoig i n-a urthimchell go canānchaibh 7 macclēirchip thempaill Petair. A gārda saigdiūir Suser ar gach tæpa de. Dā thrūp ro-mhōra marcslaighi ba lór ‡ dian-

\* Possibly from the French *allée*, 'a passage, gallery.'

† This space is left vacant in the MS.

‡ *lór* is over the line.



welcome. After that they went to the palace where there were the Pope's two brothers. They also made them welcome. Then they went to the ambassador of the King of France, who was about to leave the city on the following day. They rested until the next Thursday. During that time the cardinals of the city continued to send a number of great noblemen and of very high officers to welcome them and to receive them with respect in their own behalf.

XCIX. When they had recovered from the fatigue of their journey, they proposed to make a visit to the cardinals, one after another, in their own palaces. On Thursday, the eighth of May, they went before Cardinal Colonna, a noble Roman, of the true stock of the Roman people. He received them with honour. In short, they paid a special visit to each of thirty-seven cardinals in succession. They all showed them kindness, welcome, and honour. There were five others in the city whom they were unable to see before they left it.

C. On Ascension Thursday—the fifteenth of May [in 1608]—in particular each year the Pope gives a general benediction in public to all Catholics who chance to come before him. On that day, then, the princes had selected for a visit the palace of Cardinal Ascoli, which is in front of the great palace of the Pope. Many thousands of people are accustomed to come to seek that benediction. After a time they saw the holy Father approaching on a beautiful, high balcony which is at the side of the palace, and which was covered with cloths of satin and silk of all varieties of colours. He was carried reverently and respectfully in a splendid, bright chair, covered with gold and red velvet, and on his head his crown of red gold, encircled with diamonds and precious stones. The precious stone which fastened his splendid garment cost ——. The cardinals and the bishops were around him, and the canons and young clerics of Saint Peter's. His guard of Swiss soldiers was on either side of him. In front of him were two very large



fheabhus isin doman, eitir arm eachroid 7 ēideadh co n-a persanoip urdhalta, as a urchomair. [p. 86] Eirghiss in t-athair naomtha as a haithle. Du-s-rat benedixion ben-naigthi grāssamail mōr-lōigidechta do na huilip chatoilcip ro bātar as a urchomair. Gluaississ issin innioll chētna gusin pālāss as a haithle. Ro seinnit na trompaidhi maille re commbualadh na ndromaighi \* ier sin. Ro scaoiledh ordanāss mōr in pālāiss 7 Chaislēin na nAingel diaigh a ndiaigh. Do *badh* cūiss ingantuis le fer a nemt[h]athaidhi bheith ag faixin a ttrethain 7 a ttormāin eitir chōistidhip 7 eachraidh 7 ordanāsss. Ro buī cardenēl Ascoli go forfāilidh supāilcech frisna maithip si. Ier ffogbāil benedixion an athor naomht[h]a dōibh du-s-rat-san bangcēd onōrach costusach dōip. Eirgit assa haithle dia pālās badhdēin.

CI. In sathorn buī ar a gcinn in t-ochtmadh lā dēg maíí 1608 dodeachaidh in t-ierla go ndroing do na daoineibh uaisle do dēnomh turais mōr-lōigidechta seacht prīmheglus gcatharrdha na Rōmha. Oidche domnaigh chingcīssi do shonnradh ro buī espart sollamanta ag in pāpa isin sēpēl dier comhainm Capella Paulinus. Du-s-riacht tochuiredh ar na maithib sin chom an espart. Eirgit uile a gcētōir acht amāin ro buī gnē ēgcruais fiaprasa ar in ierla. Ro togadh inadh onōrach d'Ua Nēill a n-imfhoixe an athar naomhtha as a urchomair badhdēin. Ier gceileabhrad in espart onōraigh ticit buiden do bhrāithrib sanct Dominic, timchell dā mīle ēicin brāthar, do lāthair in pāpa. Ro bātar tra a modh prosesioin ier ttogha generāil āirigthi orra badhdēin 7 ar a n-ord sechnōin na crīstaigeachta in lā sin. Doratsat uile deōigh a ndeōigh pōic do choiss in pāpa. Dobheir benedixion dōibh 7 do chāch arc[h]ena. Gluaisis dia pālās ier sin. Eirgit cāch dia ttigthibh. [p. 87] Domhnach cingcīssi do shonnradh ro buī stātion onōrach go loghadh na n-uile peacadh a prīmheclais S. Spīritus. Dodeachatar na maithi si chom aiffrinn 7 esparta ann. Seruīs

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\* These two words were added later in the margin.



troops of cavalry, the strongest and best in the world in regard to weapons, horses, clothing, and their own persons. Then the holy Father stood up. He gave a holy, gracious and precious benediction to all the Catholics in his presence. After that he returned to the palace in the same manner. Then there was a blare of trumpets and a beating of drums. The great ordnance of the palace and of the castle of Sant' Angelo were fired one after the other. One who had never seen the like would be surprised at the sight of the confusion and noise of the coaches, the horses, and the ordnance. Cardinal Ascoli showed great welcome and kindness to the princes. When they had received the blessing of the holy Father, he gave them a splendid costly banquet. They then returned to their own palace.

CI. On the following Saturday, the eighteenth [*recte* seventeenth] day of May, 1608, the Earl with a number of the nobles came to make a meritorious pilgrimage to the seven chief churches of Rome. On the eve of Pentecost Sunday exactly the Pope held solemn vespers in the chapel which is called Cappella Paolino.<sup>1</sup> An invitation to the vespers came to the princes. They all set out at once, except only the Earl, who had somewhat of a feverish sickness. A place of honour was selected for 'O Néill, close to the holy Father and opposite him. When solemn vespers had been sung, a group of friars of Saint Dominick, to the number of about two thousand, came before the Pope. They were in processional order, and had elected a particular General for all Christendom over themselves and their Order on that day. All in succession kissed the foot of the Pope. He gave a blessing to them and to all present. Then he went to his palace, and all returned to their homes. On Whit Sunday<sup>2</sup> there was a splendid station and an indulgence for all sins in the great

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<sup>1</sup> It is in the Vatican, and near the Sistine.

<sup>2</sup> Pentecost fell on May 25 in 1608.



Dē ar onōrachuss na crīstaigeachta go huilidhi issin egluiss go n-ilimat sacart ro-onōrach 7 do preghlāidip prīuilēidecha gussin gcōraigh channtairechta ba lōr dien-fheabus issin doman go ndā pēire nō a ttrī d'orgānoibh ceōlmara comhmbinni go ro-imat d'innstramainntip mūisici 7 ciūil cenmothā sin.

CII. Ar n-a mhārach dia luain ēirgit orphāin na heguilsi sin a prosesion onōrach go tempall Petair. Drong do gārda in pāpa a remhthūss na sligedh rompa 7 ar gach tæp\* sagart onōrach airmitnech ro buī i n-a ierla 7 i n-a chommendator uassin egluiss go macclēir[ch]ip na heguilsi go huilidhe siad go gcanntairecht chomhmbinn ag cēimniugadh i n-a ndeghaidh. Eitir fer-scāil is ban-scāil ba hedh a nuimhir re a gcomhairemh triar ar cheithri fichit ar cheithri chēd. Bátar tra mōirsheiser ar dā fichit ar trībh cētoip d'ōg-mhnāibh dīb sin. D'fer-scāloip ōga nā ro shāraigh in t-aon ba sine a cheithre bliadhna dēg sē fir dēg ar chēd. Clann in pāpa comgairmther dīp so fo uīthin nach mōr go ffitirset cāch aithre bunaidh mhōrāin dīp, acht grāssa an athar naomhtha dia n-oilemain 7 dia gcongbāil suass ar son Dē. Trē grāta áirighthi ieroinn comhchuirther gach lenbān dīp astech issin eacluis ria gcoimhlīnadh cheithri lō go n-oidche dia n-aoiss ar in saoghal. An coimhlīn nā ro gap baistedh roimhe sin dīp baitsither an tan sin íed. Tōgoibhther suas ōn aimsir sin amach gach aon dīp a ttaop oilemna 7 foghloma 7 gach taparta suass is imchuibhde archena† go cor deighchríche orra. Is gnāth ueronica .i. naipicín uassal oirrderc [p. 88] mōr-mīrbaileach ro chomail ban-naomh in chomhanma sin do gnūis geil-deirg gruadh-c[h]orcra 7 do glan-aghaid glōrmair chréchtnaighthi ar Slānaigtheōra Issa Crīst in tan ro buī fo dhaoirsi 7 docomal 7 aimhnirte fo lámhoibh nāmat n-éttrōcar ag imachor chroichi a pāissi 7 a martra gussin gcorōin spīne um a chenn a haithle a ffuair do pēin 7 do

\* There is a portion of *a* written after *p* and a slight erasure.

† Written before *is* with transposition marks.



church of Santo Spirito.<sup>1</sup> The princes came to Mass and vespers there. There was a divine service, the most beautiful in all Christendom, in the church, with many worthy priests and exalted prelates, and a choir the most excellent in the world; also two or three pairs of sweet musical organs, and many instruments of music and harmony besides.

CII. On Monday, the next day, the orphans<sup>2</sup> of that church went in a splendid procession to the church of San Pietro. A company of the papal guard preceded them on the way, and on either side there was a revered, respected priest who was an earl and a director over the church, with all the younger clergy singing sweetly as they advanced behind them. Including boys and girls their number was four hundred and eighty-three. Of these, three hundred and forty-seven were girls. Of boys, the eldest of whom did not exceed fourteen years, there were one hundred and sixteen. They were styled 'the Pope's children,' for scarcely anyone knew the fathers of many of them, but they were reared and supported for God's sake by the kindness of the holy Father. Through a special iron grating each child of them is introduced into the church before it has completed four days and nights of its life in the world. All of them who have not received baptism by that time are baptized then. After that each of them is brought up, reared, instructed, and educated in every appropriate way until they are finally well provided for. The *veronica* was exhibited to these 'children of the Pope' on that day, that is to say, the holy, well-known, very miraculous napkin which the virgin of that name applied to the glowing red, crimson-cheeked face and the pure, glorious, wounded countenance of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, when He was in suffering, and distress, and weakness under the hands of merciless enemies, carrying the Cross of His Passion and

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<sup>1</sup> The church of *Santo Spirito in Sassia* is close to St. Peter's.

<sup>2</sup> These were connected with the foundling institution in the *Ospedale di Santo Spirito*, which is situated near the church of that name.



pennait roimhe sin, do taispēnadh don chloinn si in pāpa in lā sin é.\* Atā go ffdair dheilbhi 7 aigthi Crīst ier n-a choimhlīnadh 7 ier na uassal-peinntēladh go mīrbaileach ēxamail dia fhuil luachmhoir badhdēin. Ro taisselbadh dōip ier sin cenn na sleighe slinn-leithne do chuir Longinus tre chompar croide Crīst in tan ro buī marp gan anmain a gcrann na croichi. Bātar na hōg-mhnā tra a n-ēdaigip maithi dessa, drong dīb go n-innill 7 go ndeilp n-imchubaidh. Ro pōssadh sē mnā dēg in lā sin dīp, an pāpa ar n-īc a ttinnsra. Mar chūiss onōrachuis 7 sollamantuis do na hōg-mnāip pōsta sin nī lugha nā dā mīle persa fuair fēsta 7 fledhachus a S. Spiritus in lā sin 7 an oidhchi do shonnradh a ffēcmmhuis sāmāidh 7 choimthinōil gnāthaigh na heguilsi badhdēin.

CIII. Prīm̄h-eaclus dhiadha onōrach ro-chatharrdha S. Spiritus ar n-a comdach ō thūss le nāsion āirigthi don Germāinn dier uo comhainm Saxonie. Ba hedh a ainm as a haithle Sassiaē. Ier n-eitirdealugadh 7 ier gcomhscaradh dō frisna Germāinneachaibh du-ss-rat in pāpa Innosensius Tertius onōir 7 airmiten ro-mōr dō go mbronntanus 7 deuōsion dermháir go saidpress cīssa 7 ferainn. An pāpa dier uo comhainm Sextus Quartus do-rat ro-ardughadh mōr i n-a uile riachtanus don reclēs so. [p. 89] Ro thógoip 7 ro chomdaigh ilimat do theghdhuissibh onōracha costusacha deigh-dēnmacha ann. Mestor 7 brethnaighther tra, ar in tæp amoigh d'ainm in pāpa, dia impriulacht 7 dia rīghacht, do gach mital ōir 7 aircit comhmbuailter dhó, go roipe in tegh so amhāin a gcomprāit chíssa gacha bliadhna friss, ōir ba fiū timchell fichet mīle corōin gacha mīssa é. Iar n-a fhaixin sin don stāt Rómhānach † ro benatar rannchuid 7 uirbhernadh go fiū dā mīle corōin gacha mīssa de. Ro choimhchengailset sin fri beathaidh in pāpa. In mēide is lugha dhe ocht mīle dēg corōin aige-sen gacha mīssa. Tic

\* There is anacoluthon in this sentence. To correct it omit either *is gnáth* or *é*. The first alternative has been adopted in the translation.

† MS. *rómhananach*.



His martyrdom, with the crown of thorns about His head, after all the pain and suffering He had undergone before that. It has an image of the figure and face of Christ wondrously and miraculously outlined and painted with His own precious blood. After that, the head of the broad spear which Longinus<sup>1</sup> put through the breast and heart of Christ when He was dead and lifeless on the wood of the Cross, was shown to them. The young girls were dressed in comely, good clothes, and some of them had a fine deportment and appearance. Sixteen of them were married that day, and the Pope paid their dowry. For solemnity and as an honour to these young married women, not less than two thousand persons had a banquet and feast in Santo Spirito, besides the usual community and congregation of the church itself.

CIII. The holy, splendid, great church of Santo Spirito was built in the beginning by a certain nation of Germany which was called Saxony. For that reason the settlement was named Sassia. On its severance and separation from the Germans, Pope Innocent III gave it great honour and respect, gifts and great indulgences, and abundance of rents and lands. To this church the Pope who was named Sixtus IV granted a great increase in all its necessities. He built and erected many splendid, costly, well-made buildings in it.<sup>2</sup> It is estimated and calculated that, apart from the Pope's title, his empire and kingship, and all the gold and silver metal which is coined for him, this house alone could be compared with him in regard to yearly rents, for they were worth about twenty thousand crowns each month. When the Roman State saw that, they exacted a portion and a

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<sup>1</sup> A common name in Christian tradition for the centurion who pierced Our Saviour's side with the lance. It is derived from the word λόγχη 'lance' used by St. John in his gospel, xix. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The Ospedale and the brick campanile of the church date from the reign of Sixtus IV (1471-1484).



sin timchell cheithri míle dēg is dā fhichit míle ponnta gacha bliadhna. Cebē do messfadh gurab mōr 7 gurab dírimh \*  
 an betha 7 an tigernuss aoin-eguilsí amāin so tuigedh tra gurap adhpal 7 gurab difhaisnēissi in daidhbhir 7 in bhuaidirt atā i n-a degheidh. Nī lugha tra nō deich míle persa † co n-a n-uile bhethaidh chostus 7 gach riachtanuiss archena ag a ttabairt suass a ngioll ar in tig sin a ffēgmuis na heguilsí 7 innte ier n-i[n]mhedhōn gach aon-ló issan mbliadhain. Ospitāil onōrach mor-chostuiss ar lāin-fheabhus na críst-aigheachta issin egluis sin ar a mbī gabāil go gnāth 7 forffāilte grāssamail fris gach n-aon don uile nāsion issan crīstaigeacht do lucht trebhlaide 7 esslāinte galoir 7 fiaprassa, go ndoctūir-ibh onōracha inntlechtacha 7 go leagoip lāin-eōlcha di[a] ffrestal 7 dia ffritheōilemh. An mēide is lugha dhe cēd corōin ōn tigh mar chrodh fris gach mnaoi dā ndupramar pōsfus fer. An chōra clēirech canntairechta gusna haith-ribh is onōraige 7 is ferr seruiss Dé a fformhōr na crīstaighechta uile issin egluis sin. A n-imfhulang 7 a gcongbāil suass a mbethaidh 7 a n-ēdaigib imchuibhde onōracha mailli fri comdach 7 comfhoirgneamh na heguilsí do gnāth ar chostus 7 chíos in reclēsa sa badhdén. [p. 90] Congbāil suass 7 onōrachuss in uachtarāin atā ag guibernōracht uassin egluiss co n-a dhescipal úas a chenn so. Mesait 7 brethnaigit cāch go ffuil ar na daoínip is onōraighe shoirbhe shuaimhnighe nemmbuaidirthe betha 7 tabairt suass issin crīstaigheacht uile. Mainistir ro-mhaith go gcailleachaibh dupa līnmara ar costuss na heguilsí ier n-a himdēnomh 7 ier n-a comdach fo íadhadh a ballaidhi. Na hōg-mhnā adupramar, gach aon dīp gabhuss spirut genmnaighechta do láimh is chuca téighit. Is aca teagaiscther 7 tōgoipther suass go huilidhi iad go tteacmhann do gach aon dīp in fortūn 7 in chinnemain bhus toltanach la Día. Imat immorro maigistrech ag teacusc 7 ag foghloim isin egluiss gacha laithi don chlann-mhaicne si in pāpa. Teaguiscit trá crei-

\* MS. *dirímh*.

† *p* is written on *du*.



fraction from it to the extent of two thousand crowns monthly. They united that with the income of the Pope. He has at least eighteen thousand crowns per month. That amounts to about fifty-four thousand pounds per year. Whoever would consider that this income and property is large and extraordinary for one church, let him remember that the poverty and misery it relieves is huge and indescribable. For not less than ten thousand persons, with all their support, expense, and necessities, are maintained depending on that house every day of the year, outside the church and inside it. There is a splendid, very wealthy hospital, one of the finest in Christendom, in that church, which everyone of all nations in Christendom, in sickness, ill health, disease, and fever, may visit at any time and receive a gracious welcome, and have worthy, learned doctors and skilful physicians to serve and attend to them. The house gives at least one hundred crowns as a dowry to each of those girls we have spoken of who marries a husband. In the church there is the finest choir, and the most worthy and best fathers for divine service, in the greater part of all Christendom. Their support and maintenance in food and proper, splendid clothing, as well as the building and continual repairs of the church, is borne by the resources and income of the church itself. There is also the upkeep and state of the superior who manages the church and of his assistant. Everyone considers and believes he is one of the most splendid, kindly persons in all Christendom, and the least troubled or disturbed about upkeep and support. There is a very good abbey, with many nuns, maintained by the church, built and erected within the enclosure of its walls. If any of the young girls we have spoken of undertakes the spirit of chastity, she joins these. By them they are all instructed and brought up until the luck and fortune which God wills falls to each of them. In the church each day there are many masters teaching and instructing the male 'children of the Pope.' They teach them the



demh eguilsí Dē, canntaireacht 7 múissice 7 lēighenn 7 gach foghloim imchupaidh archena dōip go mbeirit ar gnē dia gcēill 7 dia ttuixin, gach aon dīp gussin tabairt suas bus toltanach leiss badhdēin do rēir mar thaispēnus Dia dia supāilcip dhó. Messait cāch fri torbha puiplidhi ann fēin ier n-inmhedhōn an tegh so fo uíthin go ffuil a uile riachtanuss 7 imfulang ann badhdēin.\* Nī hé amháin acht atā in mēide sin do na huilibh chethroip 7 treōtoip aigi go ttarttann feóil re a cennach d'formhōr in tsenaidh Rōmānaig co n-a uile riachtanus badhdēin. Fōss atā d'ilimat fīnemhna 7 do mhaighnessoip mōr-fhairsinge cruithnechta 7 gacha degthoraidh archena aige, nī imfhuilngess dronga móra do na Rōmānchaibh ōs cinn a riachtanuis; d'eachraidh āloinn adhbal-mōir Edāilligh 7 do greghoip is lōr mēd 7 deissi isin doman, dognī eachraidh mōr dō na Rōmhānchaibh mailli fri saothar 7 tinrumh uile thoisci 7 timthirthecht an tighi badhdēn.† [p. 91] Ar úairip áirighthe go línmhar bíd timchell míle persa do lucht fiaprusa tessaighi teinntighi 7 gacha esslāinti archena a n-ospitāil in reiclesa remhrāite. Adeirit cāch gurap é in tegh sin gan imbressain aoin-tegh † amháin is dērcaigni thrócairighi shaidbhre chostusaighi issan crīstaigheacht 7 is bith-bhuaine onōraighe seruīss Dé 7 is fearr i n-a ffuil gach ēin-ní inndēnta a modh imqubaidh. Stair 7 fidhair chroiche Crīst issin egluiss a rann-chuid ro-onōraigh mīrbhailigh ō ffuair in egluss adhamhrughadh 7 oirrdercugadh dogní ilimat fert 7 mīrbal gacha § laithe, go ndessláimh S. Andriass, go mōrān relíciass do thaisip naomh 7 fīrén mōr-luaighidhechta oile. Armass na croiche sin tra atā ar mac-clēirchibh 7 sāmhadh 7 chōmhthinōl na heguilsí co n-a huile chethroip.

CIV. Día dardaoín do shonnradh in naomadh lá fichet Maíí 1608 comhainm in laithe ro cuiredh corōin ar in athair

\* After this word *ier ninmhedh* is written with puncta delentia underneath.

† This sentence is slightly misconstrued. The relative clauses beginning with *nī* and *dognī* should be consecutive; else read *ilimat d'fhinemhain*.



faith of the Church of God, singing, music, and every learning and proper instruction, until they acquire some intelligence and understanding, each of them getting the education he himself wishes for, according as God in His goodness reveals it to him. Everyone knows that this house in itself is a public benefit, because all its necessities and support are supplied by itself. And not only that, but it has so much of all kinds of cattle and sheep, that it supplies meat for sale to the greater part of the Roman people, besides what it requires for itself. Also, it has so large a quantity of vines, and of great, wide fields of wheat and of every other crop, that they support large numbers of the Romans, as well as its own needs; and so great a number of beautiful, big, Italian horses, and of steeds, the largest and most beautiful in the world, that they serve as a great horse-supply for the Romans, as well as do the work, the carrying out of every undertaking, and the service of the house. On particular occasions there are frequently about one thousand persons in hot, fiery fever, and in every sickness, in the hospital of this church. Everyone says that this house is, without doubt, the most charitable, merciful, rich, and wealthy in Christendom, the most continuous and splendid in the divine service, and the house that is best in regard to doing every necessary work in the proper way. There is a figure and image of the Cross of Christ in the church, whence it acquired fame and notoriety, in a splendid, miraculous position, and it works many miracles and wonders every day; also the right hand of Saint Andrew, and many other meritorious relics of saints and holy people. The young clerics, and the community and congregation of the church, and all its live stock, bear that cross as their emblem.

