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OF

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BY

Edward Ledwich LL.D.

Member of many Learned

SOCIETIES,

Second Edition.

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THE SECOND EDITION,

WITH

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Collection of Miscellaneous Antiquities.

BY

EDWARD LEDWICH, L. L. D.

AND

MEMBER OF MANY LEARNED SOCIETIES.

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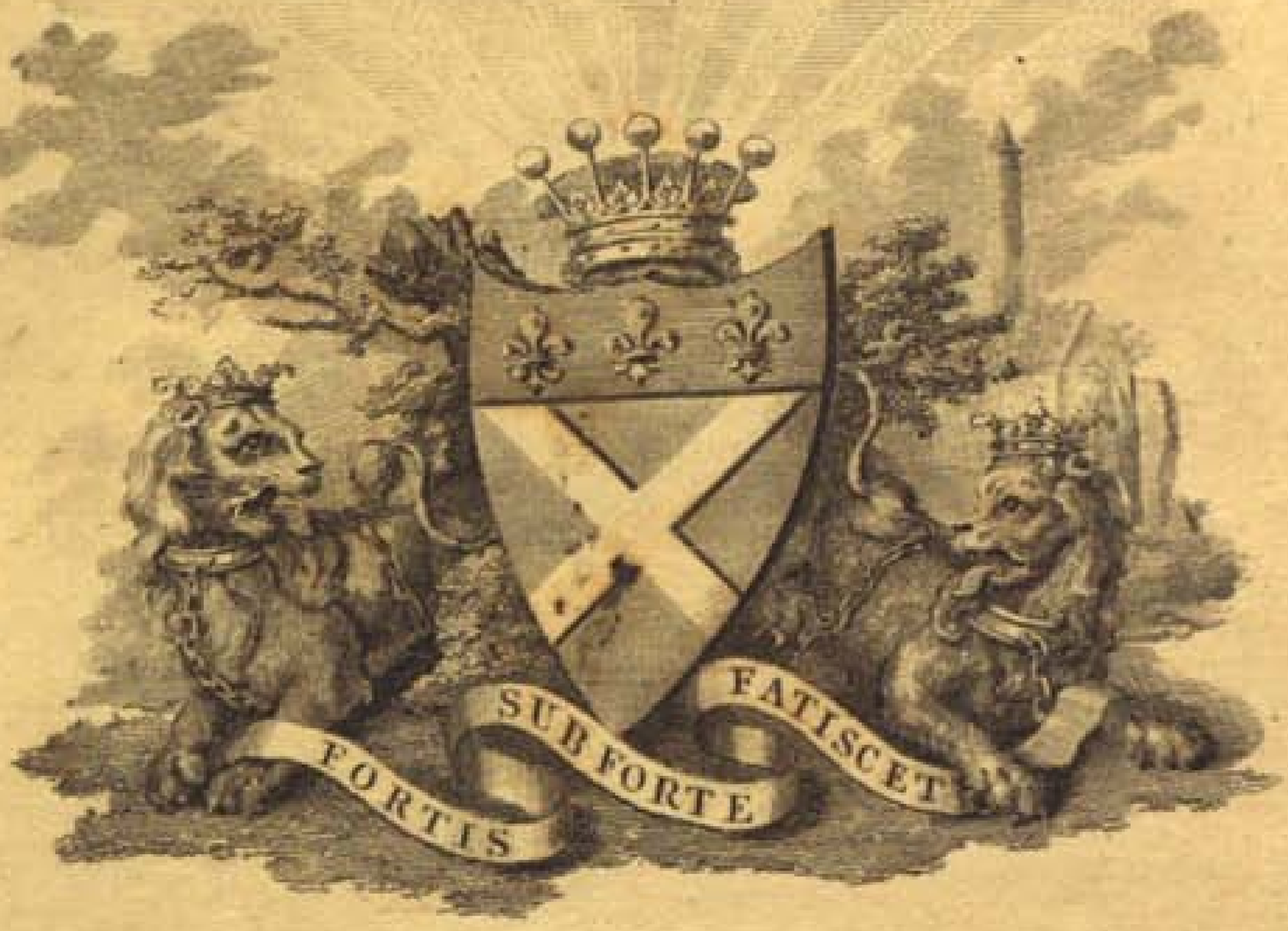

TO

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JOHN

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AND

BARON GOWRAN OF GOWRAN,

IN IRELAND;

AND IN ENGLAND

BARON UPPER OSSORY OF AMPTHILL,

AND

Lord Lieutenant of the County of Bedford,

A JUDGE AND A PATRON OF LEARNING AND THE POLITE ARTS,

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PREFACE.

THE public ſentiment in favour of the firſt Edition of theſe Eſſays, expreſſed in the reſpectable literary Journals at the time of their publication, encouraged the Author to prepare a ſecond with conſiderable additions and corrections. Moſt of the additions have already appeared in the works of the different learned Societies of which he has the honour to be a member.

That on the origin of Saxon and Gothic architecture requires perhaps ſome apology for its introduction here; though the ſubject ſeems to be not unconnected with the beautiful ſpecimens of theſe ſtyles, ſtill remaining in this kingdom.

The hiſtory of Kilkenny is an attempt to trace the beginning and progreſs of an Iriſh city of ſome celebrity; and contains, probably, ſome memorials that may intereſt curioſity. Was this plan generally adopted, materials would be collected, valuable to future hiſtorians and antiquaries.

The few topographical antiquities at the end, were printed and publiſhed before the Author undertook to complete Groſe's Antiquities of Ireland, of which that amiable and excellent antiquary lived to write but ſeven pages.

The

The view of ſociety and manners in ancient Ireland is, with little variation, the ſame as that of the moſt poliſhed nations of modern Europe in remote periods. England, the bulwark of the civilized world, can behold without emotion, or *mauvaiſe honte* her mental and political degradation at the arrival of the Romans, and ſmile with contempt at the flattering fables of Geoffry of Monmouth. Scotland, celebrated for talents and accompliſhments, and rivalling her illuſtrious ſiſter in her glorious career, aſſumes no pride from bardic tales, or the pages of Hector Boethius. No longer is the wild romance of Geoffry Keating, the heraldic regiſtry of the Iriſh nation: its learning, its valour, and fame are recorded in the more durable monuments of true hiſtory. When Hibernians compare their preſent with their former condition; their juſt and equal laws with thoſe that were uncertain and capricious; the happy ſecurity of peace with the miſeries of barbarous manners, their hearts muſt overflow with gratitude to the Author of ſuch bleſſings: nor will they deny their obligations to the foſtering care of Britain, the happy inſtrument for conferring them.

In a work embracing ſuch a variety of topics errors will be found; the learned and candid can beſt eſtimate the difficulty of avoiding them, and the degree of indulgence they are entitled to. The Author declines hackneyed apologies; in their place he begs leave to conclude with a line of an eminent poet:

En adſum! et veniam confeſſus, crimina, poſco.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

ON THE ROMANTIC HISTORY OF IRELAND.

WHEN we review the remote hiſtories of England, Scotland and Ireland, and find names and facts delivered with unheſitating confidence and chronological accuracy, it ſeems, at firſt ſight, an unreaſonable degree of ſcepticiſm to withhold our aſſent from them, or queſtion their authenticity: but minuter enquiry ſatisfactorily evinces them to be but ſpacious deluſions, and ſome of the numberleſs vagaries of the human mind.

The want of literary memorials created an impenetrable obſcurity, which every attempt to deduce the origin of nations, or detail early events, was unable to penetrate or diſpel. How then were national honour and high-born anceſtry, the love of which is moſt conſpicuous and prominent in rude people, to be ſupported? The anſwer is by poetic tales and bardic inventions; and hence we find the wild and naked German (1) ſang the praiſes of his great progenitor, Tuiſco; the Highlander of Scotland the exploits of Cuchullin, and the Hibernian the wonderful peregrinations of Mileſius. Bardic fictions and unfounded traditions are the oral records of every barbarous nation.

As ſoon as ſociety, by the aid of regular government and the uſe of letters, emerged from rudeneſs to an imperfect civilization, a new ſpecies of hiſtoric compo-

 ſition

(1) Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ & annalium genus eſt, &c. Tacit. Germ.

ſition appeared, made (2) up of popular tales and genuine facts, ſo ingeniouſly interwoven as not only to reſemble but to paſs for true hiſtory. This was the origin of romantic hiſtory, and of the Iliad, the Thebaïd, the Argonautics and ſimilar productions. Theſe works flattered general prejudices by embodying and identifying truth and fiction, ſo that it (3) became a difficult taſk for ſubſequent writers to ſeparate the one from the other. It was not without ſome ſtruggle that people relinquiſhed popular fables, the delight of their youth, and the conſtant themes of garrulous old age, however they vaniſhed in the ſuperior illumination of learning and criticiſm: wherever they are ſtill retained, that people may be pronounced credulous and ignorant. What has been advanced will receive confirmation from examining the origin of romantic hiſtory in Ireland.

Ireland in the ſixth and ſucceeding centuries poſſeſſed a literary reputation, which is proved by indiſputable evidence. But her political conſtitution, municipal laws, and the prevailing ſtudies of the times were but ill calculated to advance letters or improve civility. It cannot therefore be doubted, but that romantic hiſtory was a favourite ſubject, and much cultivated by a people thus circumſtanced. But of this no monument exiſts antecedent to the (4) age of Nennius, A. D. 830. That it was much earlier muſt appear from his having conſulted the moſt ſkilful Iriſh Antiquaries; who told him the fable of Pharaoh's ſon-in-law, his expulſion from Egypt, his travels through Africa and Spain, and from thence to Ireland. Nennius's judgment of this fiction is deciſive, when he (5) declares, that there was no ſure hiſtory of the origin of the Iriſh. A learned and very (6) ingenious writer has carefully examined and fully confuted the notion of the Hiſpanian extraction of the Iriſh; had he turned his thoughts to the origin of the fable, nothing more could have been ſaid, at once to ſubvert it, and ſet the fooliſh fiction for ever at reſt. The following hints are offered, in ſome ſort, to ſupply their omiſſion.

Spain, the (7) centre of oriental fabling, always enjoyed a celebrity above that of any European country; the Iriſh therefore eſteemed it a matter of the greateſt importance

(2) Mileſius cyclicus, ſic dictus, quoniam cyclum partim mythicum, partim hiſtoricum ſcripſerat, ita ut vereſimilitudinem & ad probilitatis hiſtoriæ legem exigeret ea, quæ a poetis, ſeu antiquis ſcriptoribus eſſent narrata. Heyne, de fontibus Diodori, p. 67. Edit. Bipont. See alſo Salmas. Plin. Exercit. in Solin. p. 846. where much curious learning may be found on the original poetic and hiſtoric compoſitions of the Greeks.

(3) Quo quidem conſilio nihil poterat eſſe ineptius, nihil ad ipſas hiſtorias perniciosius. Heyne, ſup.

(4) I am obliged to ſpeak of this author's work as authentic, becauſe others have done ſo, though I think it the patched production of various writers, or one of the ſuppoſititious performances of the middle ages.

(5) Nulla tamen certa hiſtoria originis Scotorum reperitur. Nenn. p. 102. Ed. Bertram.

(6) Macpherſon's Introduction to the Hiſt. of Great Britain and Ireland.

(7) Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, V. 1. Diſſ. 1.

importance to exhibit a clear deduction of their anceſtors from thence, and which their native writers, in every age, have zealouſly inculcated. When the Arabians entered Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, (obſerve Nennius lived in the ninth) with the revival of Greek literature they introduced a knowledge of the ſciences and arts before but little ſtudied, and in many parts of weſtern Europe not known. From the earlieſt period they cultivated magic; they extolled their intimate acquaintance with the occult qualities of bodies; their ſkill in metallurgy, in optics, in vitrification, and in precious ſtones and medicine ſupported their high pretenſions, and aſtoniſhed and confounded the incredulous. Nor were they leſs diſtinguiſhed for a vein of romantic fiction: here they diſplayed an exuberance of fancy in the creation of imaginary beings, in the wildneſs and variety of their adventures, and in the extravagance of their fables, all ſpringing from their modes of thinking and their peculiar philoſophy. A brilliancy of thought and pomp of expreſſion at once captivated and delighted the reader.

The pleaſing contagion quickly diffuſed itſelf through every people: the genial warmth of oriental fiction enlivened their ſongs: the monotonous and diſmal tales of blood and ſlaughter were ſucceeded by more amuſing and ſprightly relations, by the heroic atchievements of gallantry, or the bland occupations of love; all theſe worked up with Arabian inventions and Arabian philoſophy are viſible, as we ſhall ſee, not only in our civil hiſtory but in our hagiography.

The(8) Armoric and Welſh bards very early attained eminence in romantic fabling; the Iriſh, who ſymbolized with them in every article of religion, ſoon adopted the ſame taſte, as did the Corniſh poets. The connection between the Armoric Britons, the Corniſh, the Welſh and Iriſh was for many ages intimate, ſo that a fondneſs for romantic hiſtory was ſoon propagated here: even the numerous reſort of foreigners to our celebrated ſchools facilitated the introduction of this ſpecies of writing. A few proofs are neceſſary to eſtabliſh what is now delivered.

Our mythologiſts (9) inform us that three Spaniſh fiſhermen arrived here before the flood, and ſoon after that awful event, the Fomoraigh or Africans (10) ſubdued the Iſle, or others from the continent of Africa frequently viſited it, and that it was finally colonized by (11) Mileſius, a Spaniard. Nennius relates that theſe Spaniards in their voyage ſaw a tower of glaſs, which endeavouring to take, they were drowned in the attempt. This tower is a ſure mark of an oriental fancy, and ſimilar

(8) Warton, ſupra. (9) Keating, p. 18—46. (10) Keating, p. 11.

(11) Pinkerton has the following curious note. "Nennius knew nothing of Mileſius, but only mentions *Miles quidam Hiſpanus*, a certain Spaniſh ſoldier. Of this *Miles* the Iriſh made Mileſius, as of Julius Cæſar they made Cæſara, Noah's niece. Hiſt. of Scotland, V. 2. p. 6.

similar to the tower of glaſs, ſaid to be built (12) by Ptolemy, and Boyardo's wall of glaſs made by an African magician, and the pillars of Hercules erected on magical looking glaſſes.

The Mileſians, when they landed in Ireland, had various (13) battles with the Tuatha de Danans, a nation of enchanters and magicians, whom they at length ſubdued by ſuperior ſkill and bravery.

In our Legends the ſame ſpirit of romantic fiction abounds. No one (14) but a virgin could uſe the magic girdle of St. Colman. St. Cuthbert's zone cures many diſeaſes. An Iriſh prieſt complains to St. Gerald, that a huge rock impeded the navigation of a river, immediately the Saint throws a (15) wonderful ſtone on it, and it ſplits into pieces. At another time he puts the ſame ſtone into the mouth of a dead man and he revives. St. Kiaran, St. Fechin and St. Ænd are as ſafely conveyed over rivers, lakes, and the ocean on ſtones as in ſhips. The myſtical power of ſtones declares the oriental complexion of our ſpiritual romances.

Some of our fictions are of a later date. Thus St. Patrick, a perſonage who (16) never exiſted but in legendary ſtory, is born in Taburnia in Cornwall; his mother (17) is (18) Concheſſa, a Frenchwoman of Tours: others make him a native of Airmuirc or Armorica. From this region he and his ſiſter Lupita are carried away by Iriſh pirates. He goes to Rome, and on his return preaches in Cornwall: Fingar alſo and other Iriſh Saints travel to Armorica. "The people of Cornwall, ſays Camden, have always borne ſuch veneration to Iriſh Saints, who retired there, that almoſt all their towns have been conſecrated to their memory."

In a (19) council held by St. Patrick, all the unconverted Iriſh are baptized, and ſo violent a religious paroxyſm ſeizes them, that thirty thouſand, divided into three bodies, begin a pilgrimage with the Saint's benediction to Rome and Jeruſalem, and other parts of Europe, Aſia and Africa. Here is a fiction calculated to countenance the Cruſades, and not earlier than the eleventh century, or it may refer to the ſeventy thouſand perſons who took a voyage to Paleſtine, A. D. 1062, and who were either killed or made priſoners. It is remarkable that the learned Jeſuit, Bollandus, from a (20) critical and judicious examination (well worth peruſal) dates the fabrication of our Legends about the eleventh century.

Many

(12) Warton, ſup. ſect. 15. (13) Keating, p. 55. (14) Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 246.
(15) Colgan, p. 730. p. 600. (16) See this proved hereafter. (17) Uſſer. Primord. p. 819.
(18) Uſſer. ſup. (19) Uſſer. ſup. p. 952.
(20) Vix ullas enim Sanctorum Hibernicorum vitas habemus in manibus, quas poſſumus credere ſexcentis annis vetuſtiores eſſe. Act. Sanct. ad 16 Martii, p. 581. Bollandus died in 1665.

Many of the bardic figments are ſtill more recent. The (21) Mileſians in a ſtarry night of winter diſcovered Ireland from the tower of Brigantia in Galicia by the help of a teleſcope. Roger Bacon (22) affirms, that Julius Cæſar before he invaded Britain, viewed with a teleſcope her ſhores and harbours. He died in the thirteenth century.

In (23) Oſſian's combat of Oſgar and Illan, a beautiful damſel complains, that Illan, eldeſt ſon of the king of Spain, purſued her, and threatened wounds and deſtruction to the Fians: "wherever he goes, adds ſhe, to the eaſt or weſt, or to the four quarters of the world, his ſharp-edged weapon makes every foe yield the victory." The words—four quarters of the world—evince this poem to have been written in the fifteenth century. Numberleſs other figments are of the ſame date. The fifteenth century is noted for literary impoſtures and ſuppoſititious authors. The Beroſus, Manetho, Megaſthenes and Cato of Annius of Viterbo, the Tuſcan inſcriptions of Inghiramius, and Boethius's Scottiſh hiſtory are the productions of this period, and their fabulous character well known. At this time, ſays (24) a learned writer, men began to be inquiſitive into matters of antiquity, and therefore ſome who had more learning and better inventions than others, ſet themſelves to work to gratify this curioſity. The ſucceſs of their impoſtures was ſo great, that it became no eaſy matter to undeceive the public, and convince them they were but forgeries. Trithemius, an eccleſiaſtic of learning in this age, gave a plauſible liſt of ideal French princes from their departure from Troy, which he declared was taken from an ancient author, named Hunibald. Frederic, Elector of Saxony, writ to Trithemius, requeſting Hunibald might be ſent to him. Trithemius had no way to ſcreen his forgery, or evade compliance but by ſaying, the MS. was not in his poſſeſſion, having changed his reſidence from Hitchau to Wurtzburgh, ſo that it was fairly (25) concluded—que cet auteur pretendu eſt de la propre fabrique de Tritheme.

Emancipated at length from the bondage of ignorance, credulity and ſuperſtition by the cultivation of learning, the human mind acquired a firm tone and power of diſcrimination to which it had been long a ſtranger. The evaneſcent meteors of romantic hiſtory loſt all their charms; truth and authentic records were the guiding ſtars of every enlightened hiſtorian and antiquary; nor is it undeſerving notice, that the northern writers, whoſe annals are clouded with fables, were among the

(21) Keating, p. 44. (22) Warton, ſup. (23) Tranſ. of the Royal Iriſh Acad. V. 1. p. 74.
(24) Stillingfleet's Brit. churches, pref. (25) Recueil de div. pieces, par Leibnitz, Clarke, &c. T. 1. p. 287.

foremoſt in this laudable career. Bartholine (26) deſires his reader to uſe much caution in peruſing the Icelandic chronicles, and in ſeparating the true from the falſe; and not to be impoſed on by the words—fornum bokum or old books—or fornum ſogum or poetic fictions—

Loccenius, a celebrated lawyer and antiquary of Upſal in Sweden, (27) declares the ancient Swediſh hiſtory to be ſo uncertain, that, not to miſlead the reader, he would place no dates in his margin antecedent to the age of St. Eric, A. D. 1150, nor was any hiſtorical relation to be depended on before the introduction of Chriſtianity in the reign of Bero or Biorn, A. D. 816. Theſe acknowledgments while they upbraided our pertinacity in defending palpable fictions, produced ſome good effects. Some it emboldened totally to reject our fables; others with a timorous and trembling heſitancy relinquiſhed ſome of them, and weakly endeavoured to defend others.

Great care and critical ſagacity, according to (28) O'Flaherty, are to be exerciſed in the choice of Iriſh MSS. Some are plainly apocryphal, or inventions for amuſement; ſome to flatter the pride and ambition of Patrons are filled with hyperbolical and incredible narrations: however, adds he, undoubted truths may be drawn from them, as tradition and the conſent of antiquaries allow.—This writer in another (29) work tells us, that as to Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, who gave the name of Scotia to Ireland, the Iriſh when they embraced chriſtianity and became converſant with ſacred writ, thought it glorious to their country to have their anceſtors derived by a mother from the Egyptian Pharaoh, and to have had familiar converſation with Moſes and the Iſraelites.—Here O'Flaherty ſees the childiſh abſurdity of Iriſh fables, but fears to offend popular prejudices.

Very different is the language of two eminent Prelates. Doctor Talbot, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin in 1674, a man of talents, family, and by no means a bigot, obſerves, that (30) among our Annaliſts and writers who merit little regard are thoſe vernacular authors whom Colgan calls the Four Maſters: for they were illiterate

(26) Plurima itaque cautela in libris veteribus Iſlandicis utendum eſt, & veræ hiſtoriæ a falſis magna circumſpectione ſecernendæ, &c. Barthol. de contemp. mort. p. 199.

(27) Valde lubrica & incerta, & proinde ne lectori imponerem, placuit nullam potius quam incertam ad oram annalium attexere. Locc. Antiq. Suco-Goth. p. 421. Stiernhook, de jure Sueon. p. 4.

(28) De codicum Hibernicorum delectu nunc maxima eſt habenda cura & acre judicium O'Flah. Ogyg. præloq. p. 34—35. And Stanihurſt, Hæc quidem ſomnia fabularum aniculæ fortaſſis admirationem, Abderæ alicui applauſum, intelligentibus vero riſum moveat. De reb. Heb. p. 18—19.

(29) Ogyg. vind. p. 55.

(30) Inter annales vel auctores fide dignos locum non merentur nonnulli noſtri vernaculi Scriptores (quorum aliquos Colganus quatuor Magiſtros appellat) erant enim homines illiterati, &c. Primat. Dublin. p. 42.

terate and ſo devoted to party that but little of truth can be collected or inferred from their performances. Nor is there any relying on Keating who follows them, for he expreſsly treats of the genealogies of the Iriſh, deducing them in diſtinct generations from Adam. Many things he introduces from Bardic poems, filled with ſtories of giants. What valuable information can be had from ſuch writers, I profeſs myſelf ignorant.

Doctor O'Brien, titular Biſhop of Cloyne, author of an Iriſh dictionary and a man of letters, delivers (31) his ſentiments with equal boldneſs and candour. "Parſons in his remains of Japhet ſeems but too well inclined to favour the antiquities of Ireland, without conſidering, that nothing could be of greater prejudice or diſcredit to them than aſſerting thoſe fabulous genealogies, and the ſtories of the travels of the ſuppoſed leaders and chiefs of their ancient colonies, ſuch as have been rejected with juſt contempt by all learned nations: firſt invented in Ireland by Bards and Romancers after they came to ſome knowledge of both ſacred and prophane hiſtory. The real and true antiquities of Ireland are not to be derived from any other ſources than our authentic annals; ſuch as thoſe of Tigernach, of Innisfallen, the Chronicon Scotorum and a few others, wherein are no fabulous ſtories, ſuch as thoſe in the book called leaver Gabbhala, and others of that kind publiſhed in the tranſlation of Keating's hiſtory of Ireland, which he never intended for the public, but for the (32) amuſement of private families."

But there are two works, much relied on by native writers; theſe are the (33) Pſalter of Caſhel and Cormac's gloſſary. Lhuyd and Nicolſon ſay, a part of the firſt is in the Bodleian Library, but I do not recollect any one, who profeſſes to have ſeen it. Walſh gives this extract from it, which muſt deſtroy its credit as an hiſtorical record: "That the Picts ſerved in Thrace under one Polycornus, that they fled that country, and roamed up and down at ſea till they came to Gaul, and there founded the City of Pictavia: that they were forced to leave Gaul and retire to Ireland: that Troſdan, a magician, adviſed the Iriſh army to bathe in the milk of one hundred and fifty white crumple-horned cows, as a ſure antidote againſt the envenomed arrows of the Britons."

This

(31) Preface to his Dict. p. 40.

(32) It is ſingular, that the celebrated northern Eddas were compiled with the ſame intent. "Nec quidem ipſius auctori, ſive Sturlonides ille fuerit ſive alius, aliud propoſitum fuit, ipſomet profitente, quam haſce poetarum antiquorum fictiones, apto ordine connectere & libello animi recreandi gratia complecti." Murray. apud Nov. Com. Gotting. t. 4. p. 92.

(33) Walſh's proſpect, p. 490.

This is the wonderful Pſalter compoſed by Cormac, Prince of Munſter and Biſhop of Caſhel. Such daring ſceptics as Stillingfleet, Innes and Pinkerton condemn it as romantic; but what true Mileſian will believe them?

As to Cormac's gloſſary, Lynch (34) ſays it was the work of Cairbre Liffechair, A. D. 279. Colgan, as good authority, aſcribes it to Cormac Ulfhada, A. D. 257. O'Conor, who publiſhed O'Flaherty's Ogygia vindicated in 1775, and was well acquainted with Iriſh literature, had never ſeen this gloſſary, and (35) fears it was loſt to the public. However it is ſaid to have been printed in the laſt century by O'Clery, one of the four Maſters, whoſe characters are impartially exhibited by Archbiſhop Talbot before. Lynch and Colgan are better informed than later antiquaries, and neither give the compoſition to Cormac of Caſhel, but to others, who lived above ſix hundred years before Cormac. But even Lynch and Colgan are romancing, when they ſuppoſe letters known or common in the third century. Grant that Cormac Mac Cuilenan was author of a gloſſary in the tenth century, was not this to ſerve as an interpreter to the precedent Iriſh language, grown obſolete in his time? This is the common idea of the uſe of a gloſſary, and it evinces the fluctuation and corruption of the language. It is now nine hundred years ſince Cormac writ this pretended gloſſary; has the Iriſh tongue ſuffered no alteration in ſuch a lapſe of ages? It muſt have aſtoniſhingly changed, when we are aſſured by the author of an Iriſh grammar, that the Iriſh language of (36) four hundred years back is totally different from the preſent, in ſenſe and orthography. Let the reader mark the words, *ſenſe* and *orthography*, and draw his concluſion as to the authenticity of this impudent and blundering forgery. I ſhould not have detained the reader ſo long, were not Cormac's gloſſary and pſalter conſtantly appealed to as authentic literary monuments. The book of Lecan is another Iriſh record of equal veracity. From theſe a new ſpecies of romantic fabling has been introduced by the noted author of the Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, grounded on etymology, ſimilitude of names and religious practices. In certain ſtages of ſociety there is an almoſt identity of names and uſages in the adoration of the Supreme Being, and as far as clouded reaſon permitted, an imperfect acknowledgment of his attributes. Are the Iriſh to be derived from the natives of Eaſter iſland in the Pacific ocean, becauſe both erected ponderous ſtructures of ſtone as temples for their deities? Are the Iriſh the ſame people as the Peruvians, becauſe both adored the ſun? But is it not making a mockery of the ſacred oracles to introduce a Druid propheſying of the advent

(34) Cambrens. Evers. p. 301. (35) Ogyg. Vind. p. 161.
(36) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 7. p. 331, and before p. 325. And No. 13. p. 115, no words can be ſtronger.

advent of our Redeemer on the authority of (37) Cormac's gloſſary. Of the ſame ſtamp is a coincidence deduced from the ſimilarity of names. Ith, the ſon of Breogan, and grandſon of Mileſius, all romantic perſonages, is made (38) Ithobaal, and ſuppoſed to be alluded to by the prophets. A work containing ſuch poſitions would have been more properly addreſſed to a heathen than to a chriſtian and very religious prince.

As to etymology, the other column of the new romantic hiſtory of Ireland, take this ſpecimen from the ſame author. "Mileſius was not a proper name but an epithet, being Mileſs and Mileſpain, i. e. the hero of the ſhip. Mil is a champion from the Chaldee Malca, rex. Eſs and Spain ſignify a ſhip, from the Hebrew eſs, lignum, and Speia nauta. Malach in Hebrew and Melach and Melachoir in Iriſh, ſignify nauta, in Arabic mullah is a ſailor and ſuſina a ſhip." Are you not aſtoniſhed and illuminated, gentle reader, at this wonderful diſplay of oriental literature? From theſe brilliant etymological evidences can any fact be clearer than that this patriarch being a great naval commander, and of courſe a great voyager and traveller, preferred the cool and humid charms of Ireland to the heat and aridity of eaſtern climates. May we not apply what Warburton ſaid of Gale's Court of the Gentiles,—that it would ſcarcely be believed the man was ſerious, had he not given us, in his numerous tomes, ſuch lamentable proofs of his being in earneſt?

It muſt occur to every reflecting mind, that pretenſions to very high antiquity could only be ſupported by authentic records, the value of which could never be appreciated while they lay buried in public libraries or private collections, or were only exhibited in detached ſcraps. "Therefore, (40) ſays Stillingfleet in 1685, it would tend very much to the clearing of antiquities, if ſome of theſe ancient annals and leiger books were printed. For it hath rendered their credit the more ſuſpicious, becauſe they have been ſo long kept up, when all the old Engliſh annals have been carefully publiſhed." Innes, in 1729, after deſcribing the manner in which Iriſh fictions were by the moderns brought into ſome conſiſtence and ſhape, (41) obſerves that the originals are kept out of ſight to conceal their deformity and their contradictions to all true hiſtory. And he ſpiritedly adds,—we are now no more in ages of ignorance and credulity. Men have begun long ſince to meaſure their belief of remote antiquities by their vouchers.—In 1783, Mr. Edm. Burke

(37) Vindic. of the ancient hiſtory of Ireland, by the author of the Collect. p. 199.
(38) Vindic. ſup. p. 302. & ſeq. (39) Vindic. ſup. p. 294.
(40) Antiq. of Brit. chur. p. 248—249. (41) Crit. Eſſ. V. 2, p. 499.

declared his opinion, that (42) extracts from Iriſh MSS. only increaſed curioſity, and the juſt demand of the public for ſome entire pieces, and that until this is done, the ancient period of Iriſh hiſtory, which precedes official records, cannot be ſaid to ſtand on proper authority. In 1786, Mr. Burke (43) ſays in a letter, "will you have the goodneſs to pardon me for reminding you of what I once before took the liberty to mention; my earneſt wiſh that ſome of the ancient Iriſh hiſtorical monuments ſhould be publiſhed as they ſtand, with a tranſlation in Latin or Engliſh. Until ſomething of this kind is done criticiſm can have no ſecure anchorage." The earneſt wiſh of theſe excellent ſcholars would have long ſince have been complied with, could theſe Iriſh MSS. have borne the light: part of their contents have already been given, and it is certainly for the honour of the country to ſuffer them to remain for ever in obſcurity.

In 1440, when it was the boaſt of Britons to be deſcended from Brutus and his Trojans, and every writer flattered this popular prejudice, John de Wheathamſtead, Abbot of St. Alban's, an eccleſiaſtic of high dignity and ſuperior accompliſhments, delivers the following manly and judicious ſentiments, which I wiſh the Iriſh nation and Iriſh hiſtorians may hereafter adopt. "Some, ſays (44) he, look upon the ſtory of Brutus as no other than a ridiculous piece of foppery and vanity, to lay claim to nobility of deſcent, when we cannot ground our pretence on any probable foundation. It is virtue alone that gives nobility to any nation, and it is a greatneſs of mind with an exactneſs of reaſon that makes the true gentleman. Let this therefore be allowed the Britiſh nation, as a ſufficient evidence of their honourable original, that they are courageous and reſolute in war, have been ſuperior to all their enemies round, and that they have a natural averſion to ſervitude."

Had the learned Abbot recollected, he would have added theſe lines of the Roman Satyriſt:

Malo pater ſit Therſites, dummodo tu ſis
Æacidæ ſimilis, Vulcaniaq; arma capeſſas,
Quam te Therſiti ſimilem producat Achilles.

To conclude. From this view of the ancient as well as the modern romantic hiſtory of Ireland, and the reprobation of both by the moſt enlightened antiquaries, it may reaſonably be aſked what objects deſerve the attention of the learned and

(42) Collectan. No. 13. p. 133.
(43) Campbell's Strict. p. 294.
(44) Apud Camden. inhabitants, &c.

and inquiſitive? To this I anſwer with confidence, that there are as many curious and intereſting ſubjects for antiquarian inveſtigation, and ſupported by authentic records and exiſting monuments, as are to be found in any country, not the ſeat of an empire. The colonization of the Iſle, the formation of the Iriſh alphabet, the ſtate of literature from the ſixth to the ninth century, our ancient muſic, round towers, ſtone-roofed crypts, our coins, laws, with our pagan religion and primitive chriſtianity, all admit proofs and ſolicit illuſtration, which they have never received. Theſe and other topics would abundantly exerciſe the ingenuity and erudition of the philologer, the grammarian, architect, theologian and antiquary. Theſe Eſſays pretend to no more than to exhibit ſome new views and new illuſtrations of the foregoing ſubjects; ſupported by plain ſenſe and ſolid authorities.

Quicquid id eſt, ſylveſtre licet videatur acutis
Auribus, et noſtro tantum memorabile pago;
Dum mea ruſticitas, ſi non valet arte polita
Carminis, at certe valeat veritate probari.

Some

SOME ANCIENT NOTICES RESPECTING IRELAND, AND OF THE NAME OF THE ISLE.

IN the foregoing Eſſay the pretenſions of the Iriſh to remote genuine hiſtory have been examined, and found deſtitute of veriſimilitude or probability; and yet on the wild tales of bardic fablers their modern antiquaries have engrafted the etymological reveries of Bochart, Sammes, Stukeley and (1) others: thus defending one abſurdity by another; a mode of argumentation which ſupplies a ſtandard for meaſuring the talents, the judgment and information of ſuch writers.

Bochart was a man of uncommon erudition, but his ſcheme of proving the eaſtern colonization of Europe, through the medium of etymology, appeared viſionary to his (2) contemporaries: nor was he, in the opinion of an (3) excellent judge, ſufficiently ſkilled in the oriental tongues for the taſk he had engaged in. That the world was peopled by the ſons of Noah, is a fact recorded in holy writ, but the particular countries occupied by each cannot be aſcertained at this day. The Jewiſh Targums, Joſephus and the Rabbins, all of whom knew as much of the matter as thoſe who lived before the cataclyſm, very confidently ſupply the obſcurity of ſcripture, and diſtinctly parcel Europe among the poſterity of the grand Patriarch. This was pride and vanity in the Jews, and we muſt ſuppoſe piety in chriſtians, who adopted their ideas. This made Poſtell, a revivor of oriental learning in the 16th century, derive Irin from (4) Iurin, or the land of the Jews; and Bochart to bring Hibernia from the Phœnician (5) Iber-nae, or the fartheſt habitation. This hint of the Phœnicians, (who were great navigators and traders) acted as a ſtrong ferment on the intellects of Britiſh and Iriſh antiquaries, and produced the frothy ſyſtems in the writers before named, and particularly in the author of the Collectanea de reb. Hib. who has completely orientalized our ancient hiſtory.

Let

(1) As O'Conor in his Diſſ. and the author of the Collect. paſſ.

(2) Meric Caſaubon, alluding to this work, ſays,—torquendi vocabula, addendo, detrahendo, mutando, tranſponendo ſine ullo aut modo aut ratione certa licentiam ſumpſere, ut quicquid uſpiam verborum, non veterum tantum, ſed et recentiorum in Germania Gallia, alibi vel remotiſſimorum, pari ratione Hebraïcum fuerit. De ling. Anglic. vet. p. 152.

(3) Richardſon's Diſſ. on the languages of the Eaſt, p. 251.

(4) Waræi Antiq. c. 1. (5) Geogr. ſac. l. 1. c. 60. Ed. Leuſdens.

Let us then conſider what grounds there are to ſupport the notion of an eaſtern intercourſe with Ireland. Herodotus, who lived about 400 years before our æra, informs (6) us, that Tin and Amber were brought from the northern parts, and he ſeems to point out Britain and the Baltic, as the places from whence they came. Tin was a metal highly valued, and is mentioned by Moſes 1500, and by Homer 900 years (7) B. X. The (8) boots or greaves of the heroes in the latter writer are of ſhining tin. But it was not from Britain tin was produced, for it was then (9) thinly inhabited by a few wandering Celtes, who were to the Scythians, who ſucceeded them, what the ſavages of America are to the Europeans. The Belgæ, part of the Scythian ſwarm, arrived in Britain (10) about 500 years before the nativity. They firſt introduced the knowledge and names of metals. From whence then came the tin of which Moſes and Homer ſpeak? The anſwer is from the Eaſt, where it abounds in rich mines, and of ſo ſuperior a quality, that the Malacca tin is at preſent preferred there to the European. If therefore the Belgæ arrived in Britain but one hundred years before the age of Herodotus, that ſeems too ſhort a ſpace of time for new coloniſts to ſettle, and open ſources of commerce: it is probable the Caſſiterides were iſlands on the coaſt of Spain, where theſe ancient merchants had depôts of the precious metals, which they collected from the continent: indeed the riches of Spain were (11) ſo great, that they muſt be ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt avaricious adventurer, without hazarding the dangers of untried ſeas and inhoſpitable ſhores. From the notices in ancient writers, we cannot determine the (12) poſition of theſe celebrated iſles. Pliny, Solinus, Mela and Dionyſius place them oppoſite Spain, ſome will have them near Cape Finiſterre, others near Cape St. Vincent, but none more northerly than the firſt. Euſtathius, in his commentary on Dionyſius, with all the lights his induſtry could acquire, and that in the 12th century, leaves their ſituation problematical. Beſides the Sidonian and Phœnician ſhips were almoſt (13) round; a form ill adapted for diſtant navigation. Strabo, as is (14) well obſerved, allows but little credit to the relations of the Phœnician voyages in remote times; and he blames Eratoſthenes for believing them:

(6) Περὶ ζώνην ἀνέμων, ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν πλείστην φοιτᾶν, λόγος ἐστὶ, ἀπὸ μούνων τῶνδε καττιτερίδας. Lib. 3.

(7) Iuſe Playfaire's chronology. (8) Τευξε δε οι κνημιδας ἐυκνημιδας καττιτερου. Iliad.

(9) Pinkerton's Goths, p. 45. Whitaker's Mancheſter, V. 1. p. 6—7. (10) Pinkerton and Whitaker, ſup.

(11) Stated by Merula, coſmograph. p. 212.

(12) Salmas. Plin. Exerc. in Solin. p. 278. and Cluverius and Baudrand.

(13) They were called Gauli. Τα φοινικικα πλοια. Heſych. Navigii genus pene rotundum. Feſtus.

(14) Stillingfleet's true antiquity of London.

them: for it appears by Hanno's voyage (about 150 years after Herodotus) how little they had difcovered beyond the pillars of Hercules, for Cerne was no farther beyond them on the African coaft than it was from Carthage to them. If the Phœnicians did not vifit Britain in remote ages, they had no inducement to come to Ireland.

Leaving the uncertainty of thefe early navigations, let us attend to facts. About two centuries and a half B. X. the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who then fwayed the Egyptian fceptre, was illuminated with bright (15) conftellations of learned men. Among thefe Eratofthenes, his librarian, an excellent geometrician and geographer, was confpicuous. Strabo (16) praifes his private collection of maps and books, and he was fo well acquainted with the weftern parts of Europe, that he gives the diftance of Ireland from (17) Celtica. This is perhaps the earlieft authentic notice that occurs of Ireland. It is evident the names and fituation of countries muft have been known and afcertained before they could be reduced into a map. The churlifh jealoufy of Phœnician and Carthaginian traders would not (18) permit them to give information of the countries they frequented, this was to be had from people of more liberal fentiments, and thefe were the Grecian colonies fettled at Syracufe, Rhegium, Tarentum, and along the Italian coaft, and particularly from the Phocæan, eftablifhed at Maffylia, or Marfeilles 540 years before our æra. Thefe Greeks gave letters to, and introduced (19) not only civility but a high degree of polifh and urbanity among the Gauls, and being alfo a mercantile people opened a commerce with the interior of the country. If we may judge from modern efforts in purfuit of trade, (and the Greeks were inferior to no nation) they probably penetrated to the confines of Britain, about 500 miles, and to the fhores of the Baltic, and from thence brought both tin and amber. This fuppofition is not entirely groundlefs from what Diodorus Siculus relates, that tin was conveyed from Britain to Gaul in wicker boats, and paffing through the country arrived at Narbonne on the Mediterranean in thirty days. The tranfport of amber was performed in the fame manner. Thefe commodities were by the Maffylians difperfed among the Greeks, and thus Herodotus derived an imperfect knowledge of the parts from which they came.

About

(15) Befides the Pleades, or feven famed poets, he had Demetrius Phalereus, Epicurus, and many more.

(16) Lib. 2.

(17) Strab. fup. Cafaubon fays—Sic et Κελτικὴ apud vetuftiffimos Græcos ea tantum Galliæ pars, quam mare Mediterraneum alluit. In Strab. p. 68.

(18) Strab. l. 3. (19) See Strabo, Plautus, Cicero, &c.

About one hundred years after the age of Herodotus, Tyre was deſtroyed by Alexander the Great, and the city of Alexandria was founded, and ſoon became the grand emporium of eaſtern and weſtern commerce. Thither (20) catapli or fleets ſailed from Marſeilles, and on their return great fairs were held. A new ſpring was given to induſtry; the proſpect of gain prompted men to explore diſtant regions, and to become more intimately acquainted with their productions. With this view (21) Pytheas ſet out from Marſeilles to examine the weſt and north of Europe, and proceeded as far as Thule, which Forſter believes to be the Shetland iſlands. He deſcribed Britain, for Strabo (22) introduces Polybius comparing the accounts of Pytheas, Dicæarchus and Eratoſthenes as to the magnitude of Britain.

If Ireland was colonized by an eaſtern people, had regular government and objects of trade, would antiquity be ſilent on theſe heads? They would not. But granting the Phœnicians or Carthaginians viſited Ireland, they could form only ſuch factories as the moderns do in remote countries; and we can eaſily appreciate the knowledge and improvement the one was likely to communicate, and the other to receive from them. Have the ſavages of America adopted the arts or manners of the Engliſh, French or Spaniards ſettled among them for near two centuries. It is the civilized not the rude who are prone to change. But what is exactly in point is, that (23) the natives contiguous to the Phœnician ſettlements in Spain are not remarked by Diodorus Siculus or Strabo for an advancement in civilization above their countrymen. Beſides the ingenious writer laſt cited has collected ſuch traits of barbariſm in the Iriſh character, and to a late period, as demonſtrate them, before the light of chriſtianity, to be deſtitute of mental and civil cultivation. The moſt celebrated nations of the world, at certain times, have been ſimilarly circumſtanced. While man continues the ſame, and while hiſtoric records ſupply certain information to direct our inquiries, Iriſh antiquaries may exhauſt their time and talents in rehearſing the literature and arts of their anceſtors, the long catalogue of their Kings, and the ſplendour of their monarchy,—but in vain, for the learned will ſay of ſuch writers as Ovid does of a famed poetic perſonage:

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus; hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Our

(20) Du Cange in voce. (21) Forſter's north. diſcoveries, initio.
(22) Lib. 2. (23) Macpherſon's Introduct.

Our learned Primate Uſher, after quoting Orpheus for Ireland not being (24) unknown in his time, exultingly ſays,—(25) Not even the Roman people can produce ſuch teſtimony of their antiquity.—Is it an honour to any country, that it was inhabited in very remote ages by roving barbarians with a proper name? Then the various tribes of Tartars and of Indians may claim this diſtinction, and probably go beyond the Romans and Iriſh. This ill-judged ebullition of patriotiſm might paſs very well when the Primate writ, (1639) but will be more rigorouſly examined at this day.

Deſine blanditias, & verba potenſia quondam
Perdere, non ego ſum ſtultus ut ante fui.

The Greeks certainly knew our Iſle exiſted and had inhabitants three centuries before our æra. But the perpetual warfare carried on by the Romans in the eaſt and weſt made it totally neglected, particularly, as in a political view (26) it could neither ſerve or injure them. Geography was ſtudied at Rome, and youth learned the ſcience on (27) illuminated maps. Cicero (28) meditated a large work on the ſubject. When Julius Cæſar was made Conſul, he obtained a decree of the Senate for a ſurvey of the (29) empire; but they were Greek artiſts who undertook it, and after thirty two years labour they delivered their charts and memoirs to the Senate. Balbus (30) ſeems to have been the perſon who reduced to proper and intelligible form the maſs of materials which had been collected, and M. Vipſanius Agrippa, ſon-in-law of Auguſtus, from the whole had a great map of the Roman empire conſtructed, and placed in a (31) portico at Rome. Among theſe documents was a map or topography of Ireland, and to which (32) Pliny refers.

We ſhall now examine the name of our Iſle. No mortal, ſays (33) Herodotus, can diſcover whence the name of Europe is derived. This candour in the father of Grecian hiſtory has not been imitated by antients or moderns. Plato, his contemporary,

(24) Παρ' δ' αρα τοτον αμειδον Ιερηδα. Argon. V. 1179. Ed. Eiſenbach. Fabricius recounts more than thirty performances under the name of Orpheus. Biblioth. Græc. V. 1. p. 120. Ed. Harles. His Argonautics are a wild unintelligible romance.

(25) Cujuſmodi antiquitatis, ne ipſe quidem populus Romanus ſui nominis teſtem proferre poterit. Primord. p. 714.

(26) Μητε λυειν, μητ' ωφελειν ημας δυναται. Strab. l. 2. A principle on which they acted.

(27) Pictos ediſcere mundos. Propert. Eumen. de reſtaur. Schol.

(28) Etenim γεωγραφικα quæ conſtitueram, magnum opus eſt. Ad. Attic. l. 2. ep. 6.

(29) Æthic. Coſmograph. This probably gave the hint to the firſt William for the compilation of doomſday book.

(30) Balbi menſoris—qui temporibus Auguſti omnium provinciarum & civitatum formas & menſuras compertas, in commentarios contulit. Frontin. apud rei agrar. Script. Goeſii, p. 109.

(31) Plin. l. 3. c. 2. (32) Lib. 4. c. 16.

(33) Ουτε οπωθεν το ουνομα ηλαβε τουτο. Melpom. p. 301.

porary, indulges all the pruriency of imagination in his attempts at etymology; in this purſuit the ſublime, the divine Plato dwindles into the dreaming gueſſer. The Cratylus will ever remain a monument of his weakneſs. The ſame may be ſaid of Varro, Philo, Joſephus, Origen, Jerome, and many more. Undiſmayed by the failures of theſe eminent men, we find this ſtudy a favourite one, eſpecially with ſchioliſts and alphabetarian ſcholars; who ſcarcely able to diſtinguiſh the letters of one language from another, will, by the help of vocabularies and lexicons, find out reſemblances in words, and thus attempt to prove the Celtic, for inſtance, to be connected (34) with the ſpeech of every country on the globe.

Very different is the conduct of ſound claſſical writers. Thus the excellent Camden, in a paper (35) read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1604, obſerves:—that ſuch is the uncertainty of etymology, that arguments drawn from it are of leaſt force, and therefore called by an ancient Grecian, μαρτυρια αλαζονικα as proofs only which put a good face on the matter.—Accordingly when he comes to treat of Ireland in his Britannia, he recites the various names of the Iſle as they lie in ancient authors, and juſtly remarks—that the etymology of theſe ſeveral names has given riſe to different opinions, as is natural on ſo obſcure a ſubject; and he modeſtly adds, I have no conjecture to propoſe, unleſs it may be derived from Hiere, an Iriſh word, ſignifying eaſt or weſtward, whence Eri, or the weſtern country may be deduced. I once thought this a fortunate conjecture.—Though he does not ſtate his reaſons why he did not continue to think this a fortunate conjecture, they were perhaps ſuch as theſe. There is no H as a letter (36) in the Iriſh language, as being a mere aſpirate, though from want of a notation commenſurate with the ſounds in that tongue, its uſe is (37) various and multiplied. There is no ſuch word as Iërne, but Iar ſignifying back or backward, or the weſt, when the face was turned to the holy land, or the eaſt.

But who gave our Iſle the appellation of—Eri?—Could it be the Celtes, its primitive poſſeſſors? theſe were wandering ſavages, of whom little is recorded, and that little proclaims their ignorance and barbariſm. If the names of Europe, Aſia and Africa were (38) unknown in the age of Homer, and alſo (39) the cardinal points; if (40) Eudoxus made the Greeks acquainted with the motions of the celeſtial

(34) Collec. de reb. Hib. paſſim. (35) Hearne's Antiq. diſcourſes, V. 2. p. 90.
(36) O'Brien's Iriſh Dict. p. 292.
(37) Molloy, Gramm. Lat. Hib. p. 23. who devotes to it a long chapter (4) of ten pages.
(38) Strab. l. 12. (39) Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 1248.
(40) Eudoxum primum hos motus in Græciam tranſtuliſſe. Senec. nat. quæſt. l. 7. c. 3.

leſtial bodies but 360 years B. X. can it be ſuppoſed the Celtes were more enlightened? Some deſcribed the world with their faces to the north; others with their faces to the weſt. Dubricius, Biſhop of Caerleon, at the cloſe of the 6th century, preſided over all the Britons—(41) dextralis partis Britanniæ.—Uſher thinks the Britons, following the Jews, called the ſouth the right hand, but (42) Stillingfleet doubts this. O'Brien (42) ſhews, that the Iriſh adopted the Jewiſh manner in calling the ſouth the right, and further remarks:—that Camden's derivation of the word Eri, the name of Ireland, from the Iriſh word, Iar, ſeems abſurd for two reaſons: 1. becauſe the Iriſh word, Iar, ſtrictly and properly means only after, in Latin poſt and poſtea, or behind, and does not ſignify the weſt, but relatively to the poſition of perſons facing to the eaſt at public prayers. In this poſition the ſouth is called by the name of the right hand, and the north by that of the left, and thus Iar is to be explained and not otherwiſe; for if a perſon turns his face to any other point, Iar is applied to what is behind him. 2. Ireland is not properly to be counted a weſtern country, but relatively to Britain, and the lower parts of Gaul and Germany, but we do not find the natives uſed it to ſignify the weſt; and as to the Iriſh, it ſeems contrary to the propriety of language and common ſenſe that they ſhould have formed the name from its weſtern poſition, which was only relative to others, and not to them who were the inhabitants.—Thus far our Lexicographer. To which may be added, that had Iar a reference to the weſt, it would have been found in ſimple or compound words, and in the names of our rivers, mountains, vallies or champaign grounds, which, I believe, it is not.

The earlieſt notice in Roman writers of the name of Ireland (Hibernia) is in Julius Cæſar, and was given, probably, by him or his countrymen, from its ſuppoſed coldneſs: for it was the practice of antiquity, to give appellations to countries and people from their ſituation, productions, or ſome peculiarity: witneſs Mauritania, Caſſiterides, Lotophagi, Heſperia, Interamna, and innumerable other inſtances. Strabo, who writ long after Cæſar, deſcribes Britain as (44) frigid from its vicinity to the north, and Ireland as ſcarcely (45) habitable from its coldneſs. Hibernia was then an appellation ſuitable to ſuch conceptions, and is in the opinion of (46) Ware and Baxter alluded to in this line of Propertius:

Ibernuſque Getes, pictoque Britannia curru.

Claudian

(41) Primord. p. 80. (42) Brit. churches, p. 203. (43) Dic. ſup. in Deas & Eirin. (44) Lib. 5.

(45) Αθλιως δε δια Ψυχος ανημενην. Lib. 2. At a later period, Tacitus ſays, the ſea about the Orkneys was—pigrum & grave navigantibus, and that beyond the Suiones—immotum prope.

(46) Waræi antiq. c. 1. Baxter, Gloſſ. in Ibernica. There is another reading of the line—Hibernique Getæ.

Claudian ſtyles Ireland—glacialis Ierne—and this at the end of the 4th century. The other derivations of Hibernia we leave to thoſe who are delighted with their own whimſies.

Whether the record compiled by Balbus, and before mentioned, was acceſſible to the public, or the inquiſitive, we are not told: if it was, Strabo and Diodorus Siculus would have been more copious in their account of our Iſle and other countries. It would have ſaved much time and labour to the latter, who aſſures us he ſpent (47) thirty years in compoſing his hiſtory: that his predeceſſors in that walk had lapſed into great errors for want of the perſonal examination of places: that to remove theſe, he had travelled over a great part of Europe and Aſia, and alſo had reſided at Rome. Accordingly his work, though not free from faults, has much exact and curious information. Nor is it his leaſt praiſe, that (48) Pliny exempts him from the herd of literary Greek triflers, and in the opinion of the learned (49) Heyne, he has ſome original remarks on Britain. What he ſays of Ireland is very remarkable.—(50) The remote northern nations, who border upon Scythia, are ferocious, devouring men, as is reported of the Britons who inhabit Iris.—The firſt charge will be hereafter conſidered, but it deſerves notice, that he calls the Iriſh Britons, and juſtly, as both were deſcended from the ſame Celtic ſtock. Weſſeling, the lateſt editor of Diodorus, acknowledges he cannot account for Ireland (51) being thus named inſtead Iërne, Iouernia and Iernis. But Diodorus, who had penetrated far into the north of Europe, there firſt heard, and has happily preſerved the genuine name of our Iſle: a name almoſt two thouſand years old, and yet unaccountably paſſed over by all our antiquaries: a name, which removes every (52) difficulty about the country deſigned by Diodorus.

Iri, or as now written Eri, in (53) Iriſh, is the great Iſle. In Teutonic (54) Er-aii, contracted into Eri, is the farther Iſle. It received this appellation from the Teutonic tribes, who then poſſeſſed Europe, and has been invariably uſed by them in every age. Here are the proofs.

A. D.

(47) Τριακοντα μεν ετη. Lib. 1. p. 7.

(48) Apud Græcos, deſiit nugari Diodorus. Plin. præf.

(49) In iis quæ de Britannia affert Diodorus, nonnulla de ſuo penu attuliſſe videri debet. De font. Diodori, ſupra.

(50) Πλησιε και των Βρεττανων τους κατοικουντας την στεμαζομενην Ιριν. Lib. 5.

(51) Id in obſcura manet, cur Ιριν adpellat, quæ cæteris Ἰερνη, Ιουερνια, Ἰερνις dici ſolet. In loco.

(52) Dr. Macpherſon's Diſſ.

(53) O'Brien's Dict. in Er. The ancient Iriſh alphabet had but four vowels; E was not uſed. O'Brien in E & I.

(54) Kilian, Dic. Teuton, in Er. Procop. hiſt. Goth. p. 584. Ed. Grotii.

A. D.

540. Gildas left the ſchool of Iltutus, in Wales, and went to (55) Iris.

870. In Iſlands Landnamaboc, one of the (56) oldeſt Icelandic Sagas, Ireland is named Ir-land. In King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon tranſlation of Oroſius, Ireland is ſtyled Ireland.

891. Three Iriſhmen, ſays the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, came in a boat from Yr-land.

918. In the ſame record under this year our Iſle has the ſame name.

1048. In the ſame chronicle, Harold flies to Yr-land.

1076. Adam of Bremen has the ſame name.

1105. Ælnoth, in his life of St. Canute, calls the Iriſh Iros.

1141. Odericus Vitalis ſtyles the Iriſh (57) Irenſes, and their country Ire-land.

And in Wormius's Runic literature, the Iriſh alphabet is called Ira-letur. The identity of Diodorus's Iris with the Iris, Ira, Iros, Irenſes, Ire and Ir of the Gothic and Teutonic people, and that traced for above ſix hundred years, clearly evinces that this Greek author has preſerved the genuine and original name of our iſle. There are other proofs, no doubt, which have eſcaped the writer's reſearch. As to the change of Iris into Ierne, whoever is acquainted with the alteration of words by Greek dialects, and the effect of their epentheſis and paragoge, will eaſily account for the mutation.

If it be aſked why this original name has been hitherto unnoticed, the anſwer ſeems to be, that antiquaries find it much eaſier to build ſyſtems on conjectures than laborioufly enquire after truth and certainty.

(55) Valedicens pio magiſtro venerandiſque condiſcipulis Iren perrexit. Uſſer. primord. p. 907.

(56) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 14.

(57) Uſſer. ſup. p. 734.

OF THE COLONIZATION OF IRELAND.

THAT the Romans had ſeparate Maps of their whole empire, and even of parts not under their dominion (as was the caſe of Ireland) has been ſhewn in the laſt Eſſay. Whether Balbus's commentary, containing the names of cities, rivers, promontories and tribes was publiſhed, or at what time, we are no where told. It is certain Marinus of Tyre, and Ptolemy, the celebrated aſtronomer and geographer of Peluſium, obtained information of theſe, and tranſmitted it to poſterity. Ptolemy flouriſhed A. D. 150; it might therefore be expected, that the names of places in Ireland, which he records, would have been purely Celtic: this our (1) native antiquaries poſitively deny, unleſs in a few inſtances. The country, particularly the maritime parts, was poſſeſſed at different times by ſuch various tribes of foreigners, that we need not wonder at the inſtability and change of names in thoſe diſtant ages. The Celtes, however, were the majority, and preſerved their language. They adopted the religion and manners of theſe foreigners: a mixt ſuperſtition, Celtic and Scythic, ſprung up, which both Britiſh and Iriſh writers call, but very improperly, Druidic; for the Druids were the prieſts of the Celtes. On this diſtinction, and on this alone reſts the true and accurate explanation of the antiquities of Britain and Ireland. To eſtabliſh this point, it will therefore be neceſſary to detail with ſome minuteneſs the names and progreſs of the foreign colonies which arrived here.

Camden is explicit that (2) Ireland was originally peopledby Britons, but after, from the revolutions ariſing in countries, Gauls, Germans and Spaniards were compelled to ſeek refuge here. Spenſer, who publiſhed his "View of Ireland," a few years after Camden tells us, (3) Gauls were the firſt inhabitants of Britain and Ireland: that Gauls from Belgium and Celtica ſettled in the ſouth, Scythians in the north, and Spaniards in the weſt of the Ireland; as to the latter, he doubts whether they were Gauls or of ſome other country. He is correct in making the Gauls or Celtes

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(1) O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 16—17. O'Conor's Diſſ. p. 167—8.
(2) In Ireland and Wexford.
(3) Pag. 27—32—33. He rejects Iriſh fictions and the ſtory of Gathelus.

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the primæval poſſeſſors of Britain and Ireland, but not ſo when he ſays the Gauls from Belgium were the ſame people. In the infancy of antiquarian diſquiſitions ſuch errors are pardonable. He confirms the Scythic derivation of the Iriſh by an ample compariſon of their cuſtoms and manners.

Keating, about 1626, compoſed his hiſtory of Ireland from bardic tales and poetic fictions. Without learning or judgment, he has given a curious work, and the want of it would have been a loſs to Iriſh literature. He countenances a northern colonization; as does Ware in 1654, O'Flaherty in 1685, Stillingfleet about the ſame time; Innes in 1729, and Pinkerton in 1789. Here then is a ſyſtem in which ſo many eminent and able men concur, as muſt not only remove from it the imputation of caprice or conjecture, but form, in the mind of every reader, a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion in its favour.

Cæſar (4) informs us, that Gaul was divided between three races of men, the Celtes, Belgæ and Aquitani, who differed in language, manners and laws. He confounds the Celtic and Belgic practices, calling them Druidic, and in this he has been but too cloſely followed by ſubſequent writers.

The Celtes having colonized Britain, paſſed from thence into Ireland. Hear what a man of conſummate abilities advances on this ſubject. (5)—Without recurring, ſays he, to the authority of ſtory, but rather diligently obſerving the law and courſe of nature, I conjecture that whatever is fabled of the Phœnicians, Scythians, Biſcayners, &c. of their firſt inhabiting Ireland, that the places neareſt Carrickfergus were firſt peopled, and that by thoſe who came from the parts of Scotland, oppoſite thereto.—He thinks, the Britons might come from Holyhead, or St. David's-head, but that the primitive poſſeſſors arrived from Scotland, the paſſage being ſhort, and eaſily performed in the ſlighteſt boats. The almoſt identity of the Erſe and Iriſh is complete evidence of the fact. The Iriſh are not deſcended from the Welſh Britons, becauſe their dialect greatly deviates from the Iriſh; inſomuch that Lhuyd, (6) Leibnitz and Rowlands acknowledge the Welſh to be but a ſecondary colony, being (7) Cimbri, Cumri or German Celtes. The original Iriſh were then Celtes, who about 300 years before our æra were diſturbed by the Fir-bolgs, or Belgæ, a branch of the great Scythian ſwarm.

The

(4) Hic omnes lingua, inſtitutis, legibus inter ſe different. l. 1. initio.

(5) Petty's polit. Anatomy, p. 369.

(6) Hiberni ſunt propago antiquorum Britanniæ habitatorum, coloniis Celticis, Cimbriciſque nonnullis, & ut ſi dicam, mediis anteriorum, &c. Lebnitz. collect. etymol. t. 1. p. 153. And his Diſſ. Philol. apud Chamberlaynii Orat. Domin. p. 27. Rowland's mona Antiq. Malcolm's tracts, p. 6.

(7) Pinkerton, ſup.

The Iriſh Fir-Bolgs were Belgic men, viri Belgici, or Belgæ, from (8) the northern coaſt of Gaul. They poſſeſſed no inconſiderable portion of Britain, before the arrival of the Romans, and by Richard of Cirenceſter, are (9) ſaid to have come here a little before Cæſar's attempt on Britain. Ptolemy mentions the Menapii and Cauci in Ireland in the middle of the 2d century; they muſt have come from Belgic Gaul and Germany, for we meet with no trace of them in Britain; Menapia in Wales being (10) founded by the Iriſh Menapii. This Teutonic people inhabited the ſea-coaſt of Wexford and Waterford, and by the (11) Iriſh are called Garmans or Germans. Our (12) antiquaries aſſure us, theſe Belgic tribes divided Ireland into five provinces, and particularly held Connaught, and gave it Kings to the end of the 3d century. Numberleſs places were (13) called after them, and many families are derived from them: as the O'Beunachan's of Sligo, the O'Layns in Hymania; the Nials, McLaughlins, and others are of (14) Scandinavian anceſtors. Lhuyd puts an end to all doubt as to the power of the Belgæ in this iſle, by exhibiting a long liſt of words, ſpringing from the Teutonic, and by adding:—(15) We have no room for ſuppoſing, unleſs it be in a very few examples, that the Iriſh have borrowed theſe words from the Engliſh; becauſe they are extant in the old Iriſh MSS. written before the union of the two nations. And moreover they have ſeveral (ſome hundreds) Teutonic words that are not at all in the Engliſh.—

The Picts, another Gothic or Teutonic people, early eſtabliſhed themſelves (16) here, as they had long before in Scotland. The ſame may be ſaid of the Scots, both were Scythians and part of the (17) Saxon nation; which, in the middle of the 5th century, as we learn from (18) Stephen of Byzantium, was ſeated on the Cimbric cherſoneſe. Part of this people ſettled in Norway, and from thence ſent colonies

(8) For the extent of Belgium, ſee Cæſar, Edit. Marliani, p. 642—3.

(9) Ric. Corin. p. 44. Ed. Bertram. O'Flah. ſup. p. 17. (10) Rowland's ſup. p. 27.

(11) O'Conor's Diſſ. p. 176. Smith's Waterford, p. 25.

(12) O'Flahert. ſup. p. 24. Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 88.

(13) Quin et multa hodie exiſtunt per regnum loca, quibus hæc Belgarum colonia nomina indidit; ſicut et familiæ quædam etiamnum hodie ex Belgarum ſuperſunt reliquiis, ut O'Beaunachan in Sligoenſi comitatu, & O'Layn in Hymania. O'Kelly, deſcript. Hib. p. 96.

(14) Anecotes of Olave the Black, p. 28. (15) At y Kymri. Archæol. Brittan.

(16) Pictos in Hiberniam appuliſſe, regnante Heremone. Ex ea majoris Germaniæ parte, unde Gothi & Dani oriundi, quæ olim Scythia citerior et borealis dicebatur, eos prodiiſſe communior eſt ſententia. O'Flah. p. 188, 193. Pinkerton, ſup. Whatever relates to the Picts and Scots has been ſo ably treated by this writer, as to make any detail ſuperfluous.

(17) Scoti, pars Saxonum, Alia Saxonum manus Picti cognominati. Aventin. Ann. Boior. p. 171. Eccard. de orig. Germ. p. 67.

(18) Σαξονες, εθνος οικουν εν τη Κιμβρικη χερσονησω. Buchanan mentions the Albin and Irin Scutes, as do Spenſer, ſup. p. 28. and Warton, ſup. Diſſ. 1. Johnſtone's Lodbrokar Quida, p. 100. Bede alſo in different places diſtinguiſhes them.

colonies to Scotland, where they were called Albin Scutes; ſome came to Ireland and were named Irin Scutes. Hence Sidonius Apollinaris in the 5th century, ſpeaks of them as a kindred people, who united in pillaging the Roman provinces.

Fuderit et quanquam Scotum & cum Saxone Pictum.

And ſo does Claudian.

Scottica nec Pictum tremerem, nec litore toto
Proſpicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

It is conjectured, that the Scots came to our Iſle two or three centuries before the nativity, and as to their (19) name that ſeems not derived from a city or particular place, or ferocity or eminence in war, but from their (20) original country, Scythia. Uſher has (21) ſhewn, that they were diſtinguiſhed by this appellation from the 3d to the 12th century, and of courſe were the dominant people. After the ſettlement of the Belgæ, Picts and Scots in Ireland, every gale wafted over innumerable hordes of northern rovers, theſe the Iriſh called (22) Fomora, from Fomoire, or Finnland. There is an iſle in the Baltic on the coaſt of Holſtein named Femera or Femeren, where probably ſome powerful piratical chief reigned, who united under his command Daniſh, Swediſh, Iutiſh, Finniſh and Norwegian adventurers in predatory voyages, as was common in the middle ages, and which the words of O'Flaherty ſeem to intimate. In the age of (23) Tacitus, the Finns were mere ſavages: afterwards Finnland contained ſix provinces and various tribes, and became, as we ſee, ſuperior to their nighbours. O'Flaherty relates, that Tuathal, an Iriſh prince, married Bania the daughter of Scalius, King of Finnland, about A. D. 130. O'Brien (24) remarks that Tuathal, after changed into Tothil, Tohill and Toole, was the ſame as Totila among the Goths, and that many Gothic names are to be found among the Scots or Iriſh. And O'Conor, from this marriage, concludes, that a cloſe intercourſe was maintained with the nations bordering on the Baltic in the 2d century. However the reigns of Tuathal and Scalius are antedated

(19) Cæſar ſays—Qui omnes fere nominibus civitatum appellabantur, quibus orti excivitatibus, eò pervenerunt. He explains theſe cities to be reſidence of families, or clans. Lib. 6. c. 22. Ludolp. Æthiop. p. 61. Rau, de ara Ubior. p. 51.

(20) Germani inferiores Scythas & Scotos, uno nomine, Scutten appellant: ſic Britannos utroſque uno nomine—Y Scot-dixiſſe. Camden.

(21) Primord. p. 718, & ſeq.

(22) Scalium illum Tuathalii ſocerum regem Fomoire, i. e. Finnland dictum reperio; ex quo Finlandiæ eum fuiſſe regem intelligo, & illos terrarum ſeptentrionalium incolas (nunc Danos, Succos, Jothos, Finnos) a noſtris antiquitus communi vocabulo, Fomora, i. e. Fomorios nuncupatos. O'Flaher. p. 13, 503.

(23) Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas. Germ. c. 46. (24) Die voce Dealbach.

dated by ſome ages. Scalcus (not the Scalius of O'Flaherty, or the Scalbalch of O'Conor) was (25) King of Slavia, and nearly contemporary with (26) Tuathal, about 534, of our æra. Fedlim, ſon of Tuathal, eſpouſed the daughter of another King of Fomoire, who was called King of Lochlin. Lochlanicc was another appellation given to theſe northerns by the Iriſh, becauſe they inhabited a country (27) full of lakes, which was very applicable to the regions ſurrounding the Baltic; and hence (28) Lhychlyn in Welſh, and Lochlyn in Iriſh comprehended Denmark, Sweden and Norway. So famous and reſpected were the Finns or Fians in Ireland, that the word Finn was uſed as an honourable (29) addition to the names of our princes. As Fiatach-finn, Fiah Finnoladh, Finn-nachta, &c. The diſtricts ſeized by the Finns were named Beſcha na Fene, and their monſtrous ſtone monuments, (30) Leabthachana Bhfeinne, the beds or tombs of the Fene or Finns, and they had the Bhearla na Fene, or Finniſh dialect.

To reſtrain their cruel receſſes and render theſe pirates uſeful, the Iriſh intermarried with them, and of them formed a militia to protect the coaſts againſt their marauding countrymen. This was the body of national forces, celebrated in Iriſh romantic hiſtory under the name of Fionn Eirionn, and led by the great Fin Mac Cumhal, their general. It is (31) pretended that the names of the ſtations and officers of this Finniſh militia are ſtill extant. Among the latter we find Oſhen Mac Finn, Fian Mac Fenraſſe, Boge Mac Finn, Row Mac Finn, Rogſklaygh Mac Finn. Camden informs us, the tales and ſongs concerning the giants Finn Mac Huyle and Oſhin, Mac Owen, were popular among the Iriſh in his time. Let every reader appreciate the value of theſe traditions, and alſo thoſe in Mr. Macpherſon's Oſſian; ſo much with certainty may be inferred from them, that of theſe Fenni, Fene, Phinni and Phœnii, our bards and their followers have made Phœnicians, and all the wild oriental fabling which has diſgraced our antiquities. Had they conſulted the book of Lecan, their oracle, and the fountain of Iriſh fictions, they would find the Finns expreſsly called (32) Feinoice Muirituadh—i. e. Fenians of the northern ſea. This evidence muſt be deciſive with thoſe who implicitly rely on this MS.

Another colony of northerns are recognized by our hiſtorians under the names of Tuatha de Danans, Danir, Dansfir, or Danes. They came from (33) Den-

(25) Sax. Gramm. l. 2. Suenon. oper. p. 4. (26) Pinkerton, V. 2. Table of Kings.
(27) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 496. Strahlenberg's Siberia, p. 35. not. 26. Tooke's Ruſſia.
(28) Lhuyd, Archæol. Britann. (29) O'Flaherty. p. 301, 305.
(30) O'Brien in Leaba. Collect. No. 5. p. 61. (31) Hanmer's chronicle, p. 26, 27.
(32) Vindic. of Iriſh hiſt. p. 337. (33) Collectan. No. 4. p. 492.

mark. O'Flaherty (34) ſaw no objection to this, but that the name of Dane was not known till the 6th century. However, as he well obſerves, like thoſe of the Picts and Scots, the name might have been long known among the people of the north before the Romans became acquainted with it. O'Flaherty allows they ſpoke (35) the German or Teutonic, and inhabited the cities Falia, Goria, Finnia and Muria in the north of Germany. In the black book (36) of Chriſt-church, Dublin, the arrival of the Danes here before the age of St. Patrick, is recorded. O'Conor, with that ſcantineſs of information which marks his writings, (37) aſſerts that the Scandinavian tribes which infeſted Ireland, were not diſtinguiſhed by particular names. One is almoſt tempted to pardon ſuch effrontery and ignorance, when ſo good a judge as Biſhop Nicholſon could (38) ſay, that he once deſigned to give the Eaſterlings or Oſtmen a chapter, but ſumming up the evidence, he found they did not deſerve ſuch regard. But from the ſpecimen here given, it will be ſeen that the labour of inveſtigation and not materials were wanting.

The (39) Leathmannice or Lettmanni were another tribe ſettled here. They came from Letten, Letitia or Lettenland, a part of Livonia. The name of the river running through Dublin is, in Giraldus Cambrenſis, Avon Liff; in (40) old records, Avene Liff, and Avon Liffy. Camden will have it to be the Libnius of Ptolemy, but Libnius is (41) the bay of Sligo. Avon Leivi or Lifi is the river of the Leivi, a tribe adjoining the Lettmanni. Dublin in Ptolemy is called Eblana; a true Teutonic name, from Eb-land, as the ſea at ebb-tide left uncovered a ſtrand of eight thouſand acres; a ſight very ſtriking to the northerns. Its Iriſh name of Baileaeleath, or the town of hurdles, is an (42) hybrid compound of Iriſh and Gallic. Dyflin, Dufle, Duflin, or Dublin, ſeems derived either from Duflin, (43) a town in Scandinavia, or the Iriſh Dubh, and the Icelandic lin water, though I incline to the firſt.

The (44) Martinei were a Belgic tribe, probably from (45) Martiniana in Zealand. O'Flaherty calls them (46) the remains of the Belgæ.

Whether

(34) O'Flaher. p. 13. Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 2. Venant. Fort. l. 7.

(35) Dannanas in boreali Germania, Faliam, Goriam, Finniam & Muriam urbes incoluiſſe, Germanice locutos. O'Flaher. p. 12.

(36) Uſſer. Primord. ſup. Hiſt. of Dublin, p. 162.

(37) Diſſ. p. 171. (38) Iriſh hiſt. library, p. 33.

(39) Collectan. No. 4. p. 489. Strahlenberg, ſup. p. 25.

(40) Prynne on the 4th Inſtit. p. 251. Camdeni Epiſt. p. 80.

(41) Campbell's polit. Survey, p. 251. (42) Spelman. Gloſſ. in Claia, Cleia.

(43) Pinkerton on Medals. V. 2. p. 122. (44) Collect. No. 4. ſup.

(45) Kilian. Dic. Teut. in voce. (46) Martinos e Belgarum reliquiis, ſup. p. 16, 195.

Whether the Oſtmanni or Oſtmen, who ruled in Ireland, were a particular tribe or a general name, has been doubted. Snorro (47) ſays, they came from Sweden. Giraldus Cambrenſis and Nicolſon bring them from Norway. Our learned Primate Uſher (48) thinks the Eſtii and Eſtonii of Crantz; the Oſtiæi and Oſtiones of the Greeks; the Æſtii of Tacitus; the Aiſti of Eginhard, and the Eſtones of Saxo, were the true Oſtmen. Murray (49) denies their ever having left the Baltic, or invaded Ireland. This aſſertion is no proof, eſpecially as remote tribes at this time came to Ireland. There might be an inducement for theſe Æſtii, or the Eſthonians adventuring to this Iſle, as they ſpoke a (50) dialect of the Celtic. Beſides the foregoing, other northern tribes, as the (51) Gottiac, the Gaill and others arrived and obtained ſettlements here.

This ſyſtem of northern colonization has been (52) ſupported by domeſtic and other writers, and though theſe various tribes ſpoke a language radically the ſame, yet they had different dialects, which are diſtinctly noticed. Thus the Belgæ uſed (53) the Belgaid, or Teutonic; the Fene, the bhearla na Fene; the Gaill, the Gaoileag; the Saxons, the Sagſbhearla; the Scots, the Scotbhearla; and there ſeems to have been a (54) common language, made up of all, like the lingua Franca, and named Bhearla na Teibidh. Hence the Celtic became the moſt (55) corrupt of any living language, and it is fortunate that it was not totally annihilated. Dr. O'Brien explains, why it was not. "The (56) northern rovers, ſays he, always came in ſmall bodies, and when landed, were uſually employed by one party of the natives againſt the other; by thus weakening both they were better able to eſtabliſh themſelves. Beſides they carried no women in theſe expeditions, but procured wives from the natives, whereby they and their children inſenſibly loſt their native language." And this he exemplifies in the caſe of the Engliſh who came over in ſmall parties after the conqueſt of Ireland. To which may be added, that the Celtes here, lying ſo much out of the way of invaſion, had multiplied ſo as to be an overmatch for a handful of pirates; and leſs probability was there of their extermination; for it was extermination that fixed the Saxon tongue in England.

(47) Johnſtone's antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 24. (48) Syllog. epiſt. p. 162.

(49) Nov. Comm. Gotting. t. 3. p. 80.

(50) Tac. Germ. c. 45. Brotier's note is: Quod Oeſtii in extremis Germaniæ finibus poſiti, linguam Scythico-Celticam, quæ apud Britannos diu viguit, retinerent. See Dithmar. in loco, p. 243.

(51) Collectan. No. 4. p. 491. Ogyg. vind. p. 129—131.

(52) And in the ſtrongeſt manner by the author of the Collectanea de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 491, 496.

(53) Belgaid, vocatam invenio. O'Flah. p. 14.

(54) O'Flah. p. 63. (55) Pinkerton, ſup. (56) Dic. pref. p. 42.

land on the ruin of the Britiſh. O'Brien candidly admits the coming of theſe foreign colonies, and (57) Sir Henry Spelman calls the Iriſh—Germanorum nepotes.—

It is a curious fact, that the incurſions of theſe northern rovers, though never intermitted, were leſs frequent from the 5th to the 9th century. This requires explanation. The operations of theſe piratical plunderers were no farther known to the Romans than as they diſturbed the public repoſe. In the 3d and ſubſequent centuries, the great Saxon nation reſiding on the Cimbric Cherſoneſe, and compoſed of many nameleſs tribes, was ſo troubleſome as to make the creation of a Count of the Saxon ſhore indiſpenſably neceſſary. Notwithſtanding the power and vigilance of the Romans, theſe barbarians, with their confederates, continued their depredations on Britain till the final departure of the Roman army. The Britons attacked on all ſides by ferocious enemies, and having, from long ſlavery, become indolent and puſillanimous, threw themſelves into the arms and under the protection of their moſt formidable invaders. Theſe new allies were the Saxons, Jutes and Angles, with a motley aſſociation of other tribes from the Baltic. A drain was now opened to receive the overflowings of theſe northern adventurers, and gratify them with ſpoils not to be found in Ireland, and therefore very little is recorded of them in this Iſle antecedent to the end of the 8th century; when excluded by the policy and ſtrength of every country, they again united in large bodies, and commenced their inroads into our Iſle. For about 200 years they ſeem to have poured their ſwarms into Britain, but when that kingdom aſſumed ſome regular government under the Heptarchy, their influx was ſtopped. A valuable document in (58) Spelman proves their never having relinquiſhed this country, and illuſtrates the ſubject in general.

Ina, the 11th Weſt-Saxon King, poſſeſſed an extenſive ſea-coaſt, open to piratical attempts. Small roving parties had, early in his reign, invaded and haraſſed his dominions. His Britiſh ſubjects were unfriendly, and ſo were the Iriſh. Of a quiet and peaceable diſpoſition, he thought it the wiſeſt courſe to cement an union of his Saxons with the Britons and Iriſh by intermarriage, and he himſelf led the way by eſpouſing Guala, daughter of Cadwallader, King of Wales; this, though an act of bigamy, was ſanctioned by his council of Biſhops, Earls, and all his people in 714. Beſides theſe particulars, the acts of this council expreſsly informs us, that the Angles at this time took Britiſh wives, as the Britons did Anglic ones of the noble and illuſtrious blood of the Angles of Germany: that ſome Angles married Iriſh

(57) Gloſſ. p. 174. (58) Concil. V. 1. p. 220.

Iriſh women, as almoſt the whole Iriſh nation did Germano-Anglic ones; and that the conſequence of this connection was, a cloſe confederacy againſt the Danes and Norwegians, with whom they had already waged ſome bloody wars.

This predilection in the Iriſh for Germano-Anglic women was extremely natural, as they conſidered themſelves derived from the ſame country and ſtock. From what has been delivered in this Eſſay there can be no reaſon to doubt the authenticity of this council, but rather very ſtrong ones to believe it genuine. Spelman ſuſpects it, becauſe in the common Engliſh hiſtorians, no notice is taken of Ina's marriage wi h Guala. But it is not difficult to diſcover the cauſe of this ſilence. Our hiſtorical compoſers were Monks, and Ina their peculiar favourite. He and his Queen entered into their Order; he largely endowed the church, and above all was the firſt who conſented to pay Peter's pence. Any of theſe acts were ſufficient to atone for his ſins. But where are our hiſtorians accurate in their works? They mention no tranſactions during the firſt years of Ina's reign, as if none happened in theſe turbulent times. Beſides the Wincheſter chronicle and Rudburn agree as to the intermarriages of the Saxons and Britons, but omit the more heretical Iriſh. We can hardly believe this Council would be added to the 35th chapter of the Laws of Edward the Confeſſor, where Spelman found it, if it was not genuine.

In a word, without indulging any idle or abſurd hypotheſis or conjecture, but taking the evidence of ancient writers as they fairly lie before us, there are ample grounds for believing the firſt northern invaſion of this Iſle was many ages before the incarnation. Ptolemy proves the exiſtence of German tribes here in the 2d century, and Latin poets and hiſtorians evince the connection between the Iriſh and northerns to the end of the 4th. The author of (59) the Eulogium particularly remarks the invitation of the Gothic nation of the Picts into Britain by Gratian and Valentinian, A. D. 382. In ſome time after, Gratianus Municeps drove the Iriſh back to their country; but on his death in 407, they returned and brought with them the (60) Scots, Norwegians and Dacians or Danes, and waſted Britain. Throughout the 5th century, they infeſted (61) England, and about 450, the Anglo-Saxons arrived in that Iſland. The perpetual wars excited by theſe foreigners was as ſubverſive of literary repoſe as it was deſtructive of literary memorials, and Iriſh writers unanimouſly complain of the latter being loſt in theſe convulſions. Very little can therefore be expected previous to the 9th century; from that time the

(59) Gentem Gothicam, Pictorum blanditiis allectam, a Scythia finibus ad Britanniam. Uſſer. 5: 590.
(60) Secum Scotos, Norwegenſes & Dacos conducentes. Uſſer. ſup.
(61) Tetri Scotorum Pictorumque Greges. Gild. p. 78.

northerns themſelves had ſome imperfect records of their atchievements, and partly ſupply the defects of our domeſtic annaliſts. Thus the Icelandic (62) chronicles have the names of Gliomal in 890; of Murchard, (63) about 962; of Conchobar in 1018, and of Dubnial and Kyriawal in (64) the 9th century, as Kings of Ireland. But the moſt extraordinary omiſſion of our hiſtorians, is their not enquiring who Turgeſius or Turges was, from whom deſcended and when he flouriſhed. Inſtead of theſe intereſting facts we are amuſed with childiſh tales of his cruelty and amorous adventures. It would have been ſtrange indeed, if a leader who ſubdued the Iriſh, caſtellated and garriſoned their country, and with a triumphant army for many years held ſovereign ſway, ſhould not have found one Scald to tranſmit his name and actions to poſterity. The Icelandic records introduce us to this celebrated chief under the name of Thorgils. The Iriſh not uſing the letter H but as an (65) aſpirate, and dropping one where two conſonants come together, made from Thorgils, Torgis: thus Torges or Torgeſius an Oſtman, was (66) Biſhop of Limerick, and Thorgils is, at preſent, in Norway pronounced Torges.

Harald Harfagre was monarch of Norway about 870, he reduced the petty princes of that country, being ten or twelve in number, and divided it among his ſons, conferring on them the regal title and ſucceſſion, and appointed that thoſe ſhould be (68) Iarls, Earls or prime nobility who were born of the female branches of his family. To Thorgils and Frotho, two of his ſons, he gave a well appointed fleet, to plunder the coaſt of Scotland, Wales and Ireland. They landed in Dublin and reduced it under their power. Frotho was taken off by poiſon, but Thorgils reigned long in that city, and at length fell by the machinations of the Iriſh. Such is the account given (69) by Snorro. Thorgils was attended by 120 ſhips and numerous forces. The northerns, diſperſed over our Iſle, quickly flocked to his ſtandard, and recognized the ſon of the great Harald. For thirty years he poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of Ireland; "(70) built caſtles, forts and wards, caſt up trenches, banks

(62) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 19, 20, 157.

(63) Thorkelin's fragments, pref. p. 10. (64) Arngr. Jon. ſpec. Iſland. hiſt. p. 25.

(65) O'Brien's Dic. in C. Lhuyd, p. 300. See Murray for Thorgils. Nov. Comm. Gotting. t. 3. p. 95.

(66) Ware's Biſhops. (67) Mallet's North. Antiq. V. 1. p. 262. Pinkerton's date is about 900.

(68) Iarli vero eſſent, qui ſui ſtemmatis orti erant fœmellis. Johnſtone, ſup. p. 12.

(69) Johnſtone, ſup. The following is an illuſtration. Conſuetum erat piratis, ſi regii liberi militiæ præeſſent, ipſos regis nominare etiamſi regnis carerent. Hinc factum eſt, Danis aſſiduæ infeſtatione Angliam, Hiberniam Galliaſque ad internecionem fere vaſtantibus, quod tot regum nomina occurrant, cum ex regibus Danicis deſcendentes, eas ducerent copias. Barthol. p. 446.

(70) Hanmer, p. 83.

banks and ditches for ſafeguard and refuge: was enamoured with the fair daughter of O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, who agreeing to ſend his daughter to him, accompanied her with ſixteen young men in female attire, who diſpatched Thorgils with their ſkenes." Such is the Iriſh account.

The Icelandic as well as our Iriſh chronology is very incorrect. Uſher (71) dates the arrival of Turges in 818, and his death in 848. The Icelandic chronicles make Harald divide his dominions among his ſons, A. D. 903; he was then fifty years old, being born (72) in 853. He married early and had many ſons; ſome of them muſt have been qualified to conduct a naval expedition before the 10th century. We know that Eric, brother of Thorgils, was but of the age of (73) twelve years when he commenced his piracies.

" At twelve years began"
" The King to plunder."

The interval between the Iriſh and Icelandic accounts is probably not very great.

Such is the ſcheme of colonization conciſely ſketched out, and now laid before the reader. It admits of enlargement even to laſſitude. This ſcheme is founded on the ſure baſis of written authorities, and which while it diſpels the obſcurities, caſts a ſteady light on every branch of Iriſh antiquities. Let others enjoy the gibberiſh of oriental etymologies, and the company of Mileſians, Phœnicians and Magicians in that gloomy cave:

Quo nunquam radiis oriens, mediuſve cadenſve
Phœbus adire poteſt.

(71) Ind. chron. p. 1173. Waræi diſq. p. 124. (72) Johnſtone, ſup. p. 291. (73) Lodbrokar Quida, p. 139.

OF

OF THE DRUIDS, AND THEIR RELIGION.

AFTER having treated of the colonization, it ſeems, in the next place, proper to ſpeak of the religion of the original inhabitants of this Iſle.

There is not, perhaps, in the extent of ancient literature, a more unaccountable phenomenon than what is delivered by Cæſar of the Druids and their ſuperſtition. In the firſt lines of his Commentary, this celebrated Roman general and author tells us, all Gaul was divided into three parts, and poſſeſſed by the Belgæ, Aquitani and Celtes. Each differing from the other in language, manners and laws. The word he uſes (inſtituta) for manners, muſt include part of public and private manners, as their religion, arts, domeſtic occupations, &c. He is correct in what he advances reſpecting the diverſity of (1) languages; but when he comes to diſcourſe of their laws and manners, inſtead of the Celtic, he almoſt literally tranſcribes the Roman. Whether the evidence to be produced will ſupport the charge now made, (I confeſs with diffidence) is ſubmitted to the judgment of the learned reader.

On no ſubject has fancy roamed with more licentious indulgence than on that of the Druids and their inſtitutions. Though ſunk in the groſſeſt ignorance and barbariſm, their admirers have found them, in the dark receſſes of foreſts, ſecluded from mankind and almoſt from day, cultivating the abſtruſeſt ſciences, and penetrating the ſublimeſt myſteries of nature, anticipating the diſcoveries of Pythagoras, Epicurus, Archimede and Newton; and all this without the aid of letters, or of experiments; without thoſe progreſſive ſteps in civilization which poliſh and refine the mind, and naturally lead it to the ſtudy of abſtracted knowledge.

The foundation, whereon theſe towering ſuperſtructures have been reared, is no more than a few imperfect and incidental notices in Cæſar and other ancients. "Theſe, as has been (2) obſerved, have written in ſo looſe and trifling a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and theſe reduced to their juſt value, would loſe one half of their bulk: whether it be,

(1) Cæſar, ſup. (2) Univ. hiſt. V. 18. p. a.

be, that theſe authors have but juſt copied one another, or only deſigned to ſay the ſame things." The tenets of the Celtic religion, ſays an (2) admirer of the Druids, are not as *yet* fully known. The revelation of them in the writings of the author of the Collectania, will never procure it many diſciples.

We are told, the Druids taught the unity of God; were not Polytheiſts: that Heſus, Teutates and Taranis were only names and titles of the ſupreme being; nor did they worſhip the heavenly bodies: That (3) Apollo and Beal were the prime deities of the pagan Iriſh: that they ſwore by the Sun, Moon and Stars, and that they venerated the planets, as types of the great Creator. Schedius declares their religion differed from the Roman. Borlaſe aſſures us, that every tenet and rite which the Druids taught and practiſed, every deity which they are ſaid to have worſhipped, was common to them and the moſt ancient idolaters of the Eaſt. Some of theſe notions are oppoſed by the authors of the Univerſal hiſtory. "The Celtic hiſtory, ſays the learned (4) Bruker, labours under ſuch inſuperable obſcurity and incertitude, that we cannot promiſe any thing above a ſmall degree of veriſimilitude; this we prefer modeſtly confeſſing, rather than, as is common, obtruding uncertain conjectures for undoubted truths."

Cæſar is the earlieſt writer who mentions the Druids; his account of their religion we ſhall now compare with the Roman.

I. The (5) Druids preſided over divine affairs; took care of public and private ſacrifices, and were the interpreters of religion. So did the Roman prieſthood, as related by (6) Dionyſius Halicarnaſeus, and almoſt in the words of Cæſar.

II. The Druids exerciſed a (7) civil and criminal juriſdiction. So did the (8) Roman ſacred College. Cicero informs us, that it was the ſaying of aged men that he could not be a good Pontiff, who was ignorant of the (9) civil law.

(2) On the Celtic lang. p. 43.

(3) Compare the author of the Collect. on the Celtic language, p. 37, with his Antiquity of the Iriſh lang. p. 275, 281.

(4) Tantis vero difficultatibus & inſuperabili fere obſcuritatate & incertitudine laborat Celtarum hiſtoria, &c. Hiſt. Crit. Phil. l. 2. c. 9.

(5) Illi rebus divinis interſunt: ſacraficia publica ac privata procurant: religiones interpretantur. Cæſ. l. 6. §. 13. Ed. Clarke.

(6) Antiq. Rom. l. 2.

(7) De omnibus fere controverſiis, publicis privatiſque, conſtituunt. Cæſ. ſup.

(8) Diodyſ. Hal. l. 2. Lib. l. 1. Ad eos, de omnibus divinis atque humanis rebus referretur. Cic. de orat. & pro domo.

(9) At inquit Publii filius, ex patre audivi, pontificem neminem bonum eſſe, niſi qui jus civile cognoſcet. Cic. de leg. l. 2. The ſacerdotal and judicial offices were united in the ſame perſon. Δικασαι δε τα αρχαια παρ Αιγυπτιοις ηρις ησαν. Ælian. var. hiſt. l. 14. c. 34.

III. They who did not obey their decrees were interdicted the (10) ſacrifices. Among the Romans ſuch a prohibition implied the moſt (11) atrocious guilt.

IV. There was a head Druid, who had (12) ſupreme authority. The (13) pontifex maximus was a well known dignity in the Roman hierarchy.

V. On the deceaſe of the head Druid, the next in dignity ſucceeded: if there were equals, one was choſen by (14) ſuffrage. The ſacred College at Rome was filled by (15) ſuffrage.

VI. The Druids were exempted from ſerving in war and from (16) taxes. The Roman (17) prieſthood was free from military duty and city taxes: from others it may be collected, that they had an immunity from taxes.

VII. The Druids (18) taught their diſciples a great number of verſes. It was (19) the Roman cuſtom for youth always to begin their ſtudies with poetical works.

(20) Det primos verſibus annos,
Mæoniumque bibat fœlici pectore fontem.

VIII. It was unlawful for the Druids to commit their ſecrets to (21) writing. The Roman Augurs were (22) ſworn to ſecrecy.

IX. The Druids taught the (23) Metempſyctioſis. This was the belief of the unlearned Romans, and as ſuch is ridiculed by Cicero, Ovid and Seneca.

X. The

(10) Si quis eorum decreto non ſteterit, ſacraficiis interdicunt. Cæſ. ſup.

(11) Moneo ne ſacra manus
Violata cæde, neve furiali malo
Aſpergat aras.

Senec. in Thyeſt. Stat. Syl. 3.

(12) His autem omnibus Druidibus præeſt unus, qui ſummam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Cæſ. ſup.

(13) Livius, & fere omnes Romani ſcriptores.

(14) Hoc mortuo, ſi quis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, ſuccedit: at ſi plures ſunt pares, ſuffragio Druidum adlegitur. Cæſ. ſup.

(15) Dionyſ. Hal. ſup. Dio. l. 37. Aſcon. in Cic. Divinat.

(16) Druidæ neque tributa una cum reliquis pendant, militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Cæſ. ſup.

(17) Et licet a collationibus multi fuerant ſacerdotes immunes, ſunt tamen exempla, pontifices & ſacerdotes pecuniam propter bellum conferri ſolitam in ſtipendiariam contuliſſe, quum ſe ob ſacerdotium immunes dicerent. Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. p. 65.

(18) Magnum ibi numerum verſuum ediſcere dicuntur. Cæſ. ſup.

(19) Strab. l. 1. Serv. in Virg. eclog. 4. Bono ordine, primo poetas.

(20) Petron. Arb.

(21) Neque fas eſſe exiſtimant ea literis mandare. Cæſ. ſup.

(22) Plutarch. quæſt Rom. 99.

(23) In primis hoc volunt perſuadere, non interire animas, ſed ab aliis poſt mortem tranſire ad alios. Cæſ. ſup.

". The Druids diſcourſed much of the (24) ſtars and their motions; of the magnitude of the world; of the nature of things, and of the greatneſs and power of the immortal Gods. Such ſpeculations employed the Roman clergy, as we (25) learn from Cicero, Plutarch and Am. Marcellinus.

This parallel, ſo exactly agreeing in every particular, forms the phenomenon before noticed. Are Cæſar's words either exact or true, that the Celtes, but whom he calls (26) Gauls, had religious cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves? They could have no conceptions of the Roman ſuperſtition, for the Celtic or Druidic was, according to him (27) invented in Britain, which the Romans had not ſubdued. Shall we then ſay with (28) Pelloutier, that he was not fully informed as to the Celtic religion; and that he wrote more like a ſoldier than a philoſopher? It is ſtrange, that Pelloutier, who had thus a glimpſe of Cæſar's imperfect repreſentation of the Druids and their ſuperſtition, ſhould have greatly added to the confuſion in which both are involved, by his hiſtory of the Celtes; in which we ſee no attempt to ſeparate Druidic from Gothic or Teutonic practiſes. The labour of ſuch diſcrimination will be conſiderable, and ſucceſs in the event doubtful, but it will be abſolutely neceſſary towards giving a juſt idea of the ſubject. Let us now attend to the ſentiments of the ancients who mention the Druids.

Cicero, who was contemporary with Cæſar, and a man of univerſal knowledge and great curioſity, never, I think, ſpeaks of the Druids, or even Britain, unleſs in one or two places, and then as a country, from whence (29) ſlaves alone could be procured. "Theſe you muſt not expect to find ſkilled in letters or muſic," ſays he writing to Atticus.

Diodorus Siculus, who lived about the age of Cæſar, tells us the (30) Saronides were the Gauliſh philoſophers and divines, and held in great eſtimation; nor was it lawful to perform any ſacrifice without the preſence of a philoſopher. There were alſo (31) Vates, who from auſpices and the entrails of victims predicted future events.

The

(24) Multa præterea de ſideribus atque eorum motu: de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine; de rerum natura; de deorum immortalium vi ac poteſtate diſputant. Cæſ. ſup.

(25) Cic. de nat. Deor. l. 2. Plutarch. de Ei apud Delph. Amm. Marcel. l. 21.

(26) Qui ipſorum lingua Celtæ, noſtrâ Galli appellantur. Cæſ. initio.

(27) Diſciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam tranſlata. Cæſ. l. 6. §. 13.

(28) Hiſt. de Celtes, l. 1. p. 125, 126.

(29) Neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe ullam in illa inſula; neque ullam ſpem prædæ niſi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut muſicis eruditus expectare. Ep. 15. l. 4.

(30) φιλοσοφοι τε τινες τυγχανουσι και θεολογοι σεμνοτατοι νομιζομενοι, οντες Σαρωνιδες ονομαζονται. Lib. 5. According to Bochart, Saron or Saronis, among the Greeks was an oak, and equivalent to Druis. Phaleg. p. 741.

(31) Χρωνται δε και μαντεσιν. Diod. ſup. (32) Orig. l. 3. c. 21.

The firſt part of this citation has ſupplied the moderns with all the fine things they have advanced on the Druids. From their concluſions, it is probable they thus proceeded.

A philoſopher is a man ſkilled in every art and ſcience. Does not (32) Iſidore define philoſophy, the knowledge of human and divine things? Does he not make it conſiſt of three branches; natural, or phyſics; moral, or ethics; rational, or logics? Phyſics, according to Plato, include arithmetic, geometry, muſic and aſtronomy.

Theſe few lines of Iſidore, have been the occaſion of much learned trifling. "The Druids, ſays (33) Rowlands, conſidered nature in her largeſt extent: in her ſyſtems and in her motions; in her magnitudes and powers; in all which they ſeemed to cabalize. Their philoſophy was ſo comprehenſive as to take in with the theory of nature, aſtronomy, geometry, medicine and natural magic, and all this upon the corpuſcularian hypotheſis."—Upon the corpuſcularian ſyſtem!—Truly that is wonderful! Mr. Rowlands, a native and inhabitant of Angleſey, and no doubt of Druidic deſcent, muſt have had communication with the manes of thoſe venerable Druids, who ſtill hover over that famous Iſle: they alone could inform him how they became acquainted with a doctrine taught in the (34) ſchools of Moſchus, Epicurus, Democritus and Leucippus.

Borlaſe (35) aſſures us, the Druids were remarkable for learning ſix hundred years B. X. who are his authorities? Hoffman's dictionary, Steph. Forcatulus, Picard, Frickius and Caſtlenau, moderns who only retail the uſual ſcraps of antiquity, eked out with their own whimſies. Serioufly, ſuch aſſertions and authorities have every appearance of bantering the reader: at leaſt we may ſay with Martial:

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas;
Et ſtultus eſt labor ineptiarum.

The men who would thus impoſe phantoms for realities on us, and whom to purſue and detect through every winding of hypotheſis and abſurdity is extremely irkſome, ſhould have applied their time and erudition to the diſcovery of the real import of Diodorus's words. They then would have found, that Sophia and Philoſophia among the antients implied ſkill in any particular branch of knowledge: thus (36) rhetoric and oratory are the philoſophy of words: Government, political philoſophy,

(33) Mona antiqua. p. 62. (34) Sext. Empir. l. 9. Strab. l. 16. (35) Antiq. of Cornwall. p. 74.

(36) περι της λογου φιλοσοφιας. Iſocrat panegyr. And Cicero; hanc enim perfectam philoſophiam ſemper judicavi, quæ de maximis quæſtionibus copioſé poſſet ornateque dicere Tuſc. quæſt. 1. De Orat. l. 1. φιλοσοφια πολιτικη. Dionyſ. Hal. de charac. Thucyd.

loſophy, and ſo on. But philoſophy primarily refers to theology, and the prieſt is expreſsly (37) called the philoſopher. The idea which Diodorus would convey of the Saronides is their ſuperintendance of the rites of religion. This is explained and confirmed by his adding, that no ſacrifice was to be made without the preſence of the philoſopher. The only inducement he might have had for uſing the word philoſopher was from a peruſal of Cæſar, who mentions their diſcourſes on the ſtars; but leſt he ſhould be miſunderſtood, he immediately adds, theologiſts, as theology included ſuch contemplations. The paſſage in (38) Diogenes Laertius ſo triumphantly brought, as making the Druids the authors of philoſophy among the Celtes and Gauls, is explained in few ſubſequent pages, where it appears the philoſophy he was ſpeaking of (39) was theology. Thus the Druidiſts not only ſtrain, but manifeſtly pervert the words of every ancient writer to favour their purpoſe.

Had they reflected on what occaſions the philoſopher's preſence was neceſſary, they certainly could never think them ſuch as became an enlightened or civilized man. He was not called from his ſubterraneous retreat to communicate diſcoveries advantageous to ſociety, the reſult of his application to natural philoſophy or politics: it was not to open new ſources of trade and manufactures, or new improvements in legiſlation: No, it was to behold one of his own ſpecies ſtretched on his back, his breaſt diſſected with the (40) ſtroke of a ſword, while the philoſopher and Vates ſtood around, and with curious eyes viewed the convulſions of the members, the ſtreaming of the vital fluid, and from the ſpectacle deducing cruel preſages. The Vates ſeem to be the ſame as the Roman (41) Haruſpices, the loweſt of the ſacerdotal order, and ſo odious their employment, that they were ſcarcely admiſſible to the rank of Senators.

But it will be ſaid, that the intelligent and judicious (42) Strabo informs us, the Druids beſides the ſtudy of natural cauſes or phyſics, cultivated alſo moral diſcipline or Ethics, which in the Grecian ſchool were principal (43) parts of philoſophy. As Diodorus from Cæſar's account of their employment called them philoſophers, ſo Strabo from ſeeing

(37) Ariſt. phyſ. 12. 2. Metaphyſ. 4, 3. 11, 3. Hieroc. in carm. Pythag initio, where this is fully confirmed. Porphyry has a remarkable expreſſion to our purpoſe. *Εικοτως αρα ο φιλοσοφος και θεου μιμητης*, de abſtin. l. 2. §. 49.

(38) *Τα παρ φιλοσοφιας αρχην ειναι παρα Βαρβαροις αρξαι παρα τε Κελτοις και Γαλαταις τους καλουμενους Δρυιδας*. Proem.

(39) *Εγω δε ου περι θεων εξηγουμενον ταυτα και φιλοσοφον καλειν*. Ed. Caſaub.

(40) As deſcribed by Diod. Sic. before, and Cæſar—adminiſtriſque ad ea ſacraficia Druidibus utuntur. Supra, and what he delivers of their incloſing men alive in wicker frames.

(41) Neque enim erat ferendum, cum qui hodie haruſpicinam facerent in ſenatu Romæ legerentur, eos qui aliquando præconium feciſſent, in municipiis decuriones eſſe non licere. Cic. ep. 18. l. 6.

(42) Lib. 4. (43) Diog. Laert. vit. Epic.

ſeeing them thus named, deſcribes their philoſophy in terms ſolely applicable to the improved ſtate of it in Greece, and by no means adapted to the wretched conjuring tricks of the Druids. If Strabo intended an eulogy on the religion and learning of the Celtes as is pretended, he palpably contradicts himſelf in giving ſuch characteriſtic traits of national barbarity, as are only found among the moſt ignorant and ſavage people.

Quibus poſſunt illachrymare feræ.

Paſſing over Mela Lucan and Tacitus, who record nothing remarkable of the Druids, I ſhall proceed to what Pliny has (44) delivered concerning them. The Druids, ſays he, who are the Gauliſh Magi, hold nothing ſo ſacred as the miſſeltoe, and the tree on which it grows, if it be an oak. They ſelect groves of this wood for religious purpoſes; nor do they perform any ſacred office without garlands of its leaves, from whence they derive their name of Druids. This is done on the ſixth day of the Moon; a day ſo much eſteemed by them, that they have made their months and ages (which conſiſt but of thirty years) to take their beginning from it: the Moon at that time being ſtrong enough, though not arrived at half her fulneſs. This day they call All Heal. The miſeltoe (very ſcarce) when found, is collected with great ceremony. Having prepared their feaſts and ſacrifices under the oak, two white bulls are tied to it. A prieſt clad in white aſcends the tree, and cuts off the miſeltoe; it is received below in a white garment. They then ſacrifice their victims. The miſeltoe, exhibited as a potion, is believed to remove ſterility, and to be a preſervative againſt poiſon: an eminent inſtance, concludes Pliny, that human religion has often no other object than frivolous things. To this Bruker adds, that we can eaſily eſtimate the value of that philoſophy, which endeavoured to derive credit to its profeſſors from wearing of golden chains, and conducting itſelf with (45) arrogance and pride. In other places, Pliny (46) relates their magic rites in gathering the ſamolus and ſelago: their (47) ſtories and charlatannarie about the ſerpent's egg, and their ſacrificing and (48) eating men. A cloſer knowledge having betrayed to the Romans their character and ritual, they are no longer honoured with the pompous titles of philoſophers and divines, but that of (49) magicians or conjurers. In

(44) Nat. Hiſt. l. 16. c, 44. Dickinſon. Delp. Phœniz.

(45) Quæ ut veræ philoſophiæ characteribus e diametro ſunt contraria, ita quod de eorum philoſophia in genere judicandum ſit, produnt. Hiſt. Philoſ. ſup p. 319.

(46) Lib. 24. c. 11. Lib. 29. c. 3.

(47) Atque ut eſt magorum ſolertia, occultandis fraudibus ſagax. Plin. l. 29. c. 3.

(48) In quibus hominem occidere religioſiſſimum erat, mandi vero etiam ſaluberrimum. Plin. l. 3. c. 1.

(49) The name Magi in the Eaſt was moſt auguſt and venerable; they were ſkilled in divine matters and the Miniſters of the Deity. Οι περι το θειον σοφοι, και τοτε διηκοντες Μαγοι μαλιστα προσαγορευονται—μεγα και σεβασμιον γενος. Porphyr. de abſtin. l. 4. §. 16.

In what a contemptible light Pliny held the powers of magic, and the ſuppoſed virtue of herbs, may be ſeen by conſulting the places below (50) cited, where we find ſome very trifling, and ſome laughable preſcriptions of thoſe ancient Doctors.

As to their inhuman ſacrifices, Pliny (51) after recounting them adds—it cannot be eſtimated what thanks are due to the Romans for removing ſuch monſters from ſociety.—It is not denied that they offered men in ſacrifice, but that they ate them, is not ſo readily aſſented to; and yet that the barbarians of northern Europe indulged in ſuch repaſts, admits of the ſtrongeſt evidence. We have before ſeen what Diodorus reports of the Britons, who inhabited Iris or Ireland. The Gauls conducted by Brennus into Greece were (52) anthropophagi. St. Jerome, in the 5th century writes thus:—(53) In my youth I ſaw in Gaul, the Scots, a Britiſh people, feeding upon human bodies.—The Scots here were probably the ſame (54) people as thoſe of Iris. The delicacy of modern times is ſhocked at this narration, and endeavours to elude its force by obſerving, that no ſuch cuſtom is mentioned by Cæſar or Tacitus. But this negative proof is of no weight againſt an eye-witneſs. Jerome was writing on a ſerious ſubject, and was of ſuch an (55) age, and the impreſſion of the horrible deed ſo ſtrong, that the memory of it could not be eraſed.

Such is the picture of the Druids and their ſuperſtition as given by the ancients. The learned reader muſt perceive, that as here exhibited many of their religious practiſes were the ſame as thoſe of every barbarous people. Where they accord with the Roman, as in the parallel above given, we can only ſay, that Cæſar indulged a propenſity, which many others have done, of repreſenting the religion and manners of foreign people as ſimilar to their (56) own. The Roman religion was tinctured with that of every other; for the Romans were permitted to worſhip ſtrange Gods, but not to the (57) excluſion of thoſe of their country.

Dionyſius

(50) Plin. l. 26. c. 4. l. 28. c. 16. l. 37. c. 10. l. 30. c. 1. And Bruker: Druides, qui tamen medicinam magicam magis quam phyſicam excoluiſſe videntur.—Et hoc quoque nomine Druides e philoſophorum albo delentur, anicularum & medi caſtrorum choris inſerendi. ſup. p. 341—2.

(51) Non ſatis æſtimari poteſt, quantum Romanis debeatur qui ſuſtulere monſtra, l. 3. c. 1.

(52) Pauſan. in Phocic. (53) Adv. Jovin. l. 2. Baron. Ann. A. D. 429. n. 2.

(54) Macpherſon's Diſſ. preface.

(55) Ipſe adoleſcentulus. By the civil law, the age of adoleſcence began at 14, and held to 25. Schonborn. polic. p. 50. According to others, it began at 15 and continued to 30. Rhodogin. l. 19. c. 21.

(56) Herodotus and others are noted for this: Hyde de relig. vet. Perſ. p. 95. Bruker. t. 2. p. 248. And Keyzler, Quare mirum videbitur nemini, a Romanis ſcriptoribus numina Vulcani, Martis aliorumque tribui Germanis, quibus illa ne nomina quidem innotuerant. Antiq. ſep. p. 186.

(57) Warburton's Divine Leg. V. 1. p. 291.

Dionyſius Hal. (60) remarks:—that a long ſeries of years could not make the Egyptians, the Africans, the Celtes, Scythians, Indians, or any barbarous nation forget their country Gods, or alter their religious ceremonies, except they were reduced under the power of others, and compelled to receive their ritual.—To apply this to our ſubject; we know the Belgæ colonized and ſubdued the Celtes three or four centuries before our æra, and impoſed on the conquered their ſuperſtition and manners, and alſo adopted ſome that were Celtic. If we were not told by Cæſar, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that where two people eſſentially differ in language, as did the Celtes and Belgæ, there will be characteriſtic variations in their modes of thinking, and alſo in their modes of life. This remark ſo obvious and ſo important has not been attended to by many eminent writers and antiquaries, and of courſe their moſt laboured productions, as thoſe of Pelloutier, Mallet and Bruker, want that diſcrimination on which the value of ſuch works muſt always depend. The very ingenious and learned Doctor Percy, Biſhop of Dromore, has, in his excellent edition of Mallet's northern Antiquities, cloſely attended to the diſtinction of Celtic and Gothic or Teutonic antiquities: and with critical taſte and judgment has offered a ſpecimen of what may, and ought to be done in this way. We have to lament that a preface confined his exertions within narrow bounds.

Druidiſm was profeſſed by all the Celtic tribes, how widely ſoever diſperſed. Its prieſts were (59) called Druids from their adoration of, and their celebration of divine rites in oaken groves, and (60) Ælian expreſsly tells us, the Celtic Jupiter was a tall oak. When Agricola penetrated into Mona, or Angleſea, he found the Druids enveloped in thick woods: theſe to eradicate their ſuperſtition, he ordered to be cut down. "Among the (61) Naharvali, a grove of the ancient religion was pointed out; it had no images, nor any veſtige of foreign ſuperſtition." And yet Tacitus adds, that it was dedicated to Caſtor and Pollux, which it could not be, without their images, and he alſo tells us, the deity adored there was called Alcis. Here and in other places Tacitus, as well as Cæſar before, wiſhes to aſſimilate the deities of other countries with the Roman, and falls into direct contradictions.

But what was this ancient religion, that had no veſtige of foreign ſuperſtition? It muſt be the religion of the primæval inhabitants who were Celtes, and that was the true Druidic. It will be objected, that Cæſar declares there were no Druids in Germany. Beſides the doubt attached to his teſtimony, there is reaſon to (62) believe,

(58) Lib. 7. (59) This is Pliny's ſuggeſtion. Dickinſon, Delph. Phœniz. p. 188. Lhuyd, Archaol. Brit. in voce.
(60) Κελτοι τιθεσι μεν Διια αγαλμα, δι διος Κελτικου υψηλη δρυς. Diſſ. 38.
(61) Tacit. Germ. c. 43. The Naharvali were ſeated about the Viſtula. Dithmar in loco.
(62) Aventin. Ann. Boior. p. 85—88. Althamer in Tacit. p. 134.

lieve, that the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, by their ſeverity, baniſhed the Druids beyond the Rhine, where they propagated their doctrine: or elſe Druidiſm continued in certain tribes from the earlieſt ages. Nor is this laſt ſuppoſition groundleſs, for Tacitus informs us, that the Æſtii ſpoke a language nearly Britiſh, which was Celtic.

Theſe Druidic groves are accurately marked by Tacitus by his (65) calling them —Caſta nemora— undefiled, unpolluted groves. I rely on the idea annexed by the beſt Latin writers to the word, Caſtus, as meaning perfect purity, which could not be, did the Celtic prieſts ſtain their altars with human blood; a practice of which the (66) Roman writers ſpeak with abhorrence. In deſcribing the religious rites of the Germans, Tacitus lapſes into the error common among the ancients, that of not diſcriminating the practiſes of the different Germanic people, while, to an attentive obſerver, he incidently makes ſuch diſtinction. Thus in agreement with what he ſays of the ancient religion and unpolluted groves of the ancient Germans, he adds; "that they thought it inconſiſtent with the greatneſs of the Gods to confine them within walls, or give human repreſentations of them. They conſecrate groves and foreſts, and call by the names of their deities that ſecret (67) receſs, which they look on with reverence." This freedom from ſuperſtition and idolatry made Leibnitz ſay:—(68) La religion des Gaulois differoit de celle des Germains en ce, que la premiere plus rafinée.—As the Celtes had not any knowledge of metals, for the Iriſh names of them are all Gothic or Teutonic, ſo they were unable to form ſtone-temples and images; and therefore it is moſt erroneous, to call ſtone circles and cromlehs, Druidic, when they clearly belong to the (69) Belgæ or Scythians. To enumerate the Druidic deities, is impoſſible. If they (70) were, for inſtance, the Sighe, inhabiting hills, then they were the ſame as the (71) Gothic Dwergh, ſo that it cannot be determined with whom theſe divinities originated. In the next Eſſay we ſhall endeavour to trace the origin of the Scythic ſuperſtition, and point out, as far as truth and probability will permit, its union with the Druidic. Becauſe but little notice is taken of the Druids in Iriſh records, it is argued that there were none: but as original Celtes they certainly had ſuch prieſts, and the inſtances hereafter produced, prove Druidiſm prevailed over the Iſle.

(65) Tacit. ſup. c. 40. Alſo, Sylva ſacra, nemus ſacrum, Tanfanæ lucus, &c.

(66) Scelere pro remedio uſi ſunt. Juſtin. Sacrilegium verius quam ſacrum. Q. Curt.

(67) Seneca mentions the ſame—ſecretum loci—Epiſt. 41. (68) Oper. tom. 7. p. 502. Edit. Dutens.

(69) Mr. Pinkerton, with juſt ſeverity, treats the modern Druidiſts, and confirms what is advanced. Hiſt. of Scotl. V. 1. p. 405, et ſeq.

(70) O'Brien, in voce. (71) Sheringh. de orig. Angl. p. 295. Keyzler. ſup. p. 163.

OF THE PAGAN STATE OF IRELAND, AND ITS REMAINS.

THE tall oak, the unpolluted grove, and the ſpiritual and refined religion of the Druids yielded to the upright pillar, the ſtone circle, the ponderous trilithon and bloody ſacrifices of brave but ferocious conquerors. A compound ſuperſtition ſucceeded, which I have denominated pagan, to diſtinguiſh it from pure Druidiſm, and which Tacitus aſſures us had nothing foreign in it. Let who will (1) be the leaders of the Scythic or Gothic tribes into Europe, or let the period of their arrival be what it may, the northern chronicles preſerve abundant proofs of the introduction of a new ſuperſtition ſome years before the incarnation. This certainly was not eſtabliſhed in Britain in the age of Cæſar in all its parts, for he mentions only cremation, but nothing of ſtone-monuments. Nor was it univerſally adopted in Germany when Tacitus writ: for the (2) green turf, elevated a little above the ſurface, pointed out the humble Celtic grave: nor do I recollect any notice in him of the monſtrous ſtone-ſtructures which afterwards were to be ſeen in Scandinavia and Germany. Pliny (3) indeed ſays, that raiſed funeral tumuli or barrows obtained among the Chauci; the very tribe ſettled, in the age of Ptolemy, in the ſouth-eaſt part of Ireland.

It was a law of Odin, the great Gothic deity and legiſlator, that large barrows ſhould be (4) raiſed to perpetuate the memory of celebrated chiefs. Theſe were (5) compoſed of ſtones and earth, the whole formed with infinite labour and ſome art. In the (6) Brende-tiid, or fiery age, which was the firſt among the Northerns, the body was ordered by Odin to be burned with all its ornaments, the aſhes to be collected

(1) Pinkerton, ſup. V. 1. p. 385. Warton's Hiſt. Engl. poetry. V. 1. diſſ. 1.

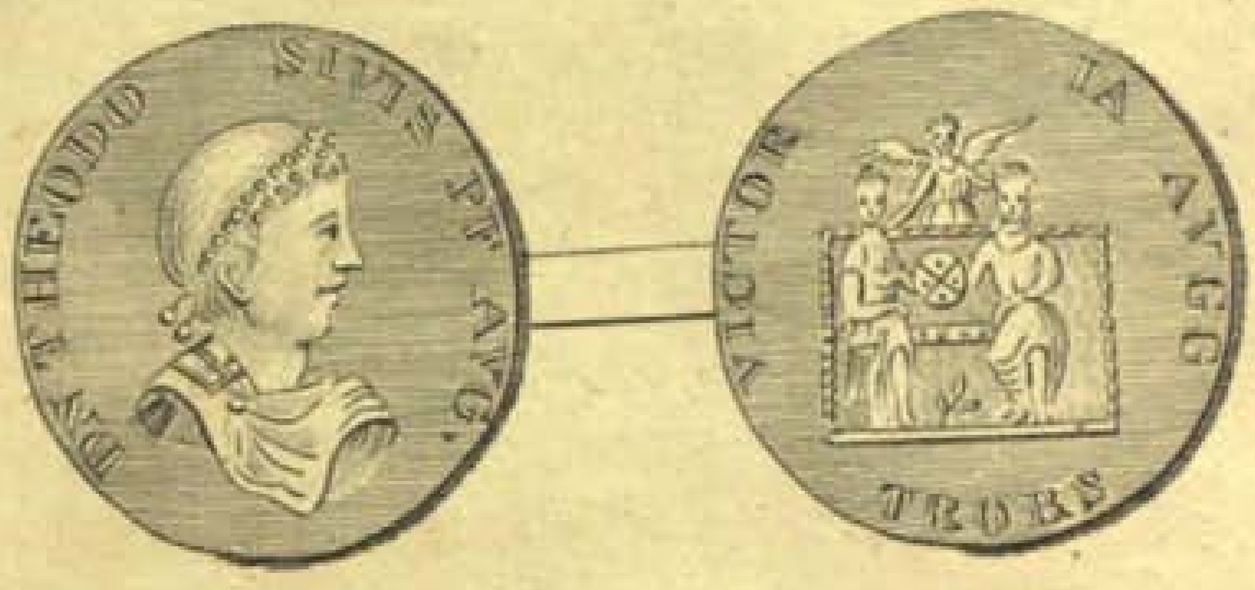
(2) Sepulchrum ceſpes erigit: monumentorum arduum & operoſum honorem, ut gravem defunctis aſpernantur. Tac. Germ.

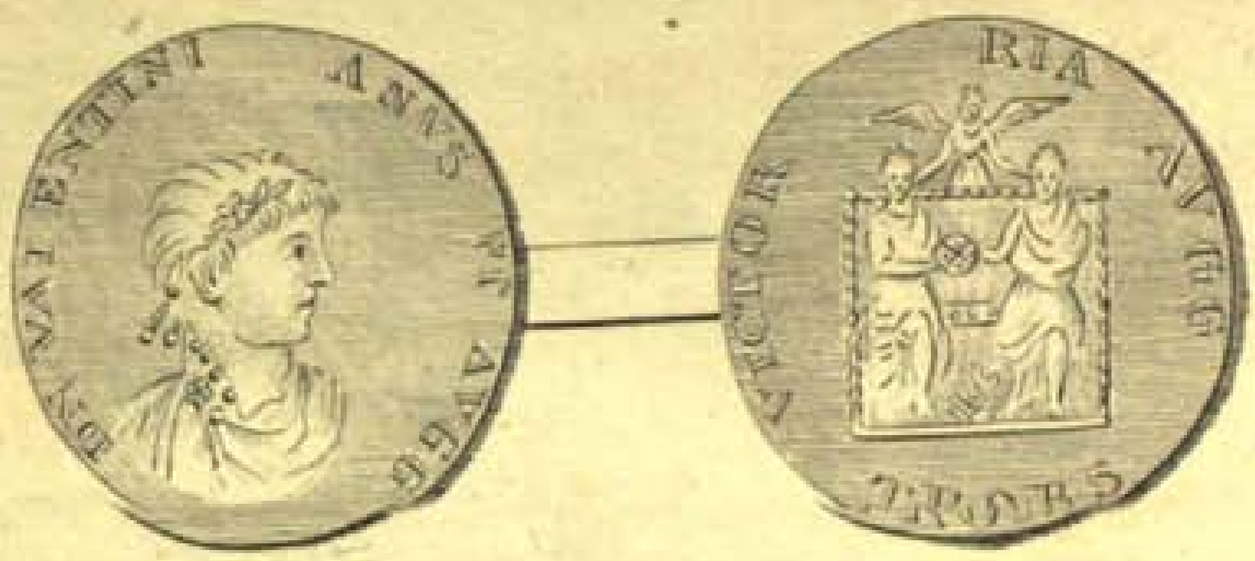
(3) Altos obtinuerint tumulos, aut tribunalia ſtructa manibus. l. 16. c. 1.

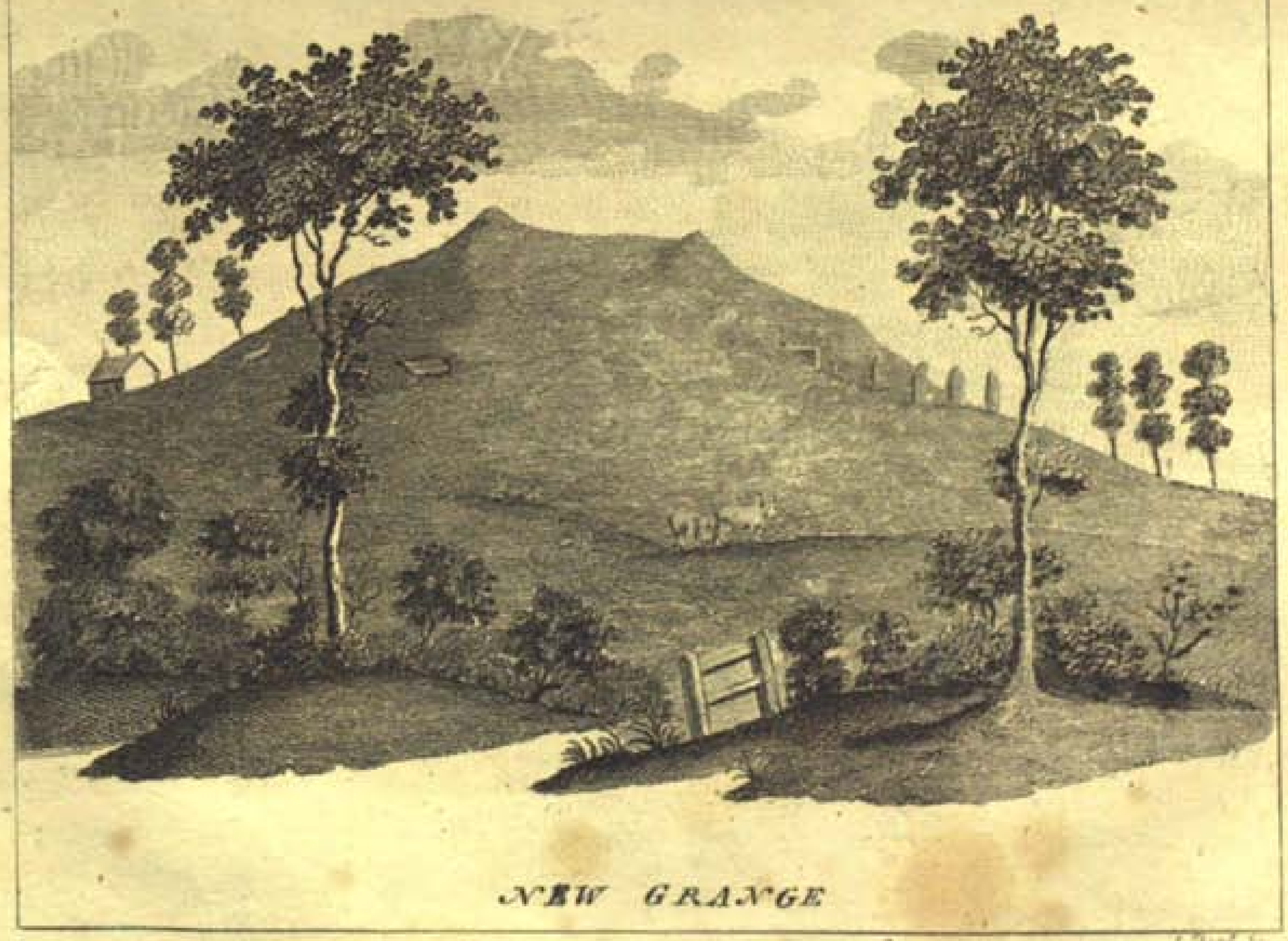
(4) Mandavit etiam, ut optimatibus magnos tumulos in memoriam erigerent. Step. Stephan. in Sax. Gram. Meſſen. Lindenbrog. Keyſler. Mallet. v. 1. p. 341. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 62. Loccen. p. 128.

(5) Tumulos in monticuli ſeu collis magnitudinem, aggeſta gleba & lapidibus artificioſe extruxerunt. Worm. ſup. p. 39.

(6) Worm. ſupra. And Bartholine, who is very minute. p. 571. et ſeq. & p. 113.







NEW GRANGE

J. Ford Sc.

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collected in an urn and laid in a grave. But in the Hoelſt-tiid or age of hillocks, being the ſecond, the body untouched by fire, was depoſited in a cave or ſepulchre under a barrow, and this mode was practiſed until the third epoch, called Chriſtendoms-old, or the age of Chriſtianity. As no faſhion is at once (7) relinquiſhed, and though the modes of interment now enumerated are accurately defined, we are not to be ſurpriſed at finding inſtances of cremation and inhumation in the ſame barrow. The firſt mode prevailed from the incurſion of the Scythians into Europe till the coming of Odin, whoſe Aſiatic followers affected what Tacitus before calls more arduous and elaborate ſepulchral honours, and this (8) Wormius clearly intimates. This ſecond age will be hereafter found to extend itſelf into that, wherein Chriſtianity was not unknown to the Northerns.

To confirm what has been advanced, that ingenious Antiquary, † Governor Pownall obſerves: "that the explanation of many of our Antiquities muſt depend upon the cuſtoms and manners of the northern colonies being well underſtood. The mode of burial and the ſpecies of ſepulchral monument at New Grange may be traced through Denmark, Sweden, Ruſſia, Poland, and the Stepps of Tartary." This he evinces in an ample and ſatisfactory manner by alleging tumuli raiſed by the princes of Naumdhall and Harald Blaatand, and by ſome hundreds of barrows to be ſeen about Upſal in Sweden. Three of the latter are called Kongs (9) Högarn, or Kings' High Cairn. Theſe Kings' barrows are traced to an origin not very remote from Odin. He therefore ſuppoſes it will not appear a far-fetched conjecture to make our mount at New Grange, a Daniſh work.

Another law of Odin directed great upright ſtones to be erected on and round the ſepulchre of the deceaſed, and the (10) rule was, that a ſingle circle round the baſe of the barrow indicated it to be the tomb of ſome chieftain or general, and there ſacrifices were performed in memory of the deceaſed (11).

Ketill,

(7) Neque tamen protinus in ſecunda ætate mos cremandi cadavera ceſſavit, ſed indiſcriminatim nonnunquam in cineres redigebantur, aliquando integra recondebantur. Barthol. p. 299.

(8) Ætatis progreſſu, plus operæ in magnatum tumulis poſitum videtur. Worm. Mon. Dan.

† Archæolog. V. 2. p. 150. Our monument is mentioned by Lhuyd in Rowland's Mona antiqua, and by Molyneux as Daniſh mounts.

(9) This ſeems an hybrid word; hoch or hog, in German, is mons, collis. Spelman in Hoga; and Cairn, Iriſh, an heap of ſtones. The Swedes call thoſe hills, on which their kings were crowned, Krenanſhoger. Loccen. p. 46.

(10) Ex iis qui una lapidum ſerie circa baſim cinguntur exercitum imperatoribus aliiſque magnatibus dicati creduntur. Worm. ſupra.

(11) Unica ubi viſitur maxima ex parte ſepulchro impoſita eſſe ſolet, eo fine ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis ſacra peragantur. Worm. ſupra.

Ketill, a great Norwegian leader (12) declares, "It was the cuſtom of illuſtrious men, of kings and earls to engage in piracy, and that the treaſure they acquired ſhould not go to their heirs, but be buried in their barrows with them. "Potius tumulo ipſo cum defuncto mandaretur." Frederic William, the laſt Elector of Brandenburgh, told (13) Tollius that he had many ſtone-monuments dug up and examined, which were called the "Cemeteries of the Vandals," and that nothing was diſcovered but ſome coins.

The monument at New Grange, near Drogheda, will at once ſhew the paganiſm of the Iriſh, and exhibit an admirable inſtance of its remains. About the year 1699, a Mr. Campbell, who reſided in the village of New Grange, obſerving ſtones under the green ſod, carried much of them away to repair a road; and proceeding in this work, he at length arrived at a broad flat ſtone, that covered the mouth of the gallery. At the entrance, this gallery is three feet wide and two high: at thirteen feet from the entrance it is but two feet, two inches wide. The length of the gallery from its mouth to the beginning of the dome is ſixty-two feet; from thence to the upper part of the dome, eleven feet ſix inches: the whole length, ſeventy-one feet and a half. The dome or cave with the long gallery gives the exact figure of a croſs: the length between the arms of the croſs is twenty feet. The dome forms an octagon, twenty feet high, with an area of about ſeventeen. It is compoſed of long flat ſtones, the upper projecting a little below the lower, and cloſed in, and capped with a flat flag. There are two oval rock baſons in the cave; one in each arm of the croſs. Though they contain no cineritious remains, nor are there any marks of cremation in the cave, yet as it was uſual to have urns in cemeteries, the cuſtom is here continued.

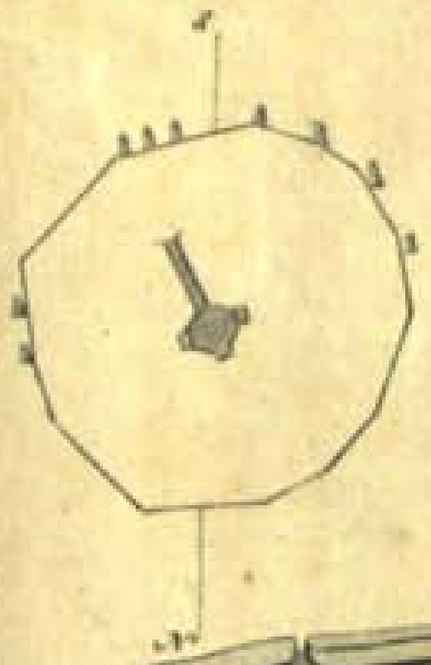
Mr. Wright, in his additions to the Louthiana, a MS. in the poſſeſſion of the reſpectable Mr. Allan of Darlington, ſays, New Grange is the oldeſt monument he examined in Ireland. On firſt entering the Dome, not far from the centre, a pillar was found, and two ſkeletons on each ſide, not far from the pillar. In the receſſes were three hollow ſtone-baſons, two and three feet diameter. But when he viſited New Grange again, in 1746, theſe baſons had been removed, and placed upon one another. One of the cells had an engraved volute, which he ſuppoſes was dedicated to Woden, or Jupiter Ammon; another had lightning cut on its lintel, as

ſacred

(12) Thorkelin's two fragments, p. 59. Lond. 1788. Barthol. p. 437.

(13) Tollii Itiner. 2. p. 43. Edit. Henninii. Worm. ſup. p. 41. and Molyneux ſupra, p. 207. allow the practice to be Daniſh, and ſo does Wright, Louthiana, p. 11.

Fig 6 BASON



Base
Fig 1

Fig 3

SECTION of the GALLERY on the left

Infeription.
Fig 4

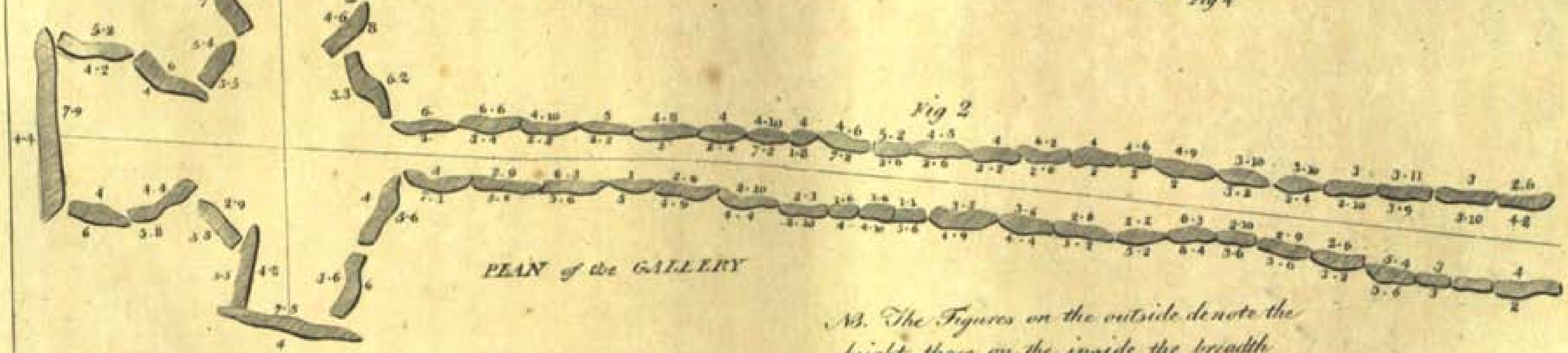


Fig 2

PLAN of the GALLERY

N.B. The Figures on the outside denote the height, those on the inside the breadth

J. Ford Sc

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facred to Thor.——Among the Greeks and Romans, urns were of various (14) ſhapes, and of clay and ſtone. Montfaucon, in his (15) Italian tour, ſaw marble and granite urns, which it was believed belonged to the Goths. We muſt remark, that the boat-like figure of our urns, as well as one at (16) Knowth, indicate the perſon, for whom they were deſigned to be naval commanders. A ſhip was their moſt beloved object in life, and their (17) ſepulchres were of this ſhape.

At New Grange, on the top of the Mount, were found two golden coins, one of the elder Valentinian, the other of Theodoſius. Odin, ſays the (18) Edda, placed on his barrow a golden ring; and the arms, horſes, and whatever the deceaſed held moſt precious, were either burned, or depoſited in his grave.

Deers horns, and other bones, with human ſkeletons were in our cave, on each ſide of a pillar or ſtone column. This practice is very well explained by Bartholine. Sometimes, ſays (19) he, Kings were ſeen in a ſitting poſture in tombs, with their principal ſoldiers on each ſide of them. Our pillar ſhall be hereafter noticed.

Runic (20) inſcriptions to the deceaſed were common: theſe contained their names, titles, and the magic runes which they wore. "Near Exmore, ſays Speed, are certain remains of an ancient work, namely, mighty ſtones ſet in form of a triangle, others in round, orderly diſpoſed, and upon one of them was an engravement in Daniſh letters, which could not be read by men moſt learned." On a flat ſtone in one of the arms of the croſs at New Grange are traces of letters. Lhuyd deſcribes them to be ſpiral like a ſnake, but without diſtinction of head or tail. This was a perfect Daniſh figure, as may be ſeen in Wormius. Theſe ſculptures are very different from the trellis work in the cave, which all allow to be Daniſh. The Iriſh adopted the notion of the magical power of letters from the Northerns, and the magic Runes they called Ogums. Thus "Fiacra was mortally wounded at the battle of Caonry, his funeral leacht or ſtone was erected, and on his tomb was inſcribed his (21) Ogum name." Theſe Runes and Ogums were

eſteemed

(14) The Greeks had their Καλπη, Υδρια and Κρατηρες. In urnis, ollis, cacabis, urceis, ampullis, amphoris, cupis, orcis & aliis hujuſmodi vaſculis cineres condebantur. Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 1204. Nec ejuſdem materiæ, nec figuræ ſemper fuiſſe. Worm. ſup. p. 42.

(15) Diar. Italic. p. 120. (16) Molyneux on Daniſh mounts, p. 200.

(17) Nihil magis optabant, quam in navigio ſepeliri; ſive corporibus integris humarentur, ſive cremations prius ad cineres redactis. Barthol. p. 288. And he gives inſtances of both kinds.

(18) Bircherod. Spec. rei monet. p. 14. Bartholine illuſtrates this cuſtom by many curious examples. p. 434, et ſeq.

(19) Nonnunquam autem ſedentes in tumulis collocati reges: et quos idem exitus manſerat, milites præcipui, eorum ab utroque latere conſtituti. Sup. p. 572.

(20) Nam non ſolum iis grandes cippos, patriis literis nota os, impoſuerunt defuncti titulos exhibentes. Worm. ſup.

(21) Iriſh Grammar, p. 7.

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eſteemed a ſovereign protection to the living, and were ſuppoſed not leſs potent in guarding the dead.

Lhuyd, (22) from the coins, imagined our monument to be older than the arrival of the Oſtmen, and that it belonged to the ancient Iriſh. At the very time theſe coins were ſtruck, the 4th century, the Iriſh were intimately connected with the Saxons, Picts, and other northern tribes; they united in plundering the Roman provinces, and Roman coins muſt have conſtituted not the leaſt valuable part of their ſpoil. Notwithſtanding this, I am clearly of opinion the conſtruction of mounts, or, to ſpeak with Wormius, the age of hillocks was much later, for the Brende-tiid, or age of cremation certainly had not ceaſed in the North or Germany in 789, for a (23) capitular of Charlemagne, of that year, puniſhes with death ſuch Saxons as burnt their dead after the manner of pagans. Chriſtianity had been long preached among the ſubjects of this prince, and yet they were ſtill but half Chriſtians. It is evident from the contents of our cave that cremation had ceaſed among the Oſtmen in Ireland, they alſo ſhew the dawnings of chriſtianity among them; every other circumſtance evinces pagan ideas. This might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to happen at the period of their converſion: then we might expect to find in the ſame ſtructure ſome indications of their new, and many of their old religion: for an inſtantaneous dereliction of their ancient creed never occurred among a rude people.

The Iriſh Oſtmen embraced the faith about 853, and in this century I think we may date the conſtruction of the mount at New Grange: it was made and adorned with every ſepulchral honour to the memory of ſome illuſtrious northern chief. From the annals of (24) Ulſter we learn, that the piratical rovers from the North greatly infeſted Ireland in the ninth century. They generally debarked in the Boyne, where ſecuring their ſhips, they ſpread devaſtation around to a conſiderable extent. In the year 824, theſe annals record the plundering of Damliag or Duleek, not far from Drogheda, by them. In 826, a great battle was fought at the ſame place between theſe Gâls or Oſtmen and the king of the Firtuaths in Leinſter, where many were ſlain. In 831, the Gâls again ſpoiled Duleek. In 847, the Gâls were defeated at Fore in Weſtmeath, and in 858 and 860, they invaded Meath with a great army. On any of theſe occaſions, a principal commander dying at

(22) Apud Molyneux, ſupra, p. 185—186.

(23) Si quis corpus defuncti hominis ſecundum ritum paganorum flammâ conſumi fecerit & oſſa ejus ad cineres redigerit, capite punietur. Apud Bartholin, ſup. p. 299.

This capitular of Charlemagne, made A. D. 789, evinces the Saxons then burnt their dead.

(24) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Norm. p. 64.

at New Grange, might have been interred there. On the lands of Ballymacſcanlan, in the county of Louth, in a large Rath, and on it a great ſtone, having in the centre a croſs with four ſmaller ones. About thirty yards from the rath is an entrance into a cave running under the rath, but it has not been explored. Tradition calls this the tomb of Mac Scanlan: one of that name was king of Fignitie, and had a great battle with the (25) Gâls, A. D. 833. Whether Fignitie was Ballymacſcanlan is not eaſy to determine, however the ſtone with croſſes and the cave ſhow a compound of chriſtian and pagan ideas, ſimilar to that at New Grange, and hence I am led to conclude, from the ſubſtructure of the latter, that it was the work of ſemi-chriſtian Oſtmen in the 9th century. The cruciform ſhape of that ſubſtructure is exactly that of a (26) crux immiſſa: this figure theſe rude architects accurately conceived and as admirably executed. From the age of Conſtantine, but particularly in the 9th century, the virtues aſcribed to the croſs, and the veneration paid to it were boundleſs, and ſuperſtitious in the higheſt degree. (27) Churches and cryptical chapels were built in this form, and this is the figure of our gallery and its cells. The reſpect for holy water, which the rock baſons probably held, was ſcarcely inferior to that for the croſs; it was the moſt (28) powerful protection againſt malignant ſpirits. Anxious to ſecure to a beloved chief the felicities held out by a new religion, they laid him on a croſs with each arm extended to the laver of regeneration, yet without relinquiſhing the favour of their ancient deities repreſented by ſtone pillars.

It will tend to confirm this notion to allege ſome inſtances of the ſtate of naſcent chriſtianity among various tribes of this barbarous people. Procopius (29) complains that the Franks, though converts, obſerved many rites of their priſtine ſuperſtition. Againſt ſuch practices (30) councils in vain fulminated anathemas: in vain the King and Biſhops were to inquire, whether any believed (31) genii inhabited barrows or rivers, and endeavoured to raiſe them and ſpectres. Redwald, king of the Eaſt Saxons, after embracing the goſpel, relapſed into idolatry, yet without wholly

(25) Johnſtone, ſupra. (26) Lipſ. de Cruce, p 1165. Edit. 8vo.

(27) Greg. Naz. calls them σταυροτυπας πλευρας. See Hieron de loc. ſanct. Bed. de loc. ſanct. c. 15. Cedren. in Juſtin. In the 10th century, the Norwegians marked their ſhields, helmets and enſigns with croſſes, and much earlier the Engliſh, Mercians and Northumbrians. Thorkelin. ſup. p. 42—43.

(28) Du Cange. voc. Aqua exorciz. Regin. de ecc. diſcip. p. 70—71. Edit. Baluz.

(29) Barbari enim iſti chriſtiani effecti, multos priſcæ ſuperſtitionis ritus obſervant. Gothic. l. 2. c. 25.

(30) Conc. Naun. Arlet. & Aquiſgran. L. L. Edg. & Canut. Lindenbrog. p. 1357.

(31) Si in genios locorum credat aliquis, quod tumulos vel flumina inhabitent. Si quis tentet lemures & tumulicolas excitare. Keyſler. Antiq. Septen. Selec. p. 89—100.

wholly rejecting his new creed: like the Samaritans of old, fays the (32) venerable hiſtorian, he had in the ſame temple an altar dedicated to Chriſt, and another to idols. Thorolf and Egil, two celebrated northern commanders, whoſe piracies and courage frequently made Ireland and Scotland tremble, at the deſire of Æthelſtan, the Anglo-Saxon king, received the ſign of the croſs, but were in name rather than in reality Chriſtians; for the (33) author adds, that it was the cuſtom of the age for thoſe who had received the firſt ſignation to hold commerce indiſcriminately with Chriſtians and Gentiles, adhering however to that religion which beſt pleaſed them. Such ſeems to me to have been the chriſtianity profeſſed by the founders of the mount at New Grange, and of which they have left permanent evidence in its ſubſtructure.

The external baſe of the Mount at New Grange was encircled by a number of enormous unhewn ſtones, ſet upright. Ten remained in 1770: they are from ſeven to nine feet above ground, and weigh from eight to ten tons each, and one ſtood on the ſummit of the mount, which was exactly conformable to the northern practice, as delivered (34) by Wormius, as there ſacrifices were performed in memory of the deceaſed. The dead, to whom divine honours were paid, were illuſtrious warriors, or great princes, whom the veneration of their countrymen (35) deified.

I ſhall now endeavour to give the rationale of this mode of interment among the Northerns, and the ſuperſtition reſpecting it, as it will enable us to form proper notions of our various ſtone monuments, and numerous caves. It is very well obſerved by Rowlands, (36) "that by what remains of our ancienteſt buildings, it ſeems the very form of our houſes and that of our churches were much the ſame: it is probable our churches were at firſt dwelling-houſes." The Scythic and German nations inhabited caves a great part of the year, and ſo did our Firbolgs. Many of theſe ſouterreins are enumerated in Smith's (37) Hiſtories, in Harris and various periodical publications: ſome are natural, others artificial, and moſt of them retain veſtiges of human reſidence. That the Iriſh in the ſixth century were Troglodytes

(32) Bed. l. 2. c. 15. Severus worſhipped Chriſt; Abraham, Orpheus and Apollo in the ſame Lararium. Lamprid in Sever.

(33) Johnſtone, ſupra, p. 32.

(34) Unicam ibi viſitur maxima ex parte ſepulchro impoſita eſſe ſolet, eo fine ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis ſacra peragantur. Worm. ſup.

(35) Barthol. p. 212—213, and the inſtances and authors there cited.

(36) Mona Antiqua, p. 138.

(37) Smith's Cork, V. 2. p. 402. Campbell's Polit. Survey in Skie, Macauley's St. Kilda,

lodytes appears (38) in Gildas. He repreſents them as iſſuing from their narrow caves, and their ſkin of a duſky hue: nor had they (39) relinquiſhed them in 690. In 1177, Miles Cogan paſſed the Shannon and invaded Connaught; the natives every where burnt their villages and churches, and deſtroyed the corn and proviſions which they could not conceal in (40) Hypogæa. Here, though they had deſerted their ancient habitations, they did not forget the protection they originally afforded them. Theſe antrile retreats became ſoon places of worſhip and conſecrated to religion. The Druids when known to the Greeks and Romans, had united the Celtic and Scythic rituals, and exerciſed their functions both in groves and (41) caves. Thus ſanctified, no place appeared more ſuitable for the interment of the heads of families and celebrated chiefs, whom while living they loved and admired, and whoſe virtues and manes they adored in the grave. Thus men became heroes and gods, and their ancient (42) habitations cemeteries and temples. And of this there is a very curious and ſtrong proof in the (43) Iriſh word Cill or Kill, which at firſt denoted a grave, and after a church.

Celtic inhumation being exchanged for Scythic cremation, the body was conſumed by fire, the aſhes collected in an urn and placed under a barrow, with ſpears, arms, gold and ſilver, and ſuch like rarities as were dear to the deceaſed in his lifetime. The ſame ſuperſtition required upright ſtones, ſtone-circles and trilithons on and about the grave. Odin muſt have taught his followers that theſe monſtrous pillars were ſymbols of the Deity and endued with peculiar virtues, for it is certain they after conſidered them as (44) gods and paid them divine honours. The Edda (45) declares a race of ſpirits or dæmons, called Nani, inhabited them. From this holineſs of large pillars the moſt ſolemn offices, civil and religious, were performed within circles of them. Wormius aſſures us they were uſed either as Fora, for the adminiſtration of juſtice; or as Comitialia, for the election and inauguration of kings; or as places of ſingle combat, or as temples of tribes. Inſtances of their application to all theſe purpoſes occur in Ireland, and a few of them ſhall now be given.

(38) De arctiſſimis foraminum cavernulis fuſci vermiculorum cunei, Scotorum Pictorumque greges. p. 78.

(39) This may be collected from an expreſſion of Aldhelm. Latebras antrorum præpropere petunt. Uſſer. Epiſt. p. 141.

(40) Gir. Cambrens. p. 795.

(41) Clam & diu vicenis annis in ſpecu aut in abditis ſaltibus. Mel. l. 3. c. 2. Borlaſe's Cornwall, paſſ.

(42) A prima origine intra ſuas quiſque ædes defoſſa cadavera haberet: unde Lares in ſingulis ædibus colendi religio perſuaſit A. ab Alexand. l. 6. c. 14.

(43) O'Brien in voce.

(44) Iſlands Landnama. p. 94. Pinkerton's Scot. V. 1. p. 408.

(45) Quibus Nanos Spiritum vel dæmonum genus credebant ſaxa inhabitare. Keyſler ſup. p. 19—20.

On the (46) plain of Ballynahatne are concentric ſtone-circles: its ruins ſhew it to have been a very laboured conſtruction, and as Wright well remarks, not unlike Stonehenge. The name of Stonehenge reminds us of the various extravagant whimſies entertained concerning that curious monument, whoſe origin ſeems to have been miſtaken by every author, except two excellent antiquaries, Keyſler and Warton. The latter thus ſpeaks (47) of it: "No other notion reſpecting Stonehenge prevailed than the ſuppoſition that had been delivered down by long and conſtant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengiſt's maſſacre. This was the eſtabliſhed and uniform opinion of the Welſh and Armorican bards, who moſt probably received it from the Saxon minſtrels. This was the popular belief in the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in this Robert of Glouceſter and all the monkiſh chroniclers agree. That the Druids conſtructed this ſtupendous pile for a place of worſhip, was a diſcovery reſerved for the ſagacity of a wiſer age, and the laborious diſcuſſion of modern antiquaries."

Beſides the name Stan Hengiſt, Hengiſt's Stones, the authority of the Welſh and Armoric bards is ſtrong evidence of the founding of Stonehenge in the fifth century. The Britiſh minſtrels, whoſe conſtant theme was the exterminating fury of the pagan Saxons, aſcribed this work to their countrymen, as a pious monument to their ſlaughtered brethren, when in reality it was a triumphant memorial erected by Henriſt's army for a ſignal defeat of the Britons, juſt as (48) Regner, according to Saxo, conſtructed a penſile trophy for his victory over the Biarmi and Finni. The Britons, if they preſerved their original cuſtoms and adhered to their Celtic ritual, had no ſtone-temples; but they might have embraced the Belgic or Scythic ſuperſtition, and Stonehenge lay within the territories of the Belgæ.

At (49) Templebrien in the County of Cork, is a circle of nine upright ſtones placed round a tenth in the centre, and about twenty feet to the N. W. ſtands an eleventh. (50) "Kings," ſays Wormius, "were created in circles compoſed of great ſtones, for the moſt part twelve in number (utplurimum duodecim.) In the middle was

(46) Louthiana, ſup. p. 9.

(47) Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, V. 2. p. 155. Verum, ut quæ res eſſe videatur, apertius dicam, hujuſmodi monumentorum quando alia, in quibus Stonehenge, &c. propter altum ſilentium de iis apud auctores Græcos & Latinos recentiora judicentur, ſic alia, quorum in numero monumentum hocce noſtrum ante Belgarum adventum a Runarum colonia quadam erigi uti temere non ſtatuero, ita præfracte non negavero. Muſgrave, Belg. Brit. p. 211.

(48) Regnerus Saxis rerum geſtarum apices præ ſe ferentibus, iiſdemque ſuperne locatis, æternum victoriæ ſuæ monumentum affixit. Sax. Gram. l. 9. Worm. ſup. Step. Stephan. p. 15.

(49) Smith's Cork, V. 2. p. 411.

(50) Mon. Danic. l. 1. c. 12.

was a larger one, on which the elected king was placed and recognized with loud acclamations." The centre ſtone, among the Danes and Norwegians, was called Kongſtolen, and (51) Moraſteen among the Swedes and Goths. It was not always within the area of the circle, for at Leire in Seland it is without it, nor were twelve uprights indiſpenſably neceſſary. Hence I think it probable, that the centre ſtone at Templebrien was an altar for ſacrifice, and the ſtone at a diſtance the Kongſtolen. Leſſer circles of three, four or more ſtones, which are not uncommon, were for the election of inferior Toparchs; for notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt claim from (52) hereditary right, election was always reſorted to, and ſuch is the policy in our Brehon laws.

At (53) Ballymacſcanlan, in the county of Louth, three great pillars ſupported a ponderous impoſt: this was the penſile monument of the Northerns. It is called the Giant's load, being brought altogether from a neighbouring mountain by a Giant, according to tradition, Here we diſcover plainly the Northern origin of theſe monuments. Giants make no part of Celtic, though they do of Gothic mythology. The Edda mentions the giants Ymir, Nor, Tarbantes, and others, and (54) Saxo Grammaticus declares, the great ſtones ſet on ſepulchres and caves are proofs of Denmark being antiently inhabited by a gigantic race, and the principal ſtone erections enumerated by Wormius are given to giants. Theſe parallels of Iriſh and Northern antiquities might be extended much farther. Even from the preſent ſpecimen no doubts can remain on the mind of the learned reader, of the ſame people being the authors of both. Nor will this ſketch be undeſerving the notice of any one who may hereafter compile an Hibernia Danica.

We have therefore great reaſon to be ſurpriſed at the miſtakes of Bruker on this ſubject, a man of ſagacity and profound erudition. He begins his (55) account of Celtic philoſophy by telling us the Celtes occupied the northern and weſtern parts of Europe, retaining a reſemblance in their cuſtoms and religion, but that when they came to be formed into nations then a difference in theſe points was very obvious; and that under the name of Celtes were comprehended the Scythians, the Germans, the Gauls, Britons and Spaniards, with thoſe who inhabited Pannonia and the banks of the Danube. This ſtrange jumble of people of different languages and religions preſents to our author nothing but a wild chaos of contradictions. He has not advanced

(51) J. Magn. de elect. reg. Goth. initio.

(52) Si filius regis, frater aut conſanguineus, prædictas virtutes habuerit, non hæreditatis ſed electionis jure cæteris omnibus anteferatur. J. Magn. ſup.

(53) Louthiana, ſupra. (54) Præfat. (55) Hiſt. Crit. Philoſoph. T. 1. p. 313.

vanced a dozen lines before he complains of the "obſcurity and uncertainty of Celtic hiſtory, of its being loaded with ſo many difficulties that he can promiſe to give it but a very inferior degree of verſimilitude, and that he would rather modeſtly confeſs this than, as is too common, obtrude on the reader vague conjectures for certain truths." This ſhow of candour however will never atone for the monſtrous confuſion he has introduced into Celtic antiquities, the more fatal as it is ſupported by ingenuity and uncommon learning. He cannot avoid remarking the oppoſite teſtimonies of Cæſar and Tacitus on the religion of the Druids: the latter ſays they had no temples or altars, but the former intimates both. He has no way of reconciling theſe writers, but by aſſuring us, the religion of the Northern Celtes, the Germans and Gauls was originally the ſame, and that the Gallic deities, ſtatues, altars and temples were (56) foreign importations. Here a critical inquiry ſhould have commenced into the religion and philoſophy of the Celtes, grounded on their language, religion, and the few hints preſerved by the ancients. The materials for a ſimilar procedure with the Scythians are abundant; and laſtly the union of the Celtic and Scythic rituals might be eaſily ſhown. Mr. Pinkerton in his Diſſertation on the Goths and Hiſtory of Scotland has laboured ſucceſsfully on this ſubject, theſe valuable works being an excellent introduction to the ſtudy of the Britiſh antiquities.

Borlaſe, a man of conſiderable learning but little judgment, lapſes into Bruker's errors. He perceives no (57) difference between the religion of the Germans, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes and that of the Britons and Gauls, but that the prieſthood among the latter was more dignified and learned than among the former. From ſuch a declaration, ſo early made, nothing could be expected but confuſion. An antiquary who could affirm rock-baſons, circles, erect ſtones, cromleace, cairns, and groves of oaks, a cave and an incloſure (58) marked a Druidic monument, was ill qualified to diſembarraſs Celtic and Scythic antiquities, or to give a diſtinct view of each. And yet clouded as his ideas were, he ſaw through the gloom difficulties which he could not ſolve; he (59) tells us, the ſuperſtition of the Germans and Northern nations throw great light on that of the Druids, but not vice verſa. The meaning of which is, that the original dogmas of Druidiſm were loſt, or ſo incorporated with the Northern religion, that there was no way of illuſtrating the former but by the latter. But the fact is the ancients ſupply us with accurate diſtinctions, and indubitable marks of genuine Druidiſm. Both the Celtic and German ſuperſtitions were early mingled with each other; this, it is confeſſed, obſcured the ſubject,

(56) Peregrinis religionibus advectis debentur. Bruker. ſup. 230.
(57) Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 71.
(58) Borlaſe, ſupra, p. 120.
(59) Borlaſe, ſup. p. 78.

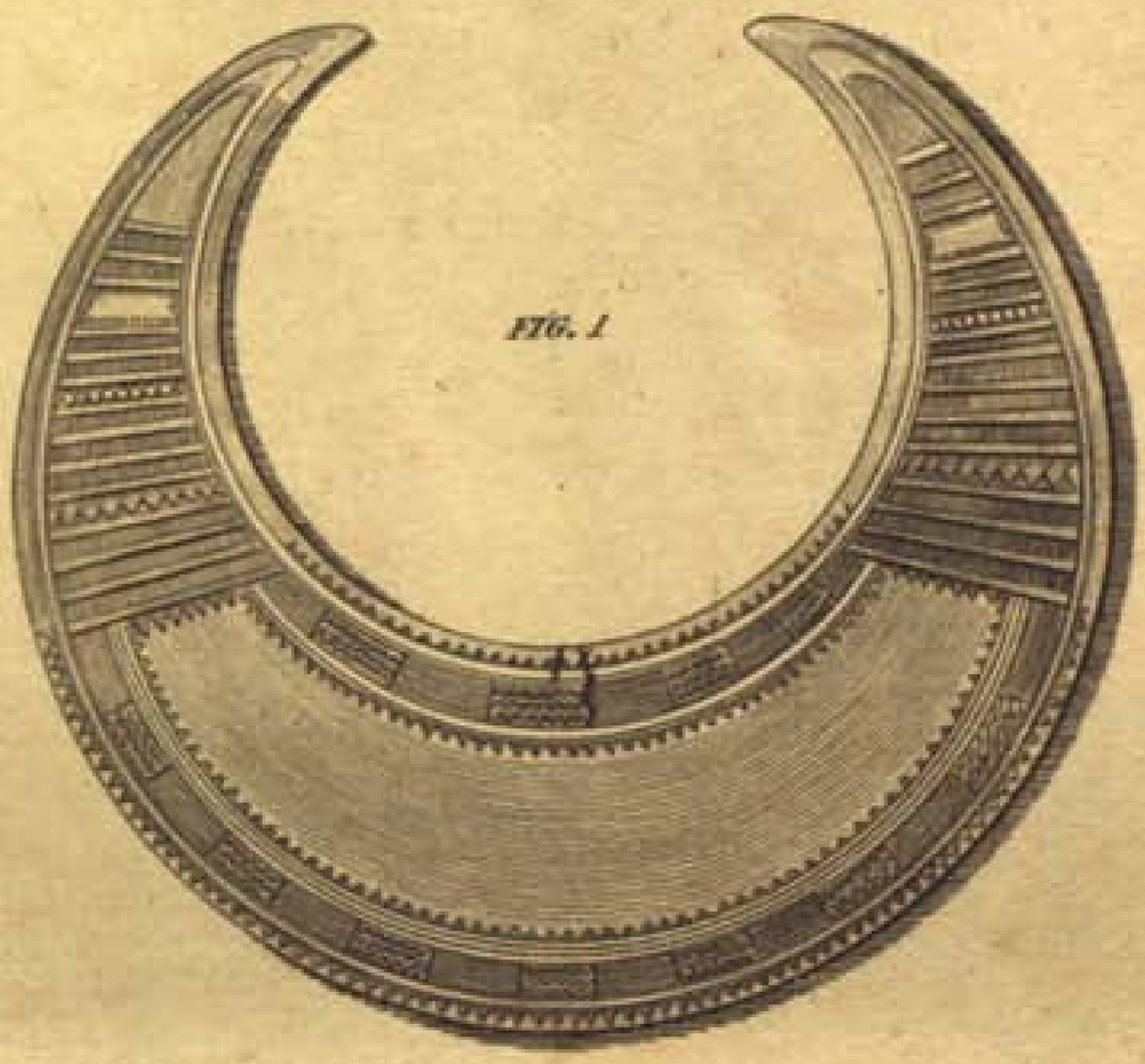

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

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ject, and led inattentive ancients and moderns aſtray. I have juſt alleged an inſtance from Borlaſe, of this compound religion, where an oaken grove and incloſure mark the Celtic, as the rock-baſons, erect ſtones, &c. do the Scythic ſuperſtition. As to this mixt religion being called Druidic, where the Celtes were more numerous than their invaders, as in theſe iſles, their prieſts preſerved their ancient appellation: where the Scythians prevailed, the name was loſt, and in its room we find Runer, Adelruner, (60) Diar, Hofgodar and Magi introduced. Confounding the Druidic and Scythic rituals, the very learned and ingenious Whitaker tells (61) us, "the Druidical ſpecies of heatheniſm was that particularly calculated to arreſt the attention and to impreſs the mind. The rudely majeſtic cincture of ſtones in their temples, the huge enormous Cromleach, the maſſy tremulous Logan, the great conical carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheatre of woods, &c." Except the amphitheatre of woods, nothing elſe was Druidical. Many opportunities will offer in the enſuing eſſays, in treating of the Antiquities of the Iriſh Church, to confirm the idea purſued in theſe pages.

(60) Pinkerton. Vit. S. Scot. p. 87. (61) Hiſt. of Mancheſt. V. 1.

OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND OF ST. PATRICK.

AN hierarchy was early eſtabliſhed in England, as three Britiſh Biſhops aſſiſted at the Council of Arles, A. D. 314, being one for each province into which the kingdom (1) was then divided. Of conſequence Chriſtianity there was of older date than the 4th century. When we reflect on the zeal of the primitive preachers of the Goſpel, and the contiguity of Ireland to England, it cannot be ſuppoſed the former iſle eſcaped their evangelical labours. It afforded the terrified Britiſh clergy a ſecure aſylum from the Dioclefian perſecution in 303. So that it is highly probable the glad tidings of a Redeeming Saviour were promulgated here very little later than in Britain. And I am the more inclined to believe what is advanced, becauſe St. Jerome inconteſtibly proves there was a Chriſtian church in Ireland in the 4th and beginning of the 5th century, and that letters were then known and cultivated here. Speaking of Celeſtius, the boſom friend of Pelagius the Hereſiarch, he ſays: "he was made fat with Scottiſh (2) flummery." Now (3) Pelagius was a Britiſh Monk, and an eminent (4) ſcholar: to him reſorted youth from England and Ireland for inſtruction, and among others our countryman Celeſtius, who embraced the (5) monaſtic life. While in the Britiſh monaſtery he (6) writ to his parents in Ireland three pious epiſtles, exhorting them to the practice of virtue. All this evinces, that our iſle had been long chriſtian. Pelagius was an able teacher and well read in (7) Greek philoſophy: it was there he found the notions about God and the human ſoul, which were the foundations of his hereſy. This knowledge of Greek literature will now be fully and ſatisfactorily explained.

The Iriſh themſelves are the beſt evidences of the origin of their faith. About the year 661, a conference was held at (8) Whitby, to determine whether the ancient

(1) Stillingfleet, ſup. p. 76.

(2) Nec recordatur ſtolidiſſimus, et Scotorum pultibus prægravatas. Hieron. in Hierem. Again, Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia.

(3) Auguſtin. de hæres. c. 88. Uſſer. p. 208. (4) Uſſer. ſupra, (5) Gennad. c. 44.

(6) Gennad. ſupra. (7) Moſheim. Mar. Mercat. Edit. Garneri. (8) Bed. l. 3. c. 25.

ancient diſcipline of the Britiſh and Iriſh churches reſpecting the paſchal feſtival, tonſure and other rites, ſhould be continued, or whether the Romiſh innovations, adopted by the Anglo-Saxon church, ſhould be preferred. Wilfrid, an Eleve of Rome, ſupported the latter, as Colman, an Iriſhman, educated among the Culdees at Hy, and Biſhop of Lindisfern, did the former. "The Eaſter I keep, ſays Colman, I received from my elders, who ſent me Biſhop hither; the which all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept after the ſame manner; and that the ſame may not ſeem to any contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the ſame which St. John the Evangeliſt and the Churches over which he preſided, obſerved."

About the year 160, the Gallic Church, in a long epiſtle to the brethren in (9) Aſia and Phrygia, relates the martyrdom of many profeſſors of the Goſpel. Pothinus was then Biſhop of Lyons, and a (10) Grecian; as were Attalus, Alexander, and Alcibiadas, who were miſſioners in Gaul. Theſe were (11) ſent by Polycarp into France when he went to Rome in the pontificate of Anicetus, of courſe the letter written by them to the Chriſtians in Aſia was in Greek, and this is remarked by Valeſius. Irenæus, who ſucceeded Pothinus in Lyons, was a Greek of Smyrna, of which city Polycarp was Biſhop. Irenæus when a youth ſaw and converſed with Polycarp, and heard him relate the (12) diſcourſes he held with St. John and with the reſt who had ſeen Chriſt. From hence we clearly diſcover the grounds of Biſhop Colman's practice, and how it was deduced from St. John. Polycarp was diſciple of (13) St. John, as Pothinus and (14) Irenæus were of Polycarp. Theſe Aſiatic miſſionaries founded churches, ordained Biſhops, and gave to the Chriſtians of Britain and France a liturgical form. A very ancient (15) MS. informs us, that St. John the Evangeliſt firſt ſang the Gallican office, then the bleſſed Polycarp his diſciple, and after him Irenæus, Biſhop of Lyons. Biſhop Stillingfleet, who carefully examined this ancient curſus or office, ſhows that it agreed with the Greek, and materially differed from the Roman in the communion ſervice, in the prophetical leſſons, in the ſermon and offices after it, and in various other particulars, and that this office was adopted by the Britiſh church, and no doubt by the Iriſh, which perfectly ſymbolized with it. Indeed we have direct and poſitive proof that our liturgy was not

(9) Τῶν κατὰ Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν ἀδελφῶν. Euſeb. l. 5. c. 1.
(10) Pothini quoque epiſcopi vel nomen ipſum Græcam originem deſignat. Vales. ad Euſeb. ſup. p. 86.
(11) Cave Hiſt. Liter. p. 3. Moſheim. Cent. 2. (12) Euſeb. l. 5. c. 20.
(13) Hieron. de Scrip Eccl.ſ (14) Greg. Turon. Hiſt. Franc. l. 1. c. 3.
(15) Preſerved by Spelman. Concil. V. 1. p. 176.

not the (16) Roman, in Gillebert the Biſhop of Limerick's epiſtle to the Iriſh Prelates in 1090. We ſhall find the Iriſh rites and ceremonies differing from the Roman, in the celebration of Eaſter, in the adminiſtration of baptiſm, in the multiplication of Biſhops, and in numberleſs other points wherein they agreed with the Aſiatic and Britiſh Chriſtians, from whom they received their faith. Irenæus, in the 2d century, loudly complained of Romiſh innovations, "that the ſchiſmatics at Rome had (17) corrupted the ſincere law of the church, which led to the greateſt impieties. Theſe opinions, adds he, the Preſbyters who lived before our times, who were alſo the diſciples of the Apoſtles, did in no wiſe deliver. I, who ſaw and heard the bleſſed Polycarp, am able to proteſt in the preſence of God, that if that apoſtolic Preſbyter had heard theſe things, he would have ſtopped his ears, and cried out according to his cuſtom, "Good God! for what times haſt thou reſerved me, that I ſhould ſuffer ſuch things. He would have fled from the place where he was ſitting or ſtanding, ſhould he have heard theſe things." Thus far Irenæus.

Theſe ſentiments of Romiſh corruptions the Aſiatic miſſioners brought with them into Weſtern Europe, they inculcated them on their converts, and the horror and deteſtation they excited in their minds were not effaced for many ages; it laſted in Ireland for more than ten centuries. Such was the origin of Chriſtianity in Ireland, and ſuch the orientaliſm of our rites and ceremonies, which during our progreſs in theſe inquiries we ſhall have frequent occaſion to remark.

How laborious ſoever theſe reſearches may be, I apply to them with ardour and pleaſure in hopes of diſcovering truth; but I confeſs myſelf diſpirited and dejected when reduced to the miſerable neceſſity of combating ſenſeleſs fictions, and all the ignorance and abſurdity of Iriſh hagiography. No laurels are here to be reaped, no reputation to be obtained, and yet ſilent contempt would ſoon be conſtrued into acquieſcence, if not approbation.

The puerile figments of (18) Vincent of Beauvais, Moronus, Vaſaldus, O'Sullivan and Colgan, concerning the firſt preachers of the Goſpel in Ireland, are totally undeſerving notice. Prudentius has characteriſed ſuch pious and lying fables in one line:

Corruptela, dolus, commenta, inſomnia, ſordes.

The

(16) Ut diverſi & ſchiſmatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene deluſa eſt, uni Catholico & Romano cedant officio. Uſſer. Syllog. Epii. p. 77.

(17) Εξισωντας δε των εν Ρωμη του νυν της εκκλησιας θεσμον παραχαραττοντων, Εἰρηναιος διαφωνους υπερ ειρηνης εγραφεν. Euſeb. l. 5, c 20.

(18) Richardſon. prælect. ecc. V. 2. p. 102. Uſſer. Lloyd, Stillingfleet, &c.

The Acts of our (19) Saints inform us, that Kiaran, Declan, Ailbe and Ibar were Hibernians, who, after reſiding at Rome for ſome years, were conſecrated Biſhops, and erected Sees here about the year 400. This is an artful monkiſh fiction to excite our gratitude to Rome, who ſo maternally watched over our ſalvation, and ſent us theſe precurſors to reclaim us from paganiſm. Biſhop Lloyd, though ingenuous and learned, was not profound in antiquities, ſays, (20) "I dare not wholly reject thoſe Iriſh legends of Kiaranus, Declanus and Ibarus." Every reſpect is due to authenticated, and in remote matters, even to probable facts; but why the ſame regard is to be paid to ſuſpicious legends, is not eaſy to diſcover. It was his buſineſs to eſtabliſh their credit, but he found this too difficult to attempt. It was impoſſible to be done; for if theſe precurſors of St. Patrick ever exiſted, and lived no longer than the reſt of mankind, their age will be found poſterior inſtead of being prior to that of our apoſtle, who, it is ſaid was ſent hither, A. D. 432. Now the annals of Ulſter and Innisfallen, as cited by (21) Ware, place the death of Ibar in 500, that of Ailbe in 527, of Declan later, and Kiaran at an advanced age was diſciple of St. Finian of Clonard, about 520. If we reject theſe authorities, we beſtow on theſe precurſors a longevity beyond veriſimilitude; if we adopt them, the legend is more than doubtful.

Theſe teachers we are told travelled to Rome, and there received ordination. This is incredible, becauſe Bede is an unexceptionable evidence that our hierarchy was exactly ſimilar to the (22) Britiſh, and that we know was independent and epiſcopal. Epiſcopal, for her Biſhops appeared in the Councils of Arles, Nice, Sardis and Ariminum, all in the 4th century. Independent, for the Britiſh Prelates nobly oppoſed the uſurpation of Auguſtine ſent by Pope Gregory, and refuſed obedience to a foreign juriſdiction, conſequently they would not (23) receive ordination from the hands of ſtrangers. But theſe ſilly fictions are trifles in compariſon of the legend of St. Patrick, which comes next to be examined.

The exiſtence of this Saint, and his converſion of the Iriſh, are points not only firmly believed by the Iriſh, but referred to as undoubted hiſtoric facts by every

(19) Uſſer. Prim. p. 789. (20) Of Church Government, p. 50—51.

(21) Annot. in St. Patric. opuſc. p. 106.

(22) Scoti nihil diſcrepabant in converſatione a Britannis. Converſatio here means religious life, and ſometimes a monaſtic rule. Du Cange in Converſare & converſatio. Bede ſays again of the Iriſh and Britons: Similem vitam & profeſſionem egiſſe. Hanmer's Chron. p. 9. for the connection between the Iriſh and Welſh.

(23) Britannia ordinationes ſuas intra ſe ſemper concelebrabant, & hoc eſt alterum juris patriarchalis [illegible] ſive honorarium. Uſſer. de libert. Ecc. Brit. p. 118. An admirable work but little known. See alſo Stillingfleet, ſup. &. Anſwer to Creſſy. Cave of Church Government, p. 244.

writer who has treated of the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this country. But about the year 1618, Doctor Ryves, one of the Maſters in Chancery here, and Judge of the Faculties and Prerogative Court, to anſwer a (24) calumnious and inflammatory libel, was obliged to conſider minutely the ancient hiſtory of our church. Doubts aroſe in his mind as to the (25) reality of our apoſtle, and of the age in which he was ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed. However before he ſeriouſly applied to an inveſtigation of theſe matters, he thought it proper and becoming to (26) conſult Camden and Uſher, the two great luminaries of Britiſh and Iriſh Antiquities. To the latter he opens his objections; and firſt, he obſerves the wonderful miracles recorded by St. Patrick were neither common or believed in the age in which he lived; and this he proves from St. Auſtin, who was coetaneous with our apoſtle. Secondly, he argues from the ſilence of Platina, who, though in his life of Pope Celeſtine he mentions the ſending St. Germanus into England and Palladius into Scotland, takes no notice of his appointing Patrick to Ireland, and therefore concludes he muſt have lived later than was generally ſuppoſed.

Unacquainted with Camden, yet deſirous of his opinion, Ryves prevailed on Uſher to lay his letter before him, which he did. Uſher ſeems not to have acted friendly, impartially or candidly on this occaſion, for in his letter to Camden, incloſing that of Ryves's, he endeavours to prepoſſeſs him in favour of St. Patrick, and even to point out what anſwer he ſhould give. He indeed remarks that "the ridiculous miracles faſtened upon our Saint were the work of later writers," and in this Camden agrees. On the preſent occaſion, our learned Primate and his excellent friend deviate ſtrangely from ſtrict veracity; for the Roman Martyrology, Erric of Auxerre, Nennius and others, never omit St. Patrick's miracles when they name him; they are both coeval and from the ſame mint. Nor would an argument ſo open to confutation ever have been brought forward was a better to be found. His miracles are ſo monſtrous and incredible, ſo numerous and unneceſſary, and ſuch a proſtitution of divine omnipotence, that the moſt ſtupid, credulous or bigotted cannot digeſt them. Theſe firſt ſuggeſted to Ryves, as they would to every man of ſenſe, the ſuſpicions before ſtated. As to Platina, few were more converſant in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory than he; ſo that his ſilence about St. Patrick is really inexplicable, was he convinced of his miſſion. A Cotton MS. recording St. Patrick, is much boaſted of; ſurely we might expect to find in Uſher's Primordia, publiſhed twenty-one years after his writing this letter to Camden, an account of its poſſeſſors, its letters and language, ſo as to

(24) Ware's Writers by Harris, p. 340.
(25) Ryv. regim. Anglic. in Hib. p. 47. et ſeq.
(26) Camdeni epiſt. p. 236, et ſeq.

to enable us to form ſome judgment of its antiquity; but none of theſe appear, if I recollect right, in that work. A Cottonian MS. occurs, but it is not noticed as remarkable for age or contents.

Ryves thus diſcountenanced by the oracular deciſions of theſe eminent men, and overborne ſolely by authority, no farther purſued this curious ſubject, a few hints excepted, although his learning enabled him to bring it to a fair concluſion. This triumph of hagiography over criticiſm and erudition has continued to the preſent hour. A well-informed (27) writer in 1700 declared, "he was not ſatisfied about St. Patrick's 365 Biſhops, it was probably a fable, and himſelf a Saint of imagination; for who can tell, but Patricius Avernenſis may have ſunk a day lower in the calendar, and made the Iriſh a Patricius Hibernenſis, or the Spaniſh Patrick of Malaga, who, according to Luitprandus, lays claim to that day, might appear to the Iriſh in a dream, as St. George did to the Engliſh, and become their Protector and at laſt their Apoſtle. For the calendar is the ground upon which the legendaries run diviſions, and as barren as it ſeems to be, it has produced a world of devout fables. For in old time, give a Monk but a name, and he would quickly write a life." Thus far Maurice, whoſe conjectures, thus vaguely and jocularly thrown out, are yet the reſult of uncommon knowledge of the ſubject, as we ſhall now ſee.

