## Cożan Ruaż Ó Súilleabáin

## Na haislingí

### Vision Poems

#### Compiled from

Amráin Eogain Ruaió Uí Súilleabáin By Pádraig Ua Ouinnín Published by Connrað na Saeðilge, 1901, 1923,

eoṣan Ruao Ó Śuilleabán 1748-1784 By Riscearo Ó Çoṣluoa ("Γιαċκα Θίλξεαċ") Published by Comluct Οισεαċαις na hΘικεαπη, 1937.

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Collected Writings, Volume 1

With Notes And English Translations By Pat Muldowney

**Aubane Historical Society** 

#### **Further Reading:**

- **Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin:** *Danta |* **Poems** With translations by *Pat Muldowney*. Supplementary Material by Seámus O'Donnell and others. *Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Collected Writings, Vol.* 2. 230pp.
- The Poems of Geoffrey O'Donoghue/Dánta Shéarfraidh Uí Dhonnchadha an *Ghleanna*, with Ireland's War Poets 1641-53 translated and edited by *John Minahane* (first full collection of Geoffrey O'Donoghue's poetry in Irish with translations into English; also includes a collection of Gaelic poetry of the period of the Confederate Wars of the 1640s with an account of that conflict as seen through the work of the major poets of the era). 302 pp.
- **Dánta Piarais Feiritéir. Poems** with translations by *Pat Muldowney*. First ever bilingual edition of poetry of Pierce Ferriter. Irish and English versions are on facing pages. Notes and vocabulary supplied, with explanation of Gaelic verse forms and poetic devices. 120pp.
- **Bolg an Tsolair/ Gaelic Magazine**, 1795 by Patrick Lynch, Charlotte Brooke and Others. *Reprint of United Irish magazine, with substantial profiles of P. Lynch and C. Brooke* by *Brendan Clifford & Pat Muldowney*. 248 pp.
- **Tadhg O Donnchadha:** Fíon Gearmánach. Translations from German to Irish, with literal English, three-language pamphlet. 52pp.

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## **Contents**

List Of Poems	iv
Prologue Pat Muldowney	1
Preface To 1901 Edition Pádraig Ua Duinnín	4
<b>Dánta / Poems</b> Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin	15
Conflicting Views Of Ireland In The 18th Century: Revisionist History Under The Spotlight	
Postscript: Brendan Clifford	255
Index To Preface and Postscript	334

Poo	page	
1.	1m Leabain απέικ.	15
2.	1 5caol-boire.	25
	Mo čás! mo čaoi! mo čeasna!	36
	Mo léan le luat.	54
	Maidean drúcta le hais na Siúrac.	68
••	Cois abann i ndé.	74
7.	1m aonar seal az siubal bíos.	83
8.	1 Sacsaid na séad.	91
9.	AR maidin indé cois céid na slím-barc.	105
10.	Crác i noé is mé cháioce i bpéin.	116
11.	Сео τιλοιτέ κάτα.	124
12.	Az caisceal na Ólárnan.	133
13.	Δζ ταιςτεαί ηα είθιστε.	140
14.	Cois caoibe abann sínce.	148
15.	Crác is mé cois leasa.	155
16.	AR maidin indé is mé az caisceal i zcéin.	164
17.	Sealad dem saosal.	173
18.	Το κιπηελό Διείτης δελς Δεκλό.	182
19.	1 sleasaib na habann.	189
20.	Crim aisling araoir.	196
21.	Críom smuaince.	199

#### **Prologue**

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin was born in the Sliabh Luachra area of Munster in about 1748. There is evidence that he composed poetry from an early age. He worked as an itinerant seasonal labourer and as a schoolmaster. According to popular legend he joined the British navy to escape the consequences of some misdemeanour. On the other hand, a literal interpretation of his poem 1 Sacsaib na Séao (page ???) implies he was coerced or pressed into the British forces. (For more information see see Θοġan Rua Ó Súilleabáin: Ὁánca, Aubane Historical Society 2008) He died in 1784 as a result of injuries from a blow he received from an employee of one of the local gentry.

According to a rhyme in English ("Oánca, AHS 2008), addressed to Fr. Ned FitzGerald, Eoghan intended at one time to open a school at Knocknagree Cross. And according to T.J. Walsh, in his book *Nano Nagle and the Presentation Sisters*, Eoghan was tutor to the children of Nano's brother-in-law Pierce Nagle of Annakissey near Mallow. Addition biographical details of Eoghan Rua are in Oánca (AHS 2008).

This is a re-publication of the Aislingí of Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin, and, like the Aubane Historical Society's 2002 edition, consists of the Aislingí contained in the anthologies of Pádraig Ua Duinnín (1901, 1923) and Risteárd Ó Foghludha (1937).

These twenty one Vision Poems of Eoghan Rua should be considered, not as so many distinctly individual pieces, but as twenty one variations on the following theme.

The poet is wandering by some river or wood; pensive, disheartened, reminiscing on the vanished greatness of the Gaels. He sees a vision of a lady who possesses extraordinary beauty of figure, face, and hair. He is smitten by her charms. He asks her if she is one of a number of famous beauties of classical Greek, Roman and Gaelic mythology (or Dervla, a real historical figure, never actually named in the Aislingí, whose affair with Diarmuid Mac Murchadha resulted in the arrival of

Strongbow and other Normans in Ireland). She replies that she is Éire, an immortal of the Tuatha Dé Danann, not a common earthly woman such as these; that she was the spouse of each of the great Gaelic kings, and of Charles Stuart; that she is stricken by the overthrow of these nobles by the foreigners; and that she is defiled by the foreigners' possession of her now. But she bears news of the return of her Stuart, with armies of Spaniards and King Louis's French from over the sea; of the imminent destruction of the foreigners in Ireland; and of the ultimate victory and restoration of the Gaels. The poet expresses relief and joy at this revelation.

Some of the poems relate to specific incidents in Eoghan's life, including his time in the English navy, and some make reference to Eoghan's associates in Sliabh Luachra.

This edition of the Aislingí puts the English and Irish lettering on facing pages, with approximate English translation at the bottom. For each the poems there is a vocabulary giving the range of meanings or usages of many of the Irish words. Many of the poems are sung to traditional airs; and internet addresses are given which, at the time of writing, link to performances of some of these airs. The 2002 edition of this book contains musical notation for some of the airs.

Dinneen's metrical analysis (1901 edition) is included here, along with his literary appraisal of Eoghan Rua.

Pat Muldowney 2013

#### **Preface to 1901 Edition**

In this volume the collected songs of Eoghan Ruadh O'Sullivan are published for the first time. That he is a lyric poet of the very first class, no one whose knowledge of Irish is sufficient to enable him to read these poems with ease, will have the hardihood to deny. That the works of a lyric poet of the first rank which express national sentiment in its highest form, should in modern times remain unedited for 120 years after his death, is a national scandal which has no parallel in the annals of

civilised men, and can be explained only by assuming that the state of slavery in which Ireland subsisted for centuries, did not cease to exist with the Penal Code.

The Editor approached this undertaking *ingenti perculsus* amore [driven by a great love], disregarding the imense labour it involved, in comparison with its great importance. At the present moment, thanks to the exertions of the Gaelic League, the publication of this work is not altogether a throwing of pearls before swine, as there is an ever-increasing number of readers who can appreciate some, at least, of the poet's beauties. The Editor is, however, painfully conscious of the fact that the vast majority of those who read and speak Irish in these degenerate days, are incapable of doing justice to the reading of poems like these, while it is well known that when lyric poetry is not properly read, a good deal of its flavour evaporates. It were greatly to be wished that the few to whom the metrical structure and style of these poems are "familiar as their garter", should impart their knowledge orally to others ere it be too late, and the singing and recitation of these masterpieces become a lost art. The difficulty of reading them is increased by means of the orthography in which they are couched, as it was considered convenient to make this volume as far as possible uniform in spelling with the first volume of the series. The true guide to the correct reading of these poems is the metre. When the metrical principles on which they are based are thoroughly mastered, the reading becomes easy and pleasant.

The poet's English poems, except one or two of biographical interest, are not included in this volume, nor are many short extempore stanzas of a witty character. Some of these latter find a place in an Irish Life of the poet which the Editor is about to publish without delay.

The Editor wishes to record his appreciation of the spirit with which the Publication Committee of the Gaelic League, and especially their energetic and self-sacrificing Secretary, Mr. P.H. Pearse, B.L., have entered into his views for the advancement of

Irish Literature, both as regards to the work now issued, and others which are passing through the press.

He also begs to thank Mr. Michael Warren, of Killarney, for refreshing his memory as regards the traditional accounts of the poet which have come down to us. No living man knows more about Eoghan Ruadh than Mr. Warren, and no one has a juster appreciation of his poetical genius. In the preparation of this work, Mr. John J. Farrelly has often been consulted with advantage, as he acquired an extensive and accurate knowledge of Irish in the long period during which he acted as scribe to the Royal Irish Academy.

Finally, the editor desires to thank the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for permission granted to him to examine the valuable MSS. preserved in the Academy Library.

Pádraig Ua Duinnín 1901

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta, Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum, Dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere rivo. Virg. Ecl. V., 45-48.

[Your song, divine poet, is for us like sleep is to the weary in the field, like a bounding stream of sweet water is for quenching our thirst in the heat.]

#### **Extracts from Introduction to 1901 Edition**

Never, perhaps, did a poet attain such undoubted celebrity without the aid of printed or written copies. He wrote, indeed, most of his pieces, but manuscript circulation was slow and tedious, and halted far behind the actual career of Eoghan's songs throughout the land of Munster. Other poets there were, his contemporaries, men of great gifts of rhythm and language, whose songs circulated too, but there was something in Eoghan's that caught on. The torrent of his words was, indeed, a world's wonder, but it was not that; in his melody he out-distanced all competitors; but even his marvellous melody was not of itself the key that unlocked for him the people's hearts. It was that behind this avalanche of words, and embedded in, and

indissolubly linked to this melody, there was human feeling, human passion, as strong amd as noble as ever swept through a great soul. He was the poet of his country and of her people. Though an alien tyranny despised and crushed them, her people were to Eoghan the true children of the Gael, the true heirs to the soil in which they now toiled as slaves, the inheritors of 3,000 years of a glorious tradition, the incorruptible possessors of a pure faith. Her hills, her vales, her lakes and streams, her men and women, her clergy and friars, her historians and bards, were all dear to his soul. Every wound inflicted on her fair breast, every injustice, every insult hurled at her, roused his indignation, or moved him to tenderness and pity. Whether in a jovial or serious mood, or in the midst of his carouse, he never for one moment forgot his mission, which was an eternal protest against the tyranny of the English and a kindling of the minds of the people into courage and hope. He described their sufferings and wrongs with such pathos that young and old wept as they heard them sung. No trace of condescension or compromise was to be found in his songs. Though a peasant, and living among peasants, he writes in the lofy strain and glowing colourings that bespoke the descendant of the Milesian princes. His colouring is rich, with an oriental richness; his language is precise, yet profuse and lavish. Indeed, language has never been more profuse and lavish, never more deftly wielded, never married to more exquisite harmony, never kneaded into passages of greater pathos, than in the Aislingí of Eoghan Ruadh. These pieces deserve the careful study of every stylist, and the language in which they are written deserves to be studied for their sake.

Plato's command of language was great, but Plato's word-weaving was leisurely when compared with Eoghan's. Spenser revelled in swelling periods of the sweetest cadence and ornate with glowing imagery. But Spenser is lumbersome and dull when compared with our poet. He seems to be at home in the most elaborate strophe. The very monotony of the machiner employed is almost forgotten in the sweetness of the melody, the vigour of the language, and the unapproachable pathos.

The Aisling, or Vision of Erin, however the monotony of its machinery may offend the critics, became in the hands of Eoghan a powerful means of instructing and delighting the popular mind. His was a time in which the study of Irish history and historical legend was rapidly on the wane, and in which the masses of the people had to rely on songs and stories for their knowledge of the great deeds of their remote ancestors. The Aisling, while bringing into prominence the present condition of the country, served to keep alive the leading traditions of the past. The uneducated peasant, while he sang with rapture, did not advert to the fact that he was receiving a lesson in history and historical legend. A popular air was seized upon and wedded to a poetic vision of Erin as a virgin endowed with every grace of mind and with all loveliness, who appears to the poet and enthralls him with her beauty. The vision takes place either as he lies in bed weary and oppressed, or as he saunters by some lonely river in melancholy mood, sorrowing over his country's ills. The poet, lost in wonderment at the queenly figure, reverently inquires of the virgin who she is, whether she is a human being or a goddess, whether Helen or Diana, or Deirdre or Cearnait, or the lady who brought over the Normans to our shores. The queen replies that she is none of these, but the spouse of the banished Stuart. Then she recounts her woes, how she is bruised and torn by foreign wolves, how her children are scattered and pining in chains, or subjected to insult and outrage. There is the inevitable announcement of a speedy deliverance. The Stuart is coming, the French fleet is ploughing the salt foam and making for the Irish Coast. Never, as we have said, was human language wielded with such ease and vigour as in these Aislingí, never were words welded so indissolubly to music and rhythm. The peasant was enchanted with their music; he sang then in the midst of his family. The audience listened with rapture or melted into tears. The historical facts were taken on trust, and the promised redemption was duly believed. For the poet was looked upon as a prophet, a fáidh, a seer, one who gazed intently on the past, discerning truth from falsehood, who scrutinized the present, who saw into the future. Nor were the people deceived by the numerous times Louis and the Stuart were announced on the sea. They understood the poetic fiction, and looked beyond it to a certain, if not a speedy, deliverance.

Perhaps there never was a poet so entirely popular never one of who it could be more justly said "volitar vivus per ora virum" [Nemo me decoret lacrimis nec funera fletu/ Faxit. Cur? Volito vivus per ora virum. (Quintus Ennius (239-169 BC): Let no one shed tears or lament for me at my funeral. Why? Because I shall still be alive on men's lips.)] His songs were sung everywhere. At the crowded fireside they brought tears to young and old by the intensity of their pathos; in the public street they drew a reverent and attentive audience, thet waked the echoes amid the lonely hills. His words naturally melted into music, and that music was no new concoction; it was the identical music that had been heard for generations on Irish uplands, as the cow-herd cheered the lonely hours with some rural ditty, or as the solitary reaper sang "of old unhappy far off things and battles long ago." By the aid of songs like these the stream of Irish music flowed on through long ages of national decadence in undiminished volume, but purified and sadly sweetened in its course by fresh infusions of genius. Munster was spell-bound for generations; she forgot her troubles; her very bitterness was sweetened as she listened to the voice of the syren. The poet was fond of referring to Orpheus, and the power and sweetness of his melody; perhaps, of all singers, he himself comes nearest to the Orpheus of legend. The present generation, to whom the Irish language is not vernacular, in reading these poems should bear in mind that they were all intended to be sung, and to airs then perfectly understood by the people, and that no adequate idea can be informed of their power over the Irish mind, unless they are heard sung by an Irish-speaking singer to whom they are familiar. The Aisling did, in an expeditious way, what a systematic literature might be expected to do in times when learning and art flourished.

Eoghan may be compared to Béranger and Burns. Like Béranger, his songs became popular without the aid of printing. But the popularity of Béranger was ephemeral. He struck no deep notes. His touch was light, and his flashy songs brought him wealth and power. Our poet was a contemporary of Burns, and in some respects not unlike him. In the case of both, poverty and its accompanying evils had a chilling effect on genius. But even here Burns had the advantage. He got his works printed. He found his way into educated society. He wrote in a language which was understood throughout Great Britain. Had his fame depended on the extent to which his songs were sung by Ayrshire peasants, he would not have equalled Eoghan Ruadh. Of the two, Burns is of coarser fibre, less spiritual, more practical, more matter-of-fact. He aims his thrusts at more definite objects. His mission was not to sing the wrongs of a fallen and captive land; his gorge rises at vast social inequalities; he attacks the wealthy, those in rank and power; he tells the poor man that, in spite of his poverty, he is "a man for a' that". Eoghan Ruadh lashes blindly and indiscriminately the oppressors of his country. The Stuart becomes a mere poetic dream, convenient for poetic purposes, and for the unification of history, but of no real political importance. Burns, perhaps, excels our poet in the variety of his subjects; his bedside was haunted by no weeping queen, by no vision of a distressed maiden. He has his grievances, but they are such as are the luxuries of the socialist dreamer, and seldom give rise to genuine passion. He is less artistic, more trite and vulgar than our poet; his ideals are less elevated; his pleasantry is grosser; his mind is cast in a more material mould. ...

Eoghan Ruadh is entitled to a supremacy in Irish literature from which he cannot be dislodged. Lyric poetry never flowed with such life and motion and vigour as from his pen. The characeristic vehemence of the Irish Celt - his enthusiasm, his warmth of nature, his tenderness of heart - have in his songs found their highest expression. His lyric range extends from the fierce war-cry of the clans to the softest strains of the lullaby.

Gusts of fierce passion, terrible as Atlantic hurricanes, sweep over his lyre without disturbing its deep-set harmony. He is bold and vehement. But withal soft and tender; terrible in his denunciation, but generous and forgiving. He can say kind words, even of his Saxon tyrants, in the flush of victory. The fact that his very name is still unknown to most Irishmen shows how far we have travelled on the road of national decadence. while the patronising sneers with which even native Irish scholars treat his pretensions to fame afford painful evidence that the effects of generations of slavery are far from being wiped out. He is, nevertheless, the literary glory of his country. His name deserves to be enshrined amongst the few supreme lyric poets of all time. What Pindar is to Greece, what Burns is to Scotland, what Béranger is to France, what nobody in particular, unless it be Mr. Kipling, is to England, that and much more is Eoghan Ruadh to Ireland.

#### Metric

[Roman numerals refer to poems in the 1901 edition. For Διslιηςῖ, the Roman numeral is followed by the number of the poem in this edition. Thus, for example, II [2]. Line numbering is as follows. The second line of poem number III in the 1901 edition is given as line number 190 by Dinneen, and as [3,2] in this edition; the first number in square brackets being the number of the poem, and the second number giving the line number within the poem. Poems (other than the Διslιηςῖ) cited by Dinneen below, can be found in Θοζαη Rua Ó Súιlleaβάιη: ზάητα (Aubane Historical Society, 2008).]

Irish metres are divided into Syllabic and Stressed. Of the former kind, which requires among other hings a fixed number of syllables per line, Eoghan Ruadh has left us no specimen except the alternate stanzas of one poem (XXVII [Ós pollus oo'n ċléir, 16, Ɗánta]).

Of the stressed metres, the Caoineao or Marona forms a distinct class. Of this Eoghan Ruadh affords but one specimen (XXXII, 1s pior trim aisling - Oánta, AHS 2008). The Caoineao consists of stanzas of four lines each. Every line had four stressed vowels. Of these, the second and third correspond

in sound, while the first is variable, and the final stressed vowel sound is the same throughout the entire poem. Each stress except the final one may *rule* two or three syllables, that is, two or three syllables may be pronounced with dependence on it. The final stress always rules two syllables, on the first of which the stress falls. The lines 2038-9 [Is pior crim aisling - Oánca]

Cuile deor car póir dá deadscad Osnad is álad ar lár a cléibe

are specimens of the lines of the caomeaö. Marking the unstressed vowels by a horizontal stroke, and giving the stressed vowel, whether diphthong or triphthong, its equivalent simple vowel sound where it is possible to do so, we may write these lines in stress notation as follows:-

$$1 - \acute{0} - \acute{0} - \acute{e} -$$
  
 $0 - \acute{\Delta} - \acute{\Delta} - \acute{e} -$ 

In the first line the stresses fall on the un of tuile, on eo of veor, on ón of póir, on ao of taoscav. In the second line they fall on o of osna, on á of álav, on á of lár, and on én of cléibe. The final stressed sound is é throughout the poem.

The other poems we call by the general name of Amráin. The Caoineao is an Amrán in a certain sense. The word amrán seems to have had a more restricted sense a few centuries back.

In general the metrical principles of these lyrics is that each line is ruled by a certain number of stresses and has other lines corresponding to it in the same strophe or stanza, that is having the same vowel sounds stressed and in the same order. A strophe consists of a number of typical or base lines, varying in their stress systems, repeated a certain number of times and at varying intervals, so as to produce a complete harmony. The poem consists of a number of such strophes. The simplest case of the AṁRÁn is where all the lines of each stanza and of the entire poem correspond, and of this we have several instances in these poems, as V [5], XIV [14], XXIX [easmail is ár - Oánca], XXXI [Δcá eaσcorca araon - Oánca]. The number of lines in a strophe of the simple aṁRán is four; in the more

complex amrán it far exceeds four and often reaches twenty. Indeed the enumeration of lines in the complex amrán, such as poems I [1] and XXXIII [Oá mb'éiss mé - Oánca], is somewhat arbitrary. We shall here discuss the metrical structure of the Aislinsí, as they are the most complex from a metrical point of view.

Poem I [1] consists of strophes of 20 lines each, subdivided into sub-strophes of 8 and 12 lines each. In the first sub-strophe the corresponding lines alternate. In the second substrophe the system is more complex, and three short lines are admitted which correspond with no other lines in the strophe. The first two lines are -

Im Leadaió aréir crím néal oo óearcas-sa Ainnir da maoróa caicmeamac clóó.

In stress notation these are -

If we call these lines a and b, the first sub-strophe may be written

ab ab ab ab.

The first line of the second sub-strophe is

Öί Luisne τκέ Lonnraö an Lile 'na ʒnúis ǯil, which in stress notation is

which we may call c. The next one corresponds to this. The eleventh is

which we may call d, and so on.

The entire strophe then may be written

where we have marked lines 11 [1,11], 14 [1,14], 19 [1,19], as following separate systems, although 14 and 19 differ but slightly. It will thus appear that lines 1, 3, 5, 7 are metrically equivalent; also lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 17, 20; also 9 and 10; and 12, 13, 16.

In II [2] there are but two base lines, so that we write the strophe

ab ab a a a b,

where a represents the system of line 101 [2,1]:

and b the system of line 102 [2,2]:

It should be remarked, however, that in the a lines there is a secondary stress and vowel correspondence following the principal stress thus:

In III [3] there are but two base lines, hence we may write it

where a represents the system of line 189 [3,1]:

and *b* that of line 192 [3,4]:

In IV [4] the metrical notation is

where a represents the system of line 333 [4,1]:

*b* the system of 336 [4,4]:

*c* the system of line 341 [**4**,9]:

*d* the system of line 343 [**4**,11]:

It will be seen that d partly corresponds with a.

In V [5] there is but one base line, say line 431 [5,1]:

In VI [6] there are two base lines. The notation is ab ab ab ab, where a represents the system in line 475 [6,1]:

and b represents the system in line 476 [6,2]:

In VII [7] we have two base lines thus: *ab ab ab ab*, where *a* represents the system in line 539 [7,1]:

and *b* the system in line 540 [7,2]:

In VIII [8] the notation is a a b c c c b c, hence we have three base lines: a represents the system in line 603 [8,1]:

*b* the system in line 605 [**8**,3]:

*c* the system in line 606 [**8**,4]:

The alternate stanzas of VIII [8] may be regarded as substrophes, the notation being *ab ab ab*, where *a* represents the system of line 611 [8,9]:

and *b* that of line 612 [**8**,10]:

In IX [9] the notation is a a b c c c b c; that is, there are three base lines; a represents the system of line 723 [9,1]:

*b* the system of line 723 [9,3]:

and *c* the system of line 726 [**9**,4]:

In X [10] the notation is a b b c a b b c d e f g g c, giving 7 base lines; a represents the system of line 795 [10,1]:

$$\vec{\Delta}$$
 -  $\vec{e}$  -  $\vec{\Delta}$  -  $\vec{e}$ ;

*b* the system of line 796 [**10**,2];

c the system of line 798 [10,4]:

*d* the system of line 803 [**10**,9]:

*e* the system of line 804 [**10**,10]:

f the system in line 805 [10,11]:

g the system in line 806 [10,12]:

In XI [11] the notation is *ab ab ab ab*; *a* represents the system in line 865 [11,1]:

*b* the system in line 866 [11,2]:

In XII [12] the notation is a a b a a b a a a a b, where a represents the system in line 937 [12,1]:

*b* the system in line 939 [**12**,3]:

In XIII [13] the notation is *ab ab ab ab*; the base lines are *a* representing the system of line 1014 [13,1]:

*b* the system of line 1015 [13,2]:

In XIV [14] there is but one base line, say line 1083 [14,6],

In XV [15] the metre is somewhat irregular, but it is roughly as follows:

a a a b c c c b d d d b e e e b,

where the e and d set of lines almost quite correspond. It should be observed that when we give a base line as above, marking the unstressed vowels, that the other lines of which it is a type do not necessarily follow it in mumber or order of unstressed vowels. We have given the unstressed vowel system to facilitate the scansion. The Roman numerals refer to the number of the poems respectively in this volume.

We have now analysed the more complex and difficult of the poems, and believe it will not be necessary to go over the entire list, as, after a careful study of the systems we have given, the other poems will present little difficulty.

Pádraig Ua Duinnín, 1901.

#### 1. Im Leadaid aréir.

(Conn: "Ceaţlac Mic Seaţáin".)

Im leabaió aréir crím néall do óearcas-sa Ainnir ba maoróa caicneamac clóó, 'Na seasam rem caob 's í craorac geanamail Déasac béal-cais banamail óg; 'Da casca cas craobac dréimreac pada ciub Dacallac léi-se ó baiceas go bróig A carn-polt néamrac péarlac camarsac Slaodac paon is é daicte mar ór;

ὑί Luisne τκέ Lonnκαὁ an Lile 'na ϛπúis ϛil
Śοιπεαποα ἐύζαις ἐἰμπαπαιὶ πύικπις Μοὁαπαιὶ πιοċαικ παισεαπαιὶ;
Δ claon-σεακς κέιὁ-ξlas ρέις léκ τκεαςςκαὸ Πα τέαστα Laoċ i bpéin 's i n-ana-bruio,
Δ braoiċe mar ruibe,
'S a séis ba śeime ná ριοπηα-ċruic ċeoil;
Δ haol-ċrob néaτα ζléasas beanna-puic,

ÉISC IS ÉIN, COIN ALLTA 'ZUS LEOMAIN, CRUINN-BARC DÍN IS COIMEASCAR MACAIRE, CUICIM CLOINNE UISNIZ, IS ÉACT NA PÉINNE, AR LEACAN-BRAT SRÓILL.

#### 1. In My Bed Last Night.

Air: Jackson's Family Piece.

In my bed last night through my sleep I saw/ A maiden of majestic pleasing appearance,/ Standing by my side, pure-bright, lovely/ Mannerly, soft-lipped, feminine, fresh;/ It (her massy tresses, below) was folding, intertwining, red, long, thick/ Curling with her from the crown of her head to her shoe -/ Her massy tresses - brilliant, pearly, curled/ Flowing, delicately soft, coloured like gold.

#### 1. Im leabaidh aréir.

(Fonn: "Teaghlach Mhic Sheagháin".)

Im leabaidh aréir trím néall do dhearcas-sa
Ainnir ba mhaordha taitneamhach clódh,
'Na seasamh rem thaobh 's í craorac geanamhail
Béasach béal-tais banamhail óg;
Ba chasta cas craobhach dréimreach fada tiubh
Bachallach léi-se ó bhaitheas go bróig
A carn-fholt néamhrach péarlach camarsach
Slaodach faon is é daithte mar ór;

Bhí luisne tré lonnradh an lile 'na gnúis ghil
Shoineanda shúgaigh chlúmhamhail mhúirnigh
Mhodhamhail mhiochair mhaiseamhail;
A claon-dearc réidh-ghlas féigh lér treascradh
Na céadta laoch i bpéin 's i n-ana-bhruid,
A braoithe mar ruibe,
'S a séis ba shéimhe ná fionna-chruit cheoil;
A haol-chrobh néata ghléasas beanna-phuic,
Éisc is éin, coin allta 'gus leomhain,
Cruinn-bharc dín is coimheascar machaire,
Tuitim cloinne Uisnigh,
Is éacht na Féinne, ar leathan-bhrat sróill.

There was a blush through the shining of the lily in her bright features/ Serene pleasant, distinguished, amiable/ Elegant, gentle, comely;/ Her enticing eye, clear-lustrous, keen, by which was overcome/ Hundreds of warriors in pain and great trouble/ Her eyebrows as (slender as) a hair/ And her voice more gracious than the fair harp of music;/ Her neat lime(-white) hand that prepares (=designs or embroiders on tapestries) horned bucks,/ Fish and birds, wolves and lions,/ (And that paints) perfect defensive ships, and battles on the plain,/ The fall of the clan of Uisneach,/ And the exploits of the Fianna, on broad banners of satin.