CIV. On Thursday, the twenty-ninth day of May, 1608, the anniversary of the day on which the holy Father, Paul V,

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† MS. *a aointegh.*

§ MS. *gacha a.*



naomhtha Paulus Quinctus cuiris cardenāl\* Burgesiuss aroile dia dhaoinip uaissle mar thechtaire onōrach do tho-chuiredh na ttigernadh so chom aiffrinn sollamanta ro buī ag onōir an athar naomhtha a prīm-thempall Petair. Ro toghadh thra inadh onōrach 7 āit imchubaidh dhōip a n-imfhoixe 7 a gcomhghar in pāpa. Bātor badhdēin 7 ambasadōir rīgh na Spāinne go līnmhaireacht do prinnsaigip mōra oile a n-aóin-inadh. Ba haoipinn onōrach airmitneach oirrderc adhamhra in t-aiffrinn mōr-lōighidhechta ro buī annsin. Naomhthacht in pāpa badhdēin día rádha go n-idhbairt chuirp Crīst. An chōra† cheōil-bhinn chomhmbinn [ba] chaointētnamaighi channtaireachta isan crīstaigheacht uile ar gach taobha de. [p. 92] Do mētughadh glōire 7 onōrachuiss an laoi sin d'āirigthi dorōnadh canonsāsion ar bhan-naoimh uassail adhamhra ro buī isan Rōimh dā chētt bliadan roimhe sin Sancta Fransisca Romana a comhainm. Ro tuigedh tra 7 ro scrūdadh as a deigh-bethaidh ar in saogal so, triasa nderna Dia d'fertoibh 7 do mīrbailip trithe, go roibhi betha naomhtha aice. Onōraighther a hainm 7 adhamhraighther issan egluiss 7 oirrdercaighther go huassal airmitnech eitir bhan-naomhoibh, acht is eimhilt re a fhaisnēis gach a ndernadh do stát 7 d'onōrachus 7 do dhegh-sermoniass a n-urthimchell a naomhthachta. Cebē do bhiadh do lāthair in radhairc adhamhra ro buī annsin ba hēitir lais a rádha nach ffacatar a shūile riamh comprāit nō

\* MS. *cardenen*.

† There is a dot under the *a*. Compare *cór*, Meyer, Contributions to Irish Lexicography.

<sup>1</sup> Something has been said above, p. 54, n. 1, about James Rath, the spy whom Salisbury employed to work in Flanders. On November 6/16 he wrote that he was about to accompany 'O Néill to Rome, and that he would deliver his letters to Salisbury to the French ambassador there (Cal. St. Pa. 635). In January he asked that his employer should "direct where he shall receive means at Rome . . . and that he may receive three or four months pay before he depart" (*ibid.* 643). On January 21/31 Salisbury replied to him under the name of Henry Richardson, informing him of provision for his entertainment at Rome, and directing him to forward his letters to London through another channel, "the style . . . being carried as from one Catholic to another" (*ibid.* 646). Observe



was crowned, Cardinal Borghese sent one of his noblemen as a grand messenger to invite the lords to solemn Mass which, in honour of the holy Father, was celebrated in the great church of Saint Peter. A position of honour and a fitting place was selected for them close to and near the Pope. They, and the ambassador of the King of Spain, and a great number of other great princes, were in the same place. Beautiful, splendid, reverent, remarkable, and wonderful was the precious Mass which was celebrated there. His Holiness the Pope himself said it and offered the Body of Christ. On either side of him was the melodious, sweet choir, the most harmonious in all Christendom. To increase the glory and the solemnity of that particular day, a noble, wonderful, holy woman named Saint Francesca Romana, who was in the city two hundred years before, was canonised.<sup>1</sup> It was discovered and deduced from her holy life in this world, in virtue of all the miracles God performed through her, that she had the life of a saint. Her name is revered and honoured in the Church, and she is proclaimed noble and venerable among holy women, but it would be tedious to narrate all the state, and splendour, and ceremony connected with her canonization. Whoever had been present at the wonderful sight that was there, might say that his eyes

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how carefully Rath follows his instructions in the following, describing the events referred to in the present chapter: "Reports the canonization on this holiday, the Thursday before Trinity Sunday, of St. Francesca, in St. Peter's. . . . The Pope himself in his patriarchal habit sang mass: all the cardinals, bishops, prelates, canons, and religious for the most part were present. Overnight his Holiness gave order that the Earl of Tyrone, and the rest with him, should have the best place in the church. Saw this order carried out, and to grace the matter more, his Holiness's niece went in coach to the Earl's house, and brought with her the Countess to St. Peter's, giving her both in place and church the better hand, which she had also of the Pope's sisters, amongst all the duchesses and other nobility of Rome. And when all the ceremonies were ended, the same niece that fetched the Countess, carried her home again to her own palace, from whence she took her. . . . Sends a picture of the canonized. . . . Sends 40 *Agnus Dei's*, and would send more if he had them" (*ibid.* 655-6). The suggestion in the passage cited *supra*, p. 55, that Rath did not go to Rome, is incorrect.



baramail dó ar dhiadhacht ar ghlōrmhaire ar onōraighi ar cheōlmhaire ar stāt saoghalta co n-a uile subhāilcip archena cenmothā sin. Ar gcrīchnugadh in aiffrinn gussin sermoniass amne dobheir in t-athair naomhtha benedixion bennaighthi do na huilip chatoilcip ro bātor dia lāthoir. Dodheachaidh dia pālāss ier sin. La sodain tra seinnter 7 comhmbuailter trompaidhi agus dromaighi in gārda itir marcshlaigh 7 troighthech. Comhscaoilter ier sin uile ordanās mōr 7 beag Chaislēin na nAingel 7 in pālāis mhōir. Ro bātar na srāide ar comhchrithnughadh 7 bogadh-bertnugadh ō threthan 7 ō thorann-chless na heachraidhi āille andrennda ēgcēillidhi Edāilligi ag \* trēn-tarraing a gcōistidhi go tairptech tric tolgānach trēn-tuinnsemhach tinnesnach. Rāngatar na tigernaidhi si chom a pālāis badhdēin iar sin. Du-ss-riacht chuca pressāntaidhi onōracha fuair naomhthacht in pāpa isan sermonias amne .i. bascaoit airg[d]idhe, cūpla do choilmnibh glēigheala, buidél ōrthaidhe co n-a lān fīna, [p. 93] bairgen arāin ier n-a comhōradh.

CV. Domhnach na Trīnōide i n-a dheghaidh sin ēirgit na mnā uaisle do lāthoir náomhthachta in pāpa. Gabhuis chuige go honōrach sulchair deghe-aighthech iad. Dobeirit diaigh a ndiaigh pōic dia choiss. Dorat benedixion dōibh. Fillit dia ttigh. Rāngatar immorro formhōr ord 7 mhac-clēirech in tsenaidh Rōmhānaigh go līnmhar 7 go ro-onōrach airmitnech adhamra a prosesion go tempall Petair in lā cētna sin mar uaissle 7 mar oirrdhercass don mban-naoimh ro remrāidhsemair. Ascnaidhit as a haithle ōthā tempall Petoir go ro riachtsat Sancta Maria Noua airm i n-a ffuil fert 7 tōmba na ban-naoimhe uaissle sin. Ro bātor tra imat do mhīltibh persa eguilsī. Nīr cuimhgedh rīm̄h nō āiremh forra re a n-imat-līnmaire. Adhnait na Rōmhānaigh teinnte 7 tennāla i n-a pālāssōip 7 a n-imdoirsip a tteghdhuissighe go n-ilimat do choinnlip 7 do lōchrannoip lasamna uas a ttighip. In tairimtheacht uas Chaislēn na nAingel ar n-a coimhlīnadh

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\* *ag* is added over the line.



never saw anything like or similar to it for piety, splendour, reverence, music, earthly state, and all the other virtues besides. When the Mass and the ceremony was finished, the holy Father gave a holy blessing to all Catholics who were present. He went to his palace after that. Then the trumpets of the guard, horse and foot, were sounded, and the drums beaten. After that all the great and small ordnance of the Castle of Sant' Angelo and of the great palace were fired at the same moment. The streets were shaking and trembling from the noise and clattering of the beautiful, mettlesome, wild, Italian horses, which were drawing their coaches strongly, quickly, fiercely, violently, and hastily. The princes returned to their own palace after that. Splendid presents which his Holiness the Pope received at the ceremony came to them, namely, a silver basket, a pair of white doves, a golden bottle full of wine, and a gilded loaf of bread.

CV. On the Trinity Sunday following, the ladies went into the presence of his Holiness the Pope. He received them with honour, with affability, and with welcome. They one after the other kissed his foot. He gave them a blessing, and they returned home. On that same day, as a mark of respect and honour to the holy woman we have spoken of, the greater part of the Orders and of the young clerics of Rome came in large numbers, and in a splendid, respectful, grand procession, to the church of Saint Peter. After that, they went from Saint Peter's to the church of Sancta Maria Nova,<sup>1</sup> where the monument and tomb of that noble saint is. There were, indeed, many thousands of ecclesiastics there. It was not possible to number or count them, there were so many of them. The people of Rome lit fires in their palaces and at the doors of their houses, with many candles and bright torches over

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<sup>1</sup> This church is now known by the title of *Santa Francesca Romana*. Francesca died in 1440.



do shoillsip ēxamhla. Pictūir ilair 7 dragūin ar n-a ndealbadh go hinntlechtach aigentach suadhamail uas Chaislēn na nAingel siad ar n-a n-imdhēnomh 7 ar n-a gcoimhlīnadh ō pūdar ar in taop astigh. Timchell chluig Aue Maria do bhuain deōigh laoi adhantor teinnte isna heōnoibh ēxamhla ingantacha sin. La sodhain tra scuchait 7 comhlassait a n-aoinfheacht 7 a n-aon-fhábhall go ro lēigset caora 7 casracha go gcethoip toirneacha teinntighe trichemh-ruaide ōs aird innus gur choimhlīnatar mēid āirighthi don aēr etaruas uassan gcaislēn do na cethoibh 7 do na [p. 94] frossoibh teinntidhe ro lēicset. Ba lōr do chūiss úathbhāiss 7 ingantuiss in domain fri fer a nemhfhaixena gusin tan sin bheith ag a ffaircsin Gabhait as a haithle tra ar bheith ag comhscaoiledh lāmhoigh re aroile 7 a chēile ass na seomraidhip 7 as na teghdhuissibh ēxamhla inntlechtacha aigentacha ro hullmhaighedh i n-a n-inmhedhōnaibh go ttairnic crīch 7 comhchaithemh a n-uile chostuis.

CVI. Día dardaoin chuirp Crīst du-ss-riacht ordugadh ōn athair naomhtha gusna maithibh si as go raghdaois i n-a persanoibh badhdēin ochtar do roighnibh a ndegh-dhaoine d'imachor chanabí ro buī uassan sacrament naomhtha sī a lāmhoip in pāpa ag a himchor go honōrach a modh prosesioin ōthā prīm-thempall Petair in Vaticano go ro riacht tempall Sanct Sēm a mBurgouesia, as sin arīss go ro riachtsat tempall Petair. Dodeachatar-san do lāthoir naomhthachta in pāpa. Ro imchradar an canabí uassan sacrament naomtha 7 uassan pāpa, acht ní fhuaratar Eireннаig riamh a comprāit sin d'onōir 7 d'airmhitin. Ingantaigit na hEdāilligh go mōr a mac samhla sin d'onōir 7 do supāilcibh d'foghbāil dōibh, ōir atbertsat dronga dīp nach meinic go ffuair én-nāsión amhāin isan dōman ríemh bheith ag imchor in chanabí. Ambasadōiridhe uile rīgh 7\* prinnsaidhe catoilce na crīst-aighechta doralai<sup>gh</sup>set issin gcathraigh an inbaidh sin, ba gnāth-bhēs bunaidh leō diaigh a ndiaigh gacha bliadhna a

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\* *uile rīgh* 7 is added above the line.



their dwellings. The top of the castle of Sant' Angelo was covered with lights of many colours. The images of an eagle and a dragon artistically, finely, and beautifully placed over it, were made and filled with powder in the inside. About the time of the striking of the bell for the *Ave Maria* in the evening, fires were lighted in these strange, wonderful figures. Then, at once and at the same moment, they burst and flamed forth, so that they emitted flashes, and flames, and thunderous, fiery, red-flaming showers on high, in such manner that they filled a portion of the atmosphere over the castle with the showers and fiery flames they sent forth. For one who had never seen the like before, to view it was enough to cause the greatest terror and admiration. After that, they commenced firing at one another from the rooms and the numerous, skilfully arranged apartments which were laid out inside them, until their supplies were wasted and exhausted.

CVI. On the Thursday of Corpus Christi an order came from the holy Father to the princes that eight of their noblemen should go in person to carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament while it was being borne solemnly in the hands of the Pope in procession from the great church of San Pietro in Vaticano to the church of Saint James<sup>1</sup> in Borgo Vecchio, and from there back to the church of Saint Peter. They came into his Holiness' presence. They carried the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament and the Pope, and never before did Irishmen receive such an honour and privilege. The Italians were greatly surprised that they should be shown such deference and respect, for some of them said that seldom before was any one nation in the world appointed to carry the canopy. With the ambassadors of all the Catholic kings and princes of Christendom who happened to be then in the city it was an established custom that they, in succession, every year carried the canopy in

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<sup>1</sup> This is the church of *San Giacomo Scossa Cavalli*.



seal d'imchar in chanabī d'foghbhāil. Ba hētmar imthnūth-  
 ach ingantach leō mar nach ffuaratar a imchor in lā sin do  
 sonnradh.\* [p. 95] Ba honōrach airmitneach aoipinn in  
 prosesion, oir bātor formhōr ord riaghalta 7 uile ord 7  
 chomhthinōl prīmh-eglus gcatharrdha na Rōmha ann go  
 n-imat prinnsaidhe 7 diūcaidhe 7 mōr-t[h]igernadh.† Nīr  
 uo lugha leō oldās mīle lōchrann lasamna ciara. Seiser ar  
 fhichit eitir ardeaspoig 7 subespoig i n-a ndeghaidh sein. Sē  
 cardenāil dēg ar fhichit as a haithle. An pāpa ag imchar na  
 sacramento, na tigernaighi Eirennacha 7 na daoine uaisle  
 ochtar a gcoimhlīn fon chanabī. A gārda saigdiūir Suser a  
 mōir-thimchell in pāpa 7 ar gach taop de 7 i n-a degheidh  
 a dhí thrūp mōra marcshlaighi. Bator na srāide coimhlīnta  
 ō dhaoi nip as a haithle. Samalta fri cāch nār uo lugha  
 oldās cēt mīle ro bātar. Iar rochtain tempaill Petair dōibh  
 lēicis in pāpa in sacrament naomhtha forsan ‡ prīm-altōir  
 mōir. Ier sin ro-s-lēic ar a glūinibh ē. Du-s-gní slēchtain  
 etarguidhi 7 urnaighi. As a haithle tra dorat benedixion  
 do chāch a gcoitchinne. Eirgis dia pālās ier sin. Tēigit na  
 huile ro bātar ann dia pālāssoibh 7 dia gcoimhtheghdhuissibh.

CVII. An sathorn ro baoi ar a gcinn do shonnradh  
 gabais Maguidir .i. Cūchonnacht Maguidhir a ched ag na  
 maithibh si. Lēicis gussin Naples ē, prīm-chathair oirrderc  
 oireghdha gabhus fri rīgh na Spāinne, léigi ar dā fichit lēige  
 ōn Róimh. Sēmus mhac Eimir meic Cūuladh § meic  
 Aodha Ruaidh Meg Mat[h]gamhna go n-uathadh oile i n-a  
 choimhiteacht 7 immailli friss.

CVIII. 1. Dia dardaoi in dechmadh lā don mī chētna  
 ēirgis O Néill 7 in t-ierla co n-a mbātar i n-a gcoimhiteacht  
 do thurus seacht prīm-eglus gcatharrdha na Rōmha. Ro

\* Here there is the entry: *Tadc do scriobh 7 bennacht for a anmain* 1609, Tadhg wrote [this], and a blessing on his soul, 1609.

† *a* is corrected to *adh* in pale ink.

‡ *san* is in different ink.

§ *cu-* is represented by *q*.

<sup>1</sup> The date was June 7th. Trinity Sunday was the 1st, and Corpus Christi the 5th.



turn. They were jealous, envious, and surprised, that they were not allowed to carry it on this particular day. The procession was reverent, imposing, and beautiful, for the greater part of the regular Orders and all the clergy and communities of the great churches of Rome were in it, and many princes, dukes, and great lords. They had no less than a thousand lighted, waxen torches. Following them there were twenty-six archbishops and bishops. Next there were thirty-six cardinals. The Pope carried the Blessed Sacrament, and the Irish lords and noblemen to the number of eight bore the canopy. About the Pope was his guard of Swiss soldiers, and on either side of him and behind him were his two large troops of cavalry. The streets were filled with people behind. It was considered by all that they were not less in number than one hundred thousand. When they reached Saint Peter's, the Pope laid the Blessed Sacrament on the great high-altar. Then he went on his knees. He prostrated himself, prayed, and invoked. Afterwards he gave Benediction to all. He retired to his palace after that, and everyone who was there went to his palace or his home.

CVII. On the Saturday<sup>1</sup> following, exactly, Maguidhir, that is, Cúchonnacht Maguidhir, took leave of the princes. He set out for Naples, a well-known, famous city, which belongs to the King of Spain, forty-one leagues from Rome. Sémus, son of 'Eimher, son of Cúuladh, son of Aodh Ruadh, Mag Mathghamhna<sup>2</sup> and a few others went along with him.

CVIII. 1. On Thursday, the tenth [*recte* twelfth] of the same month, O Néill and the Earl, and all that were along with them, set out for a pilgrimage of the seven great churches<sup>3</sup> of Rome. They had with them the permission

<sup>2</sup> See p. 17 (16, 17) *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> "The Seven Churches of Rome," to which pilgrims from all the world came, were, in the order in which the Irish visited them, *Santa Maria Maggiore, San Lorenzo, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Sebastiano, San Paolo fuori le Mura, and San Pietro in Vaticano*.



buī barāntus 7 augdarrās in athar naomhtha leō as go ffuighbhedíss taissealbadh uile reliciasss gach aoin-eguilsigusa roichfitis. Tinnsnait tra ag[us] tossaighit a n-ainm Dē a tturuis mōr-lōigidhechta ag Sancta Maria Maiora. [p. 96] Iar ttapairt a gcoipsen 7 ier gcaithemh na sacrame<sup>ing</sup>nte naomhtha taisselbhthor dōib cenn S. Bibiana, cenn Marcellina <sup>vision</sup>pāpa, aroile do lāmhoibh Tomāis apstail, stōil S. Giralamo, stōil go nanfuinn 7 go rann-chuid oile do chulaidh aiffrinn <sup>anife</sup>S. Tomāiss espoig Cannturbí, an cliabān i n-a roibhi in Slānaightheōir a mBeithil Iudda, na cēt-ghipail ro chuir in <sup>clothe</sup>naomh-ōgh i n-a urt[h]imchell a n-inbaidh a lenbachta, mailli fri hilimat relicias ro-onōrach oile. Acht mailli fri ced <sup>sealt</sup>spesialta ōn pā[pa] nī gnāth a ffaixin acht ier medhōn laoi gach domhnaigh cāsc go sīrraidhe. 7 is amhloidh thra ro tōcbhadh 7 ro cumdaigedh in prīmheclus sin ō thūs : Aroile duine uassal onōrach airmiteach ro buī issan Rōimh feacht n-aill, Ioannes Patricius a chomhainm, ro thecht commaim a dhingbāla acht chena nī ro tuismedh ierdraighi ar doman etorra. Bátar tra go n-imat conāich 7 sobharthain saoghalta. Cinnit 7 comhairligit aca badhdēin oigre dīless dingmhāla do dēnomh\* do naomh-Muire ōigh ar a n-uile innmhus 7 maithess 7 a idhbairt go huilide ō a n-uile croide i n-a seruís 7 i n-a subhāilcip. Feacht n-aon du-s-riacht spirut ainglide gussan mnaoi n-uassail remráite a ffidhair amra 7 aislinge. Atbert fria go ro erbadh 7 go folāiredh for a fer coimēirgi a <sup>dawn</sup>gcrepscul na maitne muiche ar n-a mhārach, secip foradhchnoc ard aoipinn i n-a tteicēmadh imat snechta 7 oigrídh dó, eaculus onōrach do chomdach do Mhuire isin dáu sin. An cōicedh lā do mí Augustus sin do shonnradh. Aimsir theinntide thessaide neimhneach is gnāth mun samoil sin do bliadhain isin Etāill uile 7 isin Róimh d'áirigthi.† [p. 97]

\* *do denomh* is written twice.

† A note which occupies the last few lines of this page makes it clear that O Cianáin composed this portion of his work some time before making the present transcript. He treats of the sickness of young Aodh O Néill later (ch. cxi.-cxiii.), but here, as he writes, he is reminded of its fatal ending. He says: *Forior gér ataid scela derptha agoinni o urchoid æir*



and authority of the holy Father that they might have exhibited to them all the relics of each church to which they would go. They began and commenced their meritorious pilgrimage in God's name at Santa Maria Maggiore. After having made their confessions and having received the Blessed Sacrament, there were exhibited to them the head of Saint Bibiana, the head of Marcellinus the Pope, one of the hands of Thomas the Apostle, the stole of Saint Girolamo, the stole and maniple, and another portion of the Mass vestments of Saint Thomas, bishop of Canterbury, the cradle in which our Saviour was in Bethlehem of Juda, the first clothes which the Virgin put around Him in His infancy, together with many other splendid relics. Except with the special permission of the Pope they are not usually seen, saving always on each Easter Sunday after mid-day. And it was in this way the church came first to be built and erected: There was once in Rome a certain venerable, worthy nobleman, Johannes the Patrician was his name, who had a worthy wife, but no child at all was born to them. They possessed much wealth and earthly goods. They decided and determined between themselves to make the holy Virgin Mary their own sole heir to all their wealth and goods, and to offer them all, with all their heart, in her service and in her honour. On one occasion an angelic spirit came to this noble wife in a strange form and in a dream. He told her to order and instruct her husband to rise at the dawn of early morning on the following day, and on whatever high, beautiful, commanding hill he found a place with much ice and snow, that he should build a splendid

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*na Romha. Ane 24. Septembris 1609 ro hadhlaicedh mac 7 oigri diles dingbala Ui Neill .i. Aodh O Neill, barun Duin Genainn, adbar tigerna Cheneil Eogain 7 an taopa uothuaidh d'Eirinn gan imresain gan fresapra, Bitter woe! we have certain information of the harmfulness of the air of Rome; yesterday, the twenty-fourth of September, 1609, the son and proper worthy heir of O Neill, Aodh O Neill, Baron of Dún Geanainn, he who would have been lord of Cenél Eoghain and the northern half of Ireland without contention or opposition, was buried.*



<sup>hus</sup>Attracht in duine uassal la cloisteacht in sceōil. Ascnaidhiss gussin dau i n-a ffuil in reclēs. Du-ss-fairnic an cnoc līnta lomlān do shneachta 7 d'oighredh. Ba machtnadh sōn. <sup>chr</sup>Eirgis gussin espog ba huachtarān uassan rann-chuid sin don chathraigh. Is amhloidh tra forcaomhnagair go ro taissealbadh sēt samhla na haislinge sin badhdēin don tigerna espog in oidhche chētna sin. Tochomhlait ieromh dīp līnaibh go n-imat <sup>people</sup>dāirmhe oile immaille friū. Rāngatar gussin maigin i n-a mbuī in snechta. Timaircit 7 tōgbait ē dia lāmhoibh badhdēin. Ier sin comhdaighther 7 comhthōgaibhther prīmh-eglus chatharrdha chostusach chāin-dēnmhach is lōr mēt 7 feapus issan uile domān ier n-a bennugadh 7 ier n-a coisrecadh a n-onōir na naomh-ōighe issin inadh chētna sin. ✓

<sup>outside</sup>  
<sup>order</sup>  
<sup>visible</sup>  
<sup>vessels</sup>  
<sup>fluid</sup>2. As a haithle tra dodheachatar go hegluis S. Laurāss mīle cēimenn seachtair ō ballaigip na Rōmha. Ier ndēnomh a tturais do rēir auirtt na heguilsī taisselbthor dōip aon do na clochaibh dia ro tuairgedh Steffān martīr gusin leic gcoimh-lethair mharmaid for ar lēicedh corp S. Laurāis ier n-a rōssadh for greidil. Is ēcnach do na huilip pāirt dia fhuil 7 dia fulradh fuirre ueōs go n-ianoip gloinidhip i n-a fuil rann-chuid dia fhuil 7 anbhroth, cuid d'ieronnn na greidle ar ar rōssadh 7 for ar commbruithedh ē. Isan egluis chētna sin atāit cuirp S. Laurās 7 S. Steffāin martīr, soigthech bennaigthi i n-ar baistedh ban-náomh uassal dier uo comh-ainm Lucilla maille fri hilimat relicias oile. An t-impire Constantinus Magnus ba hē ru-s-tōgoibh 7 ru-s-comhdaig in eglus sin a n-onōir na naomh-martīr remrāite. Silvester pāpa issē ru-s-bennaigh in naoimh-eglus sin.