The Calendar is certainly the ground-work of every fabulous legend. Each church we are (28) told kept one for its ſaints and martyrs, but Ruinart declares they were exceedingly imperfect. Nor could it be otherwiſe among barbarous nations, where Chriſtianity was without eſtabliſhment and its preachers itinerant, ſupporting a precarious life among rude and ferocious pagans. As the common martyrologies (29) were compiled from the Calendars, it will not be wondered at if they are but little to be depended on. But two have reached us, one Roman Calendar of the fourth and one Carthaginian of the fifth century, both to be ſuſpected and not contributing to the credit of ſuch works. Our calendars and martyrologies are leſs eſtimable and of leſs authority. Colgan, it may be imagined, gives in the Preface to his Iriſh Saints, the beſt reaſons he could invent to induce us to believe the tales he delivers concerning them. He quotes (30) Gorman, who writ about 1170; the Caſhel calendar compoſed, as he ſays, earlier, and the martyrology of Ængus and Melruan of the eighth century. Now the latter, like the other Iriſh manuſcripts, famous

(27) Maurice's Defence of Epiſcopacy, p. 155. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, ad Ann. 730.
(28) Ruinart. Præf. gen. in Act. Sincer. Martyr. p. 17.
(29) Ex Kalendariis quæ vulgata martyrologia antecedunt, duo ſolummodo ad nos pervenêre. Ruinart, ſupra.
(30) Ut prætercam B. Mar. Gormanum, qui ante annos prope quingenos, &c. præf. ad Act. Sanc. Hiberniæ.

famous in obſcurity, has never ſeen the light, nor is it to be regretted, becauſe it carries internal marks of forgery. Let one inſtance ſuffice. In its ſecond Preface it cites the martyrology of St. Jerome. Launoy has (31) proved, that no ſuch work under the name of St. Jerome was known to early writers, but that about the ninth century, a trick, then common, was practiſed, that of fathering on him a ſuppoſititious performance. Neither Bellarmine or Sixtus Senenſis enumerate this among his works, ſo that inſtead of the eighth this martyrology cannot be older than the ninth century. Colgan acquaints (32) us, that the deaths of Ængus and Melruan are found in this martyrology and thoſe of other ſaints poſterior to them, which he ſuppoſes the additions of ſome Monk living about the concluſion of the ninth century. No proof is brought of this conjecture, ſo that the antiquity of this work reſts ſolely on the ſuppoſition of an intereſted individual, and is oppoſed by the ſtrongeſt external and internal proofs. Take the facts as ſtated by Colgan himſelf, and let any judicious and impartial reader pronounce on the credibility and degree of weight this martyrology carries with it when it depoſes for St. Patrick and other ideal ſaints.

The (33) Roman martyrology is the oldeſt in which we find the name of our apoſtle. This like the reſt has been interpolated in various ages, ſo that it is impoſſible to know what were its original contents. By the French antiquaries it has often been convicted of falſehood: its making Sergius Paulus firſt Biſhop of Narbonne, and Dionyſius Areopagita the Apoſtle of France, deſtroys every claim it can make to authenticity.

St. Patrick is in Bede's martyrology. Whether he ever compoſed ſuch a work is very doubtful, as he barely hints at it in one of his compoſitions. Cave's (34) opinion of that paſſing under his name, is by no means in its favour. It would be tedious and diſguſting to review the fables and errors of Uſardus, Notkerus Balbulus and others, who lived later, and have the name of our Apoſtle: the ſame bold, plauſible and groundleſs (35) figments crowd all their pages.

What idea muſt we form of Martyrologies, when Durandus, Biſhop of Maude, (36) declared, there were above five thouſand Saints for every day in the year; and

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(31) Diſpunct. epiſt. P. de Marc. ad Vales. c. 6. p. 66.

(32) Supra, p. 581.

(33) Geddes's Tracts, V. 2.

(34) Id quod nunc circumfertur, crebris aliorum interpolationibus, deturpatum eſſe multum, dudum notârunt. Hiſt. Lit. p. 355.

(35) Voſs. de Hiſt. Lat. p. 309—697. Cave, ſup. p. 187. Vales. ad Euſeb. l. 5. for the ſtory of Zacharias.

(36) Bayle, Dic. Crit. article, Launoi.

it has been ſuppoſed, not improbably, that All Saints day was appointed, to ſupply the want of days in the year, and to appeaſe the anger of thoſe who had not particular honour paid them. Bollandus and Papebroch, learned Jeſuits, Launoi, Tillemont and many other eminent Catholic writers not only reject theſe deified phantoms, but ſpeak contemptibly of the reſt.

As nothing advanced by Uſher, Camden, or the Martyrologiſts can in the ſmalleſt degree ſupply evidence of the exiſtence of St. Patrick, ſo neither will the general character of our Sanctology, which (37) Bollandus declares to be the compilation of arrant fablers, and not older than the 12th century. Tillemont's words are equally ſtrong. "Que la plupart, ſont d'auteurs très-fabuleux." This is the language of liberal, learned and enlightened Roman Catholic writers, who ſaw the diſgrace brought on religion, and the real injury done it, by lying miracles and horrible blaſphemies. Even St. Auſtin in the 4th century declared (38) there were few genuine memoirs of Martyrs or Saints. The Trullan (39) council ordered all forged acts, which began greatly to multiply, to be burnt, becauſe as Balſamon on this Canon obſerves, they lead "to laughter and infidelity."

From the manner of compoſing theſe Lives of Saints, we may judge of the deplorable mental weakneſs of thoſe who believe them, and the conſummate hypocriſy and wickedneſs of thoſe who inculcate them on the ignorant. Cardinal Valerio (40) tells us, it was uſual with the Monks to exerciſe their ſcholars in compoſition by propoſing the uſual topics to them, the lives and martyrdom of Saints. Popular ſtories, and more commonly the ſuggeſtions of their own fancy, were the groundwork of their amplifications. The beſt of theſe were laid by, and after ſome years produced as genuine works. There is a curious anecdote in (41) Mr. Warton to this purpoſe. About 1380, flouriſhed Gilbert de Stone, a learned eccleſiaſtic, and good Latin writer. The Monks of Holywell, in Flintſhire, applied to him to write the life of their patron-ſaint; Stone aſked for materials, he was anſwered, there were none; upon which, he ſaid, "he could execute the work without materials, and would write them a moſt excellent Legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas a Becket."

(37) Ab auctoribus fabuloſiſſimis conſarcinata, nec ulla ſæculo duodecimo priora. Act. Sanct. ad 17 Martii.

(38) Serm 93. (39) Can. 63. (40) Bayle, Dict. article, Valerius.

(41) Hiſtory of Engliſh poetry. V. 2. p. 190. Cardinal Beſſarion ſaid of theſe deifications: aſſé che queſti Santi moderni, mi ſauno aſſai dubitare delli paſſati.

By ſuch juvenile Monkiſh exerciſes, lives of St. Patrick multiplied amazingly. When Joceline ſat down to compoſe his life, he (42) found ſixty-ſix biographers had preceded him in this walk: all but four were deſtroyed in the Norwegian invaſion; from theſe, he tells us, he ſelected ſuch facts as deſerved (43) belief. Here are ſome of the miracles which our author thinks credible. St. Patrick while an infant, brought a new river from the earth, which cured the blind. He produced fire from ice. He raiſed his nurſe from the dead. He expelled a devil from an heifer, and he changed water into honey. Theſe were but the infant ſports of this wonder-working Saint. The miracles recorded in holy writ, even that of creation itſelf, are paralleled, and if poſſible ſurpaſſed by thoſe of our ſpiritual hero. So that for authenticity, the Legend of St. Patrick merits no higher eſtimation than the moſt contemptible fictions.

I ſhall now proceed with ſtronger evidence, to prove our Apoſtle an ideal perſonage. If he received his miſſion from Pope Celeſtine, his orders in the Church of Rome; was graced with the archiepiſcopal dignity; formed an hierarchy, and eſtabliſhed rites and ceremonies from Roman originals, as all his biographers boaſt, can the utmoſt ſtretch of human ingenuity aſſign a reaſon why Cogitoſus, Adamnan, Cummian and Bede have paſſed over theſe intereſting particulars unnoticed? Bede, whoſe predilection for Rome and her tenets had led him into many errors, and whom all allow to be well informed, never would have omitted ſo capital an event as the converſion of Ireland by a miſſioner from Rome, and the miracles of that miſſioner in ſupport of his favourite doctrines, did ſuch facts or any tradition of them exiſt in the beginning of the 8th century, for Bede died A. D. 735.

About the year 604, Laurence, Biſhop of Canterbury, and two other Prelates writing to the Biſhops and Abbots in Ireland, have theſe remarkable words: "When (44) the Apoſtolic See ſent us to theſe weſtern parts to preach to pagan nations, and we happened to come into this iſland of Britain, we very much eſteemed the holineſs of the Britons and Iriſh before we knew them, believing they proceeded according to the cuſtom of the univerſal church; but we have been informed, that the Scots (the Iriſh) do not differ in religious ſentiments from the Britons, for Biſhop Dagan coming to us, not only refuſed to eat with us, but even to take any repaſt in the ſame houſe." Let the advocates for the exiſtence of St. Patrick conſider well this citation. Biſhop Laurence ſucceeded Auguſtine in the See of Canterbury, and

(42) Vit. S. Patric. apud Meſſingham, p. 81.
(43) Quæcunque fide digna reperire potui. Vit. S. Patricii.
(44) Bed. l. 2. c. 4.

and was by (45) birth a Roman. St. Patrick was dead but an hundred years. Could all remembrance of his miſſion from Rome, and his connection with that See be forgotten in that ſpace of time; if it could not, would he have neglected to upbraid them with ingratitude to their Apoſtle and a dereliction of his doctrines? And does not this letter demonſtrate what was before advanced of the difference between the Britiſh and Roman Churches in religious tenets, and that the Iriſh agreed with the Britiſh? By Biſhop Dagan's refuſing to eat with, or remain in the ſame houſe with the Roman miſſioners, we muſt know, that a perſon whoſe company was thus rejected, was under excommunication, for ſo it is expreſſed in (46) ancient Iriſh canons. The Britons, ſays (47) Bede, would no more communicate with the Anglo-Saxons than with pagans. The Iriſh, we ſee, had exactly the ſame ſentiments. "The Britiſh Prieſts, complains (48) Aldhelm, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, do exceedingly abhor communion with us, inſomuch that they neither will join in prayers with us in the church, nor in communion, nor will they enter into ſociety with us at table: the fragments we leave after refection, they will not touch but throw to dogs. The cups alſo out of which we have drank, they will not uſe, until they have cleanſed them with ſand and aſhes. They refuſe all civil ſalutations, and will not give us the kiſs of pious fraternity. Moreover, if any of us go to take an abode among them, they will not vouchſafe to admit us, till we are compelled to ſpend forty days in penance." Words cannot convey a ſtronger deteſtation of Popery than this teſtimony of Aldhem, an excellent ſcholar and contemporary with Biſhop Laurence. We may obſerve that the Britiſh and Iriſh Churches had hierarchies independent and epiſcopal among them, and that they fulminated excommunication againſt intruders.

In 630, the Roman clergy addreſs an epiſtle (to be ſeen in Bede) to five Iriſh biſhops and five preſbyters, on the paſchal feſtival. Here, again, St. Patrick might be very properly and advantageouſly introduced, and his own, as well as his ſucceſſors, practice in the ſee of Armagh. But nothing to this purpoſe occurs in our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian: the Biſhops are ſtyled, without any diſtinction, the moſt beloved and moſt holy Tomianus, Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus and Baithanus. I have before mentioned the convention at Whitby in 661. Theſe, it may be ſaid,

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(45) Parker. de Antiq. Ecc. Brit. p. 73. Edit. Drake.

(46) A communione & menſa, a miſſa & pace. S. Patric. opuſc. ſupra. Again: quicunque clericus ab aliquo excommunicatus fuerit & alius eum ſuſceperit, ambo coæquali poenitentia utantur. Pag. 43.

(47) Moris ſit Britonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere; neque in aliquo iis magis communicare quam paganis. L. 2. c. 20.

(48) Epiſt. ad Damnon. 44, inter Epiſt. Boniface.

are negative arguments; but is an accumulation of theſe of no weight, particularly in very remote matters? But the ſubject does not reſt ſolely on theſe: it is a poſitive fact, that Columba and his Culdees differed widely, as we ſhall ſee, from Rome in doctrine and diſcipline, in the 6th century, when St. Patrick was but a few years dead. We have juſt ſeen the ſame difference ſubſiſting in 604. In 639, Pope Honorius teſtifies the ſame in Bede, and in 730, Bede declares our averſion from Romiſh cuſtoms. Will any impartial and ſober man aſſert, that if St. Patrick founded the Iriſh church, and that his rites and ceremonies were from Roman archetypes, there could be ſuch a total falling off from them within a few years after his death? A barbarous people are ever retentive of firſt impreſſions. Who was the preacher of theſe new opinions ſo oppoſite to the Roman? Hiſtory does not record his name. The fact is, and we find it has been amply confirmed, that Chriſtianity flouriſhed in Ireland long before the age of St. Patrick, and that it was firſt preached, not by Roman but by Aſiatic miſſioners, or their diſciples, the latter diſſenting in various important particulars from the former, as will hereafter appear.

If the principal events of our Apoſtle's life are ſhown to be not only incredible and uncertain, but abſolutely falſe, it muſt deciſively remove the vulgar prejudices reſpecting his exiſtence and miſſion. He is (49) ſaid to have been a North Briton, born at Kilpatrick, A. D. 372, his father was Calpurnius a Deacon, the ſon of Potitus a Prieſt, his mother was Concheſſa, niece of St. Martin, Biſhop of Tours. Baronius and Florilegus tell us he was a native of Ireland: O'Sullivan that he was born in Britanny: the Scholiaſt on Joceline that he was from Cornwall, and others make him a Welſhman. See the moſt wretched ſenſeleſs traſh collected by Uſher as to his parentage, life and adventures, with his genealogy up to Brutus. Primor. c. 17; and who tired at laſt, ſays with Horace,

Incerta hæc ſi tu poſtules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas
Quam ſi des operam ut cum ratione inſanias.

And yet he is a ſtickler for St. Patrick!

Now Bede has (50) declared, that the Southern Scots did not receive the faith till 412, nor the Northern before 565, ſo that Calpurnius and Potitus were Chriſtian Prieſts in Scotland long before it was evangelized. St. Martin was (51) born at Sabaria in Pannonia or Hungary; how his niece came to marry our North Briton, no one has yet explained. It ſeems it was faſhionable for miſſioners to be related to

(49) Ware's Biſhops by Harris, initio. (50) Lib. 3. c. 4. (51) Sulp. Sever. vit. S. Martin.

to St. Martin, for Ninian who converted the Southern Scots was alſo his (52) nephew.

Our Apoſtle, conſcious of his inability to convert the Iriſh without proper qualifications, ſuch as travelling and ſtudy ſupplied, removed to the Continent, viſited Italy and remained among the Canons of the Lateran for ſome time, and then with the Monks diſperſed in the iſles of the Tuſcan Sea. Thirty-five years were ſpent in this manner. St. Patrick's reſidence in the Lateran is void of truth; for Onuphrius (53) aſſures us from the archives of that church, that Pope Gelaſius was the firſt who placed canons there, and he was raiſed to the pontificate, A. D. 492, one year before the death of St. Patrick.

After this preparatory diſcipline, he was conſecrated Biſhop by Amatus or Pope Celeſtine, who granted him the dignity of Archbiſhop. Here all his biographers, ancient and modern, diſcover their ignorance of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. On the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, to preſerve to the Biſhop of the (54) Metropolis his rank, the title of Archbiſhop was invented. At the Epheſine Council in 431, Cyril Biſhop of Jeruſalem, and Celeſtine Biſhop of Rome, were publicly honoured with this ſtyle. Before Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, enjoyed this title in 673, it was unknown in Britain; and (55) Mabillon is confident, that few claimed or aſſumed it before the ninth century.

In 462, St. Patrick went to Rome, and related to Pope Hilary the ſucceſs of his miſſion, which was ſo pleaſing, that the Pope as a mark of his eſteem, conferred on him the Pall and Legateſhip of Ireland. We may form ſome notion of the credit due to this ſtory when Doctor Talbot, titular Archbiſhop of Dublin (56) ſays, "that St. Patrick was neither Archbiſhop, Primate, or Metropolitan: that his Pall is chimerical, made of goat's wool, and flies through the air, ſewn to the reliques of Stephen the Proto-martyr." This is ſpeaking pretty plainly for a Roman Catholic Prelate, and treating theſe monkiſh falſehoods with juſt contempt. Talbot, throughout his work, evinces ſtrong good ſenſe and liberality, with conſiderable learning; theſe led him to deſpiſe the ſilly legends on which his antagoniſt, Doctor Mac Mahon, ſo much relied, and he had truth on his ſide when he rejected the legate-

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(52) Uſſer. p. 662. (53) Annot. ad Platin. p. 68.

(54) Ut Autem maneret Metropolitæ Alexandrino ſuus honor, inventum eſt Archiepiſcopi nomen. Marſham. Propyl. ad Monaſt. Anglican.

(55) De Re Diplon. l. 2. c. 2.

(56) Jus Primat. Armacan. p. 116—133, a controverſial work, wherein the right of Dublin or Armagh to the Primacy is diſcuſſed, by Talbot on one ſide, and Mac Mahon on the other. A. D. 1724.

ſhip of St. Patrick, for there was no ſuch office as Legatus a Latere until the (57) ſecond Nicene Council, A. D. 787, above three centuries after the deceaſe of our Apoſtle; nor were palls beſtowed in Ireland before the (58) year 1152. It muſt be as tireſome to the reader as it is to the writer to purſue farther this critical examination of the life of our Saint. I do not heſitate in affirming, that every chapter in Joceline, Colgan and Probus is liable to ſimilar objections; internal and invincible proofs theſe, that our Apoſtle and his Hiſtory are equally fabulous. Even the Editor of Probus (59) candidly confeſſes that his authenticity is doubted, as in ſome things he is palpably falſe: and Richard Stanihurſt, Uncle to Archbiſhop Uſher, aſſured him there are many inſtances of childiſh anility, and others directly contrary to evangelical truth.

Let us next inquire how St. Patrick came to be dubbed the Patron Saint of Ireland. The ninth century, famous for reviving and incorporating Pagan practices with the Chriſtian ritual, obſerving that Rome had her (60) Mars, Athens her Minerva, Carthage her Juno, and every country and city a proper and peculiar deity, whoſe guardian care was its greateſt protection and ſecurity, conceived it a very becoming employment for Chriſtian Saints to aſſume the patronage of a Chriſtian People, and to intereſt them the more in this new occupation, they brought their bones or reliques, wherever laid, and depoſited them in the principal church of the metropolis. The ſuperſtition and illiteracy of the age were favourable to every clerical impoſition. Thus Hilduin, in the beginning of the ninth century, was not aſhamed, ſuch was the deplorable ignorance of the times, to affirm to the Emperor Louis, that St. Luke in the Acts of the Apoſtles called Dionyſius a moſt illuſtrious nobleman and an excellent philoſopher, and that he was (61) ordained the Apoſtle of Gaul. Though nothing like this is in the Acts, it paſſed current, for Hilduin was an eccleſiaſtic of high rank, being Abbot of St. Germain. Here we have the origin of the patron of France.

About the year 816, Pope Leo III. made St. James the Apoſtle the patron of Spain. He (62) aſſerts with all the confidence of infallibility, that at the inſtance of Abiathar, the Jewiſh high prieſt, St. James was ſlain by Herod: that his body

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(57) Caſaub. Exercit. in Baron. p. 386. (58) Ware's Biſhops, p. 58. (59) Apud Uſſer. p. 818.

(60) A curious liſt of theſe "Dii proprii" may be ſeen in Bayeri addit. ad Selden. de Dis Syris, p. 167—168, and a not leſs curious catalogue of Chriſtian tutelar deities is in Ant. Maced. de Dis tutelaribus orbis chriſtiani Ulyſſipon. 1687. Folio.

(61) Totius Galliæ Apoſtolum ordinatum. Apud Surium. ad Oct. 9. p. 230.

(62) Apud Marian. c. 12, Baron. ad A. C. 816.

was concealed and placed in a boat, which at that inſtant miraculouſly offered itſelf; that, after failing far, it landed in Galicia, and the body from thence was tranſlated to Compoſtella. In virtue of theſe reliques, the Archbiſhop of Compoſtella in 1215, boldly claimed in the Lateran Council the prerogatives due to his See. The proof of the legend, through a monſtrous fiction, thus grounded and ſanctified by time, did not admit of particular exceptions, and therefore Ximenes, Primate of Toledo, took the ſhorteſt courſe with it, by peremptorily denying the arrival of St. James in Spain; and in this, after a lapſe of many centuries, he is ſupported by Baronius againſt Pope Leo. The Scots, in an (63) Apology to Pope Boniface VIII. give nearly the ſame account of the coming of the reliques of St. Andrew, their patron; this was in the reign of Ungus, and in the ninth century alſo. If the Iriſh had no other examples, France was ſufficient for their imitation, in conſtituting a tutelary deity for their Iſle; France was the aſylum of the learned Hibernians in the 9th age from the Daniſh tyranny. This conſideration well deſerves attention, but I rely more on written evidence, liable to no miſtake.

It is an undoubted fact, that St. Patrick is not mentioned by any author or in any work of veracity in the 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th centuries. In 858, we find his name and miracles in a (64) fragment of Nennius: this fragment is compoſed of the wildeſt incoherences and exactly in the ſtyle of the incredible fictions of that age. It ſeems to have been compiled from an Iriſh Legend, as in ſome places it refers to it. About 880, Herric of Auxerre, in his life of St. German, calls St. Patrick, "Hiberniæ peculiaris Apoſtolus," the proper apoſtle of Ireland, and at the ſame time he was inſerted in Uſuard's Martyrology. Theſe, I apprehend, are the firſt and oldeſt notices of our Patron Saint, for he was not heard of when Bede died in 735.

In Uſuard's and the Roman Martyrology, Biſhop Patrick of (65) Auvergne is placed at the 16th day of March, and on the ſame day the office of the Lateran Canons, approved by Pope Pius V. celebrates the feſtival of a Patrick the apoſtle of Ireland. The 17th of March is dedicated to Patrick, Biſhop of Nola. Had not Doctor Maurice then the beſt reaſons for ſuppoſing that Patricius Avernenſis ſunk a day lower in the Calendar and made for the Iriſh a Patricius Hibernenſis? This ſeems exactly to be the caſe. It is very extraordinary the 16th and 17th of March ſhould

(63) Uſſer. p. 340. According to Rous, St. George did not begin his patronage of England in 1180. Hiſt. reg. Angliæ, p. 142. Edit. Hearne. Matt. Weſtm. ad ann. 1301. Hect. Boeth. l. 6. for St. Audrew.

(64) Edit. Bertram, p. 92. (65) Uſſer. p. 897.

ſhould have three Patrick's, one of Auvergne, another of Ireland, and a third of Nola! The Antiquities of Glaſtonbury record three Patrick's, one of Auvergne, another Archbiſhop of Ireland, and a third an Abbat. The laſt, according to a Martyrology cited by Uſher, went on the miſſion to Ireland, A. D. 850, but was unſucceſsful; he returned and died at Glaſtonbury. If all that is now advanced be not a fardel of monkiſh fictions, which it certainly is, the laſt Patrick was the man who was beatified by the bigotted Anglo-Saxons, for his endeavours to bring the Iriſh to a conformity with the Romiſh Church. Camden remarks, "that as for Patrick's miracles I verily think that fabulous writers in ſucceeding ages amplified them and forged others, yea and might in that ignorant and credulous age affix upon him thoſe of St. Patrick of Bulgaria." This is fairly giving up the legend of St. Patrick as a fiction. I know nothing of Patrick of Bulgaria, but the Bulgarian Prince, Boger, and his people received Chriſtianity, A. D. 845. So that every circumſtance and inquiry ſeem to point out the 9th century as the preciſe time when a Patron Saint was beſtowed on Ireland.

St. Auguſtine, ſpeaking of the paſſions of Fructuoſius and Eulogius, (66) obſerves, "we are taught but only to worſhip God: for we ought not to be (67) ſuch as the Pagans are, whom we lament upon that very account, becauſe they worſhip dead men." In another (68) place he declares, even Angels are not to be adored, and that they would be highly diſpleaſed at being worſhipped. With ſuch ſentiments as theſe, and they were thoſe of the age aſcribed to St. Patrick, can we be ſurpriſed at Doctor Ryves denying the exiſtence of a Saint, whoſe hiſtory and miracles outrage credibility? Not one ſolid argument can be adduced from Calendars, Martyrologies or Iriſh Hagiography, that ſuch a perſon lived in the 5th century; but there are numberleſs ones drawn from the ſilence of writers in the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries, as well as direct and poſitive proofs of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Iriſh church being different from the Roman which he taught. Is it not then to be hoped and earneſtly wiſhed, from this impartial evidence and the authorities on which it is founded being thus fairly laid before the public, that no ſuch prayers as the following may be hereafter addreſſed to him or others deified by wretched mortals?

"O God, (69) who vouchſafed to ſend St. Patrick, a Confeſſor and Biſhop, to preach thy glory to Gentiles, grant to thoſe begotten by him through thy Goſpel in Jeſus

(66) Serm. 101. de Diverſis.

(67) Neque enim tales eſſe debemus quales paganos dolemus, & quidem illi mortuos homines colunt. Auguſt. ſupra.

(68) Tunc tibi iraſcitur Angelus, quando ipſum colere volueris. Auguſt. in Pſalm. 96.

(69) Offic. prop. S. Hiberniæ, in feſto S. Patric. p. 80, A. D. 1769.

Jeſus Chriſt, that remaining unmoveably in the doctrine which he delivered, we may be able through him to fulfil what thou commandeſt!" Nor this. (70) "Increaſe in us, O Lord, our belief of a reſurrection, thou who workeſt miracles by the reliques of thy Saints, Patrick, Bridget and Columba, and make us partakers of immortal glory, of which we adore the pledges in their aſhes!"

Such addreſſes to the Almighty and through ſuch mediators are profane and ſhocking mockeries. Where, it may be aſked, is the doctrine delivered by St. Patrick to be found? Certainly not in the Practice of the ancient Iriſh church. Columba and his Culdees, as I before ſhewed, differed widely in religious opinions from the Romaniſts, and yet he is joined with St. Patrick as if he held the ſame belief. St. Bridget is an imaginary Saint like Patrick. The Roman Catholics of Ireland are a liberal and enlightened people, nor is it poſſible they will be longer amuſed with fictitious legends, or pay their adoration to ideal perſonages. The night of ignorance and ſuperſtition is paſſed, and with it the ruſtic and undiſcerning piety of dark ages. A ſcriptural, rational and manly religion is alone calculated for their preſent improvements in ſcience and manners: this alone will eſtabliſh an empire in the heart of every thinking and well diſpoſed man, which no revolution will be able to ſhake.

Præteritæ veniam dabit ignorantia culpæ.

(70) Offic. prop. ſupra. de Invent. SS. Patric. Brigid. & Columb. p. 128.

ANECDOTES OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

WHEN mankind, in the middle ages, deſerted the ſimple, intelligible and holy Religion revealed in the inſpired writings, and adopted a compound, pagan and ſuperſtitious polytheiſm: when the merits of a redeeming Saviour were thought inſufficient without the mediatorial aid of deified mortals to procure ſalvation, very little could be urged in extenuation of ſo ominous a dereliction of chriſtian principles. But that ſomething muſt unavoidably be conceded to human infirmity and to converts, ignorant, barbarous, and emerging from idolatry, to long habits and ſtrong prepoſſeſſions, is the voice of reaſon, ſanctioned by ſacred hiſtory. This is a very different caſe from the former: the one was a vicious pruriency, ariſing from too proſperous a ſtate of chriſtianity; the other could not be remedied without the interpoſition of miraculous powers. Our firſt miſſioners therefore did as little violence as poſſible, to the prejudices of our Heathen anceſtors, in eſtabliſhing the Goſpel among them, and by judicious condeſcenſions gained their affections and attention. It muſt be confeſſed, they too frequently yielded more than could be juſtified: perhaps the cloud that obſcured Chriſtianity in thoſe ages prevented their ſeeing the criminality and danger of ſuch a conduct: or they might imagine they were not injuring its eſſentials, when they admitted ſome pagan practices as temporary expedients. Let this matter be as it may, when the firſt preachers of the Goſpel began their labours in this Iſle, they found an heathen Hierarchy every where exerciſing their offices in groves, caves, and ſtone-circles; at ſingle upright pillars, or amid the gloom of ponderous trilithons. Exiſting monuments authenticate this fact, and this fact and ſimilar ones open new proſpects of our Antiquities, intereſting, inſtructive and curious. The following, connected with my ſubject, may ſerve as a ſpecimen; for on this and every other ſubject much remains for the ingenuity and erudition of others.

The firſt chriſtian miſſioners ſucceeding the Druids, conſecrated the circuit of the grove anew to religion, and called it Doire, in Iriſh the Oak. Thus Columba (1) founded

(1) Archdall's Monaſt. Hib. p. 84.

founded in the 6th century, two celebrated monaſteries, one in the oaken grove in the town of Doire, after corrupted to Derry: the other at Doire-magh, or Durrow, the field of oaks, in the King's county. The names of other chriſtian churches, as Doire-macaidecain, Doire-mella, Doire-more, Dar-inis, Dar-neagh, Dore-Arda, Dore-Bruchais, Dore-Chaochain, Dore-Chuiſcrigh, Dore-dunchon, have the ſame origin. Others were named Kil-doire, Kil-derry, &c. literally the oaken church. Kil at firſt was in Iriſh a grave; but when relicks were introduced, then it expreſſed the tomb of the particular Saint, and in this our miſſioners adapted themſelves to the Druidic practice, and this Kil or tomb ſucceeded the—Secretum illud—that holy ſpot, the object of veneration. Hence Kildare, Kilabban, Kilbrige, Kilcatain; St. Alban's, St. Bridget's and St. Catain's churches.

Though Scythiſm had polluted the Celtic ritual, and aboliſhed moſt of its purer practices, it yet retained the greateſt reſpect for trees; they identified (2) them with their deities, and appropriated them to ſacred and civil purpoſes. The act of cutting or injuring them, incurred a ſevere (3) penalty. Some (4) archers, who in the 12th century deſtroyed the ſacred timber in the church-yard of Finglas near Dublin, were ſuppoſed to have died of an uncommon peſtilence. Thus our firſt preachers endeavoured to ſupplant the Druids and their grove-worſhip by erecting chriſtian edifices in oaken groves. A procedure more effectual than the (5) decrees of councils.

The holineſs of Caves was as firmly believed as that of Groves. In theſe the Druids (6) performed divine offices and taught their diſciples. Of theſe the Chriſtian miſſioners ſoon diſpoſſeſſed them. At Roſcarbury are ſome of theſe (7) ancient Caves, and there St. Fachnan very early founded a See and literary ſeminary. At (8) Liſmore is a Druidic Cave, and there was alſo a celebrated ſchool and Cathedral; and near the latter was the reſidence of an Anachoret from the remoteſt time. He was the genuine ſucceſſor of the Druidic Semnotheiſt. This name is given by (9) Diogenes Laertius to our Druidic aſcetics. Neither Caſaubon or Menage ſatisfactorily

(2) Arborem illam excidi oportere, quia eſſet dæmoni dedicata. S. Sev. vit. S. Martin. p. 320. Mallet, ſup. V. 2 p. 57. Barthol. ſup. p. 220.

(3) Taxus Sancti libram vaiet. Leg. Wall. p. 262. The Editor's note is: Sancto alicui dedicata Dubricio, Telao, quales apud Wallos in cœmiterio etiamnum, (A. D. 1730) frequentes viſuntur.

(4) Ea tempeſtate (about 1170) ſagittarii apud Finglas in arbores Sanctorum manibus per cœmeterium plantatas enormiter deſævientes, ſingulari peſte conſumpti. Gir. Camb. p. p. 1176.

(5) Lindenborg. p. 1357. Conc. Nann. c. 2. Burchard. l. 10. c. 1.

(6) Mel. l 3. c. 3. (7) Smith's Cork, V. 1. p. 267. (8) Smith's Waterford, p. 333.

(9) In procm. Edit. Menagii. Dickinſon, Delp. Phœn. p. 186. Sched. de Dis Germ. p. 423. Bruker, T. 1. p. 320.

factorily explain this word, and others are as unſucceſsful. Semnotheus ſeems to have been a ſolitary (10) religioniſt, who in a ſecret and devious cell gave himſelf up to the contemplation of heavenly things. The Druids were indebted to their abſtraction from the world (clam & diu, are Mela's words) for the reſpect and reverence in which they were held, and ſo were the Monks, who ſucceeded them. The veneration for the one was eaſily transferred to the other. The Druids called their retreats, (11) Cluain, which the Monks expreſſed by an equivalent word, Diſert from the Latin Diſertum. We have between ſeventy and eighty Cluains, Clones and Cloynes in Colgan and Archdall, and a great number of Diſerts, both prefixed to the names of churches; at once pointing out and preſerving to this day their origin.

A very remarkable inſtance occurs in France to corroborate what has been advanced. Felibien, (12) ſpeaking of the Caves under the church of Chartres, ſays:

Les grottes qui ſont ſous cette égliſe, & qu'on prétend avoir éſté commencées dans les temps que les Druydes y dedicērent un autel á une vierge qui devoit enfanter, ont preſque autant d'eſpace que l'égliſe haute, &c. The grand aſſembly of the Gauliſh and Britiſh Druids, according to Cæſar, was held "in finibus (13) Carnutum," probably at this very place, and over theſe Caves a Chriſtian church was erected.

In the compound religion, (as heretofore explained) profeſſed by the Druids, ſtone pillars, circles, and trilithons were temples: no ſtronger inſtance can be given of the Chriſtian coming directly into the place of the Pagan clergy than that of St. Iltut. In Brecknockſhire is Ty Ilhtud, or St. Iltut's cell. This was compoſed of three upright ſtones and an impoſt, forming an oblong ſquare of eight feet by four, and as many high. Here the Saint led an eremetic life. In this cell are nine different ſorts of croſſes, and yet the Editor of Camden very truly obſerves, that notwithſtanding theſe the cell was made in the time of paganiſm, and originally ſtood in a ſtone circle. His other ſacred ſtructure at Llan Iltut or Llantwit in Glamorganſhire, as the word (15) Llan imports, ſtood within a Druidic grove. The Scythic here added tothe Celtic ſuperſtition ſtone-pyramids, which are in the churchyard, and were after converted into croſſes. Here alſo St. Iltut had a (16) famed ſchool

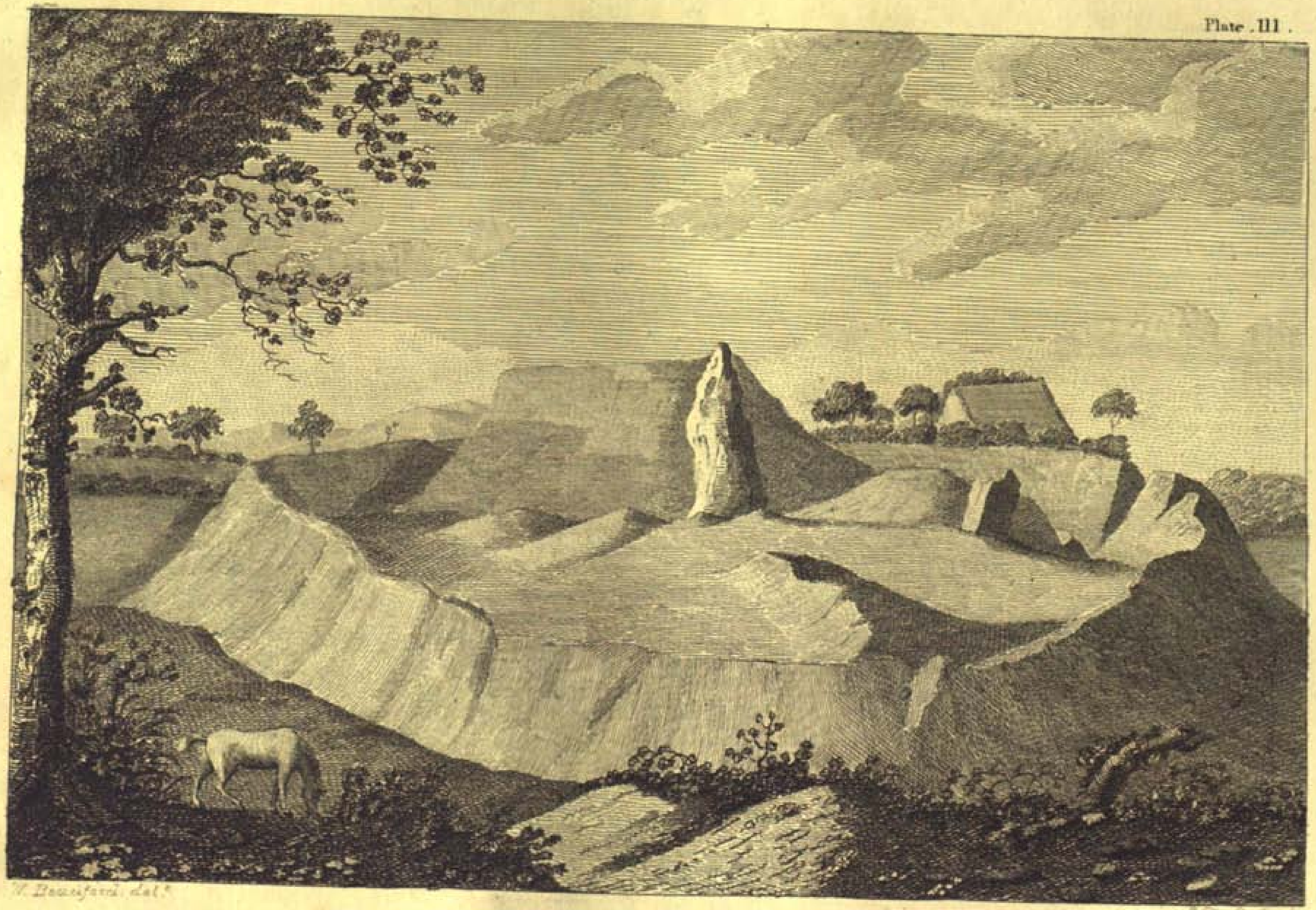
(10) Secreta & inacceſſa loca vocant Semna, Rhodog. p. 316. Suid. in Σεμνιον. Philo ſays: εκαλουν ἱερον εκκλησιαν ἀγιον ὁ καλουσι σεμνιον. De vit. theor.

(11) O'Brien in voce. (12) Recueil hiſtoriq. p. 189.

(13) In finibus Carnutum, conſidunt loco conſecrato. Cæſ. l. 6. (14) Camden in loco.

(15) Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 87. Colgan for Llans. (16) Uſſer. Prim. p. 492.

Plate . III .



W. Beauciford del.t

J. Davis Sculp.

SKIRK.

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ſchool in which the moſt eminent Welſh eccleſiaſtics received the rudiments of learning.

In Ireland things proceeded exactly as in Wales. Not far from the church of (17) Templebrien is a ſtone-circle with a central pyramidal pillar: near the church-yard is another pyramid, and not far diſtant a third. A few paces from the laſt, there is an artificial cave, probably, ſays Smith, a ſepulchre or the retreat of the Prieſt or Druid who belonged to the Pagan temple. Both might be true. The Highlanders ſay they are going to the (18) Clachans, meaning the ſtone-circle, when they are going to the Kirk or Church: an irrefragable living proof of the idea here purſued. Our Cloghar, which now (19) ſignifies a congregation, originally imported a ſtone, about which people met for religious duties: nor can there be any doubt but the natives ſaid they were going to the Cloghars as the Scotch to the Clachans. Our Antiquaries for want of better information, make hiſtories from etymologies. Thus of Clogher they have made (20) Clochor, or the golden-ſtone, with fictions too contemptible to be retailed. The church of Benachie in Scotland is built in a Druidic circle, not the effect of chance as the ingenious (21) Antiquary remarks, but of choice to allure the heathen inhabitants to chriſtianity. At Skirk, in the Queen's county, is a pagan fane, a view of which is here given. It is ſituated on a lofty hill, where the eye has an extenſive range, as Ci Erk contracted into Skirk intimates. Its area is ſurrounded with a deep intrenchment, and within it is a pyramidal ſtone ſix feet high, with the ſtumps of others which made the temple. Towards the Eaſt is a cromleach, and to the North an high keep or exploratory fort, and contiguous is the parochial church. The cuſtom of erecting churches on the ſite of heathen temples continued in Scotland to the 10th century: for Patrick, Biſhop of the Hebudes, deſires (22) Orlygus to found a church where he ſhould find three upright ſtones. Theſe pillars were preſerved by the firſt builders of churches: they (23) appear in England and Scotland. At the weſt end of the abbey of Downpatrick is a very high one, and another was in the abbey church of St. Thomas, Dublin.

(17) Smith's Cork, V. 2. p. 411.

(18) Archæologia, V. 2. p. 312. Shaw apud Pennant's tour in Scotland.

(19) O'Brien in voce. (20) Harris's Ware, p. 124.

(21) Cordiner's Views and Scenery, p. 34.

(22) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto. Scand. p. 15.

(23) Archæologia, V. 5. for Ruddon pillar, and for that of Ruthwell, Pennant's tour in Scotland. Bartholine gives a curious inſtance. Sup. p. 627.

A curious inſtance of the union of the Scythic and Druidic rituals occurs in (24) Holſtein; confirming and explaining what has been advanced. "At a place, called the Bride's-field, is a hill ſurrounded by a grove of oaks, and on it a cave or room made up of five uprights, and ſome ſmaller ſtones, and on them is laid an impoſt of great length and thickneſs; the lower part of which is ſmoother than the top, which in its middle has an excavation to ſerve as a chanel. The length of the room is ſeven feet, and its height three and an half. This is evidently our Cromleach. It is plain, ſays the writer, that this was formerly a place of worſhip and ſacrifice, for Wormius teaches us, ſuch were the Altars of the Cimbri and northern people. How untruly then does Cæſar (25) ſay, that the Germans had neither Druids or ſacrifices, when great numbers of places, ſimilar to this now mentioned, occur every where at this day. So that Glareanus, in his notes, had good reaſon to correct and charge him with negligence."

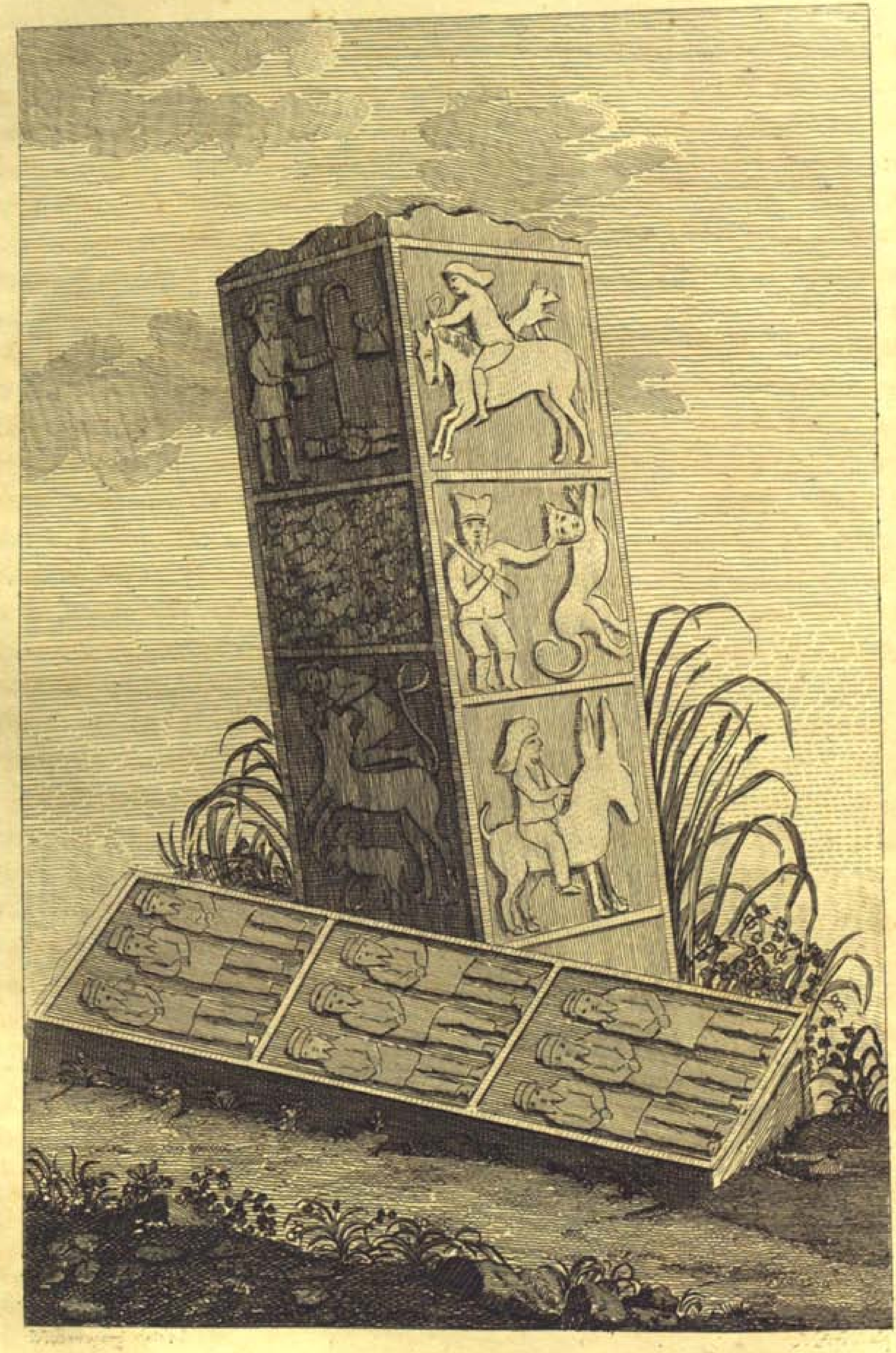
But, continues our author, you will inquire perhaps, what ſort of gentile ſuperſtition was practiſed in this grove? If any inference can be drawn from the name, Bride's-field, it is not unlikely but that the newly married reſorted there with their offerings, vows and ſupplications for future happineſs: for as Servius on Virgil obſerves: no marriage, or ploughing of ground was undertaken until the ſacrifices were firſt offered. So great was the veneration for theſe groves, that no one viſited them without leaving a preſent.—Thus far this author, and in other parts of the laſt cited work, Leibnitz, Sperling, and other German antiquaries clearly perceive the difference between Celtic and Scythic practices, as well as the mixture of both in many exiſting monuments.

In the early ages of Chriſtianity, churches were not common, the Biſhop and Clergy reſided together in Cathedra, which was the epiſcopal ſee, and where afterwards a cathedral church was conſtructed. This was founded on the ruins of ſome celebrated pagan temple, as that (26) of Kil-dare in a Druidic grove, that of Derry is the ſame, thoſe of Roſcarbury and Liſmore near Druidic caves and Cloghar in a Druidic ſtone-circle. The caſe was the ſame with every ancient ſee in Ireland, but time

(24) Nov. liter. maris Baltici. Sep. 1699, p. 287, 288.

(25) Quam falſo igitur de Germanis eorumque vicinis borealibus J. Cæſar dixerit, neque Druides habent, neque ſacraficiis ſtudent. Nov. lit. ſup. See alſo Nov. liter. Jul. 1700, p. 194. There was found in a barrow a knife, with a Runic inſcription, ſhewing it was uſed in ſacrificing to Thor. Other inſtances of Scythic monuments in Druidic groves may be ſeen in this work.

(26) Hanmer, from the legend, ſays: "Bridget builded a Cell for her abode under a goodly faire oke, which afterwards grew to be a monaſterie of virgins, called Cylldara, in Latin, cella quercus." Sup. p. 45.



FIGURES *on a* STONE CROSS *at* KILCULLEN,

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time has deprived us of documents to authenticate it. The converts having no (27) fixed chapels or paſtors, the latter were ſent to inſtruct them occaſionally, and the place of meeting was always where ſuch aſſemblies were uſually held in times of paganiſm, at upright pyramidal ſtones or in ſtone-circles. Theſe upright ſtones were, by an eaſy operation of carving a (28) croſs on them, changed from an heathen to a chriſtian ſymbol; and they ſerved for churches among the Saxons in 740, as a (29) Britiſh miſſioner informs us, and among the Iriſh, as is evident from what has been related.

We have in this iſland an infinite variety of croſſes, one of great rudeneſs, and another elegantly deſigned and executed I ſhall now lay before the reader. The firſt here given is the ſhaft of a croſs at old Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare. The ſtyle is groteſque and very uncommon in this kingdom, and in a great meaſure was confined to the Daniſh ages. The nine figures in three compartments, ſimilarly dreſſed, are eccleſiaſtics. They have bonnets, tunics and trowſers, and the faſhion of their beards is ſingular. In another compartment a clergyman holds the croſier and part of the epiſcopal garments of a prelate who lies dead. The figures in the other compartments are groteſque. On comparing them with thoſe at Adderbury church, at Grymbald's crypt, and particularly with the carved ſtones in Roſſhire, at Neig, and with others given by the ingenious Mr. Cordiner in his remarkable ruins in Scotland, all of them the work of the Daniſh ages, a perfect reſemblance of ſtyle will be found between them. I therefore conjecture they are coeval or nearly ſo with the round Towe at Kilcullen, and that theſe figures were carved about the 10th century.

The other ornamented croſs is at (30) Clonmacnois. The ſtone is fifteen feet high, and ſtands near the weſtern door of Teampull Mac Diarmuid. Over the Northern door of this church are three figures: the middle St. Patrick in pontificalibus, the other two St. Francis and St. Dominic in the habits of their Orders. Below theſe are portraits of the ſame three Saints and Odo, and on the fillet is this inſcription: "Dous Odo Decanus Cluanm. fierit fecit." Maſter Odo, Dean of Clonmacnois cauſed this to be made. This inſcription refers to Dean Odo's re-edifying the church, and muſt have been about the year 1280, when the Dominicans and

(27) Stillingfleet's ecc. caſes, paſſ.

(28) Campbell's polit. Survey. ſup. p. 591. Pennant's Tour in Scotland.

(29) Sanctæ crucis ſignum ad commodam divinæ orationis ſedulitatem ſolent habere. Pereg. Willabal. apud Canis. Antiq. Lect. T. 4. p. 286. Ridley's view of the Civ. and Ecc. Law. p. 277.

(30) Ware's Biſhops, in Clonmacnois. An erroneous account of theſe remains is given in the laſt edition of Camden, in King's County.

and (31) Franciſcans were ſettled here and held in the higheſt eſteem, as new Orders of extraordinary holineſs. The figures on this Croſs are commemorative of St. Kiaran and this laudable act of the Dean. Its eaſtern ſide, like the others, is divided into compartments. Its center, or head and arms, exhibit St. Kiaran at full length, being the Patron of Clonmacnois. In one hand he holds an hammer, and in the other a mallet, expreſſing his deſcent, his father being a Carpenter. Near him are three men and a dog dancing, and in the arms are eight men more, and above the Saint is the portrait of Dean Odo. The men are the artificers employed by Odo, who ſhow their joy for the honour done to their patron. On the ſhaft are two men, one ſtripping the other of his old garments, alluding to the new repairs. Under theſe are two ſoldiers, with their ſwords ready to defend the church and religion. Next are Adam and Eve and the tree of life, and beneath an imperfect Iriſh inſcription. On the pedeſtal are equeſtrian and chariot ſports. On the North ſide is a pauper carrying a child, indicating the Chriſtian virtue, Charity. Below theſe a ſhepherd plays on his pipe, and under him is an eccleſiaſtic ſitting in a chair, holding a teacher's ferula, on the top of which is an owl, the ſymbol of Wiſdom, and its end reſts on a beaſt, denoting Ignorance. The other ſides are finely adorned with lozenge net-work, nebule mouldings, roſes and flowers.

But the accommodating ſpirit of our miſſioners is no where more apparent that at Kildare, where they eſtabliſhed a female monkiſh order in the place of the heathen Druideſſes, who preſerved from the remoteſt ages the inextinguiſhable fire. This (32) element was adored by the Celtes and Scythians, and by the Iriſh, as is well known from their celebrated Feſtival of (33) Bel-tein. All fires (34) with us were to be extinguiſhed until this was lighted. We are not told how this holy flame was excited in Ireland, but the manner differed in Scotland and Scandinavia. In the laſt, flints were uſed, and they are found about all the old Altars (35) there. In Scotland they rubbed (36) planks together till they blazed. This fire was kept from

(31) Burke. Hib. Dominic. c. 2.

(32) Galli, Viridomaro rege, Romana arma Vulcano promiſerant, Flor. l. 2. c. 4. Gentilis religio eſt, ſive quis ſolem, lunam, ignem coluerit. Leg. Canut. apud Lindenbrog. p. 1473. Spelman. Conc. p. 449—500, et Capit. Karoli. paſſim.

(33) Macpherſon's Introd. p. 172.

(34) Non accenderetur nec videretur ignis donec prius in Themoria rogus accenderetur: Uſſer. p. 849. Walſh's proſpect, p. 430.

(35) Rarum eſt ſi hic ignibus excutiendis aptos ſilices non invenias. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 7.

(36) Martin's Weſtern Iſlands, p. 113.

STONE CROSS at CLONMACNOIS.

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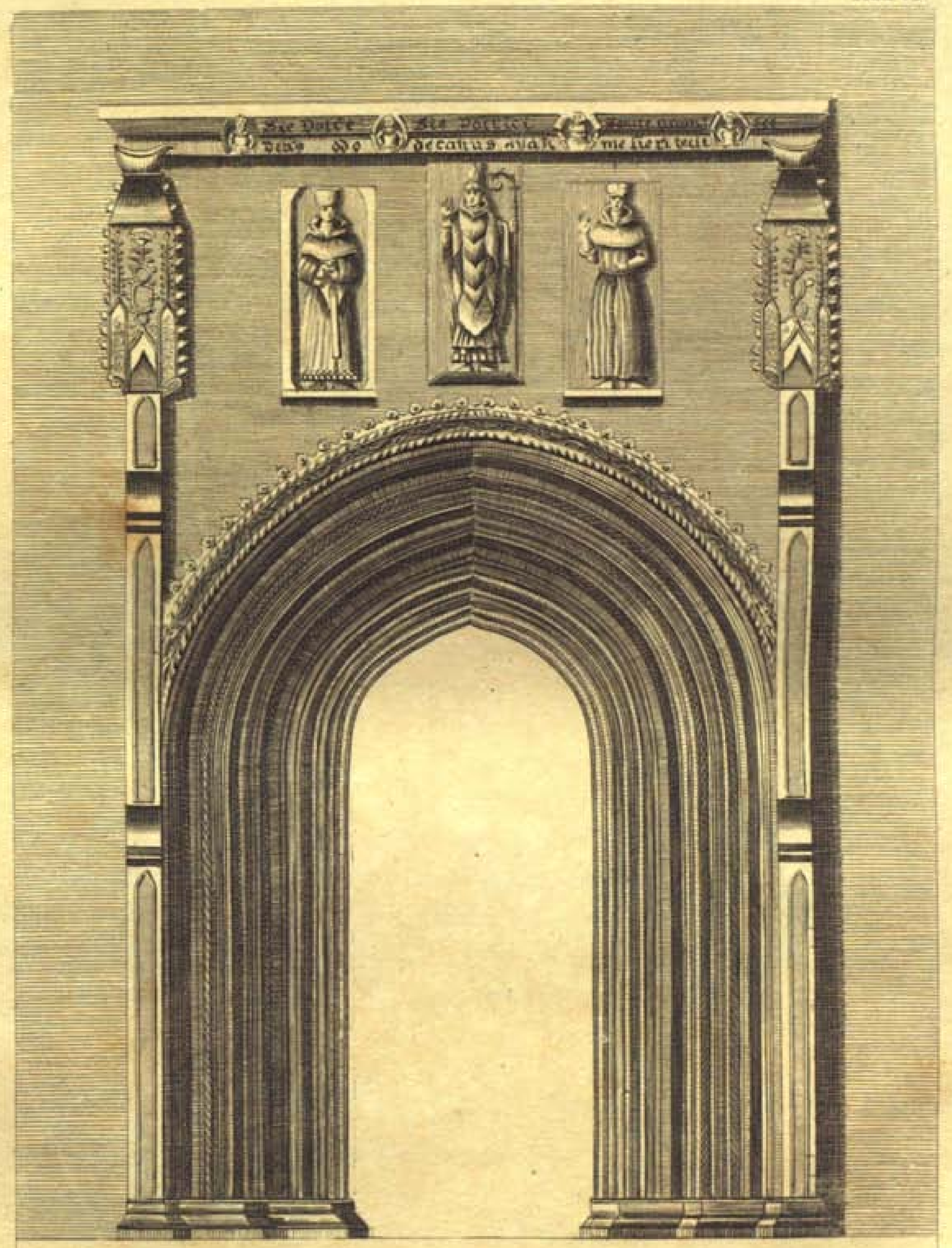

NORTH DOOR of TEMPLE Mc DERMOT at CLONMACNOIS.

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from ſcattering by (37) iron curbs and was perpetual. Altars, ſays the Edda, were made and covered with iron, in which was kept the extinguiſhable fire.

Cæſar and Tacitus are full on the predictive and ſacred qualities of the German women; Velleda, a Druideſs, was long looked up to by them as a deity. The Northerns (38) called them Alirunæ, and in (39) Iriſh Alarunaighe is the wiſe man acquainted with ſecrets. Keyſler, in the work laſt cited, has collected ſome curious particulars reſpecting theſe women: they wore a particular dreſs and we may readily ſuppoſe were the predeceſſors of the Nuns at Kildare. St. Brigit, we are told, planted the latter there, and entruſted to their care the holy fire. This, as the legend informs us, though conſtantly ſupplied with fuel yet (40) never increaſed in aſhes. The fire was ſurrounded with a wattled orbicular fence, within which no male preſumed to enter. To keep this fire free from human pollution, it was never to be (41) blown with the mouth, but with Vans or Bellows. The parallel is too exact to leave any doubt of the origin of this holy fire. The ruins of a building are at preſent ſhown at Kildare, and called the Fire-Houſe, where, it is ſaid, the ſacred flame was preſerved; but in this inſtance, I believe tradition erroneous, for from the foregoing account it would have been a profanation of the holy element to confine it within walls. It is now time to cloſe theſe enquiries how curious and amuſing ſoever: this ſpecimen is ſufficient to prove, that there are views of our Antiquities hitherto unnoticed, and which merit (42) inveſtigation.

When Proſper (43) in his corrupt and interpolated Chronicle tells us under the year 430, that Palladius was the firſt Biſhop ſent by Pope Celeſtine to the believing Scots, he evidently allows there were chriſtians in Ireland antecedent to that miſſion. If ſo, had they no biſhops? They certainly had, for epiſcopacy is coeval with chriſtianity, but theſe biſhops did not acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Roman pontiff, as we ſhall ſoon ſee; the believing Iriſh were therefore thoſe who were attached to

(37) Ferro ſuperne inveſtitæ, ne igni, qui ibi perennis eſſe debuit, laederetur. Worm. ſupra. Barthol. p. 273.

(38) Keyſler. Antiq. Septen. Selec. p. 371. Sched. p. 430. (39) O'Brien in voc.

(40) Cum tanta lignorum ſtrues, tanto in tempore ſit hic conſumpta, nunquam tamen cinis excrevit. Gir. Cambrens. p. 279.

(41) Non oris flatu, ſed ſoliibus tantum et ventilabris. Gir. Camb. ſupra.

(42) I wiſh I had room to enlarge, I can only hint that our oldeſt and moſt curious Antiquities may be thus explained. At Innis Murray is a ſtone pillar, formerly an eminent deity and greatly venerated, and cloſe to it Druidic cells. The chriſtian Monks ſurrounded the whole with a wall, and built chapels contiguous to them. See Camden in Sligo, laſt edition, and plate 43. Fig. 13—14.

(43) Hammond's Vind. of Epiſcopacy, p. 160. Baſnage ad Canis. Antiq. Lect. V. 1. p. 252. Uſſer. p. 793. Cave. Hiſt. Lit. p. 248. Voſs. de Hiſt. Lat. p. 215.

to the papal ſee, for the diffident Iriſh had abundance of biſhops among them. What was the ſucceſs of Palladius in Ireland? It is briefly this, as recorded by Uſher. He arrives in Ireland with four aſſociates, bringing with him the books of the old and new teſtament, the reliques of the apoſtles Peter and Paul and others: he erects three wooden churches; is unſucceſsful, withdraws to Scotland, and there dies. Why were his labours to ſo little effect and his ſtay ſo ſhort? Nennius dryly obſerves, that no man can receive any thing upon earth, unleſs it be given him from heaven. Probus remarks the Iriſh were wild and barbarous, and would not receive the doctrine of Palladius. Joceline ſays, becauſe they would not believe his preaching but moſt obſtinately oppoſed him, he departed their country. Theſe are ſilly evaſions of the truth: Palladius was an intruder into a church which was complete and independent; it would not liſten to his foreign commiſſion, or obey an extra-national juriſdiction, and therefore it (44) rejected the Pope and his delegate, and this is the tenour of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory to the 12th century.

It has before been ſeen what little neceſſity there was for the Pope to ſend miſſioners to Ireland, where a regular hierarchy had been long ſettled. The neceſſity was juſt the ſame for ſending Auſtin to England, where was a numerous and learned clergy, and ſo reſpectable as to occupy ſeats in all the continental councils in the 5th century. This clergy would, after the firſt fury of conqueſt had ſubſided, have eaſily converted the Anglo-Saxons, but not ſubjected them to papal ſupremacy. Hence the uniform language of Romiſh writers in every age is, to call that people barbarous and that nation pagan which did not implicitly yield to their luſt of wealth and power. Thus Biſhop Laurence, in Bede tells us, Pope Gregory ſent him and Auſtin to preach the Goſpel in Britain, as if it never before had there been heard, whereas the latter met ſeven Britiſh Biſhops who nobly oppoſed him. In like manner Pope Adrian commiſſioned Henry II. to enlarge the bounds of the church, and plant the faith in Ireland, when it had already been evangelized for eight hundred years. The faith to be planted was (45) blind ſubmiſſion to Rome, and the annual payment of Peter's pence.

Until the emiſſaries of Rome began to tamper with our eccleſiaſtics, very little is recorded of our church-policy: the few hints ſcattered in authors of various ages, and

(44) An old writer aſſures us he was put to death by the pagan Scots of Albany. Uſſer. p. 814. It is likely he ſuffered in his zeal for Rome.

(45) Ad ſubdendum illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda et de ſingulis domibus annuam unius denarii B. Petro ſolvere penſionem. Uſſer. Syllog. p. 110. Very remarkable words to ſhow the chriſtianity of that age.

and here collected, evince a ſcheme very different from the Roman and nearly approaching that of the oriental. But no plan could be deviſed that would not in ſome meaſure be modified by the political conſtitution and municipal laws of each country, and this was particularly ſo in Ireland. This iſland in the 6th century was divided into four provinces, over each of which a Biſhop, as Metropolitan but without any ſuch title, preſided. Thus Adamnan in his life of Columba mentions Columbanus as (46) Biſhop of Leinſter, and in the year 1096, Ferdomnach was Biſhop of (47) the ſame. Not a word of Armagh, its Biſhop or primacy appears in this large work of Adamnan, which is the more extraordinary, as he was a powerful inſtrument in perverting the Iriſh from their original faith to that of Rome. "He endeavoured, ſays Bede, to bring his own people who were in the Iſle of Hy, or who were ſubject to that monaſtery, into the way of truth, which he had learned and embraced with all his heart, but could not prevail. Not ſucceeding with the Albanian clergy he ſailed over into Ireland, and there preaching, modeſtly declared the legal time of Eaſter, reduced many of them and almoſt all who were exempt from the dominion of Hy to the catholic unity. Returning to Hy after celebrating the catholic Eaſter in Ireland, and moſt earneſtly recommending it to his Monks, yet without being able to prevail, he departed this life." Would a man, ſo much in earneſt as Bede here repreſents Adamnan to have been, omit to urge the conduct of St. Patrick and his ſucceſſors at Armagh ſo oppoſite to that of the heretical Iriſh? Or would Bede himſelf have ſo ſlightly paſſed over this matter when reciting the merits of Adamnan, when both of them dwell on the obſcure actions of obſcure Iriſh Monks ſolely from their devotion to the Roman ſee? It is abſolutely aſſerting meridional light to be nocturnal darkneſs to maintain the exiſtence, miſſion or primacy of St. Patrick: nor is it leſs incredible and abſurd to affirm Armagh was the head of the Iriſh Church. Where is the evidence? In monkiſh legends of late invention and fabrication, which no one believes. In the conteſt between Talbot and Mac Mahon before referred to, the latter in his very firſt page, tells us from theſe fabulous chronicles, that an angel ordered St. Patrick to betake himſelf to Armagh, and there build a cathedral church: that the ſame angelic monitor directed him to Rome, and there pointed out what reliques he ſhould procure and carry back: that he ſelected a cloth ſtained with the blood of Chriſt, part of the Virgin's hair, the reliques of Peter, Paul, Stephen, Laurence, and others. In virtue of theſe reliques, Armagh became

(46) Vit. Sanct. Scotiæ, a Pinkerton. p. 167.

(47) Uſſer. Syllog. p. 93.

became the Metropolitan church. "The (48) prime ſee of Ireland is ſaid to be at Armagh in honour of the bleſſed Patrick and other national Saints, whoſe ſacred reliques reſt there." Here an intelligent writer and good ſcholar knew nothing of Armagh but from report. The adoration (49) of reliques, gave riſe to ſacred ſtructures for their reception, and in Ireland to our cryptical chapels: theſe were the works of the Oſtmen in the 9th century, after their converſion to chriſtianity. At this very time the name of St. Patrick firſt appeared, and at this time the Oſtmen were in poſſeſſion of Ireland and of Armagh in (50) particular, and now his reliques were placed there. Theſe facts and dates moſt exactly agree, and therefore I conjecture, and I think on good grounds, that the chriſtian Oſtmen who ſeized the old (51) Culdean Abbey at Armagh, in imitation of others of that age, procured reliques and fixt on St. Patrick as their owner, then had a flaming legend compoſed, ſetting forth the wonderful life, actions, and miracles of the new Saint. To turn this tale to ſome profitable account the law of St. Patrick was added and firſt promulgated in Munſter in the ſame (52) century; which law was the (53) Caane Phadruig, or penſion claimed by the prelates of Armagh by metropolitical right as ſucceſſors of St. Patrick. The religious tenets of the Oſtmen were different from thoſe of the Iriſh, ſo that we need not be ſurpriſed at the deſtruction of our churches and clergy by theſe ſemi-pagans. To confirm what is advanced, we have no authentic account of the primacy of Armagh before 1122, when the Clergy and Citizens of Dublin tell Ralph, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that the Biſhop, who (54) reſided at Armagh, harboured the greateſt reſentment and indignation againſt them for ſending to him Gregory to be conſecrated. A new proof this of the attachment of the Iriſh Oſtmen to the religion of their Norman brethren. As for Lanfranc's letter to Domnald, Biſhop of Ireland, in the Collection laſt cited, Uſher confeſſes it is not in Lanfranc's genuine epiſtles, but in the ſpurious works of that infamous forger, Iſidore Mercator, another broacher of novelties in the 9th century.

By the canons of the (55) Greek church in the 3d century, every province had a prime biſhop inveſted with and exerciſing metropolitical power. With us they changed

(48) Ardemachiæ eſſe dicitur prima ſedes Hiberniæ, propter honorem B. Patricii atque aliorum indigenarum Sanctorum, quorum ibidem ſacræ reliquiæ requieſcunt. Guil. Neubrig. l. 3. c. 9.

(49) Hoſpinian. de templis, p. 37.

(50) Waræi Diſquiſ. p. 126.

(51) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 19.

(52) Ware's Biſhops, p. 44.

(53) Juſ. Primat. Armac. p. 166.

(54) Maxime ille epiſcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ. Uſſer. Syllog. p. 100.

(55) Can. Apoſt. c. 35. Johnſon in loco.

(56) changed and multiplied biſhops at pleaſure, and not contented with placing a biſhop over a ſee, almoſt every church had its biſhop. Anſelm complains, (57) that our biſhops were every where elected, and ordained without a title and by but one biſhop inſtead of three. The number of biſhops in the early Iriſh church was prodigious, conſidering the extent of the Iſle. I ſhall firſt eſtabliſh the fact, and next endeavour to account for it. No objection can be made to what St. Bernard and Anſelm deliver on this head, but the truth of it does not depend on their teſtimony alone. Virgil and ſeven Iriſh biſhops emigrated to (58) Germany together in the middle of the 8th century. In the 7th they ſwarmed in Britain, as may be ſeen in Bede: in that kingdom not three could be found to ordain Wilfrid, a Romaniſt, all the reſt being of Iriſh conſecration, communion and almoſt natives of our Iſle. In 670, Theodore Archbiſhop of Canterbury decreed that they who were conſecrated by Iriſh or Britiſh biſhops, ſhould be confirmed anew by a Catholic one. The 5th canon of the council of Cealc-hythe in 816, requires "that none of Iriſh extraction be permitted to uſurp to himſelf the ſacred miniſtry in any one's dioceſe, nor let it be allowed ſuch an one to touch any thing which belongs to thoſe of the holy order, nor to receive any thing from them in baptiſm, or in the celebration of the maſs, or that they adminiſter the euchariſt to the people, becauſe we are not certain how, or by whom they were ordained. We know how it is enjoined in the canons, that no biſhop or preſbyter invade the pariſh of another without the biſhop's conſent, ſo much the rather ſhould we refuſe to receive the ſacred miniſtrations from other nations, where there is no ſuch order as that of metropolitans, nor any regard paid to other orders." By metropolitans is here meant an hierarchy on the plan of the Roman, with its incident titles, which we had not. Can there be a more deciſive argument againſt the exiſtence, miſſion and primacy of St. Patrick; or a ſtronger proof that his legend was not yet compoſed, than this canon? Would the Anglo-Saxon clergy, the devoted ſlaves of Rome, have thus abjured the ſpiritual children of that ſee, had our pretended Apoſtle been a Roman miſſioner? they never would. This canon ſhews they were acquainted with the conſtitution of our church, the number and zeal of our biſhops and the danger that awaited them. The fears of the Saxons were communicated to the continental clergy. The 42d canon of Chalons in 813, forbids certain Iriſhmen who gave themſelves out to be

(56) Mutabantur et multiplicantur epiſcopi pro libitu Metropolitani, ita ut unus epiſcopatus uno non eſſet contentus, ſed ſingulæ pene eccleſiæ ſingulos haberent epiſcopos. S. Bernard, vit. Malach, p. 1937.

(57) Epiſcopos in terra veſtra paſſim eligi, & ſine certo epiſcopatûs loco, & ab uno epiſcopo ordinari. Uſſer. Syllog. p. 96.

(58) Uſſer. Syllog. p. 51.

biſhops, to ordain prieſts or deacons without the conſent of the ordinary. The ſame year the council of Aix la Chapelle obſerves, that in ſome places there were Iriſh who called themſelves (59) biſhops, and ordained many improper perſons, without the conſent of their Lords or of the Magiſtrates. Theſe alarms could only be excited by the number of Iriſh biſhops in every part of Europe in theſe ages. Though we have abundant proofs of this fact in foreign literary memorials, I know of but one domeſtic document which confirms it and clearly explains to us the nature of our ancient epiſcopacy. This very curious and authentic record is preſerved in Wilkins's councils, and is thus: "A. D. 1216. Conſtitutions made in the cathedral church of St. Peter and St. Paul of Newtown near Athunry by Simon Rochfort, by the Grace of God, Biſhop of Meath: Cardinal Paparo, Legate of the ſovereign Pontiff, Eugenius III. having directed in the third general council held at Kells in Meath, in the year 1152, among other ſalutary canons, that on the death of a Chorepiſcopus or village-biſhop, or of biſhops who poſſeſſed ſmall ſees in Ireland, Archipreſbyters or rural Deans ſhould be appointed by the Dioceſans to ſucceed them, who ſhould ſuperintend the clergy and laity, in their reſpective diſtricts, and that each of their ſees ſhould be erected into a rural deanery. We, in obedience to ſuch regulation, do conſtitute and appoint, that in the churches of Athunry, Kells, Slane, Skrine and Dunſhaghlin, being heretofore biſhop's ſees in Meath, ſhall hereafter be the heads of rural deaneries, with Archipreſbyters perſonally reſident therein." Here we have a full and clear developement of the ſtate of our ancient hierarchy, and a confirmation of what has been delivered. Ireland was full of chorepiſcopi, village or rural biſhops. In Meath were (60) Clonard, Duleek, Kells, Trim, Ardbraccan, Dunſhaghlin, Slane, Foure, Skrine, Mullingar, Loughſeedy, Athunry, Ardnurchor and Ballyloughort. In Dublin were Swords, Luſk, Finglas, Newcaſtle, Tawney, Salmon-leap, or Leixlip, Bray, Wicklow, Arklow, Ballymore, Clondalkin, Tallaght and O'Murthy, which included the rural deaneries of Caſtledermot and Athy. Theſe were all rural deaneries, and of courſe rural Sees before the year 1152: however the tranſmutation of one into the other proceeded ſlowly, for by Biſhop Rochfort's conſtitutions before, we find it was far from being completed in the 13th century. If the number of rural deaneries at their firſt erection and afterwards in conſequence of Paparo's regulation could be diſcovered from records in the Vatican or elſewhere, it would give us the number of our

(59) Uſſer. Syllog. ſupra. Conc. Cabill. c. 43. Cyron and Gonſalez. apud Sarnelli.
(60) Ware's Biſhops, p. 138.

our rural ſees. The rural deaneries in the common dioceſan regiſters are not correct, or I might eaſily have adduced them. Our Biſhops, I ſuppoſe, might have amounted to above three hundred. Our ignorant (61) legendary writers to account for this number had recourſe to the fable of St. Patrick's ordaining three hundred and fifty, or ſixty five.

There is not a circumſtance in our eccleſiaſtical polity more ſtrongly indicative of an eaſtern origin than that now related. For (62) Salmaſius has evinced the apoſtolic practice to be, to place biſhops in every rural church, and in cities more than one. Hence the firſt obtained the name of (63) Chorepiſcopus. St. Baſil, in the 4th century had (64) fifty of theſe rural Biſhops in his dioceſe, which was probably one for each church. By the ancient diſcipline the extention of Chriſtianity depended on their multiplication, for to them alone the great offices of religion were (65) confined; they alone could execute them, and they alone preached in the African church to the 5th century. As the epiſcopal dignity was leſſened in the public eſteem by the number of village-Biſhops, their ordination was reſtrained by the Antiochian, Ancyran and other canons; in the Laodicean council their name was (66) changed from Chorepiſcopus to Periodeutes, or Viſitor-itinerant, he was to be a prieſt and to have the inſpection of a certain number of churches and clergymen: thus giving him ſome diſtinction to ſave appearances and prevent oppoſition. The Archipreſbyter in the Roman church was nearly ſuch an officer as the Periodeutes. About the time of the Norman (67) conqueſt the Archipreſbyter was called a rural dean. At this period, an old writer informs us, the (68) See of Canterbury had a Chorepiſcopus, who dwelt in the church of St. Martin without Canterbury. On the arrival of Lanfranc he was turned out, as we have heard the others were throughout England. As a municipal law, ſoon to be noticed, hindered the operation of the canons here; and as no foreign power had as yet interfered, like the Anglo-Saxons and Normans in England, either to compel us to ſubmiſſion or conformity to them, we continued to preſerve that plan of epiſcopacy delivered to us and ſettled by our firſt preachers of the Goſpel, and which at length was moſt reluctantly relinquiſhed.

The

(61) Nennius. Colgan. ſup. 432. (62) Apparat. de Primat. 54—55.
(63) Non τῶν χωρῶν ſed τῶν χωρίων epiſcopi. non regionum ſed vicorum. Suicer. Theſ. ecc. in voc. χωρεπισκοποι.
(64) Greg. Naz. car. 2. There were above 500 Sees in the ſix African provinces. Bingham. B. 9. c. 8. Appendix.
(65) Poſid vit. Auguſt. c. 8. Tertull. de baptis. c. 17. Conc. Arlet. c. 19. Leonis. Epiſt. 92.
(66) Can. Laod. 57. (67) Stillingfleet's ecc. caſes. V. 1. ſupra.
(68) Ger. Dorob. hiſt. pontif. ecc. Cant.

The oriental practice of hereditary succeſſion was firmly eſtabliſhed in the Iriſh church; St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, thus complains of it. "A moſt pernicious cuſtom had gained ſtrength by the diabolical ambition of ſome men in power, who poſſeſſed themſelves of biſhopricks by hereditary ſucceſſion; nor did they ſuffer any to be put in election for them but ſuch as were of their own tribe or family. And this kind of execrable ſucceſſion made no ſmall progreſs: for fifteen generations had paſſed over in this miſchievous cuſtom. And ſo far had this wicked and adulterous generation confirmed itſelf in this untoward privilege, that although it ſometimes happened, that clergymen of their family failing, yet Biſhops of it never failed. In fine, eight married men and not in orders, though men of learning, were predeceſſors of Celſus in Armagh." To which I add, that Columba, founder of the celebrated Culdean monaſtery of Hy, being of the (69) Tyrconnallian blood, the Abbots his ſucceſſors were of the ſame race. The firſt twenty ſeven biſhops of (70) Roſcarbury were of the family of St. Fachnan, its firſt prelate. Hereditary ſucceſſion became a fixt municipal law, and pervaded church and ſtate. And hence the ſtruggle in the ſee of Armagh, to which Malachy O Morgair was appointed in 1129, to the excluſion of the old family; which was proving nearly fatal to Malachy, and called forth the warm reſentment of St. Bernard his friend. On the whole it may ſafely be affirmed, that (71) every mother-church, and there were none others in early ages, had a biſhop: that inferior toparchs and ſmall towns, as Dublin confined to a few acres within its walls, erected ſees; add to theſe the number generated, if I may ſo ſay, by the exerciſe of metropolitical power, altogether made ſo many of the epiſcopal order as would be, if not ſo well authenticated, utterly incredible. When once a ſee was formed, vanity and ambition perpetuated it, nor was any power, not even the papal able to diveſt the Sept of the patronage of or to diſſolve it. Thus after the conſolidation of Glendaloch with Dublin in 1152 and 1179, the Tooles, the original proprietaries, ſtill retained the title and preſentation to 1497. Our chorepiſcopi or archipreſbyters were married, as the other clerical orders were to the 12th century: about that time the Romaniſts called them (72) Corbes, an opprobrious name, as if they indulged in inceſt and lewdneſs, and to this St. Bernard refers, when he ſays they were a wicked and adulterous generation.

Lanfranc,

(69) Uſſer. Prim. p. 689. Ogyf. vind. p. 134. O'Brien's Dic. p. 360. (70) Archdall in loco.
(71) Bingham gives one and ſuggeſts other inſtances. B. IX. c. 8. §. and § 6, where he cites Kennet and Wharton.
(72) O'Brien, in Corba. See ſome ridiculous etymologies of the name in Harris's Ware, p. 232.

Lanfranc, in 1100, remonſtrated with our Monarch Mortogh on ſome defects in our eccleſiaſtical dicipline; one was that biſhops were not canonically elected by the Metropolitan and his Biſhops, but by the Sept, for that is his meaning, as it is explained by St. Bernard, who tells us, none were permitted to be put in election but one of the ſame family. This was a conſequence of hereditary ſucceſſion which admitted no foreign interference. Though I know of no documents to prove how far our provincial biſhops carried their rights, I think it likely they were commenſurate with thoſe of our provincial Monarchs, of whoſe family they always were. If the life of Kentigern deſerves credit, we have in it the ancient manner of electing and ordaining a biſhop among us. This ſaint lived in great abſtinence, until (73) the King, Clergy, and people of Galloway in Scotland elected him for their biſhop. Sending for a ſingle biſhop out of Ireland, they cauſed him to be conſecrated after the cuſtom then uſual among the Britons and Iriſh, which was to pour the ſacred chriſm on his head, with invocation of the holy ſpirit, benediction and impoſition of hands. Theſe acts were primitive, except the chriſmation, which an (74) eminent Roman catholic writer aſſerts to have been no part of the office in the firſt ages. So that we have the greateſt reaſon to be on our guard when reading theſe lives of ſaints, they having been (75) newly dreſſed up in the 12th century, by men devoted to Rome. Conſecration by but one biſhop was common in the firſt ages of chriſtianity, but after forbidden by the 4th Nicene canon. The many inſtances already, and hereafter to be produced, muſt eſtabliſh the veracity of the opinion inſiſted on in theſe pages, of our reception of the goſpel from eaſtern miſſioners or their diſciples.

From what ſource aroſe the revenues of our clergy is not eaſy to diſcover. St. Bernard and Giraldus Cambrenſis declare the Iriſh did not pay tithes. If the fact was ſo, and there are grounds to believe it, then the clergy were ſupported by oblations, which for a long time they (76) received in lieu of tithes: theſe were ſo large that Agobard obſerves, "the devotion of perſons in the firſt ages was ſo great, that there was no need to make laws or canons for the ſupplies of churches, they being amply provided for by the liberality of the people." Included in oblations were firſt-fruits, which were paid in the early ages of chriſtianity: as to altarage, mortuary and obventions they ſeem to have been at length introduced into the Iriſh as into other churches. The whole eccleſiaſtical revenue to a late period was divided in

(73) Rex & Clerus regionis Cambrenſis cum cæteris chriſtianis, "licet perpauci eſſent." Pinkerton. Vit. 1. Scot. p. 232. Here though there were very few chriſtians they yet would have a Biſhop.

(74) Hubert. obſerv. in pontif. græc. p. 386.

(75) Boland. ad 17 Martii.

(76) Tanquam decimas ex fructibus. Cyprian. Epiſt. 64. Chryſoſtom. hom. 86. in Matt. Poſſid. vit. Auguſt. c. 13.

(77) four parts; one went to the biſhop, another to the clergy, a third to the poor, and a fourth ſupported the fabric of the church and other uſes. This four-fold partition prevailed generally in Ireland, and exiſts at this day in the dioceſe of (78) Clonfert. Moſt of our ancient ſees were deambulatory, having neither Cathedrals, Deans or Chapters: ſuch is Meath at preſent, and ſuch is Kilmore, except the addition of a Dean in 1458. Our pariſhes had their beginning with the ſuppreſſion of our chorepiſcopal Sees in 1152; as the annihilation of the latter was not effected in the 13th century, as appears by Biſhop Rochfort's conſtitutions before, the parochial diviſion of dioceſes was late before it was finally ſettled.

Whoever will take the trouble to examine the account of our ancient Sees and Biſhops in Harris's edition of Ware's Biſhops, will ſee abundant reaſon to be diſſatisfied with it. Theſe writers obſerve, in ſpeaking of Meath, "that there are but ſlender memoirs remaining of the ſucceſſors of St. Finian in the See of Clonard until the arrival of the Engliſh in Ireland." Now Meath was always the moſt open, fertile and beſt inhabited part of Ireland, and of courſe the people moſt civilized; and Clonard was not only the oldeſt See, being founded in 520, but continued an epiſcopal church to 1152. Under theſe circumſtances we might expect accurate eccleſiaſtical records of the poſſeſſions and privileges of this church; the names and ſucceſſion of its Biſhops, along with other intereſting hiſtorical notices: but as nothing of this ſort has ſurvived the ruins of time, we may be certain a ſimilar fate attended our other ſees. Here then is a darkneſs which no induſtry, ingenuity or learning can ever enlighten. There was indeed the ſhadow but not the reality of a civil and eccleſiaſtical government in this iſle, but no public records relative to the adminiſtration of either were kept, becauſe no rude people ever had ſuch. When men in the progreſs of ſociety have written laws and ſubmit to them, then and not before public documents became neceſſary and are preſerved. Our Brehons, our Seanachies and a few Monkiſh annals, of little authority, were almoſt our only vouchers for the hiſtory and tranſactions of remote ages. Domeſtic diſſenſions and a petty warfare, not to mention foreign invaſions, were perpetually extinguiſhing and creating our Sees. As their revenues were mean and their political conſequence nothing, they ſhared the viciſſitudes of civil affairs without particular obſervation. This concifely and truly was the exact ſituation of our ancient biſhopricks, and the unavailing labours of Ware and Harris evince it to have

(77) Stillingfleet, ſup. p. 171. (78) Ware's Biſhops, p. 619.

have been ſo. Neither of them ſeems to have entered into the ſpirit, or to have even a tolerable idea of our original epiſcopacy: nor had Primate Uſher, for if they had, I can conceive no reaſon why they ſhould have concealed it from public view. It reflected not the ſmalleſt diſgrace on the firſt preachers of chriſtianity in Ireland to have promulgated ſuch doctrines and eſtabliſhed ſuch diſcipline here as prevailed univerſally. To reduce the latter to its preſent ſtandard was the work of many revolving centuries: I am neither ignorant of its defects, or an apologiſt for its imperfections; but imperfect and erroneous as it was, it vaſtly ſurpaſſed that ſyſtem which ſucceeded it, and thoſe ſlaves of intolerance and ſuperſtition who directed it.

OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF MONACHISM IN IRELAND.

MONACHISM, a faithful tranſcript from an (1) Egyptian original, was early cultivated in this iſle. When Athanaſius retreated from the fury of the Arians, in 347, he carried with him to Rome the praiſes and inſtitutions of the Egyptian Monks, and exhauſted his zeal and eloquence in proclaiming the celeſtial felicity of the aſcetic life. With its progreſs on the continent, I am but little concerned: it might be expected that countries evangelized by Greek miſſioners, would eagerly embrace a diſcipline ſo earneſtly recommended by a Greek Father. Accordingly in Gaul we find it made ſo rapid a progreſs, that in the year of Chriſt 400, two thouſand monks from the vicinity of Tours attended the (2) funeral of Saint Martin. Egypt poured out her ſwarms to preach a new doctrine to the chriſtian world: they particularly ſettled in the ſmall iſle of (3) Lerins, on the ſouthern coaſt of Gaul, and from thence propagated their inſtitutes over weſtern Europe. There were monaſteries among the Britons, wherein human learning was well underſtood. At Glaſtonbury the (4) Egyptian plan was followed. The Bangorian monks adopted the rule (5) of St. Baſil, as did the (6) ſeminaries of Dubricius, Congel, and Columba. The Abbé Mac Geoghegan thinks our rules were Oriental. "Il y (7) a apparence que les moines d'Irlande s'étoient choiſi des regles particulieres qu'ils avoient apportées du Levant des regles de S. Antoine, de S. Pachome ou de S. Baſile, ou peut-être celles de ces fameux ſolitaires du mont Carmel ou de la Thebaïde, ce qui n'eſt pas ſans quelque vraiſemblance." In the laſt century it had been aſſerted, that all our antient Engliſh monks were of the order of St. Equitius. Sir Robert Cotton,

(1) This is proved by La Croze. Hiſt. du Chriſtian. des Indes. p. 433. The ingenious Mr. Gibbon did not conſult this writer, who would have opened up the origin of monkery better than Helyot or Thomaſin. Roman Hiſt. c. 37.

(2) Qui eo die fere duo millia conveniſſe dicuntur. S. Sever. ep. ad Baſs. p. 372.

(3) Hæc nunc habet ſanctos ſenes illos, qui e diverſis cellulis Ægyptios patres noſtris Galliis intulere, ſays Eucherius, Biſhop of Lyons, with ſome pride. This was in the 5th Cent.

(4) Uſſer. Prim. p. 110. (5) Tanner's Notitia. Preface.

(6) Spelman, p. 25. Pits. de vir. ill. Twiſden's riſe of monaſtic ſtates. p. 36.

(7) Hiſt. d'Irlande. T. 1. p. 275.

ton, Sir Henry Spelman, William Camden and John Selden were appealed to, who drew up a certificate, wherein they declared, that previous to the coming of Auguſtine in 597, the (8) Egyptian rule was only in uſe.

As we and the Britons received our faith from the Eaſt, ſo we did Monachiſm. The latter muſt have taken deep root in this iſle in the 5th, for it flouriſhed greatly in the 6th century in the perſons and monaſteries of Columba, Congel and Carthag. In Cumineus's and Adamnan's (9) lives of the firſt we in vain look for his monaſtic rule, the names and ſituations of his numerous foundations, the peculiarities which diſtinguiſhed his from other Orders, and many other intereſting particulars which would enable us to aſcertain the ſtate of monkery at this time. Inſtead of theſe we are preſented in Adamnan's three books, with nothing but the common legendary and irreligious abſurdities. In the firſt are Columba's prophecies, in the ſecond his miracles, and in the third his angelical apparitions. If ever he writ a life of our Cœnobiarch, it has been worked up by ſome of the infamous forgers of ſuch things in the (10) twelfth century, an era fruitful of ſuch impoſtures. The preſent has many internal proofs of being ſuppoſititious. He never mentions the ſentiments of Columba or his Culdees on the points diſputed between them and Rome, as Bede does, nor his dying command to his diſciples to continue Quartadecimans. It is an heap of credulity and ſuperſtition.

The oriental monks were divided into three claſſes, the Cœnobites, Anachorets and Sarabaites. The firſt conſtituted a community, attended ſtudy and ſpiritual exerciſes, laboured for their ſupport and were ruled by a preſident named Abbat. Imitating the pattern of the Jewiſh diſcipline, by which all ſynagogues had (11) ſchools, and in which our Redeemer diſputed at twelve years of age, ſo our Abbies or Monaſteries were places of devotion and letters. Their heads, as among the Jews, were ſtiled Abbats. Thus in Samuel it is aſked, Who is their Abba or Father? This the Targum of Jonathan interprets by, Who is their Doctor or Teacher? Hence moſt of our ancient Prelates are called (12) Abbats and Doctors. After a monk had proved his ſincerity, obedience, and prudence, he was permitted to be an Anachoret, to abſtract himſelf from his ſociety to a ſeparate cell and remote ſolitude. Furſeus, ſays Bede, had a brother named Ultan, who after a long monaſtical proba-

(8) Qui Ægyptiorum mores ſecuti. Reyner. Apoſt. Benedic. p. 202.
(9) S. Scot. a Pinkerton. Lond. 1788. (10) Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh poetry. V. 1. Sec. 1.
(11) Selden. de Succeſſ. Hoornbeek. Miſc. Sac. p. 560. (12) Ware's Biſhops, paſs.

tion arrived at an (13) anachoretical life. Theſe hermits retreated to deſert iſlands, wild and bleak mountains, and, as at Glendaloch, hollowed living rocks for cells. The fame of their auſterities and miracles attracted numbers, villages were formed in improbable and unlikely places, and buildings and civility were promoted. The Sarabaites were, as to exterior, monks, but confined to no rules, nor attached to any community. They are noticed in our (14) Canons. If St. Patrick (15) lived at the time it is pretended, and if he founded monaſteries as is aſſerted, would not the "monks of the order of St. Patrick" have been mentioned by ſome ancient writer, and would not his rule have been univerſal throughout the iſle? The inferior orders of Columba, Congel and Carthag would never have ſwallowed up and annihilated every remembrance of that given by our great apoſtle had it ever exiſted.

Very little is recorded of Carthag. It is (16) ſaid he was abbat of Ratheny in Weſtmeath, where he governed more than eight hundred monks, who led a life of great ſeverity and mortification. He died in 637. Congel was one of Columba's diſciples, and had a monaſtery and flouriſhing ſchool at (17) Bangor, on the ſouth ſide of Carricfergus bay, in the county of Down. "This was a noble foundation," ſays St. Bernard, "containing many thouſand monks. So fruitful was it in holy men, and multiplying ſo greatly to the Lord, that Luanus alone, a ſcholar of this houſe, founded not leſs than a hundred monaſteries." Columbanus was an eleve of this ſchool. His rule has been publiſhed by Holſtein, and is divided into ten titles.

1. "Of Obedience." It is aſked what are the bounds of obedience. The anſwer is, it extends even to (18) death. The true diſciples of Chriſt are to refuſe nothing, let it be ever ſo arduous or difficult. It is evident mental and corporeal bondage was coeval with monachiſm, and this is the language of Baſil, Palladius, and Caſſian.

2. "Of Silence." The (19) Egyptians, and from them the Pythagoreans enjoined five years ſilence to thoſe who were admitted into their ſacred myſteries.

This

(13) Bed. l. 3. c. 19. Finanus, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis irreprehenſibiliter ducebat. Adamnan. vit. Columb. p. 98.

(14) Can. S. Pat. c. 21. Synod. c. 3. Opuſc. S. Patr. p. 36—42.

(15) Creſſy ſpeaks of St. Patrick's monaſtic inſtitutes, but where are they recorded? If not in the works aſcribed to him, which I ſhall prove are ſuppoſititious, they are no where to be found. Theſe inſtitutes are, like their author, creatures of imagination. For Creſſy to affirm, p. 356, Columba's rule was a rivulet from St. Patrick's, is a ſhameful impoſition and want of truth.

(16) Ware's Biſhops, p. 548. (17) Uſſer. p. 441—869—911. S. Bernard ſup. p. 1934.

(18) Uſque ad mortem definitur, uſque ad mortem certe præcepta eſt.

(19) Admiſſus tandem in contubernium quinquennii ſilentium ὡς χαλεπωτατην ἀσκησιν injungebant. Holſtein. ad vit. Pythag. Caſaub. Exerc. in Baron. 16. Bruker. T. 2. p. 1029.

This was their celebrated Echemythia, which the chriſtian aſcetics zealouſly imitated.

3. " Of Meat and Drink." He allows herbs, pulſe, meal, bread baked under embers, in a word, food barely (20) ſufficient for ſuſtenance. The ſtrict faſts of the Iriſh were on Wedneſday and Friday, and in this they conformed rather to the Greek than the Roman cuſtom, and on theſe days, Bede teſtifies, the Culdees did not eat till three in the afternoon. In ſevere abſtinence they kept cloſe to the (21) Egyptian original, and that to the time of the (22) Norman invaſion.

4. " Of Poverty and ſubduing Concupiſcence." The monks, bidding adieu to the world and all its concerns, gave themſelves up (23) to an holy life, and the contemplation of divine things, and embraced a voluntary poverty. But as it was impoſſible to eradicate the human paſſions, and entirely to take away a languiſhing for the deſirable things of this world, which is here termed (24) Concupiſcence, they are directed to attend to inward emotions and ſubdue them. To be always intent, ſay the Egyptian prieſts, on the knowledge and inſpiration of God is the certain way to place a man beyond immoderate cupidity, to reſtrain mental paſſions and to make him intuitive. Nakedneſs and a contempt of wealth, ſays our rule, are the excellencies of a monk. The ſecond is the purgation of vices; and the laſt and moſt perfect is the continued love of God.

5. " Of conquering our Vanity."

6. " Of Chaſtity." The Egyptian prieſts would not bear the intercourſe of their (25) neareſt friends, during the time of their purification, nor did they ever aſſociate with females. The rigid chaſtity of the Egyptian aſcetics was introduced into Ireland: let Archbiſhop Comyn ſpeak for us in 1186. " Since the (26) clergy of Ireland, among other virtues, have been always eminent for their chaſtity, and that it would be ignominious if they ſhould be corrupted through our negligence, by the foul contagion of ſtrangers." The ſtrangers here were the debauched Normans, his countrymen.

7. " Of

(20) Vivitur pane, leguminibus & oleribus, quæ ſolo ſale condiuntur. Hieron. ad Euſtoch.

(21) Διαιτα δε λιτη αφιλητε αρτοις μεν και αλαι χρωμενοι, λιτωτητα επιτηδευσαν, &c. Porphyr. de abſtin. l. 4. p. 150—151, of the Egyptian Prieſts.

(22) Ware's Biſhops, p. 439.

(23) This Porphyry elegantly expreſſes. Απιστωμενοι δε παραν αλλην εργασιαν και παις αισθησεσιν, φιλοσοφειλον την βιον την των θειων θεωριαν. Sup. p. 149.

(24) Porphyry here uſes Πλεονεξια as the Stoics did Προπαθεια & Παθος. His Συνεσις is a word of peculiar force.

(25) Porphyr. ſup. p. 150—152. (26) Gir. Cambrens. Expug. L. 2. c. 25. Ware's Biſhops, p. 317.

7. "Of the courſe of the Pſalms." In thoſe times each Abbat gave particular offices of prayers, pſalms and hymns to the religious of his monaſtery. Theſe in the Weſt were called Curſus, by the Greeks Liturgiæ. Columbanus preſcribes, that his monks ſhall meet together three times in the night, and as often in the day: that in the office in the day, they ſhall ſay three pſalms and other prayers: that the night-office is to be ſhortened or lengthened according to the ſeaſon of the year: that from October to February they muſt ſay in the ordinary office of the night, thirty-ſix pſalms and twelve anthems at three ſeveral times; and in the reſt of the year twenty-four pſalms only with eight anthems, but for Saturday and Sunday nights, the office is to be made up of ſeventy-five pſalms and twenty-five anthems in winter, which number is to be augmented or leſſened as the nights increaſe or decreaſe.

In (27) Pſalmody-iſle, in the dioceſe of Niſmes, was a monaſtery founded by Corbella, a Syrian monk, about the end of the 4th century, where was obſerved a "Laus perennis," a perpetual pſalmody. The great promoters of monkery are quite rapturous and bombaſtic in their praiſes of ſinging. A pſalm, ſays (28) St. Baſil, baniſhes dæmons, procures angelic protection, is a ſhield amid nightly terrors, a ſecurity to infants, the ornament of youth, the comfort of old age; and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Thus powerfully recommended, it was warmly cultivated by our aſcetics.

8. "Of Diſcretion."

9. "Of Mortification."

10. "Of the Diverſity of Faults." This is a code of monaſtic crimes and puniſhments; and called a Penitential. This ſpecimen of our ancient monkiſh diſcipline will be ſufficient to gratify the reader's curioſity. Of Columbanus I muſt obſerve, that when Theoderic or Theodobert II. king of the Franks, Bertefrid Biſhop of Amiens, Hildulph Biſhop of Triers, and Leodobod Abbot of St. Anian, erected their different abbies, they inſerted in their charters that their monks ſhould follow the rules of Columbanus and Benedict; not that (29) they were the ſame, but as from both an excellent body of monaſtic diſcipline might be framed.

There were in Ireland other celebrated Cœnobiarchs, from whoſe ſchools iſſued incredible numbers of monks and hermits: theſe diſperſed themſelves over the country,

(27) Burney's Hiſtory of Muſic. V. 1. p. 9. (28) Hom. 1. in pſalm. p. 125.

(29) Non quod una eademque eſſet utriuſque regula, ſed quod Columbani ſectatores, majoris profectûs ergo; duas illas celeberrimas aſceticæ vitæ normas conjunxiſſent. Uſſer. p. 1052.

country, nor was there an (30) iſle on our ſurrounding coaſts where an aſcetic might not be found. This phrenzy in favour of monkery equally affected the Laity, who thought they could perform no acts more meritorious than beſtowing on thoſe religious large poſſeſſions. Bede, in his epiſtle to Ecgbriht, laments the profuſeneſs of kings and others in theſe endowments, and wiſely foreſaw the ill conſequences of it. He knew, that when the fervour of piety, which prompted to this generoſity, ſubſided, leſs liberal motives would induce their deſcendants to repoſſeſs themſelves of eſtates thus inconſiderately alienated. This was in the 8th century. He ſpoke from experience; for it (31) appears by the 5th of Wihtred's laws in 692, by the 7th anſwer of Ecgbriht in 734, and by the 5th of Cuthbert's canons, that many opulent monaſteries were in the hands of laymen, as being heirs to the donors, or by direct temporal right, as being founded out of their eſtates. About the year 730 Charles Martel converted eccleſiaſtical into lay fiefs, on which the new poſſeſſors took the ſtyle of (32) Abbacomites. The Oſtmen did the ſame in (33) Ireland, a few years after. Theſe Lay-abbots were common in (34) Ireland and Wales in the 12th century. Giraldus Cambrenſis, who acquaints us with this fact, did not ſcrutinize their origin, and therefore miſtakes it.

The monks, the faithful ſatellites of Rome, firſt betrayed our ancient religion, and finally ſubjected our church to a foreign Biſhop. The ſucceſs of the Roman miſſioners in the 7th century, in eſtabliſhing papal doctrines among the Anglo-Saxons, and the repeated victories of the latter over the Britons, ſeemed to countenance an opinion zealouſly propagated, that the religion they had embraced was the favourite one of heaven. Similar notions found their way into Ireland. The addreſſes of Biſhop Laurence of Canterbury, of Pope Honorius and others, with a fondneſs for innovation always conſequent on refinement in learning, with perhaps many unknown cauſes, operated ſtrongly on our ancient monks and made them too eaſily relinquiſh their old doctrines. Adamnan, Abbot of Hy, as Bede tells us, by his preaching brought over moſt of the ſouthern monks to Rome, except thoſe under the dominion of Hy. If the latter were, as Cummian confeſſes, the (35) heads and eyes of the nation, the moſt enlightened eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom,

(30) See Martin's Weſtern Iſlands, paſs. (31) Wilkins. ſub Ann. (32) Du Cange, in voce.

(33) Jus Prim. Armac. p. 166—147.

(34) Notandum autem, quod hæc eccleſia, ſicut & aliæ per Hiberniam & Walliam plures, Abbatem laicum habet. Itiner. Camb. p. 863.

(35) Vos enim eſtis capita & oculi populi, ſup. p. 48.

Adamnan's conqueſt over the ignorant and bigotted was not much to be boaſted of or envied.

Among other ſuperſtitions we ſee that of reliques was introduced, but corruption was powerfully retarded by the firmneſs of the Hierarchy and the Culdees. The latter were looked up to as the depoſitories of the original national faith, and were moſt highly reſpected by the people for their ſanctity and learning. Add to this the impenetrable barrier in the alliance between the church and ſtate to Roman machinations. The Iriſh princes and their great lords would not ſurrender willingly to any earthly power the patronage of ſees or beneſices endowed out of their eſtates; nor would any Clan ſubmit to the innovation. But the Oſtman power and in conſequence the debilitated ſtate of the Iriſh monarchy opened new and flattering proſpects to the ſovereign Pontiff and his watchful emiſſaries. As they were not able by reaſoning to reclaim the diſſident Iriſh, they quickly reſorted to ſtronger arguments. Auguſtine ſhowed how far his papal injunctions extended, when he excited Ethelbert, King of Kent, to (36) ſlaughter the Britiſh biſhops, who ſtood up for their ancient liberties. In 684, the ſame party urged Egfrid, King of Northumberland, to ſend his General Beohrt into Ireland, "who miſerably waſted that harmleſs nation," ſays (37) Bede, "which had always been moſt friendly to the Engliſh; inſomuch that their hoſtile rage ſpared not even the churches or monaſteries. To the utmoſt of their power they repelled force with force, and implored the aſſiſtance of the divine mercy, and prayed continually to be revenged. Nor did they pray in vain, for Egfrid fell the next year by the hands of the Picts." Bede, as a man of virtue and humanity, does not attempt to apologize for, or palliate this bloody outrage, and as a man of letters he abhorred it, well remembering the hoſpitable aſylum Ireland afforded to the great numbers of Engliſh who flocked thither for inſtruction. At the ſame time, Aldhelm (38) prevailed on Ina to make war on Gerontius, King of Cornwall, becauſe his Britiſh ſubjects would not embrace the Romiſh doctrines. When the Oſtmen received the faith in the 9th century, it was not that profeſſed by the Iriſh but by the Anglo-Saxons. If they did not arrive here chriſtians, which I think probable, they liſtened to our apoſtate monks alone; for all others they maſſacred or put to flight and eraſed the foundations of their religious ſtructures.

This

(36) Ex Beda & Hen. Hunt. colligere eſt, Auguſtinum monachum excitaſſe Ethelbertum adverſus Britonum Epiſcopos, quod illi pro vetere libertate Britannica renuerent ſe ſuaſque eccleſias Romano legato ſubdere. Uſſer. de lib. ecc. Brit. ſup. p. 118.

(37) Vaſtavit miſere gentem innoxiam & nationi Anglorum ſemper amiciſſimam. Lib. 4. c. 26.

(38) Creſſy, ſup. p. 523.

This cruel conduct of these bigotted semi-pagans has never been observed, though the fact is indisputable; for these same Ostmen would not suffer their Bishops to be ordained by the (39) Irish, but sent them to Canterbury. It was these Ostmen who first introduced a foreign order, the (40) Benedictine, into this isle: they first erected stone-roofed crypts and round towers for superstitious uses, and forced on a reluctant people all the corruptions of Rome. Their submission to Canterbury first suggested to the English princes the acquisition of Ireland through the donation of the Pope, an event, which however human wisdom might then and for ages after deplore, the inscrutable providence of God designed for the final happiness of the Isle. Crowded as she is at this day with inhabitants, enjoying all the comforts and security of just laws and mild government, and advancing rapidly in wealth and civil improvement, she has great reason to adore the Author of such blessings, and by steady virtue and loyalty endeavour to preserve them.

Another proof of the furious rage of the Ostmen against our ancient national religion, is the thick cloud of ignorance which immediately followed. We have before seen that the most enlightened clergy were those who adhered to their original faith: when such bright stars as Claudius, Sedulius and Johannes Scotus Erigena disappeared, it is no wonder darkness succeeded. There were none to oppose the worship of images, or transubstantiation, or to give the genuine meaning of holy writ, to teach the learned languages or to cultivate philosophy. Our renegade monks found out other and more profitable employment in proclaiming the virtues of reliques, of litanies and processions, in prayers for the dead, and in composing the lives of Saints, in deifying miserable mortals, and dedicating sacred edifices to them. The Culdees never placed their (41) churches under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or any Saint, but of the holy Trinity. Spelman mentions (42) his having a Psalter, written about 754, with a prayer annexed to the end of many of the psalms: that there were 171 such prayers, yet not one of them addressed to the Virgin Mary, the Apostles or other inferior Saints. This evinces how late it was before Saint-worship was received in England. St. Austin uses very strong expressions against such (43) dedications, thereby declaring the sentiments of the christian church in his age. For the present I must omit many particulars respecting the monastic

(39) Jus Prim. Armac. p. 105. (40) Archdall. p. 132.

(41) Dalrymple's Collec. for Scotland. p. 248. Constantine dedicated his churches to God. Sosom. l. 2. c. 3. The legends report the same of St. Patrick. Hanmer, p. 43.

(42) Conc. V. 1. p. 219.

(43) Nonne, si templum alicui sancto Angelo excellentissimo de lignis & lapidibus faceremus, anathematizaremur a veritate Christi & ab ecclesia Dei; quoniam creaturis eam exhiberemus servitutem quæ uni tantum debetur Deo. Con. Max. August. De. Civ. dei. l. 22. c. 10.

naſtic ſtate of Ireland, to lay before the reader a curious old Catalogue of Iriſh Saints preſerved by (44) Primate Uſher. It is an ipitome of our ancient hiſtory, and extremely valuable. It is to be lamented that he did not take more pains in illuſtrating it.

" The firſt order of catholic Saints," ſays that writer, " began in the time of St. Patrick; all of them illuſtrious and holy, and filled with the holy ſpirit, the founders of many churches, and in number 350. They had one head, who was Chriſt, one leader who was St. Patrick, and one tonſure from ear to ear. They had one Maſs, one celebration and one Eaſter, the 14th of the month after the vernal equinox. Whoever was anathematized by one church was ſo by all. They did not reject the attendance and company of women, becauſe being founded on Chriſt their rock, they did not fear the wind of temptation, all theſe were Roman, French, Britiſh and Iriſh Biſhops. They continued for four reigns, from the year 433 to 534 : this order was the holieſt."

1. They had one head, who was Chriſt, and one leader who was Patrick. Theſe words prove the writer of this catalogue lived about the 12th century, when the legend of St. Patrick was implicitly acquieſced in, and when critical examinations of hagiography were ſo far from being common, that the lives of Saints were the favourite compoſitions of the age. The writer was one of the old religion, this I infer with certainty by his placing Chriſt as the head, and St. Patrick as the leader of the Iriſh church; whereas had he been devoted to Rome, the Pope would have been preferred to either.

2. All the Saints of this claſs were biſhops; their number 350. This, though it alludes to the biſhops conſecrated by St. Patrick, confirms what was before advanced of the primitive ſtate of our hierarchy. There can be no doubt but theſe firſt biſhops were French, Britiſh and Iriſh; but I know of no Roman.

3. They had one tonſure from ear to ear. This rite, like the other monkiſh ones, was derived from Egypt, the fruitful land of ſuperſtition and idolatry. St. Jerome, who flouriſhed in 380, ſeverely cenſures thoſe whoſe heads were ſhaven like the miniſters of Iſis and Serapis. Herodotus (45) tells us, the Egyptian prieſts every third day ſhaved themſelves as part of their religion. From them the (46) Jews adopted the cuſtom. The form and efficacy of tonſure as a ſacred rite was received

(44) Primord. p. 913.

(45) Lib. c. 30. The circular tonſure was uſed by the Arabians in honour of their prime deity. Herod. l. 3. c. 8. And therefore forbidden in Levit. 19. 27. See a remarkable place in Baruch. 6. 30. Cuper. Harpocrat. p. 275.

(46) Numb. 8. 7. Lev. 10. 6. 21. 10.

ceived but a few years (47) prior to the age of Gregory of Tours, who lived A. D. 570. Gregory Nazienzen about 363 writes thus. "All I have ſeen brings to my remembrance your watchings, your faſtings, your prayers, your (48) hair cut ſhort and neglected." Directions for trimming the long hair of eccleſiaſtics are to be found in the early Fathers, but this was merely in regard of decency, though after, under the ſanction of the Nazarites, this regulation came to be conſidered as an indiſpenſable characteriſtic of the prieſthood. St. Jerome never dreamed of its divinity, and his words are (49) very remarkable. Even (50) Bede, though an advocate for papal ceremonies and rites, acknowledges all were not ſhorn alike; that form adds he, was preferred, which it is reported St. Peter uſed, reſembling a crown of thorns. The (51) Britiſh and Iriſh tonſure, (for theſe nations were weak enough to adopt this ſilly cuſtom) was by their enemies ſtyled Simon Magus's tonſure; it, as may be collected from Ceolfrid's letter in Bede, took in the front half orb of the head, going from ear to ear. This was the eaſtern mode as is evident by (52) Theodore's waiting four months to let his hair grow for making the Roman circular tonſure: coming from Cilicia in Aſia it was the oriental tonſure he had.

4. They had one Maſs, one Celebration and one Eaſter. By Maſs is meant the liturgy, before ſpoken of, delivered by the diſciples of the Apoſtles to the Gallic converts, and by them to the Britons and Iriſh. Our orthodox author ſaw and lamented the corruptions of popery in her numberleſs maſſes for Saints, the dead, and ſuch like. The ſcriptural ſimplicity of our firſt Curſus or Liturgy, and the bleſſed Trinity the great objects adored therein, formed a contraſt with the Romiſh Maſſes very painful to a religious mind.

Celebration or rather (53) celebrity, may either refer to the feſtivals, in which ſenſe celebration is uſed by Cicero, or to the manner of adminiſtering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which I rather think. For in this there was great diverſity among Chriſtians: ſome (54) received the Euchariſt twice a day, at ſun-riſe and in the evening. At ſun-riſe they took (55) water inſtead of wine. Some faſted, others did not. In many churches the communicants took the bread from the prieſt

(47) Richardſon, ſup. 288. (48) Hom. 12. (49) Oper. T. 3. p. 1029. Edit. Bened.
(50) Lib. 5. c. 21. Marſham. propyl. ad Monaſt. Anglic.
(51) Hi (Scoti) Aſiaticarum eccleſiarum exempla atque authoritatem obtendebant. Langhorn p. 213.
(52) Bed. l. 4. c. 1. (53) Iſid. Orig. l. 6. c. 18. (54) S. Auguſt. Epiſt. 118. c. 4.
(55) Cyprian. Epiſt. 63. In England the ſacrament was given ſometimes in ale, and at others in water. Wilkins Concil. c. 6. A. D. 1076.

in their hands, in others it was put into their mouths. Formerly, ſays (56) Rupertus Tuitenſis, writing in 1135, Maſs was not celebrated with ſo much external pomp and ceremony: nor was it holier than before, when the words of Chriſt and the Lord's prayer were only uſed. So late as 1076, ale and water were given in (57) England inſtead of wine. Uſher has (58) ſhown that the Iriſh manner of adminiſtering the Euchariſt was ſcriptural.

5. Whoever was anathemized by one church was ſo by all. This was the cuſtom of the pureſt ages. Let the excommunicated, ſays Tertullian, be baniſhed from the communion of prayers, from aſſemblies and all holy converſe. And in the excerptions of Ecgbriht, in 740, is a cannon of St. Baſil, which makes it unlawful to pray, eat or ſpeak with the excommunicated; a practice followed by our church.

6. They did not reject the attendance and company of women. In other words they were married and not ſubject to temptation. Ware will not (59) allow the authority of this catalogue, becauſe an old canon of an uncertain age and Joceline intimate that St. Patrick ſeparated the ſexes. Joceline's idea of religion on the 12th, was very different from what it really was in the 5th century.

The ſecond claſs was that of the catholic preſbyters: in this were few biſhops, but the preſbyters 300. They had one head who was our Lord; they celebrated divers Maſſes and had various rules; they rejected the ſociety of women, ſeparating them from their monaſteries. They received the maſs (60) from Gilla, David and Docus, Britons; they kept Eaſter on the 14th of the month, and had one tonſure from ear to ear, this claſs continued four reigns, from 543 to 598, and was leſs holy.

1. In this interval the eaſtern tonſure and Eaſter were ſtill preſerved.

2. In this claſs were few biſhops, but 300 preſbyters. Here this writer clearly marks the progreſs of monachiſm in the iſle under Columba and the other celebrated Cœnobiarchs. There were but few biſhops, that is, the ſecular were yielding to the regular clergy in ſanctity, riches and reputation; the title of biſhop was leſs honourable than that of abbat, to whom the biſhop was ſometimes ſubordinate.

They

(56) Lib. 2. c. 21. (57) Wilkins. Conc. c. 5. de Wincheſter. (58) Religion of the ancient Iriſh. c. 5.
(59) Opuſc. S. Patric. p. 124. See Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 17. c. 23, and elſewhere for married Saints.
(60) Gilla was Gildas. Uſſer. p. 471—473. David as well as the foregoing was an eminent Britiſh Scholar in the 6th century. Uſſer. p. 953.

They celebrated divers maſſes and had various rules. Chriſt and not the Pope was ſtill their head, but they had new leaders, theſe were the founders of monaſteries, who gave new rules to their monks and new offices for their performance. Innovations were admitted; the ancient liturgy was interpolated and new ones introduced. To theſe Mac Geoghegan alludes, when ſpeaking of the liturgy of St. Patrick, which never exiſted. Cette (61) liturgie ſouffrit quelque changement dans cette égliſe par la ſuite. Il y avoit dans cette égliſe pluſieurs autres rits, "comme celui des Grecs ou des Orientaux," & celui des Romains & tous ces différentes liturgies y ont été long-tems en uſage puiſque ſur la fin du onzieme ſiecle."

4. They rejected the company of women, ſeparating them from their monaſteries. That manly religion, founded on ſcripture and reaſon, wanted not meretricious decorations to catch the vulgar, nor did it, under the ſhow of ſuperior ſanctity fly from thoſe temptations it was unable to reſiſt. When matrimony was interdicted the clergy, to ſecure their reputation, it was neceſſary to have diſtinct dwellings for the ſexes. Our author did not entertain great ideas of celibacy, otherwiſe this and the following claſs would have been exalted to the ſkies. No, he thought them very inferior in holineſs to the firſt. Among us no female was to enter into the iſle of (62) Iniſcatty, nor into the larger one at Monaincha, nor into the monaſteries of Clonfert, Liſmore or that of St. Cuthbert, nor into St. Fechin's mill. This ridiculous affectation of purity extended even to the grave: at Clonenagh near Montrath are cemeteries for men and women, diſtinct from each other: ſuch were the orders of St. Fintan. It had been a breach of chaſtity for monks and nuns to lie interred within the ſame incloſure. So firmly did they believe the axiom;

Locus ſemper pudor abſit in arctis.

All this is copied from Egyptian originals and adopted by paganiſm. (63)

Sacra bonæ maribus non adeunda Deæ.

It is very extraordinary our rigid aſcetics did not carry their practice as far as their exemplars, for the latter had the maſculine pictures in their temples covered with vails, as Juvenal records.

Ubi velari pictura jubetur,
Quæcunque alterius ſexûs imitata figuram.

In

(61) Hiſt. d'Irlande. ſup. p. 224.

(62) Uſſer. p. 943—944, gives many inſtances, and ſo does Colgan. Act. Sanct. paſſ. Cir. Cambriens p. 789. See Martin's Weſtern Iſlands. p. 49.

(63) Tibull. l. 1. eleg. 6. Propert. l. 4. eleg. 16. Ovid. &c. c.

In the third claſs were holy preſbyters and few biſhops, in number one hundred: they inhabited deſerts, fed on herbs, water and alms: poſſeſſed nothing of their own: had different rules, maſſes and tonſures, ſome with their crowns ſhaven, others with long hair. They celebrated the paſchal feaſt, ſome on the 14th, others on the 16th of the month with great ſeverity. This claſs continued for four reigns, from 598 to 658, and was holy. In this order we may trace the auſterities of the monkiſh life ſo zealouſly cultivated in this period, corruptions are noticed, but as yet no direct acknowledgement of Rome or her doctrines. The compoſer of this catalogue, with ſingular impartiality and judgment, affixes to each claſs an expreſſive epithet. The firſt was the holieſt, it ſhone like the brightneſs of (64) the ſun. Like the great luminary, the pure religion of our miſſioners illuminated the darkneſs of heatheniſm, and convinced the ignorant and incredulous of its divinity by the lives of its preachers. The ſecond claſs was leſs holy, it ſhone as the (65) moon. Corruptions began to appear in the church; the brilliant ſun of chriſtianity was ſhorn by his beams, and poſſeſſed only the light of an inferior planet: when religion became clouded with ſuperſtition and human invention the third claſs appeared, this reſembled the faint glimmerings of a (66) ſtar. In the moſt degenerate times there were always a number of pious men and true believers to adorn the doctrine of Chriſt. If our author was a Culdee, as I ſuſpect, he ſacrificed much by placing Columba in the ſecond claſs, but it had been a much greater ſacrifice to have obſcured the truth, and preferred the ſolitary to the ſocial virtues. Here he acted agreeably to the characteriſtic uprightneſs of his order. If he was not a Culdee, it was ſcarcely poſſible to avoid betraying ſome fondneſs for Roman cuſtoms. In either caſe, we may obſerve, an admirable equilibrium of temper, well becoming a ſenſible, candid and learned man.

Thus we ſee, that the Iriſh who adhered to their ancient faith ſtill preſerved the doctrine and diſcipline delivered to them by the firſt preachers, and this abhorrence of Romiſh innovations made Archbiſhop (67) Spottiſwood, Hammond, Richardſon, Macpherſon, and others agree in deducing from the Eaſt the chriſtianity they profeſſed. No one has been more explicit on this head than the learned biſhop Godwyn.

(64) Primus, ſicut Sol. ardeſcit. Uſſer. p. 915.
(65) Secundus, ſicut. Luna. Uſſer. ſup.
(66) Tertius, ſicut ſtella. Uſſer. ſup.
(67) Mackenſie's Antiq. of the royal line, p. 64. Richardſon. Prælect. p. 245. Macpherſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 331.

wyn. "It is very certain, ſays (68) he, that at the time Auſtin came here, moſt of the churches, I might indeed ſay all, of Ireland, Scotland and Wales differed in moſt things from the Roman practice and diſcipline. Even ſix hundred years after, as may be ſeen in Cambrenſis, ſome Iriſh rites will be found to be more conformable to the Greek than the Latin church." The learned Centuriators of Magdeburg tell us, Auſtin, the Engliſh Apoſtle, "obtruded on the Britiſh churches the Romiſh rites and cuſtoms hitherto unknown to the Britons, who were contented with the (70) Aſiatic and Greek ceremonies. I have adduced the ſentiments of theſe eminent writers to vindicate myſelf from the imputation of novelty in theſe purſuits. Novelty has her charms, but truth many more.

Eſt quoque cunctarum veritas gratiſſima rerum.

(68) Certo ſiquidem certius eſt pleraſque eccleſias (cur non dicam omnes) Hiberniæ, Scotiæ, ac Walliæ, in plurimis rebus a praxi & diſciplina Romana diſcrepaſſe. Bed. l. 3. c. 25. quo tempore Auguſtinus huc venit. Imo ſexcentis poſt annis ſicut in Giraldo videre eſt. Top. l. 3. c. 25. Hibernorum nonnulla inſtatuta reperies, Græcorum quam Latinorum eccleſiis magis conformia. Godwin. de præſul. p. 14.

(69) Cent. 6. fi. 448.

OF THE IRISH CULDEES, WITH THE ANTIQUITIES OF THEIR ABBEY OF MONAINCHA.

IT will very much illuſtrate and eſtabliſh what has been advanced in the foregoing eſſay of the early monaſtic ſtate in Ireland, to detail at ſome length the hiſtory of the Culdees. In this remote corner of the world and in the 6th century, this celebrated monaſtic order commenced. Diſtinguiſhed for letters and an inviolable attachment to their religion; their (1) adverſaries, devoted to the Roman See, have conſigned their name and tenets to oblivion; while others of inferior merit are pompouſly brought forward, and extolled for virtues which they never poſſeſſed, and for actions which they never performed. Nor have thoſe, who (2) collected memorials of the champions of evangelical truth, recorded their merits: but the writings of Bede, Lhoyd, Uſher, and above all thoſe (3) of Sir Robert Sibbald and (4) Sir James Dalrymple have placed their reputation and noble defence of their doctrines and liberties on the moſt ſolid baſis. To reſtore them, and the luſtre which their actions acquired to their native country, are the objects of the enſuing Eſſay.

Their name has given riſe to various fanciful conjectures; Toland will (5) have it, Ceili-de, the ſeparated or eſpouſed to God. Biſhop Nicolſon (6) thinks it derived from Coul-du, a black hood, which without authority he ſuppoſes the principal part of their dreſs; whereas from a paſſage (7) in Bede, it is probable their garments were white. Shaw's (8) opinion is, that Ceil-de, or ſervant of God, was Latinized Keledeus and Colideus, and in Engliſh Culdees. The great difficulty in accounting for the name of Culdee, ariſes from not knowing the preciſe time when it was given: if it was late Nicolſon is probably right; but not ſo, if early; for ſanctity was attached to dreſs only by the late monaſtic orders.

Columba,

(1) So unfriendly were the Columbean inſtitutes to the cauſe of popery, that the feſtival of St. Columba was not permitted to be kept in Ireland, till 1741. This is very remarkable. Burke, Hib. Domin. p. 22.

(2) Catal. teſt. verit. Argent. 1562. Moſheim and others have omitted to mention them.

(3) Hiſtory of Fife and Kinroſs. (4) Collections for an Hiſtory of Scotland.

(5) Toland's Nazaren. p. 51. (6) Iriſh Hiſt. Library, preface. (7) Vit. S. Cuthberti, c. 16.

(8) Hiſtory of Moray, p. 251. Buchan. l. 6. p. 181.

(9) Columba, their founder, was born of illuſtrious parents, A. D. 522. The faſhion of the times and his own propenſity led him to the cultivation of aſcetic virtues, and their preparatory exerciſes. Monachiſm had taken root in this kingdom, and was already flouriſhing in its numerous profeſſors and learned ſeminaries. The moſt remarkable of the latter was that of St. Finian, at Clonard, where, at the age of twenty-five, we find St. Columba engaged in ſtudy, and acquiring the rudiments of that knowledge and diſcipline, which were afterwards productive of ſuch eminent advantages to chriſtianity in Ireland, Scotland and England.

Having completed his monaſtic education, in 546 he founded the monaſtery of Durrogh, and eſtabliſhed ſuch admirable rules for his Monks, that they ſoon became as conſpicuous for erudition as ſanctity of (10) manners, and were from thenceforward diſtinguiſhed by the honourable appellation of Culdees. The Scots, rivals of the Iriſh in every branch of antiquities, have claimed theſe Monks as their own, and as ſpringing up in their country ſo early as the beginning of the 4th century: nor do they want the aid of forged (11) charters, or the plauſible tales of elegant (12) writers to ſupport this fiction; which is full as probable, as that the idea of Culdeiſm had its origin in (13) Greece. Biſhop Nicolſon, no friend of the order, expreſsly ſays: "the Culdees were of the Iriſh rule, and carried into Scotland by St. Columba, and from thence diſperſed into the northern parts of England." But to return to Columba.

Brilliant parts, and an unabating zeal in the ſervice of religion, with a ſtrain of powerful eloquence, exalted his reputation among his countrymen, to a degree ſcarcely inferior to that of the moſt celebrated Apoſtle. Such talents were too large to be confined within the narrow pale of a monkiſh cell, they were (14) called forth to the regulation of ſtate affairs, and in theſe he held as decided a ſuperiority. Amid this ſplendor of authority and of parts, it would have been miraculous, if human weakneſs did not ſometimes betray him into error, from which his biographers do not attempt to exculpate him. He inſtigated a bloody war without juſt cauſe, of which being made ſenſible, he abjured his native land by a voluntary exile, and impoſed on himſelf a miſſion to the unconverted Picts. Of this event Bede thus (15) ſpeaks:

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(9) He is commonly called Columbanus, but ſee that error corrected in Uſſer. Prim. p. 687, 689, 1131.

(10) Moribus & virâ parùm vulgalæ obſervationis. H. Boeth. p. 166. Broughton, for a particular purpoſe, changes pirùm for patrum. True Memorial, p. 322.

(11) Fordun, Boeth, &c. (12) Oſſian. The battle of Lora.

(13) Creſſy's Church Hiſtory, p. 162. (14) Adamnan. Vit. Columb. paſſim. (15) Lib. 3. c. 4.

"In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 565, there came out of Ireland into Britain, a Preſbyter and Abbat; a Monk in life and habit, very famous, by name Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts. This Columba came into Britain, when King Bridius, ſon of Meilochon, reigned over the Picts. It was in the 9th year of his reign, that by his preaching and example, he converted this nation to the faith of Chriſt." A few remarks will illuſtrate this extract. The proof is here direct and poſitive of the late reception of Chriſtianity among the Picts. Ninian's ſpiritual legation to the northern Picts is attended with (16) too many improbabilities not to ſeem at leaſt doubtful. If this be ſo, Columba and his Diſciples have clearly the merit of promulgating the Goſpel with effect, notwithſtandiug the partial labours of earlier miſſioners, and the date of the arrival of the Culdees in Scotland is immoveably fixed.

Bede is very accurate in his deſcription of the profeſſion and exterior of Columba: "he was a Preſbyter and Abbat, a Monk in life and habit." The ancient Monks had no office in the Church, but retired from the common employments of the world to ſtudy and devotion. If, ſays St. (17) Jerome, (alluding to the practice of the eaſtern Monks) you will enter on the miniſtry of the church, and perform the functions of the prieſthood, keep in towns: but if you would be a Monk, that is, a ſolitary, what do you do in towns, which are no habitations for Monks, but for thoſe who love the world? According to Dionyſius Areopagita, the moſt excellent ſtate among the Laics is the Holy Monks, called Aſcetics. Pope Gregory, in many parts of his epiſtles, expreſſes his diſapprobation of having prieſts choſen for Abbats, for the clerical, adds he, is perfectly diſtinct from the Monaſtic Order. Nor (18) had monkiſh abbats the prieſthood antecedent to the 12th century. Columba then was no anachorite or ſarabaite, but a coenobite; not only connected with, but the head of a regular community. By being a Preſbyter and Abbat, we are to underſtand ſuch a junction, as was not only highly honourable, but very unuſual.

Upon account of his preaching, example and ſucceſs, was the Iſle of Hy given him, whereon to conſtruct a Monaſtery. This iſle is one of the Hebudes or Hebrides, not large, but ſufficient, ſays Bede, for the maintenance of five families, according to the computation of the Engliſh. It was called by the Scots, I, Hy, Hu, and Hui; theſe are obviouſly the (20) Gothic Ai, Ei, referring to its oval, or egg-

(16) Macpherſon's Diſſ p. 339. (17) Ad Paulin.
(18) Concil. Piſan. A. D. 1100. And Lettere Eccleſiaſtiche di Pomp. Sarnelli Ep. 3. Tanner's notit. monaſt. pref.
(19) Lhuyd, Archæol. in inſula. (20) Grot. ad Procop. p. 584.

egg-like ſhape. By the (21) Picts it was called Onas, and from both, was made Ionas, or as it at preſent is named, Iona. This accidental compound, which in (22) Hebrew ſignifies a Dove, as Columba does in Latin, did not eſcape the notice of the learned in Hy. Adamnan, one of its abbats, early remarked it, and from what he ſays on (23) the occaſion, there is reaſon to believe, that Greek and Oriental Literature was not unknown in that ſeminary. Mr. Pennant deſcribes it, as three miles long and one broad, and details at ſome length its antiquities. It was in the genuine ſpirit of monkery that Columba ſelected an iſland for his retreat: at once a barrier againſt the intruſions of curioſity, and the impertinence of viſitors, and he was cloſely imitated by his diſciples. Bede proceeds:

"Before Columba came into Britain, he formed a noble monaſtery in Ireland, called Dearmach, from which and Hy, many others by his diſciples have been propagated in Britain and Ireland. Over all, this Iſland-abbey, where he lies interred, has ſupreme rule. It is always wont to have a Preſbyter-abbat for its Rector; and even the Biſhops themſelves, after an unuſual or inverted order, ought to be ſubject, according to the example of that firſt Doctor, who was no Biſhop, but a Preſbyter and Monk."

Dearmach, mentioned by Bede, Camden and (24) Walſh, is ſuppoſed to be Armagh, but improperly; the word is Doir-magh, commonly written Durrogh, and which Bede and Adamnan rightly interpret—"the oaken field."

From Bede's ſaying, the Biſhops were ſubject to the Abbats of Hy, and ſome abſurd amplifications of Fordun, Major and Hector Boethius, affirming the Scottiſh Church was originally ruled by Monks, who were only Preſbyters, Selden, Blondel, Smectymnus, and the London Miniſters Jus Divinum, took occaſion to ground arguments in favour of the antiquity of Preſbyterianiſm and its precedence of epiſcopal church government. Rather the eminence of the writers than the validity of their proofs, made an impreſſion on the public. In the warmth of controverſy, the things that would have ended the diſpute are paſſed over. One inſtance will ſuffice: Oſwald (25) ſends to the Culdees, "ad majores natu Scotorum, petens ut ſibi mitteretur Antiſtes." Upon this, "accepit Aidanum pontificem." Again,

(21) Baxter. Gloſſ. voce Sodorin. (22) יונה

(23) Vir erat (Columba) vitæ venerabilis & beatæ memoriæ, monaſteriorum pater & fundator, cum Jona propheta homonymon ſortitus nomen. Nam licet diverſo trium diverſarum ſono linguarum, unam tantum eandemque rem ſignificat: hoc quod Hebraicè dicitur Jona, Græcitas vero Periſteran vocitat, & Latina lingua Columba nuncupatur. In exord. ſec. præf.

(24) Proſpect, p. 67. Uſſer. p. 690. (25) Bed. l. 3. c. 3.

" veniente ad ſe epiſcopo." In theſe notices in Bede, the very foundation of Selden's and his brethren's arguments is effectually ſapped. Biſhop (26) Lhoyd has completely proſtrated the adverſaries of his order, and demonſtrated epiſcopacy to be coeval with Chriſtianity in theſe iſles. I ſhall take the liberty to add a few obſervations which did not occur to him.

There were but (27) two epiſcopal ſees in Scotland in thoſe early ages; one for the Picts at Abernathy, the other for the Scots at Iona or Hy. Their dioceſes were (28) regionary, and like the Iriſh Biſhops of thoſe times, they exerciſed their functions at large. Thus, about the year 560, Columbanus is ſtiled by Adamnan, " Epiſcopus Laginenſis," or Biſhop of Leinſter. Bede's words imply, that Biſhops were eſtabliſhed in Scotland immediately on its converſion, otherwiſe how could they be ſubject to the Abbat's power? The Iriſh multiplied Biſhops like the Eaſtern church, for the extenſion of Chriſtianity depended on them; conſequently the Iriſh miſſioners eſtabliſhed epiſcopacy wherever they preached; and hence our annals (29) teſtify, that there were a Biſhop and Abbat together at Hy at this time. Before (30) Columba had fixt the ſeat of his little ſpiritual kingdom at Iona, his character had riſen to a great height. The controverſies of Kings were ſettled by him: he could therefore eaſily procure what places or powers were moſt conducive to the convenience and aggrandiſement of his inſtitutions: a prince at once his debtor and admirer could refuſe nothing he aſked, or which royalty could beſtow. The (31) canons of general and provincial councils, and theſe confirmed by an imperial law, placed abſolutely the diſcipline, care and correction of Monks in the hands of the Biſhop. Brideus inverted this Order, and beſtowed thoſe rights on Columba, together with the (32) alloidiality of Hy, and incidental prerogatives, thereby ſubjecting the Biſhop to his temporal power, without however affecting the inherent rights of epiſcopacy, as is evident from the reſpect Columba himſelf paid to a (33) Biſhop at the conſecration of the euchariſtic elements.

In

(26) On Church Government, chap. 7.

(27) Non levibus momentis & auctoritatibus probari poſſet, habuiſſe olim tam Pictos quam Scotos ante regnorum conjunctionem unum ſaltem pro unoquoque regno epiſcopum proprium, atque ſedem epiſcopalem Pictorum fuiſſe apud Abernethy in Stratherne; ſedem vero epiſcopi Scotorum in Iona inſulâ ſitam. Wilkins, p. 28.

(28) Spelman, p. 342. Nicholſon's Scot. Hiſt. lib. p. 210.

(29) Apud Uſſer. p. 701.

(30) Macpherſon, ſupra, p. 354.

(31) Chalced. can. 4—8. Aurel. 1. can. 21. Agath. can. 38. Ilerd. can. 3. Cod. Juſtin. l. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. leg. 40. Nov. 5. c. 9.

(32) This appears in Buchan. l. 1. p. 29. Le Droit public de France, par Bouquet. T. 1. p. 209. Lhoyd ſup. p. 100—180. Velly, T. 1. p. 108.

(33) Adamnan. ſupra.

In the obſervation of Eaſter, Columba was a Quartadeciman: he left it in (34) charge to his religious at Hy, to keep it from the 14th to the 20th of the moon, which they did to the year 716. This eminent miſſioner, worn out in the ſervice of religion, died at Hy, A. D. 597, aged 75 years. To diſtinguiſh him from others of the ſame name, he was (35) called Colum-celle, from being the father of above an hundred monaſteries. Bede, though cloſely attached to the See of Rome, yet with candour and truth confeſſes the merits of the Culdees. "Whatever he was himſelf," ſays he, "we know of him for certain, that he left ſucceſſors renowned for much continence, the love of God, and regular obſervance. It is true (†) they followed uncertain rules in the obſervation of the great feſtival, as having none to bring them the ſynodical decrees for the keeping of Eaſter, by reaſon of their being ſeated ſo far from the reſt of the world; therefore only practiſing ſuch works of charity and piety, as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical and apoſtolical writings." Their warmeſt panegyriſt could not pronounce a finer eulogium on the purity of their faith and integrity of their practice. It is true, they did not adopt the corruptions of the Anglo-Saxon church, or the ſuperſtitions which had contaminated Chriſtianity. For centuries they preſerved their countrymen from the baleful contagion, and at length fell a ſacrifice in defence of their ancient faith.

The (36) Abbats, who ſuceeded Columba in Hy, were Baithen in 597; Fergnanus in 598; Segienus in 623; Suibney in 652; Cummineus in 657; Failbeus in 669; Adamnan in 679; Conain in 704; and Dunchad in 710. No ſooner had the papal power got footing in England, than it made attempts on our Iriſh church, but the Culdees, the moſt celebrated for learning and ſanctity, oppoſed it, and their vigorous oppoſition retarded its ſucceſs. It was not a doubtful ray of ſcience and ſuperſtition, as the elegant (37) Hiſtorian of the Roman Empire remarks, that thoſe Monks diffuſed over the northern regions. Superſtition on the contrary found them her moſt determined foes, and of their learning, let the reader judge from Cummian's (38) letter to Segienus, Abbat of Hy. Cummian was deſirous to bring the Culdees over to the Roman manner of celebrating the paſchal feſtival, and (39) addreſſes his treatiſe to Segienus, as head of the Columbean monaſteries, and the other Regents of theſe ſeminaries. He tells them he does not preſumptuouſly or inconſiderately

(34) Bed. l. 3. c. 6. (35) Bed. l. 5. c. 10. Notk. Balb. ad 5. Id Jun.

(†) "Repair," ſays the viſion to Egbert, "ad Columbæ monaſteria, quia aratra eorum non recte incedunt." Bed. l. 5. c. 10. A very gentle reprehenſion.

(36) Uſſer. p. 701, 702. (37) Gibbon, V. 6. p. 220. (38) Uſſer. Syllog. Epiſt. p. 24.

(39) Dominis ſanctis & in Chriſto venerandis, Segieno Abbati Columbæ ſancti & cæterorum ſanctorum ſucceſſorum. Uſſer. ſupra,

conſiderately offer this apology to them: nor was it diſreſpect for their cuſtoms, or the pride of worldly wiſdom that induced him to undertake the diſcuſſion of the paſchal controverſy. That after the introduction of the Cycle of 532 years, he was ſilent for a year, neither preſuming to praiſe or blame it. During this interval he examined the ſcriptures and the hiſtory of Cycles. The types of the paſchal ceremonies in Exodus he illuſtrates by the comments of Origen and St. Jerome, and adverting to the oriental cuſtom, with much acuteneſs he endeavours to evince the impropriety of the Iriſh manner of keeping Eaſter. He inſiſts largely on the unity of the Roman, Jeruſalem, Antiochian and Alexandrian churches, on the decrees of the Nicene council, and on that of Orleans on this ſubject. He cites St. Jerome warning the faithful, of Jews, heretics and conventicles entertaining perverſe opinions. "Do you conſider," ſays he, "which are the conventicles here ſpoken of, whether thoſe who agree in the obſervation of the holy ſolemnities, or the Britons and Iriſh, placed on the extremity of the earth, are as it were a tetter on the globe." "You," addreſſing himſelf as before, "are the heads and eyes of the people; if through your means they continue obſtinate in error, the blood of each ſoul ſhall be required of you! Our elders ſimply and faithfully obſerved what, in their days, they knew to be beſt; but they left it in command to try all things, and hold faſt that which was right."

He then proceeds to eſtabliſh the doctrine of the church's unity on the authority of ſcripture, reaſon, and on that of St. Auſtine, St. Jerome, Cyprian and Gregory. He then enters on an account of the various Cycles, as thoſe of Patrick, Anatolius, Theophilus, Dionyſius, Cyril, Morinus, Auſtin, Victor, Pachomius and the Nicene. Throughout his letter, he every where diſcovers great ingenuity and erudition, with much knowledge of the ſacred writings. The works of Jerome, Origen, Cyril, Cyprian and Gregory are often quoted by him, as are the acts of the Nicene, and other councils. Nor was he inattentive to his ſtile, for in the concluſion he intreats them to correct whatever may appear uncouth or vitious in his compoſition. In this tract, we can diſcover Cummian's acquaintance with the doctrine of time, and the chronological characters. He is no ſtranger to the ſolar, lunar and biſſextile years, to the epactal days and emboliſmal months, nor to the names of the Hebrew, Macedonian and Egyptian months. To examine the various cyclical ſyſtems and to point out their conſtruction and errors required no mean abilities: a large portion of Greek and Latin literature was alſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary. Though a man of learning, Cummian apoſtatized, and liſtened to Roman emiſſaries. Like all new converts, he ſees nothing but error and corruption in the religion he left. He upbraids

braids the Iriſh with diſſenting from the Greek, Hebrew, Scythian and Egyptian churches, and the Roman, in the obſervation of the paſchal feſtival: that it was heretical pravity to affirm Rome erred, Jeruſalem erred, and that the Britons and Scots were alone wiſe. He tells them that in the ſynod of Lene, or Leighlin, where the Abbats, the ſucceſſors of Ailbe, Kiaran, Brendan, Neſſan, and Lugid were aſſembled, it was determined to ſend to Rome to know how the feſtival was kept, which on their return they reported to be every where the ſame, and different from the Iriſh: that thereupon it was reſolved to conform to the practice of the univerſal church. Theſe miſſioners brought back with them, from the Italian metropolis, holy relicks and ſacred writings; "in which," ſays Cummian, "was proved to be the power of God: for I ſaw with mine eyes a blind maiden reſtored to her ſight by them, a paralytic made to walk, and many evil ſpirits caſt out. However," adds he, "there was a whited wall," ſuppoſed to be St. Munnu, "who recanted, and returned to the traditions of his fathers, whom God, I hope, will ſtrike in ſome ſignal manner." Here we perceive the intolerance of Cummian's new religion.

In 635, Oſwald, Prince of Northumberland, who had received (40) baptiſm among the Iriſh, and was no admirer of Roman (41) innovations, ſent to Hy for a Culdee Biſhop to inſtruct his people in evangelical truths. He took no notice of Paulinus, the ancient prelate of York, nor of James the Deacon, his companion, for they were devoted to Rome. Aidan, an Iriſhman and a Culdee of Hy, was conſecrated and ſent. "He was a man," ſays Bede, "of the greateſt modeſty, piety, and moderation; having a zeal for God, but not fully according to knowledge, for he kept the Lord's day of Eaſter, according to the cuſtom of his country.——This abatement of his merit could not be paſſed over by an eleve of Rome, but it is conveyed in no rancorous or intolerent language. "The King," continues Bede, "gave the Biſhop the Iſle of Lindisfern on the coaſt of Northumberland, for his epiſcopal ſee. Gregory had before fixt the ſee at York: this nomination Aidan rejected for two reaſons: firſt it was not agreeable to the ſpirit of Culdeiſm, which choſe iſlands in preference to the mainland, as its maſter Columba did; and ſecondly, as it would be an acquieſcence in the deciſion of the Roman Pontiff, which the Iriſh hierarchy, complete and independent in itſelf, never ſubmitted to. Oſwald perſonally attended Aiden's miniſtry. When the latter preached, not perfectly underſtanding the Anglo-Saxon tongue, the King was interpreter, for during his exile

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(40) Bed. l. 3. c. 3.

(41) *Principi inſtitutis Scoticis imbuto, Romani forſan minus cordi eſſent ritus.* Langborn. Chron. Ang. p. 187.

in Ireland he had learned the language of the Isle. Numbers of Culdees daily arrived from Ireland: those who were priests baptized the converted; numbers flocked to them, and the church of Christ was greatly enlarged. Aidan gave a luminous example of charity, piety, and abstinence, and recommended his doctrine by his (42) practice." Thus far Bede, whose third book of Ecclesiastical history is principally employed in praise of the Culdees. Wherever he mentions their dissent from Rome, (and this was their only crime,) he does it with great delicacy, and when he says it was from ignorance of synodical decrees, we have seen he endangers his veracity in framing such an excuse.

Aidan died in 651, he was succeeded by Finan (43), an Irishman and Culdee of Hy: he baptized Peada, prince of the middle Angles, and gave him Diuma, a Culdee, for his Bishop. After Diuma, Ceolla, another Culdee, was advanced to the episcopate of Mercia, but he resigned and retired to Hy. To the Apostolic labours of the Culdean missioners were the Northern English indebted for their conversion, and Doctor Innet, in his learned Origines Anglicanæ, records their exertions in honorable terms.

Finan departed this life, A. D. 661, and Colman, a Culdee of Hy, came in his room. He was an intrepid oppofer of papal doctrines, as his (44) disputation with the Romanists who supported them, fully proves. King Oswy, who presided at this conference at Whitby, had been too much tampered with by the Romish party to be a fair arbitrator. Colman, when (45) he found his opinions rejected, collected all the Irish Culdees at Lindisfern, and about thirty English Monks who were studying there, and stopping at Hy, he sailed to Ireland. Immediately the Culdees were every where expelled by Oswy, and replaced by (46) Benedictines. Not contented with this triumph, the Romish clergy used Egfrid, King of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance, a few years after, on the dissident Irish, an harmless and innocent people, (says Bede, pitying their calamities,) and always friendly to the English. Johnson, in his notes on the Saxon councils throws some light on the transactions at Whitby. "The conference was held in the presence of King Oswy, in a nunnery erected by Hilda, the Abbess. Two Irish bishops were there, but Colman was the principal advocate for the British and Irish Easter, and Wilfrid, chief speaker for the Roman. Oswy, who had kept the Irish manner yielded to Wilfrid,

because

(42) The very words of Bede. Doctrinam ejus id maxime commendabat omnibus, quod non aliter vivebat quam ipse docebat. l. 3. c 3.

(43) Bed. l. 3 c. 17. (44) Bed. supra, (45) Bed. l. 4. c. 4.

(46) Guil. Malmesb. l. 3.

becauſe he was told St. Peter was the author of the Roman manner, and that he was the key-keeper of heaven, from which Oſwy deſired not to be excluded. The two Iriſh Biſhops went away unconvinced; the King pronounced ſentence for himſelf only and for his family, for before this he had kept his Eaſter ſometimes, while his Queen, who was a Kentiſh Lady, and followed the Roman manner, was in her Palm Sunday. Oſwy paſſed ſentence, not in conſideration of the merits of the cauſe, but in honour of St. Peter. Theodore made great exertions for the obſervance of this Roman Eaſter, yet the Welſh continued their old practice till about the year 800, and then Elbodeus, a Biſhop of their own brought them into it." The controverſy on this ſubject may be ſeen in Uſher, and other eccleſiaſtical writers. At length Adamnan, the Culdean Abbat of Hy (48), apoſtatized, and by the inſtigations of Ceolfred, Abbat of Girwy, Naitan, King of the Picts, expelled the Culdees from Hy. This happened A. D. 717. Thus expired thoſe illuſtrious ſeminaries of Culdees at Hy and Lindisfern, after bravely preſerving their tenets for more than a century againſt the ſecret machinations and open violence of their enemies; at length they fell a ſacrifice to encroaching ambition and ſpiritual intolerance. A great acceſs, ſays Creſſy in an high tone of exultation, was made to the luſtre of this year by the converſion (converſion!) of the Monks of Hy, and all the monaſteries and churches ſubject to them, to the unity of the catholic church.

The monaſteries of Columba were the bright conſtellations of our hemiſphere, enlightening every part with the brilliant radiance of the goſpel and learning. Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſays Innet, ſet up ſchools in every place to out-do the Iriſh and break the intereſt of the Quartadecimans, for ſo the Culdees were called. The Culdees continued, as an excellent (49) writer obſerves, until a new race of monks aroſe, as inferior to them in learning and piety, as they ſurpaſſed them in wealth and ceremonies, by which they captivated the eyes, and infatuated the minds of men.

It would be doing injuſtice to the ſubject, and leaving this little hiſtory imperfect, to omit ſome practices of the Culdees, which deſerve notice. They as well as the (50) Britiſh monks ſupported themſelves by the labour of their hands. In this they reſembled their Archetypes of the Eaſt. The Culdees were (51) married, but when it came to their turn to officiate they did not cohabit with their wives. By the 28th canon of the African Code, ſub-deacons who handle the holy myſteries, deacons, prieſts

(48) Bed. l. 5. c. 23. Uſſ. p. 702.
(49) Buchan, ſupra, p. 127.
(50) Bed. ſup. Toland, ſupra.
(51) Toland, ſupra.

prieſts and biſhops are directed at their ſeveral terms to abſtain from their wives. By terms, as explained by the 13th of the Trullan canons, are meant the times of their miniſtration; or as the old Scholiaſt on the 3d African underſtands it, ſome time before and after the Euchariſt. A practice derived from (52) Egypt to the Jews, and from them adopted by Chriſtians. Celibacy was unknown for the firſt 300 years of the church. Northumberland was converted by Iriſh Culdees: in 950, the prieſts of that country publiſhed canons; one was, "if a prieſt diſmiſs one wife and take another let him be an anathema!" Here the cenſure falls on ſecond marriages. The Culdees in St. Andrew's were (53) married to the year 1100.

The regiſtry of St. Andrew's informs us, that the Culdees relaxing in diſcipline were deprived of their poſſeſſions, but King Alexander reſtored them conditionally, that they ſhould be more attentive in attending divine ſervice, which they neglected, except when the King or Biſhop was preſent, performing however their own office in their own way in a ſmall (54) corner of the church. This account is obſcure, merely becauſe the truth is not related. For the regiſtry acquaints us, when Alexander began the reform in the church of St. Andrew, there was no one to ſerve at the altar of the bleſſed Apoſtle St. Andrew, or to celebrate Maſs. This ſhews, that the Culdees, who were ſettled there, paid no reſpect to theſe holy relicks or to the Maſs, but choſe rather to forfeit their church and property than deſert their principles; preferring their ancient office with integrity of heart, in a corner, to the poſſeſſion of the Choir and its ſuperſtitious pageantry. Their office was Gallican, and very different from the Roman. We are ſure it was not the Maſs, which Pope Gregory (55) confeſſes was the work of a private perſon, and not of Apoſtolic authority. The Anglo-Saxons accepted the Roman office, but the Britons and Iriſh retained their primitive forms.

The conduct of the Romaniſt towards the Culdees was uniformly perſecuting in every place. A Charter (56) of David, King of Scotland, recites, that he had given to the Canons of St. Andrew the Iſle of Lochleven to inſtitute there the canonical rule, and that the Culdees, its ancient poſſeſſors, if they thought fit to conform to that rule, live peaceably and in ſubjection to the Canons, might continue there;

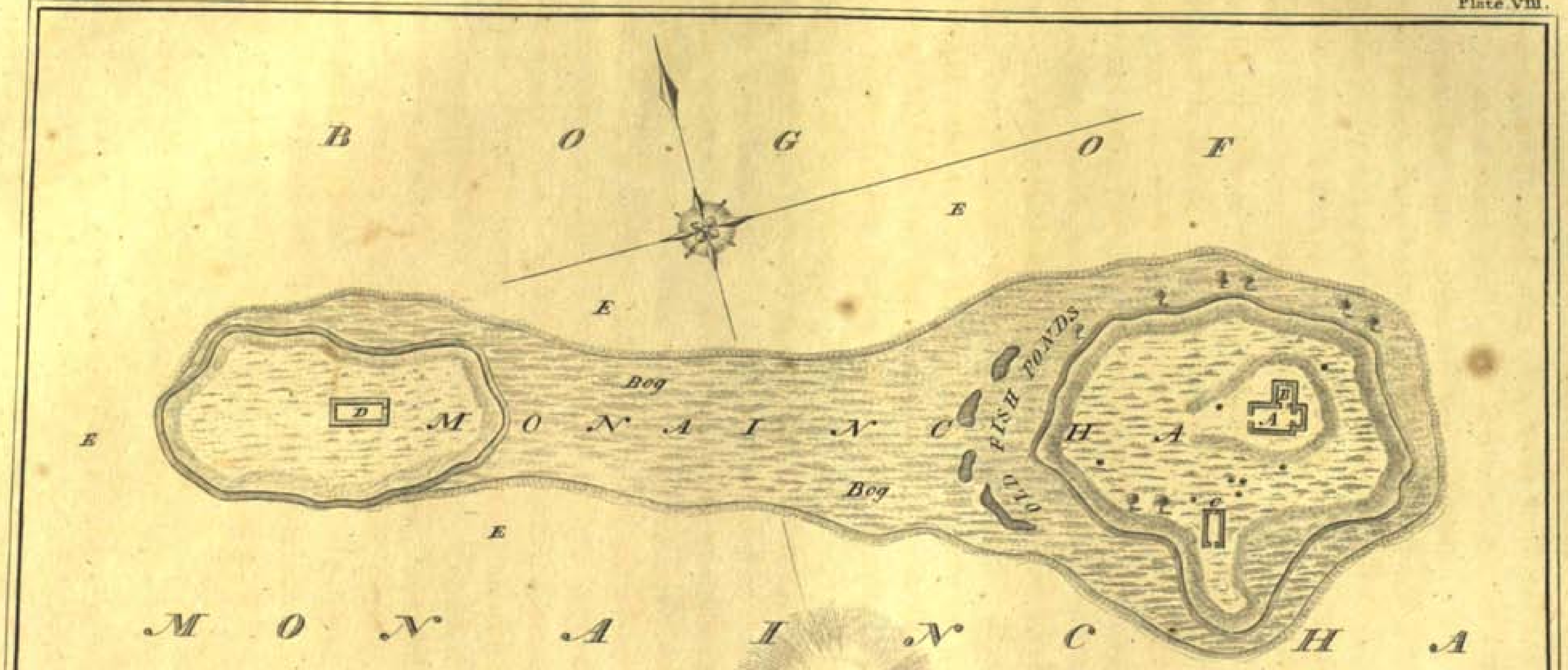
(52) Porphyr. de Abſt. p. 150. Vino abſtinebant, & in caſto erant tempore ἐφημερίαι ſuæ Ægyptii ſacerdotes, perinde ut Ebræi. Huet. Dem. Evang. c. 11. La Croze, Chriſt. des Indes, p. 437. Rhegino, p. 155.

(53) Toland, ſupra.

(54) Keledei namque in angulo eccleſiæ ſuum officium ſuo more celebrabant. Dalrymple, ſupra.

(55) Epiſt. 63. l. 7

(56) Maitland, V. 1. p. 162. Sibbald, ſupra.



References

A. The Abbey Church.
B. Abbot's Apartments.
C. A Church.
D. D.°
E. Scite of the ancient Wood now a Bog.

MONAINCHA.

* *Remains of Trees the Abbot's Orchard.*

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there; but if they rejected theſe terms, they were to be expelled. This propoſal, incompatible with their principles, not being acceded to, they were ejected. "In the greater churches in Ulſter, as at Cluaninnis and Daminnis, and particularly at Armagh, in our memory," ſays Archbiſhop (57) Uſher, "were prieſts called Culdees, who celebrated divine ſervice in the Choir, their preſident was ſtiled Prior of the Culdees, and he acted as Præcentor." It was not eaſy to eradicate a reverence founded on ſolid piety, exemplary charity and ſuperior learning; or to commit ſudden violence on characters where ſuch qualities were found. The Romiſh emiſſaries were therefore obliged to exert all their cunning to remove thoſe favourable prejudices, and where force could not, ſeduction often prevailed. The alternative of expulſion or acquieſcence muſt ever ſtrongly operate on human imbecility: in a few inſtances the latter was choſen: thus about the year 1127, Gregory, (58) Abbat of the Culdean monaſtery of Dunkeld, and Andrew his ſucceſſor, were made Biſhops, the firſt of Dunkeld, the other of Caithneſs. The laſt cited intelligent Antiquary confirms the wary manner in which the Culdees were treated, as making their Abbats, Biſhops, and preſerving to thoſe who had pariſhes their benefices during life. The ſame policy was followed in Ireland. The preſident of the Culdees was made Præcentor; he was to have the moſt (59) honourable ſeat at table, and every reſpect from his corps. Such little diſtinctions, while they flattered and ſaved appearances, were fatal to the Culdees; many breaches were made in their rights, and at laſt they (60) loſt all their privileges, their old inſtitute, and retained barely the name of their priſtine celebrity. Such as they were in latter ages, they continued to exiſt, and ſo late as 1625, they had conſiderable property in Armagh, as ſeven townlands, with ſmaller parcels; a great number of Rectories, Vicarages, Tithes, Meſſuages, and Houſes.

Let us now attend to the Antiquities of one of their ancient ſeats: this in old records is named Inchenemeo, corrupted from Inniſnabeo, or the "Iſland of the living," but from its ſituation moſt commonly called Monaincha, or the "Boggy Iſle:" it lies about a mile South from the road leading from Burros-in-Offory to Roſcrea, and about three miles from the latter. Giraldus Cambrenſis, who came here with King John in 1185, thus ſpeaks of (61) it: "In (62) North Munſter is a lake containing two iſles: in the greater is a church of the ancient religion, and in the leſſer,

(57) Primord. p. 637. (58) Dalrymple, ſupra, p. 246.

(59) Priori Colideorum locus primus in menſa & a Colideis cæteris reverentia congrua debeatur. Uſſer. ſupra.

(60) Uſher may be conſulted, p. 659. (61) Topog. 2. c. 4. p. 716.

(62) This was Thuomond, which was one of the ſeven independent provinces of Ireland, ruled by the O'Briens, at the Norman invaſion. O'Connor, p. 172.

a chapel, wherein a few monks, called Culdees, devoutly ſerve God. In the greater, no woman or any animal of the feminine gender ever enters, but it immediately dies. This has been proved by many experiments. In the leſſer iſle, no one can die, hence it is called, 'Inſula Viventum,' or the iſland of the living. Often people are afflicted with diſeaſes in it, and are almoſt in the agonies of death: when all hopes of life are at an end, and that the ſick would rather quit the world than lead longer a life of miſery, they are put into a little boat and wafted over to the larger iſle, where, as ſoon as they land, they expire." Thus far our Author. This inſula viventum is exactly the ſame as the Icelandic Udainſaker, or the land of the immortals, and of which Bartholine tells us: that this place is ſituated in North Iceland: that the natives believe no one can die there, although labouring under a deadly ſickneſs, (etiamſi letali morbo infectum,) until he is carried out of its precincts: that therefore the inhabitants have deſerted it, fearing all the terrors of death, without enjoying the proſpect of releaſe.

Monaincha is ſituated almoſt in the centre of a widely-extended bog, called the bog of Monela, and ſeems a continuation of the bog of Allen, which runs from Eaſt to Weſt through the kingdom. Since the age of Cambrenſis, and from the operation of natural cauſes, the leſſer iſle is now the greater, and Monaincha, which contains about two acres of dry arable ground, is of greater extent than the women's iſland. In the latter is a ſmall chapel, and in the former the Culdean Abbey, and an Oratory to the Eaſt of it. Monaincha is elevated a little above the ſurrounding bog; the ſoil gravel and ſmall ſtones. We may eaſily underſtand what Cambrenſis means by the Church here being of the "old religion." The Culdees, its poſſeſſors, had not even at this period, when the Council of Caſhel had decreed uniformity of faith and practice, conformed to the reigning ſuperſtition: they devoutly ſerved God in this wild and dreary retreat, ſacrificing all the flattering proſpects of the world for their ancient doctrine and diſcipline. Their bittereſt enemies bear teſtimony to their (63) extraordinary purity and piety. In more places than one of his Topography, Cambrenſis mentions this ancient religion as exiſting in many parts of Ireland: his language breathes the vindictive ſpirit of their old perſecutors. "There is," ſays (64) he, "a lake in Ulſter, in which is an iſle divided into two parts: in the one, which is pleaſant and beautiful, is a church of the orthodox faith; the other rough and horrible, and inhabited by dæmons." In the latter the Culdees, no doubt, reſided.

When

(63) Devotè Deum deſerviunt, ſays Cambrenſis of the Monaincha Culdees, and the Welſh Culdees he ſtyles, Monachi religioſiſſimi. Itiner. Camb. p. 865.

(64) Topog. p. 717—718.

W. Beauford Del.

J. Ford Sculp.

CHOIR ARCH at MONAINCHA.

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When Columba ſelected iſlands above other places for his Monks, he cloſely imitated the firſt profeſſors of the aſcetic life. A Latin (65) poet thus writes about the year 417,

Proceſſu pelagi jam ſe Capraria tollit,
Squallit lucifugis inſula plena viris.
Ipſi ſe monachos, Graio cognomine, dicunt,
Quod ſoli nullo vivere teſte volunt.

The monaſteries in the iſles of (66) Canobus and Lerins were, very early, famous. The Scottiſh iſles were filled with Culdees, and their inſular eſtabliſhments in Wales and Ireland were numerous.

Cambrenſis tells us no one ever died or could die in Monaincha, thereby inſinuating, that death, the only comfort of the wretched and diſeaſed, was denied to the heretical iſle. But this is a ſhameful and mean perverſion of the honourable denomination of Inniſnabeo, or the iſland of the Living, given from remote ages to Monaincha. Buchanan expreſsly aſſures us, the (67) cells of the Culdees were converted into churches: ſo that it was not in the groſs and vulgar ſenſe, given by Cambrenſis, the name is to be underſtood, of no one ever dying there, but in a refined and ſpiritual one, of men acquiring immortality by the exerciſes of religion and the cultivation of virtue. In Scotland are many ſmall iſles, named the iſlands of Saints, wherein people have a moſt ſuperſtitious deſire of being interred, which (68) Mr. Pennant erroneouſly ſuppoſes to ariſe from the fear of having their bodies devoured on the mainland by wolves: but the true reaſon is, the holineſs of theſe places, ſanctified by the reſidence of Culdees, and before them by the Druids.

The length of our Culdean Abbey in Monaincha is thirty-three feet, the breadth eighteen. The nave is lighted by two windows to the South, and the chancel by one at its Eaſt end. The former are contraſted arches, the latter fallen down. The height of the portal, or Weſtern entrance, is ſeven feet three inches to the fillet, by four feet ſix inches wide. The arch of this, and that of the choir are ſemicircular. Sculpture ſeems here to have exhauſted her treaſures. A nebule moulding adorns the outward ſemicircle of the portal, a double nebule with beads the ſecond, a chevron

the

(65) Rutil. Itiner. l. 1.

(66) Hieron. prolog. ad reg. Pachom. Savaro. Not. in Sid. Apoll. The Teutonic people held both iſlands and lakes ſacred. Tacit. Ger. c. 40. Greg. Turon. de glor. conf. c. 2. Tacitus mentions a —caſtum nemus,— an unpolluted Druidic grove in an iſle. The monks adopted the holineſs of ſuch places into their ritual.

(67) Tanta ſanctitatis opinione apud omnes vixerunt ut vita functorum cellæ in templa commutarentur. Lib. 4. p. 126.

(68) Tour in Scotland.

the third, interſperſed with the triangular frette, roſes and other ornaments. It is alſo decorated with chalices, artfully made at every ſection of the ſtone, ſo as to conceal the joint. The ſtones are of a whitiſh grit, brought from the neighbouring hills of Ballaghmore: being porous, they have ſuffered much from the weather; but the columns of the choir are of an harder texture, (though grits) cloſe-grained and receiving a good poliſh. Being of a * reddiſh colour, they muſt have been handſome objects. They were quarried on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the bog, and are a ſpecies of lapidum ſchiſtarum, ſplitting into laminæ, ſix feet long, with which moſt of the Abbey is caſed without. By ſome accident aſhen keys have been dropped on the walls of this building, in a number of years they have become large trees. Their roots have inſinuated into every crevice, burſt the walls every where, and threaten the whole with ruin. Such was the ſtate of the Roman edifices, after the deſtruction of the capital by the Goths, as is minutely and affectedly deſcribed by (69) Caſſiodorus.

It will readily occur, how great muſt have been the labour and expence of tranſporting the materials of this and the other ſtructures in cots of excavated trees to Monaincha, and before this was done, the carrying them a great diſtance over a deep, miry and ſhaking bog, before they reached the margin of the water. It appears by the tradition of the old inhabitants, that about a century ago, the iſland was not acceſſible but in boats: every drain for the ſprings, and every paſſage for the river Nore being choked up with mud and fallen trees; the ſurface, in conſequence to a vaſt extent was covered with water. Preſent appearances fully confirm this account.

Adjoining the Abbey on the north ſide was the Prior's chamber, which communicated with the church by a door with a Gothic arch, as exhibited in the Plate. There were a good garden and orchard, in the memory of living people, and many heaps of ſtones and ſome croſſes, were diſperſed over the Iſle. One of the latter is given in the Plate; it has perforations, through which various parts of dreſs were drawn to aſſiſt women in labour, and to protect their wearers. I have been favoured with ſome ancient inſcriptions, which I ſhall not tranſcribe, as they do not at preſent appear, nor am I certain of their authenticity: the purſuit of truth and genuine antiquities, ſo far as I am able to diſtinguiſh, are the ſole and invariable objects

(*) Garnett's tour through the Highlands.

(69) Virgulta quaque noxia importunitate naſcentia evulſis ceſpitibus auferantur, ne radicum quidem capilli paulatim turgentes fabricarum viſceribus inſerantur, & more vipereo, prolem ſibi fæcunditate contraria nutriant, unde ſe compago caſura diſrumpat, &c. Variar. p. 75. and Not. Foruerii.

Plate IX.

T. Beauford delin.

T. Ford Sculp.

WESTERN PORTAL at MONAINCHA.

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jects of these pages; and on my best endeavours to illustrate these, I alone found my hopes of public favour.

At what time the present Abbey of Monaincha was built is not easy to determine. The poverty and fewness of the Culdees in this isle in the age of Cambrensis, and his omission of their beautiful fabrick strongly incline me to think, that the Abbey was constructed after this author wrote. Mr. Bentham (70) describes the Norman style of ecclesiastical architecture in general use to the end of the first Henry's reign, A. D. 1135, to be constituted of circular round-headed doors, massive pillars, with a kind of regular base and capital, and thick walls. The arches were adorned with the various mouldings, like those already noticed on the western portal of our church. But besides this Saxon or early Norman, we discover plainly the Gothic style mixed with it at Monaincha, which style Doctor Ducarel (71) supposes to have been introduced about the end of the 12th century, and he farther observes, that this mixture of styles was frequently used for ornament or beauty. If we acquiesce in the opinion of these ingenious and learned Antiquaries, the date of our Abbey will be about the beginning of the 13th century. At which time (72) Augustinians were settled there, and the Culdees removed to (73) Corbally, a small distance from their former residence, where they erected a curious little chapel, of a cruciform shape, the windows long and very narrow: it still remains in tolerable preservation. The Augustinians did not appear in this kingdom until 1193, for at that time Earl Strongbow brought four from Bodmyn in Cornwall, to his (74) Abbey of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny, which he had dedicated to this Order, so that here are circumstances and a coincidence in point of time agreeing very well with the conjecture respecting the age of our Monaincha Monastery. As to its being under the invocation of the blessed Virgin, St. Hilary and St. Donan, the Monks of St. Austin might have deserted it, and others of different orders possess it. Wherever the influence of Rome prevailed, the Culdees were removed, and Columba himself, was not supplicated in Ireland (75) as a Patron Saint before the year 1741. The compiler of his office has committed some wilful mistakes, which, for the sake of our enlightened Roman Catholic brethren, are here noticed.

(70) Antiquities of Ely, p. 34.
(71) Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 102.
(72) Waræi Disquis. p. 240.
(73) Prior & Conventus loci sedem fixerunt Corballiæ. Ware, supra.
(74) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 361.
(75) Officia propria Hib. Sanct. p. 92.

1. It is said he went to St. Etchene, a bishop in Leinster, to be consecrated to the episcopal order: but from a particular interposition of Heaven, this ordination did not take place. From the tenor of Columba's history in Bede, and which alone can be relied on, he never affected Prelacy.

2. The 5th lesson of his office informs us, that he resolved to go to Rome, (76) knowing that his preaching would be in vain, unless his doctrine was the same with that delivered by St. Peter. If St. Patrick was ordained and sent by Pope Celestine to this island, and the religion he propagated was conformable to the Roman, could there be any reason for Columba's going so far as Italy to be assured of what were the faith and practice of the church there? There certainly could not, especially as Columba was born but 29 years after the death of St. Patrick. But there is positive proof in Bede that the doctrine and discipline taught by Columba were different from that of the Romanists. "Columba, says Wilfrid in the conference at Whitby, was a devout servant of God, of pious intention though rustic simplicity. Shall his authority outweigh that of St. Peter?" This whole (77) chapter of the ecclesiastic historian demonstrates, and so do many other places, the distance there was between the belief of Columba, and those who professed to follow St. Peter.

3. In the 6th lesson we are (78) told, that being honourably received at Rome by St. Gregory the Great, and loaded with apostolical benedictions, he returned to his monastery of Hy. This is a palpable fiction, for the reasons given before. The Culdees we have seen strenuously opposing papal innovations and authority in every age, and that with so stubborn a pertinacity as brought on them numberless persecutions, and in the end a dissolution of their order. I need not insist on the age of Columba, which was sixty-eight, and which must have made so long a journey as to Rome, very irksome: nor on the difficulty and danger of passing through so many barbarous nations before he reached the Italian capital. The detection of these errors and many more that will, in the course of this work, be brought forward, cannot but have an happy influence in opening the eyes of every rational man, who must see with concern the unjustifiable attempts that have been made to enthrall the understanding by bold fictions and gross untruths.

In

(76) Certus se in vanum currere, nisi idem cum Petro prædicâsset evangelium. Offic. supra. p. 98.

(77) Lib. 3. c. 25.

(78) Romæ a Sancto Gregorio Magno honorificè exceptus, &c. Offic. sup. p. 98.

In the chief Remembrancer's office is found a record relative to Monaincha, of which the following are the contents. It is an Inquiſition taken at (79) Lemyvanane in Ely. O'Carrol's country, before Michael Fitz-Wyllyam and Francis Delahyde, Commiſſioners of our Lady the Queen, to inquire for the Queen of all land, tenements and hereditaments, and of all and ſingular other things that might be inquired into by Eſcheators and Barons of the Exchequer. Taken the 27th of December 1568 on the oaths of theſe good men, the Jury:

Thomas O'Flanagan,	Dermoyd O'Towgha,	Dermoyd oge O'Dolgen,
Thomas Mac Donell,	Moyell O'Rendall,	Malone O'Dolgen,
Donogh Mac Owens,	Lyſagh Mac Edmond,	Donogh O'Dolgen,
Owne Mac Kilfoyle,	Dough O'Trieſte,	Thomas Mac Teige.
Donogh Mac Kilfoyle,		

They find that the monaſtery of the Virgin Mary in Inchenemo, or iſland of the living, with all its appurtenances and profits belong to the Queen by virtue of an Act of Parliament: that the ſaid iſle contains three acres of moor land, wherein are two chapels, (80) belonging to the Priory; and near the iſle is the village of Corballi, wherein the (81) Prior and convent dwelt, and where alſo was formerly a church that was Parochial as well as Monaſtic. The village conſiſts of eight waſte cottages, and the land of the Priory there, in arable and paſture, 180 acres, of the annual value of thirty-two ſhillings and ſix-pence: there are alſo one hundred and forty acres of unprofitable, and ſixteen acres of wood and underwood, annual value, two ſhillings and eight pence. The village of Kerneyttys, now waſte, and thirty acres of arable and paſture in it, annual value five ſhillings. The village of Cowleſhyle, now waſte, and thirty acres of arable and paſture, and twenty-four of wood and underwood, annual value ten ſhillings. The village of Lytter, now waſte, and fifty-two acres of arable and paſture in it, annual value nine ſhillings. The village of Kylecolman, now waſte, and twenty acres of arable and paſture, wood, underwood and moor, annual value four ſhillings. The village of Killenperſone and ſeventeen acres of arable and paſture, annual value fourteen ſhillings. The village of Ahancon, and twenty-four acres of arable and paſture, wood, underwood, and moor, annual value four ſhillings, all belonged to the ſaid Monaſtery. As alſo the rectories

(79) From Leim, a leap, now the Leap in the King's County.
(80) But one of theſe chapels now remains.
(81) This alſo came into the poſſeſſion of the Auguſtinians on the ſuppreſſion of the Culdees.

rectories of Corballi and Ballyſhenagh, the third part of the rectory of Roſcomroh, the rectories of Kymutze, Towomahone, Lytter, Kylecolman, with the vicarage of Ahancon, the whole, over and above ſtipends and incumbrances, of the annual value of forty ſhillings, (the villages being all waſte) belonging to ſaid Monaſtery.

This record exhibits a curious but affecting picture of the ſtate of Ireland in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when five hundred and thirty-three acres of land were worth but four pounds two ſhillings and two pence, and eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions were equally ſmall. The (82) O'Mores, O'Conors, O'Dempſies and O'Carrols were, in thoſe times, perpetually in arms againſt the Engliſh government: the country about Monaincha was alternately waſted by the Britiſh and Iriſh forces: the labours of the plough ceaſed, and the terrified peaſants, almoſt ſtarved, deſerted their miſerable cabbins, and withdrew to mountains, bogs and woods, to prolong a wretched exiſtence.

(82) Sydney's ſtate papers by Collins.

OF

OF THE STATE OF THE IRISH CHURCH IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, AND AFTER.

THE firſt ſevere ſhock received by the Iriſh church was from the Oſtmen after their converſion to chriſtianity in the 9th century. The exiſtence of a primatial ſee founded on the ſuperſtitious fiction of St. Patrick's reliques was unknown before that age and the domination of theſe ſtrangers: for the religious tenets and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline of the Iriſh were very different from thoſe of the Oſtmen, as Uſher and theſe pages fully evince. Inſtead of uniting in reſtoring the purity of our church, or of reviving the ſplendour of our inſtitutions and literary ſeminaries which their pagan zeal had nearly annihilated, they introduced the Benedictine Order, which ſought admiration more from the mummery of external performances than the cultivation of uſeful literature or ſubſtantial piety. This was in the 10th century; in the 11th, theſe piratical foreigners had (1) kings in almoſt every part of our iſle. Sihtric, one of them, ruled Dublin in 1038, and erected a See there, making Donat, his countryman, its firſt Biſhop. He received conſecration, and the (2) epiſcopal dignity from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. On the death of Donat, the clergy and people of Dublin elected Patrick, and recommended him to Lanfranc the Engliſh Primate for ordination, and they ſtyle Dublin the metropolis of Ireland. Here is abundant evidence of the early attachment of the Oſtmen to the Roman See. How, it may be aſked, is this to be reconciled with the making Dublin the metropolis, or in other words, the primatial See; when the ſame Oſtmen had fixt the ſpiritual ſovereignty of the Iſle before at Armagh? One reaſon occurs which ſeems adequate to the ſolution of the difficulty; it is, that the Armachian Prelates, rejecting the rules and orders of the canon law, continued the cuſtom, common, as I have ſhown, with the Iriſh and Oſtmen, of hereditary ſucceſſion, which the Dublinian Oſtmen, better ſchooled, did not: the latter firſt accepting the erection of their city into a Biſhoprick from, and after ſubmitting the approbation of their

 Biſhops

(1) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 68—69.

(2) Anteceſſorum enim veſtrorum magiſterio ſemper noſtros libenter ſubdimus a quo recordamur noſtros accepiſſe dignitatem eccleſiaſticam. Uſſer. Syllog. p. 100.

Biſhops to the See of Canterbury. This canonical acquieſcence weighed more in the eſtimation of ſo exact a diſciplinarian as Lanfranc than the pretended reliques of St. Patrick or his holy legend. And hence Dublin and not Armagh came to be called the metropolis of Ireland. It is not leſs probable, that Armagh endeavoured to eſtabliſh the independency of the Iriſh church, which the Britiſh Primate oppoſed, conſidering himſelf the ſupreme ſpiritual head of the Normen wherever (4) diſperſed, for Lanfranc is ſtyled, " Primate of the Britiſh Iſles."