A pearsa ζαη βέιμη 's a scéim nuair σ'amarcas, Caictear liom saoξασα searca re seol, Όο searς mo ζηέ is σο léiζ mé i η-απακτικ, Caomac, créic, ζαη σαρασ πά creoir; Is αδαίσ σο sléactas péin σοη mascalaiξ Διτείμη σεη πέαμ-ξείη preaζra cóir, Δη σ'aicme na ησείτε α créaσ πό αη creaβα σεη Όρειμη είνει σαοηπα ό'r eascair a pór.

Πό ΑR Β'isi ϛαη σιάιτασ αη μπηθεσαη σ'άπιμιξ
Сυιτιπ ι ποκάις ἀιτι ἀυζαιπη-πε στιάκιιξ
Ωκόη-μαις το θαηθα;
Δη βέ όη ξκέις σοη ταλε πος σ'αισταιξ,
Θέικοκε ἐείπ πό Céarnait ἀεαπασας,
Πό τιε πα πρκιιπηθαίι
Θ΄ ας αοη-πάς Εαση σεαίασ ακ βόκο;
Οο μκεαζαικ, πί haon σεη πέισ sin ἀπαις πέ,
Δὰτ αικτάτα ά αοπαικ θασθαιότερας βκόιη,
ζαη βυισίη σοη σ΄ίση αὰτ σκίσσακ μαπατίςς,
Cuimriosc πίος αισταιθα σοη Θκο.

mercheae ecaon gan calcheam don oko.

Her person without fault and her beauty, when I saw it,/ Well-aimed arrows of love were thrown at me,/ My appearance withered and I was left in trouble,/ Fretting, feeble, without energy or direction;/Hastily I deferred to the maiden/ I ask the lustrous being for a true answer,/ Is her race of the nature of the gods, or is it from the tribe of/The true human crowd that her kin descended from.

A pearsa gan bhéim 's a scéimh nuair d'amharcas, Caithtear liom saoghada searca re seol, Do shearg mo ghné is do léig mé i n-anachruth, Taomach, tréith, gan tapadh ná treoir; Is abaidh do shléachtas féin don mhascalaigh Aitchim den néamh-ghein freagra cóir, An d'aicme na ndéithe a tréad nó an treabha den Dréim chirt daonna ó'r eascair a pór.

Nó ar bh'isi gan diúltadh an fhinne-bhean d'úmhluigh
Tuitim i ndrúis chuil chugainn-ne stiúruigh
Crón-phuic go Banba;
An bhé ón Ghréig don Trae noch d'aistrigh,
Déirdre shéimh nó Céarnait cheannasach,
Nó gile na mbruinneall
Bhí ag aon-mhac Éason sealad ar bórd;
Do fhreagair, ní haon den méid sin chanais mé,
Acht airgtheach aonair easbuidhtheach bróin,
Gan bhuidhin dom dhíon acht dríodar fanatics,
Cuimriosc mhioscaiseach,
Mhéirtneach chlaon gan taitneamh don Órd.

Or was she, without denial, the fair lady who lowered herself/ To fall in wicked adultery (and) directed to us/ The swarthy bucks to Ireland;/ (Or was she) the beauty from Greece who went to Troy,/ Gracious Deirdre or noble Cearnait,/ Or the brightness of fair maidens/ Whom the only son of Jason had for a while to himself;/ She answered: It is not any of all those you related to me/ But a lonely, needy, sorrowful, despoiled person/ Without a band to protect me, but the dregs of fanatics,/ A spiteful rabble,/ Treacherous, deceitful, without (any) liking for (sacred) Orders.

Is dearb i réimeas Jaedeal zur cleactas-sa Ceannas is scléip, le seascaireact sogmail, Jradam is glaodac is aol-bruig pairsinge, Caomnad créin-pear, aiceas is ól; Caisteal is téarnam laoc dom amarc-sa, placa 'zus éizse, drazain is leomain, Meanma saor is réim zan acrann, péasta réics seact seactmaine ar bórd,

Seinm ar ciuil-cruit, iolar de crúpaid, Imirt ar punncaid piccille, plúirse, Cumdac is macanas;

Péac 'na n-éasmais cé so mairim-se
Péin im méirdris strae pé danaraid,
Is cinead Scuit ionnardéa
As Éirinn d'éis mo snaidmiste leo;
A cara na ríod, do ríomas so preastalac
Ranna 'sus laoide i dpratainn na scómad,
Is píor so bpillpid trí sac anacra
An ruire seo d'imcis
I scéin, 's so mbéid i mDreatain paoi coróin.

It is certain in the era of the Gael that I was accustomed to/Friendship and enjoyment, with merry conviviality,/ Respect and regard and spacious lime(-white) mansions,/ The protection of strong men, merriment and drinking;/ Travelling and approaching of warriors to see me,/ Chieftains and bards, heroes and champions,/ Freedom of spirit and authority without dispute,/ Kingly feast seven weeks at table.

Is dearbh i réimheas Gaedheal gur chleachtas-sa Ceannas is scléip, le seascaireacht shoghmhail, Gradam is glaodhach is aol-bhruigh fhairsinge, Caomhnadh tréin-fhear, aiteas is ól; Taisteal is téarnamh laoch dom amharc-sa, Flatha 'gus éigse, dragain is leomhain, Meanma shaor is réim gan achrann, Féasta réics seacht seachtmhaine ar bórd,

Seinm ar chiuil-chruit, iolar de thrúpaibh, Imirt ar phunncaibh fithchille, flúirse, Cumhdach is macanas: Féach 'na n-éagmais cé go mairim-se Féin im mhéirdrigh strae fé dhanaraibh, Is cineadh Scuit ionnarbtha As Éirinn d'éis mo shnaidhmighthe leo; A chara na ríobh, do ríomhas go freastalach Ranna 'gus laoidhthe i bpratainn na gcómhad, Is fíor go bhfillfidh trí gach anacra An ruire seo d'imthigh

I gcéin, 's go mbéidh i mBreatain faoi choróin.

Playing on musical harps, abundance for troops,/ Debating of fine points of chess, plenty,/ Neighbourliness and good nature;/ See, in their absence, how I live/ Myself as a vagabond concubine under (the rule of) savages,/ And the Irish race banished/ Out of Ireland after my being married to them;/ O friend of maidens, I composed plentifully/ Verses and poems in the parchment of poetry,/ Truly, (he) will return despite every hardship/ This sovereign who went/ Far away, and (he) will be in Britain crowned.

Cιοό γασα τκειβ ζαεόι ζluis γαοη γέ τακτυίσης, 1 η-εαδραίο, ταη κείπη, ταη καόπας, ταη σόζ, Δς τκεαβαό το τκειτ το όαοςτας Cailbinists, Céim σ'γύις σαοι-συβ σαίττε πο έπού, 1s τας ταιπας ταιστάς ταιστάς ματαπάς γεακόα γκαοόσα ι στκεαδαίδ πα στκεοη, το σεαιδ, πο léan, ται γείς πας τιελέτασας, Séise τέασ πά δεατ-μίστε ακ δόκο;

Though long the tribe of illustrious Irish are weak and insulted,/ In want, without power, without wealth, without ease,/ In lowly service to the rabble of Calvinists,/ A case that left my countenance coloured jet-black,/ And every stout warrior, wrathful, valiant, battle-ready,/ Manly, fierce, in the ranks of the chiefs,/ Destitute, my sorrow, without feasts as they were accustomed,/ (Without) the music of strings or whiskey on the table;

Ciodh fada treibh Ghaedhil Ghluis faon fé tharcuisne, I n-easbaidh, gan réim, gan rachmas, gan sógh, Ag treabhadh go tréith do dhaoscar Cailbhinists, Céim d'fhúig daol-dubh daithte mo shnódh, Is gach calmach craosach léidmheach lannamhar Feardha fraochda i dtreasaibh na dtreon, Go dealbh, mo léan, gan féis mar chleachtadar, Séise téad ná beath-uisce ar bórd:

Is gach duine de chomplacht chuiripe Lúiteir,
Suidhte go súgach truipinneach trúmpach
Fórsach i bhfearannaibh
Saor-shleachta Éibhir éachtaigh is chalm-Chuirc,
Saesar glé bhuaidh réimeas Chaisil Luirc,
Tuigidh go dtiocfaidh
An té le faobhar do scaipfidh mo bhrón;
Ní bladar ná bréag mo scéal mar tharngair
Éigse dréacht na bearta so romhainn,
Gan mhoill beidh deighilt re saidhbhreas seasmhach,
Milleadh 'gus dailleadh
Ar gach béar nár ghéill do bhratainn na hÓighe.

And every man of the vicious company of Luther,/ Settled contentedly, well-defended, victorious/ Forceful in the lands/ Of the noble seed of heroic Eibhear and brave Corc,/ The bright Caesar who won the sovereignty of Caiseal Luirc -/ Understand that (he) will come -/ The person with arms who will scatter your sorrow;/ My report is not flattery or lies, as you prophesy -/ (You) poets - in verse these facts before us,/ Without delay there will be separation from lasting wealth,/ Destruction and blinding/ On every bear that does not yield to the title of the Virgin.

1 mainistir naoṁ beiö céir ar lasaò azainn, ls θazlais Ό é zo salmaċ rós, Az canaò Cé Ό eum zan baożal ná eazla, Cé σο béir zur searb an sceol; Is zaċ manzaire méiċ den tréid seo d'aċarruiż rearta an τSoiscéil, le taitneaṁ don póit, Zan rearann ná réasta, zléas nár ċleaċtadar, Tréiċ rá léan az zraraò 's az róṁar;

Θειό τειπε ζαπ ṁúċαὸ ι κιὰ πα ζεύις ζεύιςεαὸ
ls sinn-ne ζο súςκαὰ conςαπταὰ cúκsαὰ
Θο-βκιστε ι ζεαισπεακταιβ;
Δζ ταοςαὸ δαοκ-βυίπς είι ις βεαὰ-μίσεε
ls lείξεαὸ ζαὰ είςς α ὁκεάὰτ ιπ βακκαὸ-ςα,
Δζ ζυιὸε ἀμπ Μυίκε
Séarlas κείςς δο ἀσσιαπ ι ζεοκόιη,
'S απ κί seo ας suiõe le δίοπας δ'ιοππακδαὸ
Δς ςλοίκςε κίοξαὰτα δκεαταπ πα slόζ,
ζαπ ṁειὸικ ζαπ ἐκειὸιπ ζαπ καὸλίκςε cumais πίκτ
ζο singil ζαπ ἀιστε
ζαπ ἀλοṁπαὸ laoὰ 'n-α seasaṁ 'n-α ἀρṁλίκ.

In holy monasteries we shall have wax (candles) alight,/ And the Church of God full of psalms besides,/ Singing Te Deum without danger or fear,/ Though to bears it is bitter news;/ And every fat jobber of that tribe that changed/ The miracles of the Gospel, from attachment to drink (=vice?),/ Without land or feasting - a state they were unaccustomed to -/ Weak and sorrowful, grubbing and ploughing;

I mainistir naomh beidh céir ar lasadh againn, Is Eaglais Dé go salmach fós, Ag canadh Té Deum gan baoghal ná eagla, Cé do bhéir gur searbh an sceol; Is gach mangaire méith den tréid seo d'atharruigh Fearta an tSoiscéil, le taitneamh don phóit, Gan fearann ná féasta, gléas nár chleachtadar, Tréith fá léan ag grafadh 's ag rómhar;

Béidh teine gan mhúchadh i rith na gcúig gcúigeadh
Is sinn-ne go súgrach congantach cúrsach
Dó-bhriste i gcaismeartaibh;
Ag taoscadh daor-phuins éil is beath-uisce
Is léigheadh gach éigs a dhréacht im fharradh-sa,
Ag guidhe chum Muire
Séarlas Réics do chosnamh i gcoróin,
'S an Rí seo ag suidhe le díomas d'ionnarbadh
As saoirse ríoghachta Breatan na slógh,
Gan mheidhir gan ghreidhin gan radhairse cumais nirt
Go singil gan chiste
Gan chaomhnadh laoch 'n-a seasamh 'n-a chomhair.

There will be fire without quenching the length of the five provinces,/ And ourselves playful, disposed to help, well-travelled/ Unbeatable in battle;/ Drinking punch of great price, ales and whiskey/ And let every poet read his verse along with me/ Praying to Mary/ To protect King Charles in his reign,/ And to expel this King, who sits in pride,/ From the tenure of the kingdom of Britain of the hosts,/ Without merriment, without love, without abundance of the power of strength/ Wretched, without treasure,/ Without the protection of warriors standing in attendance on him.

#### 2. 1 5 caol-boire.

1 ξαλοι-σοικε ακλου-ἀιμάπακ πέλιπ-συιιιελά δίος, 1m λοπακ ξαπ suim i n-λίτελε πά i ξαεοι, ξο ρέιτ-είπξιι ακειτ-τύικελα τρλοπ-πιεπίξ τίπ ξαπ ἀλοιπλάτ ὁ λοπ ασιε λυληπ ακ πεοιπ; αν τλου ιπη-πε ρέ διιε ξπέ-ξιλιες αιξεληπ, Σρέικ-ϋκιιππελιι ελοκ-οιπίξ εαέππ-ἀκιτλά ἀλοιπ, Δς αλοες-ἐίιελο ακέλη-ανίιε σέλκα το μιτοκά, Τυς σλοι-σειπέλι αλοισε λε λ h-λίξτε αισό ός.

#### 2. In a graceful oakwood

I was in a graceful oak-wood, sheltered by branches, of bright foliage/ By myself, without interest in delight or in music/ Solitary, weakly afflicted, faint-spirited, ill/ Without kindness from anyone, by a river at noon/ By my side, under a tree of green appearance there comes/ A beautiful maiden of noble countenance, with appearance of (high) degree, gentle/ Copiously shedding tears in strong floods/ That gave a dark blemish of weeping to her face, though youthful.

#### 2. I gcaol-doire.

I gcaol-doire craobh-chluthmhar néamh-dhuilleach bhíos, Im aonar gan suim i n-aiteas ná i gceol, Go féith-singil tréith-thuirseach faon-misnigh tím Gan chaomhnacht ó aon cois abhann ar neoin; Taobh linn-ne fé bhile ghné-ghlaise tigheann, Spéir-bhruinneall saor-oinigh scéim-chruthach chaoin, Ag taosc-shileadh tréan-tuile déara go fuidheach, Thug daol-teimheal caoidhe ar a h-aighthe ciodh óg.

Do bhí céibh fhionna réidh-dhlaitheach péarlach a cinn, 'Na slaod-chrith ar bís ó bhaitheas go bróig, Is mar chaol-ruibe ar chlaon-ruithne réaltach a braoi Le saoghad-mhilleadh chlaoidh mo thapa is mo threoir; Caor-luisne tré ghile an chaomh-lile suidheadh I ngéar-iomaidh pléidh-shiosma spéirlinge i ngnaoi Na réilteanna chréacht-chíorrbhuigh céad curadh is laoich I dtaomaibh gan bhrígh le taitneamh dá clódh.

The fair, smooth-curling, pearly hair of her head was/ Spiralling in trembling layers from her crown to her shoe/ And her eyebrow was like a slender hair over the starry, enticing flashing (of her eyes)/ That, with destruction by darts, laid low my vigour and my purpose/ The berry-red blush, through the brightness of the fair lily, was entrenched/ In sharp conflict of stormy struggle for mastery in the countenance/ Of the fair maiden who destroyed by wounding a hundred heroes and knights/ In fits (of love), powerless, enthralled by her appearance.

Da saor-oilte téacs-snuiõte a géar-ṛriotal puinn, 1 séis-binneas siõe ag ceart-cana¤ sgeoil, 1s a déid miodair mín gan magað gan móid; 1a béal miodair mín gan magað gan móid; 1a laom cuipe praoc-linne a héadan 'sa píop, 1s mar gréin-gloine tré criostal léirigce a gnaoi, lér géilleadar éigse Inis Éilge di míor tar Öénus i öpiogair, i maise 's i gclóö.

Séar-cruinne is néam-ţile aoncuiţce bí
Πέαm-léanuiţce i τρίς ban-carat na leoman,
Is le haon-oideas léiţeann-cuizse is éiţeactac stríobad

δας τέαςς-ţoirm laoide i n-eatar 's i nós;
Réim-cisce δαεθεαl-Ríţce i n-Éirinn do ríomad
le tréan-cruime a mbéimeann i spéirlinţib cloidim
Ο'ţúiς créaccuiţce i n-éaţ-cricib méirliţ an ţill
Πάκ τέακημιξ ο maidm Cluain Cairb na dereon.

\_\_\_\_\_

Her pleasing, keen words were nobly educated, in polished phrases/ Her magical, melodious sweetness, correctly relating facts/ And her fine, bright teeth completely set in rows/ In her gentle, affable mouth, without mockery or imprecation/ Her face and her throat were as (white as) the sparkling foam of the stormy sea/ And her countenance was of the purity of the sun (seen) through a displaying crystal/ To whom the poets of Ireland granted supremacy/ Over Venus in outline, in beauty and in form.

Ba shaor-oilte téacs-snuidhte a géar-fhriotal fuinn, I séis-bhinneas sidhe ag ceart-chanadh sgeoil, Is a déid mhiona ghléigeala léir-churtha i gcír 'Na béal mhiochair mhín gan mhagadh gan mhóid; Mar laom chuipe fraoch-linne a héadan 'sa píop, Is mar ghréin-ghloine tré chriostal léirighthe a gnaoi, Lér ghéilleadar éigse Inis Éilge di míor Tar Bhénus i bhfioghair, i maise 's i gclódh.

Géar-chruinne is néamh-ghile aontuighthe bhí
Néamh-léanuighthe i gcích bhan-charad na leomhan,
Is le haon-oideas léigheann-tuigse is éifeachtach sgríobhadh
Gach téacs-fhoirm laoidhe i n-eagar 's i nós;
Réim-chiste Gaedheal-Ríghthe i n-Éirinn do ríomhadh
Le tréan-truime a mbéimeann i spéirlingibh cloidhimh
D'fhúig créachtuighthe i n-éag-chrithibh méirligh an fhill
Nár théarnuigh ó mhaidhm Chluain Tairbh na dtreon.

Keen roundness and pale beauty were united/ In the unviolated breasts of the consort of the heroes/ And with unique learning and understanding of knowledge she would write effectively/ Every formal phrase of poetry in (*good*) and in traditional style/ She would enumerate the dynasties of the native kings of Ireland/ (Who,) with the powerful weight of their storm of swords/ Left wounded, in death-tremors, those treacherous villains/ Who did not escape destruction in Clontarf of the heroes.

Le baoż-sceinm éadtruime éiriżim-se im śuide ls sléactaim do ríb na zcarn-ţolt n-óir,
Oo cuir éiclips ar réilteannaib maorda na zcríoc, ls do śaożruiż zlan-craoib 'na maise is 'na clód;
Lios éirime scéil-cruinne a déar-śilead is caoid,
Lios paellsiże créad cuz di téarnam im śliże, ls pios zaol-ţine a tréad-cinid i néilze na Ríoż,
Zan éarad do ríomad dam aiccim don óiż.

1 στέασ-binneas béal-oidis bréitre ζαη pump Όαπ αοηταίζεαηη αη Κίσζαη preagra modamail, 1 ζαοιπ-ceanζαl caomnais le héibear σο luigeas, μέ κέιπ-cion ζο síocac i ζCaiseal ηα slóς; ζαι léir-cruinniς claon-coipe σ'αοη-conaib nime, ζο μασβακ-culaiceac éασαίζτε im éileam τακ ταιηη, τας béim-brisea bléanuiçte maodma ακ mo cloinn, Ο'τάις σέακ-τειιά mé ας ςαοι le sealad ζαη sóς.

In a frightened start of lightness I rise to a sitting position/ And I make obeisance to the fair lady of golden, massy tresses/ Who eclipsed the stately fair ladies of (all) the territories/ And who won clear victory in her beauty and her form/ (I beseech, (see last line)) knowledge of cause and exact account of her tear-shedding and lamentation/ Knowledge of the explanation of what caused her to approach in my path/ And knowledge of her family of relatives and her race in Royal Ireland/ Without refusal, to relate to me, I beseech the maiden.

Le baoth-sceinm éadtruime éirighim-se im shuidhe
Is sléachtaim do ríbh na gcarn-fholt n-óir,
Do chuir éiclips ar réilteannaibh maordha na gcríoch,
Is do shaothruigh glan-chraoibh 'na maise is 'na clódh;
Fios éirime scéil-chruinne a déar-shileadh is caoidh,
Fios faellsighthe créad thug di téarnamh im shlighe,
Is fios gaol-fhine a tréad-chinidh i nÉilge na Ríogh,
Gan éaradh do ríomhadh dam aitchim don óigh.

I dtéad-bhinneas béal-oidis bréithre gan phuimp
Dam aontuigheann an Ríoghan freagra modhamhail,
I gcaomh-cheangal chaomhnais le hÉibhear do luigheas,
Fé réim-chion go síothach i gCaiseal na slógh;
Gur léir-chruinnigh claon-choipe d'aon-chonaibh nimhe,
Go faobhar-chulaitheach éaduighthe im éileamh tar tuinn,
Thug béim-bhriseadh léanuighthe maodhma ar mo chloinn,
D'fhúig déar-fhliuch mé ag caoi le sealad gan sógh.

In musical sweetness of learned speech of words without ostentation/ The queen grants to me a modest reply/ "In a gentle union of affection I lay with Eibhear/ In a course of love in Cashel of the hosts/ Until a treacherous band of venomous leaders gathered completely/ Armoured in steel suits, seeking me from over the sea/ Who achieved the crushing with wounding defeat by blows on my people/ (And) left me wet with tears, lamenting without ease for a time.

Car éis Éibir öil éactaiţ ţéil-oiniţ ţinn fr, Néill aţus Cuinn, to snaitmeas le heoţan, 'S im saor-ciste catinuiteac cléire to bíos, Aţus éiţse ţan cíos ţur cailleas an coróinn; Caor-milleat claon-inneall clé-cumainn ţill Aon-mic mo cléib-buime teirliţ na ríţe, lm' saob-cime réim-briste 'sé cuir mé it sliţe, Şan aotairí tom tion aţ aţall mo sceoil.

After beloved, generous, noble, fair Eibhear of the great deeds/ Ír, Niall and Conn, I united with Eoghan/ And I was the noble, protective guardian of clerics/ And poets were untaxed until I lost the crown/ Destruction by fire, evil machinations, wicked company of treachery/ Wrought havoc on the kings, the only sons of my dear nurse / A foolish captive, my power broken, - that is what brought me your way/ Without guardians sheltering me, relating my story.

Tar éis Éibhir dhil éachtaigh fhéil-oinigh Fhinn Ír, Néill agus Cuinn, do shnaidhmeas le hEoghan, 'S im shaor-chiste chaomhnuitheach cléire do bhíos, Agus éigse gan chíos gur chailleas an choróinn; Caor-mhilleadh claon-inneall clé-chumainn fhill Aon-mhic mo chléibh-bhuime d'éirligh na ríghe, Im' shaobh-chime réim-bhriste 'sé chuir mé it shlighe, Gan aodhairí dhom dhíon ag agall mo sceóil.

Mo ghaol fighthe i dtréad righthe nGaedhealacha bhí, Fuair réimeas is cíos na Banba ar dtóis, Néimheadh 'gus Féidhlim, Milésius is Íth, 'S gach aon bhile riomhas lér shealbhas coróinn; 'S an Saesar dil Séarlas mac Shéamais, mo dhíth, Chuir daoscar an éithigh le claon-reacht gan ríoghacht, Seo an t-éigean tré dtaolaim-se saor-chuisle fuinn 'N-a dtaosc-shruth óm chích ar dhanair, mo bhrón!

My kindred were entwined with the company of Irish kings/ Who at first enjoyed the sovereignty and revenues of Ireland/ Neimheadh and Feidhlim, Milesius and Íth/ And every champion I told you of, with whom I possessed the crown/ And the beloved Caesar, Charles, son of James, my loss!/ Whom the perjured dregs dethroned by crooked laws/ This is the unique cause that I bestow a free stream of pleasure/ In streaming floods from my breasts on the savages, my sorrow!

Δ ţlé-bruinneall ţné-snoiōce ţlé-ċuizseaċ ţrinn,
Oo ţéar-ţoineas sinn le haiċris σο sceoil,
Is το bruil ζαeὁilζ-ṭriotail σπέαċcuiţċa céille σά πίοṁ
ζο πέιὸ-scaipţir σίοτ σο scamall σοbróin,
ζlac πέι¤-ṁisneaċ τέαπημιţċeaċ scléipe azus ţuinn,
δίοὁ τέιδ-binneas caol-ċruice i n-aol-bruiţ na τεπίοċ,
Δη έιτε uile σ'aon-ţuċ 'ζus ţaobar ar a bpinn
'S an ċléir ċeart aξ ζυιὸe ċum Δċar na hÓiţe.

Cré péin croise an Aon-leinb Πλοπόλ το bí
1 πολοπιλότ 's i ποιλολότ ακ ταλαπό το hóτ,

Slais-ξείβελητη από εκείπι-cinib όλοκτα so scaoil
1s κείτιξ από τελιξε το Cacair πα τεόπαςτ,

Speir-coinneal κείρ-solais Είλτε το τίξεα<sup>3</sup>τ,
1 sλοκ-seilb Είκελητη τε τείλε πο Πλοπό,
1s claon-sproit απ είτιξ το sείσελο τακ τυίπη,

Σαπ τέλετα, ταπ τίση, ταπ τελκαπη, ταπ coróinn.

O bright, comely-featured, delightful, beautiful lady of clear understanding/ Who wounds me sharply in the relating of your story/ There are verses of Irish words of reason being composed/ In steady courage, contentedly, of delight and of pleasure/ Their will be musical sweetness of graceful harps in the lime-white mansions of the territories/ The bards as a whole with one voice and fierceness in their pens/ And the true clergy praying to the Father of the Virgin.

A ghlé-bhruinneall ghné-shnoidhte ghlé-thuigseach ghrinn,
Do ghéar-ghoineas sinn le haithris do sceoil,
Is go bhfuil Gaedhilg-fhriotail dréachtuightha céille dá ríomh
Go réidh-scaipfir díot do scamall dobróin,
Glac réidh-mhisneach téarnuighthach scléipe agus fuinn,
Bíodh téid-bhinneas caol-chruite i n-aol-bhruigh na gcríoch,
An éigse uile d'aon-ghuth 'gus faobhar ar a bpinn
'S an chléir cheart ag guidhe chum Athar na hÓighe.

Tré phéin chroise an Aon-leinbh Naomhtha do bhí
I ndaonnacht 's i ndiadhacht ar talamh go hóg,
Glais-ghéibheann an chréim-chinidh dhaortha so scaoil
Is réitigh an tslighe go Cathair na gcómhacht,
Spéir-choinneal réidh-sholais Éilge do thígheacht,
I saor-sheilbh Éireann fé fhéile na Naomh,
Is claon-sproit an éithigh do shéideadh tar tuinn,
Gan féasta, gan fíon, gan fearann, gan choróinn.

Through the pain of the cross of the Blessed Only-Son who was/Born on earth in humanity and in divinity/Release (us from) the locked bondage of this damned, malicious race/And make ready the way to the City of the Powers/That the bright candle of the clear light of Éilge may come/In free possession of Ireland by the blessing of the Saints/And the perverse rabble of perjury be blasted over the sea/ Without feasting, without wine, without lands, without crown.

An can d'éist sise séim-priotal bréitre mo laoide is pras-aerac do szinn 's is tapaid le scóip in-éadtromact aon-zeilte d'éiriz le zaoit pá néall-scamall draoideacta ar m'amharc 'na ceo; 'na déid sin do claocluiz mo tréine 's mo bríz; 'Oo tréizeas le daol-duibe scéimh-crut mo znaoi, zur scéaluizead aréir dom don réim sin zur scíord Cois caol-tsrut na Mínteac sealad cum Seozain.

An tan d'éist sise séimh-fhriotal bréithre mo laoidhe Is fras-aerach do sginn 's is tapaidh le scóip I n-éadtromacht aon-gheilte d'éirigh le gaoith Fá néall-scamall draoidheachta ar m'amharc 'na ceo; 'Na dhéidh sin do claochluigh mo thréine 's mo bhrígh; Do thréigeas le daol-duibhe scéimh-chruth mo ghnaoi, Gur scéaluigheadh aréir dom don réim sin gur scíord Cois caol-tsruth na Mínteach sealad chum Seoghain.