3. [p. 98] TERNÓIDHIT na maithe si astech tar ballaigip na Rōmha in dara feacht. Eirgit go S. Cruce a nIerusalem. Doghnīt a tturus. Taisselpthor dōibh aroile soigtheach i n-a ffuil pāirt d'fuil luachmhoir 'Issa Crīst, gussin spongia i n-ar chuirset in cinedh Iudaidhe domblas æ in dragūin gusin ffīnēacra chuice a gcrann na croichi, dī delg don chorōin spīne, do mesfadh fer a ffaixena nach ssia oldās cōic laithe.

*lunegar*

*gall lūc*



church there to Mary. That happened on the fifth day of the month of August. Hot, sunny, injurious weather is usual about that time of the year in all Italy and in Rome especially. The nobleman rose when he heard the story. He hastened to the place where the church is. He found the hill filled and covered with snow and ice. That was strange. He proceeded to the bishop who was superior over that part of the city. It had happened that a similar vision had been revealed to the lord bishop that same night. They both then set out, and a large crowd of other people with them. They came to the place where the snow was. They gathered it and took it away with their own hands. After that a splendid church, wealthy and beautifully constructed, one of the biggest and finest in the world, was erected and built, and it was blessed and consecrated in honour of the holy Virgin in that same place.

2. After that they came to the church of Saint Laurence, one mile outside the walls of Rome. When they had performed their pilgrimage according to the order of the Church, one of the stones with which Stephen the martyr was stoned, and the broad marble flag on which the body of Saint Laurence was laid after having been roasted on a gridiron, were shown to them. On it portion of his blood and gore is still visible to all, and glass vessels which contain some of his blood and fluid, as also a piece of the iron of the gridiron on which he was baked and roasted. In that same church there are the bodies of Saint Laurence and Stephen the martyr, a holy vessel in which a noble holy maiden named Lucilla was baptized, and many other relics. It was the Emperor Constantine the Great who built and erected that church in honour of these holy martyrs. It was Sylvester the Pope who consecrated it.

3. The princes came inside the walls of the city again. They went to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and performed their pilgrimage. There were exhibited to them a certain vessel which contains portion of the Precious Blood of



dēg ō do benadh iad, an tairnge dochuaidh tria throigthip an tSlānaightheóra a gcrann na croiche sé ro-lāidir imremhor mullach-lethan mael-rennach ier n-a imdēnamh d'ierann uassal aithlegtha in mēide is lugha sé hordlaighi i n-a chomhfhat, go titul na croichi ro scrīb Piláid dia lāmhoip badhdhēin a laitín a ngrēgis a n-eabhra IHS NASARENUS REX IUDEORUM ier n-a chomdach go ro-onōrach go n-ōr go n-airget go gclochaibh uaisle ēxamhla ingantacha lasan mban-impir n-oirrderc Elena māthair Constantin mōir, aon do na deich ttallannoip fichet ar ar reacadh an Slānaightheóir an coimde \* comachtach Issa Crīst la Iudāss Scariot, trī pīssa mōra don chroich chēsta, go rann-chuid ro-mhōir do chroich ghadaidhe na des-lāimhe, gusan gcoirrmēr ro chuir Tomās apstal a gcneidh an taoip in t-ochtmadh lā do shonnradh ier n-eissēirghe an t-Slānaightheóra immaille fri hilimat reliciass ro-onōrach oile. Constantínuss ōg mac Constantínus mōir ba hē conrotacht 7 ru-s-tōgoip in prīmheglus naomhtha sin for impidhi 7 folāiremh Elena sí ar n-a bennughadh fri sanctuss Silvester pāpa.

4. La sodain tra ēirgit ier sin go prīmheclus ardespoig na Rōmha .i. in pāpa S. Iohannis Lateraní a comhainm. [p. 99] Iar ndēnamh a tturaiss taisselbhthor dōip cenn Acariás athair Eōin baiste, cenn S. Pancratius ro buī trī lō go n-oidhchi ag coimhsileadh fola crō-deirge feacht n-aon dia ru-s-loiscset eritchide 7 scrístōiridhe in chreidimh chatoilce an n-eglus so tra .i. S. Iohannis Lateraní, pāirt do thaissip Muire Madalēn, slinnēn S. Laurāss, fiacoil Petoir, an chailīss as ar ibh Eōin bruinne digh neimhe for folāiremh an impire ēttrōcair aingidhe Domisianuss 7 do chomhfhortacht Dē nā ro urchōidigh dó, an slabhradh aggarp ieroinn dia mbuī in naomh-apstal uassal adhamra Eōin bruinne cengailti cruaidh-chuibrighthe ōthā Efeso go ro riacht gussin Rōimh gusin ēdach día ro ēirigh sē slān go hopann a haithle a bāssaighthe do rēir inntinne na n-Idal 7 na n-anchrīstaighe,

\* MS. *choimde*.



Jesus Christ; the sponge in which the Jews gave Him the gall of the liver of the dragon and the vinegar when He was on the tree of the Cross; two thorns of the Crown of Thorns (one who had seen them would think that they had not been cut longer than fifteen days); the nail that went through the feet of the Saviour on the Cross, very strong, thick, broad-headed, blunt-pointed, made of fine cast iron, and of at least six inches in length; the inscription of the Cross which Pilate wrote with his own hands in Latin, in Greek, and in Hebrew, *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum*, splendidly worked in gold, silver, and wonderful, variegated, precious stones by the famous Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great; one of the thirty talents for which the Saviour, the Almighty Lord, Jesus Christ, was betrayed by Judas Iscariot; three large pieces of the Cross of the Crucifixion; a very large portion of the cross of the thief of the right hand; the forefinger which Thomas the Apostle put into the wound of the side on the eighth day after the Resurrection of the Saviour, together with many other splendid relics. It was Constantine the Younger, the son of Constantine the Great, who built and erected that holy church, at the request and demand of Helena, and it was consecrated by Saint Sylvester the Pope.

4. Next after that they went to the chief church of the archbishop of Rome, the Pope, Saint John Lateran's is its name. When they had performed their pilgrimage, there were exhibited to them the head of Zacarias, the father of John the Baptist; the head of Saint Pancratius, which continued to shed blood on one occasion for three days and nights when heretics and destroyers of the Catholic faith burned this church, namely, Saint John Lateran's; a part of the relics of Mary Magdalen; a shoulder of Saint Lawrence; a tooth of Peter; the chalice out of which John of the Bosom drank a poisonous draught at the command of the merciless, wicked Emperor Domitianus, which by God's



rann-chuid ro-mhōr do thaissip bennaigthe Eōin baisti, pāirt d'folt naomhtha 7 do gruaig bhennaigthe naomhMuire ōighe gussin gcēid-lēinidh dorōine sī dia lāmhoibh badhdēin dia haonMac mīrbaileach mōr-chomachtach 'Isa Crīst, an tubhāille ro chomail an Slānaightheóir do chossoip na n-apstal dia lāmhoip badhdēin ier n-innlat a gcos uochētōir a haithle an tsuipēir deighennaigh riasan páis, an cassūr dia ro bhuailetair in cinedh iudaide na clōithe coimhremhra 7 na tairrngidhe aggarpa iernaidhe go míthrōcaireach nemhchoigealtach tria chossoip 7 lāmhoip in Tigerna 'Issa Crīst a gcrann na croichi gusin gcorōin spīne um a chenn gussin ēdach purpur ro fhōgair Pilāid do chor i n-a urthimchell, pāirt d'fuil luachmoir an Tigerna, scealp do chrann na croichi cēsta,\* [p. 100] sudarium .i. an t-ēdach sonnradhach ro coimhlegadh for ghlan-ghnūis chrēch[t]naighthe an Tigerna ier n-a chor isan tompa d'imfholach a aighthe, pāirt don fhuil 7 don uisce ro scuch as chneidh an taoip an tan ro gon an dall Longinus an Tigerna go nemhchoigeltach a gcrann na croichi gusin sleigh slinn-lethain, cenn Peatoir 7 cenn Pōil siat a ngrāta imremhor ieroinn uas prīm-altōir na heguilsi. Gach līnmairecht aimsire taisspēntor iet ro thoilig naomthacht na pāpaidhe diaig a ndiaigh trī mīle bliadan do loghadh a peacadh 7 a thurcbāl ag gach aon don senadh Rōmānach do biadh ō deuōsion 7 innfheithem do lāthair in tan sin, gach aon du-s-fic ō prouensip oile dia ffaixin sē mīle bliadan do maitheamh a peacadh ag gach aon aca, na daoine ticit ō rīgachtoip 7 ō rēgiōn[aib] oile imchiena dia tturas† dā mīle dēg bliadan do maithem a uile peacadh ag gach aon gusan tres rann dia pect[h]oib 7 dia cintoibh ar maithemh ‡ aca. Ceithri colamain roi-dhessa as urchomair na prīm-altōra mōire siat ar n-a n-ullmhughadh do brās ar n-a gcomhōradh go delraigthech ar in tæp amoigh, coimlīnta

\* At the end of the page O Cianáin writes *mo chrech Aódh*, My loss is Aodh.

† In the MS. *oile imchiena* comes after *tturas* with transposition marks.

‡ MS. *nailhemh*.



assistance did him no harm ; the rough chain of iron with which the holy, noble, great apostle, John of the Bosom, was bound and fettered on his way from Ephesus to Rome, together with the garment whence he suddenly arose perfect after his being slain, as the Jews and the pagans thought ; a very great portion of the blessed relics of John the Baptist ; a part of the holy hair and blessed locks of the Blessed Virgin Mary, together with the first undergarment which she made with her own hands for her Almighty, wonderful, only Son, Jesus Christ ; the towel which the Saviour rubbed to the feet of the apostles with His own hands immediately after having washed their feet after the last supper before the Passion ; the hammer with which the Jews drove the thick spikes and the rough iron nails mercilessly and unsparingly through the feet and hands of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the wood of the Cross, with the crown of thorns about His head, and the purple garment which Pilate ordered to be put around Him ; portion of the precious Blood of the Lord ; a splinter of the wood of the Cross of the Crucifixion ; the *sudarium*, that is, the particular piece of cloth which was laid on the pure, wounded face of the Lord to conceal it when He was put in the tomb ; portion of the blood and water which gushed from the wound in the side when the blind <sup>1</sup> Longinus unsparingly wounded the Lord on the wood of the Cross with the broad-bladed spear ; the head of Peter and the head of Paul in a stout grate of iron over the chief altar in the church. Every time that they are exhibited, the Popes, one after another, have granted three thousand years of an indulgence for his sins and transgressions to every one of the natives of Rome who should be then present with devotion and attention ; to every one who comes from other provinces to see them, six thousand years of remission for his sins ; to each of those people who

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<sup>1</sup> *Longinus* (see p. 179, n. 1, *supra*) is commonly referred to in Irish as *an dall* 'the blind man,' a name which was probably understood in a spiritual or mystic sense.



ier n-inmedhōn don talom naomhtha ier n-a treōrugadh ō  
 Ierusalem gusan dau sin. Augustus impire ba hē ro chomdaig  
 na colamain sin don chonāch catha ro ēirigh dō forsan ffairrgi.  
 Adbeirit aroile gurap neptūin ro bator. Oratorium ro buī  
 ag Eōin bruinne ag etorguide in choimdedh chomachtaig an  
 tan ru-s-buī a ngiall na la Rōmānchaibh \* sē ar n-a chomh-  
 shuidiugadh fon altōir mōir. Isin † egluis chētna sin in  
 naomhaltōir bennaigthi ro-n-buī ag Eōin baisti in tan ro buī  
 isan dīthreb, [p. 101] flesc Mhaoissi 7 Aroin, an bord dia ro  
 thomail in Slanaightheōir in suipēr deigenach a ffochair a  
 apstal ‡ 7 a dhescipal. Titus in t-aonmadh impiri dēg ro  
 buī isan Rōimh is ē ru-s-treōraigh ō Ierusalem cusin dau sin  
 bliadain ar cheithri fichet d'aois in Tigerna. Mairidh aniū  
 go nuaide nemchrīon nemarsaigh go hēcnach dona huilibh  
 an colomhan comhfhata coimremor do marmar derg, ru-s-  
 scoilt § ō mullach go talmain a nIerusalem an tan ro thoirbir  
 7 ro thimain an Slānaigtheōir a gcrann na croiche a anmain  
 a lāmhoip an Athar nemda 7 atbert in manus tuas commendo  
 spiritum meum, gusin leic do mharmar derg for ar chuirsetor  
 in cinedh iudaidhe crann-chor for faidp 7 ētach Crīst, go  
 sompla 7 go ffidhair na ndīslighi ro bātor aca; dā leic  
 onōracha oile i n-a ffuil tomhus mēite 7 airde Issa Crīst 7  
 naomhMuire ōighi ar in saogal so, an t-omar comadbal  
 cloichi i n-ar baistedh Constantinus mór || la Selvester pāpa.  
 Isan omar chētna isedh baister gach uile duine don Turcia 7  
 don chineth iudaidhe 7 don ainchrīstaigeacht go huilidhi in  
 mēide dīp impaidhes isin Rōimh fo chuing creidmhe 7  
 crābaidh. Atā tra isan egluis ¶ [s]in sēpēl ro-onōrach ro buī  
 fri rē imchēin i n-a sheomra codalta 7 cumsanaidh ag an impiri  
 Constantinus sē ar n-a bennugadh a n-onōir Eōin baisti ro

\* *áncaibh* is in later ink.

† *in* is in later ink.

‡ MS. *apsap*-

§ MS. *rus dus scoilt*.

|| The *r* and the mark of length are in later ink.

¶ *egluisin* is over the line and *sin* is erased after *sepel*.



come from other kingdoms and distant countries on pilgrimage to these objects, twelve thousand years of remission for all his sins, and [full] remission for a third part of his sins and transgressions. There are four very fine columns before the great high altar, made of brass and brightly gilt on the outside, and filled in the interior with holy clay brought from Jerusalem to that place. It was Augustus the Emperor who built these columns for the success which he had upon the sea. Others say they were neptunes.<sup>1</sup> Situated under the high altar is the oratory which John of the Bosom had, at which he worshipped Almighty God when he was imprisoned by the Romans. In that same church is the blessed, holy altar which John the Baptist had when he was in the desert, the rod of Moses and Aaron, and the table from which the Saviour ate the last supper with His apostles and disciples. It was Titus, the eleventh Emperor of Rome, who brought them from Jerusalem to that place in the year eighty-one of the age of the Lord. There remains to-day, fresh, unworn, in its original state, visible to all, the long, stout pillar of red marble which split from its summit to the ground in Jerusalem when the Saviour offered and gave up His life on the wood of the Cross into the hands of the heavenly Father, saying *In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*, together with the flag of red marble on which the Jews cast lots for the garments and raiment of Christ, and an image and representation of the dice which they used; also two other splendid flagstones upon which there is the measure of the size and height of Jesus Christ and the holy Virgin Mary when they were in this world, and the large stone trough in which Constantine the Great was baptized by Sylvester the Pope. It is in that same trough that every person from Turkey, and of the Jewish race, and of all pagandom, who is converted in Rome to the

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<sup>1</sup> This is the translation of the sentence as it stands in the manuscript, but there is, perhaps, a word or more missing before *neptuin*.



chuir ann ilimat reliciass ro-onōrach go rann-chuid mōir don croich chēsta. Isan ecluis chētna sin fuil in coloman coimremar do marmar derg dia ro gairm in cailech a nIarusalem a haithle na pāisi gar riasan eissēirgi choimdheta. A n-imfhoixi na heguilsi ospitāil lān-mōr ro-chostusach ro tōgbadh ier gcēin mhāir la sen-chinedh uassal don tsenadh Rōmhānach [p. 102] .i. Colona. Imat trōcairi 7 dēirci 7 leigis ag a dēnam isan ospitāil sin ar lucht treblaite galair 7 esslāinte.

5. Feacht n-aon dia ru-s-gap treplait lupra 7 esslāinti neimneach dhāsachtach an t-impiri Constantinus mōr ro-sbaoi go n-anacair 7 go ndocomal n-adpal-mōr, nīr chuimgetair doctūiridhe teacaiscthi ināit fisicidhe fāthacha comfhortacht nō caomhna do dēnomh dó. Ro baoi a pennait 7 a peirical anbhāil. Aroile senōir glic naomh-arsanta doralā issan chathraigh comhairligis don impiri\* go ro thochoiredh Selvester pāpa ru-s-buī ag a dīthladh badhdēin a ndiamroibh 7 a ndroibēloib a sliap chorrach chomadbal ceithri mīle dēg ōn Róimh. Gnīther samloidh. Ar rochtain naomhthachta in pāpa do lāthair umhlaigis in t-impiri ō a uile chroide 7 innfheithemh do chreidem Crīst do rēir na heguilsi catoilci 7 ier ngabāil baisti issin omar remrāiti dō ba hōgh-shlān uochētōir gan doig gan galar gan lupra gan esslāinti. Ro timain in t-impiri in pālās so i n-ar comhdaigedh an eclus don pāpa do chēid-neit[h]ibh. E ba sossadh comhnaidhe dō badhdēin gussin tan sin. Siris a n-athchuin-gidh ar naomhthacht in pāpa in eglus so do bennachadh 7 do choissrecadh a n-ainm 7 a n-onōir Eōin baiste 7 Eōin bruinne. Gnīther samhloidh in dechmadh lā do mī Nouembris ro buī for a ccionn. Ocht mbliadhna dēg ar trīp cētoib aois an Tigerna in tan sin. A n-inbaidh 7 a n-aimsir in chonsecrātioin do beith ag a denomh ro thaispēin pictūir diadha 7 fidhair fīr-naomhtha an choimdedh chomhachtaigh í fēin go follus mīrbaileach. Atā aniū uasan altōir mōir. [p. 103] Ro loiscedh in eglus so la hainchrīstaigibh 7 la

\* *ath* was written first and then converted into *imp*.



yoke of faith and piety, is baptized. In that church there is a very beautiful chapel which the Emperor Constantine used for a long time as a bed and sleeping apartment, and it is blessed in honour of John the Baptist, who placed in it many splendid relics and a large portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion. In that same church is the stout column of red marble from which the cock crew in Jerusalem after the Passion, and a short time before the Resurrection of the Lord. Near the church there is a great rich hospital<sup>1</sup> which was erected a long time ago by an old noble family of the Romans, namely, the Colonnas. Great mercy, and charity, and cures are bestowed in that hospital on those who suffer from disease and ill health.

5. On one occasion, when a troublesome malady and a painful, violent sickness seized the Emperor Constantine the Great, he was in trouble and very great distress. The learned doctors and the skilful physicians could not bring him any assistance or relief. His pain and peril were very great. A certain wise, holy, old man, who chanced to be in the city, advised the Emperor to summon Sylvester the Pope, who was concealing himself in secret and pathless places in a great rugged mountain fourteen miles from Rome. This was done. When his Holiness the Pope came into his presence, the Emperor submitted with his whole heart and intention to the faith of Christ according to the Catholic Church, and after his having received baptism in the trough we have spoken of, he became immediately healed of pain, disease, sickness, and weakness. At once he granted to the Pope this palace in which his church was built. It had been his own residence up to that time. He besought his Holiness to bless and consecrate the church in the name and honour of John the Baptist and John of the Bosom. That was done on the tenth day of November following. The age of the Lord then was three hundred and

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<sup>1</sup> At the present time the *Ospedale di San Giovanni* lies in the immediate neighbourhood of Saint John Lateran's.



scristōirip chreidim Crīst <sup>lūce</sup> feacht fo dhí 7 nī ro urchōidigh ō bheag go mōr don pictūir acht atā go solus lōgmar dealraigthech.

6. As a haithle tra ēirgit na maithi si go Scala Sancta dier comhainm an staighre naomhtha a gcomhfhochraibh 7 a n-imfhoixe don prīmh-egluis remráite. Ocht gcoiscēm fhichet a gcomhfhat in staigri sin sē ar n-a oibriughadh do chlochaibh comhfhata coimhlethna glēigheala marmair. An pālās sainigthi son[n]radhach i n-a mbuī Pilāit a gcathraigh Ierusalem ba hann ro suidhigedh 7 conrótacht ó thús. An tan tra ro hergapadh an Slānaigtheōir Iossa Crīst la hIudach-aibh aimhirseachaibh a n-aimsir a pāissi is triasan staigri chomhard sin rucatar ceangailti cruaidh-chuiprigthi a ffrith-chētfaidh agus a ffiadhnuisi an breitheman Pilāit é. On trēn-tarroing tric thuinnsemaigh nemchoiceltaigh mhí-trōcairighe du-s-ratsat dō ro trascradh é a gcert-meadhōn an staigri as gur doirtedh pāirt dia fhuil luachmoir. Mairidh ueóss slicht-lorcc na fola fīr-uaisle fīrinnighi forsan gcloich. Grāta iernaidhe uas a cenn dia himchoimēt. A fforcinn an staigri atāit trī doirrsi do mharmair aoin-gheal ru-s-bātar a nIerusalem ar n-a suidiugadh a pālās in Pilāit chētna sin. Ro gap in Tigerna triasna trībħ doirrsip sin ria ndol do lāthair Pilāit dó.\* As urchomhair an staighre tabernacal onōrach dier comainm di sancta sanctorum. Atá immorro for na sēpēloip is līnmhaire reliciais mhōr-lōighidhecht isan uile crīstaighecht. Ann atā fidhair 7 pictūir Iossa Crīst dorōine Lūcās suiscēl dia lāmhoibh badhdēin [p. 104] an tan ro baoi Crīst forsan saogal so a n-aois 7 a n-aimsir a dā bliadhan dēg sī ar n-a comdach go honōrach airmiteach adhamra go n-ōr go n-aircet go gclochaibh uaissle ingantacha ēxamhla. An tres Niclās ro baui i n-a pāpa issin Róimh ba hé du-s-rōine consecrātion forsan sēpēl naomhtha sin for impidhe S. Laurāss martīr. Nī līnmhar tra oscailter nō taisselpthor an naomh-shēpēl sin ier n-inmedhōn. Go brāth

\* o is written on e.



eighteen years. At the time and moment the consecration was being carried out the holy picture and truly sacred image of Almighty God was manifested plainly and miraculously. It exists to-day above the high altar. This church was twice burned by pagans and destroyers of the faith of Christ, and the burning did not injure, much or little, the picture, and it is to-day bright, shining, and splendid.