Beſides the foregoing reaſons for not acknowledging the ſupremacy of Armagh, the Oſtmen had apopted many of the tenets held by the ancient Iriſh church and contrary to the Roman; ſo that a zealous Romaniſt was neceſſitated to reprobate both. Theſe tenets appear in Lanfranc's (4) anſwers to queſtions propoſed by Donat, the Oſtman, Biſhop of Dublin. The Primate tells him, it is expedient that all people, living and dying, ſhould be fortified with the holy Sacrament; but if it ſhould happen that a perſon baptized, died before he received the Sacrament, God forbid he ſhould periſh eternally. That if an Infant not baptized, ſo he be in the article of death, ſhould be baptized by a Laic in defect of a Prieſt and die immediately after, that ſuch infant ſhould not be excluded from the body of the faithful. From theſe anſwers it is evident, that the Iriſh believed the reception of the Euchariſt immediately after baptiſm indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſalvation; and this was the opinion of the (5) primitive church, though not of the Roman in Lanfranc's age. Secondly, the Britiſh Primate allows laical baptiſm in the article of death, but the (6) Greek church, and the Iriſh derived from it, never admitted it: St. Baſil (7) orders thoſe to be re-baptized who received baptiſm from laics. The Iriſh and Britons adminiſtered this rite at Eaſter, Pentecoſt and Epiphany, the Romaniſts only at Eaſter and Pentecoſt. The latter uſed chriſm, exorciſm and other ceremonies which the others did not. It is recorded by (8) Benedict, Abbat of Peterborough and Brompton, about the middle of the 12th century, that the richer Iriſh immerſed their children thrice in milk, the poorer thrice in water. The father or any other was the agent. The early chriſtians, through the blindneſs and perverſeneſs of their new converts, were obliged to retain practiſes which they abhorred: thus

(3) Uſſer. Sup p. 128—162. (4) Ware's Biſhops, p. 306.

(5) Bingham, ſup. C. 12. c. 1. p. 529—531.

(6) Αλλ' και λαϊκης ιερουργησαι τινων τι των ιερατικων εργων. Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 3. c. 10.

(7) Αλλοις βαπτισματι αναβαπτιζεσθαι. Ep. ad Amphil. p. 759.

(8) Mos erat per diverſa loca Hiberniæ, quod ſtatim cum puer naſceretur, pater ipſius vel quilibet alius eum mergeret ter in aqua, & ſi divitis filius eſſet, ter in lacte mergeretur. Brompt. p. 1071.

thus they gave (9) milk and honey after baptiſm to infants as euchariſtic elements, as the learned (10) Bingham has proved, though Salmaſius and (11) Suicer ſupport the contrary opinion. But none of them give a probable explanation of the origin of this cuſtom, which prevailed in the church to the 9th, and in Ireland to the 12th century. Initiation into the ſacred myſteries was looked on as a (12) regeneration, and the beginning of a new life; and hence, according to Apuleius, the Egyptian prieſts, as a ſignificant ſymbol, gave milk to the initiated. The lacteal circle was alſo ſuppoſed to be made up of human ſouls, and therefore the Greeks in the (13) evocation of them uſed oblations of milk and honey. From this ſource our cuſtom was derived.

It was uſual with the Oſtmen in the 10th and 11th ages to give the (14) firſt ſignation, that is the ſign of the Croſs, to new converts, whereby, ſays the writer, they were put in a ſituation to live either with pagans or chriſtians: the meaning of which is, that they received the figure of a Croſs on ſome part of their body not expoſed to view. It is certain, chriſtians muſt have had private marks whereby to know each other in times of perſecution, and (15) Procopius aſſures us this was the croſs punctured on their hands or arms.

Lanfranc accompanied the conſecration of Biſhop Patrick of Dublin with a letter to (16) Gothric the glorious King of Ireland, and another to (17) Turlogh the magnificent King of Ireland. I have before (18) ſhown why the Oſtmen Princes were ſtyled Kings of Ireland; and how their devotion to Lanfranc's religion intitled them to the epithet of glorious has already been declared. In his epiſtle to Gothric, the Primate ſtates ſome cuſtoms which he deſires him to correct, as the marriage of women too near a-kin by conſanguinity and affinity, and the ſeparation of wives from (19) their lawful huſbands, and alſo the exchange of wives. O'Conor, in (20) his Diſſertations, confeſſes, that in ages preceding the ſecond century there were abominations among our Princes, which diſgraced humanity, and that the Taltionian regulations

(9) Tertull. 37. Can Afric. (10) Book 12. c. 6. (11) Theſ. voc. Συναξις.

(12) Warburton on the Eleuſinian Myſteries. Div. Legation.

(13) Ω και σπονδαι αυται της ψυχαγωγιας μελι κεκραμενοι γαλακτι. Porphyr. de antro Nymph. p. 267.

(14) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 32. Du Cange, voce Signati.

(15) Επι χαρτου η βραχιονι η τω στομιω το σημειον.

(16) He is alſo called Godred Crovan and Godred Mac Regnal. Johnſtone, ſup. p. 7—69.

(17) Magnifico Hiberniæ regi. Uſſer. Syll p. 71. (18) Antiquities of Ireland, ſupra.

(19) Alii legitime ſibi copulati pro arbitrio relinquere. Uſſer. ſup. p. 70.

(20) Pag. 113.

regulations permitted polygamy. The Suiones and other (21) northerns, who arrived here about that time, had each two, three or more wives; princes and richmen without number; nor was illegitimacy attached to the offspring of such connections. Nor had they reformed this practice in 1200, when Pope Innocent III. writ to the Archbiſhop of (22) Lunden. From the various colonies of theſe northerns ſettled from the earlieſt ages in this iſle, it is not to be wondered at if the Iriſh had exactly their cuſtoms and manners. St. Bernard and Giraldus Cambrenſis aſſert we had no marriage-contracts, but the—conjuges legitimè copulatæ—of Lanfranc before, muſt remove this aſperſion. Camden (23) aſſures us in his time beyond the precincts of towns marriage was rarely contracted, that the Iriſh united and ſeparated on the moſt trifling occaſions, and that all had a wonderful propenſity to inceſt. Againſt this evidence it is ridiculous for (24) Macpherſon to argue, or attempt to extenuate the turpitude of ſuch cuſtoms. Our municipal laws of gavelkind and taniſtry confirmed the evil to a late age. By the firſt an inheritance was provided for the illegitimate, and by the laſt the clan was kept diſtinct from any other, ſo that marriage was conſtantly among near relations.

Lanfranc aſſured of the attachment of the Oſtmen, endeavoured by the moſt flattering language to inſinuate himſelf into the good opinion of the Iriſh monarch, Turlogh. He tells him, God beſtows no greater mercies upon the earth than when he promotes to the government of ſouls and bodies ſuch as affect peace, and love juſtice, and eſpecially when he commits the kingdom of the world to good kings. From hence peace ariſes, diſcord is extinguiſhed, and to ſum up all, the obſervance of chriſtian religion is eſtabliſhed; which bleſſings every prudent obſerver perceives to have been conferred on the people of Ireland, when the omnipotent God granted to your Excellency the right of kingly power over the land. He adds, that Biſhop Patrick had declared ſo many great and good things of him, that he loved him though unſeen, as if he had known (25) him. All this is polite and handſome but full of inſincerity, for nothing in the Iriſh church could pleaſe Lanfranc: her hierarchy acknowledged no ſubjection to him, her clergy were married and her rites and ceremonies not in uniſon with his. He artfully touches on matters which could give no great offence to the Iriſh clergy, and that in the gentleſt manner: he remarks

(21) Quiſque ſecundum facultatem virium ſuarum duas aut tres vel amplius ſimul habet uxores, divites & principes abſque numero; nam et filios ex tali conjunctione genitos habent legitimos. A. Brem. apud. Grot. Prolog. in Procep. p. 101.

(22) Grot. ſup. p. 139.

(23) Britannia, in Ireland.

(24) Diſſertation XI.

(25) Uſſer. Syllog. ſupra.

remarks their uncanonical marriages; that Biſhops were conſecrated but by one, and children baptized without chriſm, and holy orders conferred for money. Lanfranc deſires Turlogh to aſſemble a (26) ſynod of his Biſhops and Clergy. This proves our monarchy and hierarchy were complete and independent, not ſubject to a Legate, the Primate of Canterbury or the Pope.

This correſpondence with the Engliſh Primate was leaven to the Iriſh Clergy; it foured many of them againſt their old religion and diſpoſed them to innovation. Dazzled with the recent ſucceſs of the Normans in England, and perhaps terrified at the fate of that kingdom and the ſpiritual ſovereignty claimed by the Britiſh Primate over this iſle, they thought it better to ſhow ſome condeſcenſion on this occaſion than provoke a doubtful conteſt, and therefore at the end, or about the beginning of the 12th century they admitted Gille or Gillebert, or more correctly Giſelbert, an Oſtman as his (27) name intimates, as † Legate; he was at the ſame time Biſhop of Limerick, a great Oſtman ſettlement. The legatine authority could not be in ſafer hands or more obſequious to the court of Rome and to Anſelm, who ſucceeded Lanfranc, and with whom he was acquainted at (28) Rouen. He was a man of ſome ingenuity and learning, as his (29) tract in Uſſer evinces. It is a plain ſimple outline of the members and diſcipline of the Roman church, and obviouſly compoſed to inſtruct the Iriſh with what they before were not well acquainted, and to prevail on them to adopt an uniformity in the celebration of divine offices. In the prologue he ſays, "at the requeſt and even command of many of you, dearly beloved, I have endeavoured to ſet down in writing the canonical cuſtom in ſaying of hours and performing the office of the whole eccleſiaſtical order; not preſumptuouſly but through deſire to ſerve your moſt godly command; to the end that thoſe divers and ſchiſmatical orders wherewith, in a manner, all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office. What can appear more indecent and ſchiſmatical than that the moſt learned in one order ſhall be as ignorant as a layman in another? As the diſperſion of tongues aroſe from pride, and were again joined in apoſtolic humility, ſo the confuſion of Orders, from negligence or corruption, is to be brought by your pious endeavours to the holy rule of

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(26) Epiſcopos & religioſos quoſque viros in unum convenire jubete, ſacro eorum conventui præſentiam veſtram cum veſtris optimatibus exhibete. Uſſer. Syll. ſup. p. 72.

(27) Kilian & Skinner in voce. Ware's Biſhops, p. 504.

† St. Bernard does not ſpeak poſitively as to the fact, though I think it probable. Quem aiunt prima functus legatione. Vit. Malach. 1936.

(28) Quoniam autem olim nos apud Rothomagum invicem cognovimus. Uſſer. Syll. p. 88.

(29) Uſſer. Syll. p. 77.

the Roman church. It is plain from many parts of Scripture how carefully the Faithful ſhould preſerve unity of profeſſion. For all the members of the Church are ſubject to one Biſhop, who is Chriſt, and to his bleſſed apoſtle, Peter, and to his apoſtolic repreſentative in his ſeat, and they ought to be governed by them." This was written in 1090.

There are many things in this epiſtle deſerving notice: I ſhall only touch on a few. It is addreſſed to the diſſident Biſhops and Preſbyters of Ireland, for it had been an inſult to the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics to have ſent to them, as if novices, an elementary work. Throughout this long letter there is not a tittle of St. Patrick, his archiepiſcopal or primatial ſee or rights, or the doctrine he delivered to the Iriſh church. Theſe would have been flattering topics for Giſlebert to enlarge on, and for the eleves of Rome to preſs on the Iriſh. Inſtead of theſe he explicitly declares their ſchiſmatical orders differed from the Roman: that is, their ritual and forms of worſhip were quite unlike the Roman, for that is the meaning of the word, Order. This is ſupported very ſtrongly by the learned Moſheim, who tells us, "the (30) form of public worſhip eſtabliſhed at Rome had not in the 11th century been univerſally received in the weſtern provinces. This was looked upon by the imperious Pontiffs as an inſult upon their authority, and therefore they uſed their utmoſt efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worſhip in every part of the Latin world." From this author we farther learn, that about the time Giſlebert was endeavouring to ſubvert our Orders, Pope Gregory was attempting the ſame with the Gothic liturgy, ſo that Rome was puſhing on the ſame ſcheme at the ſame moment in every part of Europe: a circumſtance very curious and confirming powerfully what is advanced in the epiſtle under conſideration.

In 1094, Giſlebert ſends a (31) preſent of twenty-five pearls to Anſelm, and congratulates him on his criminal triumph in the affair of (32) inveſtitures. The Primate having, through the favour of our monarch, ſent a legate hither, began to tamper with our clergy. In 1095, he addreſſes an (33) epiſtle to his reverend fellow-biſhops in Ireland, and particularly mentions the ſenior Domnald and Donat, the laſt biſhop of Dublin, the former of Armagh. He endeavours to excite their pity for his ſufferings in the cauſe of the church; he exhorts them to vigilance and ſeverity in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and adds, that if diſputes about the conſecration of

(30) Ecc. Hiſt. Cent. 11. c. 4.
(31) Uſſer. Syll. p. 88.
(32) Lyttleton's Hen. 2.
(33) Uſſer. Syll. ſupra.

of biſhops, or other cauſes could not canonically be ſettled among them, to bring them before him. This aſſumption of ſupremacy over the Iriſh church, and the right of appeal effectually deſtroyed our ancient independence, and is complete proof, that every thing related of the Armachian primacy is a fiction. The Oſtmen, who now poſſeſſed the ſee, either had embraced the tenets of the Iriſh, or were married, or held it by hereditary right; any of theſe ſufficient reaſons for nullifying in the eyes of a rigid canoniſt their pretenſions to rank and dignity. He therefore ſtiles our Biſhop of Armagh, Senior, a term now gone into diſuſe, but which in the African canons denoted the dignity of Metropolitan.

Turlogh, our monarch, had virtually ſurrendered his regal rights to the Pope, through his delegate the Engliſh Primate, when he (34) recommended Donat to ſucceed Patrick in Dublin. Mortogh, who mounted the throne after Turlogh, joined his nobility and clergy in a ſimilar act, when they ſent (35) Malchus to be conſecrated at Canterbury. Mortogh, involved in perpetual broils with his family and provincial kings, hoped to derive no ſmall aid from the ſplendour, power, and friendſhip of the Engliſh court in awing his rebellious ſubjects. Anſelm did not omit to cultivate this good diſpoſition in our monarch, for he addreſſed to him two epiſtles, and there we find him firſt ſtyled (36) the glorious king of Ireland. Anſelm mentions in general the uncanonical ſtate of our church, and ſpecifies the inſtances noticed by his predeceſſor Lanfranc, and adviſes him to call a council to correct theſe errors and to regulate eccleſiaſtical affairs. This he did in 1111, when he convened the nobility and clergy to a place called Fiodh-Aonguſa, or Aongus's Grove in the plain of Magh Breaſſail in Meath, where there was a wood (37) ſacred to religion from the remoteſt ages, and from ancient prepoſſeſſion now uſed for greater ſolemnity. The number of clergy, according to the (38) Chronicon Scotorum, was fifty-eight biſhops, three hundred and ſeventeen prieſts and ſixty deacons, with many of inferior orders. The ſame year another council was held in Meath under the preſidency of the Pope's legate, when the numerous petty dioceſes of that diſtrict were reduced to two, Clonmacnois and Clonard. Though (39) Keating from obſcure annals has related the tranſactions of this council, there is ſome probability in what he delivers of the ſettlement of dioceſes and the aſcertaining their boundaries. Every attempt to reduce the number of our ſees and augment their revenues, rendered the clergy more reſpectable, and the church more manageable by the Pope and

(34) Ware's Biſhops, p. 309. (35) Uſſer. Syll. ſupra.
(36) Glorioſe fili & in Deo chariſſime. Uſſer. Syll p. 95. (37) Antiquities of Ireland, ſup.
(38) Collect. de reb. Hib. V. 1. p. 553. (39) Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 100—102.

and his Legates. This required time to accompliſh, and a beginning was now firſt made. Some of the regulations ſaid to have been ſubſcribed by the aſſembly, were that the clergy in future were to be exempt from taxation and ſecular laws; whatever they contributed was by way of free gift. The archbiſhops reſigned the right they received from St. Patrick of conſecrating biſhops at pleaſure. It was decreed that the number of biſhops was hereafter to be twenty-eight, but without encroaching on the rights of the preſent poſſeſſors. It muſt occur to every one, that theſe decrees could not be eſteemed the avowed ſentiments of the national clergy, for but about a ſixth part of the epiſcopal order conſented to them, they were therefore the production ſolely of thoſe who had embraced the Romiſh party, and we ſee how few they were, even after all the efforts of our monarch and his aſſociates. The activity of the former proceeded partly from a ſecret motive. Robert de (40) Montgomery, Earl of Salop, and Arnulph his brother, Earl of Pembroke, rebelled againſt Henry I. Arnulph ſolicited Mortogh for his daughter and aſſiſtance; the former he obtained, but we are not told what aid he procured. We know he was unſucceſsful and obliged to ſeek refuge in Ireland. Mortogh writes to Anſelm, and thanks him for interceding for his (41) ſon-in-law, and adds, "be aſſured I will obey your commands." This was a ſpring that gave motion to Mortogh, and made him perfectly obedient to the Engliſh primate and court. "So devoted," ſays William of Malmeſbury, "were Mortogh and his ſucceſſors to Henry I. that they writ nothing but what flattered him, nor did any thing but what he directed." We need not therefore doubt but Anſelm uſed his own and Henry's influence in urging our monarch to new model his church.

Matters however did not proceed ſo ſmoothly as they expected. The Iriſh clergy had been hitherto cajoled with ſchemes of reformation, which as they could not with decency oppoſe, they acquieſced in to a certain degree; but when they diſcovered the unreaſonable length to which affairs were likely to be carried; that their eccleſiaſtical polity was to be diſſolved and themſelves and their church to be dependent on the nod of the Roman pontiff, they could no longer forbear expreſſing their reſentment. Thus the (42) clergy and burgeſſes of Dublin tell Ralph, who ſucceeded Anſelm in Canterbury, that the biſhops of Ireland and eſpecially he who reſided at Armagh, had the greateſt indignation towards them for not accepting their ordination,

(40) Hanmer's Chron. p. 99.
(41) Sed & genero meo Ernulpho auxilio & interventione ſuccurriſti. Uſſ. Syll. p. 97.
(42) Uſſer. Syll. p. 100.

ordination, and for desiring to be under his spiritual dominion. But it was too late: while they were apprehensive of, they were hastening to their fate.

Multi ad fatum
Venére suum, dum fata timent.

Our princes had lost their spirit and their power, and domestic discord suggested ambitious views to their designing neighbours.

The Armachian bishop who thus resented the interference of the English primate was Celsus; who, though well affected to Rome, could not be prevailed on to separate during his life from his wife and children: at his death he however was persuaded by the Romish party to send his crosier to Malachy O'Morgair, in token of his appointment to the see; he was a zealous stickler for the new religion, and after some dangerous struggles ascended the archiepiscopal chair. Malachy solicited the Pall for his see from Pope Innocent II. but this his holiness declined, for the Irish clergy were as yet very far from yielding obedience to the Roman Vice-deity; the Pall, so far from commanding respect, might have subjected the wearer to insult. Though Malachy sat but three years in Armagh, being driven from thence by the old family, he still was active in advancing the cause he had espoused. In 1140, he introduced the Cistertian Order into this kingdom by the advice and under the directions of St. Bernard, and settled it at Mellifont, Newry, Bective, Boyle, Balinglas, Nenagh, and Cashel. St. Bernard prided himself much on these foundations; "the (43) oldest man," says he, "might have heard the name of monk, but before the days of Malachy never saw one." This, like (44) much of Congan's information to him, wants veracity. Malchus, a monk, was made bishop of Waterford in 1095; Samuel, bishop of Dublin, ejected monks from that city in 1110, and Donat, a monk, was made bishop of Dublin, evidences these, with others too numerous to recite, sufficient to convict our mellifluous doctor of misrepresentation, and to evince how trifling the most serious considerations were when put in competition with the holiness and honour of his favourite order. There is much more of truth in what he remarks of the Irish, by Malachy's means, conforming to the customs of the church of Rome and the chaunting the canonical hours. Popery was daily gaining ground from the criminal inattention of and inconsiderate sacrifices made by our princes and the unabating zeal of her supporters. This encouraged the court of Rome to send in 1152, John Paparo, Cardinal of St. Laurence in Damaso, into this isle,

(43) Vit. Malach. c. 11. Again: Et in terra jam insueta imo & inexperta monasticæ religionis. Epist. ad Malach.
(44) Hanmer's Chronicle, p. 104. Ware's writers, p. 71.

iſle, to ſettle its hierarchy on a new and permanent plan. A council was held in Kells, wherein preſided Chriſtian, biſhop of Liſmore, who had been educated at Clarivaux, under St. Bernard, and of courſe had the papal intereſt much at heart. The following are the names of the prelates who were preſent, according to an old MS. cited by (45) Ware:

Giolla-Chriſt O'Conarchy, Biſhop of Liſmore, Legate; Giolla Mac-liah, Primate of Ireland; Domnald O'Lonargain, Archbiſhop of Munſter, or Caſhel; Æda O'Hoſſien, Archbiſhop of Connaught, or Tuam; Greri, Biſhop of Athacliath, or Dublin; Giolla Na-nœmh, Biſhop of Glendaloch; Dungal O'Cellaid, Biſhop of Leighlin; Tuiſtius, Biſhop of Waterford; Domnald O'Fogartaic, Biſhop of Oſſory; Find Mac Tiarcain, Biſhop of Kildare; Giolla Anchomdheh O'Ardmail, Biſhop of Emly; Giolla Æda O'Maigin, Biſhop of Cork; Macronan, Biſhop of Kerry, or Ardfert; Torgeſius, Biſhop of Limerick; Muirchertach O'Melidar, Biſhop of Clonmacnois; Mæliosa O'Conachtain, Biſhop of Airthir-conacht; O'Ruadan, Biſhop of Luigni, or Achonry; Macraith O'Morain, Biſhop of Conmacne, or Ardagh; Ethru O'Miadachain, Biſhop of Clonard; Tuthal O'Connachtaig, Biſhop of Huambruin, or Enaghdune; Muridheach O'Cobthaig, Biſhop of Ceanla-Eogain, or Derry; Mæl Patrick O'Bainan, Biſhop of Dailarid, or Connor; Maliosa Mac Inclericuir, Biſhop of Ullagh, or Down.

I have given this liſt on the authority of Ware and Keating, but I think it very incorrect and ſcarcely authentic: it ſavours, as all Iriſh MSS. do, of modern forgery. Let the reader determine from comparing two other accounts of our Sees, where the names are very different, and by no means coeval, even allowing for the uncertain orthography of theſe times. The firſt is taken from (46) Hovenden, where he relates the aſſembling of all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbats of Ireland, to ſwear allegiance to Henry II. "It is to be known," ſays this annaliſt, "that there are four Archbiſhops and twenty-eight Biſhops in Ireland, and (47) theſe are their names:

Gelaſius, Armacenſis Archiep. totius Hib. Primas. Odanus, epiſc. Mauritius, Charenſis epiſc. Malethias, Thuenſis epiſc. Neemias, Chonderenſis epiſc. Gillebertus, Ratphpotſtenſis epiſc. Thabeus, Ceneverſis. Chriſtianus, Ardahachdenſis, Eleutherius, Cluencradenſis, epiſcopi. Donatus, Caſſelenſis Archiep. Chriſtianus, Leiſmorenſis epiſc. apoſt. ſed. Legat. Ingmelleccenſis epiſc. Cluanumenſis epiſc. Arcmorenſis

(45) Diſquiſ. p. 87. (46) Annal. p. 526. Edit. Saville.
(47) Quorum nomina hæc ſunt. ſupra.

Arcmorenſis epiſc. Lucapniarenſis epiſc. Kildarenenſis epiſc. Waterfordenſis epiſc. Archferdenſis epiſc. Rofenſis epiſc. Finabrenſis epiſc. Laurentius, Dublinienſis Archiep. Biſtagnenſis epiſc. Fernenſis epiſc. Leghglenſis epiſc. Kindarenſis epiſc. Erupolenſis epiſc. Catholicus Tuaimenſis Archiep. Kinfernenſis epiſc. Kinlathenſis epiſc. Maigonenſis epiſc. Aelfinenſis epiſc. Achatkourenſis epiſc.

Here eight Sees were ſubject to Armagh, ten to Caſhel, five to Dublin, and five to Tuam, making, with the four Metropolitans, thirty-two epiſcopates. Roger Hoveden was a domeſtic of Henry II. and is in general well informed and accurate. As his catalogue was written but about twenty years after the Council of Kells, it is very extraordinary many of his names ſhould differ ſo widely from the preceding, and that many of the Biſhops are not to be found in Ware and Harris. This difference will be ſtill more apparent from the names of our Sees as they ſtood in the papal tax-rolls about 1220.

Under ARMAGH were,

Conner, - -	Conner.	Ardachad, -	Ardagh.
Dun-daleghlas, -	Down.	Rathboth, -	Raphoe.
Lugid, - -	Louth.	Rathlurig, -	Rathlure.
Cluainiard, -	Clonard.	Damliag, - -	Duleek.
Conanas, - -	Kells.	Darrich, - -	Derry.

Under DUBLIN were,

Clendelachi, -	Glendaloch.	Leghlin, -	Leighlin.
Fern, - -	Ferns.	Childar, -	Kildare.
Cainic, -	Oſſory.		

Under CASHEL were,

Cendaluan, -	Killaloe.	Waltifordian, -	Waterford.
Limerick, -	Limerick.	Liſmor, -	Liſmore.
Inſula Gathay, -	Inniſcatty.	Cluainvanian, - -	Cloyne.
Cellumabrach, -	Kilfenora.	Corcaia, -	Cork.
Ole-imlech, -	Emly.	Ros-ailithir, -	Roſs.
Roſcreen, -	Roſcrea.	Ardfert, -	Ardfert.

Under TUAM were,

Mageo, -	Mayo.	Achad, -	Achonry.
Cell-alaid, -	Killala.	Cinani, -	Clonmacnois.
Roſcoman, -	Roſcommon.	Celmun-duac, -	Kilmacduagh.
Cluanfert, -	Clonfert.		

Here

Here are thirty-eight Sees which paid Annates to Rome. In the (48) Roman provincial, compiled later, they are fifty-ſeven: the names are indeed ſo deformed that I have omitted them, but they may be ſeen in the author laſt cited and in Bingham. It may gratify the curioſity of many to bring under one view the ſituation and names of our ancient Biſhopricks; and this view will demonſtrate that until the arrival of the Engliſh, the number of our Sees, the ſucceſſion of our Biſhops and eccleſiaſtical affairs are involved in great obſcurity. Ware's MS. gives us but twenty-three Biſhops who met the Pope's Legate at Kells; ſo many acknowledged obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and ſubmitted to the Metropolitans then appointed, and it is very probable new Dioceſes were then formed for theſe Prelates, as the other liſts ſtrongly intimate. But neither the papal power nor the terror of the Monarch were able to diveſt the inferior Princes of their rights, or their Biſhops of their Sees; if the latter acknowledged the ſpiritual dominion of the Pope and paid their Annates, the court of Rome cared little about their number. And this is proved by the number of our Sees in the Roman provincial being fifty-eight, which in the tax-rolls before were but thirty-eight.

The great object of Paparo's legation was to extinguiſh our ancient doctrines and diſcipline, to new model our hierarchy, and above all, lay the foundation of a revenue: none of theſe could be accompliſhed without altering the conſtitution of our church, and the firſt ſtep towards effecting that was, by reducing the number of our Sees, which Biſhop Rochfort's canons before cited fully declare. Paparo likewiſe beſtowed four Palls on the four Metropolitans, thoſe with the Bulls for the other Biſhops brought a (49) large ſum into the Cardinal's coffers. He alſo eſtabliſhed the payment of tithes by apoſtolic, that is, by papal authority. Omnipotence was the characteriſtic of the Pope at this time. Of Pope Paſchall II. it was ſaid,

Spiritus & corpus mihi ſunt ſubjecta potenter.
Corpora terrena teneo, cæleſtia mente.
Unde tenendo polum, ſalvo ligoque ſolum (50).

Without inſiſting on the divine right of tithes, they are mentioned by Origen in the 3d century, by St. Jerome in the 4th, and from the Council of Maſcon, it is plain they were eſtabliſhed in France in the 5th and 6th, that is, as ſoon as chriſtianity obtained in any place a firm footing, tithes became immediately an eccleſiaſtical

(48) Car. a Sancto-Paulo Geograp. Append.
(49) See Putter's develop. of the German Empire, v. 2. p. 189. Note, c. where is a curious notice to this purpoſe.
(50) Godf. Viterb. Chron. Univ.

A PLAN of the ISLAND And Saint Patricks PURGATORY

DERG

LOCH

Explanation.

A The Church or Monastery
B St. Patricks Purgatory
C Chappels or Cells
D The Bed or Circle of St. Patrick
E Dr. of St. Mogi & Molaistri
F Dr. of St. Brendan
G Dr. of St. Columb
H Dr. of St. Catharine
I Dr. of St. Brigid
K Heaps of Stones serving as Sepulchres for the Dead

A VIEW of the PURGATORY.

W. Bousfield Del.

J. Ford Sculp.

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ſiaſtical revenue, nor has human wiſdom yet diſcovered a more equitable and leſs burdenſome proviſion for the Clergy.

The Council of Kells endeavoured to extirpate Simony. This vice was prevalent in Europe in the middle (51) ages. In France, as with us, the great Lords, who erected Sees and endowed them out of their eſtates, bequeathed them to their wives and children, and publicly ſold them to the beſt bidder. Abbacies were diſpoſed of in the ſame manner, and ſo were benefices of every kind. As this conduct greatly injured the rights of Biſhops and was contrary to ancient diſcipline, it was juſtly and ſeverely reprobated. This traffick was more advantageouſly carried on here by thoſe Lords who had embraced the Romiſh tenets and party, becauſe they found more purchaſers than in their own Sept. Even in their own Sept candidates were not wanting for benefices, as in Wales, of which Giraldus Cambrenſis ſupplies (52) inſtances.

Paparo alſo endeavoured to aboliſh uſury. Reaſonable intereſt for money lent has been permitted by every government; this is very different from (53) uſury, which is the peſt of ſociety. Without commerce Ireland had only landed gentry, whoſe prodigality and expence made a continued demand for borrowing, conſequently the lenders were very few and the intereſt exorbitant. Before (54) the Council of Nice, Biſhops and Prieſts were allowed to take intereſt for money, but after, the church denounced the ſevereſt puniſhments againſt thoſe who received it, as excommunication, a rejection of their oblations and a prohibition of chriſtian burial.

To render the Iriſh more obedient and ſubmiſſive an attempt was made to fetter their minds with religious terrors, a pagan tale of purgatory was trumped up with every circumſtance that could work on their hopes and fears. The very year after the Council of Kells, A. D. 1153, Matt. Paris relates the viſions of Owen, an Iriſh ſoldier, which he ſaw in St. Patrick's purgatory. The ſtory was taken up by Henry, a Ciſtertian Monk, and varniſhed with all the powers of his ingenuity. Chriſt, ſays he, appeared to St. Patrick, and leading him to a deſert place ſhowed him a deep hole, and told him, whoever repented and was armed with true faith,

(51) Moſheim. Cent. XI. And Baluze: Quo fiebat, ut qui eccleſias obtinere a patronis volebant, eas vel numerata pecunia, vel fædis obſequiis acquirerent, Not. ad Regin. p. 544. Wini purchaſed from Wulfere the See of London in 666. Bed. l. 3. c. 7.

(52) Wharton. Ang. Sac. p. 530.

(53) Fænus among canoniſts is legal intereſt, Uſura, is illegal extortion. Regin. p. 133.

(54) Ante hanc etiam ſanctionem Nicænæ ſynodi, epiſcopi ac Preſbyteri fænerabantur, ſicut alii homines, ſingulis centeſimis καὶ διανοῦνται ἑκατοστὰς ἀργυρίου. Salmas. de modo uſurar. p. 272. Balſamo diſerte tradit, uſuras laicis permiſſas eſſe, clericis ſolis vetitas. Salmas. de fæn. trapezet. p. 71.

and entering that pit continued there a night and a day, ſhould be purged from all his ſins; and alſo, during his abode there, ſhould not only ſee the pains of the damned, but the joys of the bleſſed. St. Patrick immediately built a church on the ſpot, and placed therein regular canons of St. Auſtin.

This impious fiction, for many ages firmly believed, confutes itſelf by mentioning regular canons, which are well known to have had no exiſtence, as Mabillion (55) obſerves, before the 10th century. The ground-work of this ſtory and many of the particulars are taken from (56) Bede, and ſo is the name, Owen: leſs than theſe were enough for a monkiſh fable. It has been well (57) remarked, that no account of this purgatory is to be found in Probus or Joceline, or any other writer previous to the 12th century. It has been diſcredited by many popiſh eccleſiaſtics, and on St. Patrick's day in the year 1497, it was demoliſhed by order of Pope Alexander VI. The place is ſtill frequented in the (58) months of May, June, and July; nor is this to be wondered at, when the late Pope Benedict XIV. was an admirer of this purgatory, and preached and (59) publiſhed a ſermon on its virtues. Such is the infallibility of Popes, and ſuch the effects (60) of ſuperſtition on weak and credulous minds. Here I ſhould have cloſed the account of this celebrated place, was it not neceſſary to add a few words in explanation of the plate. This purgatory is in a ſmall iſle in Lough Derg, in the ſouthern part of Donegal. The iſle is but 126 yards long by 44 broad, and the cave is ſixteen feet and a half by two wide, and ſo low that a tall man cannot ſtand erect in it. It holds nine perſons, a tenth could not remain in it without great inconvenience. The floor is the natural rock, and the whole is covered with large ſtones and ſods. There are ſeven chapels and circles dedicated to St. Patrick, St. Abage, St. Molaſs, St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Catherine and St. Bridget.

The Roman Pontiff, finding the ſucceſs of Paparo's legateſhip very problematical, reſolved to place Ireland in more powerful hands, and for this end he iſſued a (61) Bull, A. D. 1155. In this Pope Adrian claims the ſovereignty of our iſlands, and beſtows Ireland on Henry II. that he might extend the borders of the church and of religion,

(55) Mabillonio nuper dicitur ignotus ante ſæculum decimum. Spanheim. Iſag. hiſt. ecc. T. 2. p. 492. Moſheim, ſupra.

(56) Lib. 5. c. 13. Lib. 4. c. 3.

(57) Richardſon on the folly of pilgrimages, chap. 3.

(58) Burke, Hibern. Domin. p. 4.

(59) De eo Sermonem habuit ad populum, ut me memini Romæ inter ſermones ſuos typis vulgatos legiſſe. Burke, ſupra, p. 5.

(60) No one has noticed how exactly the ceremonies at the Purgatory, as deſcribed by Meſſingham, agree with thoſe practiſed at the Oracle and Cave of Trophimus. Pauſan. Bœt. p. 603—604. Edit. Sylburg. Vandale. de Orac.

(61) Uſſer. Syll. p. 109.

religion, extirpate vice and reform evil manners, provided he yearly pays to St. Peter a penny for each houſe and preſerves the rights of churches. "Voilà," exclaims (62) Mac Geoghegan, "un arrêt prononcé contre l' Irlande, par lequel le droit des gens & les loix les plus les ſacrées ſont violées ſous le ſpecieux prétexte de réligion & de réformation des mœurs. Les Irlandois ne doivent plus avoir une patrie: cette nation qui n'avoit jamais ſubi un joug étranger eſt condamnée ſans être entendue à perdre ſa liberté. Mais peut-on ſoupconner le Vicaire de Jéſus Chriſt d'une injuſtice ſi criante? Peut-on le croire capable d'avoir dicté une bulle qui a bouleverſé toute une nation, qui a dépoſſédé de leurs patrimoines tant d'anciens propriétaires, qui a fait répandre tant de ſang, & qui a été cauſe enfin de la ruine de la religion dans cette iſle."

Our Abbé and (63) Lynch endeavour to remove the odium of this papal act by declaring the Bull a forgery: but the (64) confirmation of it by Pope Alexander in 1172, and a recital of (65) it by Pope John in 1319, place its authority beyond doubt. Modern Roman Catholics perceive, what their anceſtors did not, ſome deviations from infallible rectitude in the Roman Vice-Deity, and do not ſpeak ſo (66) reſpectfully of theſe tranſactions. Furniſhed with theſe omnipotent charters, Henry arrived in this kingdom in 1172, and after accepting the allegiance of the Iriſh, haſtened to Caſhel to regulate eccleſiaſtical affairs. The canons made in this council have before been conciſely given: the principal of them is that which decrees uniformity of divine offices in the King's dominions of England and Ireland. This was a wiſe law; for the firſt ſtep towards reconciling the natives of both countries to each other was, to make them of one religion: their ſubmiſſion to the eccleſiaſtical naturally led to an acquieſcence in the common law of their new maſters; and the event would have been anſwerable to the expectation but for the ſubſequent weakneſs of the Engliſh government, which then, and almoſt ever ſince, inſtead of applying radical cures to public diſorders, contented itſelf with palliatives and temporary expedients, to appeaſe ſome preſent clamour or get rid of ſome preſent inconvenience.

Thus have I endeavoured to collect a few fragments, and they are no more, of our eccleſiaſtical antiquities: if they ſhould add any thing to the general ſtock, or illuſtrate obſcure points the labour is amply recompenſed. The orientaliſm of the Iriſh and Britiſh churches though noticed, as was before obſerved, by many learned men,

(62) Hiſt. d' Irlande. T. 1. p. 440. (63) Cambrens. Evers. p. 166—193.
(64) Uſſer. Syllog. ſupra. (65) Wilkins. Conc. v. 2. p. 491.
(66) Jus. Primat. Armac. ſup. O'Connor's Differt. 1ſt Edit.

men, has never been ſo far inveſtigated as to give a tolerable idea of its particulars, for moſt of theſe writers have confined themſelves to that of the paſchal feſtival. In the foregoing pages an attempt is made to ſupply this defect, and alſo to confirm the teſtimony of (67) Tertullian and Origen in the 3d, and Chryſoſtom and Euſebius in the 4th century, of the early propagation of chriſtianity in the Britiſh iſles by Greek miſſioners. This is a point which could not be pleaſing to Roman Catholics of former times, who wiſhed to refer all our religious obligations to Rome. And hence we need not wonder at (68) O'Flaherty pronouncing our "Greek Church and Greek Eaſter imaginary whimſies." Our author was a good ſcholar and antiquary, and not unſkilled in literary warfare:

Aſſuetus longo muros defendere bello.

If therefore ſubſtantial evidence could be brought to ſhew the orientaliſm of our church an imaginary whimſey, he was as capable as any other to produce it. But inſtead of direct and poſitive proofs, his learning and ingenuity could afford him but one, and that ſuperficial, evaſive, and illogical. It is this: "St. Patrick," ſays he, "living for ſome years a canon in the Lateran, knew of no other manner of obſerving Eaſter but that he ſaw preciſely practiſed at Rome: the Britons and Picts uſed the ſame, as did the northern Picts converted by Columba, and this uniformity continued to the time of Dionyſius Exiguus, A. D. 532."

Columba, I have ſhewn, did not keep the Roman Eaſter, nor was Saint Patrick ever in the Lateran. Under what then can O'Flaherty ſhelter himſelf from the imputation of either groſs ignorance, or groſs miſrepreſentation. Simply under this, that there was no Cycle, but the Jewiſh of 84 years, for keeping Eaſter invented till Dionyſius Exiguus formed one, and therefore the Britiſh, Iriſh, and Roman churches and indeed every church obſerved Eaſter in the ſame manner. This is ſuch a firm tone of deception, and ſo ſhameful an evaſion of truth, as could only be found in a deſperate partizan of a deſperate cauſe. What brought Polycarp from Aſia in the 2d century to Pope Anicetus, but to confer on the time of obſerving the (69) paſchal feſtival, and to terminate the violent diſputes concerning it? What made Pope Victor, at the end of the ſame century, fulminate excommunication againſt the Aſiatic Biſhops, but that the latter did not keep Eaſter like the former?

If

(67) Tertull. adv. Judæos, c. 7. Origen. hom. 4. in Ezech, and hom. 6. in Luc. c. 1. Chryſoſt. t. 6. p. 635. Euſeb. dem. evang. l. 3.

(68) Ogyg. vind. p. 225.

(69) Euſeb. Hiſt. eccles. l. 4. c. 14. l. 5. c. 24.

If there was no diverſity, why did the Council of (70) Nice decree the exact time of celebrating this feſtival? All theſe events happened before the age of St. Patrick. Do they denote an harmonious uniformity in the eaſtern and weſtern churches on this ſubject? No one knew better than O'Flaherty that they do not; and yet we muſt lament, that no literary eminence, no mental improvement are able totally to prevent a bias to party and opinions to which education and long habits incline men. Our author writ at a time (1687) when religious and civil diſſention prevailed, embittered the minds of men and left no time for cool inquiry or reflection. It was ſcarcely poſſible to eſcape the general infection:

Uvaque conſpectâ livorem ducit ab uvâ.

But had he lived at the preſent day, and more minutely examined the matter, he would have freely confeſſed the propagation of faith in this iſle, to have been nearly, if not exactly as ſtated in theſe pages, and that a Greek church and Greek Eaſter here were not imaginary whimſies.

(70) If the canon relative to this be genuine. Dupin. Siecle 4. Richardſon. Prælect. ecc. ſupra. Johnſon's Councils in loco.

OF THE STONE-ROOFED CHURCHES OF THE ANCIENT IRISH, AND OF CORMAC'S CHAPEL.

IF (1) Vitruvius, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Dion Caſſius and Herodian, who profeſſedly or incidently treat of the domeſtication of the Iriſh in their ſeveral ages, record nothing but traits of barbariſm, incivility, and total want of architecture, where could the Iriſh acquire ideas of the (2) Egyptian and Grecian ſtyles of building? There muſt be either a ſtrange conſpiracy among ancient writers, to miſrepreſent the truth, and deceive mankind, or what is delivered by Stukeley and Iriſh Antiquaries of the wonderful proficiency of the Druids in the Arts and Sciences, is deſtitute of reality. The latter had abſurd ſyſtems to ſupport, the former ſtated matters of fact and notoriety. Impartiality and truth are ever found among thoſe who have no inducement to ſwerve from them.

Vix equidem credar, ſed cum ſint præmia falſi
Nulla, ratam teſtis debet habere fidem.

Mr. O'Conor grants our buildings in the 6th century were mean, and yet he ſpeaks of magnificent ones many ages before, without condeſcending to explain the occult cauſes of this degradation, and at length final extinction of architecture among us. But this omiſſion is not more remarkable than thoſe on every ſubject touched on in his diſſertations; where a copious flow of words ſupplies the place of information, and the Leavar Gabbala and Codex Lecanus miſlead the reader with the ſhow of authority.

Mr. Lynch (3) thinks we had ſtone houſes very early, becauſe Teamor or the palace of Tarah, is derived from Tea a houſe and mor a wall. Had any but an Iriſh ſcholar and ſeanachie advanced ſo fooliſh an etymology, how loudly would his ignorance of the Iberno-Celtic be proclaimed? Teamor is obviouſly the great houſe or palace. But if Mr. Lynch's authority is to be depended on, Ireland was but ſlenderly

(1) Vitruv. Archit. l. 2. c. 1. Strab. l. 12. Plin. l. 16. Tacit. Germ. c. 16. Dio. l. 39. Herod. l. 7. c. 4.

(2) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 771.

(3) Cambrens. Evers. p. 117. Rowlands remarks that Caer or Cahir and Mhuir or Mur import an incloſed place, p. 29. But that Tea ſhould be added to commemorate an Iriſh queen, is wild and romantic.

derly inhabited before the Incarnation; for he records it of Irialus, as a memorable public act, that he (4) cleared ſixteen plains covered with wood; and that Eochad Fibherglas and Oengus Olmucad performed ſimilar important ſervices: the inference is eaſy and certain, that ſuch a country and its inhabitants muſt be in the rudeſt ſtate, and that it had more of the ferine than the human ſpecies poſſeſſing it.

In the eyes of reaſon and learning then how weak and unfounded are the aſſertions of our natural hiſtorians? They boaſt of extenſive buildings and high degrees of civilization above two thouſand years ago. The conſtruction of Eamania, ſays O'Conor, forms a remarkable epoch. Not in hiſtory, I am bold to ſay, but in Iriſh romance, for this was 350 years before our æra, when the Roman ſtate was in its infancy, and Europe but thinly peopled by wandering Celtes. To find at this period and in this corner of the world, a nation flouriſhing in all the arts of peace and ſettled ſociety, is a tale not to be liſtened to, much leſs believed. If the magnificence and ſplendour of the palace of Tarah were ſuch as deſcribed by Keating and his blind followers; if they continued from its erection to throw a luſtre on the taſte and opulence of Iriſh monarchy to the year of our Lord 427, can any reaſon be aſſigned for the ſilence of Geographers and hiſtorians on ſo curious and intereſting a ſubject, or on ſuch unuſual power, wealth and civility? Would the Romans, a people intelligent and curious, and who held the dominion of Britain for 476 years, have been ſtrangers to ſuch a nation? It muſt inſtantly be decided, that they would not.

The Celtes were, as their (5) name intimates, Woodlanders: in foreſts they found houſes, food and ſecurity: occupied in the chace and ſupported by the ſpontaneous produce of the earth, and above all living, as hunters ever do, in families and theſe widely diſperſed, they never dreamed of ſtone edifices, or felt the want of them. The Firbolgs or Belgic colonies, who ſucceeded them, were a very different and more civilized people. Like their brethren in Germany, they dwelt a great part of the year in (6) natural ſouterreins, or artificial caves, and the number of theſe diſcovered in Ireland evinces that they practiſed the ſame here, and that they knew very well how to form chambers with dry ſtones, and arch them over with long projecting flags. The firſt chriſtian miſſioners endeavoured to eſtrange the minds of the

(4) Cambrens. Evers. p. 59 Rowlands ſays the ſame of the Welſh. p. 20.

(5) Whitaker's Mancheſter, Vol. 1. and Britons aſſerted, p. 114. Baxter. Gloſſ. in Novantæ. Archæol. V. 2. p. 421. We have many places called Pallice or Peillice, which O'Brien (invoce) ſuppoſes to have been a booth made up of earth and branches of trees, and covered with ſkins.

(6) Pelloutier, hiſt. des Celtes, tom. 1.

the natives from their old idolatry, by building wooden churches. Thus Palladius, it is (7) ſaid, founded in 431, three wooden oratories. The year after, St. Patrick erected tne church of Saul, in the county of Down: it was called † Sgibol Phadruig, or Patrick's Barn, a name at once conveying to us its ſhape and materials. Concubran, deſcribing the old chapel of Monenna at Kilſlieve, in the county of Armagh, A. D. 630, tells us it was made of (8) ſmoothed timber, according to the Iriſh faſhion, for they had no ſtone fabrics. About 635, Finian, an Iriſhman, and Biſhop of Lindisfern, built a church in that iſle for his epiſcopal ſee: it was made of (9) ſplit oak and covered with reeds. Eadbert, his ſucceſſor, ordered the thatch to be taken off, and both the roof and walls to be ſheeted with lead. Bede ſays, Finan's church was after the Iriſh faſhion, being of wood, whereas the (10) Roman was with ſtone. In 684, Cuthbert, an (11) Iriſhman, and alſo Biſhop of Lindisfern, conſtructed an edifice, of which Bede gives this (12) deſcription. The building was round, four or five perches wide between wall and wall. The wall on the outſide, was the height of a man, on the inſide higher, ſo made by ſinking of an huge rock, which was done to prevent the thoughts from rambling, by reſtraining the ſight. The wall was neither of ſquared ſtone or brick, or cemented with mortar, but of rough unpoliſhed ſtone, with turf dug up in the middle of the place, and banked on both ſides of the ſtone all round. Some of the ſtones were ſo big that four men could hardly lift one. Within the walls he conſtructed two houſes and a chapel, together with a room for common uſes. The roofs he made of unhewn timber, and thatched them. Without the walls, was a large houſe to receive ſtrangers, and near it a fountain of water.

The paroxyſm of zeal for the monaſtic profeſſion alternately poſſeſſed the eaſtern and weſtern world. Egypt, about the end of the 4th century, boaſted (13) of ſeventy-ſix thouſand Monks, and twenty-one thouſand Nuns. In this iſland, in the 7th century, the age we are ſpeaking of, St. Nathalus and St. Maidoc ſeparately ruled

(7) Uſſer. Primord. p. 737. & ſeq.

† Eccleſiæ tunc apud Hibernos fuere parvæ, in forma quadræ oblongæ redactæ, & viminibus, &c. Pinkerton, vit. Sanct. Scot. p. 39.

(8) Tabulis dedolatis, juxta morem Scoticarum gentium, eo quod macerias Scoti non ſolent facere. Uſſer. ſupra.

(9) Quam more Scotorum non de lapide ſed de robore ſecto totam compoſuit, atque arundine texit. Eadbertus, ablata arundine, plumbi laminis eam totam, hoc eſt, et tectum & ipſos quoque parietes ejus cooperire curavit. Bed. l. 3. c. 25.

(10) Archaeologia, Vol. 8. p. 168—169.

(11) Regio dicitur natus ſanguine in Hibernia, patre Muriardacho, matre vero Sabina. Godwyn. de præſul. p. 95.

(12) Vit. Cudberti, p. 243. (13) Raſſin. c. 5. p. 459. Fleury, Tom. 30.

DUN AENGUS.

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(14) ruled one hundred and fifty Monks, and St. Manchene and St. Monenna, as many Nuns. Three hundred Monks obeyed St. Tehan; eight hundred and seventy-six, St. Carthag; a thousand, St. Goban; a thousand five hundred, St. Laserian; three hundred, St. Brendan; three thousand, St. Finan; as many, St. Congel and St. Gerald; so that Bishop Nicholson might well (15) say, the secular and regular clergy were almost as numerous as men of every other denomination. In the little isle of Bute were twelve (16) churches or chapels, and thirty hermitages; and in Unst and the other Hebrides, religious phrenzy equally extended her reign. Hence the Irish acquired a fondness for, and a propensity to monachism, which remarkably distinguished them through (17) every age. Though the number of Monks and Nuns now recited is by no means to be depended on, yet it suggested to their presidents the necessity of stone inclosures or closes, these in the East were called Mandræ. The word originally (18) imported a sheep-fold, and was applied to those monastic buildings, wherein the Archimandrite presided over his disciples, as the shepherd superintended his flock in the fold. There are many of these Mandræ dispersed over this kingdom hitherto unnoticed; one remarkable is Dun Aengus. This is in the greater isle of Arran, on the coast of Galway, situated on a high cliff over the sea, and is a * circle of monstrous stones, without cement, and capable of containing 200 cows. The tradition † relative to it is, that Aengus, King of Cashel, about 490, granted this isle, called Arran Naomh, or Arran of the Saints, to St. Enna or Endeus, to build ten churches on.

The 7th and 8th centuries were brilliant periods in the history of Irish literature. It is therefore surprising amid such a superiority, not to find other useful branches of human knowledge cultivated in this isle. However, other people were similarly circumstanced. Doctor Johnson (19) remarks, "that he knew not whether it was peculiar to the Scots to have attained the liberal without the manual arts, to have excelled in ornamental knowledge, and to have wanted not only the elegancies but the conveniencies of common life. Yet men thus ingenious and inquisitive, are

 content

(14) Cambren. Evers. p. 138. Colgan adds much to this catalogue. Act. Sanct. Hib. passim.

(15) Irish Historical Library, Preface.

(16) Campbell's political Survey, V. 2. p. 578.

(17) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, par. 2. p. 91. Archdall, sup. Introduction.

(18) Salmas. in Vopisc. p. 460—461. Du Cange & Suicer. in voce.

* Ingens opus lapideum sine cæmento tamen, quod ducentas vaccas in area contineret, supra altissimam maris crepidinem, e vastæ molis ruptibus erectum. O'Flah. Ogyg. p. 175. Macpherson's crit. diss. p. 194.

† Archdall's Monast. Hib. p. 271.

(19) Journey to the Western Islands.

content to live in total ignorance of the trades, by which the human wants are ſupplied, and to ſupply them by the groſſeſt means." To the ſame purpoſe, Doctor Woodward, from Diodorus Siculus, (20) obſerves it as a mighty paradox, that the Egyptians ſhould take little care of the ſtructure of their houſes, when they waſted ſo much time, labour, and expence in adorning their ſepulchres.—But the ſolution of theſe paradoxical appearances is not ſo difficult. The climate has ſome influence on the architecture of a country, but its political conſtitution the greateſt. Where this is unfavourable to induſtry, to commerce, to arts and manufactures, there we are not to look for neatneſs or convenience in apparel, in building, or any other inſtance of civil improvement.

From every evidence ſupplied by antiquity it is certain, the Iriſh had neither domeſtic edifices nor religious ſtructures of lime and ſtone, antecedent to the great northern invaſion in the 9th century. Some years before the birth of Chriſt, Druſus erected fifty (21) caſtles or forts along the Rhine, ſo that the calcination of ſtone and the preparation of mortar, could not be unknown to the natives, and yet an hundred years after, (22) Tacitus aſſures us, the Germans did not uſe cement or mortar. A century later (23) Herodion and Dion Caſſius declare the ſame. Tacitus does not ſay, the Germans were ignorant of mortar and its compoſition, that would have been impoſſible from their intercourſe with the Romans, he only denies them the uſe of it: their riches, as this writer obſerves, were their flocks and herds, their life was paſtoral; a ſtate of ſociety wherein no one expects to find durable ſtructures. And yet they had ſkill enough to form ſubterranean granaries and antrile chambers to ſecure (24) their corn, and ſoften the ſeverity of the winter's cold. Such was exactly the caſe with the Iriſh. Whatever change chriſtianity operated in the religious ſentiments of the latter, it made no alteration in the political conſtitution of the country, of courſe things remained in their ancient ſtate as to the arts of civil life.

But the doctrine and diſcipline of the Iriſh church were averſe from ſtone fabrics. Celſus, that bitter enemy of chriſtianity, (25) objects to the firſt believers, that they had no dedications or conſecrations of altars, ſtatues, or churches. Four centuries had almoſt (26) elapſed before the uſage here noticed began. In this interval, the Goſpel

(20) Archælogia, V. 4. p. 230. (21) Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

(22) Ne cœmentorum quidem apud illos uſus. Germ. c. 16. (23) Pelloutier, ſupra.

(24) Suffugium hyemi & receptaculum frugibus. Per ſubterranea occulta, foſſaſque multifidas, multi Germani latebant. Tac. Germ. c. 16. In the foſſis multifidis, we ſee the origin of our ſubterranean rooms in the numerous caves in this iſle, made by the Firbolgs, or Belgic coloniſts.

(25) Origen. Cont. Cels. l. 8. M. Fæl. Octav. Arnob. l. 6. Lactant. l. 2. c. 2.

(26) Compare Euſeb. vit. Conſtant. l. 2. c. 47. Durand, Rat. Div. Offic. c. 6. P. Virgil. de Invent. l. 6. c. 8.

Goſpel was propagated in this iſle by Greek miſſioners or their diſciples. It was in the 6th age, churches were anointed with chriſm, and in 787, reliques (27) were placed in them, and they aſſumed the name of ſome patron Saint or Martyr. While corruptions were creeping into religion on the continent, ours was pure and primitive. Retentive of the faith delivered to us, and precluded from acceſs to Rome by the convulſions of the Empire, we were ſtrangers to the innovations of foreign churches; when time diſcovered them to us, we beheld them with horror and deteſtation. Such is the tenor of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Lanfranc (28) complains in 1074, that we did not uſe chriſm in baptiſm, and we may conclude, that it was not applied in inferior ſacred offices, as conſecrating a church or altar. By Archbiſhop Comyn's (29) canons, made in 1186, it appears that our altars were of wood, and therefore incapable of chriſmation; for the councils of Adge in 506, and of Epaon in 517, forbid the (30) holy oil to be applied but to ſtructures of ſtone. Here are proofs of our churches being generally of wood even in the 12th century, and that their conſecration was ſolely by prayer, agreeably to the cuſtom of the pureſt ages.

The Britons, who ſymbolized with the Iriſh in religious tenets, had only (31) wattled and wooden churches. The ancient chapel at Glaſtonbury, preſerved in (32) Spelman, and that of (33) Greeſted in the county of Eſſex, exhibit ſpecimens of the old Iriſh and Britiſh ſtyle. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon church, founded by an eleve of Rome, early adopted the maſſes, ſtations, litanies, ſinging, reliques, pilgrimages, and other ſuperſtitious practices, flowing in a full tide from that imperial city, and with theſe that mode of building peculiarly ſuited to them.

The Iriſh Oſtmen being converted in the 9th century, embraced the faith of their countrymen in England. We find them in ſubſequent ages correſponding with (34) Lanfranc, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſending to the Metropolitans of that ſee their

(27) Concil. Nic. 2. can 7. Reliques are defended by the Romaniſts on the text (Revelations, chap. vi. ver. 9) of a book of very ſuſpicious authority. Even this text is perverted, for does the ſoul and body remain together in the grave? What is ſaid by St. Auſtin, (Serm. de Sanct.) and by St. Jerome, (in Viligant.) they are interpolations, and of no weight.

(28) Uſſer. Syllog. p. 71. On what authority is chriſm or unction ſupported? On a prophane and ridiculous ſuppoſition. Spiritualem intelligi volebant ſacris myſteriis ineſſe pinguedinem. Cyprian. c. 14.

(29) Ware's Biſhops, p. 316.

(30) Altaria niſi lapidea infuſione chriſmatis non ſacrentur. Conc. Epaon. c. 26. Why? Durandus anſwers: Non de ligno, quia cum ſit poroſum et ſpongioſum corpus ſanguinem abſorberet, ſup. p. 18. The portable ſtone-altar of the 9th and 10th centuries, was uſually a ſlate. Baluz. in Rhegin. p. 561—562.

(31) E lapide enim ſacras ædes efficiere tam Scotis quam Britonibus morem fuiſſe inſolitum. Uſſer. ſup. p. 737. Eo quod. ibi eccleſiam de lapide, inſolito Britonibus more, fecerat. Bed. l. 3. c. 4.

(32) Concil. V. 1. p. 11. (33) Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 100.

(34) Uſſer. Syll. p. 119.

their Biſhops for conſecration. This predilection might be reaſonably expected among people iſſuing from the ſame country, and connected by affinity and language. Accordingly the firſt ſtructures of the Oſtmen in Ireland, and the firſt buildings with (35) mortar, were ſtone-roofed chapels for reliques. I ſhall only add one very remarkable circumſtance, and that is the cloſe imitation of Britiſh crypts in their ſculptures by our Iriſh architects. Let the learned reader compare the ſculptural ornaments of (36) the undercroft at Canterbury, with thoſe in ſome of our chapels, and he will be convinced of the truth of what is here advanced. As our over-ground cryptical chapels have been hitherto unnoticed by Iriſh Antiquaries, and as they are objects extremely curious, I ſhall now communicate what authentic information has occurred to me concerning them.

Near the Cathedral of Killaloe, is a ſtone-roofed chapel, in it were probably depoſited the reliques of St. Flannan, though after tranſlated to the cathedral. This patron Saint is (37) ſaid to have been diſciple of St. Molua, the founder of this chapel, which from him was called, Kil da Lua, and the patron himſelf, Mo-Lua, or My Molua, a pronoun added by way of endearment. This childiſh analyſis is as contemptible as the other elucidations of hagiographers. St. Molua is an ideal perſonage, and may be added to the other Saints of imagination. (38) Kil-le-lua, is literally the church upon or near the water, the water here is the Shannon: a rational and obvious origin of the name. This place, being but eleven miles from the great Oſtman ſettlement at Limerick, was perhaps as early built as any other in the iſle.

The church of St. Doulach, ſituated about four miles to the Eaſt of Dublin, on the road to Malahide, is a curious ſtructure. It is forty-eight feet long, by eighteen wide. There is a double ſtone roof, the external which covers the building, and that which divides the lower from the upper ſtory. You enter this crypt through a ſmall door to the South. Juſt as you enter, the tomb of St. Doulach preſents itſelf. The tomb projects ſo far into the room, that together with the ſtairs of the tower and legs of the arches, it can contain but few people: it ſeems deſigned for no other uſe but the ſeparate admiſſion of thoſe, who came to make their prayers and offerings to the Saint. From this room, by ſtooping, you paſs a narrow way and enter the

(35) The Ordo Romanus, compiled in the 9th century, directs the mortar uſed for incloſing reliques within an altar to be made with holy water. Tunc faciat maltam cum ipſa aqua benedicta ad occludendas Sanctorum reliquias in loco altaris. Du Cange in Malta.

(36) Archæologia, V. 8. (37) Ware's Biſhops, p. 590. (38) O'Brien's Iriſh Dict. voce Lia.

OLD Church of KILLALOE.

St. DOULAGH'S CHURCH.

W. Beauford del.

J. Ford Sculpt.

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the chapel. This is twenty-two feet by twelve, and lighted by three windows, one at the Eaſt, and two at the South; the arches pointed and decorations Gothic, theſe with the tower are later additions. The roof is of ſtone and carried up like a wedge. The ſtones which cover it are not large, but ſo well bedded in mortar, that after many centuries this roof tranſmits neither light nor water. There is a well in an octagon incloſure, with ſome emblematic freſco paintings, and a bath ſupplied from the well. The cryptical ſepulchres and oratories in Gregory of Tours and Bede are the exact archetypes of ours. Theſe were ſecured from vulgar approach by (39) doors and chancels; the ſupplicant was permitted only to put his head into a little window, and there invoke the Saint, and take with his fingers a pinch of the ſacred duſt. Under the ancient church of Rippon, founded (40) by Wilfrid, A. D. 660, is an arched chapel, ten feet ſix inches long, ſeven feet ſix inches broad, and nine feet high. There are nine ſteps down to it, and there is a little hole, called St. Wilfrid's needle, through which people are drawn into the (41) chapel. In all theſe inſtances, there is a remarkable uniformity, proving that they ſprang from one common origin.

The crenellated ſquare tower at St. Doulach's, if not a later addition, muſt have been conſtructed by ſome of the Fingallian or Dublin Oſtman Princes of the eleventh century. And this I conclude as well from the building as from the name of the Saint to whom it is dedicated. St. Tulloch or St. Doulach is a (42) corruption of St. Olave. Now St. Olave was (43) born A. D. 993, and died at the age of thirty-five, ſo that this chapel could not be older than the beginning of the 11th century. About 1038, Sihtric, the Oſtman King of Dublin, built the (44) church of the holy Trinity, or Chriſt Church in that city, and his Biſhop Donat was animated with not leſs zeal, for he founded the chapels of St. Michael and St. Nicholas. Tulloch's or Olave's lane probably received its name at this time; it ran from the end of Fiſh-amble-ſtreet to the Wood-quay, and as was uſual in thoſe ages, had a croſs, a well, or oratory, dedicated to this Saint. It might well be expected that the northerns would particularly venerate a Saint of their own country, and endeavour to procure ſome of his reliques. St. Doulach's chapel is an exiſting monument of this fact, as well as of their ſuperſtition.

(39) Sed qui orare deſiderat, reſeratis cancellis quibus locus ille ambitur, &c. Feneſtella parvula patefacta, immiſſo introrſum capite, quæ neceſſitas promit, efflagitat. Greg. Tur. de glor. Confeſs. p. 925. Edit Ruinart. Habente foramen in pariete, per quod ſolent manum ſuam immittere, ac partem pulveris inde adſumere. Bed. l. 4. c. 3.

(40) Tanner's Notitia Mon. in Yorkſhire. (41) Gent's hiſtory of Rippon, p. 120.

(42) Hiſtory of Dublin, p 86. (43) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 292.

(44) Hiſtory of Dublin, p. 371.

St. Doulach's well was the baptiſtery, it is at a ſmall diſtance from the chapel. All the old baptiſmal fonts were octagonal. There was ſomething myſtical in the (45) number eight. Among chriſtians the idea of this figure ſeems to have been taken from the (46) eighth or baptiſmal day. Thus (47) St. Ambroſe.

Octacborum ſanctos templum ſurrexit in uſus,
Octagonus fons eſt munere dignus eo.
Hoc numero decuit ſacri baptiſmatis aulam
Surgere, quo populis vera ſalus rediit.

The emblematic freſco paintings, with which this baptiſtery is adorned, were directly copied from a Roman original. Thus Prudentius (48) ſpeaks of the Vatican font.

Omnicolor vitreas pictura ſuperne tingit undas.
Muſci relucent & vireſcit aurum.
Cyaneuſque latex umbram trahit imminentis oſtri,
Credas moveri fluctibus lacunar.

As a ſupplement to what has been ſaid of St. Doulach and his chapel, I beg leave to add an account of both from an anonymous, though well informed author, who in 1747, publiſhed a conciſe ſurvey of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Dublin and its dioceſe.

"In Bove-ſtreet, now called Fiſhamble-ſtreet, ſtood formerly a chapel of eaſe to St. John's church dedicated to St. Doulach, an anchoret whoſe feaſt is celebrated on the firſt of Auguſt; on which day and during its octave, is viſited a famous well in Fingal between Belgriffin and Kinſaly, about five miles from Dublin, contiguous to a church ſacred to the memory of this venerable ſolitary, whoſe life was formerly preſerved at Malahide, but now not to be met with. The building of the hermitage is ſtill covered, and in it is an altar, which ſome look upon to have been the tomb of that holy recluſe; near which is a hole, where many put in their heads to get rid of the head-ach. Up two pair of ſtone-ſtairs is ſhewn his bed, not much larger than a ſmall oven, ſcarce ſufficient to contain a perſon of a moderate ſize: it is held in great repute by women in pregnancy, who turn thrice in ſaid bed, hoping thereby they may not die in child-bed. The ſteeple is ſtill up, as is alſo the church, which is now much ſmaller than formerly. Divine ſervice is performed there once a fortnight, and the tithes belong to the Chapter of Chriſt Church. Near this church

(45) Rhodogin, l 22. c. 13.
(46) Cyprian, epiſt. 59, ad Fidum.
(47) Inſcrip. ad font. S. Teclæ. Du Gange in Octava. Durand. ſup. l. 7. c. 2.
(48) Periſteph hym. 12.

church is a well of moſt lucid and delightful water, incloſed and arched over, and formerly embelliſhed at the expence of Peter Fagan, brother of John Fagan of Feltrim, Eſq. with the decorations of gilding and painting. The deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the apoſtles was repreſented on the top: the effigies of St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Bridget, much after the manner they are engraved in Meſſingham's title-page to his Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniæ, as alſo of St. Doulach, in a hermit's habit. On the walls was the following inſcription, engraved on a marble ſtone.

" *Piſcinæ Solymis claræ decus efferat alter,*
Et medicas populus jactet Hebræus aquas.
Grata Deo patrium celebrat Fingallia fontem,
Doulachi precibus munera nacta piis.
Morbos ille fugat promptus, vireſque reponit,
Ægris, & cauſas mille ſalutis habet.
Scilicet æquus agit mediis Doulachus in undis,
Angelus ut fontem, ſic movet ille ſuum.
O Fons! noſter amor, ſi te negleximus olim
Mox erit, ut nomen ſit ſuper aſtra tuum.

" Bethſaida's ſacred pool, let others tell
With healing virtues how her waters ſwell,
An equal glory ſhall Fingallia claim,
Nor be leſs grateful for her bliſsful ſtream.
Thy pray'rs, Doulachus, mounted up to heav'n,
Thence to thy well the mighty pow'r is giv'n
To drive the fiery fever far away,
Strength to replace, and reſcue from decay,
In ev'ry malady to life a ſtay.
The cherub wond'rous moves his wat'ry ſphere,
The ſaint behold who ſtirs the fountain here.
Hail! lovely font, if long unſung thy name,
It hence ſhall riſe above the ſtarry frame.

" Doctor Patrick Ruſſel, Archbiſhop (titular) of Dublin, granted forty days indulgence to thoſe who would ſay devoutly, on their bare knees, at St. Doulach's well, five times the Lord's prayer, Ave Maria, and at the end of ſaid prayers the Apoſtles creed, and that a fortnight muſt intervene between each time of ſaying the

the aforeſaid prayers to gain the indulgence, as appears from an inſcription which had been formerly on a ſtone which imported the ſame. At the back of St. Doulach's well, there is another for bathing, which is vaulted, and called after St. Catharine."

Thus far our author, who in his account of this little cryptical chapel and its founder, exhibits a picture of ſuperſtition and bigotry as remote from common ſenſe as from genuine chriſtianity.

Near the (49) church of Portaferry ſtands a chapel; a coarſe building, ſays the writer, of an odd contrivance, being a room thirty-ſeven feet in length, ſixteen broad, and twenty high; covered with a coved arch of ſtone, ſo cloſe and firmly cemented, that it does not appear to admit any water. Adjoining is a ſimilar ſtructure, divided into two apartments. There is a very ancient over-ground crypt in an iſland in the Shannon not far from Killaloe. Malachy O'Morgair, about 1135, erected at the Abbey of Saul, two ſtone-roofed crypts, ſeven feet high, ſix long and two and a half wide, with a ſmall window at one ſide. But that of the greateſt magnitude and beſt architecture is Cormac's chapel at (50) Caſhel.

Iriſh romantic hiſtory tells us, that he was deſcended from Olliol-Olum, King of Munſter of the Eugenian race, and that he was proclaimed King of Caſhel, A. D. 902, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, exerciſing at the ſame time the archiepiſcopal functions. That in 906, he was ſuddenly attacked by Flan, King of Meath, and by Carubhal, King of Leinſter, who plundered his country. That in 907, he defeated theſe enemies on the plains of Moylena in Meath, but in 908, he was again invaded, and fell in battle on the plain of Moyailbhe, not far from Leighlin. I rely more on the teſtimony of Caradoc of Lhancarvan, for his exiſtence than the plauſible fictions of national writers; and I think what this Welſh chronicler relates of his being ſlain by the Danes moſt likely, for in his time they were (51) ravaging every part of the kingdom. Iriſh writers praiſe his learning, piety, valour, and magnificence; after pompouſly detailing theſe, they are not aſhamed at confeſſing their total (52) ignorance of his ſucceſſors in Caſhel for one hundred years. As uſual, they are perfectly acquainted with the minuteſt tranſactions of the remoteſt ages, of which there are no annals or documents remaining, but where light might be expected from the latter in ſubſequent periods, there nothing but darkneſs reigns.

Caſhel

(49) Hiſt. of the County of Down, p. 46.
(50) Caiſial, in Iriſh, is a rock. O'Brien in voce.
(51) Johnſtone, ſupra, p. 66.
(52) Ware's Biſhops, p. 467.

A. Chearnley Esq. Delin.

J. Ford Sculp.

A South East View of the ROCK of CASHEL.

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Caſhel ſeems to have been dedicated to religion in times of paganiſm; for on the ſite of heathen fanes early chriſtianity erected her churches. Ware relates a tradition, that the kings of Munſter were proclaimed on a large ſtone there. This was a Firbolgian cuſtom introduced from the North, where the people reared (53) great ſtones, or ſtone-circles for the election and inauguration of their princes, the electors themſelves alſo ſtanding on ſtones while giving their ſuffrages. Formerly in (54) Scotland, when a chief entered on the government of his clan, he was mounted on an heap of ſtones in the form of a pyramid, his followers ſtanding in a circle round him. Manus Odonnel, Lord of Tyreonnel, was inaugurated on a rock near Kilmacrenan church in 1537, as Cox informs us. And M'Donald, King of the Iſles, was crowned ſtanding on a ſtone. Our Liafail or (55) Stone of Fate, is very celebrated in Iriſh romantic hiſtory; on it our monarchs were ſeated for inauguration, and if he was the true ſucceſſor, the ſtone groaned in ſign of approbation. This ſtone was brought into Ireland by the Tuatha de Danans, from the city of (56) Falia in the north of Germany. This tradition, connected with the acknowledged practice of the Northerns, proves the cuſtom to be of Scandinavian origin, and very different from the Celtic, which uſed a tree and not a ſtone. Thus the (57) Bile Magh Adhair, was a remarkable tree in the plain of Adhair in the county of Clare, under which the Dalcaſſian princes were inaugurated. Every ſolemn and holy office was performed by the Celtes in groves; by the Firbolgs in ſtone circles. Here we have an eminent inſtance of the diſtinction between thoſe people, in religious rights and civil uſages, ſo much inſiſted on in theſe papers.

That Caſhel was an ancient Mandra, the wall ſurrounding its ſummit, its ſituation and the monaſtic ſpirit of chriſtianity prevalent in this kingdom, give reaſonable grounds to believe. The ſtone-roofed chapel before deſcribed, and denominated from Cormac, I think, muſt have been conſtructed poſterior to the age of this prelate. Becauſe, if things were conducted in the common manner, he muſt have been firſt canonized, and his reliques afterwards be depoſited in this crypt. So that unleſs he could have fore-known that he was to be dubbed the patron of Caſhel, he hardly would have built this chapel for his own remains. Or if this chapel had been once dedicated to (58) St. Patrick, the leſſer would never have diſpoſſeſſed the

(53) Worm. Mon. Dan. l. 1. c. 12. J. Magn. Hiſt. Goth. initio. Sax. Gram. l. 1. Krantz. Meurs. et alios.
(54) Martin's Weſtern Iſlands, p. 102—141—384.
(55) O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 19. Harris's Ware, p. 10—114.
(56) O'Flahert. ſup. p. 12—19. (57) O'Brien, upra, voce Bile. (58) Ware's Biſhops, p. 463.

greater ſpiritual hero. It is therefore probable, that ſome other perſon erected this fabric to his memory, and enſhrined his bones there, as a martyr who fell in defence of his religion and country againſt pagan invaders. Who this perſon was, or the time is not eaſy to determine. The dimenſions of this chapel are thus ſtated.—

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of the nave,	30	0
Breadth,	18	0
Length of the choir,	13	8
Breadth,	11	6
Breadth of the grand arch leading into the choir,	9	0
Width of the north door,	2	7
Of the ſouth door,	3	4
Of the weſt door,	4	6
Mean thickneſs of the walls,	4	1
Length of the ſquare tower,	10	0
Breadth,	6	8
Height,	68	0
Height of the ſtone roof from the ground,	52	0
Slant of the roof,	24	0
Diameter of the columns of the grand arch,	0	6
Height,	8	0
Height of the intire arch,	12	6
Breadth of the archivolt,	3	6
Length of the chapel infide,	47	8
Length outſide.	53	0

This is certainly one of the moſt curious fabrics in theſe kingdoms. It is a regular church, divided into nave and choir, the latter narrowing in breadth, and ſeparated from the former by a wide arch. Under the altar, tradition places the bones of St. Cormac. There is a ſtriking reſemblance between this chapel and the church of St. Peter at Oxford, with Grymbald's crypt beneath it. This (59) church is ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt ſtone church in England, and ſaid to be built by Grymbald about the end of the 9th century. It conſiſts of a nave with a ſquare tower at the weſt end; at the eaſt is the chancel, and on its extremities ſtand two round towers,

(59) Collinſon's Britiſh Antiquities, p. 139. Strutt's chron. V. 2. p. 209.

towers, terminating at top in a cone. The crypt is arched, and the columns ſupporting it are ſhort and maſſy. The ſquare tower is about eighty feet high, and the round towers from the parapet about twelve. Let theſe (60) particulars be compared with ſimilar ones at Cormac's chapel, and a ſtrong likeneſs will be perceived; only our chapel is infinitely more curious, by uniting under its ſtone-roof a church and crypt. Notwithſtanding this agreement, I think the ornaments in Cormac's chapel ſpeak it to be a conſtruction later than that of St. Peter's. The groteſques on the capitals in the crypt of the latter are not ſeen in our chapel. Over a door indeed is an archer mounted on ſome ideal quadruped. High ſquare towers were certainly known and in uſe in England when Cormac's chapel was built, becauſe there is one there; but it could not be placed on the interſection of the croſs, for our chapel is not cruciform; beſides, if there were croſs ailes it would not have anſwered the idea of a crypt. High towers are (61) dated about the reign of Edgar, towards the end of the 10th century. So that, on the whole, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, about this time, or the beginning of the next age, Cormac's chapel was erected by ſome of his ſucceſſors in Caſhel, and that prior to the introduction of the Norman or Gothic ſtyles, for in every reſpect it is purely Saxon. Theſe hints may perhaps remove ſome difficulties, and lead to ſome happier conjectures on this ſubject.

The (62) annals of the priory of All Saints inform us, that the church, after the reſtoration of it, was ſolemnly conſecrated, and a ſynod held in it in the year 1134. About thirty-five years after, Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, built a new church in Caſhel from the foundation, converting Cormac's old church into a chapel or chapter-houſe, on the South ſide of the choir. Here the church noticed in the annals ſeems to be Cormac's, which probably had been deſecrated in the wars of thoſe (63) times. Or ſhall we ſay, that a cathedral was erected in 1101, when Mortogh Mor O'Brien ſolemnly granted and dedicated the town of Caſhel to God and St. Patrick. If ſo, Mortogh's fabric muſt have been mean and trifling, ſince it went to decay in about thirty years; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, Donald O'Brien would have conſtructed a new church had his predeceſſor's continued in good preſervation. I therefore imagine there was no religious edifice of ſtone on the rock but Cormac's, antecedent to Donald's church. Notwithſtanding the former

might

(60) Views of St. Peter's church and Grymbald's crypt may be ſeen in Archæologia, Vol. I. Leland's Collect. V. 2. p. 151. Edit. Ayloffe.

(61) Groſe, V. 1. p. 113. (62) Ware's Biſhops, p. 464.

(63) Collectanea, No. 4. p. 546, et ſequent.

might have been uſed as a chapter-houſe, the builders had the ſtrongeſt reaſon for uniting the cathedral with the chapel, and that was the ſanctity of the latter. Had the chapel been ſmaller, it would have been incloſed in the new building. Thus Edwin, King of Northumberland, made a ſmall wooden oratory, afterwards he built a church of ſtone, incloſing the oratory (64) within it. The old chapel at Glaſtonbury had a divine odour exhaling from it: Auguſtin did not attempt to demoliſh it, but very much (65) adorned it. In all parts the veneration for theſe old chapels and crypts was the ſame.

Donald O'Brien founded a cathedral at Caſhel about 1169. This was certainly of ſtone; for it did not want any great repairs for two hundred and fifty years, when Archbiſhop O'Hedian rebuilt thoſe parts which had been injured by age, and modernized the whole, as the long lancet windows and other gothic ornaments teſtify.

But neither the ſame of St. Cormac, nor the curious remains at Caſhel, have made it ſo memorable as the (66) Synod held there in the year 1172, when every Archbiſhop and Biſhop gave ſealed charters to Henry II. conferring on him and his heirs for ever the kingdom of Ireland, which charters were confirmed by Pope Alexander. At the ſame time, on the King's part were offered and accepted, the Engliſh laws; theſe the Iriſh ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, and for their better execution the kingdom was divided into ſhires. Political wiſdom was never more eminently diſplayed than on this occaſion. The natives, how attached ſoever by long habits, could not but feel the heavy, grievous, and arbitrary exactions of their Lords; from theſe, by the laws of England, they would be exonerated. For though the feudal incidents were ſevere enough, yet they were certain and fixed. Another ſtriking advantage would have been the ſecuring inheritances. Theſe two objects, if there were none other, were of the laſt importance towards introducing civility among a rude people: and that the Iriſh underſtood the operation of theſe laws, we may learn from the hiſtorian's remarking, that they thankfully received them.

The canons made in this ſynod deſerve notice. They forbid marriages within the prohibited degrees: they exempt the church lands from ſecular exactions: they releaſe the clergy from Eric for murder: they command children to be baptized in the

(64) Bed. l. 2. c. 14.

(65) Egit nimirum prædicabilis viri ſolertia, ut nihil decederet ſanctitati, & plurimum accederet ornatui. Guil. Malmeſb.

(66) Ware's Biſhops, p. 468. Lyttleton's Hen. 2. V. 2. p. 89.

the font: they order tithes of cattle and corn to be paid to the pariſh church: they point out the diſtribution of a dying man's property: they decree, that every chriſtian be brought to the church and decently buried, and laſtly they enjoin an uniformity of divine offices with thoſe in England.

Leland attempts to exhibit this ſynod of Caſhel as a (67) ſolemn farce, and to ridicule its proceedings; in doing ſo he proves how little he was acquainted with Iriſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Rome wanted a revenue, as the bulls of Adrian and Alexander unequivocally declare; this could not be procured without eradicating the ancient faith and practice of the Iriſh; to accompliſh which purpoſe the interpoſition of a foreign power was indiſpenſably neceſſary. To juſtify the foregoing cenſure, it has been ſhewn that the rites and ceremonies of the Iriſh totally differed from thoſe eſtabliſhed at Caſhel. Let one inſtance ſuffice. It has before been ſeen, that the Iriſh and Britons agreed in religious matters. Auguſtine in Bede objects to the Britons, that they did not adminiſter baptiſm according to the cuſtom of the Holy Roman and Apoſtolic Church; which muſt mean, that they either did not obſerve the uſual ſeaſons for adminiſtering this rite, or they made no uſe of chriſm, exorciſm or impoſition of hands. Beſides this, Brompton and Benedict, Abbots of Peterborough, who lived at the very time this ſynod was held in Caſhel, expreſsly aſſure us, that the Iriſh who were rich baptized their children by immerging them thrice in milk, as thoſe who were poor did thrice in water. This was not a barbarous cuſtom as a ſuperficial reader may imagine. The authors laſt cited tell us, it was the father that dipped the child. Laical baptiſm was common in the Eaſt in early ages, but was forbidden by the (68) Apoſtolic Conſtitutions and alſo by St. Baſil. We know from (69) Tertullian, that after baptiſm, milk and honey were given to the infant, and by the 37th canon of the African code, milk and honey were laid on the altar for baptiſmal uſe, and they were conſecrated by a peculiar form. The Egyptians, according to Apuleius, gave milk to thoſe whom they initiated into their myſteries. Without proceeding farther, we may obſerve, that the Iriſh received from their firſt teachers the Oriental cuſtoms of lay-baptiſm and milk and honey; the latter, in a courſe of years, was changed for immerſion into milk.

(67) Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. 1. p. 75—76. Edit. 8vo.
(68) Lib. 3. c. 10. S. Baſil. epiſt. ad Amphil. p. 759.
(69) Deinde egreſſos lactis & mellis præguſtare. De Coron. mil. c. 3.

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These uſages and many others ſimilar, ſcandalized the Roman Catholic church, nor can I think ſo ill of the zeal and ſincerity of its members, as not to perceive the reformation of them was a principal motive of their attempts on Ireland. However they proceeded too far, inſtead of correcting abuſes and retaining what was blameleſs, they introduced a ritual corrupted in every part, and to force this on a reluctant people was the object of Henry's Iriſh cruſade.

KILLOSSY.

Door of KILDARE.

Timahoe.

St Kevin's KITCHEN Glendaloch.

Ivy CHURCH Glendaloch.

Door at Timahoe.

Published by John Jones N.° 90. Bride Street Dublin.

OF THE ROUND TOWERS IN IRELAND.

THERE is a very juſt obſervation in an excellent monthly (1) production too applicable, I confeſs, to modern antiquaries, and from the truth and ſeverity of which none of us can claim exemption: It is, "that as the final cauſe of the principle of curioſity is the acquiſition of knowledge, it is a perverſion much to be lamented, that it ſhould ſo often be found to faſten moſt keenly on thoſe objects about which little or nothing can be known. A mere ſcrap of ſomething, between knowledge and conjecture, if it be but obtained with ſufficient difficulty, appears far more valuable to perſons of this deſcription than abundance of real information, if *eaſily* acquired, and if as *eaſily* gained by others as themſelves."

In the wreck of ages ſome materials of ancient ſtructures have ſurvived: though it is impoſſible with them or every adſcititious help to reſtore them to their original utility and beauty, yet by putting what remains together, in many inſtances, we may form a notion tolerably correct of their proportion and architecture: the ſame may be ſaid of ancient manners, cuſtoms, ſciences and arts. Thus far the very ſenſible writer now cited will not deny us ſome portion of praiſe. While we proceed on authentic and ſolid grounds and reject idle hypotheſes and conjectures, antiquarian diſquiſitions become a rational ſtudy, and intereſt every reader.

To apply theſe reflections to the preſent ſubject, we ſhall ſoon ſee ſtrong cauſe to admire how men eminent in literature ſhould be ſo miſerably defective in judgment as to deſpiſe or neglect the real information reſpecting our Round Towers lying before them, and to ſeek for it in barren ways and thorny paths where it cannot be found. Their original deſignation is too obvious ever to be miſtaken; of this if any doubt could poſſibly exiſt, where ſhould we look for its removal but in ancient writers? If ancient writers are unanimous, and well informed moderns agree with them as to their authors and uſe, will any ſay theſe points are not drawn from obſcurity, or that we have not gone beyond veriſimilitude and arrived at ſome degree of

(1) Monthly Review for Feb. 1790, p. 121.

of certainty? Let the candid and learned reader determine for himſelf from the evidence now to be ſubmitted to him.

Giraldus Cambrenſis, about 1185, is the firſt who mentions our Round Towers. He (2) calls them "Eccleſiaſtical Towers, which in a ſtyle or faſhion peculiar to the country, are narrow, high and round." Though this paſſage has been frequently quoted, yet no one has obſerved, that from its (3) grammatical conſtruction we may fairly infer that Cambrenſis ſaw the Iriſh in the very act of building theſe towers. It was a ſingular and ſtriking ſpectacle for our author to behold ſo great a number of them diſperſed over the country; all of the ſame figure and faſhion, contiguous to wooden churches and ſupporting bells to ſummon the vicinity to religious duties, or to warn them of approaching danger. Surely it muſt be eſteemed a groſs perverſion of common ſenſe to extract from Cambrenſis's plain words any other meaning than that now given: he was fully competent to deliver a ſimple fact, nor did the objects he was deſcribing require the microſcopic eyes of ſome modern Iriſh Antiquaries.

John Lynch, in 1662, is the next who ſpeaks of our towers. His words are: "(4) the Danes, who entered Ireland according to Giraldus in 838, are reported to be the authors of our orbicular narrow towers. They were called Clochtheach, that is, the houſe of the bell."

Peter Walſh, in 1684, obſerves: "(5) that it is moſt certain thoſe high, round narrow towers of ſtone, built cylinder-wiſe, were never known or built in Ireland (as indeed no more were any caſtles, houſes, or even churches of ſtone, at leaſt in the North of Ireland,) before the year of Chriſt 838, when the heathen Danes, poſſeſſing a great part of the country, built them in ſeveral places to ſerve themſelves as watch-towers againſt the natives. Though ere long the Danes being expulſed, the chriſtian Iriſh turned them to another and much better (becauſe a holy) uſe, that is to ſteeple-houſes or belfries. From which latter uſe made of them it is, that ever ſince to the preſent day they are called in Iriſh Clochtheachs, that is, belfries or bell-houſes; cloc or clog, ſignifying a bell, and theach a houſe in that language."

"It

(2) Turres eccleſiaſticas, quæ, more patrio, arctæ ſunt & altæ, necnon & rotundæ, Topog. p. 720.

(3) See Voſſ. de Conſtruct. ſerm. p. 504. Amſ. 1662.

(4) Exiguas illas orbiculares arctaſque turres, Dani Hiberniam, Giraldo authore, A. D. 838, primum ingreſſi, primi erexiſſe dicuntur. Clochtheach enim perinde eſt ac domus campanæ. Cambrens. Evers. p. 133.

(5) Proſpect. p. 416—417.

It may not be (6) improper to add, ſays Doctor Molyneux in 1727, to theſe remarks upon Daniſh mounts and forts, ſome obſervations on the ſlender, high round towers here in Ireland, though they are leſs ancient, ſince they are ſo peculiar to the country and ſeems remains of the ſame people, the Oſtmen or Danes. Theſe we find common every where, ſpread over all the country, erected near the oldeſt churches founded before the Conqueſt; but I could never learn that any building of this ſort is to be met with throughout all (7) England, or in Scotland. That the native Iriſh had but little intercourſe with their neighbours, and much leſs commerce with thoſe at greater diſtance before the Danes came hither and ſettled among them is pretty certain; and that the Danes were the firſt introducers of coin as well as trade, and founders of the chief towns and cities of this kingdom, incloſing them with walls for ſafer dwelling, is generally agreed on all hands; and it ſeems no way leſs probable, that the ſame nation too muſt have introduced at firſt from countries where they trafficked, the art of maſonry, or building with lime and ſtone. For that there were lime and ſtone buildings here before the Conqueſt by the Engliſh in Henry II's reign is certain, notwithſtanding ſome, and theſe reputed knowing men in the affairs of Ireland, have haſtily aſſerted the contrary. For it appears beyond all controverſy, that theſe high round ſteeples we are ſpeaking of were erected long before Henry's time from a plain paſſage in Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was in Ireland in that Prince's reign, and came over with his ſon, King John, whom he ſerved as Secretary in his expedition hither: he ſpeaks of them in his account of this iſland as ſtanding then, and I am apt to think few of theſe kind of towers have been built ſince that time. And ſince we find this kind of church-building, though frequent here, reſembling nothing of this ſort in Great Britain, from whence the chriſtian faith, the faſhion of our churches and all their rites and cuſtoms, it is plain, were firſt brought hither, the model of theſe towers muſt have been taken up ſome other way; and it ſeems probable the Danes, the earlieſt artificers in maſonry, upon their firſt converſion to chriſtianity, might fancy and affect to raiſe theſe faſhioned ſteeples in this peculiar form, ſtanding at a diſtance from their churches, as bearing ſome reſemblance to the round tapering figure of their old monumental ſtones and obeliſks, their pyramids, their mounts and forts, of which they were ſo fond in time of paganiſm. And Sir James Ware, curſorily ſpeaking of one of theſe round ſteeples at Cork, in his Antiquities, chap. 29, ſays

(6) Boate's and Molyneux's Nat. Hiſt. p. 210—211.
(7) This is a miſtake as will hereafter appear.

ſays "there prevailed a tradition in that country that aſcribed the building of that tower to the Oſtmen, who were inhabitants of Cork; and we might well preſume, that had the old native Iriſh been the authors of this kind of architecture, they ſurely would have raiſed ſuch towers as theſe in ſeveral parts of Scotland alſo, where they have been planted and ſettled many ages paſt, but there we hear of none of them.

Their figure ſomewhat reſembles thoſe ſlender high round ſteeples deſcribed by travellers in Turkey that are called minarets, adjoining to their moſques or temples. Cloghachd, the name by which they are ſtill called among the native Iriſh, gives us a further proof of their original, that they were founded firſt by Oſtmen: for the Iriſh word Cloghachd is taken from a foreign tongue, and being a term of art imports the thing it ſignifies muſt likewiſe be derived from foreigners, as were it neceſſary might be made appear by many inſtances. Now the Iriſh word does plainly owe its etymology to Clugga, a German-Saxon word that ſignifies a bell; from whence we have borrowed our modern word a clock; this appellation alſo ſhews the end for which theſe towers were built, for belfries or ſteeples, wherein was hung a bell to call the people to religious worſhip: but the cavity or hollow ſpace within being ſo narrow, we muſt conclude the bell muſt needs be ſmall, one of a larger ſize not having room to ring out or turn round, which argues too they are ancient, for the larger bells are an invention of later times, and were not uſed in the earlier ages of the church. Theſe towers, the better to let out the ſound, and make the bell heard at a greater diſtance, have all of them towards the ſummit four openings or windows, oppoſite to one another, that regard the ſeveral quarters of the heavens, and though they agree much in their ſhape, yet they ſo far differ in their model, that ſome remarkable diſtinction may eaſily be obſerved between one tower and another." Thus far Molyneux, in whoſe ſentiments we perceive a perfect coincidence with the plan of this work, and whoſe words now given are rich in antiquarian knowledge.

Let it now be remarked, that the opinion of every author, who has ſpoken of our Round Towers for the ſpace of 542 years, that is, from Cambrenſis to Molyneux, is uniform in pronouncing them Oſtman or Daniſh works. No ſilly conjectures or abſurd refinements had as yet been introduced into the ſtudy of Antiquities; writers only ſought after and recorded matters of fact. All theſe authors, it will be ſaid, follow Cambrenſis, I grant they do, but would any of them adopt his notions was it poſſible to ſubſtitute better or more authentic in their room? The anſwer is poſitive and direct, that they would not, and here is the proof. In 1584, Stanihurſt

led

led the way in ſeverely criticizing many of his poſitions. In 1662, John Lynch, in his Cambrenſis Everſus, entered on a formal examination of his Topography; not a page, ſcarcely a paragraph eſcaping his moroſe and carping pen, and yet Lynch was a good ſcholar and antiquary. In his time Iriſh MSS. were more numerous and collected than ſince, conſequently the means of information more ample, and yet he diſcovered nothing in his extenſive reading to contradict what Cambrenſis had delivered.

Walſh's diſpoſition to tread in the ſteps of Giraldus may be judged from theſe words in the Preface to his Proſpect. "What I would ſay on the whole is, that if hatred, enmity, open profeſſed hoſtility, ſpecial intereſt and actual engagement in the deſtruction of the ancient Iriſh nation; if ignorance of their language and wilful paſſing their Hiſtory, even the moſt authentic of their records: if theſe can render Cambrenſis an author of credit, then no writer how idle, unwarrantable, incredible, falſe or injurious, is to be rejected." From this and much more paſſionate language no one will affirm, that our learned Franciſcan would have embraced Cambrenſis's ideas, were they not founded on the beſt grounds. Theſe grounds are partly ſtated by himſelf and more fully by Molyneux: both ſhow the Iriſh, previous to the great northern invaſion in the 8th and 9th century, had no commerce, no coin, no mechanic arts, particularly that of maſonry. Nothing more, I believe, can or need be added as to the authors and uſe of Round Towers; the Oſtmen began them, and they were imitated by the Iriſh.

But as later writers, led aſtray by a warm imagination, or the affectation of ſingularity, have raiſed many objections to, and involved in doubt the plaineſt matter, I am doomed to the irkſome taſk of examining and confuting their whimſies. And here I muſt note an error of Walſh, which he has lapſed into from following Ware: the latter places the converſion of the Oſtmen in 948, whereas from a coin of Ivar it appears they were Chriſtians in 853. Walſh, not knowing this, imagined from the conſtruction of our Towers in 838 to the evangelizing theſe Oſtmen in 948, theſe ſteeples muſt have been uſed for watch-towers, which their ſituation in vallies makes highly improbable. But from the coin before it now appears, there was but an interval of fifteen years, from the date of their erection in 838 to the time of Ivar's coin in 853, and this is nothing, if we conſider the loſs of ancient memorials, and that if they had ſurvived, we ſhould have found the time of their converſion and of building theſe towers exactly ſynchronized. Though they were not built for watch-towers, they certainly might have occaſionally ſerved to alarm the vicinity.

By the words "turres eccleſiaſticæ," Cambrenſis preciſely determines their ſhape and appropriation. A tower, in the (8) middle ages, was a tall, round tapering figure, and very accurately expreſſed that of a Round Tower. He would not call it Campanile, for that was a ſquare fabric, and firſt (9) uſed for bells of conſiderable magnitude. The Anglo-Saxon ſteopyl, ſtypel, and the Franco-Gallic (10) bafroy and befroi are equivalent to the Latin turris; befroi when applied to a bell-tower was corrupted into Belfry; the laſt ſyllable of which can no otherwiſe be explained but by its junction with the firſt. The Iriſh Clog-teach is an hybrid compound: the firſt word is the Teutonic Klocke, which originally (11) ſignified a long ſcyphon or cup, in this hung the clapper or tongue: many of theſe ancient bells were in (12) poſſeſſion of the celebrated Dutch antiquary, Smetius. So that the Latin Campanile, the Anglo-Saxon Bell-hus, the Teutonic Klock-torre, and the Iriſh Clog-teach, ſeem to be all contemporary names of the ſame thing, and all invented and firſt uſed in the 9th century. Though there are numerous paſſages in claſſical writers of the common uſe of bells in civil and religious affairs, I do * not recollect any direct proof of their ſuſpenſion in towers except one in Parthenius be eſteemed ſuch. He lived about the Incarnation, and tells us a bell was placed in a (13) fortreſs in the city of Heraclea in Italy, which a lover, as an arduous attempt and an evidence of his gallantry, undertook to (14) throw down. The bells in the Dodonæan (15) grove, and over the tomb of Porſenna, king of Hetruria, were certainly ſuſpended, as were thoſe in Baths and Market-places, but not in appropriated buildings. Bells were hung up in Monaſteries in the 7th and 8th centuries, and ſounded by pulling a (16) rope. In the pontificate of Stephen, A. D. 754, Chriſtian congregations were collected by ſound of trumpets.

Ære

(8) Turres vocatæ, quod teretes ſint & longæ: teres enim eſt aliquid rotundum cum proceritate, ut columnæ. Iſidor. Orig. l. 15. c. 2.

(9) This word, I believe, is not older than 870. Anaſtas. in Leone IV.

(10) Skinner's Etym. Lacombe, dict. du vieux François, in befroi.

(11) Kilian. Dic. Teut. in voce. Mag. de tintinab. c. 8. (12) Braun. de Veſtit. Heb. T. 1. p. 570.

* I forgot Plin. l. 36. c. 13. which corrects what I here advance, as to the ſuſpenſion of bells. The paſſage is curious.

(13) Ερυμνον κερας. Parthen. Eror. p. 356. Edit. Gale.

(14) Τον κωδωνα καθαιρησαι. Parthen. ſupra. The Greek Κωδων is nearly allied to Κωθων, urceolus, a cup or baſon, and as theſe were ſonorous and a bell-ſhape, they might have ſuggeſted the idea of the other. Du Cange. Gloſſ. med. & infim. Græcit. voce Κωδωνιον.

(15) Vandale. de Orac. p. 476. Plin. l. 36. c. 13.

(16) Perſtitit ille reſtim trahendæ campanæ, ſed ſonum exprimere non potuit. S. Audoen. vit. S. Elig. l. 2. c. 2. This was in 650. In the next age Bede ſays: Audivit ſubitò in aere notum campanæ ſonum. About the middle of the 6th century, Columba ſays to one of his attendants—Cloccam pulſa. Pinkerton. Vit. S. Scot. p. 65. See an excellent article in Spelman, Gloſſ. in Campana.

(17) *Ære tubas ſuſo attollit, quibus agmina plebis,*
Admoneat laudes, & vota referre tonanti.

However his ſucceſſor, Stephen III. about 780, erected a tower on the church of St. Peter at Rome, and placed in it (18) three bells; and in 850, Leo IV. built a belfry, and ſet in it a bell with a golden hammer. From the example of theſe Pontiffs towers multiplied throughout Europe in the 9th century, and at this time were conſtructed by the Oſtmen in this Iſle.

A capitular of Charlemagne, A. D. 787, forbids the horrible practice of (19) baptizing bells. From being conſtantly uſed in holy offices, a peculiar ſanctity was aſcribed to them: they were believed by their ſound to remove thunder and appeaſe tempeſts, and baniſh the evil ſpirits who cauſed them: in the ſame ſuperſtitious preposſeſſion they were rung on the death and interment of perſons, and in many parts of the church-ſervice. A people juſt emerging from idolatry eagerly embraced a corrupt religion ſo congenial in many parts to that they formerly profeſſed, and hence the Oſtmen did not eſteem themſelves Chriſtians without bells and belfries; protected by theſe and the reliques of ſaints in their crypts, they defied the power of viſible and inviſible enemies.

The only difficulty attending this inquiry concerning Round Towers is, ſatisfactorily to account for their ſhape. Molyneux's opinion is, (and it is a very plauſible and ingenious one) that the round figure bore a reſemblance to their old monumental ſtones and obeliſks, their pyramids, their mounts and forts, of which they were ſo fond in times of paganiſm. To do juſtice to this idea I muſt remark, that it is the ſame entertained by a (20) learned Scotch Antiquary, who thinks the circular buildings in the north of Scotland were places of religious worſhip and conſtructed by the Scandinavians. However, confining myſelf, as I ever wiſh to do to matters of fact, and knowing that belfries abroad were (21) diſtinct from the Church, and that the two Round Towers at Grymbald's crypt at Oxford, and the Round Steeple to the Church of Aix la Chapelle, exhibited by Montfaucon in his Monuments of the French monarchy belong to the 9th century, I conclude the rotund figure of our Towers was adopted from the Continent, between which and Ireland a

(17) Flodoard. in Stephen. 2. (18) Anaſtas. in Steph. 3. and Leon. 4.

(19) Ut elementum aquæ myſterialiter baptiſmo commodum S. Spiritus ſui ſanctitate reddatur. Ord. Rom. This Ordo was compiled in the 9th century At this day, in the Church of Rome, bells have ſponſors, and are baptized. Hoſpinian de templis. Durand. Rational. Div. Offic. paſſim.

(20) Mr. Anderſon apud Archæologia, v. 5. p. 151.

(21) Prope valvas majoris eccleſiæ campanarium erexit. Du Cange, voce campana. *καμπαναριον κατα τον αγιον ναον.* Du Cange. ſupra.

conſtant intercourſe was maintained, particularly in that age. " Our writers, ſays (22) O'Flaherty, glory in many miſſioners of religion, profeſſors of learning and piety, bred and born in Ireland, who were famous in France as well in Charles the Great's time, as before and after him." Theſe miſſioners, who frequently re-viſited their native country, might have taken the hint of our Round Towers from what they ſaw abroad. If this was the caſe, as it probably was, ſuch ſtructures might have become faſhionable in Ireland without any neceſſity for the ſame practice being followed by the eccleſiaſtics of other countries, where the art of maſonry was not cultivated. " A local invention, ſays Mr. Pinkerton, ſpeaking of the circular buildings in Scotland, might have taken place among the Norwegians there, and yet not extend to their other poſſeſſions." There are in Caithneſs and the Hebudes, according to Doctor Macpherſon, Mr. Cordiner and Mr. Anderſon, thouſands of circular buildings, ſhaped like a glaſs-houſe, but without cement. If theſe were religious edifices, they ſhow a different ſtyle or faſhion from our Towers, at the ſame time they inconteſtibly evince the predilection of the Northerns in favour of rotundity, for Caithneſs where theſe buildings abound, was ſo long ſubject to the Norwegians and other northern rovers, that the language of the people at preſent may be derived from Norwegian roots. It is very remarkable, that the drawing of a Scottiſh Sheelin, as given by Mr. Pennant, has the ſame glaſs-houſe ſhape, and ſuch were the houſes of the Belgic Gauls, as deſcribed by Strabo. I come now to examine the opinion of learned men relative to our Round Towers.

Mr. Gordon (23) gives an account of two in Scotland, one at Abernethy, the other at Brechin. The laſt has the figure of our Saviour on the Croſs over the door, with two little images or ſtatues towards the middle, which clearly ſhow it to have been the work of a Chriſtian architect. He tells us the vulgar notion is, that they are Pictiſh ſtructures, and that he would have believed it, were there not ſuch towers in Ireland where the Picts never were ſettled. This ſeems to be an error, for the Picts were Scandinavians and early arrived in Ireland, as has been before ſtated.

Mr. Harris (24) is certain becauſe no Round Towers are ſeen in Denmark or England, therefore they could not be of Daniſh erection: but this argument is far from being concluſive. Our author therefore propoſes a notion ſtarted by a Dean Richardſon as more probable, that they were the reſidence of anachorite Monks.

(22) Ogygia vindicated, p. 271—272.
(23) Itinerar. Septent. p. 164.
24) Harris's Ware. p. 129.

Monks. In ſupport of this idle whimſey he alleges Evagrius's account of Simeon Stylites. "The (25) fabric of Simeon's church, ſays the Hiſtorian, repreſents the form of a Croſs, beautified with porticos of four ſides; oppoſite theſe are placed pillars curiouſly made of poliſhed ſtone, whereon a roof is gracefully raiſed to an height. In the midſt of theſe porticos is an open court, wrought with much art, in which court ſtands the pillar forty cubits high, whereon that incarnate angel upon earth leads a celeſtial life." It muſt require a warm imagination to point out the ſimilarity between this pillar and our tower; the one was ſolid, the other hollow: the one was ſquare, the other circular: the aſcetic there was placed without on the pillar, with us incloſed in the tower. He adds, theſe habitations of Anachorites were called Incluſoria, or arcti Incluſorii ergaſtula, but theſe were very different from our Round Towers, for he miſtakes Raderus on whom he depends, and who (26) ſays, the houſe of the Recluſe ought to be of ſtone, the length and breadth twelve feet, with three windows; one facing the Choir, through which he may receive the body of Chriſt, the other oppoſite, through which food is conveyed to him, and the third for the admiſſion of light, the latter to be always covered with glaſs or horn. Harris ſpeaking of Donchad O'Brien, abbot of Clonmacnois, who ſhut himſelf up in one of theſe cells, adds, "I will not take upon me to affirm that it was in one of theſe towers of Clonmacnois he was incloſed." It muſt have been the ſtrangeſt perverſion of words and ideas to have attempted it. Is it not aſtoniſhing that a reverie thus deſtitute of truth, and founded on wilful miſtakes of the plaineſt paſſages ſhould have been attended to and even be, for ſome time, believed?

When Mr. Smith publiſhed his Natural and Civil Hiſtory of Waterford in 1746, he only tells us, "that there was no doubt but the Round Tower at Ardmore was uſed for a belfry, there being towards the top not only four oppoſite windows to let out the ſound, but alſo three pieces of oak ſtill remaining on which the bell was hung; there were alſo two channels cut in the cill of the door where the rope came out, the ringer ſtanding below the door on the outſide." How quickly, in the eye of reaſon, does the fineſt-ſpun hypotheſis diſappear before this deciſive evidence? Here is a plain and candid ſtatement of a matter of fact which ſpeaks the original deſignation and uſe of theſe towers. This writer at this time was not refined enough in antiquarian ſpeculations to be whimſical; however the caſe was otherwiſe in 1750, when he gave us his Hiſtory of Cork, for there he tells us, he formerly

(25) Lib. 1. c. 14. Hanmer's Tranſlation. (26) In Bavaria Sancta.

formerly thought theſe towers were the retreats of Anachorites, (whereas he poſitively pronounced them belfries) but that an Iriſh MS. informed him they were penitential towers, the Penitent deſcending from one floor to the other as his penance became lighter, until he came to the door which always faced the Eaſt, where he received abſolution. This was the waking dream of ſome ignorant eccleſiaſtic, and yet it had its day of faſhion like other abſurdities. Mr. Collinſon, in 1763, drew up a (27) Memoir relative to our Round Towers, it is little more than a tranſcript of Smith. In the ſame year Mr. Brereton (28) examined Mr. Collinſon's account, and rejects the penitential uſe of our Towers, and imagines them to be rather Iriſh than Pictiſh or Daniſh ſtructures, and deems their antiquity greatly anterior to the uſe of caſt bells, and from an old trumpet being found in one of them conjectures ſuch inſtruments were uſed for aſſembling the faithful to divine worſhip. Theſe ſorts of gueſſes merit very little regard, becauſe the era of the caſting of bells ought to have been aſcertained, and how far the metallurgic ſkill of the ancients reached in this reſpect, and whether the bells uſed in markets, baths and camps were caſt or not. Theſe points ſhould have been elucidated previous to the delivery of any opinion on the ſubject. We have ſeen bells of ſome magnitude ſuſpended in the French monaſteries in the 7th century, and they muſt have greatly improved in ſize in the 8th and 9th, for it could not be for uncaſt bells, if ever ſuch there were, that Popes Stephen and Leo erected belfries in 780 and 850. The diameter of our Towers within at the baſe are generally nine feet, ſuppoſe they diminiſh at top to four, it will be found that a bell of conſiderable ſize, but of a rounder ſhape than that now uſed, might very well be ſuſpended and rung ſo as to give a loud ſound. A man with a trumpet would occupy as large a ſpace, and I do not deny but trumpets might have been occaſionally uſed, but never I think, for religious but other purpoſes in this Iſle.

Mr. Gough's Memoir follows Mr. Brereton's in the Volume of the Archaeologia laſt cited: he very judiciouſly corrects Mr. Gordon's deſcription of the Brechin Round Tower, which has on its weſtern front two arches one within the other in relief; on the point of the outermoſt is a crucifix, and between both towards the middle, are figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John, the latter holding a cup and a lamb: at the bottom of the outer arch are two beaſts couchant. Mr. Pennant (29) thinks this and the other Towers could not be deſigned for belfries, becauſe they are placed near the ſteeples of churches, infinitely more commodious for that end.

(27) Archaeologia, v. 1. p. 305. (28) Archaeologia, v. 2. p. 80—83. (29) Tour in Scotland.

end. This remark might paſs very well from an haſty traveller, but is unworthy the pen of our ingenious Touriſt; becauſe it ſuppoſes the ſteeples of churches and round towers to be coeval: in this point of view the latter muſt have been conſtructed for ſome other purpoſe than that of belfries. But in fact theſe towers were built when churches were of wood, and when the campanile was a diſtinct edifice, and long before it was uſual to connect the ſteeple with the church.

Mr. Harmer has (30) given "obſervations on the Round Towers in Ireland," which, as far as I can perceive, have no relation to the ſubject. He tells us of a ſquare tower at the monaſtery of St. Sabba, ſeven miles from Jeruſalem, three ſtories high and twelve yards in diameter, in which two or three hermits ſhut themſelves up and lead an auſtere life. This was originally a watch-tower, and ſo it continues at preſent.

I ſhall now cloſe this chronological account of learned conjectures with the reveries of a living author, whoſe wild flights go beyond all his predeceſſors, or even thoſe of the celebrated Knight of La Mancha. The latter imagined, that mounted on a wooden horſe he was carried through the air to ſuccour the injured Doloris. Juſt ſo our literary Quixote, mounted on his papyraceous ſteed, made up of oriental Lexicons, travels in ſearch of his long-loſt Iriſh: fortunately he finds traces of them in the wilds of Scythia among the Magogians; then in India, among the Hindus; then in Africa among the Shilenſis, and lately he has poſitively (31) diſcovered a very large colony of them in Egypt.

Notwithſtanding the croſſes on the caps of many of our round towers, and chriſtian ſymbols worked in the body of the ſtructure of others, and the late introduction of maſonry into this Iſle, our author begins his career by (32) affirming our towers to be the ſame as the Perſian Pyratheia, and that merely from Mr. Hanway's ſaying there were round towers in the country of the (33) Gaurs. Now if the Gaurs came hither their monuments would have been ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed by Strabo, which "were (34) incloſures of great compaſs, in the middle were altars, and on them the Magi preſerved much aſhes and a perpetual fire." The Greek words throw not the ſmalleſt light on the figure of the Pyratheia, much leſs can it be inferred they were of lime and ſtone, or of the altitude of our Towers. Even Hyde, from whom he takes the ſhape of the modern Parſee fire-temples, would have informed

 him,

(30) Archæologia, v. 9. p. 268. (31) Collectanea de reb. Hib. v. 5. initio.
(32) Collectanea, No. p. 206 (33) Travels into Perſia, part. 2. c. 43.
(34) Σηκοι τινες περιλογοι. Geograph. l. 15.

him, that the ancient Perſians had (35) no temples, nor even a name for them in their language. What the Parſees now uſe were taken from Chriſtian or Mahometan archetypes.

Our author next (36) aſſures us that theſe towers were certainly Phenician. I do not recollect in any ancient writer a deſcription of a Phenician temple; but as the Phenicians derived much of their religion from the Egyptians, the ſacred edifices of both people may well be ſuppoſed to be the ſame. Theſe conſiſted of (37) four parts, making a figure very different from our Round Towers, but approaching the oblong ſhape of our preſent Churches, as the learned reader will ſee by caſting his eyes on the margin.

Every writer who wiſhes to acquire public favour and a literary reputation, ought minutely to examine and carefully conſider every part of his ſubject, and even then, with diffidence, give the reſult to the world. But the Editor of the Collectanea deſpiſes ſuch vulgar conduct, ſpiritedly daſhing into print whatever light fancies are floating in his mind at the time of publication. Thus at one time our Round Towers are (38) fire-temples;—then they are conſtructed by Connuing, a Carthagi. nian general on Tor-inis, an iſle on the coaſt of Donegal;—then they are ſorcerers' towers,—then the fact is, theſe towers were for celeſtial obſervations;—then Cormac aſſures us the approaching feſtivals were from them proclaimed;—and laſtly, the Iriſh Druids obſerved the revolutions of the year by dancing round them. Thus our Author with ſportive jocularity dances his readers and purchaſers through the Fairy labyrinth of abſurdity, dimpling their cheeks with ſmiles at the profundity of his remarks and the fecundity of his genius. Thrice happy,——

Qui quoque materiam riſûs invenit ad omnes.

A List

(35) Nulla erant templa veterum Perſarum, quippe qui omnia ſua ſacra ſub dio peragebant, ideoque in ſua religione & lingua non habebant templi nomen. Hyde de relig. vet. Pers. p. 359. Edit. Coſtard.

(36) Collectanea, No. 8. p. 285.

(37) Ἀδέσποτον ἱδρῦσθαι, Προπύλαια μεγάλα, Καὶ ὁ Νεώς. Strab. l. 7.

(38) Collectanea, No, 12. pref. p. 70—134—145—482—487. I had almoſt forgot our Author's Bulgarian round tower, which was a Turkiſh minaret. He ſhould have known that the Turks or Magiars colonized Bulgaria in 889. Gibbon's Rom. Hiſt. v. 6. p. 34. note 2. that then they were tolerably civilized. Forſter's Northern Voyages, p. 39. Note. That Arabic inſcriptions in Turkiſh moſques are common. Tollii Epiſt. Itiner. p. 150. And that thoſe on the Bulgarian tower are not old, Forſter ſupra. The Turks received the idea of belfries or their minarets from the Greeks A. D. 784. Sabellic. Ennead. 9. l. 1. Here are materials for a diſſertation to convict our Author of the groſſeſt ignorance, or unpardonable inattention.

A List of the Round Towers that have hitherto been discovered in Ireland.

Names.	*Counties.*
Aghadoe, -	Kerry.
Aghagower, -	Mayo.
Antrim, -	Antrim.
Ardfert, -	Kerry.
Ardmore, -	Waterford.
Ballagh, -	Mayo.
Ball, -	Sligo.
Ballygaddy, -	Galway.
Boyle, -	Roscommon.
Brigoon, -	Cork.
Ballywerk, -	Cork.
Cailtre-Isle, -	Clare.
Cashel, -	Tipperary.
Castledermot, -	Kildare.
Clondalkin, -	Dublin.
Clones, -	Monaghan.
Clonmacnois, two,	Westmeath.
Cloyne, -	Cork.
Cork, -	Cork.
Devenish, -	Fermanagh.
Donoghmore, -	Meath.
Downpatrick, -	Down.
Drumboe, -	Down.
Drumcliff, -	Sligo.
Drumiskin, -	Louth.
Drumlahan, -	Cavan.
Dysart, -	Queen's Co.
Ferbene, two, -	King's County.
Fertagh, -	Kilkenny.
Glendaloch, two,	Wicklow.
Kilbennan,	Galway.
Kilcullen, -	Kildare.
Kildare, -	Kildare.
Kilkenny, -	Kilkenny.
Killala, -	Mayo.
Kilmacduagh, -	Galway.
Kineth, -	Cork.
Kilree, -	Kilkenny.
Limerick, -	Limerick.
Lusk, -	Dublin.
Mahera, -	Down.
Melic, -	Galway.
St. Michael, -	Dublin.
Moat, -	Sligo.
Monasterboice, -	Louth.
Newcastle, -	Mayo.
Nohovel, -	Cork.
Oran, -	Roscommon.
Oughterard, -	Kildare.
Ram Isle, -	Antrim.
Rathmichael, -	Dublin.
Rattoo, -	Kerry.
Roscrea, two,	Tipperary.
Scattery, -	Clare.
Sligo, two, -	Sligo.
Swords, -	Dublin.
Teghadow, -	Kildare.
Timahoe, -	Queen's County.
Tulloherin, -	Kilkenny.
Turlogh, -	Mayo.
West Carbury, -	Cork.

Round

Round Towers.	Height	Circumference.	Thickneſs of the Walls.		Door from the Ground.	
	Feet.	*Feet.*	*Feet.*	*Inches.*	*Feet.*	*Inches.*
Cloyne, - -	92	50	3	8	13	0
Fertagh, - -	112	48	3	8	10	0
Kilcullen, - -	40	44	3	6	7	0
Kilmacduagh, - -	110	57			24	0
Teghadow, - -	71	38	3	8	11	6
Downpatrick, - -	66	47	3	0		
Deveniſh, - -	76	41	3	6		
Monaſterboice, - -	110	51	3	6	6	0
Timahoe, - -	35	53	4	4	14	0
Kildare, - -	110	54	3	6	13	0
Oughterard, - -	25	48	3	0	8	0
Caſhel, - -		54	4	0	11	0
Swords, - -		55	4	8	2	0
Abernethy, - -	57	47				
Brechin, - -	85					
Drumiſkin, - -	130					
Kenith, - -	70					
Kells, - -	99					

A very ingenious friend remarks, that almoſt all our Round Towers are divided into ſtories of different heights: the floors ſupported in ſome by projecting ſtones, in others by joiſts put in the wall at building, and in many they were placed upon reſts. The laſt are from four to ſix inches, carried round and taken off the thickneſs of the wall in the ſtory above. And he very probably conjectures, theſe reſts do not diminiſh the thickneſs of the wall as they aſcend, becauſe then it would not have

have been ſufficiently ſtrong to bear ſtorms or ſupport the conical cap. They ſeem therefore to be ſwellings in the wall which rather add to its thickneſs upwards, and this is confirmed by the Round Tower at Luſk, whoſe wall is three feet thick at top.

Caſhel Tower is divided into five ſtories, with holes for joiſts.

Fertagh has five ſtories and one reſt.

Kilcullen has three ſtories and one reſt.

Kildare has ſix ſtories and projecting ſtones for each.

Monaſterboice has ſix ſtories and projecting ſtones.

Oughterard has five ſtories and projecting ſtones.

Teghadow has ſix ſtories, the upper has projecting ſtones, the others reſts.

Timahoe has ſeven ſtories, the ſecond has projecting ſtones, the others reſts.

The door of Caſhel Tower faces the S. E. thoſe of Kildare and Kilkenny the S. and the others vary.

Kenith Tower ſtands 124 feet, Drumboe 20, Downpatrick 48, Kildare 90, Kilkenny 8, and Drumiſkin 90 feet, from their reſpective churches. Ardmore, Caſtledermot, Cloyne, and other towers were formerly and at preſent are uſed for belfries.

Monaghan tower is ſixty feet high, and fifteen in diameter. The door five feet high by two wide.

Sligo. There is here only a ſtump, and two croſſes with baſs reliefs. On one is a Scarabœus.

Mayo tower is eighty-four feet high, fifty-one in circumference, the door plain, and five feet and a half high, by two and a half wide, and eleven from the ground. A hole was made by lightning in the middle of the tower, and the roof damaged.

The ſculptures at Brechin have been before deſcribed. The two beaſts couchant are well explained by (39) Euſebius in his life of Conſtantine. The church of Brechin (40) is ſuppoſed to be founded, A. D. 990, its round tower is probably a century earlier; for in Ireland the latter preceded the erection of ſees by many ages. The Iriſh clergy were the only teachers of religion among the Picts in thoſe times: Tuathal Mac Artguſa, being called archbiſhop of Pictland in 864, as Tighernac, the Annals of Ulſter and Mr. Pinkerton declare. Brechin is in the ſame ſhire of Angus with Dunkeld, over which Artguſa preſided, ſo that the round tower of Brechin can be aſcribed to no other founders than the Iriſh miſſioners who conſtructed ſuch in their native land.

(39) Lib. 3. c. 3. Edit. Valeſii, where the reaſon of this repreſentation is given at ſome length.

(40) Pinkerton's Scotland, v. 2. p. 268.

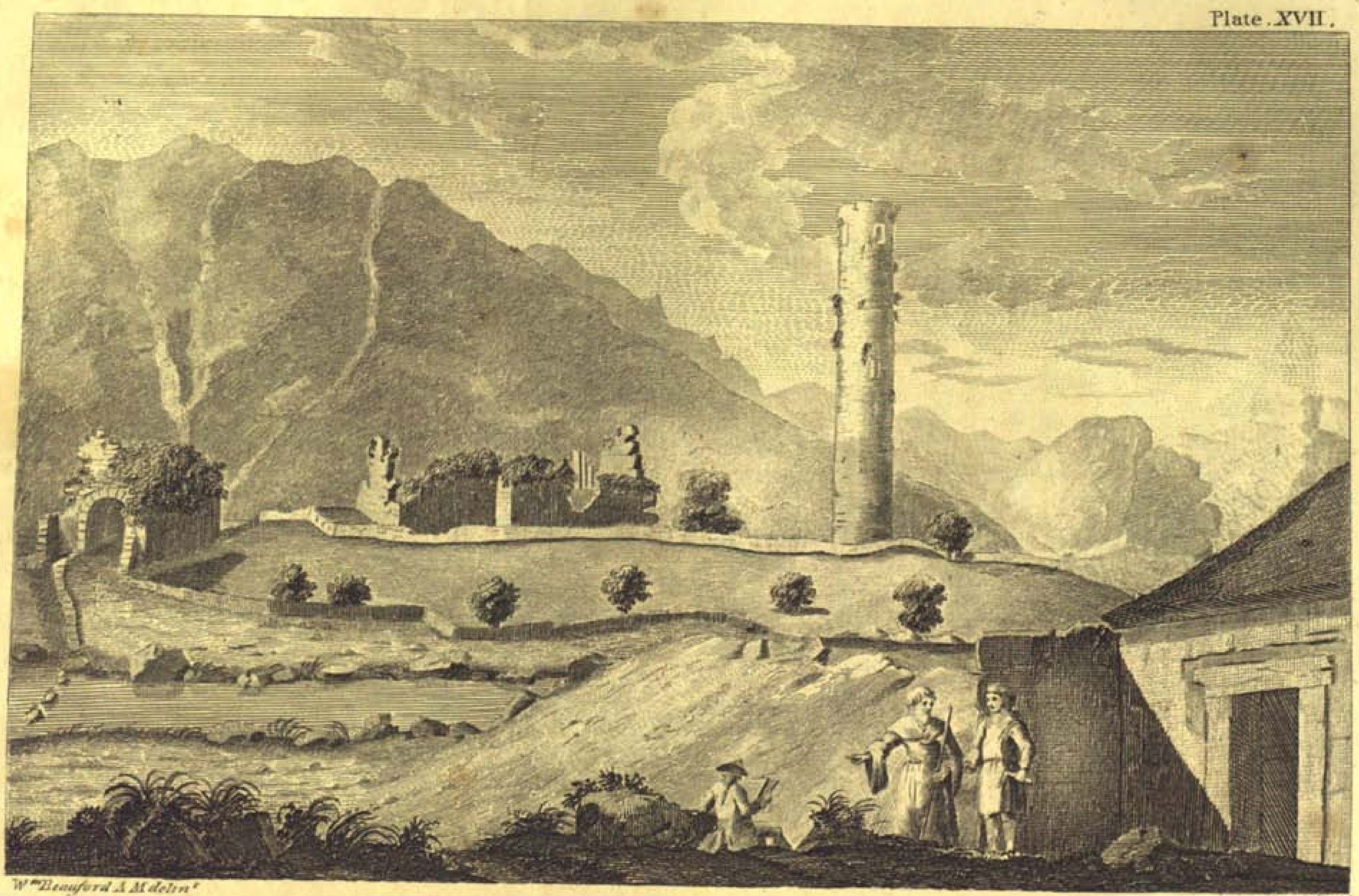
A view of the Ivy Church is given to ſhew a moſt curious and ancient example of the approximation of the round tower belfry to the church, this in St. Kevin's kitchen becomes part of the building. It muſt be extremely pleaſing to the lover of Antiquities to be able to trace in exiſting monuments the inſulated belfry gradually advancing to a junction with the body of the church, and that this happened in very remote times the ſtone-roofed fabrics to which it is attached ſufficiently demonſtrate. From this origin the round ſteeple at Killoſſy in the county of Kildare is derived; thoſe at Halling in Kent, and Little Saxham and many others (41) in Suffolk are from Iriſh miſſioners. From the ornaments (42) on the arches of the doors at Timahoe and Kildare we perceive our ancient architects were no ſtrangers to the Saxon ſtyle of decoration: the arches themſelves are ſemicircular, and this circumſtance points out their date.

(41) Antiquarian Repertory, V. 2. p. 327.

(42) Archaeologia V. 8. p. 193.

THE

Plate. XVII.



Wm Beauford A.M. delin.t

J. Ford Sculp.t

GLANDELOCH from the NORTH.

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THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF GLENDALOCH IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

FROM the earlieſt ages, Glendaloch ſeems to have been a favourite ſeat of ſuperſtition. The tribe of wild and ignorant ſavages who here firſt fixed their abode, deprived of the light of letters; unoccupied in any amuſing or profitable employment, and wandering among human forms as uncivilized and barbarous as themſelves, were a prey to melancholy thoughts and the baſeſt paſſions. Their fears animated every ruſtling leaf and whiſpering gale, and inviſible beings multiplied with the objects of their ſenſes.

Quiquid humus, pelagus, cælum mirabile gignunt,
Id duxere Deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammas.

PRUDENT.

The gloomy vale, the dark cave, the thick foreſt, and cloud-capt mountain were the choſen ſeat of theſe aerial ſpirits, and there they celebrated their nocturnal orgies. Theſe ſuperſtitions and idle fears could only be appeaſed by the bold claims of pagan prieſts to myſtic and ſupernatural powers equal to the protection of the terrified ruſtic and the taming the moſt obſtinate dæmon.

The firſt chriſtian preachers among theſe barbarians, whatever might have been the purity of their faith or the ardour of their zeal, were forced to adopt the high pretenſions and conjuring tricks of their heathen predeceſſors; and by thus yielding to human prepoſſeſſions and imbecility, indirectly and imperceptibly introduce the great truths of Revelation.

As ſuperſtition had filled Glendaloch with evil ſpirits, and its lakes with great and devouring ſerpents, the Chriſtian miſſionaries found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to procure ſome ſaint, under whoſe protection the inhabitants might live ſecure from temporal and ſpiritual evils. At a loſs for a Patron, they adopted a practice derived from paganiſm, and purſued (1) to great extent in the corrupt ages of chriſtianity.

Thus

(1) And thus defended by Baronius: Quid mirum, ſi inolitas apud gentiles conſuetudines, a quibus eos, quamvis chriſtiani effecti eſſent, penitus poſſe divelli impoſſibile videretur, eaſdem in veri dei cultum transferri ſanctiſſimi epiſcopi conceſſerunt.

Thus the Rhine, like our Shannon, was (2) perſonified and adored; and Gildas aſſures (3) us, the Britons worſhipped mountains, hills, and rivers. Thus of a mountain at Glendaloch, which in the (4) Celtic is Cevn, Kevn, or Kevin, a ſaint was made, as of the Shannon, ſaint Senanus, and of Down, ſaint Dunus. Juſt ſuch ſaints (5) were St. Bron, St. Lhygad or Lugad, St. Genocus, St. Brecas, and others. Though it is a poſitive fact, that very few of the ſaints who adorn our legends ever had exiſtence, but are perſonifications of inanimate things, and even of paſſions and qualities, yet the hiſtory of Glendaloch would be eſteemed very imperfect without tranſcribing the monkiſh tales concerning St. Coemgene, the reputed founder of its churches and city. I ſhall therefore give them, as handed down to us, firſt touching briefly on the name and topography of the place.

Glendaloch, or Glendalough in the barony of Ballynacor in the county of Wicklow, is twenty-two miles South of Dublin, and eleven North-weſt of Wicklow. Its name ſeems to be (6) an Anglo-Saxon compound, referring to its lakes in the valley; a name which it derived from its firſt Firbolgian poſſeſſors the Totilas, Tuathals, or Tools, for in a (7) life of one of this family it is ſaid to be ſituated in a region called Fortuatha, in the Eaſtern part of Leinſter, which we know was held by the Fertuathals, or the ſept of the Tuathals or Tools, the ancient proprietaries of this diſtrict. That this is the true origin of the name ſeems to be confirmed by Hoveden, who was chaplain to Henry II. and who calls it equivalently in Latin—"Epiſcopatus Biſtagnenſis;" the Biſhoprick of the two Lakes.

Glendaloch is ſurrounded on all ſides, except to the Eaſt, by ſtupendous mountains, whoſe vaſt perpendicular height throws a gloom on the vale below, well ſuited to inſpire religious dread and horror. Covered with brown heath or more ſable peat, their ſummits reflect no light. On the South, are the mountains Lugduff and Derrybawn, ſeparated only by a ſmall cataract. Oppoſite to Lugduff, and on the other ſide of the lake is Kemyderry, between which and Broccagh on the North ſide is a road leading from Hollywood to Wicklow. At the Weſt end of the upper lake a caſcade, called Glaneola brook, falls from the hill. St. Kevin's keeve is

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cefferunt. Another Roman catholic tells us: Romani pontifices in templorum dedicatione in alicujus ſancti honorem ut plurimum conſueviſſe quondam habere regulam, ut ii Sancti, qui in idolorum demolitorum locum ſubſtituebantur, eorum haberent uniformitatem. Hanc ſimilitudinem aliquando obſervarunt in nominibus, unde ſcimus Apollinis templum S. Apollinaris in honorem dicatum fuiſſe. Ciampini vet. mon. t. 1. p. 55. Aringhi Rom. ſubterr. paſſ.

(2) Rheni numen ſumma religione colebatur. Keyſler, ſup.

(3) Cap. 2. (4) Camden in Radnor.

(5) Compare Lhuydi advers. ſub. fin. Baxteri Gloſſ. p. 268.

(6) Glen a Valley, and Luh a Lake. (7) Vit. S. Laurent. apud Surium.

is a ſmall ſtream from Glendaſan river, which riſing about three miles from Glendaloch out of a lake, called Lochnahanfan, runs on the north ſide of the Seven Churches to Arklow. In its courſe, it falls into Glendaloch, and is named St. Kevin's keeve; in it weak and ſickly children are dipped every Sunday and Thurſday before ſun-riſe, and on St. Kevin's day, the 3d of June. Glaneola brook, Glendaſan river, St. Kevin's keeve and other cataracts form a junction in the valley, and aſſume the name of Avonmore, or the great river. This, frequently ſwelled by torrents, is rapid and dangerous. The two lakes in the vale are divided from each other by a rich meadow; the reſt of the ſoil is ſo rocky as to be incapable of tillage by the plough. The crops are rye and oats, which (8) beſt agree with the place. The names Derrybawn, Kemyderry and Kyle, demonſtrate that great foreſts of oaks and other timber clothed theſe mountains. Between the Cathedral and upper lake is a group of thorns of a great ſize, and their plantation is aſcribed to St. Kevin. Near the Cathedral is the trunk of an aged Yew, it meaſures three yards in diameter. About twenty years ago, a gentleman lopped its branches to make furniture, ſince which it has annually declined. From what can now be diſcovered of the ancient City by its walls above, and foundations below the ſurface of the earth, it probably extended from the Refeart church to the Ivy church, on both ſides of the river. The only ſtreet appearing, is the road leading from the Market-place into the county of Kildare: it is in good preſervation, being paved with ſtones placed edge-wiſe, and ten feet in breadth.

To this dreary and ſequeſtered Vale our Saint retired. He was (9) born in 498, baptized by St. Cronan, and at the age of ſeven years put under the tuition of Petrocus, a Briton. "St. Coemgenus, ſays (10) another ſhall next be ſpoken of, in Latin as much as to ſay,—Pulchrogenitus—He was ordered by Biſhop Lugidus, and led an heremetical life in a cell, in a place of old called Cluayn Duach, where he was born and brought up: now the place is called Gleandalach, ſaith mine author —vallis duorum ſtagnorum—where one Dymnach, Lord of the ſoil, founded a church in honour of St. Coemgenus, joined thereunto a fair church-yard, with other edifices and divers buildings, the which, in mine author Legendi Sti Coemgeni, is termed—Civitas de Glandelagh."——A few remarks on this account are neceſſary.

1. If

(8) Stillingfleet's Tracts on Nat Hiſtory.
(9) Ware's Biſhops, p. 373. Uſſer. Primord. p. 958.
(10) Hanmer's Chronicle, p. 60, 61.

1. If Coemigene is the name of this imaginary Saint in Iriſh, the interpretation is (11) wrong, for it does not intimate his beauty but diminutive ſize. It is evidently an hybrid compound formed by the Monks, whereon to found ſome pretty ſtories and alluſions. The pliability of the Iriſh language and the uncertainty of its orthography and orthoëpy may warrant the melting down Coemgene into Kevin, but the corruption of this tongue ſhould warn us againſt acquieſcing too eaſily in ſuch anomalous mutations. Beſides as one Legend is as good authority as another, in that (12) of St. Berach he is called Koemin, Caymin, &c.

2. As the uncertainty of the name and its erroneous interpretation ſuggeſt ſuſpicions unfavourable to the exiſtence of our Saint, ſo theſe are augmented by the confident, plauſible but fallacious genealogy given of him by his (13) biographers. To believe that a barbarous people, naked and ignorant as American Indians, ſhould have preſerved the pedigree of St. Kevin, is too much for the moſt ſtupid credulity.

3. When Giraldus Cambrenſis came here in 1185, St. Kevin was the patron of Glendaloch. He (14) names him St. Keiwin, Keiuin or Keivin, as Brompton (15) does Keywin. In an (16) Icelandic Chronicle of the 12th century, he is called St. Kævinus, and in an authentic record of the year 1214, he is (17) ſtyled St. Keywin. Theſe names prove, that Coemgene was then unknown, for it was as eaſy for theſe authors to have written Coemgene as Kevin, but as they did not, the concluſion is inevitable, that the name Coemgene and his Legend were fabrications poſterior to the 13th century; and that a mountain at Glendaloch was perſonified and made a Saint is highly probable.

4. Neither will the following miracles tend to eſtabliſh the credibility of St. Kevin's legend or his reality. "There was, ſays the Icelandic MS. before cited, in Ireland one, among the body of Saints, named Kævinus, a kind of hermit, inhabiting the town of Glumelhagam (Glendaloch) who when that happened which we are about to relate, had in his houſe a young man, his relation, greatly beloved by him. This young man being attacked by a diſeaſe which ſeemed mortal, at that time of the year when diſeaſes are moſt dangerous, namely in the month of March; and

(11) Coemh little, ſmall. O'Brien's Iriſh Dic. in voce. Gein. conception, offspring, plainly from Genus. Coemgene in Creſſy is called Kegnius, p. 223.

(12) Colgan. Act. Sanct. Tom. 1. p. 341.

(13) Apud Ware's Biſhops, ſupra. (14) Topog. p. 726. (15) Pag. 1077.

(16) Antiquarian Repertory, V. 2. p. 235. The ſame ſtory is in Gir. Cambrenſis and Brompton, p. 1077.

(17) Ware's Biſhops, p. 376.

and taking it into his head that an apple would prove a remedy for his diſorder, earneſtly beſought his relation Kævinus to give him one. At that time no apples were eaſily to be had, the trees having juſt then began to put forth their leaves. But Kævinus grieving much at his relation's ſickneſs, and particularly at not being able to procure him the remedy required, he, at length, proſtrated himſelf in prayer, and beſought the Lord to grant him ſome relief for his kinſman. After his prayer he went out of the houſe, and looking about him ſaw a large tree, a ſalix or willow, whoſe branches he examined, and as if for the expected remedy, when he obſerved the tree to be full of a kind of apples juſt ripe. Three of theſe he gathered, and carried to the young man: when the youth had eaten part of theſe apples, he felt his diſorder gradually abate, and was at length reſtored to his former health. The tree ſeemed to rejoice in this gift of God, and bears every year a fruit like an apple, which from that time have been called St. Kævin's apples, and are carried over all Ireland, that thoſe labouring under any diſeaſe may eat them; and it is notorious from various relations, that they are the moſt wholeſome medicine againſt all diſorders to which mankind are liable; and it muſt be obſerved, that it is not ſo much for the ſweetneſs of their ſavour as their efficacy in medicine for which they are eſteemed, and as at firſt for which they are ſought. There were many other things which were ſuddenly effected by the virtue of this holy man."——Perhaps this ſtory aroſe from exhibiting the bark, leaves and catkins of the willow, which the (18) Iriſh believed to be efficacious in dyſenteries.

Cambrenſis tells us, that in the time of Lent St. Kevin retreated from the commerce of the world to a little hut in a deſert to enjoy meditation, reading and prayer. On a certain time putting his hand out of the window, and lifting it up to heaven according to cuſtom, a blackbird perched on it, and uſing it as a neſt, dropped her eggs there. The Saint pitied the bird, and neither cloſed or drew his hand in, but indefatigably kept it ſtretched out until ſhe brought forth her young. In memory of this all the images of St. Kevin have a hand extended and a bird ſitting on it.

St. Kevin, as tradition reports, going up a neighbouring hill, in time of dearth, met a woman with a ſack on her head, containing five loaves. He inquired what ſhe was carrying, ſhe anſwered, ſtones; I pray, ſays the Saint, they may become ſtones,

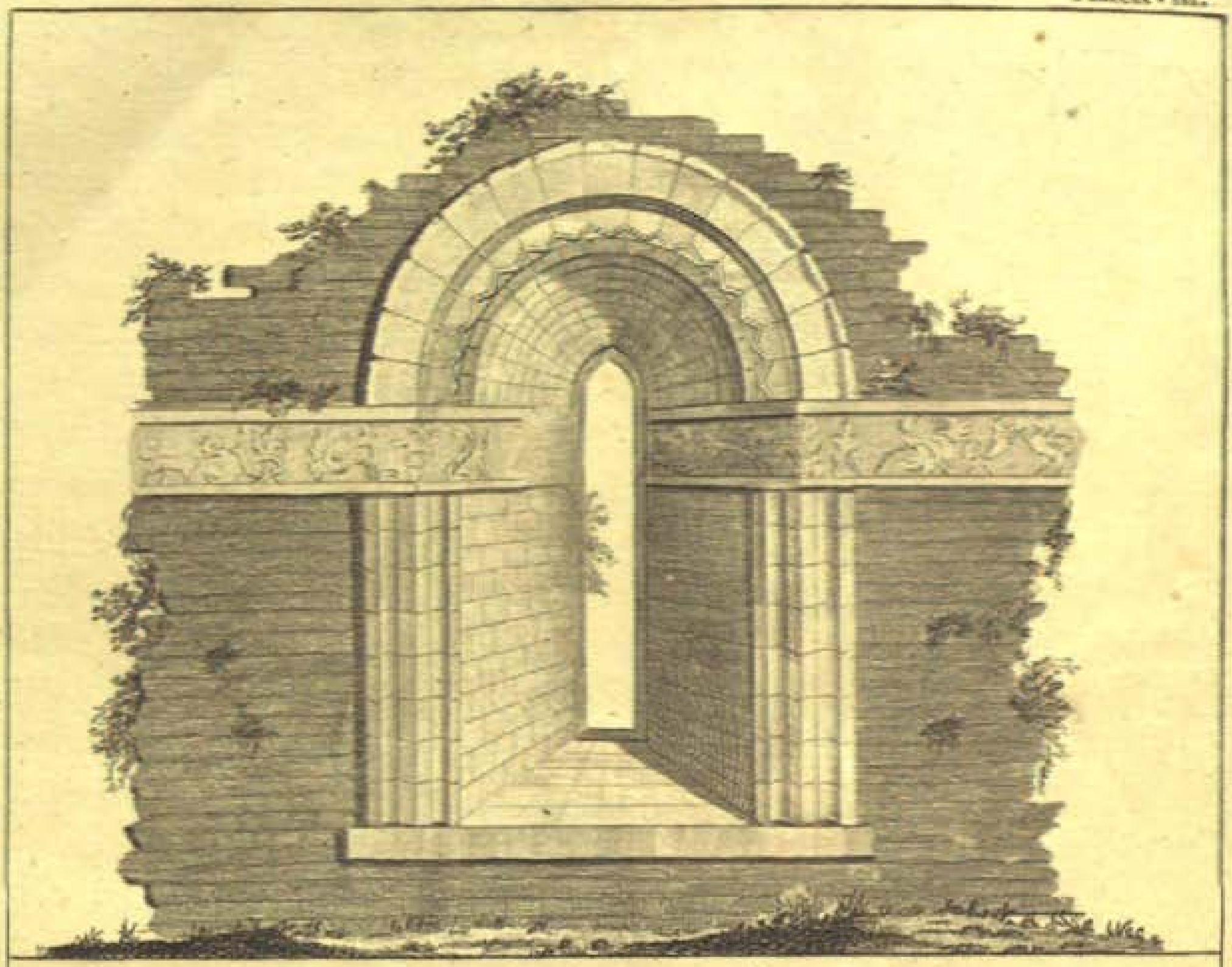
(18) Threlkeld's Synopſis, voce ſalix.

ſtones, when (19) inſtantly five ſtones tumbled out. Theſe were kept as ſacred reliques for many years in the Refeart church, but are now in the valley, at a conſiderable diſtance from it: they weigh about 28 pounds each, are ſhaped as loaves, with the marks of their junction in the oven. Let theſe impious and fooliſh tales of ignorant and ſuperſtitious eccleſiaſtics ſuffice, and let them warn us of that miſerable degradation of the human mind, which alone could give them currency and credit. Let us now attend to the remains of ancient art which this celebrated Glen offers to us.

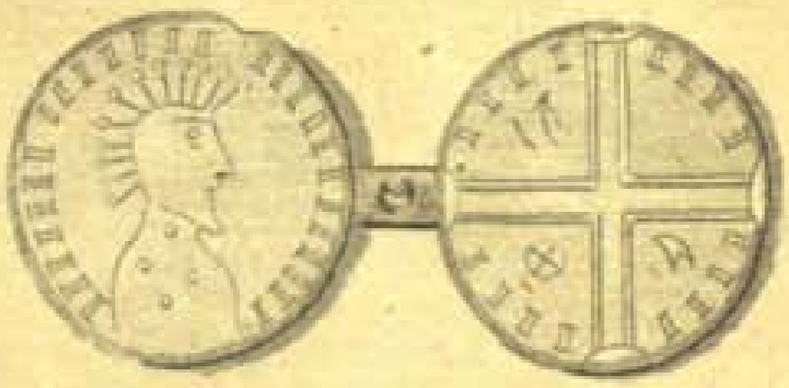
On entering it from the Eaſt, we firſt reach the Ivy church, ſo called from being enveloped in the umbrage of this plant. The belfry is circular, and ſhows one of the firſt attempts to unite the Round Tower with the body of the church. South-eaſt from this, and on the oppoſite ſide of the river is the Eaſtern church, or the Priory of Saint Saviour. Near this is a ſtone-roofed chapel diſcovered a few years ago by Samuel Hayes, Eſq. About a furlong Weſt from the Ivy church, and on the ſame ſide of the river, is a ſmall ſquare, which was the market place. In its center was a ſtone croſs, the pedeſtal only remaining. South from the market-place, you paſs Glendaſan river on ſtepping-ſtones, where formerly was a bridge, and then you arrive at the Cemetery, which is entered by a gate-way through a ſemicircular arch, and in this incloſure ſtands the Cathedral. The nave is 48 feet long by 20 wide; a ſemicircular arch forms the chancel. The Eaſtern window is a round arch, ornamented with a chevron moulding. The ſculptures of the impoſt mouldings are legendary. On one part a dog is devouring a ſerpent. Tradition tells us, that a great ſerpent inhabited the lake, and it is at this day called Lochnapiaſt, or the ſerpent-loch, and being deſtructive of men and cattle was (20) killed by St. Kevin. In another part the Saint appears embracing his favourite Willow, and among the foliage may be diſcovered the medicinal apple. The window itſelf is very ſingular, running to a narrow ſpike-hole: neither it or any other at Glendaloch ſeems to have been glazed. Under a window on the South ſide of the Choir is a tomb of free-ſtone adorned with carving, but without any inſcription. Not far from the Cathedral is the Sacriſty, otherwiſe called the Prieſt's houſe. The cloſet, in

(19) This ſeems to be tranſcribed from a monkiſh tale in Matt. Weſtm. Eodem tempore pauper quidem cum a nautis eleemoſynam peteret, nec acciperet, dicente naucleto, non nihil hic præter lapides habemus, ſubjecit pauper, omnia ergo vertantur in lapides! Quo dicto, quicquid manducabile in navi erat in lapides converſum eſt, colore & forma earundem permanente.

(20) Such notions, in times of ſuperſtition, were common. A ſnake appears on the tomb of Sir John Conyers, which was ſlain by the falchion of that valiant Knight. Blunt's tenures by Beckwith, p. 200.



EAST WINDOW OF THE CATHEDRAL.



W. Beauford A.M. delin.

I. Ford Sculp.

ANTIQUITIES OF GLANDELOCH.

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in which the veſtments and holy utenſils were kept, remains: the vulgar believe it an infallible cure for the head-ache to turn thrice round in it: a notion ariſing from the veneration paid to its ſacred (21) furniture in times of predominant ſuperſtition.

Among the remnants of croſſes and ſculptures is a looſe ſtone, ſhowing in relievo three figures. The one in the middle is a Biſhop or Prieſt ſitting in a chair, and holding a (22) Penitential in his hand. On the right a Pilgrim leans on his ſtaff, and on the left, a young man holds a purſe of money to commute it for penance. This curious ſculpture will be illuſtrated by citing a paſſage from Archbiſhop Stratford's (23) Extravagants.——"Becauſe the offender has no dread of his fault, when money buys off the puniſhment, and the Archdeacons and ſome of their Superiors (the Biſhops) do, for the ſake of money, remit that corporal penance which ſhould be inflicted for a terror to others, inaſmuch as the offenders are called by ſome, Leſſees of Sin: We forbid commutation of corporal penance for money to be made, without great and urgent cauſe."——Chaucer alludes to this practice in his Sompnour.

He would ſuffer for a quart of wine,
A good fellow to have his Concubine.

To ſo ſhocking an exceſs had this cuſtom of buying off ſins arrived in the Romiſh Church, that a number of Leonine verſes, engraven on a ſtone tablet in Gothic letters were affixed to a pillar of the High Altar in the church of St. Stephen at Bourges, promiſing pardon of ſins and paradiſe to every generous benefactor to the church and clergy.

(24) *Hic des devotè, cæleſtibus aſſocio te.*
Mentes ægrotæ per munera ſunt ibi lotæ.
Crede mihi, crede, cæli dominaberis æde.
Nam pro mercede Chriſto dices, mihi cede.
Hic datur exponi paradiſus venditioni.
Qui ſervet hic parce, parcè comprendet in arce.
Pro ſolo nummo gaudebis in æthere ſummo.

(21) Ut vaſa ſacrata Deo in magna veneratione habeantur Rhegin. p. 44. Cumbrenſis ſays of the Iriſh:—Sacramenta ſuper hæc (ſc. paſtorales baculas, campanas, &c.) longe magis quam ſuper Evangelia & præſtare vereantur & pejerare. Top. c. 33.

(22) Solerter admonentes doctum quemque ſacerdotem Chriſti, ut in univerſa, quæ hic adnotare reperit, ſexum, ætatem, conditionem, ſtatum, perſonam cujuſque pœnitentiam agere volentis, curioſe diſcernat. Bed. remed. peccat.

(23) Wilkins. Concil. ſub Ann. 1342. Johnſon's Councils, and ſome curious ſtatutes of Henning, Biſhop of Camin, A. D. 1454. in Shoettgen's hiſt. Pomeran.

(24) The whole is extremely curious, and may be ſeen in—L'Apologie pour Herodote, per H. Eſtienne. p. 452—453.

Here is alſo a round tower 110 feet high, at the bottom 52 feet in girth, and the walls four feet thick. There was formerly the ſtump of another not far off.

St. Kevin's Kitchen is a ſtone-roofed oratory, the ridge of the roof is about 30 feet above the ground, and its angle ſharp; at the weſt end is a round tower of about 45 feet in height.

Our Lady's church is the moſt weſtward of all the others, and nearly oppoſite the Cathedral. The Refeart church is literally the ſepulchre of Kings, being the burial place of the O'Toole's; ſeven of theſe toparchs lying here interred, according to tradition. On a tomb is ſaid to be the following inſcription in Iriſh:

JESUS CHRIST

Mile deach feuch cort Re Mac Mhuil.

That is,

Behold the reſting place of the body of King Mac Toole, who died in Jeſus Chriſt, 1010.

Theſe letters and words cannot now be made out after the utmoſt pains and attention, nor ſcarcely a ſingle letter with any certainty. Beſides if the whole was legible, it would not be in modern Iriſh, but in that dialect of it, which from its antiquity would not at preſent be eaſily underſtood.

In returning from the Refeart church is a circle of ſtones piled up conically about three feet high; at and round theſe pilgrims performed penance.

In the receſs of the ſouth mountain is Teampall na Skellig, equivalently called in old records, the priory de rupe, and the convent de deſerto. St. Kevin's bed is above it. There are two rocky projections from the mountain, in one is St. Kevin's bed, excavated from the living rock. The path to it is extremely dangerous and difficult, and returning back more ſo from the narrowneſs of the path, the leaſt ſlip precipitating the adventurer into the lake below. Nothing in ſhort can be more frightful than a pilgrimage to the bed, and Teampall na Skellig church.*

Almoſt in the middle of the Glen are the ruins of the Abbey or Monaſtery, dedicated to the Apoſtles Peter and Paul. And north of the Abbey ſtands Trinity Church, at the end of which is part of a Round Tower, which was evidently uſed for a belfry. There were many ſmaller chapels and oratories. The ſeven churches for which Glendaloch was ſo celebrated ſeem to have been.

1. The

* This was one of the four principal places of pilgrimage in Ireland. Cumulus S. Patricii in Conatia; Purgatorium in Ulconia; patra S. Michaelis in Momonir: lectus S. Kaini in Lagenia. O'Kelly deſcrip. Hib. p. 50. Ex uno enim latere præciſa montis excelſa ambiebantur: una tantum eademque arcta admodum via adiri poterat, &c. S. Sever. vit. S. Martin.

1. The Abbey. 2. The Cathedral. 3. St. Kevin's Kitchen. 4. Teampall na Skellig. 5. Our Lady's Church. 6. Trinity Church. 7. The Ivy Church.

The others appear to be later conſtructions. The ſeven churches when approached by the bridge of Derrybawn form a very pictureſque and pleaſing ſcene. The bridge is thrown over the Avonmore, and is compoſed of three elliptic arches. Derrybawn, covered to a great extent with an oak coppice on one ſide and the huge Broccagh on the other, confines the view up the river to the valley; at the end of which the great round tower and the other ruins appear to great advantage. A remarkably ſmooth and high mountain makes a no leſs ſingular than agreeable background.

The number ſeven was myſtical and ſacred, and early conſecrated to religion. It began with the creation of the world, and all the Jewiſh rites were (25) accommodated to it. It is found among the (26) Brachmans and Egyptians. The Greek fathers extol its power and efficacy, and the Latin, as uſual, apply it to ſuperſtitious purpoſes. The church formed various ſeptenaries. The following is extracted from Archbiſhop Peckham's conſtitutions made at Lambeth, A. D. 1281,——"The moſt high hath created a medicine for the body of man, repoſited in ſeven veſſels, that is, the ſeven ſacraments of the Church. There are ſeven articles of faith belonging to the myſtery of the Trinity. Seven articles belonging to Chriſt's humanity. There are ſeven commandments reſpecting man; ſeven capital ſins, and ſeven principal virtues."—Much more to the ſame purpoſe is in Amalarius, Durandus and the Ritualiſts. The Iriſh entertained a ſimilar veneration for this number, witneſs the ſeven churches at Glendaloch, Clonmacnois, Inniſcathy, Inch Derrin, Inniſkealtra, and the ſeven Altars at Clonfert and Holy Croſs. Crowds were attracted to theſe places to celebrate the profoundeſt myſteries!

It is now time to inquire what are the origin and date of the buildings and celebrity of Glendaloch. And here the antiquities themſelves, (and a richer ſtore is no where to be found) will beſt enable us to determine theſe curious points.

From (27 Bede we learn, that the Iriſh and Britons agreed in religious opinions and diſcipline, and differed widely from thoſe of Rome, and of this he ſupplies ample proofs in the years 604, 630, 639, and 661, and it has been ſeen that the Iriſh church continued ſeparated from the Romiſh to the 12th century, and even later,

(25) See the Pentateuch, particularly Leviticus, and the Evangeliſts. Huet. Demons. Evang. p. 228. Edit. 8vo. In the laws of Huel Dda, a perſon ſwears on ſeven altars. c. 26.

(26) Marſham, Can. Chron. Sæc. 9. p. 189—190.

(27) Lib. 2. c. 4, & alibi.

later, conſequently that we did not adopt the uſe of Palls, the Maſs, Purgatory, the unbloody ſacrifice, prayers for the dead, reliques, pilgrimages, litanies, and numberleſs other ſuperſtitious practices, which the (28) Anglo-Saxons had embraced. In the ſecond Nicene council it was decreed, A. D. 788, that no church ſhould be conſecrated that had not the reliques of ſome ſaint. It is (29) believed to have been two centuries before this rule was obſerved even by the Anglo-Saxons, and the cauſe that prevented its reception was, the want of ſtone edifices. If there was no other reaſon, the operation of the ſame cauſe was equally powerful in Ireland. The Oſtmen of Ireland were converted to Chriſtianity about the middle of the 9th century, but it was ſuch chriſtianity as their countrymen in England had been taught them by Romiſh miſſioners, and of which the uſe of reliques was a capital article. To ſecure theſe from fire was their firſt care, and this was effected by (30) arching a crypt or ſmall oratory with ſtone, in this the reliques were placed, and a tomb raiſed over them, which ſerved for an altar. It was in a Biſhop's power to canonize as many as he pleaſed. This practice is delivered by the (31) Romiſh writers, and hence we need not wonder how Saints were multiplied. As patron Saints were unknown till their (32) reliques were adored and thus depoſited, and as this uſage was firſt introduced by the Oſtmen in the 9th century, ſo the date of our buildings of lime and ſtone confirms this fact. We had none of the latter, at leaſt in any number, antecedent to the arrival of theſe Northerns in the 9th age, as is generally agreed. In the next eſſay the ſtyle of this crypt is particularly conſidered.

It would exceed our preſent limit to treat of the Round Towers of Glendaloch, or of the ages of theſe ſtructures, but they ſhall be noticed hereafter: nor can I ſtay but to remark, that the coins here exhibited and others given by Ware, and diſcovered at Glendaloch, belong to the early Daniſh princes who had embraced Chriſtianity. I ſhall now proceed with ſome hiſtorical collections relative to this celebrated place, referring the reader to another (33) work.

No

(28) Humphrek ad rat. 5. Campian. p. 626. Innes's Orig. Anglic. p. 53. Moſheim. V. 1. part. 2. c. 4.

(29) Balæi Cent. 2. c. 32. (30) Du Cange, voce Volutio.

(31) Antiquius mos eſt in eccleſia receptus, Sanctorum reliquias in cryptis ſubterraneis ſubtus altare collocandi, ubi ſanctorum celebriorum ſepulchra in antiquis baſilicis etiam nunc viſuntur. Hinc conſuetudo manavit altaria erigendi ſuper tumulos virorum piorum, quos Epiſcopi pro Sanctis haberi volebant, hicque erat olim Sanctos canonizandi ritus. Ruinart. Not. ad Greg. Tur. p. 751. Velli, T. 1. p. 443. Bed. l. 5. c. 12. A cuſtom copied from heatheniſm. Sub Cæſaribus altaria ponebant, præunte tantum Pontifice. Baxter. Gloſs. voce Ara. A moſt remarkable imitation!

(32) Among Hagiographers the—Patrocinia Sanctorum—means their reliques. Du Cange, voce Patrocinium.

(33) Archdall's Monaſticon Hibernicum, in Wicklow.

No ſooner were the reliques of St. Kevin brought hither than his zealous and bigotted votaries proclaimed their virtues and miracles, and all flocked to the ſhrine of the new Saint: (34) a naked and barren wilderneſs was quickly filled with churches and good houſes; a large and beautiful city (35) ſprang up, and wealth flowed in from every quarter. A city abounding in riches and votive offerings was an object of plunder with the piratical freebooters of the North, who, as they ſubſiſted ſolely by depradation, without reluctance frequently pillaged their own countrymen, ſo that the Iriſh annals are moſt probably right in what they relate of the ſpoiling of Glendaloch at different times. In 1162, Laurence O'Toole, whoſe anceſtors had founded and endowed the Abbey and the other churches, was (36) elected Abbot. The (37) writer of his life tells us, he was named Laurence O'Tuathal, that his father was Muirchiortach O'Tuathal, Lord of Imaile. That at the age of twenty-five he was choſen Abbot, the revenues of the Abbacy vaſtly ſurpaſſing thoſe of the Biſhoprick. That every year, at the quadrigeſimal ſeaſon, he retired into a moſt horrid but holy Wilderneſs, St. Kevin's rock, invironed on every ſide with dark woods, beſides a deep lake on one ſide incloſing a perpendicular precipice of 60 cubits; on the other, one of thirty. In that ſide of the rock that hangs over the lake is a hollow made by St. Kevin's own hands, which ſerved him for an oratory to pray in, and a repoſitory when he would ſleep. Here Laurence paſſed the forty days of Lent. Thus far our Hagiographer. Laurence was elected Biſhop of Glendaloch, but this he refuſed; his ambition aſpired to an higher dignity—the Pall and the See of Dublin, and he ſoon attained them.

In 1173, Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, the King's Deputy, granted to Thomas, nephew of Laurence O'Toole, the Abbey and Parſonage of Glendaloch. The (38) charter is one of the moſt valuable and ancient in this kingdom, as it preſerves the poſſeſſions, privileges, and immunities of the Abbey. The names of the ſubſcribers and other circumſtances enable us to aſcertain its date.

The ſecond witneſs is Eva, daughter of King Dermot Macmurrogh, and wife of Earl Richard. Walter de Ridel or Ridelford and Meyler Fitz Henry, the other witneſſes, were companions of Strongbow in his Iriſh wars. The Earl ſtyles himſelf Viceroy of Ireland. This office he muſt have aſſumed on the departure of

(34) Eremum nudam et hiſpidam aſſignes, intra paucos annos non ſolum eccleſias et ædes inſignes, verum etiam poſſeſſionum copias et opulentias multas ibidem invenies. Gir. Cambrens. Itiner. Cambriæ. p. 831.

(35) Clara et religioſa civitas in honore S. Coemgeni crevit. Uſſer. p. 956.

(36) Archdall, ſupra. (37) Apud Walſh's proſpect, p. 294.

(38) In libro nig. Archiep. Dubl. fol. 92.

Henry II. which was on Eaſter Monday, A. D. 1173. From hence it will appear, that the name of Luke, Archbiſhop of Dublin, to this charter is a miſtake, for the firſt prelate of this name, who ſat in the See of Dublin, lived more than 50 years after granting this charter. So that Luke ſhould be Lawrence, who filled the archiepiſcopal chair from 1162 to 1180.

Archbiſhop Lawrence went to England ſoon after the King, and was very little in Ireland during his reign. As he had been Abbot of Glendaloch, and conſidered it as belonging to his family, he naturally intereſted himſelf in ſecuring its poſſeſſions, and having them confirmed by the new government. Another particular to be learned from the concluſion of the Charter is, the diffidence entertained of the clergy's veracity in ſecular concerns. The Earl does not allege their evidence in ſupport of their property, but the ſolemn and regal teſtimony of King Dermod:—"Sicut in verbo veritatis Diarmicus rex teſtatus eſt."—The (39) Normans had been frequently impoſed on by fictitious exemptions and forged charters, and therefore received ſuch documents with the utmoſt caution. As ſoon as the Iriſh ſubmitted to the Normans, the latter began to act the ſame part here which they were daily performing in England. They ſeized the churches, tithes and manors of the clergy. Cambrenſis, an eye-witneſs, complains (40) in ſtrong terms of their rapacity in this iſland. Robert Fitz Stephen, Hervey de Monte Mariſco and John de Courcy having no children, he pronounces a juſt judgment on them for (40) depauperating the Iriſh church.

Pope Alexander III. by a Bull, A. D. 1179, confirmed the city of Glendaloch to Malchus its Biſhop and his ſucceſſors, ſaving the rights of the Abbot. In this are mentioned no leſs than 50 denominations of land, and among them Dublin is included. The Pope did not reliſh the arbitrary proceedings of the Normans, becauſe they affected his treaſury, and in this inſtance he attempted their reſtriction. By the following letter the original of which is in Ware's Biſhops, we are informed that Cardinal Paparon's buſineſs here in 1152, was to render the Iriſh clergy more manageable, by reducing the number of ſees, fixing ſome in the beſt towns, where hereditary poſſeſſion was leſs liable to interrupt papal proviſions.

A Letter

(39) Pet. Bles. epiſt. 68. Hickes. Diſſ. Epiſt. Stillingfleet's ecc. caſes, and his Britiſh churches.

(40) Acceſſit & incommodum omnium majus, quod eccleſia Chriſti, novo principatu noſtro, nihil de novo conferentes, non tantum principali largitione debitoque dignam honore nor judicavimus, quinimo terris ſtatim ſublatis & poſſeſſionibus, priſtinas eidem dignitates & antiqua privilegia vel mutilare contendimus vel abrogare. Expugn. l. 2. c. 35.

(41) Nec mirum: mendicat enim in inſula miſer clerus: lugent eccleſiæ cathedrales terris ſuis & prædiis amplis, quondam ſibi fideliter & devote collatis, a prædictis & aliis cum ipſis, vel poſt ipſos advectis, ſpoliatæ. Et ſic eccleſiam exaltare verſum eſt in eccleſiam ſpoliare vel expilare Supra. The laſt ſentence is a ſarcaſtic alluſion to Pope Adrian's Bull.

A Letter concerning the Palls ſent into Ireland.

" The teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of Tuam and his Suffragans. Maſter John Paparon, Legate of the Roman church, coming into Ireland found a Biſhop dwelling in Dublin, who then exerciſed his epiſcopal function within the walls. He found in the ſame dioceſe another church in the mountains, which was alſo called a City, and had a certain rural Biſhop: but the ſame Legate appointed Dublin, which was the beſt city, to be the metropolis of that Province; delivering the Pall to that Biſhop who then governed the church of Dublin, and he appointed that the dioceſe in which both cities were, ſhould be divided, that one part thereof ſhould fall to the metropolis, and the other part ſhould remain to him who lived in the mountains, to the intent, as we firmly believe, that that part ſhould be annexed to the metropolis, upon the death of the Biſhop, who then governed the church in the mountains; and this immediately he would have carried into execution, had he not been obſtructed by the inſolence of the Iriſh, who were then powerful in that territory.

" When our Lord, King Henry of England, came to be thoroughly informed of the intention of the Legate, he granted that church in the mountains to the Metropolis, adhering to the intention and will of the ſaid Legate. In like manner, our preſent Lord, John King of England, having received evidence of the ſaid fact, and of the intention of the ſaid Legate from the great and worthy men of that territory, granted the ſaid part to John, the predeceſſor of the preſent Biſhop (of Dublin). Beſides that holy church in the mountains, although anciently it was held in great veneration on account of St. Keywin, who lived a ſolitary life in that place, yet now (A. D. 1214) it is ſo waſte and deſolate, and hath been ſo forty years, that of a church it is become a den and neſt of thieves and robbers; ſo that more murders are committed in that valley than in any other place in Ireland, occaſioned by the waſte and deſert ſolitude thereof."

The reaſon for adducing this record is to ſhew, by an authenticated deduction, ſome part of the hiſtory of Glendaloch and the changes it has ſuffered. From 1152, the time of Paparon's legation, nothing was done to the prejudice of the ſee until Pope Alexander made it ſuffragan to Dublin in 1179. But we have no proof of Archbiſhop Toole's wiſhing, or Henry's granting Glendaloch to Dublin, but this teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of Tuam, though the fact ſeems probable. For Dublin poſſeſſing a good harbour, being built and fortified by the Danes, and lying convenient for the ſchemes of the Normans on this kingdom, a Britiſh prince would naturally make it his reſidence, and endeavonr its aggrandiſement. On the other hand, Glendaloch was held by a fierce and reſolute people, and a Sept, who

as founders preſented both to See and Abbey, and who ſo far from ſubmitting to the new-comers were, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, their moſt determined enemies, it is therefore no wonder, if Henry and his ſon John ſhould, at firſt, diſſever and at length finally incorporate the whole biſhoprick of Glendaloch with Dublin. Harris's conjecture, in his Edition of Ware's Biſhops, deſerves credit. He ſays, Archbiſhop Loundres, being Juſticiary of Ireland, made uſe of that moment of power to effect this conſolidation. The Normans were then gaining ground, and it was his duty to ſecond them. Another (42) informs us, that the people of Glendaloch at firſt violently oppoſed this union, but being overcome by papal authority, they conſented on condition, that another Cathedral, beſides that of Chriſt Church, ſhould be erected within their ancient dioceſe, and that for the future there ſhould be an Archdeacon of Glendaloch as well as of Dublin. This being conſented to, another church was begun without the walls, on the ancient ſite of the church of St. Nicholas, an Archdeacon was appointed, and the union took place.

In 1193, John (43) granted the ſee of Glendaloch for ever to Dublin, on the firſt vacancy, the Biſhop of the latter providing a Paſtor for the former church. This donation he made with the conſent of his Barons ſolely, without any mention of the Pope's authority or approbation. This charter is dated the 24th of June, and about the end of the enſuing July, John made (44) another grant abſolutely of the Biſhoprick of Glendaloch, without the proviſion of vacancy expreſſed in the former. Theſe two grants ſucceeding each other ſo quickly, in the ſpace of a month, can no otherwiſe be accounted for but by ſuppoſing Malchus, the laſt Biſhop but one, to have died; on which event, Archbiſhop Comyn thought it prudent to have the former donation revived, and a new confirmation made, omitting the conditional clauſe, now nugatory. There are grounds for believing this to be the caſe from the documents and their tenor, as well as from Mr. Harris's declaration, who confeſſes he does not know when Malchus died, or Piro ſucceeded.

William Piro or Peryn is ſaid to have been the laſt legal Biſhop of Glendaloch, and this is inferred by ſome epiſcopal acts done by him, recounted by Harris, who dates his ſitting from 1192 to 1214, when he died. I fear this is ſaid without proof; for how came Piro to intrude himſelf into the ſee after its final union with Glendaloch in 1193? It could not be the deſign of King John, or the court of Rome,

to

(42) Hibernia Dominican. p. 186. Not. K.
(43) Ex Regiſt. vocato, Crede mihi. fol. 87.
(44) Ex Regiſt. ſupra.

to diveſt a biſhoprick of its poſſeſſions, and yet ſtill keep up the title. The moſt probable ſolution is, that the O'Tooles did not, or would not relinquiſh their rights, when they perceived their acquieſcence went to the annihilation of theſe rights.

A. D. 1214. It ſeems to have been conſidered as a violent ſtretch of power, the ſinking the ſee of Glendaloch into that of Dublin, otherwiſe ſo many reaſons to vindicate it would never have been ſought for. The intentions of Cardinal Paron are firſt alledged, then the fewneſs of the people in, and the poverty of the dioceſe of Dublin, with the propriety of extending the limits, and augmenting the revenues of the metropolitical church. But theſe motives, how plauſible ſoever, did not ſatisfy the Iriſh, and therefore the teſtimony of O'Ruadan was procured. He was uncle of Roderic O'Conor, the laſt monarch of Ireland, and being allied to the Royal family, it was imagined, no native would object to his ſolemn evidence, or litigate a tranſaction ſupported by ſuch authority. To give every colourable pretext for this union, it is aſſerted in O'Ruadan's letter, that Glendaloch, for forty years paſt, was a neſt of thieves and murderers. This brings the commencement of nefarious acts there to the year 1173. The argument then turns out a moſt unfortunate one, as it directly proves thoſe crimes to be coeval with, and derived from the eſtabliſhment of the Norman power in this iſle. Before this, the letter ſtates, that Glendaloch was held in the utmoſt veneration, and of courſe the manners of the inhabitants were honeſt and peaceable. Can it be admired, that when the natives beheld the depredations of theſe foreigners on ſecular and eccleſiaſtical property, their morals ſhould be debauched, and their ſimplicity corrupted by ſuch peſtilent examples?

In 1216, Pope Honorius III. confirmed what his predeceſſors and the Kings of England had done reſpecting the union of Glendaloch.

In Camden's Annals, at the end of his Britannia, we find the Toole's almoſt always in arms againſt the Engliſh, and there is reaſon to think they kept the ſee of Glendaloch conſtantly filled; for Wadding, in his Franciſcan Annals, under the year 1494, informs us, that Pope Alexander VI. on the death of Biſhop John, advanced Ivo Ruſſi, a Minorite, to the ſee. And on the deceaſe of Ruſſi the next year, John or (45) Junon was made biſhop of Glendaloch. In 1497, it is mentioned, (46) that Friar Dennis White had long been in poſſeſſion of Glendaloch,

 but

(45) Burk. Hibern. Dominic, p. 479, & Supplem. 1479.
(46) Ware's Biſhops, ſupra.

but being old and infirm and touched in conſcience, on the 30th of May this year, ſurrendered his right and claim in the Chapter-houſe of St. Patrick, Dublin, and acknowledged his ſee had been united to Dublin ſince the reign of King John. Walter Fitz-Simons was now archbiſhop of Dublin, and in ſuch favour with Henry VII. that he was made deputy to Jaſper, duke of Bedford, governor of Ireland. In this plenitude of power he obliged White to make the foregoing recognition. I do not know how this can be reconciled with what Burk ſays, that Francis de Corduba was appointed to the ſee by Pope Alexander.

OBSERVATIONS.

OBSERVATIONS ON SAXON AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

WHEN many ingenious and learned men have delivered their ſentiments on a ſubject, a writer muſt perceive the difficulty of advancing any thing novel on the ſame topic, as he muſt feel a delicacy in differing from them in opinion. Had there been any thing approaching unanimity in their deciſions, very little could be added to their labours: but as the reader will ſee from a ſuccinct review of what they have written, that the ſubject remains involved in its original obſcurity, he will be inclined to receive an attempt to throw new light on it, not unfavourably, while from the review, he may ſelect that ſyſtem which ſeems beſt founded.

Sir Chriſtopher Wren, (1) thinks what we call the Gothic ſtyle, ought rather to be termed the Saracenic, refined by the chriſtians. This mode began in the Eaſt after the fall of the Greek empire, by the prodigious ſucceſs of thoſe people that adhered to Mahomet's doctrine: who, out of zeal for their religion built Moſques, Caravanſeras and Sepulchres wherever they came. Theſe they contrived of a round form, becauſe they would not imitate the chriſtian figure of a croſs, nor the old Greek manner, deemed by them idolatrous, and for that reaſon all ſculpture became offenſive to them. They thought columns and heavy corniſhes impertinent, and might be omitted, and affecting the round from the Moſques, they elevated Cupolas, in ſome inſtances, with grace enough. The holy wars gave the chriſtians, who had been there, an idea of the Saracen works, which were afterwards imitated by them in the weſt; and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches.

Without extracting more from the Parentalia, we may obſerve, that it is a poſthumous performance, and probably never deſigned for the public eye, as in every part it is obviouſly imperfect and incorrect.

The Saracen manner, he ſays, was round, with Cupolas, and that the Croiſées imitated it. Where it may be aſked, are Gothic works in this ſtyle to be ſeen? Are all Moſques and Caravanſeras round?

The

(1) Wren's Parentalia, p. 309.

The Saracenic works in the Eaſt, as remarked by Bentham and Groſe, bear no affinity to the Gothic, if they had, ſome veſtiges would ſtill appear. Le Brun, in all his views, gives but one Gothic ruin of a church near Acre, with pointed arches, and erected by the chriſtians. The Moors, who poſſeſſed Spain from the 8th to the 15th century, left no trace of an architecture, of which they are ſaid to be the inventors. Mr. Swinburne, in his travels in Spain, ſpeaking of the cathedral of Burgos, ſays—that in all the buildings he had an opportunity of examining in Spain and in Sicily, which are undoubtedly Saracenic, he has never been able to diſcover any thing like an original deſign, from which the Gothic ornaments might be ſuppoſed to be copied.—This opinion is not haſtily given, or by a ſuperficial obſerver: it is the reſult of experience and a maſterly knowledge of the various ſtyles of architecture, ſupported by ingenious and learned details and compariſons, and ſuch as muſt for ever overthrow Wren's notions.

Wren tells us, the Italians, French, Germans, Flemings, with ſome Greek refugees, formed themſelves into ſocieties of Free-Maſons, and ranged from one nation to another, in conſtructing churches. Now we know from Spons and Reineſius's inſcriptions, that there were colleges of Maſons among the Romans, and that they were attached to ſome legions. The Free-Maſons were copies of theſe Roman ſocieties, and not of the date given by Wren. Nor is it true, that they monopolized the building of churches, for the religious communities were equally well ſkilled. Thus Ranulph Flambard, a ſecular prieſt, and biſhop of Durham, in 1100, was a great builder: he raiſed his church from its foundation to its covering, and made (2) many other great works. Felibien, (3) mentioning the Ciſtertian abbey of Notre Dame des Dunes, and its re-edification in 1262, ſays, —Qu'il n'y eut que les religieux & les gens de monaſtere qui y mirent la main; qu'ils eſtoient au nombre de plus de quatre cens perſonnes, tant profez, convers que freres laïques & ſerviteurs; et que pluſieurs d'entre eux s'appliquoient les uns au deſſein, a la peinture, et a la ſculpture et les autres a la maçonnerie, la charpenterie, la menuiſerie, la ſerrurerie et autres arts dependans de l'architecture.—

Mr. Gray (4) thought there was nothing in the Gothic but the ſlender ſteeples that might be borrowed from the Saracens, and that if both ſtyles were the ſame, then the Gothic would have cupolas: he adds, that the buildings in Perſia, Turkey, and other parts of the Eaſt, are plainly corruptions of Greek architecture. Mr. Gray

(2) Godwyn de præſul.

(3) Recueil hiſtorique, p. 214.

(4) Works by Maſon. Letter 20.

Gray forgot, that in our Saviour's time, the temple at Jeruſalem had (5) pinnacles, columns, ornamented capitals and much pancarpic decoration, ſo that there was no neceſſity of deducing theſe from Saracenic works or later inventions. Theſe exiſted in the original Jewiſh tabernacle, and in the chriſtian Ciboria long before the Saracens eſtabliſhed any ſtyle.

Biſhop Warburton, accuſtomed to weave with a bold hand the ſlender web of hypotheſis, diſcovers in his notes to Pope's epiſtle to Lord Burlington, ſome of thoſe marks of genius and learning, which eminently diſtinguiſhes the writings of this prelate. He ſays, our Saxon anceſtors, in their pilgrimages to the Holy land, acquired their architectural ideas from the religious edifices there exiſting. But the Anglo-Saxons were not entirely converted until the (6) middle of the 7th century, conſequently their pilgrimage could not be earlier.

In the account of the church of Hexham, built by Wilfred, biſhop of York in 674, there is no intimation of oriental architects or architecture; the builders were (7) brought from Rome, Italy, France and other countries.

The drawings of churches in the Holy Land, the Biſhop ſays, agree with our Saxon remains; and he particularly refers to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and thoſe of the Knights Templars formed on its plan. Now Euſebius (8) is pretty full in his deſcription of this church. It was a Baſilica, and is ſo called by him (9) and Sulpicius Severus. There Baſilicæ were the Roman courts of juſtice, and in every province were (10) changed into chriſtian temples. They had their pillars within the walls, as the heathen fanes had them without. If this be a true account, our anceſtors need not ſeek in tranſmarine nations for models, for they abounded in Britain. The church of Hexham muſt be allowed to be a Saxon work: its profound crypts and ſubterranean oratories, the arch of the chancel and its decorations, its winding ſtairs and ſecret walks, which could conceal from (11) view a great number of men; its altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St. Michael, and St. John, are theſe ſimilar to the church of the Holy Sepulchre? If not the whimſey falls to the ground.