When she heard the pleasing recital of the words of my lay/ As light as a shower she started, with dexterity and joy/ In the lightness of one truly possessed she arose with the breeze/ Under a magical, cloudy mist out of my sight/ Whereupon my strength and power returned/ I shed the jet-blackness of my countenance/ When these affairs were related to me last night, and I made haste/ To the graceful stream of Meentogues for a while, to Seán.

## 3. Mo čás! mo čaoi! mo čeasna!

(Lonn: "Seán Ua Ouibir an Sleanna".)

Mo čás! mo čaoi! mo čeasna! Δη τάτ τυς claoroce i n-easbaro Γάισε, σπλοιτέ, δαζλιπτ, Oáim azus cléir, San dán dá ríom le haiceas, ζαη κάι ότε ζειηη σά η-αιτείς, Jan sám-cruic binn dá spreazad, 1 mbán-broζαι κεί τος; Saċ ráib o'ruil Míleao ceannais, . Κάισικ, Ιλοόσλ, ταρλ, Da żnáżać rinnceać, reażać, lán-oilte ar paobar. San scác, san maoin, san rearann, ÁR IS MÍLE MEASA 'Ná Seán Ua Ouibir an Sleanna Γάζτα ζαη game.

# 3. My trouble! My lament! My torment!

Air: Seán Ó Duibhir an Ghleanna - Seán O'Dwyer Of The Glen.

My trouble, my lament, my torment!/ The cause which left broken, in want/ Seers, bards, priests/ Poets and clerics/ Without a poem being composed with pleasure/ Without pithy sayings being recounted/

## 3. Mo chás! mo chaoi! mo cheasna!

(Fonn: "Seán Ua Duibhir an Ghleanna".)

Mo chás! mo chaoi! mo cheasna! An fáth thug claoidhte i n-easbaidh Fáidhe, draoithe, sagairt, Dáimh agus cléir, Gan dán dá ríomh le haiteas, Gan ráidhte grinn dá n-aithris, Gan sámh-chruit bhinn dá spreagadh, I mbán-bhroghaibh réidhe; Gach ráib d'fhuil Mhíleadh ceannais, Láidir, laochda, tapa, Ba ghnáthach rinnceach, reathach, Lán-oilte ar faobhar. Gan stát, gan mhaoin, gan fearann, Ár is míle measa 'Ná Seán Ua Duibhir an Ghleanna Fágtha gan game.

Without calm, gentle harps being plucked/ In staunch, white mansions/ Every scion of the ruling race of Míleadh/ Strong, chivalrous, capable/ Customarily given to dancing and racing/ Accomplished in weaponry/ Without estates, without wealth, without landholdings/ Slaughter and a thousandfold worse/ Than Seán Ó Duibhir of the Glen/ Left without game.

CRÁC ARAOIR IM LEADAIÓ, Δζ cásam οιὸιὸ na seabac, Cámis scím san scaipeað Ó Lámaib Morpéus, Pám báil 50 síleac seascair Cámac cím le caise, Ό' τάς mé ar σίτ mo ταραιό Is o'árouis mo néall; **S**an spás aς τίξεαċτ το τearcas Pánac zrinn crím aislinz, So hálainn íosmar abaio Cáicce lem caob; Da breáżca linn, zan bladar, Scáil is íożar a leacan, Ná an mántac mín tér leasaö ζάκτα να ζκαε.

A while last night in my bed/ Bewailing the slaughter of the champions/ There came a fairy mist, unscattered,/ From the hands of Morpheus,/ In my presence, silently, stealthily (?)/ Motionless, spiritless, ghostly (?)/ It left me in want of my senses/ And it deepened my swoon/

Tráth araoir im leabaidh, Ag cásamh oidhidh na seabhac, Táinig scím gan scaipeadh Ó lámhaibh Morphéus, Fám dháil go síleach seascair Támhach tím le taise, D'fhág mé ar díth mo thapaidh Is d'árduigh mo néall; Gan spás ag tígheacht do dhearcas Fánach grinn trím aisling, Go hálainn íogmhar abaidh Táithte lem thaobh; Ba bhreághtha linn, gan bhladar, Scáil is íoghar a leacan, Ná an mhánlach mhín lér leagadh Gárda na Trae.

Without delay I saw approaching/ A wanderer - clearly in my dreaming/ Beautiful, impressing, lively/ Adjoining me by my side/ More beautiful to me, without bombast,/ (Was) the brightness and shape of her face/ Than the fine lady through whom was broken/ The defence of Troy.

Da cáblac cíorta casta Cáclac plaoiteac patac, Scáinneac trillseac pada Γάιπηελό 30 γέλα Δ bláċ-ċolc bínseaċ bearcaċ Cárnac bíseac snaiomeac Ó ÁRO A CÍNN ΝΑ ÖLAĊAIĎ Cáiċ-leabair léi; Ďí scáil na zcaor ar lasaö Cré báine an lí 'n-a leacain, Mánlact, míne is maise **Cáiτce** 'n-a scéim; Δr sám-rosc rinn lér leagaö Cáince laoċ zan capa, 1s sásta sínea<del>o</del> mala Śár-śnuiżce caol.

(Her hair (below) was clustered, combed, twisted/ Curling, in locks, lustrous/ In skeins, plaits, long/ Ringletted to the grass/ Her blooming hair, in peaks/ In heaps, swirling, folding/ From the top of her head in tresses,/ Sweeping gracefully for her/ The brightness of glowing embers/

Ba cháblach cíortha casta Táclach dlaoitheach dathach, Scáinneach trillseach fada Fáinneach go féar A bláth-fholt bínseach beartach Cárnach bíseach snaidhmeach Ó árd a cínn na dhlathaibh Táith-leabhair léi; Bhí scáil na gcaor ar lasadh Tré bháine an lí 'n-a leacain, Mánlacht, míne is maise Táithte 'n-a scéimh; Ar shámh-rosc rinn lér leagadh Táinte laoch gan tapa, Is sásta síneadh mala Shár-shnuighte chaol.

Through the whiteness of the lily in her cheeks/ Mildness, gentleness and beauty/ Were joined in her countenance/ On her keen, tranquil eye, - by which was laid low/ Hosts of knights, powerless -/ Pleasingly stretched an eyebrow/ Excellently hewn, gracious.

A bráża mar żnaoi na heala, Δη τκάτ το Ιυιζελη ακ αβλιηη Πό ας επάπ πα ταοίσε παπα 1 mbárr conna créan; A bán-crob aolda leabair, 1s sám το κίσμας ακ βκαταιβ Cáis is míolta searra, Dánca 'zus éisc, Cárnaö is coimeascar seabac, ζάικ na ζελοι ο κατανά, blát na scraob is ealta 1 mbárr sclucmar nséas; Da sáime Linn zac aisce Ό όιη ζαη τυι ξεαίλ σά ζα τα το, Δ κάιότε ζκιηη le blaiseaö, 'Πά sár-ċruic Orpheus.

Her throat like the appearance of the swan/ The while he alights on a river/ Or swimming in the sea-tide/ Atop mighty waves/ Her graceful, lime-white hands/ Would gently design on tapestries/ Jackdaws and hares/ Meadows and fish/

A brágha mar ghnaoi na heala, An tráth do luigheann ar abhainn Nó ag snámh na taoide mara I mbárr tonna tréan; A bán-chrobh aolda leabhair, Is sámh do ríomhadh ar bhrataibh Cáig is míolta gearra, Bánta 'gus éisc, Cárnadh is coimheascar seabhac, Gáir na gcloidheamh dá ngreadadh, Bláth na gcraobh is ealta I mbárr gcluthmhar ngéag; Ba sháimhe linn gach aiste Dáin gan fuigheall dá gcanadh, A ráidhte grinn le blaiseadh, 'Ná sár-chruit Orpheus.

The massing and conflict of champions/ The tumult of clashing swords/ The blossom of branches and swans/ In the sheltered tops of branches/ More pleasing to me every verse,/ Recited (by her) without defect,/ Than the excellent harp of Orpheus.

Δη τκάτ το sín an sailteann Álainn caoin im aice, Ċάιnις δίο ός Δό is creaca Cámaca ım αεσιδ; ζκάσα, 50 slípeac sleamain, Cáicce im croide le ceansal Páirce von bé; San spás oo smuaineao asam Lásca o cruinn do cabhaire, Láitreat boill don ainnir Mánla ar a léitim; San cáirde linn sur labhair Olát na ríożan zcneasta, Sτάη όη ηςηίο<del></del> το ς ς αργασ Tát rios mo scéil.

Whenever lay the lady/ Beautiful, tender, beside me/ There came excitement and tremors/ Quietly in my entrails/ There were left arrows and darts/ Of love, piercing, smooth/ Driven in my heart, with joining/ Of affection for the woman/

An tráth do shín an ghailteann Álainn chaoin im aice, Táinig bíodhgadh is creatha Támhacha im aedhibh; Do fágadh saighid is dearta Grádha, go slípeach sleamhain, Táithte im chroidhe le ceangal Páirte don bhé; Gan spás do smuaineadh agam Fáscadh cruinn do thabhairt, Láithreach boill don ainnir Mhánla ar a léighim; Gan cháirde linn gur labhair Bláth na ríoghan gcneasta, Stán ón ngníomh go gcanfad Fáth fios mo scéil.

Without delay I considered/ Giving complete embrace/ Immediately to the gentle (*next line*) maiden/ Of whom I recite/ Without giving way to me she spoke/ The flower of princesses modestly/ "Refrain from the deed that I may relate/ The cause and knowledge of my story.

Cáim, ar sí, le sealao Γάζτα απ τίτ mo carat, Γά τάικ ας υπίουακ υαπακ, Ό' άκουι <del>'</del> πο Léan, San cáin, san críc, san ceannas, San árus ríoż, mar ċleaċtas, San cáin, san buióin, san rearann, ÁRO-meas ná réim, Ιπ ἀκάιη ὅοιἀς ἀπλοιότε ἀλιάτε, Az cál zo ruroeac óm ballarb, ΔR ÁL ζας σλοιετο σ'λιςme Šázan, cioò claon; 'S 50 brát ní cuibe oot samail, **Ράικτ ċum zrinn το żlaca**το lem veállram v'ruitleac airm, ζάκυα 'zus maor.

"I am", she said, "For a while/ Left in want of my relatives/ Overthrown by the dregs of savages/ That increased my grief/ With revenues, without countr, without power/ Without royal palace, as I was accustomed/ Without herds, without hosts,

without landholdings/ Without high respect or authority/

Táim, ar sí, le sealad Fágtha ar dhíth mo charad, Fá tháir ag dríodar danar, D'árduigh mo léan, Gan cháin, gan chrích, gan cheannas, Gan árus ríogh, mar chleachtas, Gan táin, gan buidhin, gan fearann, Árd-mheas ná réim, Im chráin bhoicht chnaoidhte chaithte, Ag tál go fuidheach óm bhallaibh, Ar ál gach daoiste d'aicme Shátan, ciodh claon; 'S go bráth ní cuibhe dot shamhail, Páirt chum grinn do ghlacadh Lem dheállramh d'fhuighleach airm, Gárda 'gus maor.

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A poor, wasted, withered female/ Issuing (sustenance) freely from my organs/ To the brood of every churl of the race/ Of Satan, though perverse/ And further it is unseemly for the like of you/to take part in pleasure/in the absence of armies/guards and officers reckoned to me (*previous line*).

Όλη βάσηλις σλοιό σο measas Sus plás sac nío dár labair, Mar fál ón ngníom 'n-ar bearcas **Σάικτελό Βειό Léi**, San spás ven ríb sur aicceas Γάτ α τίξεατ του Leabaro, Δ κάς, α ςκαοι 'sa hainm Tá ruirm béas; D'éis Lán-cocc caoide sur aitris ÁR NA SAOICE SNAIOMEAO 1 n-áicreab críce Caisil Cáro cumais léi, 1s τας sáil 50 scíoropa ο αις me Öána öíomsac abaiö Δς ς κά ο 's ας δίο cur δαπακ Crác as a réim.

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By Saint Patrick to you, I judged/ That everything she said was deceit/ As defence against the deed by which I intended/ To be affectionate to her? Without delay I enquired of the lady/ The reason for her coming to my bed/ Her race, her pedigree and her name/

Dar Pádraig daoibh do mheasas Gus phlás gach nídh dár labhair, Mar fhál ón ngníomh 'n-ar bheartas Páirteach bheith léi, Gan spás den ríbh gur aitcheas Fáth a tígheacht dom leabaidh, A rás, a craoibh 'sa hainm Fá fhuirm béas: D'éis lán-tocht caoidhe gur aithris Ár na saoithe snaidhmeadh I n-áitreabh críche Chaisil Cháidh chumais léi, Is tar sáil go scíordfadh aicme Dána dhíomsach abaidh Ag crádh 's ag díochur danar Tráth as a réim.

In customary form/ After a full fit of weeping she related/ The slaughter of the nobles who were united (to her, *below*)/ In the habitation of the territory of Cashel/ - Noble, powerful/ And over the sea there would speed a tibe/ Bold, proud, ready/ Tormenting and subduing savages/ In time, out of their course.

1m βάικτ-se ζυιόθαό ζας seabac Atá zan čríč le sealao, Γά ὁκά να δλοικς ας seasam Sámtoile Oé, Sac trát cum Críost puair peannaid Dáis is íosbairt searb, Cráö le ríoc is zearraö Cnám azus zéaz, An ránac Ríoż zan ainm, ATÁ DO ŠÍOR PÁ SCAMALL, **Σ**αη spás το τίξεατ ι ηςκαταπ ÁICRIB na nSaebeal, 'S an cár-sproc coimizceac meabail, Acá na suroe na mbailcib, le cárna o cloio im oo scaipea o As clár leatan Néill.

Let every champion pray on my behalf/ Who is without lands for a while/ Under the heel of despotism withstanding/ The benign will of God/ Every day to Christ who endured pain/ Passion and bitter sacrifice/ Fierce torture and laceration/ Of bones and limbs/

Im pháirt-se guidheadh gach seabhac Atá gan chrích le sealad, Fá dhrá na daoirse ag seasamh Sámhthoile Dé, Gach tráth chum Críost fuair peannaid Páis is íosbairt shearbh, Crádh le fíoch is gearradh Cnámh agus géag, An fánach Ríogh gan ainm, Atá do shíor fá scamall, Gan spás do thígheacht i ngradam Áitribh na nGaedheal, 'S an tár-sprot coimhightheach meabhail, Atá na suidhe na mbailtibh, Le cárnadh cloidhimh do scaipeadh As clár leathan Néill.

That the lost King without name/ Who is ever in darkness/ Without delay may come back to pre-eminence/ Of the habitations of the Irish/ And the mad, foreign, mean creatures/ Who are esconced in their households/ Be scattered with slaughter of swords/ On the broad plain of Niall.

So háicreab Cuinn σά στας ασ Spáinniż żroióe le ceannas 1s zárda ľadisiż parra, Cáin σe Luċτ γλοβλικ; NÍ'L SRÁID SAN RÍOSACT NÁ CACAIR, Πάκ Β'άκο α στειπτε ακ Lasaö, Lán-curo ríonza 'á scarpeao Is záirdeacas piléar, Oánca as buiðin na leabar Rás is rinnce pada Cláirseac caoin dá spreasad, Zárċa 'zus scléip, Az ráiltiużao an Ríoż tar calait, Ní tráctfar linn ar a ainm, 'S α ċάικσε σίος αιό γεας τα Sláince mo Réics.

If there came to the abode of Conn/ Brave Spaniards with leadership/ And the guard of Louis with them/ A host of armed men/ There is not a street in the kingdom or a city/ Whose fires would not be lit on high/ Full portion of wine distributed/ And celebratory volleys/

Go háitreabh Chuinn dá dtagadh Spáinnigh ghroidhe le ceannas Is gárda Laoisigh farra, Táin de lucht faobhair; Ní'l sráid san ríoghacht ná cathair, Nár bh'árd a dteinte ar lasadh, Lán-chuid fíonta 'á scaipeadh Is gáirdeachas piléar, Dánta ag buidhin na leabhar Rás is rinnce fada Cláirseach chaoin dá spreagadh, Gártha 'gus scléip, Ag fáiltiughadh an Ríogh tar chalaith, Ní tráchtfar linn ar a ainm, 'S a cháirde díogaidh feasta Sláinte mo Réics.

Poems by the literary folk/ Racing and long dancing/ Gentle harps being plucked/ Laughter and delight/ Welcoming the King from over the sea/ His name will not be mentioned by me/ - And, my friends, drink forever/ The health of my King!

## 4. Mo léan le luaö.

Conn: An Spealadóir.

Mo Léan le Luaö 'zus m'aċtuirse!
'S ní péar do buaint ar teascannaib
O'púiz céasta buaidearta m'aizne
Le tréimse, zo tlát,
Act éizse 's suada an tseancuis
1 nzéibeann cruaid 's i n-anacra,
So tréit i dtuataib leatan Luirc
San réim mar ba ţnát;
Is zac lonna-bile borb-cutaiţ tréan-cumais d'pás
Oo brolla-stoc na sona-con do préamuiţ ón Spáinn,
So canntlac paon laz easbaidteac,
Pé ţall-smact ţéar az danaraib,
An cam-sprot claon do sealbuiţ
A saor-bailte stáit.

## 4. My Woe To Relate

Air: An Spealadóir - The Scytheman (Mower, Reaper). *Composed when Eoghan was labouring near Mallow.* 

My woe to relate, and my affliction!/ And it is not cutting hay on piece-rate/ That left my mind tormented and grief-stricken/ For a while, powerless/ But the poets and bards of ancient learning/ In dire bondage and in hardship/ Weak, in the broad lands of Lorc/ Without the authority that was their traditional right/

## 4. Mo léan le luadh.

Fonn: An Spealadóir.

Mo léan le luadh 'gus m'athtuirse!

'S ní féar do bhuaint ar theascannaibh
D'fhúig céasta buaidheartha m'aigne
 Le tréimhse, go tláth,
Acht éigse 's suadha an tseanchuis
I ngéibheann chruaidh 's i n-anacra,
Go tréith i dtuathaibh leathan Luirc
 Gan réim mar ba ghnáth;
Is gach lonna-bhile borb-chuthaigh tréan-chumais d'fhás
Do bhrolla-stoc na sona-chon do phréamhuigh ón Spáinn,
 Go canntlach faon lag easbaidhtheach,
 Fé ghall-smacht ghéar ag danaraibh,
 An cam-sprot claon do shealbhuigh
 A saor-bhailte stáit.

And every strong champion of fierce wrath and strong powere who descended from/ The true race of the blessed chiefs who originated in Spain/ Sorrowful, faint, weak, in want/ Under severe foreign rule by savages/ - That crooked, perverse rabble who took possession/ Of their noble household estates.

30 pann aréir 's mé as maċtnaṁ ar Saċ plannoa 'en Ṣaeöeal-ṛuil ċalma, An oream ba ċréine i sceannas ċirt 'S i réim înis ţáil, le peall-beart ċlaon is sansaio uilc Saċ saṁairle is sméirle Sasanai¸, So pallsa ṣéan an τΔipreann, Is saor-staio na nṣrás, 1 n-anacra, rá ċarcuisne 's i nṣéar-broioib ṣábaò Δṣ cama-ṣlioċt na mallui¸ċeaċt an éiċi¸ 's an smáil, Cré buaiòirt na scéal seo ċeal¸ sinn Şo ouairc is léir mar aiċrisio, le suan-brioċt tréiċ ʒur treascraò mé îm ċréan-ċoolaò spás.

Weakly, last night, and I pondering on/ Every scion of the brave Gaelic blood/ The band who were strongest in true leadership/ And (were) sovereign in Ireland/ By crooked, treacherous deeds and evil deceit/ Every boor and villain of the English/ Who falsely denied the Mass/

Go fann aréir 's mé ag machtnamh ar
Gach plannda 'en Ghaedheal-fhuil chalma,
An dream ba thréine i gceannas chirt
 'S i réim Inis Fáil,
Le feall-bheart chlaon is gangaid uilc
Gach samhairle is sméirle Sasanaigh,
Go fallsa shéan an tAifreann,
 Is saor-staid na ngrás,
I n-anacra, fá tharcuisne 's i ngéar-bhroidibh gábhadh
Ag cama-shliocht na malluightheacht an éithigh 's an smáil,
 Tré bhuaidhirt na scéal seo chealg sinn
Go duairc is léir mar aithrisid,
Le suan-bhriocht tréith gur treascradh mé
 Im thréan-chodladh spás.

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And the noble state of grace/ In trouble, slighted, and under dire oppression of danger/ By the crooked breed of the accursed (tribe) of perjury and disgrace/ By the woefulness of this story I was wounded/ Sadly it is clear, as is related/ By a deep swoon I was overcome/ In heavy sleep for a while.

Through my sleep, around (and about) I saw/ A noble, beautiful lady/ Dignified, lofty, commanding/ Approaching in my presence/ Wavy, curling, lustrous, thick was/ Her twisting, folding, branching hair/ Embellishing (her, *next line*), sweeping in ringlets/ In harmony to her heel/

Trím néall ar cuaird 'seadh d'amharcas
Réilteann uasal taitneamhach,
Go béasach buacach ceannasach,
Ag téarnamh im dháil;
Ba dhréimreach dualach daithte tiubh
A craobh-fholt cuachach camarsach
Ag téacht go scuabach bachallach
Léi i n-éinfheacht go sáil;
'Na leacain ghil do cheapaid draoithe, éigse 'gus dáimh,
Gur sheasaimh Cúipid cleasach glic is gaethe 'n-a láimh,
Ar tí gach tréin-fhir chalma
Do thigheadh 'n-a gaor do chealgadh,
Tré'r claoidheadh na céadta faraire
I ndaor-chreathaibh báis.

In her bright cheek, bards, poets and seers would suppose/ That playful, clever Cupid would lay siege, with darts in his hand/ Against every strong, brave man/ That would come near her, to pierce/ By whom hundreds of warriors were smitten/ In dire tremors of death.

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The music of her delicate mouth was sweeter/ Than the vigour of fingers playing a tune/ And than the harp of the person who defeated Mis/ Though it is (*seems*) foolish for me to say it/ And her snow-white face was brighter/ Than the gentle lily and than the swan on a stream/ And her eyebrow was well-hewn, slender, seated/ Over her starry eyes without blemish/

Her round breasts of graceful shape that were not defiled by wantonness/ Her graceful hands that created ships, birds and flowers (on tapestries)/ Mild, dignified, beautiful was/ Her figure, her countenance and her person/ (So) that I was

emboldened to speak/ In these words following.

Δ κίοξαη βέαδας, αιτιίδο σαπ
Δη τύ αη αοιλ-τηθίδιτης τκέ η-ακ τκεαδοακαδ
Πα πίλτε 'en μέπη λε ξαιδς Εάιλο
Πις Εκέπη τυς αη τ-άκ;
Πό αη βκίζοθας Πέλεη, σ'αιδτκις
Τακ τυπη όη ηξκέις λέκ ταιλλειδ τκυιρ
1 διεξε ηα ταλε πακ βεακταιδ οκαδιτε
1 λέηκ-καημαίδ σάη;
Πό αη παδοαλας ό Δλβαιη τυς λαος λειδ 'ηα βάκς;
Πό αη αιπηίκ λέη τυπ τλαη θίση τακ λέητε καη λέητε καη τλίη;
Πό αη κίοξαη αθκας ταιτηθάμις
Τό τυπ διαν μένε το διαν τιλο διαν τιλο διαν το δι

O exemplary princess, tell me/ Are you the fair lady through whom was defeated/ Thousands of the Fianna by the great deeds of Talc/ Mac Tréin who wrought the slaughter/ Or the maiden Helen who travelled/ Over the sea from Greece, through whom was lost an army/ In the siege of Troy, as bards relate/ In clear verses of poems/

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(Or) the maiden from Scotland that a knight took with him in his ship/ Or the maiden through whom the clan of Uisneach fell, as is read, in the hosting/ Or the sprightly, beautiful maiden/ Who left Irish nobles in great difficulty/ Because of her evil savages took root/ In command of Ireland.

Is béasac scuamòa d'freazair mé,
Is í az déanam uaille is cacuizce,
Ní haon dár luadais it scarcaib mé,
Ciod léir dam an táin;
Is mé céile is nuacar Caroluis,
Cá déarac duairc, pé carcuisne,
San réim ná buaid mar cleactas-sa,
Mo laoc ó tá ar pán;
le peartaib cirt an araid-mic, puair peannaid croise is páis,
Deid scaipead is rit ar ţalla-puic do sealbuiţ ár stát,
Ní danaid liom an aicme cuz
Mo dearca az silead lacta tiub,
I n-ana-bruid pé an amad az
Şac saor-bile sám.

She answered me with dignity and modesty/ And she making wailing and lamentation/ I am not one of those you mentioned in your stories/ Though I know of the hostings/ I am the spouse and consort of Charles/ Who am tearful, grieving, slighted/ Without power or authority as I was accustomed/ Since my knight is astray/

Is béasach stuamdha d'fhreagair mé,
Is í ag déanamh uaille is cathuighthe,
Ní haon dár luadhais it starthaibh mé,
Ciodh léir dam an táin;
Is mé céile is nuachar Charoluis,
Tá déarach duairc, fé tharcuisne,
Gan réim ná buaidh mar chleachtas-sa,
Mo laoch ó tá ar fán;
Le feartaibh cirt an araid-mhic, fuair peannaid chroise is páis,
Beidh scaipeadh is rith ar ghalla-phuic do shealbhuigh ár stát,
Ní danaid liom an aicme thug
Mo dhearca ag sileadh lachta tiubh,
I n-ana-bhruid fé an amadh ag
Gach saor-bhile sámh.

By the virtues and truth of the Divine Son who suffered the torment of the cross and passion/ There will be scattering and rout of the foreign bucks who took possession of my estate/ It is no grievance to me, the gang who caused/ My eyes to shed dense tears/ In great difficulty under the yoke/ Of every contented, noble champion.

As ancient bards relate/ That made portents and prophecies/ There will be a fleet in the harbours of Ireland/ By the feast of Saint John (*June 24, mid-summer*)/ Inflicting terror and rout out of the lands of Corc/ Over the bloody (?) waves of the ocean/ On every big-bodied churl of the English/ And their crisis is no sorrow to me/

Fé mar luadhadar sean-draoithe,
Do dhéanadh tuar is tarngaireacht,
Beidh flít i gcuantaibh Banba
Fá fhéile Naoimh Sheáin,
Ag tabhairt sceimhle is ruagadh as fearann Chuirc,
Tar linntibh ruadha na fairrge,
Ar gach sméirle mór-chuirp Sasanaigh,
'S ní léan liom a bprádhainn;
Béidh gearradh cloidhmhte is scaipeadh truip is tréantreasgairt námhad
Ar gach ailp aca do chleachtadh puinch is féasta 'san Pháis,
Do b'aite sult na reamhar-phoc
Ag cnead 's ag crith le heagla
'Ná an racaireacht so cheapadar
Lucht féar-leagadh ar phágh.

There will be slashing of swords and rout of troops and heavy defeat of enemies/ On every fat person of them who practised punch and feasting during the Passion (*Holy Week*)/ More delightful is the sport of (seeing) the fat bucks/ Running and trembling in terror/ Than these pastimes that they devise/ (Who engage in) mowing hay for pay!

### 5. Maidean drúcta le hais na Siúrac.

Fonn: An Clár Doz Déil.

Maidean drúcta le hais na Siúrac, is mé τάπας laς paon, Oo σearcas cúiltíonn maiseac múinte grádmar séim, 'N-a raib lile aς súgraσ tré luisne lonnrac mar scáil na scaor,

Jan cime i nghúis gil an leinb ionnraic oo b'áilne scéim.

Is blasta búrð beaðt do beannuið dúinn-ne, 's is páirteað saor:

'S is capa d'umlas lem haca cúinneac im láim 30 féar, Ar amarc 3núise is pearsan cúmca na báibe, is léir Sur ceals Cúipid le dearcaid ciusa mé cré lár mo cléib.

Is milis muinntearòa d'riosruizeas-sa de zrád mo cléib, Ar b'ise an aoil-cheis trér tuzad líonruic is ár na Crae, Nó an miocair míonla do cuir na mílte le rán an tsaozail, 'S zalla-smístiz nár ceaduiz Íosa 'na stáit raoi réim.

Preazair sinn, a bean mo croide, an cú an báb do créis An pear do bí aici i sceansal cinnce le srád don Péinn, Nó an sailceann srinn do bailis Naois car sáil i scéin, Cus creascaire laoc i scac na Craoide is ár na scéad.

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## 5. On A Dewy Morning By The Suir-side.

Air: An Clár Bog Déil - The Soft Deal Table.