6. After that the princes went to Scala Santa, which is named 'the Holy Stair,' near and in proximity to the aforementioned church. There are twenty-eight steps in the length of that stair, and it is constructed of long, broad, bright marble stones. It was in the special, particular palace in which Pilate was, in the city of Jerusalem, that it was first placed and erected. When the Saviour, Jesus Christ, was seized by the unbelieving Jews at the time of His Passion, by that high stair they brought Him, bound and fettered, before and into the presence of the judge Pilate. From the strong, forcible, unsparing, unmerciful dragging which they gave Him, He was knocked down in the middle of the stair, so that portion of His precious blood was spilled. The trace of that precious innocent blood still remains on the stone. There is an iron grate over it to protect it. At the end of the stair there are three doors of uniformly white marble which were in Jerusalem, placed in the palace of that same Pilate. The Lord passed through these three doors before He appeared before Pilate. In front of the stair is a splendid tabernacle which is called *Sancta sanctorum*. It is one of the richest chapels in precious relics in all Christendom. In it there is an image and picture of Jesus Christ, which Luke the Evangelist made with his own hands when Christ was in this world, at the age of twelve years, and it is ornamented splendidly, beautifully, and wonderfully with gold and silver and wonderful, variegated precious stones. Nicholas III who was Pope in Rome consecrated that holy chapel under the invocation of Saint Lawrence the martyr. To not many people is the interior



ní thēit ban-scāl fon doman for a doras astech. For a nglūinip ēirgit ina huile chinedhaigh suass triasan staigri naomhtha. Gach aon tēid ō deuōsion 7 ō innfheithemh ghlan trī bliadhna do mhaithemh a peacadh ar gach ēn-choiscēim fo leith \* aige, gusin tres rann dia uile peact[h]oibh 7 turcbhāloip ier n-a loghadh † aige. Is imaircidhe do na huilibh go rapait ag aithrighe ag urnaighthi ag etorghuide an choimdedh chomhachtaigh go gcongain chroidhe i n-a n-uile dupāilchip fri seirc nDē 7 coibhnessamh ag ascnámh triasan naomhstaigri bennaigt[h]i mōr-lōig[ig]echta sin.

7. Glúaissit na maithe si as a haithle ōthā Scala Sancta gusin prīm-eclais n-oirrdirc S. Sebastian a comhainm. Gapait tra forsan sligidh gusin sēpēl n-adhamra dier comhainm Domine quo uadis. Is amhloidh forcaomhnagair ainmniugadh an tsēpēil remhrāiti ō thūs : feacht n-aon dia ro bhaói ingreim foilenmain 7 persecution ag anchrīstaigip, ag scrístōiribh na heguilsí a ndeghaidh prinnsa 7 uachtaráin na n-apstal naomhtha .i. Petor, smuainis Petar an Rōimh d'fāgbāil ‡ [p. 105] 7 dol dō a ndíemhroip 7 a ndroibēloibh 7 a ffoithribh fāssaigh sechtair for imegla a bhāssaigthe acht ge ro baoi i n-a pāpa. Ar ttoighecht go haonda duaithnidh go hinadh in reclassa sin dó adchonnairc an Slānaigtheoir i n-a chomdhāil. Adbert Petor ier ttabairt aithne fair Domine quo uadis .i. a T[h]igerna cia leth raghair. Atbert an Tigerna : Ragat gussin Rōimh as go ffuilēngat croch 7 cēssadh 7 martra an dara fecht. Atbert Petor : A T[h]igerna is do chūis inghrema 7 inchreachaidh oramsa adeir bhar n-onōir-si na briathra sin 7 raghat-sa tar mh'aiss gusin Róimh 7 fuilēngat bāss 7 martra ar bar son-sa. Ba fīor sōn. Fillis Petor gusin Rōimh. Ro buī innte go ro bāssaigedh ē mar uassal-martīr onōrach adhamra amail is follus do na huilibh.

\* From *ar* to *leith* is added in later ink.

† *l* is written on the beginning of *m*.

‡ At the end of the page O Cianáin writes : *Uch uch ro chraidh 7 ro treghd bass Aoda ar gcroidi*, Alas alas, the death of Aodh has wrung and pierced our heart. See p. 192, n. *supra*.



of that holy chapel opened or exhibited. No woman in the world ever enters by its door. All persons who ascend the holy stair do so on their knees. Everyone who ascends with devotion and pure intention has three years' remission for his sins for each individual step, and the third part of all his sins and transgressions are remitted to him. It is expected of all that they repent, pray, and invoke Almighty God with compunction of heart for all their wickedness, having the love of God and their neighbour, as they ascend that holy, blessed, meritorious stair.

7. The princes set out afterwards from Scala Santa to the great, remarkable church named San Sebastiano.<sup>1</sup> On their way they went to the wonderful chapel which is named *Domine quo vadis*. This is how the naming of that chapel first came about : at one time when torture, oppression, and persecution were practised by the pagans and the destroyers of the Church against the prince and head of the holy apostles, namely, Peter, he thought of leaving Rome and of going into secret and pathless places, and into wild woods, through fear of being put to death, even though he was Pope. Having come to the place where that church is, alone and unrecognized, he beheld the Saviour approaching him. Peter, when he had recognized Him, said : *Domine quo vadis*, 'Lord, whither goest Thou.' The Lord said : "I go to Rome that I may suffer again the Cross and Crucifixion and a bloody Death once more." Peter said : "O Lord, to cast reproof and reproach upon me Thine honour speaks these words, and I shall return to Rome, and I shall endure death and martyrdom for Thy sake." That was true, for Peter returned to Rome. He remained there until he was put to death as a noble, great, and glorious martyr, as is known to all.

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<sup>1</sup> *San Sebastiano* is some distance outside the walls on the Appian Way. The church of *Domine quo vadis* lies between it and the *Porta San Sebastiano*...



8. Rāngatar Sebastian prīm̃h-eglus ro-onōrach conrótacht la ban-naoimh \* ro uassail do threip na Rōmhānach badh-dēin .i. Sancta Lucina a n-onōir S. Sebastian. Taibernacul ro-onōrach issan egluis sin airm a mbaoi corp Petair 7 corp Pōil fri haimsir imchéin. Gach aon tra raghus astech ō deuōsion 7 o chongain cride isan ionadh sin atā a chudrama do logadh a peacadh aige ionnamail 7 dodhēnadh turass tempaill Petoir 7 Pōil. Eirgit a n-uamaidh thalman as a haithle Semiterium Calistí a comainm .i. relec Calisti. Ro hadhnacht isan reilic sin ceithri mīle dēg ar trī fichit ar chēd mīle martīr. Isan uamaidh sin tra ro bhíttiss apstail 7 discipail [p. 106] an Tigherna for imgabāil 7 for teithedh na n-anchrīstaigedh. Ro hadhnacht immorro ocht pāpa dēg ier n-a mbāsugadh mar † martīreachaibh uaissle adhamra oirrderca la heiritchidhip aimhirseachaibh issin uamaidh sin tra. Atā maithemh 7 loghadh na n-uile peacadh ag gach aon tēit ō deuōsion 7 ō chongain cride trīthe. Isan egluis sin tra aroile do na saigdiū dia ro bāsaigedh S. Sebastian gussin gclorich in dēnnaigūh. ~~maithemh as a haithle~~ an Slānaightheōir an comhfhat aimsire ro buī ag briathradh fri Petor apstal ag in sēpēl remhrāite dier comhainm Domine quo uadiss 7 atā foillicht a choss issin ailigh ueōss. Atā tra corp S. Sebastian 7 corp na ban-naoimhe uaisle adhamra Sancta Lucina 7 corp Steffāin pāpa ‡ issin egluiss chētna sin maille fri hilimat relicias oile.

9. As a haithle sin tra ēirgit go Cauarello .i. inadh aoibhinn onōrach go mbortt marmair go n-imat sreabhān d'fīr-uisce fhinnfhúar ar n-a gcomhtharraing go hinntleachtach ēxamail ingantach lassan § senadh Rōmhānach ier cēin mhāir a gcomdhāil an impire. Iar ndēnomh a medhōin laoi issin inadh sin dōip ēirgit go tempall Muire na sanuissi. As a haithle go hegluis ro-onōraigh mhōr-lōigidheachta oile

\* After this word *an chomhanmasin* follows with deletion marks.

† Over the line.

‡ *mart-* with deletion marks comes before *papa*.

§ *ar na tharraing* is written before *lassan* with deletion marks.



8. They reached San Sebastiano, a very beautiful church which was built by a noble holy woman of the race of the Romans themselves, namely, Saint Lucina, in honour of Saint Sebastian. There is a splendid chapel in that church where the body of Peter and the body of Paul were for a long time. Every one who shall enter that place with devotion and compunction of heart has a like amount of indulgence for his sins as if he were to make a pilgrimage of the churches of Peter and Paul. After that, they went into a cave in the ground named *Cœmeterium Callisti*, that is, the cemetery of Callistus. In that cemetery there were buried one hundred and seventy-four thousand martyrs. In that cave the apostles and disciples of the Lord used to remain to avoid and escape the pagans. Eighteen Popes were buried in it after having been put to death as noble, great, and glorious martyrs by unbelieving heretics. Each person who goes through it with devotion and compunction of heart has remission and indulgence for all sins. In that church there is one of the arrows by which Saint Sebastian was put to death, together with the blessed marble stone on which the Saviour stood during the time that He was conversing with Peter the apostle at the chapel mentioned called *Domine quo vadis*, and the track of His feet is in the rock still. The body of Saint Sebastian and that of the noble, great, holy woman, Saint Lucina, and the body of Stephen the Pope are in that same church, together with many other relics.

9. After that they proceeded to the Caffarella, a splendid, beautiful spot,<sup>1</sup> having a table of marble, and a large number of streamlets of pure, cool water, skilfully, strangely, and wonderfully carried to the Emperor a long time ago by the Roman people. Having taken their dinner in that place, they went to the church of Mary of the Annunciation,<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the modern *Grotto di Egeria* at the Cafarella river, a short distance from *San Sebastiano*.

<sup>2</sup> This is now the *Chiesa dell' Annunciattella*.



Tria Fountania a comhainm airm in ro dīchennadh in tí Pōl .i. doctūir na gcinedhach 7 ier n-a dīchennadh uochētōir du-s-rat a chenn trī lēimenna diaigh a ndiaigh. Ro mhuidhset tra teōra tipraite d'fīr-uisce fhinn-fhuar oigreata assin talmain tirim in gach maighin a ndo-rat na teōra lēimenna sin. [p. 107] Atā ann ueōs in colūn marmair for ar dīchennadh ē go ndīb cennoip Anustatius 7 Uinsentius martīr maille re himat dīairme oile. Ar comgar na heguilsi sin tra mainistir ro-onōrach dar comainm Scala Celi .i. drēimire nime. Fo altōir mōir na heguilsi uaimh i n-a ffluilit taisi 7 adhnacal deich mīle martīr. Taisselbthor a ttaisi do na huilibh. Nī hēittir a nglacadh nō a ngluasacht. Feacht n-aon dia ro buī S. Bernard ag rād aiffrinn 7 ag idhbairt chuirp Crīst forsan prīm-altōir remrāite adchonnairc dia shūilip corparrda aingil 7 archaingil an choimdedh chomachtaigh ag treōrugadh na n-anmann ō piantoib purgatōra gusin fflaithemnus uachtarach 7 gusin sosadh nemdha. Atā do prīuilēit ag in altōir ōn uair sin anuas anam do breith as paurgadōir gach līnmairecht d'uairip aderthor aiffrenn uirre. Ord Sanct Bernard is sāmadh 7 is coimht[h]inōl isin mainistir si tra. Ro taisspēnadh dōip cenn S. Sonnonius ro buī i n-a ard-chaiptīn ar deich mīle 7 ar dā chēt saigdiūir siat immorro ar n-a mbāssugadh uile a n-aoin-fhecht isan Rōimh ar son chreidimh Dē 7 na heguilsi naoimhe, fōs ilimat reliciass ro-onōrach mōr-lōigidechta oile.

10. As sin dōip go tempall Pōil.\* Dognīt turus a shecht prīm-altōir mōr-lōigidechta. Taisselbthor dōib aon do lāmhoip S. Anna, an slabradh aggarp iernaidhe dia mbaī Pōl cengailti cruaidh-c[h]uibrigthi an tan ro-n-baí a ngialna lasna Rōmhānchaibh, cenn in samaritana, aroile do mēroip S. Niclās, mailli re himat relicias ro-onōrach oile. Atā immorro corp Timmoteus naomh [p. 108] ro buī i n-a descipal dīograisech ag Pōl ar in saogal so isin egluis sin, corp Selsus, corp Iulianus, corp Basilisa, maille re corpoip mōrāin don

\* *Poil* is in later ink over the line.



after that to another very beautiful, very meritorious church named Tre Fontane,<sup>1</sup> where Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, was beheaded; and immediately after his being beheaded his head made three successive leaps. Three springs of icy, cold, pure water burst out of the dry earth in each spot where it made these three leaps. In it still are the marble column on which he was beheaded, and the heads of Anastatius and Vincentius the martyrs, and a large number of others. Near that church is the very beautiful monastery name *Scala Cæli*,<sup>2</sup> that is, 'the Ladder of Heaven.' Under the great altar of the church there is a cave where the relics and tomb of ten thousand martyrs are. Their relics are exhibited to everybody. It is not permitted to touch or remove them. Once, when Saint Bernard was saying Mass, and offering the Body of Christ on the high altar mentioned, he saw with his bodily eyes the angels and archangels of Almighty God conducting souls from the pains of purgatory to the high heavens and the heavenly seat. Since that time the altar has the privilege of releasing a soul out of purgatory every time that Mass is said upon it. The order of Saint Bernard form the community and assembly in that monastery. The head of Saint Zeno, who was a commander of ten thousand two hundred soldiers who were all put to death at the same time in Rome for the faith and the holy Church, was shown to them (the Irish), and also many other very beautiful, highly meritorious relics.

10. From there they went to the church of Saint Paul.<sup>3</sup> They performed the pilgrimage of its seven meritorious chief altars. There were shown to them one of the hands of Saint Anna, the rough iron chain with which Paul was bound and fettered when he was imprisoned by the Romans, the head of the Samaritan woman, one of the fingers of Saint Nicholas, and a great number of other splendid relics. The

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<sup>1</sup> *Tre Fontane* is on the Laurentian Way.

<sup>2</sup> It is now called *Abbadia delle Tre Fontane*.

<sup>3</sup> The full title of this church is *San Paolo fuori le Mura*.



macraidh oirrdirc adamra ro bāsaigedh la Hiruath mac Antipater in tan ro baoi ag ingreim 7 ag foilenmain for Crīst. Crucifix ro-onōrach mīrbaileach isin egluis ro lapair feacht anaill agaidh a n-agaidh fri ban-naoímh uassail dier uo comhainm Brigita 7 í ag dēnomh urnaigthi n-a fiadhnuisi ro buī in tan sin i n-a banrīgain a rīgacht Suesia. Fo prīmh-altōir mōir na heguilsi in dara leith do thaisip Petair 7 Pōil. Constantinus mōr is leis conrótacht in eglus so ō tūs a n-onōir 7 a n-airmitin Pōil apstal fo uīthin gurab isin inadh sin d'āirigthe ru-s-fairnegadh cenn Pōil\* go mīrbaileach ēxamail ier n-a thescadh dia cholainn, 7 ier n-a chomdach uochētōir du-s-rat do ráith a anma don pāpa Selvester coimhinann 7 dorat prīm-t[h]empall Petoir 7 prīmh-thempall Eōin. A n-aon-ló amhāin ro bennaig 7 ro choisric Selvester pāpa tempall Petair 7 tempall Pōil. Coimhinann cutruma in lōigidheacht ro fhāgoip aca araon acht amāin cebē dodēnadh turus tempaill Pōil gacha domnaigh fri rē bliadhna a coibēis 7 a aurdail do loghadh a peacadh aigi 7 do ragadh do thuras Ierusalem nō Sanct Sēm mōr na Galissi.

II. As a haithle tra ēirgit go tempall Petoir in Vaticano prīm-chathaīr Petair isin Rōim. Gabait forsan sligidh go sēpēl beg dar comhainm sēpēl Petair 7 Pōil. In tan ro hergabadh Petor is Pōl la Rōmhānchaibh aimhirseachaibh ro treōraigedh amach asin gcathraigh gusin dau sin iat. [p. 109] Ceilibrat dieroile. Ier sin du-s-ratadh in tī Pōl dia díchennadh go Tria Fontania fo bīthin go roibi lēx ag na Rōmānchaibh gan neach† d'fīr-threib in tsenaidh Rōmānaigh badhdēn do bāsugadh acht fri cathraigh anechtair. Petor immorro ro baī i n-a Galaleus du-s-ratadh astech tar ballaigip na cathrach go sliap ro-ard do shecht prīmshlēibtip na Rōmha dier comainm Ianicolo. Treōraig it ē gusin gcnoc don sliap dar comainm Montorio. Cuir it croch

\* MS. *Poil Poil*.

† *neach* is in later ink over the line.



body of Saint Timothy, who was a zealous disciple of Paul in this world, is in that church, also the body of Celsus, the body of Julianus, the body of Basilisa, together with those of many of the great, remarkable children who were slain by Herod, son of Antipater, when he was persecuting and seeking for Christ. There is a very beautiful, miraculous crucifix in the church which spoke on one occasion face to face with a noble holy woman named Birgitta, who was then a queen in the kingdom of Suecia, as she prayed before it. Under the great high altar of the church there is one half of the relics of Peter and Paul. It was first built by Constantine the Great in honour and in reverence of Paul the Apostle, because it was in that particular place that the head of Paul was strangely and miraculously discovered after having been separated from his body; and having erected it at once, he gave it for the good of his soul to Pope Sylvester in the same way as he had given the church of Peter and the church of John. Sylvester the Pope consecrated and blessed the church of Peter and the church of Paul on the same day. He left equal and the same indulgences to both, save that if anyone should perform the pilgrimage of the church of Paul on each Sunday during a year, he has as much and as great remission of his sins as if he should perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or the great Saint James' in Galicia.

II. After that they went to the church of San Pietro in Vaticano, the chief seat of Peter in Rome. On the way they went to a little chapel<sup>1</sup> named the chapel of Peter and Paul. When Peter and Paul were taken prisoner by the unbelieving Romans they were conducted out of the city to that place. They took leave of each other. Then Paul was brought to be beheaded to Tre Fontane, for the Romans had a law that no one of the Roman people should be put to death except outside the city. Peter, however, who was

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<sup>1</sup> This chapel is only a short distance from the *Porta San Paolo*.



chomart i n-a sesomh dó go gc'ōithibh imremra aggarbha iarainn i n-a chosaip 7 i n-a lāmhoibh. Ru-s-fuair fēin mar athchuingidh bāis a chrochadh 7 a bāsugadh a ndeghaidh a chos as a mbeith neimhinannus martra 7 bāsaigthi dō fria n-a Thigerna. Conrōtacht immorro la rī na Spāinne .i. Fardinando mainistir ro-onōrach isin inadh sin a n-onōir Petoir, a hainm gusin tan so S. Petro Montorio. Atā aniū go sāmadh 7 go gcoimt[h]inōl d'aithrechoib ro-onōracha d'ord S. Pronséis. Du-s-rat immorro in t-athair naomhtha an pāpa Paulus Tertius ro-imat logadh 7 maithemnuis na peacadh 7 na tturcbāl do lucht cuarta turais 7 taistil na heguilsi si amail atā a gcloich marmair fuil uas fordoruss sēpēil ro-onōraigh \* atā a gclaustor na mainistrech isin āit sainighthi an ro bāssaigedh Petor.

12. Ier ndēnomh turais seacht prīmhaltōr prīuilēidech thempaill Petair dōip taispēntor tra cenn in apstail uassail adhamra S. Andriass dōibh sē ar n-a t[h]reōrughadh gusin Rōimh feacht naill la prinnsa na Muraighe a rē 7 a reimhes in dara Pius do bheith i n-a pāpa 7 dodeachaidh badhdēin cétna a persain [p. 110] dā míle ō ballaigip na Rōmha sechtair go Ponte Molle a prosesion ro-onōrach do glacadh chinn in naom-apstail uasail ōn prinnsa. Ro taisselbadh dōip as a haithle cenn Lūcāis suiscēl, cenn Sanct Sēm ōig, cenn S. Sebastian, cenn S. Tomāis espog Cantorbi, cenn S. Amando, lāmh Steffāin martīr, lāmh S. Cristoforus martīr maille fri hilimat oile do thaissip naom 7 fīrēn. Fo prīmhaltōir mōir na heguilsi in dara leith do thaisibh Petoir 7 Pōil. Taipernacul ro-onōrach uas uillinn descertaigh na prīmhaltōra mōire airm i n-a ffuil volta sancta .i. an aghaidh naomhtha .i. a[n] naipicīn ro chomail an ban-naomh uassal adhamra Veronica do glan-ghnūis chrēchtanaigthi an tSlānaigtheōra Issa Crīst in tan ro bháoi fo dhaoirsi 7 fo mhartra ag imchar na croichi cēsta. Is follus 7 is ēcnach do na huile dhaoinibh pictūir 7 fidhair ghnūissi 7 aigthi an Tigerna dia

\* MS. ro onoraighe.



a Gallilean, was brought inside the walls of the city to a high hill, one of the seven chief hills of Rome, which was called Janiculum. They conducted him to the eminence on the hill which is called Montorio. They erected a high cross to receive him, with stout, rough, iron nails through his hands and his feet. He himself obtained as a request before death that he should be crucified and put to death feet upwards, that there might be dissimilarity between him and his Lord in martyrdom and death. A very beautiful monastery was built in that place in honour of Peter by Ferdinand, King of Spain, and its name to this time is San Pietro Montorio. It is held to-day by a community and assembly of revered fathers of the Order of Saint Francis. The holy Father, Pope Paul III, bestowed much indulgences and remission of sins and transgressions to those who visit, make a journey, and travel to this church, as is stated on a marble stone which is over the lintel of the beautiful chapel, in the cloister of the monastery, in the exact spot where Peter was put to death.