(5) Πτερυγιον. Matt. 4. 5. Lightfoot. deſcrip. templi. (6) Ethelwerd. l. 2. c. 6. Smith. flor. hiſt. p. 91.

(7) De Roma et Italia et Francia et de aliis terris, &c. Ric. Prior. Hagul. l. 1. c. 5.

(8) Vit. Conſtant. l. 3. c. 25. et ſeq.

(9) Mox uſa regni viribus Baſilicam in loco Dominicæ paſſionis, &c. l. 2. c. 33.

(10) Auſon. grat. act. p. 190.

(11) Artificioſſime machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi exiſtere, cum a nemine infra videri queat, Ric. Prior. Hag. ſupra.

The Norman ſtyle had its origin from the ancient grove-temples, where avenues of tall trees, intermixing their branches overhead, ſuggeſted the idea of columns, pilaſters and ramifications in the vaultings. The Biſhop ſhould have previouſly proved, that the foreſt-temples of the Goths were parallelograms; that this figure is beſt calculated for a multitude, and was a favourite one with this people.

The Biſhop ſays, when the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate had ripened their wits and influenced their miſtaken piety, they produced Gothic architecture in imitation of their grove-temples. But Spain was evangelized and had churches antecedent to the Gothic invaſion. Is it not more natural to conclude, that with the accuſtomed zeal of new converts, they adopted the chriſtian churches for divine worſhip, rejecting every idea of their pagan ſtate. But granting they did retain their heathen notions, where were architects to be found to conſtruct ſo very complicated a building as a Gothic church from a grove archetype? Could it be accompliſhed without great ſkill and practical experience? The Biſhop winds up this ingenious reverie, and ſtamps it as ſuch by obſerving, that the genial warmth of the climate ripened the wits and inflamed the piety of the Spaniards, a notion that might ſerve to embelliſh an hiſtoric romance, but inconſiſtent with ſober reaſon or ſound philoſophy.

Would this learned prelate perſuade us, that churches had no columns, or the roofs no ornaments till his Goths invented them? Holy writ, Paulinus and Procopius would have otherwiſe inſtructed him. Euſebius mentions the Moſaic and lacunary enrichments of the roof and collonades of the church of the holy ſepulchre.

Sir Henry Wotton, (12) ſpeaking of Gothic arches ſays: "thoſe arches which our artizans call of the third or fourth point, becauſe they always concur in an acute angle, and do ſpring from the diviſion of the diameter into three, four, or more parts at pleaſure, I ſay as to theſe, both for the imbecility of the ſharp angle itſelf, and likewiſe for their very uncomelineſs, ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their firſt inventors, the Goths and Lumbards, amongſt other reliques of that barbarous age." This derivation of Gothic architecture was univerſally adopted, and was faſhionable for ſome ages. The Goths, ſays (13) an intelligent writer, a rough unpoliſhed people, of huge ſtature and dreadful looks, carried into milder climates their monſtrous taſte of heavy architecture. A ſtrange fancy! as if the ſize and looks of men gave a bias to their mental exertions.

But

(12) Remains, p. 32.

(13) Riou's Grecian Orders of Architecture.

But in no reſpect were the Goths the founders of an order of architecture. For granting that, according to (14) Philoſtorgius and Sozomen, the Goths embraced the Chriſtian faith about the year 266, and to have built churches under the direction of captive chriſtians, we may be aſſured they were not better than cabins, or extemporaneous huts. Durable ſtructures were not to be looked for among a people, at this period, in perpetual motion.

Or ſuppoſe with the author (14) of the "Ornaments of churches conſidered," that on the weſtern world being reduced to poſitive ſubjection in the ſixth century, the Gothic princes applied to the cultivation of the mechanical and liberal arts, and that this was the æra of Gothic architecture, we ſhall ſee that a concluſion quite oppoſite to what he deduces ariſes fairly from his authority. I recollect but one or two paſſages in Caſſiodorus, and they make againſt him. Directions are (15) given about the repairs of the royal palace. The architect is ordered to preſerve the ancient part of the building in its priſtine beauty, and to make the (16) new imitate the old. The better to enable him to perform this, he is deſired frequently to read (17) Euclid's geometry, and to have Archimedes and Metrobius as his conſtant companions: every thing was to be ſo executed, that the works ſhould be unlike thoſe of antiquity only in their (18) newneſs. Here is the moſt deciſive proof, that in the Gothic age, A. D. 514, and under a Gothic prince, Theodoric, the Greek and Roman ſtyles and their moſt correct modules were admired, and nothing held in eſtimation but the antique: an evidence ſufficient to ſubvert for ever all the wild notions of Gothic architecture being derived from the Goths.

"But, ſays the ſame author, the Italians call the Gothic mode, architettura Tedeſca, or Celtic architecture, and it ſeems to be the ſame, in ſome reſpects with the barbarous form in temples of which Plato and Strabo ſpeak." A writer of ſuperficial learning, who either does not underſtand or takes at ſecond hand ancient authors, is moſt troubleſome to encounter and confute, becauſe he impoſes by the citation of authors, who muſt be critically examined to detect his errors. Thus, not to inſiſt on his miſtake of tranſlating Tedeſca, by Celtic inſtead of Teutonic, a miſtake evincing ignorance of language and people, he miſrepreſents Plato. In the

(14) Page 83. (15) Caſſiod. Variar. p. 217—218.

(16) Ut antiqua in nitorem priſtinam contineas, et nova ſimili antiquitate producas. Caſſiod. ſup.

(17) "The moſt general forms of architecture may be comprehended under the triangle, the ſquare and the circle; and the ſeveral parts which conſtitute a complete order are of a ſimilar conſtruction with thoſe geometrical figures." Kirby's perſpective of architecture.

(18) Ut ab opere veterum ſola diſtet novitas fabricarum, Caſſiod. ſup.

the dialogue of this celebrated ancient, named Critias, he deſcribes the climate, ſoil and produce of the iſle of Atlantis, and the temple of Neptune in it. A profuſion of gold, ſilver and orichale was diſplayed on its columns and pavement; every part glittered with the precious metals, and Neptune ſtood in a chariot drawn by ſix winged horſes. The architecture and decorations are Grecian, but there was ſomething (19) barbarous in the aſpect of the temple: that is, it was not exact in reſpect of the heavens, or of its parts, and which a peruſal of Vitruvius will more fully explain. To have made the architecture even of the Atlantic iſle as perfect as the Grecian, would have been ſuch a want of politeneſs and reſpect towards his countrymen, as Plato could not be guilty of. What relation has this Atlantic temple with Celtic or Teutonic architecture? None, but that the author ſuppoſes the Atlantis of Plato and the viſionary Rudbeck to be the ſame. Strabo gives no more countenance to this writer than Plato and Caſſiodorus, but I ſhall not trouble the reader with the detail.

As to the pointed or lancet Gothic arch it was known and uſed many centuries before the Gothic power was eſtabliſhed, or the romantic expeditions to the Holy Land commenced. About the year of Chriſt 132, Antinous, the favourite of the Emperor Adrian, was drowned in the Nile. This prince, to perpetuate his memory, founded a city in Egypt, and called it after his name. Pere Bernat made drawings of its ruins, which are in the third tome of Montfaucon's antiquities. Among them is the pointed arch, not perfectly Gothic, but that called contraſted. Another contraſted arch appears in the Syriac MS. hereafter ſpoken of. In Horſeley are Roman ſepulchral ſtones, with pointed arches. One example, and there muſt have been many now fallen a prey to the ravages of time, would have been ſufficient to have proved their exiſtence and uſe, and the probability of their ſerving as models, after a lapſe of years, for a new ſtyle, and this new ſtyle ſeems to have commenced about the year 1000, perhaps earlier. The arches of churches on the coins of Berengarius, King of Italy, and Lewis the Pious, and thoſe in the Menologium Græcum prove the ſtrait arch was in uſe in the 9th and 10th centuries. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſtrait arches on many round towers in Ireland. In the Menologium, compiled by order of the Greek Emperor Baſilius, in the 9th century, there are many engravings from ancient miniatures: among them are Ciboria with high conical roofs; alſo perſpective views of churches, whoſe arches are round, ſtrait and ſpreading: the baſes, ſhafts, capitals and ornaments are Saxon. Theſe arches ſhew a fluctuation

(19) Ειδος δε τι βαρβαρικον ιχνυτος. Plat. in Crit. (20) In 2 tom. Urbini, 1727.

a fluctuation of taſte and ſtyle. Mr. Pennant ſaw at Cheſter two pointed arches within a round one; and Mr. Groſe informs (21) us, that the columns at Kirkſtall abbey, in Yorkſhire, ſupport pointed arches, and over theſe is a range of windows whoſe arches are ſemicircular: theſe circumſtances ſeem to intimate that the round and lancet arches were for a while ſtriving for victory.

On a coin of Edward the Confeſſor, in Camden, is a pointed arch; the church there is ſuppoſed to be that of Bury St. Edmund repaired by him. This is a century earlier than its introduction according to Mr. Bentham. As all our ancient hiſtorians reſent the Confeſſor's attachment to the Normans, among whom he was educated, it is likely he ſaw this new arch on the continent, and introduced it into his works. Some architectural novelty ſeems to have made its appearance in France and Italy at this time, as may be collected from the (22) words of Glaber Rudolph, a Benedictine monk and contemporary, and no doubt our churches took the form of this faſhionable innovation. You ſee, ſays (23) William of Malmeſbury, writing of the Conqueror's time, in cities, towns and villages, churches and monaſteries ariſe in a new ſtyle of building. Mr. Warton takes this paſſage to refer to a more magnificent, but not a different ſtyle. The words ſeem to bear an oppoſite conſtruction. What novelty was there, in barely enlarging the ſize of a church? How will magnificence be applicable to the—*eccleſiæ in villis et vicis?* Was every little village-church enlarged? We know it was not, it is improbable. But the making pointed arches, and ramifying the windows, were not ſuch expenſive and arduous works, and were the real—*novum genus ædificandi*—of Malmeſbury, and the *innovari eccleſiarum baſilicas*—of Rudolph. The origin and progreſs of eccleſiaſtical architecture and of the Saxon ornaments ſhall be now conſidered.

The eaſy intercourſe eſtabliſhed through every part of the Roman empire introduced the knowledge of chriſtianity and its teachers, at an early period, into Britain. The Goſpel ſeems to have made conſiderable progreſs among the natives, who were repreſented by three biſhops at the council of Arles, A. D. 314. The Roman ſoldiery, a very numerous body, were not ſo ready to embrace the faith. There are no monuments of their belief in Chriſt, but many of their attachment to the deities of Rome. The pompous account given by Tacitus of his father-in-law Agricola, and of his endeavours to poliſh the Britons by encouraging them to

(21) Preface to Antiq. of England, p. 121.

(22) Infra milleſimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in univerſo pæne terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis innovare eccleſiarum baſilicas. Apud Du Cheſne.

(23) Videas ubique in villis, &c. De geſt. Ang. reg. l. 3. p. 57.

build houſes, temples and fora, are rather the fond effuſions of affection than matters of fact; not a (24) trace of ſuch edifices exiſting or of the columns that adorned them. So that (25) a celebrated hiſtorian ſeems to have good grounds for aſſerting, that the moſt the Romans communicated to us was a thin varniſh of Italian manners. The architecture therefore of the Britons ſeems to have been of the ſimpleſt wooden materials, and this Bede, Uſher and Spelman teſtify. It is in vain then to look for theſe ſculptural ornaments which more particularly belong to ſtone edifices.—When the Anglo-Saxons arrived in England they adored Odin, Thor, and the other northern gods. Thoſe deities, under whoſe guidance and protection they had been victorious they would not eaſily relinquiſh. For two hundred years they continued Pagans. That they built temples, which were after converted to chriſtian churches, has been aſſerted by learned men. The paſſages in Bede and other writers which ſeem to countenance this opinion, will be found on a critical examination to come very ſhort of the neceſſary evidence, without a large portion of ingenuity and conjecture. But as there is no heathen Saxon temple extant or on record whoſe architecture and ornaments are accurately deſcribed, there is no need of entering minutely on this ſubject. If we believe the united teſtimony of our hiſtorians, the Saxons pointed their utmoſt vengeance againſt chriſtianity and its ſacred ſtructures. In their own country they worſhipped their gods in ſtone-circles, or amid the gloom of ponderous trilithons: and there are abundant proofs of their doing the ſame here.

Antecedent to the coming of Auguſtine in 597, the Welſh and Iriſh clergy converted many of the Saxon race, but the native buildings of their miſſionaries were as mean as the Britiſh.

(26) Mr. Eſſex ſays, on the authority of Bede, that the Saxons at the time of their converſion did not underſtand maſonry, as they were obliged to ſend for foreigners to build their churches and monaſteries after the Roman manner. Let their ignorance of maſonry be what it may, it is not proved by the circumſtance adduced. The paſſage alluded to in Bede, and others to the ſame purpoſe, have been miſunderſtood. The Britons, beſides their wattled and wooden churches, had latterly ſome poor ſtone-fabrics like thoſe of St. Martin and St. Pancras at Canterbury: but they were not conſtructed in the ſtyle of thoſe churches that acknowledged the doctrines and ſovereignty of the Roman Pontiff. They had no crypts under them for reliques; they were not ſupported by arches and columns; theſe arches

(24) Archaelogia, V. 4. p. 79. (25) Gibbon's Roman hiſt. c. 38. (26) Archaeol. ſup.

arches and columns were not adorned with the images of Saints and legendary ſtories; their ſhape was not cruciform; they had no oratories in the ailes, nor were they glazed. This was the Roman ſtyle as preciſely delineated by (27) Bede, Eddius and Richard Prior of Hexham, and contradiſtinguiſhed from the Britiſh.

From the arrival of the Papal miſſionaries in the Iſland it was faſhionable to exalt every thing Roman and decry what was native. The Britons with great firmneſs preſerved their hierarchy and faith, and reſolutely withſtood the adoption of maſſes, ſtations, litanies, ſinging, reliques, pilgrimages and numberleſs other ſuperſtitions and innovations of popery. The Anglo Saxon church (28) founded by a Roman and devoted to that See, could not give a more convincing proof of her ſincerity than by embracing thoſe favourite ceremonies, and with them that mode of building with which they were intimately connected. Accordingly thoſe, who were the moſt active in forwarding this ſtyle, had either their education at Rome, or were remarkably attached to that capital. Thus Ninian, who erected the ſtone-church at Whittern, was regularly inſtructed at Rome in her (29) myſteries and tenets. *Biſcop, founder of the church of Weremouth* after the Roman manner, was urged to the undertaking from his love to the bleſſed apoſtle (30) St. Peter; and Naiton, ſeduced from his hereditary religion by the abbot Ceolfrid, ſolicits this abbot to ſend him architects to conſtruct a church after the Roman (31) faſhion, not to mention Wilfrid who erected the church at Hexham, and others recorded by Bede.

This elucidation clearly points out the difference between the Roman and Britiſh architecture in the 7th century, and ſhews what the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian more particularly means by the Roman manner. It is to foreigners we are indebted for the rudiments of this elegant art, and for thoſe ſculptures which ſo profuſely adorn our capitals and arches. It is equally certain, that what are called the Saxon ornaments and the Saxon ſtyle have not the moſt relation to that people as inventors, but as they were uſed in ages wherein their conqueſts and power were very conſpicuous.

The

(27) Bed. hiſt. Abb. Wirem. p. 295, et alibi. Edd. apud XV. Scrip. p. 62. Ric. Prior. Hagul. p. 290—291.

(28) It is probable Auguſtine was a Roman, as he was taken from the monaſtery of St. Andrew, at Rome. Creſſy's church hiſtory.

(29) Qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem & myſteria veritatis edoctus. Bed. l. 3. c. 4.

(30) Eccleſiam juxta Romanorum, quem ſemper amabat morem. Et tantum in operando ſtudii præ amore beati Petri. Bed. hiſt. Abb. Wir. p. 295. And a remarkable paſſage to the ſame in Pinkerton's Vit. Sanct. Scot. p. 6. in Ninian.

(31) Bed. l. 5. c. 21.

The Roman ſtyle, which includes, as is apparent from the preceding account of it, every characteriſtic trait of the Saxon, was the mode of eccleſiaſtical architecture prevalent in the 7th century. The ſame ſtile we may reaſonably ſuppoſe exiſted in the church of (32) Tours, built A. D. 460. One hundred and twenty columns therein were not without carving; nor walls one hundred and fifty feet in length without mouldings or ornaments. Of what ſort theſe ornaments were the writer does not inform us. Eddius mentions in general terms, that the capitals of the columns and the arch of the chancel of the Hexham fabric were decorated "hiſtoriis—imaginibus—et variis cœlaturarum figuris." The firſt probably mean hiſtorical repreſentations from the Bible and Legends; the ſecond ſaints and holy men; and the laſt a variety of ſculptures in relief. Theſe works were executed by artiſts (33) brought from Rome, Italy and France: what reaſon then can there be for calling them Saxon? Many learned antiquaries have lately relinquiſhed this appellation, and call them Roman, but they have not explained what they mean by a Roman work. It is not enough that the arch is ſemicircle, and the form and proportion of the column regular, the feuillage ſhould be alſo Roman to entitle it to this diſtinction; the former by chance may be right, but the latter is not leſs characteriſtic. Where do we ſee the Ovolo, Talon, Cyma, Torus and other regular architectonic mouldings and ornaments in Saxon works? Or where an entire order of the column? For except the ſhaft, the other parts are omitted or indiſtinctly marked. The Saxon may poſſibly be a corruption of the Roman ſtyle, but there are ſtrong inducements to think it had a very different origin.

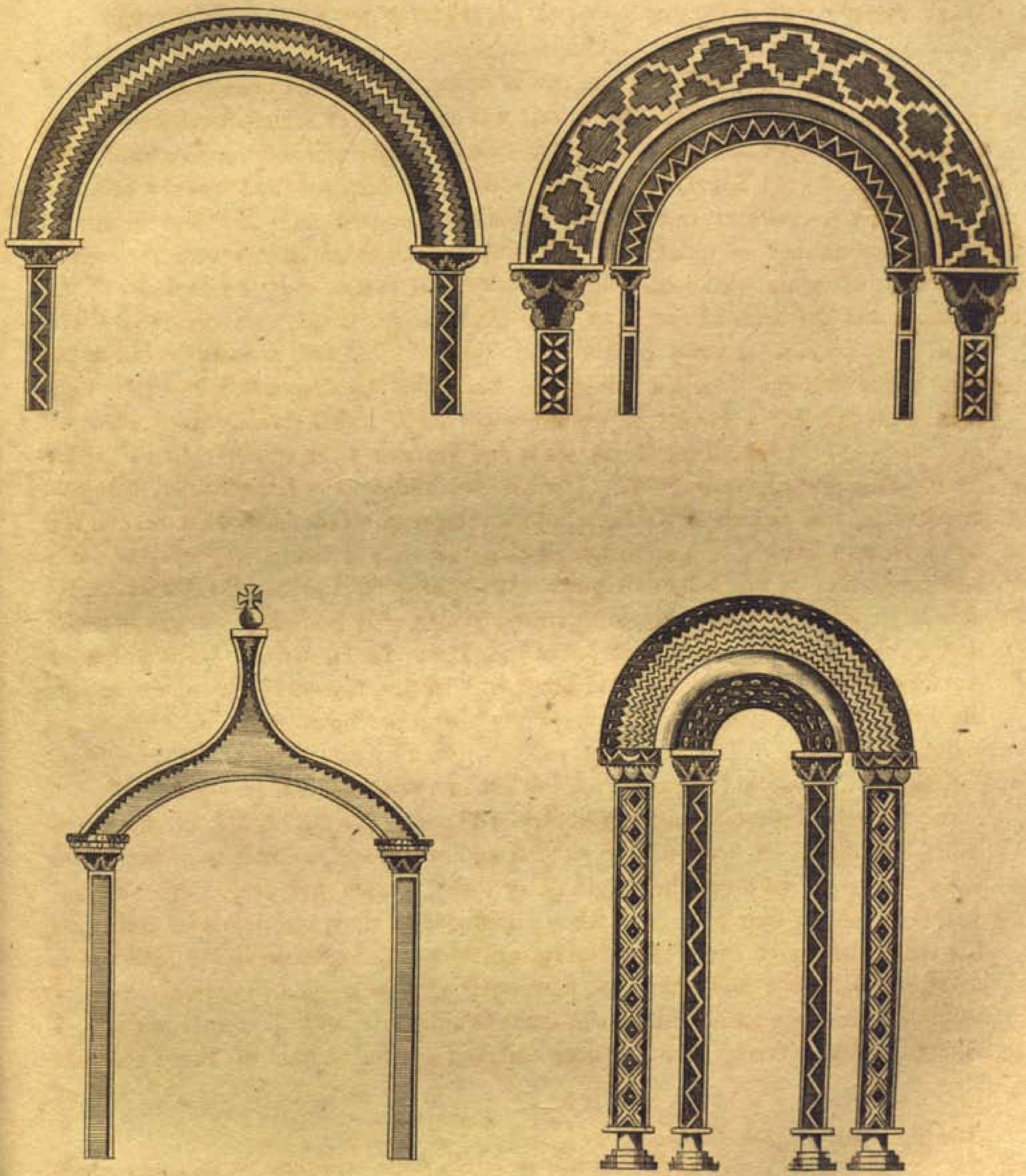
In the (34) Mediceo-Laurentian library at Florence is a Syriac MS. of the Evangeliſts, written A. D. 586, full of pictures and miniatures, exhibited in twenty-ſix leaves. The ſecond ſhews the Virgin Mary with Jeſus in her arms, under a ciborium ſupported by four pillars, which are dreſſed with chevrons, lozenges and eggs. The other plates give every characteriſtic ornament of the Saxon ſtyle; as nebules, lozenges, quatrefoils and chevrons, flowers, fruit, birds and a (35) rich variety of ſculpture. So early an inſtance, as to date, ſo authentic and in point, has not, I believe, been produced; what has been obſerved of the church of Tours and that of

(32) Greg. Turon. hiſt. Franc. l. 2. c. 14.

(33) Du Roma quoque et Francia et de aliis terris ubicunque invenire poterat, cœmentarios, &c. ſecum retinerat. Ric. Prior Hagul. l. 1. c. 5.

(34) Codex evangeliorum antiquiſſimus, literis capitalibus ſcriptus ſine punctis vocalibus, anno Alexandrino 807, hoc eſt, Chriſti 586, cum harmonia evangelica Ammonii et Euſebii, et miniaturis picturiſque veteris & novi teſtamenti. Hic codex vere inæſtimabilis eſt, optime ſcriptus. Biblioth. Medic. Laur. t. 1. p. 44.

(35) See Plate.



Arches from a Syriac M.S. of the Gospels at Florence

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of Hexham being rather probable conjecture. Here we have a curious and inconteſtible fact full in view. That ſuch drawings are good authority and authentic evidence, we have the decided opinion of Warton, in his Obſervations on Spenſer, "I cannot, ſays he, more clearly recapitulate or illuſtrate what has been ſaid, than by obſerving that the ſeals of our Engliſh monarchs from Henry III. diſplay the taſte of architecture which reſpectively prevailed under ſeveral ſubſequent reigns; and conſequently convey at one comprehenſive view the ſeries of its ſucceſſive revolutions: inſomuch, that if no real model remained, they would be ſufficient to ſhew the modes and alterations of building in England." Every inquirer into antiquity knows what uſe Montfaucon, Strutt, Grainger and others have made of miniatures, coins, ſeals and ſculptures in their various works, and that the deductions from them rarely are diſputed.

That we ſhould diſcover the Saxon ornaments (for I muſt uſe the term to be intelligible) in the Eaſt, is a phœnomenon little to be expected. Let us conſider that the tabernacle made by the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſs was to repreſent at once an (36) oriental temple and palace. As deſcribed in Exodus, it was a great pavilion or tent, and in it was the Ark. The latter was concealed from ſight by a veil ſuſpended from four pillars of precious wood, their capitals and baſes of precious metals, and the ſhafts overlaid with the ſame. Within this the Deity was ſuppoſed to reſide.

Chriſtians, in the early ages of the church, imitated many ceremonies and practices of the Jews, and among others they formed ſmall portable tabernacles, conſtructed on the model of the firſt. Sozomen (37) tells us, that Conſtantine, about the beginning of the 4th century, carried with him in his campaigns a tabernacle, in the ſhape of a church, that neither he or his army might in the Wilderneſs be without a temple for holy uſes. I ſay, Conſtantine and the Chriſtians might have adopted this idea from the Jews, but it fell alſo in very exactly with the pagan uſages, and might have been retained not to ſcandalize new converts. The carrying gods in portable temples was common among the (38) Egyptians, Cappadocians, Greeks and Romans, and ſuch were the ſilver ſhrines ſpoken of by St. Luke, in the Acts. Scripture and Sozomen call theſe tabernacles, Scenæ; but Chryſoſtom, who was contemporary with Sozomen, Ciboria. In his 42d homily on the Acts,

 he

(36) Goguet ſur. l'orig. des loix. t. 2. p. 251—252.

(37) Και σκηνην εις εκκλησιαν ετκασκευην. l. 1. c. 7.

(38) Διος ξοανον. Euſtath. in Iliad. 1. Strab. l. 4. Athenæi Deipnos. l. 11. Caſaub. in loco. Dio. l. 40. Val. Max. Herodian, Lactant. &c.

he aſks in what form they made thoſe ſilver ſhrines, and anſwers they were perhaps like the ſmall (39) Cibona.

The Ciborium was the ſhell, containing the ſeeds of the (40) Colocaſia or Egyptian Bean, its ſurface was flat and hemiſpherical, from which to the bottom it declined into a cone: it was uſed as a (41) drinking cup, and reſembled our chalices or goblets. This, inverted and ſuſpended by its footſtalk, was ſimilar to the canopy that covered theſe ſhrines, and in the beginning of the 5th century, as appears from Chryſoſtom, was thus underſtood, and at length expreſſed the pillars, curtains, canopy, and the whole (42) ſhrine or tabernacle.

Before Chriſtianity was fully eſtabliſhed and for ſome ages after, the practice of making Ciboria to ſerve as domeſtic chapels, from the example of Conſtantine and the general tincture of Paganiſm ſtill remaining, muſt have been univerſal. We have traced it through the 4th, 5th, and the Syriac MS. evinces what it was in the 6th century. In the fury of religious zeal, Conſtantine demoliſhed the monuments of ancient architecture and ſculpture. The porches of the temples, ſays (43) *Euſebius*, were laid open, their doors taken down and their roofs torn off. In one place Apollo Pythius lay expoſed to view, in another Sminthius, in the circus the Delphic tripods, and in the palace the Heliconian muſes. A new ſtyle of ornament and building commenced, it was a (44) corrupt imitation of Eaſtern, Grecian and Roman models. The firſt experiments ſeem to have been made on tabernacles and Ciboria. Catching the flame of religion from their prince, and to compleat their triumph over idolatry, Chriſtians would naturally reject thoſe ornaments that decorated heathen temples, and employ whatever they could collect of the Jewiſh and Eaſtern feuillage. The Syriac MS. preſents us with pillars ſpiral, fluted and covered with a lozenge net work, different frettes, chevrons, chalices, flower and angels heads, ornaments certainly prior to the date of that work. They were after transferred to ſtone buildings, and ſeem to be the true origin of thoſe called Saxon ornaments.

The

(39) *Ισως ως Κιβωρια μικρα.*

(40) Salmas. Plin. exercit. p. 1310. who ſhew Rhodoginus is much miſtaken in the account of the Ciborium.

(41) Poculi vicem et uſum præbebat. Salmas. ſup.

(42) Li pitture d'Ercolano. t. 2. p. 211.

(43) Vit. Conſtant. l. 1. c. 8.

(44) Wren has well obſerved in his Parentalia, that Orders were Hebræan, Phœnician, &c. The account of the Jewiſh tabernacle is a proof.

The veneration (45) in which the Ciborian was held, and the myſtic virtue of its figure, were boundleſs. The Virgin Mary, Jeſus, and the apoſtles and holy men are repreſented within thoſe of the Syriac MS. but theſe were ſoon ſupplanted by the reliques of Saints and the euchariſtic elements. Ciampini tells us, the (46) Lateran Ciborium is made of Parian marble, ſupported by four columns of Egyptian marble, with gilt epiſtyles of the Corinthian order. Within a gilt iron grating, are preſerved, with ſingular veneration, the heads of the apoſtles Peter and Paul.

We may eaſily imagine what ſuperſtitious reſpect was paid to the minuteſt part of the Ciborium, from a declaration of St. Jerome in the 4th century, who pronounces in the moſt deciſive manner, that (47) the ſacred chalices, the holy vails, and whatever elſe belonged to our Lord's paſſion, were not to be eſteemed as common and unmeaning things, but from their connection with the body and blood of Chriſt were entitled to the ſame implicit and ſovereign reſpect as the very body and blood itſelf. Hence the utmoſt profuſion was not thought too great for adorning theſe Ciboria. Pope Leo III. according to Anaſtaſius, made ſome of ſilver covered with gold, the four pillars were of great heigth of porphyry and white marble, finely carved and enriched with innumerable green and purple gems. The inverted (48) Ciborium was the crowning of the Greek churches called Cupolas, and the covering of their (49) graves. Gregory of Tours, coeval with the Syriac MS. in many (50) parts of his work, mentions the cuſtom of the Franks to hang tapeſtry round the tombs of the deceaſed, the top terminating in a ponticulus or arch, in reference to the Ciborium. The ſame ideas were attended to by architects, as we find by Gervais's (51) account of the rebuilding of Canterbury.

Such

(45) Deſcribit prolixa Ciborium Germanus, et dictis propheticis ita conquadrate opinatur, ut ſine illo, quo modo Deus operatur per altaris ſacraficium ſalutem hominum in medio terræ non probe intelligi affirmet. Goar. Eucolog. p. 15.

(46) Ciborium ex pario marmore, quatuor columnis ex marmore Ægyptio, cum epiſtyliis deauratis, ordinis Corinthii, ſuſtentatur, &c. Ciampini de ſac. ædific. p. 15.

(47) Sacros calices et ſancta velamina, et cætera quæ ad cultum Dominicæ paſſionis pertinent, non quaſi inania & ſenſu carentia ſanctimoniam non habere; ſed ex conſortio corporis & ſanguinis Domini, eadem qua corpus ejus et ſanguis majeſtate veneranda. Hieron. epiſt. ad Theophil. 88. This was about A. D. 380.

(48) Και ο κονουδης. Phot. Οια τι κονη. Silent. apud Du Cange deſcrip. æa. Soph. p. 50. Ciborium, in immenſum, veluti turris attollebatur, quæ ſenſim in acutum verticem deſinebat. Again. In Ciborii vero forma conoide, quæ columnarum ſuſtentantur columine. Du Cange, ſup.

(49) Μνημα, η ταφος, η κιβωριον. Meurs. Gloſſ. voc. κιβωριον, κιβωργιον.

(50) De gloria Conf. c. 20, 21, 30. De Mirac. l. 1. c. 72. The ſepulchrum ſub analogia compoſitum, of this writer, and the—Tumba in modum domunculi of Bede, l. 4. c. 3. were the types of the Ciborium.

(51) Clavem pro toto pono Cibotio—Factum eſt itaque Ciborium inter quatuor pilarios principales, &c. Gerv. Dorobern. p. 1298.

Such then is the evidence of the origin of the Saxon feuillage. It is a ſubject admitting, very probably, much more copious elucidation than is within the ſphere of my preſent information, a few hints are all I preſume to offer.

The oſcillation of human imbecility, ever producing the wildeſt and moſt inexplicable appearances in the moral world, in the courſe of a few centuries gave a ſignal inſtance of its capricious power. What Chriſtians of the 4th and 5th centuries beheld with horror and deteſtation, Chriſtians of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries embraced as objects meriting the higheſt reſpect and confidence. A new ſtyle of architectural ornament ſucceeded, hitherto either totally unobſerved or but ſlightly noticed, though by no means an incurious ſubject.

The moſt perfect inſtance of this ſtyle is the capitals in the French church at Canterbury. The ingenious editor of the Antiquarian (52) repertory, from whom they are copied, ſeems to coincide with Mr. Goſling's opinion, that this chapel was either conſtructed by Grymbald in the reign of Alfred, or by ſome other in that age; and his arguments are founded on the ſimilarity between the Canterbury ornaments and thoſe in Grymbald's crypt in Oxford: there is a reſemblance in the ſize of the capitals, and at firſt glance the groteſques ſeem the ſame; but a cloſer examination will diſcover them to be of different ages. At Canterbury they are well drawn, diſtinct and expreſſive: at Oxford they are confuſed and unmeaning; and in the frizes on the north and ſouth parts of Adderbury church, Oxfordſhire, we may trace a degradation of this ſtyle in the whimſical mixture of Cyclopſes, Januſes, warriors and Egyptian hieroglyphical figures; the two former are from Roman originals, the latter betrays the wayward fancy of our rude anceſtors.

The irruption and ſettlement of the Saracens in the ſouth, the fierce and bloody conflicts of barbarous and pagan nations in the north, and the univerſal corruption of religion, exhibit a diſmal picture of the ſtate of Europe in the eighth and ſucceeding ages. Charlemagne did every thing becoming a great prince to civilize the ſavage manners of the age, to reſtore Chriſtianity and revive letters. His capitulars are full of decrees for founding and rebuilding churches, and in (53) Montfaucon he is repreſented holding one, it has a round tower and a ſpire riſing from it. This is alluſive to his celebrated church of Aix-la-Chapelle. Hoſpinian (54) alſo remarks the aſtoniſhing number of magnificent religious edifices conſtructed in his reign. The Canterbury crypt ſeems of an earlier date.

If

(52) V. 1. p. 57. (53) Les monumens de la monarchie Franc. p. 276.
(54) Hoſpinian. de templis, p. 36, 37.

Capitals in the French Church at Canterbury

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If Oſborn's authority is of any weight, the undercroft at Canterbury was founded antecedent to the year 742; for that (55) writer informs us, that archbiſhop Cuthbert erected St. John's chapel in the eaſtern part of the greater church or cathedral. Archdeacon Batteley, as I collect from Mr. Goſtling, aſcribed it to the believing Romans. The learned antiquary need not be told, that crypts formed the ſubſtructure of every great church: he will alſo think it more than probable, that the metropolitical church of Canterbury was not without them for near three hundred years, that is from the age of Auguſtine to that of Grymbald; and more eſpecially ſo, when it is univerſally allowed, the undercroft amid all the conflagrations and repairs the cathedral underwent, remained unalterably the ſame. There are not documents ſufficient preciſely to determine its age, let that be what it may, I ſhall take the liberty of conſidering its capitals, and next endeavour to account for the prevalence of Egyptian hieroglyphical figures on them, and ſimilar works.

No. 1. Is the aelurus or cat, one of the (56) animals generally adored in Egypt, becauſe it was believed to ſupply a cure againſt the bite of aſps and other venomous creatures. Yet it is not likely the feline race would have been ſo honoured even in this ſuperſtitious country was it not ſymbolical of their great deity (57) Iſis.

No. 2. Is obviouſly another Egyptian groteſque. It is a hawk killing a ſerpent. Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Ælian inform us, this bird was worſhipped in Egypt for freeing the country from ſnakes, ſcorpions, and other reptiles; and Plutarch records that a hawk fighting with a ſerpent was repreſented ſtanding on the ſtatue of (58) Typhon: the archetype probably of our ſculpture.

No. 3. Is an ideal quadruped, ſuch as the Egyptian (59) gryphon is deſcribed, with the beak, talons and wings of an eagle, and the body of a lion. It is here killing ſome noxious bird or ſerpent. The gryphon was (60) ſacred to Oſiris.

No. 4, 5, 6, 7. The fourth ſeems to be a gladiator or criminal engaged with a lion; the fifth a horſeman with a cap and trowſe; the ſixth a ſheep, to which the Egyptian Saïtes and Thebans paid divine honour; and the ſeventh an equeſtrian figure common on Roman coins.

No. 8. Is a pure Egyptian figure, a double-headed Anubis beſtriding a double-headed crocodile. In Boiſſard's and other collections Anubis ſtanding on a crocodile is

(55) Apud Wharton. Angl Sac. V. 1. p. 75.
(56) Strab. l. 17. Diod Sic. l. 1. Montfaucon, t. 2. p. 310.
(57) Felis ob varietatem, &c. Iſidem indicabat. Pignor. Mens. Iſ. p. 31.
(58) πρεσ εφιν μαχομενον. Plut. de Iſ. et Oſir. p. 371. He tells us Oſiris was depicted as a hawk. ibid.
(59) Plutarch. ſymp. l. 4. quæſt. l. 5. Voſſ. de idolol. l. 3. c. 100.
(60) Pignor, ſup. p. 15.

is frequent, nor is a double-headed Anubis leſs ſo. We have ſeen the aelurus, the hawk and the gryphon referred to the great Egyptian gods Iſis and Oſiris; the ſame may be ſaid of Anubis, who was the (61) inſeparable companion of Iſis.

No. 9. A man ſitting on the head of another holds in one hand a fiſh, and in the other a cup. The fiſh named oxyrinchus was (62) generated from the blood of Oſiris, and was ſacred in Egypt. According to Hyginus, it alluded to ſome fable concerning Iſis.

No. 10. A double-headed monſter. Tertullian (63) ſeems to deſcribe ſuch forms, and ſimilar ones may be ſeen in Montfaucon.

No. 11. Is a bird deſtroying a crocodile, for they are of two (64) ſpecies, or perhaps ſome ſerpent of the lizard kind.

No. 12. Is a ſatyr reſting on two deers. The "aures Satyrorum acutæ" and the "capripedes Panes" of the Roman poets are well known.

No. 13. Are two birds on a Roman maſque.

No. 14. Is a groteſque, with the head and comb of a cock, the body and arms human, the ſhoulders winged, with the feet and tail of a ſatyr: it is playing on a violin with a bow, and behind is a ſcalene triangle. Oppoſite is another groteſque blowing a trumpet, with the head and horns of a goat, the lower extremities human. That theſe are Egyptian hieroglyphical figures we may appeal to (65) Porphyry, to Tertullian, Min. Felix, Pignorius, Montfaucon and Chifflet.

Whatever occult meaning may be concealed under theſe groteſques, there is one very obvious and agreeable to the genius of the Egyptian ſuperſtition. Its profeſſors in every age were as negligent of decency in their (66) ſacred rites as in their public conduct. It was a fatal omen of the decline of the Roman empire, for its princes to be ſo devoted to this foreign religion. Suetonius mentions it as an inſtance of Otho's effeminacy, that he celebrated the myſteries of Iſis clad in the linen veſtments of her prieſts. In Petronius Egyptian youths attend feaſts, and pour ſnow water

(61) Fuit individuus Iſidis comes. Pignor. ſup. p. 32. who produces an ancient inſcription, wherein Iſis, Serapis, Anabis and Harpocrates are called Θεα συνναα.

62) Νομιζουσι δε Και των ιχθυων, ιερον ειναι. Herod. Euterp. ου γαρ Αιγυπτιοις μονον ωδε Συροις εγγιστα μαρις ιστιχη ιχθυων. Plutarch. ſymp. l. 8. quæſt. 8. Biblioth. choiſie. t. 11. p. 106. Melang. de liter, par Vigneul-Marville, t. 1. p. 3. And Caſal. de rit. veter. No. 41. p. 137. Amm. Marcell. l. 22.

(63) Canino capite et leonino, et de bove et ariete. Ad Nat. l. 1. c. 14.

(64) Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 454.

(65) Porphyr. de abſtinent. l. 4. §. 9.

(66) Jamque expectatur in hortis,
Aut apud Iſiacæ potius ſacraria lenæ. Juvenal. Athenæi Deipnos. l. 14. Arnob. l. 5.

water on the hands of the company. They excelled no leſs in muſic than in the other elegant means of corrupting mariners.

Cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana ſuſurrat. Mart.

Verus brought many muſical performers to Rome from Syria and Alexandria. According to Kircher, the triangle denoted Orus, the ſon of Iſis and Oſiris: or it was a (67) figure which the Egyptians obſerved their favourite Ibis often to make.

Sir John Hawkins (68) gives us the Giuſtiniani Apollo playing on a violin with a bow: the body of the inſtrument is ſomewhat rounder than ours. This ſtatue Dr. Burney informs us has been proved by Winckelman and Mengs to be modern; he thinks the violin and bow which appear on an antique ewer and baſon, dug up at Soiſſons, the oldeſt hitherto diſcovered. Le Beuf, he adds, ſuppoſes them to be as ancient as the year 762. To the ſentiments of theſe eminent ſcholars and antiquaries I ſhould moſt readily ſubſcribe, and particularly ſo, as they would nearly aſcertain the date of the undercroft, could I reconcile them with Venantius Fortunatus. This writer flouriſhed about the middle of the ſixth century, and mentions the "Chrotta Britanna or Britiſh Crwth." From the drawing of this inſtrument, in the third volume of the Archæologia, it is plain it was of the fidicinal kind, and the tranſlation from this to the violin eaſy; yet I ſhould think it an exceſs of patriotiſm to aſcribe the invention of this elegant inſtrument to the Britons. They muſt rather have corrupted the violin into the Crwth from a Greek or Roman original. Enough has been ſaid of theſe capitals to found a conjecture that this crypt was an (69) Iſeum or Roman chapel, ſacred to Iſis, or that it was an early imitation of Roman models. Groteſques are derived from the eccentricity of Egyptian ſuperſtition, and which affected ſtriking and monſtrous forms rather than thoſe that were comely and beautiful; and the more to inſpire (70) religious dread and horror, thoſe groteſques were moſtly confined to crypts, and hence they got their (71) appellation.

The

(67) ἰσοπλευρον τριγωνον. Plutarch. de Iſ. et Oſ. p. 650. Trigonus cum globo inſcriptus ſignificat Horum. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Syn. 2 c. 7. A triangle is a common ſepulchral ornament in the crypts at Rome? Aringh. Rom. ſubter. paſſ.

(68) Hiſtory of Muſic, V. 1. p. 446.

(69) A ſimilar inſtance, are the vaults at Hexham, wherein are many fragments of Roman inſcriptions, groteſque figures, which are true Sigillaria or Sigilliola, and much carved ſtone-work. Hexham and Canterbury were Roman ſtations. Hutchinſon's excurſion to the lakes. p. 303—307.

(70) Quorum ſtudium in id magis incumbebat, ut picturas miras exprimerent, quam ut venuſtatem affectarent. Pignor. p. 7. Vitruv. l. 7. c. 5. Li pitture d'Ercolano. t. 3. p. 296. n. 2. and p. 312.

(71) Italis dictas grotteſcas credo, quod in terra obrutis veterum ædificiorum fornicibas, quas grottas, quaſi cryptas vocant, primum invenerint. Pignor. ſup.

The northern nations from vicinity or intercourſe had been long converſant with the ſuperſtition of (72) Rome, and like her, were addicted to magic and ſpells. So exactly did their ideas aſſimilate on theſe heads, that Wormius (73) declares one egg does not more cloſely reſemble another than the Egyptian and Daniſh hieroglyphics. Boetius found numberleſs hieroglyphics in Scotland, which tradition aſcribed to the Daniſh times; of theſe he thus ſpeaks in Holinſhed's tranſlation, "that the Scots at firſt uſed the rules and manners of the (74) Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their private affairs they did not write with common letters, as other nations did, but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures, made in manner of letters, as their epitaphs on their tombs and ſepulchres remaining amongſt us do hitherto declare. Nevertheleſs this hieroglyphical manner of writing in our times is periſhed and loſt." Mr. Pennant met with theſe groteſque in his tour in Scotland: he aſks whence could artiſts acquire their ideas of centaurs and animals proper to the torrid zone?

In the year 1665, the tomb of Childeric I. was diſcovered at Tournai, and in it the (75) head of an ox with a ſaw in his forehead all of gold; and leſt the figure ſhould be miſtaken, there were about three hundred golden "apes" or bees, to ſhew that Childeric's tutelary deity was the Egyptian apis. Montfaucon ſays there were (76) many oval coins found at the ſame time with the ſcaraboeus and frog on them; and then aſks, were theſe derived to the Franks from the Egyptians? Did the former alſo worſhip them? Had theſe ingenious writers applied but a ſmall portion of their erudition to this ſubject, they would ſoon have detected the obſcurity which overſhadows the introduction and uſe of theſe hieroglyphics, and thereby ſuperſeded the neceſſity of the following obſervations.

The Egyptian ſuperſtition had, by its various adumbrations and (77) explications, ſo confounded the ancient ſyſtem of Grecian and Roman theology, as to make it a perfect chaos. This, with the open profligacy of its votaries, made the Romans, in the 696th year of the city, eject it. It ſtole in again, and was again expelled. So true is it what Macrobius writes, that with difficulty thoſe deities were eſtabliſhed at

(72) Ten years before the incarnation, Druſus conquered and colonized the country of the Anglo-Saxons. Tacit l. 4 c. 12. Camden and Stillingfleet.

(73) Vix ovum ovo ſimilius deprehendes. Faſt. Dan. p. 45, 46. Monum. Dan. p. 92.

(74) The popular fiction of Gathelus and Scota was very convenient for explaining theſe Scottiſh hieroglyphics.

(75) This is ſtrong proof, that the Franks were then pagans. This is confirmed by Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 10. Heet alluding to this diſcovery, ſays, Et ne quis Apim eſſe neſciret adjectæ fuerant apes aureæ pluſquam trecentæ, ut ex harum nomine illius intelligeretur. Demons. Evang. p. 147. ed. 8vo.

(76) Monum. de la Monarch. Fran. p. 10—15.

(77) Moſheim ad Cudworth, c. 4. Bruker. Hiſt. Philoſoph. t. 1. p. 246.

at Rome. At length they were permitted without the walls, but generally deſpiſed to the reign of Nero, when Lucan ſays,

Nos in templa tua Romana recipimus Iſim
Semideoſque canes.

The ſingular reſpect ſhewn to Egyptian idolatry, and its adoption about this time, may I think with certainty be developed from an anecdote of Nero, preſerved by Suetonius. An unknown plebeian preſented the emperor with a little female image, as a protectreſs againſt conſpiracies: in a ſhort time after, having diſcovered ſome ſecret machinations, he aſcribed the diſcovery to this image, worſhipped it as a ſovereign deity, and ſacrificed to it thrice a day. Adrian had a little image, ſtuck with old iron letters, which he adored with his other chamber divinities.

The ſucceſſors of Auguſtus lived in perpetual fear of aſſaſſinations and inſurrections: the nobility were debauched, the commons wretchedly poor, and the ſoldiery ſeditious and undiſciplined. Dreadful apprehenſions conſtantly haunted the diſturbed imagination of the reigning prince; without vigour or firmneſs to take a judicious or deciſive ſtep to avert danger, he became a prey to the weakneſs of his paſſions, and ſought information, aid and protection from amulets and ſpells. It was here the Egyptian charlatannerie powerfully recommended itſelf to the vain hopes and fears of a debauched people, by the ſuperior virtue of its taliſmans. The ſkill of the orientals in aſtrology was confeſſed, and their ſpells and charms eſteemed of the moſt indiſputable efficacy and power. The deities, whoſe figures thoſe amulets bore, were not leſs cried up. Artemidorus, a contemporary, is full on this head. If, ſays he, you dream of Iſis, Anubis and Harpocrates, or of their ſtatues and myſteries, it portends confuſions, dangers, threatenings and misfortunes, from which however beyond your hopes they will preſerve you; for theſe gods have ever been (78) ſaviours, keeping their votaries unhurt in the extremeſt difficulties.

In conſequence of this prepoſſeſſion and confidence in the Egyptian ſuperſtition, their amulets multiplied to infinity; from the higheſt to the loweſt every one procured and carried them: all imitated the prince

Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum.

Now, ſays Pliny in the reign of Trajan, they begin to wear Harpocrates and the Egyptian gods on their fingers. Commodus ſhaved his head and bore Anubis in his

(78) Αει γαρ σωτηρες. Oneiroc. l. 2. c. 44.

his arms, when he celebrated the rites of Iſis. Under Adrian, many of theſe Egyptian temples were erected. Severus repaired the Iſeum and Serapeum. Caracalla conſtructed a large fane to Iſis; as Antonius Pius did to Serapis. In a word, Otho, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Philip and Tetricus were entirely devoted to the Egyptian religion, as their coins and the writers of the Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ teſtify. Every part of Europe, Aſia and Africa was conſequently deeply infected with it.

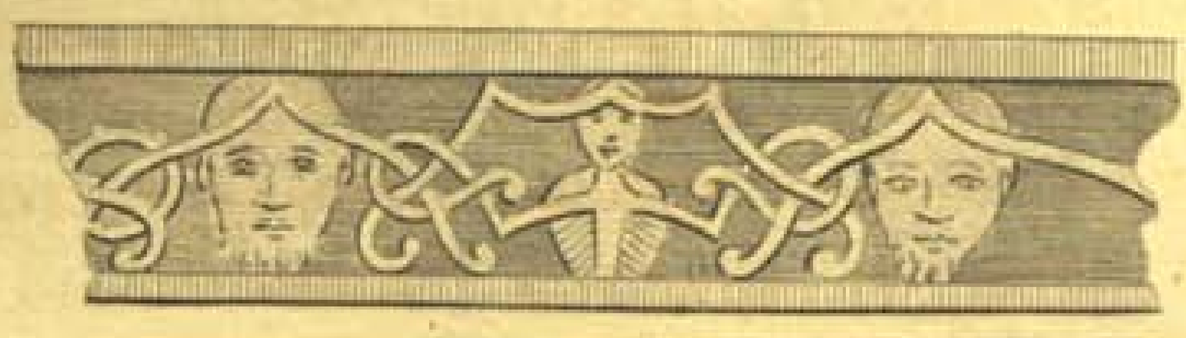
In the ſecond century Baſilides, and other hereſiarchs of the oriental ſchool, taking advantage of the reigning ſuperſtitions, and to increaſe the number of their (79) followers, interwove many heathen notions and practices into their ſyſtem of chriſtianity; they formed innumerable amulets engraven with Egyptian hieroglyphics, monſtrous letters, and the names of Æons. Theſe were to ſecure the poſſeſſors longevity, opulence, health and ſucceſs. Theſe heretics, according to St. Jerome, diſſeminated their peſtilent notions over France and Spain, where they more particularly ſolicited and obtained the patronage of the fair ſex. The teſtimony of this father is ſtrengthened in the higheſt degree by the multiplicity of abraxas found in theſe kingdoms, exhibited by Chifflet and Montfaucon, and by the works of Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons, who wrote againſt them. It is further evident from Lindenbrog's code of barbarian laws, that the Franks and Romans occupied in common the country of Gaul, as the other tribes and Romans did Spain and the reſt of the empire: the former accommodated their (80) civil inſtitutions as well as their religious opinions to thoſe of the latter. Julian, Conſtantius, and even the chriſtian emperor Conſtantine, bore Egyptian ſymbols on their coins; nor need we wonder at a barbarous prince, as Childeric, ambitiouſly imitating ſuch examples. This reaſoning ſeems concluſive, and at the ſame time gives the ſolution of the appearance of the Egyptian Scaraboeus in the tomb of a French king, and of hieroglyphics on ancient northern monuments.

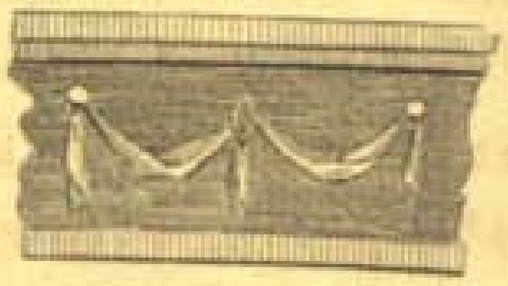
In like manner, numberleſs muſt have been the temples and crypts ſacred to Egyptian deities diſperſed over Europe, whoſe feuillage was the ſame as that in the undercroft at Canterbury. Some of them with all their hieroglyphical ornaments were converted to chriſtian churches, as that of (81) St. Andrew in Barbara in Rome appears at this day. Some were conſtructed on the ſite of ſuch temples as the

(79) Bruker and Moſheim, ſup.

(80) Monteſquieu l'eſprit des loix. Camden de offic. Mareſch. Baxter. Gloſſ. Antiq. Rom. voc. Aurum.

(81) Ciampini de ſac. ædif. t. 1. p. 19.





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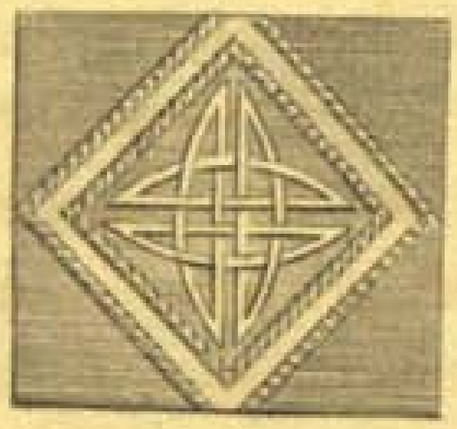

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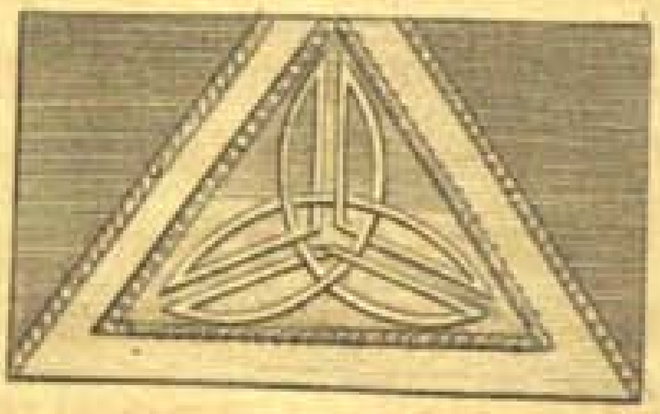

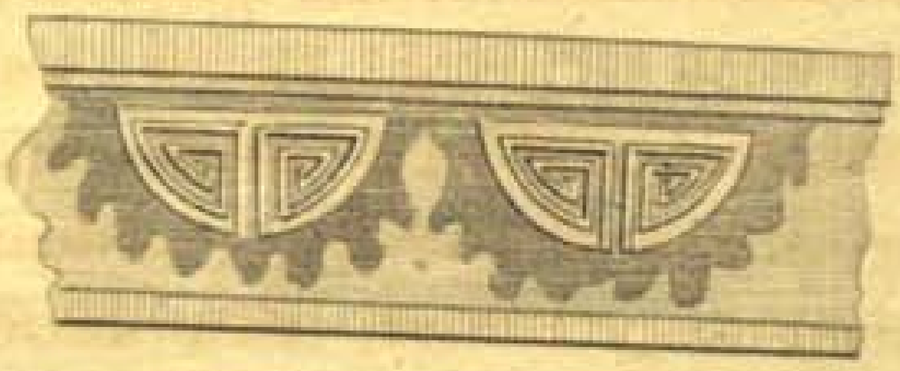

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W.m Beauford Delin.

J. Ford Sculp.

ANCIENT SCULPTURES of GLANDELOCH.

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the church of St. Germain was on that of the fane of (82) Iſis. The furious, though pious zeal of believers, and the rage of accommodating every thing to the faſhionable ſtyle have deprived us of many of theſe ancient monuments: enow remain to eſtabliſh the idea advanced in theſe pages.

The decay of learning and the corruption of religion reduced chriſtianity almoſt to ſemi-paganiſm. From St. Audeon's life of St. Eloi, biſhop of Noyon, we find that the ancient heathen deities were commonly worſhipped in France in the ſeventh century: and in ſucceeding ages the Capitulars, Councils and Rhegino demonſtrate with what difficulty idolatry was ſuppreſſed, though neither ſubdued or eradicated, for it received new vigour, and the eaſtern ſuperſtition particularly, freſh ſtrength from the congenial myſtic theology of the Arabians. It is not unreaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that the fondneſs for hieroglyphics and groteſques had not abated in the ninth century, when Grymbald founded his crypt at Oxford, though ſhortly after the Danes introduced a new ſtyle compoſed of ancient groteſques, Greek and Roman mythologic figures and whimſies of their own, as in Adderbury church.

The moſt elegant figure there, is on the ſouth front, it is a ſtar or rather mullet of five points, a true Egyptian magical figure, the ſame as ſeen on a canopus in (83) Montfaucon.

A new ſtyle of ſculptural ornament now ſolicits the reader's attention; it is certainly Daniſh; and the ſpecimen is unique in Ireland. A ſmall crypt, or ſtone-roofed oratory was diſcovered by the late Samuel Hayes, Eſq. which for ages had been buried amid the rubbiſh of a contiguous fallen church, unnoticed and unexplored. This crypt is about fourteen feet by ten; the tomb of St. Kevin occupies a great part of the room. The entrance is through a weſt door, whoſe arch with the capitals and baſes of its pillars is adorned with various figures. Here are no traces of Saxon feuillage, no chriſtian ſymbols, or alluſions to ſacred or legendary ſtory: the ſculptures are expreſſive of a ſavage and uncultivated ſtate of ſociety. Had there been a mixture of ſtyles, ſomething might be allowed for the caprice of the carver, but the deſign and execution being uniform, the whole muſt be conſigned to a particular people and æra.

No. 1. A ravenous quadruped, a wolf, devours a human head: the head is a living one; the hair, whiſkers and beard give it a ſavage appearance. The animal is

(82) Le lieu qui parut le plus propre fut celui ou ſelon l'opinion commune reſtoient encore les anciens veſtiges du temple d'Iſis. Brouillart. hiſt. de l'Abb. de S. Germain, p. 4. This was A. D. 556.

(83) Tom. 2. p. 366.

is eaſily diſcovered by the following (84) ſtory. One of the ſailors of king Harald dreamed, that a woman of gigantic ſize appeared to him, riding on a wolf, who had in his mouth the head of a man, the blood of which flowed from his jaws. When he had ſwallowed that head, the woman put another into his mouth, and ſo on with many more, all of them he devoured, and then ſhe began the ſong of death.

No. 2. Exhibits the head of a young man and a wolf; the long hair of the former elegantly entwined with the tail of the latter. The hair thus thrown back from the forehead was the genuine Iriſh Culan, Cooleen, or Glibb. Wolves, until the year 1710, were not extirpated; the mountains of Glendaloch muſt have abounded with them. There was a ſingular propriety in joining the tail of this animal with the young man's glibb, to indicate the fondneſs of the one for the purſuit of the other.

No. 3. Is a wolf in a rage, with his tail in his mouth. The ferocity of this animal and his delight in human blood are the chief themes of Scaldic poetry. Odin, the ruler of the gods, as he is ſtiled in the (85) Edda, is conſtantly attended by two, named Geri and Freki, whom he feeds with meat from his own (86) table.

No. 4. Are two ravens picking a ſkull. This bird was (87) peculiarly ſacred to Odin: he is called the king of ravens. In the (88) epicedium of Regner Lodbrog is recorded an engagement of the Danes and Iriſh at Vedrafiord, or Waterford.

"In heaps promiſcuous was piled the enemy:
Glad was the (89) kindred of the falcon. From
The clam'rous ſhout they boded an
Approaching feaſt. Mariſtein, Erins's king whelm'd
By the irony fleet, allay'd the hunger of the
Eagle and the wolf, the ſlain at Vedra's ford became
The raven's booty."

The three daughters of Lodbrog worked a reafan on the ſtandard of Hingar and Hubba, with many magical incantations, which was to be invincible. This enſign, common

(84) Barthol. p. 426. Johnſtone's Antiq. Celt. Scand. p. 199.

(85) Apud Barthol. p. 424—425.

(86) Cibum menſæ ſuæ impoſitum Odinus duobus lupis diſtribuit, qui vocantur Geri et Freki. Itaque cum lupi cadaveribus impenſe delectentur, nihil uſitatius Scaldis antiquis. Barthol. ſup.

(87) Corvus Odino peculiariter ſacratus erat, ut et deus corvorum nominaretur. Barthol. p. 429—475. Bircherod. ſpec. rei. mon. p. 24. They were long worſhipped by the Norwegians. Thorkelin's tracts, p. 48.

(88) Johnſtone's Lodbroker quida, p. 21. Worm. liter. run. p. 196.

(89) Gladruard gera broder, i. e. glad was the brother of the wolf, the raven. Barthol. ſup.

common among the Northerns, was ſuppoſed to give omens of victory or defeat: if it gayly fluttered in the wind, it preſaged ſucceſs, but if it hung down motionleſs, it portended misfortunes. It is plain from many Abraxas in Chifflet, and many paſſages adduced in Cuper's Harpocrates, that the raven was an Egyptian hieroglyphic, and had a predictive virtue.

Nos. 5. 5. 5. Theſe figures are Runic knots, compoſed of the ſegments of circles, their arcs and chords interſecting each other. There is ſcarcely a carved ſtone, croſs or other remnant of antiquity, during the time of the Daniſh power, but exhibits a knot of ſome kind. In the middle of the ninth century, it appears on the (90) ring of the Anglo-Saxon prince Ethelwolf. Wormius gives but little information or ſatisfaction on this head, but Keyſler ſupplies (91) his defects. From him we learn, that there were ſeven kinds of runes, adapted to promote every human action and wiſh, according to the ceremonies uſed in writing them, the materials on which they were written, in the place where they were expoſed, and in the manner in which they were drawn; whether in the form of a circle, a ſerpent, triangle, &c. Hickes, in his Theſaurus, tells us of a ſilver ſhield found in the Iſle of Ely; the convex ſide had many knots and gyrations, which he pronounces magical: on the concave was a runic inſcription, praying defence and protection to the wearer. The cyphers, dotted on the breaſt, and between the thumb and forefinger of our common people are the runic cerviſiariæ of Keyſler. The figure on the Egyptian Canopus, on the frieze at Adderbury, the (92) Scutum Davidis, and our ſegments of circles, are magic knots of triangular and oval ſhields, which were to ſecure the wearer from harm. So late as the year 1504, William Faques, an Engliſh printer, took the (93) Scutum Davidis, as a ſpell againſt fire and accidents. Even in the next century, ſpells had not loſt their credit in the north of England, as Nicolſon, in Camden, records.

After having evinced by (perhaps too protracted) a detail that theſe ſculptures are agreeable to the ſentiments and manners of the Northerns, it will be neceſſary to offer ſome hints towards aſcertaining their æra. The legendary ſtory of St. Kevin affords none. In 880, Alfred obliged Guthrum to embrace chriſtianity: but this forced converſion had little influence on his Daniſh ſubjects or ſucceſſors, for in 925, Sihtric,

(90) Archaeologia. V. 7. p. 409.

(91) Sunt enim Runæ victoriales, fontanæ, cerviſiariæ, auxiliatrices, cordiales, arboreæ et Logo runæ. Antiq. Septentrion. p. 465.

(92) Fabric. Cod. pſeudepig. t. 2. p. 1007.

(93) Ames's typog. Antiq. by Herbert, V. 1. p. 309.

the Daniſh prince of Northumberland, had Edgitha, ſiſter of Athelſtan, beſtowed on him in marriage on his renouncing paganiſm; and a croſs appears on his coin in Camden. In 984, according to Sir James Ware, the Iriſh Danes received the faith; but it was earlier, as marks of chriſtianity are ſeen on a coin of Anlaff, A. D. 930, ſo that it is extremely probable the Engliſh and Iriſh Danes embraced the goſpel about the ſame time. Let us remember that maſonry was not practiſed in Ireland before the eſtabliſhment of the Daniſh power in the tenth century. The words of Moſheim, are pertinent on this occaſion.—" The ſtupid (94) veneration paid to the bones and carcaſes of departed ſaints at this time, muſt convince us, of the deplorable progreſs of ſuperſtition. This idolatrous devotion was conſidered as the moſt momentous branch of religion. Hence every church had its particular patron among the ſaints, and this notion rendered it neceſſary to multiply prodigiouſly their number, and to create daily new ones. The clergy ſet their invention at work, and peopled at diſcretion the inviſible world with imaginary protectors; they invented the names and hiſtories of ſaints that never exiſted; either phantoms of their own creation, or diſtracted fanatics, whom they ſainted."

From the foregoing data, I preſume, we cannot err much in determining the date of theſe curious ſculptures.

(94) Ecc. Hiſt. V. 2. p. 104, 105. cent. IX.

OF THE ANCIENT IRISH COINS.

THE civilization of any country is eaſily traced by her coins. While mankind continue in a barbarous ſtate they have few wants: food and clothes of the meaneſt kind are all nature calls for, and theſe the chaſe, or domeſticated animals amply ſupply. A people more poliſhed, ſearching for commodities neceſſary for their ſupport, manufactures or luxuries, arrive among theſe barbarians, and offer them many tempting novelties in exchange for peltry, or other produce of their land. Theſe inhabitants of the foreſt now feel wants, to which before they were ſtrangers; a trade commences, and is carried on by permutation; this is found an uncertain and troubleſome mode; the precious metals are then introduced as repreſentatives of the value of things: the natives embody in ſmall communities and become ſocial: their friendly intercourſe with merchants wears off the ferocity of rude nature; ſoft and agreeable manners ſucceed, and at length, an high degree of civility. Thus commerce produces wealth, and the latter ſuggeſts coin, with all the capricious vanity of its various impreſſes. Such is the origin of money, as delivered by every judicious and enlightened writer. If we add, that the (1) date of the earlieſt Grecian coins is about 800 years before the Incarnation, and that of the Romans five centuries later, we muſt be at a loſs to diſcover, by what rules Iriſh antiquaries conduct their inquiries concerning Iriſh money, for they are evidently not thoſe of learning and good ſenſe, as then they would have produced ſomething ſober and rational on the ſubject; whereas we ſee nothing but the wildeſt whimſies, and all the exorbitance of romantic and licentious aſſertion.

Our (2) writers, with unbluſhing confidence, aſſure us, gold was found and refined here a thouſand years before Chriſt; and mints erected, and ſilver coined five hundred years before the ſame event. The authors of theſe ſplendid fictions had certainly paſſed Virgil's ivory gate of ſleep:

Altera

(1) Spanheim. de præſt. & uſu Numiſm. Jobert, Science des Medailles. Tom. 1. Pinkerton on Medals. Vol. 1.
(2) Keating. Cambrens. Evers. p. 85. O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 195—241.

Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia manes.

In vain we inquire for the coins of these ideal mints, and for those of Armagh, Cashel, and Clonmacnois. Even Mr. Harris, who is never nice in receiving Irish fables, cannot (3) reconcile himself to the palpable absurdity of our writers, who are perpetually telling us of our coined money, yet producing no specimens of it.

But we see a more solid objection lies to these idle dreams than the absence of coins, and that is, the barbarism of the natives to a late period. We must depend on the picture drawn of their manners by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, and Solinus, because there is not a single authentic circumstance handed down to impeach its veracity, except an obscure notice in * Tacitus, informing us, that the ports and harbours of Ireland were more frequented by merchants than those of Britain. The learned (4) Huet cites this passage, but leaves it in its original darkness. I say darkness; for can it be imagined, that a commercial nation would not have forced itself on the observation of the Romans, who must have looked on it as an useful ally, or dangerous enemy. Would not the arts have been cultivated among such a people, and their manufactures, as well as the produce of an improved soil been desirable objects of trade? If they had wealth, which commerce ever generates, or valuable metals or commodities, they never would have escaped Italian rapacity. It was a thirst for gold and silver that caused the Roman invasion of Britain; and Cicero, (5) in more places than one, expresses his own and his countrymen's chagrin at their disappointment. Huet supposes, from an anecdote in (6) Strabo, that Crassus, one of Julius Cæsar's lieutenants, had explored the coasts of Ireland, and finding it possessed good harbours, inferred, that they were probably frequented by traders. This ingenious conjecture will satisfactorily explain to us the reason of Tacitus's assertion before. Writing from the best information he could collect, he perhaps found Crassus's observations either as a † minute among the public records, or as a tradition. Having nothing better, he inserted it in his work, without attending to the insuperable objections to which it was liable. Whatever may be the general character of this admired writer for veracity and accuracy, he has

(3) Harris's Ware, p. 204—205.

* This passage in Tacitus is corrupted; see Gronovius's edition in loco. Nov. comment. Gotting. t. 2. p. 61.

(4) Histoire du Commerce, p. 196. Ric. Corinens. p. 45.

(5) In Britannia nihil esse audio, neque auri neque argenti. Epist. Trebatio. To Atticus, he says: Etiam illud jam explicitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula. Voss. ad Mel. p. 254.

(6) Lib. 3. p. 121. Edit. Casaub.

† The Romans must have known this island well, from what Mela says of it, which is correct.

has fallen into unaccountable errors on many occaſions. Thus, he ſpeaks of temples, porticos, and other large and noble ſtructures erected by the Britons on the encouragement of Agricola, when not a (7) relique of ſuch has been found, while numberleſs altars, ſepulchral ſtones, coins, and more periſhable antiquities are daily met with. Would not one be inclined to think, that in this inſtance he ſacrificed truth to the glory of his father-in-law? If our ports were reſorted to by foreigners, theſe foreigners were (8) Scandinavians. The tales then of our bards and ſeanachies of the abundance of gold, ſilver, and coined money, are unfounded, and of the ſame ſtamp with that of Hector Boethius, who tells us, that Donald, whom all confeſs to be a fictitious king of Scotland, minted gold and ſilver, A. D. 199, with a croſs on one ſide, and his own effigies on the other. A ſtory rejected with juſt contempt by the (9) Antiquaries of that kingdom.

That Ireland poſſeſſes mines of (10) lead, iron, and copper, is inconteſtibly true; and it is probable ſhe has ſome of gold or ſilver. The relation in (11) Boate, of gold being taken out of a ſtream in Tyrone, is but little regarded by the hiſtorian of the county of Down. The fond wiſhes of a more (12) learned and ingenious writer, grounded on the exploded traditions of Iriſh mythologiſts, are like many other pleaſing reveries of that patriotic author. From Mr. Simon, a reſident in this country, and not defective in information, one would have expected ſomething well founded. After relating (13) theſe, he frigidly concludes, " that theſe mines ſeem to have been loſt for ſome ages paſt." Surely it was well worth the pains of inquiring, how mines of valuable metals ever came to be forgotten; or how they revealed themſelves to our ſimpler anceſtors, and are now concealed from the perſevering and fiery ſcrutiny of modern avarice and chemiſtry. Without the fainteſt gleam of light then to guide us through the darkneſs of ancient times, the utmoſt caution is neceſſary, and ſhall be obſerved in proſecuting this ſubject.

It has often before been ſaid, that the Celtes were the primitive poſſeſſors of this iſle. They had not quitted the hunting ſtate, when invaded by the Firbolgs. Strangers to the cravings of inordinate appetites and the violence of unruly paſſions, they ſought no gratifications but ſuch as were within their reach, and were in

(7) As is well remarked by Mr. Eſſex. Archaeologia, Vol. 4. p. 80. Whitaker ſhews Tacitus to be careleſs and unfaithful in his repreſentations. Review of Gibbon, p. 4—5.

(8) Antiquities of Ireland, ſupra. (9) Ruddiman's Introduction, p. 119.

(10) Hiſt. of Down, p. 187. Smith's Waterford, p. 303. Cork, V. 1. p. 390.

(11) Natural Hiſtory, Chap 16.

(12) Campbell's Political Survey, Vol. 3. p. 52. Edit. Dublin.

(13) On Iriſh coins, initio.

every thing the children of Nature. They had two ſtages in ſociety to advance, the paſtoral and agricultural, before they arrived at the (14) metallurgic. Sinking ſhafts, and refining ores, were too ingenious and laborious employments for the ignorance and indolence of rude life. Not to inſiſt on a matter ſo obvious, there is one deciſive proof of the unacquaintance of the Celtes with metals, and that is, the want of terms in their language to expreſs them. The Iriſh word, Airgiod, ſilver, is the Greek Arguros, or Latin Argentum, as the Iriſh Or, gold, is the Latin Aurum. The Iriſh Pras, for braſs, Copar for copper, Luaighe for lead, and Jarann for iron, demonſtrate that a knowledge of theſe was * communicated to them by the Firbolgs, as they are all Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon words. As the Celtes had no names for the precious or baſer metals, ſo no remains of ſuch, as domeſtic utenſils, perſonal or military ornaments, have come down to us. The heads of their axes, ſpears and arrows, are of ſtone or flint, and are a full confirmation of what has been advanced.

Widely different were the Belgæ or Firbolgs, the next colony. A branch of the great Scythian ſtem, they cultivated from the earlieſt ages the ſcience of metallurgy, and in every department of it, obtained celebrity. Homer praiſes the Thracian ſword, adorned with ſilver ſtuds. The Belgic Gauls, part of our Firbolgs, had their (15) rich gold tiſſues, golden chains, collars, bracelets and rings; and the Goths were (16) ſkilful miners. The knowledge and uſe of metals then in this iſle may, very fairly, be aſcribed to the Firbolgs, and their terms for them are living evidences at this day of this truth.

The Belgæ, when they arrived here, beheld a country deſigned by Nature for paſturage, and abounding in flocks and herds, and numerous ſpecies of wild animals. Whether they explored the bowels of our mountains for ores is not eaſy to determine; the probability is, that they did not, but contented themſelves with ſuch articles of commerce as the iſland readily offered; ſuch as peltry, cattle, Iriſh dogs, and Celtic ſlaves. Some of theſe they (17) exported to the continent of France, and others to the northern parts of Europe. A tradition reported by Giraldus

(14) This Ariſtotle long ago obſerved. Œconom. l. 1. c. 2.

* Tacitus is poſitive, that the Gothini, a people of Sileſia "ferrum effodiunt." Germ. c. 43. Ptolemy mentions theſe iron mines. l. 2. c. 11.

(15) Strab. l. 4. Polyb. l. 2. And above all, Diod. Sic. l. 5.

(16) Quibus acceſſere ſequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci. Amm. Marcell. p. 447. Edit. Vales. & not. ejuſd. in loco p. 424. Clarke, on Saxon coins, very well explains the connection of the Goths and Greeks; from the latter the former learned many arts.

(17) Huet. ſupra, p. 196.

Giraldus Cambrenſis, ſtrongly countenances what is now advanced. He (18) tells us, the Northerns firſt introduced themſelves as traders; this was conſidered as a national advantage, as thereby the commodities of other countries, and of which the Iriſh ſtood in need, were imported. That, though Ireland abounded in various mines, yet being never worked, they availed nothing, ſo that it was from merchants, who traverſed the ocean in queſt of gain, gold was procured.

This tradition is perfectly conſiſtent with what has been advanced in the early part of this work, and with the elucidation of the paſſage in Tacitus, above cited, that the Scandinavians viſited this iſle both in the way of trade, and to acquire ſettlements: And we may further remark, that when the channel of commerce is once opened with any country, ſome very extraordinary cauſe muſt ariſe to ſtop it up. But ſuch a cauſe did not occur in Ireland for many ages: it was more than twelve hundred years from the firſt appearance of the Northerns here to the time they (19) finally withdrew. During this long period, theſe foreigners were the ſole traders with this iſle. Mr. Simon is certain the Northerns were allured here by the hopes of money: this ſhews he had but little conſidered the ſubject, or the internal evidence ariſing from the ſtate of the kingdom and its inhabitants, or indeed the authorities he cites. The Icelandic (20) Sagas teſtify, that a booty of cattle was the great object of theſe rovers, and the only hopes of enjoying their Idol, or brumal feſtival, with hilarity and abundance. In theſe expeditions they traded, when not powerful enough to plunder. The gold and ſilver thus given to the Iriſh were not coins, but rings, necklaces, and ſuch garnitures. Even the Roman money acquired by the Iriſh in their predatory incurſions into Britain ſome centuries before, did not circulate as a medium of trade, but was manufactured into ornaments, for few Roman coins have been diſcovered in this iſle. That conſiderable wealth in trinkets exiſted among the natives, there can be no doubt. In the Iliad and Odyſſey mention is made of goldſmiths, braſiers and ſmiths, and ample proofs are exhibited of their ingenuity and execution, and yet there was then no mint in Greece. There is a certain point in the progreſs of ſociety when coinage begins; but neither the Greeks, Northerns, or Iriſh, had yet attained it. Many have been deceived, and Mr. Simon among others, by not adverting to the double meaning of the word Pecunia. Finding this term in the annaliſts of our own and other countries, and forming

(18) Topograph. p. 749—750—759.
(19) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Norman, p. 79.
(20) Apud Johnſtone ſupra paſſim. Bartholine is more particular. Antiq. Dan. p. 450.

forming their notions by modern ideas, they ſuppoſe coined money to be underſtood, whereas it is plain from (21) Du Cange, that cattle, as the word originally imported was meant, and alſo property of every kind, and of this he gives numerous inſtances in the middle ages. There was no mint in Ireland antecedent to the 9th century, and that erected by the Oſtmen: their coins were only current among themſelves, and are therefore found only in their garriſons and ſettlements. And however extraordinary it may appear, the ſtricteſt enquiry, I believe, will prove it true, that not before the middle of the 14th century, did Engliſh money paſs among the Iriſh. The following proofs of this curious fact, I hope will ſatisfy the inquiſitive reader.

In the Brehon laws, Erics or fines, the dreſs of different ranks, and various implements are appreciated by heifers and cumals of cattle. In 1331, amerciaments were ordered to be received no longer in heifers but in (22) deniers. Edward III. who had eminent talents, ſaw clearly that the trade of Ireland muſt be greatly improved by the introduction of coin, and that the revenue in conſequence would be more certain and productive; he therefore, in the fifth year of his reign, ſent hither many judicious ordinances and regulations for the direction of his officers, and among others, that laſt quoted. To render theſe effective, he directed a (23) new coinage for Ireland, as he did for England; but as there are no ſpecimens of the former, it is likely his intentions were never carried into execution. That the Iriſh did not adopt money as a ſtandard for eſtimating the value of things about 70 years after, we have evidence in Mac Murrogh, the prince of Leinſter's horſe being (24) rated at 400 cows. The relator of this expreſsly adds, "in Ireland, they barter by exchange, one commodity for another, and not for ready money." They exchange, ſays (25) Campion in 1570, by commutation of wares, for the moſt part, and have utterly no coin ſtirring in any great lord's houſes. This brings down the want of circulating ſpecie much later than above remarked. The reaſon of this ſtrange appearance is now to be explained.

If

(21) Voce Pecunia.

(22) Quod te cætero, fines de vaccis pro redemptione non capiantur ſed denarii. Prynne on the 4th Inſtitute, p. 236. In 1583, money was ſo ſcarce, that Sir John Perrot was directed to receive the fourth part of the rents in beeves, wheat, malt and oats. Deſid. Cur Hib. p. 41—76.

(23) Leake's Hiſtory of Engliſh Money. Simon, p. 16—17.

(24) Harris's Hibernica, p. 53. The Earl of Eſſex, in 1599, tells Queen Elizabeth, "the wealth of this kingdom conſiſts in cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals. Cox. I. p. 418.

(25) Hiſt. p. 20.

If coin is the criterion of civilization, the Iriſh, through every period of their hiſtory, muſt have been little removed from barbariſm. Nothing leſs could be expected from a wretched code of laws, made up of Gavelkind, Taniſtry, and Brehonic inſtitutes. No man endeavoured to acquire property, when his children were not to inherit it. If one became wealthy through induſtry, or other means, the (26) arbitrary cuttings, ſeſſings, and coſherings of his lord ſoon reduced him to a level with his other beggarly ſlaves. This lord looked no farther than the ſupport of a barbarous magnificence and hoſpitality: he received his (27) rents in butter, oatmeal, porks and beeves. To ſuch the Engliſh laws and Engliſh name carried an hated ſound, becauſe it alarmed their pride and their independence, and they feared, with the loſs of dignity and poſſeſſions, an emancipation of their vaſſals. In a word, their general policy and municipal regulations extinguiſhed every inclination and repreſſed every motive to induſtry, manufactures, trade, and wealth. Can we wonder then at their having no coin of their own, or at their not deſiring that of others? It was not before the reign of the elder James, and the (28) year 1607, that the pernicious and fatal ſyſtem of Brehon laws was abrogated, and a dawn of happineſs firſt appeared in this iſle. The ſteadineſs and care of a wiſe and affectionate government has brought us from the vileſt obſcurity and miſery to opulence and refinement, and to a reſpectable rank among the nations of the earth; and the firm ſupport of that government can alone perpetuate ſuch ſignal bleſſings.

After theſe neceſſary and introductory remarks, I ſhall proceed to collect ſuch numiſmatic fragments as lie ſcattered in our writers. An Exchequer (29) record informs us, that in the 33 Edward I. A. D. 1305, halfpence, of ancient and unknown money, were dug up in a field near Kilcullen. Were theſe any of King John's (30) halfpence, the Engliſh could be no ſtrangers to them; they were probably Anglo-Saxon (31) haelflings or halfpence, reſembling the penny in every reſpect but ſize, and are therefore properly deſcribed in the record, as "Minores denarii, quaſi oboli," and as injudiciouſly (32) tranſlated by Harris, "pence and halfpence."

Ware gives us a coin of Anlaf, with a legend on the obverſe: "Anlaf Cynning;" and on the reverſe, "Farhan moneta;" and concludes it to be minted at

 Dublin,

(26) Davis's Letter. Collect. No. I. p. 161. (27) Davis's Relations, p. 119—120.
(28) In Davis's Report of Taniſtry, and in his Hiſtorical Relations, this ſubject is ably treated.
(29) Waræi Diſq. p. 154. (30) Simon, p. 11. Ware, ſup. p. 155.
(31) Hickes. Theſaur. p. 182. (32) Harris's Ware, p. 206.

Dublin, by Anlaf, king of that city. It may be ſo; yet it is not likely that Anlaf had any regal power there, or like his predeceſſors, he would have put—Rex Dyflin—on his coins. Mr. Harris fills up a folio page with his own and the conjectures of others on this coin; and after all comes to no determination. I do not recollect the word—Cynning, or King—on any Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Daniſh coin, except on this and on another of the ſame Prince in Camden, which has on the reverſe the well-known Daniſh raven, which Mr. Charleton makes a ſpread eagle. From the uniform practice of the Saxon and Daniſh kings in expreſſing their titles in the name of the country they ruled, I infer, with ſome degree of confidence, that Anlaf was a potent independent Daniſh earl, probably of Northumberland, who aſſumed in thoſe ages, as others did of the ſame rank, the ſtyle of kings. Thus (33) moſt of the principal lords of Wulfere, king of Mercia, A. D. 658, ſubſcribe themſelves kings, and ſo did all the great feudatories in England until the year 920, when (34) Alfred changed the title of King to that of Earl.

Of the great (35) quantity of coins diſcovered at Glendaloch in 1639, but ſix came to the hands of Sir James Ware, and are here given. Their legends and devices are very obſcure, and not eaſily explained. They however are an additional confirmation of the antiquities of that celebrated place, before delivered. As it was built by the Danes, and much reſorted to for devotion, we cannot admire at finding much of their money there. The mintage is extremely rude, and beſpeaks the infancy of the art, and the unſkilfulneſs of the workmen.

Biſhop (36) Nicolſon, in 1724, compoſed a chapter on Iriſh coins and medals: he produces not the leaſt evidence of money being coined by the natives, and gives no ſatisfaction on Daniſh coins: the ſame may be ſaid of Mr. Harris, the Editor of Ware. The ſubject, in this very imperfect ſtate, was taken up in 1749, by Mr. Simon, a naturalized foreigner and an ingenious man, under the patronage of the Phyſico-Hiſtorical Society, a moſt valuable and reſpectable body. From the Engliſh Invaſion to the time he writ, our author's work has great merit, and admits of but few additions or improvements. In the ages antecedent, (which theſe pages are deſigned to illuſtrate) he ſeems to be much miſtaken, and to have lapſed into many errors. Like his predeceſſors, he tells us, gold and ſilver were very abundant in the

(33) Ego Wulfere, cum ſociis regibus, ſays he in his charter to the Abbey of Peterborough. Hearne's Antiq. Diſcourſes. V. 1. p. 183.

(34) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 33.

(35) Magnam vim numiſmatum Hibernicorum. Supra. p. 153.

(36) Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, chap. 8.

the iſle about the 11th century, and paſſed by weight; but has no proof of money being coined by the native Iriſh, or even ſuch being current among them, except one, which he borrows from Ware, and thinks deciſive. It is this: Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, reciting and condemning, about 1089, ſome Iriſh eccleſiaſtical cuſtoms repugnant to the Romiſh, ſtates, that our Biſhops conferred Holy Orders for (37) money. Pecunia, the word here uſed, and interpreted money, I have before ſhewn to ſignify property of every kind. Giraldus (38) Cambrenſis relates, that the Welch Biſhops granted benefices for cattle, which were in thoſe times termed—Pecuniæ;—and as there was no coin among the Iriſh, theſe were likewiſe the money of the Iriſh. Immediately after this citation, Mr. Simon, with great complacency, adds, "I have, I fear, been too long in endeavouring to prove the early uſe of mints and money in Ireland," when in reality all his endeavours, ſo far from proving, have not advanced one ſtep towards this point.

Mr. Walker, treating of the Saxon coins in Camden, very kindly beſtows on Ireland ſome that are barbarous and unintelligible, to be ſure, wiſely concluding, that no people had ſuch but the rude natives of this iſle. Theſe Mr. Simon accepts as a great favour, and ſets about explaining them. His ſucceſs is ſuch as might be expected: his reading of Dida Medina, where the letters are tranſpoſed and inverted; his making Medini, Meath, and aſſigning a coin to Brian Boru, "becauſe the head is armed, and he was a great warrior," may excite a ſmile at miſtaken patriotiſm, but do him no honour as a Medalliſt. His interpreting—Dimn. roex Mneghi, Domnaldus rex Mnegin,—Donald, king of Monaghan, or, of the Magnatæ, in the county of Mayo; and the jargon he makes of the epigraphe on the reverſe,—Odiulfeoimviri—are truly laughable, and evince, that the firſt qualifications of a numiſmatic connoiſſeur is to be able to exhibit legends with the minuteſt accuracy. The coin of this prince is common, and may be ſeen in the Supplement to Simon; the legend the ſame as on the coin in Simon, and runs thus:—Dym. roe. Mnegni, or Mnegmi.—This Domnald ſeems to have been king of the Iſles and of Man; Meneg, by which the latter was (39) anciently known, deviates but little from Mnegni. The reverſe is plainly:—Fœnemn. mo. Dyſli.—Fœneman, or Fœreman Moneyer, in Dublin.

Mr. Simon amuſes us with a very ſingular conjecture, that the ornamental ſtrokes or lines round the obverſe and reverſe of our coins, were Ogham Craobh inſcriptions.

(37) Sacros Ordines per pecuniam. Ware ſupra.
(38) Wharton. Anglia Sacra, p. 530.
(39) Baxter. Gloſſar. voce Menna.

tions. Had our author looked into Molloy's Iriſh Grammar, or Harris's Ware, then recently publiſhed, he never could have conceived theſe ſtrokes to be occult characters, as they are not placed on a perpendicular or horizontal maſter-line, and have no flexure in their form.

In 1767, was publiſhed a Supplement to Simon, conſiſting of two additional plates, and one of ancient coins found in Ireland, and in poſſeſſion of the late Matthew Duane, Eſq. They contain ſome curious and valuable things, and ſhould be inſerted in a new edition of Simon, which is much wanted, and from which every coin not minted in Ireland, or not immediately connected with its hiſtory and antiquities, ſhould be (40) excluded.

I come now to (41) Mr. Pinkerton, the laſt who has treated of Iriſh coins. Unſeduced by the falſe repreſentations and plauſible fictions of our national writers, he clearly ſaw that the native Iriſh never coined money, nor had any current among them of other people. He has a few miſtakes, which ſeem to have ariſen rather from hurry, than want of information. Thus, he ſays, "the old Daniſh pennies have no reſemblance of the ancient Gaulic, or Britiſh coins, or even of the Skeattas, or old Engliſh pennies, but are mere rude copies of thoſe of the 8th and 9th centuries, executed by artiſts, who could neither form nor read letters, and therefore inſtead of them, put only ſtrokes, I I I I I." On the contrary, let the Numbers I. and II. of the plate be compared with Camden's Tables of Britiſh Coins, and a ſtrong ſimilitude in the reverſes of the latter, with the obverſes of the former, will be perceived. Even the uncouth and ſtrange figure on the obverſe of Number II. and which indicates great rudeneſs of deſign and execution, yet does not betray in the artiſt, as Mr. Pinkerton aſſerts, ignorance of letters, for it has two on the reverſe, and with them the ſtrokes which our ingenious author alleges as the criterion of unacquaintance with the alphabetic elements.

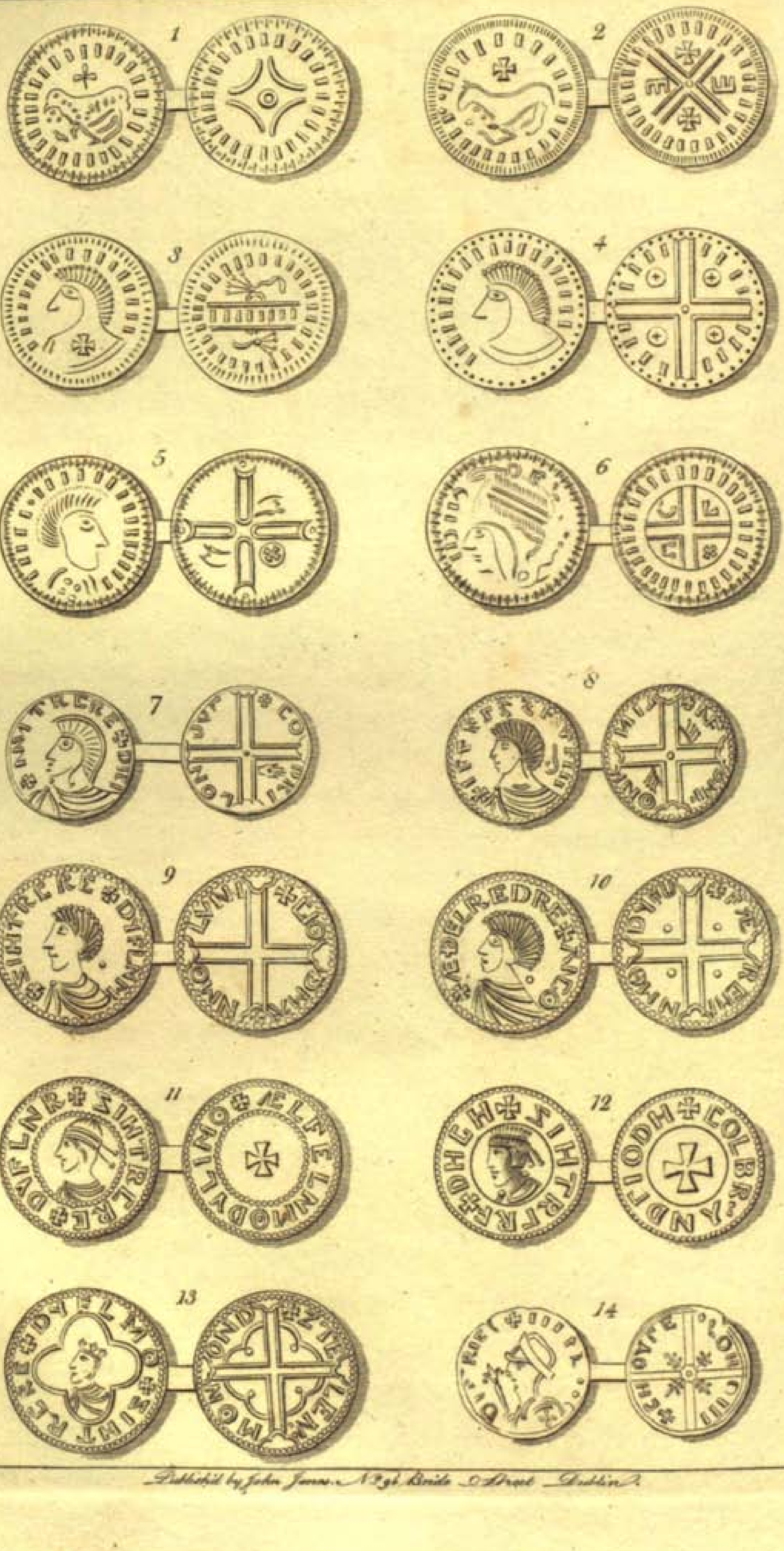
The Danes having, in the (42) ninth century, ſubjugated Ireland under Thorgils, or Turges, ſoon after erected a mint in Dublin, and from thence iſſued money; this was accepted, and accumulated by the Iriſh for either (43) melting into ingots, or the fabrication of perſonal ornaments. Of the truth of this, our domeſtic annals bear witneſs. For otherwiſe, how could Brian Boru lay 20 ounces of gold on the altar

(40) The writer of this work has an edition of Simon, on this plan, under conſideration.

(41) On Medals, Vol. II. p. 118, and ſeq. Lond. 1789.

(42) Harris's Ware, p. 204.

(43) This practice of melting money continued for a long time, and became at length ſo deſtructive of the current coin, that it was prohibited by 9 Edw. III.



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altar of Armagh, or 420 ounces of ſilver be collected for the Comorban of Columcelle? Frequent mention is made of ſuch preſents, and money paid for ranſom, but not a word of Daniſh or Iriſh coin: if ſuch were current, it is impoſſible, but on the occaſion now ſtated, and many more that might be enumerated, theſe coins muſt have been ſpecified; whereas they never occur. I ſhall now beg leave to ſubmit to the reader, a ſelect collection of ancient coins, few indeed in number, but fully ſufficient for thoſe who do not wiſh to go very deep into the ſubject; ſuch as will enable him to form ſome judgment of ſimilar ones, and their legends and devices; the limits of this work confining me to truth, information, and conciſeneſs.

No. 1. On the obverſe is an horſe, or ſome quadruped, with a croſs pattèe over it: The reverſe are, ſegments of circles, forming an ingenious, and no inelegant croſs.

No. 2. The obverſe, the ſame as the foregoing: The reverſe, a decuſſated, or St. Andrew's croſs; in the upper and lower angles, croſſes; and in the ſide ones, letters. Theſe coins not having the head of a prince, or legend to direct us to whom they belong, ſeem, with others of the ſame kind, either to refer to the worſhip of bulls, common in times of paganiſm in the (44) Cimbric Cherſoneſe, or were taliſmans, with ſuch animals impreſſed on them: or what is full as probable, they were ſtruck by ſome city, town, baron, or magiſtrate, with magical or other ſymbols; and this is the opinion of a ſenſible Daniſh numiſmatic (45) writer. On almoſt all the ancient ſtone-monuments in Scotland, we ſee figures not unlike thoſe on our coins: theſe (46) Mr. Cordiner takes for elephants, (Mr. Harris ſuppoſes them birds) and that the idea of them was derived from drawings and illuminations in books of devotion brought from the Eaſt by the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity. This conjecture is ingenious; but it is ſo far liable to objection, that ſimilar figures appear (47) on Britiſh coins long before the promulgation of the Goſpel. Nor is the preſence of Heathen devices and croſſes on the ſame coin unuſual, as Chriſtians in thoſe times were for the moſt part Semi-pagans, as thoſe who are acquainted with the dawnings of Chriſtianity in every country well know. The letter M, on the ſecond coin, expreſſed the initial of the perſon or place to whom it related.

(44) Fabric. Biblioth. Antiq p. 256. Or they might be memorials of their ancient deities, which they bore on their ſtandards. Tacit. Germ. and Hiſt. lib. 4. Mod. Un. Hiſt. 12. p. 380. Amulets were very antient among the Northerns. Tac. Germ. c. 45. Nov. lit. maris Balt. t. 3.

(45) Bercherod. Spec. rei Monet. Hafn. 1701. p. 33—135—136.

(46) Remarkable Ruins in Scotland, No. III.

(47) Camden. Tab. I. No. 24. Tab. II. No. 1. 3. 5. 16. 26.

No. 3. The obverſe, an head helmeted, with a croſs in the neck: the reverſe, a bar dividing the field; above and below it, a hand and arm couped above the elbow. Mr. Simon calls this helmet a crown; it has every appearance of armour for the head; it conſiſts of a number of rays, ſtanding like porcupine's quills, and pointed with pearls. A paſſage in Lodbrog's Death-Song will help us to explain this matter:

(48) "There while our temper'd ſteel
"Sung on the high-ſeam'd helm."

If theſe words are to be underſtood literally, the helmet was compoſed of thick felt or leather, and this ſtrengthened by ſteel plates; and this is the idea ſuggeſted by our coins. In another ſtrophe we find—

"The temper'd edge divided
"Steel-capt ſculls."

Here the ſteel helmet might have been adorned with plates of gold, and ſaid poetically to be ſeamed.

The couped arm is on many of Camden's coins, and on moſt of thoſe minted in Ireland. Doctor Charleton, ſpeaking of one of Ethelred with an hand, pioufly remarks, that it is a devout acknowledgment for his being ſuſtained by the hand of the Almighty. Others interpret it as a mark of proweſs or friendſhip; and as gueſſes generally have a ridiculous termination, this hand had been ſuppoſed to be the Iriſh harp, or at leaſt to refer to our ancient fame for playing on that inſtrument. But a conſtitution of Ethelſtan, A. D. 928, ſolves every difficulty on this point. "We ordain but one kind of money to be current through the king's dominion, and that no one make money out of the following towns. If any coiner adulterate money, let his hand be cut off, and fixed (49) conſpicuouſly over the mint. If he be accuſed, and will purge himſelf, let him go to the hot iron, and let the hand, with which he is accuſed to have committed the crime, make the purgation." Here the crime and puniſhment are fully declared; the latter appears from our coin (very curious in this reſpect) to have been the amputating the arm above the elbow, which rendered the member quite uſeleſs: And, No. 7, a coin of Sihtric, found in the Queen's County, and in poſſeſſion of Mr. Beauford of Athy, abſolutely

(48) Lodbrokar Quida, p. 7.

(49) Nummariæ conſpicienda fabricæ affigitor. Candentis ferri quæſtione manum ſceleris puram atque immunem oſtendito. Spelman. Concil. p. 399. Qui ſolidos adulteraverit, circumcideret vel raſerit. Si ſervis fuerit, eidem dextram manum abſcindat. Lindenbrog. Cod. LL. p. 154.

abſolutely ſhews how the hand was ſuſpended at the mint-houſe, by driving a nail through the palm.

Nos. 4—5. Are not remarkable.

No. 6. The obverſe, a head ſingularly dreſſed, with a few letters of the legend; the reverſe, a croſs, with the letters N. C. V. and an X, or croſs, in the angles. Ware ſuppoſes they expreſs the year of Chriſt, 1115; but Simon very well remarks, that no dates are found on our coins before 1513, but that the letters, with the variation of one, made Crux. The abſurdity of ſuppoſing the letters to be placed backwards and diagonally, which they muſt be to make Crux, forbids us to agree with Simon. Theſe ſix coins were dug up at Glendaloch, and carry genuine marks of a very early mintage.

No. 7. The obverſe, an head helmeted; the legend not very fair, was—Sihtric Re Diſl.—Sihtric King of Dublin; reverſe, a croſs and hand in one angle; the legend not intelligible. The rim ſurrounding the outward ſemicircle of the helmet is here viſible, nor is it ornamented with pearls.

No. 8. The obverſe an head helmeted; the legend Iſarus, re Dyflin:—the reverſe, a croſs, with the fingers and part of the hand in two angles of the croſs, and a legend not eaſily explicable. This is the earlieſt inſcribed coin that has hitherto occurred. Giraldus Cambrenſis (50) mentions the arrival of Amlave, Sytaricus and Yvor, which are Anlaf, Sihtric and Ivar, in Ireland: Ware dates this event, A. D. 853. About this very time, the Saxon Chronicle records three great defeats of the Danes in Weſſex, Kent, and at Ocley, in Surrey. After theſe, it is likely they ſteered for Ireland in ſearch of better fortune, and theſe three leaders were perhaps part of thoſe adventurers. Our annals tell us, they ſettled in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, and erected mints in thoſe places. In 870, Anlaf and Ivar went with a large fleet to the aſſiſtance of Hinguar and Hubba, ſons of Ragnar Lodbrog, who invaded Northumberland, to revenge on Ælla the cruel (51) death of their father. It is probable they ſucceeded in their deſign, for their deſcendants, a century after, were (52) kings there.

This coin is valuable for preſerving an hiſtoric fact, and for correcting our annaliſts: the croſs on it evinces that the Danes were now Chriſtians; whereas Ware dates their converſion an hundred years later.

No.

(50) Waræi diſq. p. 129. From a ſimilarity in the coinage, Keder conjectures that ſome of the Sihtrics are co-eval with Ethelred. Num. in Hib. cuſ. p. 19.

(51) Johnſtone's Lodbrokar Quida, paſſim.

(52) Sim. Dunelm.

No. 9. The obverſe an head helmeted; the legend, Sihtric rex Dyſn: the reverſe, a croſs; the legend, Ciodman mo Luni. Where Luni was is difficult to diſcover. To ſuppoſe a king of Dublin would mint money in a ſmall iſle, ſuch as (53) Lambay, diſtant from his capital, and expoſed to every piratical attempt, is too great a ſacrifice to probability. It is uncertain what place is meant by Limneach, or Lumneach. Keder thinks Luni, Luntis or Lundis, London in England or Scania. Murray, that it was Louth, becauſe the See was anciently ſtyled Lucenſis; and Wright ſays, there are many Daniſh monuments there. It could not be Limerick, which in Icelandic is Hlimreck, as we ſee in Thorkelin's tracts. The N M at the end of Dyſl, is made, and juſtly, to ſignify Nordmen; the whole legend on the obverſe being, Sihtric, king of the Dublinian Normen. Thus, Anlaf, on one of his coins is ſtyled, Rex Anglorum, and the practice was common among the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Daniſh princes. Sihtric, the ſon of Ivar, after baſely murdering his brother Godfrid, reigned in (54) Dublin, A. D. 888. The annals laſt cited, under this year, tell us of the return of "Sigtryg Mc. Ivar to Ireland," and place his death in 895. It was thought unneceſſary to multiply ſpecimens of the elder Sihtric, as they are nearly ſimilar, and ſo are thoſe of the (55) ſecond Sihtric, prince of Dublin, A. D. 916. All the coins publiſhed by the (56) Royal Iriſh Academy, and many in the Supplement to Simon belong to theſe kings of Dublin.

No. 10. On the obverſe is an head helmeted; the legend, Æthelred rex Angl. on the reverſe, Færemn. mo. Dyſl. Ethelred, king of the Engliſh, and Færeman, Moneyer at Dublin. "How theſe coins of Ethelred, ſays Simon, happened to be ſtruck in Dublin, ſeems ſurpriſing. To account for it, we muſt have recourſe to his father king Edgar's charter of Oſwald's law, whereby it appears, he conquered the kingdom and city of Dublin, and a great part of Ireland, conſequently that he laid a tribute on the nation, and obliged it to ſtrike his name and effigies on its coins, in which it paid the tribute." The charter of Oſwald's law, in the (57) opinion of many, among whom may be reckoned Primate Uſher, and O'Flaherty, is a forgery; it is indeed countenanced by the Saxon Chronicle, but this is interpolated. The impugners of this charter having omitted one proof, which ſeems deciſive. In 974, Edgar ſummoned all the kings then ſubject to him, to Cheſter, as (58) Kunadius,

(53) Simon, ſupra. (54) Ware ſupra. Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Norm. p. 65.
(55) Ware ſupra, p. 130. (56) Tranſactions, Vol. 1.
(57) See ſome valid arguments to this purpoſe in O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 39—40—41.
(58) Guil. Malmeſb. lib. 2. c. 8.

dius, king of Scotland; Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Macuſſe, king of Man and the Iſlands; Duſwal, Hewel, Giferth, Jacob, and Judethal, kings of Wales. Certainly the king of Dublin was as near to Cheſter as the king of Scotland, we may therefore conclude, that as no Iriſh princes are enumerated, his power did not extend over them. So that Mr. Simon's argument carries no force. Mr. Pinkerton's conjecture is more to the purpoſe, though I do not think it exactly right. He ſays, hiſtory is ſo defective, that it cannot certainly be known whether Edred, Edgar, or Ethelred had Dublin ſubject to them, or if its Daniſh princes ſtruck theſe coins that they might be received in Engliſh commerce.

Here is an inſtance of Antiquaries obſcuring and puzzling by their erudition the plaineſt matter. A man of vivacity and learning requires all the magnetiſm of good ſenſe to direct his inquiries. Ethelred on the coins calls himſelf not king of Dublin, but of the Engliſh. The Normen of Dublin were never called Engliſh, and therefore this prince lays no claim to the dominion of Dublin or of Ireland. But his mint-maſter, who either coined this money at Dublin, or was a native of that city, by the abſurdeſt ſuppoſition ever conceived, gives him that dominion which he himſelf never aſſerted. Whoever peruſes the hiſtory of the reign of this unfortunate king in the early Engliſh writers, and particularly in the Saxon Chronicle, will ſee the perpetual neceſſity he had for money to ranſom his country from its Daniſh invaders. He might have had bullion minted in Dublin, as the Manks princes had, and tranſmitted to him to anſwer his frequent and preſſing calls. Without laying much ſtreſs on this opinion, it is more likely he employed Færeman, a celebrated Dublin moneyer, whoſe name appears on many of Sihtric's coins. An ancient moneyer, as Simon well obſerves, was not a common workman; he farmed the mint, and was anſwerable for the weight and fineneſs of the coin, and was therefore obliged to ſtamp his name on it. If a ſkilful artiſt was ever uſeful, he was particularly ſo to Ethelred, who, in the ſpace of twenty-three years, paid in (59) ranſoms and ſubſidies to the Danes, no leſs than 176,000l. of Saxon money, equal in quantity of ſilver to 469,687l. ſterling.

No. 11. On the obverſe is an head capped and tied with a diadem; the legend, Sihtrc, rex Dyflnr: the reverſe, a croſs pattée; the legend, Aelfeln mo Duflimo. This coin, I apprehend, belongs to a Sihtric, king of Dublin, who reigned there (60) about 1020. The plain unadorned cap agrees very well with that peaceful and humble temper, which induced him to take a pilgrimage to Rome, and, had he lived, would probably have ſent him to the convent.

(59) Henry's Hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 448—449.

(60) Ware, ſupra. p. 138.

No. 12. Is another coin of this prince, but not ſo well exhibited as the foregoing. I cannot agree with the illuſtrator of Camden's coins, that our Sihtrics were kings of Northumberland, for ſuch ſtyle would have been found on ſome of their money.

No. 13. The obverſe an head encircled with a crown, adorned with trefoils or fleurs-de-lis; the legend, Sihtrc rex Dyflmo: The reverſe, a croſs; the legend, Stelenmonond, or Stelen, moneyer, in Dublin. As this crown fleurie, in a kind of treſſure of four ſemicircles, reſembles that of Canute, A. D. 1018, and alſo that of Edward the Confeſſor about twenty years after, I therefore think this coin may belong to Sihtric, who was king of Dublin about 1041, and the ſon of Anlaf.

No. 14. The obverſe an head helmeted, either of a particular form, or tied with a cincture; with a ſceptre; the legend defaced, but ſo much of it legible as to ſhew it belongs to Sihtric; the reverſe a croſs, with flowers in the angles; the legend not intelligible. I am indebted to Mr. Beauford for this beautiful coin, which, with many more, were dug up in the Queen's County.

This ſpecimen of our coins, which includes almoſt two centuries, leads us from the rude beginnings of the art in this kingdom to a ſtate of conſiderable refinement. The ſtudy is highly pleaſing to a cultivated underſtanding, and inſtructive when confined within proper bounds; when we tranſcend theſe, and indulge in wild whimſies and groundleſs conjectures, it dwindles into an idle and unprofitable amuſement.

The Anglo-Saxon penny, and this is the denomination of our Hiberno-Daniſh coins, was of ſilver, and ſhould have weighed 22½ Troy grains, being the 240th part of the Saxon pound. They wanted one Troy grain and an half to be equal to our ſilver three-pences. But from 26 of theſe coins, weighed by Mr. Simon, moſt of them pennies and ſome haelflings, and ſcarcely two of them agreeing in weight, he remarks, there was a conſtant neceſſity of paying and receiving money in thoſe ages (61) per ſcalam, by the ſcale. This inequality aroſe, no doubt, from long circulation, as well as the diſhoneſty of mint-maſters, who could not be reſtrained, even by the terror of a ſevere law, from coining money below the ſtandard.

The quantity of Daniſh coin, particularly that of the Sihtrics, hitherto diſcovered, is very conſiderable. It proves how great was the ſpoil in ſilver collected by theſe rovers in their (62) predatory expeditions. The ſum paid by Ethelred is ſurpriſing; how

(61) Clarke, ſupra, p. 400.

(62) Sturlæſon ſpeaking of Harald Hardraade's treaſures, ſays, " omnes qui hæc videbant, admirati ſunt in ſeptentrionalibus terris tantum auri collectum eſſe. Hæc autem pecunia revera regis Græciæ fuerat. Barthol. 458—459. Bircherod. ſpec. rei monet. p. 14.

how much greater was the plunder of continental nations? Ireland ſeems to have been the only place where thoſe pirates could ſecurely victual their numerous fleets, and therefore much of their money centered here, which, paſſing to the Iriſh, enabled them to make ſuch rich offerings to the church as was before noticed.

I do not recollect, that our Medalliſts or Antiquaries ſpeak of the Daniſh Oras being current in this kingdom, and yet the fact is certain. The Monaſtery (63) of the Holy Croſs, in the county of Mayo, was to pay to the Mother-church of Ballinatobber, "the ſum of twenty oras of ſilver, or thirty ſhillings and four-pence, and the ſub-prior was to expend a farther ſum of three óras, or five ſhillings." Ora is derived, or rather corrupted from (64) Aureus, the principal gold coin of the empire. The ora was not introduced into England before the ſettlement of the Danes there. Writers have not determined whether it was a real coin, or only a denomination of money. The former ſeems neareſt the truth. In our record, three oras are equal to five ſhillings, or twenty pence each; ſo that twenty oras, inſtead of thirty ſhillings and four-pence, ſhould be one pound thirteen ſhillings and four-pence. Here we have evidence againſt Mr. Clarke, who values them at (65) twelve or ſixteen pence each, and in favour of Spelman and Somner, who make them worth twenty. The mention of ſilver oras in our record is ſome proof that there were ſome gold ones. "It is therefore, ſays the (66) Regiam Majeſtatem, be the King, that Cro of ane Erle of Scotland is ſeven tymes twentie kye, or for ilk kow, thrie pieces of gold called ora." That is, the Erie or Weregild of an Earl is 140 kine, or for each cow, three pieces of gold, called oras. To bring the gold to equal the ſilver ora, the former was about a third leſs than the Saxon gold mancus. Theſe hints are here propoſed to aſſiſt further inquiry.

(63) Archdall's Monaſt. Hib. p. 501. (64) Clarke, ſupra, p. 311.

(65) Clarke, ſupra, p 312. See alſo Fleetwood's Chron. Precios. p. 33.

(66) Pag. 73, fol. 2. Edit. Skene. Biſhop Nicolſon throws no light on the ancient Scottiſh coins; as uſual, he paſſes the ſubject with haſty ſteps. Scot. Hiſt. Library, p. 291.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS ON THE HARP, AND ANCIENT IRISH MUSIC.

A VERY learned and ingenious writer (1) is of opinion, that the Harp was an inſtrument uſed by the Gallic Bards, and from its conſtruction, of Barbaric origin: Diodorus Siculus is his authority, who only ſays, their inſtruments were like Lyres. (2) Such words, in Diodorus' time, might convey a preciſe idea, but in ours, we know not the figure of the Lyre, the Cithara, or Chelys; at leaſt, Montfauçon, who examined above ſix hundred of theſe ancient inſtruments, could not venture to affix names to any of them, or aſcertain their ſpecific (3) differences. On ſuch precarious ground then, Voſſius ſeems to have been too precipitate in his inference; nor can his authority be of weight in this caſe. Beſides, we ſhall hereafter ſee reaſon to believe the Harp derived rather from the Scythic or Teutonic branch that peopled Europe, than the Celtic, of which latter the (4) Gauls were a part.

The Harp was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, as its name does not occur in their writings. Martianus Capella, a man of great curioſity and information, found it among thoſe northern nations who poſſeſſed themſelves of the Roman empire in the 5th century; he mentions it with other inſtruments, whoſe (5) deep, grave, and harſh ſounds were fitted to alarm female timidity.

Eucherius, Biſhop of Lyons, in the ſame age, informs us, that the Nablium was like the barbarian Cithara, and ſhaped like the Greek Delta. This is the only deſcription we have of the ancient Harp. Venantius Fortunatus, who flouriſhed in the 6th century, and reſided alſo in France, makes the Harp a barbarian (6) inſtrument;

(1) Voſſ. De poemat. cantu, & viribus Rythmi. Pag. 118.
(2) Τας λυρας εμοιων. Lib. 5. pag. 308.
(3) See Doctor Burney's conjectures on this ſubject: Hiſtory of Muſic. vol. 1. p. 308.
(4) The different people inhabiting Gaul were early remarked; by Diod. Sic. particularly, Lib. 5.
(5) Apud Du Cange. Voce Harpa.
(6) Romanuſque Lyrâ plaudet tibi; barbarus Harpâ,
Græcus Achilliaca, Crotta Britanna canat. Lib. 7. carm. 8.
It is aſtoniſhing how Barnes, Prologom. in Anacreon. could ſay, the Harp and Lyre were the ſame: the Romans call-

ing

Fig. 2

BOIROMHE'S HARP, 28 Strings.

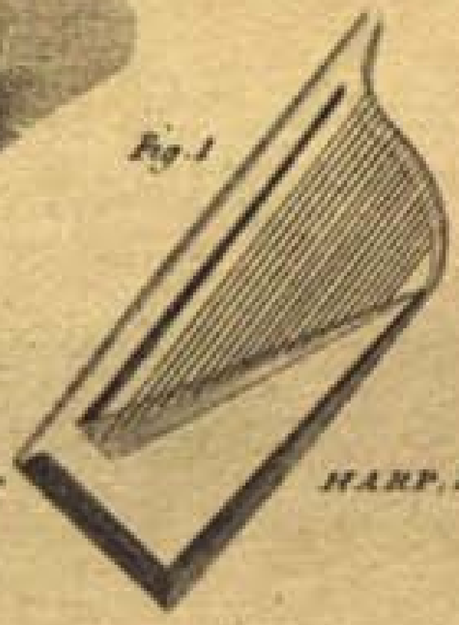

Fig. 1

OLD TEUTONIC HARP, 18 Strings.

Fig. 3

IRISH Modern HARP 33 strings.

Fig. 4

CHROTALS

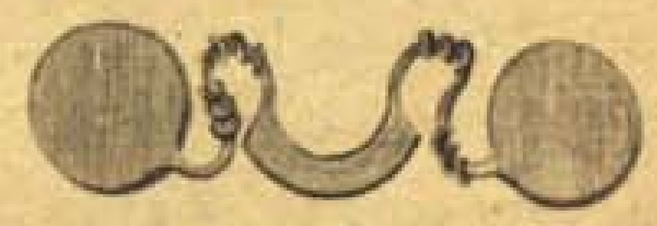

Fig. 6

CHROTALIN

Fig. 5

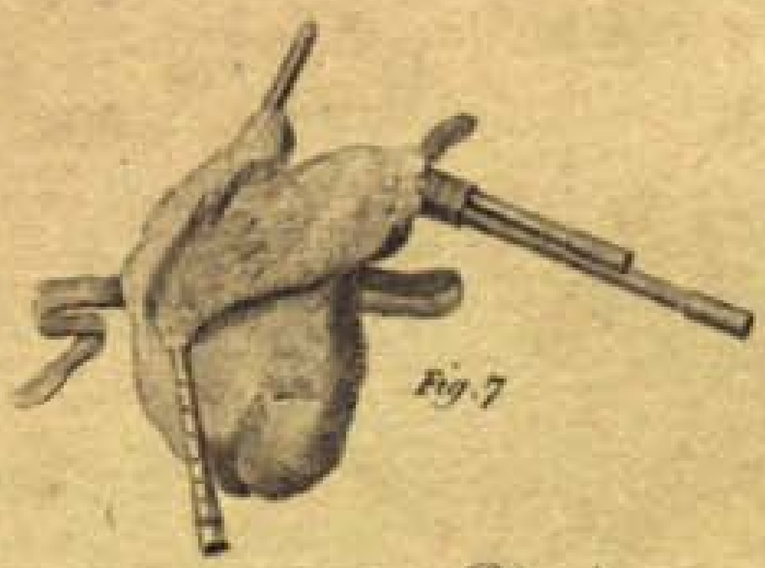

Fig. 7

FIOBHMALA; the ancient Bag pipes

CUIS EAN, the modern Bagpipes.

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

FEADÁN or Coruette.

IRISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

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ment; diſtinguiſhing it from the Greek and Roman Lyres, and from the Britiſh Crwth. France was then poſſeſſed by Romans, Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Armoricans; ſome of them Celtic, but moſt Teutonic nations. The national inſtrument of each is accurately marked; the Teutonic people had their Harp, the Celtic their Crwth, and the Romans their Lyre. This diſcrimination is deciſive evidence of the difference between the Harp and the Lyre, and of Voſſius being deceived by a warm imagination.

The Teutonic tribes were noted for harſh and brutiſh voices: Ovid thus ſpeaks of the Sarmatians:

Omnia barbaricæ loca ſunt, vociſque ferinæ,
Omnia ſunt Getici plena timore ſoni.

The affected hoarſe enunciation of the Germans is mentioned by Tacitus, (7) and the croaking German ſinging by the Emperor Julian. (8) The Harp, in its primitive (9) ſtate, was not calculated to correct ſuch harſh and diſagreeable notes; it was incapable of a pleaſing ſucceſſion of ſounds, or agreeable conſonance, ſo that it produced neither melody nor harmony. Hence a concert of ſuch barbarous, diſcordant vocal and inſtrumental ſounds powerfully excited horror and terror, and had the effect already noticed by Capella.

That the Harp was confined to particular northern tribes, may be inferred from the ſilence of Iſidore Hiſpalenſis in his Origines, and Suidas in his Lexicon; had its uſe been general, it would not have been paſſed over by them.

From the Teutonic derivation of the Harp, it is eaſy to account for its becoming the national inſtrument of the Engliſh. The Anglo-Saxons were of German race, and introduced the Harp into Britain. Inflamed with a thirſt of conqueſt, and eager to poſſeſs alone that fertile Iſle, they almoſt exterminated the natives, and totally eraſed every veſtige of Roman and Britiſh civility. The gentler modulations and ſofter harmony of the Crwth were equally deſpiſed with its performers and admirers: this inſtrument was baniſhed to Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica; in the laſt county Venantius found it in the 6th century.

ing it by the latter, the Barbarians by the former name. He has candour enough to add: "Nonnulli putent, Venantium Fortunatum inter Harpam & Lyram diſtinguere." Capella and Eucherius could not be miſtaken, but our modern Editor, totally ignorant of the ſubject, might.

(7) Affectatur præcipue aſperitas ſoni, & fractum murmur. Germ. cap. 3. Diod. Sic. calls the barbarians ξυρυγγας και τραχυφωνους. Lib. 5.

(8) Αγρια μιλη λεξις στενωπιοις παρακαθηται ταις πλαγγυαις των τραχυ ξυνιεντων ορνεων αδουσας. Miſopog. p. 56. Edit. Petavii. Inſtead of πλαγγυαις ſome MSS. read κρωγμοις, or that ſound emitted by crows; and it ſeems the beſt reading.

(9) Sola ſæpe bombicans barbaros leudos harpa relidebat. Fortunat. ſupra.

The Roman miſſioners kept alive and augmented the enmity between the Britons and Anglo-Saxons: the former would not adopt Popery or its ſuperſtitions, to which the latter were devoted: every temporal and ſpiritual motive which theological malignity could invent, was conjured up to make the reſentment of both people implacable and perpetual, and with too good ſucceſs. Hence the triumph of the Harp over the Crwth, and hence its general uſe among all ranks of people until the Norman invaſion.

This reaſoning may perhaps account for the introduction and practice of the Harp in England, but will not apply, it may be ſaid, to Ireland. The Iriſh, I think, received it in the 4th and 5th centuries from their cloſe connexion with the Saxons, and other rovers from the Baltic ſhores, who conjunctly ravaged the coaſts of Britain and Gaul in thoſe ages. I know Mr. Macpherſon (10) has ingeniouſly combated the opinion of this connection; but it is impoſſible to invalidate all the arguments ſupplied by antiquity in its favour. Giraldus Cambrenſis ſpeaks of St. Patrick's Harp, which, if any faith is to be placed on Legends, he might have brought from Tours, where he ſtudied; and where, no doubt, it was cultivated by the Barbarians. The Harp is mentioned by (11) Iſo, in the 9th century; he was a monk of St. Gall. The founder of this abbey being an (12) Iriſhman, and the monks, for the moſt part, of the ſame nation, who fled from the Daniſh tyranny, they could be no ſtrangers to this inſtrument.

It may be no improbable conjecture, and will certainly meet the ideas of many, to ſay, that the Celtic Crwth was primarily uſed by the Iriſh, but gave place to the Harp on the eſtabliſhment of the Daniſh power in this kingdom. The Harp was the delight of the northern nations, and their Princes and Scalds eminent performers on it. The monument at Nieg, exhibited by (13) Mr. Cordiner, has every appearance of being a Daniſh work. The bird at top was their favourite raven, of which their ſagas and ſcaldic poetry are full, as may be ſeen in Wormius, Bartholine, and Mallet. The obliterated figure, taken by Mr. Cordiner for an angel, may or may not be one; it is obvious, there are no concomitant ſymbols to evince the ſculpture to be by a chriſtian artiſt. Mr. Cordiner obſerves, that this monument, which gives an Iriſh Harp, belongs to the 11th century; in this I perfectly agree with him.

From

(10) In his Introduction to the Hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland.
(11) Du Cange, in Harpa. (12) Ware's Writers. Cave Hiſtoria Literaria.
(13) Remarkable Ruins in Scotland. No. I. 1784.

From ſome drawings of the Davidic Lyre in Montfaucon, Calmet, and others, which reſemble our Harp, it has been ſuppoſed our inſtrument is derived. It has been ſhewn from Eucherius, that the Barbaric Cithara, or Harp, was a trigonal figure, and ſimilar to what was then called the Nablium. What the original Nablium, or Jewiſh Nebalius, mentioned in the Pſalms was, or what the Chinnor, Neginot, and other inſtruments occurring in Scripture, were unknown to the Septuagint tranſlators, as Biſhop Hare (14) has fully proved. Of what weight then can the dreams of modern Rabbins, or the fanciful drawings of (15) Kircher, their blind follower, be on this ſubject? Eucherius makes the Nablium a triangle, in Kircher it is a ſquare. Biſhop Lowth, who has with great elegance and learning treated of Hebrew poetry, never touches on the muſical inſtruments of the Jewiſh people, nor conteſts Biſhop Hare's ſentiments, though he criticiſes him on other (16) points. An argument much in favour of what has been advanced.

Whether the Harp was an imitation of the ancient (17) Lyre, or at what time it aſſumed its preſent form or number of ſtrings, is not eaſy to determine. The monument at Nieg, if of the age before allowed it, ſhews what it was in the 11th century, and therefore I muſt decline from the opinion of Lord Pembroke and (18) Biſhop Nicolſon, who imagined the triangles on ſome of our old coins, referred to the Iriſh Harp. An obſolete figure would ſcarcely be revived; indeed it is moſt probable it was buried in total oblivion. The heads of our Kings inſcribed in triangles expreſſed their attachment to the Church, and its reciprocal ſupport of them: this is verified by the French coins of Philip IV. Lewis X. Philip V. Charles IV. and John.*

Another object of this inquiry is, at what time the Harp became the armorial bearing of Ireland. Though coats armorial were not unknown to moſt of the nations of antiquity, yet gentilitial arms undoubtedly were until the middle of the 12th century; the latter were hereditary, the former (19) perſonal or caſual. A learned (20) German writer ſays, the romantic expeditions to the Holy Land introduced

(14) Prologom. in Pſalmos. pag. 75. They did not know how to tranſlate the titles of the Pſalms, but gave the moſt abſurd and incongruous interpretation of them.

(15) In his Muſurgia Univerſ. tom. 1. lib. 2. cap. 1; (16) Prælect. Poet. Sub finem.

(17) Martinii Lexic. Philog. in Lyra. (18) Iriſh Hiſtorical Library. p. 158—159.

* As this triangle is ſeen on the coin of our King John, I adopt this opinion in preference to ſuppoſing the triangle to be a ſhield.

(19) Edmondſon's Body of Heraldry. Diod. Sic. with much propriety applies to theſe the word ἀνεφορους. lib. 5. p. 307.

(20) Bielfield, L'Erudition Complette. tom. 3. p. 291. Illo enim ævo (ſc. 800) nondum inſignia, non nomina gentilicia cœperant, ſed haud dubie poſt hoc ſæculum advectæ ſunt. Montfaucon Diar. Italic. pag. 22—446. O'Flaherty ſays hereditary arms were not uſed before the 13th century. Ogygia vindicated, pag. 60.

duced the diſtinction of armories and the jargon of blazonry; the ſaltiers, the fuſils, the girons, and lozenges of this ſcience being parts of the harneſs, armour and ornaments of the Chevaliers. Biſhop Kennet agrees, that armorial bearings were not ſo early as the reign of Edward the Confeſſor. (21) The arms, therefore, on the Harp of Brien Boiromh, and the Harp itſelf, can neither be of the age, nor belong to the perſon, that an anecdote delivered in the 13th Number of Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, would perſuade us. Nothing leſs than poſitive proof will convince the heraldic antiquary, that the Iriſh preceded their neighbours in gentilitial armories.

Hector Boethius (22) relates, that on a treaty concluded between Charlemagne and the Scottiſh King Achaius, A. D. 791, it was granted, that the latter prince ſhould bear a red lion in a counter-charged border of fleurs-de-lis. As the Iriſh were equally favourites with that great monarch, he might have conferred the ſame honour on our Kings; though, from what has been advanced, there is not the leaſt probability of this being ſo. Beſides, had the taſte for heraldic pageantry been then faſhionable, ſome ſpecimens would have been diſplayed on his coins, whereas they exhibit nothing but ſimple monograms.

An ancient roll of arms, preſerved by (23) Leland, of the age of Henry III. gives the bearings of moſt of the European princes, and of moſt of the Engliſh and French nobility. Among theſe we find the arms of Wales, of Scotland, and the little Iſle of Man, but not a word of Ireland. It is a ſtrong preſumption, that Ireland then had no arms: Quartering, it may be ſaid, was not introduced till the (24) reign of Edward III. half a century later; but when it was introduced, no notice was taken of Ireland. Harold, King of Man, came to this Henry, did (25) homage, was dubbed a Knight, and received arms, which are recorded in the roll. Maurice Fitzgerald, an anceſtor of the Duke of Leinſter, received Knighthood and arms, and they are alſo in the roll.

It was Henry VIII. who, on being proclaimed King of Ireland, firſt gave us the Harp. The Engliſh allowed us eminence in nothing but muſic. He therefore ſelected this inſtrument as being our favourite one, and to perpetuate the celebrity of our performance on it in former times. Such a bearing was a judicious compliment; it neither reminded us of our preſent dependence, nor upbraided us with our former rebellions.

(21) Parochial Antiquities, pag. 52.
(22) Pag. 188. Nicolſon's Scottiſh Hiſt. Library. pag. 46.
(23) Collectanea. vol. 2. pag. 616.
(24) Camden's Remains, pag 163.
(25) Caradoc. pag. 318. A ſimilar proof from Antiquarian Diſc. vol. 1. p. 97.

rebellions. James I. quartered it with the arms of France and England; and may it long continue the ornament and ſupport of the Britiſh Crown!

How plain ſoever it may appear, that Muſic exiſted in the Chriſtian Church from its foundation, yet ſome induſtry is requiſite to diſcover it in England and in Ireland. Biſhop Stillingfleet (26) has been able to collect but few muſical traits of the Gallican or Britiſh offices, as contra-diſtinguiſhed from the Gregorian or Roman: the paucity of records, and the bare hints of writers forming very uncertain data from whence to deduce poſitive concluſions. The ſame obſcurity clouds the remote periods of Muſical Hiſtory in Ireland. This muſt be an apology for the imperfection of the hints now offered on this topic, which however lies open to future improvement from ſuperior abilities and more extenſive erudition.

It was in the year 1134, that Malachy O'Morgair (27) aſcended the archiepiſcopal chair of Armagh. He was the beloved friend of St. Bernard, after whoſe deceaſe, the latter, in a high ſtrain of panegyric, compoſed his (28) life. Among other particulars there recorded, he informs us, that the Iriſh, through the Primate's zeal, were brought to a conformity with the apoſtolic conſtitutions and the decrees of the Fathers, but eſpecially with the cuſtoms of the holy church of Rome. They then began to chant and ſing the canonical hours, as in other places, which before was not done even in the metropolitical city of Armagh; Malachy had learned ſong in his youth, and enjoined ſinging in his own monaſtery, when as yet it was unknown, or not practiſed in the city or dioceſe. Thus far St. Bernard.

This citation ſuggeſts two facts; the firſt incredible and certainly far from truth, that the Iriſh church had ſubſiſted for ſeven hundred years without Muſic or Pſalmody: the other more probable, that Malachy exerted the influence of his ſtation to oblige the Iriſh to relinquiſh their old ritual, and adopt the Roman manner of celebrating divine offices. His efforts were in vain, even allowing a temporary acquieſcence; for, in thirty years after, we find, the Council of Caſhel decreeing an uniformity of public worſhip, according to the model of the Engliſh church. The Iriſh received, very reluctantly, innovations in doctrine and diſcipline; nor was it before their princes were expatriated and the people reduced to extreme miſery, that they embraced foreign ſuperſtition, and obeyed the dictates of the Sovereign Pontiff.

(26) In his Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, chap. 4. page 237.
(27) Ware's Biſhops, page 54. (28) Inter S. Bernardi Opera, cap. 16.

That the Chriſtian Fathers adapted their (29) Pſalms and Hymns to the Greek notation and modes, admits of the fulleſt proof. Accuſtomed from infancy to the choral ſervice of paganiſm, the convert naturally retained his former muſical ideas, but applied them to more ſanctified compoſitions, and a purer object. Though it is impoſſible to determine of what kind the eccleſiaſtical modes were, or what the diſcipline of the fingers, I cannot believe the whole ſervice (30) of the primitive church was irregular; or that the people ſang as their inclination led them, with ſcarce any other reſtriction than that it ſhould be to the praiſe of God. For early in the third century, Origen (31) informs us, that chriſtians ſang in rhythm, that is, with nice regard to the length and ſhortneſs of the ſyllables of the poetry, and in good tune and harmony. The terms he uſes are taken from the Greek Muſic, and evince that chriſtians in their church-performances, were ſcientific and correct. The definition of a Pſalm(32) by Gregory Nazienzen, and by St. Baſil and Chryſoſtom, in the 4th century, is an additional proof of what is advanced. I have inſiſted on this point the more, in order to ſubvert the groundleſs aſſertion of St. Bernard, and to demonſtrate, that ſinging made a part of the chriſtian ſervice wherever the goſpel was eſtabliſhed.

About the year 386, Pſalms and Hymns were ordered to be ſung after the Eaſtern manner; and about 384, the Ambroſian Chant was formed of the Dorian, Lydian, Mixolydian and Phrygian tones, which were called authentic modes, and to which Pope Gregory in 599, added four plagal. Weſtern Europe had been evangelized antecedent to Gregory's Pontificate, and the Ambroſian Chant admitted into many principal churches: I ſay principal, becauſe there is reaſon to believe, many biſhops and dioceſes preſerved the Curſus, that is, the (33) offices and finging introduced by the firſt miſſionaries, and which more cloſely adhered to the Eaſtern, that is, the ancient Greek Muſic, than the Chant of the Cathedral of Milan. And this ſeems countenanced by a very curious MS. ſuppoſed to have been written by an Iriſh ſcholar about 901, and printed by (34) Sir Henry Spelman. In this it is ſaid, that the Curſus of the Scots (for ſuch was the appellation of the Iriſh in thoſe days)

(29) The uſe of theſe in the earlieſt ages is clearly proved by Horubeck, de Pſalmodia, inter Miſcell. Sac. cap. 2. See Warton's hiſt. of Engliſh poetry. Vol. 2. p. 369.

(30) Hawkins's hiſtory of Muſic. Vol. 1. p. 288.

(31) *Ευρυθμως και εμμελως, και εμμελως και συμφωνως.* De Orat. p. 7.

(32) *Ψαλμος εστι, η δια του οργανου του μουσικου μελωδια.* Greg. in tract. 2. in pſalm. cap. 3. Baſil. in pſalm 29. Chryſoſt. ad pſalm: 35. ver. 3.

(33) Uſher's Religion of the ancient Iriſh. chap. 4.

(34) Concil. Vol. 1. Uſſer. Primord. p. 916—917.

days) was compoſed by St. Mark, and uſed by St. Gregory Naz, St. Baſil, and communicated to the continent by Columbanus. No notice is taken of St. Ambroſe and Pope Gregory but juſt mentioned. Now, as the monaſtic rule of our countryman, (35) Columbanus, has been publiſhed, and as this rule made part of the Iriſh Curſus, we ſhall ſee how great a part of it was made up of Pſalmody and Anthems, or alternate ſinging.

The Monks are to aſſemble thrice every night, and as often in the day, to pray and ſing. In each office of the day, they were to uſe prayers and ſing three pſalms. In each office of the night, from October to February, they are to ſing thirty-ſix pſalms and twelve anthems, at three ſeveral times; in the reſt of the year, twenty-one pſalms and eight anthems; but on Saturday and Sunday nights, twenty-five pſalms and twenty-five anthems. Here was a perpetual pſalmody or *laus perennis*, like that practiſed in Pſalmody Iſle (36) in the dioceſe of Niſmes, founded by Corbilla, a Syrian monk, about the end of the 4th century. Theſe may be added to the other numerous inſtances of the orientaliſm of our church, and its ſymbolizing with the eaſtern in moſt articles of faith and practice, and which created ſo much uneaſineſs to Rome and her emiſſaries for many ages; the ſeductions of flattery and the thunders of the Vatican were equally ineffectual to ſhake our principles; the melliſluous eloquence of St. Bernard might calumniate, but was unable to ſubject us to the domination of the Roman See.

The Canons aſcribed to St. Patrick, Auxilius and Iſerninus, extant in Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge, were tranſcribed, according to an (37) excellent antiquary, in the 10th century; Dachery (38) ſuppoſes they were made in the 8th, and I have elſewhere ſhewn this to be probable. The ſecond directs the readers to remain in the church in which they are appointed to (39) ſing; this ſeems to be the meaning, but whatever it is, it teaches us that the Reader and Singer had the ſame office. Many of our Primates, as may be ſeen in Ware's Biſhops, and moſt of our learned men, among other literary diſtinctions, are called Readers. On this it is remarked (40)—" that the name, *Lector*, is more frequently found among the Iriſh hiſtorians than that of *Scribe;* nevertheleſs, to conceal nothing, ſome by the ancient Scribes underſtand Writers;"—this throws no light on the Lector. By the

15th

(35) Romæ, 1661, by Luc. Holſtein Dupin, ſiecle 7.
(36) Burney's Hiſtory of Muſic. Vol. 2. p. 9.
(37) Aſtle's Origin of Writing, p. 122.
(38) Spicileg. tom. 9. Opuſ. S. Patric. edit. Ware, p. 42.
(39) Lectores denique cognoſcant unuſquiſque eccleſiam in quâ pſallat.
(40) Ware's Antiquities, by Harris, p. 236.

15th canon of the Laodicean Council, no one is to ſing in the church but the canonical ſingers, who are to aſcend the deſk and read from the book. In the anſwers of John, biſhop of Citri, to Conſtantine Cabaſilas, archbiſhop of Dyrrachium, we find the Readers were placed on each ſide of the (41) choir, and like the precentor and ſuccentor, led the choriſters. At this day we read each verſe of the pſalm before it is ſung; in this inſtance alſo we retained the uſage of the Eaſtern church. On the whole, the evidence now produced is ſufficient to convict St. Bernard of error, and vindicate our practice of muſic and pſalmody.

Giraldus Cambrenſis gives a ſplendid account of the perfections of Iriſh Muſic in the 12th century, and Caradoc of Lhancarvan agrees with him. They confine their praiſe to ſecular performances, and ſpeak nothing of eccleſiaſtical. Such excellence was not attainable by any ſudden or faſhionable application; it muſt have been the effect of long practice and habit. Perhaps the following obſervations may elucidate this point.

Caradoc, without any of that illiberal partiality ſo common with national writers, aſſures us, the Iriſh deviſed all the inſtruments, tunes and meaſures in uſe among the Welſh. Cambrenſis is even more copious in his praiſe, when he peremptorily declares, that the (42) Iriſh, above any other nation, is incomparably ſkilled in ſymphonal muſic. Such unequivocal teſtimony of our ſuperior taſte and improvement in the muſical art, naturally calls for ſome inquiries into ſo curious a fact, more eſpecially as the perſons, who delivered it, lived in a poliſhed (43) age, both in reſpect of literature and manners.

The words of Cambrenſis are clearly expreſſive of attainments in the ſcience of muſic far beyond the miniſtrelſy of England and France, or any other country he had (44) travelled. The richneſs of our invention; the vivacity, beauty, and variety of our melodies extorted applauſe from him: I ſay extorted, becauſe he takes care to inform us, there was ſcarce (45) any thing elſe to commend among the Iriſh.

This incomparable ſkill could never be predicated of unlearned, extemporaneous, Bardic airs: It implies a knowledge of the diagram, and an exact diviſion of the harmonic

(41) Ἀναγνωστων δι ὀφφικια τεσσερα ὁ δομεστικος του δεξιου χορου, &c. Here the Domeſticus of the right ſide of the Choir, was a muſical officer and dignitary. Du Cange in voce.

(42) Præ omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter eſt inſtructa. Topog. cap. 11. p. 739.

(43) See the ingenious Mr. Warton's hiſt. of Engliſh poetry. Diſſertation II.

(44) Quam vidimus. ſupra. He reſided ſome years on the continent. Biographia Brit.—Article Barry.

(45) In muſicis ſolum inſtrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis iſtius diligentiam. Topog. ſupra.

harmonic intervals; a juſt expreſſion of the tones, and in the quickeſt movements, an unity of melody. Cambrenſis (46) obſerves theſe particulars of our muſic. He accurately diſtinguiſhes the Iriſh and Engliſh ſtyles: the latter was the diatonic (47) genus; ſlow and made up of concords: heavy; the intervals ſpacious, as in eccleſiaſtical chant. The former was the enharmonic (48) genus; full of minute diviſions, with every dieſis marked: the ſucceſſion of our melodies (49) lively and rapid; our modulations full and ſweet.

He alone who had the ſharpeſt faculties, and was the moſt profoundly verſed in the muſical art, felt ineffable (50) pleaſure. It is then evident, that all this tranſcendant excellence in muſic could be derived but from two ſources; a perfect knowledge of it as a ſcience and practice. We are not, it is true, able to produce our ancient tablature, or tunes from MSS. hitherto diſcovered; but as from Caradoc, it appears we communicated both to the Welſh, and as they exiſt in Mr. Morris's (51) Collections, we may fairly aſſume them as our own, and derivatives from this Iſle. Theſe collections are of the 12th century, the very time in which Caradoc and Cambrenſis flouriſhed; ſo that connecting the evidence together, that we had muſic in ſcore, can hardly be diſputed, and what is more extraordinary, moſt of the pieces for the Harp are in full harmony and counterpoint.

From theſe facts a miſtake of Cambrenſis unfolds itſelf to view. The Iriſh, he informs us, uſed but the Tabor and Harp. Here then could not be a varied combination of ſounds; a multiplicity of parts, or ſuch an artificial compoſition as to conſtitute counterpoint: a ſingle melody, and that confined within a ſmall compaſs, was all that could be executed. The Welſh, he tells us, had three inſtruments, conſequently they could play counterpoint; ſo that Cambrenſis muſt have been ignorant of the art he was deſcribing, or extremely inadvertent, as no ſuch effects, as he ſuggeſts, could be produced by ſuch inſtruments. Nor can any reaſon be aſſigned, why we ſhould not have an equal number of muſical inſtruments with the Welſh,

(46) Mirum quod in tantâ tam præcipiti digitorum rapacitate muſica ſervatur proportio, et arte per omnia indemni inter criſpatos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam ſuavi velocitate, tam impari paritate, tam diſcordi concordiâ conſona redditur, & completur melodia. Supra.

(47) Tarda & morоſa eſt modulatio. Supra. Jones's relicks of the Welſh Bards, p. 35. not. 9.

(48) Tam ſubtiliter modulos intrant & exeunt; ſicque ſub obtuſo groſſioris chordæ ſonitu, gracilium tinnitus licentius ludunt. Supra.

(49) Modulatio verum velox & præceps, ſuavis tamen & jucunda ſonoritas. Supra.

(50) Hinc accidit, ut ea quæ ſubtilius intuentibus; & artis archana acutè diſcernentibus, internas & ineffabiles comparant animi delicias. Supra.

(51) Burney's hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. 2. p. 109—312.

Welſh, who confeſſedly adopted them from us. An omiſſion of a tranſcriber very probably gives riſe to the error.

The tenor of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory very explicitly ſhews the propagation of the goſpel among us by Helleniſtic Miſſioners; our doctrine and diſcipline were the ſame as practiſed in the primitive church during the four firſt centuries. Theſe points are amply detailed in another (52) place. Each Biſhop appointed ſuch an order for the celebration of divine offices, as he judged moſt eligible and beſt ſuited to his reſpective dioceſe. So various were theſe offices in 1090, that Gillebert, Biſhop of Limerick, preſſes the Iriſh Clergy to adopt the Roman. "What," (53) ſays he, "can be more indecent, or ſchiſmatical, than that a Clergyman who is very learned in the offices of one Church, ſhould be ignorant and a Laic in thoſe of another?" This is a new proof that we were unacquainted with the Roman ſervice, as well as with the Ambroſian and Gregorian Chant, and that we retained the forms of the Eaſtern church, originally delivered to us. Biſhop Stillingfleet, as cited by Doctor (54) Burney, makes the principal difference between the Roman and Gallican ritual *to conſiſt in their church muſic.*

St. Paul (55) deſires the Epheſians to ſpeak to each other in pſalms and hymns and ſpiritual ſongs. He here ſeems to make uſe of a harſh expreſſion to avoid introducing a heathen (56) term. With what propriety could Chriſtians be ſaid to ſpeak to each other in hymns, which celebrated the divine perfections? But they might, as in the Pagan Dithyrambics and Pœans, exerciſe themſelves in antiphonial ſinging, and ſucceed or anſwer each other. And this is clearly the Apoſtle's meaning.

However,

(52) Antiquities, ſupra, p. 55.

(53) Quid enim magis indecens aut ſchiſmaticum dici poterit, quam doctiſſimum unius ordinis in alterius eccleſia idiotam & laicum fieri? Uſſer. Syll. Epiſt. Hib. p. 77.

(54) Hiſtory of Muſic. Vol. 2. p. 56.

(55) Epheſ. chap. 5. ver. 19. *Λαλουντες ἑαυτοις Ψαλμοις και υμνοις και ωδαις πνευματικαις.* Coloſſ. iii. 16. The apoſtle diſtinguiſhes Odes from Pſalms and joins the latter to Hymns. The latter were frequently recited, but the former were accompanied with inſtrumental muſic. Scalig. Poet. paſs. Gatikeri Cinn. pag. 124. Le Clerc will have Odes, Hymns, and Pſalms to mean the ſame thing; but Hammond makes them refer to three different kinds of canticles among the Jews. It is certain they are different; but would St. Paul have any reſpect to Jewiſh muſic when writing to the Epheſians and Coloſſians?

(56) The claſſical word is—*αμοιβαιοις*—which referred to antiphonial or alternate ſinging of the heathen hymns.

Μουσαων θ', αι αειδον, αμειβομεναι ὀπι καλῃ. Hom.

The practice is not of Chriſtian origin. Suid. & Mears. Gloſſ. voce *Αντιφωνα.*

However he diſliked the practice of idolatry, the permiſſion he here gives the Epheſians, a gay and luxurious people, of uſing pſalms, hymns, and odes, was abſolutely neceſſary for keeping new converts in the faith: They could not eaſily forget the raptures of their feſtal and choral hymns; and it is probable the Apoſtles, (57) and their diſciples, formed ſpiritual ſongs, on their model, in various metres and melodies: at leaſt, the early fathers of the church, as Clemens of Alexandria, Euſebius, Chryſoſtom, Baſil, and Gregory Nazienzen did ſo. Some of their imitations are poetical, but no merit of this kind could compenſate a Grecian ear for the negligent, injudicious, and offenſive uſe of improper (58) meaſures, with which the chriſtian compoſitions abounded. Dionyſius Halicarnaſæus, in his beautiful treatiſe laſt (59) cited, gives inſtances of the moſt favourite performers being hiſſed on the ſtage, for the ſmalleſt want of rythm or accent; ſuch were the delicacy of Grecian organs, and the correctneſs of Grecian taſte.

The more zealous catholics digeſted theſe inſipid productions; but the public were very far from acquieſcing in ſuch unlearned and barbarous poetry and muſic. St. Baſil (60) complains that his flock neglected his pſalms and hymns for their old pagan ſongs. The (61) Arians, Apollinarians, and other heretics taking advantage of the popular diſguſt formed poems in the true Greek ſtyle, and in captivating melodies; the union and charms of harmony and verſe were too powerful for orthodoxy; the number of ſectaries ſoon exceeded that of true believers. The church beheld this triumph with terror and amazement, ſhe ſaw her danger and endeavoured to avert it. She reformed her hymns and embraced the Greek modes; nor was John, the œcumenic biſhop of Conſtantinople aſhamed to urge (62) his people (63) to imitate the Arian compoſitions. Gildas and Bede agree, that Britain was

(57) Euſebius informs us the early Chriſtians compoſed and ſang—Ασματα και υμνους δια παντοιων μετρων και μελων, ρυθμους ισομετρους. Hiſt. Ecc. lib. 2. cap. 17. Valeſius thinks the Therapeutæ, of whom this is ſaid, were not Chriſtians; but conſidering the ages of the Father and Critic, the latter is more liable to miſtake.

(58) Theſe were the—ποικιλωτατα μετρα και κρουστικους ρυθμους—of Dionyſ. Hal. de Struct. Orat. p. 224. edit. Upton.

(59) Pag. 72. Upton illuſtrates this from Cicero:—Si verſus pronunciatus eſt ſyllabâ una brevior aut longior, exſibilatur & exploditur Hiſtrio.

(60) Serm. de ebriet. & lux. & Vales. Not. in lib. 7. Eſeb. Hiſt. Ecc. p. 153.

(61) For Arius's hymns, ſee Philoſtorg. lib. 2. p. 470. Socrates, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, confeſſes Apollinaris was fully inſtructed in human learning; and an excellent judge declares:—Sic expreſſit pſalmos ut celeritate cum propheta regio certare videatur. Heinſ. Exerc. in Nonnum. p. 256.

(62) Εφη τον ισον τροπον της Ψαλμωδιας του παντα λαον τρεφεσθαι. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8.

(63) Tunc hymni & pſalmi, ut canerentur ſecundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabeſceret, inſtitutum eſt. Auguſt. Confeſſ. lib. 9. cap. 7.

was infected with Arianism, and St. Jerom complains, that the christian world groaned under this heresy.

These notices, hitherto unconnected, may perhaps throw some light on the peculiar style of our ancient music. We received the knowledge of the gospel about the end of the 4th century, and with it the Greek or Eastern harmony, then universally in use. From an expression of St. Austin, it is evident, the enharmonic genus was then adopted and cultivated, as it alone was calculated to exhilarate the spirits, revive pleasing hopes, and banish melancholy and despair; nor can there be any doubt but our primitive missioners first conciliated the affections of their hearers by harmony before they opened to them the doctrine of redemption. Bede makes Augustine (64) approach Ethelbert and his court singing litanies.

Before the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants were generally introduced, we were grown strong in religion and learning, and for a long time strangers to, as well as averse from Romish innovations. We had an independent hierarchy, which neither in 900 nor in 1090, as has been seen, yielded subjection to St. Ambrose or Pope Gregory; it therefore was not possible for us to have any other music but on the Greek model, the character of which, as may be collected from St. Austin and Cambrensis, was enharmonic.

The state of society here at our conversion; a precise and energetic language; the paucity of our instruments and the admirable effects of our harmony, clearly point out the simple style of our melodies; how exactly they coincided with the Greek; how well adapted to delight our national vivacity and amuse our indolence. Topics these, capable of much curious and entertaining amplification, but exceeding our limits.

As the seeds of christianity and learning were coeval in this isle, notwithstanding the vain and groundless pretensions of some Antiquaries, so they found a soil wherein they vegetated with uncommon strength and rapidity: monastic foundations, the schools of literature in those ages, greatly multiplied, and letters soon flourished in every corner. I will elsewhere alledge many circumstances to induce a belief that the Greek language was particularly cultivated in those seminaries. Can it then seem strange that we should have the musical diagram of the Greeks, or that we practised scientifically their best melodies? This notation, it is true, appears corrupted in Mr. Morris's MSS. but it invincibly demonstrates that the Welsh had a notation, and that

(64) Bed. lib. 1. cap. 25.

that it muſt have exiſted previouſly among the Iriſh. The (65) Northumbrians and Albanian Scots, both converted by the Iriſh, excelled in harmony.

The Engliſh muſic on the contrary was of the diatonic genus. It was the policy of the church of Rome, from the firſt entrance of her miſſionaries into Britain, to decry and depreciate the ancient rites and ceremonies of the natives, and to exalt the efficacy and perfection of her own. Arguments however were in vain, (66) power ſoon decided the controverſy in favour of the latter. We are informed by Bede, that James, the deacon, inſtructed the clergy of York in ſinging after the Roman manner, as Stephen did the Northern eccleſiaſtics. Pope Agatho thought the eſtabliſhment of the Gregorian chant ſo important an affair, that he ſent John, his precentor, hither for that purpoſe. Theſe efforts of the Papal See, ſeconded by the favour of the Britiſh princes, ſoon extinguiſhed every ſpark of our ancient muſic, and confirmed the ſlow, ſpacious and uniſonous melody of plain (67) ſong. The perpetual uſe of it to both clergy and laity was ſecured by canons, and when it became a commutation for ſins and (68) faſting, the practice of it muſt have been univerſal. 'Tis then no wonder that the taſte of the nation accommodated itſelf to this chant; a dull and heavy modulation ſucceeded, well fitted to a ſtate of ſpiritual thraldom, and to expreſs the diſmal tales of minſtrelſy.

The foregoing obſervations were printed in 1786, but fortunately for the lovers of Iriſh antiquities, the ſubject was taken up on a more extenſive plan in the following eſſay, by my ingenious and accompliſhed friend William Beauford, A. M. whoſe ſcientific knowledge of muſic has enabled him to illuminate a ſubject hitherto buried in darkneſs. His eſſay appeared in the firſt edition of theſe Antiquities in 1790. The candid reader will pardon a ſimilarity of remarks and citations in a few inſtances in both eſſays, which indeed was unavoidable in treating of the ſame ſubject.

(65) Dr. Burney. Vol. 2. p. 108, 109. (66) Bed. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(67) The diſtinction inſiſted on of Greek and Roman muſic, receives the higheſt confirmation from Charlemagne's book againſt the Greeks; and, his grandſon, Charles the Bald's Letter to the Clergy of Ravenna: both Princes heſitated long, before they embraced the Greek or Roman harmony. Charles ſays:—Celebrata ſunt coram nobis ſacra miſſarum officia, more Hieroſolimitano, & more Conſtantinopolitano.—But he preferred the Roman: the ſevereſt puniſhments alone made his national clergy relinquiſh the Eaſtern manner.

(68) Johnſon's Saxon Councils.

* OF THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

THE origin of Poetry and Muſic, deduced from the organization of the human frame, has already been elegantly diſcuſſed and minutely inveſtigated (1) by ſome eminent writers. Antiquity records the cultivation of theſe pleaſing arts among the rudeſt and moſt ſavage nations, and modern (2) diſcoveries unite their teſtimony that no people exiſt without them. A learned and ingenious friend has deciſively proved, that no genuine remains of Celtic cuſtoms and manners, of Celtic arts and ſciences exiſt at this day: that overborne at an early period by the great Scythian ſwarm, the Celtes were either exterminated, or adopted the uſages of their conquerors. As this ſwarm, which bent its courſe to Ireland, probably iſſued from Belgic Gaul, we are there firſt to enquire what were the muſic and poetry of that country. On theſe heads Diodorus Siculus offers us ſome valuable information. "There are, ſays he, among the Gauls, poets, who compoſe melical poems; they call theſe Bards, and they ſing the praiſes of ſome, and the diſpraiſes of others, to inſtruments not unlike Lyres." Our Author here is correct in denominating theſe rude ſongs melical, becauſe they differed from Lyric, which were always ſung to the Lyre, and from Dithyrambic, which were, for the moſt part, in honour of Bacchus, and conſiſted of the ſtrophe, antiſtrophe and epode, whereas the melical were often ſung without (4) any inſtrument, which muſt have frequently happened among an uncivilized and wandering people. They were therefore ſimple melodies executed by a ſingle voice, and occaſionally ſuſtained by an inſtrument. The meaſure of this melical poetry was Iambic; a meaſure ſo natural to man, that Dionyſius Halicarnaſæus and Demetrius Phalerius, two excellent judges, declare he very commonly expreſſes himſelf in it without deſign. In ancient languages, the accents

* By William Beauford, A. M.

(1) Harris's three Treatiſes. Webb on Poetry and Muſic, and by many French and Italians.

(2) Cook's Voyages. (3) Lib. 5.

(4) Pangi melos poteſt, quod non ad lyram canatur, latiuſque interdum pateat. Turneb. Adv. p. 5.

accents were numerous, conſequently the inflections of the voice were muſical, fell into pleaſing intervals and Lyric meaſures. And the oldeſt ſpecimens of Scaldic, German, and Iriſh poetry ſupply ſtrong reaſon to believe this to have been the caſe; though the number or quantity of their verſes, their rhythm and modulation are, in a great part, unknown, as the pronunciation and accentuation of theſe languages are greatly altered, and with them their melodies. Without entering deeper into a ſubject involved in much obſcurity, we ſhall begin with Giraldus Cambrenſis, an ingenious and intelligent writer, who (5) obſerves, that the Iriſh excelled all other nations in the uſe of muſical inſtruments: that muſic, proceeding from ſounds, naturally divided itſelf into three parts, harmonic, or that performed by the voice: organic, or that by wind-inſtruments, and rythmical, or that produced by the pulſation of the fingers. Under the heads of vocal and inſtrumental muſic will be contained all we ſhall now lay before the reader.

The old inhabitants of Ireland denominated their vocal muſic, or that in which their poems and ſongs were ſung, *Pheateadh* or *Peiteadh*, that is, narrative muſic.

The original muſic of all countries was vocal, and in the early periods, proceeded in a great meaſure, from the extemporaneous hymns and ſongs ſung in praiſe of their deities, and in honour of ancient heroes. It was in the day of battle and hour of ſacrifice, that the concerts of our remote and barbarous anceſtors were performed. The warrior advanced to the charge, ſinging the actions of ancient captains; and the prieſt, whilſt the bleeding victim expired on the altar, chaunted in artleſs accents the praiſe of the Divinity. However harſh and diſſonant theſe performances muſt originally have been, experience reduced them to order, and time meliorated their cadence. Men, endowed with more ſolid judgment and more accurate ears than others, would naturally endeavour to reduce the wild effuſions of native melody to ſome ſtandard rules, and thereby give birth to the Bardic Order, and the regulation of muſical performances at public Solemnities. Thus, inſtructed in ſimple melody, the body of the people would join in one general chorus at their public aſſemblies, and lay the foundation of harmonic compoſition, or, what no writer on the muſical art, has yet attended to, a natural counterpoint. For the different tones of the human voice, ſinging the ſame air in concert, would conſequently fall into ſeparate claſſes; the moſt grave would murmur in the baſe, the middle tones be ſonorous in the tenor, and the moſt acute warble in the treble.

Accuſtomed

(5) Topograph. Hib. p. 73—741.

Accuſtomed thus through a long ſeries of ages, to ſing together, the body of the people would gradually be formed into a nation of choriſters; and the faculty they had thus through ſucceſſive generations acquired of ſinging in parts, would remain among them for many ages after the cauſe which gave riſe to it was removed.

Such was the ſtate in reſpect to the muſic of ancient Europe in general, we have every reaſon to imagine; and that it was actually ſo, among the inhabitants of Wales and England in the 12th century, we are aſſured by Cambrenſis before quoted; who informs us that the Britons did not ſing in uniſon like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts; it being cuſtomary (6) in Wales, when a company of ſingers among the common people met, as many different parts were heard, as there were performers; who all at length united, with organic ſweetneſs. And in the northern parts of England, beyond the Humber, the inhabitants uſed the ſame kind of ſymphonic harmony, except that they only ſang in two parts; nor in either country was a ſingle melody ever well ſung. And what is ſtill more extraordinary, their children, as ſoon as they attempted to ſing, ſang in the ſame manner. Here we have a remarkable inſtance of native counterpoint, from the effects of cuſtom, through a ſeries of ages; a cuſtom we may reaſonably imagine which was retained much longer than the time of Cambrenſis, as we may trace, even at this day, ſome remains of it in the highlands of Scotland and in this country.

Theſe circumſtances point out to us, that counterpoint, was neither the production of any one age or country, nor the invention of an individual, but had its foundation in nature. Nor doth it appear what improvement the native bardic muſic received from the church muſic, during the middle ages, that is, from the 6th to the 9th centuries. It probably continued to flow in its native channel undiſturbed for ages, receiving only from time to time, ſuch additions as experience matured by time might introduce; and thereby gradually bring it to the ſtandard of ſcience.—However, there is the greateſt probability, that the Hibernian bards received much inſtruction in the melodious part of their muſic from that cultivated by the chriſtian clergy. Which muſic was that of the Curſus, uſed in the original offices of the chriſtian church, and was in the ſtyle of the ancient Greek muſic of the middle ages. A genus much more brilliant than the diatonic uſed by the Latin church in ſubſequent times, and in all probability laid the foundation of that

ſuperiority,

(6) Cambrens. Cambriæ Deſcrip. p. 890.

ſuperiority, to which the Hibernian bards in later periods attained. (7) In the harmonic diviſion no improvements were probably introduced till towards the 12th century, after the introduction of the Latin church muſic by Malachy. This muſic was more famed for its harmonic than melodious perfection. However, ſeveral important and uſeful hints were received from it, and thereby greatly improved the oral counterpoint, which, with their native ſtyle, they ſtill retained; ſinging alternately, after the manner of the Greeks, and other heathen nations of antiquity. O'Carrol about 1330, and Cruiſe, two eminent harpers, were moſt probably the firſt who tuned their harps on the true diatonic harmonic principles. But even this improvement ſeems to have been confined to thoſe reſiding in the Engliſh pale. (8).

With the ſtate of the ancient Iriſh melodies of the middle ages, we are not acquainted, few having reached our time. The native muſic at preſent found among the deſcendants of the aboriginal inhabitants, is extremely characteriſtic, and ſtrongly expreſſive of the language and genius of the people.

The ancient Iriſh muſic, or as it was denominated by the bards *Ceol*, or Sound, when conſidered as a ſcience, may like that of all other countries, be comprized under two heads, that is, *Oirfid* or Melody, and *Cor* or Harmony.

The *Oirfid*, or melodious part, was compoſed of a certain number of *Fuam* or Tones; of theſe they had two ſpecies, conſidered relatively, that is, *Foghair*, or whole Tones, and *Foghair-beg*, or Semi-tones. But it doth not appear, what ſpecific names they gave to the ſeveral tones riſing and falling in the ſcale. It is moſt probable they had no diſtinctive denominations for them, but entirely depended on the ear; as it is certain they had no marks or notation to expreſs them in writing, but like moſt of the modern pipers, depended ſolely on their auditory organs. Time, or the relative duration of the ſeveral tones, which we diſtinguiſh by the general name of notes, they expreſſed by the word *Amhar*, but by what denomination they diſtinguiſhed their reſpective lengths, we have no certain information; probably they never conſidered ſuch minutiæ, but depended for the regulation of their meaſure on the beating of the drum, or the ſtriking of the ſtrings of the harp.

Cor, or Harmony, they, like the moderns, divided into two grand diviſions, that is, *Chruiſich*, or Treble, and *Cronán*, or Baſe. Which parts united, conſti-

(7) Hornbeck de Pſalmodiâ. inter Miſcell. ſac. cap 2. Walker's Memoirs of Iriſh Bards.
(8) Stanihurſt de reb. Hib. p. 39. Walker's Iriſh Bards.

tuted one grand ſcale, under the denomination of *Arſideach*, or *Airſideah*; comprehending the *Baſaſcanes*, or Baſe Cliff; the *Teanorchanus*, or Tenor Cliff, called alſo *Cionar*; and *Rinnchanus*, or Treble Cliff.

As the names of theſe Cliffs, are evidently derived from the Latin, the Bards muſt have received them from church muſic; and to which they ſeem to have been indebted for much of their muſical ſcience, during the latter periods.

In reſpect to counterpoint, the *Cor* was diſtinguiſhed into two ſpecies, that is, *Fuaighel*, or Concords, and *Eiſſighe*, or Diſcords. The Concords conſiſted of the *Fuaighel*, or 5th, the *Fuaighelbeg*, or 4th. being the leſſer fundamental interval, and the *Fuaighelmor*, or Octave, or greater interval, and which was nearly one-eighth of a tone higher than the modern, being compoſed of the 4th and 5th equally divided by the ear.

The *Eiſſighe*, or Diſcords, comprehended the *Eiſſighebeg* or 2d, the tones of the ancients; and the *Eiſſighemore*, any unharmonious interval compounded of others, as the 7th, 9th, &c. (9)

Theſe appear, to have comprehended all the component parts of the ancient Hibernian counterpoint; but of their method of conducting them in compoſition, we have no authentic information. They certainly were not acquainted with the rules of modern harmony; which were probably founded by Guido in the 11th century, and improved by ſubſequent performers.

But, however, they might regulate the ſucceſſion of their chords, they ſeem in reſpect to diſcant, to have been ſuperior to their neighbours, for whilſt the Scotch, Welſh, Engliſh, and even the Eccleſiaſtic Muſic, kept nearly equal time in all their parts, the Iriſh at leaſt, in the 13th century, according to Cambrenſis, uſed great latitude in their muſical performances; for, ſays the writer, It is indeed evident, that the Scotch and Welſh have cultivated this art with commendation, and with an affinity of expreſſion, endeavouring with emulation to imitate the ſkill of the Iriſh in modulation. (10) This ſuperiority we ſhall have other opportunities of conſidering, in treating of their inſtrumental muſic, to which we ſhall now proceed.

(9) For theſe technical terms, ſee Lhuyd's Dict. O'Clerigh, &c.

(10) Gir. Camb. Supra, p. 739.

IRISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, or *ADHBHACHIUIL.*

Barbarous nations, have ſeldom a variety of muſical inſtruments; and it doth not appear, that the ancient inhabitants of either Britain or Ireland, had any among them, prior to the arrival of the Romans, except the Buglehorn. From Britain, the Roman muſical inſtruments might have been introduced into Ireland, though moſt probably the principal of them were brought over by the Chriſtian clergy, and others by the Northern nations.

The original uſe of muſical inſtruments was either to ſuſtain the voice, or to beat time to the ſeveral performers in their general concerns. Under this idea, they may be reduced to two ſpecies, that is, *Organical* and *Rythmical.*

O R G A N I C.

Of the Iriſh Organic, or Wind Inſtruments, Cambrenſis is entirely ſilent; perhaps in his time, they had not any that could with propriety be claſſed under that denomination. Yet, the native writers mention ſeveral under the different names of (11) *Stuic*, *Stoc*, *Adbrac*, *Corn-bean*, *Gall-trompa*, *Buabhall*, *Dudog*, *Fideog*, *Lonloingean*, *Readan*, *Adharcaidh-Chiuil*, *Cuiſleigh-Ciuil* and *Piob-mala*. The *Stuic*, *Stoc*, *Buabal*, *Beann*, and *Adharc*, were different names for the ſame inſtrument, and were only the common Bugle Horn, with a wooden mouth-piece, ſtill uſed by the common people. The horns of animals were moſt probably the firſt attempt at muſical inſtruments, and uſed in common by all the barbarous nations of ancient Europe. They were employed to ſuſtain the voice in their rude religious concerts, during the times of paganiſm; and for a number of ages after, they were the principal inſtruments in (12) war and in the chace.

The *Gall-trompa*, or Trumpet of the Strangers, was the brazen Horn, uſed by the Danes, Normans and Engliſh; and introduced into this Iſland by thoſe people. It was of different forms.

The *Trompa* reſembled the modern Trumpet, and was the military muſical inſtrument of the Saxons, Franks, and Normans. The *Corn* was a metal Horn, in general reſembling the natural horns of animals, eſpecially thoſe of the Ram and wild Ox, with mouth pieces either at the end or ſide; and during the middle and latter

(11) See Lhuyd's Dictionary for theſe terms.

(12) The Goths marched to war with the ſound of the Horn of the Urus, or wild Ox. Ammian. 31—5.—And the Celtes in general uſed them. Lib. 5. 37. 39.

latter ages, were uſed for various purpoſes. A number of theſe inſtruments have at different times been diſcovered in Ireland in bogs; and alſo, in ſeveral parts of (13) England; and have occaſioned much conjecture among Antiquaries. They, however, are not very ancient, few exceeding the 10th century, and none are older than the 6th in this country; nor are they of Iriſh origin, nor can they be conſidered as muſical inſtruments.

The *Adharcaidh-Chiuil*, or Muſical Horn, ſeems to have been the firſt attempt at a muſical wind inſtrument, and probably the origin of moſt of them, as the Horn-pipe, Cornet, Hautboy, Flute, &c. It conſiſted of a metal or animal Horn, with a mouth-piece, and body perforated with three or four ventages, and is ſtill retained by (14) the Laplanders. Adharcaidh-Chiuil was alſo a name given by the Iriſh to the French Horn, or Corne de Chaſſe.

The *Feadain*, *Fideog*, or *Lonloingean*, was a wooden Pipe, and the ancient Horn-pipe, frequently denominated by the Iriſh from the acuteneſs of its ſound, *Dudog*, as it was called *Feadain* and *Lonloingean*, or Muſical Stick, from being made of wood. This inſtrument is repreſented on an old Stone Croſs at Clonemacnois, and on ſome old paintings in England, where it appears to be the ſame as the old Cornette.

The *Readan*, was not a muſical inſtrument, but only a mouth-piece made of reed, by which the Feadan and other wind inſtruments were ſounded; and is ſtill retained in the modern Bag-pipes.

The *Piob-miala*, or Bagpipes, the Chorus of the Latin-Writers of the middle ages, do not appear of great antiquity in this iſland. Canibrenſis does not mention them among the Iriſh muſical inſtruments, though he (15) aſſerts, that both the Welſh and Scots had them. The *Chorus* ſo denominated by the Latins, from having the Bag of Skin, ſeems to be a very ancient inſtrument; we find it among the Greeks and Romans, and by them probably introduced from the eaſt. Among them however, it was of a very ſimple conſtruction, conſiſting only of a bag of ſkin or leather, with two pipes, one blown (16) by the mouth, by which the bag was filled with air, the other emitted the ſound and had ventages. Under this form

it

(13) Camden, vol. 3d. Ed. Gough.

(14) Walker's Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Iriſh Bards, p. 84.

(15) Scotia tribus, Cythara, Tympano, et Choro.
Gwallia vero Cythara, Tibiis, et Choro.—Supra. p. 739.

(16) Fuit Chorus quoque ſimplex, pellis cum duabus cicutis Æreis,
Et per primam inſpiratur, ſecunda vocem emittit.—Walker, ſupra.

it is repreſented on an (17) ancient marble ſtatue found at Croton in Italy; and on the front of (18) Adderbury church in Suffolk: and ſtill retained by the Spaniſh and Italian peaſants. It was probably introduced into Britain by the Romans, and among the Saxons by the Britons. In England, it retained its original form and power to the 11th or 12th centuries. In ſubſequent ages it received ſeveral improvements, a chorus was added, conſiſting of two ſide drones; in which ſtate it ſtill remains among the highland Scots, and in this ſtate it probably was introduced into Ireland ſome time prior to the 14th century; for we find it a martial muſical inſtrument of the (19) Iriſh Kerns or Infantry, in the reign of Edward III. And as ſuch, continued down to the 16th century.

Having obtained this inſtrument from Britain, the Iriſh retained its original name, and called it *Piob-mala*, or Bag-pipe; it had the loud ſhrill tone of the preſent Highland pipes, being conſtructed on the ancient muſical ſcale. The Chanter had ſeven ventages, as at preſent, the lower ſounded the lower D in the Treble, and the upper C. The firſt Drone was in uniſon to E, the ſecond hole in the Chanter; and the large Drone an octave below it.

This ſeems to have been the ſtate of the Bag-pipes throughout the Britiſh Iſlands to the cloſe of the 16th century, when conſiderable improvements were made, by taking the pipe from the mouth, and cauſing the bag to be filled by a ſmall pair of bellows on compreſſion by the elbow. This form (20) Mr. Walker aſſerts, they received from the Iriſh, by whom they were no longer denominated Piob-mala, or Bag-pipes, but

Cuiſlean, or *Cuiſleagh-Cuil*, that is, the Elbow-pipes, or Elbow-muſic.—Under this denomination they ſtill remain among the people, and are at preſent much improved; having no longer the loud martial ſound of the Erſe Piobh-mala, but more reſembling a Flute, and are reduced to the modern ſcale. In the preſent Iriſh Bag-pipes, the Chanter conſiſts of ſeven double holes, the loweſt ſounding D in the Treble, and the upper C or the ſeventh above it. The chorus conſiſts of four Drones, the ſmalleſt or firſt ſounds uniſon to A, the fifth hole in the Chanter; the ſecond Drone a third below the firſt, and in uniſon with F the third hole in the Chanter; and a fifth below C the upper hole. The third ſounds an octave to F, and the fourth an octave below that, or a double octave to the key note.

(17) Walker, ſupra. (18) Groſs's Antiq. vol. 1ſt.
(19) Smith's Hiſt. of the County of Cork, vol. 2. p. 43.—Camden.
(20) Hiſt. Mem. of the Iriſh Bards, p. 73.

Hence the modern Iriſh Bag-pipes, extend to the three Cliffs or principal Keys of F, C and G, and their concords are the 3d, 5th and 8th. Their component parts in the Iriſh language are, the *Bolg* or Bag; the *Bollogna Cuiſli* or Bellows; the *Feadain* or Pipes; the *Dudog* or Chanter; the *Readan* or Reeds, which give the tone to the Pipes; and the *Anan* or Drones, ſo denominated from their reſemblance to Horns, whence *Anan* ſometimes in Iriſh ſignifies the Baſe in muſic.

By the improvement of double holes in the Chanter, a ſkilful performer is enabled to play two parts without the Drones; and the inſtrument under the hands of a maſter, is rendered worthy of being eſteemed a muſical inſtrument. Eſpecially in thoſe inſtruments in which a ſecond Chanter is inſerted, denominated a *Regulator*. This Regulator ſounds a 5th below the Chanter, and has the ſame number of ventages, each of which is cloſed by a braſs key like thoſe of a German Flute. By means of theſe keys, which are ſtruck by the wriſts, the performer is better enabled to play in two or more parts, without the Drones; as the ſeveral chords of 3ds, 4ths, 5ths, 6ths, and 8ths, can be conveniently ſounded, and the inſtrument rendered ſufficiently harmonious. But this laſt improvement is at preſent not univerſal, few being acquainted with it.

Theſe are all the Iriſh wind inſtruments we have been able to diſcover, nor doth it appear they had any more. And even theſe, the ancient Bards during the cloſe of the middle and commencement of the latter ages, either were not acquainted with, or did not conſider them claſſic, and conſequently rejected them from their concerts. The only bardic inſtruments in eſteem on the arrival of the Engliſh, were the Rythmical; which we ſhall now conſider.

IRISH RYTHMICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Of this ſpecies of inſtruments Cambrenſis mentions only two, which were in eſteem among the Iriſh in his time, that is, the Drum and Harp; and Brompton ſpeaks of no more. (21)

The *Drum* or *Tympanum*, called by the Iriſh *Tiompan*, is a very ancient inſtrument; the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with it in very remote periods, and all the Gothic nations uſed it as a muſical inſtrument to beat time with; for which purpoſe it is ſtill retained by the ſouthern Europeans and moſt of the Aſiatics. Among

(21) Hibernia quidem tantum duobus utitur et delectatur inſtrumentis; Cytharâ ſcilicet et Tympanâ, *ſupra*, p. 739. Hibernici in duobus muſici generis inſtrumentis. Brompton.

Among the Iriſh it was a kind of Tabor, conſiſting of a ſkin ſtrained over an iron hoop or ring, and beat with the fingers or ſticks.

Beſides the Tiompan, the Iriſh are ſaid to have had two others, not mentioned by Cambrenſis, that is the *Chrotal* and *Crotalin*.

The *Chrotal* ſeems not to have been a Bardic Inſtrument; but the Bell-Cymbal uſed by the Clergy, and denominated a Crotalum by the Latins; conſiſting of two metallic ſpheres, hollow, and containing ſome grains of metal to make them ſound, being connected by a flexible ſhank (22). The Bell Crotalum was alſo uſed by the Roman Pagan Prieſts, where the Bellswere hemiſpheres, its figure is on a ſtone dedicated to the mother of the Gods; and during the laſt century was in the palace of Cardinal Cæſius in Rome.

The *Crotalin* or *Crotha*, ſeems to be the Crepitaculum of the Romans, being a kind of rattle, made of wood, braſs, gold or ſilver, of different forms. Several of theſe inſtruments of braſs, were found in the park of Slane in 1781, conſiſting of two circular plates of braſs, connected by a wire twiſted in a wormlike manner round the ſhank, and jingled when the inſtrument was ſtruck by the fingers. They were only uſed in accompanying a ſingle voice, and not peculiar to the Iriſh, but common to moſt nations of Europe, and with the Crotalum and Tiompan, were probably introduced by the Chriſtian Clergy.

Of the Iriſh Stringed Inſtruments, Cambrenſis mentions only one, that is the *Harp;* but the native writers ſpeak of another, which they denominate a *Cruit* or *Cruith*, without expreſſing either its form or power. The word in the preſent acceptation of the language, ſignifies either a Harp or Violin, and ſeems to be a general name for all Stringed Inſtruments. In former times, it probably was the ſame as the Welſh *Crwth*, and neglected on the introduction of the Harp.

The *Clarſech* or Harp, the principal muſical inſtrument of the Hibernian Bards, does not appear to be of Iriſh origin, nor indigenous to any of the Britiſh iſlands. The Britons undoubtedly were not acquainted with it, during the reſidence of the Romans in their country; as on all their coins, on which muſical inſtruments are repreſented, we ſee only the Roman Lyra, and not the Britiſh Teylin or Harp. Neither can the Welſh trace their Bards or Muſic, higher than the time of Cadwallador, who died in 688. (23) Both the Greeks and Romans were unacquainted with

(22) Crotala quoque dici ſonoras ſpherulas, quæ quibuſdam granis interpoſitis pro quantitate ſui, et ſpecie metalli ſono edunt. Joh. Sariſber, l. 8. c. 10.