By the Suir on a dewy morning, and I feeble, weak, faint/ I beheld a beautiful, decorous, lovable, tender maiden/ In whom the lily was playing through the lustrous blush of the brightness of embers (*or* berries)/ Without fear in the bright countenance of the noble girl of loveliest appearance.

### 5. Maidean drúchta le hais na Siúrach.

Fonn: An Clár Bog Déil.

Maidean drúchta le hais na Siúrach, is mé támhach lag faon, Do dhearcas cúilfhionn mhaiseach mhúinte ghrádmhar shéimh, 'N-a raibh lile ag súgradh tré luisne lonnrach mar scáil na gcaor,

Gan time i ngnúis ghil an leinbh ionnraic do b'áilne scéimh.

Is blasta búidh beacht do bheannuigh dúinn-ne, 's is páirteach saor:

'S is tapa d'umhlas lem hata cúinneach im láimh go féar, Ar amharc gnúise is pearsan cúmtha na báibe, is léir Gur chealg Cúipid le deartaibh tiugha mé tré lár mo chléibh.

Is milis muinnteardha d'fhiosruigheas-sa de ghrádh mo chléibh, Ar bh'ise an aoil-chneis trér tugadh líonruith is ár na Trae, Nó an mhiochair mhíonla do chuir na mílte le fán an tsaoghail, 'S galla-smístigh nár cheaduigh Íosa 'na stáit faoi réim.

Freagair sinn, a bhean mo chroidhe, an tú an bháb do thréig An fear do bhí aici i gceangal chinnte le grádh don Fhéinn, Nó an ghailteann ghrinn do bhailigh Naois tar sáil i gcéin, Thug treascairt laoch i gcath na Craoibhe is ár na gcéad.

She greeted me elegantly, graciously, correctly, and affectionately, nobly/ Hastily I made obeisance down to the grass with my cornered hat in my hand/ At sight of the countenance and well-formed person of the girl, truly/ Cupid wounded me with dense darts through the centre of my heart.

Sweetly, friendly I enquired of the love of my heart/ Was she the fair lady through whom was accomplished the rout and slaughter of Troy/ Or the gentle, tender lady who put thousands astray in the world/ And every foreign churl who did not honour Jesus in power in their estates.

Answer me, O love of my heart, are you the girl who abandoned/ The man who was in certain union with her for love of the Fianna/ Or the true, fair

maiden who swept Naoise over the sea afar/ Who wrought the overthrow of knights in the battle of the Branch, and the slaughter of hundreds.

Πό απ παισεαὰ πίπ πακ βεακταιο οκαοιὰε, τάιὸε ις cléir, le hais απ τίος τας scata laoὰ τακ sáil τοπ Κείζ,

Πό απ sib το ὁἰτς τὸ le cumann τίος καις ράικτ ις τείl,

Δκ Conall κίος τὸ cumas κίος αὰτα α καδάι το τὸ είτὸ.

O'ṛ̀reasair sí 50 blasta sinn is í as tál na ndéar, Ní ceactar díob dár ainmnisis id ráidtib mé, Act bean do bí ré sradam ríosda trát dem saosal I sceannas críce sean is sinnsear árd-scot Saedeal.

An can peasaö linn cia an bean do bí liom crát az pléide, Oo ţlacas bíodzad ar mactnam innste stáit a scéil, Sur labair sí zo cneasda caoin, zan tlás, i nzaedilz Seacain caoi 'zus zlacaid inntinn árd is réim.

Is zearra an moill zo braicrir buidean car sáil az céacc Zo lannac líonca i mbarcaib dín zan scác roim piléar, Az zlanad críce Clanna Zaoidil le hármac créan Ón aicme claoin nár zreannuiz Críosc 's an lá lem Réics.

Or the fine lady, as bards, seers and clerics relate Who, with the (*Golden*) Fleece, took a band of knights over the sea to Greece

Or are you she who imposed, with zealous love, affection and submission,

On royal Conall to assume royal power after you?

She answered me elegantly and she issuing tears
I am neither of those you named in your utterances
But a woman who was held in regal esteem for a time in my life
In command of the land of the antiquity and ancestors of the
noble Gaelic race.

Nó an mhaiseach mhín mar bheartaid draoithe, fáidhe is cléir, Le hais an fhlíos thug scata laoch tar sáil don Ghréig, Nó an sibh do dhlíghidh le cumann díoghrais páirt is géill, Ar Chonall ríoghdha cumas ríoghachta a ghabháil id dhéidh.

D'fhreagair sí go blasta sinn is í ag tál na ndéar, Ní ceachtar díobh dár ainmnighis id ráidhtibh mé, Acht bean do bhí fé ghradam ríoghdha tráth dem shaoghal I gceannas críche sean is sinnsear árd-scoth Gaedheal.

An tan feasadh linn cia an bhean do bhí liom tráth ag pléidhe, Do ghlacas bíodhgadh ar mhachtnamh innste stáit a scéil, Gur labhair sí go cneasda caoin, gan tlás, i nGaedhilg Seachain caoi 'gus glacaidh inntinn árd is réim.

Is gearra an mhoill go bhfaicfir buidhean tar sáil ag téacht Go lannach líonta i mbarcaibh dín gan scáth roimh piléar, Ag glanadh críche Clanna Gaoidhil le hármach tréan Ón aicme chlaoin nár ghreannuigh Críost 's an lá lem Réics.

When I understood who was the woman who was for a while addressing me

I felt arousal on pondering the relating of the state of her affairs And she spoke gently, findly, firmly, in Irish "Abstain from lamentation and partake of high resolve and intent.

"The delay is brief till you see a band coming over the sea Abounding in ships, filled in protective vessels with no fear of volleys

Cleansing the land of the clan of Irish with powerful armies Of the perverse gang that did not honour Christ, and my King will (win) the day. Is pada sinn az lačtať cíoč, cioť cráiťce an scéal, Oo člannaiť daoiťe žreamuiž críoča is stáit zač réim, Oo snaiťmeať linn i zCaiseal Čuinn 's i n-áitreať Čéin, Is táim scarča arís le haicme an fill tuz ár mo laoč.

AR AIÈRIS SUIÒIM JAÈ AISTE RÍOMAS DON BÁN-CHEIS SÉIM, DA BLASTA LAOIÒ, BA TREANNTA THAOI, IS DO B'ÁILNE SCÉIM, IS TAPAIÒ SCÍORO CUM REACA ARÍS IS D'FÁT MÉ I BPÉIN, AN TAN BEARTAÒ LINN TUR B'AISLINT DRAOIÒEACTA A RÁIÒTE

béil.

AICCIM ÍOSA CEANNUIS SINN IS PUAIR PÁIS IS PÉIN

SO OCASAIÓ AN NÍÓ 'NA CEARC CUM CRÍCE I OCRÁC SAN BAOSAL,

LE NA BPAICEAM DÍBIRC, SCAIPEAÐ IS SCEIMLE IS ÁR LE PAOBAR

AR AICME AN FILL CAR N-AIS ARÍS, SIN DÁC MO SCÉIL.

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I am a long time milking from the breast, though tormented the story

For the race of churls who seized the lands and estates of every dynasty

That was united with me in Cashel of Conn, and in the habitation of Céin

And I am separated again from the gang of treachery who wrought the slaughter of my knights.

On reciting the resolution of every verse I composed for the gentle, fair lady

Of most perfect lays, of most elegant countenance, and of most beautiful appearance

Swiftly she fled away again and left me in pain

And then I understood that her utterances were a mystical vision.

Is fada sinn ag lachtadh cíoch, ciodh cráidhte an scéal, Do chlannaibh daoithe ghreamuigh críocha is stáit gach réim, Do snaidhmeadh linn i gCaiseal Chuinn 's i n-áitreabh Chéin, Is táim scartha arís le haicme an fhill thug ár mo laoch.

Ar aithris suidhimh gach aiste ríomhas don bhán-chneis séimh, Ba bhlasta laoidh, ba ghreannta gnaoi, is do b'áilne scéimh, Is tapaidh scíord chum reatha arís is d'fhág mé i bpéin, An tan beartadh linn gur bh'aisling draoidheachta a ráidhte béil.

Aitchim Íosa cheannuigh sinn is fuair páis is péin Go dtagaidh an nídh 'na cheart chum críche i dtráth gan baoghal, Le na bhfaiceam díbirt, scaipeadh is sceimhle is ár le faobhar Ar aicme an fhill tar n-ais arís, sin dát mo scéil.

I beseech Jesus who redeemed us and who endured passion and agony

That the matter will come aright in the end, in a time without peril

That we may see the expulsion, scattering, rout and slaughter with arms

On the gang of treachery back again. That is the end of my story.

### 6. Cois abann i noé.

Conn: An síoda atá id baillet?

Cois abann i ndé is mé as caisceal i scéin, so hacuirseac paon san suairceas, O'amarcas-sa dé 'na reacaid as céact, da seanamail sné 'sus snuad-dreac; da puinneamail capaid, da hinnealca a caisceal, as druidim dom aice den ruais sin, is deimin sur bearcas nár bruinneall don aicme do seinead ar calam mo scuaire.

Da camarsac léi so haltaib a craob-folt Dacallac néamrac dualac,
Da daite 'ná an séad le saisce don Śréis Čus calm-mac éason uaibreac;
Is ise da sasta, da snuidte, da snasta,
Oo d'oilte, do d'aite, do d'uaisle,
Da binne, da blasta, da cliste, da cneasta,
Da suidte dár dearcas im cuardaib.

# 6. By A River Yesterday.

Air: An síoda atá it bhaillet? - Is it silk that's in your wallet?

By a river yesterday and I travelling afar
Feeble, faint, without pleasure
I beheld a lady approaching at a run
Who was lovely in form and appearance of countenance
Her movement was vigorous, swift, graceful
Closing on me in that rush
I determined with certainty that (my maiden - next line) was not a girl of that class
That are begotten on earth.

### 6. Cois abhann i ndé.

Fonn: An síoda atá id bhaillet?

Cois abhann i ndé is mé ag taisteal i gcéin,
Go hatuirseach faon gan suairceas,
D'amharcas-sa bé 'na reathaibh ag téacht,
Ba gheanamhail gné 'gus snuadh-dhreach;
Ba fuinneamhail tapaidh, ba hinnealta a taisteal,
Ag druidim dom aice den ruaig sin,
Is deimhin gur bheartas nár bhruinneall don aicme
Do geineadh ar talamh mo stuaire.

Ba chamarsach léi go haltaibh a craob-fholt
Bachallach néamhrach dualach,
Ba dhaithte 'ná an séad le gaisce don Ghréig
Thug calm-mhac Éason uaibhreach;
Is ise ba ghasta, ba shnuidhte, ba shnasta,
Do b'oilte, do b'aite, do b'uaisle,
Ba bhinne, ba bhlasta, ba chliste, ba chneasta,
Ba shuidhte dár dhearcas im chuardaibh.

Her branching hair was curled to the roots
(It was) wavy, shining, in locks
It was more lustrous than the jewel, (that,) with exploits, to Greece,
Proud, valiant Jason brought
She was most clever, most pleasing, most noble
Sweetest, most elegant, most witty, modest
Most sedate that I saw in my travels.

ὑα leaöair ζlan séiṁ le haṁarc a héadan Maiseaṁail ζné-ġeal scuamòa,
'S a mala òeas ċaol ar reaṁar-rosc claon, ὑο ċealζ le ζαeċiḃ sluaiţce;
ὑί ʒile na heala ζan ceiṁeal le lasair Δζ siosma 's αζ caismirc 'n-a ζruaönaiḃ,
ls ní oliţċear oo ċeaċcar oíoḃ urraim ná ζradam, ná ionao 'na haiţċe ċum suaiṁnis.

DA BLASTA BEACT SAOR SAN BLADAR SAC TÉICS
OO CANAO A CAOR-SOB UASAL,
AS AICRIS NA N-ÉACT DO BALBUIS ÉISSE
1 SCEACTAIB DEN SAEDILSE BUACAIS;
CUITIM CUM TAILIM SAN PUINNEAM IM BALLAIB
1S CRITIM LE HANAICE IS UAMAN
AR BEICSINT A DREACA TRÉR CUISEAS SUR CAISTIL
O ÉINNEBROS ÉLAICIS AN CSUAIMNIS.

Her face was graceful, pure, mild to behold (She was) beautiful, of bright appearance, modest And her lovely, slender eyebrow (was) on inviting, wide eyes/ That wounded hosts with darts (*glances*) The flawless brightness of the swan, with flame Was struggling and contending in her cheeks And neither of them was permitted honour or pre-eminence Or a place in her features for rest.

Ba leabhair glan séimh le hamharc a héadan Maiseamhail gné-gheal stuamdha, 'S a mala dheas chaol ar reamhar-rosc claon, Do chealg le gaethibh sluaighte; Bhí gile na heala gan teimheal le lasair Ag siosma 's ag caismirt 'n-a gruadhnaibh, Is ní dlighthear do cheachtar díobh urraim ná gradam, Ná ionad 'na haighthe chum suaimhnis.

Ba bhlasta beacht saor gan bhladar gach téics
Do chanadh a caor-ghob uasal,
Ag aithris na n-éacht do bhalbhuigh éigse
I gceachtaibh den Ghaedhilge bhuacaigh;
Tuitim chum tailimh gan fuinneamh im bhallaibh
Is critim le hanaithe is uamhan
Ar bhfeicsint a dreacha trér thuigeas gur thaistil
O fhinnebhrog fhlaithis an tsuaimhnis.

Every verse was elegant, perfect, free, without exaggeration
That her noble red lips uttered
Recounting the exploits that struck poets dumb
In lessons of supreme Irish
I fall to the ground without force in my limbs
And I tremble with fear and terror
On sight of her countenance, by which I understood that she came

From the fair mansion of heaven of bliss.

PREAZAIR-SE MÉ AN CÚ AN AINNIR ÓN NGRÉIS

CAR CALAIC DON CRAE DO SCUADAÖ,

Oo CARRAING 'N-A DÉID I MDARCAID AN CRÉAD,

'Den CACAIR SO LÉIR RINN' LUAICREAC;

NÓ AN FINNE-BEAN GREANNCA NOC D'IMCIG LE SAICLIB,

'Oo D'FUINNEAMAIL FEARS I DCUARSAIN,

OO MILLEAD I N-CAMAIN CAR COMAIRCE A CARAD,

LE HINNEALLAID CEALS IS CRUAID-CLIS.

White and fine were her breasts and her teeth And her delicate, graceful body that was not defiled Her whole person, from the crown (of her head) to the grass Without defect, without flaw, achieved every supremacy I ask and entreat her place and her name

Her race, her relatives and her company Her people, her lands, her laws and her charters Of the girl of the curling, massy tresses. Ba chailce 's ba ghéar a mama 's a déid,
 'S a seanga-chorp séimh nár truailleadh,
 A pearsa go léir ó bhaitheas go féar
 Gan easbaidh, gan bhéim, gach buaidh rug;
 Fionnaim is aitchim a hionad 'sa hainm,
 A cineadh, is a caraid 'sa cuallacht,
 A fuireann, a fearann, a dlighthe 's a reachta
 Do bhruinneall na gcarn-fholt ndualach:

Freagair-se mé an tú an ainnir ón nGréig
Tar chalaith don Trae do scuabadh,
Do tharraing 'n-a déidh i mbarcaibh an tréad,
Den chathair go léir rinn' luaithreach;
Nó an fhinne-bhean ghreannta noch d'imthigh le gaithlibh,
Do b'fhuinneamhail fearg i dtuargain,
Do milleadh i n-Eamhain tar chomairce a carad,
Le hinneallaibh cealg is cruaidh-chlis.

Who was destroyed in Eamhain, despite the protection of her friends (2)

By machinations of treachery and dire deceit."

<sup>&</sup>quot;Answer me, are you the maiden from Greece
Who was swept over the sea to Troy
Who drew after her a host in ships
Who turned the whole city into ashes
Or (are you) the elegant beauty [Meadhbh] who went with warriors
Of fierce rage in slaughtering

Oo ṛreasair an bé, ní haitnid duit mé,

Ní ceactar den méid seo luadais mé,

Δċτ seacmallac strae le pada τά i bpéin,

San ṭradam, san réim, san suairceas,

San cisde, san ceannas dom ite 's dom ṭearrad

le mioscais as sallaib an uabair,

Ċus millead 'sus meascad san time, san taise,

Slan-ionnarbad is scaipead ar mo cuallact.

Is Lannamar Léidmeac pearzac praocda Creallamac créan i deuarzain As carrains pám déin an aicme do béaraid Scaipead dom péin is puascaile; Rictio na danair ar mire 'na nsealcaid As ionad na bplaca do d'uaisle, Ar bpillead na seabac ar buile cum caca, 'S ní sinsil mo sairm-se an uair sin.

"O friend of my heart, I am unknown to you
I am neither of those you mentioned
But a neglected wanderer, long-suffering
Without honour, without authority, being consumed and lacerated
By the malice of arrogant foreigners
Who caused destruction and affront, without fear or mercy
The complete expulsion and dispersal of my company.

Do fhreagair an bhé, ní haithnid duit mé,
Ní ceachtar den mhéid seo luadhais mé,
Acht seachmallach strae le fada tá i bpéin,
Gan ghradam, gan réim, gan suairceas,
Gan chisde, gan cheannas dhom ithe 's dhom ghearradh
Le mioscais ag gallaibh an uabhair,
Thug milleadh 'gus meascadh gan time, gan taise,
Glan-ionnarbadh is scaipeadh ar mo chuallacht.

Is lannamhar léidmheach feargach fraochda
Treallamach tréan i dtuargain
Ag tarraing fám dhéin an aicme do bhéaraidh
Scaipeadh dom phéin is fuascailt;
Rithfid na danair ar mire 'na ngealtaibh
As ionad na bhflatha do b'uaisle,
Ar bhfilleadh na seabhac ar buile chum catha,
'S ní singil mo ghairm-se an uair sin.

"Valiantly, bravely, fiercely, furiously
Aggressively, strong in slaughtering
- Drawing near to me is the band who will bring
Relief of my pain, and release
The savages will flee madly, out of their minds
Out of the place of the most honourable nobles
On the return of the heroes thirsting for battle
- And my voice will not then be solitary!

Oá ricio zeal-bé, zan raice ar a ocaob, A mascalac, léizim uaim leac 'S ná oearmaio zlaodac cois abann cum Séamuis, O'eascair oo préim-slioce Nuazlac; Siollaire seasamac soineanda searcamail Oileamail blasta bleact-ouantac, Ouine oo zlacras le muirinn oo samail, 'S tá cliste cum baillet oo cuardac.

"Forty bright ladies, without a stitch on their bodies [beannacht – blessing; bean nocht – naked woman]
O sturdy youth, I shall release to you
And do not forget to call on Séamus beside the river
Who is descended from the root-stock of Nagle
An amorous, pleasant, staunch smiter
- Heroic, elegant, poem-producing
A person who would accept such as you into his household
- And who is quick to search his wallet!"

# 7. Im Aonar seal as siubal bios.

Conn: An Dinsin Luacka (Móirin Ní Cuilleanáin)

ὑλ ἀιὰιπ ῖ, ὑλ ἐεἰm λ clóö,
ὑλ ἀιὰιπ ῖ, ὑλ ἑεἰm λ clóö,
ὑλ ἀλοm λ ὑκελὰ 's λ súil ἐκιππ
Μλκ ὑκάὰς ἐlɨm λς ὑελπλɨm spóirc;
λ ὑείο mar ἀλίλα 'nλ ὑλúiቲ-ἀῖκ
ζλη smúic ὑί ξο πέλαλ ι ξαόικ,
'S λ hλοl-ἀοκρ seascair súǯλὰ síοἀλὰ,
Πλκ ὑλάτιιξελὸ le ἀείle rós.

## 7. Alone A While I Was Walking.

Air: An Bínsín Luachra -The Little Rushy Bench or Móirín Ní Chuilleanáin.

Alone a while I was walking
At nightfall in a misty wooded glen
When I beheld beside me a beautiful princess
Approaching me, gliding gently
Her hair all in curls/ Falling (?), of the appearance of gold
Branching, twisting, yellow-tinted
Spiralling to her shoe-tips.

# 7. Im aonar seal ag siubhal bhíos.

Fonn: An Bínsín Luachra (Móirín Ní Chuilleanáin)

Im aonar seal ag siubhal bhíos
I dtúis oidhche i ngaortha ceoigh,
Lem thaobh gur dhearcas fionn-ríoghan,
Dom ionnsuidhe go séimh ar seol,
A céibhe ar fad 'na mbúclaidhibh
Ag tabhairt síos ar scéimh an óir,
Go craobhach casta ciumhas-bhuidhe,
'Na fonnsaidhibh go béal a bróg.

Ba mhaordha, maiseach, múinte í,
Ba chiúin í, ba shéimh a clódh,
Ba chaomh a dreach 's a súil ghrinn
Mar dhrúcht ghlinn ag déanamh spóirt;
A déid mar chailc 'na dlúith-chír
Gan smúit bhí go néata i gcóir,
'S a haol-chorp seascair súghach síothach,
Nár dlúthuigheadh le chéile fós.

\_\_\_\_\_

She was majestic, beautiful, mannerly
She was reserved, she was finely-formed
Her countenance was fair, her eye was keen
Like pure dew, at play
Her teeth were white, in close array
Without blemish they were neatly in order
And her white body, composed, pleasing, calm,
Never yet held in embrace.

Cáid caora is sneacta ar lút síor 'Na snúis mín ba maorda, modamail, a héadan leatan úr maoidim San smúit puinn so séanmar sósac; da caol a mala dlút-caoin, 'S a leabair-píop mar séis ar seol, 'S a béilín blasta bút binn Cionnsaide, nár taobuis móid.

Δ spéir-bean cheasta, ciuin, caoin,
Cár stiuruiţeaŭ i ζcéin do śórt?
Πό an léir a meas zur b'ionntaoib
'Oom ionnsuide id ţaor im clód?
Δη τώ an bé cuz searc is rún croide
'Oon Cú ţroide bí créan i dtóir,
'S a céile ceart zur ţúiz sí
ζο dub-croideac le zéill don spórt?

The embers and snow were ever-playing
In her fine, majestic, elegant countenance
Her fresh, broad face, I assert
Without the slightest flaw, content, cheerful
Her eyebrow was slender, gently-compact
And her graceful throat like a swimming swan's
And her sweet, joyous, tasty little mouth/ Loving, not given to imprecation.

Táid caora is sneachta ar lúth shíor
'Na gnúis mhín ba mhaordha, modhamhail,
A héadan leathan úr maoidhim
Gan smúit puinn go séanmhar sóghach;
Ba chaol a mala dhlúth-chaoin,
'S a leabhair-phíop mar ghéis ar seol,
'S a béilín blasta búch binn
Cionnsaidhe, nár thaobhuigh móid.

A spéir-bhean chneasta, chiuin, chaoin, Cár stiuruigheadh i gcéin do shórt? Nó an léir a mheas gur bh'ionntaoibh Dom ionnsuidhe id ghaor im chlódh? An tú an bhé thug searc is rún chroidhe Don Chú ghroidhe bhí thréan i dtóir, 'S a céile ceart gur fhúig sí Go dubh-chroidheach le géill don spórt?

"O gentle, tender, modest, fair lady
From whence afar was directed such as you?
Or is it clear to suppose it safe
For me to approach near you in person?
Are you the lady who gave love and her heart's desire
To the brave Hound (*Cuchulainn?*) who was strong in pursuit
And her true spouse she forsook
(Him) broken-hearted, in abandonment to pleasure?

Δη τύ Θέικοκε παισελό δύό διηη
Θο ακτυίξελο σε ρκείπ ηλ Ιεοπαη
Ιε ηλα ακλοόλο ρίλιο ις ριοην-κί
Σο συβ-όκοι μελό ι η-έιξελη ξίεος?
Πό λη δέ Ιέκ αλιίζελο Cúrλοι
ζαη ιοηπαλοίδ ας σέληλη ρόις,
Πό λη σρέικ-βελη όπελετα σ'υπίζελο 'Πλ επώις ζκιηη λα Είκιηη ceo?

Is béasaċ blasta búċ binn, Δουβαίκτ sí το séiṁ ταπ τό: Πί haon σετ ṁεας, α κúin, sinn, Is σιάιταιτης το héας σοη τεόκτ, Is bé mé ας ταιετεαί σύταιτε Το συβ-ċκοισεαὶ τησείσ πο leoṁαin, Is mo ċκέαċτα ακ leaċaö ας búκαισιβ, Όση ἐύταο δίο 'na slago σοη σeol.

Are you sweet, joyous, beautiful Deirdre
Who was created from the root-stock of the heroes
By whom was laid low nobles and fair kings
Sadly in the violence of battle
Or the lady (*Bláthnait*) through whom was lost Cúraoi (*ally*, then foe, of Cúchulainn)
Treacherously in his cups(?)
Or the modest beauty (*Dervla*) who stooped
(To inflict) sorrow on Ireland in sharp defeat.

An tú Déirdre mhaiseach bhúch bhinn
Do crúthuigheadh de phréimh na leomhan
Le nar traochadh flaith is fionn-rí
Go dubh-chroidheach i n-éigean gleodh?
Nó an bhé lér cailleadh Cúraoi
Gan ionntaoibh ag déanamh póit',
Nó an spéir-bhean chneasta d'umhluigheadh
'Na smúit ghrinn ar Éirinn ceo?

Is béasach blasta búch binn,
Adubhairt sí go séimh gan ghó:
Ní haon det mheas, a rúin, sinn,
Is diúltuighim go héag don tsórt,
Is bé mé ag taisteal dúthaighe
Go dubh-chroidheach i ndéidh mo leomhain,
Is mo chréachta ar leathadh ag búraidhibh,
Dom shúghadh bhíd 'na slaod dom dheol.

Sweetly, joyously, elegantly, graciously
She said tenderly wihout falsehood
I am not one of those you surmise, my dear
And I shall deny to the death any such thing
I am a woman travelling the districts
Grief-stricken in the absence of my hero
And my wounds agape with churls
Sucking at me, they are draining me of deluges.

Cá Séarlas mear 's a trúip ţroide
 Öár n-ionnsuide ţo héascaid ar seol,
 İs réidtid seal mo cúrsaide
 Aţ búraidid le taodar ţleoid,
 Öéid séidead is cartad is bruţad síor
 Ar búraidid dá dtraocad ar teod,
 'S ní léan liom laţ ţan lút puinn
 Şac trú díod nár ţéill don Órd.

θειό cléir πα ζαναότ ζαπ ρώισίπ Δζ μκ-παοιόθα απ απ θίπ-πις όδικ, 1s έιζες ἐθακτ αζ ταβαίκτ síos ζαὰ ριοπη-λοιό ζο πέατα ι ζαλό; Δη τκέαν νο ἐκρασταίκ νώβαὰ sinn ζαη λιοπηταίδε, ζαη ρέαστα ακ βόκν, 1s ζαθόιλ ζο seascair súξαὰ síοὰαὰ Ἰλα πουὰλιξε ζο séanmar soξαπαίλ.

Swift Charles and his brave soldiers
Are approaching me readily by sea
And my affairs will be settled soon
Against the churls, in armed battle
There will be exploding and violent overthow and casting down
On churls, exhausted, withering
And it is no sorrow to me (to see them) weak, without the
slightest vigour
Every wretch of them that did not honour (Holy?) Orders.

Tá Séarlas mear 's a thrúip ghroidhe
Dár n-ionnsuidhe go héascaidh ar seol,
Is réidhfidh seal mo chúrsaidhe
Ag búraidhibh le faobhar gleoidh,
Béidh séideadh is cartadh is brughadh síor
Ar bhúraidhibh dá dtraochadh ar feodh,
'S ní léan liom lag gan lúth puinn
Gach trú dhíobh nár ghéill don Órd.

Béidh cléir na gceacht gan púicín
Ag úr-mhaoidheamh an Éin-mhic chóir,
Is éigse cheart ag tabhairt síos
Gach fionn-laoidh go néata i gclódh;
An tréad do threascair dúbhach sinn
Gan lionntaidhe, gan féasta ar bórd,
Is Gaedhil go seascair súghach síothach
'Na ndúthaighe go séanmhar soghamhail.

The clergy of lessons will be unhooded Praising afresh the true Only Son And true poets writing down Every fair lay, neatly in letters The gang who overthrew me in grief Without ales, without feasting at table And the Irish secure, content, peaceful In their (own) native places, prosperous, happy.