12. When they had made the pilgrimage of the seven chief privileged altars of the church of Saint Peter's, the head of the noble, great Apostle, Saint Andrew, was shown to them, it having been transported to Rome at one time by a prince of the Moors, at the time and period when Pius II was Pope, and he himself came first in person two miles outside the walls of Rome, to Ponte Molle, in a splendid procession to receive the head of the holy, noble Apostle from the prince. After that there were exhibited to them the head of Luke the Evangelist, the head of Saint James the younger, the head of Saint Sebastian, the head of Saint Thomas, bishop of Canterbury, the head of Saint Amandus, the hand of Stephen the martyr, the hand of Saint Christopher the martyr, together with many other relics of saints and holy men. Under the chief high altar of the church there is one half of the relics of Peter and Paul. There is a very beautiful tabernacle over the south corner



fhuil luachmoir chrō-deirc issin naipicīn sin, cenn na sleighi  
 slinn-leithne dia ro goin in dall Longinus 7 dia ro thregd go  
 nemchoiceltach compar croidhe Crīst in tan ro buī marp  
 gan anmain \* a gcrann na croichi. An Turcach mōr ba hē  
 ru-s-tidhlaic na seōit adhamra oireghdha sin gusin pāpa .i.  
 in t-ochtmadh Innocentius. Atāit aniū go ffertoibh 7 mīrbh-  
 ailip ēxamhla ingantacha. Gach aon do threib na Rómha  
 bīss do lāthair a ttaispēnta ō innfheithemh 7 deuōsion trī  
 mīle bliadan do loghadh a peacadh aige, sē mīle bliadhan  
 ag gach neach do rīgachtoip nō prouensip oile, dá mīle dēg  
 bliadan ag eachtor-chrīchaibh oile imchiena ainiūil gus  
 [p. 111] in tress rann dia peacadh ar n-a maithemh 7 ar n-a  
 loghadh ag gach aon aca acht go tticit ō deuōtion 7 ō chongain  
 cridhe. Isin egluis chētna sin corp † S. Simon 7 S. Iud .i.  
 dīss naom-apstal ro-onōrach, corp S. Cristostus, corp S.  
 Gregoriuss pāpa, corp ban-naoimhe uaisle S. Patronella.  
 A n-imfhochraib sēpēil Petair deich gcolamain chasta  
 chompāssacha chaīn-dēnmacha do marmar aoingheal. A  
 ttempall Solman a nIerusalem is eadh ro tōgbadh 7 ro  
 hullmaighedh ō thūs. Ar in taop chlē don altōir mōir aon  
 cholún amhāin casta mharmair, grāta ieroinn i n-a ūrthim-  
 chil. In tan tra ro bīodh an Slānaightheoīr ria nimfhulang  
 na pāisi a gcathraigh Ierusalem ag senmōir ag teagusc ag  
 dispōirecht 7 apcōideacht lasan chinedh n-iudaidhi ba gnāth  
 leis sessamh fri hucht in cholūin sin 7 a guala nō a uille do  
 lēicen leiss ar uairip. Is follus tra sin as na fertoibh 7 as  
 na mīrbailip doghnī Dia trīd, ōir na persana i n-a mestur  
 droich-spirut aimsigt[h]e aidberseōracht 7 tochuirter astech  
 fo iadhadh in grāta sin, nī mōr dīp nach ffaghann slāinti 7  
 comfortacht a gcētōir. Taispēntar dōib ro-imat radharc  
 ēxamail oile.‡ Constantinus mōr is leis ro-n-comhdacht 7  
 ro tōgbadh in eglus so ō thūs. Ro idhbair as a haithle do  
 rāith a anma don pāpa Selvester mar dorat tempall Pōil 7

\* *gan anmain* is in the margin in later ink.

† *p* was added later.

‡ *ii* added later.



of the great high altar where the *Volta Santa* is, that is, 'the Holy Face,' namely the napkin which the great, noble, holy woman Veronica applied to the pure, wounded face of the Saviour, Jesus Christ, when He was in affliction and martyrdom carrying the Cross of Crucifixion. Manifest and visible to all people is the picture and image of the face and countenance of the Lord in His precious, red blood in the napkin, and also the head of the broad-bladed spear with which the blind Longinus wounded and pierced unsparingly the breast of Christ while He was dead and lifeless on the wood of the Cross. It was the grand Turk who presented these great, wonderful treasures to the Pope, namely, Innocent VIII. They work to-day miracles and strange remarkable wonders. Each one of the Roman people who is present with attention and devotion when they are exhibited receives three thousand years of remission for his sins, each person from other kingdoms or provinces six thousand years, other outside, distant, foreign nations twelve thousand years, and a third part of his sin is pardoned and remitted to each person of them provided they come with devotion and penitence of heart. In that same church are the bodies of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, two holy venerable Apostles, the body of Saint Chrysostom, the body of Saint Gregory the Pope, and the body of the noble holy woman Saint Patronella. Near the chapel of Peter there are ten circular, massive, beautifully carved pillars of white marble. They were first erected and set up in the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. On the left-hand side of the high altar there is one circular marble column with a grate of iron around it. When the Saviour used to be in Jerusalem before suffering the Passion, preaching, instructing, disputing, and arguing with the Jewish people, He was wont to stand in front of that pillar, and to lay His shoulder or His elbow at times against it. That is manifest from the miracles and wonders which God works by means of it, for of those persons in whom it is believed that there is an attacking evil spirit and a devil, and who are



tempall Eōin. An t-ochtmadh lā dēg do mī Nouembris issedh ro bennaigedh 7 ro coissrecadh ē lasan pāpa chētna sin aois an Tigerna in tan sin trī cēt bliadhan ar trībh bliadhnoibh fichet. Ro thoilidh 7 ro aontaidh naomthacht in pāpa ro-imat logadh 7 indulgens ag gach aon dodēnadh a chuairt 7 a thurus o deuōtión [p. 112]; sē mhíle bliadan ar ocht mbliadhnoibh fichet gusin tres rann dia uile peacadh ar n-a maithemh 7 ar n-a loghadh ag gach aon dognī turus na secht prīmh-altōir mōr-lōigidechta prīuilēidecha fuilit a ttempall Petair, acht is imaircidhi dō gu ro thēchta serc nDē 7 coibnessamh maille fri cungain cride i n-a peacoibh 7 i n-a dupāilcibh. An chathāir cranngaili i n-ar shuidh Petar fēin gusin mbrat ro cuiredh uas Petar 7 uas Pōl ier n-a mbāsugadh issin tempall so tra. Seacht mbliadhna do logadh a peacadh aige gach līnmaire aimsire chēimneōchass sē a n-aghaidh in staigri marmair fuil as urchomair dhoraís an tempaill 7 raghus do dēnamh urnaigthi astech a sēpēl Petair. *Cros* chomhartt cheithireochair c[h]omhfhata chain-dénmach d'aon chloich amhāin is fīr-airde isin chrīstaigecht uile ar n-a comhshuidiughadh go hinntlechtach aughdarrdha as urchomhair in doraís mhóir. Ceithri leoman do brās ier n-a gcomhōradh fuithe uas trī hinneōnaibh marmair uas a chēile. *Cros* ier n-a comōradh go dealraigthech ar n-a himdēnamh \* do brās i n-a fīr-mullach. Sixtus Quinctus brāthair d'ord sanct Pronsēis ru-s-tōgoibh 7 ro chuir i n-a coimhsesamh airm a ffuil anosa. Adeirit drong do lucht inotachta 7 aithreptha na Rómha gur chosain a cor i n-a sesamh amhāin deich míle ar dā fichit míle corōin. Snāthat Petair a comhainm. Deich mbliadhna do logadh a peacadh ag gach aon chanus trī paitreacha 7 trī Aue Maria as a hurchomair. Gach aon do-s-gnī uisitātion nō imthathaidhe ō deuōtion ar in prīm-egluis so Petair ō fhēl Muire na [p. 113] sanuissi .i. an cōicedh lā fichet do mhī mhārta gusin gcēd lō augustíí .i. fēsta Sancti Petri ad Uincula, atāit dā míle dēg

\* *him* is over the line.



introduced under the covering of that grating, not many fail to receive health and relief at once. Many other wonderful sights were shown to them. By Constantine the Great this church was first built and erected. He presented it afterwards for the good of his soul to Pope Sylvester, as he had given the church of Paul and the church of John. On the eighteenth day of November it was blessed and consecrated by that same Pope, the age of the Lord at that time being three hundred and twenty-three years. His Holiness the Pope granted and bestowed many favours and indulgences to each person who should perform a visit and a pilgrimage to it with devotion ; each person who performs the pilgrimage of the seven chief, meritorious, privileged altars which are in the church of Peter, has an indulgence of six thousand and twenty-eight years, and the third part of all his sins remitted and forgiven, but it is essential for him that he possess the love of God and his neighbour, with contrition for his sins and vices. In this church is the wooden chair in which Peter himself sat, and the cloth which was put over Peter and Paul when they were put to death. A person receives seven years' indulgence for his sins every time that he shall ascend the stair of marble which is opposite the door of the church, and that he shall enter the chapel of Peter to pray. A tall, four-cornered, long cross, beautifully made of one stone, the highest in all Christendom, is artistically and beautifully placed in front of the great door. Beneath it are four lions of gilt brass set on three marble anvils placed one above the other. On the summit of it there is a brightly gilt cross made of brass. Sixtus V, a friar of the Order of Saint Francis, erected it, and put it standing where it is now. Some of those who live and dwell in Rome say that the erection of it alone cost fifty thousand crowns. It is called 'Peter's Needle.' Each person who recites three Our Fathers and three *Ave Marias* before it has an indulgence of ten years for his sins. Every one who makes a visitation or journey with devotion to this great church of Peter from



bliadan do loghadh a peacadh aigi, 7 gach līnmhairecht aimsire dēnus ēn-chuid dīp sin a ffēsta ēigin spesialta d'fēs-toibh na heguilsi badhdein, atā in uile logadh sin dūpalta aige. Ag sin amhāin prīmh-eglus chatharrdha les nach hēitir eglus nó obair fon uile doman do chor a gcomprāit nō a gcommōrtus, ōir issī is mō dheisi dheigdēnmaighe for bith, is ferr colūin 7 tairimthecht marmair 7 is saothraighi airde fhīr-fhairsingi fo thalmain 7 uas talman. Uile stuadha comharda an tempail ar in tæp astigh ar na gcomhōradh uile go lonnradhach dealraighthech ēxamail. Cenn luaighi fair ar in taop amoigh. Samhalta la cāch go mbeitis fichi mīle fer i n-a n-armoibh i n-a sesomh a n-aoinfheacht forsan tairimthecht atā fair ar in tæp amoigh. An pālās is mō 7 is deisi 7 do derrsgnaigh do pālāsoip in domain ag in pāpa ar a uillinn tuaiscertaigh. Obair ro-chatharrdha ag in pāpa Paulus Quinctus ar in egluis sin gach ēn-lā isin mbliadhain 7 dā ttugadh Dia saogal nādūrtha do rēir a chomplexa 7 a persan dó, is inmesta go nderscnōchaidh sī d'uile oibreachaibh in domain ge nach ffuil sēt samhla di amail atā. Imat taispēnta ro-onōrach 7 relicias mōr-lōigidhechta cenmothā sin issin prīm-egluis so Petair 7 do brīgh gurab eimilt labairt ar gach aon fo leith dīp, gach aon dianab āil a ffaircsin dogēpaidh re a n-uile thaissealbadh a ffēstaibh uaisle im-chuibdi iad.

13. A fforcinn in turais mōr-lōighidheachta sin ēirgit na maithi si dia pālāss. Airissit 7 comhnaigit ag lēicen a scīsi 7 a mertin a haithle a tturais neoch ba subāilceach [p. 114] dia n-anmannoibh 7 ba saothrach dia gcolloibh.

CIX. 1. Laibheōram begān briathor ar eōluss na Rōmha annso sīoss mar is ferr fuaramar fria scrūdadh é 7 sinn ag inotacht isin Róimh fri haimsir imchēin anossa. Atāit sē tempail ar dā fichit ar dā chēt tempall innti gan na seacht prīmh-eguilsī do lapramar do chomhairemh orra sin. Aon dīp side tempall roi-dhess atā for foradh-chnoc ard aoibinn ar comhghar in pālāiss i n-a mbuī comnaidhe na ttigernadh so, Honofrius a chomhainm, suas odes go coimhdīrech ō



the feast of Mary of the Annunciation, that is, the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, to the first day of August, that is, the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, receives twelve thousand years of indulgence for his sins, and each time that he performs any of these on some special feast of the feasts of the Church itself, he receives double all that indulgence. This is the sole chief church with which it is impossible to compare or liken any church or construction in the world, for it is the greatest, the most beautiful, and best built in the world, with the best marble top and columns, and the most elaborate, highest, and most extensive both above and below the ground. All the high arches of the church inside are entirely gilt, bright, shining, and remarkable. There is a covering of lead on it on the outside. One would imagine that twenty thousand men in arms could stand together on the top of it on the outside. The Pope has the greatest, most beautiful, and most excellent of all the palaces in the world at its northern angle. Pope Paul V is carrying out splendid work at that church every day of the year, and if God should give him a natural span of life according to his constitution and appearance, it is likely that it will surpass all the buildings in the world, though there is no peer of it as it is. There are many other splendid exhibits and meritorious relics in this church besides these, and because it would be tedious to speak of each of them separately, each person who desires to see them will have them all exhibited to him on great, appropriate festivals.

13. At the end of that highly meritorious pilgrimage, the princes went to their palace. They stayed and rested, recovering from their weariness and fatigue, after their pilgrimage, which was pious for their souls though full of labour for their bodies.

CIX. 1. Here we shall say a few words on the description of Rome, as far as we have learned it by experience, we having lived in Rome for a long period now. There are



Gepta S. Spiritus. Radharc 7 faircsin na Rōmha uile ass gusin tTibir ag ascnam 7 ag cēimniugadh trithe, fōs radharc mēide āirigthi do s[h]liabh Alpa 7 don Edāill mōr-thimchell na cathrach. Ameno comhainm an chnuic āirighthe don sliabh for ar tōgbadh an eglus. Ord Benedict is sāmadh 7 is coimt[h]inōl innte. Is aire ro hainmnigedh Honofrius fuirre : baī aroile rī amra oireghdha for san Persia fecht n-aill ro thecht mhnaoi a dthingbāla. Ba supāilcech airmhit-nech oirrderc adhamra in rī sin acht chena ní ro tuismedh clann nō ierdrāighe ar doman dō. Ba tuirsech dibergōidech dobrōnach leis gan a oigri dīles dingmāla do bheith ag luamhairecht a rīghi 7 a fhlaithemhnus i n-a dheghaidh. Iar mbeith treimhsi imchian fon dogra 7 fon doimenmain sin is eadh ro scrūd 7 ro fhorbhair i n-a menmain ē badhdēin 7 a chomhmam go roignip a ndeghdhaoine a sruithi 7 a senōire do dol gusin egluiss, an Trīnōit nemda do atach 7 do etorguide i ffrithchētfaidh na sacramento naomhtha maille fri troscadh aurnaighthi 7 oilithri um aon tuismedh amhāin cloinni dfagāil dó. Gnīther samloidh. Eirgit gusin egluis. Aínit urnaighit [p. 115] cúit a peacaidh 7 a ndubāilce co n-a n-uile riachtanus 7 amghar. Ro ēist an coimdhe comachtach gerān 7 ēgnach na ffirēn so. Du-s-fāinic tra dia fertoibh 7 mhīrbailibh a fforcinn aimsire aithgirre as a haithle go ttarla toirrches don mbanrīgain. Ba lūthghāireach ilgairdeach lasin rīg 7 la mait[h]ibh rīgachta na Persia uile ōdclos deimin 7 dearbh in scéoil sin. Sen-nāmha arsanta na ffirēn n-iriscech .i. in diapal ro-ss-gap ētt 7 imthnūth adpal fo bīthin in tabartuis 7 in tidhlaicthi sin dfagāil don rīg on Trīnōid nemda. Is edh ro dholp 7 ro scrūd i n-a menmain mailīsigh mhíchinnemhnaigh fecht n-aon ru-s-fuair baogal ar in rīg 7 é a n-airegal uaignech, ēirgis dia innsaigidh a n-aibīt oilit[h]righ imt[h]ruaigh. Adfēt in rī scēla de. Oilit[h]rech athtruagh tuirsech mē. Ro shiplus formhōr in domain ag dēnamh turais 7 treideanuis. Mesait cāch mo beith naomhtha 7 go ffuil spirat fhāidetōrachta innam ier n-inmedhōn 7 is truagh lim, a rī na Persia, mar do mealladh



two hundred and forty-six churches in it, without counting among these the seven chief churches which we have spoken of. One of these is a very beautiful church situated on a beautiful, high hill near the palace where the lords lived, Sant' Onofrio is its name, lying exactly southwards from the gate of Santo Spirito. There is a view and sight of all Rome from it, of the Tiber as it flows and advances through it, of a certain portion of the Alps, and of the part of Italy around the city. Amoen<sup>1</sup> was the name of the particular eminence of the mountain on which the church was built. The congregation and community in it is the Order of Saint Benedict. This is the reason why it was named Sant' Onofrio's: There was a certain great, renowned King in Persia at one time, and he had a wife that was worthy of him. This King was virtuous, venerable, notable, and splendid, but no children or posterity were born to him. He was sorry, regretful, and grieved that his own worthy heir should not rule his kingdom and principality after him. When he had been a long time in this grief and sorrow, the thought came to his mind that he himself and his wife, together with the noblest of their relatives, their venerable men and elders, should go to the church, and invoke and beseech the heavenly Trinity in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament with fasting, prayer, and pilgrimage, that he might have one child. That was done. They went to the church. They fasted, they prayed, they wept for their sins and their vices, and all their delinquencies and wretchedness. Almighty God heard the prayer and plaint of these holy people. By His miraculous intervention it came about at the end of a short time that the Queen became pregnant. The King and noblemen of all the kingdom of Persia were glad and delighted when the certainty of the matter was known. But the old enemy of the pious faithful, the devil,

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<sup>1</sup> By this is meant the Janiculum, on the slope of which the church of Sant' Onofrio stands.



7 mar do toghaothadh thusa lessin mbanrīgain. Cinnus ōn, ol in rí. Ni hanna, ol in t-oilit[h]rech ; adbiur-sa frit trē briathraibh fīre. Ba himshnīmach athtuirsech let 7 í an coimhlín so do bliadhnoibh ad choimhleapaidh gan clann nō ierdraighi agoip. Tarla dissi adaltrannus 7 peacadh grānna do dēnomh tar do chenn sa as go ffuil tæbht[h]rom torrach in comhfhat so d'aimsir. Nā lēic-si in chlann sin do baistedh nō do bheathugadh for do sheilp, 7 ar imegla go tticfadh cenēl comhaigthech do thruailledh fīr-f[h]ola na rīghachta, folāir mōrc mōr tinedh do dēnomh 7 ar in uair a ngeinfider an chlann sin teilgter let a gcertmedhōn na teinedh trichemh-ruaide sin í. [p. 116] Mesais an rí go neimhghlic fo bīthin chealcc 7 chathaigh[th]e an aidhbirseōir gur uo fīr-bhriathra gach ar chan fris 7 gur uo duine naomhtha é 7 creidis gach ní ro ráidh. Iar ttuismedh chloinne don mbanrīgain cuiris an rí comhchruinniugadh ar roignib a deghdaoine go huilide 7 teilcis dia lāmhoip badhdēin an mac ro buī ag in mbanrīgain a gcertmedhōn teinedh romhōire *tuc foderā do dēnamh.* Tarla an mac ar a dā ghlūn go dīrech isan teinidh. Fēchuis uassa. Tōgbais a dī lāimh a ffidair chroisi 7 umlachta don Trīnōit nemhdha. Ro buī an bhanrīghan for a glūinibh a ffrithchētfaidh in rīgh dia atach 7 díā etorghuidhe as nach bāsaighfedh an t-aon-mac fuair ō Dhia, maithe na rīgachta mar in gcētna, acht chena ba dīmhaoin dōibh. Do grāsoibh na Trīnōide bá follus don rī 7 do chāch archena aingel Dē uassaibh isin aēr 7 ro fhorchongair forsan rī an mac do thesarcain, a chor dia bhaistedh, Honofrius do thabairt mar ainm fair. Dogní an rī samhloidh ar comairle an aingil 7 ní ro erchōidigh an tene don mac ō beg go mōr. Gabuis aithmhēle adbal-mōr 7 aithrechus dermair an rī 7 smuainis gur uo hē an diabal tāinic chuici a richt an oilithrigh 7 dorat fo n-a inntinn an mac do chor isan teinidh. Is eadh ro scrūd i n-a menmain, ō do thesairc Dia an mac 7 a sīthchāin a *peacaidh*, a idhbairt do Dhia 7 don egluis. Eirgis go mainistir d'ord Gerelamo 7 riagal Benedict aca .i. ord dīthreabach. Ro chuir an



conceived great envy and jealousy because the King had obtained that grant and gift from the heavenly Trinity. This is what he meditated and considered in his wicked, baneful mind : once when he took the King unawares in a lonely room, he approached him in the habit of a poor pilgrim. The King asked him who he was. "I am a wretched, poor pilgrim," [said he]. "I have walked the greater part of the world performing pilgrimage and abstinence. It is believed that I am a saint, and that I have the spirit of prophecy within me, and I regret, O King of Persia, how you have been cheated and deceived by the Queen." "In what way?" said the King. "It is easy to say," said the pilgrim; "I will speak to you in words of truth. You grieved and were sorry that she should be so many years your consort, and that you had no children or posterity. She has committed adultery and a vile sin against you, so that she is for some time bearing child and pregnant. Do not allow that child to be baptized or reared as yours, and for fear that an outside breed should enter to corrupt the true blood of the kingdom, give order to have a great pile of fire made, and when this child is born, let it be pitched by you into the middle of that raging, red fire." The King foolishly thought, because of the wiles and temptation of the devil, that all he said to him was true, and that he was a holy man, and he believed everything that he said. When the Queen had given birth to the child, he assembled all the nobles of his people, and with his own hands he pitched the Queen's child into the centre of a very great fire which he had caused to be made. The boy fell straight on his two knees into the fire. He looked up. He raised his two hands in the form of a cross, and in humility to the heavenly Trinity. The Queen was on her knees before the King, praying him and beseeching him not to put to death the one child which he had received from God, and the nobles of the kingdom did the same, but in vain. By the favour of the Trinity there appeared to the King, and to all the



lenamh dia bhaistedh. Ro fholāir Honofrius do thabairt mar ainm fair do rēir theguisc 7 aithne an aingil. As a haithle tra idhbraiss [p. 117] 7 toirbhiriss as a lāmhoip badhdēin do thigerna-ab na mainistrech ē a n-onōir na naom-Thrīonōide nemhdha. Gabuis an tigerna-ap an Dionntanus naomhtha sin chuice go sulchair 7 nīr uo hāil leis a chor assin mainistir amach dia oilemain 7 ro buī a ffrithchētfaidh na riaghla co nach tīssadh banscāl for bith astech tar ballaighip na mainistrech. Tarla eilit ghlēigheal go ngaimnīn a comdhatha i n-a fochair a pāirc na mbrāthor. Eirgis an t-ab gusin dau i n-a mbauī. Ergabthar leis in laogh buī lē. Cuiris in t-ōgmhac dia saigidh. Ba cennuis aumhal āilgen ru-s-gabadh an dalta sin lasan eilit. Ro buī Honofrius trī bliadhna comhlāna ag a biathadh for lacht na heillti. Ticedh chuici d'oidhque 7 do lō go leithimiol na pāirce as urchomhair na mainistrech. Ro buī-sembh ag fāss 7 ag forbairt frisin rē sin. A fforcinn na haimsire sin mesait na brāithri betha dhaonnaighi do thabairt dó. Ba gnāthbēs dō-san gach a fflaghadh do bairgenoip 7 do blūireach uaidip do breith amach go a buime oilemna. Laithi n-aon ro-s-baoi ag dol amach gusin eilit. Bairgen arāin lais. Ro-s-fuair naomhMuire ōgh 7 a Mac mīrbaileach i n-a hucht a ffidhair a lenbachta for a chionn issin pāirc. Fāiltighis a uile chroide ier n-a ffaixin. Du-s-gní umla 7 reuerens. Adbert as a haithle: a T[h]igerna, lenamh sipsi; meisi lenamh oile. Ag so mo bairgen arāin dīp. Guidim sip ier n-a glacadh dīp nā hithidh í innamail 7 ithim fēin. Glacuis an Tigerna an mbairgin a lāmhoip Honofrius. Du-s-rat dó as a haithle. Ro fholāir fair go ru-s-tardadh don tigerna-ab. Bātor sealat ag lenbacht 7 ag diamair-naomthacht chomhrāidh re aroile. Gabuis Muire 7 a Mac a gcet ag a serbhōntaighe dīles umal as a haithle. Tēit Honofrius gusin mbairgin do lāthair in tigerna-ab. [p. 118] Nī mōr go rāinic leis a himchar fo bhīthin mar do fhāss 7 mar do fhorbhair ō lāmhoibh an dūileman dia glacadh. Ba machtnadh adpal lassan tigerna-ab 7 lasna brāithribh archena an mhéide ro



rest, the angel of God above them in the air, and he gave orders to the King to save the boy, to have him baptized, and to give him Honuphrius as his name. The King did thus on the advice of the angel, and the fire did no harm, great or small, to the boy. The King had great regret and extraordinary sorrow, and he recognized that it was the devil that came to him in the shape of the pilgrim, and suggested to him to cast the boy into the fire. The determination he then came to was to give up the boy to God and the Church, as God had rescued him, as an offering for his own sin. He went to a monastery of the Order of Giro-lamo which had the Benedictine rule, and was an Order of hermits. He got the child baptized. He ordered that he should be named Honuphrius, as the angel had commanded. After that he granted and offered him from his own hands to the abbot of the monastery in honour of the heavenly Holy Trinity. The abbot gladly accepted that holy gift, but he was not content to allow him out of the monastery to be reared, and it was contrary to the rule that any woman should enter inside the walls of the monastery. There was a white hind, and with her a fawn of like colour, in the field of the friars. The abbot went to the place where it was. He took away the fawn that was with it, and brought to it the young boy. The fosterling was adopted by the hind with meekness, quietness, and gentleness. Honuphrius was fed for three full years on the milk of the hind. It used to come to him night and day to the side of the field in front of the monastery. He continued to grow and improve during that time. At the end of that period the friars commenced to give him ordinary food. His habit was to bring out to his nurse all the bread and fragments that he got from them. One day he was going out to the hind, and he had with him a loaf of bread. He found before him in the field the Holy Virgin Mary and her wondrous Son in her bosom, as He was when a child. His whole heart rejoiced when he saw them, and he made sign of



fhāss forsan mbairghin. Mesait 7 tuicit aca badhdēin gur go mīrbaileach ēxamail ingantach ro-s-fuair Honofrius an taispēnadh sin.