(23) Pennant's Tour through N. Wales.

with ſuch an inſtrument, as it is not found on their Coins and Sculptures, till towards the decline of the Empire of the latter. The Greeks have it not; the Muſical Inſtruments of the modern Greeks conſiſt of the ancient Lyre, which they play with their fingers and a Bow; they have alſo the Guittar, but no Harp. (24)

Eucherius Biſhop of Lyons, who flouriſhed in the 5th century, informs us, that the Barbaric Cithara, was in the form of a Greek Delta, and like the Nablium. But the Nablium and Harp could not be the ſame; for, in (25) Ovid, they are dif. ferent. As to its form reſembling the Greek Delta, the Iriſh Harp ſtill retains the form of that letter of the 6th century (26); and is rudely repreſented on the front of Adderbury Church Suffolk; but more accurately delineated on the elegant monument at Nieg in Scotland (27); which leaves not the leaſt doubt of the Iriſh Harp being of the ſame form as thoſe of the Saxons, and other Gothic nations. But as none of the Sculptures repreſent the ſtrings, nor are they expreſſed by any writer of the middle ages, the power of this muſical inſtrument ſtill remains unknown. To obtain ſuch information it will be neceſſary to enquire among the Sythic Tribes yet uncivilized, for its priſtine ſtate, where it lately has been diſcovered.

Monſieur Gmelin in his Travels through Weſtern Tartary, ſays, that "they "have a muſical inſtrument, which the Ruſſians call a *Gouſli*. This inſtrument is "made like a Harp. It has eighteen ſtrings ſupported by a very low bridge, ſitu- "ated near the place where the ſtrings are fixed. The pins round which they are "turned, and by which they are tuned, are ſituated on the other ſide of the inſtru- "ment. The firſt and ſecond ſtrings are 5ths to each other, the third is a ſemitone "above the ſecond; the fourth a third above the ſecond, the fifth a third above the "fourth, the ſixth a ſemitone above the fifth, the ſeventh a tone above the ſixth, "and ſo of the others. The Muſician ſeated on the ground, plays with the right "hand the Baſs, and with the other, the Treble." (28)

Here we have the real power and number of the ſtrings of the ancient Harp, and probably in the very ſtate it was introduced into Britain by ſome of the Gothic Tribes in the 5th century. The intire compaſs of the three Scales or Syſtems of

Tones,

(24) Voyage Lit. de la Grece 3 Edit. tom. 1. par Monſieur Guys. See alſo the figure of a Lyre, to be plaped on with a Bow, having the bridge curved like a Violin, in plate 109, vol. 1. of the Cabinet of the Hon. Sir. William Hamilton, Naples, 1766.

(25) "Diſce etiam duplici genialia Nablia palma
"Plectere, conveniunt dulcibus illa modus." OVID.

(26) Bernard's Tables (27) Cordner's Views, &c. No. 1.

(28) Voyage en Sibere, par Monſ. Gmelin, tom. 1. p. 30.

Tones, will be a 4th above four octaves; the latitude of the modern Welſh Harp, and nearly that of our preſent Harpſichords, beginning in the lower E in the Baſs, and aſcending by 5ths, 3ds, and 2nds to G G in alt, with the chromatics of the fundamentals marked. The Scales are in E and B, and the Keys in which Tunes could be played, are in E♮ and B♭. The inſtrument in this ſtate was principally calculated for ſuſtaining the voice; ſome few airs indeed might be played upon it, but it was inadequate to that lively ſymphonic muſic, cultivated by both the Iriſh Bards and Northern Scalds, in ſubſequent and more improved periods. (See this Harp, in the annexed plate taken from the Monument of Nieg.)

The Iriſh Bards, on receiving the Gothic or Scythic Harp, or as they denominated it in their native tongue *Oirpeam*, would naturally conſider of the moſt proper means of adapting it to their vocal muſic, and render it capable of ſupporting the voice and performing their ſymphonic airs, for which in ſubſequent periods they became ſo celebrated. This they effected by filling up the 5ths and 3ds in each Scale, by which, and the aſſiſtance of the Church Muſic, they were enabled to complete their Scale, and increaſe the number of ſtrings from 18 to 28; in which the original Chromatic Tones were retained, and the whole formed on the oral improved ſyſtem. Under theſe improvements, though the inſtrument had increaſed in the number of its ſtrings, it was ſomewhat reduced in capacity; for inſtead of beginning in the lower E in the Baſs, it commenced in C a ſixth above, and terminated in G an octave below; and in conſequence became much more melodious, and capable of accompanying the voice. Theſe improvements were moſt probably further enlarged on the introduction of the Latin Church Muſic by (30) Malachy O'Morgair, Archbiſhop of Armagh, about the year 1134. From which period the Iriſh Poetry and Muſic are ſuppoſed to have (31) ſeparated, and vocal and inſtrumental Muſic became diſtinct. Prior to this century it is probable Symphonic Muſic was not ſo much practiſed, and the inſtruments were principally uſed to ſuſtain the voice by accompanying its accented parts. However they ſeem to have improved in a few years, far ſuperior to their neighbours; and the Iriſh Harp of 28 ſtrings became more capable of true Muſic than any other at that time in uſe.

A Harp of this ſpecies and 32 inches high, is repreſented in the plate, taken from one in Trinity College, Dublin, and ſuppoſed to have belonged to Brien Boromh. It is certainly much later than that Prince, and probably not Bardic; but of that

 ſpecies

(30) Inter S. Bernardi Opera, cap. 16. (31) O'Connor's Diſſertations.

ſpecies denominated *Cainthar* or *Cainthar Cruit*, that is, the ſinging Harp; being uſed by private perſons to accompany the voice; eſpecially by Eccleſiaſtics, who conſtantly carried one about with them, and to which they ſang their Hymns, (32) and in all probability was derived from the Roman Nablium introduced from Italy. This inſtrument was nearly of the ſame figure as the Harp, but much ſmaller, containing only 12 ſtrings, but in ſubſequent periods improved into the ſmall Harp of 28 ſtrings.

The Bardic Harp derived from the Gothic, was a large inſtrument with deep Baſs Tones, generally uſed in concerts or large companies, and diſtinguiſhed by the Iriſh by the name of *Cream-Crutin* or *Creamtin Cruit*, that is, the noiſy or feſtival Harp. This, from 28 ſtrings, was in the latter ages augmented to 33, beginning in C in the Tenor, and extending to D in alt. Which ſeems to have been the laſt improvement in the Iriſh Harp, and in which ſtate it ſtill remains. A Harp of this kind 5 feet high, is (33) repreſented in the plate, and was made in 1726.

Although the Iriſh on the decline of the Bardic Order neglected the Harp, the Welſh, who are ſaid to have, as well as the Erſe, received the improved Harp from (34) Ireland, continued to augment the power of the inſtrument; and adopting the preſent ſyſtem, have increaſed the number of ſtrings to 97, extending their power from C in the Tenor, to double G in alt, divided into three rows; by which means the Diatonic and Chromatic Syſtems are preſerved diſtinct. The right hand row contains the Baſs of 36 ſtrings: the (35) left the Treble of 26, and the middle the Semitones of 35.—It will not be neceſſary here to deſcribe the Harp as improved by Nugent, an Iriſh Jeſuit, mentioned by Lynch, as it never was uſed either in Ireland or in Britain; and as it has been fully dilated upon by Mr. Walker, (36) to whom Ireland is indebted for the firſt attempt, to trace the riſe and progreſs of her Muſic.

In reſpect to the technical terms of the component (37) parts of the Harp in the Iriſh language, the wooden frame was denominated *Clair* or the Board; the ſtrings *Tead* or *Teadach;* the arm or head in which the pins were placed, *Cionar;* the front

(32) Hinc accidit, ut Epiſcopi et Abbates, et ſancti in Hiberniâ viri cytharas circumferre et in eis modulando piè delectari conſueverint. Cambrens. ſupra.

(33) Walker's Memoirs of Iriſh Bards. p. 1—163.

(34) The Welſh received the Iriſh Harp under Gryffidh ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, in the reign of King Stephen, according to Caradoc and Powel, p. 191.

(35) Evans on the Welſh Harp, in Ree's Edit. of Chambers's Dictionary.

(36) Hiſt. Memoirs of the Iriſh Bards, p. 133. (37) O'Clerigh.

front or ſtay, *Orfead*, and the pins on which the ſtrings were tuned, *Urnaidhin Geangal*.—Under theſe relative denominations the Iriſh gave their Harp various names; as from its ſounding board *Clairſech* or Muſical Board; from its ſtrings *Teadhloin*, whence the Welſh *Teylin*; from its arm *Cionar*, and from the trembling of the ſtrings *Cruit*. Among which derivatives, the original name (38) *Oirpeam*, from the Gothic *Hearpa*, was nearly loſt.

Concerning the materials of which the ancient Iriſh Harps were compoſed we have no juſt information; they moſt probably were of wood, and the ſtrings either of thongs of leather called *Teadfeitheach*, or of braſs wire denominated *Teadmiotalta*; but moſt generally the latter, according to (39) Cambrenſis. The ſmall Harps were generally ſtrung with thongs and ſtruck with the fingers. The larger had ſtrings of braſs wire, and were played on with a (40) plectrum, or crooked nail.

During the middle ages, the Harp appears to have been an univerſal inſtrument among the inhabitants of this Iſle; and in conſequence their muſicians became expert performers, and ſuperior to their brethren in Britain; and in a great meaſure, merited the high character given them by Cambrenſis, who obſerves, that "the "attention of theſe people to muſical inſtruments is worthy of praiſe; in which "their ſkill is beyond compariſon, ſuperior to that of any other nation that we ſee. "For in theſe modulation is not ſlow and ſolemn, as in the inſtruments of Britain, "to which we are accuſtomed; but the ſounds are rapid and precipitate, yet ſweet "and pleaſing. It is extraordinary in ſuch rapidity of the fingers, how the muſical "proportions are preſerved, and the art every where unhurt, among the compli-"cated modulations, and the multitude of intricate notes; ſo ſweetly ſwift, ſo "irregular in their compoſition, ſo diſorderly in their concords, yet returning to "uniſon and completing the melody. Whether the chords of the Diateſſeron or "Diapente be ſtruck together, they always begin in Dulce and end in the ſame, "that all may be perfect in completing the delightful ſonorous melody. They com-"mence and quit their modulations, with ſo much ſubtlety, and the tinkling of "the ſmall ſtrings ſport with ſo much freedom under the deep notes of the Baſs; "delight with ſo much delicacy, and ſooth ſo ſoftly, that the excellency of their "art lies in concealing it." (41)

This

(38) From *Oirpeam* comes the modern Iriſh *Oirpheadach* a Harper, and *Oirfid*, Melody.

(39) Æris quoque magis utuntur chordis Hiberni, quam de corio factis. Supra.

(40) Good's account of the Iriſh in Camden's Britannia.

(41) Cambrenſis. Supra.

This eminence of the Iriſh Harpers is not exaggerated, nor is it a compliment paid to the nation, as ſome have imagined. Cambrenſis was one of the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars of his time, and perfectly underſtood both the theory and practice of Muſic at that period cultivated in Britain, where the Engliſh Minſtrels and Welſh Bards, principally applied their inſtruments in ſupporting the voice in plain ſong, and were in a great meaſure unacquainted with ſymphonic airs, to which indeed their languages were little adapted; on the contrary, the varied cadence of the Iriſh tongue, and the brilliant ſymphonies which naturally aroſe from it, muſt have greatly delighted and aſtoniſhed an ear not accuſtomed thereto. Beſides, it was not in the full choir nor crowded theatre, that the Iriſh muſicians were trained in practice, but in the lonely deſart, the deep valley and the rugged mountain, where, familiar with the ſighing gale, ſoftening echo and pealing thunder, they became acquainted with thoſe natural graces, which give ſo much elegance to modern muſic; and the Forte, Piano, Termente, &c. conſtantly adorned their melodious performances. And in accompanying the vocal muſic with the Harp, they ſometimes imitated the modulations of the voice, then quitting it, the Baſs notes only ſounded; again, whilſt the voice moved ſlowly and gravely along, the treble ſtrings delightfully tinkled above, as it were re-echoing the ſong from the ſurrounding objects. But it was principally in their ſymphonies that their inſtrumental muſic was exhibited; for they do not appear to have had pieces entirely compoſed for inſtruments as in the preſent age. In the harmonic part, the 4th and 5th ſeem to have been the principal chords, either ſingle or ſtruck together, and by which the octave was formed in the commencement and cloſe of the Key; whilſt the Diſcords were frequently introduced towards the (42) middle of the performance. As their ſyſtem was founded on the Oral Scale, and the chromatic tones only ſuch as naturally aroſe therefrom, they muſt have frequently been under the neceſſity of changing their Keys, and in conſequence have recourſe to the reſolution of Diſcords. But of their diſpoſition of theſe, and even the general management of their Concords, we are ignorant. They ſeem in every part of their performances to have ſtudied nature, and to have paid little regard to art; thereby forming a ſtyle ſtrong and expreſſive, but wild and irregular. This wildneſs, however, though deſtitute of the truth of compoſition, was not deſtitute of the power of producing pleaſing and extraordinary effects on the minds of the hearers.

About

(42) Cambrenſis, ſupra.

About the commencement of the 14th century, ſeveral of the Iriſh Bards who reſided within the Engliſh Pale, ſuch as O'Carrol and Cruiſe, becoming acquainted with the modern improvements, tuned their Harps on the Diatonic Syſtem, and thereby rendered their inſtruments more pleaſing to an ear accuſtomed to the Church and Italian Muſic, at that time (43) cultivated in Britain. But whether ſuch improvements extended through the kingdom we are not informed. The Iriſh Harps every where however ſeem to have ſupported their credit, by agreeable and able performers, even to the (44) middle of the 16th century. From which period the whole Iſland becoming ſubject to the laws, and adopting the manners of the Engliſh, the Bardic Order became extinct.

Thus have we ſpecified the nature and ſtate of the ancient Iriſh Muſic both Vocal and Inſtrumental, as far as the materials we have been able to obtain have thrown light upon the ſubject. It would have been a pleaſing circumſtance if they had enabled us to have proceeded further, and given the reader ſpecimens of the old Bardic Muſic of this Iſland; but we are ſorry to ſay this is far from being the caſe, no ſuch ſpecimens now exiſt; as the whole for want of notation muſt have died with the Order. So far from communicating their muſical compoſitions to thoſe not initiated into their art, they took all poſſible care to conceal their principles, conſtantly inſtructing their pupils in private, and obliging them to commit their leſſons to memory. (45)

The ſubjects on which they exerted their genius were various, embracing every ſpecies of Poetry and Muſic that could affect and agitate the human mind. Theſe they diſtinguiſhed under three ſpecies or genera, which they denominated *Adhbhantrireach*, or the three Modes of Muſic, that is, the *Goltraighi*, or Sorrowful Mode, the *Geanthraighe*, or Merry Mode, and the *Suantraighe*, or Sleepy Mode. The firſt comprehended all ſongs on plaintive, ſolemn and grave ſubjects, ſuch as funeral lamentations, elegies, &c. The ſecond thoſe appertaining to feſtivity, war, the chace, dances, drinking ſongs, &c. And the third to love-ditties, and every kind of ſoft and effeminate pieces; and more eſpecially to a kind of ſoft humming muſic, in

(43) Camum O'Karvill, qui etſi non fuerit chordalis primus inventor, omnium tamen prædeceſſorum & præcedentium ipſe ac cotemporaneorum Corrector, Doctor & Director extitit. Clynn apud. Walker's Bards, p. 122, and ſome obſervations on this paſſage of Clynn by the Author of theſe Antiquities.

(44) Camden's Britannia, Gough's Edit. vol. 3d. p. 662.

(45) "Adhbhantrireach, purt no Céol as a ttuigthear thri ni
"Geanthraighe, Goltraighi agus Suantraighe."
Lhuyd ex O'Clerigh.

which the Bards ſung their nocturnal poems in the chambers of their Patrons, (46) or whilſt they ſlept in the fields during military and hunting expeditions.

A number of ſongs and tunes on theſe ſubjects are ſtill remaining among the people, which are, as we obſerved before, expreſſive and well adapted to the genius of the language; but none are of ancient date, nor can any of them be properly deemed Bardic. Of theſe *Luinniocs*, or as the Scots call them, *Lunigs*, the moſt elegant have long been laid before the public, and therefore need not be mentioned here. (47)

From this examination of the Muſic of the old inhabitants of Ireland it appears, that their Bards cultivated that art in a ſtyle equal, if not ſuperior to their neighbours. But even in this, if compared with the moderns as an Art, candour muſt acknowledge that they were nearly barbarians.—Though perhaps it is not juſt to compare one with the other, either the ancient with the modern muſic, or the modern with the ancient; as they were undoubtedly conſtructed on different principles. The object of the ancients was either to imitate, ſoothe or excite the paſſions. This the moderns pay little attention to; confined to the rules of art, their principal object is to diverſify thoſe rules, to produce a variety of compoſitions in order to gratify the fluctuating and often depraved taſte of their age, in which the ſublime and beautiful are no more found. The ſeveral arts and ſciences cultivated by the human mind are conſtantly fluctuating, and appear in different periods to have an efflux and reflux, like the waves of the ſea. From rude beginnings they gradually riſe to a degree of perfection which nearly approaches the true ſublime. But this ſtage is no ſooner obtained, than they immediately decline, and by too great an exactneſs and minuteneſs in their compoſition become debilitated and effeminate; preſerving neither the gay, wild, or irregular features of youth, nor the ſteady, regular and noble appearance of manhood, but covered over with the wrinkles of old age, hobble in a ſhort time to the grave of oblivion. Such has conſtantly been the fate of the polite arts in general, and of Muſic in particular. Among the Iriſh, it probably had attained its utmoſt point of perfection in the time of Cambrenſis, from which period it was on the decline; and though in ſubſequent ages it was reduced more to a regular art, it ſtill continued to decreaſe in vigour, and at length expired with the Bardic Order.

Of

(46) Walker's Memoirs of the Iriſh Bards, p. 71.
(47) Ibid.

OF THE ANCIENT IRISH DRESS.

A VERY ingenious (1) friend has favoured the world with an hiſtorical eſſay on this ſubject, wherein taſte and knowledge are happily united. A critical examination of ancient writers has ſupplied ſome additional information, and enabled me to make ſome additions and correct ſome miſtakes. Involved in obſcurity, antiquarian topics are not eaſily exhauſted, even by the moſt ſedulous inveſtigation, particularly Iriſh Antiquities, which, in an enlightened view, are but a new ſtudy.

Ware gives a very ſlight and imperfect account of the dreſs of the ancient Iriſh, and what he advances will be found erroneous; for the frize mantle reaching to the ankles was not their original, but more modern garb. Very little to be depended on has occurred to me of the ancient Iriſh dreſs, antecedent to the 8th century; an Iriſh Canon of that age (2) decrees, that every Clerk from the Door-keeper to the Prieſt, who ſhall be ſeen without his Tunic, and who does not cover the nakedneſs of his belly, ſhall be ſeparated from the Church.

The clerical Tunic was at (3) firſt a long looſe garment with ſleeves, after it was ſhortened and came but to the knees; in either caſe it was a covering ſufficiently decent, and therefore the Canon implies that the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics wore the ſecular dreſs which was the (4) Rheno, a lambſkin or woollen mantle, covering the ſhoulders, and reaching only to the elbows, leaving the reſt of the body naked; the dreſs of the Britons and Germans according to Cæſar and Tacitus. If any reliance is to be placed on the legendary life of St. Cadoc, cited by Ware, the Iriſh Coccula, in (5) the

(1) Joſeph C. Walker, Eſq. Author of the curious and valuable Memoirs of the Iriſh Bards, &c. &c.

(2) S. Patric. Opuſc. a Ware, p. 41, 43. Sperling ſeverely criticiſes Cluverius for ſaying the ancient Germans and Northerns were naked before, as he had no authority for ſuch an aſſertion. Apud Nov. liter, Mar. Balt. 1698. p. 206. We ſee Cluverius was right.

(3) Ferrar. de re veſtiar. p. 189. Caſal. de rit. vet. p. 191.

(4) See Cæſar and Tacitus. Rhenones velamina ſunt humerorum. Iſidor. l. 29. c. 23. For the name, Salmas. in Tertull. de pallio, but more fully, Locen. Antiq. Sue-Goth. p. 107.

(5) Colgan. Act. Sanct. Hib. T. 1. p. 398.

the middle of the 6th century was a cloke with a fringed or ſhagged border at the neck, with an hood to cover the head, this (6) Coccula corrupted from Cucullus demonſtrates. The Church was frequently obliged by ſevere laws, during the (7) middle ages to renew and enforce the canons reſpecting the dreſs of the Clergy, who ſeemed fond of indulging in laical garments. But not one of theſe, as far as I have examined, mention the deplorable exceſs to which the Iriſh and Anglo-Saxons carried indecency. Some farther explanation is neceſſary.

The Britons and Northern, from the remoteſt ages were accuſtomed to mark their ſkin with the (8) figures of animals either by way of ornament, or diſtinction. As it was their greateſt pride to have theſe ſeen, they were conſequently naked before, the breaſt and belly being particularly adorned. In (9) England the practice continued to the 11th century, and even in the 12th it had not gone into diſuſe; for William of Malmeſbury (10) tells us, the Anglo-Saxons wore ſhort garments, reaching only to the knees, their ſkins being punctured with ornamental figures. The Iriſh deſcended from the ſame (11) ſtock with the Anglo-Saxons, and connected by a conſtant friendly intercourſe, muſt have acquired the ſame cuſtoms and manners, and the facts alleged evince the truth of this remark. So that it may ſafely be affirmed, the moſt ancient Iriſh dreſs, of which we have any certain account, was barely a ſkin mantle, which the (12) Welſh alſo uſed: this was afterwards changed for a woollen one, the reſt of the body was entirely naked.

Doctor Macpherſon properly (13) obſerves that Sagum or Saic was the name of the German ſkin mantle, and which it retained when it came to be made of manufactured wool. Strabo calls the Belgic Gauls, Sagaferi, or wearers of Saga. The word is originally Teutonic, and appears to be ſo in all its variations and compounds. The ancient Sagum was the ſame as the Rheno, with a (14) cowl or hood, covering

(6) See the 28th canon of the Council of Cloveſhoo, A. D. 747, and 19th canon of Cealchythe, A. D. 785, apud Wilkins and Johnſon.

(7) Conc. Metens A. D. 888. Rhegin. c. 335. Burchard. l. 2 c. 208. In conc. Liptin. and Capit. 1. Carlom. Prieſts and Deacons are inhibited from uſing the Saga of laics. Boniface, Archbiſhop of Mentz does the ſame. Epiſt. 105. Lindenbrog. Cod 1373.

(8) Pelloutier, Hiſt. des Celtes. T. 1. p. 293. Pinkerton proves this to be a German cuſtom, and it ſtrengthens what has been advanced on our colonization. Hiſt. of Scotland. v. 1. p. 128.

(9) Pelloutier, ſupra.

(10) Angli veſtibus ad medium genu expediti, picturatis ſtigmatibus cutem inſigniti. De geſt. reg. Anglor. p. 101.

(11) Antiquities of Ireland, ſupra.

(12) They called it Yſgin and Yſgaen. Bernard. Etym. Brit. in Sagum.

(13) Critical Diſſ. p. 150.

(14) Braun. de veſtit. Heb. T. 2. p. 583. Spi ulum infibulare ſolitos. Tacit. Germ

covering the ſhoulders and faſtened before with a thorn, ſkewer or broche. In the time of Strabo, about the Incarnation, the woollen manufacture was very extenſive and well underſtood in Belgic Gaul. He (15) ſays, its wool was coarſe and ſhort, of this they wove Saga, which the Romans (16) called Lænæ. Thoſe who lived more to the northward had flocks with very fine wool, which they covered with ſkins. It appears from Varro, that the fine woolled ſheep of Tarentum and Attica were thus protected from the weather and dirt, ſo precious were their fleeces. The ſame excellent geographer goes on to inform us, ſo abundant were the Belgic flocks and herds that they were enabled to ſupply, not only Rome with Saga or mantles and ſalt proviſions, but moſt other (17) parts of Italy. The Firbolgs or Belgic colonies introduced the woollen manufacture into this Iſle, and with it the Sagum or mantle. Through every age, the Belgians kept a ſuperiority in woollen fabrics. In the 9th century, the Friſons a part of them, made Saga but ſo ſhort, that inſtead of covering the whole body, (the faſhion then) they ſcarcely came to the thighs, ſo that Charlemagne found it neceſſary to have them enlarged, by an (18) expreſs law. The Friſon Saga the French called (19) mantles. In the reign of William the Conqueror, theſe Flemings came to (20) England, where they ſettled in various places, and improved the natives in the arts of weaving, fulling and dying. Being exceedingly (21) converſant in the working of wool and of trade, and fearleſs of danger, ſeeking gain by ſea and land, there is ſtrong preſumption that numbers of them came to Ireland along with the Welch and other adventurers in the reign of Henry II. particularly as the maritime parts and beſt ports in the Iſle were occupied by their countrymen. Theſe notices may be added to the (22) Eſſay of the Earl of Charlemont; here the antiquity of the woollen manufacture is carried much higher than that memoir does.

(15) Lib. 4. p. 135, 136. Edit. Caſaub. The paſſage is difficult and has been miſunderſtood, but is clearly explained by Ferrar. ſup. p. 117, 118.

(16) By adhering to the common punctuation, O'Brien makes Laena a Celtic word. Diction. in Corplein.

(17) Αλλα και τας πλησιας μοιρας της Ιταλιας. Strab. ſup.

(18) Pithoei at Karol. M. Capit. p. 76, 77.

(19) Mantel ot cher, que teiſſirent Friſons. Du Cange in Saga Freſonica.

(20) Lord Lyttleton's Hen. II. v. 2. p. 185, 186: Dublin Edit.

(21) Gens lanificiis, gens mercimoniis uſitatiſſima, quocunque labore ſine periculo terra marique lucrum quærere. Giral. Cambrens. p. 848.

(22) Tranſactions of the Royal Iriſh Academy. V. 1. p. 18.

The derivation of Sagum, from the German word ſerge cannot be admitted on any ground of analogy or etymology. Serge is an (23) original Teutonic word, and ſo is Sack, the latter the Greeks and Romans changed into Sagum, and the (24) French into Sagia, Saium and Saia. Iriſh Sayes or ſtuff are thus ſpoken of by an (25) Italian poet about 1357.

" *Similimente paſſamo en Irlanda,*
" *La qual fra noi e degna di fama,*
" *Per le nobile Saie che ci manda.*"

i. e.

" In like manner we paſs into Ireland, which among us
" is worthy of renown, for the excellent ſtuffs ſhe ſends us."

From theſe words Lord Charlemont infers, that Ireland at this time was famous for her woollen manufacture. But this concluſion reſults more from the warmth of patriotiſm, than any ſubſtantial evidence. For had this manufacture been as great, as is pretended, Gilds, as in England, would have been founded, the crown would have looked for a revenue, and the public records in England and Ireland would have preſerved traces of it, and our Sayes would probably have been found in the Wardrobe account of Edward I. A.D. 1299, publiſhed by the London Society of Antiquaries. Three or four memorials of Iriſh cloth, in the records of as many centuries, may evince the exiſtence, but never the celebrity of ſuch a manufacture. Beſides theſe negative proofs, which muſt always carry conſiderable weight, I ſhall now account for the introduction of our ſtuffs into Italy, a curious point on which the noble Earl has not touched.

A Statute made in Kilkenny, 3 Edward II. A.D. 1310, forbids Iriſh Lords to take exorbitant priſages, or heavy duties from merchants, for permiſſion of diſpoſing their commodities within their reſpective territories. This law was enacted in favour of the Freſcobald ſociety at Florence, who farmed the king's revenue throughout his dominions, and very diſhoneſtly carried it off, for which Edward (26) applied to the Pope to ſecure their perſons and property. Theſe merchants imported Wines, Spices,

(23) Killian. Dict. Teut. in Sargie, hence the German Serg, and the Italian Sargia. Skinner in Serge.

(24) Saio nihil aliud eſt quam Sago; g in i mutato, quod in noſtra lingua Gallica frequens eſt, in his vocabulis quæ ex Latinis ſunt deflexa. Salmas in Spartian. p. 28.

(25) Tranſactions, ſupra. See the 8th ſtatute of Edward III. A. D. 1376, which ſeems not favourable to the Italian poet.

(26) Prynne on the 4th Inſtitute, p. 143. Anderſon's Hiſt. of Commerce, 13th and 14th centuries.

Spices, and the Shells of (27) Cocoa-nuts for drinking cups, and took in return our peltry and fayes. The Statute before recited was paſſed to favour this traffic and by theſe means our woollens reached Italy; they were cheaper and broader than thoſe made there, and from the laſt circumſtance the poet calls them "Nobile faie." As for Ireland being "degna di fama," merely for theſe Sayes, or to ſuppoſe the people poliſhed and mercantile, without other concurrent proofs (and there are none) it muſt be eſteemed only a poetic expreſſion. A country over-run with wild animals, and whoſe ſkins were its only riches, could be but little advanced in civility and had but few objects of trade.

Our noble writer conceives there was a peculiar excellence in Iriſh ſtuffs to induce the Florentines, who made large quantities of them, to import them. In anſwer to this, it muſt be obſerved, that the words, "fra noi," cannot be ſtrained to mean the Florentines excluſively; the Italians in general with whom they trafficked, are to be underſtood, and for whoſe ſupply the Florentine manufactures were inadequate. In a word, if it was not for the Lombard merchants, who accidentally opened a trade here, we never ſhould have heard of Iriſh Sayes in Italy.

Giraldus Cambrenſis is the next authentic evidence, of the dreſs of the Iriſh in the 12th century: he (28) tells us they did not manufacture linen or woollen, or exerciſe any mechanical art. Lynch, who compoſed a petulant and illiberal criticiſm on this reſpectable writer, pertly (29) aſks, if the Iriſh were ſo ignorant, how they came to have mantles with hoods, fallins, lances and axes? When Cambrenſis viewed the domeſtication, the diet and dreſs of the Iriſh, and compared them with thoſe of the Normans, who were elegantly (30) clad, delicately fed, and inhabiting large well built houſes he could not avoid pronouncing the former barbarians, deſtitute of every art and ſcience, that could adorn or render life comfortable, and as ſuch they would have appeared to every civilized man. That he meant by the foregoing general expreſſions, the poſitive want of manufactures and mechanic arts can never be ſuppoſed, while his writings ſupply ſo many intimations to the contrary. Take his words as they lie before us, and by mercimonium muſt be underſtood, that neither their linens or woollens were objects to invite foreign commerce, and this

(27) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 5. p. 40.

(28) Non lino, non lanificio, non aliqua mercimoniorum nec ulla mechanicarum artium ſpecie vitam producunt. Page 739.

(29) Cambrens. Evers. p. 112.

(30) Veſtibus ad invidiam culti, cibis delicati, domi ingentia ædificia. William of Malmſb. ſupra.

this is what he remarks of the (31) Welſh, his countrymen. Neither the exportation of Saga, the uſe of golden chains, or dyed garments decorated with gold, made Strabo ſay the Belgic Gauls were opulent and poliſhed; no, he obſerves with all this finery there was ſomething (32) barbarous, and uncommon in their nature, and that this was true of all the northern people. But the Editor of the Collectanea and Lynch affirm the Iriſh to have been civilized, becauſe acquainted with weaving and metallurgy; if ſo, then the natives of Africa, America, of Tartary, and all the ſavages of the new and old world who practiſed, in ſome degree, theſe arts may be ſaid to be refined: ſuch exactly was the refinement of the Iriſh, in the 12th century.

The Iriſh, continues (33) Cambrenſis, are but lightly clad in woollen garments, barbarouſly ſhaped, and for the moſt part black, becauſe the ſheep of the country are black. Lynch (34) here remarks, that our author contradicts himſelf, for he elſewhere ſays their trowſers were dyed, whereas black will receive no colour. But it is our Hypercritic who errs, for Cambrenſis guardedly makes uſe of an adverb, by which he does not exclude white ſheep, and by another (35) adverb, we learn the trowſe was not invariably dyed.

Naturaliſts (36) tell us, and with great truth, that the colours of animals are often their greateſt ſecurity from deſtruction: thus the ſmaller evade the larger inſects, and thus hares aſſuming a white colour in winter when ſnow abounds, elude their ſharp-ſighted enemies. What nature thus kindly does for animals, reflection does for man. The Highlanders formerly exerciſed in perpetual rapine, the better to conceal themſelves, gave to their clothes an heath-tincture. Thus ſings Melville, one of their poets.

Verum nunc plures fuſcum magis æmula frondi
Quæque ericina adamant, ut ne lux florida veſtis
Splendentis prodat, recubantes inque ericetis.

The

(31) Non mercimoniis, non navigiis, non mechanicis artibus, &c. Cambriæ deſcrip. p. 887. Navigiis here juſtifies the explanation I have here given. Rymer Fœder. v. 3. p. 510.

(32) Το Βαρβαρον και το ακφυλον. Lib. 4.

(33) Laneis enim tenuiter utuntur & his omnibus ferme nigris, quia terræ iſtius oves nigræ ſunt. Sup. p. 738. Suethans, Scandiæ populus pellium decora nigredine famoſus. Jornandes.

(34) Cambrens. Evers p. 104. (35) Braccis plerumque colore fucatis p. 738.

(36) Darwin's Botanic Garden, Canto 1. p. 35. note Rubia. Melville apud Pennant's tour in Scotland.

The black clothing of the Iriſh was for the ſame purpoſe, being the (37) colour of their bogs, their conſtant retreats.

Cambrenſis next proceeds to an accurate deſcription of the Iriſh dreſs as it was at the arrival of the Engliſh: "They (38) uſually wear moderate cloſe capuchins or "hooded mantles, covering the ſhoulders and coming down to the elbows, compoſed "of various colours and ſtripes, for the moſt part ſewed together, under which "they have Fallins or Jackets, and Breeches and Stockings of one piece." This account though very intelligible has as yet been ſtrangely miſunderſtood. The capuchin or mantle with its hood covered the head, ſhoulders and breaſt: the fallin or jacket encloſed the body, and was met by the trowſers, which clothed the thighs and legs and were tied above the hips. It is no leſs extraordinary than true, that this was the dreſs of the (39) Belgic Gauls in the age of Strabo. What this author deſcribes ſeems to be the full dreſs of one of ſuperior rank; the trowſers looſe and folded, the jacket open before and the (40) ſleeves reaching to the fingers, belonged only to the higher claſſes. This ancient Teutonic dreſs, Strutt has well expreſſed in one of his (41) plates. It would be ſurprizing indeed to find among the rude Iriſh any thing like a pileus or petaſus, which the Greeks and Romans long wanted; the (42) Suevi according to Tacitus had only their Cirri, and the Iriſh their Cooleens.

The Birrus, Burrus, and Biretum of the Greek and Roman (43) writers were obviouſly the original of our Birred, the Teutonic Barret. It was (44) a thick woollen covering for the head and ſhoulders: it was ſynonimous with amphimallus. Juvenal ſays:

Tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo.

(37) Borlaſe's Iriſh Rebellion, p. 75.

(38) Caputiis namque modicis aſſueti ſunt & arctis, trans humeros deorſum, cubito tenus, protenſis, variiſque colorum generibus panniculorumque plerunque conſutis: ſub quibus phalingis lancis quoque palliorum vice utuntur, ſeu braccis calligatis, ſeu calligis braccatis. Page 738. Brompton. Chron. p. 1075. Compare this with Sidon. Apollinaris's account of the Gothic dreſs. Epiſt. l. 4. ep. 20. & Savar. in loco.

(39) Σκηπτοφόροι δὲ καὶ καμισοφόροι, καὶ ἀναξυρίδες χρῶνται πιθανότατα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις χλιδᾶσθαι φορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἀβλαύτοις καὶ γλαφυροῖς. Strab l. 4.

(40) Χειριδωτοὶ——Ultra brachia & uſque in primores manus ac prope in digitos. Aul. Gell. l. 7. c. 3.

(41) Chronicle, V. 1. p. 340. It is alſo on the obeliſk of Eſſic. Cordiner's ruins, No. 8.

(42) Madido torquentis cornua cirro. Juvenal.

(43) Suid. in Βίρρος. Meurs Gloſs. in Βίρρος. Spelman. Gloſs. p. 81.

(44) Salmas. in Vopiſc. p. 390—514 Turneb. Advers. l. 18. c. 16. l. 22. c. 30.

Where the old Scholiaſt interprets this Santonge cowl the Gallic Birrus; and Martial ſhews it was the ſame as the Bardocucullus, a ſhort travelling mantle.

Gallia Santonico veſtit te bardocucullo,
Cercopithecorum pænula nuper erat.

In latter ages, the Iriſh detached the hood from the mantle, and formed it into a conical cap, and gave it the name of Birred. Rational, ſober and authenticated inquiries will not ſatisfy our Antiquaries; this cap, common among the Anglo-Saxons, and to be ſeen in Strutt's work before quoted, our Antiquaries make an academic Cap, conferred on the Bards, when they took the degree of Doctors in poetry: a regulation made by Ollamh Fodhla ſeven or eight centuries before Chriſt. Such wild and contemptible fictions have long diſgraced our Antiquities, and loudly ſpeak the want of civility and letters, in thoſe who liſten to them. Academies were not incorporated as Univerſities before the 12th or 13th century; antecedent to that, degrees were (45) not conferred. In Ireland there was no Univerſity till 1320.

In the Synodic (46) ſtatutes of Sodor in the Iſle of Man, A. D. 1239, where the natives were in origin and language Iriſh, the Clergyman is directed to receive as a *mortuary*, the—Capitium, Pileus or Capella—of the deceaſed. The firſt was the hooded mantle, the ſecond the bonnet, and the laſt a (47) ſkin or woollen mantle, ſhagged on both ſides, barely covering the ſhoulders. The firſt was a holy-day dreſs, the laſt a working garment. Here we perceive an innovation in the dreſs, uſed in the age of Cambrenſis, the hood was ſeparated from the mantle. This diſtinction is ſtill more viſible in the next century, when the Iriſh Chieftains did homage to Richard II, the (48) relator informs us, "they laid aſide their Caps." This Author ſays, it was in the reign of the elder James they exchanged the mantle for the long cloke, but it was earlier, as (49) Spenſer teſtifies.

There is a drawing in (50) Strutt, exhibiting Mac Murrogh the Iriſh King and his two attendants, iſſuing from a wood to meet Thomas Deſpencer Earl of Gloceſter, in 1399. The king is ſaid to have a light pink robe over his ſhoulders: the figure next to him is in white, with a red Cap, and the third in red, with a white Cap. We ſhould be extremely cautious in giving credit to ancient drawings and illuminations, when not ſupported by other authority. The preſent inſtance is a proof.

(45) Doctor Brett in the Works of the learned, No. 1. p. 6. Lond. 1722. Robertſon's Charles V. Note 28.
(46) Wilkins, ſub Ann. (47) Martin in Capella and Bigerra. Du Cange in voce.
(48) Davis's Relations, p. 22—117. (49) View, p. 36—37.
(50) Regal and Eccl. Antiq. p. 17.

proof. The robe never was the national dreſs of the Iriſh, beſides Froiſſart, a cotemporary, tells us, "Ces (51) roys eſtoyent bien paris d'affluber un mantel d' Irlande:" theſe kings thought themſelves well apparelled in an Iriſh mantle, and Mac Murrogh is named as one of theſe kings. Perhaps the drawing was made after king Richard had ordered, as Froiſſart informs us, linen breeches, and gowns of ſilk furred with (52) miniver and grey to be provided for them. But ſurely no one will call this the Iriſh dreſs, or produce it as ſuch.

Cambrenſis obſerves the Capuchin or hooded mantle had various colours, and patches of cloth, for the moſt part ſewn together, that is, it was ſtriped either in the loom or with the needle. This was the Gallic (53) Caracalla, a ſhort garment compoſed of cloth, cut out into parts, and then joined by a taylor. From the words of Cambrenſis, it is evident theſe Capuchins were not wove whole, but made up of different coloured cloth, a rude ſort of foppery, which (54) Strabo found among their anceſtors, the Belgic Gauls, and Tacitus among the Germans. Lynch, not underſtanding Cambrenſis, tell us, inſtead of patches and ſhreds, he ought to have ſaid the capuchin was (55) fringed. Cambrenſis put down what he beheld, but his critic had not knowledge enough of our Antiquities, to perceive that the mantle was always rugged within, and that thrums or fringe always appeared round its edge, and that theſe were very different from the ſtripes of various coloured cloth, in which the ancient Iriſh delighted. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when ruffs were faſhionable, the Iriſh imitated them. Inſtead of a (56) cape to their clokes, they had a vaſt quantity of thrums or yarn fringe, ſo that when the mantle was put up cloſe to the nape of the neck, as they uſually wore them, the fringe hung down near a foot long.

Having diſmiſſed Cambrenſis' capuchin, we come next to his Phalang, Falang or Fallin. It is plain from Cambrenſis, Brompton and Camden this was (57) the jacket. Cluverius (58) calls it the doublet, or pourpoint, a habit covering the back, breaſt and arms. Lynch, with his uſual ignorance, ſays it was the outſide rug cloke: this it could not be, for Cambrenſis deſcribes it as worn under the hooded mantle. The name came with the manufacture into this Iſle. Fallen is the Anglo-Saxon

(51) Tom. 4. p. 203. (52) See theſe explained by Skinner. Etymol. in voc.
(53) Ferrar. de veſt. p. 62.
(54) Ἐσθητι Βαρβαρικῇ καὶ ποικιλοχρωμάτῳ. Strab. l. 4. Purpura variant. Tacit. Germ. c. 17.
(55) Supra, p. 120. (56) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland. Apparat. V. 1.
(57) Gloſs. ad Brompton. Skinner in Falang. (58) Summa veſtis erat Hiberniorum læna, ſupra, p. 120.

Saxon (59) Falding, and at firſt was a ſkin mantle like the Sagum, and after a coarſe woollen (60) mantle, and equivalent with the amphimallus and birrus. When the Iriſh jacket got the name of Fallin.

The Braccæ, or trowſers were breeches and ſtockings of one piece. Doctor Macpherſon ſneeringly remarks, "that if we conſult either Lexicographers, or the writers of notes critical and explanatory, we ſhall find ſome difficulty in ſettling the preciſe meaning of the word Bracca: but every Highlander knows the Bracca was an upper garment of divers colours." This writer as well as every other Antiquary is much indebted to thoſe who take the trouble of writing notes, critical or explanatory, and his own Diſſertations are ſome proof. Had he conſulted thoſe literary drudges, he would not have ſo egregiouſly blundered in making the Highland breaccan, (the Roman (61) Lacerna) the ſame as the ancient Bracca, and that merely from the ſimilitude of names. The bracca was the favourite dreſs of the (62) Northerns.

Pellibus & ſutis arcent mala frigora braccis. Ovid.

With us it only covered the (63) thighs and legs, as among the Belgic Gauls, and from the words of Cambrenſis, before given, we learn the Iriſh went as (64) commonly with only the mantle and trowſers, as with the jacket, the latter being probably the full dreſs. As the braccæ or trowſers were ſometimes coloured (plerunque fucatæ) and ſometimes not, it is infinitely more likely they were denominated, rather from their ſhape or figure than from their colour, which was accidental. Hence the name ſeems to be derived from the Teutonic Broeck, which was Latinized Bracca, and alluded to the rupture or diviſion of the body at the thighs, and ſuch is the opinion of the (65) beſt critics. In an Icelandic (66) chronicle of the year 1129, the Iriſh dreſs is ſaid to conſiſt of a Skirta, a ſhirt or veſt, Broekur, the trowſe, Mottul, the mantle, and Hott Irſkan, an Iriſh Cap; the trowſers tied with thongs paſſing under the ſole of the foot. If there could be any doubt of Cambrenſis' veracity

(59) Skinner in voce, who derives it from Feald, plica, but it is rather from Felle, a ſkin.

(60) Tyrrwhit's Gloſs. to Chaucer. Voc. Falding.

(61) Ferrar. ſup. T. 2. p. 8. For the Scotch dreſs, ſee Pinkerton's Scotland. V. 2. p. 73. note.

(62) Totum braccatum corpus. Mel. l. 2. c. 1. Ita hodie Gothi & braccacum nomen pro femoralibus adhuc plane genuinum & vernaculum illis eſt. Boxhorn. hiſt. univ. l. 1.

(63) Theſe braccæ were named ἀναξυρίδες. See Strab. ſupra. Pinkerton's Scotland, V. 1. p. 394. for the Gothic dreſs.

(64) Note ſupra 39. Such the conjunction, "Seu," implies.

(65) Caſaub. in Sent. c. 82. Salmas. in Tertull. de pallio. c. 1. Braun. ſup. p. 444. Sperling, ſupra.

(66) Johnſtone's Antiq. Celto-Scand. p. 248.

veracity, this account, much earlier than his, diſſolves it, both perfectly agree in the ancient dreſs of the Iriſh. Though Skirta may mean a linen ſhirt, yet it was (67) generally any cloſe under garment, for linen among the northerns was worn only by perſons of (68) rank. In like manner, the Icelandic hott or hat was any covering for the head, nor is it poſſible to determine its form without the aid of drawings. The braccæ coming down to the ankles ſeem to require no latchets, the latter muſt have been inconvenient in walking: I therefore think a ſort of ſandal is to be underſtood.

Mr. Whitaker imagines the Iriſh (69) brog or brogue received its name from brac, party-coloured, being variegated like the reſt of their dreſs. No authority is produced, ſo that the conjecture reſts on the reſemblance between brac, brag and brog. If in remote ages the brogue was made of the (70) dried ſkins of beaſts, and even at preſent of half tanned leather, where ſhall we place or find on it that variety of colours Mr. Whitaker ſpeaks of? Such aſſertions gravely and peremptorily made are throwing antiquities again into the dark regions of fable. The old Anglo-Saxon expreſſion "clouted ſhoen," has been brought to countenance Mr. Whitaker's explanation, whereas it ſimply means "pieced, or as we ſay, cobbled ſhoes," not adorned with patches of various colours, which if ever faſhionable in England, were never in this iſle. And thus the addreſs of the tanner to the king in the ballad of Edward IV. is to be underſtood,

"If ever thou comeſt to merry Tamworth,
"Neate's leather ſhall clout thy ſhoen."

That is, ſhall repair thy ſhoes, not variegate them with pieces of different colours, of which ſort of finery the tanner could be ſuppoſed to know very little. Some have believed they ſaw the origin of brogue in the Iriſh brog, an habitation, as if a ſhoe was the reſidence of the foot; others in broc, a badger, of whoſe ſkins brogues were anciently made. Before I quit this ſubject, it has occurred to me, that Cambrenſis's "braccæ caligatæ ſeu caligæ braccatæ" intimate ſomething more than breeches and ſtockings of one piece: for caligæ in (71) ancient and modern writers include the wooden, leathern or ſkin ſole protecting the foot, as well as the latchets

(67) Skinner, in Shirt. Whitaker, ſup. V. 1. p. 230. (68) Pinkerton, ſupra.

(69) Hiſt. of Mancheſter, V. 1. p. 128. Brog, ſays Ihre, is from the Suio-Gothic Bro, Stratum aliquod.

(70) Harris's Ware, p. 178.

(71) Byn. de calc. vet. Nigron. de Calig. Lynch well obſerves, "Apud Hibernos, bracca indumentum eſt continuum non interciſum, ſoccos, tibialia & femoralia complectens, quo uno ductu quis pedibus, furis & femoribus induat. Sup. p. 122.

latchets that ſecured it round the ankles or inſtep: this interpretation perfectly reconciles Cambrenſis with the Icelandic chronicle. If ever the Iriſh adopted the luxury of long pointed ſhoes, as (72) Lynch ſays they did, it muſt have been from the Engliſh (73) crackowes, about the middle of the 14th century. Or whether the whole foot was covered as at preſent in early ages is not eaſy to determine. An ancient Iriſh brogue was found in a turf bog in Aghaboe, twelve feet under the ſurface, reſembling the North American maugaſan, all of one piece, faſtened round the inſtep by a running ſtring. Whether tanned or not could not be aſcertained, the leather being coloured and hardened by the water of ferrugineous bog-ore which abounds there,

While the Iriſh preſerved their native language and dreſs there was no hope of civilizing them, or bringing them to an acquieſcence in Engliſh dominion or Engliſh laws. Aware of this, the Britiſh princes endeavoured early to reduce, by very penal laws, the Iriſh to a conformity with their other ſubjects, and for this purpoſe were enacted the celebrated (74) ſtatute of Kilkenny, A. D. 1395, the 25 Henry VI. 5 Edward IV. and 28 Henry VIII. The laſt informs us what was the dreſs of the Iriſh in 1539, and which the Hiberno-Engliſh had adopted; and hence we find in the act a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Iriſh names for the different parts and materials of which it is compoſed.

It forbids any to be ſhaven or ſhorn above the ears, or to wear long locks called glibbs. At the arrival of the Engliſh the Iriſh wore long hair and beards, theſe the (75) Normans eſteemed barbarous, as they "were (76) all gallant, with coats to the mid knee, head ſhorn, beard ſhaved, arms laden with bracelets, and face painted." Henry I. aboliſhed long hair with locks and perukes. A very curious (77) inedited ſtatute of the 24 Edward I. A. D. 1295, tells us that the Engliſh having degenerated in the preſent times clad themſelves in garments like thoſe of the Iriſh, having their

(72) Calceis anteriore parte in tenuem conum protenſis. ſup. p. 125. Mac Geoghagan's brogue is modern. Hiſt. d' Irlande. T. 1. p. 460. Spelman ſays, Vidi juvenes Hibernicos quoſdam ejuſmodi calceis indutos, ſed cuſpides mediocriter extendetibus. Gloſs. Galloches.

(73) Camden's Remains, p. 200. (74) Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. 1. p. 320.

(75) Gens hæc barbara, quia non tantum barbaro veſtium ritu, verum comis & barbis luxuriantibus juxta modernas novitates inculiſſima. Gir. Cambrens p. 739.

(76) Camden's Remains, p. 198—199

(77) Anglici etiam quaſi degeneres modernis temporibus, hibernicalibus ſe induunt veſtimentis, & habentes capita ſemiraſa, capillos a retro capitis nutriunt & alligant, & illos Culan vocant, Hibernicis tam habitu quam facie conformantes. Concordatum eſt, quod omnes Anglici in hac terra, ſaltem in capite quod plus vitui ſe praetentat, mores & tonſuram gerant Anglicorum, nec amplius præſumant avertere comas in Colanum. Harris's M.SS. apud Dublin Society.

their heads half ſhaven, their hair behind they let grow, tie up and call it Culan, being thus in dreſs and appearance perfectly Iriſh. It is therefore agreed, that no Engliſhman, at leaſt ſo far as regards the head, ſhall any longer preſume to throw back his hair into the coolen, but obſerve the cuſtom and tonſure of the Engliſh. Mr. Harris's note on this act or ordinance of ſtate is, that what is here called Culan, was afterwards called Glibb. Theſe Cooleens as they are commonly pronounced, are (78) derived from Culam or Culan to puſh or thruſt back, and are well explained by a paſſage in (79) Hector Boethius, where the Scottiſh Cooleen is a twiſted lock of hair, the Glibb running from the front to the back of the head, the reſt ſhaven. This reſembled in ſome ſort the creſt of an helmet, and had no inelegant appearance. Spencer remarks how convenient this glibb was for a thief; by cutting it off he became unknown, as well as by bringing it over his face.

The act alſo prohibits letting hair grow on the upper lip, which is called a Crom-meal. I am unable to analyze this word. A law of the 25th Henry VI. enacts, "that no maner man, that will be taken for an Engliſhman, ſhall have no beard above his mouth, that is to ſay, that he have no haires on his upper lippe, ſo that the ſaid be once at leaſt ſhaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the neather lippe." See likewiſe the 5th Edward IV. In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the hair of the upper lip was never ſhaven unleſs by (80) prieſts. The Normans on the contrary, according to this author, let their hair grow and ſhaved their faces. Cambrenſis, as an old Briton, did not reliſh this novelty. Cæſar and Diodorus Siculus ſay, the Gauls, Germans and Britons wore muſtaches, ſo did the Anglo-Saxons and Iriſh, until, in the capriciouſneſs of faſhion, the Normans their maſters forbad it. However laws operated no reformation in this iſle, the Iriſh had beards to a late period. At a conteſted election for Fermanagh, A. D. 1613, Bryan Mac Mahon had his beard (81) pulled, but Captain Gower affirmed he only ſhook it.

The ſtatute of Henry VIII. goes on to forbid any ſhirt, ſmock, kerchor, bendel, neckerchor, mocket or linen cap to be dyed with ſaffron, or to have in a ſhirt or ſmock above ſeven ſtandard yards of cloth. This act gave riſe to various ridiculous notions: the Iriſh it was ſaid, uſed this as it (82) ſtrengthened the body and limbs.

This

(78) O'Brien in voce.

(79) Nudis ſemper capitibus idque tonſis, relicta modo in fronte tortula capillorum ac cirro quodam, niſi ægritudo obſtaret, Scoti incedebant. Pag. 11. The German Cirrus was proverbial. Tertull. de vel virg.

(80) Crines tonſi, barbis in ſuperiori labio nunqum raſis, exceptis ſolis Preſbyteris. Rous, p. 106.

(81) Deſider. Cur. Hib. p. 342.

(82) Threlkeld's Synopſis, voc. Crocus Sativus.

This was on the ſuppoſition that ſaffron was the tincturing ſubſtance, which from its ſcarcity and dearneſs it was not: there were abundance of other vegetables known (83) that gave a fine yellow colour. A Portugueſe (84) phyſician aſſerted that ſaffron was ſelected as a vermifuge, and that the Iriſh as well as the Icelanders, wearing their ſhirts ſix months without changing them, uſed it as ſuch. The faculty, whoſe deciſions are always accepted as oracular, gave an extenſive circulation to this idle tale, which was eagerly caught up by Moryſon (85) and others; whereas had theſe learned writers conſulted Vopiſcus, they would have ſeen the cauſe of this predilection in favour of yellow, from the fondneſs of the Belgic Gauls for it. The Emperor Tetricus is repreſented as dreſſed after the manner of theſe people: he has his (86) mantle of imperial purple, his tunic or veſt yellow, and he wore the trowſe.

Bendel in the ſtatute is the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic Bendelen, from bende a ſwathe or bandage, and expreſſed very well the Iriſh word, Bannlamh, ſimilar to it in ſenſe and ſound, and ſignifying a narrow cloth of a cubit or eighteen inches in breadth, though little at preſent is ſo wide. This is vulgarly called bandle or bendel linen. Two bandles and an half, or ſix yards and three quarters in length of this narrow linen make now a ſhirt for a common labourer. The act allows ſeven yards, which is equal to about three yards and an half of yard-wide linen, which is the allowance for the fineſt ſhirt. (87)

The Iriſh, ſays Moryſon writing in 1588, had in their ſhirts twenty or thirty ells, folded in wrinkles and coloured with ſaffron. Campion makes the quantity thirty yards. We are not certain whether the firſt means Engliſh or Flemiſh ells, there being between them a difference of eighteen inches in each ell. If we take the thirty yards of the laſt, there were in an Iriſh ſhirt or ſmock, ſix bandles or fifteen yards of yard-wide linen. No one has attempted to explain how ſo much linen could

(83) Sambucinis baccis ad lanas flavas inficiendas. Ramis, cortice & foliis populi arboris contuſis, induſia illa crocea efficiunt. Bleau's Atlas. T. 6. p. 47. Other vegetables are enumerated by Rutty, Nat. Hiſt. of Dublin, V. I.

(84) Porro apud Hiberniam & Iſlandium ſcimus nos homines ſemiferos ſubunculis croco infectis veſtiri, ut pediculos fugent, quas per ſex menſes & amplius geſtare ſolent. Amat. Lus. cur. morb. cent. 7. p. 311. This was written in 1554. See Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 1063, 1064.

(85) Moryſon's Travels, p. 180. Spenſer, p. 43. Lauremberg, apud Threlkeld ſup.

(86) Chlamyde coccina, tunica galbana, braccis Gallis. Vopiſc. in Aurel. & Salmas. in loco, p. 372. Martin's Weſtern Iſlands for the Leni Croich. p. 206.

(87) In 1542, it was proclaimed, that noblemen ſhould have but twenty cubits or bandles of linen in their ſhirts; horſemen 18; footmen 16; garſons 12; and clowns ten: and that none of their ſhirts ſhould be dyed with ſaffron, on pain of twenty ſhillings. Cox, I. p. 272.

could conveniently be diſpoſed of. Cotemporary writers ſupply ſome hints. Camden (88) deſcribing the appearance made by Shane O'Neil at the Court of Elizabeth, A. D. 1562, attended by his Galloglaſſes, ſays, " the latter bore battle-axes, their heads were bare with locks curled and hanging down, their ſhirts ſtained with ſaffron or human urine, and the ſleeves of them large, their veſts rather ſhort and their cloaks ſhagged." There are ſome wretched tranſlations of this excellent author, noticed by (89) Nicholſon, which convey not only an imperfect idea of the original but ſometimes entirely miſrepreſent it. Such is that of this paſſage which tells us of " yellow ſurplices, ſhort coats, and thrum jackets," not a word of which is in Camden. Spenſer is more explicit, the men, ſays he, wear ſhirts exceedingly large, ſtained with ſaffron, the ſleeves wide and hanging to their knees. He ſpeaks elſewhere of their thick-folded linen ſhirts, their long-ſleeved ſmocks, and their half ſleeved coats. This ſtatute of Henry VIII. mentions the mantle and the cote and hood, and Baron Finglas, about the ſame time, calls it the Iriſh over-ſlip cote and hood. From hence it is evident that the ancient Fallin, which at firſt had no ſleeves, now was half-ſleeved and had an hood attached to it, and over all was thrown a long rugged lacerna or cloke, which is ſtill in the act called a mantle though it had changed its length. A veſt ſcarcely reaching the elbows was well calculated to diſplay the barbarous finery of monſtrous ſleeves, which Spenſer aſſures us hung down to the knees. Though the neck was bare, great folds of this yellow linen adorned the breaſt and belly. Spenſer mentions ſtrait and ſhort truſſes plaited thick in the ſkirts above the breeches. Theſe I apprehend (for no notice has been taken of them) were great folds of linen ſurrounding the waiſt, and ſerving inſtead of a veſt, of which he gives no account.

According to Spenſer, the women wrapped great wreaths of linen round their heads, and brought their hair over them, which, as he remarks, was rather unſightly. Moryſon reſembles this head-dreſs to a Turkiſh turban, but that the latter is round at top, whereas the former is flat and broader in the ſides. This is nearly the ſame as the (90) Oſſan preaſſagh, or the great plaited ſtocking of enormous length worn about the head by the women of Breadalbane. Lynch declares it was a genuine (91) German

(88) Cum ſecurigero Galloglaſſorum ſatellitio, capitibus nudis, criſpatis cincinnis dependentibus, camiſiis flavis croco vel humana urina infectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus & lacernis villoſis. Hiſt. Eliz. p. 69.

(89) Engliſh Hiſt. Library, p. 87.

(90) Pennant's Tour in Scotland. And Lynch: Quid memorem vulgaria illa e lino pepla, quorum pluribus ſpiris mulieres capita obvolvebant, aut ricas aliquarum etiam fœminarum operimenta. Sup. p. 112.

(91) Germano Germanarum mulierum more. Sup. p. 125. And Spenſer, ſupra.

German cuſtom. The ſame was the adorning their necks with chains and carknets, and their arms with bracelets.

The ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and the reformation of religion in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had more powerful operation in reclaiming the Iriſh from barbariſm and evil morals than the ſevereſt laws. The ſettlement of Engliſh coloniſts in different parts of the kingdom, their domeſtic and perſonal neatneſs; their active induſtry, ſupplying them with all the conveniencies and comforts of life, their rational religion, looking for happineſs from their own exertions, inſtead of blindly repoſing on the merits of imaginary Saints, all conſpired to awaken in the minds of the natives, a lively ſenſe of their own wretchedneſs, groaning beneath the oppreſſion of temporal and ſpiritual tyranny, from which however they were not completely emancipated, but by the abolition of the Brehon law in the Sixth year of the elder James. Submitting to the laws of England, and appealing to their deciſions at Aſſizes and Seſſions, their intercourſe with the Engliſh in thoſe great aſſemblies became frequent and neceſſary; their fondneſs for their ancient cuſtoms and dreſs diminiſhed, and the better ſort laid aſide their trowſers, their fallins and glibbs. Sir John Davis adds, that now they changed their mantles for clokes, but from Spenſer's account of the mantle, which from covering the whole body muſt have been a cloke, this change began many years before the reign of James. After this faſhions multiplied prodigiouſly, ſcarcely a ſhip or paſſenger that arrived here from (92) Cheſter but introduced a new one. Retentive of their old habits, the common country people ſtill preſerved the mantle, but Hurd being deputy-governor of Galway under Colonel Peter Stubber, iſſued an order to prohibit the wearing of it, which he enforced, (as was uſual with all Cromwell's officers) with ſuch ſeverity, that it came to be every where laid aſide. Lynch, who was probably in Galway at this time, gives a very (93) laughable account of the appearance of the people there, who, having nothing but the mantle to cover their upper parts, ran half naked about the town, ſhrouded in table cloths, pieces of tapeſtry, and rags of all colours and forms, ſo that they looked as if they had juſt eſcaped from Bedlam.

The Plate, which is curious, refers to the following tranſaction recorded in the Pacata Hibernica. On the 10th of April 1600, Sir George Carew, Lord Preſident of Munſter, and the Earl of Thomond accompanied the Earl of Ormond to a parley

(92) Vix enim vector ullus Ceſtria Dublinium tranſmitt, qui non ſit ita fatuus, ut novum indumenti morem viris ac fœminis geſtandum referat. Cambrens. Evers. p. 17.

(93) Cambrens. Evers. ſupra.

parley with Owny Mac Rory O'More, the chieftain of Leix. They met at a place ſomewhere near Caſtlecomer, on the borders of Ormond's and O'More's countries. The former was adviſed to bring his troop of two hundred horſe and one hundred of the Preſident's as a guard, and to prevent a ſurprize. This was rejected as unneceſſary, for Ormond, who had frequently reduced the O'Mores to obedience, and obliged them to ſue for peace, imagined his preſence was ſufficient to intimidate him from any treacherous deſign, and therefore he proceeded to the conference with only ſeventeen armed horſemen, with about as many more of lawyers, merchants and others upon hacknies, with only their ſwords, whoſe curioſity led them from Kilkenny, the place of meeting being but eight miles from that city.

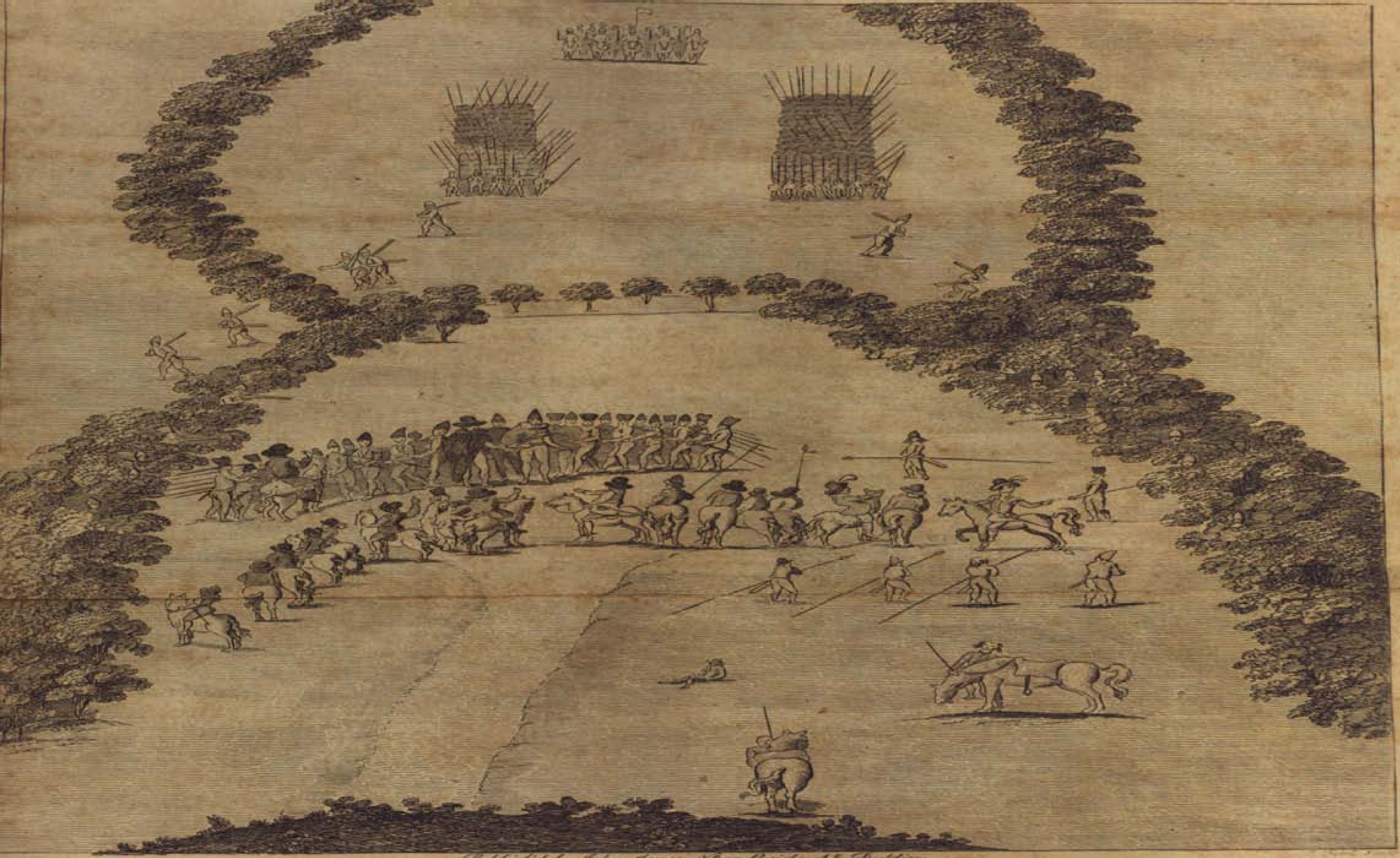
The ſpot where both parties aſſembled, was an heath ground, of no great extent, ſurrounded by a low ſhrubby boggy wood. O'More was attended by a troop of choice pikemen, and behind him the wood cloſed to a narrow paſs; beyond which he had five hundred men, the beſt appointed and furniſhed for war of any in the kingdom. Theſe were concealed from view. The Earl of Ormond diſcourſed with O'More for more than an hour, and after deſired to ſee James Archer a Jeſuit, who had been an active inſtrument in fomenting rebellion, and in bringing afterwards the Spaniards to this Iſle, on whoſe defeat he fled to Spain.

While Ormond was upbraiding Archer for his conduct, O'More's men were forming an ambuſcade, creeping into the wood, and concealing themſelves and arms: others were careleſly mixing, and talking with Ormond's party, and increaſing in numbers formed a croud about them. The Earl of Thomond on looking round was alarmed, and requeſted O'More to order his men to retire. The Preſident on turning his horſe about, was inſtantly ſeized by O'More, but extricated by Lord Thomond who rid on the rebel. Melaghlin O'More laid hold on Ormond, who having a weak horſe, was unable to diſengage himſelf, which the Preſident and Thomond did by the ſtrength and goodneſs of theirs: the latter was wounded in the back by a pike, and the Iriſh threw their ſkeins and pikes in ſhowers at the Engliſh party, all of whom muſt have been made priſoners as well as Ormond, had O'More communicated his deſigns to his forces; but he was afraid to intruſt more than four Bonaughts and two Leinſter men leſt it ſhould be diſcovered to Ormond, who had much intereſt and many ſpies. Ormond continued a priſoner with O'More, until the 12th of June following, when he was liberated on delivering hoſtages for the payment of £3000. On the 17th of the enſuing Auguſt O'More himſelf was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh in Leix, with the Lord Deputy Mountjoy.

There

There are two drawings of the taking of the Earl of Ormond, which belong to two diſtinct points of time. That in the Pacata Hibernia refers to the moment of meeting, when both parties were ranged oppoſite to each other and the parley beginning. The ſketch in Trinity College Dublin, here engraved, ſhows the taking of the Earl after the conference: both fully confirm what has been here advanced on Iriſh dreſs in the preceding pages.

The Iriſh appear with the conical cap, the remains of their caputium or capuchin. That on O'More is blue. He has on the fallin and trowſe, which are yellow, the ancient and favourite national colour: his cloke is ſhort and rugged about his neck, the colour red. Archer, who ſtands near him, as an eccleſiaſtic has a broad-brimmed hat, and long black cloke, his trowſe is pink, and what is very remarkable his fallin is yellow. This preſervation of the coſtume in the ſketch inclines me to think it was made by a perſon who was on the ſpot, perhaps by Sir George Carew himſelf, afterwards Earl of Totneſs, an accompliſhed nobleman. The Iriſh, ſays Moryſon, delighted in ſimple light colours, as red and yellow.



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The taking of the EARL of ORMOND April 10 1600.

See Pergat. Hib. p. 24. From an Original Sketch belonging to Trinity College Dublin. Irlandi Hi. Vol. 2. p. 373.

ON THE MILITARY ANTIQUITIES OF IRELAND.

ONE of the ſtrongeſt proofs that can be alleged of the uncivilized ſtate of the Iriſh to a late period, is our little knowledge of their military affairs. Antecedent to theſe collections, a connected account of this branch of our antiquities would ſcarcely fill two pages. The novelty of the ſubject, it is therefore hoped, will excuſe the multiplicity of citations, which ſeem indiſpenſably neceſſary to give authenticity to the detail.

The Celtes, the primæval inhabitants of the Iſle, were a timid and unwarlike race. Few in number and diſperſed, they wandered over the country without infringing the bounds, or exciting the jealouſy of neighbours. As they increaſed, contentions aroſe, acts of violence ſucceeded, places of refuge were ſought for, and offenſive weapons and defenſive armour became intereſting objects.

In treating of Iriſh coins it has been ſhewn, that there are not any original Celtic names for metals; conſequently the Celtic weapons and fortreſſes were ſimilar to thoſe of every rude people: any improvement in either is clearly derived from the Belgic and Northern coloniſts.

The Iriſh, ſays (1) Giraldus Cambrenſis, in 1185, have no caſtles, their woods ſerve them for camps, and their marſhes for ditches. Lhuyd, in his Synonymes for caſtellum, gives us Tonnach, Babhun, Daingean, all denoting earth-defences, ſurmounted with ſtakes. It was Turgeſius, according to Cambrenſis, and his Oſtmen who formed that infinite (2) number of earthen forts, and caſtles made of lime and ſtone, ſimilar to thoſe exiſting in their (3) native country. By caſtles, Cambrenſis means the Keep, the Citadel or higheſt part of theſe lofty forts. So that, according

(1) Hibernicus enim populus caſtella non curant. Sylvis namque pro caſtris, paludibus utitur pro foſſatis. Page 748. He has a curious chapter — Qualiter Hibernica gens ſit expugnanda,— p. 809, confirming what is here advanced. For the Welſh caſtles of the ſame period, ſee page 809.

(2) Unde & foſſata infinita, alta nimis, rotunda quoque ac pleraque triplicia. Gir. Cambrens. p. 748.

(3) Rudera talium caſtellorum a Scandinaviis extructa, quam plurima, tum in Scotia tum in Hibernia extant. Johnſtone ad Lodbrokar quida, p. 51.

to this author, the Iriſh had no fortreſſes, but ſheltered themſelves in woods and bogs. Perched aloft on theſe eminences, theſe Firbolgian forts reſembled the ayries of ravenous birds, and were properly termed (4) " nids de tyrannie;" and in Cambrenſis we find Turgeſius recommending to the King of Meath, who aſked him how he could rid his kingdom of theſe peſtilent birds, the Oſtmen, (5) deſtroy their neſts every where, anſwered the Daniſh prince.

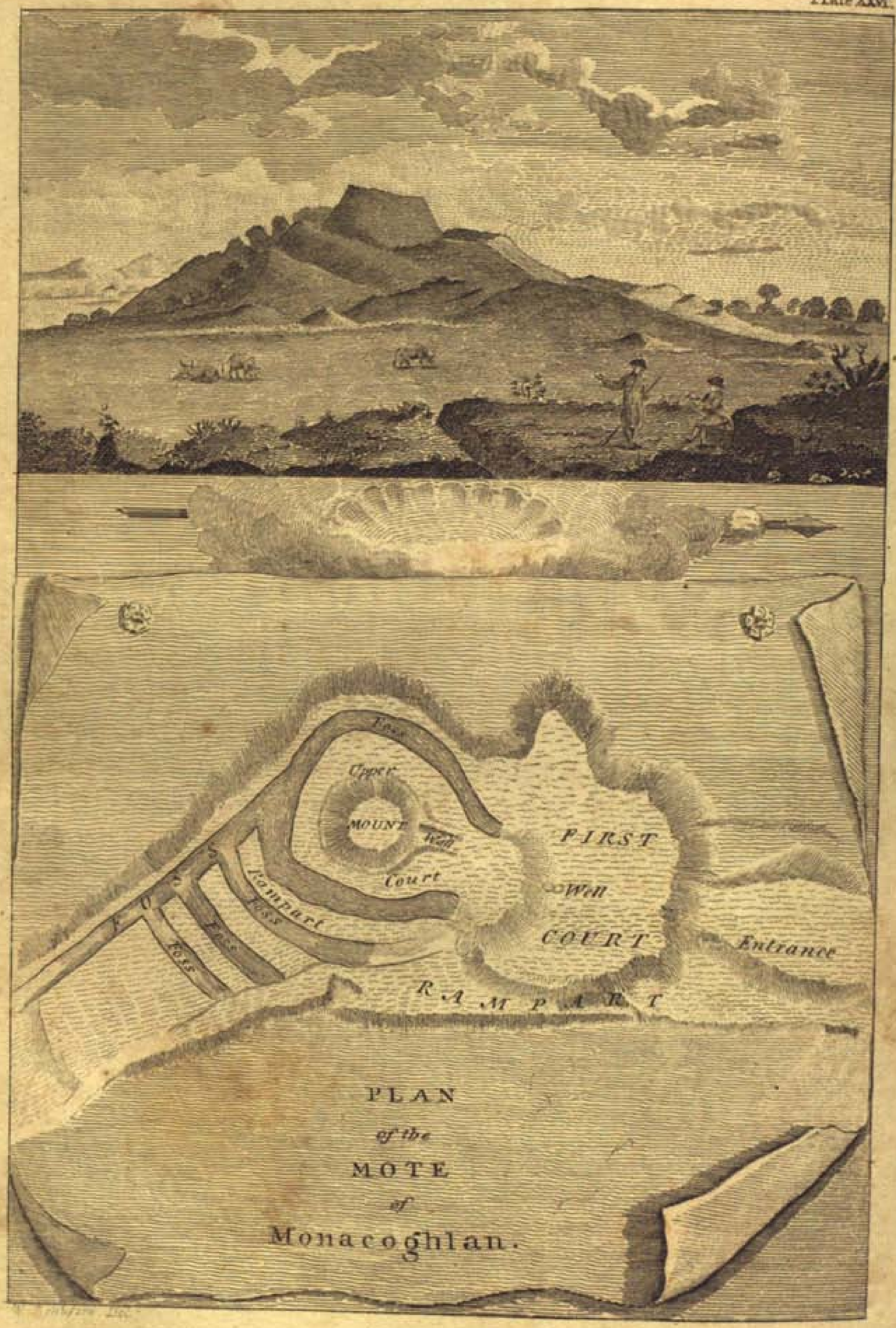
In relating theſe things no one will be ſo weak and prejudiced as to affirm, that Cambrenſis had any deſign or motive to ſwerve from truth; he fairly repreſents what he ſaw, nor was he inattentive to tradition, or the literary documents of the natives, for he frequently refers to both. Walſh (6) complains, " that being enfranchiſed from the tyranny of Turgeſius, we reſigned ourſelves to eaſe and unmaſculine lazineſs; neglected navigation and fleets, which alone could ſecure us from freſh attacks; and were ſo far blinded as to ſlight all the Daniſh fortifications, making none in their ſtead, not even in the ſea-ports." I cannot think therefore (7) with Mr. Harris, who inconſiderately argues for the Celtic original of theſe forts from their Iriſh appellation of Rath, which though it figuratively imports a fortreſs, primarily ſignified ſecurity. It is probable Rath is a Teutonic word, for we find in (8) Germany, Junker-raht, Immer-raht, Raht-Vorwald, and applied to artificial mounts and places of defence as in Ireland. " Rath," ſays (9) Hanmer, " whereof there are many in Ireland made by the Danes, if Bede had not ſaid it was a Saxon word. I would have ſaid it had been Britiſh." Tradition gives them to the Northerns, and calls them (10) Danes' Raths. Ware rightly believes them to be the ſame as the Brigantian caſtles mentioned by Juvenal:

Dirue Maurorum attegias, caſtella Brigantium.

Theſe raths, always on high ground, are of different (11) dimenſions; ſome not meaſuring more than ten or fifteen yards in diameter; others contain eighteen or twenty Engliſh acres. They were always proportioned (12) to the property and power of the Toparch. Round theſe the clan reſided, and within theſe they retreated from danger. Many of them are artificial, with ſubterraneous chambers and ſally-

ports.

(4) Hearne's Antiq. diſcourſes, p. 191.
(5) Nidos eorum ubique deſtruendos, de caſtellis Norwagienſium hoc interpretantes. Gir. Camb. p. 749.
(6) Proſpect, p. 51. (7) Ware's Antiq. p. 137.
(8) Rau, mon. vet. Germ. p. 118. (9) Chronicle, p. 11.
(10) Waræi diſq. p. 123. (11) Hiſt. County Down, p. 214.
(12) Petty's pol. anatomy, p. 105.



PLAN
of the
MOTE
of
Monacoghlan.

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ports. Spenſer informs (13) us "it was a great uſe among the Iriſh to make aſſemblies upon a rath or hill, there to parley about matters and wrongs between townſhip and townſhip." From this circumſtance of its being a place of judicature, as well as the reſidence of the chieftain, it obtained another name, that of (14) Lios, or the Court. Hence Lis and Leaſa, the names of many places, as Liſmore, Liſtowel, Liſbigny, Liſanure, and Leas or Leix, a diſtrict in the Queen's County. Theſe raths or hills were, according to the dialect of the foreign tribe that poſſeſſed them, named Motes. Mota, in the (15) Icelandic, is a place of meeting. The Mote of Monacoghlan, in the pariſh of Aghaboe, is an high artificial hill, ſurrounded by entrenchments, and defended by outworks, the reſidence of a toparch ſubordinate to Mac guil Phadruig, or Fitz Patrick, Prince of Oſſory. Theſe raths and motes were likewiſe named Talk-motes, Mute-hills, and Laws. The Mote of Monacoghlan is alſo by the common people called Larah, a word which does not appear in Lhuyd's or O'Brien's Dictionaries, but is ſeen in the Perth Agricultural Survey, page 528, where *Larach ty an ri*, is—the ruins of the King's houſe. Here, as in numberleſs other inſtances, we perceive the imperfection of the Iriſh language.

The (16) Dûn or Din was another ſort of fort, and the ſame as the Welſh Dinas. This originally was an inſulated rock, as is proved by the application of it to Dunamaſe, (17) Dundunolf, and others. (18) Smith and (19) O'Conor confound the Dûn with the next kind of Iriſh fortreſs called (20) Daingean, expreſſing a cloſe, ſecure place. This the Engliſh ſtyled a Bawn, from the Teutonic Bawen, to conſtruct and ſecure with branches of trees: a defence practiſed in the (21) Homeric as well as in every other age, and by every people. In this way the firſt Engliſh adventurers ſecured their poſts at (22) Ferns and Idrone. When King Dermod entered Oſſory, he found that its prince, Donald, had (23) plaſhed a pace. Plaſhing, from the Franco-Gallic pleſſer, is to intwine, and equivalent to the Teutonic bawen; ſo

(13) View, p. 54—55.
(14) O'Brien in Lios. Baxter in Durovernum. Hanmer, p. 11. Rowland's Mona Antiqu. p. 126. Leg. Wall. 577.
(15) Lodbrokar quida, p. 62—63. (16) O'Brien in voce.
(17) Subrupe quadam marina quæ Dundunolf dicitur. Gir. Cambrens. p. 767.
(18) Hiſt. Waterford, p. 353. (19) Diſſ. p. 81. (20) O'Brien in voce.
(21) ——— Τειχος δε σακεσσιν
Οξειαν ηρηρει. Hom. Il. 12.
Non te foſſa patens, nec hiſpidarum
Objectu ſudium coronat agger. Sid. Apol. ad Narb.
(22) Gir. Cambrens. p. 764—774. (23) Regan, apud Harris's Hibernica.

ſo that plaſhing a pace was to ſtrengthen the top of the vallum with ſtakes, interlacing them with branches. Four hundred years after the Iriſh had the ſame practice. "Within (24) half a mile of the entrance of the Moiry, the Engliſh found that pace by which they were to paſs, being naturally one of the moſt difficult paſſages in Ireland, fortified with good art and admirable induſtry; the enemy having raiſed from mountain to mountain, and from wood to wood, and bog to bog, long traverſes, with huge and high flankers of great ſtones, mingled with turf, and ſtaked down on both ſides with paliſades wattled." Such ſeems to be the principal warlike conſtructions and defences of the Iriſh previous to the arrival of the Engliſh in 1169, when large and ſtrong caſtles of lime and ſtone were erected. Let us next conſider the military weapons of this period.

Keating (25) amuſes us with the bardic tale of the Fine Eirion, or national militia; which in time of peace amounted to 9000 men, but was increaſed in time of war. It is not the leaſt ſurprizing part of this fabulous narration that they had colonels, captains, lieutenants, and ſerjeants: that no ſoldier was to be received who had not a poetical genius, and was well acquainted with the twelve books of poetry: that he was to be ſo ſwift and light of foot, as not to break a rotten ſtick by treading on it; that he was to leap over a tree as high as his forehead, and to ſtoop under one as low as his knees, and that he was to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance. "Theſe (to uſe Shakeſpeare's phraſe,) were like Pharoah's ſoldiers in the reechy painting." Theſe wild and ridiculous tales ſerved to amuſe an ignorant, credulous, and barbarous age, and to the diſgrace of common ſenſe, find admirers and advocates in modern times. Where were the Fine Eirion, ſo famous under the Iriſh monarch Seadhna, ſeven centuries before our æra, to prevent the deſolation of the iſland by perpetual internal commotions? Were there no remains of them in the 7th and 8th centuries, when the Oſtmen over-ran the country, or in the 12th, when ſixteen hundred Welſhmen marched triumphant through every part, and laid the foundation of the Britiſh domination?

Antecedent to the coming of the Belgic colonies, and probably during ſome ſubſequent ages, ſtone hatchets and ſpears and arrows headed with flints or ſtones were only in uſe. In the age of Tacitus, the Fenns or Finns armed their (26) arrows with bones. It can never be conceived, how barbarous and ignorant ſoever the Celtes

(24) Moryſon's hiſt. (25) Hiſt. p. 133.

(26) Fennorum, ſola in ſagittis ſpes, quas inopiâ ferri oſſibus aſperant. Tac. Germ. c. 46.

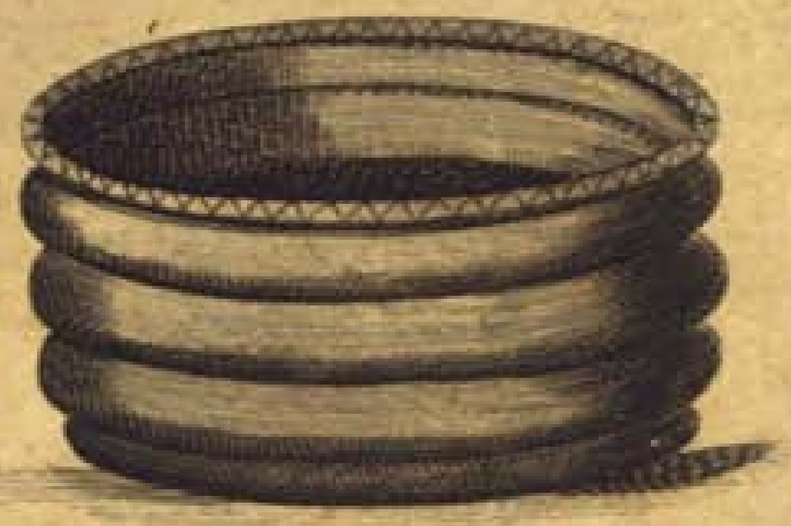

FIG. 5

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

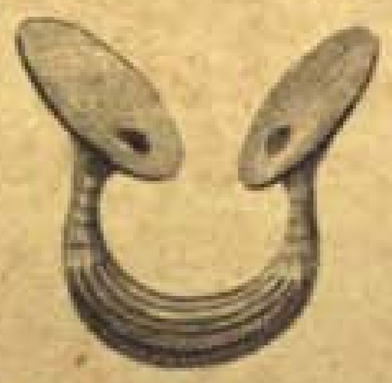

FIG. 7

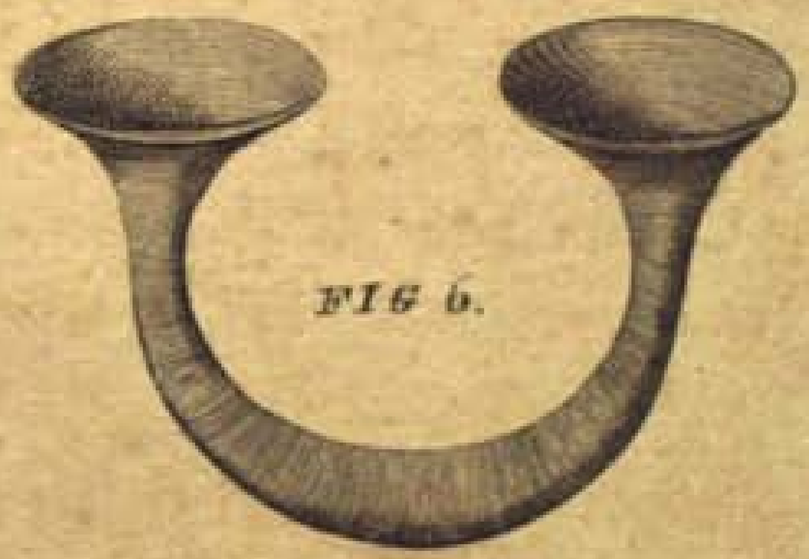

FIG 6.

FIG. 2

FIG. 8

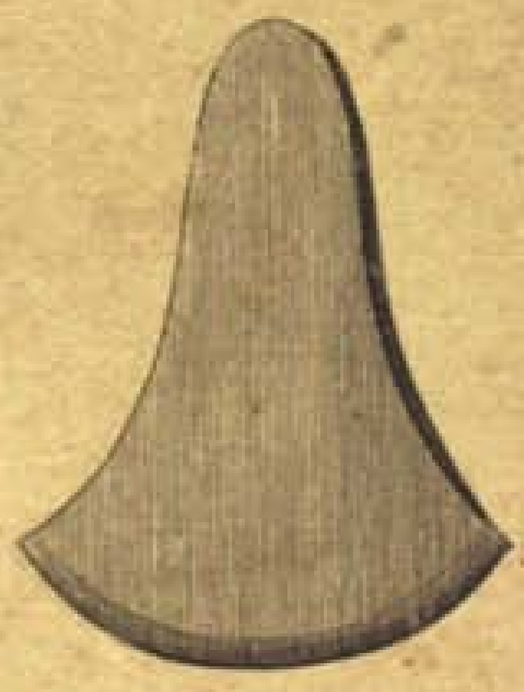

FIG. 1

Celts. Spear heads &c.

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Celtes were, that they would have made their battle-axes and ſpear heads of ſtone, and this with great difficulty and labour in the execution, if they were acquainted with metals. The Britons had ſcythed chariots when Cæſar writ, ſo that the fabrication and uſe of theſe ſtone weapons muſt have been much earlier. It is (27) a groundleſs ſuggeſtion, that theſe ſtone implements might have ſerved domeſtic rather than warlike purpoſes. We know that the North American tomihawk is frequently applied to cutting branches of trees to form wigwams, and is alſo uſed as a pipe for ſmoking, and yet it is a dangerous and principal military inſtrument of ſavages. In Normandy, ſtone hatchets were found placed under the ſkulls of ſkeletons, and near lay ſpears and lances made of bone, and arrow-heads of bone and ſtone. Surely theſe were military (28) weapons, and as ſuch interred with this warrior.

The Celtes, from practice, having acquired a dexterity in uſing the ſtone hatchet, the Firbolgs made braſs ones of the ſame ſhape. Doctor Lort (29) was ſtruck with the exact ſimilarity of both, and declares that the ſtone furniſhed the idea of the metal one. Many of theſe brazen Celts, as they are called, have a loop or ear on their ſides, and annular mouldings, which ſtrengthened the inſtrument, of theſe ſtone ones were not ſuſceptible. Theſe ears have puzzled antiquaries, who imagined they were for a thong, which facilitated the uſe of the weapon: but examining the ſockets, which all theſe celts have, it is incredible to ſuppoſe theſe ears could be for any other purpoſe but that of a more eaſy carriage, when a number could be tied together without handles: the latter eaſily procured in a country almoſt a foreſt: or they might have been ſlung acroſs their ſhoulder with their handles, or ſuſpended at their ſides as has (30) been conjectured. Moſt of theſe celts are from eight to twelve inches long, and of various thickneſſes: ſome reſemble ſtone-hammers, others have obtuſe points like a pick-axe, and many are ſhaped like a ſmall hatchet, ſome have perforations for an helve, and others are ſmoothed, to be held in the hand: they are generally of cloſe grit or granite.

When ſuch inſtruments as brazen celts were fabricated, it was not difficult to make brazen ſwords, and they have been diſcovered, at different times, in great numbers in this iſle. Solinus, in the third century, ſays the Iriſh poliſhed the teeth of ſea animals to adorn the hilts of their ſwords, and that their greateſt glory was

(27) Archaeologia, V. 2. p. 122.

(28) Archaeolog. V. 2. Plott's Stafford, p. 396. Lewis's iſle of Thanet, p. 19. A curious celt, pale green and well poliſhed was found in a grave in Holſtein. Nov. lit. maris Balt. Nov. 1700, p. 342.

(29) Archaeologia, V. 5. p. 118.

(30) Whitaker's Mancheſter, V. 1. p. 15.

in the (31) brightneſs of their arms. He does not mention of what metal they were compoſed, it is probable it was of mixt braſs, which did not eaſily ruſt, and was very reſplendent. To believe the (32) braſs ſwords found in the bog of Cullen in the county of Tipperary were of the ſame manufacture as the Carthaginian ones met with at Cannæ in Italy, is an antiquarian reverie, branching from the ridiculous Phænician ſyſtem of ſome authors. The compoſition of the metal may be the ſame, but the ſhape demonſtrates them to belong to a very different people. It would be no eaſy matter to prove that the Cannæ ſwords were real Carthaginian ones, dropt there 2000 years ago; for hiſtorians ſay, but 1500 Africans and Spaniards fell, and more than 45,000 Romans. Is it not therefore a ſhameful perverſion of common ſenſe to ſay, that the Cannæ ſwords are more likely to be African than Roman: beſides Cannæ was noted for being the theatre of other great battles in after ages, as well as for that between Hannibal and the Romans. Now it is well known (33) from ancient writers that it muſt be the celebrated Spaniſh ſwords with which Hannibal's army was furniſhed, and as well known that they were ſhort.

Cantaber exiguis & longis Teutonus armis.

Whereas the Roman were, like thoſe found in Ireland, long and (34) heavy, by which they penetrated the armour to the very body. The Carthaginians never viſited the frozen regions of the North, and yet brazen ſwords, arrow-heads, ſpurs, copper daggers, golden ſepulchral urns, a mund harp of gilt copper, and other metallic implements have been (35) diſcovered there.

Giraldus Cambrenſis, who with his countrymen bore a part in the Iriſh wars towards the end of the twelfth century, is our beſt authority for the military weapons of the ancient Iriſh. He (36) tells us, they had long lances, two darts, broad axes, and threw ſtones with great quickneſs, force, and effect. Diodorus Siculus ſays, the (37) Gauls throw ſpears, which they call lances. The (38) Suevi uſed them. The lance was of various lengths, for throwing, or cloſe engagement; but as the Iriſh were furniſhed with darts for throwing, their lances muſt have been long.

The

(31) Præcipua viris gloria eſt in armorum nittela. Solin. Edit. Salmas. p. 42.

(32) Archæologia, V. 3. p. 358. (33) Lipſ. de milit. Roman. l. 3.

(34) Μαχαιραι ιτιναν ασι ξιφεσι και καταφορας δια παντος επλα χαρακαι τοι τα σωματα. Plutarch in Æmil.

(35) Cypræi ann. ecc. l. 1. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 47. Phil. Tranſ. for 1703, &c.

(36) Lanceis longis & jaculis binis, ſecuribus quoque amplis. Lapides quoque pugillares promptius & expeditius ad manum habent. Gir. Camb. p. 738.

(37) Προβαλλονται λογχας, ας ιτιναι λογχιας καλουσι. Lib. 6.

(38) Suevii lanceis configunt. Non. Mar. p. 799. Ecl. Gothofredi.

The jaculum or dart is tranſlated javelin, and is deſcribed to be an half pike, five feet and an half long; the lance was ſixteen or more. In the (39) Speculum Regale, an Icelandic tract written about the middle of the twelfth century, the young ſoldier is deſired to prepare a ſtaff, and to ſet up a mark againſt the butts, by which he may know how far, and with what degree of exactneſs he conveniently could throw his ſpear. Nor is it leſs pleaſant, adds the author, than uſeful in an army, to throw ſtones with preciſion to a great diſtance from a ſling, whether held in the hand or fixt to a ſtaff; alſo to throw the war-ſtone with exactneſs. If ſuch was the diſcipline of the Northerns with whom we had the cloſeſt intimacy, we may eaſily account for our adroitneſs at miſſile weapons.

The battle-axe was a weapon which, Cambrenſis explicitly declares, we adopted from the Oſtmen and Norwagians. The Iriſh and Britons, who fought with darts and lances, were (40) unable to reſiſt the long ſwords and axes of the Anglo-Saxons. Richerius (41) the monk aſſures us, that neither the ſhield, the helmet, the coat of mail, nor any other armour could reſiſt the Haches Danoiſes, the Daniſh hatchets; and Cambrenſis informs us, an Iriſh ſoldier lopped off with the ſingle blow of an axe the thigh of a man, though caſed in well-tempered armour. It was one of the weapons with which the heroes in Valhalla were delighted. Theſe axes in Gothic are called bards, and from the uſe of long ones, the Longobards derived their (42) name. An old writer, cited by Du Cange, informs us they threw theſe axes at the enemy.

Haches Danoiſes, pour lancier & ferir.

The (43) Iriſh did the ſame, for Meyler, one of the Welſh adventurers, had three axes ſtuck in his horſe, and two in his ſhield. This practice is of Scythic origin:

Excuſſiſe (44) *citas vaſtum per inane bipennes.*

This axe or hatchet they carry conſtantly about with them, ſays (45) Cambrenſis, and uſe it as a walking ſtaff, and he intimates that they uſed it treacherouſly. Bows, arrows, and ſwords were of later introduction. They did great execution with ſtones, to prevent which the Engliſh placed archers in the ranks with the heavy-armed

(39) Antiq. repertory, V. 3. p. 63.

(40) Securibus & gladiis horribiliter corpora Britonum findebant. Langhorn. Chron. p. 7.

(41) Apud Bartholin. p. 583. (42) Loccen. ſup. p. 136. (43) Gir. Camb. p. 785.

(44) Sidon. Apoll. ad Majorian. and alſo ep. 20. l. 4, where he mentions, lanceis uncatis, ſecuribus que miſſilibus.

(45) De antiqua imo iniqua conſuetudine, ſemper inmanu quaſi pro baculo ſecurim bajulant.—Nunquam a ſecuribus ſit ulla ſecuritas. Gir. Cambrens. p. 745—810. Livy, l. 31, for the German Gauls. Tacit. Germ.

armed infantry. In the age of Cambrenſis the Iriſh had (46) bridles, but no ſtirrups, boots, nor ſpurs: even in 1584, when Stanihurſt writ, they were (47) without ſpurs; as was (48) Mac Murrogh in 1399.

The Iriſh cavalry were ſtyled Hobillers: this name points out its northern origin. Hobiller is from the (49) Belgic Hobbelen, to ſkip or dance, and hence our ſmall light horſes were called Hobbies, and our cavalry Hobillers. From hobben the Iriſh made (50) obann and hobann. Spelman informs us, that Hobillers made part of the Iriſh army to the reign of Henry VIII. They were attended by horſe-boys named (51) Daltins, who were the foſter children of the clan, and the ſame as the French (52) Garciones, and the Engliſh Goujats. A practice taken from the Romans, whoſe (53) Calones attended the ſoldiery, were divided into corps, had ſtandards and arms, and were frequently extremely uſeful. Spenſer thus ſpeaks of our Daltins, "the reaſon why ſuch are permitted is the want of convenient inns for lodging of travellers on horſe-back, and of hoſtlers to attend their horſes by the way. But when things ſhall be reduced to a better paſs, this needeth to be ſpecially reformed; for out of the fry of theſe rake hell horſe-boys, growing up in knavery and villany, are their Kern continually ſupplied and maintained."

This reaſon is not more applicable to Ireland than any other part of Europe in thoſe uncivilized ages, for inns were not then common in any country. The Normans ſeem to have taken the idea from the Romans, who found them uſeful, as the Iriſh did from the Engliſh. In England one page, as he was called, was allowed to (54) two ſoldiers. By (55) conſtitutions proclaimed in Ireland, A.D. 1542, it was ordained "that no horſeman ſhall keep more garſons or boys than horſes, on pain of twenty ſhillings." And in 1596, the Lord Deputy and council direct but one boy to two ſoldiers, and that they be no charge on the country.

The Kerns or infantry do not ſeem to have received this appellation till ſome time after the arrival of the Engliſh. It is probably derived from Cearn or Kern, victorious, or the conquering band. Vaunting titles were common among the military corps of every nation. Spenſer (56) draws a very diſagreeable picture of thoſe Kerns,

(46) Sellis equitando non utuntur, non ocreis, non calcaribus, &c. ſupra.
(47) Ferreis ſcalis in equos minime aſcendunt. Stanihurſt, p. 41. (48) Waræi diſq. p. 63.
(49) Skinner, in voce. (50) O'Brien, in Obann. (51) O'Brien, in Daltin.
(52) Groſe's Engliſh Army, p. 262.
(53) Ex ipſis calonibus, quos galearios vocant, idoneos ac ſperitos uſu legebant. His vexilla dabunt. Veget. l. 2. c. 2.
(54) Groſe, ſupra. (55) Cox, V. 1. p. 271—409. Macpherſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 131.
(56) View, p. 50.

Kerns, that " they be in the moſt barbarous and loathly condition of any people under heaven; they oppreſs all men; they ſpoil as well the ſubject as the enemy; they ſteal; are cruel and bloody ſwearers, raviſhers and murderers of children: and yet they are valiant and hardy; great endurers of cold, labour, and hunger; active, ſwift, vigilant, very preſent in perils, and great ſcorners of death."

It was cuſtomary for the great Iriſh Lords to have large bodies of Kerns with whom they plundered their neighbours and ravaged the country. This was a ſevere grievance, and was prohibited by an (57) ordonnance, A. D. 1331. In 1542 they roamed about committing every kind of exceſs. The government ordered, that every kern who had not a maſter to anſwer for him ſhould be apprehended as a vagabond. At length they ſo far degenerated, through the turbulence and licentiouſneſs of the times, from the military character, that a kern is defined by Skinner in 1671, prædo Hibernicus, an Iriſh robber. As the hobillers had their Daltins ſo the kerns had their Stocach or boys.

The other foot ſoldiers of the Iriſh were Galloglaſſes. Theſe ſeem to have taken their name from two Iriſh words, gal—glac, the courageous band. Spenſer thinks it comes from gal—ogla, the Engliſh ſervitor; but he did not conſider, that the Iriſh never would have given themſelves, nor would their countrymen permit them to adopt a hated and degrading appellation. It was the opinion of my late learned friend Abraham Lionel Jenkins, M. D. who aſſiſted Mr. Harris in his hiſtory of the County of Down, that the Galloglaſſes were originally Scots, hired by the Iriſh chiefs in their domeſtic wars; to whom they aſſigned portions of land: that they were (58) ſelected for their ſize, ſtrength, and courage, and had always a larger portion of victuals than others: that Martin, in his account of the Weſtern Iſlands, informs us every chief had an armour bearer, bold and watchful, who attended him night and day and was called Gallo-glach; that all the Mac Donnells are the deſcendants of theſe Galloglaſſes, and finally that Moryſon always diſtinguiſhes them from their countrymen who invaded and conquered the Route and Glins in Ulſter; the latter he calls Scots, the former Gallo-glaſſes. Thus far Dr. Jenkins. Shakeſpeare in Macbeth brings our ſoldiers from the Hebrides:

" The mercileſs Macdonel from the weſtern iſles,
" Of kerns and gallo-glaſſes is ſupplied."

(57) Quo nullus manuteneat nec ducat Kernes. Cox. p. 114. (58) Stanihurſt, p. 41.

Mr. Pennant (59) mentions the Scotch Earnaugh and Gilli-glaſſes, and Hamilton's letters (60) concerning the coaſt of Autruut throw ſome light on this ſubject.

Stanihurſt's (61) account of the morals and conduct of the Gallo-glaſſes is ſimilar to that of Spenſer's of the Kerns. The Bonoughts were ſoldiers hired by one chief from another to increaſe his force, and they were ſupported by a ceſs called after their name.

To meet the Engliſh with any degree of equality in the field the Iriſh were obliged to make alterations in their ancient arms, and they ſoon became almoſt the ſame. The Hobillers had lances, bows, arrows, and ſwords. Few at firſt wore mail, but in Spenſer's age the Iriſh horſeman had his long hoſe, his riding ſhoes of coſtly cordovan, his hacqueton or doublet ſtuffed with wool or cotton, and his haubergeon or ſhort coat of mail. Spenſer remarks the ridiculous military foppery of the Iriſh, who wore the hacqueton under a ſhirt of mail; it was framed, ſays he, to be worn in war only, but to uſe it daily at home in towns and civil places is a rude habit and moſt uncomely, ſeeming like a player's (62) painted coat.

Imitating the cuſtom of the Engliſh, our Hobillers ſeldom (63) rid on geldings; to be ſeen on a mare was highly diſgraceful. In 1596 the Iriſh were accoutred exactly like the (64) Engliſh cavalry: the ſtrong braſs bit, the ſliding reins, the ſhank pillion, the manner of mounting, the faſhion of riding, the charging of the ſpear over the head, the form of the ſpear, and the whole horſe-furniture were common among the Iriſh and introduced by the Britiſh coloniſts.

Spenſer deſcribes the Galloglaſs as dreſſed in a long ſhirt of mail down to the calf of his leg, with a broad axe in his hand: Stanihurſt adds, that the axe was double edged and as ſharp as a razor, and Ware informs us, he had a bacinet or iron helmet and a long ſword. I do not recollect to have ſeen any military weapon which exactly anſwers the deſcription of theſe Iriſh axes, and yet they were the uſual arms of the (65) Oſtmen. Camden (66) ſays, O'Neil's Galloglaſſes, in 1562, bore battle-axes, their heads were bare, with locks curled and hanging down, their ſhirts ſtained

(59) Tour in Scotland, V. 2. p. 227. Ed. Dublin. Theſe were our Kerns and Galloglaſſes.
(60) Page 120. (61) Supra, p. 41—42.
(62) He forgot that it was a continuation of the Iriſh cuſtom of conſtantly going armed, before noticed.
(63) Canteriis raro advehuntur. Nil turpius quam in equa ſedere. Stanihurſt, p. 41. Groſe, ſup. V. 1. p. 108.
(64) Spenſer, p. 49.
(65) Bipennibus ſecuribuſque frequenter armati erant majores noſtri, quæ Danis familiaria erant arma. Barthol. p. 581.
(66) Hiſt. Eliz. p. 69.

ſtained with ſaffron or human urine, the ſleeves of them large, their veſts rather ſhort, and their clokes ſhagged.

The Kerns were the light armed infantry and had ſwords and javelins to which a (67) thong was faſtened; the latter they (68) twirled violently and ſent with amazing force and execution; in the Roman times they exceeded the diſtance of an arrow by a fourth.

Quale quater jaculo ſpatium, ter arundine vincas. STATIUS.

The late ingenious Mr. Groſe, I think, does not mention this practice in his curious work on ancient armour and weapons. It was (69) ſaid to be invented by the Ætolians and adopted by the Romans. The thong or cord was tied round the dart, and that faſtened to the fore fingers.

Amentum digitis tende prioribus,
Et totis jaculum dirige viribus. SENECA HYPOL.

When the air was (70) moiſt, or they received wet, the cords loſt their elaſticity. I ſhould imagine this weapon was derived to us through the medium of our Firbolgian anceſtors from the Romans, the former having probably felt its force and effect.

Our Skene is evidently (71) a contraction of the Anglo-Saxon Segene, a ſhort ſword. The ſkene was ſometimes a foot and a half long, ſometimes ſhorter, and was a Firbolgian inſtrument. When the Iriſh did homage to Richard II. they laid aſide, as Davis tells us, their caps, ſkenes, and girdles. This alſo was (72) a German practice when a vaſſal approached his lord. In the poem of Robin Hood, in the ingenious Biſhop of Dromore's Reliques, the Iriſh ſkene and Iriſh decapitation are mentioned.

Robin pull'd forth an Iriſh knife
And nick'd Sir Guy in the face,
That he was ne'er on woman born
Could know whoſe head it was:

He

(67) Stanihurſt, p. 42. The Daltins uſed the ſame. Waræi diſq. p. 63.

(68) Iſti Karni haſtas amentatas toris viribuſque adeo viriliter torquent, ut eas, inſtar circuli, inorbicularum gyrum compelli exiſtimares. Stanihurſt, p. 42.

(69) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Heyſch. in μιςαγκωλες. Xenophon. Anab. l. 5.

(70) Quod humor amenta jaculorum moliverat. Liv. l. 37. (71) Skinner, in Skene.

(72) Antequam vaſallus accedat ad Dominum, gladium, cultellum & calcularia deponat. quia ſi in his ſe neglexerit, reus eſt pœna. Jus feud. Sax. c. 32. ſ. 5.

He took Sir Guy's head by the hair,
And ſtuck it upon his bow's end,
"Thou haſt been a traitor all thy life
"Which things muſt have an end."

Whether Robin Hood came to Ireland and became ſo expert at beheading and the uſe of the ſkene is doubtful, but it is certain, the Iriſh were as remarkable as their Firbolgian anceſtors for (73) decapitation. When our (74) Hobillers rid over and proſtrated the enemy our Kerns immediately deprived them of their heads.

The Iriſh had (75) iron gauntlets, which were ſubſtitutes for the ſhield. Of their bows and arrows, Spenſer ſays, "the Iriſh ſhort bows and little quivers with ſhort bearded arrows are very Scythian, as you may read in Olaus Magnus. Theſe bows are not above three quarters of a yard long, with a ſtring of wreathed hemp, ſlackly bent, and their arrows not above half an ell long, tipped with ſteel heads made like common broad arrow heads, but much more ſharp and ſlender, that they enter into a man or horſe moſt cruelly, notwithſtanding that they are ſhot forth weakly. Their going to battle without armour on their bodies or heads, but truſting to the *thickneſs of their glibbs*, the which they ſay will ſometimes bear off a good ſtroke, is mere Scythian, as you may ſee in the images of the old Scythes and Scots, as ſet forth by Herodian and others. Beſides their confuſed kind of march in heaps, without any order or array, their claſhing of ſwords together, their fierce running upon their enemies, and manner of flight reſembleth altogether that which is read in hiſtories to have been uſed by the Scythians; by which it might almoſt infallibly be gathered, that the Iriſh are very Scots or Scythians originally, though ſince intermingled with many other nations repairing and joining unto them."

William the Conqueror firſt encouraged archery, it ſoon became the ſtrength of the Britiſh army. The ancient bow was ſix feet long, and the arrow two feet three inches, ſo that the ſmall Iriſh bow and arrows which ſeem to me lately introduced by the Scots, were very inferior to the others. Spenſer likewiſe acquaints us with the wretched ſtate of the native, as well as of the degenerate Engliſh ſoldiery; and of their manner of training them to arms. "The Bards," ſays he, "eaſily trace an Iriſhman from the head of ſome great ſept, he is then a gentleman and ſcorns to work, thinking that only fit for a peaſant or churl. He then becomes either a horſe-boy

(73) Τας κεφαλας αφαιρουντες. Diod. Sic. p. 306. The northern people continued the practice long. Barthol. l. 1. c. 5.
(74) Quos equeſtris turma in terram dejiciunt, capitibus ſtatim ſecuribus deſtituunt. Gir. Cambrens. p. 763.
(75) Stanihurſt, ſupra.

boy or ſtocach, inuring himſelf to his weapon and the gentlemanly trade of ſtealing. He then joins himſelf to three or four ſtragglers or kern like himſelf, when he commits ſome outrageous act he is then looked on as a man of courage, and ſoon after runs into open rebellion, and this is the courſe not only of Gentlemen's but Noblemen's ſons." To theſe practices the ſtatute of the year 1331 refers, when it prohibits the maintaining kerns or idlemen unleſs in the marches. Idlemen here are the Teutonic Edelmen or noblemen. Theſe gentlemen plunderers for the moſt part took refuge from public juſtice in bogs as their beſt ſecurity; and hence they are ſtyled by Henry of Marleborough about 1420, Turbiculi, by (76) others Turbarii, and by the Engliſh Bogtrotters.

In obedience to Henry's commands, his great feudatories erected caſtles in their reſpective poſſeſſions. About 1180, Lacy caſtellated (77) Leinſter and Meath. Giraldus Cambrenſis and (78) Hanmer give the following liſt of caſtles conſtructed about this time.

Leighlin,	Kilkea,
Leix,	Tullow,
Clonard,	Carlow,
Killeen,	Athboy,
Sureport,	Norragh,
Delvin,	Derwath,
Fethard,	and
Caſtledermot,	Trim.

Cox (79) is more copious; he ſays, Ardfinnan, Nenagh, Liſmore, Tyrbrack within two miles of Carrick, and Limerick were built by King John. Caſtledermot, Caſtlederwagh, Kilkea, and Leighlin by the Lacies. Ferns (80), Sligo (81), Tralee (82), Geaſhill (83), Adare, and Aſkeaton by the Fitzgeralds. The Grey Friars at Leighlin, Ballymarter, Ardtully, Lixnaw, and Macrome by the Carews. Philipſtown and Maryborough by Bellingham. Athenry by Bermingham. Green

(76) Du Cange, in Turba.

(77) Tam Lageniam quam Mediam caſtellis egregie communivit. Gir. Camb. p. 797. Cox, p. 37.

(78) Chronicle, p. 160—161. (79) Apparatus to his Hiſtory of Ireland.

(80) And Wicklow, about 1176. Archdall's Peerage, V. 1. p. 58.

(81) About 1248. Archdall, ſup. p. 60. At this time he had the caſtles of Aldleek, Roſcommon, and Randon. Ibid. Roſcommon was built by Ufford, Lord Juſtice, A. D. 1268. Hanmer.

(82) About 1260. Archdall, ſup. p. 61. He had Dungarvan caſtle at this time. Ibid.

(83) About 1307, the caſtle was razed. Archdall, ſupra.

Caſtle, Caſtle Carbery, Athaſſel, Carlingford, Caſtle Connel, Loughrea, and Portumny by the De Burgos. Kilkenny by Ranulph Earl of Cheſter. Caſtle of Kilkenny by the Earl of Ormond. Thomaſtown by Thomas Fitz Anthony. Roſs and Carlow by Iſabel, daughter of Strongbow. Carrickfergus by Sir Henry Sydney. Caſtle Iſland in Kerry by Geoffry de Mariſco. Timoleague by Barret. Trim by William Peppard.

Sir John Davis (84) thinks it was very ill judged of the Engliſh to erect their caſtles in the plains, by which the Iriſh were driven to mountains and foreſts, where themſelves and cattle were not aſſailable. This is a political reverie of our Knight; for had the Engliſh retired to mountains and woods, they muſt have left the plains to the Iriſh, being not numerous enough to expel the latter and at the ſame time defend their caſtles. Whereas by eſtabliſhing a chain of garriſons round the Pale, and ſecuring paſſes by ſlight forts, they enjoyed the richeſt lands in the kingdom, and received an advantage and profit to be procured in no other way. A record (85) of the 1 Edw. I. A.D. 1272, informs us, that theſe caſtles being at firſt built for the common ſafety againſt enemies and rebels, and whereof the king had the ſupreme cuſtody, diſpoſal, and command in time of war, a female, being incapable of feudal tenure, could not be entruſted with them. A petition of the Lords and Commons in the laſt cited author, dated the 16 Edw. III. A. D. 1342, ſtates the decay of Ireland to proceed from the neglect and loſs of its caſtles and forts: ſo that in every age they were conſidered as of the laſt importance to the Engliſh intereſt.

A licence from the crown was always a ſtep previous to their erection: their number in Stephen's reign had, in England, created infinite trouble, nor was it ever forgotten. The ſame political jealouſy was neceſſary here; our great Barons frequently reſiſted government, nor was it eaſy to ſubdue their great caſtles and large garriſons. However we cannot but ſmile at peaceful eccleſiaſtics ſuing for a licence (86) to crenellate and battlement their belfry: a ſpecimen of clerical foppery, expreſſive of the ſentiments of the age, but inconſiſtent with the roſary and tonſure. The wild and rude manner of life of the Iriſh made them look on caſtles and

(84) Hiſtorical Relations, p. 71. (85) Prynne on the 4th Inſtitute, p. 256.

(86) The Convent and Prior of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, apply to Edward III. through the Earl of Ulſter, for this licence: Records of Chriſt Church, Dublin. The late Doctor Lyon, who tranſcribed theſe, has committed a ſlight error, probably from the original being nearly obliterated. It concludes, "teſte I, Darcy, le-Oſyn, juſtic. noſtro." Le-Oſyn ſhould be Roger Outlaw, for he was Juſticiary at that time.

and the confinement within them with abhorrence. Sir John de Courcy (87) conſtructed two in Mac Mahon's country: theſe awed the latter, he became complaiſant, ſwore fidelity, and made Courcy his goſſip. Courcy at length beſtowed on him the caſtles and their appendent lands. Within a month Mac Mahon demoliſhed both. Being aſked the reaſon for doing ſo, he anſwered, that he did not promiſe to hold ſtones but land; that it was contrary to his nature to live within cold walls whilſt the woods were ſo nigh. It was late before the Iriſh, in imitation of the Engliſh, raiſed a few (88) Piles for the Captains of the country: "I dare boldly ſay," adds Davis, "that never any particular perſon from the conqueſt to the reign of James I. did build any ſtone or brick houſe for his private habitation, but ſuch as have lately obtained eſtates according to the courſe of the law of England." The reaſon of this he explains in his report of Taniſtry. Baron Finglas in 1534 affirmed it to be eaſy to ſecure Ireland from the number of forts and caſtles in it; but Fynes Moryſon and Spenſer thought more were neceſſary, as the Iriſh had poſſeſſed themſelves of many, and according to Stanihurſt, even built ſome. The latter (89) tells us O'Neal, O'Carrol, and the other great Iriſh Princes had large ſtrong caſtles, and well furniſhed with military ſtores, and (90) watchmen on their tops conſtantly calling out to alarm robbers.

The colonization of this iſle by Engliſh ſettlers was a ſcheme ſteadily purſued for many centuries, and particularly by the (91) miniſters of Queen Elizabeth, who obliged every grantee to conſtruct a caſtle, fort, or bawn, for the protection of his family and tenants. On the eſcheating of Ulſter by the flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in 1606, King James, treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, bound each undertaker to the performance of theſe (92) conditions. If he had 2000 acres he was, within two years, to build a ſtrong caſtle with a court or bawn about it: if 1500 acres, he was to erect a ſtone or brick houſe, with a court or bawn; if leſs, a bawn. Thus Lord Aubigny had 3000 acres, on theſe he made a ſtrong caſtle of lime and ſtone five ſtories high, with four round towers for flankers: the body of the caſtle was fifty feet long, twenty-eight broad, and the roof ſlated. Adjoining it was a bawn of lime and ſtone, eighty feet ſquare, with two flankers fifteen feet high. The caſtle ſtood on the meeting of five public highways, and kept the neighbouring

(87) Cox, p. 33. (88) Davis, p. 75.

(89) Hi igitur principes caſtella poſſident, munitione ac mole lapidum fortiter extructa.

(90) This was the Scandinavian Gockman. Martin's Weſtern Iſlands, p. 103. Macpherſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 279.

(91) See Deſiderat. Curios. Hib. Vol 1. paſſim. Cox, V. 1. p. 391.

(92) Harris's Hibernica, p. 125—140. Pynnar's Survey

bouring country in ſubjection. William Hamilton had 1000 acres, on theſe was a bawn of lime and ſtone eighty feet ſquare, with two round towers for flankers, and two ſtories high vaulted, the wall itſelf being thirteen feet high. Within the bawn was an houſe of lime and ſtone thirty-ſix feet long and twenty feet broad. Many other curious particulars may be found in the author laſt quoted. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions of Government, there were conſtructed in the ſix eſcheated Northern counties in the ſpace of a few years, one hundred and ſeven caſtles with bawns, nineteen caſtles without bawns, and forty-two bawns without caſtles or houſes. The grantees of eſcheated land in every other part of the kingdom were bound to build in like manner. Borlaſe (93) ſpeaking of Lord Strafford's adminiſtration obſerves that "multitudes of Britiſh were brought in and planted even in the moſt barbarous places: many corporate towns were erected and ſome walled towns built, and caſtles, ſtone houſes, and villages daily made in every part in great abundance." By theſe means caſtles multiplied prodigiouſly, there were more in this iſland than perhaps on an equal ſurface in any other part of the world. I can reckon the remains of eighty in the Queen's County, and am ſure there were more; ſo that there were probably not leſs than three or four thouſand in the kingdom. By a minute ſurvey of the half barony of Rathdown, in the County of Dublin, A. D. 1655, it appears there were in it twenty three caſtles in good preſervation, beſides the remains of others, and fortified houſes. The moſt deciſive evidence of the rude manners and bad policy of the times.

The reader has already anticipated me in remarking, that all our caſtles till the time of James I. were built by Engliſh maſons and on Engliſh plans: to deſcribe therefore their various parts after the curious and very circumſtantial account already given by Mr. King of the Engliſh ones in the Archaeologia, would be but to tranſcribe what he has written. Many of our Anglo-Hibernian caſtles, as they were in 1599, may be ſeen in the Pacata Hibernia; a work, when to be had complete, extremely valuable for its curious maps and engravings. Theſe caſtles appear to have been large and well fortified, ſo as to bear a long ſiege and the aſſault of artillery, and moſt of theſe remain though in ruins. As for the battlemented houſes and bawns, increaſing civility has levelled moſt of them. The common ſmall ſquare caſtles, by far the moſt numerous, were the reſidence of Engliſh undertakers. All theſe are exiſting monuments of the infelicity of former ages, when cruel and domeſtic

(93) Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion.

meſtic wars convulſed and deſolated the iſland, leaving little (94) more than one million of wretched miſerable beings to occupy this beautiful and fertile country. The final ſettlement of the kingdom at the Revolution, and the cheriſhing care of the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwic, gave us a regular government and juſt and equal laws; emancipated us from commercial reſtraints, and promoted a ſpirit of induſtry. Four millions of ſouls now gratefully acknowledge ſuch ſignal bleſſings, and devoutly pray for a continuance of them. I ſhall deſcribe two of our old caſtles, Dunamaſe and Ley.

Before I proceed to the account of Dunamaſe, it may not be improper to notice an opinion of an (95) ingenious writer, who thinks the Anglo-Saxon, Daniſh, and Norman forts and keeps had a ſort of Celtic original, and that the firſt idea of them was brought from Media and the Eaſt. The error of confounding the Celtes with ſubſequent colonies, and thereby the antiquities of every European nation, has been largely inſiſted on in the courſe of this work; on the preſent occaſion it is very apparent. The heppahs or forts of the (96) new diſcovered iſlanders are thus deſcribed: a ſmall rock detached from the main, and ſixty feet above the ſea, is fenced round, the area at top will contain but five or ſix houſes, and could be approached but by one narrow ſteep path. Another heppah is ſituated on a rocky promontory, two of its ſides are waſhed by the ſea, and are altogether inacceſſible, the other ſides are defended by ſtrong paliſades about ten feet high, tied together with withes, theſe were protected by ditches, twenty-four feet deep, the vallum is paliſaded. The firſt is exactly the ſame as our Dûn Dunolf, Dûn Aengus, and others, and the latter is a compound of our Dun and Daingean. What was the medium of conveyance of theſe ideas from the old to the new world? In literary records or tradition it cannot be found, it muſt therefore exiſt ſolely in the warm imagination of writers. Such hypotheſes deſerve not the ſmalleſt attention, how reſpectable or celebrated ſoever the authors of them may be. The energies of the human mind called forth into action by particular circumſtances will, in every part of the world, produce ſimilar effects. Imitation may very well be allowed where the colonization of one country by another can with certainty be traced. Thus I have endeavoured to ſhew from the mode of life among the Celtes, that they probably adopted from their Firbolgian invaders, a warlike race, the uſe of inſulated rocks

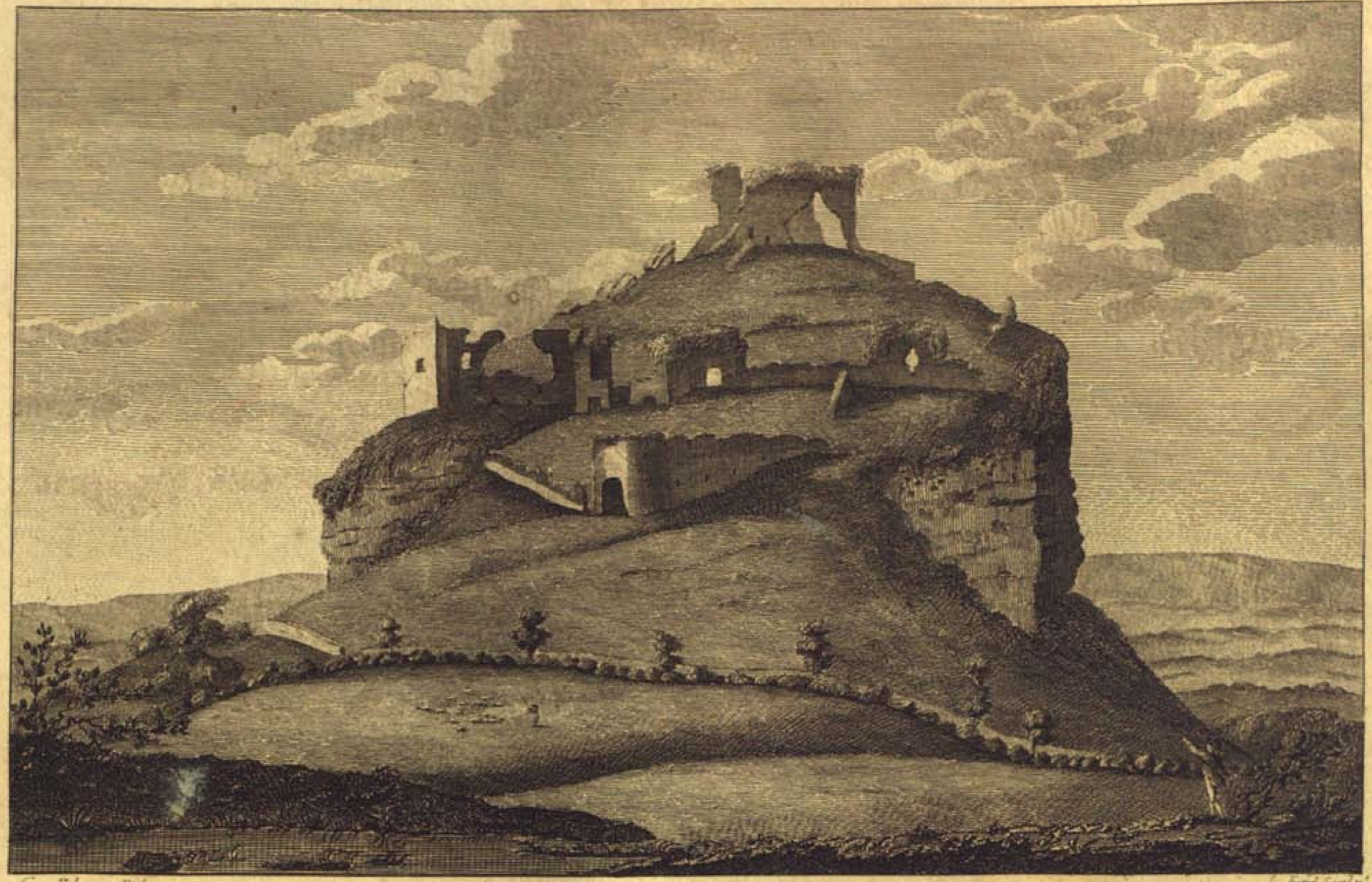
(94) Petty's Political Anatomy. (95) Mr. King. Archeaologia, V. 6. p. 294—373.
(96) Hawkeſworth's Voyages, V. 2. p. 164. Edit. Dublin.

rocks as places of safety: but I am not so wedded to this or any other notion, as not instantly to relinquish it on better evidence and information.

Dunamase is situated in the Queen's County, about four miles east from Maryborough. In records in Bermingham tower, it is written Dunemaske; by Sir John Davis, Duamase; by Ware, Dunemause; by Baron Finglas, Dunnemause. Its name, which imports—the fort of the plain—evinces it to have been considered and used as a place of strength in the earliest ages: the plain is what is called the Great Heath, nearly surrounding it. Ware (97) following Ptolemy, makes the Dunum of the latter Dunamase, but Camden more truly Downpatric: Ptolemy's information was but imperfect as to the interior of our island, but tolerably correct as to what respects the sea-coast. This rock is an eliptical conoid, and inaccessible on all sides, except to the East, which in its improved state was defended by the Barbican. On each side of the Barbican were ditches, and where they could not be continued for the rock, walls began; to the S. and S. E. were two towers, the latter protecting the Barbican. From the Barbican you advance to the gate of the lower ballium; it is seven feet wide, and the walls six thick, it had a parapet, crenelles, and embrasures. The lower ballium is three hundred and twelve feet from North to South, and one hundred and sixty from East to West. You then arrive at the gate of the upper ballium, which is placed in a tower, and from this begin the walls which divided the upper and lower ballium. The former is a plain of one hundred and eleven feet from East to West, and two hundred and two feet from North to South where broadest. On the highest part was the keep, and the apartments for the officers: there was a sally-port and a prison.

Dermod, King of Leinster, marrying his daughter Eva to Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, made him his universal heir, whereby he possessed the province of Leinster, of which he was (98) after enfeoffed by Henry II. To his followers he assigned large portions, and particularly to Walter de Ridelford, that (99) part held by the Irish Chief, O'Morethie. This O'Morethie is also called O'Mordha, O'Morgha, O'Morchoe, O'Mordris, and lastly O'More, as may be seen in Camden's Annals and other writers. His property extended from Abbyleix, where it joined the Mac Guil Phadruigs, or Fitzpatricks, to Dunamase, and from that to (100) Mullaghmast, and took in part of the barony of Slieumargah: his castle and residence were at Leix or Leas, called Abbeyleix, from a Cistertian abbey founded there A.D.

(97) Disquis, p. 51.
(98) Davis, p. 85—96.
(99) Regan, p. 41.
(100) Walsh, p. 113.



Geo Holmes Del.

J. Ford Sculp.

CASTLE of DUNAMASE in the QUEEN'S COUNTY.

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A. D. 1183, by one of the (1) O'More's. Here alſo Hugh Lacy conſtructed (2) a caſtle to curb this powerful ſept in 1174. The Earl of Pembroke dying in 1176, left an only daughter, Iſabel, who eſpouſed William Marſhal, Earl of Pembroke, by whom ſhe had five ſons who ſucceeded to his great eſtates in Leinſter. Upon the death of the laſt in 1245, his poſſeſſions gavelled among his ſiſters. She who married, ſays Finglas, William de Bruce, Lord of Brecknock, had the manor of Dunamaſe in Leix, with other lands in the county of Kildare. Dunamaſe was now erected into a lordſhip, barony, or manor, by Bruce. This was to be his reſidence; here he held a domeſtic or court-baron, and to it the (3) tenants reſorted for ſuit and ſervice. Accordingly Sir John Davis tells us, Dunamaſe was the principal houſe of Lord Mortimer in Leix. A caſtle was conſtructed on the rock, and a military tenantry formed round it, ready (4) to appear in arms for the defence of the realm, or the ſervice of their Lord. Thus the caſtles of Dyſart, Pallis, Shean, Coolbanagher, Moret, Ballymanus, Kilmarter, Ballyknockin, and others, were held as of the caſtle of Dunamaſe. The ſame (5) tenure was univerſal in France. In 1264, Maurice Fitzgerald took Richard de Rupella the Lord Juſtice, Theobald le Butler, and John de Cogan priſoners, and committed them to the priſons in Leix and Donemus or Dunamaſe. (6)

A wide waſte, the conſtant concomitant of baronial grandeur, lay about the caſtle, this is now called the Great Heath, and was common to the tenantry: the caſtle was crowded with armed men, the terror of the neighbourhood and the bulwark of the pale. Such was the ſtate of Dunamaſe, when it was made a manor by Lord Brecknock, and ſo it remained for ſome years. While the Britiſh ſettlers preſerved their original manners, the fickleneſs of the Iriſh, and their proneneſs to rebellion were effectually reſtrained; but when the pride of power without any of the

(1) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 586.

(2) Giral. Cambrens. ſupra. Hanmer, p. 161. Giraldus Cathbrenſis early recommended a chain of caſtles and forts, and his advice was followed. Satius enim eſt, & longe ſatius paulatim primo locis idoneis caſtra conſerere, & quaſi pedentim in eorundem conſtructionem procedere, quam intervallis diſtantia magnis variis paſſim locis multa conſtruere; nec invicem ſibi vel cohærenti vel neceſſitatis articulis opitulantia. Expugnat. c. 36.

(3) Poterit etiam eſſe per ſe manerium capitale, & plures villas & plures hamletas quaſi ſub uno capite aut dominio, Bracton's Definition of a manor. Lib. 4. Baronio de Caſtro nomen habet. Lindenbrog. Cod. LL. Antiq. p. 1363.

(4) Debent univerſi liberi homines ſecundum ſuum fœdum & ſecundum tenementa ſua arma habere, & illa ſemper prompta conſervare, ad tuitionem regni & ſervicia dominorum ſuorum. Lambarde, 135.

(5) Et cum cunctis villis & fortiis quæ erant ſub ejuſdem caſtri dominio, in quibis erant viginti fortia. Catell. Hiſt. Franc. Tom. 5.

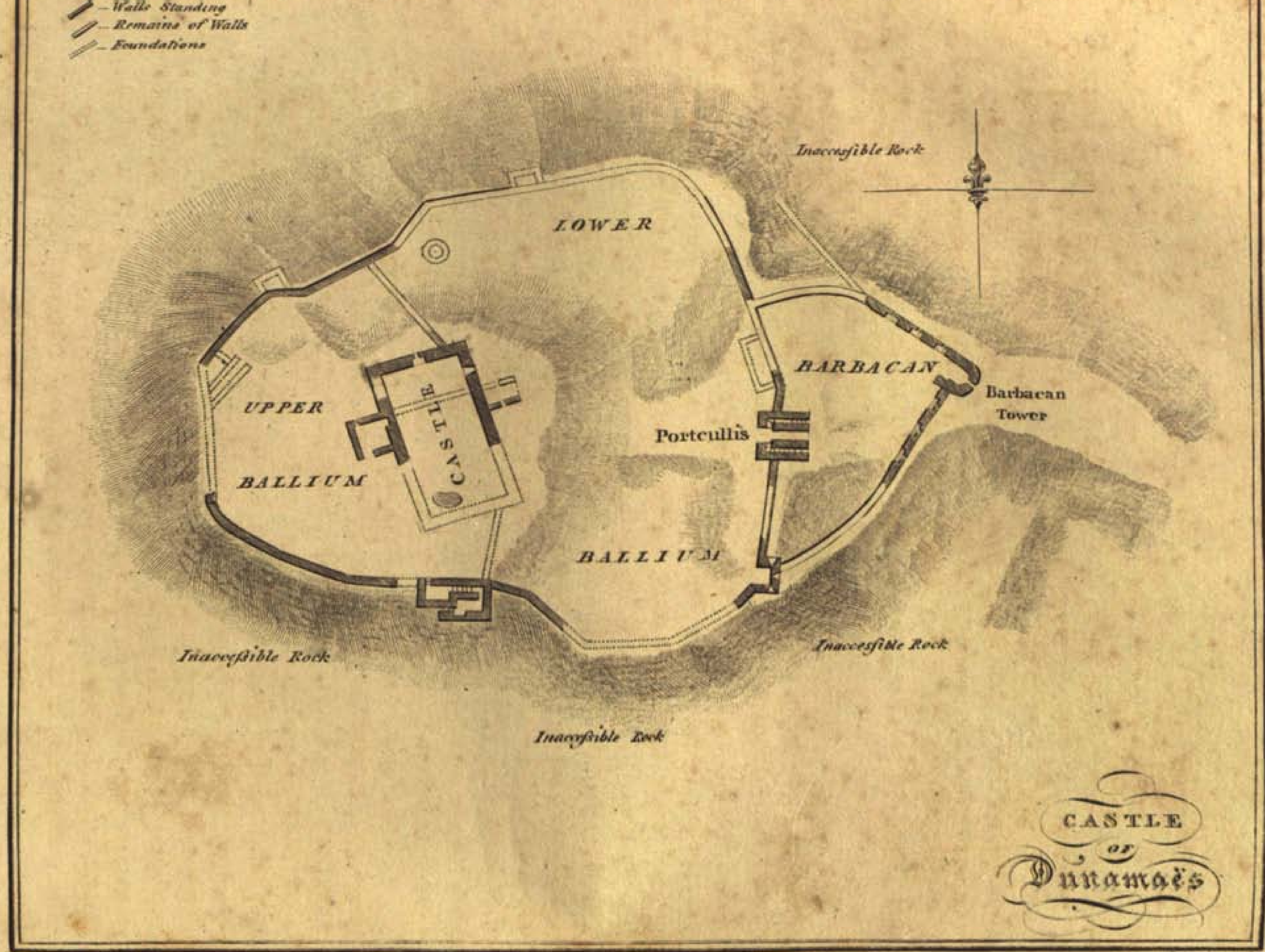
(6) Hanmer, p. 201—202.

virtue that acquired it was only found among them; when corruptions had degraded the national character, they then were looked on with contempt by thoſe who formerly dreaded them, and inſtead of maſters became ſuitors for protection. "Taking advantage, (ſays Davis,) of thoſe weak times, the Iriſh uſurped thoſe ſeignories that were in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, ſetting up a perpetual claim to thoſe great lordſhips, they were employed by the Engliſh noblemen for protection, but ſeized them as their inheritance when opportunity offered. Thus about the end of Edward II.'s reign, Lyſagh O'More, the ancient proprietary of Leix, being intruſted by Lord Mortimer, who had married Lord Brecknock's only daughter, with the care and protection of his eſtates, aſſumed the name of O'More, took eight caſtles in one evening, deſtroyed Dunamaſe, and recovered the whole country. "De ſervo dominus, de ſubjecto princeps," ſaith Friar Clynn in his Annals.

In a (7) patent roll of the 17th of Edward II. we find O'More ſummoned as a powerful Iriſh chief to oppoſe Bruce and his Scots: here we ſee he held his land by feudal tenure, but he performed the conditions no longer than he was coerced by ſuperior power. For in 1346, throwing off all ſubjection, Lord Walter Bermingham and the Earl of Kildare collected their forces, deſtroyed his country with fire and ſword, and obliged him to acknowledge at Athy, that he held his manor (8) of Bellet, and his other lands in Leix, of Roger Mortimer, as of his manor of Donmaſke (Dunamaſe). For two centuries very little is recorded of Dunamaſe, the Engliſh during this interval frequently loſing this old fortreſs, and as often recovering it from the O'Mores. In the beginning of the Iriſh Rebellion, 1642, the inſurgents ſecured Maryborough, Dunamaſe, Carlow, and other ſtrong caſtles and holds. The Earl of Ormond arriving at Athy from Dublin, detached parties to the relief of theſe.

On the retreat of Ormond, the caſtles in the Queen's County ſubmitted to General Preſton, but were retaken by the King's forces. In 1646, Owen Roe O'Neil appeared, and committing every act of outrage and cruelty in the county, ſeized Dyſart, (9) Maryborough, Cullenbrack, Sheehen or Shean, Bealaroyn or Ballyrone, Caſtlereban, &c. Dunamaſe, within a mile of Shean and Dyſart caſtles, did not eſcape. In July 1650, Maryborough, Dunamaſe, and other places of ſtrength ſurrendered to Colonels Hewſon and Reynolds, and were diſmantled, in which ſtate they have continued to the preſent time. I ſhall now conclude with ſome remarks on

(7) Pat. 17. Edw. 2. m. 7. (8) Harris's Hibernica, p. 74. (9) Deſider. Cur. Hib p. 506.



S. Hayes Esq.r del.

J. Ford Sculp.t

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on the Caſtle of Ley, near Portarlington, one of the oldeſt ſtructures made by the Engliſh in this kingdom, and of which the ground-plan is given in the plate.

About 1176, Henry II. beſtowed on (10) Maurice Fitz Gerald the barony of Ophaley, in which Ley is ſituated; the latter was the patrimony of the O'Dempſies. From what has been before obſerved of Lacy and the other great captains who made conqueſts here, we may conclude that Fitz Gerald erected this caſtle with many more to protect the property he had acquired. The Iriſh beheld theſe with jealous eyes, and watched every opportunity to deſtroy them. In 1284, the O' Dempſies, O'Dunnes, and O'Carrols united and (11) ſurprized and burnt the caſtle of Ley: Verdun attempting to revenge the injury, and to recover the fortreſs, loſt both his men and horſes. However the Iriſh were ſoon diſpoſſeſſed. In 1292, ſays Davis, (12) "John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald having, by contention with the Lord Veſci gotten a goodly inheritance in Kildare, grew to that height of imagination as he fell into a difference with divers great noblemen, among others with Richard De Burgo, the red Earl, whom he took priſoner and detained in his caſtle of Ley."

On the eve of the tranſlation of St. Thomas a Becket, the Iriſh ſepts beforementioned burnt the town of Ley, and beſieged the caſtle, but it was ſoon raiſed by John Fitz Thomas and Edmond Botiller. This was in 1307. In 1329, O'Dempſey took this caſtle, but the next year it was ſurrendered to Sir John Darcy. Sieges, ſurrenders, and recaptures compoſe the the unintereſting hiſtory of ancient fortreſſes in rude and turbulent ages.

The caſtle of Ley was erected on an hill or gently riſing ground. Its length externally is ſixty feet, its breadth forty-ſix. The walls are eight feet thick, and in ſome places ten. It was three ſtories high: the arches are all circular, except one pointed leading from the cauſeway into the bawn, probably a later conſtruction. On the North ran the river Barrow, the other ſides were ſecured by a ditch twenty-five feet broad, which could occaſionally be filled with water from the river. Within the ditch was a wall, the foundations of which only remain. The approach to this fortreſs was by a cauſeway one hundred feet in length; the outer ballium from Eaſt to Weſt is four hundred and ten feet, and from North to South, including the bawn, three hundred and fifty in diameter. The inner ballium from North to South is one hundred and forty, and from Eaſt to Weſt one hundred and thirty feet. The

(10) Lodge's Peerage, Vol. 1. initio.
(11) Camden's Annals. Cox, p. 76.
(12) Relations, p. 65.

bawn was a common appendage to caſtles. Stanihurſt (13) deſcribes it as connected with caſtles, and being a large area ſurrounded with great ditches and ramparts; within theſe cattle were driven and protected from an enemy or thieves.

The following notices will give ſome idea of the art military in Ireland in later times. By (14) inſtructions ſent to the Lord Preſident and Council of Munſter, places of defence are there diſtinguiſhed into forts, caſtles, piles, or houſes. By the firſt are meant old Daniſh forts, ſurrounded with earthen works, and in the centre a keep of lime and ſtone: theſe forts had often circular walls of maſonry, as that at Maryborough. By (15) piles, I underſtand a collection of buildings, encompaſſed with a rampart impaled; theſe were our bawns: and by houſes, are intended thoſe for defence, with battlements and flankers. A good inſtance of ſuch a houſe is at Morett, near Maryborough. Theſe caſtles and defences while they encouraged murder and rapine, and made the natives ferocious and ſanguinary, were ſufficient to protect them before the introduction of artillery and fire-arms. It was in 1489, that the (16) latter were brought hither from Germany; ſix muſquets being preſented to the Earl of Kildare, which he gave to his guard. This, (17) according to Anderſon, was thirty-two years before they were known in England.

Before this, it was enacted by the 5 Edward IV. that every Engliſhman and Iriſhman, who dwell together, and are between the ages of ſixteen and ſixty, ſhall have an Engliſh bow of his own length, and one fiſtmale, at the leaſt, between the necks, with twelve ſhafts of the length of three quarters of the ſtandard: yet not prohibiting gentlemen on horſeback to ride, according to their diſpoſition, with ſpear. The Conſtables to ſee a pair of butts provided in every town, and archery practiſed.

By the 10 Henry VII. every ſubject, according to his property, to have an Engliſh bow and ſheaf of arrows, a jack and ſallet, and butts to be in every town. No one to keep in his houſe or garriſon ordnance or artillery, that is to ſay, great gun or hand gun, except only long bows, arrows, and bills. It is alſo enacted, that no ſoldier on his journey ſhall pay more than five farthings for one meal, and four for his ſervant; and for every horſe a penny, with ſix ſheaves and litter.

The following (18) ſtores were provided againſt the Spaniſh invaſion of Ireland, A. D. 1601.

5 Laſt

(13) Habent item areas magnis aggeribus & foſſis circumdatas, dumetis & virgultis circumſeptas. In his, quoties angustiis urgentur, armenta detrudunt, uti melius a graſſatorum incurſionibus & a tagacium furtis obvallata incluſione vindicentur. De reb. Hib. p. 33.

(14) Deſider. Cur. Hib. V. 2. p. 14.

(15) Skinner, in voce.

(16) Harris's Hiſt. of Dublin, p. 283.

(17) Hiſt. of Commerce, V. 2. p. 53. Ed. Dublin.

(18) Sydney's ſtate papers, p. 187

5 Laſt of corn powder,
1 Laſt of ſerpentine powder,
6 Fodder of lead,
33000 weight of Match,
400 Bows,
1200 Arrows,
50 Groſs of Strings,
300 Pikes,
500 Corſlet complete, of beſt mould,
500 Black Bills,
200 Halberts,
200 Turkey morrions,
200 Pick-axes,
100 Sledging Bills,
200 Reaping hooks,
1000 Coils of hand-rope,
200 weight of gun-rope,
20 Dozen of ſpades and ſhovels.

It was not before 1584, that the Iriſh became (19) reconciled to the fire and exploſion of guns. In the Iriſh wars of 1600, the army was badly furniſhed with ordnance, having ſeldom any whole cannon, but demy cannon, ſakers, and light pieces. In 1616, every grantee (20) of eſcheated land was bound by tenure, if he had 500 acres, to have for his own defence and the king's ſervice, three muſquets and calivers, and three hand weapons, to furniſh ſix men, and ſo in proportion to the number of acres. In ſome pamphlets publiſhed in London, A. D. 1642, concerning the Iriſh rebellion, we find halberts and double battle-axes were uſed, which latter was the Daniſh hatchet: alſo pertuiſannes; a heavy ſword, called a faulchion, with which an Iriſh ſoldier cut through Lord Inchiquin's armour; they had alſo their old weapons, ſkenes and hand-ſtones. In 1649, the (21) artillery taken by Jones, the Parliament's General, from the Earl of Ormond, were two whole cannon, three demy cannon, one long ſquare gun, carrying a ball of twelve pounds, one ſaker drake, and one mortar piece, all of braſs. In the laſt cited author we read of an army of 3700 cavalry and 14500 infantry with but four pieces of ordnance. It is remarkable, that in the demolition of our caſtles and forts, and in the improvement of their demeſnes very few iron bullets have been diſcovered, but much round ſtones, with which they charged the cannon. Iron bullets were (22) unknown in England and France in 1514.

The (23) Earl of Eſſex, in 1599, tells Queen Elizabeth, that the Iriſh were unable to force any walled town, caſtle, or houſe of ſtrength: but they uſed a military engine, called a (24) Sow, which was uſed at the ſiege of Sligo, A.D. 1689, and is thus

(19) Ferrearum fiſtularum jam tandem apud eos uſus increbuit; etſi enim primis temporibus harum ſonitum inflammare audebant. Stanihurſt, p. 42.

(20) Deſid. Cur. Hib. V. 2. p. 41. (21) Borlaſe, p. 121. (22) Anderſon, ſup. V. 2. p. 38.

(23) Cox, V. 1. p. 419. (24) Harris's Life of King William.

thus deſcribed: "It was made hollow to contain men, and was compoſed of very ſtrong whole timbers bound with iron hoops, and covered with two rows of hides, and as many of ſheep ſkins, which rendered it proof againſt muſket-ball or ſteel arrows. The back part was left open for the men to go in and out at pleaſure, and in the front were doors to be opened, when the ſow was forced under the wall; which was done with little labour, the engine being fixt on an iron axle-tree." "The Iriſh, (ſays (25) Stafford,) beſieged Liſkaghan caſtle in 1600, and placed an engine well known in this country, called a Sow, to the walls thereof, to ſap the ſame: but the defendants did ſo well acquit themſelves in a ſally, that they tore the ſow in pieces, made her caſt her pigs, and ſlew twenty-ſeven of them dead in the place."

I had almoſt forgot to notice a very remarkable particular recorded (26) by Strada. He tells us, that Sir William Pelham, who had been Lord Juſtice of Ireland, led into the Low Countries, in 1586, fourteen hundred wild Iriſh, clad only below the navel and mounted on ſtilts, which they uſed in paſſing rivers: they were armed with bows and arrows. Having never met with this uſe of ſtilts among any other people, it ſeemed a matter of curioſity to notice it here.

The glorious Revolution, and the acceſſion of the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwic to the throne, fixed the liberty of the Britiſh Iſles on the firmeſt baſis: and may our caſtles and forts peaceably moulder to decay, and the labours of the plough and active induſtry ſucceed military tyranny and the din of arms. Every lover of his King and of Ireland will join with me in the words of the Poet, and ſay;

Dii tibi, quæcunque preceris,
Commoda dent.

(15) Pacata Hib. p. 68.

(16) Hiberni MCCCC, e ſylveſtri omnes genere atque ferino, medio tantum corpore ſubter umbilicum velati, cætera nudi, grallis ſeu perticis, quarum uſus in trajiciendis amnibus alti impoſiti, longè aliis ſuperſtabant, arcubus & ſagittis minaces. Strad. Belg. l. 8. p. 404. Berlaſe's reduction, p. 132.

ON

ON THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE ANTIENT IRISH.

FROM the arrival of the Engliſh in the reign of Henry II. to the 5th of James I. (when the ancient Iriſh laws were (1) aboliſhed) a period of above 400 years, the Brehon law prevailed in every part of Ireland, not immediately ſubject to the Engliſh power. It is not leſs ſingular than true, that nothing like a regular ſketch of the political conſtitution and juriſprudence of the ancient Iriſh has been given by foreign or domeſtic writers during this long interval. And this ſeems the more extraordinary, as one obvious mean of weaning the Iriſh from their rude cuſtoms was, by detailing the Brehon laws, and ſhewing the evident ſuperiority of thoſe of the Engliſh in every inſtance. Nor were men of talents and knowledge wanting to execute ſuch a work: for Henry II. a wiſe prince, ſent (2) diſcreet and able lawyers with his ſon John to Ireland: ſuch we muſt believe them to be, when ſelected by the celebrated Ranulph Glanville, who accompanied the young King to Milford haven. Whether it was conſidered as degrading to pay attention to the laws of a conquered people, cannot be determined, but the Engliſh would have acted wiſely in doing ſo; for they would have ſoon found on enquiry, that the Iriſh Brehon laws, unleſs in their abuſe, differed but little from thoſe which they themſelves practiſed. The Iriſh would have quickly perceived the abuſes, and as gladly have corrected them, and the legiſlation of both people would have ſoon aſſimilated. What increaſes our regret at this ſilence of former ages, while it raiſes our curioſity is, that theſe Brehon laws are pronouced to be of ſo malignant a nature, that the adoption of them generated the moſt (3) deplorable depravity in the Engliſh coloniſts, and therefore their uſe was declared by (4) ſtatute to be high treaſon.

However we are not left intirely ignorant of the ſubject: numerous hints are ſupplied by Spenſer, by Campion, Davis, Stanihurſt, and more recent authors, who preſent ſuch materials, as if carefully collected, will give a tolerably correct idea

(1) Davis's Reports, p. 78.
(2) Ipſe ſecum duxit viros diſcretos & legis peritos. Davis's Hiſt. Rel. Cox, 1. p. 51.
(3) Davis, ſup. (4) Stat. Kilkenny, 40 Edw. 3.

idea of our ſubject. It is much to be wiſhed, that ſome author of legal education and habits had made the preſent attempt: but fortunately for them, lawyers can more profitably employ their time than in antiquarian inveſtigations.

But it may here be aſked, are not tranſlations of the Brehon laws in MS. in Trinity College library, thoſe in the Seabright and other collections indiſpenſably neceſſary for the purpoſes of this Eſſay? To this I anſwer in the negative: but granting them to be ſo, the thing is impoſſible and for the following reaſons.

1. John Lynch, titular archdeacon of Tuam, and a good Latin and Iriſh ſcholar, publiſhed (5) in 1662, a peeviſh and abſurd critique on Giraldus Cambrenſis's account of Ireland. The latter had ſaid, the Iriſh were without laws. Lynch oppoſes this by reciting the titles of MS laws, communicated to him by (6) Duald M'Firbis. They relate to thefts, mulcts, aſyla, hunting, hawking, ſepulture, &c. He (7) tells us that a Biſhop, a Judge, and a Poet, in 686, reduced into a body the writings of lawyers and the ſcattered fragments of laws, and called them Brathaneimhadh, or ſacred judgments, and he ſums up their contents in theſe verſes:

Quod ſit jus Cleri, Satrapæ, vatiſque fabrique
Necnon agricolæ, liber iſte docebit abunde.

One law fairly given and fairly explained would have done him and the nation more honour, and carried more conviction of the legiſlative talents of the Iriſh than one hundred meagre titles. But this is not attempted.

2. O'Flaherty gave the world his Ogygia in 1684, a work of conſiderable learning. He mentions the (8) Brethe-nimhe, or celeſtial judgments, and ſays they were compiled, A. D. 647. He was the pupil of M'Firbis, ſaid by (9) O'Connor to be the laſt great Iriſh antiquary, and yet throughout his large production he gives us not one Brehon law or tranſlation.

3. Lhuyd, in 1707, publiſhed his Archaeologia Britannica, wherein are excellent dictionaries of all the ſurviving dialects of the Celtic, and whom all muſt allow to be incomparably ſuperior to any writer before or ſince his time, in a knowledge of that language, yet this man, thus accompliſhed, tells the Royal (10) Society; that he had procured in divers parts of Ireland about twenty or thirty MSS in parchment,

(5) Cambrens. everſus, paſs.
(6) Ex his ſuperiores titulos ante aliquot annos decerpſit Duualdus Viruiſius. Camb. evers. p. 159.
(7) Camb. evers. p. 157. (8) Ogyg. p. 218. (9) Ogyg. vind. p. 8.
(10) Philoſoph. trans. Baddam's abridg. V. 5. p. 492.

parchment, and though he conſulted O'Flaherty, one of the chief Iriſh critics, and ſeveral others they could ſcarcely interpret one page.

Here the ſecret is revealed why Lynch and O'Flaherty declined the Brehon laws and their interpretation: they were inexplicable by them.

4. The Editor of the Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, in 1774 and 1782, gave two ſpecimens of Brehon laws, the originals with tranſlations. It may eaſily be imagined, that the thus diſpelling an obſcurity which had baffled the learning of Lynch, O'Flaherty, and Lhuyd muſt have excited the attention of antiquaries and every lover of Iriſh antiquities in particular. Mr. Charles O'Conor, author of diſſertations on the hiſtory of Ireland, and confeſſedly the beſt Iriſh ſcholar then in the kingdom, was applied to for his ſentiments on the occaſion, which he candidly delivered in a letter to a friend, of which the following is an extract.

"Our Iriſh juriſprudence was almoſt entirely confined to the Phænian dialect, a dialect underſtood only by the Brehons, the law-advocates, and a few who had curioſity to ſtudy our law-language. I have ſeen and poſſeſſed ſome of our Phænian tracts; and having an opportunity in my youth of converſing with ſome of the moſt learned Iriſh ſcholars in our iſland, they freely confeſſed to me, that *to them* both the *text* and *gloſs* were equally unintelligible. The key for expounding both was ſo late as the reign of Charles I. poſſeſſed by the Mac Egans, who kept their law-ſchool in Tipperary, and I dread that ſince that time it has been loſt. But I have been informed, that Duald M'Firbis, the ableſt ſcholar inſtructed by theſe Mac Egans, was employed on a Law-Lexicon, in which, it has been ſaid, he made a good progreſs. Poſſeſſed of ſuch an expoſitor, our law-learning, the product of many ages, might be diſcovered, and become a valuable acquiſition."

Rouſed, as others were, by theſe literary phenomena, I conſulted Doctor Young, the late Biſhop of Clonfert, and the learned (11) tranſlator of Oſſian, who aſſured me that he had ſpent ſome time in endeavouring to decipher theſe laws, and that he found it impoſſible without a key. The ſame aſſurance I received from other good Iriſh ſcholars, whom I furniſhed with Lhuyd's, Macurtin's, O'Clery's, and O'Brien's dictionaries, and with ſome MS vocabularies in my poſſeſſion. They tried firſt the direct interpretation of the words, and then reſorted to etymology and analogy, but all in vain, fully eſtabliſhing this truth, that without a gloſſary or key theſe laws were not to be explained. The tranſlations therefore in the Collectanea muſt

(11) In the Tranſ. of the Royal Iriſh Acad. V. 1.

muſt be eſteemed a literary impoſition on the public, until the author produces ſuch gloſſary or key. The author himſelf ſeems to have felt ſome qualms on this head, when he (12) confeſſes that he does not pretend to determine when the Brehon laws were enacted, and in (13) another place he begins his preface to his ſecond ſpecimen with theſe words: "I preſume not to think that I have given a proper tranſlation of the laws of the ancient Iriſh." This is giving up the point, I have therefore paſſed over theſe fictitious tranſlations as totally undeſerving notice.

The next thing to be conſidered is, what has given riſe to this obſcurity, and wherein it conſiſts. Perhaps the following opinion is not far from the truth. When the Normanno-Anglic princes acquired the dominion of Ireland, they eſtabliſhed their laws co-extenſively with their power, and with theſe laws, a jargon intelligible only to profeſſors and their eleves. This anſwered the double purpoſe of making the ſcience reſpectable and profitable: objects too intereſting to native Iriſh lawyers not inſtantly to adopt. To prove what has been advanced, take the following inſtance of Norman Law-Latin. "Albinus jectatus, namatus erat pro abrocamentis, primo in miſericordia deinde infine, quanquam in aberſherſing per munimenta." That is, the ſtranger being cited, was diſtrained for ſelling goods before they were brought to the public market, firſt in a ſmall, then in a larger mulct, though he was freed from amerciaments by charters.

It is ſuperfluous to remark, how unintelligible this language muſt be to the beſt claſſical ſcholar without the aid of Spelman's, Du Cange's, and Cowel's gloſſaries. Of ſuch gibberiſh, I believe, the Brehon laws will be found to be compoſed, whenever a key to unlock them is diſcovered. I had therefore reaſon for ſaying, that at preſent it is impoſſible to derive any advantage from MS Brehon laws; whether a juſt idea of theſe and of the ancient political conſtitution of the Iriſh are here given without their aid, muſt depend on the authorities cited, and the judgment of the reader.

There is a ſtriking analogy in the primitive political inſtitutions of moſt nations. Plato, who traces the origin and progreſs of ſociety, calls that ſuperiority or power which enforces peace and order (14) Dynaſty. This was firſt exercized by the heads

(12) Collect. V. 1. p. 6. What this author has publiſhed on the Brehon laws, and other branches of Iriſh Antiquities are the waking dreams of a deranged intellect.

(13) Collect. V. 3. pref.

(14) Δικαι μεν πασιτις την εν εκαστω χρονω πολιτικην, Δυναστικην καλειν. Plat. de leg. l. 3.

heads of families, and was found even among the ſavage Cyclopes, who (15) dictated laws to their wives and children. As families multiplied tribes were formed, over whom, thoſe who in their youth were diſtinguiſhed for valour, as in their old age for wiſdom, held rule, yet ſtill ſubject to a ſupreme head, (16) the centre and union of the whole. Theſe Dynaſts were exalted into Kings, and vanity and ambition enlarged their number. In the Trojan times, there were ten kings in Theſſaly, according to Homer: ſix in Peloponneſus, and almoſt every corner of Greece was parcelled out into regal diſtricts. Though kings were believed to be deſcended from the (17) Gods, and educated by (18) them, yet reſpect was not carried ſo far, as not to require from them a conformity to laws and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. And hence Homer diſtinguiſhes the (19) ſceptre, that is, the indefeaſible right of regal ſucceſſion from the laws, by which the prince was to conduct himſelf.

Tullius, the Roman king, † divided his land among his citizens, and claſſed them into tribes. The chief of every tribe was the Phularcos, who choſe an elevated ſpot, ſtrong by nature and eaſily defenſible, whither the tribe reſorted for juſtice and protection.

Let us come nearer home and take a view of the political ſtate of the Highlands of Scotland, inhabited by a people deſcended from the ſame ſtock, and ſpeaking nearly the ſame language with the Iriſh. There the country was (20) divided into a number of diſtricts or territories, called counties, and ſeparated from each other by rivers, lakes, or mountains, and frequently by ideal and arbitrary boundaries. Each diſtrict was the reſidence of the Cean Cine, or head of the tribe, he was hereditary magiſtrate, judge, and general of the clan, and his ſirname was the name of the clan. Often the clan was ſo numerous that it branched out into different tribes, the head of each was the repreſentative of the tribe, he was deſcended from the Cean Cine; his patronymic denominated the tribe of which he was chieftain: he had lands which were let to his relations and friends. It was a ſpecies of treaſon to appeal to any court from the deciſion of the Cean. Inveterate quarrels and deadly

 feuds,

(15) ——————Θεμιστευει δε εκαστος
Παιδων ηδ' αλοχων. Homer. Odyſſ. 9.

(16) Ουκ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη· εις κοιρανος εστω,
Εις βασιλευς Hom. Il. 2.

(17) Διογενες. Homer. paſſ.

(18) Διογενεος Hom. Chara deûm ſoboles, magnum Jovis incrementum. Virgil.

(19) Σκηπτρον δε θεμιστας. Hom. Il. 3.

† Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 4.

(20) Home's hiſt. of the Rebellion in 1745, p. 7 & ſeq.

feuds, and rapine conſtantly harraſſed the country; and it is recorded that Lochiel, a Cameron, and Macintoſh carried on war and law for 360 years. The Highlanders went always armed, and at the end of the laſt century it was not uncommon to ſee a clergyman go to church with his broad ſword, and a ſervant attending him with his bow and quiver of arrows. Thus far Home, whoſe account is defective in many particulars, which a view of our ancient political ſtate may, in ſome ſort, ſupply.

Davis (21) is ſo full and clear in his account of the ſtate of landed property among the old Iriſh, that it cannot be repreſented better than by giving his own words. "It is to be known, that the lands poſſeſſed by the mere Iriſh were divided into ſeveral territories or countries, and the inhabitants of every Iriſh country were divided into ſeveral ſepts or lineages. In every Iriſh territory there was a Lord or Chieftain, and a Taniſt, who was his ſucceſſor apparent; and of every Iriſh ſept or lineage there was alſo a chief, who was called a Canfinny, (Cean Fine,) or caput cognationis.

All the poſſeſſions within theſe Iriſh territories ran always, either in courſe of Taniſtry, or in courſe of Gavelkind. Every ſeignory or chiefry, with the portion of land which paſſed with it, went without partition to the Taniſt; who always came in by election or ſtrong hand, and not by deſcent; but all the inferior tenancies were partible between the males in Gavelkind. Yet the eſtate which the Lord had in the chiefry, or the inferior tenants had in Gavelkind, was not an eſtate of inheritance, but a temporary or tranſitory poſſeſſion. For as the next heir of the Lord or Chieftain was not to inherit the chiefry, but the oldeſt and worthieſt of the ſept, who was often removed or expelled by another, who was more active and ſtrong than he, ſo the lands of the nature of Gavelkind were not partible among the next heirs male of him who died ſeized, but among all the males of his ſept, in this manner.

The Canfinny, or chief of a ſept (who was commonly the moſt ancient of the ſept) made all the partitions at his diſcretion; and after the death of any ter-tenant who had a competent portion of land, aſſembled all the ſept, and having thrown all their poſſeſſions into hotchpot, made a new partition of all; in which partition he did not aſſign to the ſon of him who died the portion which his father had, but he allotted to each of the ſept, according to his ſeniority, the better or greater portion.

Theſe

(21) Davis's Reports, p. 134, Ed. Dublin.

Theſe portions or purparties, being ſo allotted and aſſigned, were poſſeſſed and enjoyed accordingly, until a new partition was made, which at the diſcretion or will of the Canfinny was to be made on the death of each inferior tenant. And ſo by reaſon of theſe frequent partitions and removals or tranſlations of the tenants from one portion to another, all the poſſeſſions were uncertain; and the uncertainty of the poſſeſſions was the very cauſe that no civil habitations were erected, no incloſure or improvement was made in the lands in the Iriſh countries, where this cuſtom of Gavelkind was in uſe, eſpecially in Ulſter, which ſeemed to be all one wilderneſs, before the new plantation made by the Engliſh undertakers there. Alſo by this Iriſh cuſtom of Gavelkind, baſtards had their portions with the legitimate; the wives were utterly excluded of dower, and the daughters were not inheritable, although their father had died without male iſſue."

Theſe general notices of Mr. Home and Sir John Davis are extremely valuable ſo far as they go, but they are not ſufficient to convey diſtinct ideas of the different ranks in ſociety, of what are called the Brehon laws, or of the political conſtitution of the ancient Iriſh: theſe I ſhall now conſider in their order.

The Iriſh monarchs derived themſelves from Mileſius, the great Hero of Iriſh fable, as the northern Kings did from Odin. The poſterity of Mileſius was the ſeed-plot out of which future ſovereigns were (22) choſen. The (23) Swedes, ſays Adam of Bremen, have Kings deſcended from ancient anceſtors. It was one of the laws of this people, that whatever native, eſpecially the ſons of kings, if ſuch exiſted, was elected by univerſal ſuffrage, he ſhould be king. And the author laſt cited gives inſtances of ſuch regal races in the Amali of Oſtrogothia, the Balthi of Weſtrogothia, and the poſterity of St. Eric, who ruled Sweden for 200 years.

Whatever the power of the Ard-riagh, or ſupreme monarch was in idea, it was nothing in reality. Even with the appanage of Meath, it was not ſtrong enough to curb the exceſſes of inferior princes, or command obedience; nor were they at any time ſecure of their lives or throne: of this perhaps no ſtronger proof will be required than what Walſh tells (25) us, that out of 200 monarchs, 170 died prema-

ture

(22) Regia materies apta ad recipiendam regiam formam ſuæ familiæ. O'Flah. p. 58. See a curious account of royal races in Pinkerton's Scotland, V. 1. p. 261.

(23) Populi Suenonum reges habent ex genere antiquos. Hiſt. ecc. c. 23.

(24) Quicunque ex indigenis, præcipuè regum filiis, ſi tales ſuperſtites ſunt, omnibus omnium, aut plerumque ſuffragiis electus fuerit, illum pro rege habebunt. Apud Loccen. p. 58.

(25) Proſpect, p. 2. Gir. Cambr. 3. c. 45. O'Flah. p. 420.

ture and violent deaths. The remote hiſtory of ſuch a nation cannot be more inte. reſting than that of the Choctaws or Hurons.

The (26) ſucceſſion to the monarchy was elective, and they received inveſtiture, ſitting on the Liafail or ſtone of fate. O'Flaherty conjectures that this ſtone was ſent (27) by Aid Finliath, in the year 850, to Kineth, King of the Scots, his father-in-law: that Edward I. in 1300, brought it to London: that it was diſuſed for 300 years, when James I. the 25th day of July, 1603, was anointed King of Great Britain on it, as was his ſon in 1625, and his grandſon the 23d of April, 1661.

In Sweden (28) the election of a king was in an open plain near Upſal: there was a Moraſteen, or large ſtone on which he was inaugurated, and ſmaller ones for inferior chiefs.

In an (29) Iriſh MS, called the book of rights, there is a detailed account of the ſubſidiary and tributary payments made by and to the Monarch. There might have been laws which defined the preſents to be given to his ſubordinate kinglets, and the tributes which he was to receive from them; the latter were his principal revenue. I am inclined to think this was the caſe, as like every other particular in the antiquities of Ireland, it agrees with the (30) practice of the northern nations. Though Tacitus notices the preſents of proviſions made to chiefs, yet Dithmar, on the place, remarks, that theſe were not tributes, or for the ſupport of an army, becauſe each ſoldier warred at his own expence: nor were they any of the feudal incidents, becauſe as yet the Germans had no fixt habitation, but removed annually. In return for theſe preſents and for their bravery, the German princes beſtowed horſes, arms, chains, bracelets, and other military ornaments on their warriors.

At what time the feudal policy was introduced into Ireland, there are not documents to determine: from our northern colonization, it is probable it was little later here than on the continent. A learned writer (31) has proved, that feuds were adopted from the Romans ſome time between the age of Tacitus and the promulgation of the Salic law, in the 5th century. I once imagined there was an alluſion to feuds in a (32) paſſage of Diodorous Siculus, but I found it did not apply.

The

(26) O'Flah. p. 57.

(27) Extat hodie in thorno regio Weſtmonaſterii lapis ſuper hoc monumento Hiberniæ reges inveſtituræ ſuæ auſpicia olim ſolenniter recipiebant. O'Flah. p. 45.

(28) Loccen. p. 41. See more inſtances in theſe Antiquities before, p. 149.

(29) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 3. (30) Tacit. Germ. c. 14—15.

(31) Clarke on Saxon coins, p. 437. Heineccius ſhews the origin of feuds may be found in Tacitus. Hiſt. jur. Germ. p. 5.

(32) Βασιλεις τι και δυναστας πολλους. Lib. 5. in Britain. The firſt I ſuppoſed monarchs, the other feudatories.

The perſon in dignity next to the monarch was (33) the Taniſt. "On the death of a chief, (ſays Spenſer,) the people aſſemble, and elect not the eldeſt ſon, or any child of the deceaſed, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldeſt and worthieſt, as commonly the next brother, or next couſin, and ſo on, to be Taniſt. He is then placed on a ſtone on a hill, where he ſwears to preſerve all their cuſtoms, and deliver peaceably the ſucceſſion to his Taniſt; after which deſcending from the ſtone, he turns (34) round thrice forward and thrice backward." Spenſer adds, that the reaſon for electing a Taniſt of the deſcription now given, was to have a perſon of age to defend the land of the ſept, in caſe of the death of the chief. Taniſtry was ſaid to be in (35) uſe among many nations, particularly the Scottiſh two hundred years ago.

The Taniſt was ſupported by (36) menſal lands, which were not ſubject to gavel. At firſt he was commander of the forces and chief judge. In the Saxon times, the Thanes had judicial power, but Alfred, in 896, deprived them of it. In this our kings followed his example, and conferred the adminiſtration of juſtice on certain families. The Taniſt, while he poſſeſſed theſe powers, was extremely formidable to the reigning prince, and ever looking to ſovereign ſway, muſt have been conſtantly engaged in rebellious cabals. This cuſtom of Taniſtry (37) was argued at great length in the Court of King's Bench, in the 5th of James I. and from its unreaſonableneſs, violence, and uncertainty declared a pernicious and void cuſtom.

The next order were the provincial kings. Ireland, it is ſaid, at the arrival of the Engliſh in 1169, was (38) divided into ſeven principalities; Deſmond under the Macarthies; Thuomond under the O'Briens; Hy Kinſellagh or Leinſter under the line of Cahir; Uladh under the O'Dunlevies and Mac Mahons; ſouth Hy Nial or Meath under the Clan Colmans or O'Melaghlans; north Hy Nial under the O'Neils and O'Donnels; and Hy Brune with Hy Fiachra or Connaught under the O'Conor's. O'Conor and north Hy Nial were competitors for the rank of monarch. Theſe provincial princes were monarchs in reſpect of their immediate feudatories, who were ſtyled kings: thus there (39) were eighteen kings in the monarchy of Munſter,

(33) For the etymology of this word, ſee O'Brien in voce. Macpherſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 165.

(34) View, p. 5. The Scots had this cuſtom, Martin's Weſt. iſlands. So had the Gauls, according to Athenæus; and Pliny; in adorando dextram adoſculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in lævum feciſſe Galliæ religioſum credunt. Lib. 28. c. 2.

(35) Cambr. evers. p. 314. Macpherſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 166. Stewart on the Engliſh conſt. p. 153. Pinkerton's Scotl. V. 1. p. 261.

(36) Waræi diſq. p. 42.

(37) Davis's reports, p. 78. ed. Dublin. Hume's eſſays, V. 1. p. 483.

(38) O'Conor's diſſ. p. 192.

(39) Collect. de reb. Hib. No 3. p. 375.

ſter, and they were equally numerous in the other Provinces. Theſe great feudatories poſſeſſed (40) every regal power and dominion: if they acknowledged a ſuperior, it was on very extraordinary occaſions, and not as allowing any juriſdiction over their ſubjects, or permitting any appeal from them. Theſe were ſtyled Riagh or Kings; their prerogatives and revenues will be ſeen in conſidering the fourth rank in the ſtate. Theſe were called Tiarna, Toſche, and Toiſeach, and were feudatories to the Riagh. O'Flaherty ſays, the Toiſche or Taſius was the ſame as the Saxon Thane, but does not inform us whether he alludes to the greater or leſſer Thanes: indeed ſcarcely a ray of light is thrown on this ſubject by any native hiſtorian or antiquary, ſo wretchedly defective and trifling are Iriſh MSS.

Theſe Tiarnas were what Davis calls Canfinnies, the heads of Clans. We had our Clanbreaſil, Clancarty, Clanaboy, Clancolman, Clanfergal, and many more. In moſt caſes the Tiarna's ſirname was that of his clan. Macarthy was Riagh, or King of Deſmond, his Tiarnas were (41) the Clans O'Keefe, O'Donoughue, O'Callaghan, O'Sullivan, &c. The laſt, by his tenure, was obliged

I. To aid Macarthy with all his ſtrength, and to be Marſhal of his army.

II. He was to pay for every arable plowland five Galloglaſſes or Kern, or ſix ſhillings and eight pence, or a beef for each, at the option of Macarthy.

III. Macarthy was to receive half a crown for every ſhip that came to fiſh or trade in O'Sullivan's harbours.

IV. O'Sullivan was to give Macarthy merchandize at the rate he purchaſed it.

V. O'Sullivan was to entertain Macarthy and all his train two nights at Dunboy, and whenever he travelled that way.

VI. O'Sullivan was to ſend horſe-meat to Paillice for Macarthy's ſaddle-horſes, and pay the groom three ſhillings and four pence out of every arable plow land.

VII. O'Sullivan was to find hounds, grey-hounds, and ſpaniels for Macarthy, whenever he came, and one ſhilling and eight pence annually to his huntſman out of every plow land.

Before we examine this policy it will be neceſſary to mention, that a fifth rank was the ſocage and villenage tenants, and a ſixth were ſlaves, both ſimilarly circumſtanced as perſons of the ſame condition in England.

From this ſketch of the different ranks in ſociety among the ancient Iriſh and the nature of their tenures, the exiſtence and practice of the feudal ſyſtem is very evident.

(40) Duck de uſu & auctor. jur. civ. p. 426.

(41) Smith's Kerry, p. 27.

dent. It may be ſaid, that this was adopted after the arrival of the Engliſh: by no means; this policy is found in the Alamannic and Anglo-Saxon laws; it may be traced in Giraldus Cambrenſis, and in the Canons made at Caſhel, and was introduced by the foreign tribes who ſettled here at different times.

The firſt head of O'Sullivan's tenure proves that a military aſſociation and ſubordination univerſally prevailed, and theſe were the eſſentials of the feudal ſyſtem. His being Marſhal of Macarthy clearly evinces that (42) grand ſerjeantry was in uſe, as this is a tenure in capite, and could only be held from a ſovereign prince. If this was a feudal tenure, as it muſt be allowed it was, then there can be no doubt but the other ſervices were likewiſe feudal. Through all the ſubinfeudations there was the ſame (43) obligation of military duty. If any from neglect or perfidy diſobeyed the call of their Lord, he compelled them by force of arms, or expelled them from their poſſeſſions, for they owed military ſervice by their tenures. An ancient poet thus expreſſes the feudal call and penalty;

(44) *Ligno ſuſpenditur alte*
Erecto clypeus; tunc præco regius omnes
Convocat a dominis feudalia jura tenentes.
At quicunque domi (domino nolente) relictus
Defuerit; foedo privari curia cenſet.

Every branch of our political inſtitutions evince the principles of feudality and agree with the definition of a feud. Land was the property of the prince; King Malcolm, ſays the (45) Regiam majeſtatem, gave and diſtributed all his lands in the realm of Scotland among his men; and in (46) the Welſh laws, the king is declared Lord of the whole kingdom. Wliich lands, according to the definition, being the (47) property of the Prince he beſtowed for military and certain ſervices.

From

(42) Serjantia major eſt ſervitium militare, quoquis prædia tenet a rege in capite. Spelmun, p. 511. We had our hereditary Falconers, Huntſmen, Hiſtorians, Poets, &c.

(43) Iſti tyranni inferioris ordinis præfectos domitos et ſubjectos habent, qui cum magno evocatorum numero parati ſunt, quoties eorum princeps ſignum ſuſtollit, ad bellum exire.——Quod ſi officium vel indiligentia vel perfidia præteritum ſit (nam ad tale militare obſequium in illius fundis, ſeu ditione viverent) ſolet princeps illos adarma compellere vel eos a propriis ſedibus exterminat. Stanihurſt, p. 32. This was the practice of the Franks. Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 26. l. 7. c. 42.

(44) Apud Spelman, p. 218. (45) Reg. Maj. initio.