### 8. 1 Sacsaib na séad.

1 Sacsaib na séad i zcéin óm dútcas

tá barra na zcraob cois céid na stiúr-barc,

Is mé az mactnam ar éaz na btlata is na laoc

I btearann Céin do túrnad,

Le danair i spéirling conncais,

Oá zcabair ciod tréan mé i btionntar,

Az tearad mo déar zo lactmar le léan,

San aiceas, zan réim, zan suzcas,

Oo öearcas-sa réilteann ţréaţaċ, ţreanta, ţle, bi ţasta, ţnúis-ţeal,
Oanamail, béasaċ, béal-tais, blasta,
Céimeaċ, cneasta, cúmċa,
Maiseamail, méinneaċ, maoròa, measta,
Aeraċ, abaiò, umalaċ,
'Na reaċaib aţ téaċt oo b' éaotrom aistear,
Taob liom seal ţur ċúirlinţ.

# 8. In England Of The Treasures.

In England of the treasures far from my homeland
In the shadow of masts by the quay of the tall ships
And I pondering on the passing of the nobles and heroes
Done to death in the land of Céin
By savages in a whirlwind of conquest
Helpless (?) though I am valiant in ventures
Shedding my tears copiously in sorrow
Without delight, powerless, without pleasure.

### 8. I Sacsaibh na séad.

I Sacsaibh na séad i gcéin óm dhúthchas
Fá bharra na gcraobh cois céidh na stiúr-bharc,
Is mé ag machtnamh ar éag na bhflatha is na laoch
I bhfearann Chéin do túrnadh,
Le danair i spéirling chonncais,
Dá gcabhair ciodh tréan mé i bhfionntar,
Ag fearadh mo dhéar go lachtmhar le léan,
Gan aiteas, gan réim, gan sughchas,

Do dhearcas-sa réilteann ghréagach, ghreanta, Ghlé, bhí gasta, gnúis-gheal, Banamhail, béasach, béal-tais, blasta, Céimeach, cneasta, cúmtha, Maiseamhail, méinneach, maordha, measta, Aerach, abaidh, umhalach, 'Na reathaibh ag téacht do b' éadtrom aistear, Taobh liom seal gur thúirling.

I beheld a lady, Grecian, elegant
Bright, clever she was, of fair appearance
Feminine, well-bred, soft-lipped, elegant
Dignified, modest, well-shaped
Beautiful, of fair mien, majestic, estimable
Lively, mature, courteous
Coming in haste, light of gait
She descended next to me a while.

θα camarsac léi-si a céibe σlúca, Ó βαίτεας το ρέατ ας slασσαό ατ lúic-cric, Δ mala ba caol, a σεατα ba claon, Δ haiţce 's a scéim ba lonnrac; θα σεατς απ caor ατ úτ-lil 'Πα leacain ας σέαταπ conncais, Is ba βlasca τας τέαςsα σ'αιτέαςς α béal 'Πά spreaςaireact méar ατ ciúin-cruic;

Da samail a déid le zné na heala
Ar praoc na mara cubair-țliuc,
'S a mama da żéar nár léanuiż cleasa
Claona cama Cúipio;
A leabar-crob réid is ró-żlé do dearad
Déir is barca sciúrac,
Caismirt na zcéadta, paol-coin allta,
Éisc is ealta clúmac.

Her thick hair was twisting

From the crown (of her head) to the grass, flowing in swift tremors

Her eyebrow was slender, her eyes were inviting Her face and her appearance were lustrous

The ember was red on the fresh lily/ In her cheek seeking supremacy

And more elegant was every verse her voice uttered Than the plucking of fingers on a gentle harp. Ba chamarsach léi-si a céibhe dlútha, Ó bhaitheas go féar ag slaodadh ar lúith-chrith, A mala ba chaol, a dearca ba chlaon, A haighthe 's a scéimh ba lonnrach; Ba dhearg an chaor ar úr-lil 'Na leacain ag déanamh conncais, Is ba bhlasta gach téacsa d'aitheasc a béal 'Ná spreagaireacht méar ar chiúin-chruit;

Ba samhail a déid le gné na heala
Ar fraoch na mara cubhair-fhliuch,
'S a mama ba ghéar nár léanuigh cleasa
Claona cama Cúipid;
A leabhar-chrobh réidh is ró-ghlé do dhearadh
Béir is barca stiúrach,
Caismirt na gcéadta, faol-choin allta,
Éisc is ealta clúmhach.

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Her teeth were of the likeness (whiteness) of a swan's appearance
On the foam-wet fury of the sea
Her keen breasts were undefiled by the (wanton, devious - next line) tricks
of Cupid
Her ready, slender hand inscribed very clearly (on tapestries)
Bears and tall ships
The battles of hundreds, savage wolves
Fishes and feathered flocks.

Δ seanga-corp séim mo péin do dúbail, Ó baiceas go péar go néada i gclúid circ, Crér searg mo gné is do balbuig mé; Oo leagad mo géaga lúca, Oo dalluig mé d'éis gac cúrsa, Cé labaras léi go cúcail, Is d'aicceas den bé a hainm 's a scéal, Δ creaba 's a créad do cabaire dam;

Oo ţlacas-sa réim car éis a hazail,
O'éisceas seal is o'umluiţeas,
Oo caras a scéim, a méinn 's a pearsa,
Céim nár masla öúinn-ne;
Oa capamail, créan, ţac ţéaţ vem ballaib,
ţaon níor b'ṛava i bpuòair mé,
An can bearcas ţurab aon an bé vo ţreannuiţ
Ţnéice is peacaò vrúise.

Her fine, graceful body doubled my pangs
From the crown of her head to the grass in correct proportions
From which my appearance crumbled and I was struck dumb
My vigorous limbs were enfeebled
I was blinded after all these events
So that I spoke to her timidly
And I enquired of the lady her name and her story
Her tribe and her company to tell me.

A seanga-chorp séimh mo phéin do dhúbail, Ó bhaitheas go féar go néata i gclúid chirt, Trér shearg mo ghné is do bhalbuigh mé; Do leagadh mo ghéaga lútha, Do dhalluigh mé d'éis gach cúrsa, Cé labharas léi go cúthail, Is d'aitcheas den bhé a hainm 's a scéal, A treabha 's a tréad do thabhairt dam;

Do ghlacas-sa réim tar éis a hagaill,
D'éisteas seal is d'umhluigheas,
Do charas a scéimh, a méinn 's a pearsa,
Céim nár mhasla dhúinn-ne;
Ba thapamhail, tréan, gach géag dem ballaibh,
Faon níor bh'fada i bpudhair mé,
An tan bheartas gurab aon an bhé do ghreannuigh
Gnéithe is peacadh drúise.

I took heart after her words
I was silent a while, and I deferred (to her)
I desired her beauty, her mien and her person
A circumstance that was no disgrace to me
Every organ of my limbs was active, strong
I was not long faint and at a loss
Whenever I supposed that the woman was one who was devoted to
The forms and sin of lust.

Preasair-se mé an cú an réilteann lonnrac Cus pears is maoòm na Crae san cionca, Nó an ainnir cus léan is leasaò na nSaeòeal, 1 brearannaib Céin is lusoine, O'rúis placa is éiss' na ocriúc sain, Paoi an ama so créic as búraib, Nó an sailteann i scéin car calaic oo léim Ó Camain as laoc 'n-a lonn-barc.

O'ṛreazair, ní haon den méid sin canais féin it startcaib lúb mé, Is ní canpad-sa scéal do strae 'et samail, Séas do Clannaib Lúiteir, Oanar i méinn, i scéill 's i sceals, Réice is saise ó lonndain, Cá i n-arm 's i n-éide sléasta as searrad Séas is pasc mo Þrionnsa.

"Answer me, are you the illustrious lady
Who brought about the fury and war of guiltless Troy
Or the maiden who wrought the grief and overthrow of the Irish
In the lands of Céin and Iughgoin
That left the nobles and bards of those lands
In weakness under the yoke of churls
Or the lady who leaped(?) afar over the sea
From Eamhain, with a knight in his strong ship?"

Freagair-se mé an tú an réilteann lonnrach Thug fearg is maodhm na Trae gan chionta, Nó an ainnir thug léan is leagadh na nGaedheal, I bhfearannaibh Chéin is Iughoine, D'fhúig flatha is éigs' na dtriúch sain, Faoi an ama go tréith ag búraibh, Nó an ghailteann i gcéin tar chalaith do léim Ó Eamhain ag laoch 'n-a lonn-bharc.

D'fhreagair, ní haon den mhéid sin chanais Féin it startthaibh lúb mé, Is ní chanfad-sa scéal do strae 'et shamhail, Géag do Chlannaibh Lúiteir, Danar i méinn, i gcéill 's i gcealg, Réice is gaige ó Lonndain, Tá i n-arm 's i n-éide gléasta ag gearradh Géag is fasc mo Phrionnsa.

She answered, "I am none of those you relate Yourself, in your lying (?) stories
And I shall not relate a story to a vagrant such as you
A scion of the clan of Luther
A savage in mien, in outlook and in treachery
A rake and a coxcomb from London
Who are in arms and armour arrayed, lacerating
The limbs and shelter of my Prince."

Πά τακτυισηις mé, α geal-scéim na gcúil-rionn, Όση απ leabar so im géig, ní haon σά gcrú mé,
Δċτ ταιστεαλας τκειτ ταν caise le praoc,
Όο στασαό i gcéin αν úκλα,
Δζ ςαβαίν σου τέ πάν β'ρου λιομ,
1 mbarcaib na bpiléar αν cubαν-muir,
1s gur scazaò mo tréad as caise o'ruil \$aeòeal
1 gCaiseal ba κέαςsa cúigio.

Ó'S DEARB JURAB AON DO RÉACS-PUIL CAISIL CRÉIMSE SNAIDMEAD LIOM CÚ,
AICRISPEAD PÉIN DUIC ÉACTA M'AISCIR,
IS SCÉALPAD M'AINM IONNRAIC;
SAIRMID ÉISS' DÍOM ÉIRE MEABAIL,
MÉIRDREAC CEALS-CÚRSAC,
CUZ MASLA 'ZUS BÉIM CRÉ CLAON LE JALLAIB
'OO CRÉID MO BAILCE DÚCCAIS.

"Do not insult me, O bright countence(d lady) of fair hair By this book in my hand, I am not one of their blood But (I am) a feeble traveller who goes over the raging ocean Who was torn far away by the hair of my head Aiding the person I was not of a mind to In the gunships on the foaming ocean And my tribe is of the strain of the bloodstream of the Irish In Cashel of the provincial kingship."

Ná tarcuisnigh mé, a gheal-scéimh na gcúil-fhionn, Dar an leabhar so im ghéig, ní haon dá gcrú mé, Acht taistealach tréith tar chaise le fraoch, Do stracadh i gcéin ar úrla, Ag cabhair don té nár bh'fonn liom, I mbarcaibh na bpiléar ar cubhar-mhuir, Is gur scagadh mo thréad as caise d'fhuil Ghaedheal I gCaiseal ba réacsa cúigidh.

Ó's dearbh gurab aon do réacs-fhuil Chaisil Tréimhse snaidhmeadh liom tú, Aithrisfead féin duit éachta m'aistir, Is scéalfad m'ainm ionnraic; Gairmid éigs' díom Éire mheabhail, Méirdreach chealg-chúrsach, Thug masla 'gus béim tré chlaon le gallaibh Do thréid mo bhailte dúthchais.

"As it is true that you are one of the royal blood of Cashel To whom I was once united (in marriage)
I shall myself relate to you the exploits of my travels
And I will tell you my noble name
Poets call me mad Éire
A harlot of deceitful ways
Who gave insult and injury, through deceit with foreigners,
To the company of my native homesteads.

Ó PEARANNAIB CÉIN IS ÉIBIR PIÚNTAIS,

CAR CALAIC NA OCÉAO 30 HÉASCAIÓ SCIÚRDAS,

LE CEACCAIREACT SCÉIL Ó CLANNAIB NA NJAEÖEAL,

SUR JAIRIO 30 NDÉANPAID CONNCAS,

SO SCAIPPIO 3AC BÉAR DE COMPLACT

NA N-AMAS DE PRÉAM-STOC LONNOAN,

AS BEACA NA LAOC, IS 30 3CASCAR I RÉIM

MO JAILE 'N-A RÉCS 30 OÚN LUIRC.

Οο τακησαικ έισσε υπέατα ις γεαςα Δ τέατ το τκεαςας τκύιρεας, Ιαπημακ Ιέισμεας Ιαούδα ας Ιεαδαικτ Μέιτ-ρος ταιία-ροπηςας; Δς εςαπαό τας εςείι τα α υτκειμές ςαίτε, Τκέ πα τςαιτριο υμίαο, Ις ατακκας δέας ςιού Ιέαπ Ιεο α τεαραό 'ζυς κέιμ σο ταβαικτ σ'ύτολικ.

"From the lands of Céin and worthy Éibhear
Over the ocean of (ships') ropes I fled easily
With a message of news from the clans of the Irish
That soon they would make a conquest
That they would scatter every bear of the company
Of the mercenaries of the root-stock of London
Here's to the life of the heroes, and may he return in power
- My champion, as king, to Dún Luirc.

Ó fhearannaibh Chéin is Éibhir fhiúntaigh,
Tar chalaith na dtéad go héascaidh sciúrdas,
Le teachtaireacht scéil ó Chlannaibh na nGaedheal,
Gur gairid go ndéanfaid conncas,
Go scaipfid gach béar de chomplacht
Na n-amhas de phréamh-stoc Lonndan,
As beatha na laoch, is go gcastar i réim
Mo ghaile 'n-a récs go Dún Luirc.

Do tharngair éigse dréachta is feasa
A théacht go treasach trúipeach,
Lannmhar léidmheach laochda ag leadairt
Méith-phoc galla-phonncach;
As scanadh gach scéil tá a dtréimhse caithte,
Tré na gcaithfid umhladh,
Is atharrach béas ciodh léan leo a cheapadh
'Gus réim do thabhairt d'úghdair.

"Bards of verse and knowledge prophesy
His coming, abounding in battle-ranks and troops
Strong, valiant, chivalrously, thrashing
Fat bucks of foreign manners
From the examining of every story their time is spent
By which they must submit
And change their manners, though it bitter for them to accept it
And to grant authority to authors."

Is eazal liom péin, a réilteann lonnrac,

Sur reacaireact bréaz an scéal so tionnschais

Atáid danair ró-tréan i mbarcaib zan spéis

I zCarolus réics do prionnsa,

Atá i n-easbaid zac céime conzanta,
Is aicme na nZaedeal zo cútail,

San pearanntas saor mar cleactad a zcléir

Oo beir neartmar in Éirinn ionnraic.

Caicread-sa éisteact tré dub-smacta Ar caob na ngalla mbrúideac,
Ó teagmas péin le tréimse i nglasaib,
Céim d'púis dearb dubac mé;
Aicris mo scéal don éisse as baile,
Is léispid aiste cusam-sa,
Oo scaippid mo léan ciod léir le lacta
Déar sur dallad dúr mé.

I fear, O illustrious maiden
That this tale you devise is a lying pastime
The savages are too strong in their ships that have no care
For king Charles, your prince
Every measure of assistance is wanting
And the Irish people are cowed
With freehold lands as their clerics were accustomed
Who waxed strong in noble Ireland.

Is eagal liom féin, a réilteann lonnrach,
Gur reacaireacht bhréag an scéal so thionnscnais
Atáid danair ró-thréan i mbarcaibh gan spéis
I gCarolus réics do phrionnsa,
Atá i n-easbaidh gach céime conganta,
Is aicme na nGaedheal go cúthail,
Gan fearanntas saor mar chleachtadh a gcléir
Do bheir neartmhar in Éirinn ionnraic.

Caithfead-sa éisteacht tré dhubh-smachta Ar thaobh na ngalla mbrúideach, Ó teagmhas féin le tréimhse i nglasaibh, Céim d'fhúig dearbh dubhach mé; Aithris mo scéal don éigse ag baile, Is léigfidh aiste chugham-sa, Do scaipfidh mo léan ciodh léir le lachta Déar gur dalladh dúr mé.

"I must keep silent, perforce
In the land of the beastlike foreigners
Since I happen to be a while in bondage
A circumstance that left me truly downcast
Tell my story to the poets at home
And they will send a verse to me
That will scatter my grief, though full of streams
Of tears so that I am blinded senseless.

Cois αδαπη απ σεθείδε τά απ τέιπισε τιύπτας Γεακαπαί τείσεας τέαστας τθύικεσας,

Caca κε τείσε σο εςαπαό το τθέ,

Is εατπας θείτεαπτα ponncaς

Όο τέαρα το ταθας τα σύικε,

Πά σεακπαίο τιαοσάς 'πα σύπ εαιπ

Is ταιεςτίο το εείπ τύ ιπ' τακκαό το θείτειό

I καππαίδ τας σείπ σοο τύκεα.

De öearb-stoc Jaeöeal 'seaö an zlé-żas zasta, péarla dearb dútéais,
D'eascair d'fuil éizse is laoc nár meatta 1 maoòmaib cata cumanzraiz,
Seán seasamac saor do préim-slioct Cacaió, 1s é do żlactaió tú i zcion,
Is tabair do péin tar aon dem caraid mo bé zan taisce cumdaiz.

By the river of the moor [river of Sliabh (Luachra) – Blackwater?]is the worthy phoenix
Manly, festive, feasting, generous
A support in clearly analysing texts
And wise, learned, subtle
Who would compose every verse without stupidity
Do not forget to call in his house
And he will protect you kindly in his company while he reads
In verses every step of your adventures.

Cois abhann an tsléibhe tá an féinics fiúntach Fearamhail féiseach féastach flúirseach, Taca re téics do scanadh go glé, Is eagnach léigheanta ponncach Do cheapadh gach dréacht gan dúire, Ná dearmaid glaodhach 'na dhún sain Is taiscfidh go séimh thú in' fharradh go léighfidh I rannaibh gach céim dod chúrsa.

De dhearbh-stoc Gaedheal 'seadh an glé-ghas gasta,
Péarla dearbh dúthchais,
D'eascair d'fhuil éigse is laoch nár mheathta
I maodhmaibh catha cumhangraigh,
Seán seasamhach saor do phréimh-shliocht Eachaidh,
Is é do ghlacfaidh tú i gcion,
Is tabhair do féin tar aon dem charaid
Mo bhé gan taisce cumhdaigh.

Of the true stock of the Irish is the keen, pure scion
A true pearl of his native land
Who is descended from the blood of bards and knights who
were not cowardly
In conflicts of hard-fought battles
Noble, sturdy Seán of the root-stock of Eachaidh
It is he who will take you in in affection
And grant to himself, above any of my kin
My lady without store of protection (?).

#### 9. Ar maidin indé cois céid na slim-barc.

AR maidin indé cois céid na slím-barc
As mactnam so paon 's as déanam smaointe,
Oo dearcas an bé ba seanmnac sné
As caisteal im' saor car caoide,
So leanbac léiseanta líomta
lannmar, léidmeac, líonmar
Is ba blasca a suc béil 'ná cantain na n-éan,
'S 'ná spreasad na méar ar caoin-cruit.

Da camarsac lei a ceib so dlaoiceac,
Ó baiceas as ceact so péar ar sír-cric,
A mala ba caol, a dearca ba claon,
A pearsa 's a scéim do b'aoibinn,
A mama 's a deid mar lícis;
'Na leacain sil maorda míonla
bí an sneacta le caor as caismirt so tréan,
Is nár b'feasac cia an taob do stríocpad.

Yesterday morning by the quay of the graceful ships
Pondering, in feebleness, and reflecting
I beheld a woman of modest countenance
Coming close to me over the water
Innocent, learned, elegant
Strong, valiant, perfect (?)
And her voice was more perfect than the singing of the birds
And than the plucking of fingers on a gentle harp.

#### 9. Ar maidin indé cois céidh na slim-bharc.

Ar maidin indé cois céidh na slím-bharc
Ag machtnamh go faon 's ag déanamh smaointe,
Do dhearcas an bhé ba gheanmnach gné
Ag taisteal im' ghaor tar taoide,
Go leanbhach léigheanta líomhtha
Lannmhar, léidmheach, líonmhar
Is ba bhlasta a guth béil 'ná cantain na n-éan,
'S 'ná spreagadh na méar ar chaoin-chruit.

Ba chamarsach léi a céibh go dlaoitheach, Ó bhaitheas ag téacht go féar ar shír-chrith, A mala ba chaol, a dearca ba chlaon, A pearsa 's a scéimh do b'aoibhinn, A mama 's a déid mar lítis; 'Na leacain ghil mhaordha mhíonla Bhí an sneachta le caor ag caismirt go tréan, Is nár bh'fheasach cia an taobh do stríocfadh.

\_\_\_\_\_

Her hair, in locks, was twisting
From the crown of her head to the grass, ever-trembling
Her eyebrow was slender, her eyes were inviting
Her person and appearance were beautiful
Her breasts and her teeth were white
In her majestic, gentle, bright cheek
The snow with the ember was struggling strongly
And it was unknown which side would yield.

A Leabar-crob réió is néata scríobaó Lacain is naosca is éisc ar mín-tsruc,
Darca na dtéad i zcacaib na bpiléar
Caismirt is éact na Traoi coir,
Seanza-puic, béir is míolta,
Is a dtarrainz ar daor-brat síoda,
Is le taitneam dá scéim zur treascraó mé
1 zcreacaib zo paon zan brís ar bic.

Her graceful, ready hand would write neatly Ducks and snipe and fishes on a smooh stream Ships in full rigging in battles of volleys The conflict and exploit of Troy to the east Graceful bucks, bears and hares And their embroidering on rare silken tapestries And for love of her appearance I was overcome In tremors and faintness without any vigour.

A leabhar-chrobh réidh is néata scríobhadh Lachain is naosca is éisc ar mhín-tsruth, Barca na dtéad i gcathaibh na bpiléar Caismirt is éacht na Traoi thoir, Seanga-phuic, béir is míolta, Is a dtarraing ar dhaor-bhrat síoda, Is le taitneamh dá scéimh gur treascradh mé I gcreathaibh go faon gan bhrígh ar bith.

Fachtaim go séimh den spéir-bhean mhíonla,
A treabha 's a gaol-tsliocht préimhe d'innsint
An tú an eala dheas shéimh, ba chalma scéimh,
Thug taitneamh a cléibh do Naoise,
Ler treascaradh tréith na mílte,
Marbh lag faon gan bhrígh ar bith,
Nó an ainnir thug léan is leagadh na nGaedheal
I bhfearannaibh Néill is Chuinn mhir?

I enquire meekly of the gentle lady
To tell her tribe and her pedigree
"Are you the tender beauty, of splendid appearance
Who gave the love of her heart to Naoise
Through whom were overcome in weakness thousands
Deathly weak, feeble, without any vigour
Or the maiden who accomplished the grief and defeat of the
Irish
In the lands of Niall and valiant Conn?

Aitris zo séim dam, a céib-tionn míonla,
An cú tuz meascað is maoðm na Crae mar innstear
Nó an tinne-bean tlé da soineanda scéim
Oo cuir muileann zo caom ar míon-tsrut;
Nó an ainnir deas maorda mín tais
Da teanamail zlézeal zníomac
Oo taiscil i zcéin ó Cailce mic Créin
Lér cailleað den teinn na mílte?

Oo ţreazair an bé deas maorda min tais is dearb nac aon den méid a maoidis mé Act ainnir zan bréaz do caistil i zcéin, le teactaireact scéil ó laoiseac:

Sur zairid zo ndéantaid diozaltas

Oo ţlantaid le taobar na taoil-coin As tearanntas Zaedeal zan racmas, zan réim, Zan talam, zan tréad, zan saoirse.

Tell me kindly, O gentle, fair lady
Are you she who wrought the confusion and crushing of Troy as
it is told
Or the pure, fair lady of most pleasant appearance
Who put a mill gently on a calm stream
Or the gentle, mild, majestic, lovely maiden
Who was amiable, pure-bright, feat-performing
Who travelled far from Talc Mac Tréin
By whom were lost thousands of the Fianna.

Aithris go séimh dam, a chéibh-fhionn mhíonla,
An tú thug meascadh is maodhm na Trae mar innstear
Nó an fhinne-bhean ghlé ba shoineanda scéimh
Do chuir muileann go caomh ar mhíon-tsruth;
Nó an ainnir dheas mhaordha mhín tais
Ba gheanamhail glégeal gníomhach
Do taistil i gcéin ó Thailce mhic Tréin
Lér cailleadh den Fhéinn na mílte?

Do fhreagair an bhé dheas mhaordha mhín tais
Is dearbh nach aon den mhéid a mhaoidhis mé
Acht ainnir gan bhréag do thaistil i gcéin,
Le teachtaireacht scéil ó Laoiseach:
Gur gairid go ndéanfaidh díoghaltas
Do ghlanfaidh le faobhar na faoil-choin
As fearanntas Gaedheal gan rachmas, gan réim,
Gan talamh, gan tréad, gan saoirse.

The kind, gentle, majestic, lovely lady answered me "Truly I am not one of those you mentioned But an honest maiden who travelled afar With a message of news from Louis That shortly he will exact retribution He will sweep the wolves with arms From the territories of the Irish, without power, without authority Without land, without herds, without freehold.

Is eazal liom péin, a spéir-bean míonla,

Sur reacaireact bréize an scéal so d'innsis

Cáid salla ro-tréan i mbarcaib san spéis

Ar caise so praocda nimneac;

Is Carolus Récs so cladide,

O'púis aicme na nSaedeal pá daoirse,

As pearad na ndéar so lactmar le léan

I n-acrann baosail as smístis.

A rir zasta d'ruil réil is léizeanta i laoidtib,

Ná tazair zur baot an méid so d'innseas,

Is zur zairid ón léas, ciod rada dó téact,

Deit caitte do réir zac scríbinn,

Od tarnzair éizse is draoite,

Is dearb an scéal mar cítear,

So bruil rearta Mic Dé dá zcartad zo raon,

'S az treascairt na braolcon sínte.

"I myself fear, O gentle lady
That this news you relate is a lying jest
The foreigners are too strong, having ships which are heedless
Of venomous, raging waters
And King Charles is overthrown
Leaving the clan of Irish in bondage
Shedding tears copiously in sorrow
In perilous conflict with oppressors."

Is eagal liom féin, a spéir-bhean mhíonla,
Gur reacaireacht bréige an scéal so d'innsis
Táid galla ro-thréan i mbarcaibh gan spéis
Ar chaise go fraochda nimhneach;
Is Carolus Récs go claoidhte,
D'fhúig aicme na nGaedheal fá dhaoirse,
Ag fearadh na ndéar go lachtmhar le léan
I n-achrann baoghail ag smístigh.

A fhir ghasta d'fhuil fhéil is léigheanta i laoidhthibh,
Ná tagair gur baoth an méid so d'innseas,
Is gur gairid ón léas, ciodh fada dó téacht,
Bheith caithte do réir gach scríbhinn,
Do tharngair éigse is draoithe,
Is dearbh an scéal mar chítear,
Go bhfuil fearta Mhic Dé dá gcartadh go faon,
'S ag treascairt na bhfaolchon sínte.

O lively man of noble blood and learned in poetry
Do not say that what I relate is foolish
And it is soon the lease, though long in coming
Will be expired, according to every manuscript
That poets and bards prophesied
It is a true story, as is seen
That the powers of the Son of God are clearing them away in feebleness
And destroying the wolves, prostrate.

Οο ταπησικ έιζες, σκέατα ις Ιαοιότε Ακ τακκαιης απ ιέας ξπί απ τέακπα κοιώς seo, ζο στιοτρά απ τ-έατ so ακ ζαιιαίδ ταπ δκέας Όο ξκεασγαό το παειόιδ απ τκοιός ατα; Ις σο ξιαπγαό τας δέακ σεπ ιίπε, Α δγεακαππτας ζας δέακ τεπ ιξπεας Ις αιτόιω-se ις τιαούαιω ακ τεακταιδ Μις Θέ ζο σταζαιό πο scéal cum τκίτε.

Do tharngair éigse, dréachta is laoidhthe
Ar tharraing an léas ghní an téarma roimhe seo,
Go dtiocfadh an t-éacht so ar Ġallaibh gan bhréag
Do ġreadfadh go haeidhibh an croidhe aca;
Is do ġlanfadh gaċ béar den líne,
A bhfearanntas Gaedheal gan riġneas
Is aitċim-se is glaodhaim ar fheartaibh Mhic Dé
Go dtagaidh mo scéal ċum críċe.

Poetry, verses and lays foretell
Clauses of the lease whose term is expired (?)
That this catastrophe will truly befall the foreigners
That will crush their heart to the core
And which will clear every bear of the gang(?)
Out of the lands of the Irish without sluggishness
And I beseech and entreat the grace of the Son of God
That my story will come to conclusion.