2. Ro buī rath diadha a ffoilenmhain Honofrius ōir ro lín d'egna 7 d'foghloim 7 do shupāilchip an Spirait naoímh. Fōss ro fhorbhair a mhēt a mhaissi 7 a mhiadhamhlacht. Fecht n-ann ro thoghsat an t-ord Honofrius mar uachtarān orra badhdēin. Nī ro fhaomh-samh an togha sin. Atbert go raghadh fo dhiamraibh 7 droibhēloibh for ierroidh an leinb chompānta doralā dō a n-ucht naomhMuire ōighe isin pāirc ria sunn. Nī ro gabh toirmesc. Ceilibrais don tigerna-ap, do na brāithribh archena. Lēicis go fāssach na hEigipte ē. Ag toigheacht dó ar comhghar an fhāssaigh adchí an lōchrann teinntidhe for comhlassadh issin aēr etorbhuass. Bidgais 7 comhchrithnaigis la sodain. Lēicis for a glūinibh é. Feacaidh for aithrighi 7 aurnaigthi. Tic aingel Dē i n-a chomhdhāil 7 adbert fris : Nā ro-t-imeglaigther, a uassail, a Onofrius, ōir ro fortachtaigh Dia duit 7 is mar chomharrdha mīrbaileach deit ro thaissealbh an lōchrann lassamna adchí. Fāiltighis Honofrius la cloisteacht uríathar an aingil. Du-s-rat altugadh buide mōr do Dia. Eirgis isin dīt[h]rebh as a haithle. Ag ascnamh astech a ndroibhēl deirrit diemhoir dó adchonnairc chuide senduine ro-arsanta a n-aipīt oilithrigh nō dīthrebhaigh. Forffāiltighis an senōir ier n-a fhaixin uochētōir, ōir ba lainneach lūthghāireach lais an macaómh ōg aoidedhach go rath 7 go supāilcip diadha i n-a choimhitecht do chor chuide. [p. 119] Treōraigis leis ē as a haithle gusin duirrtheach ndeirrit ndiemhoir, airm a mbáui a aittrebh 7 a inotacht do ghnāth. Is amhlóidh immorro buī an duirrtheach .i. bothnait beg chumhang fo bhun chroinn chomhaird pailme. Airisit 7 comhnaigit ann a gcomhaontaidh aroile 7 a chēile. Is edh ba tuara 7 ba hacnamhadh dōibh toradh an chroinn pailme do thomhailt maille fri fīr-uisque na tipraiti ro-s-buī fo bun an chroinn. Barrghar 7 duilleabar an chroinn isseadh ba himdīten dōibh for dherdain 7 doishīn, fuacht 7 tes. Nir uo himchien tra



humility and reverence. He then said : " O Lord, Thou art a child ; I, too, am a child, and here for Thee is my loaf of bread. I beseech Thee, when Thou takest it, eat it not as I eat it." The Lord took the loaf out of the hands of Honuphrius. He afterwards returned it to him, and enjoined upon him to give it to the abbot. They remained for a while playing and in holy converse with each other. Then Mary and her Son took leave of their faithful, humble servant. Honuphrius went with the loaf to the abbot. He was with difficulty able to carry it, for it had grown and increased from the hands of the Creator having touched it. The abbot and the friars all wondered greatly at how much the loaf had increased, and they understood and believed that it was miraculously, strangely, and wonderfully that Honuphrius had been granted that manifestation.

2. Divine grace followed Honuphrius, for he was filled with wisdom and learning, and with the gifts of the Holy Ghost. Besides he grew in size, in beauty, and in comeliness. On one occasion the Order elected Honuphrius as their superior. He would not accept their election, and he said he would go into secret and pathless places to search for the Child companion that he had once met in the field in the bosom of the Holy Virgin Mary. He would not be denied. He bade farewell to the abbot and to all the friars, and went into the desert of Egypt. As he was approaching the edge of the desert, he saw a fiery torch shining in the air above. He was frightened and startled thereat, and threw himself upon his knees. He commenced doing penance and praying. The angel of God came to him and said to him : " Fear not, noble Honuphrius, for God has given thee assistance, and as a miraculous sign to thee, He has shown the bright torch which thou seest." Honuphrius became glad on hearing the words of the angel. He gave great thanks to God, and then entered the desert. As he proceeded into a secret, hidden, pathless place, he saw approaching him an elder of great age in the habit



dōip a gcomhaontaidh in tan ro-s-fuair in sendīt[h]rebhach bās. Fāgbuis a ttimna tholtanach an crann pailme gusin mbot[h]nait mbic gusin ttiprait ffīr-uisce ag Honofrius a n-oighrecht. Ro hadhlaicedh an senōir la Honofrius sealat beg ōn chrann. Buī fēin go n-aoine 7 go n-urnaighthe fo bhun an chroinn sin fri rē deich mbliadan ffichet ag moladh 7 ag etorghuide na Trīnōite nemdha ag aithrighe 7 ag urnaigthi do ló 7 d'oidhque. Toradh an chroinn gusin ffīr-uisce isseadh fo betha dhó frisin rē sin.

3. Feacht n-aon dia ro smuain forsangcompānach lenbaidhi dia mbuī n-a fhoilenmain, cuiris de uochētōir in mēide ro mhair d'iersma na senaipīte du-s-rat asin mainistir tricha bliadan roimhe sin. Fāgbuis an crann gusan ttiprait gusin mbothnait. Gluaisis as a haithle seachnōin an dīt[h]ribh. Aimser imchíen dó fon samhla sin gan comhfhortacht bídh nō ēdaigh. Ier sin tra tēit a n-ēnerte 7 a égcruass adpalmhōr. Laithi n-aon dō isin imdhoraidh sin adchonnaire aingel in choimdedh chomhachtaigh chuici go proinn 7 go ttomaltus do neimh. Du-s-rat-san altugadh buide dia T[h]igerna [p. 120]. Coimhinann ro bheiredh an t-aingel an sāsadh nemhdha .i. an sacrament naomhtha dhó gacha domnaigh dia lāmhoibh badhdēn 7 do bheiredh an sāsadh aimserdha seachnōin na seachtmaine. Deich mbliadhna fichet oile isin dīthreb gan comhthathaigidh nō comaontaidh ō neoch for talmain acht cuairt an aingil. Finnfadh a chinn 7 a ulchan, a ochta 7 a chuirp archena, ba himdīten dō ar fhuacht 7 tes frisin rē sin. A aittreb 7 a inotacht fo barroibh crann. Smuainis a fforcinn na haimsire sin tra dol do thaistel 7 do chomhsibal gacha mēide nā ro shipal go sin don dīthrep. A mbaoí ann confhaca a ndroibēl dorchá a n-inmedhōn na coilledh an duirrthech dess deirrit deighdēnmhach. Ba machtnadh adpalmhōr lais. Atchonnaire tra for a chomhghar senōir aosmhar arsanta. Eirghis for a amus. Mar atchonnaire an senōir an créatūir imthruagh anaithnidh sē ar n-a thuighi



of a pilgrim or hermit. The old man rejoiced immediately on seeing him for he was pleased and delighted that the young boy of tender years, with grace and divine virtue about him, should be sent to him. He then conducted him to the secret, hidden house where his dwelling and habitation was. Now this was the kind of house he had, a small, narrow hut at the foot of a tall palm tree. They remained and tarried there in company with each other. Their food and nourishment they had by eating the fruit of the palm tree, together with the water of the well which was at the base of the tree. The branches and foliage of the tree made a shelter for them against wind and storm, heat and cold. They were not long together, however, when the old hermit died. He left by will to Honuphrius the palm tree, and the little hut, and the spring well as an inheritance. The old man was buried by Honuphrius at a short distance from the tree. He himself remained fasting and praying beneath the tree for a period of thirty years, praising and invoking the heavenly Trinity, doing penance and praying by day and by night. The fruit of the tree and the spring water were his food during that time.

3. On one occasion when he thought of the Child companion whom he was searching for, he put off at once all that remained of the old habit which he had brought out of the monastery thirty years before. He left the tree, and the well, and the hut. He then set out on his way through the desert. He continued for a long time thus without food or clothing. After that he fell into a weakness and heavy sickness. One day, as he was in these straits, he saw the angel of Almighty God coming to him with repast and food from heaven. He gave thanks to his Lord. The angel used to bring him the heavenly food, the Blessed Sacrament, every Sunday with his own hands in the same way as he brought him the food of the body in the course of the week. He was for thirty years more in the desert without meeting or converse with anyone, but only the



7 ar n-a imfholach dia fholt 7 dia fhinnfadh ōthā \* a bhonn go a bhathuis bidhgais 7 imomhnaighis 7 ru-s-lēic a ráon madhma 7 ro-theithidh é. Ro-s-len Honofrius é. Siris fair a n-onōir na Trīnōide nemdha furnaidhe 7 airisemh i n-a chomnaidhe. Dearcuís an senōir i n-a dheghaidh. Suidhis Honofrius forsan talmáin. Tuigis tra an senōir gur a modh umhla 7 cennsachta 7 nemhurchōide dorōine Honofrius an suidhe. Ier sin du-s-riacht for a chomhghar go himeglach faitchesach. Fochtait araon scēla dieroile. Atfét an senōir gur uo dīt[h]repach ē badhdēin ro-s-buī fri rē imchēin ag inotacht 7 aittrebhadh isin dīt[h]rebh sin, gur uo Pamplutius a chomhainm. Lēicis Honofrius for a glūinibh é la cloisteacht an sceōil sin. Ro inniss a imthūs 7 a uile echtra badhdēin. Athchuinghis 7 etorghuidis an senōir naomhtha [p. 121] um Dhia do ghuide ar a shon. Odclos immorro lasin senōir gur uo heissen Honofrius ru-s-lēic for a glūinibh é. Siris a n-impidhi 7 a n-athchuingidh fair Dia do guide ar a shon. La sodain tra etorghuidit an Trīnōit nemdha do ráith anma aroile 7 a chēle. Ier sin atchonnairc an senōir an t-aingel do neimh go mbairgin 7 go mbuidēl fīna ag toirling ar cūloip Honofrius. Ba dearb laiss ō sin suas gur uo duine diadha go ndeigbhetaidh naomhtha ē. Bator sealat a gcomhaontaidh. Laithi n-aon dōip ag urnaigthi adchluin in dīt[h]reabach guth an aingil do neimh 7 issedh ro rāidh : Honofríí, audita est petitio tua .i. a Honofri, ro hēistedh h'ierratus. Ba mōite sa chāch grādh toltanach in dīthreabaigh d'Onofrius cloistecht briathar in aingil.

4. Laithi n-aon siris Honofrius a n-onōir Dē for in senōir a chulpa do ēistecht 7 apsulōit na heguilsi do thabairt dō i n-a auile peacthoip 7 dupāilchip. Du-s-gnī in senōir samhloidh. Ier ttabairt a uile choipsen d'Onofrius ro scar a spirat anma fria chorp ar mbreith buadha ō dōman 7 ō

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\* MS. *o a tha* with punctum delens.



visits of the angel. The hair of his head and his beard, of his breast and all his body, was his only protection against cold and heat during that time. His dwelling and habitation was beneath the branches of the trees. At the end of that time he bethought him of going to travel and traverse all the portion of the desert which he had not travelled until then. As he went on, he saw in a dark, pathless place, in the middle of the wood, a beautiful, secret, well-constructed house. He was greatly surprised. Then, near to it, he saw an elder of great age. He advanced towards him. When the old man saw the wretched, unknown creature, covered and hidden with his hair and locks from foot to head, he became frightened and alarmed, and he ran and fled as fast as he could. Honuphrius followed him. He asked him in honour of the heavenly Trinity to stand and remain at rest. The old man looked behind him. Honuphrius sat down on the ground. The old man then knew that it was as a sign of humility, and meekness, and innocence that Honuphrius sat down. After that he approached him cautiously and with fear. Each inquired of the other who he was. The old man told him that he himself was a hermit who had been for a long time dwelling and living in that desert, and that Pamplutius was his name. Honuphrius fell on his knees when he heard this. He narrated all his own doings and history. He besought and prayed the holy old man to pray to God for him. When the old man heard that he was Honuphrius, he threw himself upon his knees. He besought and requested him to pray God on his behalf. Then they both invoked the heavenly Trinity, each for the soul of the other. After that, the old man saw the angel descending from heaven with a loaf and a bottle of wine, and alighting behind Honuphrius. He was assured thenceforward that he was a godly man of holy life. They remained together for some time. One day, as they were praying, the hermit heard an angel's voice from heaven, and it said : *Honofrii,*



deaman 7 ē eitir díbh lāmhoip\* an dīthreabaigh. La sodhain tra cīrgis crith 7 cumsgugadh adpolmōr issin dīthrebh i n-a n-uirthimchell 7 gapait na croinn ag coimhletradh agus a[g] comthuargain a chēile seachnōin na fidbaidhi. Ier sin tra adchī an senōir na sē haingil go lōchran-noib lassamna go n-ilcheōloib ēxamhla ag toirling do neimh ar gach tæp do chorp Honofrius. Dā aingel oile i n-a ndeghaidh-sein, long thūissi a lāimh nechtair aca, turibulum a lāim in dara haingil. Comscaoilit supāilci 7 boltanugadh na tūissi mōrthimchell an chuirp. Ba hēcnach 7 ba follus don senōir ag ternōdh suas do na hainglip in dara fecht anam in fhīrēin uassail Honofrius ag a imchar ag dí aingel dīp a richt 7 a ffidair choilmne glēigile [p. 122]. Adchonnaire as a haithle an Slānaigtheōir badhdēin ag toighecht do dingnoip rīgthighi nemda ag gabāil an anma sin i n-a lāmhoip baddeissin. Ba tuirsech imshnīmchach an senōir a haithle a chompāin charthanaigh 7 a choicēle comhaduis. Ro buī in mēide sin d'foirfeacht aoissi 7 d'aimneirti fair coná fitir fon uile doman cinnus do adhlaicfedh an corp. Gar ier sin atchonnaire an dā leoman lonna lēidmecha chuici. La sodain tra crithnaigis 7 commbidgais. Derbh leis go muirfitis na leomain ē budēin maille fri coimhithe chuirp a chompāin. Iar sin tra ticit na leomain ar amus chuirp Honofrius. Lēicit for a nglūinibh iet. Gapsat tra ag pōcadh 7 ag lighi a chos 7 a lámh. Ro bātar ier sin ag commbualadh a gcos forsan talmain 7 ag tabairt chomarthatadh don senōir cia in t-inadh āirigthi in badh toltanach leis fert 7 adnacal do chlaide. Ro thogh in senōir aroile inadh imchubaidh dōip. Gerrais co n-a throstān comartha na croichi cēsta isin talmain. Cumais fot 7 leithet an adnacail. La sodain tra comhthochlait na leomain in talmain co n-a gcosoip. Treōraigis ieramh corp an ērloimh uassail adhamra leō go mbuī for brú an adhnacail. Cuirit a ttalmain as a haithle do rēir forchongra an dīt[h]reabaigh. Lēicit fon ffidbaidh

\* MS. *díbh lámh lamhoip*.



*audita est petitio tua*, that is, "Honuphrius, thy prayer has been heard." The love of the hermit for Honuphrius was the greater for hearing the words of the angel.

4. One day Honuphrius besought the old man, for the honour of God, to hear his sins, and to give him the absolution of the Church for all his transgressions and vices. The old man did thus. When Honuphrius had made his full confession, his soul separated from his body, having triumphed over the world and the devil, as he lay in the arms of the hermit. Thereupon, there came a trembling and a dreadful earthquake in the desert all around them, and the trees commenced to strike and smite one another throughout the forest. After that, the old man saw six angels, with lighted torches and many kinds of music, descending from heaven on either side of the body of Honuphrius. After these were two other angels, an incense-boat in the hand of one of them, and a thurible in that of the other. They scattered the sweetness and fragrance of the incense about the body. Visible and evident to the old man, as the angels returned, was the soul of the noble, holy man, Honuphrius, transported by two of the angels in the shape and form of a bright dove. He saw then the Saviour Himself coming from the citadels of the heavenly palace, and receiving that soul into His own hands. The old man was sad and lonely for his lovable companion and fitting mate-fellow. He was so advanced in years, and so infirm, that he did not know how he should bury the body. In a short time afterwards he saw two fierce, powerful lions coming towards him. He trembled and shuddered. He was certain that the lions would kill himself, and devour the body of his companion. Then the lions came towards the body of Honuphrius. They fell on their knees. They commenced to kiss and lick his feet and his hands. They then began to strike the ground with their paws, and to make signs to the old man asking him in what particular place he wished to have a grave and burial-place dug. He selected



iet as a haithle ier gcoimlegadh chloch 7 chriadh forsan corp 7 ier ngabāil a gceta go humal āilgen ag an dīthrebhach. An comhfhat tra ro buī an t-adhnacal ag a dēnomh teglamait 7 comhchruinnigit uile fhiadhmīla 7 ethaiti allta égcennuis an dīt[h]reib golēic. Ro bātor tra go taoi tostach táoithenach go ttairnic an t-adnacal. Comscaoilit seachnōin an dīthreibh ieromh. Atā immorro rannchuit dia chorp go ffertoibh 7 go mírbailip issin reclēs remrāiti. Atā immorro a anam a n-aontaidh uassal-[p. 123] aithrech 7 fháidedh, a n-aontaidh nāemh 7 nāemh-ōg in domain, a n-aontaidh apstal 7 descibal, a n-aontaidh deachta 7 daonnachta mic Dē uile-chomachtaigh, a n-aontaidh naoi ngrād neime nā airmdeachatar, a n-aontaidh aingel 7 archaingel in choimdedh na ndúla, isin aontaidh is uaisle gach n-aontaidh, a n-aontaidh na naom-T[h]rīnōide uaisle Athair Mac Spirat náomh. Ailim trōcoire Dē uile-chomachtaigh tre impide in naoimh-ērloimh uassail sin go rīssam go ro aittrepam an aontaidh sin in cecula ceculorum amen. Gar ier sin tic aingel Dē gusín dīt[h]reabhach. Earbuis fair athascnamh dia atharrdha ndīlis badhdēin .i. gusín Eigipt. Du-s-gnī samhloidh. Aisnēidis 7 oirrdercaigis fiadh na huilip uile scēla 7 betha 7 naomt[h]acht Honofrius 7 cetera.

CX. In nōmadh lā fichet Iuníi .i. lā fēle Petair do shonnradh táinic ambasadōir rīg na Spāinne fri cīos rīgachta na Napless gusín pāpa. Ba honōrach airmitnech cath-rēimech du-s-riacht. Ro buī timchell a cōic nō a sē do chētoib marcach maille fri ro-imat cōistidhi go gcoisigib līnmara a libhré ro-onōraigh. Each roi-dess bān go ndiallait mhōrlōigh ier n-a himfholach d'ōr-snāithe a remthūss na sligedh, gnē sparáin nār uo beg fo a brāgait i n-a mbuī cīoss na Naples. Ar ndol do lāthair naomthachta in pāpa dō du-s-rat dia onōir an t-each gusín gcīos a n-ainm in rīg. Iar sin tērnoidis dia thigh.