(46) Rex dominus eſt totius regni. Leg. Wall. p. 341.

(47) Feudum eſt jus in prædio alieno, in perpetuum utendi. quod pro beneficio dominus dat ea lege, ut qui accepit ſibi fidem & militiæ munus, aliudve ſervitium exhibeat. Cujac. l. 1.

From O'Sullivan's tenure, before given, every part of the feudal policy appears to have been realized in this iſland. The ſame policy exiſted from the Ard Riagh to the inferior toparch and ruler of a Rath.

Having taken a view of the ranks in ſociety, and ſtated the bonds by which they were connected, I ſhall next briefly touch on the ancient Iriſh laws. And here we cannot but admire the ignorance or inattention of O'Flaherty, O'Conor, and our native antiquaries, who diſguſt us with their fables and etymologies, when topics, highly honourable to their country and within their reach, are ſhamefully paſſed over. An inſtance in point is the neglect of our old Canons.

That the Iriſh attained uncommon eminence in literature in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries will hereafter be made evident. The eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, and the regulation of Church affairs gave riſe to Councils and Canons. As our alphabet ſo the plan of our Canons were the ſame as the Anglo-Saxon, without however infringing in the ſmalleſt degree on the purity of our faith. In 750, Ecgbriht, Archbiſhop of York made (48) his Excerptions; theſe were a collection of Canons for the uſe of his dioceſe compiled from general and provincial councils, the Fathers and Popes. Among theſe the five following appear; no diſhonourable ſpecimen of our legiſlation at this early period. I give them in Mr. Johnſon's tranſlation, with a few illuſtrations.

I. " An Iriſh canon. Let him who lifts up his hand with ſpear or ſword to " ſtrike any man near a Biſhop, redeem his hand or loſe it: but if he have wounded " him too, let him ſhave his head and beard, and ſerve God. Yet firſt let him " make ſatisfaction to the Biſhop, and to the party whom he hurt. But if any man " hurt a Clerk, or any of the eccleſiaſtical order, let him make ſatisfaction ſeven- " fold, in proportion to the order he is of, and do penance according to the dignity " thereof; or elſe let him walk off an exile from his country: for the Lord ſaith by " his prophet, Touch not mine anointed."

To ſpare the life of a criminal and redeem it by a compoſition ſeem to have been the practice of every people in the infancy of ſociety. Among the ancients, (49) leſſer crimes were compounded for two ſheep, the greater for oxen. The Iriſh called this compoſition Eric, the Anglo-Saxons Were and Weregild. Tacitus found this law among

(48) Wilkin's Concil. Johnſon's Sax. Councils, ſub. ann.

(49) Ovibus duabus multabantur apud antiquos in minoribus criminibus; in majoribus autem bubus. Teſt. Tac. Germ. c. 12.

among the Germans: it was in uſe in all the northern nations. In (50) Sweden, as with us, a cow was the ſtandard for value; after Oras, when money was coined. Every the minuteſt public and private injury, has its Eric or Were in the Welſh laws, and the barbaric codes of Lindenbrog.

The words of the Canon, "let him ſhave his head and beard and ſerve God," mean that he ſhall be degraded from his rank, and doomed to perpetual penance. Decalvation and cutting off the beard were the (51) moſt ignominious puniſhments.

II. "An Iriſh canon. Let reſtitution, fourfold, be made for the goods of the "church ſtolen or plundered; double for the goods of common men."

This mulct is more (52) reaſonable than that in Ethelbert's firſt canon, where God's fee and church's fee are twelve fold.

III. "An Iriſh canon. If one have ſtolen goods from the church, let the lot "be caſt, whether the thief's hand be cut off, or he thrown into goal, there long "to faſt and mourn. And let him reſtore what he had taken, or be ſent into "baniſhment and make double reſtitution. But if he ſtay in his own country, let "him make fourfold reſtitution, or do perpetual penance."

This canon, ſays Johnſon, may juſtly be eſteemed to have come from Ireland, for it favours of the barbarity of that people. This however is ſhameful partiality; for in the ſame note he deſcribes a puniſhment among the Anglo-Saxons, and adds the practice of pulling the ſkin from the whole head, was ſo familiar among our anceſtors, that they had a ſingle word or term of art whereby to expreſs it: viz. "Hettian." This was exactly the ſame as the ſcalping of the Indians. The continental nations (53) interrogated the criminal while whipping him: he was then decalvated; his right hand was amputated; and laſtly, the ſkin of his head torn off: theſe puniſhments were inflicted for different crimes, and for different degrees of guilt. Both the Iriſh and Saxon inflictions are cruel in the extreme; but ſurely Hettian, which we did not practiſe, favours moſt of barbariſm, as it protracted longer the miſery of the unfortunate culprit.

IV. "An Iriſh canon. They who fly to the church for refuge ought not to be "forced from thence; but their Lords may perſuade them to be gone, by promiſ-

(50) Vacca bimula aut trimula loco pecuniæ erat, aqua æſtimatio cæteris mercibus pluris aut minoris prætii animatis acceſſit Stiernhook de jure Suenon. p. 142.

(51) Du Cange in Decalvatio, Capillus, & Barba. (52) Johnſon, ſup.

(53) Primum verberibus interrogatus, deinde turpiter decalvatus, poſt hæc dextra amputata, &c. Du Cange in Decalvatio & Crines.

" ſing their interceſſion. But if the Lord inflict any puniſhment on them, when " they ſo go out, let him be deemed an enemy and excommunicated. If any man " do hurt a man under church ſanctuary, or under ſeal of ſanctity, let him make " ſeven-fold ſatisfaction and reſtitution, and likewiſe continue ſeven years in hard " penance; otherwiſe he is to be excommunicated from the whole catholic " church."

This canon is cited as of the Council of Eliberis, but Johnſon ſhews (54) the improbability of this; for both this and the ſuppoſed Eliberitan canons in Burchard are Iriſh.

V. " An Iriſh canon. Let him who kills a man within the verge of a monaſtery " get him gone into baniſhment with damnation: or elſe quitting his arms and " ſhaving his head, let him ſerve God the reſt of his life. Yet firſt let him make " ſatisfaction to God and the kindred of the party murdered."

As the German youth received military inauguration by the delivery of a ſhield and (55) ſpear, ſo the greateſt diſgrace that could befal them, was the being (56) deprived of theſe arms.

An author, whoſe intellectual viſion was not then obſcured by oriental whimſies, very juſtly obſerves, " that in (57) the various maxims of the ancient Iriſh, a perfect uniformity of manners and cuſtoms is obſervable between the old Iriſh and Germans, according as thoſe of the latter are deſcribed by Tacitus." And in a few pages after he ſays; " on the whole matter, it is a real fact, that the general ſyſtem of goverment among the Iriſh kings and princes of the Scotic nation, were very nearly if not exactly of the ſame nature with that of the Saxon Heptarchy." Every page of genuine Iriſh antiquities accords with the ideas of this writer, and the great object of theſe Eſſays.

I would not have dwelt ſo long on the foregoing Canons, but to evince that our legiſlation in the eighth century was worthy of notice: I may aſcend a century higher and aſk, would Cummian in his letter to Segienus, Abbat of Hy, quote Councils and Decrees if the ſtudy of them and of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline were not then cultivated? It would be no incurious work to collect and illuſtrate our ancient canons diſperſed

(54) Johnſon's Clergyman's Vade Mecum, V. p. 10. 2d Edit.

(55) Tum in ipſo concilio vel principium aliquis, vel pater, vel propinqus ſcuto, framea juvenem ornant. Tacit. Germ. c. 13.

(56) Scutum reliquiſſe præcipuum flagitium. Tacit. ſup. c. 6.

(57) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 4. p. 470—572.

diſperſed in Dachery's Spicilegium, in Martene and Durandus's Anecdotes, in Burchard's Decrees, and other compilers. In ſuch a collection we might trace the cuſtoms and municipal regulations of the different tribes that colonized Ireland: ſome of them very contradictory to each other. "I wiſh, (ſays Agobard, (58) writing in 840,) that it would pleaſe Almighty God, that the Franks were ruled by one law, which might be a ſtandard for the Prince and his people. In Sweden (59) almoſt every province had its peculiar laws. This variety, in the Saxon times in England, made Alfred compile his Dom-boc for general uſe. Cuſtoms were at firſt (60) unwritten laws; after, the written laws of each people. Lynch informs us, that about 686, three (61) learned men collected the ſcattered laws of the Iriſh and reduced them into a body, calling them Breathe Nimhe, or celeſtial judgments. The reaſon for adducing the precedent inſtances is to ſhew, that the Iriſh were ſimilarly circumſtanced as to laws with other rude nations in the middle ages. However paradoxical it may appear the fact is indiſputable, that notwithſtanding the moſt ſcrupulous attention was paid to property and its minuteſt ſubdiviſions, that the puniſhments for public and private injuries were proportioned with affected nicety, yet the ruſt of barbariſm was with difficulty removed, and the advancement in civilization extremely ſlow. What retarded the improvement of other people, we leave to their antiquaries and hiſtorians to explain, and ſhall now conſider the laws that operated to the injury of Ireland.

The law of Taniſtry, which by election, gave a monarch to the Iſle, kings to provinces, and rulers to inferior toparchies was the fruitful ſource of domeſtic diſſention and commotion. There were (62) various political diviſions of Ireland, according to the pleaſure and power of its princes. O'Flaherty enumerates five under one dynaſty. King Achy made a new partition of the iſle into five provinces, and eſtabliſhed a pentarchy in each. A conſtitution ſo formed was not calculated for the peace and happineſs of ſociety: it called forth the fiercer paſſions by offering power

(58) Advers. leg. Gundob. Lindenbrog. L. L. p. 1414. Franci ſua lege vivebant, Longobardi ſua, Burgundiones item & Saxones ſua, ac ſua Gothi, & ſic de aliis. Baluz. in Regin. p. 652.

(59) Quamlibet provinciam ſuas ſibi leges & peculiares legum codices habuiſſe. Stiernhook, p. 10. About 1347. Magnus Smeck endeavoured, "ut univerſale quoddam jus regnum haberet, ſed non obtinuit, quo minus, ut ante, ſingulæ provinciæ ſuo ſibi arbitrio & jure peculiari viverent. Stiernh. ſup. p. 23.

(60) Νομος ιστι ἐγγραφος, ἑτερον δε ἀγραφος νομος. Schol. in Ajac. Sophol.

(61) E juriſperitorum ſcriptorum ſcriptis, legum undeque decerptarum acceſſione cumulatis, unum opus conflarunt. Cambrens. Evers. p. 137.

(62) Variæ fuerunt Hiberniæ diviſiones politicæ juxta principum voluntates & juriſdictiones. In Scotorum dynaſtia quinque memorantur. Ogyg. p. 268.

power and property as their rewards. No prince was ſafe on his throne, or toparch in his rath. "No man, (ſays Davis,) could enjoy his life, his wife, his lands, or goods if a mightier than himſelf had an appetite to take (63) them from him. Wherein they were little better than canibals, who hunt one another; he that hath moſt ſtrength and ſwiftneſs doth eat and devours all his fellows."

Theſe two cuſtoms of Taniſtry and Gavelkind, by length of time confirmed into laws, were the true cauſes of the deſolation and barbariſm which prevailed in Ireland, "as the like, (adds Davis emphatically,) was never (64) ſeen in any country that profeſſed the name of Chriſt." O'Conor's apology for theſe (65) odious old Iriſh cuſtoms demonſtrates a weak, bigotted, and perverſe mind. As well might he apologize for "the (66) common repudiation of their wives, their promiſcuous generation of children, their neglect of lawful matrimony, their uncleanneſs in apparel, diet, and lodging, and their contempt and ſcorn of all things neceſſary for the civil life of man." If his arguments are valid in one caſe they are equally ſo in the other; for taniſtry and gavelkind originated the latter.

As by our (67) cuſtom of Gavelkind every man was born to land, and derived himſelf from ſome princely Clan, they held themſelves for gentlemen, and ſcorned to deſcend to the practice of huſbandry, merchandiſe, or any mechanical art or ſcience. Hence neither trade, manufactures, nor corporate towns were to be ſeen: what little mercantile buſineſs was tranſacted, foreigners did it.

One diſtinguiſhing property of the tenure by Gavelkind was, that it (68) did not eſcheat in caſe of attainder and execution for felony. "Hence the Engliſh, to defend their (69) poſſeſſions againſt the Iriſh, retained ſuch of the natives as claimed title to their poſſeſſions. For after a thouſand conqueſts and attainders by our law, they would in thoſe days, pretend a title ſtill, becauſe by the Iriſh law no man could forfeit his land. To the ſame purpoſe (70) O'Conor:—The head of a Clan, or the factious inſurgent was alone anſwerable for his own, or his people's delinquency; the innocent ſucceſſor was free from the guilt and enjoyed his property.—

Though Taniſtry and Gavelkind (71) may have exiſted in other countries, yet as now deſcribed they ſeem to be peculiar to Ireland, and they entailed miſery on it.

The

(63) Hiſt. Relations, p. 73. (64) Relations, p. 74. (65) Diſſ. p. 130.

(66) Mentioned by Davis, ſup. p. 80. (67) Davis, ſup. p. 75. Spenſer, ſup. p. 101.

(68) Hæc hæreditas feudalibus legibus non coercitur, nec feloniæ mulctis eſt obnoxia. Spelman in Gaveletum. Blackſtone, V. 2. p. 84. Reeves ſhews land did not eſcheat among the Anglo-Saxons. Hiſt. of Engl. Law. V. 1. p. 16.

(69) The words of Davis, ſup. p. 97.

(70) Diſſ. p. 63. 1ſt Edit. (71) See note before 35.

The king or chieftain of every diſtrict, being only tenant for life, exerciſed every ſpecies of extortion for the ſupport of barbaric pride and ſtate. The feudal policy gave them rights over their feudatories; theſe rights they carried to the moſt deſtructive exceſs, and to the utter impoveriſhment of their tenantry. The (72) petty kings paid to their monarch, cows, ſheep, cloaks, horſes, ſhips, hounds, and ſwords. The ſcarcity of money obliged tenants to pay in kind. Thus in the (73) laws of Ina, the Anglo-Saxon king, he who held ten hydes of land, ſupplied his Lord with honey, bread, beer, oxen, ſheep, geeſe, hens, cheeſe, butter, ſalmon, eels, and fuel. In theſe Iriſh and Saxon duties, the quantity and quality of which each article conſiſted was exactly aſcertained, and ſo they continued for ſome ages, but at length they degenerated into ſuch oppreſſion of the ſubject, that the Engliſh princes, Henry I. John, and Henry III. were (74) compelled to remove ſuch grievances by charters. Where no ſuch controuling power could be exerciſed, as was the caſe in Ireland, and every kinglet and toparch ſhared in the plunder of a wretched commonalty, ingenuity was racked to invent tallages, of which the following is a ſpecimen. Bonaght-borr was free quarters at diſcretion, or in ſpecie: bonaght-beg was a commutation for money, or proviſions. This exaction was generally for the pay of Kerns and Galloglaſſes, and hence in our writers, a body of ſuch troops were called Bonaghts. Sorohen was a tax paid four times a year. Gillycone, an impoſition for the Lord's hounds and huntſman. Cuddy, a ſupper and entertainment for a night. "But the moſt (75) wicked and miſchievous cuſtom of all others was that of Coigne and Livery; which conſiſted in taking man's-meat, horſe-meat, and money at the will and pleaſure of the ſoldier. This extortion was originally Iriſh, and did draw down as great, or greater plagues upon Ireland than thoſe of Egypt; for the latter though heavy were but of ſhort continuance, but the plagues of Ireland laſted four hundred years together. And hence the depopulation, baniſhment, and extirpation of the better ſort of ſubjects. This extortion of Coigne and Livery was for the ſupport of their men of war; but the Iriſh tallages extorted by their chieftains and taniſts, by colour of their barbarous ſeignory were almoſt as grievous a burden as the other, namely Coſherings, which were viſitations and progreſſes made by the Lord and his followers among his tenants. Seſſings of the Kern, of his family called Kernety, of his horſes and horſeboys. And laſtly cuttings, tallages, and

(72) Coll. de reb. Hib. p. 382. (73) Spelman, p. 230.
(74) Wilkins, L. L. Hen. I. (75) Davis, ſup.

and ſpendings, high and low at his pleaſure: all which made the Lord an abſolute tyrant, and the tenant a very ſlave and villein, and in ſome reſpect more miſerable than bond ſlaves." In another place, Davis, who ſaw the diſtreſſed condition of the natives, and was inſtrumental in removing it, makes uſe of theſe ſtrong expreſſions, "Theſe extortions were called in the old ſtatutes of Ireland—damnable cuſtoms—and the impoſing and taking them made high treaſon. And it is ſaid in an ancient diſcourſe of the decay of Ireland, that though they were firſt invented in hell, yet if they had been uſed and practiſed there, as they have been in Ireland, they would have long ſince deſtroyed the kingdom of Beelzebub."

Beſides the foregoing theſe were other exactions called (76) Muſterowne, South, Aſſaut, Bode, Garty, Caan, Byenge, Saults, Slaunciaghs, Shragh, Mart, Refection, and many more whoſe names are not come down to us, all theſe were taken as feudal duties. Thus (77) in Doomſday book are duties of one night, half a night, three nights, ten nights, one day, and a month; that is proviſions, or a commutation in money, were to be ſupplied for theſe periods. Enough has been ſaid to evince the feudality of our laws, and that where they differ from thoſe of other people it was principally in their abuſe. The Engliſh coloniſts ſtyled them Brehon laws, becauſe Brehon was the title of the Judge who adminiſtered them. Campion (79) in 1571 thus ſpeaks of them, "Other lawyers they have, liable to certain families, which after the cuſtom of the country determine and judge cauſes. Theſe conſider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony or treſſpaſs, all is redeemed by compoſition. The Breighoon, (Brehon) ſo they call this kind of lawyer, Sitteth him down on a bank, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance, round about him, and then they proceed." Spenſer's (80) account of the Brehon law is this, "It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which often times there appeareth great ſhew of equity, in determining the right between party and party, but in many things repugning quite to God's law and man's. As for example in the caſe of murder, the Brehon, that is their Judge, will compound between the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, which proſecute the action, that the malefactor ſhall give unto them, or to the child or wife of him that is ſlain, a recompence, which they call an Eriach (Eric). By which vilde law of theirs, many murders amongſt

(76) Ware by Harris, p. 74.
(77) Spelman, p. 230.
(78) Brodan is—ſententiam dicere. See Wall. praf. Breath in Iriſh is judgement; in Welſh it is Brawd.
(79) Hiſt. Ireland, p. 19.
(80) View, p. 4.

amongſt them are made up and ſmothered. And this judge being, as he is called the Lord's Brehon, adjudgeth for the moſt part, a better ſhare unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the ſoil, or the head of that Sept, and alſo unto himſelf for his judgement, a greater portion than unto the plaintiffs or parties grieved."

In inveſtigating the Antiquities of Ireland, I have had frequent opportunities of admiring the profound erudition of Spenſer, and his extenſive knowledge of claſſical writers: theſe are traits in the character of this eminent Poet but little attended to, yet admitting the ſtrongeſt proof. However the citation now given betrays falſe aſſertions and want of information, very probably from his application to more pleaſing ſtudies.

1. He ſays, "the Brehon law is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition." This is abſolutely falſe, and the great number of MSS in Dublin College library, in the Mahon, Seabright and other collections evince it to be ſo. In 1606, when it was neceſſary to aſcertain what were (81) the duties, ſervices and rents paid to M'Guire out of Fermanagh, O'Briſlan, his Brehon, was ſent for, and they appeared in a parchment roll. So that though tradition might be authority for ſome cuſtoms, the principal laws of the Sept were conſtantly committed to writing.

2. Spenſer ſpeaks of compoſition for murder as peculiar to the Iriſh, which it was not, being exactly the ſame as the Anglo-Saxon, Were and Weregild. Hume ſays, the † Iriſh, who never had any connection with the German nations, adopted compoſitions for murder and robbery very lately. How ignorant of our Antiquities!

3. Spenſer accuſes the Brehon of partiality to his Lord and himſelf in apportioning the Eric. In the barbaric codes, if homicide was committed it was redeemed by three compoſitions; Megbote, which went to the family; Manbote to the Lord of the Vaſſal, and Fredum to the treaſury or judge. The Salic and Ripuarian judges had their fredum or perquiſites for hearing and determining cauſes: The Brehon (83) had the eleventh part.

We

(81) Conſuetudinum Hiberniæ, ſermone Hibernico conſcriptarum, plurima apudeos adhuc extare volumina, mihi retulit Rev. D. Uſſerius, cujus eximia divini humanique juris omnis ſcientia, magnam Hiberniæ genti gloriam attulit. Duck. p. 413.

(82) Collect. de reb. Heb. V. 1. p. 160. † Hiſt. of England, V. 1. Append. 1.

(83) Spelman in Freda. p. 247.

We have ſeen how little the Brehon law was underſtood by Campion and Spenſer, but we might expect to have their defects ſupplied by Stanihurſt, who was bred a lawyer, and was Recorder of Dublin. Yet he, if poſſible, is more incorrect than the others. He ſays the Brehons are unacquainted with the (84) Engliſh law, and totally ignorant of the canon and civil: that they have certain deciſions, confirmed by uſe and time, which they keep ſecret to increaſe their credit among the vulgar. On the contrary, Davis informs us, that the Brehons gave judgement with the aſſiſtance of certain ſcholars, who had learned many rules of the civil and canon law, rather by tradition than by reading. It is really aſtoniſhing, that none of the learned men now mentioned, particularly Stanihurſt and Davis, lawyers, ſhould not have preceived that the Iriſh conſtitution and laws were feudal, and reſembled thoſe of England unleſs in their abuſe. The evidence I have alleged ſeems deciſive that this was the caſe, and yet I feel a delicacy in being poſitive in an attempt, where men of very ſuperior talents have been ſilent.

I have ſhewn, that the Iriſh very early had written laws. When Malachy O'Morgan, the Pope's legate was ſeated in the archiepiſcopal chair of Armagh in 1134, a cloſe intimacy was eſtabliſhed between Rome and Ireland; this introduced a knowledge of the Roman civil law, diſcovered at Amalphi in 1127. This was every where eagerly embraced, as it ſoftened the rigour and tempered the ſeverity of the feudal code. Vacarius, in 1149, read lectures on the Pandects at Oxford, and ſo increaſing was the avidity for this ſtudy, that about 1184 Giraldus Cambrenſis (85) complains, that it had ſtifled all the other ſciences.

As the Iriſh became attached to the Roman See, and as the latter, notwithſtanding the (86) reſiſtance of our Princes, filled almoſt all our biſhopricks and eccleſiaſtical dignities when vacant; and as the property and rights of the clergy were matters of very great concern, the canon and civil law became a neceſſary part of education. They diſcovered a great propenſity, ſays (87) Duck, for the cultivation of the canon and civil law, and obtained the reputation of being the beſt canoniſt's, and he

(84) Intelligentiam juris Britainnici non habent. civilis etiam ac pontificalis imperitiſſimi Stanihurſt de reb. Hib. p. 37. In 1644, Lord Coke's knowledge of Iriſh Brehon laws was nothing more than a few terms. 4th Inſtit. p. 358. And Blackſtone's is as trifling in 1765. Commen. Introd.

(85) Quod leges imperiales reliquas ſcientias omnes ſuffocaverant. l. 1. apud Duck ſup. p. 363.

(86) Prynne's records, paſſim.

(87) Quod plerique ſcriptores tradunt, Hibernicorum ingenia valde propenſa eſſe ad jus civile & canonicum.—Roſſus apud ſuos percrebuiſſe dicit, Hibernos olim ſtudiis juris pontificii delectari ſolitos, & fuiſſe optimos. Canoniſtas Duck ſup. p. 416.

he mentions a celebrated profeſſor at Oxford, in the time of Edward III. named William of Drogheda. Hence Polydore Virgil, who addreſſed his hiſtory of England to Henry VIII. and from collecting the Pope's revenue muſt have had good information, tells us, the Iriſh in 1533, were not (88) unacquainted with learning, for from their youth they applied to the ſtudy of grammar and the canon and civil law; and Campion, in 1570, ſays, "without either precepts or obſervation of concongruity, the Iriſh ſpeak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common ſchools of leachcraft (phyſic) and law; whereat they begin children, and hold on ſixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphoriſms of Hippocrates, the civil inſtitutions, and a few other parings of the two faculties."

In theſe citations we learn, that the Brehons conſulted occaſionally canon and civil lawyers to aſſiſt their deciſions: that civil and criminal cauſes were their ſole provinces, and pure eccleſiaſtical matters were left to the Clergy. It is probable the Brehonic inſtitutes were not unlike thoſe of the (89) Welſh. The latter were tripartite: one related to the King's court, another to the laws of the country, and the third were the cuſtoms appertaining to both. But as no ancient document has been deciphered to illuminate this ſubject, conjectures are idle. Macpherſon (90) reckons the Brehon among the nobility, though he aſſigns no reaſon for this, yet as he held of the prince by grand ſerjeantry he might be accounted noble. His office and property were hereditary. He ſat on the (91) ſummit of a hill or its acclivity, fronting the eaſt, to hear cauſes. This practice was copied from the northerns. Stephanius (92) ſuppoſes ſuch places were choſen, becauſe ancient ſuperſtition adored hills as well as groves and fountains, and it was (93) believed the influence of magic was leſs in the open air than in confined places. It was common in Wales to throw up an earthen mount, whereon the judges ſat, and this was called a (94) Gorſedde. One of theſe ancient judgment-ſeats is on the hill of Kyle, in the Queen's County: a view of which with the chief in coſtume is given in the plate.

(88) Literarum non expertia, nam a pueris grammaticæ & juri tam pontificio quam civile operam dant. L. 13. p. 296. Ed. Thyſii.

(89) Leg. Wall. (90) Diſs. p. 170.

(91) Stanihurſt, p. 33. Spenſer, p. 54.

(92) Conſueverat autem in celiti montis vertice conſulenti populo plebiſcita deprotnere. Sax. Gram. Stephan, in loco, p. 93 This was the Lægbergis of the Icelanders. Thorkelin's tracts, p. 54. Olim in collibus ſub dio. Loccen. p. 49. Sub dio veterum judicia habebantur. Sternhook. p. 26.

(93) Bed. l. 1. c. 25. (94) Hearne's Antiq. diſcourſes, V. 1. p. 132.

ON THE OGHAM CHARACTERS, AND ALPHABETIC ELEMENTS OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

THE origin of letters among the Celtes is thus delivered by the fabulous Berosus. The great giant Samothes, the brother of Gomer and Tubal, promulged a code of laws for the Celtic nations, taught them the courses of the planets and the nature of sublunary things, gave them the Sagæ or Phænician letters, and led colonies into the Celtic regions 143 years after the deluge, and into Britain 252 years after the same memorable event.

Now for the Irish elements. The celebrated Feniusa Farsa, according to Keating, was the son of Magog, and King of Scythia. Desirous of becoming master of the seventy-two languages created at the confusion of Babel, he sent seventy-two persons to learn them. He established an University at Magh-Seanair near Athens, over which he, Gadel, and Caoith presided. These formed the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew letters. Gadel was ordered to digest the Irish into five dialects: the Finian, to be spoken by the militia and soldiery; the poetic and historic, by the senachies and bards; the medical, by physicians, and the common idiom by the vulgar.

Mr. O'Conor's account of the Bethluisnion of the Ogma is in the same wild romantic strain. "This, observes he, has not the least resemblance with either the Greek or Roman alphabets. Had our Bards been silent on the original of our letters from a celebrated Phenius or Phenician, yet the signatures of an early commerce between our predecessors and an oriental lettered people, would appear evident. These letters are arranged in a different order from the alphabet of the Greeks, or abecedarium of the Romans: their ancient virgular figures were peculiar to this western nation alone; and their names partly Phænician and partly vernacular, not only shew their Asiatic origin, but their great antiquity in this island." Mr. Pinkerton very (1) justly calls such writers, "visionaries, who detail superficial dreams to the public, upon no ancient authority, and upon the most silly and irrational ratiocination.

(1) History of Scotland, V. 2. p. 31. He treats some Irish Antiquaries and their compositions with critical severity.

ratiocination. Hence, (adds he,) what no foreign antiquary, what no man of found learning would even imagine, has been ſeriouſly advanced, that the Phænicians ſettled colonies in the South of Britain, and in Ireland, and that traces of the Phænician language may be found in the Iriſh!"

Gower's (2) relation of the progreſs of the Latin language exactly matches that delivered by O'Conor of the Iriſh. Gower ſuppoſes the Latin invented by the old Tuſcan propheteſs Carmens; then reduced to method, proſody, &c. by Ariſtarchus, Donatus, and Didymus; adorned with the flowers of eloquence by Tully; enriched by tranſlations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek, and eſpecially from St. Jerome's verſion of the Bible. Here both fictions breathe the ſame ſpirit, and are probably of the ſame age.

Truth, though clouded, will at length burſt the thick envelope of fable. "What, (ſays (3) O'Flaherty,) if I ſhould affirm, that our Phenifius was the Phænician Cadmus, who depicted the ancient Greek letters, and which reſembled the Latin. Nor are the Iriſh far diſtant from the Latin." Here he ſtates an indiſputable fact, that the Iriſh elements are from the Latin, and the Latin from the Greek: but how painful to a liberal mind is the diffidence with which he expreſſes himſelf! He had written too large a work, and ſtaked his reputation with his countrymen too deeply, to make the proper application of his learning and abilities to the ſubject of Iriſh Antiquities. Like many others, to be conſiſtent he was obliged to be abſurd, and to be patriotic, he ſacrificed his fame on the altar of national prejudice.

O'Conor, whoſe diſſertations on the ancient Hiſtory of Ireland, are nothing but ſcraps tranſlated from Lynch's Cambrenſis Everſus and O'Flaherty, grants the letters uſed by the old Iriſh, ſince the reception of chriſtianity, are evidently (4) borrowed from the firſt chriſtian miſſioners, as more commodious than the old, uncouth, and virgular forms imported into Ireland by the Celto-Scythian colony from Spain. What a direct contradiction is this of his former aſſertion, and how changed his tone from the tumid and bombaſtic verboſity of his former citation? Sir George Mackenzie and Biſhop Stillingfleet had examined the Iriſh claim to remote hiſtory and literature, and found it to be a heap of impertinence and impoſture. Father Innes, the two Macphersons, and Mr. Whitaker have ſince totally ſubverted it. Aſhamed of perſevering in groſs errors, and unable to withſtand the conviction flaſhed

(2) Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry. V. 2. p. 24.
(3) Ogyg. p. 221. Innes, p. 448.
(4) Ogyg. vindicated. p. 242.

flaſhed on him from every quarter, the Iriſh antiquary gives up his fables, and reluctantly owns the triumph of learning and criticiſm.

For the reprobation of theſe puerile figments no great extent of reading, or ſtrength of judgment is requiſite: nor ſhould they have farther engaged the reader's attention, did I not imagine the ſubject has hitherto been totally miſunderſtood, and of courſe imperfectly treated. The Iriſh ground their pretenſions to an original alphabet on the traditions of their Bards, (who bring their anceſtors from the Eaſt) and the agreement of theſe traditions with allowed hiſtory. Thus O'Conor compares the accounts in the Leavar Gabhala and Leavar Lecan, two MSS which have never ſeen the light, with the facts given in Newton's chronology. In his way of conducting this matter, he might have parallels equally accurate in Amidis de Gaul or any other romance, as in theſe Leavars. But what is moſt extraordinary is, to find in this obſcure corner of the Globe literary memorials of unimpeached veracity, not only to ſupply the defects, but fill up the chaſms of ſacred and prophane hiſtory! The genealogies of the Virgin Mary, Joſeph and the other holy perſons in Scripture, are not to be had but in this book of (5) Lecan; and where ſo likely this book to be preſerved as in the iſland of Saints!

O Fortunatos nimium ſua ſi bona nórint
Hibernos!

This book of Lecan was compiled (6) between the years 1380 and 1417, a period, like the reſt, of rebellion and domeſtic confuſion. Uneaſy under the Engliſh yoke, and unable to ſhake it off, the (7) miſerable Seanachies of thoſe times amuſed themſelves and their countrymen with fabulous tales of the antiquity and nobility of their deſcent; the grandeur and power of their former princes, and the diſtinguiſhed learning and civility of their anceſtors. This invaluable information we are told, was preſerved ſolely by the uſe of the Iriſh or Phænician letters in this iſle. The identity of theſe letters, we ſee has been much inſiſted on. But where, it may be aſked, did theſe erudite and perſpicacious antiquaries diſcover the name, figure, order, and power of the Phænician elements, which have eſcaped the acute eyes of Swinton, Barthelemy, Hottinger, and Gebelin? For the Phænician alphabets

(5) Lhuyd Archaeol. Brit. p 435.

(6) Ogyg. vind. p. 141. This ſeems doubtful, the ſpecimens of Iriſh from it are too modern for ſo early a date.

(7) The wretched Aodhgan or Egan, in 1575, could find no place to ſhelter him, while making remarks on the Brehon laws, but the mill of Dunadaigne. Collect. No. 10. p. 123. Cox. V. 1. p. 346, for the ſtate of the country.

alphabets of Syria, Crete, Malta, Sicily, Spain, and Carthage differ (8) very remotely. The learned M. Dutens thus delivers his ſentiments on this point, in his preface to the explication of Mr. Duane's Greek and Phænician Coins.

" Tous ceux qui ont recours aux ſources ſavent fort bien, qu'on neſt pas encore arrivé au point de connoître les fineſſes de la langue Phénicienne, dont, les noms propres exceptés, on ſcait à peine cinquante mots. Il faut être de bonne foi, & ne pas mettre plus d'oſtentation dans l'étude d'une langue, ou d'une ſcience qu'il ne convient de faire. On n'ignore pas, que les ſavans ne ſont pas d'accord entre eux ſur la (9) valeur de toutes les lettres de l'aphabet Phénicien, & ſuppoſant même qu'ils fuſſent, après les avoir réduites à la valeur des lettres Hébraïques, ils n'ont pas d'autre moyen d'nterpréter les mots que par la ſignification qu'ils ont dans la langue Hébraïque ou Syriaque, & dans ce cas, on ne peut pas plus dire que ce que l'on apelle la lingue Phénicienne ou Punique ſoient des langues propres, que l'on ne pourroit le dire du texte Samaritain du Pentateuque, qui ne differe de l' Hébraïque que par les charactéres. Et cependant tout en errant dans ce labyrinthe, on voit des Savans en conſulter d'autres, qu'ils diſent s'y être égarés comme s'ils en tenoient eux-mêmes le fil."

But to obviate every doubt reſpecting the oriental colonization of Ireland, the Iriſh language is adduced as proof, " that the (10) ſpeakers were a civilized and lettered people, which could only be derived from an eaſtern connection: that the language is maſculine and nervous: harmonious in its articulation; copious in its phraſeology, and replete with abſtract and technical terms; free from anomalies, ſterlities and heteroclite redundancies."—We are told, ſays (11) Mr. Pinkerton, of many abſtract terms in the old Iriſh language, as a proof that the people were civilized; yet no ſuch terms are produced, and if they were, how old are they? The uſe of Latin abſtract terms is quite modern. There is not one Iriſh MSS. extant older than the 11th century, long after metaphyſics and ſuch trifling ſort of learning had been ſucceſsfully ſtudied there. To which I add, that its copiouſneſs ariſes from its corruption, and ſo does its harmony; for in the 4th and 5th centuries, and much earlier, it is branded by the (12) ancients with the harſheſt expreſſions for its barbariſm;

(9) To the ſame purpoſe one of the firſt Orientaliſts of the laſt century, ſpeaking of ſome Punic coins ſays: Priores duos Punicos eſſe libentur darem, ſi Puncæ literature veſtigia extarent. Necdum ab aliis, meo judicio, oſtenſum perſpicue ſatis eſt, cujuſmodi veterum Pænorum elementa. Hottinger. Cipp. Heb, p. 183.

(10) Iriſh Grammar, p, 2. Edit. 1781. (11) Supra, p. 19.

(12) Irenæi adv hæres. lib. 1. Non eſſe faſtidio rudem hunc & incultum tranſalpini ſermonis horrorem. Pacat. Panegyr. Sermonis Celtici ſquamam. Sid. Apollin. l. 3. ep. 3.

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bariſm; and a (13) native writer, about the year 700, calls it a vile tongue. As no genuine ſpecimen of old Celtic has been produced, or poſſibly can, to warrant the praiſes beſtowed on it, it clearly follows, that to ſpeak it in ſuch panegyrical terms muſt be to deceive the unlearned reader, while at the ſame time it betrays the writer's profound ignorance. But to evince how eaſy it is to indulge in the praiſe of any tongue, even the moſt barbarous and unpoliſhed, take the following inſtance from an admirer of the Gothic. " Les Goths (14) n'étoient pas une nation ſi groſſiere que l' on imagine: ce qu' il prouve par la politeſſe & par a régularité de leur langue. C'eſt ce que l' on peut voir, 1. par les genres maſculin, feminin, & neutre des noms, &c. Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la langue Gothique, c'eſt qu' elle ne ſe ſert point due verbe auxiliaire avoir, non plus que les Grecs & les Latins, pour ne point parler des langues orientales, ce qui eſt une preuve inconteſtable de ſa grande antiquité." That any nation, particularly the Gothic, wrapt in Cimmerian darkneſs, ſhould rival the Iriſh in politeneſs, regularity and antiquity of language, is enough to ſtir the bile of the moſt ſtoical Hibernian, nor is it leſs irritating for (15) Rudbeck to make his Gotho-Runic the fountain from whence flowed the Greek and Phænician letters, whence all the world knows the Iriſh bethluiſnion of the ogma can alone aſpire to that diſtinguiſhed honor; and that the (16) Celtic is the true parent of the Hebrew, Arabic, Perſic, Japoneſe, Mungallic, Greek, Latin, Sclavonian, Oſcan, Showiah, Tamzeght, Algonkin, and a thouſand more. The author of this moſt eccentric whimſy cannot be ſerious: if he only meant to banter the unprofitable ſtudies of ſome Antiquaries, he has ſucceeded admirably: for

Non potuit melius litem finire jocoſam.

The † aid of etymology is called in to demonſtrate the eaſtern complexion of the Iriſh tongue, by the Author laſt cited. If he deſigned to prove the Celtic to be originally the ſame as the Hebrew or any other Oriental language, he ought, as a ſcholar, to have ſhown their agreement in (17) matter and form; for it is from theſe, and not from reſemblances in ſound, the affinity of languages is to be inferred. The Celtic, in

(13) Adamnan. apud Uſſer. Syllog. p. 42.

(14) Bibliothêque Chos. par le Clerc. T. 28. p. 307.

(15) Atlant. c. 38.

(16) Collectanea reb. Hib. and Iriſh Grammar, ſup. paſſim.

† Scis enim quam proclive ſit quidvis ex quavis lingua exculpere, ſi genio indulgeamus, Goropii & Rudbeckii & ejus exemplo, qui nuper de origine Hungarorum ſcripſit. Primus in Belgica, alter in Suecica, tertius en Hungarica verba deorum vocabul nullo negotio invenit. Leibnitz. Oper. T. 8. p. 158.

(17) Wotton. de conf. Ling. apud Chamberlayne, p. 46.

in its ſtructure, varies from every other tongue. In it, (18) words are declined by changing not the terminations but the initial letters in the oblique caſes. Its pronouns alter the beginning of nouns, and its grammar cancels every rule of language. Not to inſiſt on the (19) uncertainty of etymology from the vicious orthography of words by Lexicographers, and the vicious orthoëpy of ſounds by the natives themſelves, the Iriſh leavar for liber, litur for litera, and ſcriptuir for ſcriptura, abundantly demonſtrate, that we had neither letters, writing or books, until received through a Roman intercourſe. This Innes has long ſince obſerved. The corrupt ſtate of ancient tongues has, at all times, been a fine field for literary trifling, and a rich ſoil for ſciolifts and alphabetarians to flouriſh in. On the whole, the pretenſions of the Iriſh to an eaſtern origin is a vain and groundleſs notion, generated in ignorance and miſtaken patriotiſm, diſgraceful to the good ſenſe of the nation, and not to be ſupported by reaſon, hiſtory, or learning.

The part we have now been travelling over is deſcribed by Virgil:

Umbrarum hic locus eſt ſomni noctiſque ſoporæ,
Hic & luciſugæ poſuêre cubilia blattæ.

Something of light and certainty breaks in upon us as we advance in this inquiry. The voice of antiquity is ſilent as to Druidic letters, which are ſaid to have been uſed in this iſle. Cæſar (20) ſays they exiſted, but that paſſage has been long ſuſpected as the interpolation of Julius Celſus; who, I believe, had (21) Strabo in view when he inſerted it. The want of native Britiſh letters is ſtrongly (22) inferred from the legends on the coins of Cunobeline, for if the Druids had a peculiar alphabet, or uſed the Greek letters, as Cæſar aſſerts, ſuperintending religion and learning as they did, and obſtinately retentive of their opinions and cuſtoms, they aſſuredly would have put their own and not Roman letters on the coins of their princes. Mabillon (23) is more than doubtful about the exiſtence of the Gauliſh letters, nor does

(18) Mallet, V. 1. pref. p. 42. Pinkerton's Diſſ. p. 123, and Scotland paſſ.

(19) Mr. Pinkerton can ſcarcely keep his temper when ſpeaking of our abſurd and ridiculous Iriſh etymologies; he conſiders them as inſtances of the groſſeſt inſults ever offered to the ſenſe and reaſon of mankind. Scotland ſup. V. 2. initio.

(20) Cæſaris hic locus eſt & alii apud eundem de Græcorum literarum uſu, ſuo tempore apud Gallos, longe ſuſpectus ſuperioris ætatis viris ſummis. Burton. Hiſt. Græc. ling. p. 19. Hotoman. Franco-Gall. c. 2. Lips. Elect. l. 2. c. 7. Bayle. Article Céſar.

(21) The words are: φιλελληνας, ωστε και τα συμβολαια ελληνιστι γραφειν. Lib. Cæſar's words are: publicis privatiſque rationibus Græcis literis utuntur. Lib. 6.

(22) By Whitaker, ſup. p. 372—373. Aſtle's Origin of Writing, p. 56.

(23) De re Diplom. l. 1. c. 11. Leibnitz is of the ſame opinion. Tom. 8. p. 195. Edit. Dutens.

does he ſeem to lay much ſtreſs on the alphabet collected by Boterue from ſepulchral inſcriptions. It is above fifteen hundred years ago ſince Celſus oppoſed the antiquity of the Druids and their wiſdom to thoſe of the Jews. What was Origen's anſwer? I do not know, ſays (24) the Father, that they have left us any writings. It was incumbent on Celſus then as on our Druids now, to ſupport the extraordinary things they have advanced concerning theſe ſages by other arguments than confident aſſertions.

But the boldeſt attempt to ſilence the oppoſers of ancient Iriſh literature is the (25) production of an inſcription on Callan mountain, in the county of Clare, its date A. D. 295. Here the Gauntlet is thrown down, and the literary world challenged to an inveſtigation of theſe extraordinary Iriſh elements. The article in the Archaeologia informs us, that the Iriſh Seanachies and Antiquaries ſeriouſly aſſert the uſe of a character called Ogham, not uſed as a cipher but as an uniform alphabet, wherein all matters relating to the ſtate and religion were recorded. But in the next page, the modern bards are charged with inventing Ogums, and changing 150 circular ſcales of Proſodia into right-lined Ogums, and impoſing them on the world for ſo many different alphabets. How this author will reconcile the poſitive accuſation of invention and miſtake in the (26) writers below cited, with their ſerious aſſertion of an uniform alphabet, will require ſome ingenuity to explain. He confeſſes he erroneouſly ſaid, the Ogum characters were marked by certain ſtrokes ſtanding perpendicularly on an horizontal maſter-line, but from ancient MSS he found the maſter-line was drawn perpendicular, and the characters marked by ſtrokes perpendicular to it, on the right and left. Such are the author's words in the Archaeologia. Notwithſtanding all the new lights he received, he gives in page 281, another manner of writing the Ogum, which is with horizontal ſtrokes on each ſide of a perpendicular line. It appears then, that neither the circular mode of drawing the Ogum, nor the horizontal maſter-line with perpendicular ſtrokes, nor the perpendicular maſter-line with perpendicular ſtrokes, are right, but the perpendicular line with horizontal ſtrokes. So that here Seanachies contradict MSS and MSS oppoſe inſcriptions. Does not this jargon approach very near Perſius's

Ægroti

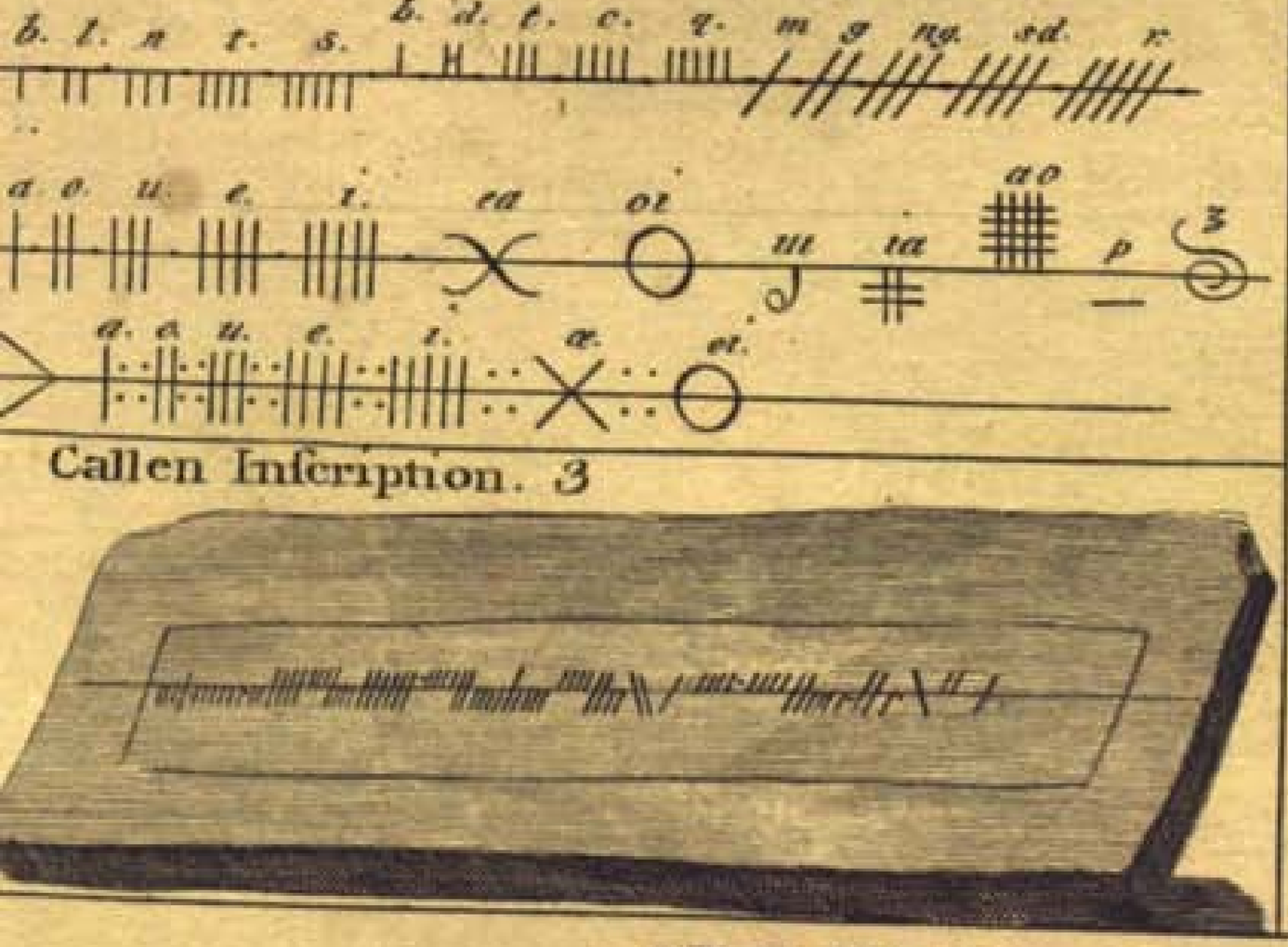
(24) Ω᾽ κε᾽ οἶδα τι φέρεται συγγράμματα. Contra Cels. l. 1.

(25) Inſerted in the Archaeologia, V. 7. p. 276.

(26) The writers here diſguiſed under the name of modern bards are, I apprehend, Mac Firbis and O'Flaherty. Let the reader judge. Ex his aliquas inter antiquitatum monumenta apud ſe (Mac Firbis) ſuperſuiſſe, ut ei diverſas characterum formulas, quas ter quinquagenas a Fenicii uſque ætate numero, & croabb ogham, i. e. virgeas characteres nomine recenſet, non ita pridem ad me ſcripſit Dualdus Firbiſius. O'Flah. Ogyg p. 233. Ogyg. vind. p. 9.

Alphabets & Ogums.

1 Ogum Croabh		2 O Sullivan's Ogum		British Ogum			Bobeloth			Bethluisnion		
Charact.	Power	Character	Power	Char.r	Pow.	Name	Char.	Po.	Name.	Charact.r	Pow.	Name.
	B		B		a	Alap		B	Boibel		B	Beth
	L		L		b	Braut		L	Loth		L	Luis
	N		F		c	Curi		F	Forann		N	Nion
	T		S		d	Dexi		S	Salia		F	Fearn
	A		N		e	Egin		N	Neiagadon		S	Suil
	M		H		f	Fich		H	Viria		H	Uath
	D		D		g	Guidir		D	Daibhaith		D	Duir
	T		T		h	Huil		T	Teilmon		T	Tinne
	C		C		i	Jechuit		C	Caoi		C	Coll
	Q		M		k	Kam		Ce	Ceilep		M	Muin
	M		G		l	Louber		M	Moiria		G	Gort
	G		ng		m	Murn		G	Gath		P	Pethboc
	Ng		R		n	Nihn		Ng	Ngoimar		R	Ruis
	St		A		o	Or		I	Idra		A	Ailm
	R		O		p	Parth		R	Ruiben		O	On
	A		V		q	Quith		A	Arab		U	Ur
	O		E		r	Rat		O	Ose		E	Eadhadh
	U		I		s	Sung		U	Ura		I	Idbo
	E		ia		t	Tinus		E	Esu			
	I		ai		u	Ur		Ch	Chaim			
			oi		x	Ierl						
			ui		e	Ofr						
			ea		z	Zeir						
			oa		ae	Aim						
			ea		ei	Eftiaul						
			eg		au	Egui						
			sto		au	Aur						
			oui		ei	Eno						
			oai			Keno						
						Elau						



Callen Inscription. 3

Marcomannic Runes.

Charact.	Po.	Name	Char.	Pow.	Name
F	A	Asc	I	I	His
B	B	Byrith	Ж	K	Chileb
Y	C	Chen	ᛚ	L	Lagu
D C	D	Thorn	ᛘ	M	Man
A Λ	E	Ech	X	N	Not
Ψ	F	Feeh	K	O	Othil
✳	G	Gibu	D	P	Peri
X	H	Hagale			

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Ægroti veteris meditantis ſomnia: Gigni
De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil poſſe neverti?

I believe the reader will be apt to credit Mr. Pinkerton, who affirms this ſame Celtic has the ſtrange effect to obnubilating the mind, and this he demonſtrates, by numerous examples, has been unhappily the caſe with this writer.

Our author in the Archaeolgia grants, that he has never been able to diſcover Ogum inſcriptions on ſtones, altars or cromlecc, and yet in a (27) former work he aſks with ſtrong emphaſis—" ſhall we doubt the authority of Sir James Ware, ſhall we diſbelieve our eyes, when we behold Ogum inſcriptions on many remains of antiquity?" In four pages after he ſays: " we are ſorry it is not in our power to quote any paſſages of our Druidic Ogum, ſuch books having not fallen into our hands." This ſort of contradictory writing goes to the ſubverſion of all ſober inquiry; it reſembles this author's Ogum, which, like the characters of the Montcheou Tartars, are legible up and down, backwards and forwards: it is a ſort of literary conjuring, where the reader,

Obſtupuit, varia confuſus imagine rerum.

To reſcue therefore a ſubject thus in danger of being irretrievably loſt, we muſt recur to the old Iriſh antiquaries, who, after all their vagarees, give the only rational information. Ware is the firſt, I think, who mentions the Ogum, and that in a way not to afford matter of triumph as to its uſefulneſs or antiquity. He deſcribes it as made up of various occult forms, or artificial modes of writing for ſecrecy. The 150 notes mentioned by Mac Firbis, O'Flaherty calls " different forms of characters." Theſe expreſſions indicate ſtenographic as well as ſteganographic notes, referring to ſome fictitious characters or ciphers.

In 1669, O'Molloy, in his Iriſh Grammar, enters more fully into this ſubject, and is literally copied by every writer ſince. He informs us the Ogum was divided into three kinds: 1. Ogum beith, when bh, or the Iriſh letter beith being part of the firſt conſonant, is placed inſtead of the vowel a. This Ogum is alſo called Ogum conſoine, or the Ogum made out of conſonants. Here is an (28) example:

a	e	i	o	u
bh.	fc.	ng.	dl.	ft.

The ſame method may be obſerved in ſubſtituting conſonants for dipthongs. Thus,

ae

(27) Iriſh Grammar, p. 7. (28) Harris's Ware, p. 19.

ae ia ua io oi
mm. ll. bb. cc. pp.

The ſecond ſort is Ogum coll, or the Ogum compoſed out of the letter c: when for all the vowels, dipthongs and tripthongs the letter c is ſubſtituted, variouſly repeated, doubled and turned, as thus:

a	e	i	o	u
c.	cccc.	cccc.	cc.	ccc.
ea	ia	oi	io	ua
ɔ	ɔɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔɔ

The third ſort is the Ogum croabh, or the virgular Ogum; it has an horizontal maſter-line, through which and on each ſide are perpendicular ſtrokes which ſtand in the place of vowels, conſonants, dipthongs and tripthongs. This is exhibited in the Plate No. 1. as the perpendicular maſter-line with horizontal ſtrokes is ſeen in No. 2. and the Callan inſcription in No. 3. What is now produced from Molloy is rational and intelligible, nor can there be any doubt but all theſe (29) cryptographic modes were practiſed in all the northern countries of Europe: for in the celebrated (30) Icelandic Edda at Upſal is an inſtance of the Ogum conſoine, where inſtead of the vowel, that conſonant which followed next in the alphabet is placed. As

Dfxtfrt ſcrkptprks bfnfdkth skt pmnkbxs hprks. inſtead of a, e, i, o, u, y, the letters b, f, k, p, x and z were put, ſo that it reads thus:

Dextera ſcriptoris benedicta ſit omnibus horis.

Von Troil remarks, that a ſimilar Ogum may be ſeen in Rabanus Maurus's tract, De uſu literarum, written about the middle of the 9th century. Verelius, Wormius, with many exiſting monuments prove, that the Northerns writ their runes in every poſſible form; in circles, in angles, from right to left, and vice verſa. Wormius (31) enumerates twelve different ways of making runic inſcriptions. The German (32) Buchſtab or runes were drawn ſometime in horizontal, and ſometimes in perpendicular lines. Here we have, if not the original of our Ogum Croabh,

(29) The ancients diſpoſed letters variouſly for ſecrecy and amuſement For the ſcytale of the Greeks ſee Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. Plutarch in Lyſand. A. Gell. l. 17. c. 9. For Roman contrivances, ſee Suet. in Aug. c. 88. in J. Cæſ. c. 56. Dio. l. 39 Morhoff. Polyhiſt. T. 1. p. 624. Salmuth in Pancipol. tit. 14.

(30) Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, p. 199. (31) Literat. Run. p. 138, 139.

(32) Pelloutier, hiſt. des Celtes. T. 1. p. 402. Mallet, V. 1. p. 363.

Croabh, a practice exactly similar. In a word, these wonderful Irish Ogums were nothing, as we see, but a stenographic and steganographic contrivance, common to the semibarbarians of Europe in the middle of ages, and very probably derived from the Romans.

Mr. Macpherson, after ably (33) stating the great improbability of the early use of letters in Ireland, remarks that Ogum is a word which has no affinity with any other in the Irish language, and seems therefore to be a cant name imposed upon a species of stenography or cipher, in which the old Irish, like many other nations, write their secrets. This opinion is not quite correct. As to Ogum being a cant name and not found in dictionaries, that is partly true and partly false. The word is preserved in the (34) Welsh, where Ogan is augaury, divination. Keyzler also tells (35) us, that Oga, Ogum and Ogma are old Celtic words, implying letters written in cipher, and indirectly an occult science. Thus its true import is ascertained. Innumerable words, in the lapse of time, have been lost in the Irish as well as every other language.

The most polished nations of the world have beheld with astonishment the art, whereby can be comprehended the thoughts, word and actions of men, past and present, and that by the combination of a few letters. The Indians could not conceive how paper marked with black strokes could communicate intelligence, unless it was animated. When (36) Leri wrote down some sentences of the Brazilian language, and the next day repeated them to the natives, they instantly concluded he did it by some magical or surpernatural means. The North America Indians thought (37) Carver's book a spirit, when he told them the number of leaves by looking at the figures at the top of the page. The eastern and western Runes and Ogums were all posterior to the invention of letters, for barbarians, as we have seen, ascribed occult qualities to the former, from discovering the power of the letter. And this is the opinion of (38) Arngrim Jonas, a most skilful northern Antiquary, who thinks the northern Runer or conjurers had some little common learning, but that they greatly corrupted the alphabetic elements by virgular ciphers and points, which he supposes invented by them, the more to excite admiration of their

(33) Introduction. Indes, 1. p. 445. Asle. p. 122. (34) Rowland's Mona Antiqua. p. 238. 5d Edition.

(35) Antiq. septent. select. p. 38. (36) Navig. in Braz. c. 16. Benzoin. hist. nov. Orbis.

(37) Travels, p. 241.

(38) Existimo verisimile esse magos illos literatura aliqua usos, & quidem vulgari, majori ex parte, sed virgulis & punctis suo marte excogitatis corrupta. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 34.

their wiſdom and knowledge among a rude people. Letters themſelves, ſays (39) Mallet, were more frequently employed among the Danes for the fooliſh purpoſe of working prodigies than to aſſiſt the memory, or render words fixed and permanent. And no wonder, when Odin taught, that the art of writing was to be regarded as the art of working all ſorts of miriacles.

The perſons in the North, who thus affected ſuperior ſkill in learning, in magic, aſtrology and other branches of ancient lore, were, according to Wormius, ſtyled Runer and Adelruner: ſo that † Rune and Ogum are perfectly equivolent in ſenſe, and had the ſame origin. One ſingularly remarkable fact here offers itſelf, which has hitherto eſcaped notice, and that is, the exiſtence of the word "Run," in the Iriſh language and dictionaries, ſignifying a ſecret or myſtery. The word and its meaning muſt have been adopted from the Northerns, for it could not co-exiſt in the Teutonic or Gothic and Celtic in ſimilar letters and import, unleſs we aſſert theſe tongues to be the ſame. As all know they were not, then we muſt have had it from the Northern invaders of this iſle, and to them is to be attributed the loſs of the old Celtic name, Ogum, for that of Run, introduced by them. O'Brien (40) treating of this word, without any deſign of doing ſo, confirms the truth of what is aſſerted by ſhewing, that in five dialects of the Teutonic it is preſerved, in its original ſignification.

It is very likely the Northerns had the firſt notions of theſe Runes from an eaſtern connection, when they dwelt on the weſtern ſide of the Euxine; particularly from the (41) Greeks. To omit the oriental (42) Cabbala, the Greeks had their Epheſian letters, which not only protected (43) from harm, but inſured ſafety and ſucceſs. The early ages of chriſtianity were infected with this error, as we learn from Irenæus, Tertullian and Philaſtrius: nor were even ſome of the moſt learned fathers, as Origen, free from it. There is a paſſage in Euſtathius upon Homer on the power of theſe Epheſian letters, too long for inſertion here, but its ſpirit is well expreſſed in theſe ſentences of the (44) Edda. "Do you, ſay ſays Odin, know how to engrave Runic characters, how to explain them, how to prove their

(39) Supra. V. 1. p. 216. The Chamans of Siberia, and the Hottentot prieſts are equally addicted to magic conjurations. See Gmelin and Sparman's travels.

† Cum literæ inter barbaros initio arcanæ eſſent, arcanarum notarum appellatio literis manſit, etiam cum publicæ eſſe cœpêre. Leibnitz. apud Chamberl. p. 28.

(40) Iriſh Dic. voce Run. (41) Clarke on Saxon Coins, p. 53.

(42) Holm de ſcript. apud Crenii Analect. p. 422. (43) Hug. de orig. ſcribend. p. 315. Ed. Trotz.

(44) Mallet and Wormius, ſupra. Barthol. p. 649. Loccen. p. 83.

their virtue? If we ſee a man dead, and hanging aloft upon a tree, I engrave runic characters ſo wonderful, that the man immediately deſcends and converſes with me, &c." They were believed to have a phyſical innate quality, which made them noxious, favourable, medicinal and fitted for every wiſh, action or undertaking.

As ſoon as the Germans had learned the uſe of letters from the Romans, their Runer, Adelruner, necromancers or prieſts adopted the Roman (45) divinatory notes for magic purpoſes. It would have been very difficult to have determined the figure of theſe notes, were we not told by (46) Cicero and Suetonius that they reſembled old obſolete letters. Il n'y a rien ſi vrai, que l'entètement des ſcavans ſeptentrionaux pourles Runes: les ſuedois y tiennent le premier rang; mais Mr. Sperling m'a ecrit autrfois qu'il ne les croit pas ſi anciennes. C'eſt pourtant une choſe aſſez remarquable, que beaucoup de ces lettres ſont ſemblables a celles qui ſe trouvent ſur les medailles d' Eſpagne, dont j'a beau coup de copiee tirés du cabinet de Mr. de Barry, et ſur les piedeſtaux des ſtatues Etruriennes publies par Bellori, & je n' ai encore trouve perſonne, quoique j' ay e conſulte divers I'taliens qui peut me donner quelque eclairciſſement la deſſus. This is part of a letter from Cuper to La Croze. The ancient notes are comprized under three (46) heads: 1. hieroglyphical, where the thing to be underſtood is expreſſed by a ſymbol, as a circle for the ſun. Where a cipher or character has the power of many letters, as in the Tyronian notes. Ennius, it is (48) ſaid, invented eleven hundred of the latter, but in reality he took them from Eaſtern and Grecian archetypes. Tiro and others added many to thoſe of Ennius, and Seneca augmented and digeſted the whole, and they are to be found at the end of Gruter's Inſcriptions. In theſe and in the ſecond ſort or Sigla were the Roman laws and proceedings written, which of courſe became ſo obſcure. that Tribonianus, who compiled the Juſtinian Code, was frequently at a loſs to develope their ſignification. This induced the Emperor in 533 to (49) forbid their uſe. From their forms they were called (50) puncta, lineæ, flexuræ, catenationes, ſignorum capitones and compendioſa ænigmata; terms not eaſily rendered into

(45) Virgam fructiferæ arbori deciſam, in furculos amputant, eoſque Notis quibuſdam diſcretos, &c. Tacit. Germ. Sed manendum, tum iſta aut populina fors aut abiegina eſt tua. Plaut. Cas. Ac, 2. Taubman. in loco. For the employment of the Adelruni. Worm. Faſt. Dan. l. 1. p. 124.

(46) In robore inſculptas priſcarum literarum notas. Cic. de divin. l. 2. c. 41. Nactus puerilem iconculam eju æneam veterem ferreis ac fere jam exoleſcentibus literis inſcriptam. Suet. in Oct. c. 7.

(47) Aſtle, ſupra ſub fin. (48) Iſidor. Orig. l. 1. c. 21.

(49) 1. Cod. tit. 17. leg. 1. (50) Lips epiſt. ad Belg. cent. 1. ep. 87.

into Engliſh, yet conveying to us an idea of the multiplied modes of ancient brachygraphy and cryptography. Beſides theſe there were notæ ſerviles, pecuariæ, juridicæ. &c. and many more in common and daily uſe, all taken from the great body of Tiro's and Seneca's notes. Wherever a Roman ſtation or colony was, there notes were neceſſary, and we have ſeen to what purpoſes they were applied by the ſurrounding barbarians. In the 6th century, Venantius Fortunatus mentions the old German cuſtom of carving or painting Runes to have been common among the Franks.

Barbara fraxineis pingatur Runa tabellis.

About the year 1500, Trithemius diſcovered, that the ancient Norman and Francic alphabets were mixt with theſe (51) notes. He met with them in a Davidic Pſalter in the Straſburgh library. The Francs had (52) letters before they received chriſtianity. Here then is an extraordinary authentication of the exiſtence and uſe of theſe notes in Germany for more than a thouſand years, and this proves, that the Northerns (contrary to what is generally believed) were acquainted with the alphabetic elements ſo early at leaſt as their intercourſe with the Romans.

There is no part of literary hiſtory more obſcure than the formation of alphabets; nor is there any part of it more curious. Writers (53) have contented themſelves with deducing the Francic and Saxon from the Latin, and the Runic from the Gothic, which in the improved ſtate of theſe alphabets is, in ſome degree true; but they have not accounted for the ſtrange and barbarous characters found in all, nor aſcertained the time and cauſe of their inſertions: I preſume to offer but a few hints, introductory to an inveſtigation of our Iriſh elements. The complete elucidation of this ſubject requires uncommon philological and critical learning, and would very properly have made a part of Mr. Aſtle's ingenious work on the Origin of writing. On the arrival of letters in the North, the various cryptic and ſtenographic modes of writing practiſed by the Romans were immediately known. The latter the barbarian prieſts adopted and ſtudied, and that, in preference to the former, as being better calculated for magical purpoſes, and to make the vulgar ſtare. Such was the degradation of Religion in thoſe ages, that it had ſunk into inchantment and the groſſeſt ſuperſtition; and ſuch the corruption of letters, that they were become Tironian or Runic ciphers. The laſt particular every diplomatic writer, and every table of alphabets will confirm. During the time of the Gothic power

(51) Trithem. de Polygraph. p. 599.
(52) Hickes Theſaur. Franco. Theotiſc.
(53) Bernard's tables improved by Morton.

power in Italy, the Roman elements ſuffered a (54) remarkable change. A greater deviation enſued under the Longobards, and in the 8th century Roman letters were only found in the titles of MSS. Alphabets were compoſed of letters and Roman notes, uncouth in their figure, confuſed in their order, and barbarous in their name. The annexed plate demonſtrates this. Theſe alphabets ſeem to have been a national and even provincial concern. For as each country and tribe was diſtinguiſhed by ſome particular enſign, as a Dragon, Raven, &c. ſo were they by a peculiar alphabet, which, while preſerved, was ſuppoſed to contribute by its magic and occult qualities to the power and permanence of the ſtate. Let us now attend to the proof.

"It appears, (ſays a moſt learned (55) Antiquary,) that the various foreigners inhabiting Britain, in the Saxon times, framed each an alphabet for themſelves. From whence otherwiſe could ſpring ſuch a diverſity of Letters and Alphabets unknown elſewhere, and greatly ſurpaſſing in number thoſe found in the MSS of any other country?" And as evidence he adduces a rubric prefixed to one of theſe fictitious alphabets, which runs thus: "Nemninus being upbraided by a Saxon ſcholar, as if the Britons were ignorant of the rudiments of learning, invented theſe letters, ſuddenly forming them from his own conceptions, to wipe away from his nation the imputation of dulneſs and ignorance." This was placed before the Britiſh Ogum in the Plate. Neither Langbaine, who I believe firſt communicated this rubric to Archbiſhop (56) Uſher; nor (57) Hickes, who found it in the Bodleian Library, nor La Croze ſeem to underſtand its meaning: the laſt obſerves, if it be not a jeu d'eſprit, the Britons muſt have loſt all memory of their antiquities, for it ſuggeſts, that before this they had not letters. This however is a thoughtleſs gueſs, becauſe the Britons had letters at leaſt four centuries before the arrival of the Saxons; and if they had not, this extempore alphabet was not likely to render them general. The rubric records a conteſt between two literary men, one a Briton, the other an Anglo-Saxon. The latter was well acquainted with ſtenography and ſteganography, which in reality required much application and ſtudy, and therefore he prized very highly, calling them "Rudimentum," as the Schoolmen did their Quiddities, the only ſolid foundation of learning. In theſe he believed the Briton eminently defective, but by producing an extemporaneous alphabet, the latter ſhewed the

(54) Mabillon, ſupra. (55) La Croze. Vindic. Vet. p. 89.
(56) Uſher's letters by Parr, p. 551. (57) Catalog. Lib. ſeptent. p. 149.

the Saxon he was miſtaken. It was not with ignorance of letters the Briton was upbraided, but of this rudimentum.

That each people had peculiar and appropriated alphabets, I need but cite Arngrim Jonas, who writing to Wormius tells him, there were Greenland, Opland, Greek, and Ira † letur or Iriſh runes. And from the ſame (58) work we learn, that the Malrunæ were proper to ſome people and invariably uſed by them. All the northern alphabets were originally made up of letters and Tironian notes, the latter ſeem to have been the Malrunæ. Wormius has (59) tortured his ingenuity to explain the conſonants and vowels in theſe ciphers, but in vain; as well might he reduce to an alphabet the ſcrawling of an infant. Uſed in (60) diabolical exorciſms and conjurations, the zealous Roman miſſionaries endeavoured to deſtroy theſe notes or Runes. Mallet (61) alſo remarks, that as ſoon as the Goſpel was preached in the North, an intermixture of the Roman letters appeared with the Runic, and that the latter continued to give way till finally aboliſhed. Here he intimates what was nearly the truth, that the Runic like the other barbarous alphabets, was at firſt almoſt entirely made up of notes or magic Runes. The (62) Marcomannic Runes, in the plate, have out of fifteen but four letters reſembling the Roman. And Wormius declares they agreed with the Runic, in the ſtrangeneſs of their ſhape and names. The Norman alphabet in Bede is another inſtance. The Gothic, improperly aſcribed to Ulphilas, has many characters, as given by Johannes Magnus and Bernard in his tables, quite unlike the Greek and Roman, and taken from the notes. The preſent Runic, without reaſon ſaid to be derived from the Gothic, exhibits but three or four letters ſimilar to the Greek and Roman. Hickes explicitly declares, (63) the preſent Anglo-Saxonic elements are not the entire old ones, but a more modern compound of Latin letters; and a very good (64) judge obſerves, the old Saxon letters reſembled the Runic, that is, the notes. Here is a variety of teſtimonies

(58) Literat. Run. p. 37—40. Ut literas confingerent, quaſi proprias gentis ſuæ. La Croze, ſupra, p. 89.

† The Ira Letur, or Iriſh Ogum characters did not differ greatly from the other Runic ones. Worm. Literat Run. c. 1. Rowlands never ſaw the Ira Letur, and does not know whether they were the ſame as the Bethluiſnion. Mon. Antiq. p. 110. They were all the ſame.

(59) Worm. ſupra. p. 40. (60) Nicholſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, Preface.

(61) Supra, p. 378.

(62) Rab. Maurus ſays, they were uſed in incantations and divinations. De invent. liter. Tam quoad figuram, quam quoad nomina cum noſtratibus convenire. Worm. ſupra, p. 47.

(63) Alphabetum Anglo-Saxonicum non eſt integrum illud vetus, cujus multi deſiderantur characteres. Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 2.

(64) Walker on Saxon Coins, apud Camden.

teſtimonies all uniting in proof of the ſame fact: that the Northern prieſts and necromancers, on their acquaintance with the Roman letters, adopted the Roman divinatory and other notes: that theſe being uſed in conjurations, and known only to their Runer and Adelruner, acquired the name of Runes: that whole alphabets were formed from them, or with but a few letters ſcattered through them: that theſe magical alphabets multiplied in the dark ages, and ſpread over Weſtern and Northern Europe, and that ſuch were the ancient Iriſh elements we ſhall now ſee.

The oldeſt Iriſh alphabet is ſaid to be the Bobeloth, ſo called from the names of certain (65) maſters, who aſſiſted in forming the Japhetian language. So idle a tale one would not expect to find in a modern Grammar: it is obvious this alphabet was denominated from Bobel, Loth, its two firſt letters. The other names and the figure of the letters are exactly in the ſtyle of the Britiſh, Runic, and Marcomannic Runes, as an inſpection of the plate will evince. As might be expected, they reſemble the Roman notes and Northern Runes. The learned Mr. Pinkerton (66) remarks, that the Bobeloth was a contracted mode of writing, well known by the name of Notæ Longobardicæ. If he had added "ſecret" to contracted, he would have been perfectly right; for according to Mabillon, theſe Longobardic notes were the ſame as the other northern alphabets before ſpoken of.

Kinfaolidh, an author of the 7th century, is (67) ſaid to have tranſcribed and illuſtrated the Iriſh Grammar. This notice would have been paſſed over, but that what it records happened in other countries. Thus the Runic, Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, and other alphabets were gradually purged of their Runes, and in their place Roman letters ſubſtituted. The ſame thing probably happened in Ireland in the ſeventh age: ſo that by tranſcribing and illuſtrating, I underſtand the compoſition of a new alphabet, perhaps the preſent Bethluiſnion, which ſtill preſerves ſtrong marks of a barbarous period. The two (68) characters given in the plate as varieties of the letter N; one as H, two as M, one as A, and one as E, being ſeven, and not to be ſeen as capitals or currents, as far as I have examined, in the common tables, but all of them in the Roman notes, prove they are the remains of the old Ogum or magical alphabet; even were this not the caſe, its name ſufficiently verifies this curious fact: it is called Bethluiſnion na Ogma, or the alphabet of magic or myſterious letters; a title expreſſing the true form of its original ciphers,

(65) Iriſh Grammar, p. 14. Harris's Ware, p. 21. (66) Scotland, V. 2, p. 17.
(67) Iriſh Grammar, p. 13. (68) O'Conor's Diſſ. p. 37.

and the uſe they were applied to, and ſuch were O'Sullivan's and all other Ogums, being derivatives from the Roman notes. At firſt they were ſtenographic, then ſteganographic, then magical, and laſtly alphabetic. Every circumſtance relative to our letters confirms the truth of what has been advanced. They were (69) called Feadha or Woods, becauſe like the conjuring rods of Tacitus's old Germans and the old tablets of the Franks, theſe Runes or Ogums were carved on them, and theſe are the genuine virgular characters, noticed by O'Flaherty.

In the Barbarian alphabets the order was not conformable to the Roman, but arbitrary and capricious: nothing leſs could be expected from the manner of compoſing them. "Thoſe, (ſays (70) Wormius,) who would accomodate the Runic to the Roman order err egregiouſly." Mr. Aſtle (71) cannot be exact as to the time when the order of the Runic letters was confounded: it was in its firſt formation, and continued ſo to the reign of (72) Woldemar, A. D. 1185, when the Roman order was eſtabliſhed. The Iriſh Bethluiſnion is a living monument of a barbarous age. It begins with B, L, N; but N was anciently the fifth letter: A is its fourteenth, and all the conſonants are placed before the vowels, ſo that in want of order as in every other particular, it entirely agrees with the Runic and other ancient northern alphabets. The rudeneſs and ſuperſtition of the Iriſh, through every age, invincibly attached them to their Bethluiſnion na Ogma, as Runes are, at this day, uſed in the (73) mountains of Sweden.

We may recollect, that our hiſtorical romancers aſſerted the derivation of our letters from the Phænicians. The learned Mr. Aſtle (74) ſpeaking of the "Textus Sancti Cuthberti," written in the ſeventh century, remarks, that "it is in capitals, which were uſed by the Greeks, Etruſcans, Romans, Viſigoths, Saxons, French, and Germans; and that its alphabet bears ſtrong teſtimony, that the letters uſed by our Saxon anceſtors are derived from the Phænician, the Greek, and Etruſcan, through the medium of thoſe of the Roman letters."——If I underſtand this paragraph, it means that the Saxon alphabet is taken from the Romans, as the latter is from the Phænician, the Greek, and Etruſcan, which no one denies, and which

Bernard's

(69) O'Conor, ſupra. O'Flahert. Ogyg. p. 233. The Runic Biarkan was the ſame.

(70) A ſcopo & inſtituto majorum noſtrorum longiſſime exorbitare video. Sup. p. 86, 87.

(71) Origin of writing, p. 89.

(72) Illas (Runas) a principio nec omnes eadem qua nunc alphabetaria ſchemata præferunt forma extitiſſe dixit, nec ſerie collocatas eadem. Vulgarium ordinem numerumque a Voldemare ad formulam alphabeti Romani inſtitutum eſſe aiebat. Worm. ſup. p. 42.

(73) Mallet, ſupra, p. 378. (74) Supra, p. 97.

Bernard's tables make evident. But, according to Mr. Aſtle, this text of the Goſpels is written in letters uſed by the Greeks, Etruſcans, Romans, Viſigoths, Saxons, French, and Germans. The firſt queſtion here to be aſked is, did all theſe people uſe the ſame alphabet? The anſwer is direct and poſitive, that they did not. The Romans had their "literæ unciales, cubitales, grandes, & quadratæ." The Franks, beſides a mixture of Tironian notes, had their "literæ Francogallicæ & Merovingicæ," and the Saxons had a very old alphabet and a more recent one. The ſame may be ſaid of the other people. Where then did Ealfrith the monk, who ſo beautifully (75) wrote this MS for St. Cuthbert, find theſe capital letters of ſo many nations? The fact is, he neither found them nor ſought for them, but he uſed the Roman notes, which in reality do approximate to the letters of every people, and were originally old obſolete letters, and were adopted by the nations Mr. Aſtle mentions, firſt as a contracted, then a ſecret, then a magical mode of writing, and laſtly, as alphabetic elements, or mixt with them. Our learned and ingenious author, not aware of this progreſs, has neceſſarily expreſſed himſelf obſcurely, and taken a poſition not tenable. Here is an additional confirmation of the idea purſued in theſe pages.

It is probable the uſe of brachygraphic and cryptographic notes was known in Ireland, at the very time St. Cuthbert's text was written, and the numerous capricious alphabets were invented, and this may be inferred from an (76) epiſtle of Aldhelm to Eahfrid, who was juſt returned from our iſle, after a reſidence of ſix years.—It is thus:

Digna fiat fante glingio gurgo fugax fambulo.

The gloſs ſubjoined, which is by no means intelligible, however ſhews, that it was written in ciphers, each expreſſing one or more words, as did the Tironian and other notes. It was thrown out by the petulant but ingenious Aldhelm to puzzle Eahfrid, and try the extent of his ſcholarſhip and Hibernian education. Perhaps the reader may conſider the following inſtance alſo in point. Adamnan, an Iriſhman and Abbat of Hy, in the year 700, compoſed the life of St. Columba, whoſe ſucceſſor he was. In the Preface to this performance he ſays, "he has (77) cyphered but a few things to avoid tiring the reader." Though the verb *caraxare* is often uſed for *ſcribere*, or *exarare*, yet, from the numerous inſtances that might be collected

(75) Strutt's Chronicle, V. 1. p. 346.
(76) Uſſer. Syllog. p. 41.
(77) Pauca ſint caraxata. Uſſer. Syllog. p. 42.

collected, ſome of which are given (78) below, it is eſpecially applicable to ſtenographic notes, and the Gloſſary of Iſidore calls the Short hand writer, "Charaxarius." So that Adamnan talking of the brevity of his work, uſes this word with ſingular propriety.

As to the Callan inſcription, which firſt give riſe to this enquiry, the mode of cryptography there uſed, is the ſimpleſt that could be deviſed, that of ſtrokes on each ſide of a maſter-line. Theſe could never be the "uncouth virgular characters," ſpoken of by O'Conor, for uncouth can only be applied to the ſtrange forms of the other Ogums, taken from the Roman notes. This was of all the worſt calculated to promote literature, or, preſerve the memory of events: For it requires 15 lines or ſtrokes to expreſs the five firſt letters of the alphabet, or fifty-one, for the eighteen elements of the Iriſh language. And is this the Ogum which (79) we are told, "the Iriſh Antiquaries preſerved as a piece of the greateſt value, and that it was penal for any but the Druids, to ſtudy or uſe it?" Indeed it is honouring ſuch reveries too much, to mention them.

Scripta pudet recitare, & nugis addere pondus.

However, as ſome men of learning think favourably of this inſcription, it is neceſſary to add a few remarks more on the ſubject.

The inſcription in the Archaeologia is:

"Beneath lies Conal-Colgac, the long-footed."

It is alſo (80) read thus: "Beneath this ſepulchral monument is laid Conan the fierce, the nimble-footed." Theſe different interpretations by the ſame perſon look ſuſpicious, but what ſhall we ſay, when we are given three other various readings by this writer? This was a fatal ſtep; the Gentleman forgot, that the argument that proves too much, proves nothing: applied to the preſent caſe, it muſt demonſtrate to every man of ſenſe, that the different explications are grounded on no certain principles, and made out by different ſcales of Ogum, and by reading it then from right to left, and vice verſa. Such childiſh manœuvres are really ridiculous, and have juſtly diſgraced our Antiquities.

(78) Ubi eſt fuſus in hanc lucem, mirabile dictu totum ejus corpuſculum invenitur charaxatum, quaſi cruciatuum ſtigmatibus.

Charaxat ambas ungulis ſcribentibus,
Genas, cruentis et ſecat faciem notis.

Prudent.

Barth. Advers. l. 13. 18. l. 45. 19. Turneb. Advers. l. 14. c. 24.

(79) Iriſh Grammar, ſupra. p. 8.

(80) Tranſ. Royal Iriſh Academy, v. 1. p. 9.

If two interpretations give the name of Conal, and three confeſſedly do not, is there not more than an equal chance that the latter is right? And if ſo, what becomes of the veracity of the Bardic Tale by which this wonderful Sepulchre was diſcovered? A ſingle eraſure or omiſſion of a ſtroke was ſufficient to alter, or bury the meaning in perpetual oblivion. Was accuracy to be expected from rude and barbarous Iriſh engravers in the 3d century? Or can it be imagined, that the Callan inſcription has ſtood almoſt 1500 years in a naked and wild ſituation, uninjured by the tooth of time, and all the viciſſitudes of a variable climate? That the great Atlantic Ocean and its briny atmoſphere, have had no influence on this rock, and ſo far from pulverizing its ſurface, have rendered it unfit for vegetation? Theſe are wonderful things! Perhaps the venerable Druid who performed the funeral rites to the names of Conal-Colgach, (and who has not heard of Conal-Colgach?) not only pronounced the "ſit terra levis," but waſhed the ſtone with a magic compoſition of Miſeltoe, Samolus and Selago, and in a fine prophetic phrenzy, predicted the amazing diſcoveries of Iriſh Antiquaries in the 18th century.

Great reaſon have we then to deplore that eaſy credulity, which could entertain favourable ſentiments of one of the boldeſt, moſt artleſs and groundleſs figments offered to the learned world, ſince the days of Annius of Viterbo and Curtius Inghiramus: a figment ariſing from that too common weakneſs of mankind, of advancing on every occaſion ſomething ſurpriſing and marvellous. It was thus (the caſe is exactly ſimilar) that the (81) fiſſures on a rock at Deighton, in North America, were taken for Phœnician inſcriptions, when even a ſuperficial obſerver, on viewing them, would inſtantly pronounce them the effects of froſt and of the climate. But an Antiquary would bluſh at ſuch a vulgar deciſion: the face of nature and reality of things, ſtubborn in every other hands, become plaſtic in his. His ingenuity and literature have not only the magic power of moulding them into any form, but he can faſcinate every eye within the ſphere of his operations.

The intercourſe ſubſiſting between the Britiſh iſles naturally (82) introduced a knowledge of the Roman elements into Ireland at an early period. Wanley muſt therefore be much miſtaken when he (83) aſſerted our Iriſh letters were communicated to us and the Britons by Auguſtine, the Engliſh Apoſtle, about the concluſion of the 6th century. Lhuyd ſhews this opinion to be ill founded ſo far as regards the

 Britons:

(81) Archæologia, v. 8. p. 290.
(82) Ware, chap. 1. Whitaker thinks it one or two centuries before St. Patrick. Sup. v. 1 p. 373.
(83) Apud Lhuyd's letter to the Welſh in Malcolm's tracts. p. 6.

Britons: as to the Iriſh, ſays he, "the Roman arms never reached them, ſo that it is evident, of the three nations, the Britons, the Saxon and Iriſh, the firſt had a learned education and civilized manners, and whence ſhould the others have had their letters but from their neighbours? I know the Iriſh will anſwer, that Avergin, the ſon of Mil Eſpaine, who was the (84) firſt of the nation of the Scots, who arrived in Ireland in the time of Solomon, wrote the ſame characters which are ſtill in uſe among them; but every one knows it is impoſſible to be aſſured of that, and all learned men agree, that we have no certain knowledge concerning the inhabitants of theſe iſlands, nor of the other barbarians of Europe, older than the writings of the Greeks and Romans. This muſt be granted by the Saxons and Iriſh, as well as by the Welſh, that ſome two of them received their alphabet from the third, becauſe each of them not only retains the ſame letters, but the ſame pronunciation of them: I ſay the ſame letters, becauſe the Saxons did not write any of the letters K, O and X, no more than we; nor do the Iriſh make uſe of them to this day. So that either the Britons taught the Saxons and Iriſh, or the Iriſh taught the former. If the Iriſh taught the Britons, then they muſt have had Latin letters before the coming of the Romans into Britain, which it is impoſſible to prove. As the Britons had letters before the time of Juvenal and Tacitus, I ſee no reaſon to doubt, but that the Iriſh received their ancient alphabet, firſt from the Britons, and the Saxons, three of the four ages after, learned them from the Britons and Iriſh." Thus far Lhuyd, whoſe ſentiments on every point regarding the ancient literature of theſe kingdoms merit the greateſt attention. The oldeſt remains of a Britiſh alphabet are ſeen on the coins of Cunobeline, who ruled a part of Britain in the reign of Auguſtus. Chriſtianity, which was early introduced, extended the uſe of letters among the provincial Britons: they were neceſſary for their intercourſe with the Romans. But it was to be expected, that the Latin language and letters would have been corrupted in paſſing through the hands and mouths of rude people. The Spaniſh poets of Corduba, who compoſed in Latin, though highly accompliſhed, had notwithſtanding, according to (85) Cicero, ſomething "pingue atque peregrinum," inelegant and foreign to an Italian ear, and which detracted from their excellence

(84) This is from deſpicable Iriſh romance, for Europe was then thinly inhabited by wandering tribes of barbarians. Solomon lived above a thouſand years before our æra.

(85) Poetis Cordubæ natis, pingue quiddam ſonantibus atque peregrinum. Cic. pro Archia. Hoc eſt, ſays Cellarius, aliquid ſolœci vel Græcis vel Latinis carminibus miſcerent. Diſs. Academ. p. 367. Cicero probably means ſomething more.

cellence. The ſame was obſerved of all the (86) municipal ſchools. The Roman ſoldiery in Britain were moſtly of German Latinized cities, and the auxiliaries, German and French, conſequently the purity of the Latin tongue and the ſhape of its letters were ſoon changed: barbariſm was perceived in the enunciation of the one and in the form of the other. Through this medium the Roman divinatory and other notes, and the notion of their magic powers were communicated to the Britons.

But the corrupt Roman elements, which the Iriſh adopted, were inadequate to a notation of the ſounds of their language. O'Molloy, our oldeſt grammarian, (87) allows but ſeventeen letters, excluding h, k, q, w, x, y and z: O'Conor reckons eighteen, taking in h; p he ſays is not found in the more ancient gloſſaries. Lhuyd makes them eighteen, with thirteen dipthongs, five tripthongs and five vowels, ſo that there are forty-one ſounds expreſſed by but eighteen letters. This number of ſounds muſt not appear incredible, for the preſent Ruſſian (88) has forty-one, the Sanſcrit fifty, the Malabarian and Caſhmirian many more; ours aroſe from the corruption of the Celtic by the ſwarms of barbarians who over-ran the country at different times; for in the iſland of St. Kilda, remote from human intercourſe, the ſimple ſounds of the Celtic were but few, and the natives did (89) not uſe the letters D, G. and R.

Confuſion and uncertainty in writing and pronouncing the Iriſh, unavoidably reſulted from this want of notation. Thus b, c, d, f, g, m, p, r, and ſ, with h, or a point added, totally changed their ſounds, and they became other conſonants. The pronunciation of the dipthongs and tripthongs are quite unintelligible from their notations, and can only be learned by (90) the ear; and O'Conor confeſſes, the compounds gn, oi and io have no equivalent found in any language he knew. The remarks of a (91) judicious grammarian and lexicographer are to the preſent purpoſe, and not undeſerving the reader's notice.

"The French language has ſeventeen vowels, though there is a notation but for five: there are twenty-one conſonants, but a notation only for eighteen, and there are four

(86) Auſon. grat. act. p. 256.

(87) Habet literas in rigor ſeptendecim. Gram. p. 5. (88) Aſtle, p. 20.

(89) Malcolm's tracts, p. 35.

(90) Qualiter dipthongi vel tripthongi apud Hibernos debeat pronunciari res eſt ſcitu difficilis: hoc opus, hic labor: meo judicio, vix ullus perfecte diſcet qualiter efferantur, niſi attente auſcultet peritum in hac lingua eas pronunciantem. O'Molloy, ſup. p. 47.

(91) Chambaud's elements of the French lang. preface.

four conſonants, ch, gn, ill, and y, of which the alphabet gives no manner of knowledge. Both vowels and conſonants are repreſented different ways: ſome cannot be repreſented for want of proper ſimple characters, but by ſeveral letters. Now each of the letters which make up theſe diverſe combinations has not the ſound or articulation which it has when pronounced by itſelf; and thoſe letters blended together, repreſent a ſound which has no affinity with thoſe which each of them repreſents ſingly. If therefore a teacher makes his pupils name each of the letters which make up theſe combinations, he will make them pronounce falſe ſounds. As the preſent French alphabet does not contain all the ſounds and articulations of the language, nor all the ways of repreſenting them, a more rational and eaſy method muſt be thought of to facilitate a knowledge of them. Spelling words will never give them the ſounds, they muſt be pronounced after a maſter."

The fact is therefore, as might be expected, that the ſpeech of the Iriſh became a fluctuating jargon, full of ſtrange dialects; it had no analogy in its ſounds; its anomalous (92) verbs are ſo variouſly formed as to depend entirely on the practice of writers; there are no (93) rules for its caſes; it poſſeſſes neither alphabetical ſounds, words for ideas, orthography, or ſyntax. The eſſay on the colonization of Ireland will ſatisfactorily account for theſe particulars. The Welſh is (94) equally disfigured, mutilated, and corrupted.

To confirm what is advanced, Lombard, titular Archbiſhop of Armagh in 1632, ſhews (95) how widely the dialects of the four provinces differed, and that Leinſter was defective in juſt phraſeology and pronunciation: and O'Conor (96) informs us, that it is little more than an hundred years ſince the ſchools wherein the Iriſh language had been taught in its purity have failed; and yet anomalies and ſoleciſms have multiplied, and the growing ignorance in the true orthoëpy has already thrown many words out of their radical ſtructure. "Did we read a paſſage, (adds he,) of claſſical Iriſh to the common people of Ireland, the greater part would be abſolutely unintelligible to them." The interval between the time Lombard and O'Conor writ, was more than a century, and yet the latter talks of Iriſh being taught in its purity at time the former declared it to be corrupted. Almoſt a century before Lombard's

(92) Verborum alia variantur valde apud Hibernos, velut heteroclita & diverſimode, ita ut univerſalis regula pro iis nequit dari, adeoque inſiſtendum ſit auctoribus ubique probatis. O'Molloy, p. 125.

(93) Nec extant regulæ, ſed uſus & auctoritas pro hujuſmodi declinationebus. O'Molloy, p. 120.

(94) Lhuyd, At I Kymry. Bernard. epiſt. ad Hickes. Pinkerton, p. 122.

(95) De regno Hib. p. 7. (96) Ogyg. vind. p. 20.

bard's age; Stanihurſt in Hollinſhead writes thus, " the true Iriſh differeth ſo much from that they commonlie ſpeak, that ſcarce one in five hundreth can either rede, write, or underſtonde it; therefore it is preſerved among certeine of their poets and antiquaries." So that as ſoon as the language came to be examined by ſcholars and grammarians they found it a jargon not reducible in orthography, orthoëpy, or ſyntax to any ſtandard. This is the language which the very eccentric author of the Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis aſſerts to be the parent of every other on the globe.

O tribus Anticyris
Caput inſanabile!

" I ſhall not determine, (ſays (97) Leibnitz) whether the Anglo-Saxons brought their letters into England, or whether they learned them from the Britons." That the Saxons and Iriſh had their original elements from thoſe of the Romans, is the opinion of the beſt antiquaries; and ſo ſimilar were they, that formerly they were indifferently called Saxon or Iriſh. The reaſon for aſcribing the Anglo-Saxon alphabet to the Iriſh was, their having converted, according to Bede, almoſt the whole nation, and communicating to them together the (98) light of the goſpel and of letters. In the (99) Bodleian library is Mac Reguil's, or Regol's goſpels in Iriſh, of the ſeventh century, and Fareman's and Oen's copy of St. Jerome's tranſlation of the goſpels, with an interlineary Dano-Saxon verſion of the tenth century. In the ſame library is Ovid's Art of Love in Latin, but in Iriſh characters. In the front or title-page is Chriſt painted, and at his feet St. Dunſtan, with inſcriptions, all executed by St. Dunſtan himſelf. Now it is well known that this ſaint was (100) an Anglo-Saxon, born in Somerſetſhire and educated at Glaſtonbury; ſo that theſe Iriſh letters muſt have been Anglo-Saxon. Doctor Langbaine, in (1) a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, ſays; " what characters the ancient Britons uſed, whether that which the Saxons after, as your Lordſhip if I remember well is of opinion: or the ſame with your ancient Iriſh, which I conceive to be not much different from the Saxon,

(97) An Angli vel Saxones ſuas literas in Britanniam ſecum attulerint, an a Britannis didicerint, non dixerim. Leibnitz. apud Chamberlayne. Orat. Domin.

(98) Nihil hactenus invenire potui, quod ante fidem a Saxonibus ſuſceptam literis iſti exaratum ſit. Sheringham de orig. Angl p. 293. Bolland. Acta ſanct. 17 mart. p. 517.

(99) Hickes. catal. Septent. p. 149. Aſtle, p 99.

(100) Cave. Hiſt. Liter. V. 1. p. 409.

(1) Parr's letters, p. 551.

Saxon, to which the monument of (2) Corcenn, both as to form of ſome letters and the ligatures of them ſeem to come nearer than to the Saxon, I dare not take upon me to determine." If then we can rely on thoſe excellent judges, Uſher, Langbaine, Hickes, and Aſtle, there can be no doubt of the almoſt perfect identity of the Anglo-Saxon and Iriſh elements about the year 830.

To conclude, I am very ſenſible how much I ſtand in need of the learned diplomatic reader's indulgence for the hints advanced in this Eſſay; if they urge a farther inveſtigation of the ſubject, I ſhall think my labour fully compenſated.

Non quiſquam fruitur veris odoribus,
Hyblæos latebris nec ſpoliat favos;
Si fronti caveat, ſi timeat rubos.

CLAUDIAN.

(2) He was prince of Powis in Wales. The inſcription is in the abbey of Langholen in Denbighſhire, and is of the year 830. Lhuyd, p. 226—229.

A REVIEW OF IRISH LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

FIFTH CENTURY.

IN the foregoing Eſſay, the pretenſions of the Iriſh to an original alphabet have been examined and rejected; and it has there been ſhown what were the probable introduction and date of letters in this Iſle. It has been (1) proved, that Iriſh literature in pagan times is ideal, and that after the moſt confident aſſertions of our being a civilized people in thoſe ages, the want of literary and other monuments, with the united voice of ancient writers, proclaims our ignorance and rudeneſs. As I confine myſelf ſolely to the ſtate of learning in the middle and dark ages, I am the better able to pay an undivided attention to this intereſting ſubject, yet without preſuming to think I have exhauſted or even exhibited it in the extent, or with the erudition that others might have done. The lives and miracles of ſaints, monaſtic rules, and all the ſuppoſititious and apocryphal traſh that croud the pages of Ware's writers and Harris's additions, I leave to the credulity and illuſtration of others, dwelling only on thoſe parts of ſolid learning worthy of rational inquiry, and which form the only true grounds of national fame and honour.

The invaſion of England by the Anglo-Saxons, in the middle of this century, was an event extremely calamitous to that country, but productive of the happieſt conſequences in this, by driving hither many (2) pious and learned men, who promoted the ſtudy of letters and ſtrengthened infant chriſtianity among us. I can diſcover no other adequate cauſe of the quick advances we made in literature, but the emigration of the Britiſh clergy in this and the next age. Here they found a ſecure aſylum from the din of war, and thoſe broils ſo hated by peaceful and ſtudious men. Rome and her Pontiffs are held out by our writers as the ſource from whence

(1) Strictures on the Eccleſiaſtical and Literary Hiſtory of Ireland, by Dr. Campbell.
(2) Uſſer. Primord. p. 563—564.

whence flowed (3) religion and letters to us, and St. Patrick is made the perſon who conducted them hither. After what has before been advanced concerning the age and exiſtence of this ſaint, I ſhall only now remark, that his whole ſtory is a fiction invented long after the time in which he is ſuppoſed to live, and that the works aſcribed to him are palpable forgeries, and carry numberleſs internal marks of being ſuch. They were collected and publiſhed in London by Sir James Ware in the year 1656. I ſhall ſlightly run them over, as they ſcarcely merit notice.

His Confeſſion is a rhapſody of his travels, miracles, deliverances, and revelations. Can we but wonder at that ſtrange infatuation which could make Uſher and Ware, for a moment, entertain favourable notions of the authenticity of this work, wherein no notice is taken of the education of our apoſtle under St. Martin, Biſhop of Tours, or his relationſhip to him, of his journies on the continent, and his advancement to the epiſcopate of Ireland by Pope Celeſtine? The omiſſion of theſe and many other important particulars, with the legendary ſtyle of the whole, evince it to be the juvenile exerciſe of ſome monk of the eleventh or twelfth century. His Epiſtle to Coroticus, a Welch prince, is of the ſame ſtamp with the Confeſſion. It ſpeaks of the Roman and Gallic chriſtians ſending many thouſand ſolidi to redeem captives from the Franks. Whoever writ this was but little acquainted with the ſtate of Italy under the Gothic princes, or of the French under the Merovingians. Ware ſays the texts of ſcripture cited in theſe tracts are tranſlations from the Septuagint and not the Vulgate, and that this determines them to the age of St. Patrick. But this argument carries no weight with it; for the old Italic verſion, which is that here alluded to, was uſed by the (4) Iriſh ſo late as 815, and probably later; nor can the biblical (5) critics aſcertain when, if ever, it went into diſuſe, for it is allowed to have made a conſiderable part of the preſent Vulgate. The next treatiſe, De Tribus Habitaculis, is better written, and evidently diſcovers a different pen. It deſcants on the joys of heaven and torments of hell. Boſton of Bury gives it to St. Auſtin, others to St. Bernard. St. Patrick's charter has been proved by (6) Stillingfleet to be a forgery, for it computes by the year of our Lord; a cuſtom not begun till 525, nor practiſed in England till 816. It mentions indulgences as relaxations of penance, which were unknown before the eleventh century. The tract, de duodecim abuſionibus ſæculi, is ſaid to be compoſed by St. Cyprian or St. Auſtin.

In

(3) Bollandus is angry with Colgan for making theſe older in Ireland than the time of St. Patrick. 17 Ad. Sanct. Mart. But Bollandus was devoted to Rome.

(4) Uſher's religion of the Iriſh. (5) Simon, Hiſtoire Crit. (6) Britiſh Churches, c. 1. p. 14

In a book of Saxon homilies, in Lambeth Library, is a treatiſe, de octo vitiis & duodecim abuſionibus ſæculi, which is perhaps the ſame as ours, and which Hickes thinks (7) was written after the Norman times. Whoever will peruſe an (8) account of the ſpurious pieces fathered on the patriarchs, prophets, the apoſtles, and even on our bleſſed Redeemer himſelf, who it ſeems condeſcended to write an epiſtle to the Council of Conſtance, will not be ſurprized at thoſe aſcribed to our apoſtle.

Sedulius is ſaid by Uſher, Ware, and Harris, to be the moſt learned Hibernian of this age. Certainly we muſt think highly of his theological and critical acquirements, was he the author of the works paſſing under his name. But this is an error; Bayle (9) has proved there were two Seduliuſes; Cælius Sedulius, a celebrated poet, who flouriſhed about 434, and from a poetical epiſtle to Theodoſius I. ſeems to have been an Italian. The other, our countryman, compoſed commentaries on St. Paul's epiſtles, and lived about 818. The principal literati of the dark ages being Iriſhmen, had the words Scoti and Scotigenæ joined to their names, and ignorant copyiſts added them, as in the preſent inſtance, to others without reaſon.

Colgan has given a tranſlation of a poem ſaid to be the work of Feich, Biſhop of Sletty, near Carlow, A. D. 434. It is a metrical verſion of the legend of St. Patrick. It begins thus:

Natus eſt Patricius Nemturri,
Ut refertur in hiſtoriis;
Fuit annorum ſedecim
Quando ductus in captivitate.

We are (10) told this Feich was a diſciple of our apoſtle, and advanced by him to the epiſcopal dignity, he could therefore be no ſtranger to his origin, whereas the ſecond line above intimates that this poem was compiled from old hiſtories. This and an (11) alphabetical hymn are the wretched productions of ſome cloiſtered eccleſiaſtic. I acknowledge the infinite obligations the Iriſh Antiquary is under to Uſher, Ware, and others, and that there is abundant utility in their farraginous compilations; yet I know as well, that they did not believe to be genuine all that they

(7) Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 172. It is alſo aſcribed to St. Cyprian. Hickes, p. 144.
(8) Fabric. Cod. Apocryp. & Pſeudepig. 4 Tom. a very curious collection of heretical and literary impoſtures.
(9) Dict. Article, Sedulius. Mabillon. Analect. t. 1. p. 363. (10) Ware's Writers, p. 6.
(11) S. Patric. Opuſc. p. 146.

they ſet down: Archbiſhop Uſher (12) confeſſes his antiquities of the Britiſh and Iriſh Churches contain many things frivolous, doubtful and falſe; even from theſe he remarks an hiſtorian may reap conſiderable advantages. But when, in his other writings, he alleges theſe as direct and poſitive proofs of tranſactions and doctrines in early times, he betrays a want of recollection, if not of prudence:

Eſt quoddam prodire tenus, ſi non datur ultra.

SIXTH CENTURY.

The Anglo-Saxon power daily increaſing, the Britiſh clergy every where fled from its (13) exterminating fury: many retiring to this iſle (14) opened ſchools. Letters now greatly flouriſhed in Wales in the (15) perſon of Dubricius, Iltutus, Sampſon, Paternus and many more. When we remember the agreement of the Britons and Iriſh in religious ſentiments, and the recent obligations of the latter to the former, there can be no doubt but we received theſe terrified and expatriated eccleſiaſtics with open arms. St Jerome mentions the reſort of Britiſh Chriſtians to the Eaſt, and we (16) know that Paternus, David, and Teliau went thither to receive epiſcopal ordination, thereby recognizing the fountain of their faith. As theſe men were celebrated ſcholars, and well furniſhed with human learning for their high office, it is reaſonable to believe their knowledge was much improved and augmented by their journey, and that they were accompanied back by Greeks and other foreigners of the clerical order, whoſe zeal or curioſity prompted them to viſit theſe Iſles. Whatever learning the Britons acquired was communicated to the Iriſh. The indiſcriminate admiſſion of eminent men of either nation to the government of monaſteries and ſchools was common in this age. Thus (17) St. Brendan, an Iriſhman, ruled the Abbey of Lhancarvon in Wales. Kentigern, a Scot, was ordained by an Iriſh Biſhop, and founded a ſee and abbey in Wales. Gildas, a Briton, taught in Armagh. Other inſtances may be ſeen in Uſher. Following their (18) Eaſtern architypes,

(12) Frivola etiam nonnulla, dubia multa, & falſa quoque non pauca. ſupra, Præfat.

(13) Uſſer. ſupra, p. 416—417. (14) Uſſer. ſupra, ad Ann. 498.

(15) Stillingfleet, ſupra, p. 202—346.

(16) Uſſer. p. 474—518. Syllog. Epiſt. p. 131, and theſe antiquities, p. 55.

(17) Uſſer. 353—532—955.

(18) Εις Βασιλειαν, ενθα τοτε παιδευτηρια. Socrat. Hiſt. Ecc. l. 3. c. 1. Spelman. Conc. v. 1. p. 247. Wharton apctar. ad Uſſer. c. 4. p. 346.

archetypes, our churches and monaſteries were ſchools for the inſtruction of youth. Thus the ſeminaries of Dubricius and Iltutus were (19) famous among the Britons, and that of Paulinus, ſays Leland, flouriſhed like an univerſity. On the contrary the (20) Benedictines and other Roman monks deſpiſed learning, laid more ſtreſs in their rules on abſtinence and manual labour than on letters. In our Abbies (21) prophane and ſacred literature was cultivated: in that of Roſcarbery, in the county of Cork, St Brendan taught the liberal arts. The (22) Encyclopædia of the Greeks, and the liberal arts of the Romans varied in number, but were at length fixed to theſe ſeven, (23) Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Muſic, Geometry and Aſtronomy: each of theſe was formed into an elementary treatiſe, more or leſs perfect according to the abilities of the compoſer. A very curious work, comprehending all the foregoing arts, and written (24) about the year 466, by Martianus Capella, has come down to us. In the preſent ſtate of knowledge it is not an edifying book, but it is very valuable, as it points out what were the education and ſtudy of the clergy and higher ranks in the middle ages. In this century it was uſed in the French monaſteries, as we learn from (25) Gregory of Tours, and a thorough maſtery of it was believed to give the (26) laſt poliſh to the ſtudent. In Grotius's edition of Capella, which I uſe, the ſeven liberal arts occupy about 300 ſmall octavo pages, too few a number unleſs for a text book, and as ſuch it was adopted. From the retreat of the Britons to (27) Bas Bretagne in 453, a conſtant intercourſe was maintained between them and their brethren in theſe iſles, for Iltutus, Sampſon, Gildas, and the other learned Britons frequently viſited their tranſmarine countrymen: one of whom the latter raiſed to the ſee of Dole, and another was made Biſhop of the Oxiſmii, the moſt northern people of Bretagne. France was alſo frequented by the Iriſh, as we find by the authors cited by Uſher. So that when

(19) Stillingfleet, p. 202. (20) Stillingfleet, p. 205—206.

(21) Uſſer. p. 910—907. Stillingfleet, ſupra. (22) Wower. de Polymathia. c. 14. p. 208.

(23) Ordo autem iſte ſeptem a philoſophis uſque ad aſtra perductus eſt, &c. Iſidor. Orſg. p. 914.

(24) Fabric. Biblioth. lat. p. 638. Barth. Advers. l. 8.

(25) Quod ſi te ſacerdos Dei, quicunque es, Martianus noſter erudiit, id eſt, ſi te in grammaticis docuit, legere; in dialecticis alercationum propoſitiones advertere, &c. Hiſt. fol. 102. Edit. Paris, 1522. There were few monaſteries in England in 640, if Bede is to be credited, nam eo tempore, necdum multis in regione Anglorum monaſteriis conſtructis, multi de Britannia, monaſticæ converſationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum monaſteria adire ſolebant, ſed et filias ſuas eiſdem erudiendas mittebant. Bed. l. 3. c. 8.

(26) Si in his omnibus ita fueris exercitatus, ut tibi ſtylus noſter ſit ruſticus; ne ſit quoque deprecor ut avellas quæ ſcripſi, &c. Greg. Tur. ſupra.

(27) Uſſer. p. 1110.

when it is ſaid that St. Patrick ſtudied at Tours, to which Dole was ſuffragan, we can only underſtand ſome obſcure remembrance of this connection with the Continent. From all which I infer, that Capella was now known and taught in our Iriſh ſchools as a claſſic, and in this I am confirmed when I find him commented on by Johannes Scotus Erigena, and Duncant, an Iriſh Biſhop, the latter delivering his lectures on him in the monaſtery of St. Remigius in Down. Both of which works are (28) extant. If the reader will credit the evidence now ſubmitted to him, he will perceive how learning was originally derived to the Iriſh, and with what avidity and ſucceſs they ſtudied theſe, foreign writers ſhall ſoon declare. Their religion kept them from mental degradation, the ſure conſequence of ſuperſtition. Inſtead of compiling pious fictions and lying miracles of imaginary ſaints, they were exerciſing their genius in acquiring languages, eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and the liberal arts. I have inſiſted the longer on theſe points, as they are extremely curious, though hitherto unnoticed. I now return to the very diſagreeable taſk of detecting a forgery.

The Life of St. Bridget by (29) Cogitorſus is ſuppoſed to be genuine. We are (30) told he lived before 590. This cannot be true: for he calls the firſt prelates of Kildare, archbiſhops, a dignity not known in Britian before 673, and much later here. After Biſhop Conlœth, who died in 519, we meet with no other prelate of Kildare for 119 years, though he informs us the ſucceſſion was uninterrupted: as he was a monk of Kildare, he might have eaſily filled up the chaſm. Theſe are ſuſpicious circumſtances; but, what evinces this work of Cogitoſus to be ſuppoſititous, is his Deſcription of the Monuments of St. Bridget and Conlœth on the right and left of the altar at Kildare. They were not only highly finiſhed with gold and ſilver ornaments, with gems and precious ſtones, ſuſpended gold and ſilver crowns, but the wall of the chancel was painted with portraits. Theſe latter, ſays Baſnage, the editor of Caniſius, (31) ſmell ſtrongly of later ages. The architecture of the church is the work of fancy, and could not exiſt earlier here than the twelfth century, for the Iriſh, as I have already ſhown, had no ſtone edifice in the ſixth. The great number of ſilly and impious miracles with which this work is ſtuffed, totally deſtroys its credit. St. Bridget commits a pious murder to preſerve the reputation of a nun by diſſipating her pregnancy. The Veſtal Claudia vindicates her chaſtity in a different manner.

Si

(28) Fabric. ſupra, p. 640. Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry. V. 2. p. 75—76.
(29) Canis. Lect. Antiq t. 5. p. 625. Moſheim. V. 1. p. 471.
(30) Ware's Writers, p. 14. And Biſhops, p. 381. (31) Poſteriora redolent fæcula. Canis. ſupra.

Si noſtrum nullo violatum eſt crimine corpus,
Teſtis Diva veni, & facili me abſolve carina.
Tum ſecura capit funem.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE religious eſtabliſhments in this and the preceding century, with the ſecurity that letters enjoyed in our Iſle from the convulſions of ſurrounding nations, made her the ſchool of learning to the Weſtern world. But a cauſe, hitherto unobſerved and equally powerful in its operations, tended to fill Ireland with learned men, and that was the diſcouragement of literature by the Roman Pontiffs. From the time of St. Auguſtine, ſays (32) Rous, the Biſhops of Rome interdicted ſchools and teaching in England, on account of the hereſies conſtantly ſpringing up there, and this continued to the time of Alfred. Pope Gregory I. diſcountenanced prophane the more to advance (33) ſacred learning. and with this intent burnt the Palatine library and works of Livy. Gregory followed Arnobius, whoſe work againſt gentile ſuperſtition clearly inculcated the corruption of chriſtianity by heathen writers. The learned Bruker, in his critical hiſtory of philoſophy, againſt Bayle and Barbayrac ſhews Gregory's conduct to be highly probable, if not certain. Theſe facts are recorded by zealous Romaniſts. Hence the liberal and ingenious were neceſſarily driven to this iſle to acquire the rudiments of knowledge, as papal injunctions had no force here. And hence the ſuperiority of the Britiſh and Iriſh clergy in all their diſputes with their antagoniſts about baptiſm, eaſter, the tonſure and other ceremonies and rites. A ſuperiority which ſo ſeverely galled the Romiſh party and retarded their influence and innovations, that Theodore, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, even againſt the ſpirit of his religion and the order of his ſuperiors, was (34) forced to ſet up ſchools and promote the ſtudy of letters. Having unfolded the cauſes of our celebrity as a literary ſchool in this age, I ſhall now mention ſome of the ornaments of it.

(32) Hiſt. reg. Ang. p. 68—72—73. Edit. Hearne.

(33) Quod divinæ paginæ gratior eſſet locus. Joh. Sariſbur. de Nug. Curial, l. 8. c. 19. Hieron. ad Ephes. l. 2. Iſidor. de ſumm. bono l. 3. Can. 1. diſtinct. 37.

(34) Innet's Orig. Anglic. p. 76.

Columbanus (35) was educated at Bangor under St. Congel. The reputation of the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics in diſtant countries ſeduced them from home, and in moſt caſes prepared for them an eaſy and kind reception. Our miſſioner went to France, and founded the monaſtery of Luxeuil and Fontaines in Burgundy. Cave and Dupin ſpeak of him as a man of primitive ſimplicity and ancient virtue, which led him to cenſure with ſharpneſs and freedom the higheſt characters in the church. In his letter to Pope Boniface III. he charges him with hereſy, and ſuſpects his church to be in error. In another letter he tells the Pope, that he had written to his predeceſſor Gregory concerning the difference between the Iriſh and Roman churches, and entreats him to be permitted to retain his national cuſtoms, for that Polycarp and Anicetus did not break communion on this account, and he cites a canon of the firſt Conſtantinopolitan Council for this indulgence. But clerical reſentment is not ſoon appeaſed; our miſſioner was expelled his abbey: after which he retired to Bobbio in Italy, and erected a monaſtery there. Dupin, who carefully examined, and with ability epitomized his works, declares they are written with much wiſdom and elegance, and with a profound knowledge of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory: that they are judicious, witty and learned.

Cummian's letters to Segienus, Abbot of Hy, has before been noticed. He is ſtyled by Adamnan, Commineus Albus, and was advanced to the abbacy of Hy in 657. He ſeems to have been (36) deſcended from the ſame family with Columba, and in virtue of hereditary right to have ſucceeded him. That he was a Culdee and apoſtatized may be collected from his Epiſtle, which was written many years before he attained the abbatial chair. During this interval he probably recanted, or qualified his ſentiments ſo as to make them palatable to the monks of Hy. His tract would at any time be eſteemed argumentative and learned, and the number of books he poſſeſſed, or muſt have peruſed, are conſiderable. He cites Jerome, Origen, Cyril, Cyprian, Gregory and Auguſtine. He adduces (37) Anatolius's cycle of nineteen years; Theophilus's of ninety-five; Cyril's of the ſame; Dionyſius's octaetris; Victorius's of five hundred and thirty-two years, with thoſe of Auguſtine,

(35) Doctor Smith, in his ancient Scottiſh Poems, confounds Columba with Columbanus: it was the former who inſtituted the numerous religious eſtabliſhments, and hence named Columcelle; and it was the latter who gave the monaſtic rule publiſhed by Meſſingham and Holſtein.

(36) Compare O'Brien's Dic. p. 360. Ogyg. vind. p. 133.—134.

(37) Fragments of it are found in Euſebius; but it was more completely publiſhed by Bucher. de Doctrin. temp. Strauch. Brev. Chron. B. 2. c. 6.

Auguſtine, Morinus and Pachomius. The Iriſh adopted the (38) Jewiſh cycle of eighty-four years, which was followed by the Eaſtern Chriſtians, and through St. John's diſciples communicated to the Iriſh, as Colman affirmed in the conference at Whitby. Cummian quotes the canons of the church, which ſhows he was well acquainted with eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. This treatiſe, ſhort as it is, comprehends a variety of learning, and clearly points out the ſtudies of the Iriſh and their advances in literature at this period. "It was now, (ſays Bede,) that many noble Engliſh, and others of inferior rank, leaving their native country, withdrew to Ireland, to cultivate letters or lead a life of greater purity. Some became monks, others attended the lectures of celebrated teachers; theſe the Iriſh moſt chearfully received, and ſupplied without any recompence with food, books, and inſtruction." So zealous and diſintereſted a love of learning is unparalleled in the annals of the world. May we not apply to them theſe lines of Claudian?

Hic non divitias nigranbus abdidit antris,
Nec tenebris damnavit opes; ſed largior imbre
Sueverat innumeras hominum ditere catervas.

It was in this remote iſle, as Bede goes on to relate, that Agilbert, Biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons and after of Paris, ſpent much time in ſtudying the holy ſcriptures; and that Ædilvinus, after being inſtructed here, returned home and was promoted to the epiſcopate of Lindisfern. Of Alfred, King of Northumberland, Bede thus ſpeaks in his life of St. Cuthbert:

Scottorum qui tum verſatus finibus hoſpes,
Cœleſtem intento ſpiribat corde Sophiam.
Nam patriæ fines & dulcia liquerat arva,
Sedulus ut Domini myſteria diſceret exul.

It was our unrivalled literary fame that excited the jealouſy of Aldhelm, and made him write that gibing ſarcaſtic (39) letter to Eahfrid, who was juſt returned to England after a reſidence of ſix years here, being made Biſhop of Lindisfern. "Why ſhould Ireland, (ſays he,) whither troops of ſtudents are daily tranſported, boaſt of ſuch unſpeakable excellence, as if in the rich ſoil of England, Greek and Roman maſters were not to be had to unlock the treaſures of divine knowledge. Though Ireland, rich and blooming in ſcholars, is adorned like the poles of the world

(38) Nam quia per omnia Apoſtolos hæc in re imitarentur, & permulti ex illis ex Judaiſmo ad chriſtianiſmum tranſiſſent, non obſcurum eſt eorum cyclum merum Judaicum & Chaldaicum fuiſſe. Scalig. de Emend. Temp.

(39) Uſſer. Syllog. p. 37.

world with innumerable bright ſtars, it is Britain has her radiant ſun, her ſovereign Pontiff Theodore, nurtured from the earlieſt age in the ſchool of philoſophy: it is ſhe poſſeſſes Adrian his companion, graced with every virtue. This is that Theodore, who, though he ſhould be ſurrounded by a circle of Hibernian ſcholars, as a boar in the midſt of ſnarling dogs, yet as ſoon as he bares his grammatical tooth, he quickly puts to flight the rebel phalanxes."

For this and more invidious bombaſt he apologizes to his friend, who loved the Iriſh, by declaring he was but in jeſt. This, however, was a falſehood, for he was extremely uſeful to Theodore, and active in reclaiming the Corniſh Britons from their ancient faith, for which he was appointed Biſhop of Sherborne. This Aldhelm had ſplendid parts and much learning, the latter he acquired under our countryman (40) Maidulph, who inſtructed him in the liberal arts; for except the Iriſh Culdees diſperſed over Britain, there were no other maſters: he alſo (41) ſtudied at Lindisfern. He affirms he was the firſt Anglo-Saxon who compoſed in Latin: this acknowledgment evinces the low ſtate of letters in England, while they were flouriſhing in Ireland. Hence he praiſes no Britiſh ſcholar, but Theodore and Adrian, both foreigners, who after all their acquirements were not more than a match for our Hibernian dogs.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

WILLIBRORD, a Northumbrian by (42) birth, and after Archbiſhop of Utrecht, was an eminent miſſioner among the Friſians in the beginning of this century. Hear what his biographer ſays of his preparatory ſtudies: "When he arrived at the twentieth year of his age, he was inflamed with the deſire of a ſtricter life, and a love of viſiting foreign parts. And becauſe he heard that learning flouriſhed greatly in Ireland he intended to go there, moved principally thereto by the fame of its holy men, particularly of the bleſſed father Egbert and the venerable prieſt Wigbert,

(40) Informatus ad ſtudium, liberales artes plenitudini ſcientiæ adjecit. Guil. Malmeſb. vit. Aldhelmi. Aldhelmus plus quam ſatis prodens, ſemet huic Hibernorum felicitati invidiſſe. Murray. Nov. Com. Gottingen. Tom. 2. p. 116. The Engliſh envied our progreſs in letters. Prætereo Scotos, tum maxime doctos—Hic quicquid literariæ artis ediderant (quod non adeo exile erat) Aldhelmi committebant arbitrio, ut perfecti ingenii lima eraderetur ſcabredo Scotica. Gu. Malmeſb. Aldhelm's works were publiſhed by Delrio at Mentz, A D. 1601.

(41) Bed. l. 5. c. 19. Biographia Britan. Article, Aldhelm.

(42) Alcuin. vit. Willibrordi. Moſheim, V. 1. p. 491—492.

Wigbert, who both for the love of a celeſtial country had forſaken their houſes and kindred, and retired to Ireland. The bleſſed Willibrord, emulating the ſanctity of theſe two holy men, embarked for this iſland, where he joined himſelf to their ſociety, like a diligent bee, that he might, by means of their vicinity, ſuck the mellifluous flowers of piety, and build up in the hive of his own breaſt, ſweet honeycombs of virtue. There for the ſpace of twelve years under thoſe illuſtrious maſters he treaſured up knowledge and virtue, that he might be enabled to become the teacher of many nations." Theſe are the words of Alcuin, the moſt univerſal and celebrated ſcholar of the age, as Dupin, Blunt, Cave, and others teſtify.

Virgil (43) was one of eight Iriſh Biſhops, who, according to the cuſtom of the times, took a journey to the Holy Land. He was promoted by Pope Stephen and King Pepin to the See of Saltzburg, but was detained for two years by Pepin to profit by his uncommon erudition and piety. After this he was honourably received by Otilo, Duke of Bavaria, and accepted the Biſhoprick from his hands. For ſome time he deferred his conſecration, all epiſcopal acts being performed by Dobdan, a Greek, who followed him from Ireland. Uſher tells us, he ſhould wonder at the mention of a Greek's leaving Ireland, did he not know that at Trim, in Meath, is a church called the Greek church. But how does the exiſtence of this church remove our ſurprize or account for its name? The Primate gives no explanation. I have before remarked that the fame of our learning and the excellence of our diſcipline brought many foreigners hither from diſtant parts, and Dobdan was one of them. The dreadful Saracenic irruption into the Greek empire in this and the preceding century put to flight letters and their admirers. An anecdote preſerved by (44) William of Malmeſbury is very much to our purpoſe. A Greek monk, named Conſtantine, came to Malmeſbury and planted a vine-yard near the abbey. He led a life of ſtrict temperance and virtue. When he came to die and was near expiring, he ſuddenly raiſed himſelf up, and taking from his ſcrip, which lay near him, an archiepiſcopal pall, put it on and inſtantly breathed his laſt: every one wondered why he left his country or concealed his dignity; the latter, if known, would have created him much trouble, and the former has been accounted for. He fixed particularly at Malmeſbury, becauſe there our Maidulph had founded an eminent ſeminary for Greek and Roman learning. If the reader will pay any regard to Aengus's Martyrology, he will ſee there Romans, Saxons, and Egyptians noticed, as reſidents here, and whoſe piety procured them a place in our old Litanies. It was

 from

(43) Uſſer. Syllog. p. 131. Canis. ſup tom. 3.

(44) Apud Wharton, Angl. Sac. p. 37.

from Dobdan and the other lettered Greeks and Orientals that Virgil learned the doctrine (45) of the antipodes and the earth's ſphericity. This being the Pythagorean ſyſtem, a new one ſprang up of the earth's being a plane, which was defended by Lucretius, Pliny, Ptolemey, Lactantius, and St. Auguſtine, and continued to prevail till Copernicus revived the old one. Virgil muſt have read Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Proclus, and Stobæus, and probably other writers not now extant, to be convinced of the reaſonableneſs and truth of the Pythagorean notion. This, while it ſhews the philoſophical ſtudies of the Iriſh, demonſtrates their attachment to the Greek ſchool and fathers above the Roman. Virgil's ſuperior accompliſhments dazzled (46) the eyes and roufed the jealouſy of Boniface, Archbiſhop of Mentz, who with all the rancour of ignorance perſecuted our countryman. That it was for his mathematical opinions, the modern Romaniſts deny. "Could Boniface," ſays the (47) Cardinal Du Perron, "an Archbiſhop and martyr, and who crowned Pepin King of France, know ſo little of mathematics as to believe the earth a plane and as flat as a trencher?" Ridiculous! as if it required ſkill in the ſciences to be an archbiſhop and martyr, or to perform the office of coronation!

The following extract from Doctor Langbaine's letter to Primate Uſher, throws additional light on this curious ſubject. (48) "What I have ſaid of an Iriſh Saxon character, I am bold to call it ſo, becauſe I find it uſed in an old Iriſh chronicle, and ſome other Latin pieces of good note and antiquity, writ, if not in Ireland, yet by an Iriſh hand. In which kind I have met with Chalcidius's tranſlation of Plato's Timæus, and I think a dialogue of his own, on the ſtate of the ſoul after death, both for the matter and ſtyle ſomewhat remarkable, but imperfect." Chalcidius (49) goes deep into Platonic metaphyſics, and exhibits no mean mathematical abilities, which he illuſtrates by diagrams. This purſuit of the Iriſh is confirmed by Moſheim. (50) "That the Hibernians were lovers of learning, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in thoſe times of ignorance, by the culture of the ſciences beyond all other European nations, travelling the moſt diſtant lands, with a view to improve and

(45) Diog. Laert. l 3. c. 24. l. 8. c. 26.

(46) La jalouſie d'érudition & d'autorité les avoit commis enſemble: cela faiſoit une perſpective trompeuſe pour les yeux de Boniface à l'égard des opinions de Virgile. Bayle, Article, Virgile.

(47) Perroniana, article, Antipodes. (48) Uſher's letters by Parr, p. 552.

(49) Bruker. Hiſt. Crit. Philoſoph. T. 3. p. 472 & ſeq.

(50) Ecc. Hiſt. Cent. VIII. Diſciplinis, quibus primum eruditi ſolebant juvenes, traditis ad geometriam & phyſicam itum fuit. Deinde plurimum temporis in queſtionibus acutis & ſpinoſis, ex philoſophia petitis, & ad myſteria etiam religionis adplicatis conſumptum. Murray. Nov. Comm. Gottingen. T. 2. p. 117.

and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted, as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging with the highest reputation and applause, the function of Doctors in France, Germany and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of Scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the 8th century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, in the province of Languedoc, who lived in this period, and some of whose productions are published by Baluzius, in the 5th tome of his miscellanea. This learned Abbot in his letter to Guarnanius, expresses himself thus :—Apud modernos scholasticos (maxime apud Scotos) est syllogismus delusionis, ut dicant, trinitatem sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum. By this it appears, that the Irish divines made use of a certain syllogism, which Benedict calls delusive, i. e. fallacious and sophistical, to demonstrate that the persons in the Godhead were substances : a captious syllogism this, as we may see from what follows, and also every way proper to throw the ignorant into the greatest perplexity : quatenus si adsenserit illectus auditor, trinitatem esse trium substantiarum deum, trium derogetur cultor deorum : sin autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpetur. From hence it appears, that the philosophical or scholastic theology among the Latins, is of more ancient date than is commonly imagined." Thus far Mosheim. The fact here stated had escaped the dilligence of the indefatigable author of the critical history of philosophy, who (51) joins in the common opinion, that scholastic theology began about the 11th century. Mosheim adds, " that the Irish, who in the 8th century were known by the name of Scots, were the only Divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority ; naturally subtile and sagacious, they applied their philosophy to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion ; a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations. This subtlety and sagacity enabled them to comprehend with facility the Dialectic art, and their profound knowledge of the Greek language contributed materially to the same end. This made them view with contempt, the pitiful compendiums of theology extracted from the Fathers, and which the unlearned ecclesiastics of other countries accepted as oracles. In the next age, we shall see logical and metaphysical refinement carried to the highest degree, in the person of our countryman, Johannes Scotus Erigena.

(51) Bruker, T. 3. p. 731. Hobbes, Leviath. c. 46.

That illuſtrious ornament of the imperial purple, Charles, juſtly ſurnamed the Great, warmed with the moſt ardent zeal to promote literature in his extenſive dominions, drew from allparts, but eſpecially from Ireland, by the moſt alluring offers, men of the greateſt reputation to ſecond his views. It was not the glories of the Hy Nial princes, as (52) O'Conor tells us, that made him turn his eyes to Ireland, for he might have had 500 more potent Dynaſts than Hy Nial to draw his carriage, but the learning cultivated here; and this O'Flaherty (53) places as the grounds of his friendſhip. The abſurd tale told by Notkerus Balbulus of Clemens and Albin, Bruker ſhows to be (54) deſtitute of truth, though he does not deny the exiſtence of thoſe men; the former, as we learn from Alcuin, Mabillon and Launoy, was very inſtrumental in forwarding letters in France and Italy.

NINTH CENTURY.

THE Muſes began to deſert their ancient ſeat, and ſeek protection in foreign climates from the Oſtman invaſion. "Why ſhould I mention Ireland, ſays Eric of Auxerre, almoſt the whole nation, deſpiſing the dangers of the ſea, reſort to our coaſts with a numerous train of philoſophers, of whom the moſt learned enjoin themſelves a voluntary baniſhment, to be in the ſervice of our moſt wiſe Solomon." The Prince here meant was Charles the Bald, who, like his predeceſſor, flattered the Hibernian Literati to his Court. Among theſe diſtinguiſhed emigrants, was Johannes Scotus Erigena. Mr. Warton (55) makes him a native of Aire in Scotland; Gale, his Editor, ſays he was called Erigena from Ergene, a diſtrict in Herefordſhire. By Pithæus and (56) Voſſius, he is ſtyled Heruligena, inſtead of Hibernigena, and Bale is poſitive he was born at St. David's in Wales. To theſe I oppoſe Anaſtaſius, Librarian of the Roman ſee, his rival and contemporary, who expreſsly (57) calls him Scotigena, and with all the inſolence of affected ſuperiority, deſcribes

(52) Differt. p. 225. (53) Ogyg. vind p. 271—272. Uſſer. Syllog. p. 52.

(54) In cerebro otioſi monachi enatam ut ſimplicitate ſui temporis abuteretur, quo non facile credebatur quicquam niſi ex δαιμονιου ſimul referret. Hiſt. Crit Philoſop. T. 3. p. 587.

(55) Hiſt. of Engliſh poetry. Diſſ. 2. In this I think he follows Dempſter.

(56) Fabric. Bib. Lat. p. 797.

(57) Vir ille barbarus, qui in finibus mundi poſitus. Uſſer. Syll. p. 65.

deſcribes him as a barbarian placed on the extremity of the globe. Burton, in his hiſtory of the Greek language, ſays he was an (58) Iriſhman, and ſo do Conringius and Moſheim. The latter thus ſpeaks of him. "The philoſophy and logic that were taught in the European ſchools in the 9th century, ſcarcely deſerved ſuch honourable titles, and were little better than an empty jargon. There were however to be found in various places, particularly among the Iriſh, men of acute parts and extenſive knowledge, who were perfectly well intitled to the appellation of philoſophers. The chief of theſe was Johannes Scotus Erigena, a native of Ireland, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald. Scotus was endowed with an excellent and truly ſuperior genius, and was conſiderably verſed both in Greek and Latin erudition. He explained to his diſciples the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, for which he was ſingularly well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek language: but as his genius was too bold and aſpiring, to confine itſelf to the authority and deciſions of the Stagyrite, he puſhed his philoſophical reſearches yet farther, dared to think for himſelf, and ventured to purſue truth without any other guide than his own reaſon. We have extant of his compoſition, five books concerning the diviſion of nature, an intricate and ſubtle production, in which the cauſes and principles of all things are inveſtigated, with a conſiderable degree of ſagacity, and in which alſo the precepts of chriſtianity are allegorically explained, yet in ſuch a manner as to ſhow, their ultimate end is the union of the ſoul with the ſupreme being. He was the firſt who blended the ſcholaſtic theology with the myſtic, and formed them into one ſyſtem."

Scotus tranſlated from Greek into Latin Dionyſius Areopagita's Hierarchy. This had been ſent to Louis the Pious, by Michael Balbus, the Greek Emperor, A. D. 824, as an extraordinary preſent, and he importuned Louis's ſon, Charles the Bald, to have it rendered into a language more intelligible to him and his ſubjects. This was one of thoſe ſuppoſititious works ſet forth under ancient names, before noticed this being probably (59) compoſed by Syneſius, Biſhop of Ptolemais in the beginning of the 5th century. Scotus was very adequate to the taſk, yet he expreſſes his apprehenſions of being unequal to it. It is, ſays he, a performance difficult and crabbed, uncommon and obſcure, both by reaſon of its antiquity, and its celeſtial myſteries. About ſeven years after this verſion was made, Anaſtaſius, before named, writ an epiſtle to the Emperor Charles on this ſubject, and expreſſes his ſurprize how a barbarian at the extremity of the world, and remote from the converſation of the learned,

(58) Poſſemus his addere virum longe doctiſſimum, Johannem Erigenam Scotum, id eſt, Hibernigenam, e Scotiortum; hoc enim nomine celebris olim Hibernia. pag. 53. Conring. Antiq. Acad. Supp. 31.

(59) La Croze, chriſtianiſme d'Ethiop. 10. But ſee Bruker.

learned, could arrive at ſuch a knowledge of the Greek tongue. But, adds he, it is the bleſſed ſpirit alone, which gave him the gift of languages. I alledge this paſſage to ſhow, that Greek was commonly taught and well underſtood at this time in Ireland. We have (60) a tract by Scotus "De differentiis & ſocietatibus Græci Latinique verbi," extracted from a larger work of Macrobius, in which he treats of Greek tenſes, of defective verbs and the forms of words. Nor did he excel leſs in theology than in the other ſciences, as Dupin and Bruker amply prove. Cave informs us, he long held a place in the Roman Martyrology, among its other ſaints, but when tranſubſtantiation, and his ſentiments concerning it were, in latter ages, canvaſſed, his preſence was found inimical to this doctrine, and he was unſainted by (61) Cardinal Baronius.

Macarius (62) figured like his countryman Scotus in ſcholaſtic and myſtic divinity. St. Auſtin, ſpeaking of the quantity of the ſoul, affirmed that it had no corporeal extenſion, and that the quality of it was like God. From hence Macarius concluded, that all men were of one ſubſtance and had but one ſoul. Bertram was ordered by Odo, Biſhop of Beauvais, to oppoſe this doctrine.

Dungal, a native of Ireland, ſays Moſheim, left his country and retired into a French monaſtery, where he taught philoſophy and aſtronomy with the greateſt reputation. He wrote an epiſtle to Charlemagne on a ſolar eclipſe, which is found in Dachery and the Bibliotheca Patrum. Dupin confeſſes he has numerous quotations from the Greek and Latin fathers, and much erudition. There were alſo many other excellent ſcholars in Ireland, particularly Sedulius, the Commentator on St. Paul's Epiſtles: Theſe were the depoſitaries of primitive chriſtianity and evangelical truth, which in the reſt of Europe were horribly corrupted and almoſt extinguſhed by ſuperſtition and heatheniſh practices.

It is obſerved (63) by William of Malmeſbury, that the loſs of libraries in England, in the ninth century, drew after it that of learning, and mental darkneſs diffuſed itſelf over all the inhabitants of the Iſle. Such a conſequence did not follow the Daniſh invaſion: the flouriſhing ſtate of letters here for many centuries had greatly multiplied books on every art and ſcience then known: numbers of theſe were carried to the continent, and more were ſecreted by the clergy in their devious retreats.

(60) Fabric. Bid. Lat. p. 622.

(61) Ejus nomen in martyrologio. Ann. 1583 & 1586, reponebatur Romano, donec illud Baronius curavit expungi. Smith. epiſc. Chalced. flor. hiſt. ecc. p. 186.

(62) Dupin. Mabillon Act. St. Bened. ſæc. 4. par. 2 p. 53.

(63) Eccleſiæ in quibus numeroſæ a priſco bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris a Danis incenſæ ſunt, propterea in tota inſula ſtudia literarum abolita, quod quiſque magis vereretur capitis periculum quam ſequeretur librorum exercitium. De reg. Ang. l. 2. c. 4.

retreats. The poetry and muſic of the Iriſh ſoon caught the attention of the rude Northern Scalds. The moſt ferocious ſavages feel the operation of agreeable ſounds and the union of ſound and motion with ſentiment, conſequently no nation is without ſome ſort of muſic and poetry. According to Saxo-Gram. the Danes conferred the regal crown on Hiarn for a tetraſtich of no great merit. Thus letters found advocates in the breaſts of theſe piratical invaders, which inſenſibly influenced them to embrace the mild doctrines of chriſtianity. We (64) read of Macbeth, Dufslan, and Magilmum, whoſe names intimate a Daniſh or Norwegian extraction, as celebrated Iriſh ſcholars in this century, whoſe fame reaching the ears of Alfred, the great reſtorer of learning in England, he ſent for them, as he before did for Grymbald from Flanders, to propagate letters in his kingdom.

In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries Ireland ſtill preſerved her literary reputation, though ſhe could not eſcape the contagion and infelicity of the times. Oſbern, a monk of Canterbury, (65) obſerves that learning ſeems to have been natural to the Iriſh from long habit, and that there were many and illuſtrious men among them admirably inſtructed in ſacred and prophane literature. We ſhall be the better able to eſtimate the value of this eulogium by knowing, that Oſbern is praiſed, by an (66) excellent judge, for the beauty and eloquence of his Latin ſtyle, and for his matchleſs ſkill in muſic.

In Uſher (67) is a ſmall tract by Gillebert, Biſhop of Limerick, on the ſtate of the Church. It was compoſed for the uſe of the Iriſh, to give them ſome knowledge of, and taſte for the Roman Hierarchy. An allegorical drawing accompanied it, formed of three arches. The higheſt was covered with birds, repreſenting the angels in heaven; the middle, or this world, was filled with men, and the loweſt, or infernal region, was crouded with animals and reptiles, types of its inhabitants. He likewiſe deſcribes the Church under the form of a pyramid. The laity is the baſe, then ſucceed monks and the loweſt clerical orders, their head is the prieſt. Above him are biſhops, archbiſhops, and primates; the pope is ſeated on the apex. By this work, we may perceive the Iriſh had not adopted the diſcipline of the Church of Rome; and there are many proofs that the latter was not eſtabliſhed till the Council of Caſhel in the twelfth century. About the year 1076, Sulgenus (68) or Sul-

(64) Uſſer. Prim. p. 732.

(65) Hibernos, quia quod aliis bona voluntas in conſuetudinem, hoc illis conſuetudo vertit in naturam. Quorum multi atque illuſtres viri divinis ac ſæcularibus literis nobiliter eruditi. Wharton. Ang. Sac. par. 2. p. 91—94.

(66) Guil. Malm. de reg. Ang. c. 8. (67) Syllog. p. 78.

Sulgheim, Biſhop of St. David's, moved by the love of learning, and following the footſteps of his anceſtors, ſought Ireland, renowned for wiſdom.

Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos, Sophiâ, mirablie, claros.

After paſſing many ſtudious years here, and collecting much literary treaſure, he returned home.

Aſt ibi per denos trinos jam placidus annos
Congregat immenſam pretioſo pondere maſſam.

Thus we ſee the viciſſitudes of human affairs had not, for many ages, obſcured our literature, or drawn over this favoured iſle the dark veil of ignorance or illiteracy. But what neither domeſtic convulſions, the cruel ravages of barbarians or all-devouring time could effect, was quickly accompliſhed by the eſtabliſhment of a corrupt religion. We no ſooner embraced that of Rome than we loſt our genius and ſuperiority. Rien (69) de plus funeſte pour les progrès de l'eſprit humain, que la réligion mal-entendue & pouſſée juſqu' à la ſuperſtition, au fanatiſme & à la tyrannie.

My limits now warn me of a concluſion. In this brief ſketch, (and it is no more) of Iriſh literature, I have purſued an uncommon mode of illuſtrating it; not by giving a long catalogue of writers, but by inveſtigating the traces of ſound learning and extenſive erudition in the different ages among our Literati. Aware of how little credit is due to vague aſſertions and pompous repreſentations when unſupported by indiſputable facts, I have endeavoured to ſubſtitute the latter in the place of the former: convinced that the curious and learned reader will feel himſelf more indebted for the diſcovery of one unknown valuable truth, than for many pages of well-written declaration.

(68) Godwyn de Præſul. p. 604. Uſſer. Syllog. Præf.

(69) Bielfeld, l'érudit. comp. t. 3. p. 334.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ILLUSTRATED.

THE (1) Topography of Ireland by our Author is perhaps as curious a literary monument as any where to be found; displaying the natural history and philosophy of the age in which it was written. Giraldus Cambrensis, or Girald Barry was a Welsh ecclesiastic, who (2) twice visited this Isle: first, with his brother Philip Barry and his uncle Fitz-Stephen, and secondly with King John, A. D. 1185. He was a man of genius, ambition and vanity; these urged him to the pursuit of literature, and to such superiority in its various departments as would leave him without a rival. Despairing of attaining the enviable rank in England, he withdrew to the University of Paris, there to give the last polish to his studies. His talents were so conspicuous, that they placed him at the head of that seat of learning, where he supported the highest character for eloquence and science. On his return to England, fame had prepared for him a favourable reception at the Court of Henry II; he was selected as (3) Privy Counsellor and Secretary to King John, who was entering on a journey to Ireland. In this appointment Henry discovered his usual political wisdom (and no English Prince ever had more) by the mission of our Author, and the instructions given him; which were, to inquire into the (4) situation of the country, its nature, the origin of the people, their manners, how often, by whom and the ways in which they were subdued and conquered, and what new and preternatural subjects were to be found. This task he executed in his Topography. He added to this another work, which he entitled the Conquest of Ireland by the first adventurers, and important chapters on the government of the nation, and how it was to be retained in subjection. This he designed for the use of (5) John, then Earl of

(1) Francfurt, 1603, at the end of Camden's Anglica. Norman, &c.

(2) Cambrens. evers. p. 31.

(3) Me cum dilecto filio vestro, Johanne, in Hiberniam a latere vestro transmittere, Gir. Cam. p. 698.

(4) Quis terræ situs, quæ natura, quæ gentis origo, &c. p. 698.

(5) Procuravi, tuæque celsitudini (Pictavienſium comes Inclyte, Normannorum Dux) digestam historiam destinavi.

of Poictou, Duke of Normandy, and future King of England. Considering the novelty and difficulty of the commission with which he was charged, he accomplished its objects with uncommon ability. With no illaudable ambition he confesses, that his prime motive in this undertaking was to leave an (6) everlasting memorial of himself; this preceded his duty and gratitude.

Ireland had been but (7) cursorily mentioned by others, as Solinus, Orosius, Isidore and Bede, but by none of them thoroughly examined. He knew the curiosity of the English was raised very high by strange relations of the Welsh adventurers; by the recent expedition of King Henry, and by the flattering prospects held out of immense possessions. The arrangement of his work, if not perfectly consistent with the philosophical system of modern times, is yet neither mean or injudicious. He divides it into three distinctions: (8) the first treats of the natural history, the second of the wonders of nature and miracles of saints, and the last is a sketch of the civil history of the country. In the two first parts he positively denies having received the smallest (9) light or aid from Irish works, except what was acquired by his own industry and researches. In the last part, which discourses of the origin of the Irish and the primæval inhabitation of the Isle, he drew something from ancient chronicles, but it was lax and diffusive, superfluous and frivolous: the (10) labour here was similar to that of searching for gems among the sands of the sea-shore.

Such being the origin and plan of his performance, it may not be improper to remark, that he has been (11) accused by Irish antiquaries with gross falsehoods and fictions, and represented as totally undeserving credit. I desire to appear neither his apologist or panegyrist, but candour certainly demands of us not rashly to condemn a man, who solemnly addresses a work to a wise sovereign, and who for three days read it before the University of Oxford. Such an one must be regardless of every moral sense and attention to character, premeditately to be guilty of forgery and lies: this would hardly apply to an ignorant, bigotted and cloystered monk, much less to an ecclesiastic

(6) Operæ prætium fuit et curæ, egregium aliquod mundo memorabile relinquere. Altera vero, nec minus quam numero secunda, nobilium principum (Henry and John) tam retributio, remuneratio, quam exhortatis. Pag. 692. "He was elected Arch Bishop of St. David's, but at Rome he was outbid by him who had more money, and missed the Cushion. He departed this life when he was about four score years old, and rested at St. David's." Hanmer. p. 168.

(7) Angulus iste nec omnino intactus, nullius tamen hactenus stylo absolute comprehensus. Pag. 693.

(8) Est itaque trimembris operis partitio pag. 693.

(9) His expressions are strong. In duabus primis nullam prorsus ex scriptis Hibernicis evidentiam, nullam penitus inveni extrinseci juvaminis adminiculum. pag. 693.

(10) Non absque labore plurimo, tanquam marinas inter arenas gemmas eligens. pag. 293. See Cox, V. 1. apparatus.

(11) Biographia Brit. article, Barry.

eccleſiaſtic of diſtinguiſhed liberality and eminence, the favourite and confidant of an enlightened Court. A paſſage in his (12) Retractations is triumphantly brought as tacitly acknowledging his literary delinquency, but the ſenſe of that paſſage is perverted. He there obſerves, that he did ſet forth many wonderful things to be ſeen in Ireland; that he learned them after much enquiry from thoſe of the higheſt rank, and that on other ſubjects he followed common fame. Is there any thing ſelf-condemning in this? If the Iriſh drew an unfaithful portrait of themſelves and of their hiſtory, is Giraldus to blame? He (13) allows that he introduces ſome wonderful tales, as a wolf ſpeaking to a prieſt; a man with the extremities of an ox, &c. are theſe more extraordinary, ſays he, than many things recorded in Scripture, the fathers and pagan writers, to whom he accurately refers? But who are his accuſers? Richard (14) Stanihurſt, John Lynch and Abbé Mac Geoghegan, and other Roman catholic writers, who deteſted the Engliſh name and nation, and who eſteemed it the cruelеſt diſpenſation of providence to be ſubject to them. And yet theſe very men, thus ſqueamiſh with the vagaries of Cambrenſis, make no difficulty of believing all the outrageous and blaſphemous miracles related by Colgan and Meſſingham. If there were no other arguments to vindicate Giraldus, the beſotted ſuperſtition of the 12th century, with the low ſtate of every branch of human knowledge is abundantly ſufficient for the purpoſe.

Cambrenſis tells (15) us, that he came to Ireland in 1182, with his relations and other Welſh adventurers; and that being of a literary turn, he ſet about making collections. He continued in the iſland for (16) two years, and on his return to England communicated his obſervations to King Henry, who eſteemed them ſo highly, that in 1185, he ſent our author with his ſon, John, to the iſle. Cambrenſis carried back with him, and completed what he had before ſketched out, and dedicated his topography to the King. His zoology conſiſts of

Piſces.

(12) Nicholſon's Iriſh hiſt. Lib. p. 3.

(13) Parte mendacii nitens, ſummam univerſam decolorare. pag. 755.

(14) Stanihurſt. de reb. Hib. ſub fin. Camb. evers. paſſim, Mac Geoghegan hiſt. d' Irlande, diſcours prelimin.

(15) Venit eodem navigio & alius Stephanidæ nepotes et tam inſulæ ſitum et naturam, quam primævam gentis originem diligenter explorans. Pag. 796.

(16) Per biennium tunc in inſula et ante moram faciens, tanquam præmium laboris et præmium, ſecum reportavit. Pag. 806.

Piſces.

Salmones,	Murenæ,	Cati,
Truttæ,	Lochiæ,	Britii,
Anguillæ,	Tymalli vel Umbræ,	Gradiones,
Aloſæ,	Glaſſani,	Gobiones, &c.

Aves.

Accipitres,	Querquedulæ,	Bernaces,
Falcones,	Milvi,	Halieti,
Niſi,	Ululæ,	Martinctæ,
Meruli,	Gallinæ ſylveſtres,	Cygni,
Obeli,	Acetæ vel Kardioli,	Ciconiæ,
Aquilæ,	Coturnices,	Croerii,
Grues,	Ratulæ,	Aucæ vel Gantes,
Pavones ſylveſtres,	Alaudæ,	Byſiæ vel Griſeæ, &c.

Feræ.

Cervi,	Matricæ,	Talpæ,
Apri,	Vulpes,	Mures,
Lepores,	Taxi,	Glires,
Cuniculli,	Muſtelæ,	&c.

Vermes.

Ranæ,	Sanguiſugæ,
Araneæ,	Lacertæ, &c.

Ornithology is the largeſt of Cambrenſis's claſſes. We had falcons, hawks, and others of that ſpecies. An act of 20th Edward IV. recites, that goſhawks, tiercells and falcons were formerly in great plenty, but had become ſcarce from the number carried away by merchants: it therefore directs, that 13s. 4d. be paid for every goſhawk, and 6s. 8d. for every tiercell, and 10s. for every falcon exported. As he does not mention the Ardea or Heron, which differs but little from the Crane, I think he confounds the one with the other. Cranes were (17) ſeen here in the great froſt of 1739. The Pavo ſylveſtres of our author is to be met with only in the Highlands of Scotland. There were abundance of Swans in the northern parts: Storks were rare, and alſo Grous, this probably is a miſtake, as to the laſt. There were many white crows. This has been ſneered at by the ignorant as one of Cambrenſis's

(17) Smith's hiſt. of Cork. V. p. 337. Archæolog. V. 2. p. 171.

brenſis's fables: but white crows are not uncommon in the (18) Orkneys, Zetland and elſewhere. He ſays we had no partridge, pheaſants, nightingales or magpies. The laſt was driven here about the end of King John's reign: others ſay (19) much later. He relates the idle tale of the barnicle growing from fir-wood, and that Biſhops and religious men uſed them as being fiſh and not fowl. The French eat the macreuſe, or ſea-duck for the ſame reaſon. It is a remark of the honeſt Quaker, (20) Doctor Rutty, that they who can believe bread to be fleſh, may well be excuſed for believing fleſh to be fiſh. Moryſon ſaw ſixty pheaſants ſerved at one feaſt.

Our rivers and ſhores, according to Cambrenſis, ſupplied us with ſalmon, trout, eel, pike, perch, barbel, umber, &c. and our coaſts ſwarmed with fiſh, nor were we ignorant of the art of preſerving them with ſalt. The Spaniards, in 1567, took great quantities of fiſh from the Iriſh, and on our coaſts, as others did much earlier; for an act (21) was made in 1465 to prevent foreigners from fiſhing on our ſhores. However it was (22) late before we began to make train oil.

Cambrenſis gives us no reaſon to believe, that what we call mooſe deer exiſted here in his time; the cervine ſpecies, (23) noticed by him, were ſmall, and evidently the dama, or fallow deer. I once imagined theſe mooſe deer, whoſe (24) remains we behold with wonder, were common, and that the Firbolgs, who delighted in hunting; and who beſides training deer (25) to hunt had dogs proper for every ſpecies of game, had early deſtroyed them. This opinion, unſupported by tradition or hiſtoric proof, I now relinquiſh, becauſe the teeth of (26) elephants have alſo been found in this iſland, an animal we are ſure who was not a native. That excellent naturaliſt, Pallas, (27) mentions our mooſe horns, and that elephants teeth, the Rhinoceros, Hippotamus and other animals of warm climates are met with in Siberia, and, *uſque ad ipſa Oceani glacialis littora.* He modeſtly ſays, he will not indulge conjectures, but thinks theſe animals not only lived but propagated in theſe frozen

(18) Brand's Orkneys, p. 77. Scalig. de Subtilit. Ex. 59. p. 202. (19) Smith. ſup. p. 325.

(20) Rutty's Nat. Hiſt. of Dublin. V. 1. p. 308. See a remark ſomewhat ſimiliar in Cambrenſis, p. 709, where he ſpeaks of the tail of the Caſtor.

(21) Bolton's Stat. p. 38—39.

(22) Cæptum eſt non ita pridem genus quoddam olei in in magna quantitate confici. Lombard. de reg. Hib. p. 81.

(23) Quanto que minores ſunt corporis quantitate, tanto præcellentius efferuntur, capitis et cornuum dignitate. Gir. Camb. p. 709.

(24) Louthiana, part p. 2. Boate. p. 137. Camden. Ed. Gough.

(25) Lindenbrog. 1375. Du Cange, in Canis. The Graius Hebernicus is valued highly in the Welſh laws, p. 252. Mr. Pennant thinks our Iriſh greyhound, or wolf dogs were brought hither by the Danes Brit Zool 1. p. 54.

(26) Boate and Molyneux's nat. hiſt. p. 129. (27) Comment. Acad. Petropol V. 13. p 468.

countries. However the (28) Preſident of our Royal Iriſh Academy, whoſe mineralogical, chemical and philoſophical knowledge is admired in every part of Europe, and whoſe talents and accompliſhments reflect the higheſt honour on his native country, has, by ſolid reaſoning from ſcripture and geology, (29) demonſtrated that this appearance of the ſouthern animals was in conſequence of the Deluge.

Cambrenſis declares he never (30) ſaw ſuch abundance of boars and wild ſwine. The Northerns eſteemed this meat the higheſt luxury, and called it Sœhrimni.

(31) *Monoheroes*
Cerveſiam cum Dis potant,
Veſcuntur Sœbrimni lardo.

The Iriſh in the ſixteenth century were (32) inſatiably fond of this food. The writer laſt cited informs us, that a gueſt of O'Neil aſked one of his guards, whether veal was not more delicate than pork? That, anſwered the other, is as if you aſked me was you more honourable than O'Neil. As they did not (33) much boil or roaſt their meat, it was full of crude juices, and produced the (34) leproſy, a diſeaſe very common, and for which leper-houſes were every where to be found. They were taught that the bad effects of this and other groſs aliments were (35) corrected by Aqua vitæ. For ſome time it was uſed only as a medicine, and its operation in preſerving health, diſſipating humours, ſtrengthening the heart, curing cholic, dropſy, palſy, quartan fever, ſtone, and prolonging life was firmly believed on the faith of phyſicians, and made it eagerly and univerſally ſought for. At what time this liquor reached Ireland is not aſcertained. It was about the middle of the twelfth century, the diſtillation of ardent ſpirits was (36) introduced. It was called Aqua vitæ, eau de vie, in Iriſh Uiſge-beatha, Uſquebah, and now Whiſkey. Moryſon ſays, the Iriſh preferred their uſquebah to the Engliſh aqua vitæ; becauſe by mingling raiſins, fennel ſeeds, and other things they mitigated its heat, made it more pleaſant, leſs inflaming, and more refreſhing to a weak ſtomach. The Iriſh themſelves diſtilled ſpirits from malt in 1590, and imitated foreign liqueurs, by adding aromatic ſeeds and

(28) Richard Kirwan, Eſq. LL.D. F.R.S. (29) Tranſact. of the Royal Iriſh Acad. V. 6. p 233, &ſeq.
(30) Aprorum quidem & ſylveſtrium porcorum nuſquam terrarum tantam copiam vidimus. Pag. 709.
(31) Edda Sœmund. p. 25. Mallet. V. 2. p. 110. Barthol. p. 560.
(32) Illud genus cibi inſaturabili aviditate rapiuntur. Stanih. p 38.
(33) Non admodum coctis, nec plus ſatis aſſis delectantur. Stanih. p. 38.
(34) Boate, p. 101. Barrington on the Stat. p. 169. Ulloa's voyag. 1. p. 47.
(35) Utuntur pro panchreſto medicamine, ignito quodam vino, nullo alio liquore permixto, quod communiter aqua vitæ dicitur, cujus ardore cibus facilior ad concoquendum redditur. Stanih. ſup,
(36) Le Grand, vie priv. des Franc. T. 3. p. 64.

and ſpices, as was practiſed in France, ſo early, according to Le Grand, as 1313. The Iriſh Bulcaan, Rutty tells us, was made from black oats. Buile, madneſs, and Ceann, the head, intimate the effects of this fiery ſpirit. The nectar of the Iriſh was compounded of honey, wine, ginger, pepper, and cinnamon. This was called Piment. The early French poets ſpeak of it with rapture, as being moſt delicious. They regarded the union of the juice of the grape with the perfume of foreign aromatics, then ſo dear and highly prized, as the very perfection of human ingenuity.

Water creſſes, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel were uſed. "In the County of Leitrim, (ſays Rutty,) and other parts of Connaught, the latter is eaten plentifully with milk, and alſo with fiſh and cow's blood, ſalt, and butter; thus, (adds he,) from mere tradition and experience, correcting the putrid tendency of ſuch food as effectually as if they had ſtudied the doctrine of acids and alcalies, ſeptics and antiſeptics."

The Iriſh dined in (37) winter before day, and in ſummer about the ſeventh hour. Stanihurſt muſt allude to the more civilized, when he ſays they reclined on beds; for Sir John Harrington, writing in 1599, about fifteen years after, has theſe words, "other pleaſant and idle tales were needleſs and impertinent; or to deſcribe O'Neil's fern forms, and fern table, ſpread under the ſtately canopy of heaven." When ſuch was the furniture of the Chieftain, we can eaſily believe that of his inferiors was not better. Their candles were peeled ruſhes enveloped in greaſe or butter, as in other (38) countries they were placed in lamps of oil.

Ireland (39) produced but few kinds of apples. It is probable this fruit was firſt brought in by the Northern colonies; for the Iriſh abhal differs very little from the Teutonic appel, apffel, the Anglo-Saxon oepple, the Franco-Theotiſc ephel, and the Daniſh eble. From the ſilence of Bede and Cambrenſis I infer we had, in remote ages, neither cider nor ale. The Iriſh Leann is a general name for all ſorts of drink. The Bragawd of the Welſh laws, and Athenæus's Brytum are the Teutonic Bruggia and Broute, and theſe probably (40) from the Siberian Braga, a malt liquor. There is a tradition of the Danes, in Ireland, brewing ale from heath. The Picts, in Hector Boethius, are ſaid to have done the ſame. As they introduced the culture and uſe of corn, it is likely we are indebted to them for ale; the Pictiſh manner of making which ſeems (41) to ſurvive in Ilay, one of the Hebrides.

Fleſh,

(37) Stanihurſt, p. 38.
(38) Nullo fomento olei ſcirpive accipiens. Greg. Tur. de glor.
(39) Pomiferarum arborum quam perpauca reperiuntur. Giral. Camb. p. 739.
(40) Strahlenberg's Siber. p. 339. (41) Pennant's Scot. V. 2. p. 229.

Fleſh, fiſh, and milk (42) conſtituted the principal part of the food of the ancient Iriſh. From the word (43) meader or meather importing acid drink, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Iriſh from their milk formed a ſpirituous potation not unlike the Tartarian koumis.

Mead was a favourite liquor with the people of the (44) North, and muſt have been with us, as honey was formerly one of our exports. From a pamphlet, printed in London 1649, we learn that a ſhip was freighted at Waterford and captured on her paſſage. She was laden with ſeventy tons of kelp, thirteen packs of ſkins, eight barrels of tallow, ſix packs of wool, five ſacks of linnen yarn, and nine hogſheads of honey. But Cambrenſis ſays, (45) that we had plenty of Poitou wine which we took in exchange for peltry, which Lombard, in the ſeventeenth century, declares, was our (46) chief wealth.

Bede ſpeaks of our vines; Cambrenſis oppoſes (47) him. Stanihurſt (48) explains Bede by ſuppoſing we had vines in gardens, like other exotics, but not ſufficient for commerce, like France or Spain. Lombard aſſerts, that equal ſkill and induſtry would produce here as good wine as the French or German. There is an Iriſh canon in Dachery, where (49) if fowl deſtroy a crop, a vineyard or garden, encloſed with a hedge five feet high, the owner ſhall make recompence. As the vine was brought into Britain and Gaul by the Romans, our Belgic coloniſts could be no ſtrangers to it, and this canon is a proof that it was attended to here, rather for particular amuſement and gratification than as an article of trade. Two excellent antiquaries, the Hon. Danes Barrington, and the Rev. Mr. Pegge, have (50) diſputed the import of the word Vinea; the one making it the vine, the other the ribes vulgaris, or currant fruit.

Cambrenſis praiſes the (51) extraordinary fertility of the ſoil of Ireland. Our wheat, he obſerves, was ſo ſmall and contracted as ſcarcely to be cleaned by the Van:

(42) Carnibus tantum & piſcibus & lacte ſe veſci dicebant. Gir. Camb. 744.

(43) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 12. p. 536.

(44) Bartholin. p. 537—543. The manner of making it is deſcribed by Ol. Magnus, c 22—23—24. Lindenbrog. p. 177. Leg. Wall. p. 254.

(45) Cui & animalium coria, & pecudum ferarumque tergora Hibernia non ingrata remittit. Gir. Cam. p. 700.

(46) In univerſum in animalium pellibus magna pars eſt ſita divitarum hujus regionis. pag. 99.

(47) Vinis nam & earum cultoribus ſemper caruit & caret hæc inſula. pag. 700.

(48) Non erat ea mens Bedæ, ut ſcriberet, vineta eſſe in Hibernia, ſicuti in Gallia aut Hiſpania, ſed vinea quaſdam in hortis reperiri. Sup. p. 229.

(49) Meſſem. aut vineam aut hortulum. Spicileg. T. 9. p. 46.

(50) Obſerv. on the Stat. and Archaeologia, V. 1 and 3.

(51) Gleba præpingui, &c. p. 700.

Van: there was much ſtraw, but little corn. Where the land is wet, it (52) degenerates into Roille or Darnel. Cruitneach is the name of wheat in (53) Iriſh, and the Cruithnii were a Scandinavian tribe of Picts. From theſe wheat-eaters, it is likely, the Iriſh received a knowledge of the culture and uſe of this vegetable. Thus Juſtin informs us, the Phocæan colony at Marſeilles taught the Gauls agriculture, as Ceres and Triptolemus did the Greeks long before. Our manner of plowing Cambrenſis does not deſcribe; it certainly was by the tail, and is as yet practiſed in remote parts. Mr. Barrington believes it was reſorted to for want of proper tackling; but the Iriſh had at all time what they now uſe, thongs or ſtraps of raw hides, which ſerve them for traces. Probably the cuſtom was introduced by the Picts, for it prevails in the Northern parts of Scotland. Government here exerted itſelf to prevent it. An act of Council (54) was made in 1606, to prevent the barbarous mode of drawing ploughs and carriages by the tail: the penalty for the firſt year's offence was forfeiture of one garran; for the ſecond, two, and for the third, the whole team. In 1612, ten ſhillings were levied for every plough ſo drawn in Ulſter; there were 1740 forfeitures, amounting to £.870

What machine the Van was among the Romans and Normans is not eaſy (55) to determine. The Loiſgrean of the (56) Iriſh ſhows they did not treſh but burn their corn. This was the ſame as the Highland (57) Graddan. A man, ſitting down, took a handful of corn in her left hand by the ſtalks, and ſet the ears on fire; in her right ſhe held a ſtick, with which ſhe beat off the grains as ſoon as the huſks were burnt; ſo that corn might be burnt, winnowed, ground, and baked in an hour after it was reaped. The 10 and 11 Charles I. direct, that no perſon ſhall burn corn or grain in the ſtraw, upon pain of impriſonment in the common jail for ten days, without bail or mainprize. Cambrenſis mentions the mills of St. Lucherin and St. Phechin; the latter was miraculouſly made in the ſide of a rock, and the former would grind nothing on (58) Sundays, nor that was ſtolen. Theſe ſeem to have been water-mills, erected by the monks, and to which the vicinity reſorted. Querns were generally uſed, and ſeem to have been ſufficient for the agriculture of Ireland to a late period. Stanihurſt ſpeaking of the province of Ulſter in 1584,

(52) Smith's Waterford. Threlkeld's ſynop. voce. Tritic.
(53) O'Brien in voce. War. opuſc. S. Patric. p. 114. Pinkerton's Vit. S. Scot. p. 65. and Scotl. V. 2. p. 97.
(54) Deſider. Cur. Hib. V. 1. (55) Dickſon's huſbandry of the ancients V. 2. p. 400.
(56) O'Brien, in voce. (57) Martin's Weſtern Iſlands, p. 204. Johnſon's tour, p 125.
(58) See ſimilar miracles in Hiſt. de la vie-priv. des Francais, par Le Grand. T. 1. p. 58.

informs us the country was (59) quite wild and uncultivated: there was but little tillage; there were many herdſmen, but few ploughmen. The Iriſh Orna, the ſame as the Latin hordeum, and our ſhegol the ſame as ſecale, prove the Iriſh had not originally barley nor rye. Rice was ſown here (60) in 1585. I ſuppoſed, at firſt, this was a miſtake for rye; but on looking into Gervaiſe Markham's farewel to huſbandry, I ſaw rice was raiſed in England about a century ago, but not commonly. At the very time we find it in Ireland, the (61) French ſowed much of it, but through prejudice and improper management it did not ſucceed. As it is an aquatic plant, it might have grown very well in this moiſt country.

The Odyn or Oven is not an Iriſh invention, it is the Teutonic Ofen, the Daniſh Own, the Belgic Oven, and the Anglo-Saxon Ofne. We baked our bread under (62) embers. The Belgic coloniſts brought us alſo the gradell or gridle. The rule of Columbanus mentions herbs, legumes, and meal mixt with water. The Iriſh eccleſiaſtics, who had a conſtant intercourſe with France, could not be ignorant of the capitulars of Charlemagne, full of directions for the care of herbs, fruits, and flowers. Legumes were peas, beans, and podded fruits, and culinary and medicinal herbs the monks had conſtantly in their gardens. About 1632, artichokes, colly-flowers, pompions, and hops ſeem to have (63) been firſt introduced, and grew very well.

As Ireland abounded with animals of almoſt every genus and ſpecies, it may ſeem ſtrange that the natives ſhould be charged with devouring human fleſh. The fact is delivered by (64) Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. Pelloutier, who (65) examined the queſtion concerning the exiſtence of Anthrophagi, cannot deny the evidence of antiquity of the Scythians being ſuch: but he finds whenever the practice is mentioned, it was on ſome ſolemn occaſion, as previous to a battle, or after a bloody victory, for otherwiſe had it been common, the extirpation of the human race muſt inevitably have enſued. The moſt direct teſtimony is that of St. Jerome, who declares he ſaw the Scots, or Attacotti (for MSS have both) when (66) a youth eating human fleſh. Pelloutier believes the Father was impoſed on, being then a child: but this learned man forgot that the age of adoleſcence was either from the four-

teenth

(59) Agreſtis eſt iſta provincia, & ab hominum cultura feré deſerta, &c. p. 26.
(60) Deſid. Cur. Hib. V. 1. p. 59. (61) Le Grand, ſupra.
(62) Cum parvo pane paximati. Reg. Columbani apud Meſſingham. p. 403.
(63) Lombard, ſup. p. 88. (64) Diod. Sic. l. 5, Strab. l. 4.
(65) Hiſt. des Celtes. T. 1. p. 246. Hawkeſworth's voyag. V. 2. p. 251.
(66) Cum ipſe adoleſcentulus, &c. Adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 53.

teenth to the twenty-fifth year, (67) or from the fifteenth to the thirtieth, when ſuch a ſpectacle could neither be miſapprehended or forgotten. But as if diſtruſting the force of this objection, Pelloutier remarks, that the Scots or Iriſh became canibals through rage, for being tranſported from their own country. This is quite futile. There is no proof that the Celtic ritual was ſtained with blood, but many that the Scythic was; the latter the Druids had adopted, when known to the Greeks and Romans. The northerns were the immediate deſcendants of the Scythians. Human (68) ſacrafices; taſting each others blood, as the ſeal of leagues and compacts were veſtiges of their more horrible feaſts. The Iriſh, the offspring of the Scythic ſwams, were not leſs barbarous, even ſo late as 1596. "At the execution of a notable traitor, ſays (69) Spenſer, at Limerick, called Murrogh O'Brien, I ſaw an old woman, who was his foſter mother, take up his head whilſt he was quartered, and ſucking all the blood that ran thereout, ſaying that the earth was not worthy to drink it, and therewith alſo ſteeped her face and breaſt."

An (70) Iriſh canon of the 8th or 9th century does not forbid eating horſe-fleſh, though it obſerves, it was not cuſtomary. The (71) Scythians, Vndals and particularly the Danes of Northumberland indulged in ſuch repaſts: it would have been extraordinary, if the Iriſh part of theſe people, did not the ſame. The great northern feaſt, called Iol, which laſted three days, derived its name from the (72) eating of mare's fleſh at ſuch ſeaſons. The foregoing particulars are not brought forward to calumniate the ancient Iriſh, for every people, at ſome period, had the ſame cuſtoms and manners, but to demonſtrate the incredibility of the falſe, exaggerated and hyperbolical repreſentations of ſome Iriſh antiquaries and hiſtorians, who hold up their countrymen as miracles of learning and civilization, when they were in reality ſunk in groſs ignorance and ſavage barbariſm. The progreſs of refinement, in every country, bears pace with the improvement of its laws, the advancement of its induſtry, and its increaſe in wealth. The Iriſh were in a barbarous ſtate at the end of the 16th century, according to Spenſer, Moryſon and many other writers. Their

ſole

(67) Rhodogin. l. 19. c. 21. Shonborn. polit. p. 50.

(68) Worm. mon. Dan. p. 29. Sheringham. de org. Angl. p. 354. Sax. Gram. l. 1. Stephan in Sax. Gram. p. 51. Archaeolog. V. 8. p. 315.

(69) View, p. 44.

(70) Equam non prohibent, tamen conſuetudo non eſt comedere. Dacher. Spicil. tom. 1. p. 505 Moryſon p. 161. Pinkerton. Vit. Sanct. Scot. p. 74. Johnſon's Councils, Ann. 785.

(71) Strab. l. 7. Rhodog. 1289. Steph. in Sax. Gram. p. 52. Wilkins. Concil. 1. p. 147—151.

(72) Ió-öl, f. öl ab equinæ carnis eſu. Edd. Sæmund. p. 599. See Smith's Kerry, p. 275.

ſole employment was keeping cattle, and paſturing on mountains and wild waſte places. This was called to creete, Creaght or Keyriaght, or Boolying, from Bol, a Cow. Theſe Boolies were extemporary huts of clay and twigs, much the ſame as the Highland Sheelins or Indian wigwams. In theſe they aſſociated with their cattle. Spenſer thus ſpeaks of them which ſhews the ſtate of the country. "By the cuſtom of boolying there grow many great enormities unto the commonwealth. If there be any outlaws or looſe people (as they are never without ſome) which live upon ſtealths and ſpoils, they are evermore ſuccoured and find relief only in theſe boolies, being upon the waſte places; whereas elſe they ſhould be driven ſhortly to ſtarve, or come down to the towns to ſeek relief, where, by one means or other, they would ſoon be caught. Beſides ſuch ſtealths of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to theſe boolies, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or ſuch officers as might light upon him. Moreover the people that live in thoſe boolies grow thereby more barbarous, and live more licentiouſly than they could in towns, uſing what manners they liſt, and practiſing what miſchiefs and vallianies they will, either againſt the government there by their combinations, or againſt private men, whom they maligne, by ſtealing their goods, or murdering themſelves. For there they think themſelves half exempted from law and obedience, and having once taſted of freedom, do, like a ſteer, that hath been long out of the yoke, grudge and repine ever after to come under the rule again."

After this picture of Iriſh manners, can we avoid ſmiling with contempt on the pompous (73) account of the banquetting hall at Tara, given by the author of the Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis? Its various diviſions; numerous gueſts; the quantities of meat and butter daily conſumed; its twenty-ſeven kitchens, and its nine water-ciſterns for waſhing feet and hands? After the firſt emotions of wonder have ſubſided, we inquire after the literary memorial that records theſe extraordinary things, and wiſh to be ſatisfied of its authenticity: but how much are we diſappointed and chagrined on being told, "that is but the fragment of a fragment" in the Seabright collection, without date and without author; only it is conjectured, that this was the ſtyle of living at the Iriſh Court from the year 150 of the incarnation to the middle of the 5th century. The Editor of this romantic and childiſh fragment would have obliged the public, and diſcovered one inſtance, at leaſt, of antiquarian

(73) Collectan. No. 12. p. 513.

antiquarian taſte and judgement, had he endeavoured to elucidate the ſubject by other helps than Arabic, Perſic, Hebrew and Greek lexicons and vocabularies. Occupied for ever in the purſuit of phantoms mocking his ſight and eluding his graſp, he ſeems to poſſeſs an innate centrifugal force, which always keeps him from approximating the object of his inquiry. He conſidered this anonymous fragment of more authority than Froiſſart, an (74) eye-witneſs, who deſcribes the wretched appearance of four Iriſh kings, who attended Richard II. and who had every thing in common with their ſervants. Nor is it an ill founded opinion of an excellent (75) Antiquary, that the Iriſh, in 1377, were as uncivilized as the ſavages of North America.

Poſidonius of Apamæa, who (76) writ before our æra, has left us a (77) relation of, what he call calls, a Celtic entertainment. On a floor ſpread with hay they ſet tables, on which they pour out libations to the Gods. They had but little bread, but plenty of meat boiled, broiled or roaſted; this, in the moſt ſavage manner they tore with their teeth: and what they could not thus ſubdue they cut with (78) a knife. Both river and ſea-fiſh were uſed, with ſalt, vinegar and cummin; part of the latter they mixt with their drink. Their potation was Italian or Maſſylian wine, ſerved in ſilver or earthen cups.

Here we ſee an elegance and refinement incompatible with Celtic manners, and yet this account has been unguardidly adopted by Macpherſon, Henry and others. It appears, that Poſidonius refers to a people inhabiting the S. E. part of Narbonne Gaul, (79) probably the Allobroges, from the mention of Bituitus, who was their king. Theſe had been reduced by the Romans, and their country made a province; ſo that they were early acquainted with, and practiſed the arts and luxuries of their conquerors. The Allobroges are acknowledged to be a Tuetonic tribe, ſo that Poſidonius deſcribes not a Celtic, but a German feaſt. Thus from want of attention and diſcrimination the antiquities of countries are confounded.

Cambrenſis (80) repreſents Ireland as unequal, alternately mountain and vale; the ſoil ſoft and marſhy, covered with wood, and truly a deſert. This he confirms by an ample enumeration of the great number of eagles, hawks and other birds of

(74) Book 1. p. 204. (75) Barrington, Archaeologia V. 3. p. 75.

(76) Voſs. de Hiſt. Græc. p. 123. Meurſii Rhod. l. 2. c. 12. (77) Athenæi deipnos p. 151. Edit. Caſaub.

(78) Μαχαιρω μικρω παρατιμοτητος. Machæra here does not mean a knife, for the ancients had properly none ſuch, but a ſmall military weapon, occaſionally uſed at table. The Machæra Celtica was famous for its form and temper. Pfeiffer. Antiq. Græc. p. 309. Polluc. Onom. l. 1. c. 10. n. 13.

(78) Appian. in Celt.

(80) Hibernia quidem terra inæqualis eſt, mollis & aquoſa, ſylveſtris eſt paludoſa, et vere terra deſerta. p. 700.

prey; of the different kinds of wild fowl; of the abundance of animals producing valuable peltry, all indications of a thinly peopled country. Sir William Petty, a man of uncommon abilities, who ſurveyed the kingdom, minutely examined every part, and was perfectly acquainted with its hiſtory, (81) declares, that "at this day no monument or real argument evinces that the Iriſh, when firſt invaded, had any ſtone-houſing at all, any money, any foreign trade, or any learning but the legend of ſaints, pſalters, miſſals, rituals, &c. or geometry, aſtronomy, anatomy, architecture, enginery, painting, carving, or any kind of manufacture, or the leaſt uſe of navigation or the art military." A people thus circumſtanced could not be numerous, and therefore he eſtimates the inhabitants of the iſle to have been but three hundred thouſand at the Engliſh invaſion, which by the ordinary courſe of generation would, in 500 years, increaſe to (82) twelve hundred thouſand, allowing for epidemics, famines, wars, &c. and this he ſays was the population of Ireland A. D. 1641.