# 10. Τκάτ ι πσέ ις mé τπάιστε ι bpéin.

Crát i noé is mé cnáioce i bpéin,

Ar pán i scéin san ouine im soire,

Cárla créimse i nooire coille

Im paon-luise ar neóin,

As cásam éasa is áir na laoc

O'pul Cáil is Céin ba cliste i siosma,

As tál na noéar le hiomad tuirse

I nséar-snaidm bróin;
Is léir sur dearcas báb mín cáid caoin snuad-seal

Maorda maiseac lám linn do b'áilne píosar is clód,

Da cíorta léi, ba scaoilte réid,

Da crillseac néamrac triopall-clutmar,

A cíop so péar 'na nolaite piste

Ar aon lí an óir.

An crát lem taob do táinis an bé
 Da breásta scéim dár pionnad linn-ne,
 Láitreac sléactaim dise i bruirm,
 Cé bíos dóbac;

'S níor d'peairrde mé a cráct im saobar,
 Da támac las créit le time mise,
 lar lámac slan-saete Cuipid cliste
 Créact-mill slós;

le héisean searc is bárr srinn don bán-ríb uasail,
Réilteann maidne Cláir Cuinn is blát na ríosan ós,
 Tus saoirse is réim do saoitib dréact,
 ls míor don cléir re hurraim cuibe,
 Da díon-brat éisse, buime ríste,
 ls caomnaide creón.

Δ ὅΔιπ-ċneis śéim, raǯaim ráċ na n-éaċt
Ποċ το'r̞άς το haonmar singil sið-se,

ՏΔη τάπολ léitmeaċ oilte ċliste
Δοὁλαλιοἱε ιτ ὁθοιο΄,
Πο bárr mo léin an τάm το τέ
Ὁ'ið sár-laċt séin το milis-ċίοċλ,

Sásaim mé ταη tuilleað moille,
Is tréiς cλοί τθος;
Το scréaċ, το scairt, το τάικ sí ας κάὁ is trí truaς liom

Réimeas Ċaisil ċձið ċλοίη le spás ταη Κίς τομ ρός,

Τά ċuinς na mbéar το'r̞uis sλοίτε ζλεθελί,
Πλ míleaða τίε ba minic suiðte
Ι ταιίς lem τλοδ το rɨtina-ċruipeaċ

Γκλοζαίζε ι Όσδικ.

Le sám-toil 'Oé ruair páis is péin,

Cá an báire aς téact 'n-a scoinne ar buile,

βάςραιο, séanpaio, ritrio sin

As caom-críc Coţain;

Δτά Δποιο laoc nár stán i mbaoţal,

Δς ραξάιι an lae ar an bruirinn uile,

Δς mál so aς maoom 's aς milleaō-briseaō

Δη claon-oliţe nua;

Cá ας τέαct i mbarcaib sár-oín so maţ mín Cuailsne

Δς τκαοċαὸ an tsleacta cráio sin, na táinte ríţ-ţas óς

Claoiopear créimpear díoscrar tréadta

Δη ţill 's an Öéarla i n-iomaio siosma,

Is cípear Saeoil 'n-a n-ionad suiote

1 saor-sliţe soţa.

Mí cám don aon so acá san réim
Ó cáinis dréam an uilc car uisce,
le sáirdeas sléaspaid cuçam curad
Céad ríog-leóman;
Is adbal prade sae ársa créin
As cárnad béar 's as cur an cluice
le ráis as céasad an cinid ciorrbuis
péill-dligead póil;
Réadpaid react is rácaide an cáir-ríg cuacail
Méirleac meabail cá paoi blác i ríogact mo scóir;
Is so críc mo saogail ní luispead péin
le smírle coimisceac cuil i n-iomaid,
Ar císeact dom Saesar díl is suidid
É suide i scoróin.

### 10. Tráth i ndé is mé tnáidhte i bpéin.

Tráth i ndé is mé tnáidhte i bpéin,
Ar fán i gcéin gan duine im ghoire,
Thárla tréimhse i ndoire coille
Im fhaon-luighe ar neóin,
Ag cásamh éaga is áir na laoch
D'fhuil Tháil is Chéin ba chliste i siosma,
Ag tál na ndéar le hiomad tuirse
I ngéar-shnaidhm bhróin;
Is léir gur dhearcas báb mhín cháidh chaoin shnuadh-gheal
Mhaordha mhaiseach lámh linn do b'áilne fíoghar is clódh,
Ba chíortha léi, ba scaoilte réidh,
Ba thrillseach néamhrach triopall-chluthmhar,

Ar aon lí an óir.

## 10. A While Yesterday And I Tormented In Agony.

A cíop go féar 'na ndlaithe fighte

A while yesterday and I tormented in agony
Wandering afar in an oak wood
Lying supinely at noon
Bewailing the demise and slaughter of the heroes
Of the blood of Tál (?)and Céin who were gifted in conflict
In a sharp knot of sorrow (- from first line?);
I saw clearly a maiden - fine, noble, gentle, bright-countenanced
Majestic, beautiful, beside me, of loveliest figure and shape
It was combed, free-floing
Ringletted, lustrous, in sheltering bunches
Her hair in twining locks to the grass
Of the same colour as gold.

An tráth lem thaobh do tháinig an bhé
Ba bhreághtha scéimh dár fionnadh linn-ne,
Láithreach sléachtaim dise i bhfuirm,
Cé bhíos dóbhach;
'S níor bh'feairrde mé a trácht im ghaobhar,
Ba thámhach lag tréith le time mise,
Iar lámhach ghlan-gaethe Chuipid chliste
Chréacht-mhill slógh;
Le héigean searc is bárr grinn don bhán-ríbh uasail,
Réilteann maidne Chláir Chuinn is bláth na ríoghan óg,
Thug saoirse is réim do shaoithibh dréacht,
Is míor don chléir re hurraim chuibhe,
Ba dhíon-bhrat éigse, buime ríghthe,

Is caomhnaidhe treón.

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Whenever the woman came to my side
Of the most beautiful appearance I ever saw
Immediately I make formal obeisance to her
Though I was gloomy
And I was not better off for her coming near me
I was still, faint, feeble with terror
After the clear shooting of the darts of playful Cupid
That destroyed hosts by wounding
With force of passion and excess of love for the noble beauty
The morning star (Venus) of the Plain of Conn, and the flower of young princesses
Who gave nobility and authority to poets of verse
And portion to the clergy, with due esteem
She was the protective shelter of bards, the nurse of kings
And the protector of heroes

A bháin-chneis shéimh, faghaim fáth na n-éacht Noch d'fhág go haonmhar singil sibh-se, Gan gárda léidmheach oilte chliste Aodharaidhthe it dheoidh, No bárr mo léin an támh don té D'ibh sár-lacht séin do mhilis-chíocha, Sásaimh mé gan tuilleadh moille, Is tréig caoi deor;

Do scréach, do scairt, do gháir sí ag rádh is trí truagh liom Réimheas Chaisil cháidh chaoin le spás gan Rígh dem phór,

Fá chuing na mbéar d'fhúig saoithe Gaedheal, Na míleadha glé ba mhinic suidhte I gcrích lem thaobh go fionna-thruipeach Fraochaighe i dtóir.

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O gentle, fair lady, I enquire the cause of the events
That left you solitary and lonesome
Without a wise, skilled, audacious guard
Of protection looking after you
Or, my excess of grief! is that person dead
Who sucked the supreme liquid of harminess from

Who sucked the supreme liquid of happiness from your sweet breasts?

Satisfy me without more delay

And leave the weeping of tears

She screamed, she wailed, she shouted, saying, "It is three pities for me

The dynasty of gentle, noble Cashel for a time without a king of my seed

Under the yoke of the bears who left the noble Irish

- those true warriors who were often placed In lands beside me, abounding in fair troops
- fiercely pursued.

Le sámh-thoil Dé fuair páis is péin,

Tá an báire ag téacht 'n-a gcoinne ar buile,
Fágfaid, séanfaid, rithfid sin
As chaomh-chrích Eoghain;
Atá Arnold laoch nár stán i mbaoghal,
Ag fagháil an lae ar an bhfuirinn uile,
Ag mál so ag maodhm 's ag milleadh-bhriseadh
An chlaon-dlighe nua;
Tá ag téacht i mbarcaibh sár-dín go magh mhín Chuailgne

Ag traochadh an tsleachta chráidh sin, na táinte rígh-ghas óg Claoidhfear créimfear díoscfar tréadta An fhill 's an Bhéarla i n-iomaidh shiosma, Is chífear Gaedhil 'n-a n-ionad suidhte I saor-shlighe sogha.

"By the benign will of God who endured passion and pain The game is going madly against them They will leave, they will quit, they will flee from The beautiful land of Eoghan

Arnold (?Benedict Arnold, American military leader who had initial success against the British, and subsequently defected?), a warrior who did not yield in face of peril, is

Winning the day on the whole gang

This prince is crushing and breaking to destruction

The new, crooked law

There is a-coming in highly protective ships - to the smooth plain of Cuailgne,

Harassing the race that tormented us - hosts of excellent youths They will be subdued, gnawed at, expelled - that gang Of treachery and of English (speech) - in excess of conflict And the Irish will be seen seated in their place In a noble way of contentment. Ní támh don aon so atá gan réim
Ó tháinig dréam an uilc tar uisce,
Le gáirdeas gléasfaid chugham curadh
Céad ríogh-leómhan;
Is adhbhal fraoch gach ársa thréin
Ag cárnadh béar 's ag cur an chluiche
Le ráig ag céasadh an chinidh chiorrbhuigh
Féill-dligheadh Phóil;
Réabfaidh reacht is ráthaide an táir-rígh thuathail
Méirleach meabhail tá faoi bhláth i ríoghacht mo stóir;
Is go crích mo shaoghail ní luighfead féin
Le smírle coimhightheach cuil i n-iomaidh,
Ar thígheacht dom Shaesar dhíl is guidhidh

É shuidhe i gcoróin.

There is no repose for this one who is without authority
Since the evil gang came over the sea
With pleasure he will array for me champions
A hundred royal heroes
And with terrible fury every valiant veteran (?)
In pursuit, tormenting the gang who destroyed
The holy law of (Saint) Paul
They shall destroy the charter and customs of the false, base king

- A disgraceful miscreant who is blossoming in the kingdom of my love

And to the end of my life I myself shall not lie With the foreign, cowardly (?) boor On the arrival of my bright Caesar, and pray ye That he be seated in the throne.

#### 11. Сео σκλοι σελίτα (Καζλίκης λη τελίξοι μκλ).

Ceo draoideacta i scoim oide do seol mé Cré tíortaid mar óinmid ar strae, San príom-caraid diotrais im comsar, is mé i scríocaid tar m'eolas i scéin; Oo síneas so píor-tuirseac deorac i scoill clutmair, chómair, liom péin, As suideactain cum Rí sil na slóire, is san níd ar dic trócaire im béal.

Öí Líon-Riċ im ċRoiöe-se, ʒan ʒó ar biċ,
'San ċ³oill seo, is ʒan ġlór öuine im ġaor,
San aoiöneas, aċt binn-ġuċ na smólaċ
Aʒ síor-ċantain ceoil ar ʒaċ ʒéiʒ;
lem ċaoiö ʒur śuiö síoö-bruinneall moömaraċ,
1 öpíoġair is i ʒclóö-ċruċ mar naom,
'Na ʒnaoi oo bí an lí ġeal le rósaib
Aʒ coimeascar, is nár b'eol oam cia ġéill.

#### 11. An Enchanted Mist (The soldier's carouse).

An enchanted mist at midnight sent me
Wandering foolishly through countries
Without a diligent bosom friend near me
And I far away in lands unknown to me
I reclined, truly exhausted, weeping
In a sheltered, nut-bearing wood, by myself
Praying to the bright King of glory
And with nothing but pity in my speech.

## 11. Ceo draoidheachta (Ragairne an tsaighdiúra).

Ceo draoidheachta i gcoim oidhche do sheol mé
Tré thíorthaibh mar óinmhid ar strae,
Gan príomh-charaid díoghrais im chomhgar,
Is mé i gcríochaibh tar m'eolas i gcéin;
Do shíneas go fíor-thuirseach deorach
I gcoill chluthmhair, chnómhair, liom féin,
Ag guidheachtain chum Rí ghil na glóire,
Is gan nídh ar bith acht trócaire im bhéal.

Bhí líon-rith im chroidhe-se, gan gó ar bith,
'San choill seo, is gan ghlór dhuine im ghaor,
Gan aoibhneas, acht binn-ghuth na smólach
Ag síor-chantain ceoil ar gach géig;
Lem thaoibh gur shuidh síodh-bhruinneall mhodhmharach,
I bhfíoghair is i gclódh-chruth mar naomh,
'Na gnaoi do bhí an lí gheal le rósaibh
Ag coimheascar, is nár bh'eol dam cia ghéill.

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My heart was fully-stirred, without any lie
In this wood, and without the voice of a person near me
Without pleasure, except the sweet voice of thrushes
Ever-singing music on every branch
By my side there sat a gracious fairy maiden
In figure and in shape of form like a saint
In her countenance the bright lily with roses
Was contending, and I do not know which yielded.

ὑa ἀκιὶἰseaἀ τιυὅ buiöe casta ar ór-öaἀ
Δ οἰλοι-ἀοὶς το bróις leis an mbé,
Δ braοιὰ ταιṁeal 's mar ómra,
Δ claoin-ruisc το ὅeo-ἀοὶς ταιὰ ἰλοἀ;
ὑa ఠinn blasta ríor-ṁιἰs ceolṁar,
Mar ἀίοἀ-ἀκιτ ταὰ πότα ὁ n-a béal,
ls ba ṁín cailce a cíoἀ ἀκιίπηε ι τοίκ ἀκτ ὑακ ἰπη-ne náκ leonaὁ le haon.

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It was tressy, thick, yellow, twisted, golden-coloured The woman's hair in locks to her shoe Her eyebrows without flaw like amber Her inviting eye that wounded to death every warrior It was melodious, perfect, truly sweet, musical Like a fairy harp every note of her voice And smooth, white were her round breasts in good order In my opinion, never defiled by anyone.

Ba thrillseach tiubh buidhe casta ar ór-dhath A dlaoi-fholt go bróig leis an mbé, A braoithe gan teimheal 's mar ómra, A claoin-ruisc do bheo-ghoin gach laoch; Ba bhinn blasta fíor-mhilis ceolmhar, Mar shíodh-chruit gach nóta ó n-a béal, Is ba mhín cailce a cíoch chruinne i gcóir chirt Dar linn-ne nár leonadh le haon.

Feacht roimhe sin cé bhíos-sa gan treóir cheart,
Do bhíodhgas le ró-shearc don bhé,
Is do shíleas gur bh'aoibhneas ró-mhór dam
An tsídh-bhean do sheoladh fám dhéin;
Im laoidhthibh do sgríobhfad im dheoidh dhuit
Mar scaoileas mo bheol seal ar strae,
Is gach caoin-stair dár ríomhas don óigh dheis
Is sinn sínte ar fheorainn an tsléibhe:

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Though I was at a loss before that
I started up in great love of the woman
And I thought that it was too great pleasure for me
The fairy woman who was sent to me
In my verses that I will write anon for you
How I set free my voice for a while uncontrolled
And every genial narrative that I recounted to the beautiful maiden

And I reclining at the edge of the moorland.

Δ ὅκίσελἐ πλ κιπη-κοςς το ὅκεοιὁ mé

Le τίοξκλις τος ἐπόὁ ις τος ςςείπ,

Δη τὰ λη λοιλ-ἐπεις τκέκ τίοςςλὸ πλ πόκ-τκυιρ,

Μακ ςςκίοὅτλα ι ζςοπαλς πλ Τκλε;

Πό λη κίοξ-ὅκυιπηελλλ πίοηλλ τὰ τέξλο,

Λό λη κίοξλη το ὁλίξιὁ λα λη πόκ-ἐλλιὰ

Ón munn τολ τεοκυιξελὰς ι ζςείη?

Is binn blasta caoin d'ṛreazair dam-sa,
Is í az síor-silead deora tré péin,
Ií haoin-bean dár maoidis mise it Ślórcaib,
Is mar cím-se ní heol duit mo créad;
Is mé an brídeac do bí sealad pósta

¡tá aoibneas i zcoróin cirt na réics,
Az ríż Caisil Cuinn azus eożain,

¡tuair mír-ceannas ¡tódla zan pléide.

"O maiden of the keen eyes that smote me
With passion for your form and your beauty
Are you the beauty through whom the great army was dissipated
As is written in the conflict of Troy
Or the gentle, royal maiden who left equally enfeebled
The battle-leader of Bóirmhe and his company
Or the princess who enjoined on the great noble
From Howth to go afar in pursuit?"

A bhrídeach na rinn-rosc do bhreoidh mé
Le díoghrais dot shnódh is dot scéimh,
An tú an aoil-chneis trér díoscadh na mór-truip,
Mar scríobhtar i gcomhrac na Trae;
Nó an ríogh-bhruinneall mhíonla d'fhúig cómh-lag
Cath-mhíleadh na Bóirmhe 's a thréad,
Nó an ríoghan do dhlíghidh ar an mór-fhlaith
Ón mBinn dul dá teoruigheacht i gcéin?

Is binn blasta caoin d'fhreagair damh-sa,
Is í ag síor-shileadh deora tré phéin,
Ní haoin-bhean dár mhaoidhis mise it ghlórthaibh,
Is mar chím-se ní heol duit mo thréad;
Is mé an bhrídeach do bhí sealad pósta
Fá aoibhneas i gcoróin chirt na réics,
Ag rígh Chaisil Chuinn agus Eoghain,
Fuair mír-cheannas Fódla gan phléidhe.

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Sweetly, elegantly, gently she answered me
And she ever-shedding tears in pain
"I am none of those women you mentioned in your utterances
And as I see it, you do not know my kind
I am the maiden who was a while married
In happiness in the true crown of the kings
To the kings of the Cashel of Conn and of Eoghan
Who held pre-eminence in Ireland without contest.

1s ούβας βοςτ mo cúrsa 's is brónaς,
Όση σύκ-creimea δας σόικηις ζας lae,
Γά σίις-smact ας βύκαιβ, ζαη sόξας as
1s mo βκισηρία ζυκ seola οι ζαςίη;
Cá mo súil-se le húκ-mac na ζίδικε
ζο στιμβκαι ο mo leomain γαοι κεί im
'Πα ησύη-βαιζτίβ σύτς αις 1 ζασίκ maiς
Δς κύς ας ο na ζακόη-ρος le γασβακ.

Δ ċúil-ṛionn ταις múinte na n-ór-ṛolt,
Το ἀκά ἀικτ na coróinneaἀ ταη βκέιτ,
Το ἀκκα-sa ας δύκαιδ ις δκόη liom,
Γά smúit, caἀαἀ, ceomar, ταη scléip;
Τα ποιά-βκυταίδ σύτὰ το τα seolaὁ
Μας conταιαὰ πα τιόικε το Réics,
Is súταὰ το κύςταιη-se crón-puic
Το humal ταρα scópmar le piléir.

Dejected, poor and sorrowful is my case
Being sullenly gnawed at by ospreys every day
In dire bondage to churls, without pleasure
And my Prince banished far away
My hope is with the Noble Son of Glory
That he may restore my hero to power
In his well-ordered fortified homestead
Routing the swarthy bucks with arms.

Is dúbhach bocht mo chúrsa 's is brónach,
Dom dhúr-chreimeadh ag cóirnigh gach lae,
Fá dhlúth-smacht ag búraibh, gan sóghachas
Is mo Phrionnsa gur seoladh i gcéin;
Tá mo shúil-se le hÚr-mhac na glóire
Go dtiubhraidh mo leomhain faoi réim
'Na ndún-bhailtibh dúthchais i gcóir maith
Ag rúscadh na gcrón-phoc le faobhar.

A chúil-fhionn tais mhúinte na n-ór-fholt,
Do chrú chirt na coróinneach gan bhréig,
Do chúrsa-sa ag búraibh is brón liom,
Fá smúit, cathach, ceomhar, gan scléip;
'Na ndlúth-bhrughaibh dúthchais dá seoladh
Mac conganach na glóire do Réics,
Is súgach do rúscfainn-se crón-phuic
Go humhal tapa scópmhar le piléir.

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O gentle, gracious maiden of the golden hair
Of the right, royal blood, truly
Your persecution by churls is grief to me
In defeat, sorrowful, gloomy, without delight
If (the Merciful Son of Glory - next line) restored (your king next line) to his native strong residences
Then cheerfully I would rout the swarthy bucks
Willingly, swiftly, wholly, with volleys.

ÁR Scíobaro dá dcíšead cusainn car sáile, So críc Inis Fáilbe paoi réim, le plíc d'pearaib laoisiš, is Spáinniš, is píor le corp ácais so mbéinn Ar píor-eac mear šroide capa ceáprac, As síor-carcad cáic le nearc padbair, is ní cladidpinn-se m'inncinn 'na deášaid sin Cum luise ar seasam sárda lem rae.

Ár Stíobhard dá dtíghead chugainn tar sáile, Go crích Inis Fáilbhe faoi réim, Le flít d'fhearaibh Laoisigh, is Spáinnigh, Is fíor le corp áthais go mbéinn Ar fhíor-each mhear ghroide thapa cheáfrach, Ag síor-chartad cáich le neart faobhair, Is ní chlaoidfinn-se m'inntinn 'na deághaid sin Chum luighe ar sheasamh gárda lem rae.

If our Stuart returned to us from over the sea In power, to the land of Ireland With a fleet of Louis's men, and Spaniards, Truly with sheer delight I would be On a nimble, active, strong, swift, sterling steed Ever-crushing all with strength of arms And I would not slacken my resolve after that To persist in standing guard in my time.

## 12. Δζ ταιςτεαί πα Όιάκπαπ.

Conn: Scáca an Marzaio.

Δς caisteal na Dlárnan lá is mé aς mactnam Ar ár na brearacon bráilteac brairsing, Oen pór creon ba calma i ngleó, Is mar neaduig an c-ál so cáinig ó Sasana I scáic 's i brearanntas Pailbe is Aimeirgin, eogain Móir is Cairbre an cslóig; Na placa ba gnácac cárcac, creasamail, Oá scartað 's dá scráð 's dá scarnað ag panatics Cáin noc d'abaig pá gráin na heascaine Sráscar cealgac Mártain malluigce, An crón-cóip cus maslað don Óro.

Oo ċaiċas-sa spás 50 cásṁar caċaċ,

San áiro, 5an aiceas, 50 cráioce ceasnuiṣċeaċ

pá brón ṁór a5 pearao mo oeor;

Sur oearcas-sa láiṁ liom bán-ċneis banaṁail

Mánla ṁaiseaṁail ṅráoṁar ṭeanaṁail

Ró-ṁoòaṁail ba ċaicneaṁaċ snóo;

Oa ċamarsaċ cáblaċ páinneaċ paoa ciuṣ,

A5 peacao 's a5 pás 50 sáil léi ar baille-ċriċ

A bláċ-polt baċallaċ scáinneaċ crapanaċ

Cáclaċ snaiomiṣċe bárr-ċas oaiċte léi

1 5clóo an óir 5an scamall 5an ċeo.

### 12. Travelling Through Blarney.

Air: Stáca an Mhargaidh - The Marketplace Idler, The Butt of the Fair.

Travelling through Blarney, one day, and I pondering/ On the slaughter of the generous, welcoming warriors/ Of the stalwart breed who were valiant in battle/ And how this brood who came from England nested/ In the estates and lands of Failbhe and Aimheirgin/ Of Great Eoghan and Cairbre of the hosts/ The nobles who were customarily protective and abounding in battle-ranks/ Being crushed and tormented and slaughtered by fanatics/ While (the treacherous rabble of accursed Martin (Luther) - next line) ripened in the disgrace of excommunication/ / The swarthy band who insulted the (true) clergy.

## 12. Ag taisteal na Blárnan.

Fonn: Stáca an Mhargaidh.

Ag taisteal na Blárnan lá is mé ag machtnamh
Ar ár na bhfearachon bhfáilteach bhfairsing,
Den phór treon ba chalma i ngleó,
Is mar neaduigh an t-ál so tháinig ó Shasana
I stáit 's i bhfearanntas Fhailbhe is Aimheirgin,
Eoghain Mhóir is Chairbre an tslóigh;
Na flatha ba ghnáthach tárthach, treasamhail,
Dá gcartadh 's dá gcrádh 's dá gcarnadh ag fanatics
Táin noch d'abaigh fá ghráin na heascaine
Gráscar cealgach Mhártain mhalluighthe,
An chrón-chóip thug masladh don Órd.

Do chaitheas-sa spás go cásmhar cathach,
Gan áird, gan aiteas, go cráidhte ceasnuightheach
Fá bhrón mhór ag fearadh mo dheor;
Gur dhearcas-sa láimh liom bán-chneis bhanamhail
Mhánla mhaiseamhail ghrádhmhar gheanamhail
Ró-mhodhamhail ba thaitneamhach snódh;
Ba chamarsach cáblach fáinneach fada tiugh,
Ag feacadh 's ag fás go sáil léi ar baille-chrith
A bláth-fholt bachallach scáinneach crapanach
Táclach snaidhmighthe bárr-chas daithte léi
I gclódh an óir gan scamall gan cheo.

I spent a while, lamenting, sorrowful
Without happiness, without delight, tormented and perplexed
In great sorrow shedding my tears
Until I beheld beside me a feminine beauty
Stately, beautiful, lovable, modest
Very elegant, of pleasing countenance
It was twisting, clustering, ringletted, long, thick
Sweeping and flowing to her heel, trembling in every part
Her waving, blooming hair, curling in skeins
Spiralling, plaited, twisted at the tip, lustrous
Golden-formed, without flaw or blemish.

Οο ὅί τοελὅαὁ πα mbláċ le scáil ba τοελης

ζαπ τlás 'πα leacain ba ὅκεάξċα lasaὁ,

'S α κός-ὅεόl ταπ παταιό ταπ πόιτο;

Δ mala ταπ ἐάιμα ακ α sáṃ-τοελης αδαιό

Ό'~ρμῶις τάπας le τοεληταιὅ πα τάιητε seaఠας,

ζο κό-πόκ το ξκεληπιιξ α clóτὸ;

Μακ eala ακ απ τοτκαίξ α δκάξα 'sa τελια-ἐκιιἐ,
'S α mama τοελς διάτπακ το τάτα ακ ἐελητα-ἐοκρ,

Δ δάη-ἐκοιὁ leabak πος τόταται τακλιητὰς

δάιτο is δακτάπηλ, τάις is ταικκρίξὸς,

Is τρο τρεοπ ακ leaċan-ὅκας sκοίεl.

δα ξαςτα, δα ċάιο, δα ἐάποο ċαπαο
ζαċ ρκάς ι δρκαταιπη πα ποάπ ζαη easbaio,
'S δα ἐόξαċ sόξαπαι α lαδακὰ δeοι ι;
δ βαιὰ σο sái l ní ι cáim πά αιπεαπ,
le ραξάι ι 'πα pearsain ἀιπα άluinn ἐκεαπα,
ἀιπα ceo ακ ἀιόο πα mascalaċ ός;
δο βεαππιιὰ το είαὰ ταις ζάικεαὰ ξκεαπππακ
'S απ τεαπζαιπο ο δ'ρεάκκ ι ζαικ luirc θαπδαη;
le ξκάὸ τοη αιὰ εαςς sain láiὰ κεαὰ ρκεαδαιπ-se,
ls ράὰ α haistir τοη βάη-ἀπεις αιτὰιπ,
ζαη πόκ-ἐιόξ ακ εαὰ ι 'n-α comair.

There was a contest of flowers of red hue
Without defect in her cheeks of loveliest blush
And her rosy lips without ridicule or imprecation
Her flawless eyebrow over her sprightly, pleasing eye
That left prostrate with darts hordes of heroes
That loved her appearance too greatly
Like the swan on the sea-shore her throat and her bright form
And her pretty breasts that grew like flowers on her graceful body
Her graceful white hands that would leave designed

Boats and ships, jackdaws and deer

And tumult of battle on broad, silken tapestries.

Do bhí deabhadh na mbláth le scáil ba dhearg
Gan tlás 'na leacain ba bhreághtha lasadh,
'S a rós-bheól gan mhagadh gan mhóid;
A mala gan cháim ar a sámh-dhearc abaidh
D'~fµúig támhach le deartaibh na táinte seabhac,
Go ró-mhór do ghreannuigh a clódh;
Mar eala ar an dtráigh a brágha 'sa geala-chruth,
'S a mama deas bhláthmhar d'fhás ar sheanga-chorp,
A bán-chrobh leabhar noch d'fhágadh tarraingthe
Báid is barcanna, cáig is cairrfhighthe,
Is gleo treon ar leathan-bhrat sróill.