CXI. Ba tuirseach nemgnāthach la hierla Tīre Conaill re mac Uí Néill, re mac Uí Domnaill in comhfhat ru-s-bātar i n-a ngnāth-chomhnaidhe isin Rōimh. Smúainit 7 comair-



for them a suitable spot. He marked with his staff the sign of the cross upon the ground. He measured out the length and breadth of the grave. Then the lions dug the ground with their paws. They afterwards brought the body of the noble, wondrous saint with them to the brink of the grave, and lowered it into the ground according to the orders of the hermit. Afterwards they went away into the forest, having laid stones and clay on the body, and having taken leave gently and humbly of the hermit. While the burial was being carried out, all the beasts and wild, untame birds of the desert gathered and assembled. They remained quiet, dumb, and silent until it was finished. Then they scattered all over the desert. Now there is a portion of his body in the aforesaid church attended with miracles and wonders. His soul, however, is in the noble union of fathers and prophets, in union with the saints and virgins of the world, in union with the apostles and disciples, in union with the Divinity and Humanity of Almighty God, in union with the nine orders of heaven which did not transgress, in union with the angels and archangels of the Lord of the elements, in the union which is nobler than every union, in union with the Holy noble Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. We beseech the mercy of Almighty God, through the intercession of this holy, noble patron, that we may reach and dwell in that union *in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* A short time after that the angel of God came to the hermit. He instructed him to return again to his own country, that is, to Egypt. He did so. He narrated and published to all all the doings, and the life, and the holiness of Honuphrius *et cetera.*

CX. On the twenty-ninth of June, the feast of Saint Peter, the ambassador of the King of Spain came with the revenue of the kingdom of Naples to the Pope. He came with great honour, dignity and state. There were about five or six hundred horsemen, together with a great number of coaches, and many footmen in splendid livery. At



ligit etorra badhdēin an Róimh d'fāgbáil sealat, dol do  
 spaisteōracht 7 do glacadh aitherraigh aēir. Gluaisit a  
 ttriarr, buachail 7 coisighi i n-a gcoimhitecht. Monuar nīr  
 soirb sōinmhech a tturus deōraidhechta. Eirgit go baile  
 āirigthi ar comhghar na fairrgi for brū [p. 124] srotha Tipir  
 dar comhainm Ostia cōic mīle dēg ōn Róimh. Dognīt gnē  
 chomnaidhe ar gach tæp don ruibēr fri rē dā lō go n-oidqibh.  
 Tēit in doctūir onōrach Domnall Ua Cerbhaill i n-a ndeghaidh.  
 Tērnoidit na maithe si tar ais gusin Rōimh. Nī mōr gur uo  
 cūis ilghairdis dia gcairdip a ttoisc gusin dau sin ōir mesait  
 cāch gur do hinadhoip is messa anffallāine aēr\* mōr-thimchell  
 na hEtāille uile an t-inadh sin d'āirigthi. Fōss nīr dermait  
 sē sin do thaispēnadh dōip-sen ōir ro gap fiaprass tessaighi  
 teinntighi neimhneach an t-iarla an t-ochtmadh lā dēg don  
 mī chētna dia haoine do shonnradh ar aoi laithi sechtmaine  
 1608. Ar n-a mhārach dia sathairn gabuis in fiapras cētna  
 mac I Domnaill .i. Cathbarr. Ro leagadh an barūn isin  
 ffiaprus an luan ro buī for a gcinn, fōs Domnall O Cerbaill  
 go gar n-a dheghaidh. An buachaill 7 in coisighi ru-s-bātar  
 maille friū gabait araon fiapras go lān-gairit i n-a dheghaidh.  
 Ro buī an t-ierla go tteinnes ndīchra 7 go ndocomal n-adpal  
 fri rē ēn-lā dēg. Dorat a uile choipsena. Gabuis chuice an  
 sacrament naomhtha. Ro scar a anmain fria chorp. Fuair  
 bās do moladh Dē 7 na heguilsi ier mbuaidh ō dōman 7 ō  
 deman timchell medhōin oidque dia luain. Ar n-a mhārach  
 immorro dia māirt lā Sancta Mārta an t-ochtmadh lā fichet  
 do mi Iulí ro hadhlaicedh in t-ierla a mainistir S. Petro  
 Montorio. Sochrait līnmar 7. torramh ro-onōrach ar n-a  
 n-ordugadh ō naomht[h]acht in pāpa a prosesion onōrach

\* Over the line.

<sup>1</sup> Aodh 'O Néill. See note, ch. cviii. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cathbharr 'O Domhnail!, brother of Aodh Ruadh and Rudhraighe, the Earl.

<sup>3</sup> Domhnall 'O Cearbhaill. Meehan erroneously refers to him as "physician to the Earl," but from our narrative it is plain that he was a clergyman.

<sup>4</sup> This should be "on the eighteenth of July."



the head of the procession was a beautiful white horse with a splendid saddle that was covered with cloth of gold, and a large purse hanging from his neck containing the revenue of Naples. When the ambassador came into his Holiness' presence, he gave his Highness the horse and the revenue in the King's name. Then he returned to his house.

CXI. It was a wearisome and unusual experience for the Earl of Tyrconnell, the son <sup>1</sup> of 'O Néill, and the son <sup>2</sup> of 'O Domhnaill, to spend so long without moving out of Rome. They proposed and determined that they should leave it for a time, and should go to make holiday and take a change of air. The three set out, taking with them a page and a footman. Alas! their trip was attended with ill luck and misfortune. They went to a certain town on the sea coast named Ostia, on the bank of the Tiber, fifteen miles from Rome. They stayed for two days and nights on both sides of the river. The Reverend Doctor Domhnall 'O Cearbhaill <sup>3</sup> followed them. These noblemen next returned to Rome. Their journey to Ostia was no source of rejoicing to their friends, for all are agreed that that particular place is one of the worst and most unhealthy for climate in all Italy. Indeed, it was not long until it proved so to them, for the Earl took a hot, fiery, violent fever on the eighteenth of the same month <sup>4</sup> in 1608, the day of the week being Friday. On Saturday, the following day, Cathbharr, the son of 'O Domhnaill, caught the same fever. On the Monday afterwards, the Baron was stricken with it, and Domhnall 'O Cearbhaill in a short time after him. The page and the footman who were with them both got the fever in a very short time. The Earl had a violent sickness and great pain during a period of eleven days. He made a full confession and received the Holy Sacrament. His soul separated from his body and he died, by the grace of God and the Church, after victory over the world and the devil, about midnight on Monday. On the following day,



go n-imat-līnmairecht do lōchrannoibh lasamhain ciera go gcanntaireacht gcaoin-bhinn ttaidiūir ttuirsigh ar gach tæba de. E a n-aibīt Sanct Pronsēis mar do theguisg fēin a cor i n-[a] urthimchell. Muiriss, buachaill in iarla, d'fagāil bāiss in tress lā Augustíi. An t-ochtmhadh lā don mí [p. 125] chētna ro-s-fuair in doctúir diadhachta Domnall O Cerboill mac Uaithne Uī Cherboill ō Moigh Dreithne a nUrmumain bāss 7 cetera.

CXII. Scēla Meguidir. Ier mbeith dó fri rē secht sechtmain imlān issin Napless smuainis 7 comairlighis dol don Spāinn. Gluaississ for fairrgi ōthā in Napless do dēnamh ar in prīm-chathraig n-oirrdirc n-adhamra darab comhainm Genua. Tāinic fēin 7 a chuidechta a ttīr go fedh ēn-oidque amhāin isin āit a gcomraic sruth Tibir frissin ffairrgi a n-imfochroib 7 a n-imfhoixi an inaidh chētna i n-ar glacatar na maithes adupramar romhainn in droch-aér mīmessarrdha anffallāin. Glacuis tuile 7 dāssacht fiaprassa neimhnigh nāimhdemail Maguidir 7 Sēmus mac Eimir meic Cūuladh Meg Mathgamna. Treōraigther ier sin gusin prīm-chathraigh Genua iat. Fuarator araon bāss ier ttabairt a n-uile choipsen 7 ier gcomhchaithemh na sacramenti nāmtha in dara lā dēg Augustíi 1608. Sé huaire an chluig amhāin isseadh ro buī etorra gur uo lúaithe fuair Sēmus Mag Mat[h]-gamna bāss nō Maguidhir. Ge tharla tra nār uo līnmar a gcuideachta nō a lucht lenamhna issin gcathraigh sin, ar aoi sin tra mar doclos a scēla 7 a n-uaisle comchruinnighit suim āirigthe do chlēir 7 do daoineibh maithi na cathrach i n-a n-urt[h]imchell a prosesion onōrach go ro hadhnacht iet 7 aibīdidhi S. Pronsēis umpa a mainistir oirrdirc bhrāthor minūr issin chathraigh chētna sin.

CXIII. Ro buī in barūn 7 mac Uī Domnaill i n-a luighi issin fiapras frisin rē aimsire sin go huilide. Tochuirter do rēir

<sup>1</sup> This is an error. Tuesday was the twenty-ninth, on which date the feast of Saint Martha is still celebrated.

<sup>2</sup> *Magh Dreithne*, now Modreeny, the name of a townland and parish in the barony of lower Ormond, County Tipperary.



Tuesday the twenty-eighth<sup>1</sup> of July, the feast of Saint Martha, the Earl was buried in the monastery of San Pietro Montorio. A large and splendid funeral in grand procession was ordered by his Holiness the Pope, and on either side of the body there were large numbers of lighted waxen torches and sweet, sad, sorrowful singing. It was enwrapped in the habit of Saint Francis, as he himself had ordered that it should be put about him. Muiris, the Earl's page, died on the third of August. On the eighteenth of the same month Domhnall 'O Cearbhaill, Doctor of Divinity, the son of Uaithne 'O Cearbhaill of Magh Dreithne<sup>2</sup> in Urmhumha, died *et cetera*.

CXII. As for Maguidhir, when he had been for a space of seven full weeks in Naples, he proposed and resolved to go to Spain. He set out by sea from Naples in the direction of the great, famous city which is named Genoa. He and his retinue landed for one night at the place where the river Tiber meets the sea, near and close to the identical place where the noblemen we have spoken of above were affected by the bad, injurious, and unhealthy climate. A wild and raging, painful and harmful, fever seized Maguidhir and Sémus, son of 'Eimher, son of Cúlad Mag Mathghamhna. After that they were brought to the great city of Genoa. They both died on the twelfth of August, 1608, after having made their full confession and received the Holy Sacrament. There were only six hours between their deaths, Sémus Mag Mathghamhna having died sooner than Maguidhir. Though their retinue and their followers in the city were not numerous, still, when their doings and their nobility were spoken of, a number of the clergy and noblemen of the city gathered about them in splendid procession, and they were buried with Franciscan habits about them in the great monastery of the Friars Minors in that same city.

CXIII. The Baron and the son of 'O Domhnaill lay in the fever during all that time. By order of the doctors they were brought to a splendid palace on Monte Citorio



teguisc na ndoctūiridhi iat go pālās onōrach a monte Sitorio do glacadh aitherraigh aiēir ba ferr\* oldāss beith a mBurgo airm a mbātar gusin tan sin.† [p. 126] Ar mbeith dōip aimsir annsin fuair mac Uī Domnaill bāss in cōicedh lā dēg Septembriss. Is inmesta immorro nach don degh-fhortūn nō don degh-chinnemain iss ferr tārraidh Eire an aurdail sin do degh-roignib mhac Miledh Espāinne dfoghbhāil bhāiss go hobann diaigh a ndiaigh a n-echtar-c[h]rīch imchēin ainiúil a gcoimhfhēgmhuiss a n-atharrdha bunaid badhdēin. Ro hadhnacht tra mac Uī Domnaill a n-aipīd Sanct Pronsēiss go sochraitī līnmair laiss 7 go ttorramh ro-onōrach a prosesion i n-a thimchiol issin mainistir chētna S. Petro Montorio ar ēn-dēnamh 7 a n-imfochroib do thomba in iarla.

CXIV. Buí mac Uī Néill leith-bliadhain imlān i n-a luighi a pericail ro-marbthaigh 7 a nguasacht báiss 7 buideachas mōr do Dhia ro thoiligh dó tērnōd ō bāss sealat oile maille fri comhaisseg a shlāinti d'fagāil, acht gurab ē sin bladhd do mhīchinnemain chāich 7 dia ndīghbāil re haēr neimnech nāimdighi Ostia.

CXV. In cēt lā Augustí .i. lā Lughnusa do shonnradh 1608 ēirgis O Néill go tempall ro-onōrach mōr-lōighideachta darab comainm S. Petri ad Uincula .i. eglus ro-onōrach ro tōgbadh 7 ro cumhdaigedh a n-ainm 7 a n-onōir Petair apstail. Taisselbtor dō in slabradh imremar aggarp iernaighi dia mbuī Petor cengailti cruaidh-chuipright[h]i in tan ro buī a ngialna la Iudaighip aimhirseachaibh. Fecht n-ann ro-s-buī in dara leth don slabhradh chētna isin Rōimh. Dus-rat Elena in bainimpir an dara rann gusin Róimh de. Ar n-a gcoimshínedh araon re aroile iadhait 7 comhthāthait le chēile go mīrbaileach ēxamail mar nach biadh etorscaradh ar bith etorra remhe sin ríamh. Fōs ba hē in slabradh sin

\* *ba ferr* is over the line in different ink.

† O Cianáin finishes the last line of the page with these words, which are parenthetical: *Forior ní mor gur lan-binn na scela so*, Alas! this account is hardly very pleasing.



that they might have air different and better than that of the Borgo, where they had been up to that time. When they had been some time there, the son of 'O Domhnaill died on the fifteenth day of September. It may well be believed that it was not through good fortune or the best of fate that it happened to Ireland that so many of the choicest of the descendants of Míl Easpáinne died suddenly, one after another, in a foreign and strange land, far removed from their own native soil. The son of 'O Domhnaill was buried in the habit of Saint Francis, after having had a great funeral and splendid cortege following him in procession, in the same monastery of San Pietro Montorio, in the same manner as the Earl, and close to his tomb.

CXIV. The son of 'O Néill was a full half year lying in deadly peril and danger of death; but great thanks be to God, who granted to him that he should escape death for another space, and that he should have his health restored.<sup>1</sup> And that is but a portion of the misfortune of each of them, and of the harm done them by the unhealthy, injurious air of Ostia.

CXV. On the first of August, the day of Lughnas exactly, 1608, 'O Néill went to a splendid, meritorious church with the title of Saint Peter ad Vincula, which was erected and built in the name and honour of the Apostle Peter. The stout, rough, iron chain with which Peter was tied and bound, when he was imprisoned by the unbelieving Jews, was exhibited to him. At one time there was but one half of that chain in Rome. The Empress Helena brought the other portion of it to Rome. When the two portions were put side by side, they closed and united together miraculously and strangely, as if they had never been separated at all previously. Besides, it was that chain which of itself burst

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<sup>1</sup> This must have been written before Aodh 'O Neill died, that is, September, 1609. See note, p. 192. The Four Masters record his death under 1608.



uaide fēin ro sgaoil go mīrbaileach comhainm in fhēsta sin in tan [p. 127] ro buī Petor a gcengal 7 a gcruaidh-chuibhrech a nIérusalem. Ro taispēnadh dō ier sin pictūir Mhaoissi meic. Amhra ier n-a tarraing go hinntlechtach fīnēlta a marmar, rann-chuid ro-mōr do chroich S. Andriu, go n-imat reliqias *oile*.

CXVI. An cōicedh lā dēg \* don mí chētna .i. lā chēid-fhēile Muire ēirgiss O Nēill go hegluiss oirrdirc oile dier comhainm Sancta Maria in Trasteuere. Ro buī stātion onōrach mōr-lōighighechta go loghadh na n-uile peacadh issin eglais sin. Ba hé in teg sin tra fo taibernacuil 7 fo tegh comhchruinnighthe ag an senadh Rōmānach fri rē aimsire imchēine. Comhairlighit as a haithle a thabairt mar inadh oirissimh 7 comhnaidhe d'athlaochaibh trōgha tuirsecha 7 do sen-saighdiūirip arsanta ier sgithlim a lūthmaireachta 7 a neirt. Ro buī aca fri rē fhota. Oidhche gheineamhna Crīst .i. oidche notlac mōr do shonnradh sguchaiss 7 comhsgeinnis tipra imdhomain ola go mīrbailech ingantach assin egluis sin. Ro-s-buī tra ag snighe 7 ag tebersain mar *badh* sruth comhadpal fri rē laói go n-oidhche go ttéigheadh amach a n-inmedhōn srotha Tibir. Odclos sin tra la Calisto Primo an seissedh pāpa dēg ier Petor conrotacht sēpēl onōrach laiss uassin tiprait sin tra. Ro bennaigh ieromh an sēpēl a n-ainm nāmhMuire óighe. Acht madh teagh Loreto amhāin do bheith ier gcēin mair roimhe sin ier n-a thogha 7 ier n-a bennugadh a gcomhainm Muire 7 a Meic, ag sin cēid-eglus ro bennaigedh a n-onōrachuss do Muire issin crīstaighecht go huilidhi. (Fichi bliadan for dīp cētoip aīss an Tigerna an tan sin tra. A reimhess in treass Grighōir do beith i n-a pāpa issin Róimh ro mētaighedh an eglus so leiss as go ffuil i n-a prīmh-egluiss chatharrdha mhōr-lōigigheachta. Fichi bliadan ar sheacht gcēt aoiss in Tigerna an tan sin. Ferta 7 adnacail a cethair do pāpaidhip [p. 128] issin egluis sin .i. Calistuss, Innocentiuss, Iuliuss.

\* .x. is over the line.



asunder by a miracle on the occasion of that feast,<sup>1</sup> when Peter was in bonds and chains in Jerusalem. After that there were shown to him a statue of Moses, son of Amram, skilfully and finely executed in marble, a great portion of the cross of Saint Andrew, and a large number of other relics.

CXVI. On the fifteenth of the same month, the day of the first feast of Mary, 'O Néill went to another famous church which is named Sancta Maria in Trastevere. There was a splendid, meritorious pilgrimage in that church, together with an indulgence for all sins. That edifice was a meeting-place and house of assembly for the Roman Senate during a very long period of time. In the end they determined to give it up as a residence and home to indigent, retired officers and to old soldiers who had outlived the days of vigour and strength. These held it for a long time. On the night that Christ was born, that is, the night of great Christmas exactly, a deep spring of oil sprung and leaped miraculously and wonderfully out of that church. It was streaming and flowing like a great river for the space of a day and a night, and went out into the middle of the river Tiber. When Callistus I, the sixteenth Pope after Peter, heard of it, he built a splendid chapel above the spring, and he dedicated it in the name of the Holy Virgin Mary. Were it not that the house of Loreto alone had been for a long time previously chosen and consecrated in the name of Mary and her Son, this would have been the first church which was dedicated in honour of Mary in the whole of Christendom. The year of the Lord at that time was two hundred and twenty. When Gregory III was Pope in Rome, this church was enlarged by him, so that it is a great, splendid, meritorious church. The year of the Lord at that time was seven hundred and twenty. The tombs and burial place of four Popes are in it, namely, Callistus,

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula, which is celebrated on the first of August.



Corp Quirinus espoig, maille fri hilimat oile do thaissip naomh 7 fíren, issin prím-egluiss chatharrdha chētna sin.

CXVII. An cethramadh lā fichet don mī chētna .i. lā fhēile Parthalāin do shonnradh ēirghis O Nēill go hoilēn oirrderc atā forsan Tibir dier comainm Insola Tiberina. Mainistir onōrach go n-ord Sanct Pronsēiss forsan oilēn sin. Corp Parthalōin apstail issin mainistir sin ier n-a threōrughadh lassin impir in darna Hotono ōthā Beneuento gusin Róimh. Ilimat do thaissip naomh 7 fíriān cenmothā sin issin egluiss naomhtha sin, fōss pictūiridhe 7 fidhracha Sancta Caterina, Sancta Agata, 7 mōrāin do ban-naomhuibh uaissle adhamra oile, ier n-a n-oibriugadh 7 ier n-a n-imdēnomh go healadhanta inntlechtach ēxamail issin staid 7 issin innioll chētna a mbātor a n-aimsir a martra 7 a mbāssaighthi la Iudaidhip aimhirseachaib. Mainistir Eōin go n-ospitāil ro-mhaith, airm a ndingentar do gnāth imat dēirce 7 trōcaire, forsan oilēn sin.

CXVIII. In nōmadh lā fichet Septembris i n-a degheidh .i. lā fēle Míchēil tēit O Nēill go tempol Míchēil a mBurgó. Gregoriuss pāpa is laiss conrótacht ō thūs. Aroile aimser imchien ro-s-buī plāigh adpal-mōr issin Róimh. Fuaratar tra formhōr lochta a haittrebhtha 7 a hinotachta an inbaidh sin bāss. Gluaissis Gregoriuss 7 gach mēide ru-s-mair do na Rōmhānchaibh a prosetion onōrach aithrigeach ōthā mainistir Arass Celi go tempall Petair, fidair-dhealbh naom-Muire ōighi atā issin mainistir sin rompa. Ag cēimniugadh dōip tar Droichet na n-Aingel fuil for sruth Tibir adchonnarcatar dia súilibh corparrdha aingel Dē uasaip issin æiēr, cloidemh nochtaighthi līnta lom-lān d'fuil [p. 129] chrōideirg i n-a láimh. Toirlingis as a haithle forsan gcarraic gcomaird for ar comdaighedh Caislēn na n-Aingel. Ar ffaixin naomhthachta in pāpa dō cuiris a chloidemh i n-a

<sup>1</sup> The name of the fourth is not given.

<sup>2</sup> The Franciscan monastery belonging to the church of *Santa Maria in Aracoeli* was, for the most part, pulled down in 1888, to make way for the monument to Victor Emmanuel II.



Innocent, and Julius.<sup>1</sup> The body of Quirinus the bishop, and a very great number, besides, of relics of saints and holy men, are in that same beautiful church.

CXVII. The twenty-fourth of the same month, the feast of Bartholomew exactly, 'O Néill went to a famous island on the Tiber which is named Isola Tiberina. There is a splendid monastery belonging to the Order of Saint Francis on that island. The body of Bartholomew the Apostle is in the monastery, having been brought by the Emperor who was named Otho II from Benevento to Rome. There is a great number of relics of saints and holy men, in addition to that, in that holy church, as also pictures and images of Saint Catherine, Saint Agatha, and of many other noble, remarkable, holy women, executed and constructed artfully, artistically, and exquisitely in the same state and condition in which they were when they were martyred and put to death by the unbelieving Jews. The monastery of Saint John, and a good hospital where many works of charity and mercy are always carried on, are on that island.

CXVIII. On the twenty-ninth of September following, the feast of Saint Michael, 'O Néill went to the church of Saint Michael in the Borgo. By Pope Gregory it was first erected. For a long time there had been a very great plague in Rome. The majority of the inhabitants and those who dwelt in the city died at that time. Gregory and all the Romans who still lived went in splendid procession of penance from the monastery of Ara Coeli<sup>2</sup> to the church of Saint Peter, with an image of the Holy Virgin Mary which is in the monastery borne in front of them. As they passed over the bridge of Sant' Angelo, which crosses the river Tiber, they saw with their bodily eyes the angel of God above them in the air, and in his hand a bare sword covered and besmeared with red gore. He afterwards alighted on the high rock on which the castle of Sant' Angelo was built. When he beheld his Holiness the Pope, he sheathed his sword. The Pope and the Romans understood from that



thruaill taisgedha. Tuigis in pāpa 7 in senadh Rōmhānach asside ferc in Tigerna riū ar ttoirnehm. Atā foilliucht choss in aingil isin leic mharmair for ar thoirling ueōs. Conrotacht tra in eglus so lassan pāpa a n-onōir 7 a n-airmitin Mīchēil archaingil. Ru-s-fāgoibh fēin gusna pāpaidhibh oile deóigh a ndeóigh imat loghadh 7 maithemnuiss na peacadh aice. Nī ro gapsat tra brāithri Araís Celi gan in gcloich marmair remrāite d'fogbāil dōib badhdēin a n-athchuingidh ō naomhthacht in pāpa fo bīthin gur uo hí in fidair mīrbaileach Muire buī leō ru-s-buī a remhthūss in prosesioin riasan pāpa. Gnāthaigit na Rōmhānaigh dol for a nglūinip suass issin staigri chomhard marmair for a gcēimnigther gusin egluis sin lā fēli Mīchēil do shonnradh.