It is very truly and philoſophically obſerved by Cambrenſis, (83) that the progreſs of man is from woods to fields, and from fields to towns, but that the Iriſh had ſcarcely emerged from the paſtoral life; they deſpiſed the labours of agriculture, they declined civil wealth and ſocial connexion, paſſing their lives in woods and paſtures in a brutiſh, manner and in company of their cattle. The paſtoral life is not (84) favourable to the multiplication of mankind. Cambrenſis writ the foregoing about 1185; that the Iriſh were but little changed in 462 years after, the following (85) record will demonſtrate.

"Orders by the General Aſſembly of confederate Catholics,
at Kilkenny, the 12th of November, 1647.

"WHEREAS ſeveral perſons of the province of Ulſter, and other parts of this "kingdom, with their cattle and families, go in great multitudes through "ſeveral parts of the ſeveral provinces of this kingdom, being, as they allege, "neceſſitated for the ſafety of their lives and fortunes to leave their former dwel-"lings and habitations, and where by their *daily ranging*, they have very much "prejudiced ſeveral counties, in deſtroying the graſs, corn and other goods of "the

(81) Polit. Arithmetic, p. 318. (82) Petty, ſup. p. 317.
(83) Cum enim a ſylvis ad agros, ab agris ad villas, civiumque convictus, humani Generis ordo proceſſerit: genuinæ agriculturæ labores aſpernas, a primo paſtoralis vitæ vivendi modo non recedens, &c. p. 739.
(84) Malthus on the principles of population, initio. (85) Harris's Collect. penes Societ. Dublin.

" the inhabitants there, which hath occaſioned, that ſeveral counties and places,
" are quite deſerted and waſted; and the ſaid Keyriaghts avoid the contribu-
" tion which falls due upon them. It is therefore for the future redreſs of ſuch
" miſchiefs thought fit, that the Lord General of Ulſter, calling to his aſſiſtance
" ſuch other perſons of the ſaid province as ſhall be fit, ſhall inquire and find out,
" and return to the ſupreme council now to be eſtabliſhed, the head Keyriaghts
" of the ſaid province of Ulſter, within the ſeveral provinces of Leinſter,
" Munſter and Connaught, and what number of cattle each of them hath.
" Upon return whereof, and examination by the Council of the lands waſted
" in the ſeveral counties, which are ſet for county charges only, or which are
" waſted and yield no county charges, to aſſign unto the ſaid Keyriaghts, or
" unto ſeveral of them together, ſo much of the waſte lands in the ſeveral
" provinces for their habitations, and their paying county charges for the ſame
" as others of the ſaid counties will do, where they are to reſide, till they
" may return to their former habitations, and not to annoy their neighbours,
" or any of the quarters of the confederate catholics at their peril.

" Printed at Kilkenny, 1647."

The Scythians, according to (86) Herodotus and Juſtin, had neither houſes or fixt habitations; they wandered through the country with their flocks and herds. Their wives, their children and a few domeſtic utenſils they carried in carts or waggons, covered with ſkins. They were ſtrangers to agriculture. Theſe manners were realized in our Creaghts, as the foregoing curious document aſſures us, about a century and a half ago.

That the Iriſh were, from the earlieſt ages, a paſtoral nation, few in number and but little advanced in civility, ſome proofs have been alleged; more ſhall now be ſubmitted to the reader.

Cambrenſis (87) mentions an ancient diviſion of Ireland into five provinces, Munſter, Connaught, Leinſter, Ulſter, and Meath, each contained thirty-two Cantreds, except Meath which had but ſixteen. Two MSS are noticed, relating to this ſubject; one was written about the beginning of the reign of Edward I. 1272, and depoſited in the Abbey of Multifernan, the other, which agrees with it, except in one inſtance, was in the Abbey of Duiſk, which was (88) founded in 1202. The Multifernan MS

(86) Herod. l. 4. Juſtin. l. 2. c. 2.
(87) Quælibet illarum quinque partium triginta duos cantredos continuerit, &c. p. 737.
(88) Archdall's Monaſticon.

MS appears in Cuſack's (89) collections, A. D. 1511, and in the Commiſſioners' book of Indentures for ſettling Connaught, A. D. 1584. According to the Multifernan MS, which ſeems to have been adopted by Henry II. for fiſcal purpoſes, each Cantred contained thirty town-lands, every town-land could paſture three hundred cows, and every town-land had eight Carrucates. This then was the diviſion of the Iſland,

Provinces.	*Cantreds.*	*Town-lands.*	*Carrucates.*
Munſter, -	70	2100	16800
Leinſter, -	31	930	7440
Connaught, -	30	900	7200
Ulſter, -	35	1050	8400
Meath, -	18	540	4320
	184	5520	44160

Or five millions, two hundred, ninety-nine thouſand, two hundred acres, at one hundred and twenty acres to each carrucate, and feeding one million, ſix hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand cows, being three hundred for each town-land; this was allowing four acres and a half for the maintenance of each cow. Under the name cows muſt be comprehended black cattle of every kind and age.

In 1177, Roderic, the monarch, agreed to (90) pay annually one hide, ſaleable for the merchant, of all the cattle killed in his province with exception as to the king's demeſnes, and thoſe of his barons. Lord Lyttleton (91) obſerves this tribute was accepted in lieu of thoſe fruits of feudal tenure which were paid by the vaſſals of the crown in England, but which could not ſo eaſily be levied in Ireland, until the Engliſh government was better eſtabliſhed. The number of cows in Connaught, according to the above ſcheme, was 270,000, allowing one tenth to be killed annually, the number was 27,000, one tenth of which was 2700.

The value of a hide may be thus aſcertained. Finglas, in 1534, recommends that the (92) ſtatutes of the Spaniſh wines be put in execution, that is, that "no hides be gyven for any manner of wares, except it be for wheat, ſalt, iron, or ſmall wines, upon pain of forfeitur of the ſame, or the value. And all men ſending any hides

(89) Harris's Ware, p. 215.
(90) Bened. Abb. t. 2. p. 123. Brompton, col. 1106. Hoveden, ad Ann. 1173.
(91) Hiſt. of Hen. 2. V. 3. p. 86. Matt. Paris. p. 481.
(92) Breviate apud Harris's Hibern. p. 99.

hides out of this lond ſhall find ſureties to the cuſtomers, that the retorn of the hides ſhall come in ſuch wares as is aforeſaid. And that no man buy any hide above the value of ſixteen pence, upon pain of forfeitur of the ſame hide, or the value of the ſame." Thus far Baron Finglas in his Breviate.

Suppoſing the value of a hide ſaleable for the merchant to be one ſhilling and four pence, when Finglas writ in 1534, and that in 1177 when Roderic agreed for the tribute of his country to be but half, or eight pence, the value of 2700 would then be £900 per Annum. Or ſaying, that the prince of Connaught paid in fifty-ſeven years, that is from 1177 to 1234, five thouſand marks, that would be eighty-ſeven marks annually, or £870 per year, a ſmall difference in tribute conſidered either way.

There are many other topics in Cambrenſis deſerving illuſtration: this ſpecimen is given to excite others to a more minute and accurate inquiry into the ſtate of Ireland at the arrival of the Engliſh than has hitherto appeared: it was an intereſting period, and never has been ſufficiently attended to.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF IRISHTOWN AND KILKENNY.

IRISHTOWN.

KILKENNY is ſituated in the province of Leinſter, fifty-ſeven miles S.W. of Dublin; and whether we conſider its ancient or preſent ſtate will be found not undeſerving the notice of the hiſtorian or antiquary. It conſiſts of two diſtinct towns, Kilkenny and Iriſhtown: each is a ſeparate corporation; the firſt governed by a Mayor, the other by a Portrieve. Iriſhtown claims precedence of moſt of the towns in the kingdom. In the ſecond century, it is mentioned by Ptolemy among (1) the mediterranean cities. In the common copies of this geographer, it is called Iournis, but in the Palatine it is properly Iernis. As far as the obſcurity of ancient topography will allow, we may almoſt with certainty pronounce the Ibernia of (2) Richard of Cirenceſter to be Iernis or our Iriſhtown. But the preſent name, as uſed by the natives, is an additional and deciſive proof of what is advanced, they call Iriſhtown, Bally-gael-loch, or the town of the (3) Gael on the Lake; where the river Nore overflows the low grounds, it is at this day by every inhabitant called the lake.

The firſt ſettlement of the Gael was along (4) the margin of the Nore, the higher land extending from the ſite of the Cathedral to the Caſtle, was covered with wood, and from this circumſtance had a Celtic name, Coil or (5) Kyle-ken-uï, or the wooded head, or hill near the river; and by the natives Cilcanuigh, or Kilkenny.

The

(1) Πολις δε ιων μεσογειων. Ptol Edit Johnſtone, p. 127.

(2) Contermini Caucis & Menapiis, ſupra Brigantes, &c. Ric. Corin. Ed. Johnſtone, p. 116.

(3) For the Gael, ſee Whitaker's genuine hiſtory of the Britons, p. 113.

(4) Pleruniquc ſylvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates. Cæſ. l. 6. Hence the name of ſo many towns and villages ending in field, wood, bourne, and water. Cluver. Germ. antiq. c. 13.

(5) In Pennant's tour in Wales is a Kilken of the ſame import with ours, pag. 411.

The (6) charter of William Marſhal, Earl of Pembroke, to the Auguſtinian abbey in Kilkenny, exhibits internal evidence of the antiquity of Iriſhtown, as a long ſettled community, whereas the new town appears to be but recently founded. Iriſhtown always enjoyed very ancient preſcriptive rights: its holding markets and ſending members to parliaments were among its other privileges. A (7) cloſe roll of the 51 Edward III A. D. 1376, forbids the ſovereign, provoſt, and commonalty of Kilkenny to obſtruct the ſale of victuals in the market of Iriſhtown, or within the Biſhop's croſs, under pretence of cuſtom for murage. And leſt the ample grants made to Kilkenny might be interpreted ſo as to include Iriſhtown, the corporate body of the latter ſecured their ancient rights by letters-patent of the 15 Edward IV. A.D. 1474. Theſe renew to them the privilege of holding a market; and provide that a Portrieve be choſen every twenty-firſt of September, or St. Matthew's day, and be ſworn into office on the eleventh of October following, being St. Canice's day.

The Portrieve's priſon was at Troy's gate. Whenever the Mayor of Kilkenny came within Water gate he dropt down the point of the City ſword, to ſhew he claimed no juriſdiction within the borough. Biſhop Cantwell (8) obtained from Henry VII. a confirmation of the former grants to Iriſhtown. The ſtyle of Portrieve was after changed; for on the twefth of October 1618, the following entry appears in the corporation-books: "Thomas Tobin de Legerath, alias Leyrath, electus & juratus præpoſitus." But the old title was again revived, and continues at preſent. At the ſame time porters were appointed for Green's gate, Troy's gate, and Dean's gate to collect the tolls, and alſo appraiſers for meat. The Portrieve was to ſeize proviſions brought to market, and expoſed to ſale on Sundays. A feaſt was ſolemnly held in the borough on St. John the Baptiſt's day. The adventurers and ſoldiers of 1649, deprived the corporation of a large eſtate, which they never recovered.

The following extracts, perhaps, merit notice.

"Corporation of Iriſhtown, fifteenth December, 1557.

"By an order of the Court made by the Portrieve, Burgeſſes, and Commons of Iriſhtown, the ſeventh of January 1537, it was ordered, that the following prices ſhould be paid within the ſaid corporation, for making the underneath particulars. A quilted doublet with a new-faſhioned Bellire to be cut, to be made for one ſhilling ſterling. The pair of (9) gally-eniſhes to be made for eight pence. The pair of new

(6) Append. I. (7) Append. II. (8) Ware's Biſhops, p. 415.
(9) Collect. de reb. Hib. V. 1.

new faſhioned cloſe hoſe, ſix pence. The woman's Iriſh coat, double-ſeamed, being not wrought with ſilk, ſeven pence. Every ounce of ſilk to be wrought upon a woman's coat for nine pence. The offender to forfeit two ſhillings.

Anno 1564. This year happened the great flood, when divers men and women were drowned, and St. John's bridge and caſtle fell down.

Anno 1565. A bye law in the corporation of Iriſhtown. That no inhabitant dwelling within the Mitre-land, being a free man or woman, wear no apparel but after the Engliſh faſhion: nor no woman wear caps upon pain of forfeiture; and that every burgeſs ſhall go in his cloak, excepting W. Dullany, Teig Lowry, R. Wale.

" At a Doer hundred held the 8th of January, 1579.

" It is enacted by the aſſent of the Portrieve, Burgeſſes and Commons. That whereas great inconveniences have happened, and waſte and ſcarcity of victuals, to the great impoveriſhment of many of this corporation; who, though their ability could not afford the like charge, yet pride and compariſon, who ſhould make the greateſt cheer at the churching of women after childbirth, hath been the utter undoing of many, as we daily ſee. For to avoid the like groſs enormity and harm, be it enacted, that no man or woman ſhall come hereafter to any chriſtining of children, or churching of women brought a bed, but the goſſips for the time being, fathers and mothers, brothers and ſiſters, upon pain of forty ſhillings Iriſh, to be levied and taken of the owner of the houſe, ſo making the feaſt toties quoties; to be divided one half to the Portrieve and ſpy. And it ſhall be lawful for any that ſpieth ſuch men and women, coming from the feaſt, to take away their hats rolls and mantles, and the ſame to forfeit: and to take away the midwife's roll and mantle, that goeth to warn the people. And the pariſh prieſt ſhall have none in his company but his clerk.

" Sergeants appointed to execute this Statute.

Thomas Poore, Rowry Dooly."

Stanihurſt, writing in 1577, ſays; " the Iriſhtown claimeth a corporation apart from the high town, whereby great factions grew daily between the inhabitants. True it is, that the Iriſhtown is the ancienter, and was called the old Kilkenny, being under the Biſhop his beck, as they are or ought to be at this preſent."

The Butts are a part of Iriſhtown, where the inhabitants exerciſed themſelves at the long bow, to which they were obliged by ſeveral Iriſh Statutes. That of the 5 Edward IV. A. D. 1464, recites, " that every Engliſhman and Iriſhman that dwell with

with Engliſhman, and ſpeak Engliſh, that be betwixt ſixteen and ſixty in age, ſhall have an Engliſh bow of his own length, and one fiſtmele at the leaſt, betwixt the necks, with twelve ſhafts of the length of three quarters of the ſtandard: the bows of ewe, wyche-haſel, awburne or other reaſonable tree, according to their power: the ſhafts in the ſame manner, on pain of two-pence per month." Again, "In every Engliſh town in this land, the Conſtable ſhall ordain on pair of butts for ſhooting; and that every man between ſixteen and ſixty ſhall muſter at the butts, and ſhoot up and down three times every feaſt day, under pain of an half-penny per day." The poetry of the times is full of theſe ideas.

(10) *The butts are ſet, the ſhootings made*
And there will be great royalaltie,
And I am ſworn into my bille,
Thither to bring my Lord Percy.

The Butts were ſet up near where the Butts croſs now ſtands. The pedeſtal and ſhaft of this croſs only now remain. Not far from the Croſs was the Bull-ring, where our anceſtors diverted themſelves with another favourite amuſement.

By the red book of Kilkenny we are informed, that in that City, as well as in Iriſhtown there was a *Lord of Bull-Ring*, and there are ſtatutes for leſſening the expences of his banquet, and an order for John Fitz-Lewis to pay thirteen pounds for being diſcharged from this office. This Lord was after called the Mayor of Bull-ring. The direction of this ſport was, in moſt towns, committed to the care of ſome reputable bachelor, who was able to contribute to the expences attendant on it, the Guild ſupplied the reſt. A certain ſum was allowed for his banquet, and he had his Sheriffs; his election was annual by the citizens, and during his office he was guardian the batchelors, and on their marriage was entertained by them, ſo that he paſſed his time in feſtivity and good cheer. As commerce and manufactures increaſed, this amuſement was diſcontinued; time became too valuable to be waſted on ſuch paſtimes, and after the Revolution they ceaſed every where.

Harris (11) and Uſher acquieſce in the popular opinion, which deduces the name Kilkenny from St. Canice or Kenny, an imaginary perſonage, to whom the Cathedral is dedicated. The following is the (12) Legend relating to this Saint: it

(10) Percy's religues.
(11) Ware's Antiq. p. 41. Uſſer. primord. p. 957.
(12) Stanihurſt apud Hollinſhed. p. 27.

it ſpeaks more powerfully than any argument the (13) weakneſs and abſurdity of deriving from ſuch materials any hiſtoric fact. "This towne is named Kilkennie, from an holie and learned Abbat, called Kanicus, born in the Countie of Kilkennie, or as it is in ſome books recorded, in Connaght. This prelat being in his ſuckling yeres, foſtered through the providence of God with the milk of a cow, and baptized and biſhoped by one Luracus, thereto by God's eſpecial appointment deputed, grew in tract of time to ſuch devotion and learning, as he was reputed of all men to be, as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other, whereof he gave ſufficient conjecture in his minoritie. For being turned to the keepinge of ſheepe, and his fellow ſheapherds whollie yeildinge themſelves, like luſkiſh vagabonds, to ſlough and ſlougiſhneſſe, yet ſtill would he finde himſelf occupied in framing, with oſiars and twigs, little wooden churches, and in faſhining the furnitures thereto appertyninge. Being ſtept further in yeres, he made his repair into England, when cloiſtering himſelf in an Abbaie, whereof one named Doctus (Docus) was abbat, he was wholie wedded to his booke and to devotion. Wherein he continued ſo painfull and diligent, as being on a certaine time penning a ſerious matter, and not having drawne the fourthe vocale, the abbaie bell tinged to aſſemble the Covent to ſome ſpiritual exerciſe, to which he haſtened, as he left the letter ſemi-circle wiſe unfiniſhed, untill he returned back to his booke. Soon after being promoted to eccleſiaſtical orders, he travelled by the conſent of his monks to Rome, and in Italie he gave ſuch manifeſte proofe of his piety, as to this daie, in ſome parts thereof he is highlie renowned."

I have (14) before reprobated theſe wretched ſtupid figments of dark ages, and ſupported what I advanced by ſolid authorities. How does a late (15) writer evade their force? Not by ſhewing their weakneſs or irrelevancy, or by confronting them with others of a contrary tendency, but by ſaying, "a charge of this nature, conveying a contemptuous idea of the Iriſh clergy in the earlier ages of the Iriſh church, ſhould ſurely come ſupported with the proper proofs: certain I am, that thoſe produced, are moſt unhappily ſelected, they ſtand in contradiction to hiſtory and chronology." It not this to inſult our underſtanding, to talk of proper proofs, and give us bare aſſertion?

According

(13) Cave remarks of ſuch works: Certe nugis nugaciſſimis fictis, inepiſſimiſque narrationibus refertiſſimum, quæ non ſine immenſo Chriſtianæ religiouis ſcandalo legi, multo minus defendi poſſunt. Hiſt. lit. ſæc. 13. p. 654. See Melchior, Can. de loc. theolog. l. 11. c. 16. Marian. de advent. ſ. Jacob. c. 1.

(14) Theſe antiquities ſup. p. 172. (15) O'Conor apud Collect. V. 2. p. 234.

According to the Legend, Kilkenny received its name from the removal of the ſhrine of St. Canice to that city, A. D. 1200, from Aghaboe. Antecedent to this Kilkenny muſt have had ſome appellation: what it was, we are not told. From the primæval inhabitation of the Iſle, it was always called Kilkenny, and that this was the caſe before the removal of the ſhrine, here are the proofs.

A. D. 1085 and 1114. Cillcannigh or Kilkenny was (16) burnt. A. D. 1172. Donald O'Brien, King of Thomond, proclaimed a hoſting at Kilkenny; he was joined by Conor Mac Raghry and the forces of Weſt Connaught. The Gâlls or Normans hearing of this, retreated to Waterford, leaving the Caſtle of Kilkenny. After their departure, the town was demoliſhed, and the country waſted. By the Gâlls here, we are to underſtand the Danes and other Northerns ſettled in Waterford and the maratime towns. Theſe obtained, either by force or permiſſion, eſtabliſhments in the interior country, for the purpoſe of trade. Kilkenny ſeems to have been very early one of their ſtations, and where they erected a caſtle and other works for their ſecurity.

A. D. 1192, the Engliſh were ſettled in Kilkenny, and the foundation of the (17) caſtle then laid. From this document, as well as from Maurice Regan's account of the Engliſh invaſion, we find the new adventurers ſecured their conqueſts by caſtles. Among others built at this time, was that of Kilkenny, but by whom is not recorded, probably by Strongſtow, and on the ſite of the Daniſh fortreſs. On the arrival of Henry II. A. D. 1172, the Iriſh princes were intimidated, they ſubmitted and ſwore allegiance; but on his return to England, they reſumed courage and rebelled. Hence in (18) other annals, under the year 1173, Donald O'Brien retracted his obedience to Henry, broke down the Caſtle of Kilkenny, and deſtroyed the Engliſh ſettlements.

The great ornament of Iriſhtown is the Cathedral. About the year 1233, Hugh Mapilton, whoſe See was then at Aghaboe in Upper Oſſory, began the foundation of a cathedral church in Iriſhtown. Such is the account in the annals at the end of the Engliſh edition of Ware. However this writer in treating of the Biſhops of Oſſory mentions, but as a report, of which, it is ſuppoſed he could procure no evidence, that Felix O'Dullany, or Delany, laid the foundation of this church in 1180. It is very extraordinary, if the church was at all begun by Dullany, that no progreſs ſhould be made in it for ſeventy-eight years after. On the

(16) Colgan Trias. p. 613. (17) Annal at the end of Ware. Engliſh edition.
(18) Apud King's Coll. p. 587. penes Societ. Dublin.

the other hand, we cannot conſiſtently with truth and hiſtory place the rudiments of the church ſo late as Mapilton, becauſe there are indiſputable proofs of there being biſhops of this ſee during the above interval.

The fact then is probably this: Dullany erected an oratory near the Round tower, as the foundation of an epiſcopal church: Hugh Rufus more vigorouſly purſued the ſame idea, being an Engliſh monk, and elected probably through the intereſt of the Earl of Pembroke, and Mapilton and St. Leger might have perfected theſe beginnings. St. Leger died towards the end of Edward I's reign, when the (19) character of eccleſiaſtical architecture was the immoderate length of the Eaſtern and Weſtern windows, taking up the breadth of the nave, and riſing as high as the vaulting, and theſe ornamented with coloured glaſs. The windows of our cathedral are in this ſtyle, but at preſent ſhortened; however the eye quickly diſcovers and traces the barbarous change. A large pile like this, and where every exertion was clogged with innumerable difficulties amid the turbulence of conqueſt and inſurrection, could not ſoon be completed. We have no memorials of its progreſs, and are therefore left to form an opinion from circumſtances.

Biſhop Ledred, in 1318, fitted up the windows, and particularly the eaſtern one in ſo elegant a manner, and adorned with ſuch elegant workmanſhip, as left it without a rival in the kingdom. This will appear by no means exaggerated, when we are (20) informed, that Rinucini, who came from the natal ſoil of the fine arts, was ſo much ſtruck with its beauty, that he offered the large ſum of £.700 for it, and eſteemed it to be no mean ornament for Rome itſelf, whither he deſigned to ſend it. But neither the high rank of the (21) prince of Firmo, nor the plenitude of power with which he was inveſted, nor the diſtreſſes of the times, could prevail on the titular prelate, David Roth, or the chapter to comply with the nuncio's wiſhes. The eaſtern window contained the hiſtory of Chriſt from his birth to his aſcenſion. The other windows were enriched with ſeveral emblems. In 1650, this exquiſite piece of art was demoliſhed, with other curious monuments of former times.

(19) Bentham's Antiq. of Ely.

(20) Ware's biſhops of Oſſory.

(21) Johannes Baptiſti Rinucini, was archbiſhop and prince of Firmo in Italy. The hiſtory of his Iriſh legation, replete with intereſting particulars, is at preſent in MS in the library of the marquis Rinucini, at Florence, from which Burke has extracted much reſpecting the tranſactions of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny. Supplem. Hib. Domin. paſs. Sir Thomas Coke, earl of Leiceſter, brought a tranſcript of this valuable manuſcript from Florence, which was in his elegant library at Holkham in Norfolk. See an inquiry into the ſhare which king Charles I. had in the tranſactions of the earl of Glamorgan. By Thomas Birch, D. D. Preface, p. 4. London 1756. 8vo.

times. What fragments remained were carefully collected by biſhop Pococke, and placed in two ovals over the weſtern door.

The (22) fabrick is conſtructed in the Gothic taſte, and in the form of a croſs. The length from Eaſt to Weſt, in the clear, is 226 feet, and the breadth of the croſs from North to South is 123, being perhaps the largeſt church in the kingdom, except St. Patrick's and Chriſt's church, Dublin, and in the beauty of its nave it excels both. It has two lateral and a centre aile, which yield an admirable proſpect. The roof of the nave is ſupported by five pillars and a pilaſter of black marble on each ſide, upon which are formed five neat arches. Each lateral aile is enlightened by four windows below, and the centre aile by five above; they are in the ſhape of quaterfoils. The ſteeple is low but broad, taking up the ſpace of thirty-ſeven feet; it is ſupported by four maſſy columns of black marble, and its floor reſts on a great number of ſpringers, ariſing from the columns; they ſpread over the vaulting, and are each divided into a ſmall moulding like beads. The pillars in this church were about ſixty or ſeventy years ſince whitened by an abſurd and ignorant œconomiſt. There are four entrances: one at the Weſt end, two in the nave oppoſite each other, and one at the end of the North tranſept. The ſeats of the choir and gallery are of oak, varniſhed, the whole plain but remarkably neat. The compaſs-ceiling is adorned with fret-work, and has many modillions, and in the centre a groupe of foliage, feſtoons, and cherubims; nor is it deſtitute of an elegant ſet of organs. At the end of the South tranſept and fronting the North door, is a very neat conſiſtory court, erected by biſhop Pococke; to the Eaſt of which is the chapter houſe, it is neat and lightſome; over the chimney is the following elegant and modeſt inſcription:

HANC
BASILICAM
VETUSTATE
LABASCENTEM
RESTITUERUNT
ORNARUNT
OSSORIENSES
ANNO
MDCCLXIII.

(22) Ware's biſhops, ſupra.

In the North tranſept is St. Mary's chapel: here the parochial vicar of St. Canice formerly officiated. Near this chapel was another apartment, wherein were heaped many ſtone monuments: theſe were refixed in the nave and the lateral ailes by the care of biſhop Pococke, who to his other excellent qualifications added that of a learned *antiquary*. On the outſide, round the church, runs a regular battlement, and at the Weſt end are two ſmall ſpires.

The towers and turrets, (23) ſays Mr. Bentham, built by the Normans in the firſt century after their arrival, were covered with platforms, with battlements, or plain parapet walls. One of the earlieſt ſpires, that of old St. Paul's, was finiſhed in the year 1222, with timber and covered with lead.

The tower of St. Canice is not finiſhed: it has no ſpire, though ſufficiently ſtrong to bear one; and it continues in much the ſame ſtate it was left in at its firſt erection.

We ſhall now mention ſuch biſhops as were benefactors to the cathedral.

Biſhop Ledred, let his conduct be what it may in other matters, zealouſly promoted the intereſt of his church. His predeceſſors lived remote from the cathedral, which at the ſame time that it was improper, was the cauſe of many exceſſes among the numerous clergy attached to it: he therefore reſolved to build an epiſcopal houſe. King Edward III. granted him (24) the ſite of three churches, St. Nicholas, St. James, and St. Bridget, near the cathedral, on paying twenty ſhillings for this purpoſe; he alſo uſed the ſtones and materials in them. To appeaſe theſe tutelar ſaints, and to atone for his ſacrilege, he founded an altar in his palace and dedicated it to them. He alſo granted to the dean and chapter of St. Canice the church of Drumdelgy, alias Thornback.

Biſhop Snell beſtowed on his church ſome rich preſents, as gloves, pontifical ſandals, a ſilken caphin, interwoven with gold ſpots, and a mitre adorned with precious ſtones. Such donations were then highly meritorious, and the (25) virtues of them eſteemed very great.

Biſhop Barry, in 1428, built a large caſtle and hall at his manor of Biſhop's lough. He endowed the vicars of the common hall near St. Canice with four marks of ſilver, chief rent, out of the lands of Marſhall's in the pariſh of St. Maul.

Biſhop Baron, in 1527, rebuilt and repaired the biſhop's manor houſe, at Newcourt, and gave the vicars choral all the tythes and oblations of the Black or Dominican

(23) Supra, page 40. (24) Ware, ſupra. (25) Durand. Ration. Divin, Offic. Lib. 3.

minican abbey, then lately diſſolved, a paſtoral ſtaff of ſilver, and a marble table for the altar.

Biſhop Hacket built the arch of the belfry of ſquared marble.

Biſhop Williams, a prelate of diſtinguiſhed piety and ſufferings, expended £1400 in repairing the cathedral. The bells being carried away in the rebellion, he put up one that coſt him 144*l.* He laid out on the chancel 300*l.* and on the belfry 40*l.*

In 1675, biſhop Parry gave a ring of bells, ſix in number, weighing ſeventy hundred, two quarters and five pounds; they coſt 246*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; beſides he gave 10*l.* to buy plate.

Biſhop Otway railed in the communion table, and covered it with a rich cloth. On the twenty-fourth of July, 1684, he preſented to the dean and chapter 363 ounces of plate gilt, for which he paid 116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* It formerly belonged to Chriſt church, Dublin.

Doctor Pooley, dean of Oſſory, and after biſhop of Raphoe, gave 120*l.* towards raiſing the ſteeple, and to repair the towers. He alſo beſtowed a large ſilver gilt baſon, weighing ſixty-one ounces.

But this cathedral owes its preſervation to biſhop Pococke. When he came to the ſee of Oſſory the church was in the moſt ruinous condition, being totally neglected by his predeceſſors. Its galleries were decaying: its roof tumbling down: its monuments broken and ſcattered about; and a few years muſt have beheld this venerable fabric with ſcarcely one ſtone upon another. With that love of religion and decency, which ſtrongly marked his character, he zealouſly ſet about its reparation: he warmly ſolicited ſubſcriptions: purchaſed every neceſſary material at the beſt rate: in perſon ſuperintended the workmen, and that often from four o'clock in the morning: beautified and adorned it throughout, and left a memorial of his piety and regard for his epiſcopal church, which the city of Kilkenny and the dioceſe of Oſſory ſtill gratefully remember. The names of the ſubſcribers are on a marble tablet in the North tranſept; a copy of it immediately follows the account of the monuments.

The epiſcopal reſidence which adjoins the cathedral being originally very ſmall, was much improved by biſhop John Parry, at the expence of 400*l.*

The biſhops Veſey and Hartſtonge further improved the palace; but biſhop Eſte made it a much more commodious habitation, by the addition of four apartments and a noble ſtair-caſe, expending on it in buildings and other improvements 195*l.*

though

though his ſucceſſor was charged only with the ſum of 1400*l.* In the ſtudy, over the chimney-piece, are the arms of primate Boulter, his patron.

Biſhop Dodgſon very laudably began the practice of clothing and inſtructing the choiriſters, at the biſhop's expence.

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

On the South ſide of the high altar.

D. O. M.

Sacrum.

Illuſtriſſimus ac nobiliſſimus dominus Ricardus Butler,
Viſcomes de Mountgarret, baro de Kells, &c.
Ex antiquiſſimis primariæ in Hibernia nobilitatis familiis oriundus; utpote Petri Butler, Ormoniæ & Oſſoriæ comitis, ac Margaretæ Fitz Gerald filiæ comitis de Kildaria, pronepos.

Vir religione in Deum, pietate in patriam, fidelitate in regem, pace belloque conſpicuus, de rege, regno & eccleſia dei, pro quibus fortiter periculoſis et maxime turbatis temporibus ſtetit, optime meritus: felicis ac fæcundæ prolis parens: ſibi, majoribus ac poſteris hoc monumentum pie poſuit, memoriam ſui nunquam morituram reliquit.

(26) Obiit ille . . . Anno 16 . .

Defunctæ ac nobiliſſimæ vicecomitum de Mountgarret familiæ bene precare, viator!

On the right of the door going into the chancel.

Sacred to the memory of Richard Pococke, LL.D.
Who, from the archdeaconry of Dublin,
Was promoted to this See MDCCLVI,
And tranſlated to that of Meath MDCCLXV,

Where

(26) He died in 1651. Lodge, v. 2. pag. 261.

Where he died Sept. 15th in the ſame year.
He diſcharged every duty of the paſtoral and epiſcopal office
With prudence, vigilance, and fidelity;
Adorning his ſtation
With unſhaken integrity of heart and of conduct;
Attentive to the intereſt of religion,
He cauſed ſeveral parochial churches to be rebuilt,
Within his dioceſs.
He promoted and liberally contributed to the repair
And embelliſhment of this cathedral church,
Then unhappily falling into decay.
A zealous encourager of every uſeful public work,
Eſpecially the linen manufacture,
He bequeathed a very conſiderable legacy,
To the governors of the incorporated ſociety,
For promoting the united intereſts of the induſtry and charity,
Within this borough of St. Canice. (17)

On the left of the door going into the chancel.

Sub hoc marmore
Clauditur Annæ Cox quod mortale fuit, Jacobi O Brien, filii comitis nuperi de Inchequin, filiæ: quæ Michaeli Cox, epiſcopo Offorienſi, anno 1745, matrimonio junctа, eodem anno, ætatis ſuæ 23, fatali puerperio abrepta eſt, prius enixa filium. Quantæ jacturæ! quantillum ſolamen! Illa nempe tam corporis quam animi dotibus a natura ditata dignaque iiſdem diſciplina liberaliter inſtituta, non minus ſanctè quam eleganter vitam exegit.

Ingens deſiderium parentibus, cognatis, amicis; infandū conjugi mærorem, ſinguliſque ſingularum virtutum exemplar opimum, reliquit. Contemplare, lector, humanæ fælicitatis caducam ſortem, et adverſus inopinos et miſerrimos caſus (nullabi præclarius monendus) animum bene munitum et erectum para.

This

5 H

(17) Biſhop Pococke is buried at Ardbraccan in the county of Meath.

This elegant monument is of white marble, from which rises a shaft, on which is the arms of the deceased. Piety, a whole length, holds a book in one hand, and reclines her head on the other, which leans on an urn. The whole is well conceived and executed by Scheemaker.

Hic jacet

Adam Cottrel, Jacobs. Cottrel, Richards. Lawles et Walters. Lawles cū ejs. uxore Letitia Courcy, quōdā burgess. ville Kilkenie ac domī de Talbot's inche. Qi Walters. obiit 2 die mēss. decbrs. aº. di 1550, quorū āīabs ppiciet. Des. āē.

Hic jacet Richards Lawles, filis et hæres dicti Walteri, qi obiit 6 die mess Octob. aº dni 1506.

Hic jacet Jacobus Lawles, frater et hæres Richardi Lawles, filii et hæredis Walteri Lawles, qui obiit ultimo die Julii A. D. 1562. cujs āīē ppiciet. Deus. et Adam Lawles. qui obiit 20 die Oct. 1600, et Lætitia Shee uxor ejus, quæ obiit 5 die Oct. 1576.

Credo qd redēr mes vivit, et ī novissiº
die de tra surrecturs. sū, et ī carne meo
videbo Deū, salvatorem meum, quē visurs
sum ego ipse, et non alius, et oculi mei
specturi sūt.

Hic jacet

Patricius Kerin, quōdā ville Kilkenie burgēsis, qui obiit 5 die mēsis Feb. 1581. Et Joanna Nowlan uxor ejs quæ obiit 5 die mensis Decs. 1575.

Hic jacet

Petrus Graunt—canonicus, Oxoniæ alumnus et vicaris de Balletarsne, qi obiit die 23º mensis Februarii aº di 1509. Cujs āiæ ppiciet Deus. Amen.

Hic jacet

Jacob. Sentleger de Ballefennon, qi obiit primo die Feb. 1597, et Egidia Toben ejs uxor, q obiit 2º die, mensis Novembris 1570. Et Patricius Sentleger, filis secūdus eorum, qui obiit 21 die mensis Feb. 1607, et Margaret Shee ejs uxor quæ obiit. . . die mensis. . . . . .

I. H. S.

I. H. S.

Hic jacet Thomas Power, qui obiit anno dni 1519, et Margeria Pynſon uxor ejus, et Johannes Power, filius et heres dicti Thomæ, cū ſua uxore Joanna Sawadge, q^i obierunt A. D. 1550. Ricardus Power, ej. Johaīs filius et heres, quondam burgenſis ville Hibernice Kilkenie, qui Ricardus obiit 27 die menſis Maii, A. D. 1583. Et Iſabella Roth, uxor illius, que obiit . . . die . . . menſis . . . . anno domini 15 . . . . . .

Here lyeth

The body of cap. Robert Barton, late of the honourable col. Henry Harriſon's regiment, who departed this life the 5th day of November, 1723, in the 63 year of his age.

Hic ſepultus eſt

Standiſius Hartſtonge, Armiger, filius natu tertius Standiſii Hartſtonge, baronetti, et Scaccarii regis baronis. In agro Norfolcienſi oriundus, qui in hac civitate recordatoris, et in palatinatu Tipparerienſi cuſtodis rotulorum muneribus diu et præclarè functus, obiit primo calendarum Junii, anno MDCCIV.

Chariſſimo fratri poſuit Johannes epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, fælicem et ipſe reſurrectionem ſub hoc olim marmore expectaturus.

Here lyeth

The body of Mr. Richard Duigin, who departed this life April 4th, 1708.

Hic jacet

Thomas Otway, Oſſorienſis epiſcopus, qui obiit ſexto die Martii 1622-3, ætatis ſuæ 77. He lies near the weſt door.

Here lyeth

The body Charles Sandford of Sandfordſcourt, eſquire, who departed this life the 4th of Dec. 1701.

Hic jacet

Johannes Maroh, quōdam civitatis Kilkenniæ burgēſis, q^i obiit 23 die Decbris 1601. Et Margaretea Riane uxor ejus, que obiit 9 die Jan^ii 1609.

Qui

Qui clari fuerant filii, ſpeſque alma parentum
Boucheri Carolus, Fredericuſque Philippus.
Oſſa immatura ſimul flebilis nunc continet urna,
Morte puer juvenis, virque ſenexque cadit.
Quorum alter obiit 17 die Septembris, 1574.
Alter viii die Martii, a° 1587.

—

Hic jacet Edmūdus Purſell
Capitaneus turbariaru. comtis Ormonie, q^i obiit 4 die Novēbris, āno Dōni, 1509.
Et Ellena Gras uxor ejus a° dni 1500.

—

Hic jacet
Magr. Johes Coughlande, quōdā cancellarius Oſs^s ecclīē; q^i obiit 19° die mēſis Martii, a° dni 1508. Pro cujus anima cuilbet dicenti Pater et Ave, ceduntur a venerando patre, David, epiſcopo Oſſorienſi, 40 dies indulg.
Quiſquis eris qui tranſieris, ſta, perlege, plōra;
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es, pro me, precor ora.

—

. . . 1566, et Letitia Walche uxor ej^s q̄ obiit . . . die . . . mēſis . . a°. d^i. 1560.

—

. . . . . act
Roſiæ Ruu, animæ propicietur Ds.

—

Here lyeth
The body of the Rev. Henry Des Myniers, A. M. prebendary of Killamory, &c. who departed this life the 28th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1759, aged 68 years.

—

Here lyeth
The body of Richard Longe, who departed this life the 18th of April 1690.

—

Edmond Brenan, Robert Rinighan, Edward Rinighan, 1615.

—

Hic jacet
Doms Willms Carleil qōdā archidiacon^s. Mid^s. et rector de Yochil, ac eccleſiar. Dubl. Caſs^s. Oſs. Fern^s. Clon^s. et Corkag^s. canonicus . . . . . cujus āiē ppicietur Deus. Amen.

✠ Hic

✠ Hic jacet

Helena, filia Edvardi, cujus aiæ propicietur Deus in vitam æternam. Amen.

. . . . here lies

John Sprice, burgēs, qui obiit die . . . . and his wife Joane Kenede, quæ obiit . . . die

Hic jacet

Petrus Butteler, Comes Ormonie et Ofs^{e}, q^{i} obiit 26 die Auguſti, A. D. 1539. Et Margareta Fitz-gerald, comitiſſa, uxor ej^{s} q̄ obiit 9 dio Auguſti.

Hic jacet

Corpus Thomæ Hill, hujus eccleſiæ decani, et S. S. theologiæ apud Cantabrigienſes doctoris. Obiit primo die Nov. 1673.

✠ Hic jacet

Dns. Simon Dunyng, quondā precentor iſtius eccle. qui obiit in feſto beatæ Mariæ Magdalene, ano dnim 1434.

Here lyeth William O Dowly.

Hic jacēt

Thomas Pembrock, quōdā. burges villa Kilkennie q^{i} obiit 10 die Septembris A. D. . . . . brock filius dicti. Thome, qui obiit 14 die octobris ā. d. 1591.

. . . . ck filius dicti David una cum

. . . . a Ragget et Catharina Archer

. . . . omas obiit 25 januarii 1616

. . . . unus primorum vicecomitum

. . . . unice Alicia Ragget q̄ obiit 21

. . . . . 85 Katharina Archer obiit

. . . . us filius dicti Thome Pembrock

. . . . Joanna Ragget uxor dicti

D. O. M.

Revdus Jacobus Shee, Gulielmi ſenatoris in hac Kilkennienſi civitate, bene, prudenter et feliciter defuncti, ter prætoris officio, filius. Divini cultus et animarum zelo, reliquiſque quæ verum Dei ſacerdotem decent, virtutibus conſpicuus. Præbendarius de Taſcoffin, vicarius de Claragh, eccleſiæ cathedralis Sti Canici providus procurator et vicariorum communis aulæ induſtrius proviſor: inter alia pietatis opera, monumentum hoc ſibi, ſuoque germano fratri R. D. Joanni Shee, præbendario de Mayne, parochiæ Sti Joannis evangeliſtæ Kilkenniæ vicario, fieri fecit.

Obiit D. Jacobus die 29 menſis Aprilis anno Dni 1648. Obiit etiam D. Joannes die . . . menſis . . . anno Dni . . . . .

Æternam illis requiem, eccleſiæ Dei pacem,
Et tranquillitatem precare, viator!
Una parens fauſta fratres quos protulit alvo,
Una ſacerdotes continet urna duos.

Hic jacet

Jacob⁹ Schortals dns de Balylarkan et de Balykif qi hāc tūbā fieri fecit a°. dm. 1507. et Katharina Whyte uxor ej⁹ p. q°. u. et parētum aibs cuilibet dicti oraōē dnic^m. et ſalē āgē 'cedūt. 80 dies īdulg.

Hic jacet

Honeſtus ac diſcretus vir dominus Nicholaus Motyng quondam cancellarius iſtius eccleſiæ et rector de Kilderienſi, qui obiit 13 die menſis februarii 1563. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus, Amen Jeſus.

Hic jacet

Gulielm⁹. Donoghou quōdā burgēs vill̃e de Iriſhtowne juxta Kilkeniā. q^i obiit 13 die novēbris a°. d^i. 1597. Et Catharina Moni ej⁹. uxor, q obiit . . . . . .

Hic jacet

Illuſtris. & nobilis. Dā. Ellana Butler, nobiliſſimi Dī Petri Butler, Ormoniæ comitis filia, et uxor qūdā pia clariſſimi Domini Donaldi O Brien, Tumundiæ comitis, q obiit 2 die Julii, 1597.

D. O. M.

Patricius Murphy, civis, ſenator, & quondam prætor Kilkenienſis: vir prudens, probus, pius: pauperum et pupillorum merito parens; mortalitatis dum viveret memor. Sibi, chariſſimæ uxori ſuæ, Anaſtatiæ Phelan, matronæ lectiſſimæ & optimæ: numeroſæ necnon eruditæ prolis matri: filio ac hæredi ſuo Ricardo Murphy, cm-

omnibus multum charo, vicecomitis munere Kilkeniæ, ſumma cum laude functo, ætatis flore prærepto : ejus uxori Eliſæ Rothe, liberis ac poſteris monumentum hoc poſuit. Obiit Patricius 3 die menſis Martii 1648. Anaſtatiæ 6 die Februarii, 1646. Ricardus 8 die Junii, 1640. Eliſa . . . . . die menſis . . . . . .

Exaltans humiles Deus, hic extolle ſepultos,
Qui fuerant humiles ſemper amore tui.
Qui requiem, vitam, ſolamen, dona, ſalutem
Pauperibus dederant : his miſerere, Deus, Amen!

Epitaphium.

Junxit amor vivos, uno mors jungit amantes
Marmore, non moritur qui benè vixit amor.
Chriſti verus, amor, poſt mortem vivit et addit,
Æternæ vitæ gaudia connubii.

Requieſcant in pace

Joannes Murphy; filius prædicti Ricardi, 16 Nov. A. D. 1690. Maria Tobin uxor Joannis 17 Jan. 1690-1. Barnabas Murphy filius Joannis, 28 Junii 1741. Maria Shee, ejus uxor obiit 3 Nov. 1737.

D. O. M.

Ad pietatis & mortalitatis memoriam clariſſimus & nobiliſſimus dominus D. Edmundus Blanchville, eques auratus, D. de Blanchvillſtowne, Kilmodemucke, &c. ac nobiliſſima D. Elizabetha Butlera, uxor pientiſſima, perilluſtri domino Giraldo Blanchville filio chariſſimo primogenito, viro optimo, immatura morte prærepto, ſibi, liberis poſteriſque ſuis monumentum hoc erexerunt, menſe Auguſti, 1647. Giraldus obiit 21 Feb. 1646. Edmundus . . . . . Elizabetha . . . .

Requieſcant in pace. Amen.

Epitaphium.

Qui patri in terris ſuccedere debuit hæres,
In tumulo huic hæres cogitur eſſe pater.
Eſt oriens primus, moriens poſtremus et idem eſt,
Ortu poſterior, interituque prior.
Mors hæc mira facit, mutat quadrata rotundis,
Mors fera quæ! quantum! ſic rapit ante patrem,
Et gnatum virtute ſenem, juvenemque diebus
Gnatum Blanchveliæ ſpem columemque domus.
Sed quoniam fera mors, vitam ſine labe caducam
Abſtulit, æternum dat diadema Deus.

Edmūd^{s} Butler q^{i}. . . . die mēs Julii, A^{o}. Dnī. . . . ej^{s} uxor $\overline{q}$ obiit 10 . . .

Will^{s} Vale quōdā . . . eccleſiæ, qui obiit 21 die mē^{s} . . . . . 1571.

Hic jacet
Jacob^{s} Purcell, filius Philippi de Foukerath, q^{i} obiit 11 die mēſis oct^{s}. a^{o}. d$_{i}$. 1552.
Et Joanna Shortals uxor ej^{s}. que obiit . . die . . . me^{s}. a^{o}. d^{i}. 15. . . Quor. āīāb^{s}. ppicietur Deus. Amē. Jeſu.

Letatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus.

Credo q^{d}. redēptor meus vivit, et ī noviſſimo die de terra ſurrectur^{s} ſū, et ī carne mea videbo deū, ſalvatorē meū, quē viſurus ſū ego ipſe et nō ali^{s}, et oculi mei ſpecturi ſūt. Suſcepit deū Iſrael puerum ſuum recordatus miſericordiæ ſuæ.

Hic jacet
Corpus Dianæ Woodlefe, quæ obiit 13 die Jan. A^{o}. D^{i}. 1604.

D. O. M.
Et
Memoriæ Davidis epiſcopi Oſſorienſis, qui
hanc eccleſiam cathedralem Sto Canico
ſacram "priſtino decori reſtituit, hæreſim
exinde vapulans." Anno Dni 1642.
Ortus cuncta ſuos repetunt, matremque requirunt,
Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil.

This monument is near the conſiſtorial court, and was defaced through the ill-judged zeal of biſhop Parry, for ſome words in the inſcription reflecting on proteſtantiſm: the words are between inverted commas, and ſupplied from tradition.

The monument is of black marble; a ledger, conſiſting of a cavetto and ovolo with their liſts, ſerve for the baſe of the whole; upon which is a frieze adorned with foliage. At each end is a plain field, deſigned for coats of arms, but they are left blank. Over each end of the frieze ſprings an abutment, upon which ſtood originally two columns of the Corinthian order, but now taken away, and the entablature is at preſent ſupported by two plain pilaſters, which ſtood behind the columns. Between theſe pilaſters are two impoſts, on which an arch reſts in form of a gate, or flat niche, and that which repreſents the gate is the table, upon which is the inſcription.

Over

Over the corner of the left impoſt is cut the effigies of St. Kiaran, with a mitre on his head, a crozier in his hand and his name underneath. He is the principal patron of the dioceſe of Oſſory, and its firſt biſhop, according to the legends. The pilaſters ſupport an entablature, compoſed of an architrave, frieze, and cornice: the frieze is adorned with roſes. Over the entablature is another table, on which is cut the repreſentation of our Saviour on the croſs, and on each ſide a woman weeping. From each ſide of this table ſprings a ſcroll, which reſts upon the extremities of the entablature, and over the table is a large ovolo, which ſerves for a cornice to it: on each ſide of the ovolo is a block or cube, adorned with flowers; between which is another table archwiſe, and upon this is fixed the paternal coat of arms of the Roths, being a ſtag trippant gules, leaning againſt a tree vert. Over this coat hangs a canopy with ſtrings pendant, terminating with fringed knots. Upon the top of the arch ſtands a ſmall pedeſtal, which crowns the whole monument, upon the die of which is—I. H. S. The arms and images ſhew the remains of gilding and painting, and the whole was executed with uncommon abilities by an Italian eccleſiaſtic, as tradition reports.

In piam

Memoriam Johannis Buſhop quondam regiſtri hujus diæceſeos, avi ſui, et Edvardi Buſhop, præbendarii de Killamery, patris ſui, in hæc eccleſia cathedrali ſibi ſuiſq; poſteris hoc poſuit Walterus Buſhop, 12 Junii, 1677.

Hic jacet

Nob^us. d^s. Edmund^s Butler, vicecomes de Mountgarret, q^i obiit 20 die Dec^br 1571.

Æ. S.

Reverendus Stephanus Vaughan, hujus eccleſiæ theſaurarius, in agro Avonenſi natus, Oxoniæ educatus, vitam hanc tranſitoriam Kilkeniæ finivit, 22° Aprilis 1711, ac glorioſam expectans reſurrectionem, ſubtus jacet tumultatus.

Alicia Vaughan al^s Lloyd, uxor ejus chariſſima poſuit.

Here lyeth

The body of Mrs. Frances Foulkes, alias White, daughter to Gryffith White of Hênllan in Pembrockeſhire, eſquire; who being twice married, firſt to major Francis Bolton, afterwards to Bartholomew Foulkes, eſq; died the 15th day of November 1685, in the year of her age 52.

Here lyeth
The body of Mrs. Mary Stoughton, wife to Mr. Anthony Stoughton of the city of Dublin, gentleman, and daughter to the right worſhipful Henry Maynwaringe, of the city of Kilkenny, eſquire, and one of the maſters of his majeſty's high court of Chancery in Ireland; who died in childbed of her third child, named Henry, the 3d day of January, 1634, and are both here intombed together.

Epitaph.

A vertuous mother and her new-born ſon,
Parted here meet, and end where they begun.
She from her bearing bed, he from the womb,
Exchang'd their living graves for this dead tomb.
This pile and epitaph ſeem vainly ſpent,
Goodneſs rears her a ſurer monument.
No curious hand can cut, no lab'ring head
Bring more to praiſe her than the life ſhe led.
Bemoan that readeſt, and live as well as ſhe,
So ſhalt thou want nor tomb nor elogy.

Mole ſub hac tegitur, lector, digniſſima conjux,
Dans proli vitam, perdidit ipſa ſuum.
Quam ſi forma, favor populi, ſtirps, res, ſatis ampla,
Si pudor, ingenium, ſi juvenile decus,
Si quid in humanis quanquam ſervaret in ævum,
Mortis ab incurſu, ſoſpes et illa foret.
Parte tamen meliore ſui famaque ſuperſtes,
Qua licet æterno nomine viva viget.

Venerabili viro
Gulielmo Johnſon, decano eccleſiæ Sti Canici, avo materno ſuo et patri ſuo Thomæ Wale, ejuſdem eccleſiæ theſaurario, necnon ſibi ſuiſque poſteris, monumentum hoc poſuit Robertus Wale, theſaurarius. Oct. 14, A. D. 1624.

Quæ pigra cadavera pridem
Tumulis putrefacta jacebant,
Volucres rapientur in auras,
Animas comitata priores.

Hinc

Hinc maxima cura ſepulchris
Impenditur, hinc reſolutos
Honor ultimus accepit artus,
Et funeris ambitus ornat.
Sint ut ſua prœmia laudi ;
Jonſoni gloria ſplendet
Omnem vulgata per orbem ;
Candore nitentia claro.
Prætendere lintea, mos eſt
Aſperſa myrrha Sabæo,
Corpus medicamine ſervat.
Quidnam tibi ſaxa cavata ?
Quid pulchra volunt monumenta ?
Res, quæ, niſi creditur illis
Non mortua ſed data ſomno.
Jam ſex luſtra ſubinde
Prudens, gravis, integer ævo
Divina volumina pandit.

Gulielmus Johnſon, decanus eccleſiæ cathedralis Sti Canici Kilkeniæ, qui Wigornii natus, Cantabrigiæ educatus, obiit Kilkeniæ . . . die idus Octobris 1681.

Hic pietate pares clauſa conduntur in urna,
Chriſticolæ, Chriſti munere, ſorte pares :
Sorte pari ſic morte mori conceſſit Jeſus,
Aſtrigeroque polo vivere ſorte pari.

Hic jacent
Anton^{i} Boue et Maria Gale.

Hic jacet
Gulielmus Kyvane, Roberti filius, quondam civitatis Kilkeniæ, vir diſcretus, qui ſibi, chariſſimæ uxori ſuæ Elizabethæ Bray, liberis ac poſteris hoc mònumentum fieri fecit. 1647. Obiit Gulielmus . . . . Obiit etiam uxor ejus Elizabetha . . . die menſis . . . . anno . . . .

. . . nie burgē^{s}. q^{i}. obiit . . . die mēs^{s}. . . et Elina . . . uxor ej^{s}. $\overline{q.}$ obiit 30 die mēſis marcii 1579.

. . . .

. . . . ouli quod. mercator burgenſis ville Hibernicane Kilkenie q^i. obiit 8 die . . .

In obitum

Probæ ac modeſtæ admodum mulieris Margaretæ Wale, uxoris Johannis Namoy y Kelly, generoſi Conachtenſis, obiit 2° Maii, a°. d^i. 1623.

Ipſius mariti funebre hexaſticon.

Grata Deo, delecta toro, dilecta marito,
Moribus et vita hic culta, ſepulta jacet.
Illius ingenium ingenuum, pietaſque fideſque
Dona fuere ſuo dos ſatis ampla viro.
Quanquam jure ſuo ſua corpora terra repoſcat,
Tantâ vix digna eſt hoſpite terra tamen.

✠ Hic jacet

Johes Talbot, cuj^s aiæ ppicet 'Ds.

Hic jacet

Georgi^s Savadge fili^s Georgii Savadge, q^d ville Kilkenie burges^s qui obiit a°. d^i. 1500. Hic jacet Margareta Savadge.

Eloquio clarus, virtute fideque Jacobus,
Cœlum mente habitans, hoc habet oſſa ſolum.

Jacobus Clarus.

Protonotarius et rector eccleſie D. Johannis, diæceſis Oſſorienſis . . . . . Vir bonus et benignus, verecundus viſu, moribus modeſtus, eloquio decorus, a puero in virtutibus exercitus, Deo devotus, hominibus amabilis, et omnibus bonorum operum exemplis præclarus. Obiit anno 1643, 14 Nov. ſub auroram cum maximo piorum hominum luctu.

Hic jacent

Johannes Gras, miles ac baro de Courtiſtown, et Onorina Brenach ux^r ej^s a°. d^i. 1568, die mēs^s . . .

Hic jacet

Reverend^s pater Nicholaus Walſhe, quondam Oſs^s epus, qui obiit die mēs^s Dec. 17, A°. D^i. 1585. He is interred on the ſouth ſide of the greet aile.

Turris

Turris fortis mihi Deus.
Spiritus amborum cœli verſatur in aula,
Infra nunc quorum corpora terra capit:
Hic jacet

Gulielmus Kelly, quondam civitatis Kilkeniæ burgenſis, qui obiit 27 menſis Maii, anno dom. 1644. Et uxor ejus chara Margareta Phelan, quæ obiit 2 die Octr. anno dom. 1635.

Miſeremini mei, miſeremini mei, ſaltem vos amici, quia manus Domini tetigit me. Job. 19.

✠ Hic jacet

Petrus Bolger, qui obiit 8 die ſeptēbr^s 1601, et uxor ej^s Joanna Walſhe, quæ obiit 29 die Januarii 1608.

Hic jacet

Ricardus Clovan quondam burgenſis ville Kilkenie, qui obiit 10. die Jan. 1609, et Elena Rothe, ejus uxor que obiit . . . .

Hic jacet

Gulielmus Hollechan de civitate Kilkenie burgenſis qui obiit 1 die Januarii 1609. Et Morona Macher ejus uxor que obiit . . . .

Hic jacet

Dns Johes de Karlell quondam cancellarius . . . Dublin ac eccleſiarum Fern . . . . canonicus.

Hic jacet

Richardus Deane, nuper epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, qui obiit 20 die menſis Feb. anno domino 1612. He lies near the biſhop's throne.

Huic monumento

Subtus adjacet quod venerabilium hujus eccleſiæ decani ac capituli beneficio reliquiis ſui ſuorumque inhumandis conditorium habet Nicholaus Cormicke Kilkennienſis, A. D. 1723.

Beatam illis reſurrectionem, lector, apprecare.

Hic jacet

Thomas Karrone, q^{i} obiit 26 die mes^{s} Julii 1510, cujus^{a}. aiæ propicietur Deus Amen.

Hic jacet

Dionyſius Kely, cū uxore ej^{s} Morina, a^{o}. dī. 1511.

Hic jacet

Thomas Savage, quod^{m} burgenſis . . . . . Nichola Schee . . . uxor ejus q̄ obiit . . . die menſis a^{o}. d^{i}. 15 . . .

Ricardus Cantwell.

. . . Canici Kilkeniæ qui obiit 26 die mēs^{s} Sep. a^{o}. d$_{i}$. 1512 cuj^{s}. āiē propicietur Deus.

Hic requieſcit

Elizabetha Barlow, Jonæ Wheeler Oſſorienſis epiſcopi filia, Radulphi Barlow, archidiaconi Midenſis conjux, quæ ex puerperio obiit 3 Decembris.

Hic jacet

Dōn^{s} Johannes Cantwell, qūdā prentor iſtius ecclie, q$_{i}$. obiit 18 die mēs$^{'}$. novēbris a^{o}. d^{i}. 1531. Cuj^{s}. āiē ppicietur De^{s}. amen.

Hic jacet

Dns Johes Nele, theſaurari^{s}. eccle. q^{i}. obiit . . . Milo eps Oſs^{s}. ōībus dicetib. orōe dica et ſaluta aglica p aie pdicti prētoris tocies q^{o} cies 'ceſſit 49 dies īdulgetie.

Hic jacet Donat^{s} Brin et Margareta Scerlock.

Pray

For John Brenan, carpenter, who dyeth the 8th day of 8ber 1646, and his wife Anne ny Glanlow, dead the . . . .

Omnibs orāvē d cī cū ſalutaōe Āglica p aiabs revedi patris David Dei grā epi Oſs^{s} ac nri Thome Mychel utriuſq; juris baccalarii off . . . aris . . . et Cathd. eccleſiar.

eccleſiar. Canic^{d}. q^{i}. h^{i}. jacet ac Thome Hakked brg̃es ville Kilkenie,, dic̃etibs̃ tocie̅ q^{o}cies 400 dies idulgẽtiæ 'cedũt^{r}.

Hic jacẽt Nicholaus Hakked brg̃es^{s}. ville Kilkenie fili^{s}. et heres pſati Thome Hakked q^{i}. obiit . . die m.ẽs^{s}. . . anno 1500. . . .

Et Margareta Archer uxor ejuſdẽ Nicholai q^{i} obiit 29 die aprilis a^{o}. D^{i}. 1528. q^{o}rũ aĩbs̃ ppropiciet^{r}. De^{s}. amẽ.

The foregoing inſcriptions are taken from a MS. drawn up for the uſe of Biſhop Pococke, by John O'Phelan in 1763; it is now in the epiſcopal palace, being depoſited there by the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, rector of Attanagh and Agharney, for the uſe of the biſhops of Oſſory in ſucceſſion.

We muſt not omit the monument of Thomas, earl of Ormond and Oſſory, formerly in the cathedral, but deſtroyed by the uſurpers, of which Mr. Walpole gives the following note from Vertue's MS.

"In June 1614, I bargained with Sir Walter Butler for to make a tomb for the earl of Ormond, and to ſet it up in Ireland; for the which I had well paid me 100*l.* in hand, and 300*l.* more when the work was ſet up at Kilkenny." Extract from the pocket-book of Nicholas Stone, ſtatuary.

A monument lately erected—

Here lie interred, the remains of the Rev. Doctor Robert Moſſom,
Of the univerſity of Trinity college, Dublin. Formerly ſenior fellow, and divinity profeſſor. Afterwards for the ſpace of 46 years, of this cathedral, reſident dean. A pattern of true piety to all mankind. He died a faithful ſervant of Chriſt, on the 8th day of Feb. O. S. 1747, aged 80.

Here alſo lie the remains of his ſon Thomas Moſſom, eſq.
Of the city of Kilkenny, alderman. He died univerſally acknowledged a ſteady friend and good man: on the 15th day of Aug. 1777, aged 56 years. This monument is erected by his executrix according to his directions.

Biſhop Horsfall is buried in the church, with a monumental ſtone laid flat on the floor. Biſhop Williams is interred on the ſouth ſide of the chancel. Biſhop Mapilton near St. Mary's chapel. Biſhop St. Leger near Mapilton. Biſhop Ledred on the north ſide of the high altar. Biſhop Hacket before the altar. Biſhop O'Hedian in a chapel at the weſt end of the cathedral. Biſhop Gafney in a chapel on the north ſide of the choir.

On

On a marble tablet in the north transept.

Benefactors

For adorning the cathedral of St. Canice, 1756.

	Guineas
Dr. Pococke, biſhop of Oſſory	100
Dean and Chapter of St. Canice	252
John Lewis, dean	30
Dr. Dawſon, chantor	15
R. Cocking, chancellor	10
J. Stannard, treaſurer	10
R. Stewart, preb.	10
W. Connel, preb.	10
Dr. Sandford, preb.	15
Wm. Cockburn, preb.	20
R. Watts, preb.	10
J. Alcock, preb.	10
Earl of Oſſory	20
Earl of Wandesford	12
Lord Viſcount Mount-garret	20
Lord Viſcount Charle-mount	14
Lord Viſcount Aſhbrook	20
Friendly Brothers, Kilkenny	10
Sir William Evans Morres, Bart.	10
Eland Moſſom, eſq.	10
Thomas Waite, eſq;	10
Clergy of the Dioceſe.	
M. Veſey, A. M.	10
Ralph Hawtry, A. M.	10
J. Price, A. M.	10
Mervyn Archdall, A. M.	20
Arthur Webb, A. M.	10
J. Millea, A. M.	5
John Warring, A. M.	10
W. Watts, A. M.	9
W. Auſtin, L. L. B.	5
T. Collier, A. M.	5
R. Lloyd	5
H. Candler, A. M.	10
C. Jackſon, A. M.	10
R. Connel, L. L. B.	3
D. Cuffe, A. M.	5
Dr. Fell	5
T. Pack, A. M.	5
P. Sone, A. M.	5
J. Veſey, A. M.	5
T. Candler, A. B.	10
Patrick Wemys, *eſq.*	10
J. Agar, eſq; Gowran	10
Hercules Langriſhe, eſq.	5
T. A. eſq;	14
G. Biſhopp, eſq.	5
Ro. Vicars, eſq;	2
C. Doyle, eſq;	5
Redmond Morres, eſq;	5
Tho. Tenniſon, eſq;	5
Mrs. Archbold	5
Mrs. Pococke, ſen.	10
Mrs. Pococke, jun.	5
Edw. Brereton, eſq;	5
Dr. Macaulay, vicar general	5
R. Dawſon, eſq;	10
Dr. Hewetſon	10
E. Moſſom	10
Anthony Blunt, eſq;	10
N. Marten, A. M.	20
T. Burton, A. M.	20
Hugh Waring, eſq;	5

The

The names of the biſhops of Oſſory, with the dates of their ſucceſſion.

	A. D.		A. D.
1 Donald O Fogarty ſucceeded	1152	29 Oliver Cantwell - -	1488
2 Felix O Dullany - -	1178	30 Milo Baron - -	1527
3 Hugh Rufus - -	1202	31 John Bale -	1552
4 Peter Maneſin -	1218	32 John Thonery -	1553
5 William of Killeny -	1229	33 Chriſtopher Gafney -	1565
6 Walter de Brackell -	1232	34 Nicholas Walſh -	1577
7 Geffry of Turvill -	1244	35 John Horsfall -	1586
8 Hugh de Mapilton -	1251	36 Richard Deane -	1609
9 Hugh 3d. - -	1257	37 Jonas Wheeler -	1613
10 Geffry St. Ledger -	1260	38 Griffith Williams -	1641
11 Roger of Wexford -	1287	39 John Parry - -	1672
12 Michael of Exeter -	1289	40 Benjamin Parry -	1677
13 William Fitz John -	1302	41 Michael Ward -	1678
14 Richard Ledred - -	1318	42 Thomas Otway -	1679
15 John of Tatenale -	1360	43 John Hartſtonge -	1693
16 Alexander Balſcot -	1371	44 Sir Thomas Veſey, Bart,	1714
17 Richard Northalis -	1386	45 Edward Tenniſon -	1731
18 Thomas Peverell -	1397	46 Charles Eſte - -	1735
19 John Griffin -	1398	47 Anthony Dopping -	1741
20 John Waltham -	1399	48 Michael Cox - -	1742
21 Roger of Appleby -	1400	49 Edward Maurice -	1754
22 John Volcan - -	1404	50 Richard Pococke -	1756
23 Thomas Snell -	1405	51 Charles Dogſon -	1765
24 Patrick Ragged -	1417	52 William Newcome -	1775
25 Dennis O Dea - -	1421	53 John Hotham -	1779
26 Thomas Barry -	1428	54 William Beresford -	1782
27 David Hacket - -	1460	55 Thomas Lewis O'Beirne	1795
28 John O Hedian -	1479	56 Hugh Hamilton -	1796

For the honour of the ſee of Oſſory we muſt obſerve, that two of its biſhops were lords Juſtices; four lords chancellors; three lord treaſurers; three tranſlated to archbiſhoprics; one an ambaſſador; and one chancellor of the exchequer.

The chapter of St. Canice is compoſed of twelve members: the dean, chantor, chancellor, treaſurer, archdeacon, and the prebendaries of Blackrath, Aghour, Mayne, Killamery,

Killamery, Taſcoffin, Kilmanagh and Cloneamary; one moiety of Taſcoffin belongs to the chantor, and the other to the archdeacon, by a definitive ſentence of archbiſhop Margetſon, the 19th day of Nov. 1662.

The (28) dean for the time being, was anciently lord of the manor of the glebe, which contained all the inhabitants round the cathedral; and before 1640, had a ſeneſchal who held courts leet and courts baron. The deanery is at the S. E. ſide of the cathedral. Dean Hill, about 1671, expended 160*l.* upon it; but it becoming quite ruinous, dean Lewis rebuilt it and made it a neat and commodious habitation, with a handſome garden adjoining. In the houſe is a half length of the beautiful unfortunate Mary, with this inſcription: "Maria Scotorum regina ætatis ſuæ, 18. Johannes Medina, eques, pinxit."

A head of cardinal Wolſely.

The chantor had a manſe houſe and garden, ruined in the wars, on the ſouth ſide of the cathedral, mearing on the eaſt with the dean's garden and houſe.

The chancellor had formerly an houſe in Iriſh-town, built on his orchard. The orchard mears on the W. with the ſtreet leading to Troy's gate; on the E. with the Nore; on the N. with the lands of the vicar's choral, and on the S. with the lands of Taſcoffin and the river Bregagh, running by the city walls. A ſtone tanhouſe by the Nore ſide belonged to the chancellor, and James Toovey, maſter, poſſeſſed part of the orchard, ruined in the wars.

The treaſurer's manſe houſe mears on the W. with the river Nore, on the S. with the vicars choral's houſe, and the chancellor's tan-houſe on the E. with the ſtreet leading from the Butts to Troy's gate, on the N. with the houſe that was alderman Connel's.

The archdeacon's manſe houſe is S. of St. Canice, together with a ſmall garden S. of the houſe, ruinous. The archdeacon viſits the dioceſe from the 30th Sept. to the 3d Feb.

The houſe of the prebendary of Killamery is now converted into an alms-houſe, on the W. of the cathedral, adjoining to the ancient ſchool-houſe of the dioceſe; the garden to it ſtill belongs to the prebendary.

The manſe houſe of the prebendary of Taſcoffin meared on the E. with the chancellor's orchard, on the W. with King-ſtreet, on the N. with the chancellor's orchard, and on the S. with the vicar's houſe.

The

(28) From biſhop Otway's viſitation book, MS. in the palace, dated 1672.

The dean and ſix of the chapter make a quorum. Thus far from biſhop Otway's viſitation book. To this valuable document we are alſo indebted for the following account of the

VICARS CHORAL.

They are a very ancient corporation, by the ſtyle of the vicars choral and perpetuals of the common hall, near the cathedral. They were liberally endowed by biſhop St. Leger, who gave them his manſe and lodging, the rectory of Kilcaſh, and a revenue de manubrinnio or manubrennio, which ſeems to have been a portion of ground corn, and one mark annually, payable by the abbot of Douſke, out of the lands of Scomberloway or Stromkerlavin. The manſe and lodging here mentioned were the common hall and dependant buildings, and the palace and place of reſidence of the biſhops of Oſſory before the palaces of Aghour and Dorogh were erected. Biſhop Hacket beſtowed on them the church of Ballybur, and biſhop Cantwell that of St. Mæl, and biſhop Thonery appointed four choiriſters.

In 1540, John Allen (29) lord chancellor, George Browne archbiſhop of Dublin, and William Brabazon treaſurer of Ireland, were nominated by Henry VIII. commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes throughout the kingdom. Some differences having ariſen between dean Cleere and the vicars, the commiſſioners viſited the houſe, when its ancient conſtitution and rules were reviewed, and ſome new regulations eſtabliſhed. From a peruſal of the record we may obſerve, that the inſtitution was originally monaſtic, or favoured very much of it. Their different cells or apartments; their common hall; their reading after meals; their ſilence at other times; their not ſuffering any man or maid ſervant in the college; their attending each other, with no mention of matrimony or families, are ſtrong proofs of monkiſh diſcipline; nor did Henry's commiſſioners make alterations in theſe particulars; they are retained in the ancient ſtatutes of our univerſity and other collegiate bodies, as beſt calculated for ſeminaries of learning.

Before the rebellion of 1641, the corporation of vicars conſiſted of the dean's, chantor's, chancellor's, and treaſurer's vicars, and the archdeacon's and prebendaries of Aghour, Mayne and Blackrath's ſtipendiaries, and four choiriſters; two of the latter were ſtipendiaries of the dean and chapter, and two were maintained by the houſe.

On

(29) MS. Otway, ſupra. Appendix VIII.

On a vacancy of a ſtall in the common hall, the dignitaries and prebendaries made their preſentation to the dean of a perſon for the place. He was examined by the dean as to his life and morals, by the chantor as to his ſkill in ſinging, and by the chancellor as to his learning; and being approved of, he was inſtituted by the dean or ſub-dean as vicar choral. None were the vicars of the hall before they were prieſts, though they actually lived in the hall and were maintained by the houſe. On a vacancy, the ſenior choiriſter was preſented by the patron of the ſtall, and was thereupon made and called, ſtipendiary of ſuch a ſtall, until fit to be ordained prieſt, and then he was inſtalled vicar: but during his being ſtipendiary, he had as large a ſtipend as any of the vicars; ſo that the difference between a vicar and a ſtipendiary was this; the vicar was a prieſt and was beneficed in the dioceſe at large, but the ſtipendiary was a layman, and had a ſupport from the houſe.

By the ancient foundation, the dean, biſhop and archbiſhop, for juſt cauſes, might remove a vicar. The vicars were to attend the choir, and ſerve the offices of the houſe alternately. The œconomiſt was to be choſen by the vicars, and to ſtate his accounts to them weekly, and to the dean twice a year. The church of Kilkeſy was annexed to the treaſurerſhip of the houſe. Whatever this pariſh might have formerly produced, we (30) are told biſhop Tenniſon left 40*l.* per annum to one Michael Stephenſon, a deacon, during his life, to catechiſe the children of papiſts in that pariſh, it being a wild and mountainous part of the dioceſe of Offory.

In 1630, the vicars and ſtipendiaries had the following ſums divided among them, as their annual ſtipends;

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Dean's vicar - -	3	1	3¾
Chantor's vicar - -	3	6	7½
Chancellor's vicar -	3	4	0
Treaſurer's vicar -	3	3	0
Archdeacon's ſtipendiary	3	3	7½
Prebendary's of Blackrath	2	18	0
——— of Aghour	3	0	6½
——— of Mayne -	3	0	3
	£.24	17	4½

Beſides

(30) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 433.

Beſides the foregoing, they had 65*l.* 2*s.* expended by their purveyor for their table; and they kept for their own uſe, the tythe corn of the pariſh of St. Canice, which amounted to 297 barrels. From this ſtate of their revenue, with their other endowments, we may judge how well able they were to keep hoſpitality; but the enſuing troubles deprived them of their income, and left but a ſcanty ſupport for three vicars. In 1677, the duke of Ormond took from them the town and lands of Park, as part of his forty-nine arrears; and which in 1679, were worth 40*l.* per annum. His grace alſo withheld the chiefries of many houſes in and about Kilkenny, their property; and in the town of Callan, they had houſes worth 6*l.* 7*s.* a year. Biſhop Parry paſſed paetnts for the lands of Racanigan and St. Maul's, part of their eſtate, and worth annually 8*l.* reſerving to them only fifteen ſhillings.

THE LIBRARY

Is ſituated at the N. W. end of the church-yard. The following account of it, and of biſhop Williams's alms houſe is extracted from a memorial of the dean and chapter of St. Canice, preſented to Dr. King, archbiſhop of Dublin, and Dr. Hartſtonge, biſhop of Oſſory, 31ſt May 1712, and is in MS. in the palace.

"We, the dean and chapter, being appointed by your lordſhips' order and the conſent of the Rev. Mr. W. to inſpect the caſe of the widows' alms-houſe, founded by biſhop Williams, as alſo the caſe of the library founded by biſhop Williams, and to receive and examine the ſurviving executors' accounts, and to report what was neceſſary to be done to preſerve theſe charities and benefactions, from being intirely ſunk and defeated, do repreſent the following ſtate of facts.

"Biſhop Williams, by his will, left the lands of Fermoy, then ſet to colonel Wheeler for 40*l.* per annum, for the maintenance of eight poor widows in an alms-houſe that he had built in his life time. He made Mr. W. and archdeacon Dryſdale his executors, who ſold ſaid land to Jonah Wheeler of Grenan, Eſq; for 400*l.* which is now worth 100*l.* per ann. though they had, in our opinion, no power ſo to do. The ſaid 400*l.* is ſo far from being ſecured, that there is great hazard of its being loſt. Mr. W. endeavours to clear himſelf by ſaying, that Mr. Dryſdale ſold the land without his knowledge, and that biſhop Williams promiſed colonel Oliver Wheeler, father of Jonah, on the payment of 400*l.* to make over the fee ſimple of the eſtate to him. To this we anſwer, that Mr. W. cannot be ignorant of the tranſaction, unjuſtly aſcribed as the ſole act of Mr. Dryſdale, as Mr. W. has 200*l.* of the money in his hands; and if the biſhop conſidered himſelf as under

obligation to col. Wheeler, he never would have made an abſolute deviſe to the poor widows.

" Biſhop Otway, by his will, made Dr. Ryder, biſhop of Killaloe, and ſaid Mr. W. his executors, and left all his effects, except 947*l.* in legacies, to be diſpoſed of in charitable uſes, and particularly makes this bequeſt and deviſe:—" Item, I give my books and 200*l.* in money, and more if needful, for the beginning a library for the cathedral church of St. Canice, for the uſe of the clergy about it; deſiring the dean and chapter of St. Canice to grant for that uſe, the upper ſtory of the old ſchool-houſe, joining the alms-houſe throughout, for the flooring of which with ſubſtantial timber and boards; roofing and ſlating it; for deſks and ſhelves and chains for every particular book; for windows, window ſhuts, doors, and chimney to be built in it, I appoint 100*l.* owing me by bill by Agmond. Cuffe of Caſtleinch, Eſq; as likewiſe 97*l.* 10*s.* of Spaniſh and other foreign gold, be it more or leſs, now in the hands of George Thornton, as by his notes now in my cuſtody appeareth. And if the two ſaid ſums ſhall not be ſufficient to the aforeſaid purpoſes, that the executor ſhall take ſo much of the caſh in his hands, as ſhall finiſh it. This I would have done as ſoon as poſſible after my deceaſe. Item, I will that the ſum of 100*l.* be laid out to purchaſe 10*l.* a year in houſes or lands: 5*l.* thereof ſhall be for the library-keeper, whom I would have to be one of the vicars of St. Canice, (but always choſen by the preſent biſhop,) and the other 5*l.* to be laid out in coals for weekly fires to be made in the library to preſerve the books."

" We find that the executors built the library as it now ſtands, with an upper and lower ſtory, whereas they were obliged to build only an upper ſtory, but having a diſcretionary power in diſpoſing of the biſhop's effects to public benefactions, and pious uſes, they found it convenient ſo to do; in order that the lower ſtory ſhould be a convenient habitation for the library-keeper, and a chamber for the preaching dignitaries and prebendaries to lodge in, in the week of their attendance in the cathedral: nor can Mr. W. apply the reſt of the biſhop's effects, as he gives out he will, to his private uſe, as he is but under executor, and can reap no benefit but by his legacy of 50*l.*

" We obſerve further, that Mr. W. hath not yet chained the books, nor made the purchaſe of 10*l.* nor hath he paid the library-keeper, who was at great expences, as appears by the following award:—

" Whereas there did ariſe ſeveral controverſies and differences between the Rev. Cyles Clarke and the Rev. Mr. W. on which there is a ſuit now depending in the chancery

chancery of her majeſty's court of exchequer commenced by ſaid Clarke againſt ſaid W. as ſurviving executor of the late biſhop of Oſſory. And whereas by mutual conſent of both parties, all the matters and claims in diſpute are referred to the final arbitrement of Richard Connel of the city of Kilkenny, Eſq; on behalf of Clarke, and to Richard Uniacke, of the ſame, Eſq; on behalf of W. and that John Waring ſhould be umpire. Said Connel and Uniacke not agreeing, now I, John Waring, as umpire, do order ſaid W. by the firſt of February next, to pay ſaid Clarke the ſum of 45*l.* for nine years' ſalary, due from the 26th of July 1694. I do further order the ſaid W. to pay the ſaid Clarke the ſum of 30*l.* for ſix years' coals. I do order the ſaid W. to pay the ſaid Clarke the ſum of 10*l.* annually, the firſt payment to be made the 26th of July, 1703; and I do order 100*l.* to be placed in the hands of John, lord biſhop of Oſſory, in truſt, to purchaſe 10*l.* per annum."

"Mr. W. denied complying, becauſe the umpirage was not made according to the niceties of law. The dean and chapter ſet forth, that at the triennial viſitation, 17th July, 1706, he promiſed the archbiſhop to account on oath, which however he did not."

What further was done, the writer, at preſent, knows not. The room is handſome, and the books are in preſſes and on ſhelves, and under it is a comfortable dwelling for the librarian.

Biſhop Maurice, by his will, dated the 6th of January, 1756, makes the following bequeſts:—

"I leave my printed books to the library founded by biſhop Otway, at Kilkenny; all that are now at Dunmore, as well as thoſe that are now at Kilkenny, together with ten double caſes of one form, made of Dantzick oak, now in my library at Dunmore. Provided a fair catalogue be made of the books, and ſecurity given by the librarian to exhibit them once a year, or oftener if occaſion, to two perſons appointed by the biſhop, in his own preſence if convenient. Provided likewiſe, that an oath be taken by the librarian, not to embezzle, deface, or lend any book out of the library, but to give due attendance to ſuch clergymen and gentlemen as may be diſpoſed to read there, from ſix o'clock in the morning to the tolling of the bell for morning prayers at the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

"And for his attendance and care of thoſe books, I bequeath to the librarian and his ſucceſſors, appointed by the biſhop, 20*l.* a year to be paid out of my eſtate at Miltown in the county of Kilkenny. And if it ſhall happen that this legacy ſhall be found not to anſwer the purpoſe intended, I impower the biſhop of Oſſory for the

the time being, with the conſent of the dean and chapter of St. Canice, to ſell the books, and apply their price together with the ſaid ſalary of the librarian towards raiſing or adorning the imperfect ſteeple of their cathedral. And whereas a knowledge and practice of books is requiſite to range them ſo as they may be readily found, I deſire my good friend, doctor Lawſon, ſenior fellow and firſt librarian of Trinity college near Dublin, to lend his hand, to tranſport, lodge and place them to advantage: for which trouble I bequeath to him the ſilver candleſtick, now in my ſtudy, and 20*l.* to buy him a mourning ring." They were accordingly placed in the library: but their utility is very little, if any, as there is no catalogue at preſent.

The following reflections on the origin of public and dioceſan libraries may, perhaps, amuſe the reader, after the foregoing tedious details: they are connected with the ſubject now under conſideration, and have therefore ſome claim to the reader's indulgence.

The refinement of manners: the progreſs of literature, and the moſt intereſting circumſtances in the riſe and fall of empires are intimately united with an inquiry into the antiquity and uſe of public libraries. Scarcely had a nation emerged from barbariſm and joined in civil ſociety, but letters became neceſſary. The rudiments of poſitive laws were to be collected; alliances with neighbouring powers to be aſcertained, and the experience, the improvements and tranſactions of every year to be recorded. In collections of national archieves are to be traced the earlieſt veſtiges of public libraries.

The ſculptured rock and rude ſong ſerved the erratic inhabitants of the foreſt to keep alive the remembrance of their atchievements; to urge them to heroic deeds and animate them in the conflict: to define the limits of their property, and the extent of their conqueſts. But, in more cultivated periods, tradition was found a precarious arbiter of human affairs: authentic documents were to be recurred to: public treaties were to be produced, and war or peace awaited their evidence.

If learning had not been of divine origin, it was conſecrated by the hands that firſt poliſhed and improved it. The ſacerdotal order (31) among the Jews, the Chaldeans and Egyptians devoted their time to its cultivation, it was the employment of their lives. Precluded by public munificence from every attention to ſecular concerns, it was then their indeſpenſable duty: their labours abundantly recompenſed their fellow-citizens, and did honour to themſelves. The Babylonians erected the nobleſt

(31) Joſeph. contra Apion. Malach. chap. 2. 7. Deut. 31. 26. 1 Macc. ii. 13.

nobleſt monument the world ever ſaw, in a (32) body of celeſtial obſervations for 700 years. With ſuch matured geniuſſes, and with ſuch aſtoniſhing perſeverance, to what perfection muſt they not have brought every other ſcience; and what admirable treaſures of eaſtern wiſdom muſt not their libraries have contained? Theſe are the ages called fabulous and heroic:—heroic they certainly were, if the nobleſt productions of the human underſtanding merit that epithet: and they are no farther fabulous, than being involved in the dark veil of antiquity, and (33) rendered contemptible by the abortive ſuperfetations of numerous Greek ſcioliſts. It was at the period of their greateſt glory and empire that thoſe exertions of genius and of induſtry are recorded.

"When (34) the arts and ſciences, ſays an elegant writer, come to perfection in any ſtate, from that moment they naturally, or rather neceſſarily decline." At this moment of perfection, public libraries were eſtabliſhed in Egypt, in Greece and Rome. The obſervation is, perhaps, new; the fact is indiſputable and the detail curious.

Read the account of the ſepulchre of Oſmandyas, king of Egypt, which for deſign, magnificence and execution, required, in the opinion of an excellent (35) judge, the combined efforts of human ingenuity: and yet its principle ornament was the ſacred library contiguous to it. We may eſtimate the progreſs of the Egyptians in literature as well as in mechanics and the fine arts, from the inſcription on this library, which was (36)

——Ψυχῆς Ἰατρεῖον——

——Medicatorium animæ——

From (37) thence Thales, Pythagoras, Plato and Herodotus derived thoſe rich ſtreams which fertilized and highly improved Grecian philoſophy and Grecian hiſtory.

 Piſiſtratus,

(32) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56.

(33) See the learned Bryant's analyſis of ancient mythology, paſſ.

(34) Hume's Eſſays, vol. 1. p. 51.

(35) It was an aſtoniſhing building, as deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus lib. 1. and required more extenſive abilities to complete than the pyramids. Si paulo penitius conſidero, ſays Kircher, auſim ſanctè affirmare, hoſce ſummi ingenii homines, uti nihil eos humanarum ſcientiarum latuit, ita earum ope humanis quoque operibus majora præſtitiſſe, cum vel in una fabrica efformanda omnes artes et ſcientias phyſicam et mathematicam conſpiraſſe videam. In Turr. Babel. lib. 2. ſec. 3. cap. 3.

(36) Diodor. Sic. ſupra. St. Baſil alludes to this, when he ſays:—Τον περιφερομενον υφ'ημων τον αρρωστηματων φαρμακον. And Philemon:—Ψυχης ἰατρον κατιλιωσιν τα γραμματα.

(37) Lactant. de ſapient. ver. lib. 4. cap. 2.

Piſiſtratus, notwithſtanding the dark ſhade thrown over his character by turbulent demagogues and prejudiced writers, was an amiable and accompliſhed (38) prince. His love of learning was conſpicuous, in collecting Homer's poems and erecting the firſt library in (39) Greece. Solon, his kinſman, had perfected the Athenian legiſlation: the city of Athens was extenſive and beautiful, and the ſtrength of the ſtate ſo conſiderable, as enabled it, in a few years after, to cope with the united force of the Perſian empire.

The taſte for collecting books was not confined to Athens alone; it was extended over Greece, as we learn from (40) Athenæus; who mentions the libraries of Polycrates the Samian; Nicocrates the Cyprian; Euclides the Athenian; Euripides the poet, and Ariſtotle the philoſopher. (41) Like the bee that reſts upon and examines every flower, but extracts thoſe ſweets alone that are proper for honey, ſo is the man in ſearch of erudition amid a number of books: this compariſon of Iſocrates very fully conveys an idea of the multiplicity of books in Athens at this time, and is the fineſt eulogium on their admirers.

Attalus and Ptolemy Philadelphus founded their libraries at Pergamus and Alexandria in the moſt flouriſhing ſituation of their affairs. It was not until after the conqueſt of Macedon by Æmilius Paulus, and the Pontic expedition of Lucullus, that thoſe conquerors, worthy the virtuous days of the republick, eſtabliſhed collections of books at Rome. As yet there was no publick library in that capital: Auguſtus completed one in imitation of the Egyptian. Ovid tells us, that below was a portico, in which was the temple of Juno: and above it the books were depoſited, and contiguous to it was the theatre of Marcellus.

We now ſee, if any thing can mark deciſively the flouriſhing eras of antient empires, it is the erection of public libraries. In the infancy of learning, books were few. In Greece, the ſubjects of poetry, oratory and the abſtracted ſciences were monopolized by Homer, Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Euclid and Ariſtotle (42) Deſpairing to equal them, ſubſequent writers contented themſelves with reducing that into an art, which before had been the offspring of genius and of nature. New compoſitions

(38) So I call him inſtead of tyrant, his uſual addition, Gatakeri Cinn. pag. 8.

(39) Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 17.

(40) Deipnotoph. lib. 1.

(41) Ὡσπερ γαρ την μέλιτταν δρωμεν, &c. a moſt beautiful ſimile, comparing the aſſiduity and ſelection of a man of learning, to the ſame qualities in the bee Orat. ad. Demon. ſub. finem.

(42) Among other fine obſervations of Velleius Parteculus this is to our purpoſe: "Et ut primo ad conſequendos, quos priores ducimus, accendimur: ita, ubi aut præteriri, aut æquari eos poſſe deſperavimus, ſtudium cum ſpe ſeneſcit; et quod aſſequi non poteſt, ſequi deſinit, et, vel occupatam relinquens materiam, quærit novam." Lib. 1

poſitions appeared, which depended on penetration, or induſtry, much reading, mature reflection and practical obſervations: each a fruitful ſource for multiplying books and furniſhing libraries. By this time the taſte of the nation was fixed; its manners poliſhed; its civilization perfect, and its power at the height. At this period Vitruvius (43) directs public libraries to be built, as contributing to national ſpendour and magnificence: but they ſerved other important purpoſes: they arreſted learning in its flight, and ſtemmed the incroaching torrents of ignorance and barbariſm.

From the faint glimmerings of hiſtory we find they had this effect in Chaldea and Egypt: for thoſe nations, even when Grecian literature was at its ſummit, preſerved the reputation of their former wiſdom. The ſame is obſervable of Greece, which notwithſtanding its being deſpoiled of its libraries by the Romans, could not be totally deprived of books; they were too numerous to ſuffer the people to fall into groſs ignorance. A general diffuſion of learning gave them a ſuperiority over their conquerors and made them in their moſt depreſſed ſtate their equals in ſcience. (44) Ireland exhibited the ſame ſtriking fact.

The Roman genius did not produce books with the rapidity of the Grecian; nor do we read of libraries in their colonies and ſettlements; they were moſtly (45) confined to the capital: ſo that when the inundations of barbarians overturned the empire, and Rome was taken and her liberties deſtroyed, learning, almoſt inſtantly, became extinct.

It was before obſerved, that the moſt ſacred places were the repoſitories of books. Thus Moſes, when the book of the law was perfected, ordered it to be placed by the ſide of the ark of the covenant: and Judas Maccabeus, imitating the example of Nehemiah, built a library in the temple, and collected there the books of the prophets and the epiſtles of the Kings. The Chriſtians followed ſuch patterns. In the third century, Alexander biſhop of Jeruſalem founded a library in that city: it was for the uſe of the clergy: out of this library ſays (46) Euſebius, we ourſelves have gathered matter for the ſubject now in hand; that is, for his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. And St. Auguſtin bequeathed his collection of books to his church of Hippo.

Such

(43) Lib. 6. cap. 8. (44) See theſe antiquities before, p. 362.

(45) By the conſtitutions of Valentinian and Theodoſius it is very plain, that Rome was the chief univerſity of the empire. Cod. Theodos. lib. 14. tit. 19. l. 1. A. D. 370.

(46) Hiſt. Ecc. lib. 6. cap. 20. Pamphilus founded a library in the church of Cæſarea in Paleſtine; collected all the eccleſiaſtical writers, and tranſcribed with his own hand the works of Origen: it was there Jerom found his exegeſis on the twelve prophets. De Scriptor. cap. 75. This was in 294. Cavii hiſt. literar, pag. 76. See more in Bingham's antiquities of the Chriſtian church. Book 8. chap. 7.

Such then is the origin of Dioceſan libraries: an inſtitution, which, if properly conducted, would preſerve to the clergy that pre-eminence in literature, by which, in all ages they have claimed reſpect, and frequently admiration. Ignorance in the ſacred order is a ſure prognoſtic of the decay of religion and the corruption of morality. "My (47) people are deſtroyed for lack of knowledge: becauſe thou haſt rejected knowledge, I will alſo reject thee, that thou ſhalt be no prieſt to me. The (48) prieſt's lips ſhould keep knowledge, and the people ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth."

Want of books is a ſore evil, not only to ſtudious men, but it damps the warmth of the beſt diſpoſed and moſt eager after information. A ſlender ſupport and remote ſettlement too frequently induce a langour, fatal to a profeſſion, which requires every aid. Thoſe pious and good men who have formed Dioceſan libraries did all in their (49) power to obviate thoſe complaints. Yet the following catalogue evinces how little has been done in this way, and, from the principle before laid down, demonſtrates how far removed we are from perfection in the arts and ſciences.

In 1692 Biſhop Otway founded a library at St. Canice, Kilkenny.

1698 Archbiſhop Marſhat St. Sepulchre's, Dublin.

1720 Biſhop Browne at Cork.

1726 Archbiſhop King at Derry.

1737 Biſhop Foſter at Raphoe.

And primate Robinſon formed a noble foundation at Armagh.

If there are more, they have not come to the writer's knowledge. The anecdotes of the Oſſorian library will warn us to avoid a capital error in ſuch eſtabliſhments, that of making them poſthumous works. When they are not begun and finiſhed in the founder's life time, their deſign is fruſtrated, and this diſappointment is attended with fraud, perjury and injuſtice. Archbiſhop Marſh and primate Robinſon effectually prevented ſuch conſequences, by regulating whilſt living every matter relative to their noble foundations, and confirming it by parliamentary ſanction.

The

(47) Hoſea, iv. 6.

(48) Malachi, ii. 7. The Levitical prieſthood was bound to inſtruct the people in the law. Deut. xxxiii. 10. Levit. x. 11, and the cities of the Levites were colleges diſperſed among the tribes. Stillingfleet's Eccles. caſes, pag. 77. edit. 8vo.

(49) Godwin ſpeaking of archbiſhop Matthew, who erected a public library at Briſtol, ſays:—"Opus, hercle, egregium, quodque plures utinam imitirentur, cum, præ librorum inopia, plurima tenuioris ſortis miniſtri tamquam falcibus deliruti, a ſegete Dominica demetenda ſæpenumero detineantur," De Præſul. Angl. pag. 90. edit. 2da.

The appointment of a perſon to the office of librarian is often not well conſidered. In the ancient Roman church he was called (50) chancellor, and his (51) ſtation was moſt important and reſpectable. On the erection of cathedrals he was the firſt or ſecond dignitary of the chapter: examined the candidates for orders: took care of the library, the ſervice books, and did all the literary buſineſs of his body. The ſtatutes of the churches of Litchfield and London, in the (52) monaſticon, are full to theſe points. We may aſcend to much earlier times, and mention men of the higheſt accompliſhments, who were librarians: (53) as Demetrius Phalereus, Callimachus, Apollonius and Varro. An ignorant librarian is a contradiction in terms: he ſhould be a perſon of abilities, who could direct the younger clergy in their ſtudies, and aſſiſt poſſibly the more mature: he would be beloved as a parent and reverenced as a maſter: the timidity of infant genius would receive countenance and aid from him, and the moſt poliſhed productions would be improved by his peruſal.

It would exceed the limits of this little excurſion to be more minute: the creating a fund by a ſmall annual ſubſcription for purchaſing books: the lending books under certain regulations, and the exciting emulation among the clergy, were objects which engaged the attention of the biſhop and clergy of Oſſory, when this was written, but from want of vigour and perſeverance produced no good effects.

We ſhall now proceed with a liſt of the deans of St. Canice, and the dates of their ſucceſſion.

DEANS.

	A. D.		A. D.
1 Henry Pembroke - -	1245	9 William Johnſon - -	1559
2 Roger de Wexford - -	1269	10 David Cleere - -	1582
3 Adam Trillock - -	1347	11 Richard Deane -	1603
4 Thomas Archer - -	1469	12 John Tod - -	1610
5 John Strange - -	1472	13 Abſalom Gethinge -	1616
6 Edmund Comerford -	1502	14 Jenkin Mayos - -	1620
7 James Cleere - -	1504	15 Barnabas Boulger - -	
8 Thomas Lancaſter (54) -	1550	16 Edward Warren - -	1630

(50) Du Cange, in voce.

(51) Ut vix vel bonum judicetur, quod Romani cancellarii prius non fuerit examinatum judicio, moderatum conſilio, ſtudio roboratum et confirmatum ajurorio. St. Bernardi epiſt. 313.

(52) Tom. 3. pag. 24. 339. (53) Hottinger. Biblioth. quodripart. pag. 79.

(54) He held this deanery with the ſee of Kildare.

17	Thomas Ledſhame -	1661	
18	Daniel Neylan, D. D. -	1666	
19	Joſeph Teate - -	1667	
20	Thomas Hill - - -	1670	
21	Benjamin Parry - -	1673	
22	John Pooley - -	1675	
23	Robert Moſſom, D. D. -	1702	
24	Robert Watts, D. D. -	1747	
25	John Lewis, A. M. - -		
26	Thomas Pack, A. M.	1784	
27	Joſeph Bourke, A. M.	1796	

ROUND TOWER.

There is a beautiful one and of great height ſtanding at the ſouth ſide of the cathedral. Theſe curious ſtructures have before been conſidered.

SCHOOL HOUSE.

" In the weſte of the church-yard of the late, (55) ſays Stanihurſt, has been founded a grammar-ſchoole by the right honorable Peirce or Peter Butler, erle of Ormond and Oſſorie, and by his wife the counteſſe of Ormond, the lady Margaret Fitz Gerald, ſiſter to Gerald Fitz Gerald, the erle of Kildare that laſt was.

Out of which ſchoole have ſprouted ſuch proper impes, through the painfull diligence and labourſome induſtrie of that famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White, ſometime fellow of Oriel college in Oxford, and ſchoolemaſter in Kilkennie as generallie the whole weale publicke of Ireland, and eſpeciallie the ſouthern parts of that iſland, are greatly thereby furthered.

This gentleman's method of training up youth was rare and ſingular; framing the education according to the ſcholar's veine: if he found him free, he would bridle him like a wiſe Iſocrates from his booke; if he perceived him to be dull, he would ſpur him forward; if he underſtood he was the worſe for beating, he would win him with rewards. Finallie, by interlaſing ſtudie with recreation, ſorrow with mirth, pain with pleaſure, ſowerneſſe with ſweetneſſe, roughneſſe with mildneſſe, he had ſo good ſucceſſe in ſchooling his pupils, as in good ſooth, I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar ſchool ſo good, in England, I am aſſured, none better. And becauſe it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to have been one of his crue, I take it to ſtande with my dutie, ſith

(55) Apud Hollingſhed, ſupra. In another work he ſays: Extat in hoc oppido ſchola extructa opibus clariſſimi viri, Petri Butleri, Ormondiæ et Oſſoriæ comitis, et uxoris ejus quæ Margarita Giralda vocabatur. Fœmina fuit ſpectatiſſima; non modo ſumma generis nobilitate, quippe comitis Kildaræ filia, ſed rerum etiam prudentia ſupra muliebrem captum, prædita. Hic ludum aperuit noſtra ætate, Petrus Whitus, cujus in totam rempublicam ſumma conſtant merita. Ex illius etiam ſchola, tanquam ex equo Trojano, homines literatiſſimi reipublicæ in lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walſheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dorneros, quos Shethos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Stronges, quos Lumbardos, excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare pertuſcm; qui primis temporibus ætatis in ejus diſciplinam ſe traditerant. Stanihurſt. de reb. in Hib. geſtis, pag. 25.

ſith I may not ſtretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turns, yet to manifeſt my good will in remembering his pains. And certes, I will acknowledge myſelf ſo much bound, and beholden to him and his, as for his ſake I reverence the meaneſt ſtone cemented in the walls of that famous ſchoole."

In 1670, Dr. Edward Jones, afterwards biſhop of Cloyne, was maſter of this ſchool; as was Dr. Henry Ryder in 1680, who was promoted to the ſee of Killaloe.

The 18th of March, 1684, the duke of Ormond granted a new charter to the college in Kilkenny, of a certain houſe in John's ſtreet, with the adjacent park, for a ſchool-houſe: and the rectories and tythes of Donoghmore, Kells, Wollengrange, Jerpoint and Kilmocar, in the county of Kilkenny; and the pariſhes of Bruor and Templemore, and Reliſhmurry in the county of Tipperary. Theſe were given in truſt to Richard Coote, Eſq. and Sir Henry Wemyes, knt. to pay the maſter 140*l.* per annum. The following are the ſtatutes from the original record in the college.

"Statutes, orders and conſtitutions made, appointed and ordained by the right noble James duke, marquis and earl of Ormond, earl of Oſſory and Brecknock, baron of Arklow and Lanthony, lord of the lordſhip and liberties of Tipperary, chancellor of the univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, chief butler of Ireland, lord lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland, lord lieutenant of the counties of Somerſet, the cities of Bath, Briſtol and Wells, one of the lords of his majeſty's kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold, and Weſtminiſter, and knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, founder of the grammar ſchool at Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland, for the due government, managing and improvement of the ſaid ſchool; March the 18th, in the year of our Lord, 1684.

Imprimis, it is conſtituted and ordained, that there ſhall be for ever a maſter reſident, who ſhall be at leaſt a maſter of arts here in Ireland, or of one the univerſities in England: alſo of good life and reputation, well ſkilled in humanity and grammar learning; loyal and orthodox; who ſhall take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and conform to the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of Ireland, as it is by law, now eſtabliſhed; and that Edward Hinton, doctor in divinity, be hereby confirmed in the place and office of maſter of the ſaid ſchool.

II. That the maſter ſhall be nominated and choſen by the duke of Ormond, his grace, patron and governor, and the heirs male of his body that ſhall ſucceſſively be dukes of Ormond, patrons and governors of the ſaid ſchool, within the ſpace of

of three months next after every vacancy: who by writing under the hand and ſeal of the reſpective governor, being recommended to the viſitors, and by them examined and approved, as able and ſufficient both for religion, learning and manners; upon certificate of ſuch examination and approbation of the viſitors to the governor ſhown, the ſaid perſon ſo approved, ſhall by a deed under the hand and ſeal of the governor be ſettled and confirmed as maſter of the ſchool. But if the governor ſhall neglect to nominate according to the time prefixed, or ſhall chuſe ſuch as are not qualified ſuitably to theſe ſtatutes, that then it ſhall be lawful for the viſitors, after notice firſt given to the governor, and no redreſs within three months after ſuch notice, to elect and preſent pro illa vice, any other perſon, whom in their conſciences, they ſhall judge to be well qualified for the place. And alſo that upon failure of iſſue male of the body of the ſaid James duke of Ormond, the provoſt, fellows and ſcholars of Trinity college Dublin, and their ſucceſſors ſhall from thenceforth for ever afterwards be patrons and governors of the ſaid ſchool.

III. That the maſter ſhall conſtantly inhabit and reſide at the houſe belonging to the ſaid ſchool, and in perſon attend the duties of his place: which are to inſtruct the ſcholars in religion, virtue and learning: in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages; as alſo in oratory and poetry; according to the beſt method which he and the viſitors ſhall judge moſt effectual to promote knowledge and learning: and that being in health he ſhall never be abſent for above thirty ſchool days in one whole year, which ſhall begin on the 25th of March; nor above a fortnight at any one time, unleſs upon emergencies the viſitors ſhall give him leave, being firſt ſatisfied, that his place ſhall be well and ſufficiently diſcharged in his abſence.

IV. That there ſhall always be an uſher belonging to the ſaid ſchool, to be nominated, choſen and removed by the maſter: who ſhall have his diet, lodging and maintenance in the ſchool-houſe, at his allowance. A ſingle man well-ſkilled in grammar learning, of good credit for parts and manners, a batchelor of arts at the leaſt in one of the univerſities of England or Ireland: and he ſhall conſtantly attend and aſſiſt in the duties of the ſchool, in ſuch manner and method, as the maſter ſhall appoint.

V. That neither maſter nor uſher ſhall take upon them any other charge, office or employment, which the viſitors ſhall judge inconſiſtent with, or prejudicial to the due managing and improvement of the ſaid ſchool: but ſhall conſtantly attend and diſcharge their reſpective duties, and never be both of them out of the ſchool at ſchool times.

VI. That

VI. That the ſcholars to be admitted into the ſaid ſchool ſhall be plainly and decently habited, and ſuch as ſhall have firſt read their accidence, and are fit to enter upon grammar learning; and ſhall ſubmit to the order, method and correction of the ſaid ſchool.

VII. That the children of all ſuch as are attending in the ſervice of the duke of Ormond, ſhall at all times be admitted to the privileges and benefits of ſaid ſchool gratis.

VIII. That if any well-diſpoſed perſons ſhall out of charity pay for the tabling of ſuch ingenious and orderly lads, as ſhall by the viſitors be recommended to the maſter, as objects of charity, he ſhall admit, and as they continue modeſt and diligent, teach them gratis.

IX. That if his grace the duke, or any other pious benefactors ſhall hereafter make any grants or allowances for the maintenance of any number of ſcholars, they ſhall be taught and entered afterwards in Trinity college, Dublin, if they prove fit. The maſter ſhall then be expreſsly obliged to teach thoſe under the name of Ormond ſcholars, according to his beſt ſkill and induſtry, gratis.

X. That it ſhall be lawful for the maſter to demand and receive of all other ſcholars according to the rates and uſages of the moſt remarkable ſchools in Dublin, for boarding and ſchooling; thoſe children excepted, whoſe parents are, or at the time of their birth were inhabitants of the city of Kilkenny, or in the liberties thereof; who ſhall pay but half price.

XI. That if the maſter knows any of the ſcholars to be under any infectious or offenſive diſeaſe or diſtemper: or that any infectious diſeaſe be in the houſe where they table, he ſhall, for ſecurity of the reſt, diſcharge ſuch from ſchool till the danger be over.

XII. That every ſtubborn and refractory lad, who ſhall refuſe to ſubmit to the orders and correction of the ſaid ſchool, ſhall by the maſter be forthwith diſmiſſed from the ſaid ſchool, not to be re-admitted without due ſubmiſſion to exemplary puniſhment: and upon his ſecond offence of the ſame kind, to be diſcharged and expelled for ever. And in this number are reckoned ſuch as ſhall offer to ſhut out the maſter or uſher: but the maſter ſhall give them leave to break up eight days before Chriſtmas, and three days before Eaſter and Whitſuntide.

XIII. That the maſter ſhall make diligent inquiry after ſuch as ſhall break, cut, deface or any way abuſe the deſks, forms, walls and windows of the ſchool; or

any parts of the houſe, or trees in the meadows, and ſhall always inflict open and exemplary puniſhment on all ſuch offenders.

XIV. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, the ſcholars ſhall be and continue in ſchool from ſix of the clock in the morning till eleven, and all the reſt of the year from ſeven, or as ſoon as the gates of the city are open: and in the afternoon from one to five: the afternoons of Thurſdays and Saturdays excepted, which ſhall be always allowed for recreation: and that the maſter ſhall grant no play days, except to ſuch as ſhall pay down ten ſhillings into the maſter's hands, to be by him immediately diſpoſed of to the moſt indigent and deſerving lads of his ſchool.

XV. That the maſter ſhall take ſpecial care of the ſcholars of his own family, to inſtruct them by his good example at all times, as well as by occaſional directions: and ſhall have the prayers of the church of England and Ireland read to them both morning and evening in ſome convenient place of the houſe: and in the ſchool, the prayers ſeen and approved by the lord biſhop of Oſſory, ſhall conſtantly and duly be uſed in the ſame manner and form, as they are at the date of theſe preſents.

XVI. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, all the ſcholars ſhall be in the ſchool upon Sundays, by eight in the morning, to be inſtructed in the Church-Catechiſm; and afterwards ſhall attend the maſter and uſher to the church, in a comely and decent manner. And from the middle of September to March, they ſhall ſtay at ſchool until half an hour paſt eleven upon Saturdays, that they may be taught the ſame Catechiſm.

XVII. That Edward Hinton, maſter of the ſaid ſchool, and the maſter for the time being, ſhall inhabit, poſſeſs, and enjoy to his own proper uſe and emolument, the ſchool-houſe, with the court, out-houſes, and gardens thereunto belonging; as alſo the meadow adjoining, commonly called the pigeon-houſe meadow: provided the ſcholars be allowed at leiſure times to take their recreation therein; and that the trees in ſaid meadow be carefully preſerved and improved.

XVIII. That the maſter ſhall provide a large regiſter, wherein the names, qualities, and ages of all ſuch children as ſhall, from time to time, be admitted into the ſaid ſchool, ſhall be regiſtered and entered: as alſo the time of their departure; what claſs they were in, and to what place or employment they go. Likewiſe a catalogue of all ſuch goods, ſtandards, and utenſils, as do or ſhall belong to the ſaid ſchool-houſe, out-houſes, garden, and meadow.

XIX. That

XIX. That the maſter ſhall receive for his ſalary the ſum of 140*l.* per annum, of good and lawful money of and in England, by even and equal portions; one moiety of it at the 25th of March, and the other September the 29th, or within a fortnight of each of theſe feaſts; to be paid conſtantly in the ſchool-houſe, without any defalcation, out of tythes ſettled by the ſaid duke for payment thereof: except his grace or his heirs ſhall ſettle ſome particular lands for the payment of the ſaid ſalary, and which ſhall be of a full value to diſcharge it yearly. And upon the maſter's death, or removal, his ſalary pro rata ſhall become due to him to be paid till that very day.

XX. That the maſter ſhall keep and maintain the ſchool-houſe, ſchool, and out-offices in conſtant good and ſufficient repair: nor ſhall it be lawful to make any alterations therein without the approbation of the viſitors.

XXI. That Thomas, lord biſhop of Oſſory, Narciſſus, lord biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, and Robert Huntingdon, D. D. provoſt of Trinity College, Dublin, while they live in this kingdom; and the biſhops of Oſſory, Leighlin and Ferns, and the provoſt of the College for the time being, be nominated and appointed viſitors of the ſaid ſchool: and that they, or the majority of them (for it is the greater number of them ſtill that are meant by the viſitors) ſhall yearly at, or upon the laſt Thurſday in June or oftener if they ſhall ſee occaſion, publicly viſit ſaid ſchool, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning: where and when they ſhall firſt cauſe the ſtatutes to be read, audibly and diſtinctly by one of the ſcholars; and afterwards proceed to examine the proficiency of the ſcholars, and inquire after any breach of the ſtatutes, and after the behaviour of the maſter; the ſufficiency and manners of the uſher; the authors that are read; the methods, uſages, and cuſtoms of the ſchool; and if they ſhall judge any alterations or amendments requiſite in any of theſe, they ſhall expreſs it to the maſter under their hands and ſeals: who by virtue of theſe ſtatutes is required to comply with their advice, for the better improvement of the ſaid ſchool. And when there ſhall be foundation ſcholars, they ſhall by the viſitors be choſen, according to their merits for the univerſity.

XXII. That on the ſaid viſitation day after dinner, which the maſter is to provide ſoberly and decently, and towards it ſhall have freely given him a fat buck yearly out of his grace's next park: the viſitors then preſent, ſhall take a view of the ſchool-houſe and out-houſes, the garden, meadow, and trees therein; and if they find occaſion, ſhall ſpecify in writing all thoſe repairs and amendments, with

the

the manner how, and the time when they judge them expedient to be made. If the maſter ſhall be negligent herein, the viſitors ſhall ſignify the ſame to the governor of the ſaid ſchool, who forthwith ſhall order thoſe things to be done by able workmen, and that they be paid out of the ſalary next due to the maſter.

XXIII. That if it ſhall appear to the viſitors, that the uſher is inſufficient or ſcandalous, and ſo is ſignified to the maſter under their hands and ſeals, if the maſter ſhall refuſe to remove the ſaid uſher, and chuſe another ſtatutably qualified: or if the maſter ſhall neglect ſuch alterations and amendments as the viſitors ſhall have judged fit to be made, either in the manners of himſelf or his uſher, the authors to be read, or the method, cuſtoms, or management of the ſaid ſchool: or if the maſter ſhould forbear to diſcharge himſelf or his uſher from ſuch offices or employments, as the viſitors have judged inconſiſtent or prejudicial to the due management of the ſaid ſchool: or ſhall alter their houſe without their conſent; the viſitors ſhall, under their hands and ſeals, admoniſh the maſter a ſecond time of his ſaid neglects: and if for the ſpace of three months after ſuch ſecond admonition the maſter ſhall be convicted, either by notoriety of the fact, or the teſtimony of two of the moſt credible witneſſes of ſuch obſtinate neglect, upon information thereof by the viſitors, under their hands and ſeals given to the patron or governor, he ſhall expel and remove the ſaid maſter from all duties and benefits of the ſaid ſchool, ſchool-houſe, &c. and ſhall nominate and chuſe another in his ſtead, according to the qualifications aforeſaid.

XXIV. That if any doubt or objection ſhall happen concerning the true purport, intent, and meaning of theſe ſtatutes, or any thing in them contained, ſuch interpretation as the viſitors ſhall agree in, and ſignify under their hands and ſeals, ſhall be binding and deciſive to all parties concerned.

Laſtly, in teſtimony that all and ſingular the above ſtatutes, orders, and conſtitutions were ratified, eſtabliſhed, and confirmed to commence and be in force from the 25th day of March in the year of our Lord, 1685, the ſaid James, duke of Ormond the founder of the ſaid ſchool, has this preſent 18th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1684, hereto ſet his hand and ſeal at his majeſty's caſtle of Dublin."

But this foundation ſoon went to decay for the reaſons contained in the following account of the college of Kilkenny, extracted from Mr. Harris's (56) life of king William.

" King

(56) Pag. 233.

"King James, after his arrival in Dublin, profecuted his ſcheme (the eſtabliſhment of popery) to a fuller effect. An inſtance of which may be given in his proceedings in relation to the public ſchool of Kilkenny, founded and endowed by the piety of the firſt duke of Ormond; who ſettled there a proteſtant ſchool-maſter, Dr. Edward Hinton, a learned and conſcientious Engliſhman, who officiated in it with great induſtry and ſucceſs: which I mention with gratitude, becauſe to him I am indebted for my early education.

"As the apprehenſions of Tyrconnel's ſevere government had driven numbers of proteſtants out of the kingdom, ſo Dr. Hinton, among the reſt, fled for ſafety to his native country. King James laid hold of the opportunity to pervert that ſchool from its primitive inſtitution. The grandſon and heir of the founder had early joined king William, and was attainted in the parliament held this year in Dublin, and conſequently the eſtate among others, out of which the revenues of this ſchool iſſued, was declared forfeited. The ſchool-maſter was gone, and though not mentioned in the act of attainder, yet one ſcratch of the attorney-general's (Nangle) pen ſupplied that defect, and in the charter declared him attainted.

"King James therefore by a charter dated the 21ſt of February, 1689, upon the ruins of this ſchool erected and endowed a royal college; conſiſting of a rector, eight profeſſors, and two ſcholars in the name of more; to be called the royal college of St. Canice, Kilkenny, of the foundation of king James.

"It appears by the charter, that William Daton, D. D. and others in conjunction with him, had for ſeveral years, taught ſchool in Kilkenny, with great diligence; for it was the policy of Tyrconnel to erect ſchools of Jeſuits, as was done through England, in oppoſition to the proteſtant legal ſchool-maſters, whom by affronts and ill-uſage, and under the countenance of a cruel adminiſtration, they ſoon drave away. And this was the cauſe of Dr. Hinton's abdication, which king James now laid hold on to erect his royal college; and it was done as the ſaid charter alleges, at the petition of the ſaid Daton and his fellow labourers, of the catholic biſhop of Offory, and all the clergy of that dioceſe, as well as of the mayor, aldermen, and burgeſſes of the ſaid city. After Dr. Hinton was driven away, Tyrconnel converted the ſchool-houſe into an hoſpital; and ſo it continued until the new foundation."

This account given by Mr. Harris is very well illuſtrated by Mr. Laffan's valuable papers. One of them contains; "Articles conclus du conſentement unanime des regents des ecoles de Kilkenny, ſous le protection de l'illuſtriſſime et reverendiſſime l'eveſque d'Offory;" and ſigned

"Edvardus

"Edvardus Tonnery, philoſophiæ profeſſor.
Jacobus Cleary, rhetorices profeſſor.
Guilielmus Felan, lit. human. profeſſor.
Fran. Barnwall, tertii ordinis profeſſor.
Johannes Meagher, quartæ claſſis profeſſor."

The catholic biſhop of Oſſory, at this time, was doctor James Phelan, who gave the following rules to this college.

"Rules to be obſerved by the profeſſors of my lord biſhop of Oſſory's college, in Kilkenny: given by his lordſhip.

The teachers of colleges are to know, that piety is the chief thing they ought to teach; and all other things that are taught are nothing but means to attain that end; and therefore piety is to be taught by word and example on all occaſions in general, and particularly in the following exerciſes.

I. The teachers are to get up half an hour, at leaſt, before the boarders; and ſpend at leaſt half an hour in mental prayer together in the room where the boarders come to vocal prayer; and to remain there until the boarders come, that they may *ſee ſo good an example to imitate. This being very eaſy and beneficial no one* ought to forego it, or be cold or negligent to appear with the reſt, if he were not very ſick. And to be notably remiſs in this exerciſe is a fault whereof the ordinary is to be informed. When the boarders come, thoſe that have not the breviary to ſay, ought to ſay the prayers with the ſcholars; and give them good example, by often going to confeſſion and communion. The mental prayer may be omitted the play-days, and made an hour later on holydays and Sundays.

II. The teachers are to ſhew all exactneſs and regularity in their exerciſes; going exactly to their ſeveral ſchools at the ſame moment; and alſo preciſely together from ſchool: to be gentle and courteous to the ſcholars; eſpecially when they propoſe any difficulties: but they are to keep always their diſtance; never ſhewing any weakneſs, lightneſs, paſſion, ſcurrility, or any incivility that the ſcholars may take notice of. To affect gravity before them, more than if the teachers were apart; for there they may give themſelves full latitude; but never to make them their comrades by familiarity that denotes equality and makes fellows, as laughing, chatting, playing together, and ſuch other familiarities wherein the ſcholars may diſcover any weakneſs in the maſters, or diminiſh their eſteem for them: no man being fitter to teach and perſuade than he who is well poſſeſſed of his auditors' eſteem.

III. Thoſe

III. Thoſe that preſide at the ſcholars' ſtudies, are to be careful and exact therein, leſt the ſcholars ſhould loſe their time. If any of the maſters be obliged to abſent himſelf when his turn is to be preſent, he muſt pray ſome other teacher to ſupply his place: for no teacher ought to pretend to be exempt, upon the account of having much to ſtudy, from what is common to all the teachers: whereas there is none but may take that pretext; and if the ſcholars be neglected but one hour a day, it will give them an occaſion of idleneſs, and taking of liberty.

IV. As for the teachers' converſation, it ought to be very fraternal and lovely; conſulting and adviſing one another: and though we think fit, that for the equality of the pains and endeavours of the teachers, the profit alſo ought to be equally participated; yet we think it moſt expedient that the younger teachers ſhould be very ſubmiſſive to the elder ones, eſpecially to the Prefect, who repreſents our perſon there in the curate's abſence; for it were very imprudent, that every teacher ſhould be maſter of every thing, and no order or ſubordination obſerved contrary to the repeated cuſtom in all colleges in the world, where there are ſeveral degrees of dignity, or at leaſt, one that rules all the reſt. Neither ought the Prefect to be over imperious to the teachers, but adviſe fraternally with them, and ſtrive to pleaſe them, as far as reaſon and the common good ſuffer it. To be impartial in any competition or difference that may ariſe among the teachers themſelves, or amongſt them and the ſcholars: and to accommodate without noiſe all thoſe little debates, with prudence and juſtice; ſtriving always publicly to turn the blame on the ſcholars; but blaming with authority, and adviſing privately any of the teachers that may do amiſs.

Neither ought any teacher to take it ill, or pretend, or give out that he will not ſuffer ſuch reprimands upon account of all the teachers being equal for matter of gain: for that is another matter. Nay, it is not to be expected but there may be ſome teachers, who in proceſs of time, though not now, that may deſerve not only to be kept in ſubmiſſion, but alſo to be turned out for litigious humours, cabals, or extravagant ſcandalous ways; which may bring more prejudice to the place, than their preſence can bring profit. And the Prefect's conſcience, as alſo the other members, who tender God's ſervice and the good of the College, are reſponſible before God for ſuch diſorders, if they ſtrive not to hinder them by their own authority, or if need be, by giving us timely notice. So every one ought to to be watchful on all occaſions of the ſcholars, ſervants, and houſehold affairs, &c. when they

ſee any thing amiſs, or that may be reformed, to give notice thereof to him, whoſe charge it is to look after it."

But the glorious victory of the Boyne diſperſed thoſe vain conceits and reinſtated every thing.

By the attainder of the duke of Ormond, the 24th of June 1715, the right of preſentation to the ſchool lapſed to the provoſt and fellows of Trinity college, Dublin; and is ſtill veſted in them.

This ſchool has had a ſucceſſion of eminent maſters; has produced men of great learning, and is juſtly eſteemed the firſt ſchool for the education of youth in this kingdom.

By a return of the ſchool-maſter, Mr. Lewis, November the 16th, 1716, the tythes appropriated to the ſchool were ſet and produced as follows:

Pariſhes of Bruor and Templemore ſet to Mr. John Carden for -	76	0	0
Pariſhes of Kells, Donoghmore and Kilmocar, co. Kilkenny, to Mr. Richard Power for - - -	72	0	0
Pariſh of Kells to Mr. Patrick Walſh, Mr. William Belcher, Toby *Den*, *James Archdekin*, *Arthur Izard*, *Thomas Dyer* and *William* Tucker, for - - -	28	0	6
Pariſh of Donoghmore to Toby Purcell, for - -	17	10	0
Pariſh of Kilmacor to Mark Rudkins, for - -	18	10	0

In Marſh's library; Dublin, was a book of poems, intitled *Sacri Luſus*, by the young gentlemen of the college of Kilkenny: but not now to be found there. In the ſame library were, "Conſtitutions made in a provincial meeting at Kilkenny, A. D. 1614." This MS. alſo is ſtolen from its place.

KILKENNY.

THE following ſtatement of the population of Kilkenny is given by *Tighe*, in his ſtatiſtical account of this County.

"The city of Kilkenny including St. Canice or Iriſhtown, extends from north to ſouth, as far as there is any continuation of houſes, about 1500 yards; from eaſt to weſt by John's bridge about 1470 yards, by Green's bridge about 1000 yards: including

including between these extremities an irregular square of about 1852500 square yards, or 235 acres, one rood plantation measure, of which about two thirds is cultivated ground. It contains 2870 inhabited houses: of these there are 404 of three stories high and upwards, at 8 per house are 3232 inhabitants: 431 one of two stories, at 6 per house, are 2586, and 2035 cabins at 4½ per house are 9157 souls. Houses 2870, inhabitants 14975. Of these the corporation of St. Canice contains 26 houses of three stories, 80 of two and 909 Cabins, total 1015. Four hundred and four houses in Kilkenny, and 50 in St. Canice paid hearth-money in 1799. Three hundred and sixty-eight in Kilkenny and 51 in St. Canice in 1800, and 353 in Kilkenny, and 46 in St. Canice paid window-tax in 1800.

The population of the cabins was estimated from that of 306 taken down in different quarters of the City, producing 1409, or little more than 4½ to each: houses of two stories are supposed, with the addition of one servant to each, and lodgers to some, to amount to six each: those three stories high and upwards, to have eight per house. The number of houses in 1788 was 2689, increase since that time 181. In 1689, Kilkenny contained but 507 houses, and in 1777 the number was 2174.

The corporation of Kilkenny are possessed of a large property: their rental in 1688 was 313*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* in 1794 it was 1567*l.* taking the tolls and customs at an average of 500*l.* Of this 700*l.* a year is paid in salaries to its officers: 300*l.* in paving, and 300*l.* in pensions and other purposes.

It is asserted in the (1) life of Hugh Rufus, second bishop of Ossory, that he granted a great part of the city of Kilkenny to William Earl Marshal, reserving to himself and his successors a chiefry of an ounce of gold. Notwithstanding the authority now cited, there are certainly some mistakes in this account. It supposes two things; either that the bishop had a paramount right to the soil prior to the English invasion which however does not appear, or there was some distinct exemption in his favour when those conquerors seized and colonized the country; which is equally destitute of foundation.

For Richard Strongbow had all his acquisitions in Leinster given in (2) perpetuity to him by Henry II. with the reservation of the maritime towns. These grants of his father were confirmed by king John to William Earl Marshal, who married Isabella, Strongbow's daughter. Both held Leinster in capite, invested with, and exercising

(1) Ware's Bishops, pag. 403.

(2) Davis's historical Relations, pag. 61.

ciſing abſolute regal juriſdiction and prerogative. Was he not enfeoffed himſelf in this ample manner, William could never make the grants he did to St. John's priory; the (3) tenor of which expreſſes a ſuperiority but little favouring of epiſcopal derivation. Stanihurſt indeed has ſomething which ſeems to countenance what is here conteſted: "The highe towne was builded by the Engliſh after the conqueſt, and had a parcel of the Iriſhtowne thereto united by the biſhop his grant, made unto the founders upon their earneſt requeſt." From the inaccurate and unſupported manner in which this tradition (for it is no more) is expreſſed, we may rank it with thoſe numerous monkiſh fictions, which aim at exalting the ſpiritual above the civil power.

The original charter of incorporation given by William Earl Marſhal probably does not exiſt: Cox (4) ſays it was granted in 1223; but an amplification of it appears in an inſpeximus of the 3 Edw. III. A. D. 1328. It (5) recites, that the earl who was lord of all Leinſter, had in his life time granted to the ſovereign, burgeſſes and commonalty of Kilkenny, for the time being, various liberties and immunities, which they were to enjoy for ever throughout Leinſter, as well as in the town. Particularly, that they ſhould be free from toll, laſtage, or payment for weighing goods, from pontage, and all other cuſtoms whatſoever. Theſe exemptions were powerful inducements for people to ſettle in a city ſo much favoured; and the earl by thus depriving himſelf of conſiderable revenues, evinced his wiſhes to aggrandize it. No wonder if we ſhall find it increaſing rapidly in extent, in population and riches; and ſelected by the great aſſemblies of the nation, above any other place, for its happy temperature, its ample conveniences and undiſturbed ſecurity, and as the propereſt

place

(3) Habeant et teneant omnes donationes, conceſſiones et confirmationes prædictas, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elymoſinam. Appendix I.

(4) Hiſt. of Ireland. Hanmer ſays it was dated the ſixth of April, and witneſſed by Thomas Fitz Antony, Walter Purcell, William Grace, Haman Grace, Amnar Grace and others. Chronicle, pag. 173. The Waiſhes and Cantwells came over with Fitz Stephen, and ſettled about Kilkenny.

(5) Edvardus Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, omnibus ballivis et miniſtris omnium villarum et villatorum Lageniæ, et cæteris quibuſcunque de iiſdem partibus, ſalutem. Supplicavit nobis ſuperior et communitas de Kilkenny, quod cum Willielmus, nuper comes mareſcallus et Pembrochiæ (tempore quo idem comes extiterat dominus totius terræ Lageniæ) conceſſerit burgenſibus et communitati villæ prædictæ, qui pro tempore fuerint, diverſas libertates, inter uuas, videlicit, quo ipſo in perpetuum per totam Lageniam terram et proteſtatem ſuam, tam in villa quam alibi, eſſent quieti de theulonio, laſtagio, pontagio, et de omnibus aliis conſuetudinibus quibuſcunque; quam quidem chartam inſpeximus, &c. teſte Johanne Darcy, juſticiario noſtro Hiberniæ, apud Kilkenny, 8 die Julii, annoque regni noſtri tertio. Per billam ipſius juſticiarii. Hanmer ſupra.

place for holding their meetings. This excellent nobleman, equally accompliſhed in the arts of peace and war, Redburn (6) thus characterizes in his epitaph;

Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſenſit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

In 1195, a ſpacious and noble caſtle was begun in Kilkenny on the ſite of that deſtroyed by the Iriſh in 1173. The ſituation, in a military view was moſt eligible; the ground was originally a conoid; the elliptical ſide abrupt and precipitous, with the rapid Nore running at its baſe; there the natural rampart was faced with a wall of ſolid maſonry, forty feet high; the other parts were defended by baſtions, courtins, towers and out-works; and on the ſummit the caſtle was erected. The area thus incloſed, beſides furniſhing accomodations for the earl and his domeſtics, contained caſerns for a ſtrong garriſon with their equipments. The earl, in his charter to St. John's priory, provides, that if he be abſent the monks of that houſe ſhall ſerve his caſtle-chapel, and receive the emoluments from thence ariſing; but if he be reſident, then his own domeſtic chaplains ſhall attend. In the ſame record, his barns lying beyond the bridge, aré mentioned, with every other circumſtance indicating a regular houſhold and court.

Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloceſter and Hereford, marrying Iſabella, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of William, earl marſhal, received as her dower the county of Kilkenny. He extended the privileges of the corporation by the following charter recited (7) by Hanmer. "To our ſeneſchal of Kilkenny, and to our treaſurer of the ſame, greeting. Know ye, that for the common profit of the town of Kilkenny, of our ſpecial favour, we have granted to our loving burgeſſes of the ſaid town, that none ſhall ſell victuals there, but ſuch as ſhall be prized by the officers of ſaid town, &c." Priſage, by (8) Blackſtone, is mentioned as equivalent to butlerage, or a duty on wine; beſides this, it had a more general acceptation, and meant thoſe duties which every Caſtellan had a right to receive for commodities brought for ſale to fairs and markets within the precincts of his caſtle. Of this our ancient regal charters, our old hiſtorians and the monaſticon ſupply many proofs. Theſe duties the earl of Gloceſter transferred to the citizens.

By marriage, Kilkenny came into the ancient and noble family of Le Deſpencer; Hugh Le Deſpencer marrying Eleanor, ſiſter and coheir of Gilbert, earl of Gloceſter. Hugh le Deſpenſer, a deſcendant of the preceding, poſſeſſed great properties in different

(6) Camden, in Pembrokeſhire.
(7) Pag. 178. (8) Commentaries, vol. 1. pag. 314.

ferent counties in England, conferred on his anceſtor by the conqueror, immediately after the battle of Haſtings. This Hugh (9) by deeds dated the fourth and twelfth of September, 1391, being the 15 Rich. II. conveyed the caſtle of Kilkenny and its (10) dependencies to James, earl of Ormond; which earl, in 1386, had built the caſtle of Dunfert, now called Danesfort.

Among the families attached to the earl marſhal, and early planted in Kilkenny, that of Grace ſeems to have been very reſpectable. William, Hamen and Amnar Grace ſubſcribe as witneſſes to his charter to the city; and three years before, William and Haman a'teſt his charter to St. John's. William erected a caſtle in the city; this old building, ſome years ago, was pulled down, and a court-houſe and priſon erected on its ſite at the expence of the county; here are held the aſſizes and ſeſſions for the county; it is in Coal-market, and ſtill called Grace's old caſtle. The earl gave them large poſſeſſions, and an extenſive tract of country, known by the name of Grace's pariſh. Haman Grace'e poſterity ſettled in the county (11) of Wexford, and other branches (12) at Ballylinch, at Carney and Leighan in the county of Tipperary. In 1560, one of them was baron of Courtiſtown, and lies interred in the cathedral.

The internal police of Kilkenny being fixed on a ſolid baſis by the preceding grants and charters, and the proſperity of its citizens ſecured and extended by many privileges and immunities, it ſoon attained a prime eminence among the central towns of the kingdom. In 1294, Richard, (13) earl of Ulſter was taken priſoner by lord John Fitz Thomas, and kept in hold until the feaſt of pope Gregory; he was then ſet at liberty by the king's council aſſembled in parlianent at Kilkenny. The jealouſies and competitions among the Iriſh nobility perpetually excited violent feuds and domeſtic diſſentions. The ruling power of government was weak, and inadequate to reſtrain their enormities and exceſſes. Lord Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald laying claim to ſome lands belonging to the earl of Ulſter in Conaught, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of them by an armed force: the earl oppoſed him, but with ill ſucceſs, for he

(9) Carte's life of Ormond, introduction, pag. 36.

(10) Theſe comprehended; the caſtle of Kilkenny, with the mills; the borough of Roſbargon, with the mills; the manors af Dunfert and Kildernuoy; the ſerjeancy of Overk; all his tenements in Kalleu le Hill; 33*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* in Kallan and the advowſon of the church; with all the lands, tenements, advowſons and knight's fees in Noverk, Roſbargon, Logheran, Killagh, Roſinan, Illid, Knocktofre, the new town of Jerpoint, Killamery, Arderellon, Lyſdoufy, Kilfeckamaduff and Thollenabroge. Carte ſupra.

(11) Annals at the end of Camden, under the year 1305

(12) Hibern. Dominic. pag. 270.

(13) Annals ſupra.

he was taken and impriſoned, as above hinted, in the baron's ſtrong caſtle of Ley, on the banks of the Barrow, in the Queen's county.

Mr. Selden and Mr. Pryne aſſert that parliaments did not exiſt at the time here mentioned, but the contrary ſeems well eſtabliſhed from (14) what others have collected on this ſubject. They were, as to conſtituent members, not numerous; becauſe the great lords were enfeoffed of the whole kingdom; alienations were then unknown, and the boroughs but few, ſo that the repreſentatives were neceſſarily confined to a ſmall number; and ſuch aſſemblies were in reality rather Poliſh diets than Britiſh parliaments. Multitudes of retainers followed their lords to thoſe meetings; turbulence and faction diſturbed their deliberations, and the public were rather amuſed than benefited by them; however, the magnificence, prodigality and numbers diſplayed on thoſe occaſions could not but very much enrich the inhabitants of Kilkenny.

The next parliament held in Kilkenny was in the 3 Edw. II. 1309; its acts are to be found in the ſeveral (15) editions of our ſtatutes; but there are others ſtill extant in the black book of Chriſt church, Dublin, and given to the public by (16) Dr. Leland. One clauſe ordains, "that the Engliſh here ſhall conform in garb and in the cut of their hair to the faſhion of their countrymen in England; whoever affected that of the Iriſh was to be treated as ſuch; their lands and chattles to be ſeized and their perſons impriſoned." Here is clearly diſcloſed the beginning degeneracy of the Britiſh colonies. Unreſtrained by the wholſome ſeverity of wiſe laws, and plunged in a perpetual round of violence and rapine, they ſoon loſt that manlineſs of ſentiment and propriety of conduct which they brought with them into the iſland; they inſenſibly contracted a familiarity with, and a fondneſs for the diſſipated manners of the natives; they adopted their vices, and degenerated ſo far as to aſſume their dreſs, and looked on the long glibbs of this uncivilized people as their boaſt and ornament.

Sir John Wogan, a Welſhman, animated with a love of ancient Britiſh virtue, beheld with grief and indignation the falling off of his countrymen, and exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent the contagion from ſpreading. To give the higheſt ſanction to theſe laws, and to impreſs them on the people, Maurice Maccarwell, archbiſhop

(14) Ware's Antiquities by Harris, vol. 1. pag. 79, et ſeq.

(15) Statutes of Ireland by Bolton, Dublin 1621. Veſey's Statutes. Harris's MSS. penes Societ. Dublin, vol. 2. pag. 312.

(16) Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. 1. pag. 253, 254. Compare Ware's Biſhops, pag. 476. where we may obſerve great inaccuracy in dates.

of Caſhel, aſſiſted by other prelates, denounced anathemas againſt the infringers of them in the cathedral church of St. Canice, in the preſence of Wogan, and many of the nobility. In 1317, lord Roger Mortimer, juſticiary of Ireland, and the Iriſh nobility met at Kilkenny to conſider how they might oppoſe Edward Bruce.

The annals before quoted, under the year 1326, tell us of a parliament held in Kilkenny at Whitſontide, at which the earl of Ulſter and other lords aſſiſted, who were ſumptuouſly entertained by the ſaid earl; but that he ſoon after died. Cox (17) ſays it doth not appear what was then done, except ordering five thouſand quarters of wheat into Aquitain for the king's uſe. To throw ſome light on the obſcurity of the annaliſt we may obſerve, that Edward Bruce, towards the end of Edward the Second's reign, headed the Scottiſh invaſion of this kingdom, and ſpread terror and deſolation wherever he came; the northern and middle counties were over-ran, and he penetrated through (18) Oſſory in his way to Munſter; private animoſities were forgotten in the general diſtreſs, and the rancour of rivalry gave way to the more imminent terrors of public danger; foreign enemies and domeſtic inſurrections called for unanimity and vigorous exertions. A ſubjugation to Scottiſh power or Iriſh tyranny was equally alarming to, and dreaded by the Engliſh; if the latter ſucceeded, diſpoſſeſſion and expulſion were the gentleſt treatment to be expected; if the former, every thing was to be dreaded from the cruelty of ferocious conquerors. Connected by one common intereſt, and eager to make one effort to check the career of a triumphant enemy, an army of thirty thouſand men was collected, and a prodigious number of irregulars, who cluſtered together on the general alarm. The earl of Ulſter, though married to the ſiſter of Robert, king of Scotland, ſaw the danger that awaited him if his relation was victorious; and therefore came to the parliament; was the foremoſt in urging vigorous meaſures, and made his hoſpitality the inſtrument of his patriotiſm.

The next year, 1327, preſents us with relations of broils among the nobility. Lord Arnold Poer, lord Maurice Fitz Thomas and lord Maurice Butler, with armed forces, plundered and waſted each others lands. The earl of Kildare, the lord juſtice, and others of the king's council, at a parliament in* Kilkenny, appointed a day for all parties to anſwer theſe outrages. Butler and Fitz Thomas demanded the king's charter of peace, and the council took until the month of Eaſter to conſider of it.

The

(17) Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. 1.

(18) Some veſtiges of this invaſion yet remain. Near Aghaboe is an old fortification, vulgarly called Scotſrath, but properly Scottiſwaith, or the Scots walls or fortreſs.

The following year (19) gives us a frightful picture of the effects of ſuperſtition and eccleſiaſtical tyranny. Take the narration in the words of the author: "Richard Ledrede, biſhop of Oſſory, cited dame Alice Ketyll to anſwer for her heretical opinions, and forced her to appear in perſon before him; and being examined for ſorcery, it was found, that ſhe had uſed it. Among other inſtances this was diſcovered, that a certain ſpirit (Dæmon Incubus) called Robin Artyſſon, lay with her, and that ſhe offered nine red cocks at a certain ſtone bridge where four highways met; alſo, that ſhe ſwept the ſtreets of Kilkenny with beeſoms, between complin and corfew; and in ſweeping the filth towards the houſe of William Utlaw her ſon, ſhe was hear to wiſh by way of conjuring—Let all the wealth of Kilkenny flow to this houſe.

"The accomplices of this Alice, in wretched practices, were Penel of Meth, and Baſilia the daughter of this Penel. Alice was found guilty, and fined by the biſhop, and forced to abjure her ſorcery and witchcraft; but being again convicted of the ſame practices, ſhe made her eſcape with the ſaid Baſilia; but Penel was burnt at Kilkenny, and at her death declared, that William abovesaid deſerved death as well as ſhe, and that for a year and a day he wore the devil's girdle about his bare body.

"Hereupon the ſaid biſhop ordered William to be apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of Kilkenny for eight or nine weeks; and gave orders, that two men ſhould attend him, but that they ſhould not eat or drink with him, and that they ſhould not ſpeak to him above once a day. At length he was ſet at liberty by the lord Arnold Poer, ſeneſchal of the county of Kilkenny; and he gave a great ſum of money to the ſaid Arnold to impriſon the biſhop; accordingly he kept the biſhop in priſon about three months.

"Among the goods of Alice, they found a wafer (hoſtia) with the devil's name upon it, and a certain box of ointment, with which ſhe uſed to daub a certain piece of wood, called a cowltree, after which ſhe and her accomplices rid upon it round the world, without hurt or hindrance. Theſe things being notorious, Alice was cited again to appear at Dublin before the dean of St. Patrick's, having ſome hopes of favour given her. She made her appearance and demanded a day to anſwer, having given ſufficient bail as was thought; but ſhe appeared not, for by the advice of her ſon and others unknown, ſhe hid herſelf in a certain village until the wind would ſerve for England, and then ſhe ſailed over; but it is not known whither ſhe went.

"William

(19) Camden ſays it was in 1323, but Prynne in 1328.

" William Utlaw being found on the trial and confeſſion of Penel (who was condemned to be burnt) to have been conſenting to his mother in her ſorcery and witchcrafts, the biſhop cauſed him to be arreſted by the king's writ, and put in priſon; yet he was ſet at liberty again by the interceſſion of the lords, upon condition, that he ſhould cover St. Mary's church in Kilkenny with lead, and do other acts of charity within a certain day; and that if he did not perform them punctually, he ſhould be in the ſame ſtate as when firſt taken by the king's writ." Further particulars may be ſeen in Ware's life of biſhop Ledred.

A. D. 1329. (20) The lord Thomas Botiller marched from Kilkenny with a great army into the country of (21) Ardnorwith; where he fought with the lord Thomas and William Mageoghagan, and was there killed, to the great loſs of Ireland, and with him the lord John de Ledewich, Roger and Thomas Ledewich.

In 1330, Roger Utlaw, prior of Kilmainham, and lieutenant of the kingdom under Darcy, held a parliament in Kilkenny, in which were preſent Alexander archbiſhop of Dublin, James earl of Ormond, Walter Bermingham and Walter de Burgo. An army was collected, and it marched to drive Brien O'Brien out of Urkuffs near Caſhel. This O'Brien was chieftain of Thomond, and was appointed leader of a violent inſurrection of the natives at this time.

Anthony Lucy (22) in 1331, appointed a parliament to meet at Dublin on the Utas of St. John the baptiſt. Many of the principal nobility abſented themſelves; a practice but too common. The paucity of members obliged Lucy to adjourn to Kilkenny. In the interim, Lucy had either threatened the abſentees on the ſcore of their allegiance, or had abſolutely taken ſome ſteps to vindicate his own and his maſter's authority; for we find that the lord Thomas Fitz Maurice and the earl of Kildare appeared, and ſubmitted to the king's grace and mercy; they were pardoned, but the laſt was obliged to ſwear on the holy evangeliſts and the relics of the ſaints to obſerve his allegiance and to keep the peace. Deſmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo and his brother, William and Walter Bermingham were ſeized, and William Bermingham executed for ſecretly favouring the Iriſh rebels.

The

(20) Camden's Annals, Luitwick, Luitwich, Lutwyche, Lutwidge, Ledwith, Ledewich, and Ledwich, ſuch is the various orthography of the name in ancient writings, was a German family, originally ſettled in the hundred of Munſlow in Shropſhire. They removed to Cheſhire and came over with de Burgo in 1200 who gave them large poſſeſſions in Longford and Weſtmeath, and created them Palatinate Barons, as in the text. They intermarried with the de Burgos, Nugents, Lacies, &c. From this family the writer of theſe pages is deſcended.

(21) Ardnurcher in the county of Weſtmeath.

(22) Cox, pag. 11.

The city, in 1334, had certain (23) tolls granted it, for pavage, for ſeven years.

The annals of Ireland, under the year 1341, inform us of the precarious ſtate of the kingdom, and the danger of its being diſſevered from England. The king (24) revoked all thoſe gifts and grants that by him or his father had been conferred, by any means, upon any perſons whatſoever in Ireland, were they liberties, lands or other goods. For which revocation great diſcontent and diſpleaſure aroſe in the land of Ireland, which was at the point to be loſt for ever out of the king of England's hands. Hereupon, by the king's council, there was ordained a general parliament in the month of October; before which time there never was known ſo notable a diviſion between thoſe that were Engliſh by birth and Engliſh by blood.

The mayors of the king's cities in the ſame land, together with all the better ſort of the nobility and gentry, with one conſent, upon mature deliberation and council had, among other their concluſions, decreed and appointed a common parliament at Kilkenny in November, to the utility and profit of both the king and the land, without aſking any council at all of Sir John Morris, the lord juſtice, or the king's officers aforeſaid in that behalf; neither the lord juſtice or the king's miniſters in any wiſe preſumed to come to the ſame parliament in Kilkenny.

The elders therefore of the land, together with the ancients and mayors of the cities agreed and ordained, as touching ſolemn ambaſſadors to be ſent with all ſpeed to the king of England, and to complain of his miniſters in Ireland, as touching their unequal and unjuſt regiment of the ſame; and that from thenceforth they neither could, nor would endure the realm of Ireland to be ruled by his miniſters, as it had wont to be; and particularly they made complaint of the aforeſaid miniſters by way of theſe queſtions.

Imprimis, how a land full of wars could be governed by him that was unſkilful in war?

Secondly, how a miniſter or officer of the king ſhould in a ſhort time grow to ſo much wealth?

Thirdly, how it came to paſs, that the king was never the richer for Ireland?

The title of theſe petitions, with the king's anſwer, appears thus in a cloſe roll of the 16 Edw. III:

" Les peticions, quenſeunt feurent baillez a noſtre ſeigneur le roy de France et Dengleterre, par frere Johan Larch, priour del hoſpital ſeint Johan de Jeruſalem en Irlande, et Mons. Thomas Wogan envoiez au roy en meſſage, par les prelatz, countes,

(23) Appendix IV. (24) Prynne on the 4th inſtitute.

countes, barons et la commune de la terre Dirlaunde, ove autres articles queur le roy par lavisement de son conseil ad ordeine. Que les peticions feurent diligealment examinez et respondus par le conseil de roy, et les responses escriptes severalment apres chescun petition. Et puis le roy oyz et etendutz les dites peticions et responses si sacorda, et commanda que les dites responses ove les dites articles feisent tenus et meintenuz en touz pointz sur les peines contenuz en yceiles."

The petitioners complained of the mal-administration of the governors and other officers; but the capital grievance was the resumption of their lands. The king's answers were mild and satisfactory, and a storm, that portended the convulsion and disunion of the kingdom, blew over, without any material injury but the alarm it created.

At a (25) parliament held in Kilkenny in 1347, it was agreed to grant a subsidy for the Irish wars, of two shillings for every carrucate of land, and of two shillings in the pound to be paid by every person whose fortune amounted to six pounds. Ralph Kelly, (26) archbishop of Cashel, conceiving this to be an infrigement of the immunities of the church, summoned his suffragans and clergy to meet at Kipperary to deliberate on this new law; when they decreed it unlawful as to them; that every beneficed clergyman submitting to it, and contributing to the subsidy, should be rendered incapable of promotion within the province. This act did not go unnoticed; an information, at the suit of the king, was exhibited against the archbishop, and he was mulcted in the sum of a thousand pounds.

In (27) 1349, the county of Kilkenny raised twelve horses and men, both completely covered with mail, these were heavy cavalry, at twelve pence a day: sixty hobellers, or light horse, at four pence a day; and two hundred infantry at three farthings a day, amounting in the whole to two hundred and seventy-two men. For support of these a subsidy was granted and levied.

In 1356, Sir Thomas Rokeby, (28) lord justice, convened a parliament to Kilkenny, wherein many good laws passed for settling the internal government of the kingdom, and reclaiming the degenerate English. And in 1367, the celebrated statute of Kilkenny was enacted by a parliament in that city, held before Lionel duke of Clarence. This assembly was the most splendid and numerous that ever before met here on such an occasion. (29) Besides domestic regulations, the principal object

(25) Leland, vol. 1. pag. 310. (26) Ware's Bishops, pag. 478.
(27) Cox, pag. 124. (28) Appendix IV.
(29) Leland, supra, gives a summary of this statute, to which we refer the reader.

object of this famous law was, to prevent the Engliſh from degenerating into Iriſh; and therefore every intercourſe between them was interdicted; the Brehon law was forbidden, and that of England alone allowed. It is remarkable, that this ſtatute annexes the higheſt (30) penalties to the adoption of the Iriſh apparel, which certainly was an inferior ſpecies of criminality, and could ariſe only from an inordinate predilection of the Engliſh in favour of their own dreſs, which is thus deſcribed: (31) "The commons were beſotted in exceſs of apparel, in wide ſurcoats reaching to their loins; ſome in a garment reaching to their heels, cloſe before and ſtrutting out on the ſides, ſo that on the back they make men ſeem women, and this they call by a ridiculous name, *gown;* their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the women's; their lirripipes reach to their heels, all jagged; they have another weed of ſilk which they call a paltock; their hoſe are pied, or of two colours or more, with latchets, which they call harlots, and tie to their paltocks without any breeches; their girdles are of gold and ſilver, ſome worth twenty marks; their ſhoes and pattens are ſnouted and peeked more than a finger long, crooking upwards, which they call crackowes, reſembling the devil's claws, which are faſtened to the knees with chains of gold and ſilver."

Thus gaudily attired, we need not wonder if the Engliſh beheld the Iriſh mantles, their trowſers, gibbs, crommeals, their barreds and brogues, not only with contempt but abhorrence; but when they conſidered the fourteen yards of yellow linen worn by the natives, by way of ſhirts and ſmocks, they execrated ſuch anti-chriſtian cuſtoms, and conceived it impoſſible for a ſingle good quality to ſubſiſt under ſuch clothing.

A. D. 1365. By (32) a deed dated the 40 Edw. III. Adam Cantwell grants to Robert le Marchal and Iſabella Cantwell his wife, all his meſſuages, rents and tenements in his holdings in Ireſton (Iriſhtown), in the Green near Kilkenny. The witneſſes are Thomas Lynan, provoſt of Iriſhtown, and others.

At a parliament held in (33) Kilkenny in 1370, a ſubſidy of three thouſand pounds was granted for the Iriſh wars, and in a ſubſequent ſeſſion two thouſand more. On the fourth of May, 1374 (34), Sir William Windſor, lord lieutenant, was ſworn into the government, in Kilkenny. He undertook the charge of the kingdom for the

(30) The biſhops of Dublin, Caſhel, Tuam, Liſmore, Waterford, Oſſory, Killaloe, Leighlin and Cloyne were preſent, and fulminated anathemas againſt the tranſgreſſors of this law.

(31) The author of Eulogium apud Camden's remains, pag. 20. See this extract explained in Strutt's Antiquities, vol. 2. pag. 14. &c.

(32) King's Collect. pag. 212. (33) Clauſ. 47 Edw. III. memb. 3. (34) Cox. pag. 151.

the annual ſum of £.11213 6s. 8d. and obtained an order from the king and council, that abſentees ſhould repair home, or find ſufficient men in their room to defend their eſtates.

The next parliament in Kilkenny was in the year 1376, for the purpoſe of granting the king a ſubſidy for his foreign wars; but this not proving effectual, writs were iſſued in the 49th and 50th of Edw. III. for ſending repreſentatives to England, from each county and town. That to the county of Kilkenny is thus: (35) "Conſimile breve dirigitur ſeneſcallo libertatis Kilkenniæ et viceconiti croceæ ibidem, ſub eadem data. Tenor retorni brevis prædicti ſequitur in hæc verba: Alexander epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, et Galfridus Forſtal, electi ſunt per ſeneſcallum libertatis Kilkenniæ et vicecomitem croceæ ibidem, ac magnates et communes ejuſdem comitatûs." But this return being of one eccleſiaſtical perſon, contrary to the king's orders, and the county giving no powers to aſſent to a ſubſidy, or the impoſition of taxes, a new writ was ſent, and William Cotterell of Kenlis or Kells was joined with Forſtal. Here the ſeneſchal of the county and the ſheriff of the croſs or church-lands made the return; who theſe officers were will beſt appear from the words of Sir John Davis. "Theſe abſolute palatines (ſpeaking of the nobility) who had whole counties, made barons and knights, did exerciſe high juſtice in all points within their territories; erected courts for criminal and civil cauſes and for their own revenues, in the ſame form as the king's courts were eſtabliſhed in Dublin; made their own judges, ſeneſchals, ſheriffs, coroners and eſcheators. So the king's writ did not run in thoſe counties, but only in the church-lands belonging to the ſame, which were called the Croſs, wherein the king made a ſheriff; and ſo in each of theſe counties palatines there were two ſheriffs, one of the Liberty and another of the Croſs."

Let us now attend the writ to the city: "Conſimile breve dirigitur ſuperiori et præpoſito villæ de Kilkenny, &c. And the return was: Robertus Flode et Johannes Ledred electi ſunt per ſuperiorem, præpoſitum et burgenſis villæ Kilkenniæ, ad tranſfretandum verſus dominum regem in Anglia, &c."

Here the writ expreſsly mentions the officers of the corporation to be the ſovereign and provoſt. The powers of each were anciently diſtinct; the firſt (36) was judge, in the laſt reſort, of matters within his juriſdiction; he defended the rights of the city and its inhabitants, and executed other official acts. The provoſt was an inferior judge; he inſpected the markets and farmed the tolls. Kilkenny, in this record is called

(35) Leland, vol. 1. appendix.

(36) Du Cange, voce præpoſitus.

called villa, a town; at this time, 1376, there were but four cities in Ireland, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; and five towns, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Roſs, Wexford, and Youghall; nor doth it appear from this document, that the repreſentatives exceeded one hundred, which, conſidering the narrowneſs of the pale, were ſufficient for the Engliſh coloniſts.

The year before, that is in 1375, (37) letters patent iſſued, granting to the corporation, for the ſpace of ſeven years, very conſiderable tolls, for the repairs of the walls, bridges and pavements belonging to it; they were drawn up in Kilkenny, as the date of them proves; and as they ſeem to include the whole trade of the city at this time, it may be pleaſing to the inquiſitive to take notice of a few curious particulars. We ſhall arrange them under the following heads:

MEASURES AND WEIGHTS.

The Cranocus, or (38) Cronnog in Iriſh, was a baſket or hamper for holding corn, lined with the ſkin of a beaſt, and ſuppoſed to hold the produce of ſeventeen ſheaves of corn, and to be equal to a Briſtol barrel. This was a remnant of remote ages, and an effort of unpoliſhed ſociety towards a juſt determination of their rights. A ſtandard for meaſuring different kinds of grain, and thereby eſtimating their value in permutation, would naturally be among the firſt contrivances of mankind, and a baſket of twigs lined with a ſkin was the moſt obvious and ready expedient for this purpoſe. Such is the attachment of rude people to their ancient cuſtoms and manners, that it is after a long lapſe of years they can be induced to lay them aſide, and adopt thoſe that are more convenient and uſeful. From what is now ſaid, we are not to conclude, that the citizens of Kilkenny were in a more uncivilized ſtate than their cotemporaries; they were equal to any of them in the luxuries of living and dreſs.

The dolium, chane and lagena were uncertain meaſures, and the weights uſed were pounds and ſtones.

Summagium, or ſagmegium, or ſauma (39) ſeems to have been a car or cart load, and in this record is contradiſtinguiſhed from onus, which was an horſe load.

GRAIN.

Moſt ſpecies are enumerated, as wheat, malt, corcyr, coir or oats, and ſymal, ſemalum, ſeagol or rye.

(37) Appendix. (38) Ware's Antiq. pag. 213.
(39) Du Cange in voce. Kennet's parochical Antiquities, gloſſary.

MEAT, FISH, &c.

Good living and an attention to perſonal ornaments were the prevailing paſſions of this reign. A law (40) was made to prohibit ſervants from eating fleſh meat and fiſh but once a day; nor was any man, under one hundred pounds a year, to wear gold, ſilver or ſilk in his clothes. In a place abounding with all the luxuries and ſuperfluities of life, and unawed by ſumptuary reſtrictions, the inhabitants of Kilkenny, no doubt, indulged themſelves to the utmoſt of their deſires. Accordingly the tolls on ſheep, goats, pigs and bacon are low; and thoſe on herrings, ſea-fiſh, ſalmon and lampreys but a farthing. Leek ſeed and onions are rated as articles of conſiderable conſumption; the Norman families had not forgotten the porrecta, porree, or leek ſoup of their countrymen, nor did they want ſpecies, or ſpices to improve it. No place in Europe affords accommodations for the table ſuperior to Kilkenny at this day. Wooden diſhes and plates are mentioned; it is extraordinary if any others were uſed that they were not ſet down. A toll was paid on ore and copper; the former muſt have been pewter, and both were, not improbably, for making domeſtic utenſils.

HOUSES

In Kilkenny belonging to people of better faſhion were ſhingled and clap-boarded, as is now the caſe in America and the Weſt-Indies; both ſorts of covering are ſpecified. The windows were fitted up with coloured or white glaſs; the glaſs was in ſmall panes, as they are here eſtimated by the hundred; ſtaining glaſs was an art long known and practiſed, as was glazing with (41) lead; with this glaſs biſhop Ledred, about ſixty years before, adorned the eaſt window of the cathedral. The common people uſed ruſh candles, but others had lamps, as the oil for them is here mentioned. Tapiſtry (42) or chaluns adorned their rooms.

DRESS,

As we before obſerved, was ſtudiouſly cultivated in thoſe times. It here conſiſts of various articles. The gentry had their Engliſh, or foreign linens. The quantity ſufficient for an Iriſh ſhirt or ſmock, by the record, was twenty ells, or twenty five yards; this ſeems incredible, and yet no fact is better aſcertained. Fynes Moryſon, who (43) writ in 1588, ſays: "Their ſhirts in our memory, before the laſt rebellion, were

(40) 37 Edw. III. Engliſh ſtatute.

(41) Feneſtras—ſimul plumbo ac vitro compactis taubulis ferroque connexis incluſit. Leo. Oſtiens. lib. 3. cap. 17. He writ about 1115.

(42) Du Cange, in voce. (43) Itinerary, fol. p. 180.

were made of ſome twenty or thirty ells, folded in wrinkles, and coloured with ſaffron." To the ſame purpoſe (44) Campion: "Linen ſhirts the rich do wear for wantonneſs and bravery, with wide hanging ſleeves plaited; thirty yards are little enough for one them:" and the 28 Hen. VIII. forbids above ſeven yards of cloth to be in any ſhirt or ſmock.

There is a warm diſpute in the red book (45) of Kilkenny, in the 6 Hen. VII. between the glovers and ſhoemakers, about the right of making girdles and all manner of girdles; which is at once a collateral proof of the looſe garments worn in this age, and how profitable in conſequence was the employment here contended for. The rich had alſo their whole cloth, extremely fine, that had paſſed the alnage; for ſo pannum integrum de Aſſiſa may be interpreted; alſo their cloth of gold, their bodkins or tiſſues, their ſilks and taffeties.

Very few would expect to find, even in this century, ſuch mercery in an Iriſh town, it being more ſuited to ſome regal city or the imperial reſidence. We are not to forget, that the frequent concourſe of the nobility to this place, beſides the taſte of the times, was the obvious cauſe for introducing theſe commodities. The poorer ſort had their Iriſh ſtuffs, called ſalewyche and wyrſted, their canvas linen, their phallangs and mantles; felt caps are alſo mentioned. This detail would have been fuller, and the reader ſhould have been preſented with a tranſlation of the record itſelf, were there not ſome articles which the writer did not underſtand, nor were they to be found in any gloſſary he had any opportunity of conſulting.

In 1365, Lionel duke of Clarence landed in Ireland. During his government a parliament was held at Kilkenny, where the ancient Brehon laws are ſaid to have been annulled. (46)

We have remarked, that about 1390, the earl of Ormond purchaſed the caſtle of Kilkenny from the heirs of Earl Marſhal, from which time he moſtly reſided in it. In the reign of Richard II. being lord juſtice, he and the council made in Kilkenny an order for the repair and ward of caſtles by their owners; the neglect of which was among the other reaſons that induced the Iriſh to revolt, and brought many inconveniencies and dangers on the Engliſh.

In 1399, king Richard made an expedition into Ireland; he was attended by a powerful army, and a numerous body of the Britiſh nobility. He landed at Waterford, and marched to Kilkenny, where he halted for fourteen days.

"In

(44) Hiſt. pag. 18. (45) Apud Laffan's MSS. (46) Collectanea, vol. 2. pag. 40.

"In the yere 1400, (ſays Stanihurſt,) Robert Talbot, a worthie gentleman incloſed with walls the better part of the towne, by which it was greatly fortified." This ſhort notice, with the year (47) of his death, 1415, is all that is handed down of this eminent benefactor to the city; neither his motives for ſuch an expenſive undertaking, nor the particular inducements for ſo well-judged a liberality are hinted at. The following remarks may perhaps tend to elucidate this tranſaction.

Petronilla, ſiſter of James the ſecond earl of Ormond, in 1340 married Gilbert Talbot, anceſtor to the earl of Shrewſbury. This Gilbert and his ſon Richard remarkably ſignalized themſelves in the wars of Edward III. Richard (48) ſeeing how open and defenceleſs Kilkenny was on every ſide, and willing to ſhew his reſpect for his uncle, who a few years before had purchaſed it, and the more to attach the townſmen to the family, ſurrounded the city with a ſtrong wall. It began (49) at the earl's old ſtables, not far from the caſtle gate, and making a ſemicircular ſweep, or nearly ſo, ran acroſs the end of Coal market, and took in the Franciſcan abbey; the Nore ſecured it to the northward, ſo that the new town was quite incloſed.

Thomas earl of Lancaſter in 1408, after the feaſt of St. Hilary, ſummoned (50) a parliament to Kilkenny, in order to have a tallage granted.

A.D. 1419. The citizens were granted tolls for murage, pavage, &c.

In 1420, the clergy of (51) Oſſory paid a ſubſidy of *2l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* and the commons of Kilkenny 18*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*

During the unhappy feuds between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, the Ormond family ſuffered very ſeverely; in 1462, an earl of this houſe was executed for being a Yorkiſt, and Kilkenny was ſhortly after taken and plundered by Deſmond who eſpouſed the other party.

Tirlagh O'Brien, (52) lord of Thomond had, in 1499, great conteſts with Sir Piers Butler about preys and the bounds of lands, which according to the cuſtom of the times ended in a battle. The inhabitants of Kilkenny marched out in aid of the Butlers, but they were defeated and their ſovereign ſlain.

Ware, under the year 1528, mentions a baron of Kilkenny, who he was we have not diſcovered; the great palatines granted this and inferior dignities, but they conferred none of the privileges of the peerage.

A.D.

(47) A. D. 1415. Obiit Rob. Talbot nobilis qui ſuburbias Kilkenniæ muro circumdedit. Ex Rot. turr. Bermingham.

(48) He is called Richard by Burke, Hibern. Dominic. pag. 205, and not Robert as by Stanihurſt. Camden falls into the ſame miſtake.

(49) Carte, ſupra.

(50) Annals, ſupra. Appendix, where liberty is allowed the citizens to trade with the rebels.

(51) Appendix. (52) Cox.

A. D. 1536, the lord deputy Grey came (53) to Kilkenny, and the next day the parliament ſat there; from thence it adjourned to Caſhel.

Piers or Peter, earl of Ormond, who died the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt 1539, married (54) Margaret Fitz Gerald, daughter of the earl of Kildare, a lady of moſt amiable qualities; this noble and excellent pair endeavoured to enrich Kilkenny by introducing manufactures into it. For this purpoſe, they brought out of Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, artificers whom they employed and encouraged at Kilkenny, (55) in working tapeſtry, diaper, turkey carpets, cuſhions, &c. ſome of which, for many years, remained in the family; nor is it improbable, but that the tapeſtry at preſent in the caſtle may be the work of thoſe Flenings. If the ſtory of Decius be theirs, we muſt conceive very highly of their ingenuity, taſte, and execution. But the times were too unſettled, and the nation not civilized enough to give encouragement to the elegant arts and works of fancy.

This earl, (56) every year for the laſt fortnight in Lent, retired to a chamber in St. Canice's church-yard, called (57) Paradiſe, and there devoted himſelf to prayer and almſgiving, and returned to his own houſe on Eaſter eve. He was not aſhamed of the duties of religion; he was conſcious that from the practice of them new ſplendour was derived to his family and high rank.

A. D. 1540. Sir William Brereton, marſhal of Ireland, died at Kilkenny, as Cox tells us.

In 1552, (58) John Bale, the celebrated catalogue writer, was biſhop of Oſſory; he compoſed many religious dramatic pieces; two of which, a tragedy called God's promiſes, and a comedy, intitled the preaching of John Baptiſt, were acted by young men at the Market-croſs in Kilkenny, on a Sunday.

Baron Finglas, reporting the ſtate of Ireland in his Breviate, at this time, bears honourable teſtimony of the cultivated manners of the county of Kilkenny: "The counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, (ſays he) wear the Engliſh habit, and keep the Engliſh order and rule, and the king's laws were obeyed here within theſe fifty-one

(53) Cox, pag. 195. (54) Cox, pag. 247.

(55) Carte, ſupra. Ware ſays, the earl by his counteſs's advice hired and placed the polymitary, and other ſkilful artificers in Kilkenny, Annals 1539. Polymita, veſtis multis variiſque coloribus filis et liciis contexta et variegata. Du Cange in voce.

(56) Carte, ſupra.

(57) Atrium ante eccleſiam, quod nos, Romana conſuetudine, Paradiſum dicimus. Leo, Marſic. lib 3. cap. 26. apud Lindenbrog. Cod. leg. antiq et Du Cange in voce.

(58) Biographia Britannica, Article Bale.

years; and there dwelled divers knights, eſquires, and gentlemen, who uſe the Engliſh habit."

The Butlers and Deſmonds, offended at ſome proceedings of the deputy, Sir Henry Sydney flew to arms in 1568, and committed many outrages. Sir Peter Carew was ſent to oppoſe them, which he did with ſucceſs, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Kilkenny. Fitzmaurice, brother to Deſmond, inveſted the town, but the ſpirited conduct of the garriſon and citizens ſoon obliged him to withdraw; however (59) in reſentment he plundered the ſmaller towns and villages, and particularly robbed old Fulco Quiverford (Comerford) of Callan of 2000*l.* in money, plate, houſhold ſtuff, corn, and cattle; Quiverford had been ſervant to three earls of Ormond.

Rory Oge O More, in 1576, made his ſubmiſſion in the church of Kilkenny, before the lord deputy and the earl of Ormond.

The following year the lord deputy (60) held a ſeſſions in Kilkenny, when ſeveral perſons, both of the city and county, were diſcovered to be abetters of Rory Oge, but the popiſh juries could not be induced to find the bills of indictment, although the parties confeſſed the fact; they were therefore bound in recognizance to appear in the caſtle chamber in Dublin, to anſwer the contempt.

Sir William Drury, lord preſident of Munſter, came to the deputy at Kilkenny, and complained, that Deſmond kept together an unruly rabble, and being ſent for, refuſed to attend the preſident. Deſmond, being cited before the deputy, immediately appeared, and excuſed his not waiting on the preſident, becauſe he was his inveterate enemy. Thirty-ſix criminals were executed in Kilkenny this year.

In 1579, Sir William Pelham, lord juſtice, made his progreſs towards Munſter, and coming to Kilkenny he there kept ſeſſions, and ordered (61) Edmond Mac Nial, an arch-traitor and other malefactors to be executed; after which he reconciled the earl of Ormond and the lord of Upper Oſſory, each giving bonds for the reſtitution of preys.

Fynes Moryſon, writing about the year 1588, ſays; "Kilkenny, giving name to a county, is a pleaſant town, the chief of the towns within land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the huſbandman's labour and the pleaſant (62) orchards." Camden, in the old edition of 1590, repeats part of this account: "Municipium eſt nitidum, elegans, copioſum, et inter mediterranea hujus inſulæ facile primum. Dividitur in oppidum Hibernicum et Anglicum." What he ſays of

(59) Cox, pag. 334. (60) Cox, pag. 351. (61) Ware's Annals. Cox, pag. 360.

(62) The account of the city's eſtate, in 1628, fully confirms this fact.

of its name from St. Canice, of the Engliſh town being conſtructed by Ralph, the third earl of Cheſter, and its caſtle by the Butlers, are, as we have ſeen, aſſertions without proof and contradicted by hiſtory.

Queen Elizabeth, in the ſixteenth year of her reign, A. D. 1573, granted a charter to Kilkenny, which as it and that of her ſucceſſor king James are in the hands of many perſons, I ſhall but touch on.

By this the ſtyle of the corporation is,

THE SOVEREIGN, BURGESSES, AND COMMONALTY.

All their ancient privileges are confirmed.

They may have a merchant gild and other gilds.

The burgeſſes are permitted to diſpoſe of their tenements or alter their ſituation.

The ſovereign took cognizance of breaches of the peace, and the (63) provoſt preſided in the hundred court, and tried civil actions.

To draw a ſword, or ſkein, (cultellum) in a quarrel, was puniſhable by the fine of half a mark.

There was to be a pillory (colliſtrigium) and tumbrel, for the puniſhment of offenders.

The burgeſſes were exempted from military duty, and free from cuſtoms throughout the Queen's dominions, as the burgeſſes of Glouceſter were.

Thoſe who ſuffered their tenements to go to decay in the town, were to be diſtrained until they rebuilt or repaired them.

A clerk was to be choſen from the burgeſſes; he was to receive of the lord of Kilkenny twenty ſhillings, and of the town ten ſhillings. The laudable and faithful ſervices of the citizens, and thoſe lately performed are mentioned as juſt reaſons for particular favours. This alludes to their conduct under Sir Peter Carew in 1568.

They were to have a common ſeal, and the ſovereign to be a juſtice of peace, coroner and eſcheator in the town, in the ſame ample manner as the ſovereign of Roſſpont, or New Roſs.

A. D. 1594, on St. George's day, there was a great cavalcade in Kilkenny, when the lords rode in their places, as Cox informs us.

A. D. 1600. The earl of Ormond forced the great rebel Redmond Burk and his followers into the Nore, where ſeventy of them were drowned, and particularly John Burk. Redmond was ſoon after taken and executed (64) at Kilkenny.

Mr.

(63) This will explain page 444, before.

(64) Cox, pag. 433.

TRINITY CENTRAL LIBRARY FOR STUDENTS DUBLIN

Mr. Nicholas Langton was appointed by the city their agent to ſolicit a new charter in Dublin, (65) in 1608.

The charter of James I. was made in 1609. It recites that Kilkenny was well ſituated to repel the Iriſh rebels, and had performed eminent ſervices in this reſpect, and therefore he creates it a CITY by the ſtyle of the

MAYOR, ALDERMEN, COMMON COUNCIL, &c.

The Mayor to be choſen yearly, on the Monday after the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt; and Thomas Ley to be firſt Mayor.

The Aldermen not to exceed eighteen, and Robert Rothe, afterwards

Sir Robert Rothe,	Luke Shee,	Thomas Ley,
Arthur Shee,	Edward Rothe,	David Rothe,
Richard Ragget,	John Rothe Fitz Pierce,	Walter Archer,
Elias Shee,	Nicholas Langton,	Michael Cowley,
Thomas Archer,	Edward Shee,	Thomas Shee, and
Patrick Archer,	Walter Lawleſs,	William Shee,

to be the firſt Aldermen, and Robert Rothe to be Recorder.

The burgeſſes and commons of Kilkenny to be accounted as citizens, and to admit others to their freedom.

Two citizens to be ſheriffs, Walter Ryan and Thomas Pembrock, the firſt; theſe to be annually choſen the Monday next after Midſummer; their election to be certified into the Exchequer, and they to hold courts.

Four or five ſerjeants are allowed, and a ſword permitted to be borne before the mayor.

The mayor and recorder may have deputies, who are to be juſtices of the peace, and clerks of the market.

Half the forfeitures of treaſons and felonies is given to the city; they were allowed three fairs annually, and three markets weekly.

The gild permitted to be eſtabliſhed in Kilkenny receives ſome illuſtration from Mr. Laffan's papers, from whence we ſhall extract ſome curious particulars; previouſly obſerving, that gilds or fraternities were very early eſtabliſhed in corporate towns for the advantage of the citizens. They were to purchaſe every foreign commodity from the maker and importer at an under rate, and their own they were to ſell at the higheſt prices. Each perſon was confined to his own trade, and heavy penalties

(65) Laffan's MSS.

penalties were annexed to the violation of theſe rules. The red and gild books, wherever extant, are full of theſe impolitic reſtrictions; a few inſtances may ſuffice:

1. Whoever ſhall buy goods for foreign merchants, or employ foreigners' money for little or no gain, ſhall be fined 5*l.* currency, toties quoties.
2. No ſtrange merchant to open any ware in any houſe within the franchiſes, under pain of 40*s.*
3. No inhabitant or freeman to receive any money beforehand, to buy hides, fells, frize mantles, or wool, under the penalty of 3*l.*
4. A pewterer of Briſtol permitted, on paying five ſhillings, to ſell his pewter to freemen of Kilkenny, he having made the gild the firſt offer.
5. The ſame to a glaſs-bottle man.

Theſe and numberleſs other examples ſhew us, what narrow views men then entertained of traffic, and how imperfectly the principles of it were underſtood. Were the nobleſt rivers confined to their native ſtreams, and precluded from admixture with other waters, we ſhould be deprived of all the uſeful and ornamental advantages attendant on ſuch conjunctions. In like manner a free and diſencumbered commerce carries with it wealth wherever it flows, but clogged with reſtrictions, is of little importance.

Beſides the foregoing, the gild of merchants had monopolized the providing for funerals, as appears by the report of John Gernon, of the city of Kilkenny, alderman; John Archdekin ſenior, and James Roant of the ſaid city, merchants, and freemen of the merchant-gild, appointed to regulate the future diſpoſal of the wax tapers, black hangings, and hearſe cloth belonging to ſaid gild.

1. They find that in former times when the gild wanted wax, two of the body were nominated by the hall to aſſeſs on the members, as equally as they could, what ſums were neceſſary; two collectors were impowered to diſtrain defaulters; the money, when levied, was laid out in the purchaſe of wax for the uſe of the gild.
2. One or two of the gild were aſſigned to be keeper or keepers of the tapers, wax, candleſticks, hearſe cloth and hangings; theſe were not to be given out without the conſent of the maſter, or three or four members of the gild.
3. That at the funeral of every alderman, or maſter of the gild, there was ſpent uſually three pounds; the ſame when any alderman's or maſter's wife died; on every freeman, two pounds ten ſhillings; what was expended over and above was to be returned in wax, and payment for making the tapers.

4. Whoever got the tapers, hearſe cloth, candleſticks or hangings were to leave ſufficient pledges until they were reſtored, and payment made for the tapers, and for the overplus wax conſumed.

5. From ſuch as were not free of the gild, the keepers were to receive ſatiſfaction for tapers, &c. as in their diſcretion they thought fit; a regular account was to be kept; the receipts to be ſtated thrice annually, and three pounds per centum to be deducted for making ſaid tapers.

From theſe particulars we may conclude, that funeral obſequies were performed moſtly in the night. It was certainly the practice of the early (66) Chriſtians to prepare entertainments before the interment of the deceaſed, and to conduct the corpſe to the grave with wax tapers; it is ſtill retained in Roman Catholic countries.

In 1601, Kilkenny (67) was the reſidence of the lord preſident Mountjoy. On (68) the acceſſion of the elder James, the Roman catholics roſe every where, and endeavoured to ſhake off thoſe coercive laws with which parliament had thought proper to ſhackle (69) them. In 1603, the religioûs of this communion were not leſs precipitate and violent in Kilkenny than their brethren in other places. Edmond Raughter, a Dominican, headed a ſedition in that city; broke open the Black Abbey, which had for ſome time been uſed as a court-houſe; pulled down the ſeats, erected an altar, forced the keys of his houſe from one Mr. Biſhop, who lived in part of the abbey, and gave poſſeſſion of the whole to the friars; though by act of parliament it was turned to a lay-fee, and by legal conveyances became the property of other men; but thoſe diſturbances were ſoon quelled by the activity of lord Mountjoy, who writ the following letter to the chief magiſtrate of Kilkenny. It is preſerved in Fynes Moryſon.

"To

(66) Tranſlata eſt epiſcoporum manibus, et cervicem feretro ſubjicientibus, cum alii pontifices lampades cereoſque præferrent. Hieron. epiſt. ad. Euſtach. For feaſts on thoſe occaſions, ſee Auguſtin. de luxur. et avar. cap. 6. Ambros. de jejun. cap. 17. They carried tapers in the day; moles cereorum, ſole fulgente, accendi. Hieron. advers. Vigilant.