Ba ghasta, ba cháidh, ba shámh do chanadh
Gach prás i bpratainn na ndámh gan easbaidh,
'S ba shóghach sóghamhail a labhartha beoil;
Ó bhaitheas go sáil ní'l cáim ná aineamh,
Le fagháil 'na pearsain chirt áluinn ghreanta,
Chuir ceo ar chlódh na mascalach óg;
Do bheannuigh go tláth tais gáireach greannmhar
'S an teangain do b'fheárr i gClár Luirc Banban;
Le grádh don aitheasc sain láithreach preabaim-se,
Is fáth a haistir don bhán-chneis aitchim,
Gan mhór-shlógh ar eachaibh 'n-a comhair.

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Cleverly, nobly, pleasantly she would recite Every poem in parchment of the academies, without defect And cheerful, happy, were the utterances of her voice From the crown of her head to her heel there was not blemish or defect

To be found in her neat, lovely, well-formed person

To give fault to the appearance of the young maiden/ She
greeted me amiably, gently, pleasantly, wittily

In the best language of Ireland

With admiration of that utterance I immediately started up
I enquire of the fair lady the reason for her journey

Without a great host of cavalry in attendance on her.

Mar measaim, a báb, 's a bláit na mbarr-tionn

Is áilne pearsa 's is breáta seasam cruit

Clót 'zus snót dár tearcas-sa tós,

Is tú an mascalac mánla tárdac teala-cheis

Cáine i mbarcaib mic Oáire ó Albain,

I tcómair leomain is tailte le tleo;

Nó an ainnir tut ár na dtáinte ar Camain,

Nó an tailteann 'na deátait tar sáil do tarraint

Jac ársa taisce tan d'tát tá mairt

Driám 'sa cata ba tána i dtreasaib,

Nó an óit seoid bí at Aicill na slót.

Oo ṛreazair sí, az ráö: Oí lán de meanmain, Cáim-se az cabairc mo lám mar ċaca öuic, ¡pó'n bṛóṣmar zo n-amarcpair zleo; Is aicris d'ṛáidib ¡fáil an c-aiceasc so San práisc do canaim le páirc is caicneam Oon óz-leoman do sealbuiţ m'óţacc; Ar calam's ar sáil cá an báire casca, Ní'l seasam a zcás le paţáil az zalla-puic, Mí ṛázpar ainm dá n-ál i moreacain Ar ċráċc don baile don bán-ṛlaic, az casaò le seol cóir zo pearannaib eoţain.

As I suppose, O maiden and O flower of beauties
Of loveliest person and of finest shape,
Form and appearance that I have ever beheld
You are the gentle, joyful (?), bright-skinned maiden
Who came with (?) Mac Dáire from Scotland in ships
With heroes and champions for battle (?)
Or the maiden who wrought the slaughter of hosts on Eamhain
Or the lady who drew over the sea after her
Every valorous veteran who left in despondency
Priam and his battalions who were bold in line of battle

Or the young jewel of Achilles of the hosts.

Mar mheasaim, a bháb, 's a bhláith na mbarr-fhionn
Is áilne pearsa 's is breághtha seasamh chruith
Clódh 'gus snódh dár dhearcas-sa fós,
Is tú an mhascalach mhánla ghárdach gheala-chneis
Tháine i mbarcaibh mhic Dáire ó Albain,
I gcómhair leomhain is gailthe le gleo;
Nó an ainnir thug ár na dtáinte ar Eamhain,
Nó an ghailteann 'na deághaidh tar sáil do tharraing
Gach ársa gaisce gan d'fhág fá mhairg
Priám 'sa chatha ba dhána i dtreasaibh,
Nó an óigh seoid bhí ag Aichill na slógh.

Do fhreagair sí, ag rádh: Bí lán de mheanmain,
Táim-se ag tabhairt mo lámh mar thaca dhuit,
Fó'n bhfóghmhar go n-amharcfair gleo;
Is aithris d'fháidhibh Fáil an t-aitheasc so
Gan práisc do chanaim le páirt is taitneamh
Don óg-leomhan do shealbhuigh m'óghacht;
Ar talamh 's ar sáil tá an báire casta,
Ní'l seasamh a gcás le fagháil ag galla-phuic,
Ní fhágfar ainm dá n-ál i mBreatain
Ar thrácht don bhaile don bhán-fhlaith, ag casadh
Le seol cóir go fearannaibh Eoghain.

She replied, saying, "Be full of courage
I am giving you my hand in support
By autumn you will see battle
And tell the bards of Ireland this message
That I relate in love and affection without extravagance
To the young hero who possessed my virginity
On land and on sea the game is turned on them
Defence of their position is not to be had by the foreign bucks
The name of their brood will not be left in Britain
On the journeying home of the fair prince, turning
In good sail to the lands of Eoghan (Eoghan Mór, King of Munster).

Oá scabair atá na Spáinnis calma,
Ar mas 's ar macaire o'fás fá carcuisne
Ar feod cóid na Sacsan san treoir;
Is cac-mílead an Cláir de rás na seana-stoc,
O'fás i mDanbain ársa treasamail,
An flós leoman is taca le tóir;
Ní leaspaid ar lár so brát a n-arma
So nslanfaid Whitehall ó ál na ndanara
San tráct ar casad ná fasáil ar aiseas
A stáit ná a mbeata, is so sárdac canaid
le mór scóid céad ámén le heosan.

Dá gcabhair atá na Spáinnigh chalma,
Ar magh 's ar machaire d'fhág fá tharcuisne
Ar feodh cóip na Sacsan gan treoir;
Is cath-mhíleadh an Chláir de rás na seana-stoc,
D'fhás i mBanbain ársa treasamhail,
An flós leomhan is taca le tóir;
Ní leagfaid ar lár go bráth a n-arma
Go nglanfaid Whitehall ó ál na ndanara
Gan trácht ar chasadh ná fagháil ar aiseag
A stáit ná a mbeatha, is go gárdac canaidh
Le mór scóip céad ámén le hEoghan.

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Helping him are the brave Spaniards/ Who left in disgrace on (battle-)field and plain/ - Withering, lost - the dregs of England And the battle-leader of Clare (*Lord Clare?*) of the race of the ancient stock

Who stemmed from ancient, war-like Ireland
The flower of heroes who is a support in putting to rout
They will never lay down their arms
Until they cleanse Whitehall of the brood of savages
Without prospect of return or chance of recovery/ Of their
estates or livelihoods, and let ye yoyously recite,/ With great
spirit, a hundred Amen's for Eoghan! (*Eoghan Ruadh*).

## 13. Δζ ταιςτεαί πα είξι τε.

Conn: Seán Duröe.

Δς ταιςτεαί πα sléibte σαm sealad im ασπακ, ζο hατυικς αὰ τέαςτα, ςαπ άικο ἐκιπη, Is mé ας mαὰτπαṁ ακ ἀlé-bearταιδ ςαπςαισε απ τεαοὰαί, Όο ἐεακς mo ἐπέ ις σο ἀκάιὸ sinn, Áκ ὅριαὰα maκ ἀκείς εασακ ςαίια-ὑνια ἀιασπα, 'S α mbαίιτε ρυίκτ αοίδα maκ ράσμιξεαὸ, 'S απ σοπας le ἀείιε σά ὁοκταὸ ζαὰ lae οκαίπη, Ó ceanς laὸ Είκε le Seaҳάπ ὑνιὸε.

Cois abann i scaol-doire stadas-sa tréimse
Oom reacannaib séara d'púis támac sinn,
lán d'aiteas as éisteact le cantain na n-éanlaic,
Oá spreasað ar na séasaib so sár-binn,
O'amarcas spéir-bruinneall seanamail déid-seal
Caoin carcanac séim as teact láim linn
1 maise 's i maordact puair barra san bréasnad
Ó n-a breaca-sa 'e béicibh i sClár Cuinn.

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### 13. Travelling The Mountains.

Air: Seán Buidhe - Yellow John.

As I was travelling the mountains a while alone Afflicted, tormented, depressed in spirits
And I pondering on the perverse, deceitful ways of the world That withered my countenance and tormented me
On the nobles, as the crooked foreign bucks betrayed them And their lime-white fortified mansions in ruins
And every every combined evil deluging us every day
Since Ireland was joined with Yellow John.

## 13. Ag taisteal na sléibhte.

Fonn: Seán Buidhe.

Ag taisteal na sléibhte dam sealad im aonar,
Go hatuirseach céasta, gan áird ghrinn,
Is mé ag machtnamh ar chlé-bheartaibh gangaide an tsaoghail,
Do shearg mo ghné is do chráidh sinn,
Ár bhflatha mar thréigeadar galla-phuic chlaona,
'S a mbailte puirt aolda mar fásuigheadh,
'S an donas le chéile dá dhortadh gach lae orainn,
Ó ceangladh Éire le Seaghán Buidhe.

Cois abhann i gcaol-doire stadas-sa tréimhse
Dom reathannaibh géara d'fhúig támhach sinn,
Lán d'aiteas ag éisteacht le cantain na n-éanlaith,
Dá spreagadh ar na géagaibh go sár-bhinn,
D'amharcas spéir-bhruinneall gheanamhail dhéid-gheal
Chaoin charthanach shéimh ag teacht láimh linn
I maise 's i maordhacht fuair barra gan bhréagnadh
Ó n-a bhfeaca-sa 'e bhéithibh i gClár Chuinn.

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By a river in a graceful oakwood I desisted a while From my keen exertions that left me still Full of delight listening to the singing of birds Bursting forth very sweetly on the branches I beheld an amiable beautiful maiden with white teeth Tender, loving, mild, coming near me In beauty and in majesty she was truly the greatest Of all the women I have seen in the plain of Conn.

Όλ ἀλΜΑΚSΑĊ ΌΚΕΙΜΚΕΛΟ ΤΑΙΌΤΕ ΤΙΙΙ ΡΕΛΚΙΛΟ ΤΟς ΒΑĊΑΙΙΑΟ ΠΕΛΜΚΑΟ 'n-Α ΤΑΟΙΛΙΒ, Α CARN-ΡΟΙΤ CRAOBAC, ΑΣ ΡΕΛΟΛΟ 'S ΑΣ SLΑΟΦΑΌ, Ο ΒΑΙΌΤΑΙ ΕΛΕΝΟΙΘΕ; ΌΡΑΚΒΑΙΟ ΕΊΣSE, ΑΚ ΑΜΆΚΟ Α CΕΊΒΕ, ΣΙΚ SAMAIL Α ΣΠΕ 'ζΙΙS Α CΑΙΙΤΘΕΛΟΌΤ, LEIS ΑΝ ΙΟΜΚΑΟ Ι ΣΟΕΊΝ ΙΕΛΚ ΙΕ ΣΑΙSCE ΤΟΝ ΚΕΊΣ ΚΙΣ ΜΑΟ CALMA ΘΑSON ΤΟ ΒΑΚΚ CLOΙΘΙΜ.

Δ pearsa ba śéime, a mama ba żéire,

'S a seanza-corp aolda zan pażáil teimil,

ní'l zanzaid ná claon-beart i deaisce 'na caom-cruc,

'S is taitneamac saor-żlan a cáilideact;

'n-a leacain az pléidreact, bí lasad na zeadra,

Tré śneacta na sléidte zo sám síotac,

'Sé cealz zo haedib mé, nuair beartas na déid sin,

Δ beit snaidmiżce i zeléireact le Seán Duide.

It was ringletted, wavy, lustrous, thick, pearly
Soft, curling, brilliant, in wisps
Her branching, massy tresses, sweeping and sliding
From the crown of her head to the toes of her fair feet
Poets assert, on sight of her hair
That it was like, in form and quality,
The fleece that (the brave youth Jason - next line) brought far over the sea to Greece
With force of arms.

Ba chamarsach dréimreach daithte tiubh péarlach
Bog bachallach néamhrach 'n-a táclaíbh,
A carn-fholt craobhach, ag feacadh 's ag slaodadh,
Ó bhaitheas go méaraibh a bán-troighe;
Dearbhaid éigse, ar amharc a céibhe,
Gur samhail a gné 'gus a cáilidheacht,
Leis an lomradh i gcéin lear le gaisce don Ghréig rug
Mac calma Éason do bharr cloidhimh.

A pearsa ba shéimhe, a mama ba ghéire,
'S a seanga-chorp aolda gan fagháil teimhil,
Ní'l gangaid ná claon-bheart i dtaisce 'na caomh-chruth,
'S is taitneamhach saor-ghlan a cáilidheacht;
'N-a leacain ag pléidhreacht, bhí lasadh na gcaora,
Tré shneachta na sléibhte go sámh síothach,
'Sé chealg go haedhibh mé, nuair bheartas na dhéidh sin,
A bheith snaidhmighthe i gcléireacht le Seán Buidhe.

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Her person was most tender, her breasts were most keen And her lime-white, graceful body without blemish There was not deceit or crooked deed in the treasure of graceful form

And pleasing and nobly-pure were her qualities
In her cheeks sporting was the glow of embers
Through the snow of the mountains, mildly, peacefully
This is what wounded me to the core, when I discovered afterwards

That she was joined in partnership with Yellow John.

ὑα maiseaċ a héadan tais cheasta ar aol-daċ, is ba samail le caol-ruibe a öá braoi,
Carraingċe ar réalt-öearcaib reamara réiò-ġlasa Čealţ na céadta le lámaċ saiġead;
Δr amarc a scéime ó baiċeas το caol-troiġ O'ċeasras péiniò don báibín,
Δ hainm le héipeaċt 's na bearta ċuir réilteann ˙Oá samail i ţcéin lear 'na pánaiöe.

Is cartanac béasac dam d'freazair an spéir-bean, fios m'anma béar duit so sár-cruinn,
Is mé ban-cara Aontuis, Cuinn calma, is Néill Ouib, fuair sradam na hÉireann im páirtideact;
Seo an t-adbar tus mé-si so hairste im aonar, Slioct Caisil i ndaor-broid paoi árd-cíos,
As sallaib an Déarla, do sealbuit aol-brut Is pearann sac aoinne dár áirmiteas.

Her gentle, mild, lovely face was lime-white And like slender hair her two eyebrows Drawn on wide, fresh, steady, starry eyes That wounded hundreds with shooting of darts On sight of her beauty from the crown of her head to her slender feet

I myelf enquired of the darling girl Forcefully, her name, and the circumstances that sent a beauty Such as she wandering afar over the sea. Ba mhaiseach a héadan tais cneasta ar aol-dath,
Is ba shamhail le caol-ruibe a dhá bhraoi,
Tarraingthe ar réalt-dhearcaibh reamhara réidh-ghlasa
Chealg na céadta le lámhach saighead;
Ar amharc a scéimhe ó bhaitheas go caol-troigh
D'fheasras féinidh don bháibín,
A hainm le héifeacht 's na bearta chuir réilteann
Dá samhail i gcéin lear 'na fánaidhe.

Is carthanach béasach dam d'fhreagair an spéir-bhean,
Fios m'anma bhéar dhuit go sár-chruinn,
Is mé ban-chara Aonghuis, Chuinn chalma, is Néill Duibh,
Fuair gradam na hÉireann im páirtidheacht;
Seo an t-adhbhar tug mé-si go hairgthe im aonar,
Sliocht Chaisil i ndaor-bhroid faoi árd-chíos,
Ag gallaibh an Bhéarla, do shealbhuigh aol-bhrugh
Is fearann gach aoinne dár áirmhigheas.

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Lovingly, modestly the fair lady answered me "I shall grant you knowledge of my soul (?) very exactly I am the woman-friend of Aongus, of brave Conn, and of Niall Dubh

Who had pre-eminence in Ireland in partnership with me This is the cause which made me despoiled, solitary The seed of Cashel in dire bondage under heavy tribute By the foreigners of the English tongue who took possession of the lime-white mansions

And landholdings of every one of those I mentioned.

Cúis cacuiçõe is léin liom, an ceançal 's an daor-smace Ar clannaib Miléisis çac lá cím,
'Oá ngreadad, dá ccéasad, dá ccaread, 's dá deraocad, taoi an ama ac béaraib an chác-till;
'Is dearb cur baocalac daoib tearc an Éin-Mic,
'Oo bar ccasnam co héac mar acácaoi
Is ná scarpar mé ar aon-cur, 'sé d'abaid mo déara, le leabaid an sméirle sin, Seán Duide.

The cause of sorrow and grief to me, the binding and dire oppression

Of the clan of Milesius that I see every day
Being put down, tormented, crushed, exhausted
Under the yoke of the bears of constant treachery
It must be we are in peril of the wrath of the Only Son
Our protection to the death as He is
And that I may not be separated at all, - it increased my tears From the bed of that churl, Yellow John.

Cúis cathuighthe is léin liom, an ceangal 's an daor-smacht Ar chlannaibh Mhiléisis gach lá chím, Dá ngreadadh, dá gcéasadh,dá gcartadh, 's dá dtraochadh, Faoi an ama ag béaraibh an ghnáth-fhill; Is dearbh gur baoghalach daoibh fearg an Éin-Mhic, Do bhar gcasnamh go héag mar atáthaoi Is ná scarfar mé ar aon-chur, 'sé d'abaidh mo dhéara, Le leabaidh an sméirle sin, Seán Buidhe.

Ar aithris an scéil sin, gan bhladar, don réilteann, Is cathach bocht taomach fliuch d'fhág sinn, Is mo dhearca ag saor-shileadh lachta tiubh déara, Go habaidh, 's níor bh'fhéidir a dtraghadh linn; Aitchim go héigneach ar Athair na naomh ngeal, Go scaipidh an daor-scamall plágha dínn Do fearadh ar Ghaedhealaibh 's go bhfaiceam-sa Éire Ag aithearrach céile tar Sheán Buidhe.

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On the telling of that story, without exaggeration, by the fair lady
It left me grieving, poor, fitful, wet (with tears)
And my eyes ever-shedding thick floods of tears
Plentifuly, and I was unable to stem them
I beseech grievously the Father of the bright saints
That he may scatter the oppressive cloud of plague from us/
That was inflicted on the Irish, and that I may see Ireland
With a spouse other than Yellow John.

#### 14. Cois caoibe abann since.

Conn: Skáinne Maol.

Cois caoibe abann sínce is mé crác i ndé, As smuaineam ar claoin-bearcaib snáis an csaosail, Cuir síol placa is saoice d'fuil ársa Saebeal, Car caoide pá daoirse san scác ná réim.

Cις κίος Δη lem τλοιδ-se το b'áilne scéim Όλη siolπuiς ó príom-sleactaib Áταιm is Θίδ; Öί α τλοιτε léi αη mín-chit το bánη αη téin, Is í ας αλοι τραδα αλοιπτελά απάιτε τέαν.

Sílim zur síö-bean í tárla i zcéin, Ar inntinn mo millte tar các zo léir, Díoòzaim le líon-ric, noc o'ráz mé i bpéin, San bríż ar bic im boill-se zo cámac laz tréic.

Smaoinim le n-innsint zur nár an scéal Mé člaoiöčean le mnaoi ar bič zan ráč ná baożal, Líonaim de čroide-misneač árd, is éizim Ar brídeač an aoil-čneis, ba breáżča scéim.

#### 14. Lying By A River-side.

Air: Gráinne Mhaol.

I was stretched out by a river-side yesterday Pondering on the habitual crookedness of the world That sent the seed of ancient Irish lords and nobles Over the sea in bondage, without protection or power.

A princess of most beautiful appearance came beside me/ That descended from the original stock of Adam and Eve/ Her locks were delicately trembling to the tips of the grass/ And she weeping mournful, tormented showers of tears.

#### 14. Cois taoibhe abhann sínte.

Fonn: Gráinne Mhaol.

Cois taoibhe abhann sínte is mé tráth i ndé, Ag smuaineamh ar chlaoin-bheartaibh gnáis an tsaoghail, Chuir síol flatha is saoithe d'fhuil ársa Gaedheal, Tar taoide fá dhaoirse gan scáth ná réim.

Tig ríoghan lem thaoibh-se do b'áilne scéimh Dár shíolruigh ó phríomh-shleachtaibh Ádhaimh is Éibh; Bhí a dlaoithe léi ar mhín-chrith go bárr an fhéir, Is í ag caoi frasa caointeacha cráidhte déar.

Sílim gur sídh-bhean í thárla i gcéin, Ar inntinn mo mhillte tar chách go léir, Bíodhgaim le líon-rith, noch d'fhág mé i bpéin, Gan bhrígh ar bith im bhoill-se go támhach lag tréith.

Smaoinim le n-innsint gur nár an scéal Mé chlaoidhchean le mnaoi ar bith gan fáth ná baoghal, Líonaim de chroidhe-mhisneach árd, is éighim Ar bhrídeach an aoil-chneis, ba bhreághtha scéimh.

I supposed she was a fairy woman who chanced afar Intending to destroy me more than anyone else I start up in full flight, which left me in pain Without vigour in my limbs, still, weak, feeble.

I reflect to say it a shameful case
That I am subdued by any woman without cause or danger
Then I am full of high courage of heart, and I call upon
The maiden of the pale skin, of most beauteous appearance.

A innsinc le díograis san plás ná bréas, Ar b'í an sailteann Clíodna í, nó Áine séim, Aoibeall bain-ríogan ón árd-Crais Léic, Nó ríob cailce i scoimeascar cus ár na Crae?

Nό Δοιρε le σκλοισελός cur i mbán-cruc éan, Ar linn-csruc na Maoile, a cáirde zaol, Nó an mín-maiseac ríogoa paoi cáir, mo léan, O'rúiz príom-sleacta zaoismeara Cáil is Céin?

Nó an aoil-ċruċaċ míonla ċuʒ ár na laoċ 1 ríoġ-bruġ na Craoibe, crér rázaò raon Saċ míor-ċuraò is míleaò oo b'ársa céim, le raobar-lannaib Naoise is a bráiċre cléib.

Is binn v'ṛ̀reaʒair sí vam aʒ ráv ní haon Oen buivin sin vo maoivis mé act ránac strae, Atá im víbirteac coimiţceac le spás ţan réim, 'S zur b'í m'ainm vílis vuit Ṭráinne Maol.

To tell earnestly without flattery or deceit Was she the lady Clíodhna, or gentle Áine

Queen Aoibheall from high Carraig Liath Or the beautiful maiden who wrought the slaughter of Troy in a conflict?

Or Aoife who, with enchantment, put in the fair shape of birds On the sea-stream of Moyle, her kith and kin Or the gentle beauty (who left - *next line*) abased, my sorrow! The fine, gifted seed of Tál and Céin? A innsint le díoghrais gan phlás ná bréag, Ar bh'í an ghailteann Clíodhna í, nó Áine shéimh, Aoibheall bain-ríoghan ón árd-Chraig Léith, Nó ríobh chailce i gcoimheascar thug ár na Trae?

Nó Aoife le draoidheacht chur i mbán-chruth éan, Ar linn-tsruth na Maoile, a cáirde gaol, Nó an mhín-mhaiseach ríoghdha faoi tháir, mo léan, D'fhúig príomh-shleachta gaoismheara Tháil is Chéin?

Nó an aoil-chruthach mhíonla thug ár na laoch I ríogh-bhrugh na Craoibhe, trér fágadh faon Gach míor-churadh is míleadh do b'ársa céim, Le faobhar-lannaibh Naoise is a bhráithre cléibh.

Is binn d'fhreagair sí dham ag rádh ní haon Den bhuidhin sin do mhaoidhis mé acht fánach strae, Atá im dhíbirteach choimhightheach le spás gan réim, 'S gur b'í m'ainm dílis duit Gráinne Mhaol.

Or the stately beauty who wrought the slaughter of the knights In the royal palace of the (Red) Branch, through whom was rendered feeble

Every supreme champion and warrior of most ancient degree By the true swords of Naoise and his beloved brothers.

Sweetly she answered me, saying, "Not one Of that band you mentioned am I, but a vagrant wanderer Who am a foreign exile for a while without authority And my beloved name to you is Gráinne Mhaol. Oo bíos-sa ra mír-cion i mblát mo saoţail, 1 bríor-ţradam ríoţrad 's i brábar réics, Nó τα líonadar taill-sleatta i n-áitreab ζαεθεαί, τας σίτ-ċreatta a στίοκτα 'ζus cárnad a laoc.

Maoiòtear i laoi-startaib dán le héizs', Sur innseadar draoite is ráiòe dréatt, So brillread ar Stíobart 30 háitreab Céin, O'rior-scaipead a ndaoirse do rás na nSaedeal.

Oá κίοπαο σαοιδ le μίκιnne κάσαιm is léiţim, Şur σίσεαο mo buiσean caca i ξεάιl 's i ξεέιm, luct mille na hλοιne noc σ'μάς mé μαοη, Is σος ίοςμαισ an ξηίοπ sain με lá na Naom.

Ní'l caoide dá líoncact ná tráżann san braon, ls sac pradic-scoirm coimisteac, bíonn trác san saoc, Oá innsint le díosrais don tár-sprot clé, Oá aoirde a nsoill-puimp so mbiaid tlác 'na déid.

I was in highest regard in the flower of my life In true royal esteem and in the favour of kings Until the foreign breed filled the homesteads of the Irish That left their lands ruinously plundered and their warriors slaughtered.

It is related in historical verses of poems by bards That seers and prophets spoke verses That our Stewart would return to the habitation of Céin To truly scatter bondage from the race of the Irish. Do bhíos-sa fa mhír-chion i mbláth mo shaoghail, I bhfíor-ghradam ríoghradh 's i bhfábhar réics, Nó gur líonadar gaill-shleachta i n-áitreabh Gaedheal, Thug díth-chreachta a dtíortha 'gus cárnadh a laoch.

Maoidhtear i laoi-starthaibh dán le héigs', Gur innseadar draoithe is fáidhe dréacht, Go bhfillfeadh ar Stíobhart go háitreabh Chéin, D'fhíor-scaipeadh a ndaoirse do rás na nGaedheal.

Dá ríomhadh daoibh le fírinne rádhaim is léighim, Gur dísceadh mo bhuidhean chatha i gcáil 's i gcéim, Lucht millte na hAoine noch d'fhág mé faon, Is docht íocfaidh an gníomh sain fé Lá na Naomh.

Ní'l taoide dá líontacht ná trághann gan braon, Is gach fraoich-stoirm choimhightheach, bíonn tráth gan gaoth, Dá innsint le díoghrais don tár-sprot clé, Dá aoirde a ngoill-phuimp go mbiaid tláth 'na dhéidh.

\_\_\_\_\_

Relating to you truth, I announce and proclaim
That my war-band was emptied of fame and honour
The gang who destroy (Good) Friday, that left me enfeebled
That deed will be paid for dearly by the day of All Saints.

There is no tide, no matter how full, that does not ebb without a drop

And for every wild, fierce storm, there is a while without wind Tell it with zeal to the sinister, contemptible rabble No matter how high the foreign pride, they will be powerless after.

# An ceanzal.

Mo míle creac, ba cneasta an stríapac í, Oo bí sí i brad az Art az Niall 's az Naois, Oo bí sí seal az plait na morianac nzroide, Is ba mín a cneas, zur cait an t-iasact í.

# An ceangal.

Mo mhíle creach, ba chneasta an stríapach í, Do bhí sí i bhfad ag Art ag Niall 's ag Naois, Do bhí sí seal ag flaith na mBrianach ngroidhe, Is ba mhín a cneas, gur chaith an t-iasacht í.

\_\_\_\_\_\_

## Envoi:

My thousand plunderings, she was a fine harlot!
She was possessed for a long time by Art, by Niall and by Naoise
She was for a while at the feasting of brave Brian
And her skin was smooth, until foreignness wore it out.

#### 15. Crác is mé cois leasa.

Conn: Seán Ó Ouibir an Sleanna.

CRÁC IS mé cois leasa, **5**ο τλάτ ας σέληλή πλότηλιή Δκ άκ πα στκέαη σο Β'τεακκα, AR CLÁR LUIRC PUAIR RÉIM. Cożan Mór na brlaża, 1s Conn na ζεέλοτα cata, Da sluazmar créan 120 sealao, Όά πάṁΔιο πάκ ετλοη; **Τ**ο ὅμιιὶ Α ηξέλζΑ 'ά ζοκλραὸ Jan sóż, zan réim, zan aiceas, San spórt san scléip mar cleactao ÁRO-SCOT NA LAOC; A noúčaije, a n-aolbruij čailce Az crón-puic, is a zcealla, 1s ar ζεάικσε ζαοιί σά scaipeaσ 1s σά ζαάιblea σ ζας lae.