CXIX. Dia cētaoin in treas lā Septembris tēit naomhthacht in pāpa a prosesion ro-onōrach go maithibh na Rōmānach a prosesion mailli fris ōthā tempol Muire na n-Aingel go ro riacht Sancta Maria maiora 7 an aoine ru-s-buī for a gcionn ō thempall Muire Menerua go Sancta Maria de Pace. Buī O Néill i n-a coimidecht frisin rē sin.

CXX. In cethramadh lā Octobris .i. lā Sanct Proinsēiss ēirgis O Neill go mainistir onōraigh darab comhainm S. Francisco. Tegh bunaidh 7 inadh oirissimh 7 comhnaidhe aīne 7 apstanaite S. Proinsēiss issin Rōim in reiclēs ro-onōrach sin. Sēpēl ro-onōrach i n-a mbīd ag aithrighe 7 ag urnaigthi 7 ag etorguide in choimsigh chomhachtaigh issin mainistir cētna sin.\* [p. 130] Crann ingantach ēxamail orāistidhi issin mainistir chētna sin. Naomhthacht Sanct Proinsēis ru-s-cuir a ttalmain ō thūss dia lāmhoip bennaighthi badēin. Cōic cnapāin bhega chomhchruinne a ffidair chroissi for gach n-orāisti dia ffāsann forsan gcronn. Baramail lasna diadhairidip 7 la trāchtairigip in[na] screptra naoimhe gur a ffidair 7 a fforaithmet na gcōic n-āladh ro shilset fuil S. Proinsēis a gcuimhne 7 a ndibergōit pāissi Crīst bīt na cōic

\* The last line of the page is finished with *Tabair bennachtain for anmain in sgríbnora*, Give a blessing for the soul of the writer.



that the Lord's anger towards them had come to an end. The track of the angel's feet is still in the marble flag on which he alighted. This church was erected by the Pope in honour and reverence of Michael the Archangel. He himself, and the other Popes one after another, left to it numerous indulgences and remissions of sin. Now, the friars of Ara Coeli were not content until they got as a gift for themselves, from his Holiness the Pope, this marble stone, for it was their miraculous image of Mary which was at the head of the procession, in front of the Pope. The Romans are accustomed, on the feast of Saint Michael in particular, to ascend on their knees the high marble stairs which lead to that church.

CXIX. On Wednesday, the third of September, his Holiness the Pope went in a splendid procession, in which the nobles of the Romans were in his company, from the church of Mary of Sant' Angelo to that of Santa Maria Maggiore; and on the following Friday from the church of Mary of Minerva<sup>1</sup> to that of Santa Maria della Pace. 'O Néill was along with them on these occasions.

CXX. On the fourth of October, the feast of Saint Francis, 'O Néill went to a splendid monastery<sup>2</sup> which is named San Francesco. That splendid church was the foundation house, the seat and residence, and the place of fasting and abstinence of Saint Francis in Rome. There is a splendid chapel in this monastery, where the worshippers do penance, and pray, and beseech Almighty God. In it also is a wonderful, strange orange tree. The holy Saint Francis planted it in the beginning with his own blessed hands. On each orange that grows on the tree there are five small round lumps in the form of a cross. Theologians and commentators on the Holy Scripture think that it is in sign and commemoration of the five wounds which

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<sup>1</sup> This church is called *Santa Maria sopra Minerva* from having been erected on the ruins of a temple of Minerva.

<sup>2</sup> This monastery adjoined the church of *San Francesco a Ripa*.



cnapāin sin forsna horāistidhip sin d'āirigthi seach orāistidhip oile an domain. Dobeirit cāch aithne forra in gach inadh a ngabait sechnōin na crīstaigheachta. Taisselbthar dōip ier sin ilimat reliciass ro-onōrach do thaissibh naomh 7 fīrēn.

CXXI. In cēt-lā Nouembris .i. lá samhna do shonnradh ēirgis O Nēill go Sancta Maria Rotunda egluss ro-onōrach airmitech adhamra conrótacht lassan senadh Rōmhānach ier cēin māir aimser imchien ria ngeinemain Crīst. A n-onōir na n-uile dēe ro tōgbadh in egluss ō thūss. Coimhinann fot airde 7 leithet di. En-fhuinneōc amhāin i n-a ffuilit deich ttroighthi fichet i n-a fīr-mhullach sī comhchruinn comfhairsing du-s-gní soillsi d'uile altōirip in reclēsā i n-a fīr-mhullach.\* Dorass na heguilsi ier n-a imdhēnomh d'aon-chloich amhāin itir dī ursain is fordhoruss, ocht ttroigthe fichet in a leit[h]et, samalta a chomhairde fri dā pīce deōigh a ndeōigh. Delp Muire mhírbhaileach dorōine Lūcāss suiscēl dia lāmhoip badhdēin a n-inbaidh 7 a n-aimsir naomh Muire do bheith forsan saogal so issin egluis sin tra. Ceithri colaman dēg ar lāin-mhét cholaman na crīstaigheachta go huilidhi siat ar n-a gcomhshuidhiughadh a ndorus na heguilsi. Innte atāit cuirp S. Anastatio, Sancta Ratio, ilimat do thaisibh naom 7 fīrēn archena.

CXXII. [p. 131] Assa haithle sin tra ēirgis O Nēill go tempall S. Gregorí in tress dēg. Stātion 7 loghadh ro-onōrach mōr-lōigh ann an lā sin. E amhāin ba hāruss bunaidh agus ba histadh gnāth-chomnaidhe don Grigōir chētna sin. Runn-tāpla ro-onōrach marmair aoingil ann for a ngnāthaighedh sē comhshāssadh bīdh 7 dighi 7 gach dēerce olchena do thabairt do bochtaip 7 d'aidhilgneachaibh an choimdhedh chomhachtaigh gacha laithe. Fecht n-aon tig an Tigerna fēin cētna a persain forsan mbord a mesc na ndeōradh, fer mar chách, mar shupāilcip 7 mar airmitin dhō-samh fo bhīthin a dhēirci 7 a t[h]rōcaire go ro lapair aghaidh a n-aghaidh friss 7 ē ag aurgnamh 7 ag coimhriar

\* *ina firmullach* is superfluous here.



shed the blood of Saint Francis in memory and in invocation of the Passion of Christ that these lumps are on these oranges in particular, rather than on any others in the world. Everybody recognizes them wherever they go throughout Christendom. Afterwards there were exhibited to them many splendid relics of the remains of saints and holy men.

CXXI. On the first day of November, the day of Samhain in particular, 'O Néill went to Santa Maria Rotonda,<sup>1</sup> a splendid, beautiful, remarkable church which was built by the Roman Senate long ago, a long time before the birth of Christ. In honour of all the gods it was first erected. Its length and height and breadth are the same. In the very top of it there is a single thirty foot window, circular and wide, which admits light to all the altars in the church. The doorway is all made of one stone, both jambs and lintel, and it is twenty-eight feet wide, while its height is about that of two pikes, one placed on the other. In that church there is a miraculous image of Mary which Luke the evangelist made with his own hands at the time that Holy Mary was in the world. There are fourteen columns, as large as any in all Christendom, situated in front of the church. In it there are the bodies of Saint Anastatius and Saint Ratio and a large number of relics of other saints and holy people.

CXXII. After that 'O Néill went to the church of Saint Gregory on the thirteenth. There was a pilgrimage and a great, meritorious indulgence in it on that day. It alone was the chief seat and fixed residence of that Gregory. In it there is a splendid round table of pure white marble from which he was accustomed to distribute each day their requirements in food, and drink, and every alms, to Almighty God's poor and needy. On one occasion the Lord Himself came in person to the table among the strangers, in the same way as the others, as a mark of respect and honour to him for his

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<sup>1</sup> The Pantheon temple was erected under Augustus in 27 B.C., was renovated several times, and was dedicated as a Christian church in 609.



na mbocht. An darna bliadain ier pāpa do gairm de ro bheannaigh an prīm̄h-eglus sin a n-ainm 7 a n-onōir S. Andriass apstail. Fuil a lām̄h badhdēin go ffiacail Petair go n-ilimatt do thaissip naomh agas fīrēn issin egluis chētna sin.

CXXIII. In fichetmadh lā do mí Nouembriss tic don Rōimh ō rīgh crīstaighe na Fraingci do thaispēnadh aidite 7 umhlachta an rīgh do naomhthacht in pāpa 7 do thabairt pōice dia choiss as a ucht extraordinaríí ambasadōir, diúc de Neuers a chomhainm. E ba diúc a Retel, ba hard-prinnsa Arceis, prinnsa Porsian, marcēis an Oiléin, iarla Manudess, guibernōir 7 leptinont generāl fo láimh an rīgh a prouensi Compania 7 Bria. Karalo Consago Decleuess a chomhainm baiste. Ba honōrach airmhitnech adhamra du-s-riacht an diúc astech is in Rōimh, for Gepta na n-Aingel do shonnradh, ar comghar 7 a n-imfoixe tempail Petair. Ro bātor tra trī fichit mūl fo n-a \* [p. 132] charāiste, airm a mbuī a libhré a plāta 7 a chostus, a remhthūss na sligedh, bruit ingantacha ēxamla ildathacha go mbroidinēlacht 7 go gcīr-chimhsoip suaithenta sīdaidhi uass a gcennoibh. Dā mūl dēg fo throngcoip dessa gerra peinteāilte i n-a ndeaghaidh sein, brat do miliuent deirg ier n-a oibriughadh lá hór-shnāithe 7 airget-snāithe uas gach mūl, armus in diuc badhdēin ier n-a chomhtharraing go ro-inntleachtach in gach brat. Clarcraithe coimhlethna capcainn-reamra for gach mūl síat uile d'airget aoingeal aithlegghtha. Bacāin chomhfhata co n-uile bhūclaidhi 7 tairrngide a srien 7 a n-audhaim d'airget mar in gcētna. Cleitighe comharda go n-ēxamhlacht na n-uile dhath a ffīr-airde uas cennoip na mūl. Aradhna comhfhota coimremhra do shīda dherg go sgoth-dhossaibh mōra for a gcennoip ass srien gach mūil. Gārda mōr marcshlaighi in pāpa i n-a ndeghaidh sein ar ndol amach

\* *fona* is repeated on the next page. This text seems faulty.

<sup>1</sup> He was a French nobleman who was advanced to the name, title, and estates of the Mantuan family of Gonzaga.

<sup>2</sup> This translation is a conjecture, and the meaning of *capcainn* is quite obscure.



charity and kindness, and He spoke to him face to face as he served and attended the poor. The second year after he was proclaimed Pope, he consecrated this church in the name and honour of Saint Andrew the Apostle. His own hand, and a tooth of Peter, and a large number of relics of saints and holy people are in that same church.

CXXIII. On the twentieth of November there came to Rome from the Christian King of France, to offer his submission and humility to his Holiness the Pope, and to kiss his foot on his behalf, an ambassador extraordinary. The Duke de Nevers<sup>1</sup> was his name. He was Duke of Retel, High Prince of Arques, Prince of Porsien, Marquis of l'Isle, Earl of Montserrat, and Governor and Lieutenant-General under the King in the province of Champagne and Brie. Carlo Gonzaga de Clèves was his baptismal name. The Duke entered Rome in great splendour and grandeur, by the gate of Sant' Angelo in particular, near and close to the church of Saint Peter. There were three score mules drawing their carriages at the head of the procession, wherein were his livery, his plate, and his valuables, and upon their heads were grand, variegated, particoloured embroidered clothing, with conspicuous, silken combs. After these there were twelve mules carrying beautiful, short, painted trunks, and on each mule there was a sheet of red velvet adorned with gold and silver thread, and the coat of arms of the Duke himself skilfully wrought on each sheet. On each mule there were very broad, strong blinkers,<sup>2</sup> and they were all made of pure bright, refined silver. The long hooks, and all the buckles and nails of their bridles and harness were likewise made of silver. There were tall plumes, with variety of all colours, standing on the heads of the mules. Long, stout reins of red silk, having large tassels at their ends, were attached to the bridle of each mule. A great guard of the Pope's cavalry came after these, having gone out from the city with the Pope's brother, John Baptist Borghese, to meet the Duke. The Cardinals'



assin gcathraigh la derurāthair in pāpa Seōn Bautista Burgeis a gcomdhāil an diūc. Múil persan na gcardenāl timchell dā *fichet* dōip go ffudclocaibh coimhderga i n-a ndeghaidh sein, searbōntaidhe cardināil for gach mūl. Tríer do dhaoínibh uaisle 7 trier trompōir assa haithle. Coissighi in diūc badhdéin go librē ro-ingantaigh fichi a lín for eachraidh i n-a ndeghaidh sin. Pāitsidhe an diūc i n-a ndeghaidh dā fer dēg dōip, a n-ēdaighi do meleuent buidi. Na Rōmhānaigh timchell dā chēt marcach do dhaoínibh uaissle ro-onōracha for eachaibh áille uaibreacha a n-étaigibh comhdhorcha i n-a ndeghaidh. Na Frangcaigh ceithri fichit marcach for eachraidh roi-deiss lūthmair luath-lēimnigh degħ-āudhaim assa haithle, co n-imat slabrudh ōir fo a mprāighdibh. [p. 133] Da fichit barūn 7 tigerna as a haithle siet a n-ordugadh deissi bātar a gcomprāit stāit frisna Frangcachaibh acht a n-étaigi do bheith dorcha. Cethror do thrompōiribh in pāpa 7 a cethoir do dromatōirib in tsenaidh Rōmhānaig i n-a ndiaigh sin. Edaighe derga dealraighthecha buī leō. Trī fichit marcach d'oifíeach 7 do lucht fedhma in pāpa i n-a ndeghaidh. Bātor fēin 7 a n-eachradh a n-étaigib derga. Buidhen mōr d'uaislib in tsenaidh Rōmānaigh as a haithle. Cethror do daoínip uaisle ro-onōracha do mō -t[h]īr rīgh na Spāinne a n-étaigip dupa i n-a ndeghaidh. Fichi do dhaoínibh uaisle mōr-t[h]itail i n-a ndeghaidh, don Frainc dōip. Lōghmhar ēxamail mōr-lōigh a n-ētaighi fēin co n-a n-eachraidh. Diūc de Forsa go ndīrim mōir marcshlaighi do diūcaidhip 7 prinnsaidhip na Rōmha 7 na hEtāille archena i n-a ndiaigh sin. Ba lōr a onōraighi 7 a stātūsaighe fon uile doman du-s-riacht diūc de Fors. Derbrāthair in pāpa as a haithle, gārda Suser in pāpa i n-a urthimchell. Cethror marcach a n-étaigibh derca go gcolbhaip commōra airgit aīngil a remthús na sligedh roimhe. Dī leacaidh dēg do muinntir in diūc 7 seiser Suser a n-étaighip buidhi as a haithle. Beirt d'feroip gorma i n-a ndeghaidh, a n-ētaighi

<sup>1</sup> He was a famous French general who died in 1652.



own mules, to the number of about forty, with red footcloths, came after these, and on each of them rode a cardinal's servant. Next there were a trio of noblemen and a trio of trumpeters. After these came the footmen of the Duke himself in very grand livery, twenty in number, and riding on horses. After these were the Duke's pages, twelve in number, and their dress was of yellow velvet. After these were the Romans, about two hundred great noblemen, riding on beautiful, mettlesome horses, and dressed in black. Next were the Frenchmen, eighty horsemen on beautiful, active, swift, well-equipped horses, with many golden chains about their necks. Forty barons and lords came next, two and two, and they were as stately as the Frenchmen, but their dress was of dark colour. After these there were four of the Pope's trumpeters, and four drummers belonging to the Romans. They wore red, glittering suits. After them were sixty men of the officers and servants of the Pope on horseback. They and their horses were dressed in red. After them was a large group of the nobles of the Romans. After these were four great noblemen of the chief country of the King of Spain, dressed in black. Next to them were twenty titled noblemen, and they were from France. Precious, grand, and valuable were their dress and their horses. After these came the Duke of Force,<sup>1</sup> with a great group of horsemen, dukes and princes of Rome and of the rest of Italy. The Duke of Force came with the greatest splendour and grandeur in all the world. After these there came the Pope's brother, with the Pope's Swiss guard about him. In front of him on the road there were four horsemen in red suits with great maces of pure bright silver. Next came twelve lackeys of the Duke's party, and six Swiss in suits of yellow. Following them were two coloured men, their garments made of red damask, with much wide, golden laces. Near them was a team of beautiful horses, with saddles of red velvet covered with embroidery in golden thread. The Duke himself came next,



do damusc dherc go n-imat do lāssaigibh lethna ōr-snāithe. Cuingir d'eachraidh roi-dheis go ndiallaitibh do meleuent deirg ier n-a n-imfholach do broidinēlacht ōr-snāithi i n-a n-aice. In diūc badhdēin as a haithle, ē for chruinn-each beg roi-dess bhán, futcloc do melement uinnsinn os ē līnta do lāssaigip ōrraidhe for a dhiallait. [p. 134] Bacāin chomhfhata choimhreamra in tsríen co n-a būclaidhip, go stirōipib na diallaiti, co n-a huile ballaibh, ier n-a n-imdēnomh do derg-ōr go huilidhi. Edach ro-onōrach mōr-lōigh uime badhdēin ier n-a uile-broidinēlacht lá hōr-snāithe. Mōrān dēmōnt 7 do chlochaibh uaissle coimchengailte a gcorda in hata ro buī for a chenn, acht chena ba nemhchomhnaigthech dia láimh ag sīr-buain in hata sin de ag tabairt umhlachta 7 cūirtissighi do lucht a fhaixena 7 a forfāiltighi. Ro buī immorro patriarca Hierosolima dia dess-lāimh, ardesspog Uitail dia chlē-lāimh. Mounseignour de Breues i n-a ndeghaidh, amba[sa]dōir gnāth ro buī ō rīgh Franc isin gcathraigh, ardespog onōrach for gach tæp de. Bātar tra leithchēd eitir espoig is prelāit onoraigh eguilsī as a haithle, mūillidhi ro-dessa go ndiallaitib 7 futclocaibh ba lōr feapus fo gach n-aon.

CXXIV. Ag cēimniugadh astech tar Gepta na n-Aingel dōibh dognīt tra na Rōmhānaigh mōrān ciūil. Ba līnmar trompaidhe 7 uile aightheacha ciūil 7 mūissice aca. Trompōiridhi in pāpa ag in pālāss mhōr. Comhscaoilit gārda in pālāis an ro buī d'ordanāss mhōr 7 beg aca in tan doratsat in marcshlach a ndromanna friú. Nīr uo lugha sa chāch la gārttæ Chaislēin na n-Aingel ag sīr-sgāiledh ordanāiss mōir. Do mesfadh tra fer a nemfhaixena go sin ō fhuaīm 7 ō fhothromh in ordanāis mhōir ag a chomhscāiledh, ō lūth-lēimnigh na heachraidhi aindiūiti āille aindrennda, go rabatar na srāitte 7 na margaidhi trissa gcēimnighdiss for comhchrithnughadh 7 bogadh-bertnugadh. Ascnaidis an diūc ier sin trē prīmsh-rāidip oirrderca [p. 135] na cathrach gusin stāt 7 gusin onōir gcētna n-a thimchell go ro riacht dia pālāss neoch ba hurdhailte for a chomhair.



riding on a beautiful, white, small, stout horse, a footcloth of Indian velvet, covered with golden laces, upon his saddle. The long, strong hooks of the bridle, its buckles, the stirrups of the saddle, and all its parts, were made entirely of red gold. About himself was a splendid, valuable garment, all embroidered with golden thread. There were many diamonds and precious stones united in the cord of his hat on his head, and his hand was continually in motion doffing his hat while saluting and bowing to those who saw and welcomed him. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was on his right hand, the Archbishop of Volterra<sup>1</sup> on his left. After them was Monsignor de Brèves, the ambassador in ordinary of the King of France in the city, with a noble archbishop on either side of him. After these were fifty bishops and grand prelates of the Church, each riding on a beautiful mule, with the most excellent saddles and footcloths.

CXXIV. As they entered by the gate of Sant' Angelo the Romans commenced a great burst of music. They had numbers of trumpets and of every musical instrument. At the great palace were the trumpeters of the Pope. The guard of the palace fired all the large and small ordnance as soon as the cavalcade had gone by them. Likewise the guard of the Castle of Sant' Angelo continued firing the large ordnance. One who had never seen it would imagine from the sound and rumbling of the large ordnance being discharged, and from the prancing of the wild, beautiful, mettlesome horses, that the streets and market-places through which they advanced were trembling and quaking. The Duke then proceeded through the principal streets of the city, with the same great state and honour about him, until he came to his palace which was ready to receive him. The palaces and buildings on either side of the streets were filled with people wishing to view them. When the Duke

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<sup>1</sup> I can find no name of a diocese corresponding more exactly with the Irish *uitail*.



Na pālāiss 7 na teghdhuissidhi for gach tæp do na srāidip coimlīnta ō dhaoínibh dia ffaircsin. Ier ndol gusin pālāss don diūc ceilipruiss do na huile mhaithibh sin. Airisis 7 comhnaigis gusin dia dardaoín buī dō for cionn. Eirgis tra do lāthoir naomhthachta in pāpa in lā sin do shonnradh. Ro buī immorro stāt 7 onōir nār uo lugha sa chāch oldās stāt in chēdlaoi i n-a urt[h]imchell in lā cētna sin. Formhōr a dhaoine a libhrē dubh-dhatha.\* A chulaidh 7 a thruscān badhdēin go n-udhaim a eich ier n-a gcoimh-dessugadh do chlochaibh uaissle margarīt 7 do bugil granado. Bātar tra na Rōmānaigh go ro-līnmhar dia chommōradh. Taisselbthor dó in mūissici 7 na ciūil chomhmbinne chētna go gcomscaoiledh in ordanāis mhōir amail du-s-rōnadh ō thūss. Ier ndol do lāthair naomhthachta in pāpa dō du-s-rat pōic dia chois. Ro thaispēin as a haithle an patent 7 in t-augdarrāss ro buī aigi ō rīgh Frangc um thoigheacht a n-ainm 7 a persain in rīgh badhdēin do lāthair naomhthachta † 7 onōra in pāpa do thabairt umhlachta 7 reuerens dó, fōss go letrechoip lāimhe in rīgh ag tabairt supmission 7 admhāla umhlachta go ffolāiremh a serbīssi go sīrraidhe for naomhthacht an pāpa 7 forsan tegduis apostolice sechnōin na crīstaigheachta. Orator in rīgh, Mauritio Bressio comh-fhoillsighis 7 mīnighis ina huile briathra sin do na huilib bātar ann.

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\* MS. *duibhdhatha*.

† MS. *nomhthachta*.



reached the palace, he dismissed all these noblemen. He rested and remained at ease until the Thursday following. On that day in particular he went into the presence of his Holiness the Pope. That same day the state and honour surrounding him was no less than that of the first day. The greater part of his retinue were in livery of black colour. His suit and equipment, and the outfit of his horse, were ornamented with precious stones of pearl and of garnet bugle. The Romans in large numbers fêted him. The same sweet music was played for him, and the large ordnance was fired as had been done before. When he came before his Holiness the Pope, he kissed his foot. Afterwards he exhibited the patent of authority which he had from the King of France to come in the name and as a representative of the King himself before his Holiness the Pope to offer him humility and respect, and also the King's own letters making submission and acknowledgment of obedience, and entrusting his service for ever, in all parts of Christendom, to his Holiness and to the Apostolic See. The King's interpreter, Mauricio Bressio, made known and explained all that was said to all the people that were there.









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