(67) Cox, pag. 442.

(68) Secuto veluti interregno per mortem Elizabethæ, cum nondum ſatis conſtaret de ſucceſſoris mente quoad religionem, nonnullæ civitates et oppida, quaſi poſtliminio, vendicant eccleſias uſui catholico. Et in his Canicopolitani monaſterium ordinis Prædicatorum e tribunali reſtituunt in ſacrarium. Quo eorum facto, ordines regni offenduntur, eoſque perſequuntur. Analect. de reb. Hib. pag. 527.

(69) Cox, pag. 17.

"To the Sovereign of Kilkenny."

"After my hearty commendations; I have received your letters of the 25th and 26th of this month, and am glad to understand thereby, that you are somewhat conformable to my directions; being willing to have cause to interpret your actions to the best. But though I mean not to search into your consciences, yet I must needs take knowledge of the public breach of his majesty's laws; and whereas you let me understand, that the inhabitants are willing to withdraw themselves for their spiritual exercise to privity, contented only with the use of the Minors (the Franciscan) abbey: That being a public place, I cannot but take notice thereof, and marvel how you dare presume to dispose at your pleasure of the abbey, or any thing belonging to his majesty; and therefore again charge you upon your allegiance to forbear any public exercise of that religion, prohibited by the laws of this realm; and fully to reform these disorders, according to my directions, upon your extreme peril.

From Dublin, this 27th of April, 1603."

The (70) Rent charge of the antient common revenue of the city of Kilkenny by the year. A. D. 1628.

	l.	s.	d.
Mr. Richard Lawless, for the room over the High Town gate, three shillings Irish - - -	0	3	0
The castle over the Freren (Friars) gate -	0	1	8
Edmond Archer, for the vault over Kilberry tower -	0	0	8
Robert Archer, for the rooms over St. James's gate -	0	13	4
Mr. David Roth, for the rooms over Walkin's gate -	0	0	8
Mr. Richard Roth for the rooms over St. Patrick's gate -	0	10	0
Mr. William Shee, for the castle near Castle gate -	0	6	8
James Brinn, for the rooms over the east gate of St. John's -	0	0	4
Mr. Michael Archer, for two bayes near the said East gate -	0	5	0
Edmond Loghnan's assigns for two bayes there -	0	5	0
Walter Cantwell, assignee to Stephen Daniel, for four bayes -	0	10	0
John Shee, for four bayes - -	0	10	0
Walter Ryan's assigns, for two bayes there -	0	3	0

Mr. David

(70) Laffan's MSS. This curious document will point out the extent of the city at this time, and the situation of many buildings now no more.

	£.	s.	d.
The incroachment upon the town ditch at St. John's, and the rent due for the ſame.			
Robert Courſey's aſſigns, for an incroachment upon the town ditch in his garden - - - - - - -	0	2	0
Walter Leix, for ditto - - - - -	0	0	8
Mr. Michael Cowley, for a houſe, late Edmond Daniel's - -	0	11	0
Walter Leix, for a ſlip over the water near his houſe - -	0	3	0
The heirs of Edmond Grace, for a houſe in St. John's-ſtreet -	1	9	0
Robert Langton's aſſigns, for a houſe - - -	1	4	0
Michael Archer, for the rooms over St. John's caſtle -	0	5	0
Patrick Shee, for the rooms over St. John's ſlip -	0	0	4
Peter Roth Fitz John, for a houſe and garden near the great orchard in the Eaſt ſide thereof - - - -	0	2	0
Mr. Patrick Archer, for the kill-houſe and garden by the Caſtle gate	0	2	0
Peirce Archer, for the corner houſe at Caſtle ſtreet -	0	4	0
The ſaid Peirce for the next houſe to the ſame - -	1	2	0
Henry Archer for a houſe at Crocker's croſs -	0	4	0
Mic. Archer, aſſignee to John Brenan, for four cooples, parcel of David Pembrock's farm in Walkin ſtreet - -	0	17	0
Beale Barkly, for a meſſuage north ſide Walkin ſtreet -	0	8	0
Patrick Sychan, his aſſigns, for four cooples -	0	10	8
John Deneagh, his aſſigns, for a coople - -	0	2	8
William Fitz Thomas, his aſſigns, for two cooples -	0	8	8
Tho. St. Leger, aſſignee to Walter Ragget, for four cooples -	0	17	2
Kate Fitzharries aſſigns, for two cooples - -	0	8	8
Richard Roth, for two cooples - -	0	8	8
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for a meſſuage in Walkin ſtreet -	1	0	0
Walter Cantwell, for Geoffry Roth's houſe - -	0	12	0
William Kelly, for a ſhop under the Thoſel - -	0	10	0
John Hacket, for a ſtone houſe at the entry of St. James's ſtreet	0	13	4
Edward Cleer, for a meſſuage at the Arkwell -	0	0	8
Peter Shee, for the corner ſhop - -	0	0	6
James Shee's aſſigns, for the ſlip at John Barry's new houſe -	0	0	2
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for land at the north end of the old Tholſel	0	0	5

Richard

	£.	s.	d.
Richard Roth, for the rooms over the ſlip in his houſe -	0	1	0
William Shee, for his houſe in Low lane - -	0	13	0
Richard Brophy's aſſigns, for a meſſuage near Jenkin's mill -	0	6	8
To the maſter and company of ſhoe-makers, for licence for tanning	0	3	4
Patrick Archer, for half the tythes of Querryboy -	0	1	4
Thomas Archer, for half the tythes of Querryboy -	0	1	4
Richard Troy, for a garden near the Green -	0	2	6
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for the Standart Garden -	0	1	4
Walter Shee, for Downing's Inch - -	0	3	0
Michael Marſhall, for a garden at the Lake - -	0	2	0
James Archer, for a garden at Mill ſtreet - -	0	1	0
John Byrn's aſſigns, for an acre of land - -	0	2	0
Patrick Synnott, for Gibb's Inch - -	0	1	0
John Roth Fitz Edward, for four acres of land near Loughboy	0	17	0
Thomas Ley's aſſigns, for the North caſtle at the Magdalens -	0	14	0
Thomas Archer's aſſigns, for the next houſe to the ſaid caſtle -	0	11	0
Edward Roth's aſſigns, for a houſe next the ſame, a parcel of the town ditch, and an acre of land - -	0	8	0
John Cullen, for a houſe and acre of land, rent free during his life			
Edmond Tehan, for the next houſe - -	0	4	0
Edward Langton's aſſigns, for a void place near the Poor-houſe	0	2	0
Adam Shee's aſſigns, for a void room near the Poor-houſe -	0	5	0
Thomas Ley's aſſigns, for a houſe and land near the ſame -	0	5	0
Walter Cleer and James Cleer's children, for a houſe and land	0	16	0
David Mery, for a meſſuage and land in the Magdalens -	0	13	4
Patrick Morres, for a meſſuage and land where Patrick Lannon dwelt	1	0	4
Lucas Shee's aſſigns, for the next meſſuage - -	0	16	0
Edward Shee's aſſigns, for a meſſuage next the Port, and for land	0	11	8
Lucas Shee's aſſigns, for the Black caſtle of the Magdalens -	0	18	4
Edward Shee's aſſigns, for the next farm, formerly Seix's -	0	8	0
Gillopatrick Sychan, for the next houſe and land -	0	12	0
Nicholas Langton, for the next farm and land -	0	10	0
Patrick Gormell's aſſigns, for a meſſuage and land -	0	10	0

	£.	s.	d.
Patrick Fitz James's aſſigns, for Patrick Mery and William Reardon's meſſuage - - -	0	7	8
Edward Langton's aſſigns, for two acres of the Magdalen's land -	0	3	0
Nicholas Langton, for Ann Walſh's meſſuage -	0	8	0
Patrick Synnot, for the ſhop under the Old tholſel -	0	10	0
Aſſigns of Patrick Murphy and John Archer, for licence for tanning	0	6	8
Richard Roth, for licence for tanning - -	0	1	4
James Shee, for licence for tanning - -	0	1	4
Jaſper Shee's aſſigns, for a garden near the houſe -	0	5	0
The bailiff, receiver of the revenues belonging to St. John's Abbey, his charge.			
James Langton's heirs, for a meſſuage near St. John's bridge -	0	16	0
Heirs of Walter Daniel, for the next houſe and garden -	0	16	0
James Shee, for the next houſe and garden -	0	16	0
Executors of Pat. Fitz James, for the next houſe and garden -	0	13	4
Walter Shee, for two meſſuages and two gardens there -	1	5	4
Tho. Shee Fitz Edmond, for next houſe and garden at Tomyn hill	0	10	0
John Hoen, for a houſe next the hoſpital, and garden of the common, without St. John's gate - -	1	6	8
Edmond Ryan, for the prior's chambers -	0	2	0
Peirce Roth Fitz Edward, for the vault, the great kitchen and garden	0	6	8
Nicholas Aſtekin, for two chambers in the cloyſter of St. John's, and an orchard near the cloyſter - -	1	0	0
Nicholas Wall's aſſigns, for Sir David's orchard -	0	18	0
William Shee, for a houſe in John ſtreet, formerly David Kearney's	2	10	0
Walter Cleer, for the cart gate, caſtle, and out ſtall in St. John's cloyſter	0	2	0
Pat. Fitz James's aſſigns, for two meſſuages next the hoſpital -	0	0	0
George Langton's aſſigns, for the bake-houſe at St. John's and the Prior's fires - - -	0	2	0
The ſaid aſſigns, for the chapter-houſe within the cloyſter -	0	7	0
The rooms from the entry of St. John's Abbey towards the outer St. John's gate.			
John Hoen, for the corner ſhop near the entry, and four other cooples	0	10	0
Wat. Cantwell, aſſignee to Stephen Daniel, for four bayes there -	0	10	0

Edmond

	£.	s.	d.
Edmond Laghnan, for two bayes there - -	0	5	0
Walter Ryan, aſſignee, for two bayes there - -	0	3	6
Michael Archer, for a houſe, turret and cloſe in St. John's ſtreet -	0	13	4
The ſouth ſide of the Abbey.			
Aſſigns of James Birne, for a houſe and garden -	1	6	8
Edmond Ryan, for a houſe - - -	0	13	4
Nicholas Aſtekin, for his houſe in St. John's -	0	1	0
Aſſigns of Patrick Fitz James, for a meſſuage -	0	16	0
Simon Seix, for a meſſuage and garden - -	0	16	0
Thomas Shee, aſſignee of Sir Richard Shee, for a houſe in St. John ſtreet	2	0	0
Houſes in the High Town.			
Thomas Ley's aſſigns, for a houſe near the Old tholſel -	0	6	0
Thomas St. Leger's executors, for his houſe -	0	12	0
James Archer Fitz Martin, for his houſe - -	0	7	0
Edmond Ryan, for the Prior's orchard - -	1	6	0
George Shee, for the upper orchard - -	0	14	0
The gardens beginning at St, Michael's gate, and thence to Tomyn's hill round to St. John's gate.			
Robert Shee, for the clover houſe and garden	0	6	8
Walter Cleer, for the great croft - -	0	13	8
Pat. Morchan's aſſigns, for a garden north of the ſame -	0	4	0
Geoffry Roth's aſſigns, for a garden - -	0	16	0
Edm. Ryan, for a garden at Tomyn hill - -	0	4	0
Pat. Morchan's aſſigns, for two gardens - -	0	4	0
John Seix, for the corner in the S. W. end of St. John's gate	0	6	8
George Comerford's aſſigns, for the corner -	0	1	0
Nic. Aſtekin, for a garden called Syrman's hayes -	0	16	0
The quarter South the way leading from St. John's gate to the Green.			
Nicholas Loghnan's aſſigns, for a garden - -	0	2	8
Owner Mc. Donaghoe's aſſigns, for a garden -	0	6	8
Patrick Mory, for David Kearney's garden - -	0	2	0
John Roth Fitz John, for a garden - -	0	3	8
From the Magdalen's to St. John's gate.			
Tho. Ley's aſſigns for the Magdalen's mills - -	6	0	0

Richard

	£.	s.	d.
Rich. Langton, for a garden beſide the mills -	0	3	0
The infirmary garden, being 13*s.* 4*d.* allowed by the corporation to the hoſpital, Richard Troy tenant -	0	8	0
Pat. Morchan's aſſigns, for the next garden -	0	2	8
Edmond Archer, for three gardens in the High hayes	0	13	0
Said Edmond, for Sinnet's church yard, garden, and croft	0	6	0
Henry Shee's aſſigns, for two gardens - -	0	9	0
Edward Cleer, for a garden at the Black mill -	0	4	0
Walter Daniel, for a garden - -	0	4	8
Richard Lawleſs, for the ſweet pond -	0	4	0
Chriſtopher Shee, for the Prior's meadow -	0	8	0
Edm. Archer, for the third part of the demeſne of St. John	2	0	0
Robert Cleer, for a quarter of ſaid demeſne -	1	0	0
William Shee, for a third part of the demeſnes -	2	0	0
Geo. Langton's aſſigns, for the Prior's wood, Roaſhferian, Bannagh-carragh, and the cherry croft - -	1	12	0
James Kivan, for the parſon's manſe land of Comer -	0	13	4
Michael Cowley, for his third part of Brownſtown -	3	0	0
Michael Ragget, for two acres of land at Ardſkreddan	0	8	0
Mr. David Roth, for three parts of Drakeland -	9	0	0
John Roth Fitz Edward, for the fourth part of Drakeland	3	0	0
David Roth, for the round meadow - -	0	4	0
Richard Cleer, for a meadow beſide Robert's hill -	0	2	8
Simon Whyte's aſſigns, for the lands of Tromer, county Wexford	0	14	0
Walter Talbot, for the lands of Brittas, Polring alias Melring, Ballygarum, and five acres in Ballyſampſon -	14	16	8
Nicholas Roth's aſſigns, for a meſſuage in Roſs -	0	1	4
James Fitzharries, for the parſonage of Roſs -	20	0	0
Marcus Shee, for land in Cottrell's boly - -	4	0	0
Patrick Murphy, for the parſon's part of Moycully - -	4	0	0
Thomas Garret, for the parſon's part of the manſe land of Skirk	0	13	0
John Dooley and Robert Murphy, for the manſe land of Jerpoint	2	13	4
George St. Leger, for the parſon's part of the manſe land of Tabbrit	13	0	0

Edward

	£.	s.	d.
Edward Langton's aſſigns, for the Levyacre -	1	0	0
Robert Hacket, for a garden near St. John's gate -	0	1	6
Courſey's heirs, for the houſe next the end of St. John's bridge	0	4	0
John Baſkerville, for the parſonage of Skirk, except the manſe land	22	3	4
David Roth, for Rathleigh - -	1	6	8
John Kivan, for the manſe land of Dunfart -	0	6	8
John Seix, for the parſonage of Jenkinſtown - -	3	6	8
Richard Langton, for a part of the demeſnes -	0	16	0

The charge of the Fryer-bailiff for Michaelmas 1633, and Eaſter 1634, Robert Shee, Eſq; mayor, Edmond Mc. Ireyne, bailiff, beginning at the Black freren gate, and about the precinct of the Black fryars.

Patrick Murphy, for the orchard near the Black freren gate	0	6	8
Henry Manywaring, for the room in the north ſide of the Black freren ſteeple, and the upper rooms of the ſteeple	0	3	4
Ditto, for the houſe called the king's chamber, the cloyſter, the kill-houſe, Sir Richard Cantwell's chamber, &c. -	2	4	4
Ditto, for the room near the chop-houſe - -	0	3	0
Edward Clinton's aſſigns to Mr. Lucas Shee, for an orchard within the Freren, and a meſſuage and garden in the old Freren ſtreet	0	17	0
Ditto, aſſignee to Anne Walſh, for a houſe and garden in the Freren ſtreet - -	0	13	4
Pat. Dowly, for a meſſuage, garden, and orchard near the wall	0	12	0
Richard Roth, for four bayes of a houſe, eaſt ſide of Freren ſtreet	0	16	0
Peter Roth, for the kill-houſe and garden near the choir	0	16	8
Edward Clinton, for the two next houſes -	0	8	0

The inner Freren ſtreet.

John Loghnan, for his houſe - -	1	1	0
John Loghnan, the houſe next the bridge -	0	10	0
James Dobbin, for his houſe - -	0	6	0
Peter Roth, for a room in Freren ſtreet and moiety of the garden at Black freren gate - - -	0	10	0
Edmond Treny, for a houſe, inner Freren ſtreet -	0	8	0
Oliver Roth, for half an orchard and half a meſſuage there	0	13	0

	£.	s.	d.
Robert Roth, for the ſame - -	0	13	0
Patrick Gaſſney, for half a meſſuage S. ſide of Freren ſtreet	1	0	0
Peter Roth, for a houſe and garden there -	0	13	0
Mic. Power, for a houſe on the north ſide -	0	14	0
John Hoen Fitz Robert, for a houſe and garden next to Troy's gate	0	10	0
Redmond Savadge, for the corner houſe before Troy's gate	0	8	0
William Kelly, for a houſe ſouth ſide -	1	0	0
Robert Murpy, for two meſſuages next the ſame -	1	0	0
Pat. Gaffney, for a houſe and garden near the High Town gate	0	13	0
Within the High Town gate.			
Walter Shee, for the houſe next the High Town gate on the weſt ſide	0	8	0
Richard Lawleſs, his houſe - -	0	6	0
Jenkin Roth, for a houſe in a lane leading to the Gray Friars	0	7	4
Patrick Gaffney, for a meſſuage - -	0	5	4
Peter Roth, for a void room in the Gray Freren park	0	13	4
Richard Roth, for a chamber and void room in the cloiſter there	1	0	0
Peter Roth, for the kill-houſe and meſſuage next the choir	0	16	0
Patrick Murphy, for a houſe in the Gray Freren park	1	2	8
Patrick Murphy, for a ſtone houſe near the Freren gate	0	17	4
Robert Archer, for the rooms over the chapter houſe, ſteeple, and body of the abbey there - -	0	3	4
Margaret Murphy, for the Gray Freren park -	1	0	0
Henry Archer, for a houſe and orchard W. St. Francis's wall	1	0	0
Richard Savadge, his houſe -	0	3	0
George Shee, his houſe - -	0	18	4
Thomas Ley, for the houſe and ſlip near the New Quay	0	6	8
Robert Archer, for a houſe and garden N. of St. James's ſtreet	0	12	0
Thomas Shee Fitz Michael, for a houſe at the Market Croſs	0	6	8
David Roth, for two houſes near our Lady's church yard ſtile	0	1	8
Joan Power, for a houſe and garden in Bowce's lane	0	6	8
William Archer, for a houſe at Crocker's croſs, weſt of Patrick ſtreet	0	6	0
Heirs of Lettice Walſh, for a houſe E. ſide of Patrick ſtreet	0	6	0
Richard Fitz Nicholas, for a meſſuage -	0	10	0
Thomas Ragget, for a meſſuage there -	0	8	0

Gardens

	£.	s.	d.
Gardens and Outlands.			
George Shee, for a parcel of land called Biſhop's lane -	0	8	0
Said Shee, for a garden called Hay-hill -	0	4	0
Peter Roth, for the Gray Freren Inches -	2	13	0
Peter Roth Fitz Edward, for gardens near Black Freren gate	0	6	8
Said Roth, for two or three gardens - -	0	7	0
Henry Maynwaring, for a garden at Killberry tower -	0	16	0
Sir Cyprian Horsfal, for a parcel of meadow near St. Canice's well	0	6	0
Edmond Grace's aſſigns, for a garden, corner St. Roch's churchyard	0	6	8
Robert Murphy, aſſignee to Thomas Geat, for a garden -	0	1	0
Peter Roth, aſſignee to William Roth, for a garden -	0	6	8
Daniel Martin, aſſignee to Clement Shee, for a garden -	0	4	0
Phillip Roth, for a garden there - -	0	6	8
Walter Ryan's aſſigns, for three acres of furze at the Booths	0	7	0
John Hoyne, for two acres of land and two acres of meadow at Kildriſſe - - -	0	4	6
Richard Roth, for a meadow at Coulriſh - -	0	1	6
John Shee, for Farren-brock, Chepple, and Liſſlafunſy -	13	6	8
Robert Shee, for the moity of Ardragh - -	1	0	0
Henry Archer, for the moity - -	1	0	0
James Shortal, for Ballynolan - -	0	10	0
Robert Shee, for two acres of meadow at Aldernwood -	0	1	0
James Aſtekin, for two acres of meadow at Coolboycan -	0	4	0
Richard Roth, for an acre of wood and certain lands at Keatingſtown	0	0	10
The rent iſſuing out of Boothſtown - -	0	18	4
Nicholas Aſtekin, for a meadow at Coolifhill -	0	5	4
The total of the City's annual revenue	£.231	17	11

IN 1619, biſhop Wheeler preſented a ſtate of the biſhoprick of Oſſory to the king, in which he ſets forth, that the manor and lordſhip of Kilkenny was before and at the conqueſt belonging to the biſhops of Oſſory, with large liberties both of freedoms and

and other privileges thereunto belonging, all which in the ſickneſs of the late biſhop were by a new charter granted unto Kilkenny (whereby it was incorporated a city) united and made of the county of the ſaid city, to the great prejudice of the preſent and future biſhops. (71)

In 1636, the lord deputy Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, viſited Kilkenny, when (72) the mayor of the city thus addreſſed him:

" Right noble Lord,

The general applauſe of heaven, the joyful acclamations of Ireland, and pleaſant paſtimes of the multitudes of Kilkenny, the true ancient ſeat of Engliſh warriors, loyal always to their kings and crowns, ſuit with the dignity of you her renowned viceroy, lord Thomas Wentworth. Be pleaſed then amidſt your triumphs, to vouchſafe her and me leave to feed our unſatisfied eyes with the longed-for aſpect of Ireland's parent, protector and reliever; to run this day upon ſome of the pleaſing effects of your government, with admiration of thoſe natural and intellectual parts of yours, which like ſo many ſtars in conjunction, with the glorious ſun of England, fit inſtruments and fortunate organs! to illuminate with their influences the breath of a faithful people.

Witneſs your wiſdom, prompt to overſlip no way, no means to reform the abuſes, root out the vices and remove the annoyances; witneſs your induſtry, watchful not only of the common, but of the private welfare of each deſerving ſubject. His majeſty beſtowing you on us as a good, neceſſary for all; and arming your deſigns with ſuch means, as beſt conduce to the maintenance of the eſtates in ſecurity, againſt all wrongful intruders. The king of kings intruſting into your hands, for our behoof, the heart and bounty of the great CHARLES, to increaſe more the flouriſhing ſtate of this kingdom, in ſtrength, wealth and civility.

Theſe were the ſcope of ſo many wholeſome laws and ſtatutes, voted in the laſt parliament; of ſo many proviſions of ſtate, regulating the diſorders of human ſociety, daily iſſuing from your Solomon-like preſcience; in which and by which, we, in this your garden of Ireland, ſmell the gracious flowers of your government, enjoy the felicity of your plantations, and feed our hearts with the ſatiety of preſent, and hope of future improvement; ſo that no place, no degree, no ſex over all this pleaſant paradiſe, but is partaker of your comfortable influence; even thoſe choaked up in the

(71) Ware's MSS. vol. 75. (72) Laſſan's MSS.

the midſt of the darkeſt priſons, acknowledge the ſun-ſhine of your provident care, and receiving new life and relief from your hands, cry out—Long live our life, our relief, noble Wentworth!—

The widows and orphans oppreſſed find you a propitious patron; the nobility, a mirror of honour and worth; the warlike, a town of arms, and flower of martial diſcipline; the eccleſiaſtical dignitaries, their reformer, their advancer; and all acknowledge you to be the true receptacle of virtue, and other the beſt attributes of perfection.

To abbreviate my diſcourſe, leſt offenſive to your much honoured ears, deign me the favour, that while the ſuffrages of ſo many provinces and cities; the acclamations of the common people; the general applauſe of Ireland, and approbation of your gracious leige and ſovereign ſo concentric meet with the celebration of thoſe your matchleſs endowments, I may, right honourable, revolve into our firſt principles of your honour and worth, and riſing on the wings of adorned eloquence, to force to the mount and zenith of your beſt merits, to flutter after you with the beſt wiſhes of all my citizens, by redoubling in your preſence and abſence the oracle of God, my king and country, that we have juſt cauſe, and that we muſt honour

THOMAS WENTWORTH."

But little worth recording happened in Kilkenny until that memorable æra in the annals of Ireland, the breaking out of the Grand Rebellion in 1641. The cauſes leading to this dire event, and the tranſactions conſequent thereon, have been minutely detailed by many writers. In 1641, and for a few years ſucceeding, this city was alternately the ſeat of buſineſs and tumult; in 1641, lord Mountgarret (73) with the mayor and aldermen ſtood by, with three hundred citizens armed, while every proteſtant was plundered; and in 1642, the Confederate Catholics, as they ſtyled themſelves, met in Kilkenny.

It was abſolutely (74) neceſſary, that the rebels ſhould have the form of an authority eſtabliſhed among them, to make the orders of ſuperiors obeyed, and prevent that confuſion and thoſe miſchiefs which always attend competitions for power, and uncertainty in the right to command; this was done in the general aſſembly of deputies from all the provinces in the kingdom, which met the 24th of October 1642 at Kilkenny.

The firſt act, after their meeting, was to proteſt, that they did not mean that aſſembly to be a parliament; confeſſing, that the calling, proroguing and diſſolving

(73) Cox pag. 73. (74) Carte, ſupra.

that great body was an inſeparable incident to the crown, upon which they would not encroach: but it was only a meeting to conſult of an order for their own affairs, until his majeſty's wiſdom had ſettled the preſent troubles. They formed it, however, according to the plan of a parliament, conſiſting of two houſes; in the one of which ſat the eſtate ſpiritual, compoſed of biſhops and prelates, together with the temporal lords, and in the other the deputies of the counties and towns, as the eſtate of the commons, by themſelves.

The meeting was at the houſe of Mr. Robert Shee, ſon of Sir Richard Shee, now Mr. Langford's in Coal market; the lords, prelates and commons all in one room; Mr. Patrick Darcy, bare-headed upon a ſtool, repreſenting all or ſome of the judges and maſters of chancery that uſed to ſit in parliament upon wool-ſacks; Mr. Nicholas Plunket repreſented the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and both lords and commons addreſſed their ſpeech to him; the lords had an upper room, which ſerved them as a place of receſs, for private conſultation, and when they had taken their reſolutions, the ſame were delivered to the commons by Mr. Darcy.

This chamber forms part of a houſe, now inhabited by Mr. Treſham, an apothecary, it conſiſted of one large hall, forty-nine feet by forty-ſeven, with a dungeon under-neath, twenty feet ſquare; with which the hall communicated by a trap door, and ſtone ſtairs. Part of the benches with high backs, and the carved oak frame of a table remain. An iron door formerly led out of the dungeon into the yard: the windows have iron bars, and are ſmall high and arched. This hall is now ſubdivided into a kitchen, ſhop and three or four rooms. The upper floor is low, with large beams, and above is a modern building.

The clergy, who were not qualified by their titular ſees or abbies to ſit in the houſe of lords, met in a houſe called the convocation, where it was reported among the laity, that they only handled matters of tythe and ſettling church poſſeſſions; in which points ſo little deference was paid to their debates, and their proceedings were treated with ſo much contempt by the lay-impropriators and gentlemen, that the provincial of the Auguſtinians was hiſſed out of the houſe, for threatning to wipe off the duſt from his feet and thoſe of his friars, and to bend his courſe beyond the ſeas, if the poſſeſſions of his order were not reſtord.

For the rule of their government they profeſſed to receive Magna Charta, and the common and ſtatute law of England, in all points, not contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, or inconſiſtent with the liberty of Ireland. Several judicatories were eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the regulation of all affairs;

each

each county had its council, conſiſting of one or two deputies out of each barony, and where there was no barony, of twelve perſons choſen by the county in general, with powers to decide all matters cognizable by juſtices of the peace, pleas of the crown, ſuits for debts and perſonal actions, and to reſtore poſſeſſions uſurped ſince the war; to name all the county officers, except the high-ſheriff, who was to be choſen by the ſupreme council out of three, which the council of the county were to recommend. From theſe lay an appeal to the provincial councils, which conſiſted of two deputies out of each county, and were to meet four times a year, or oftener, if there was occaſion, to examine the judgments of the county councils, to decide all ſuits like judges of aſſize, to eſtabliſh recent poſſeſſions, but not to meddle with other ſuits about lands, except in caſes of dower.

From theſe there lay a further appeal to the ſupreme council of twenty-four perſons, choſen by the general aſſembly, of which twelve were to be conſtantly reſident in Kilkenny, or wherever elſe they ſhould judge it to be moſt expedient, with equal voices, but two-thirds to conclude the reſt; never fewer than nine to ſit in council, and ſeven to concur in the ſame opinion; out of theſe twenty-four a preſident was to be named by the aſſembly, and was to be always one of the twelve reſident, and in caſe of death, ſickneſs or abſence, the other reſidents, out of the twenty-four, were to chuſe a preſident.

The council was veſted with power over all generals, military officers and civil magiſtrates, who were to obey their orders, and ſend duly an account of their actions and proceedings; to determine all matters left undecided by the general aſſembly, their acts to be of force until reſcinded by the next aſſembly: to command and puniſh all commanders of forces, magiſtrates and all others, of what rank and condition ſoever; to hear and judge all capital and criminal cauſes (except titles to lands) and to do all kind of acts for promoting the common cauſe of the confederacy, and the good of the kingdom, and relating to the ſupport and management of the war.

(75) On the firſt of November, they appointed

Lord Caſtlehaven,	Richard Martin,
Lord Gormanſtown,	Feigh O'Flin,
Doctor Fennell,	Richard Beling,
Col. Dermot O'Brien,	Adam Cuſack,
Sir Lucas Dillon,	James Mc Donel,
Sir Phelim O'Neil,	Patrick Crelley,
Thomas Burke,	Rory Maguire,

(75) Cox pag 126.

Patrick Darcy, and the lawyers, a committee, who drew up the preceding form of government; and on the fourth, the prelates enjoined the prieſts to adminiſter an oath of aſſociation to their pariſhioners, and take their ſubſcriptions; and on the fourteenth they named their ſupreme council,

LORD VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET, Preſident.

For Leinſter.	For Connaught.
Archbiſhop of Dublin,	Archbiſhop of Tuam,
Lord Viſ. Gormanſtown,	Lord Viſcount Mayo,
Lord Viſ. Mountgarret,	Biſhop of Clonfert,
Nicholas Plunket,	Sir Lucas Dillon,
Richard Beling,	Patrick Darcy,
James Cuſack.	Jeffrey Brown.
For Munſter.	For Ulſter.
Lord Viſcount Roche,	Archbiſhop of Armagh.
Sir Daniel O'Brien,	Biſhop of Down,
Edmond Fitzmorres,	Phillip O'Reilly,
Doctor Fennel,	Col. Mac Mahon,
Robert Lambert,	Ever Magennis,
George Comyn.	Tirlagh O'Neil.

They uſed a ſeal, (76) which is thus deſcribed; it had a long croſs in the center, on the right ſide of it was a crown, and on the left an harp, with a dove above the croſs, and a flaming heart under it; and round it was this inſcription,

" Pro Deo, pro Rege et patria Hibernia, unanimis.

The conduct of the war is no part of our preſent concern, but we muſt remark, that the Franciſcans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Jeſuits now claimed their ancient poſſeſſions, and were generally reinſtated; for one of the principal objects of this war was, the re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe orders, and the Romiſh hierarchy; that this point was accompliſhed, we learn from a letter written by the confederates in 1644 to the pope; wherein among other enumerations of their good fortune, (77) they exultingly obſerve: " Jam Deus optimus maximus catholico ritu palam colitur; dum cathedrales pleræqu ſuis antiſtibus; parochiales parochis; religioſorum multa cænobia propriis gaudent alumnis."

And

(76) Borlaſe's Iriſh Rebellion, pag. 97. They coined money.
(77) Burke, Hibern. Dominic. Appendix. pag. 876.

And in 1645, when the catholics had poſſeſſed themſelves of almoſt all the churches in the kingdom, one of their articles with the earl of Glamorgan was, that they ſhould retain the churches, which they, de facto, held. A printing preſs was ſet up in Kilkenny, at which all the ſtate papers were printed: Doctor Burke, in his hiſtory of the Dominican order, refers to many of them; and it ſeems large collections of them exiſt in the Iriſh ſeminaries at Rome.

The kingdom, after more than three years of anarchy and deſolation, exhibited a diſmal ſpectacle of religious tyranny and confuſion, and gladly repoſed itſelf in the arms of peace. Articles for this purpoſe were ſigned by the marquis of Ormond and the confederates; but the happy proſpect of concord was diſturbed by that reſtleſs and ambitious eccleſiaſtic, Rinuccini, the pope's nuncio; he came in a frigate of 22 guns, and landed in Kerry the twenty-ſecond of October 1645, with twenty-ſix Italians in his cortege; he brought 2000 muſkets, 4000 bandaleers, 2000 ſwords, 500 pair of piſtols, 10,000 pounds of gunpowder; and from another frigate were landed ſix deſks and trunks of Spaniſh gold; with theſe he haſtened to Kilkenny, and on the nineteenth of November had his audience in the caſtle, and declared the reaſons of his coming, which were

1. To eſtabliſh the Roman catholic religion.
2. To preſerve their liberties, and
3. To ſerve their prince and ſovereign, which laſt he expreſſed with (78) ſingular emphaſis, thus:

"Et ſereniſſimo veſtro principi meipſum devoveo."

He ſaid high maſs in the cathedral of St. Canice on the thirtieth of November, being St. Andrew's day.

The nuncio reprobated the peace, and was joined by many biſhops, particularly by David Roth of Oſſory, who laid the city and ſuburbs of Kilkenny under the following interdict.

"Whereas (79) we have in publick and private meetings, at ſeveral times, declared to the ſupreme council and others whom it might concern, that it was and is unlawful and againſt conſcience, the implying perjury (as it hath been by the ſpecial act of the congregation at Waterford) to both common-wealths, ſpiritual and temporal, to do or concur to any act, tending to the approbation or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and miſchievous peace, ſo dangerous (as it is now articled)

(78) A pamphlet containing intercepted letters, 1645.
(79) Borlaſe, pag. 163. Who preſerves many papers printed in Kilkenny.

articled) to both commonwealths, ſpiritual and temporal. And whereas notwithſtanding our declaration, yea the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom to the contrary, the ſupreme council and the publication, yea and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free conſent or deſire of the people.

We having duly conſidered and taken it to heart, as it becometh us, how enormous this fact is, and appears in catholics, even againſt God himſelf, and what a publick contempt of the holy church it appeareth, beſide the evil it is likely to draw upon this poor kingdom; after mature deliberation and conſent of our clergy, in deteſtation of this heinous and ſcandalous diſobedience of the ſupreme council, and others who adhered to them, in matter of conſcience to the holy church, and in hatred of ſo ſinful and abominable an act, do by theſe preſents, according to the preſcription of the ſacred canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general ceſſation of divine offices, throughout all the city and ſuburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monaſteries and houſes in them whatſoever.

Given at our palace of Nova Curia,

Signed,

18th of Aug. 1646. DAVID OSSORIENSIS."

The general aſſembly of confederate catholics met in Kilkenny, the tenth of January 1647, and took the former oath of aſſociation with ſome new clauſes. We here give the (80) names of the repreſentatives of the lords and commons.

Spiritual Peers.

Hugh O'Reiley, archbiſhop of Armagh,
Thomas Walſh, archbiſhop of Dublin,
Patrick Comerford, biſhop of Waterford and Liſmore,
John Burk, biſhop of Clonfert,
John O'Mollony, biſhop of Killaloe,
Richard Conell, biſhop of Ardfert,
Emer Matthews, biſhop of Clogher,
Nicholas French, biſhop of Ferns,
Edmond O'Dempſey, biſhop of Leighlin,
Edmund O'Dwyer, biſhop of Limerick,
Arthur Magennis, biſhop of Down and Connor.

Temporal

(80) Burke, Hibern. Dominic. pag. 884.

Temporal Peers.

Alexander Mac Donnel, earl of Antrim,
Chriſtopher Plunket, earl of Fingal,
Maurice Roche, viſcount Fermoy,
Richard Butler, viſcount Mountgarret,
Theobald Dillon, viſcount Coſtellogallen,
John Netterville, viſcount Netterville,
Donat Macarty, viſcount Muſkery,
Pierce Butler, viſcount Ikerrin,
Lewis O'Dempſey, viſcount Clanmalier,
Edward Butler, viſcount Galmoy,
Bryan Fitz Patrick, baron of Upper Oſſory,
Francis Bermingham, Baron of Athenry,
Oliver Plunket, baron of Louth,
William Burk, baron of Caſtle-connel.

Commons.

John Allen of Allenſtown,
Patrick Archer of Kilkenny,
Walter Archer of Kilkenny,
Clement Aſh of Eiliſtown,
Patrick Babe of Drumſkyne,
John Baggot of Baggotſtown,
Walter Bagnal of Dunleckny,
George Barnwall of Kingſtown,
Henry Barnwall of Caſtle Rickard,
James Barnwall,
Geoffry Baron of Clonmell,
Gerald Barry of Liſhriffin,
Peter Bath Fitz Robert, late of Dublin,
Peter Bath of Kilkenny,
Robert Bath of Clanturk,
Robert Bath late of Dublin,
John Bellew of Liſfranny,
Richard Belling of Tyrrelſtown,
Chriſtopher Bermingham of Corballis,
Edward Beringham of Curraghton,
John Bermingham of Galway,
William Bermingham of Parſonſtown,
Bryan Birne of Ballynacorr,
Bryan Birne of Rodine,
James Birne of Ballyaccide,
John Birne of Ballyglan,
Francis Blake of Galway,
Dominick Bodkin of Galway,
John Brennan of Cloyneſinlogh,
Hugh Brin of Corrinon,
Edward Browne of Galway,
Geoffry Browne of Galway,
Sylveſter Browne of Dublin,
Patrick Bryan of Liſmayne,
John Burk of Caſtle Caroe,
Richard Burk of Drumruiſk,
Richard Burk of Shillewly,
Theobald Burk of Buolyburk,
Ulick Burk of Gliaſk
William Burk of Pollardſtown,
Edmond Butler of Idough,
James Butler of Swyneone,
John Butler of Foulſterſtown,
Pierce Butler of Baneſeagh,
Pierce Butler of Barrowmount,
Pierce Butler of Cahir,
Walter Butler of Paulſtown,
Connell Carve of Allobarnayre,
Arthur Cheevers of Ballyfeſkin,
Peter Clinton of Dollyſtown,
Anthony Colclough of Rathelir,
Edward Comerford of Callan
George Comyn of Limerick,
Andrew Cowley of Kilkenny,
Walter Cruiſe of Arlonan,
James Cuſack of Kilkenny,
Patrick Darcy of Galway,
Barnabas Dempſey Clonehork,
Nicholas Devereux of Ballynager,
Robert Devereux of Ballyſhannon,
Edmond Dillon of Streamſtown,
James Dillon of Clongaſſel,
John Dillon of Streamſtown,
Lucas Dillon of Loughglin,
Allen Donnel of Montagh,
Michael Dormer of Roſs,
Walter Dougan of Caſſletown,
Laurence Dowdall of Athlumney,
James Doyle of Carrig,
Terence Doyne of Kilkenan,
Patrick Duffe of Roſſpatrick,
Richard Everard of Everard's caſtle,
Stephen Fallon of Athlone,
William Fallon of Milltown,
Geoffry Fanning of Gleanagall,
Patrick Fanning of Limerick,

Gerald

Gerald Fennell of Ballygriffin,
John Finglas of Walspelstown,
Christopher Fitzgerald of Coynelunan,
Edmond Fitzgerald of Ballymartyr,
Edmond Fitzgerald of Brounsford,
Gerald Fitzgerald of Clonyad,
Gerald Fitzgerald of Timogue,
Henry Fitzgerald of Ticroghan,
Luke Fitzgerald of Ticroghan,
Mathew Fitzgerald of Gobinstown,
Maurice Fitzgerald of Allone,
Nicholas Fitzgerald of Marmayne,
Pierce Fitzgerald of Ballyshannon,
Thomas Fitzgerald of Boneysford,
Mark Fitzharris of Cloghinotfoy,
Nicholas Fitzharris of Ross,
Edmond Fitzmaurice of Tyoburry,
Gerald Fitzmaurice of Goby,
Florence Fitzpatrick of Lisdunvearney,
Philip Flattisbury of Dremanstown,
Thomas Fleming of Cabragh,
Fingher Flin of Ballilagha,
Christopher French of Galway,
James French of Galway,
Mark Furlong of Wexford,
John Garvey of Lehons,
Charles Gilmore,
John Goold of Cork,
Patrick Gough of Kilmanihane,
John Hadsor of Keppett,
John Haly of Limerick,
Nicholas Haly of Towryne,
Robert Hartpole,
Nicholas Hay of Wexford,
Charles Heneffy of Catergyn,
Thomas Heynes of Feathard,
Daniel Higgins of Limerick,
William Hoare of Cork,
William Hoare of Harristown,
Christopher Hollywood of Tartane,
Alexander Hope of Ballymacscaragh,
John Hope of Martinstown,
Mathew Hore of Dungarven,
Maurice Hurly of Kilduffe,
Edmond Kealy of Gowran,
William Kealy of Gowran,
Daniel Keefe of Dromagh,
Eneas Kinsly of Ballynecarrigy,
Patrick Kerwan of Galway,
John Lacy of Bruff,
Denis Lalor of Ballywoy,
William Langton of Kilkenny,
Martin Lynch of Galway,
Nicholas Lynch of Galway,
Robuck Lynch of Galway,
Nicholas Mac Alpin of Moy,
Hugh Mac Cartan of Lorgline,
Charles Mc. Carthy Riagh,
Dermot Mc. Carthy of Cantwyrk,
Thady Mac Carthy of Kilsallyway,
James Mac Donnell of Muff,
Charles Mc. Geoghegan of Dromore,
Conly Mc. Geoghegan of Donore,
Edward Mc. Geoghehan, Tyrotorine,
Richard Mc. Geoghegan of Moycashell,
Daniel Macnemara of Downe,
John Macnemara of Moyriorsky,
Arthur Magennis of Ballynaferney,
Connell Magennis of Lisnatierny,
Daniel Magennis of Glasca,
Ever Magennis of Castlewellan,
Hugh Magennis of Illanimoyle,
Anthony Martin of Galway,
Roger More of Ballynakill,
Roger Nangle of Glynmore,
Patrick Netterville of Belgart;
Richard Netterville,
Pierce Nugent of Ballynecurr,
Thady O Body,
Tirlogh O Boyle of Ballymore,
Connor O Bryen of Ballynacody,
Dermot O Bryen of Dromore,
Callaghan O Callaghan of Castle Mc. Auliff,
Donat O Callaghan of Clonmeene,
Daniel O Cavanagh of Cloynmulbin,
Murtagh O Cavanagh of Garryhill,
Daniel O Connor of Quelleane,
Thady O Connor Roe of Ballynafad,
Thady O Connor Sligo,
Hugh O Donnell of Rumalton,
Edward O Dowde of Porterstown,
Thady O Dowde of Rosbur,
Philip O Dwyer of Dundrum,
Daniel O Farrell of Ennisscorthy,
Fergus O Farrell of Bleanvohir,
Francis O Farrell of Moate,
Thady O Hanly of Colerane,
James O Kearney of Ballyluskey,
Daniel O Kelly of Colengeere,
John O Kelly of Corbeg,
Patrick O Komelty of Dungannon,
Henry ONeil of Kilbeg,
Phelim O Neil of Morley,
Turlogh O Neil of Ardgonell
Francis O Ronane of Kilkenny,
Hugh O Rourke of Coonerena,
Thomas O Ryan of Doone,
Dermot O Shaughnecy of Gort,
O Sullevan-More of Downekyrane,
Daniel O Sullevan of Culmagort,
Nicholas Plunket of Belrath,
David Powre of Clonemore,
John Power of Kilmacdan,
James Prendergast of Tollovellane,
James Preston of Gormanstown,
Robert Preston of Gormanstown,
Thomas Preston,
Robert Purcell of Curry,
Charles Reynolde of Jamestown,
Edward Rice of Dingle,
David Roche of Glanore,
John Roche of Castletown,
Redmond Roche of Cahirdowgan,
Hugh Rochfort of Tagonan,
John Rochfort of Kilbride,
George Russel of Rathmolin,
Christopher St. Lawrence of Crucetown
Nicholas Sankey of Ballytarkin,
Edward Shee of Kilkenny,
Robert Shee Fitz William of Kilkenny,
Walter Shee of Trim,
Bartholemew Stackpole of Limerick,
Richard Stafford Fitz Richard of Wexford,
Richard Strange of Rockswell castle,
William Sutton of Ballcroge,
Robert Talbot of Castle Talbot,
Thomas Tyrrel of Kilbride,
Richard Wadding of Ballycogly,
Thomas Wadding of Waterford,

John

John Walſh of Ballybechayne,
John Walſh of Waterford,
Alexander Warren of Churchtown,
Edmund Warren late of Dublin,
William Warren of Caſheltown,
James Weldon of Newry,
John White of Clonmel,
Nicholas Wogan of Rathcoffy,
Francis Wolverſtown of Newtown,
William Young of Caſhal,

Spiritual Peers - -	11
Temporal Peers - -	14
Commons - -	226
Total	251

Notwithſtanding the efforts of the wiſer and more moderate part, the confederates found it impoſſible to eſtabliſh a permanent form of government; diſorder reigned in their councils, the people caught the contagion, and every day was marked with ſome dangerous tumult. The friars took an active part. In 1648, Paul King (81), a Franciſcan and a zealous nuncioniſt, formed a party among the deluded inhabitants of Kilkenny to betray the city and the ſupreme council into the hands of Rinuccini and O Neil, which however did not ſucceed. The (82) next year Redmond Carron, commiſſary general of the Recollects, being at Kilkenny and ſiding with the loyal catholics againſt the nuncio and his adherents, and endeavouring to remove one Brennen and other ſeditious friars from the city, was put in danger of his life, had not the earl of Caſtlehaven arrived with ſome friends, in the very inſtant of time to ſave him. On this (83) occaſion, thouſands of men and women in the duſk of the evening, being collected by ſeven or eight furious Franciſcans of the nuncio's party, and being worked up to madneſs by their lies, attempted to force into St. Francis's abbey, and to murder Caron, John Barnwall reader of divinity, Anthony Gearnon guardian of Dundalk, James Fitzſimon guardian of Multifernan, Patrick Plunket confeſſor to the poor Clares of Athlone, and Peter Walſh reader of divinity in that convent, although this Walſh, in 1646, had ſaved both mayor and aldermen from being hanged, and the city from being plundered by Owen O Neil.

The parliament of England, turning their attention to the diſtracted ſtate of Ireland, ſent over, in the perſon of Oliver Cromwell, a lord lieutenant who was able to correct its diſorders.

On the twenty-third of March 1650, Cromwell came before Kilkenny, on the ſide of the black quarry, and ſent this ſummons that evening (84):

"Gentlemen,

(81) Ware's writers, pag. 141. (82) Ware's ſupra, pag. 145.
(83) Walſh's hiſt. of the remonſtrance, pag 587. (84) Borlaſe's Iriſh Rebellion.

"Gentlemen,

My coming hither is to endeavour, if God pleaſeth, the reduction of the city of Kilkenny and your obedience to the ſtate of England. For the unheard of maſſacre of the innocent Engliſh, God hath begun to judge you with his ſore plague, ſo will he follow you until he deſtroy you, if you repent not. Your cauſe hath been already judged in England upon them who did abett your evils, what may the principals then expect? By this free dealing, you ſee I entice you to a compliance; you may have terms; may ſave your lives, liberties and eſtates, according to what will be fitting for me to grant, and you to receive. If you chuſe for the worſe, blame yourſelves. In confidence of the gracious bleſſings and preſence of God with his own cauſe, which this is by many teſtimonies, I ſhall hope for a good iſſue upon my endeavours; expecting a return from you, I reſt your ſervant,

O. CROMWELL."

To the Governor, Mayor, &c.

To this Sir Walter Butler anſwered:

"Sir,

Your letter I have received, and in anſwer thereof, I am commanded to maintain this city for his majeſty, which, by the power of God, I am reſolved to do, ſo I reſt, Sir,

Your ſervant,

WALTER BUTLER."

Kilkenny, 23d March, 1650.

Lord Caſtlehaven had appointed Sir Walter Butler, governor of the city, with two hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, but they were reduced by the plague to three hundred. This circumſtance Cromwell hints at. On the 24th, he ſurrounded the place, and in the evening attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of Iriſhtown, but was beaten off and forced to retire; his cannon began between five and ſix o'clock on the 25th, to batter the end of the marquis of Ormond's ſtables, between the caſtle gate and the rampart, and having continued firing until twelve, he aſſaulted the breach; his men were twice beaten off, and could not be perſuaded to make a third attack; the breach was repaired, and Cromwell was on the point of raiſing the ſiege, when the mayor and townſmen invited him to ſtay, and aſſured him they would receive him into the city; upon this he appointed a party to ſet upon Iriſhtown in the evening, which was manned by ſome of the citizens, the beſt part of the garriſons

riſons being employed about the breach; the citizens immediately deſerted their poſts, without ſtriking a ſtroke, and Cromwell taking poſſeſſion of the cathedral and the other parts of Iriſhtown, lodged there that night.

On the 27th he began to break the wall of the Franciſcan abbey, near the river ſide, with pick-axes, to make way for his horſe and foot to enter; that poſt being alſo guarded by townſmen only, they began to forſake it, when they governor gave orders to a party of horſe to alight and leading them on, beat off the enemy, and killed moſt of thoſe that were near the wall, and put an end to their efforts there; at the ſame time an attempt was made to burn the gate on St. John's bridge, but there the enemy were likewiſe repulſed with the loſs of many officers and ſoldiers.

Next day Cromwell was joined by Ireton with 1500 freſh men, and Sir Walter Butler, conſidering the weakneſs of the garriſon, few in number and thoſe worn out for want of reſt by continual watching, and hopeleſs of relief, determined to execute lord Caſtlehaven's orders; which were, that if they were not relieved by ſeven o'clock the day before, he ſhould not, for any punctilio of honour, expoſe the townſmen to be maſſacred, but make as good conditions as he could, by a timely ſurrender. A parley was beaten, a ceſſation agreed on at twelve o'clock the next day, when the town and caſtle were delivered up on the following conditions:

ARTICLES

Of agreement between the commiſſioners appointed by his excellency, the lord Cromwell, lord lieutenant general of Ireland, for and on behalf of his excellency of the one part, and thoſe appointed commiſſioners by the reſpective governor of the city and caſtle of Kilkenny, of the other part, March 28th, 1650.

I. That the reſpective governor of the city of Kilkenny ſhall deliver up to his excellency the lord Cromwell, lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the uſe of the ſtate of England, the ſaid city and caſtle, with all arms, ammunition and proviſions of public ſtores therein, without embezzlement, except what is hereafter excepted, at or before nine of the clock to-morrow morning.

II. That all the inhabitants of the ſaid city of Kilkenny, and all others therein, ſhall be defended in their perſons, goods and eſtates from the violence of the ſoldiers; and that ſuch as ſhall deſire to remove thence elſewhere, ſhall have liberty ſo to do, with their goods, within three months after the date of theſe articles.

III. That the ſaid governor with all the officers and ſoldiers under his command in ſaid city and caſtle, and all others, who ſhall be ſo pleaſed, ſhall march away at, or before nine of the clock to-morrow morning, with their bag and baggage: the

officers

officers and their attendants with their horſes and arms, not exceeding one hundred and fifty horſes; and their foot ſoldiers to march out of the town, two miles diſtant with their arms, and with their drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted; and then and there to deliver up the ſaid arms to ſuch as ſhall be appointed for receiving them, except an hundred muſkets and an hundred pikes allowed them for their defence againſt the tories.

IV. That the ſaid officers and ſoldiers ſhall have from his excellency a ſafe conduct, ſix miles from the city of Kilkenny; and from thence a paſs, to be in force for ſix days, they marching at leaſt ten miles each day, and doing no prejudice to quarters.

V. That the city of Kilkenny ſhall pay 2000*l.* as a gratuity to his excellency's army: whereof 1000*l.* to be paid on the 30th of this month, and the other on the firſt day of May, to ſuch as ſhall be by his excellency appointed. That major Comerford and Mr. Edward Roth ſhall remain hoſtages, under the power of his excellency for the performance of ſaid articles, on the part of the ſaid city and garriſon of Kilkenny.

And laſtly, for the performance of all and ſingular the ſaid articles, both parties have hereunto interchangeably put their hands, the day and year above written.

O. CROMWELL.

Edward Cowly, John Comerford,
Edward Roth, David Turnball,

Sir Walter Butler and the officers when they marched out were complimented by Cromwell, who ſaid: "That they were gallant fellows: that he had loſt more men in ſtorming that place, than he had in taking Drogheda, and that he ſhould have gone without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townſmen."

Cromwell appointed col. Axtel (85) governor, with a conſiderable garriſon. The plague raging in Dublin, Ireton, in 1651, wintered in (86) Kilkenny; and the next year, Fleetwood, on his arrival, (87) took up his reſidence in this city, for the ſame reaſon.

On the 4th October, 1652, a high commiſſion court was held in Kilkenny before juſtice Donellan, juſtice Cooke and commiſſary Reynolds.

On the reſtoration of Charles II. Kilkenny reſumed and exerciſed its chartered rights, and every thing wore a tranquil appearance. In 1666, England being engaged

(85) Borlaſe, pag. 155. (86) Borlaſe, pag. 281. (87) Borlaſe, pag. 302.

gaged in a war with Holland, there were ſixty-nine Dutch priſoners ſent to Kilkenny from (88) Waterford and other ſea-ports, for greater ſecurity.

In 1672, Nicholas (89) Loghnan petitioned the privy council of Ireland in behalf of himſelf and other citizens of Kilkenny, and ſtated, that in a ſmall aſſembly of aldermen and common-councilmen, a reſolution was made of charging each perſon who ſtood in the market with commodities, three half pence every time, for murage, pavage, &c. The petitioner alledged, that the cuſtoms and duties of the market, amounting to above one hundred pounds per annum, were appropriated to theſe uſes, and were ſufficient to repair the ſtreets, walls and bridges. Beſides, that the corporation was endowed by royal grants, with three intire abbies, with their lands and livings, and ſeveral rich impropriations, to the value of four or five hundred pounds yearly, but that theſe revenues were ſunk very much by embezzlement.

He therefore prayed that the diſtreſſes taken in purſuance of the above reſolution may be reſtored.

On this petition, the lord lieutenant and council made this order:

" 3d Jan. 1672.

We require the mayor and aldermen of Kilkenny within mentioned, by themſelves or their agents ſufficiently inſtructed and authorized, to appear and anſwer the within complaint.

Eſſex, Ja. Armachanus, Mich. Dublin. Can. Donegall, O'Bryen, Thomond, Herbert, Cha. Meredyth, Hen. Ford."

This put an end to this illegal impoſition.

King James II. when he was new chartering the different corporate towns in the kingdom, to anſwer his wretched views, did not forget Kilkenny. The corporation, before the year 1687, conſiſted of ſeven companies, but by the new charter they were reduced to five. The (90) expence of this charter was 260*l.* but 305*l.* were raiſed. There were now to be twenty-four aldermen, beſides the mayor, two ſheriffs and a chamberlain with thirty-ſix burgeſſes, a recorder and town clerk, who was alſo prothonotary and clerk of the peace and crown.

(88) Laffan's MSS. (89) Laffan's MSS. (90) Laffan's MSS.

The revenues payable to the corporation of Kilkenny for the year 1688, amounted to £.313 18*s.* 8*d.*

In 1689 a militia (91) was formed in Kilkenny.

The Mayor, John Archdekin, Captain. ——— Lieutenant.
Serjeants, Nicholas Craniſborough, Corporals, Edward Fitzgerald,
John Lee, Michael Langton,
Thomas Mayher, Patrick Condon.
Patrick Hickey.

With one hundred and twenty one private men.

The ſubſidies (92) levied off the inhabitants were very conſiderable. The number of houſes now in the city and ſuburbs according to the collector's return:

In St. Mary's pariſh -	241
In St. John's - -	94
In St. Patrick's -	20
In St. Canice's -	152
Total	507

Allowing eight perſons to a houſe, there were then but 4056 ſouls in Kilkenny. By the hearth-books of 1777, an interval of but eighty-eight years, it appears there were then 2274 houſes, which eſtimating as before, makes 18,192 ſouls, or an increaſe of 14,136 perſons. Such are the happy effects of domeſtic peace, the regular adminiſtration of juſtice, and the eſtabliſhment of trade and manufactures.

This year, 1689, (93) the corporation petitioned king James, that by his proclamation having ordered coals to be ſold at nine pence per barrel, lieutenant Walſh and James Meigh in diſobedience thereof, being overſeers of Idough colliery, prevented coals from coming to the city, and thereby enhanced their price, although the city was obliged to find fewel for colonel Thomas Butler's regiment of foot, and two troops of lord Galmoy's horſe, and therefore prayed redreſs.

From Mr. Laffan's collection of MSS. we learn, that John Archdekin was elected mayor of Kilkenny in 1689, but was diſplaced the ſeventeenth of July 1690, after the glorious victory at the Boyne. He petitioned the corporation for his year's ſalary, which was 100*l.* and that for nine months and twenty-four days he had received but 75*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Among his diſburſements the following are remarkable.

For

(91) Laffan's MSS. (92) Laffan's MSS. (93) Laffan's MSS.

	£.	s.	d.
For ſalt to the militia of Dublin, by conſent of an aſſembly at the Old Thoſel - - -	0	3	0
For candles to lord Tyrconnel and the French general after the route of the Boyne - -	0	8	0
Paid Patrick Mc. Moran for ſhoeing Colonel Sheldon's horſes, he helping to keep the city from plunder after the route	0	5	0
For iron for ſhoeing lord Tyrconnel's horſes	1	14	0
Paid men and women for carrying corn to the mill for want of horſes, to get ſome ground to make bread for the running army after the route - - -	0	3	0
Paid Nicholas Murphy for ſeven carcaſſes of mutton, given to the guards that came with lord Tyrconnel -	3	0	1
For iron delivered to Thomas Barry, for mending the locks of the city gate, after the route of the Boyne -	1	16	0
He alſo charges the board of ordnance -	25	14	3

for mounting ſeven iron ſakers, the diameter of each three inches and a half, their length from the baſe ring to the muzzle ſeven feet and a half; three were mounted on field carriages, and four on truckles; four were placed on the half moons of the city walls, and three about the caſtle of Kilkenny.

1690. In July king James's army on quitting the town extorted a good ſum of money from the inhabitants, to preſerve the town from plunder. On the nineteenth of the ſame month, king William was ſplendidly entertained by the duke at his caſtle, which had been preſerved by count Lauzun from being (94) pillaged.

July 24, 1690, the (95) following juſtices of the peace were appointed to receive their arms and ſubmiſſion from ſuch as ſubmitted to his majeſty's declaration, in the city and county of Kilkenny.

Sheriff, for the time being, Richard Coote, Eſq; Sir Henry Wemys, Knight; Sir William Evans, Knight; Balthazar Cramer, Samuel Booth, John Baxter, Agmond. Cuffe, Chriſtopher Hewetſon, Eſqrs.

CASTLE of KILKENNY

Has lately been much improved. The entrance into it is from the parade, and leads to the back of the houſe, the front facing the river. In the court-yard are the foundations of buildings, and oppoſite the door of the houſe, is a clock placed in an old tower.

On

(94) Harris's life of King William, pag. 281. (95) Ibid, App pag. lxv.

On entering the houſe, we turn on the left hand into the dining parlour; it is ill-proportioned, as are all the other rooms; convenience and elegance are conſulted in none of them. That the duke of Ormond did not build the whole, the different additions and improvements demonſtrate. It is impoſſible to conceive ſo meanly of his grace's taſte and judgment, as to imagine he could adopt ſuch irregularities and diſproportions in any plan offered to him, much leſs would he have neglected ſuitable bed chambers, which are abſolutely not to be found here. To compenſate for theſe defects, the curious viſitant may contemplate many portraits of the various branches of this truly ancient and noble family. Led (96) by no very intelligent Ciceroni and unfurniſhed with a catalogue, the reader muſt pardon whatever errors he may find in the following detail of the pictures.

Dining Parlour.

Earl of Arran, by Sir Peter Lely.
Earl of Oſſory, father of lord Arran.
Emilia de Naſſau, counteſs of Oſſory.
Dutcheſs of Richmond, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
Two beauties of the court of king Charles II.
Dutcheſs of Devonſhire, daughter to the firſt duke of Ormond.
Counteſs of Cheſterfield, her ſiſter.
Dutcheſs of Beaufort and Somerſet.
Two young children of the family.

Breakfast or Tapistry Room.

From the dark and irregular figure of this room, it appears to have been one of the old towers: and we diſcover the thickneſs of the walls, which is very great. The tapiſtry, admirably executed, contains the hiſtory of Decius, the colours freſh and lively. In this room are

The firſt duke of Ormond, a full length.
The ſecond dutcheſs of Ormond.
Over the chimney, A ſhepherd and two lambs.
A handſome glaſs luſtre and gilt mouldings and baſes adorn this room.

The Alcove or Presence Chamber.

This room is alſo hung with tapiſtry, repreſenting the four ſeaſons, but inferior in deſign and execution to the foregoing. The paintings are

The laſt duke of Ormond.

Lady

(96) This account was written in the life time of Mr. Butler, the preſent Earl of Ormonde's Grand-father.

Lady Thurles.
Herodias with the head of St. John in a charger.
A madona and child, from Corregio, by Carlo Dolci.
Lord Arran.
Royal family, by Vandyke.
Charles IId's queen, by the fame.
A portrait unknown.
A Landfcape.

In this chamber is a cheft finely japanned, faid to be the duke of Ormond's travelling cheft; and a pier glafs, and under it a table inlaid with various marbles.

BALL ROOM or GALLERY.

This gallery is of great length, but unfinifhed, nor does proper care feem to be taken of the valuable works it contains. In it are the

Head of lord Strafford.
King Charles I. and his queen.
King Charles II.
King James II.
Queen Mary.
Queen Anne.
Firft duke of Ormond.
Earl of Offory, his fon.
Dutchefs of Kent, all whole lengths.
Admiral Jenkin, in black.
Lord Clanricarde.
Mary Magdalen, almoft naked.
Fourteen portraits unknown.
Six battle-pieces, repreſenting the engagements in the Dutch war, in which lord Offory was preſent.

MRS. BUTLER'S DRESSING ROOM

Is fmall, but handfomely fitted up. There are a japanned cabinet, and a commode of olive inlaid and divided at top with lines of holly. The paintings are,

Ceres and Autumnus.
Two of the beauties of king Charles's court.
Two flower pieces.
Laft Dutchefs of Ormond.

Lady Amelia Butler.

A very ſmall cloſet called a boudeur, with a library in it.

LADY ANNE'S DRESSING ROOM,

Is a ſmall octagon, in one of the towers. Here are ſome miniature paintings, particularly one of the earl of Wandesford, lady Anne's father, and his counteſs.

A ſmall chamber organ.

Two Chineſe mandarins, &c.

We paſs through a long corridore to the bed chambers, which are but indifferent.

LADY ANNE'S BED CHAMBER

Is hung with tapiſtry, made by nuns; the figures are Chineſe and groteſque, the bed curtains the ſame, but neither figures or colours good.

The CHAPEL.

Mr. and Mrs. Butler continue Roman catholics, and have this ſmall room for a chapel. The altar is of wood, and in the centre is a ſtone covered with a coarſe canvas, and called the holy ſtone; it is an oblong of about eight inches by four, with an inſcription in old Gothic letters, of ſome text. At firſt ſight it was judged a relique, but on farther conſideration, it was found, that by the firſt canon made by (96) archbiſhop Comyn in 1186, it is ordered, "that altars be made of ſtone; and if a ſtone of ſufficient ſize cannot be got, then a ſquare, intire and poliſhed one be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Chriſt's body is conſecrated; of a compaſs broad enough to contain five croſſes, and to bear the foot of the largeſt chalice." This ſufficiently explains the reaſon of the ſtone being inlaid in the altar.

There is a tabernacle for the elements, with a madona over it; and in an inner room, a confeſſion chair.

EVIDENCE CHAMBER

Contains a great number of family papers. Mr. Carte, while he was employed in compiling the life of the great duke of Ormond, had an order from the earl of Arran, to examine and take away whatever papers were uſeful to him; and accordingly he ſelected a great many, and brought them on—three Iriſh cars—as he expreſſes it, to Dublin, Mr. Butler informed the writer, that they were ſent back, and repoſited in this chamber. Mr. Carte moreover mentions a number of ſtewards accounts; theſe if carefully examined might give us as good a view of ancient manners, as the earl of Northumberland's houſhold book, communicated to the public by the ingenuous Dr. Percy, Biſhop of Dromore. It would be worthy the noble poſſeſſor to have

(96) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 316.

have thoſe ancient documents arranged, titled, and their contents expreſſed: valuable materials might be found to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the kingdom, in which the houſe of Ormond bore ſo illuſtrious a part, and in particular of the city and county of Kilkenny.

The front of the houſe lies nearly S. W. looking towards St. John's bridge. Before the front is a lawn edged with flowers and ſhrubs: this lawn with its wall forms a rampart next the river: at the foot of this wall, a walk of about eight feet in breadth has been taken off the river; it is called the mall, and here the citizens recreate themſelves, while the Nore rolls rapidly by.

Sir James Ware mentions biſhop Cantwell's rebuilding the great bridge of Kilkenny, thrown down by an inundation about the year 1447; it alſo appears that St. John's bridge fell down by a great flood in the year 1564.

On Sunday the ſecond of October 1763, about eight o'clock in the morning, a moſt unuſual flood and inundation poured down upon the city and county of Kilkenny, from twenty-four hours of inceſſant rain. Green's bridge near the cathedral fell, but no life was loſt. On St. John's bridge about an hundred perſons were ſtanding; but it being reported, that a cabbin was ſailing down the river without ſinking, moſt of them haſtened to behold the ſight; fourteen men and women however unfortunately remained, the bridge fell, and they were inſtantly ſwallowed up in the torrent. For two days there was no communication between the people on each ſide the river; boats could not ply: in moſt low ſituations the water roſe to eleven and in ſome to fifteen feet in height.

HOSPITALS, &c.

WILLIAM St. Leger (97) granted the church of St. Nicholas, of Tullachbrock, now called Tullaghanbroge, in the dioceſe of Oſſory, with all the lands there which Tancardus Brun held, and all the tithes and eccleſiaſtical benefices belonging to that church and the church of Attenach (Attana) "in pure and perpetual alms," with five carrucates of land in Tullachbrock, and ſix in Roſcomin, rendering one mark of ſilver for all ſervices, at the feaſt of St. Michael; (98) which grant his ſon confirmed. Of this grant there are no traces.

Near

(97) From Tighe. (86) Archdal's Peerage, VI. p. 93.

Near the cathedral is an Alms-houſe in a tottering condition; it was founded by Biſhop Williams: Biſhop Otway, who died 1692, left an eſtate called Fermoy, worth then 40*l.* a year, to this inſtitution; but by the fraud of his executors, and perhaps the inattention of his ſucceſſors, it was conveyed away, and never recovered: its value now would be conſiderable. Eight old women inhabit this houſe; they receive trifling annuities from different eſtates of the family of Waring: three have 40*s.* a piece; four 15*s.*; and one 3*l.* 5*s.* per annum, from the eſtate of Mr. Waring of Springfield.

There was a Poor-houſe, called an hoſpital, founded in the coal market, purſuant to the will of Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde; he left to it the impropriate rectories of Drominberran and Bewly: his ſon procured an incorporation by charter, in 1630, under the name of the Maſter, Brothers, and Siſters of our moſt holy Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Another charitable appropriation of the tithes of Inch and Drumboth, in the dioceſe of Caſhel, was made by an Earl of Ormonde, who obtained an incorporation from Charles II. for a maſter, brethren, and ſiſters, of a large houſe in Kilkenny. The houſe was ſuffered to go to decay; but a ſmaller one was afterwards built by the preſent branch of the family, upon one-third of the ground; both the former endowments were loſt; theſe latter tithes are ſuppoſed to produce between 200*l.* and 300*l.* a year. The preſent houſe, or Ormonde poor-houſe is under the ſuperintendance of the mayor; it was repaired about eighteen years ago, by the preſent Counteſs of Ormonde: it conſiſts of two ſtories, four rooms on each floor, and contains eight widows, ſome of whom have families living with them: they muſt be natives of the city of Kilkenny, and are allowed 5*l.* a year each, together with the ground rent of two houſes adjoining, amounting to 1*l.* 6*s.* to each widow: the houſe is kept in a dirty ſtate, but in tolerable repair, and contains at preſent twenty ſouls.

Shee's Hoſpital.—The armorial bearings of the founder in the front, with eight quarterings, have this inſcription, which ſhews the date of the foundation, "Inſignia Ricardi Shee Kilkennienſis armigeri, qui hoc xenodochium fieri fecit, 1581." The building is in Roſe-inn ſtreet; the family arms at the front and back are kept in repair by the deſcendants of the founder.

Sir Richard Shee built the houſe in his lifetime, and endowed it at his death; theſe are the words of his will and codicil; "Item, for that I have great deſire and ſpeciall care of the hoſpitall built by myſelfe and my wyfe att Kilkenny, that the poore men and women there, and their ſucceſſors, ſhall be well mayntayned from

tyme

tyme to tyme, I will and bequeath unto the ſaide poore, and their ſucceſſors, the parſonadge of Butler's woodes and Kilmocahill, in the counties of Kilkenny and Catherloghe. And for as muche as I cannot as yett make a perfect eſtate unto them thereof, for that theye are not incorporated, and want a mortmayne; my will is, and doe chardge my ſonne Lucas upon my bleſſinge, or curſe in doeinge the contrarie, to uſe his beſt endover, to obtayne a charter to make them a corporation, by the name of "Fratres et Sorores Hoſpitalis Jeſu Chriſti in Killkenniâ," and to procure a mortmayne and corporation for them and their ſucceſſors accordinglie for ever. And doe deſire and requeſt my ſaid ſonne Lucas, and his heirs, upon my bleſſinge, and my feoffees and their heirs, and the ſurvivor of them, from tyme to tyme, to perfect a ſure eſtate thereof to the ſaid hoſpitall, accordinge to my meaninge herein. And doe will, that my feoffees and their heires, and the ſurvivor of them, ſhall ſtand and be ſeiſſed of the profytte of the ſaid parſonadge yearlie, to the uſe of the ſaide poor men and women, and their ſucceſſors of the ſaid hoſpitall: and pay the maſter and his ſucceſſors of the ſaid hoſpitall, viz. five pounds ſterling of the profytte of the ſaid parſonadge, to the maſter and his ſucceſſors yearlie, who ſhall have care of my newe chappel and monument buylt in our Ladies Quyre, and ſhall order and diſpoſe the ſaide poore men and women in the feare of God, as becometh, and the reſt of the profytte of the ſaid parſonadge to be converted yearlie to the uſe of the ſaide poor men and woomen of the ſaid hoſpitall, and theire ſucceſſors for ever, prayinge my wyfe for the love ſhee beareth unto me, to give competent meate and drinke att her own table to the ſaid maſter; and after her death my ſonne and heire doe the lyke, prayinge my wyfe, my ſonne, James Walſhe, my brother Matthew Shee, Thomas Browne, and my ſonne John, to have care of the execution hereof. Item, I will alſo that from tyme to tyme, the houſe of the ſaide hoſpitall and theire ſucceſſors for ever, and my newe chappell to be buylded, to be repayred and kept upp upon the profytte of the tythes of Kilmacahill and Butler's woodes afforeſaide; the reſt thereof being converted to the uſes as before."

Codicil.—"Item, and whereas by my laſt will I have appoynted my wyfe to have a ſpeciall care of my hoſpitall, mayntayne a maſter that ſhall attend the poore there, buyld and make up a chappel; my will is, and I doe require my ſonne and heire, as he will looke to avoyde my curſe, to looke carefullie to my hoſpitall, and mayntayne a maſter to attende them and praye for me, buylde and make upp a chappell, and to doe all ſuch good works, which I appointed my ſaide wyfe and others to doe. Item, foraſmuche as with ſpeciall truſt and affiance repoſed, I have infeoffed

and made eſtate of all my land to ſuche of my friends as accompted and reputed truſtie unto me, with ſuche limitations and to ſuche uſes as thereupon is expreſſed and declared, I therefore heartily deſire my ſaid feoffees, as theye will diſchardge the ſaide truſt, and anſwer the ſame before the tribunall ſeate of God, not to give conſent to anye of my ſonnes, to ſell, alien, diſpoſe, or doe awaye anye of the ſaid land ſoe paſt unto them, other than as my intent has byn and is declared."

Lucas Shee executed the truſts, and obtained the charter: but the founder's curſes did not preſerve the bequeſt; although he provided, that "if the allocated revenue was by any means ſtopped, an equivalent ſhould be diſburſed from his eſtate." At firſt twelve poor perſons, male and female, were ſupported in it, and each had an annuity of 40s, beſides which, a chaplain was kept, and maſs regularly ſaid at an altar which ſtill remains. In 1685, the poor petitioned Dr. Phelan, titular biſhop, againſt Edmund Shee, whom they ſaid defrauded the community. The biſhop wrote to the maſter, warned him of the horrible ſin of cheating the poor, but recommended at the ſame time a kinſwoman of his to a place in the hoſpital. The maſter returned an anſwer, which is here given, and is curious for the reaſoning and particulars it contains.

"Rev. Lord, Kilkenny, 8th June, 1685.

"I received yours of this inſtant, and am very ſory that I cannot comply with your requiſt this tyme, as concerning your kinſwoman; for I doe aſſure you the howſe is full, and noe place vaquent: and as for Fra. Theobald Archer, there is noe place from him, but a chamber that belongs to the maſter, where no pintion belongs, and which I have turned to other uſes which is uſefull to the howſe. And if there been anny complaynt made of me unto your lordſhip, it is more than I deſerve, for I doe aſſure you, I have payd them all, in generall, though I am not as yet repaid. It is true, there was one of them that dyed lately before her pention was dew, and bequeated it to her dougter, and as I humbly conceave, it is neyther contionable nor equitable, that anny boddie, who depends upon the charitie of pious uſes, ſhout have the power to reſt it to worldly uſes, and this I leave to anny religious order to judge of, that your lordſhip thinks fit; and as for my ſowls ſavetie I prefer it before all the treſieurs in the world, and doe hope I ſhall take as great care towards my ſowle, as any of my predeceſſors ever did. This being all, I reſt your lordſhip's faithfull and obedient ſervant,

EDMOND SHEE."

The

The chaplain was paid for a long time, but no maſs has been ſaid theſe forty years. The tithes allocated to this hoſpital, have long ſince been detained by lay hands. An attempt was made to ſell them in 1752, when the following caution was iſſued from the eccleſiaſtical court of Oſſory.

" Whereas Edmund Shee of Cloran, in the county of Tipperary, Eſquire, has declared his intention of ſelling the houſe or tenement in the city of Kilkenny, commonly called Sir Richard Shee's Hoſpital, as alſo the parſonage of Butler's woods and Kilmacahill in the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny; and whereas the ſaid Sir Richard Shee, by his laſt will, bearing date December 24th, 1603, and by a codicil to the ſaid will, dated December 31ſt, 1604, (which will and codicil were proved in the Prerogative Court of this kingdom, in 1608,) did deviſe the ſaid hoſpital and parſonage to and for the uſe and maintenance of the poor men and women of the ſaid hoſpital, and their ſucceſſors for ever, and did thereby enjoin his ſon and heir, Lucas Shee, Eſquire, to uſe his beſt endeavours to obtain a mortmain and charter to make them a corporation; and whereas at the requeſt of the ſaid Lucas Shee, and in purſuance of the ſaid will, a mortmain and charter bearing date the ſeventh day of November, in the ſixth year of his reign, was granted by King James I. to make the ſaid poor and their ſucceſſors a corporation, and to veſt the ſaid hoſpital and parſonage with the glebe, tithes, &c. thereof in them for ever; which will, codicil, mortmain, and charter, are on record in the proper offices; this is therefore to caution all purchaſers how they treat for, or purchaſe the ſaid hoſpital or parſonage. Dated this —— day of May, 1752."

The property, however, was never recovered for the hoſpital, or compenſated out of the eſtate of Sir Richard. This hoſpital had ſome property veſted in the French funds, bequeathed by General St. Ruth; it produced about 20*l.* a year, which ſum was paid through the hands of the titular biſhop; when there were eleven women, they received about 30*s.* a year each, and leſs when the houſe was repaired: ſince the beginning of the revolution the intereſt has ceaſed, but the property may now be reſtored.

The houſe contains thirteen poor women; ſix live in the lower ſtory, where there is alſo a kitchen; and ſeven in the upper, which is on a level with the lane at the back, and where there is a plain altar and a crucifix. They receive no money, except occaſional gratuities from the family of Shee, by whom the women are nominated to ſupply the vacancies; and what is collected at St. Mary's Chapel, on the day of the exaltation of the croſs.

The

The tithes of the parish of Kilmacahill, are at present divided into three parts; one part is paid to an alms-house in Waterford, another part is in lay hands, and a third is received by the minister of the parish: it appears that the rent of these tithes was paid for the use of the poor to the first of November, 1741.

Not only the heirs of Sir Richard Shee are appointed trustees to this charity, but the mayor of Kilkenny for the time being: but it has been neglected by civil, as well as ecclesiastical authorities.

The celebrated general St. Ruth left a house in Patrick-street to Thady O'Dunn, to pay 12*l.* a year in charity. The profits have never been accounted for, and the house was lately a barrack.

John Cramer made a charitable bequest for apprenticing two or more boys was to protestant masters, and distributing weekly bread to poor people, but this lost by the chicane of law.

Edward Cramer, a baker in Kilkenny, left turnpike debentures, the interest to buy bread for the poor list of St. Mary's. This continues to be well applied, as does Mr. Nicholai's bequest to the same poor.

Mr. Lewis Chapelier bequeathed 520*l.* the interest of which, every second year, is to be a marriage portion for the daughter of a respectable tradesman, a protestant, and to be married to a protestant. The charity is well attended to.

The late Sir William Fownes bequeathed 32*l.* a year: 3*l.* is given to the county infirmary, and the rest in pensions. There are besides a charitable society for taylors; a benevolent society for bed-ridden objects, a charitable loan for lending money, and a society for bettering the condition of the poor. There is no diocesan school, the name exists with a salary of 36*l.* a year. The charter school contains sixty boys, and is well conducted.

MONASTERIES.

Augustinian Abbey.—The oldest monastic foundation in Kilkenny is the priory, hospital or abbey of St. John the evangelist, whose charter, in the Monasticon, is dated A. D. 1220. It recites, that William Marshall the elder, earl of Pembroke, for the salvation of his soul and those of his predecessors, gives to God and St. John, a piece of ground at the head of the small bridge of Kilkenny, between the small stream of water and the road that leads to Loughmedetan. From this situation we may conclude, that the monks designed to erect their building nearer the bridge than it now is: the place was insulated by the stream before mentioned, as the ground at the back of the King's Arms is at this day, and which seems a remnant of this ancient aqueduct, as it is called.

The

The earl grants them the pariſh beyond the bridge to the eaſt, and bordering on the bridge, which was St. Mæls; and the eccleſiaſtical revenue of his land of Dunfert; this is now called Danesfort, but improperly, for the name Donfert or Dunfert, appears in very ancient records. He beſtows on them the tenths of his mills, fiſheries, orchards and dovecotes in Kilkenny, and alſo land at the head of the greater bridge, where they formerly began their convent. He gives the rents of his burgage-tenements in the new town, the church of the new town, which muſt be St. Mary's and that of Hagaman, and the intire benefice of the old town, in tenths, oblations and obventions. Do not theſe words clearly imply a ſtrong doubt of the cathedral not having as yet made any conſiderable progreſs from its foundation, or if it had, that its chapter, revenues and juriſdiction were not ſettled? the grant of totius beneficii veteris villæ admits of no qualification, it is deciſive in its import. Had there been a cathedral in Iriſhtown endowed with ancient revenues, he never would have wreſted them from it for his new priory. The words alſo militate ſtrongly againſt the claim of Hugh Rufus, as if he was lord paramount of Iriſhtown, when the contrary is here evident. Biſhop Fitz John appropriated to them the church of Claragh, reſerving an annual penſion of twenty ſhillings to the vicars choral.

In 1645, when the monaſtic orders were every where repairing their houſes, the Auguſtinians, to whom this abbey originally belonged, endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of it; but the Jeſuits interpoſed a claim, and it was confirmed to them by Rinuccini, the nuncio. From a MS. of Mr. Laffan we have this tranſaction authenticated.

" Whereas we the mayor, aldermen and burgeſſes of the city of Kilkenny have of late granted our certificate to the rev. fathers the Jeſuits, confirming unto them, as much as in us, and as law permits, a certain grant or donation paſſed unto them in the year 1645, of the monaſtery of St. John the evangeliſt in this city, by the rev. father Thomas Roth, prior in commendam thereof; and having ſince conſidered the manifeſt inconveniencies the ſaid city, and the ſeveral tenants deriving under a late leaſe from our predeceſſors are like to lie under, have for that reaſon entered into a further ſcrutiny of the ſaid Jeſuits' title, and we find, that they can produce neither grant, leaſe or any thing like from us or our predeceſſors of the ſaid monaſtery, either in 1641, or ſince, but the ſaid grant from the ſaid father Roth, confirmed by the pope's nuncio, then reſiding in this city.

" We

" We therefore conſidering the invalidity of the ſaid grant, ſo as to diveſt us of our right, and the obligation on us to maintain the leaſe made by our predeceſſors, do hereby revoke and annul the ſaid certificate, until the ſaid Jeſuits do produce a legal title from us of our predeceſſors: on ſight whereof we will freely and unanimouſly join in the chapel and garden of the poor Capuchins, which they have improved on the meaneſt and craggieſt ſpot about this city, to our admiration and edification. Beſides which ſpot, we humbly conceive, that there are ſufficient room and apartments for the Jeſuits.

In witneſs that this is our laſt reſolution and pleaſure, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names this 18th day of March, 1689."

From this document we find, that the Jeſuits had prevailed on Roth to ſurrender the abbey to them: that the city, though they had made leaſes of it, yet diveſted themſelves of their right, and that in 1645, the nuncio confirmed theſe illegal proceedings. On his return to Italy, he wrote to the general of the Jeſuits, and moſt unclerically mentions this act of injuſtice done through predilection of the order.

" (1) Si contenti voſtra paternità reverendiſſima, che jo ſi aſſecuri di non aver mai veduto, e forſe non letto una ſimile novità, la quale accreſe la ſua forſa dal ſaperſi per tutto il regno, che jo nel medeſimo punto per ſervire alla compagnia avevo terminato l'acquiſto della chieſa abbaziale di S. Giovanni di Kilkennia per quei padri, non oſtanti tutte le oppoſizioni dei canonici regolari."—(2) None need wonder, ſays Walſh, to ſee among thoſe approvers of the nuncio, the whole college, or profeſſed houſe of the Jeſuits then at Kilkenny. The members of this ſociety reſident in the city, were

(3) Henry Plunket,
Robert Bath,
Chriſtopher Maurice,
William St. Leger,
William Dillon,
John Uſher.

Whereas the Auguſtinians in the kingdom, according to this author, did not exceed ſixty or eighty: the Jeſuits were more numerous; being buſy, enterprizing and of great influence.

In 1432, (4) John Fleming, biſhop of Leighlin, was canon of St. John's, and in 1500, (5) James Shortal was prior of it. The annals of it are frequently mentioned,

(1) Hibern. Dominic. ſupra, App. 915. (2) Supra. Pref. pag. 45.
(3) Walſh, pag. 2. (4) Ware's Biſhops, pag. 495. (5) Ware, ſupra, pag. 415.

tioned, and were in the Chandois (6) collection. The codex Kilkennienſis ſo frequently cited by Colgan, and reprobated by Bollandus, was the production of this monaſtery.

Great part of this abbey was demoliſhed to make room for a foot barrack; however its ruins declare its former ſplendour. For about fifty-four feet of the ſouth ſide of the choir it ſeems to be almoſt one window. The eaſtern window is about ſixteen feet wide and forty high; it is divided by delicate ſtone mullions. The following monumental inſcriptions ſtill remain amid the ruins.

D. Michael Cowley

Irenarcha et juriſconſvltus, &c. et uxor ejus D. Honoria Roth, hic requieſcunt in æternam, ut ſperamus, hinc requiem transferendi ubi quod corruptibile eſt incorruptionem induet; uterque mortis ſubdidit legi; uterque mortuus commune ſolvit debitum naturæ. Hæc vivere orbi deſiit anno . . . . . die menſis . . . cœlo ille cæpit vivere anno . . . . .

Epitaphium

Hic virtute animi et generaſo ſtemmate clarus,
Couleum triſtis quæ capit urna tegit.
Fallor, cœleſtes, melior pars incolit arces,
Hoc tantum cineres flebile marmor habet.
Hic potuit juris diſcordes ſolvere nodos,
Sed nequiit duræ ſolvere jura necis.
O homo vive Deo cœloque operare, ſepultus,
Sola manet virtus, cætera mortis erunt.
Quod alii, lector, tibi mortuo obſequium,
Rependent nobis, impende æteanam
Requiem precare et vale.

F. Johannes Purcell

Abb. Ecc. . . . . qui obiit . . . . .

He lies recumbent at full length, in the habit of a regular canon, with a mitre on his head; the whole is of black marble.

Cloſe by is another figure, one of the ſame family as the word Purcell ſhews; he is in armour; a belt comes over his ſhoulder, from which depends a ſword. The frame of this monument is ornamented with baſſo relievos of Chriſt and his apoſtles, each with their different emblems.

Hic

(6) Nicholſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, pag. 36 8vo.

Hic jacet

Edvardus Langton, hujus civitatis major et burgenſis, et Superior villæ Killkenniæ; et Belena Archer, ejus uxor, qui obierunt 5° die Maii, 1571, et Richardus Langton.

Memento

Homo quod puſio es, et in puſionem reverteris. Neale Cullen, citizen of Kilkenny, built this monument for his dear beloved wife Roſe Langton deceaſed, the 4th of October 1646, his father John Cullen, his mother Ellen Seix, himſelf and family.

My virtue death ſeems to overſway
My virtue's fruit by deed will ne'er decay.

There are a few other monuments here, but all defaced and illegible.

DOMINICAN ABBEY,

Otherwiſe called the Black abbey, from the colour of the garments worn by the monks of the order, was founded in Iriſhtown, by William earl Marſhal the younger, about 1225, and dedicated to the bleſſed Trinity. Biſhop Hugh a Dominican, and who died in 1259, made many donations to the monaſtery; among others, he beſtowed on it St. Canice's well an aqueduct and releaſed a chief rent ariſing from two meſſuages in Friar-ſtreet; and was interred in the high church near the altar.

Biſhop Cantwell was alſo of this order; and on his promotion he ſtill wore the habit, agreeable to the decree of the 8th Conſtantinopolitan (7) council, and was buried in this abbey.

The ſite of this monaſtery was granted at the reformation to the corporation of the city. Part of the building was made a ſhire-houſe, as is mentioned in the charter of the elder James. Some chapters of the order were held here in 1643, when the whole was repaired. It had a (8) houſe for novices, ſituated to the north-weſt, on the river Nore, about two miles above the city, and called now Thornback.

The windows and arches are rather ſuperior to thoſe of St. John's; the various mouldings that adorn them are beautiful ſpecimens of the Gothic taſte, and for elegance and lightneſs nothing can exceed its two towers.

It muſt occur to every one, that this is a very indifferent account of this foundation. Dr. Burke, a learned Dominican, and titular biſhop of Oſſory, and for many years

(7) Præterea monachi qui vita et doctrina ut epiſcopi creentur meruerint, non mutent habitus veſtiſque rationem ob novam dignitatem. Caranzæ Summ. Concil. pag. 767.

(8) Hibern. Dominic. pag. 206.

years reſident in Kilkenny, and who was particularly intereſted in the inquiry, declares, that except the few foregoing notices, (9) he could procure nothing more from printed books, MSS. monuments, or the information of the members, after the utmoſt diligence and application. This ingenuous confeſſion at once detects the impoſitions of writers, who have obtruded on the world, as memorials carried out of Ireland in times of confuſion, the lives of ſaints, and other hiſtorical collections; when, in reality, they are the genuine manufacture of the ſeminary clergy of Douay, Ghent, Lovain and other places; and if we may form an opinion of them from Bollandus, they are of no greater eſtimation than the dreams of Annius of Viterbo, and ſimilar impoſtors.

The Dominicans in 1437, obtained two parts of the tythes of (10) Mothil, as appears by the record.

FRANCISCAN ABBEY.

We have every reaſon to place the foundation of this abbey, previous to the year 1230. "For in the chore of the friers-preachers, ſays Stanihurſt, William Marſhal, earl of Pembroke, was buried, who departed this life in the yere 1231. Richard, brother to William, to whom the inheritance deſcended, within three yeres after deceaſed at Kilkennie, beinge wounded to death in a field in the heath of Kildare, in the year 1234, the twelfe of April, and was intomed with his brother, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:—

Hic comes eſt poſitus, Ricardus vulnere foſſus:
Cujus ſub foſſa Kilkennia continet oſſa.

Hanmer ſays, he was killed by the O Connors, and buried in the Black abbey. He adds, that his tomb with thoſe of eighteen knights that came over at the conqueſt, were at the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtery, defaced, and by the inhabitants turned to their private uſes, making ſwine-troughs of ſome; ſo that there remained but one, on which the picture of a knight was pourtrayed, bearing a ſhield about his neck, with the Cantwell's arms inſculpted: this the people call *Ryddir in Curry* (11), or the Knight on the Curragh.

John Clynn of this convent, writes

Poſt incarnatum lapſis de virgine natum
Annis millenis tribus triginta ducentis,

(9) Supra, pag. 206. (10) Appendix.
(11) Properly, Ridire in Currach, eques in Plano, meaning earl Richard who was ſlain on the curragh, or plain.

In primo menſis Aprilis, Kildarienſis
Pugna die ſabbati fuit in triſtitia facti,
Acciderant ſtallo pugnæ comiti mariſcallo.

Speed, ſpeaking of this tranſaction, informs us, "his body was buried in Kilkenny, (which pleaſantly ſituated towne our ſoveraigne king James erected into a city) where himſelf in his life had appointed. Some ſmall tokens of this great name are yet (1611) remaining. For in the eaſt window of the abbey church of St. John the Baptiſt, and in the abbey of St. Dominick, the antient armories of Mareſhal, lord of Kilkenny, are yet extant. Luke Wadding ſhews (12), that Matt. Paris and Du Cheſne (13) agree in making him to have been interred in the Franciſcan abbey.

This monaſtery ſoon grew ſo conſiderable, that in the year 1267, a provincial chapter was held there, as Clynn informs us. In 1321 the great altar was conſecrated; it was a marble table of prodigious length and breadth.

In 1331, Nicholas Welifed, biſhop of Waterford, conſecrated the new cemetry without the church, on a friday, being the feaſt of St. Cecilia.

In 1347, on the firſt ſunday in Advent, a fraternity or gild was inſtituted for building a belfry and repairing the church. In the ſame year on Palm ſunday, being the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Iſabella Palmer was buried in this convent. She had rebuilt the forepart of the choir. Thus far Clynn.

The monaſtery and its offices were of great extent, reaching from the ſtreet and city walls to the river. The windows and towers are inferiour to none. Part is made a horſe barrack. Near the margin of the river and within the precincts of the abbey is a ſpring of pure limpid water, called St. Francis' well, and was heretofore famous for miraculous cures; it is incloſed, and ſtill preſerves ſome degree of credit. About a mile from the town was a grange belonging to the fathers: in Wadding's time it was in the poſſeſſion of John, ſon of Sir Richard Shee. A century before on the ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, the corporation purchaſed from the crown this abbey and its demeſnes.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

In the charter to St. John's priory, this church ſeems to be deſcribed by "The church in the new town." We have ſeen under the year 1328, that William Utlaw was ſentenced to cover its roof with lead. And in Clynn's annals is the following notice:

(12) Annales Minorum, ad ann. 1234, pag. 470, 471.
(13) Pag. 403. Du Cheſne Hiſt. ad Anglet. pag. 543.

notice: "A.D. 1343. A new belfry was erected for the church of St. Mary, Kilkenny." The following clauſe in Queen Elizabeth's charter to the city, relates to the proviſion of wax lights for the church and image of the Virgin Mary.

"Item, quia diverſa tenementa in illa villa de Kilkenny ab antiquo tempore onerentur, tam illuminare coram imagine virginis glorioſæ Mariæ prædictæ, quam ad emendandam eccleſiam prædictam; procuratores ſeu clientes ad redditus illos, et jura levenda ſi negligentes fuerint, quod ſervientes vel burgenſes villæ namiare poſſint pro redditus & jura prædicta, ſine calumpnia."

The old church was much larger than the preſent one, which is contracted on the ancient ſite. It is in the form of a croſs, neat and elegant; with a good organ. In 1689, Marcus Stafford, (14) clerk, and one of the vicars choral of Chriſt church Dublin, made oath before a magiſtrate, that he was credibly informed, and did, from a knowledge of the fact for eighteen years before, believe, that the curacy of St. Mary's was in the preſentation of the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny. The motives for this affidavit we are not told, or the ſteps taken in conſequence. At preſent the church is in the patronage of the biſhop.

The following are the moſt remarkable monuments.

Spiculum mortis.

Ortus ad interitum erectis progreſſibus, urget
Mortaleſque rapit mortis vis neſcia vinci,
Neſcia conſilio, voto, vel voce moveri.
Imperii, eloquii, rationis, acuminis, artis,
Et ſophiæ tranſcendit opem, erectoque lacerto
Spicula contorquet gravis inclementia lethi.
Cujus ad imperium quicquid ſpirabile mundi
Machina complexu fovet, expirare neceſſe eſt.

Speculum mortalium.

Siſte gradum, qui tranſgrederis, cordate viator;
Inque ſepulchrali hoc ſpeculo circumſpice clari
Ora viri, genio ingenioque, et moribus orbi
Brittanico lumen; cujus facundia vocis
Et facundia gravi ſenſu, cenſuque facultas:
Non contemnenda pietas, doctrina favorque:

Magnus

(14) Apud Laffan's MSS.

Magnus tum mentiſque vigor, dum vita vigeret,
Nunc tenet orbatum cultu brevi urna cadaver.

Johannes Naſhus

Humanæ fragilitatis conſcius, chariſſimæ uxori, Eleonoræ Rothæ et liberis, adhuc vivens poſuit. A. X. 1617. Quibus ut æternam requiem preceris, tum finis memor enixe rogat. Obiit honeſtus hic & cordatus civis, 31 die Maii menſis, ſalutis humanæ. A. 1643.

Jacobus Archdeacon

Mercator, et hujus urbis Kilkennienſis burgenſis, hoc ſibi et uxori Catharinæ Woodloke, et poſteris ſuis vivus monumentum poſuit. Fato ceſſit ille . . . . . obiit hæc . . . . die menſis . . . . .

Epitaphium.

Hæc mihi, qua condar, feralis conditur urna;
Et tibi quem parili ſorte ſepulchra manent.
Quiſquis es, extinctos vermis prædabitur artus;
Et quæ me primum te quoque fata prement.
Ut recte vivas mortis memor eſto; ſepultus
Æternum ut poſſis vivere: diſce mori. 1636.

Hic jacet

Johannes Rothus, Petri filius, civis prætorius civitatis Kilkeniæ, qui ſacellum hoc cum monumento ſepulchrali pro ſe, uxore liberiſque ac poſteris ſuis fieri fecit, anno ſalutis 1612. Ipſe vero non tam obiit quam abiit, 31 die, menſis Januarii, A. D. 1620. Necnon Roſa Archera chariſſima ejus conjux, quæ viceſſit magis quam deceſſit, die menſis 8°. anno Dom. 16 . . .

Quorum animabus propitietur Deus.

✠

Symbolum ſalutis.

Ortus quæque ſuos redolent animantia primos.
Et redit in cinerem quod fuit ante cinis.
Mens ſuperas nunc avet opes . . . imas
Nempe ſui memorem ſtructilis urna facit.
Aſt redivivâ olim quando urna refuderit oſſa
Juncta animis, Deus O faxit, ut aſtra petant.

ST. MÆL OR MAULA.

The church dedicated to this ſaint is of great antiquity, and pointed out in St. John's charter, as lying on the eaſt ſide of the river. It is a ſufficient apology for introducing legendary narrations in accounts of ancient foundations to ſay, that frequently none others are to be found; this is the caſe at preſent.

The ſex of this ſaint is doubtful: if it was dedicated to St. Mæl, we (15) are told he was nephew and diſciple of St. Patrick, and by him placed over the ſee of Ardagh in 456, where he preſided for more than thirty years and died the 5th of February, 487. The profeſſed writers of the lives of the ſaints ſtretch the belief of the credulous very far, when they relate with ſuch minute exactneſs unauthenticated events. The following tale deſerves as little credit.

"About (16) the ſame time that St. Kennie's church was built, a church was erected over againſt the eaſt ſide of the Nore, in honour of St. Maula, the mother of St. Kenny, whoſe memory is continued in Kilkenny by her plague that fell upon them thus: there was a plague in the towne, and ſuch as died thereof, being bound with wythes upon the beere, were buried in St. Maula's church-yard; after that the infection ceaſed, women and maids went thither to dance, and inſtead of napkins and handkerchiefs to keep them together in their round, it is ſaid, they took thoſe wythes to ſerve their purpoſe.

"It is generally conceived that Maula was angry for profaning her church-yard, and with the wythes infected the dancers ſo, that ſhortly after man, woman, and child died in Kilkenny,"—We here ſee a natural effect ſuperſtitiouſly and ignorantly aſcribed to another cauſe.

(15) Ware's Biſhops. (16) Hanmer's chronicle.

APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL RECORDS.

No. I.—Page 383.

Prioratus ſive hoſpital. Sti. Johannis evang. de Kilkenn. fundat. circa ann. 1220.

WILL. Mareſchallus, comes Pembrochiæ, &c. conceſſi B. Johanni evang. locum quendam ad caput parvi pontis de Kilken. ſc. inter ductum minoris aquæ & viam quæ ducit ad Loghmaderan ab horreis meis, & 16 acras de terra libera ex eadem parte aquæ illius, cum pertinentiis, ad conſtruendum ibidem domum religionis, in honorem Dei & Sti. Johannis, & ad ſuſtentationem pauperum & indigentium. Conceſſi etiam, totam parochiam ultra pontem de Kilkenn. verſus orientem & adjacentem eidem ponto cum pertinentiis, abſque omni retinemento. Etiam beneficium eccleſiaſticum totius terræ meæ de Donfert, quantum ſc. inde ad patronum pertinet; & beneficium eccleſiaſticum totius terræ me de Loghmadheran eodem modo cum omnibus pertinentiis, tam in decimis, quam oblationibus & obventionibus. Et omnes decimas molendinorum, piſcariarum, pomariorum, & columbariorum meorum de Kilkenn.

Volo etiam & concedo, quod prædicti fratres deſerviant capellâ caſtri mei de Kilkenn. et inde habeant omnes obventiones et oblationes ſi ego abſens fuero vel hæredes mei: ſin autem, tunc dominici capellani mei oblationes ex ea provenientes precipient.

Conceſſi etiam locum quendam ad caput magni pontis, ubi primitus domus eorum inchoata fuit, reddendo de eodem loco mihi & hæredibus meis annuatim tres ſolidos pro omnibus ſervitiis. Et quod habeant et poſſideant pacificè omnes redditus burgagiorum quæ eis in villa de Kilkenn. data fuerunt et danda, ſalvo ſervitio meo, et ſalvis omnibus quæ juris mei ſunt. Præterea conceſſi eccleſiam de Haghamon et eccleſiam de Nova villa, & totum beneficium Veteris villæ cum omnibus pertinentiis ad eaſdem eccleſias ſpectantibus. Præterea, decimas molendinorum meorum & fenorum meorum in parochiis prædictarum eccleſiarum.

Inſuper,

Inſuper, triginta marcas argenti de decima redditus mei affiſi in Hibernia precipiendas in perpetuum ad ſcaccarium meum de Kilkennia. Et præter hæc, unam carrucatam terræ cum pertinentiis, viz. illam quam Thomas Drake conſuevit tenere juxta Kilkenniam, quietam ab omnibus ſervitiis, &c.

Monaſticon Anglic. vol. 2 pag. 1042.

No. II.—Page 383.

REX ſuperiori & præpoſito & communitati villæ de Kilkenny, ſalutem. Monſtravit nobis venerabilis pater, Alexander epiſcopus Oſſorienſis, ut cum ipſe omnia temporalia ſua teneat denobis in capite; ipſeque quoddam mercatum in villa ſua del Iriſhton juxta Kilkeniam, quæ eſt parcella dictorum temporalium, viz. die Mercurii ſingulis ſeptimanis, obtineat. Et licet idem epiſcopus & prædeceſſores ſui nuper epiſcopi loci prædicti, mercatum ſuum prædictum, ut prædictum eſt, & libertatem ſuam infra Croceam epiſcopatûs prædicti, libere & abſque cuſtumis aliquibus pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia, de rebus venalibus ad dictum mercatum, vel infra libertatem prædictam venientibus, abſque aſſenſu & voluntate prædicti epiſcopi & prædeceſſorum ſuorum ſolvendis a tempore fundationis eccleſiæ ipſius epiſcopi Sti. Canici de Kilkennia habere conſueverunt. Vos tamen quaſdam literas noſtras patentes ad certas cuſtumas pro muragio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia, de rebus venalibus ad eandem villam de Kilkennia et infra Croceam prædictam venientibus, percipiendas abſque conſenſu ſive notitia dicti epiſcopi impetraſtis, & cuſtumas hujuſmodi de rebus venalibus ad dictum mercatum & infra libertatem ipſius epiſcopi prædictam venientibus prætextu dictarum literarum noſtrarum minus juſte percepiſtis, et indies percipere non deſiſtis, in ipſius epiſcopi ac eccleſiæ ſuæ prædictæ grave præjudicium, dictique mercati ac libertatis ſuæ prædictæ perturbationem & retractionem manifeſtas, ut dicitur; ſuper quo nobis ſupplicavit ſibi remedium adhibere; & quia per quendam inquiſitionem coram fratre Willielmo Tany, priore hoſpitalis Sti. Johannis Jeruſalem in Hibernia, cancellario noſtro, ibidem captam, et in cancellarium noſtram Hiberniæ remanentem eſt compertum, quod dicta villa del Iriſhton eſt parcella dictorum temporallum: & quod idem epiſcopus & prædeceſſores ſui prædicti mercatum prædictum una cum libertate prædicta in forma prædicta habere conſueverunt. Nolentes proinde, quod præfato epiſcopo in ea parte prætextu dictarum literarum noſtrarum aliqualitur præjudicetur, vobis et cuilibet veſtrum mandamus, quod prætextu dictarum noſtrarum literarum de dicta villa del Iriſhton, mercatu aut libertate prædictis,

prædictis, vel de cuſtumis aliquibus pro muraggio dictæ villæ de Kilkennia de rebus venallibus addictum mercatum, vel infra libertatem prædictam venientibus, abſque aſſenſu et voluntate ipſius epiſcopi de cetero capiendis. Vos autem aliquem veſtrum nullatenus intromittatis ſub periculo incumbente.

Teſte Jacobo de Botiller, comite de Ormond juſticiario noſtro apud Dublin 28 die Januarii, anno regni noſtri 51.

Rot. cancell. Hiber. 51. Edw. III. 1376. No. 76 in dorſo.

No. III.—Page 441.

PRÆPOSITUS, ballivi et probi homines villæ de Kilkennia habent pavagium ad villam ſuam paviendam per ſeptem annos ſub data, apud Dublin, 25 die Novembris, anno 1 Edw. III. 1334.

Ex rotul. turr. Bermingh. pat. 8. E. III. p. No. 106.

No. IV.—Page 442.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Cum communitas comitatûs noſtri de Kilkennia nobis in ſubſidium guerræ ſuper Hibernicos partium Lageniæ hoſtes noſtros, Dei adjutorio, expugnandos, ſua ſpontanea voluntate nobis conceſſerint duodecim homines ad arma, cum tot equis coopertis, quolibet eorum capiente per diem duodecim denarios; et ſexaginta hobelarios, quolibet eorum capiente per diem, quatuor denarios; et ducentes pedites, quolibes eorum capiente per diem tres obolos, vadiis ipſius communitatis ſuſtineri per quoddam certum tempus in comitiva juſticiarii noſtri Hiberniæ, dicta guerra durante, moraturos, prout inter ipſos juſticiarium et communitatum erat concordatum. Aſſignavimus dilectos nobis Willielmum Lye et Thomam Moygne in cantredas de Oſgellan et Ognentoy: Ricardum Foreſtal et Walterum Sillame in cantreda de Sylerchir: Adamum Tonibrige, Gilbertum Synniche et Johannem Herberd in cantredis de Odoch et Galmoy, ad dictum ſubſidium conjunctim et dilecto conſanguineo noſtro Jacobo de Botiller, comiti de Ormond, et hominibus quos idem comes retineat in guerra prædicta (dum tamen ad numerum hominum ad arma, hobelariorum et peditum prædictorum attingat eoſdem hoſtes guerrando) per indenturam inter eos, modo debito conficiendam, liberandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod iiſdem Willielmo, Thomæ, Ricardo, Waltero, Adæ, Gilberto et Johanni, tanquam aſſeſſoribus et collectoribus ſubſidii prædicti, pareatis et intendatis. Damus autem aſſeſſoribus

et

et collectoribus prædictis, tenore præsentium in mandatis, quod circa præmissa cum omni festinatione et diligentia faciant et exequantur informa prædicta.

In cujus, &c. teste Almarico justiciario apad Tristledermot, 26° die Novem.

Per ipsum justiciarium et concilium.

Ex rot. Turr. Berm. pat. 23 Edw. III. No. 53. A. D. 1349.

No. V.—Page 445.

REX dilectis sibi superiori et communitati villæ de Kilkennia, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos fortificationem et reparationem villæ vestræ vestris exigentibus meritis, affectuose desiderantes, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus, et licentiam dedimus vobis, in auxilium murorum, paviamenti et pontisejusdem villæ reparandorum, quod vos et posteri vestri per vosmet aut deputandos a vobis capere possitis, et habere a decimo die Decembris jam proxime futuro, usque ad finem septem annorum extunce proxime sequentium plenarie complendorum, de rebus venalibus ad eandem villam venientibus, seu de eadem causa veniendi transientibus, sive per eandem villam per unam lucam circumquaque, tam in Crocea quam in libertate ibidem venientibus, consuetudines subscriptas.

Vir de quolibet cranoco cujuscunque generis, bladi, brasei, farinæ et salis venali, unum obolum. De quolibet cranoco waide venali duos denarios. De quolibet cranoco de corcyr et symal venali, unum denarium. De quolibet cranoco tanni venali, unum quadrantem. De duodecim cranocis quorumcunque carbonum venalibus, unum denarium. De duodecim cranocis calcis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet equo, vel equa, hobino, bove vel vacca venali, unum denarium. De decem ovibus, capris vel porcis venalibus, unum denarium. De quinque venalibus baconibus unum obolum. De duodecim velleribus lanitis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet corio equi vel equæ, hobini, bovis, vel vaccæ, frisco, salito vel tannato venali, unum quadrantem. De qualibet centena pellium agnorum, capriolorum leporum, vulpium, catarorum et squirrellorum, venali, unum obolum. De qualibe centena pellium omnium lanetarum, caprarum, leporum, bissarum, damorum vel damarum venali, unum denarium. De duabus molis manualibus venalibus, unum denarium. De duabus molis manualibus, unum quadrantem. De quolibet magno facco lanæ venali, quatuor denarios. De qualibet masa allecis venali, unum quadrantem. De viginti grossis piscilnis venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibet summagio æqui piscium maris venali, unum quadrantem. De centum anguillis

groſſis aquæ dulcis venalibus, unum denarium. De quolibet ſalmone venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet dolio vini et cinerum venali, quatuor denarios. De quolibet ſummagio mellis venali, unum denarium. De quolibet ſummagio cinerum venali, unum denarium. De quolibet ſummagio pannorum venalium, unum obolum. De quolibet panno integro de aſſiſſa venali, unum denarium. De viginti ulnis panni Hibernici, ſalewyche et wyrſtede, venalibus, unum obolum. De viginti ulnis linei teli Anglici vel tranſmarini, venalibus, unum obolum. De viginti ulnis de canenis venalibus, unum quadrantem. De decem capellis de feltro venalibus, unum obolum. De quolibe tapeto vel chalon venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet panno aureo venali, unum denarium. De quolibet panno de ſerico vel baudikino venali, unum obolum. De quolibet capite ſindonis venali, unum obolum. De quolibet ſallinga Hibernica venali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet ſummagio pannorum, vel aliarum rerum venalium, unum obolum. De qualibet benda ferri venali, unum obolum. De centum gaddis aſceris venalibus, unum obolum. De centum libris de pice, vel roſino venalibus, unum obolom. De centum libri ſeminis porri venalibus, unum denarium. De duabus milliaribus ceparum venalibus, unam quadrantem. De octo chane ſalis venalibus, unum quadrantem. De centum magnis bordis venalibus, unum denarium. De quolibet milliari ſcinrularum groſſarum venali, unum denarium. De quolibet milliari ſcindularum minutarum unum obolum. De quolibet milliari clavorum venalium, unum obolum. De quolibet centena ferrorum adequos, et clutorum ad carectas venali, unum obolum. De qualibet nova ciſta, vel archavenali, unum quadrantem. De quolibet milliari diſcorum et platellorum ligneorum venali unum quadrantem. De qualibet duodena de cordwane, corney, et baſyne venali, unun obolum. De qualibet centena oris et cupri venali, duos denarios. De qualibet centena de ſcalpyn et piſcis auri venali, unum denarium. De decem petris cannabi et lini venalibus, unum denarium. De decem lagenis olei lampadarum venalibus, unum obolum. De qualibet centena de vitro colorato venali, unum denarium. De qualibet centena de vitro albo venali, unum obolum. De duabus ſolidatis cujuſcunque generis ſpecierum venalibus, unnm obolum. De qualibet centena de amero de pondere venali, unum denarium. De qualibet duodena panni Anglici vel tranſmarini venali. unum denarium. Et de quolibet mercimonio valoris duorum ſolidorum, unde hic non ſit mentio venali unum quadrantem.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod conſuetudines prædictas de rebus venalibus prædictis capiatis et habeatis, uſque ad finem termini prædicti; completo autem termino

termino illo, consuetudines prædictæ penitus cessent et deleantur. Ita semper, quod denarii inde provenientes circa muragium, pavagium et pontagium villæ prædictæ et non alibi, fideliter expendantur. Volumus enim quod in fine cujuslibet anni, durante termino prædicto, computus inde coram venerabili patre episcopo Osforiensi, qui pro tempore fuit et Roberto de la Ffreigne milite, vel altero eorum, et non ad scaccarium nostrum Hiberniæ, de anno in annum fideliter per vos reddatur.

In cujus, &c. teste Gullielmo Tanny, Gubernatore, apud Kilkenniam, primo die Julii, anno regni 49.

Per petitionem de concilio.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 49 Edw. III. No. 125, intus. A. D. 1375.

No. VI.—Page 448.

REX, &c. omnibus ad quos, &c, salutem. Supplicarunt nobis superior, præpositus et communitas villæ de Kilkennia, ut cum villa prædicta in marchiis fuerit assessa, et diversis Hibernicis inimicis nostris, ac aliis rebellibus, malefactoribus, felonibus et utlagatis Lageniæ, Momoniæ et Conaciæ undique circumvallata: idemque superior, præpositus et communitas non habeant unde venire valeant secure omnimodo exemptione et venditione victualium, et aliarum parvarum rerum et mercandizarum suarum, quæ præfatis inimicis et rebellibus ad evitandum eorum malitiam necessario vendere et dare oportebit; et adhuc indies, vi compellantibus aut alias dicta villa foret per dictos inimicos et rebelles spoliata, destructa et omnino desolata et relicta, quod absit. Velimus, præmissis consideratis, et quod eadem villa major extat relevamen et confortamen quorumcunque ministrorum, soldariorum et aliorum fidelium nostrorum, per terram nostram Hiberniæ laborantium, quod ipsi victualia et mercandizas cum dictis inimicis et rebellibus, tempore pacis et frugarum, emere, vendere et mercandizare tam infra villam prædictam quam extra in partibus vicinis, absque impetitione nostra hæredum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque, licentiam gratiose concedere.

Nos de avisamento et assensu charissimi filii nostri, Thomæ de Lancastre senescalli Angliæ, locum nostrum tenentis in terra nostra Hiberniæ, ac aliorum de concilio nostro præmissa advertantium, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam delimus præfato superiori, præposito et communitati, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet de cætero, usque ad finem trium annorum ex nunc proxime sequentium, plenarie

plenarie compléndorum, omnimoda hujusmodi victualia et merchandizas ſuas (equis et armaturis duntaxat exceptis) tam tempore pacis quam trugarum, diebus mercati, tam in villa prædicta quam in aliis villis Anglicis mercatoriis comitatûs Kilkenniæ, eidem vicinis, dictis inimicis ei rebellibus noſtris vendere; et de eis emere et cum eis mercandizare, abſque impetitione aut occaſione noſtri, aut miniſtrorum noſtrorum quorumcunque, aliquo ſtatuto, ſive ordinatione inde in contrarium factis non obſtantibus.

Ita ſemper, quod hujuſmodi victualia et mercandizæ in foris dictarum villarum, et diebus foralibus et non alibi, emantur et vendantur.

In cujus rei, &c. teſte præfato locum noſtrum tenente, apud Trym, 20° die Feb. anno regni noſtri quarto.

Per petitionem, &c.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 4 Hen. IV. No. 128, intus. A.D. 1402.

No. VII. Page 448.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos conſiderantes grandes cuſtus, quod dilecti legei noſtri ſuperior et communes villæ de Kilkennia habent et ſuſtinent, necnon roberias, extortiones et oppreſſiones, quæ iis per Hibernicos inimicos et Anglicos rebelles noſtros fact exiſtunt; ac etiam alia onera impoſita, quæ dicta villa et patria circumquaque ſoldariis noſtris ibidem, que extendunt ad ducentas marcas quolibet quaterno anni in reſiſtentiam ſuperbiæ et malitiam dictorum inimicorum et rebellium de die in diem ſupportant; et quod dicta villa auxilium et confortamem comitatûs Kilkenniæ, et aliorum ligeorum noſtrorum dictæ villæ reparantium in omnibus agendis ſuis contra eoſdem Hibernicos et rebelles exiſtat: Ob quod præfati ſuperior et communes in tantum depauperati ſunt, quod non poſſint reparare vel emandare defectus murorum, pontium et pavimentorum dictæ villæ abſque relevamine noſtro; qui vero mures, pontes et paviamenta pro majori parte proſternantur, et pro defectu cuſtuum, in periculum cadendi ad terram exiſtunt.

Nos de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, de aſſenſu venerabilis in Chriſto patris Richardi archiepiſcopi Dublin, deputati, dilecti et fidelis noſtri Johannis Talbot de Holomſhire Chivaler, locum noſtrum tenentis terræ noſtræ Hiberiæ, et concilii noſtri in eadem terra, in ſalvationem dictæ villæ et patriæ circumquaque, dedimus et conceſſimus eidem ſuperiori et communibus, certas cuſtumas de quibuſcunque merchandiſis venalibus ad dictam villam venientibus, ſecundum formam et effectum literatum patentium chariſſimi domini et patris noſtri, Henrici quarti nuper regis Angliæ eis

data,

ſit niſi unus officiorum, et iſte non inducat vel conducat ſervum, ancillam vel mulierem, ſine licentia vicarii decani et ejus confratrum.

Item, qnod eorum aliquis ſit perſonaliter parochialis ut inolevit.

Item, quod iſte procurator ſive officiarius domus eligatur de communi conſenſu et aſſenſu ipſorum vicariorum, et quod ſit unus illorum vicariorum prædictæ communis aulæ, et quod quolibet anno ab illis vicariis eligatur, et ob negligentiam ipſorum, poteſtas ipſum eligendi devolvatur ad decanum, cum aſſiſtentia ſaltem ſeniorum de capitulo.

Item, quod nullus eligatur niſi unus vicariorum prædicto officio, et quod iſte procurator ſive officiarius teneatur reddere rationem ſeu computum ipſis vicariis ſingulis hebdomadis, et decano bis in anno.

Item, quod ſi aliquis dictorum vicariorum in ſuo miniſterio ſeu divino officio ad quod, de fundatione tenetur, negligens et culpabilis repertus fuerit, pro parva offenſa mulctatur in quatuor denariis, et ſi tunc monitus ſecundo deliquerit in 8 denariis, et tertio monitus ſi denuo deliquerit in 12 denariis :medietatam mulctorum hujuſmodi ad uſus decani, et aliam, medietatem in communem utilitatem dicti collegii converti volumus.

Item, ordinamus, quod fundatio et alia ſcripta et munimenta dicti collegii conſervanda una cum eorundem ſigillo communi, ponentur et conſtodientur ſalva et ſecura, infra dictum collegium dictæ ecc. cathed. in una ciſta ſive ſcrino ſub tribus ſeris, et una clavis ejuſdem ciſtæ vel ſcrinii remaneat ſub cuſtodia decani vicarii, alia in cuſtodia vicarii præcentoris, et tertia in cuſtodia vicarii cancellarii dictæ ecc. et dicta ciſta ſive ſcrinium nunquam aperietur niſi de conſenſu et aſſenſu dictorum vicariorum et partis majoris cæterorum vicariorum. Et quod nulla pars redituum concedatur alicui perſonæ ultra quinque annos, niſi ad hoc acceſſerit aſſenſus decani.

Et interea præmiſſis non obſtantibus, ex certis rationabilibus cauſis nos moventibus, et præſertim pro utilitate dicti collegii, volumus quod Nicholaus Brytton dictæ ecc. theſaur. pro termino trium annorum ſequentium erit tanquam procurator et ſupervisor et proviſor dicti collegii, ita quod reddit computum dictis vicariis de ſua adminiſtratione ſemel qualibet ſeptimana, et decano bis in anno, ut ſupra dictum eſt.

Ordinamus inſuper, quod fructus, redditus et preventus ecc. de Kilkeſy remanent ſingulis annis ad theſaurarium dicti collegii, et reparationes ædificiorum ejuſdem, aliaque communia onera pro utilitate collegii ſupportanda de ærario in ciſta ſeu ſcrinio

ſcrinio prædicto; ita quod nulla pars pecuniæ exinde proveniens diſtribuatur, niſi de conſenſu decani vicarii, & majoris partis vicariorum ejuſdem collegii pro tempore exiſtentium.

In quorum omnium et ſingulorum præmiſſorum fidem & teſtimonium ſigillum quo utimur ad cauſas ecc. præſentibus duximus apponendum. Datum Kilkenniæ 8° die Aprilis dicti dom. regis triceſſimo primo. A. D. 1540.

No. IX. Pag. 493.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Supplicarunt nobis dilecti nobis prior et conventus fratrum prædicatorum Kilkenniæ, ut cum ipſi continuo ſint oratores pro ſtatu noſtro, et pro animabus nobilium progenitorum noſtrorum, quondam regum Angliæ, &c. Et ſeipſos non poſſunt ſuſtinere ex eleemoſynis villæ Kilkenniæ, neque comitatus Kilkenniæ, eo quod dictus comitatus eſt tam per rebelles noſtros quam Hibernicos inimicos deſtructus & devaſtatus.

Volumus, præmiſſis conſideratis, eo prætextu cum eis agere gratioſe, nos ſupplicationi ſuæ prædictæ annuentes, de aſſenſu venerabilis in Chriſto patris, Ricardi archiepiſcopi Dublin juſticiarii noſtri terræ noſtræ Hiberniæ, et conſilii noſtri in eadem terra noſtra per manucaptionem Johannis Nauyler de Trym & Thomæ Clopham de Navane, conceſſimus iiſdem priori & conventui, duas partes, omnium commoditatum, & proficiorum quorumcunque rectoriæ eccleſiæ de Mothil in comitatu prædicto, in manibus noſtris, certis de cauſis, exiſtentes. Habendum et tenendum dictas duas partes, quandiu in manibus noſtris prædictis contigerint remanere. Reddendo inde per annum ad ſcaccarium noſtrum Hiberniæ octo denarios ad feſta Sti. Michaelis & Paſchæ per æquales portiones.

In cujus, &c. teſte præfato juſticiario noſtro apud Dublin 25° die Julii.

Ex turr. Berm. pat. 15 Hen. VI. No. 11. intus. A. D. 1437.

CHURCH

data, viceſſimi octavi Januarii, anno regni ejuſdem patris noſtri ſecundo, ut dicitur, factarum: Habendum et percipiendum cuſtumas prædictas hucuſque ad finem 21 annorum plenarie complendorum.

Volentes inſuper, quod compotus inde coram nobis et hæredibus noſtris et miniſtris, duobus burgenſibus ejuſdem villæ, per ſuperiorem et communes ejuſdem villæ, pro tempore exiſtentes, ad hoc ſingulis annis eligendis, et non coram nobis, ſeu hæredibus noſtris, aut miniſtris quibuſcunque de anno in annum fideliter reddatur. Proviſo ſemper, quod cuſtumæ prædictæ circa reparationem et emendationem murorum, pontium et paviamentorum prædictorum expendantur, et completo termino prædicto penitus ipſæ ceſſent et deleantur.

In cujus, &c. teſte præfato deputato apud Trym, 20° die Septembris.

Per petitionem, &c.

Ex rot. turr. Berm. pat. 7 Hen. V. No. 12, intus. A.D. 1419.

No. VIII. Page 411.

Johannes Allen armiger, cancellarius domini regis terræ ſuæ Hiberniæ, Georgius, miſeratione divina Dublin. archiepiſcopus, Hiberniæ primas, et Will. Brabaſon Arm. ſub-theſaurarius ſupremi domini regis in terra ſua Hybernia prædicta (et ejuſdem invictiſſimi in Chriſto principis et domini noſtri dom. Henrici 8vi, Dei gratia, Ang. et Franciæ regis, fidei defenſoris et domini Hyberniæ, et ſupremi capitis eccléſiarum Anglicanarum et Hibernicarum poſt Deum in terris) commiſſarii et legati ſpeciales et generales in eccleſiaſticis cauſis et ſuæ eccleſiæ juriſdictione, per totam Hiberniam legitime conſtituti et deputati.

Univerſis et ſingulis Chriſti fidelibus ad quorum notitiam præſentes literæ pervenerint, et illi vel illis, quæ ſeu potius infra ſcriptum tangit, ſeu tangere potuit quomodolibet in futurum, ſalutem in domino ſempiterno, atque præſentibus fidem adhibeamus indubiam.

Cupientes finem imponi ne plus ultra modum graventur laboribus et expenſis; præſertim nunc de juribus eccleſiaſticis aut eccleſiaſticarum perſonarum ſtatu, aut etiam eccleſiaſtica juriſdictione contenditur: de quibus diutius abſque animarum et rerum periculo et jactura decertari non poteſt; ea propter in cauſa, et quæſtione aliquamdiu ventilata, inter diſcretum virum dom. Jacobum Cleere, dec. ecc. Off. et vicarios perpetuos et chorales communis aulæ collegii cathedralis eccleſiæ Sti Canici, villæ Kilkenn. et præſertim propter eorundem vicariorum de et ſuper juriſdictione

Jurisdictione decani, et ſtatu vicariorum ipſorum, auditis allegationibus juris et facti (ſaltem quibus uti valebant in hac parte) cordi ſit nobis lites minuere et a laboribus relevare ſubjectos, tam de conſenſu prædicti in Chriſto patris dom. Milonis epiſ. Oſſor. quam ſubjectorum, duximus ſtatuere et ordinare in hunc, qui ſequitur, modum, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturum.

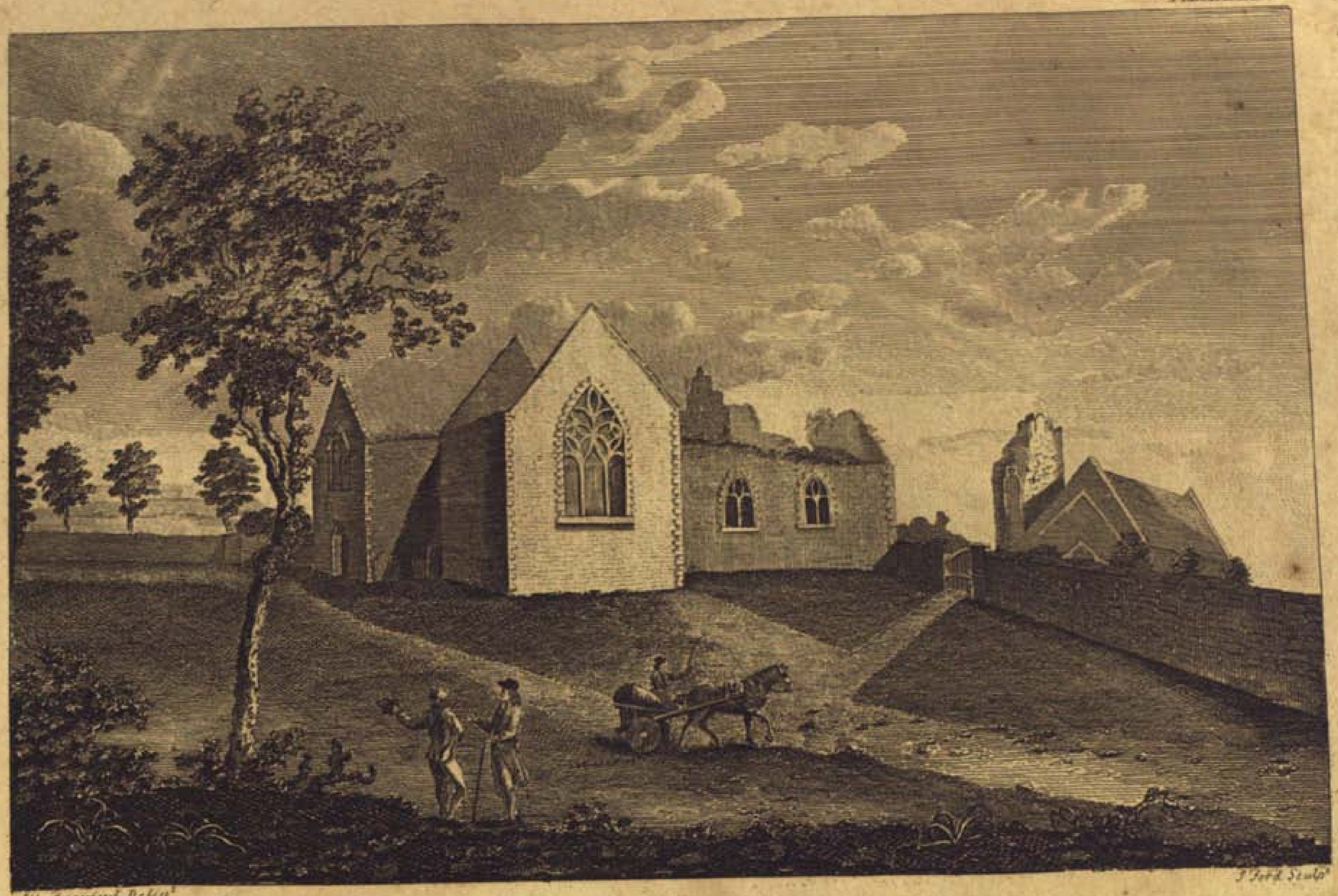
Imprimis, qnod vacante ſtallo, aliquis vicarius choralis, cujus nominatio ad aliquem de dignatoribus et præbendariis dictæ eccleſiæ cathed. de jure ſeu conſuetudine ſpectat, præſentatur decano examinandum, ſi moribus et honeſtate approbatus fuerit, ipſum commendabit præcentori, de ſua peritia in cantu, et cancellario de ſua literatura examinandum: quibus omnibus ſufficientur imbutus admittetur per decanum, in vicarium choralem, juxta modum in antiqua fundatione, traditum. Eo ſemper ſalvo, quod perpetui vicarii communis aulæ legitimas exceptiones coram decano opponant, quas ſi viderit veriſimiles, admittet, eiſque differat, quantum de jure poterit et debebit. Et caſu quo hujusmodi exceptiones coram decano per dolum vel excogitatam maliciam opponuntur (ipſis ſpretis et negatis) nominatus et præſentatus, ſi habilis moribus, cantu et literatura, ut præmititur, expertus fuerit, nihilominus admittatur.

Item, quod decanus, epiſcopus vel archiepiſcopus juxta formam prænominatam, culpis, delectis, criminibus prænominatorum vicariorum expoſcentibus, ipſos aut ipſorum quemlibet, (trina monitione prævia) removere valeant, aut ipſos, aut ipſorum quemlibet cenſura eccleſ. compeſcere, ſi maluerint, ut in antiqua fundatione.

Item, quilibet vicariorum debet ſervire choro, et ſe non abſentare abſqe liceentia decani, ſeu ejus vicarii, ſine rationabili cauſa; et debet modum et formam legendi quotidie in menſam, bibliam, aut alias ſacras literas ſervare, ut conſuetudo inolevit in ipſo collegio.

Item, quod dicti vicarii chorales id aula foveant hoſpitalitatem quotidie: et in menſam aut ſilentium teneant, aut finita lectione, laudabile et honeſtum colloquium habeant. Et ſimili modo ſilentium teneant, aut contemplationi vacant in dormitorio, ab hora octava in nocte uſque horam quintam in mane. Et quilibet eorum dormire debet in dicto dormitorio, niſi ex rationabili cauſa de licentia decani ſeu ejus vicarii habuerit alibi dormiendi, ſi fuerit prope dictum collegium, per ſtatium unius milliaris.

Item, quod dictorum vicariorum quilibet, excepto decani vicario, debet gerere omnia officia dictæ domus ſucceſſive; ita tamen quod uno eodemque tempore non



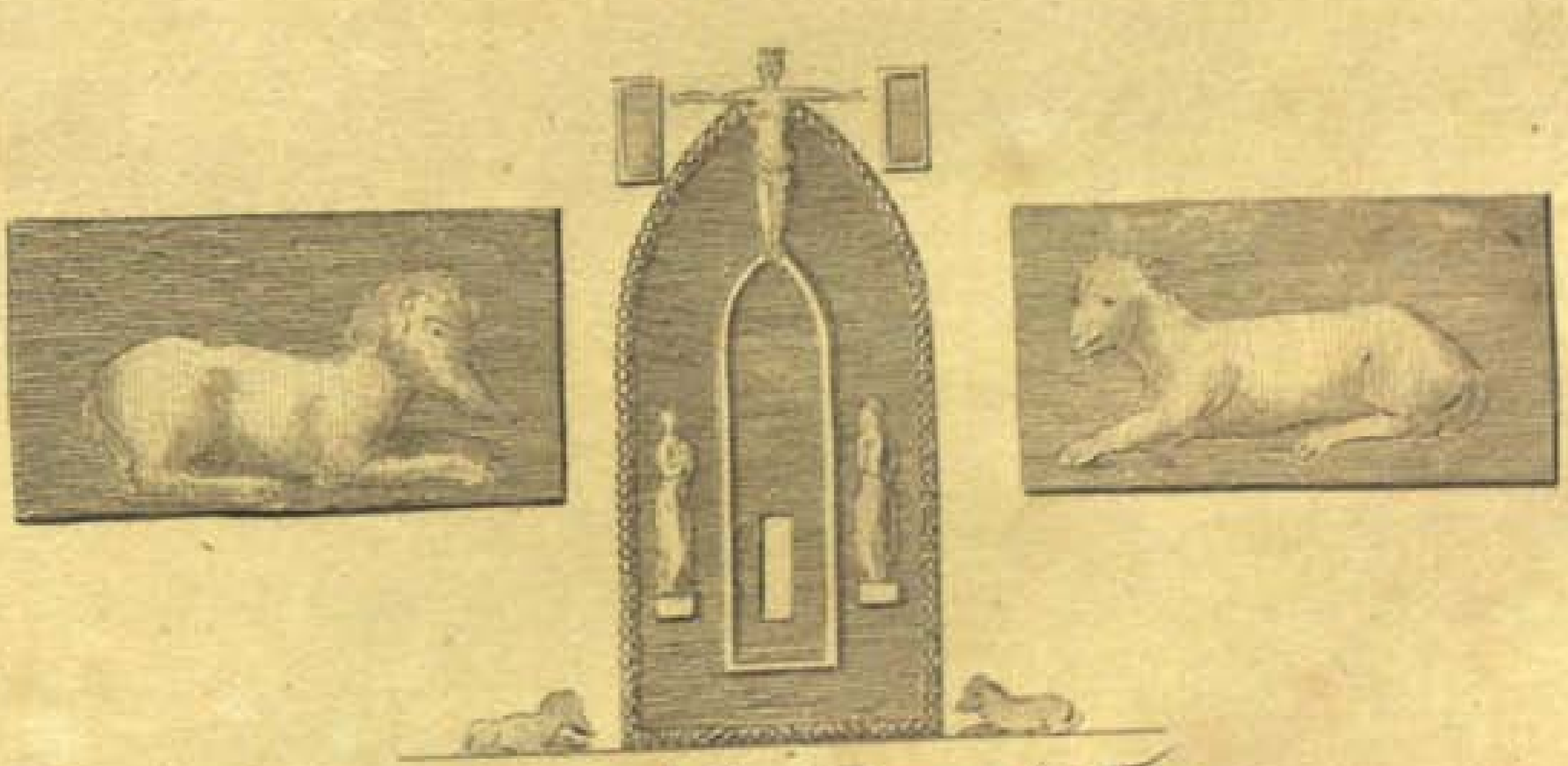
W. Beauford Delin.

J. Ford Sculp.

ABBEY and CHURCH of AGHABOE

Published by John Jones No. 90 Bride St. Dublin.

West Front of Bredwin Church



Door of the Round Tower

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CHURCH OF AGHABOE.

ADAMNAN, Abbat of the Culdean monaſtery of Hy or Iona, flouriſhed about the year 680, and (1) writ the life of St. Columba. In this work our pariſh is named *Achet-bou*, very little deviating from its true orthography, *Achad-bho*, in Iriſh the field of a Cow, an appellation derived from the uncommon richneſs of the paſture ſurrounding the church.

St. Canice, probably the ſame as the St. Canocus mentioned by Giraldus Cambrenſis in his Welſh Itinerary, was the intimate friend of St. Columba, fixt (2) his reſidence here at the end of the ſixth century, and formed an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. On their converſion to chriſtianity, the great feudatories, who were ſtyled Kings and Princes, endowed the Church with ample poſſeſſions. Aghaboe is ſituated in the principality of Oſſory, which included the (3) whole county of Kilkenny, called Lower Oſſory, and a great part of the Queen's county, named Upper Oſſory, being co-extenſive with the Biſhop's juriſdiction at this day.

The Princes of Oſſory early embraced the faith, and were bountiful in an eminent degree to the clergy, founding above two hundred churches; and hence they obtained the name of Mac-giolla-phadruic, or the ſon of the ſervant of Patrick, which was changed by the Engliſh into Fitz Patrick. This name expreſſed their devotion to him, whom the legends ſuppoſed to be the firſt preacher of the goſpel here. Walſh and Keating give inſtances of the conſpicuous piety of Scanlan and Donogh, Kings of Oſſory in the tenth century: and Lynch, in his Cambrenſis everſus, obſerves that our national writers pay particular attention to this race of princes; for they give a catalogue of the Kings of Oſſory, and they paſs over the leſſer princes. When the Engliſh adventurers landed here in 1170, Donald Mac-giolla-phadruic was King of Oſſory: they found the country full of defiles, woods, and marſhes, and a (4) brave people prepared to defend their country. As founders of the ſee and churches, theſe princes, for many ages, preſented to both. The noble

 repreſentative

(1) Pinkerton, Vit S. Scot. l. 1. c. 4. (2) Uſſer. Primord. p. 957.

(3) Ware's Biſhops, in Oſſory.

(4) In primis igitur Oſſyriæ partes non longe penetrantes, quaſi in ipſo terræ limbo, locis in arctis, et tam ſylvis quam paludibus inviis, Oſſyrienſes in patriæ defenſione non invalidos inveneruut. Gir. Cambrens. p. 762. An eye witneſs.

repreſentative of this family, the preſent Earl of Upper Oſſory, poſſeſſes the advowſon of the churches of Aghmacart, Cahir, Killeen, Killermogh and Coolkerry and a large eſtate in Upper Oſſory; patrimonies deſcended to him through a long line of noble progenitors for more than a thouſand years: an inſtance not, perhaps, to be paralleled in Europe.

The (5) Provinciale Romanum, a catalogue of uncertain date, preſerves the names of fifty-three biſhop's ſees, among theſe we perceive that of Aghaboe under its appropriate title of *Oſſinenſis* for *Oſſorienſis*: this is diſtinctly mentioned from that of Gainich or Canich which was Kilkenny; and it proves that the princes of Oſſory had not relinquiſhed their ancient biſhopric, but reſiſted the encroachment of papal power. This circumſtance evinces this catalogue to have been compiled after the year 1102, for at (6) that time, "Felix O Dullany died, whoſe cathedral church was then at Aghaboe in Upper Oſſory." It was not until the legateſhip of Cardinal Paparo in 1152, that the old See of Aghaboe was extinguiſhed and ſunk in that of Kilkenny; ſo that reckoning from the age of St. Canice to that of Paparo, it enjoyed the epiſcopal dignity for more than ſeven hundred years. As ſome compenſation for this loſs, it was made the head of a (7) rural Deanery, and had under its (8) inſpection the churches of Offerlan, Bordwell, Rathſaran, Rathdowny, Kildelgy, St. Nicholas, Killahy, Clomantigh, Aghmacart, Donamore, Killermogh, Skirk, Tubrid, Caher, Killeen and Eirk.

As a matter of curioſity, Sir William Petty's ſurvey of the pariſh is here introduced with the names of the proprietors in 1640, the denominations, the quality of the land, number of acres, &c. This ſurvey is called the Down ſurvey, a technical expreſſion, as Petty (9) explains it, of meaſuring by the chain and needle of the mile in length, and not by the thouſand acres of ſuperficial content. Or in other words, the baſe of downs or hills were only ſurveyed; a method which he ſeems firſt to have uſed. This down ſurvey of the Kingdom, which is in Dublin Caſtle and reſorted to as a legal record, receives ſome obſcure light, if I may ſo ſay, from Petty's work laſt cited. This the late Lord Chancellor Clare had reprinted at his own expence by Grueber in Dame-ſtreet, but unaccompanied with notes or illuſtrations: the conſequence is, it is almoſt unintelligible to a common reader; for it requires an extenſive and accurate knowledge of the civil and political affairs at the time, and of Petty's perſonal hiſtory to ſupply either entertaining or uſeful information. The numbers refer to thoſe in the Map.

No.

(5) Geograph. fac. a Car. a S. Paulo in Append. (6) Uſſer. ſup. p. 957.
(7) Antiquities ſupra p. 82. (8) From Biſhop Otway's Viſitation-book.
(9) Reflections upon ſome perſons and things in Ireland. Lond. 1666. 8vo.

Parish of AGHABOE in the Queens County,

BARONY of UPPER OSSORY,

from the Actual Survey of
Sir W. PETTY in 1655

Killballyduff
Nore R.
Burris
3
Carry hill
2
1
Offarilan
Miantin
Parish
Skierke Parish
10
11
12
15
4
8
9
7
17
16
14
5
6
19
18
15
21
22
23
24
Aghaboe
25
26
20
29
28
Kil
35
32
Gorth
or Go
30
27
31
34
36
35
38
37
Ballygehin
Downaghmoric Parish
Bordwell Park
Rathdo
39
Cool
40
42
43
44
45
46
Killkermogh Parish
4
Aghamacart
Erlan
Durr
Irish Miles
1
2
3

No.	Proprietors A. D. 1640.	Denominations.	Quality of the Land.	Number of Acres.
1	Duke of Buckingham — —	Shanbogh —	Arable, paſture and ſhrub — —	264. A bog.
2	The ſame — —	Burris —	Arable and paſture — —	660.
3	The ſame — —	Derrcemſhanagh	Arable, paſture and moor — —	254.
4	The ſame — —	Municultipenan	Arable, paſture and moor — —	123.
5	The ſame — —	Dermeſlough —	Arable, paſture and moor — —	64.
6	The ſame — —	Ballydeemodery	Arable, paſture and moor — —	63, 0, 20.
7	The ſame — —	Rood —	Arable and paſture — —	37, 3, 0.
8	The ſame — —	Derryborgin —	Arable and paſture — —	100, 3, 20.
9	The ſame — —	Bardnaſallogh	Arable, paſture and ſhrub — —	80.
10	The ſame — —	Balluorgin —	Arable and paſture — —	80, 2, 2.
11	The ſame — —	Ballykevan —	Arable, paſture and ſhrub — —	72, 2, 0.
12	The ſame — —	Cappagh —	Arable, paſture and ſhrub — —	124.
13	The ſame — —	Kilbeg —	Arable, paſture and ſhrub — —	171.
14	The ſame — —	Knockroe —	Arable and paſture — —	49.
15	Mrs. Pigott — —	Magheriuſtart	Arable, paſture and moor — —	124, 1, 29.
16	Terence Fitz Patrick —	Liſmore	Arable and paſture — —	69. A bog, 89, 2, 0.
17	Duke of Buckingham —	Arduarny —	Arable and paſture — —	31, 3, 0.
18	The ſame — —	Grangemore —	Arable and paſture — —	280. A bog, 118, 0, 0.
19	Mrs. Pigott — —	Gangebeg —	Arable and paſture — —	325.
20	Duke of Buckingham —	Ballybroghy —	Arable, paſture and ſhrub — —	304. A bog.
21	The ſame — —	Kilrotton —	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	219, 1, 2.
22	Morgan Caſhin — —	Carran —	Arable and paſture — —	689.
23	Parſon of Aghaboe —	Kealiagh —	Arable and paſture — —	157.
24	Mr. Carpenter — —	Aghaboe —	Arable, paſture and moor — —	295.
25	F. Fitz Patrick & Ant. Caſhin	Knockmullen —	Arable and paſture — —	96.
29	Barnaby Fitz Pattick —	Gurtnebooke —	Arable, paſture, wood, moor and meadow	487.
27	Parſon of Aghabue —	Farranagh —	Arable and paſture — —	69, 2, 10, Half the Chapter
28	Anthony Caſhin — —	Croſs —	Arable and paſture — —	147.
29	Mr. Carpenter, part —	Friar's Land —	Arable and paſture — —	59.
30	Thomas Hovenden —	Boherard —	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	341.
31	Morgan Caſhin — —	Coolbally —	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	260.
32	Sir Charles Coote — —	Palmer's Hill	Arable and paſture — —	113. A bog.
33	Theobald Butler — —	Billiegiebane —	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	135.
34	Florence Fitz Patrick —	Towrooe —	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	12.
35	Morgan Caſhen — —	Ballygoudanbeg	Arable, paſture and moor — —	50.
36	Thomas Hovenden —	Ballygoudanmore	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	88.
37	Geffry Fitz Patrick —	Kilmulfoyle —	Arable and paſture — —	266.
38	John Fitz Patrick —	Ballygihen —	Arable, paſture, wood, moor and meadow	1430.
39	Morgan Cathen — —	Larah —	Arable and paſture — —	124. A bog, 11, 2, 0.
40	Daniel Fitz Patrick —	Knockfin —	Arable, paſture, moor and wood —	259.
41	The ſame — —	Kileneſeare —	Arable, paſture, wood and moor —	248. A bog, 25, 0, 0.
42	The ſame — —	The ſame —	A Wood — —	
43	The ſame — —	Clonkinahanbeg	Arable, paſture and moor — —	29, A bog, 19, 0, 0.
44	Florence Fitz Patrick —	Clonkinahanmore	Arable, paſture and moor — —	119, 3, 0.
45	The ſame — —	Kiletelogs —	Arable, paſture and moor — —	184.
46	The ſame — —	Oldglaſs —	Arable, paſture, moor and ſhrub —	303.

The

The Denominations in the Veſtry-book, the Number of Acres and the preſent Proprietors, A. D. 1796.

Shanbogh — —	264	Chandos family.
Burros — —	600	The ſame.
Derreenſhinagh —	257	The ſame.
Dunmunnu and Monefat —	237	The ſame.
Curraghmore — —	8	The ſame.
Barnaſallagh — —	80	The ſame.
Cappagh — —	123	The ſame.
Kilebeg and Derreen Oliver —	171	The ſame.
Knockaroe — —	49	The ſame.
Mahernaſkagh — —	125	Sir Eraſmus Burrowes, Bart.
Liſmore — —	60	Richard Grace, Eſq.
Ardvarny — —	34	The Chandos family.
Grangemore — —	111	The ſame.
Grangebeg and two Ballyrilies —	270	The ſame.
Ballybrophy — —	276	The ſame.
Kilcotton — —	219	The ſame.
Carran and Carroreigh —	680	Carran, Thos. Carr, Eſq. Carroreig, Robert Stubber, Eſq.
Keilagh Glebe — —	157	The Vicar of Aghaboe.
Aghaboe and Frier's-land —	445	Thomas Carr, Eſq.
Knockamullen — —	96	Lord Upper Oſſory.
Gurtneclea and its Members —	487	Lord Mountmorres.
Farran Egliſh Glebe —	65	Part the Dean of Oſſory, part the Vicar.
Croſs — —	148	Thomas Carr, Eſq.
Boherard — —	215	John Rotton, Eſq.
Coolbally — —	260	Earl Anneſley.
Palmer's Hill — —	106	Lord Mountrath.
Deligibawn — —	66	Robert Stubber, Eſq.
Tooreigh and Tereragh —	37	Peter La Touche, Eſq.
Ballygowdenmore — —	188	Henry Grattan, Eſq.
Kilmunfoyle — —	103	Lord Upper Oſſory.

Ballygihen and its Members	1430	Part Henry Grattan, Esq. part Dr. Draoght
Larah — —	50	——Despard, Esq.
Baunoge — —	70	Peter La Touche, Esq.
Knockfin — —	179	Lord Portarlington,
Kilenefeer and Clonkinahanbeg	249	Gerald Fitz Gerald, Esq.
Oldglas and Clonkinahanmore	250	Lord Upper Ossory.
Park — —	50	The same.
Ballycolla — —	50	The same.
Newtown — —	57	The same.
Ballygarvin — —	80	The Parson of Killermogh.
Ballyhenode — —	50	Lord Upper Ossory.
Garryduffe — —	125	——Despard, Esq.
Derreensollogh — —	60	Chandos family,
Kiletelague — —	160	Lord Upper Ossory.
Coolfin — —	36	Omitted since 1768.

It has been understood, that the present parish church of Aghaboe was the chancel of the cathedral. There are some reasons to induce this belief, for there is no west window; but a gothic arch of red grit, now filled up with masonry, clearly marks a chancel or some such division of the church. The foundations of walls point out a continuation of tht church to the west. The belfry, a small hexagonal building, is without the church, and on a line with the chancel. It is closed with a circular cap of masonry. The bell is placed distinct from it: the top of the belfry is not as high as the roof of the church. When you enter the church a few paces, to the south is seen a door, imitating a transept. It is of stone, the arches concentric, and beautifully enriched with carving and foliage. The church is about forty feet long, and lighted by three windows; two to the south and one to the east: the latter divided by stone mullions, and branched out into trefoils. The northern wall is adorned with niches, canopies, and concentric mouldings, and has a curious confession-box in the thickness of the wall, not far from the altar.

On this account, I shall only remark, the whole has the appearance of an old rural cathedral, but the pointed arches and other decorations favour of more

recent ages. There are no ſepulchral monuments within or without the church deſerving notice.

The Dominican abbey was (10) founded in 1382, by Florence Fitz Patrick, prince of Oſſory. It ſtands but a few yards from the pariſh church. It is one hundred feet long by twenty-four wide, and has five pointed windows; three to the ſouth, with the eaſt and weſt ones. That to the eaſt is ramified. The weſtern door has concentric arches. The wall of this abbey are not ornamented. There is a ſmall tabernacle for ſacred utenſils. On the ſouth ſide of the abbey is a projecting building, called Phelan's chapel, yet connected with the abbey by a noble arch reſting on a pillar of ſolid maſonry. On the eaſt ſide, above the altar is a pedeſtal on which ſtood the ſtatue of St. Canice. There are two tabernacles and an inverted cone with eight grooves for holding holy water. On the north ſide of the abbey was a quadrangle, of ſixty feet ſquare. In this were the monks' cells, in number ten, ſervants' apartments and neceſſary offices. The cellars were ſpacious, and over them was the Prior's room forty-ſix by ſeventeen feet, and a large ſleeping room. I am ſorry to add, that my predeceſſors in the living of Aghaboe, and who had the fee of the land on which this abbey ſtood, demoliſhed moſt of this venerable pile to encloſe a demeſne.

There were two cells, each above a mile diſtant, dependant on the monaſtery of Aghaboe: one on the lands of Farran Egliſh for females, and from the black colour of their clothes, was named Teampul na Cailleachdubh, or the church of the black women. The other was at Ballygowden for males. Mr. Archdall is miſtaken in ſaying there is a round tower at Teampul na Cailleachdubh; there are no remains of ſuch. As I ſupplied him with all his information concerning Aghaboe and the pariſh, he muſt have relied on ſome other authority.

Beſides the mother-church at Aghaboe, there are the remains of religious edifices at Knockſeera, Liſmore and Kilmonfoyle. Theſe with thoſe before ennumerated ſeem to countenance an opinion delivered by the hiſtorian of the (11) county of Kerry, who thinks the inhabitants of Ireland prodigiouſly diminiſhed, becauſe in the barony of Corkaginny, there were anciently twenty pariſh churches, and now but nine places of worſhip. This writer knew but little of eccleſiaſtical antiquities, or the cauſes that retarded population, or even the ſtate of the country in remote periods, when he drew this concluſion. I ſhall endeavour conciſely to throw ſome light on this ſubject.

Originally

(10) Burke, Hibern. Dominicana, ſupra.

(11) Smith's ancient and preſent ſtate of Kerry, p. 172.

Originally the Biſhop's Cathedra, or church in which he reſided, ſerved as an altar and baptiſtery to the dioceſe: from this the euchariſt was diſpenſed to other churches, and in this the ſacrament of baptiſm was alone adminiſtred at ſtated times, and as a mother-church it had the right of tithes. When the lords of manors built churches for their families and tenants, a third part of the tithes was allocated to them. By the laws of Æthelſtan, A. D. 928, a ceorle or huſbandman was raiſed to the dignity of Thane, if he had five hides of land, a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell; and in the laws of Hoel Dda, A. D. 940, one is—if in a country-village the king ſhall grant his licence to erect a church, and if maſſes are ſaid there, and the dead interred in its cemetery, from thenceforth it ſhall be a free village with particular exemptions. The inducements to conſtruct churches, we ſee, were numerous and powerful; but the ſtrongeſt motive for (12) multiplying ſacred ſtructures is yet to be mentioned, and that was, that the building a church was ſufficient to ſave a ſoul and ſecure it Heaven: this point the clergy earneſtly inculcated on the laity from the age of Conſtantine, and in times of predominant ſuperſtition it had its full effect in increaſing the number of churches and clergy; ſo that an (13) excellent judge of ſuch matters remarks, that the number of eccleſiaſtics in Ireland, at one time, was equal to that of all its other inhabitants.

Our ſmall chapels, before named, ſeem to be included in (14) Canute's fourfold diviſion of churches, as expreſſed in his laws, A. D. 1036. 1. The Biſhop's cathedral. 2. The pariſh church, which had the rights of tithes, ſepulture, and ſacraments. 3. Thoſe which had only the right of ſepulture; and 4. The field-oratory, wherein maſs alone was performed. All theſe were ſanctuaries (another reaſon for multiplying religious edifices) and the violation of them was puniſhed according to their dignity: the diſcipline was the ſame on the (15) continent and in Ireland, as far as we can collect from ſome obſcure (16) Iriſh canons. At preſent Knockſeera, Liſmore, and Kilmonfoyle are much reſorted to as places of interment.

(12) Ωφιλειται ψυχης επιστροφη, την των δι μετρικης αυτης και αυτω πιστευοντων. Euſeb. Vit. Conſtantin, l. 4. c. 60. Qui eccleſiam ſeu templum ædificat, regnum Dei ſibi præparat. Vincent. Specul. l. 25. c. 25.

(13) Nicholſon's Iriſh Hiſtorical Library. (14) Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 540.

(15) Videat Epiſcopus, at eccleſia Dei ſuam habeat honorem ſimul & altaria, ſecundum ſuam dignitatem. Regino, p. 44. Edit. Baluz.

(16) Canon. Sti. Patricii, p. 34—35. Edit. Ware.

PRIORY

PRIORY OF ATHASSEL, IN THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

THE noble religious ſtructures erected by the early Engliſh ſettlers juſtly excite our admiration. Scarcely had they gained footing in this Iſle, and long before the natives ſuffered them to enjoy repoſe, than they ſet about raiſing moſt magnificent and coſtly buildings, either as votive offerings to the Deity, or to ſecure his future protection. The favour of Popes, particularly Innocent and Calixtus, and the reformation of the order, had exalted the Monks of St. Auguſtine to a great degree of eminence, and made it faſhionable among thoſe of the higheſt rank, to found monaſteries for them in the twelfth century. Almoſt all the ancient abbies of this order, evince a ſtyle of architectural elegance and grandeur but little inferior to their fabrics in England and on the continent. This taſte of the Auguſtinians, ſeconded by the opulence of their patrons, produced many beautiful religious ſtructures.

Athaſſel was founded by William Fitz Adelm de Burke, about the year 1200, in the village of Athaſſel, three miles from Caſhel, for Canons Regular of the order of St. Auguſtine, and dedicated to Edmund the King and Martyr. This Fitz Adelm was ſteward to Henry II. and anceſtor of the illuſtrious family of De Burgo. On the king's return from Ireland, he was entruſted with the management of affairs, and in 1204, he was interred at Athaſſel. Veneration and love for their great progenitor made the De Burgos and their numerous dependants beſtow ample poſſeſſions on, and contribute largely to the decoration of their favourite Priory. To this place Richard, the Red, Earl of Ulſter, retreated from the world, after entertaining the nobility aſſembled at Kilkenny, in 1326, and here he died ſhortly after.

The ruins of this Priory ſpeak its former magnitude and ſplendor. The choir is forty-four feet by twenty-ſix. The nave was of the ſame breadth with the choir, ſupported by lateral ailes; by the external walls it meaſures one hundred and ſeventeen feet in length. In the S.W. corner is a ſmall chapel. The ſteeple was ſquare and lofty. The cloiſters large. We cannot behold the numerous arches, walls, windows, and heaps of maſonry promiſcuouſly mixt in one common ruin, without ſaying with Ovid:

Omnia ſunt hominum tenui pendentia filo:
Et ſubita caſu, quæ valuere, ruunt.

A. Cooper Del. et Lith.

J. Ford Sculp.

A N. W. VIEW of the ABBEY of ATHASSEL.

Published by John Jones. N.o 30 Bride St. Dublin.

R. Bernard. Delin.

J. Ford. Sculp.

ISLE of DEVENISH.

Publishid by John Jones. N.o 90. Bride St. Dublin.

PRIORY OF DEVENISH, IN THE COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

DEVENISH, corrupted from (1) Dav-inis, or the Ox's Iſle, is an iſland in Lough Erne, a few miles from Enniſkillen. There (2) St. Laſerian in 563 founded a monaſtery. We learn with more certainty from Uſher and Ware, that it originally was a Culdean eſtabliſhment, where the celebrated diſciples of St. Columba continued to exerciſe their piety and virtue till overborne by ſuperſtition and an intolerant religion.

In the interpolations of the Ulſter Annals, at the year 1130, it is ſaid the Abbey of Daminis, for ſo it is named, was founded that year. Ware ſuppoſes this refers either to repairing the ancient monaſtery, or erecting a priory of Culdees there. But Ware knew very little of the hiſtory of this monaſtic order, or he would have perceived, that what the writer of the Annals underſtands by founding was, the building a new ſtone fabric on the Roman model, with ailes, oratories, and altars, and the whole under the invocation of ſome legendary ſaint; practices which the Culdees never adopted, and ſome of which they abhorred. The Auguſtinians, who ſeized every where the Culdean churches, began an Abbey here, but not ſo early as ſtated in the Annals. The Culdees were not expelled, but lived for ſome ages in ſubjection to their new maſters. The latter procured large poſſeſſions, which enabled them to beautify their church and conſtruct many other buildings. The oldeſt erections here are St. Molaiſe's houſe, and a fine round tower, both probably coeval. The former contained the reliques of St. Laſerian or Molaiſe, and is an additional proof of what has heretofore been advanced reſpecting theſe over-ground crypts. St. Molaiſe's houſe is a vaulted building of hewn ſtone; it and the round tower have every appearance of being built by the ſame architects.

(1) Lhuyd's compar. etymol. in Bos.

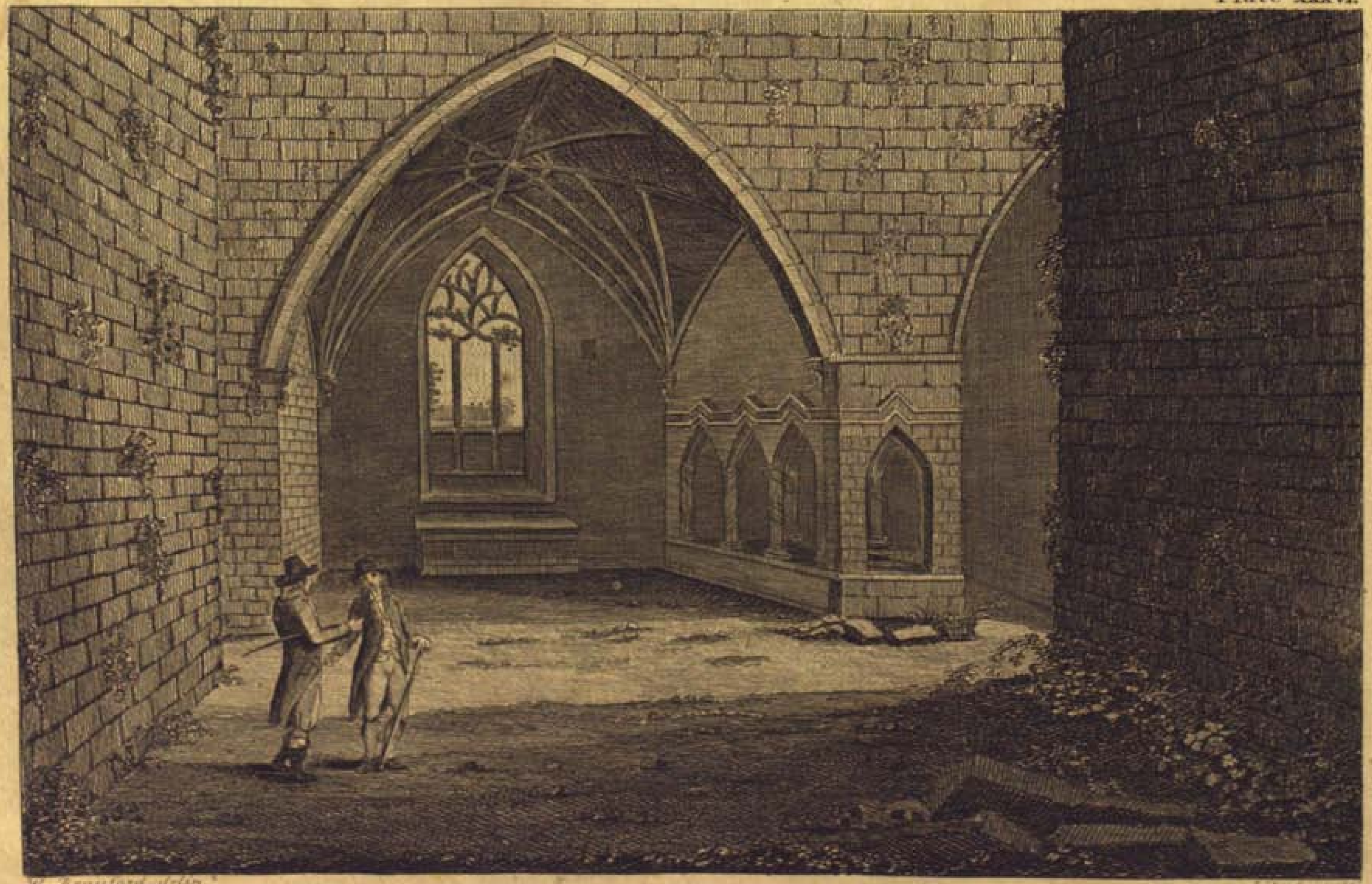
(2) Archdall's Mon. Hib. p. 259.

HOLY CROSS, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

THIS Abbey is ſituated in the County of Tipperary, about two miles from Thurles. Donagh Carbragh O'Brien, King of Limerick, founded it in 1169, in honour of the Holy Croſs, St. Mary, and St. Benedict, for monks of the Ciſtertian order. It is ſaid, that Murtagh, a former monarch, received from Pope Paſchal II. in 1110, a piece of the Croſs covered with gold, and ornamented with precious ſtones, which was depoſited in this Abbey, and the devotion to it, as we learn from Sydney's ſtate papers, was almoſt univerſal throughout the iſland. O'Neil, the great Ulſter rebel, made a pilgrimage to it in 1559. It is at once ſurprizing and deplorable to obſerve the ſuperſtitious uſe made of the croſs in the dark ages. Oecumenius, a Greek writer, at the end of the tenth century tells us, "it is the ſhield, armour, and trophy againſt the devil, a ſign he dare not touch, it raiſes the fallen, ſupports the ſtanding, helps the infirm, the ſtaff of paſtors, the leader of the devout, the perfection of the virtuous, the preſerver of ſoul and body, the abhorrence of the bad, the love of the good, the deſtruction of ſin, the root of the reſurrection, the wood of life." Such hyperbolical expreſſions operated ſtrongly on the minds of rude and ignorant people: they were underſtood not figuratively but literally, and hence thoſe religious communities that wiſhed to attract numerous viſitors were ſure of attaining that end by pretending to have a relique of the real croſs. What ſhews the weakneſs and abſurdity of ſuch encomiums is, that the greateſt admirers of the croſs cannot determine of what wood it was compoſed: ſome affirm it was of oak, others of cedar, palm, cypreſs, and olive, (ſee Lipſius de Cruce,) ſo that the adoration of bigotted and beſotted creatures was paid to the moſt worthleſs tree, as it was to the bones of the greateſt malefactors in thoſe unhappy times.

The charms of beautiful architecture contributed not a little to the fame of the holy relique. The building conſiſts of an high ſteeple, ſupported on each ſide by a beautiful Gothic arch, and in the centre a great variety of ogives paſſing diagonally from each angle. On the Eaſt ſide is a ſmall chapel, and on the South the tomb of

the



W. Beauford delin.

CHAPEL AT HOLYCROSS.

Published by John Jones. N.° 30. Bride Street Dublin.

the founder. The nave is forty-nine feet broad, and fifty-eight feet long; on each ſide is an arcade of four arches, with lateral ailes, which paſſing on each ſide of that part we conclude to have been the Choir. On the South ſide of the Choir are two chapels, between theſe are a double row of Gothic arches, ſupported by twiſted pillars; here the monks were waked. On the North ſide are two other chapels. The whole building, when perfect, was not inferior in deſign and execution to any in the kingdom.

KNOCKMOY.

KNOCKMOY.

THE Abbey of Knockmoy is in the County of Galway, ſix miles from Tuam. It was founded in 1189 by Cathal O'Conor, ſurnamed Crove-derg, or the red hand. He was king of Connaught, and like the other Iriſh princes, beheld with a jealous eye the progreſs of the Engliſh in the ſubjugation of the iſle, and watched every opportunity to expel them. A favourable one ſeemed to offer itſelf on the removal of John De Courcy from the lieutenancy of Ireland and the appointment of Hugh De Lacy. The latter carried his honours imperiouſly, which excited the reſentment and reſiſtence of the former. Taking advantage of this diviſion, and of courſe the weakneſs of the Engliſh intereſt, O'Conor ſummoned all the Iriſh chieftains, who quickly aſſembled in great force to attack the Engliſh in every quarter. De Courcy underſtanding this, diſpatched letters to Almeric St. Laurence apprizing him of his danger, and requeſting his aid. St. Laurence inſtantly marched to Ulſter with thirty knights and two hundred infantry. O'Conor intercepted him, an engagement enſued and St. Laurence and his company were cut off, after having ſlain above a thouſand of the Iriſh. In the height of the battle, O'Conor vowed to build an Abbey in his own country if he was crowned with ſucceſs, and he erected Knockmoy, in Iriſh Cnoc-mugha, the hill of ſlaughter, and in monkiſh writers ſtyled "Monaſterium de colle victoriæ," to perpetuate the remembrance of O'Conor's victory. It was beſtowed on the Ciſtertians, the habit of which order the founder took on him, and dying in 1224, was interred in his own abbey.

The moſt curious remains at Knockmoy are the freſco paintings which adorn the monument of O'Conor. One compartment repreſents Chriſt on the croſs: another exhibits ſix kings, three deceaſed and three living; of the latter, he in the middle is Roderic O'Conor, monarch of Ireland. He holds in his hand the ſeamaroge or ſhamroc, a plant greatly regarded by the Iriſh, from a legendary tradition that St. Patrick emblematically ſet forth to them the myſtery of the Trinity by this three-leaved graſs. This alſo expreſſed his being Lord proprietor of the ſoil of the king-

dom.

Fresco Paintings in the Abbey of Knockmoy Co Galway on the Monument of O Connor the Founder.

dom. The princes on each ſide are his vaſſals; he with the hawk on his fiſt is his grand falconer, the other with the ſword, his grand marſhal: theſe held their lands by grand ſerjeantry.

Below them ſits a Brehon with his roll of laws, having pronounced ſentence of death on Mac Murrogh's ſon, for the crime of his father for having joined the Engliſh. See Giraldus Cambrenſis, page 770. The boy is tied to a tree, and two archers are executing the ſentence, his body being transfixed with arrows. This ſupplied a good hint to ſuch Iriſh chiefs as deſerted their natural prince.

I do not believe theſe paintings are as old as the age of O'Conor; they ſeem rather to have been executed in the ſeventeenth century, when the Confederate Catholics poſſeſſed themſelves of the abbies, which they every where repaired, and in many inſtances, adorned with elegant ſculptures.

LEIGHLIN.

LEIGHLIN, or rather Leth-glen, the half-encloſed valley, is ſituated in the barony of Idrone and County of Carlow, in a receſs of the Slieumargah mountains. Monaſtic legends aſcribe the foundation of the church and epiſcopal ſee of Leighlin to St. Laſerian, about 632. It was about a mile and a half Weſt of the river Barrow. Burchard, a Norwegian, is reckoned among the principal benefactors to this church, he was interred in St. Stephen's priory, under a marble monument, ſupporting his effigies, with this inſcription:

Hic jacet humatus, dux fundator Leniæ:
En Gormondi Burchardus, vir gratus eccleſiæ.

Donat, biſhop of Leighlin, on the arrival of Henry II. rebuilt the cathedral, which had been deſtroyed by fire. Biſhop Thomas beſtowed prebends on his canons. Biſhop Saunders erected and glazed the South window; and Biſhops Meredith and Vigors were great benefactors to the See.

The fame of St. Laſerian, patron of the church, and the attention of his ſucceſſors to its improvement, collected numbers from every part, and made Leighlin anciently a conſiderable town. It continued a diſtinct ſee till the year 1600, when it was united to Ferns.

In 1216, Biſhop Harlewin had the town incorporated, and obtained for the burgeſſes privileges ſimilar to thoſe enjoyed by the people of Briſtol, with liberties extending about a mile and a half round the town. Large ſtones defined the extent of theſe liberties, and on them were theſe words; "Terminus Burgens. Lechlinen. hic lapis eſt." One of theſe ſtones ſtands near Leighlin bridge, another near Wells, and a third in the mountains.

During the continual Iriſh wars, the town and dioceſe of Leighlin experienced many ſevere viciſſitudes of fortune. In 1389 the town was laid waſte, but recovered ſo much in 1400, as to have eighty-ſix burgage tenements, a Biſhop's palace, a Deanery-houſe, a Monaſtery, and other buildings, none of which at preſent remain.

In

OLD LEIGHLIN.

Published by John Jones N.° 90 Bride Street Dublin.

In 1320, Maurice Iakis, a canon of Kildare, conſtructed a bridge over the Barrow: this gave the great ſouthern road a new direction, and Old Leighlin went rapidly to decay.

Except the Cathedral, kept in tolerable repair and uſed as a parochial church, no veſtige remains of this old city: even the well, dedicated to St. Laſerian, and famous for miracles, is nearly filled up. It lies on the Weſt ſide of the church, under ſome trees, and near it is a rude ſtone croſs.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES.

IN plate XXIX, are exhibited ſpecimens of ſpear heads of flint, and ſtone hatchets or Celts, alſo a bracelet; Biſhop Pococke preſented one to the London Society of (1) Antiquaries. It was compoſed of three hoops ſoldered together, with a narrow rim or border ſomewhat ornamented, and it was about an inch and three quarters high; its longeſt diameter within, three inches and a half, its ſhorteſt two inches and three quarters, and the ſwell or bulge one quarter of an inch: it weighed three ounces and a half and twelve grains. This ornament, according to Diodorus Siculus, was common among the Belgic Gauls, and with it they (2) adorned both arms. Each of Godwyn's rowers wore on his arms two golden bracelets, each (3) weighing ſixteeen ounces. It was the moſt diſtinguiſhed privilege of kings and generals to beſtow them as rewards of valour, and hence they were called in the (4) Icelandic Sagas, "the beſtowers of bracelets and the givers of rings." Perhaps the Northerns in this, as in many other inſtances, imitated the (5) Romans.

Broches, curiouſly elaborated, have been found in various parts of Ireland. Of all the antiquities none have created more trouble to the antiquaries to determine their uſe, than the ſemicircular implements terminating in circular cups. Biſhop Pococke, from the great likeneſs between them and the fibulæ or broches, believes they were for ſimilar purpoſes: the cups being inſerted into the garment, and reſting on the breaſt. There is given by (6) Caſalius a broche dug up at Rome very much reſembling thoſe in the plate, and ſtrengthening the Biſhop's opinion.

Many

(1) Archaeologia, Vol. V. p. 39. (2) Bartholin. de armillis vet. p. 8—22.

(3) Haberent in brachiis ſingulis armillas duas uramquamque ſedecim unciarum auri. Will. Malmeſb. p. 77.

(4) Chron. Sax. of Ethelſtan. Johnſtone's exped. of Haco, and Anecdotes of Olave the black.

(5) Armillas ex auro, quas viri militares ab imperatoribus donati, gerunt. Feſtus. Armillas ex virorum fortium donis Tertull. The Danes ſwore on them. Aſſer. vit. Ælfrid. A. D. 876.

(6) Caſal. de profan. Rom. rit. p. 107.

Many golden rings of conſiderable ſize and weight have been diſcovered in our bogs, which were too large for bracelets; they ſeem therefore that neck ornament deſcribed (7) by Diodorus Siculus and worn by the Belgic Gauls. The word *Krikois* uſually tranſlated chains, does not here mean links connected with each other, but collars, for that is its proper (8) force. When we reflect that though the Britons were quite naked, yet they adorned their bodies with an iron girdle and their necks with an iron collar, we need not wonder at their exchanging theſe for golden ones, when the latter could be obtained. Rude people ſeldom relinquiſh what they have been accuſtomed to. And let it be remembered, that the Anglo-Saxons, part of the ſame Northern ſwarm, wore neck-collars, which weighed more than (9) eighty mancuſes, or above eight ounces of pure gold.

Upon the lands of Cairn, about ſeven miles from Mullingar, Biſhop Pococke informs us, that a plough, cutting through a ſandy hillock, turned up a flag ſtone ſeven feet long and three broad; beneath was a grave covered with this flag, the bottom, ſides, and ends compoſed of a ſingle ſlab, and within were human bones of an unuſual ſize. On each ſide were two ſmaller graves; with the bones was an urn of yellow clay, and beſide the urn lay a very valuable ring, having twenty-five table diamonds, well diſpoſed and ſet in gold. (See the plate.)

The Biſhop, in a vein of pleaſant irony, banters the mythologic fictions of Iriſh antiquaries, who aſcribe to every remnant an age utterly incredible. He thinks the ring in this grave could not be of a very early date, becauſe the Swedes had no articles of jewellery among them in the fifteenth century, and he ſuppoſes the ſame of the other Northerns. However the learned prelate had not examined the matter attentively, for Mr. Pegge has (10) proved that the goldſmiths' and lapidaries' arts had arrived at great perfection during the Heptarchy. To theſe the Iriſh Oſtmen could be no ſtrangers. As the bones in this grave had not paſſed the fire it is probable the interment took place after their reception of chriſtianity in the tenth century.

Diodorus Siculus mentions expreſsly the golden breaſt-plates of the Belgic Gauls: theſe alſo were common among the ancient Iriſh, as is evident from the numbers of them found. They are of a lunular or creſcent-like ſhape, their borders and extremities adorned with chequer work. One exhibited by Biſhop Pococke was of

(7) Περι μεν γαρ τους καρπους και τους βραχιονας Τηλλιν φορεσι δακτυλιους αξιολογους, ενι δε χρυσους θωρηκας. Lib. 5.
(8) Παντα τα περικειμενα. Heſych. Κρικοις, ειδει δετω, κυκλοις. Polluc. Onomaſt. l. 1. c. 9.
(9) Hickes Diſſ. epiſt. p. 51. Strutt's chron. V. 2. p. 241. (10) Archaeologia, V. 4 p. 314.

an extended depth and ſize, and yet weighed but one ounce ſeventeen penny-weights. Mr. Bury's, diſcovered in the County of Limerick, is of excellent workmanſhip, and contains more than half a pound of gold. I ſhall not waſte my own or the reader's time in retailing and confuting the (11) wild and abſurd notions entertained of theſe gorgets, one of which is given in the laſt plate.

There are two braſs images in the ſame plate. One about four inches high was found in the bog of Cullen, in the County of Tipperary, and is obviouſly a Cupid ſtanding on a globe; ſuch as may be ſeen in Gorlæus, Stoch, and others. The ſecond image is about five inches and a half high, and ſeems to be the work of the ſame artiſt and age. They are both Abraxas or Taliſmans, the magical power of which was believed to be ſo great, as to ſecure the poſſeſſor from harm, and promote the ſucceſs of his undertakings. Bircherod, a learned Daniſh antiquary, aſſures us, they were nearly the ſame as the Roman Lares; that they were denominated Dwerg, and commonly joined with Thor and Odin, and were appended to the neck: nor had the (12) practice ceaſed in Denmark when he writ, A. D. 1701. Such idols have been (13) found in England; and that of Buſterichus, a deity of this claſs, may be ſeen in (14) Tollius's travels.

(11) Collect. de reb. Hib. No. 13.

(12) Nec hodie a chriſtianorum nonnullis omittitur. Spec. rei mon. Dan. p. 28.

(13) Archæologia, V. 6. p. 243. (14) Tollii itinerar. p. 34.

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