Mo puòdir, mo scíos, mo dainio, Is cúis mo ċaoi 's mo ċeasna Να σάικ-τικ ζκοιός δα ταρα 'S πά ετάπρα το ι ης ί είτο, Όλ ἀκότλ maitim is zaisce 1 nzleo na zcloroeam az creascairc, Da leomanca i noníom 's i ocacaib 'S 1 n-ár chuic ba tréan, Jur Lion a noliże 's a reacta Anall car cuinn is calaic Δη buiðean σοη Οκο τυς masla 1s san tráct ar an scraos; 'S ná maireann aon dár scaraid Ná caiteann séill oon aicme ζας τκάς κά η υζαιμ σά στακκαιης 'S zan pażáltas act zo paon;

Is ar mbeit dam tréit las aindeas, Δς caoi na ndéar 50 prasac, Sínce paon paoi ceasna 1s mé cráioce as an saosal, Όο τέλκηυις τλού Liom λinnir Μοσαμκας, ηδικεας, μαισεας, Da śnóż-żlan, zréme, cailce, Is vo b'áilne ar bit scéim. Dí a hór-folt cíorta casta, So crillseac, olaoisceac, oaicce, So búclac, péarlac, rada, Az rás léi zo réar, So prínseac, néamrac, olatac, So rámneac, cáblac, cracac, So oualac oréimreac zreanca, As ban-cheis na scraob.

LIATRUIZIM SCÉAL DEN AINNIR Caoin-tais, tréiteat, tailce, An cú lúno caom no Dallas Nó Dénus zan smól, Oo pléio an τ-uball raoi mairs, 'O'réacaint áilne a pearsan, Πό Όλάτηριο πιρώπεις τοιλίσε Cus ár-som na slós? Πό Casandra κέιδρεαδ ceasna, Πό ΌιΔηΔ 'n-Δ ποέιο 'sΔη ΔηΔό, Nó Nélen maorda maiseac, Ό'μύις Τκλε τοικ γλοι ὅκόη. Nó Céarnait caoin rinn' muileann To céad-cur pior ar srocaib, Nó an bé lér claoidead Clann Uisnis Is a Laocraide san treoir?

Is caoin 's is caom an priotal Oo can an csío-bean miocair, Ní haon mé is píor σά σσιζικ, Act Éire san só, Acá san żéill san urraim, 1 ποιδιό πα Ιδος τά τυικς ελέ, Da brónac déarcac d'imcis, Is ba <u>\$níomac</u> i n<del>5</del>leo. Δέτ 50 βραιί mo súil 50 οτιοτραιό Cuzainn car créan-muir puireann Το σιδικοσταιό των τυικελό Na méirlis car cuinn; Is 50 mbéro mo clann san cuirse, Δτά αποις τά easbarö, So séanmar sám 's so sulcimar **5**ο λά σεικιό an σελοξαιλ.

Má's tú-sa an spéir-bean miocair, To jab clúro na laoc zan cermeal, 'San críc seo Éibir oinis Aitris cruinn an scéal: Cá ngabann an Réics 's a ruireann Πά τίξιο ας κέαδα ο δκυίσε, Is oližeao na méirleac a briseao 1s το τίδικε ζωη εκεοικ? 'Sé adubaire an spéir-bean cailce, Cá an crúp car cuinn as caisceal, So Líonmar, burbeanmar, nearcmar, Cum coimeascair is 5leo; 'S is zeárr an moill zo mbeio scaipeao AR SLIOCE LUICEIR CLAOIN IS CAILBIN, Δ ὅρελκληη ς ζλοιὁιἡ τά το κελεκλικτ, 1s na Laoisiż i zcoróin.

#### 15. Tráth is mé cois leasa.

Fonn: Seán Ó Duibhir an Ghleanna.

Tráth is mé cois leasa, Go tláth ag déanamh machtnaimh Ar ár na dtréan do bh'fhearra. Ar Chlár Luirc fuair réim. Eoghan Mór na bhflatha, Is Conn na gcéadta catha, Ba shluaghmhar tréan iad sealad, Dá námhaid nár staon; Go bhfuil a ngéaga 'á gcrapadh Gan sógh, gan réim, gan aiteas, Gan spórt gan scléip mar chleachtadh Árd-scoth na laoch; A ndúthaighe, a n-aolbruigh chailce Ag crón-phuic, is a gcealla, Is ar gcáirde gaoil dá scaipeadh Is dá gcáibleadh gach lae.

### 15. Once And I By A Fairy-fort.

Air: Seán Ó Duibhir an Ghleanna - John Dwyer of the Glen.

Once and I by the a fairy-fort/ Pondering in feebleness/ On the slaughter of the chiefs who were the greatest/ Who ever exercised power in Ireland/ Great Eoghan of the chieftains/ And Conn of the hundreds of battles/ They were mighty, abounding in hosts for a while/ They did not yield to their enemies/ That their ar now being withered/ Without joy, without power, without pleasure/ Without sport, without activities as used to practise/ the very best of the warriors/ Their homelands and their white mansions/ And their churches (taken) by swathy bucks/

And their kith and kin being scattered/ And taken in bondage every day.

Mo phudhair, mo scíos, mo dhainid, Is cúis mo chaoi 's mo cheasna Na sáir-fhir ghroidhe ba thapa 'S ná stánfadh i ngléidh, Ba chródha maidhm is gaisce

I ngleo na gcloidheamh ag treascairt,

Ba leomhanta i ngníomh 's i gcathaibh 'S i n-ár chnuic ba thréan,

Gur líon a ndlighe 's a reachta

Anall tar tuinn is calaith

An buidhean don Ord thug masla

Is gan trácht ar an gcraos;

'S ná maireann aon dár gcaraid

Ná caitheann géill don aicme

Gach tráth fá'n ughaim dá dtarraing

'S gan fagháltas acht go faon;

\_\_\_\_\_

My loss, my weariness, my grievance!

It is the reason for my lamentation and my great need

The great, brave men who were active

And who would not yield in battle

Who were brave in valour and feats of arms

Destroying in the tumult of swords

Lion-like in deeds and in battles

And strong in great slaughter

Until their laws and charters crowded

Across over waves and ocean

- The gang who profaned (Holy) Orders

Not to mention the gluttony (avarice? meat-eating on Fridays?)

So that not one of my relatives lives

Who is not obliged to submit to the gang

Forever being compelled in harness

And without means, but poorly.

Is ar mbeith dam tréith lag aindeas, Ag caoi na ndéar go frasach, Sínte faon faoi cheasna Is mé cráidhte ag an saoghal, Do théarnuigh taobh liom ainnir Mhodhamhrach, náireach, mhaiseach, Ba shnódh-ghlan, gréine, cailce, Is do b'áilne ar bith scéimh. Bhí a hór-fholt cíortha casta, Go trillseach, dlaoightheach, daithte, Go búclach, péarlach, fada, Ag fás léi go féar, Go frínseach, néamhrach, dlathach, Go fáinneach, cáblach, crathach, Go dualach dréimreach greanta, Ag ban-chneis na gcraobh.

And after being prostrate, weak, wretched Weeping tears in showers Lying feebly sighing And I tormented by the world There approached near me a maiden Polite, modest, beautiful Of pure countenance, sun-bright, pale And of the most beautiful appearance in the world Her golden hair was combed, twisting In tresses, in locks, lustrous In ringlets, pearly, long Growing down to the grass Fringed, coloured, in locks Curling, in thick clusters, trembling In locks, in strands, sculpted With the fair beauty of branching hair.

Fiafruighim scéal den ainnir Chaoin-tais, thréitheach, chailce, An tú Iúno chaomh no Pallas Nó Bhénus gan smól, Do phléidh an t-ubhall faoi mhairg, D'fhéachaint áilne a pearsan, Nó Bláthnaid niamhrach chailce Thug ár-ghoin na slógh? Nó Casandra réidhfeadh ceasna, Nó Diana 'n-a ndéidh 'san anach, Nó Hélen mhaordha mhaiseach, D'fhúig Trae thoir faoi bhrón. Nó Céarnait chaoin rinn' muileann Do chéad-chur fíor ar shrothaibh, Nó an bhé lér claoidheadh Clann Uisnigh Is a laocraidhe gan treoir?

I ask the maiden her story

- Gentle, tender, virtuous, pure –

"Are you fair Juno or Pallas

Or flawless Venus

Who contested (?) the apple (?) in despondency

In a trial of (?) the beauty of her person

Or pure, lustrous Bláthnait

Who wrought bloody slaughter on hosts?

Or Cassandra who would sooth troubles

Or Diana after them in the path

Or majestic, beautiful Helen

Who left eastern Troy in grief

Or gentle Cearnait who caused a mill

To be first truly put on a stream (?)

Or the lady through whom the clan of Uisneach was subdued

And their warriors perplexed?

Is caoin 's is caomh an friotal Do chan an tsídh-bhean mhiochair, Ní haon mé is fíor dá dtigir, Acht Éire gan gó, Atá gan ghéill gan urraim, I ndiaidh na laoch tá tuirseach, Ba bhrónach déarcach d'imthigh, Is ba ghníomhach i ngleo. Acht go bhfuil mo shúil go dtiocfaidh Chugainn tar tréan-mhuir fuireann Do dhibreochaidh gan fuireach Na méirligh tar tuinn; Is go mbéidh mo chlann gan tuirse, Atá anois fá easbaidh, Go séanmhar sámh 's go sultmhar Go lá deiridh an tsaoghail.

Calm and gentle were the utterances
That the kindly fairy woman related
"I am truly none of these you suppose
But Éire, without a lie
Who am without homage, without respect
After the knights who are defeated
Who left (me?) sorrowfully, tearfully (?)
And who were active in battle
But it is my expectation that there will come
To us across the mighty sea, a band
That will expel without delay/ The miscreants over the waves
And my clan will be without oppression
Who are now in want
Prosperous, comfortable, joyous
To the last day of the world.

Má's tú-sa an spéir-bhean mhiochair, Do ghabh clúid na laoch gan teimheal, 'San chrích seo Éibhir oinigh Aithris cruinn an scéal: Cá ngabhann an Réics 's a fhuireann Ná tíghid ag réabadh bruide, Is dligheadh na méirleach a bhriseadh Is do dhíbirt gan treoir? 'Sé adubhairt an spéir-bhean chailce, Tá an trúp tar tuinn ag taisteal, Go líonmhar, buidheanmhar, neartmhar, Chum coimheascair is gleo; 'S is geárr an mhoill go mbeidh scaipeadh Ar shliocht Lúiteir chlaoin is Chailbhin, A bhfearann claoidhimh dá dtreascairt, Is na Laoisigh i gcoróin.

If you are the kindly beauty Bright protector of the warriors without blemish In this land of noble Éibhear Relate exactly the story Where has the King and his army gone That he does not come destroying our predicament And to break the rule of the miscreants And to expel them in confusion?" Said the bright, fair lady, "The army is travelling over the sea Plentifully, abounding in hosts, strongly For conflict and tumult/ It is short the delay until there will be scattering On the seed of perverse Luther and Calvin In the field of swords being destroyed And the allies of Louis enthroned."

# 16. Ar maidin indé is mé as caisceal i scéin.

(Preazra ar an Öaillet le Séamus de Nózla.)

AR maidin indé is mé az caisceal i zcéin
I motar żlas craob zo huaizneac,
San duine san csaożal im żoire dár léir dam
Act cancain na n-éan zo buacac
Cré iomad mo żalair az cuirse dom tapann
Is pollus don aindeis zur żléactas,
Cuicim i dcaise is ní tuizim cá rabas
Sur ționnas an ainnir do céas mé.

'S AR CARRAINS PÁ'M ÖÉIN DON MASCALAC SÉIM IS DEARB SUR CRAOC MO ÖUAIRCEAS
LE CAICNEAM DÁ SNÉ BA SOLASCA SCÉIM
CUS SPIONNAÖ ANN MO ŚÉASA IS LUAÖAIL NIRC.
DA ÖLUICEAC A DLAIŚCIB BA ÖRUICLEAC BA ÖRAMAC;
DA ÖUIBREAC CAISCE MIC ÉASON
SEOC PIONNALL PIONN PRASAC D'PÚIS CAOMA 'NA N-AMARC AR LAOCRA'S AR PLAICIB DEN ÉISSE.

# 16. Yesterday morning and I travelling afar.

(Reply to the (Wallet? Ballad?) of James Nagle)

Yesterday morning and I travelling afar
In a green leafy grove, lonesome
Without a person in the world near me that I could see
But the singing of the birds aloft
Through excess of my trouble, tiring of my searching
Clearly I succumbed to wretchedness
I fall in a weakness and I do not understand where I am
Until I discovered the maiden who tormented me.

## 16. Ar maidin indé is mé ag taisteal i gcéin.

(Freagra ar an Bhaillet le Séamus de Nógla.)

Ar maidin indé is mé ag taisteal i gcéin
I mothar ghlas craobh go huaigneach,
Gan duine san tsaoghal im ghoire dár léir damh
Acht cantain na n-éan go buacach
Tré iomad mo ghalair ag tuirse dom thafann
Is follus don aindeis gur shléachtas,
Tuitim i dtaise is ní thuigim cá rabhas
Gur fhionnas an ainnir do chéas mé.

'S ar tharraing fá'm dhéin don mhascalach shéimh
Is dearbh gur thraoch mo dhuairceas
Le taitneamh dá gné ba sholasta scéimh
Thug spionnadh ann mo ghéaga is luadhail nirt.
Ba dhluitheach a dlaighthibh ba dhruithleach ba dhramach;
Ba dhuibhreach taisce mhic Éason
Seoch fionnall fionn frasach d'fhúig taoma 'na n-amharc
Ar laochra 's ar fhlaithibh den éigse.

And as the fine maiden drew near to me
Truly my sadness ebbed
In affection for her appearance of shining beauty
That gave strength to my limbs, and strong motion
Her locks were thick, bright, plentiful (?)
The lover of Jason's son was darker(?)
Than the fair, generous beauty (?) who caused floods (of tears) in the eyes
Of knights and noble bards.

Oo bí deabad na scaor as caismire 's as bruisean 'San lile san stríoc san séanad 'Ma leacain tais mín pá malainn mar scríb Ar meamram slím le caoldionn; Oa céadac do ceaduis mac Dénus 'na dearcaib 'Sa déad snoiste snasta ar aoldac, 'Sa béal tana blasta le bréitre ba cheasta, Da néata do seasaim sí taob liom.

Γιοππαιμ σεπ κίοξαιπ μιοċακοα μίπ ταις
Θιλεαμαιλ βιπη βλεαςτ βέακας,
Cκέασ ό ξειπεαό α ςκαοιβε ξειπεαμαιλ ζαοόαλας,
Δ cine 's α ςκίος 's α ςαομπας;
Πό ακ β'μέτοικ τως β'ιςε απ ταοβ-λεαβαικ μιοςαικ τως τείλλεας 'ο μας Cumaill is τέακ-searc,
Θ'έαλιις is σ'ιμείς ό λαοςκα πα ςκυιππε
1 τείπ λεακ τά comairc πα μέτηπε?

\_\_\_\_\_

The conflict of embers struggling and fighting
And the lily without submision or abstaining
In her fine, gentle cheek under an eyebrow like a stroke
Of a slender pen on elegant parchment
She was foremost in giving leave to the son of Venus (*Cupid*) in
her eyes(?) (*Try* cnexòxi\(\frac{1}{2}\) instead of cexou\(\frac{1}{2}\) - Hundreds were
wounded by Cupid ?)
And her dainty, fine teeth were the colour of lime
And her delicious, slender lips were modest in speech
Neatly she stood next to me.

Do bhí deabhadh na gcaor ag caismirt 's ag bruighean 'San lile gan stríoc gan séanadh 'Na leacain tais mhín fá mhalainn mar scríb Ar mheamram slím le caolphionn; Ba chéadach do cheaduigh mac Bhénus 'na dearcaibh 'Sa déad snoighte snasta ar aoldath, 'Sa béal tana blasta le bréithre ba chneasta, Ba néata do sheasaimh sí taobh liom.

Fionnaim den ríoghain mhiochardha mhín tais
Bhileamhail bhinn bhleacht bhéasach,
Créad ó geineadh a craoibhe gheineamhail Ghaodhalach,
A cine 's a críoch 's a caomhnas;
Nó ar bh'fhéidir gur bh'ise an taobh-leabhair mhiochair
Thug géilleadh 'o mhac Cumhaill is géar-shearc,
D'éaluigh is d'imthigh ó laochra na cruinne
I gcéin lear fá chomairc na Féinne?

I enquire of the gentle, mild, loving princess
- Stately, sweet, generous, dignified
From whence was begotten her Irish genealogical descent
Her clan, her country and her company
Or was is possible she was the gentle beauty
Who won submission from (Fionn) the son of Cumhall, with keen love,
Who fled and left the heroes of the (whole) world

Afar across the sea under the protection of the Fianna?

AICCIM IS ZUIÖIM IS PIONNAIM PÁ TRÍ

Le CAICNEAM DOC PÍOZAIR IS DOC ÉAZCRUT

AN CUSA ZAN PUIZEALL CUIR MUILEANN AR LINN

JAN PUIREANN SAN CRÍC SIN ÉIBIR;

[ATÁ PÁT Ó N-A MEASAIM IT ÖÁIL-SE ZUR PRASAC

PÁRBON DEN EARRAD BUS ÉALZAC

IS TÁRNOCT ZUR ŢLACAIS A ZCÁIL SIN ÓN ZCARAID

ČUZ SPÁS PEACT Ó ĎEARCAIB AN ÉAZA]

Jan ruireac ná ruizeall 'seað σ' rreazair sí sinn 1 βrriotal breas binn σen ζαε σeal-ζuċ, ní αιἀπισ συις puinn σοπ ἀσσιαπ ας τιζεαἀς Cé riceas lem laoið σος réaἀαιπς; le humlaἀς σοη σrazan σε ἀκι-śliοἀς πο ἀακασ δί im ἀlúισ-se cois abann το σείσεαππαὰ Δουβαίκς liom an βαίλες σο ἀαβαίκς συις le hamarc 'Sis συβαὰ liom της σαπαίκ σο ἀλέαικ.

I entreat and pray and ask thee three times
For love of your figure and for your sad plight
Are you she (*Cearnait*) who flawlessly put a mill on a stream
Without assistance in that land of Éibhear
There is a reason why I think, in your presence, that it is
generous??

? (noble gift *from Séamus de Nógla*)? And (in naked shamelessness ?) you accepted their state (?) (stole ?) from the relative (of mine) (*Séamus de Nógla*?) Who once spent a while (?) out of the eyes of death (?). Aitchim is guidhim is fionnaim fá thrí
Le taitneamh dot fhíoghair is dot éagchruth
An tusa gan fuigheall chuir muileann ar linn
Gan fuireann san chrích sin Éibhir;
[Atá fáth ó n-a measaim it dháil-se gur frasach
Fárbon den earradh bhus éalgach
Is tárnocht gur ghlacais a gcáil sin ón gcaraid
Thug spás feacht ó dhearcaibh an éaga]

Gan fuireach ná fuigheall 'seadh d'fhreagair sí sinn
I bhfriotal bhreas bhinn den Ghaedheal-ghuth,
Ní aithnid duit puinn dom chosnamh ag tigheacht
Cé ritheas lem laoidh dot fhéachaint;
Le humhlacht don dragan de chrú-shliocht mo charad
Bhí im chlúid-se cois abhann go déidheannach
Adubhairt liom an bhaillet do thabhairt duit le hamharc
'Sis dubhach liom gur danair do chléchuir.

Without waiting or delay she answered me In sweet, beautiful words of the Irish tongue "You know nothing of my protection (authority?) coming (here) Though I made haste with my story to see you In obedience to the champion of the blood-kin of my kin Who was my protector by the river (*Meentogue?*) lately He told me to give you the wallet (ballad?) to see And I am sorry that savages have falsely buried (? nearly killed? defeated? tricked? him).

Δ muirinneac mín ná soincear leac sinn is so pollus sur prít mé ó Séamus is nac misce do síolrac poisse do saoil Odn patac ba rí san Éisipc.
Δ sluaiste cé caillead i ruadtonneaib mara Da buadac slioce a sleacea le naoméace, is nár dual duic-se aitis cóm mór soin do tabaire Odn cé buaidread cré maslad do céid-pir.

Οά σταζαό ι στίκ cum calaöpuirt laoiseac Όποηζατας σαοιηθας σείβτεας, Δη curaό cat-βυισεαπας cineatac coimirseac le η-ακ sημισμένο τά κοιμέν seo τκείμες, le humlact σο κατραίη ας τκύστας σο ημένο, Όά στάκηλο, σά στρεασταίκτ, σά σταλοζαό, ls ζο mbeag ciuin ακ σο βαίλλετ is scrúσας le haiteas ls búκαιδ τά η απα ας ζασελίαης.

O gentle, lovable one, let you not be wounded by me And clearly you are sent to me (?) from Séamus And your race is no worse for the nearness of your relation To the Pharaoh who was king in Egypt His hosts though lost in the waves of the Red Sea The seed of his seed were elevated in sanctity (apotheosised?) And it was not your custom such great triumph to grant To those who afflicted through offences your foremost spouse.

A mhuirinneach mhín ná gointear leat sinn
Is go follus gur fríth mé ó Shéamus
Is nach miste do shíolrach foigse do ghaoil
Don fhathach ba rí san Éigipt.
A shluaighte cé cailleadh i ruadhthonntaibh mara
Ba bhuadhach sliocht a shleachta le naomhthacht,
Is nár dhual duit-se aithis chómh mór soin do thabhairt
Don té buaidhreadh tré mhasladh do chéid-fhir.

Dá dtagadh i dtír chum caladhphuirt Laoiseach
Drongathach daoineach déibhtheach,
An curadh cath-bhuidheanach cineathach coimhirseach
Le n-ar snaidhmeadh tú roimhe seo tréimhse,
Le humhlacht do rachfainn ag crústadh do namhad,
Dá dtúrnadh, dá dtreascairt, dá dtraochadh,
Is go mbeadh tiuin ar do bhaillet is scrúdadh le haiteas
Is búraibh fá'n ama ag Gadelians.

If Louis came on shore to the harbor
Abounding in armies and in people, contentious
The affable warrior with many battle hosts and relatives
With whom you were united for a while before
In obedience I would go fighting your enemies
Destroying the, crushing them, pressing on them
And your wallet (ballad?) will be in good order, and
examination (of it) merrily
And churls under the yoke of Gadelians (*Gaels*).

Mo beannact σος σίση απ τάιο mairfir, ar sí, Azus scaram zo síteac le céile, 'Sis capa σο ling car macaire mín Is σ'imtiξ zan puiţeall pá néallaib; δίσσε aim is screadaim is múscailt ba ţar σαm δα συβας caiteas sealad az zéar-ţol Cé smaoinim is bearcaim zac íorţoil σο canad lem rún-sa zan bladar zur péiomeao.

Mo bheannacht dot dhíon an fhaid mhairfir, ar sí, Agus scaram go sítheach le chéile, 'Sis tapa do ling tar mhachaire mhín Is d'imthigh gan fuigheall fá néallaibh; Bíodhgaim is screadaim is múscailt ba ghar damh Ba dhubhach chaitheas sealad ag géar-ghol Cé smaoinim is beartaim gach íorghoil do canadh Lem rún-sa gan bhladar gur féidhmeadh.

"My blessing on your shelter (house) so long as you live", said

And disappeared completely (*leaving nothing behind*) into the clouds

I start up and shout and soon awakened
Sadly I spent a while weeping bitterly
Though I ponder and resolve that every exploit that was sung,
To my sweetheart without deception, was accomplished.

she,
"And let us part from each other in peace"
And swiftly she swept across the smooth plain

### 17. Sealao oem saosal.

Sealad dem śadjał zo haerać ionzantać,
Az déanam tuirse 's az riarad an bróin,
So ceasnuiżceać céasta créactać cunaill-boct
1 nzadrżaib coille 's zan adn im comair,
Od dearcas ainnir búid mín ciuin cadin carcannac
Odm ionnsuide dearbca az téact ar seol,
Da deise zlaise a súil żrinn 'ná drúct ladi samraid,
Da sużać siożać seasamać a zné zan smól.

Oo stadas seal zo paon-laz péizeamail anbrainneac, le héizean taitnim dí az zéardearc' a clóda, a mala suidte caol deas ar a héadan tarrainze, zo séadmar snasta snuizte i n-éipeact cóir; ba casta clucmar ciumas-caoin a cúilín camarsac, 'Na cúirnín cacaiseac ar scéim an óir, 'Na broltaib pizte pionnbuide i ndúil żrinn żreannmar, 'Na lonnradaib lasamail az téact zo peor.

# 17. A While In My Life.

A while in my life, eerily, strangely
Suffering affliction and feeling grief
Troubled, tormented, afflicted, pitiful
In wood-groves and no one attending me
I beheld a maiden, gracious, mild, gentle, tender, loving
Approaching me truly swiftly
Her bright eye was lovelier, fresher than the dew of a summer's day

Her flawless countenance was cheerful, calm, resolute.

### 17. Sealad dem shaoghal.

Sealad dem shaoghal go haerach iongantach,
Ag déanamh tuirse 's ag riaradh an bhróin,
Go ceasnuightheach céasta créachtach cunaill-bhocht
I ngaorthaibh coille 's gan aon im chomhair,
Do dhearcas ainnir bhúidh mhín chiuin chaoin charthannach
Dom ionnsuidhe dearbhtha ag téacht ar seol,
Ba dheise glaise a súil ghrinn 'ná drúcht laoi samhraidh,
Ba shughach síothach seasamhach a gné gan smól.

Do stadas seal go faon-lag féigeamhail anbhfainneach,
Le héigean taitnimh dí ag géardhearc' a clódha,
A mala shuidhte chaol dheas ar a héadan tarraingthe,
Go séadmhar snasta snuighte i n-éifeacht chóir;
Ba chasta cluthmhar ciumhas-chaoin a cúilín camarsach,
'Na chúirnín chathaiseach ar scéimh an óir,
'Na bhfoltaibh fighte fionnbhuidhe i ndúil ghrinn ghreannmhar,
'Na lonnradhaibh lasamhail ag téacht go feor.

I stopped a while, feebly, weakly, in exhaustion With force of love for her, inspecting keenly her appearance Her neat, graceful, lovely eyebrow drawn Richly, elegantly, well-hewn, in right order (?) Her curly head of hair was twisting, sheltering, finely trimmed (?)

In cleverly made circlets, of the appearance of gold In fair, yellow, intertwined tresses in a clear, pleasing creation In brilliant lustrousness sweeping to the grass. δα ὅlasta mioċair béasaċ a bréiċre banamail
 Δ béal binn balsamaċ nár ċaoḃuiţ móio,
 Δ leaca leaḃair aoloa mar ţéis ar leaċan-csruċ,
 Όο ċlaoċluiţ i n-anacra na céaota ar peoö;
 δα lasmar ceart a ţnúis ḃúiò mín ḃanamail,
 Μακ lonnraöaiḃ sneaċtamail a scéim ţan ċeo,
 Δ mama öeas ar úr-ċlí i noúiliţeaċt seascaireaċt.
 Δ cúimín cailce suiöte caom ţo cóir.

Γοċταιπ γεαċτ του τόξ-ταιιπιιθι παοκτά πασκαλις Δ τέατα σεαπόλις το ἐθεαċτατό ιπ ἀσπαικ, Δη τά απ εαλα ἀκιτά το Θέικτα θέκ τκασὰ τα γεακα-ἀσιπ 'S α céile calma το τόμιο ι ης leo? Πό απ αιπτικ πίθις τάς πίπ το ισπισιόθατό τακτό-τκυιρ, 1ς τόμιτε το τόμιτε το τάκτα πας τκεσικ, Πό απ τίπιπε-το το τάθλι το τάκτο πας τκεσικ. Πό απ ἀιμιπειστό ἀκκαπιας το ἀκείς πας τκεσικ.

Her womanly words were elegant, kindly, dignified Her sweet, fragrant lips that did not lean to imprecation Her graceful, pale cheek as (white as) a swan on a wide stream

That transformed hundreds in difficulties, withering (for love of her)

Truly bright was her feminine, gentle, gracious, earnest countenance

Like snowy brilliance was her unblemished beauty Her lovely breasts on a pure body in comforting arrangement Her little fair body settled in pleasant order. Ba bhlasta miochair béasach a bréithre banamhail
A béal binn balsamach nár thaobhuigh móid,
A leaca leabhair aolda mar ghéis ar leathan-tsruth,
Do chlaochluigh i n-anacra na céadta ar feodh;
Ba lasmhar ceart a gnúis bhúidh mhín bhanamhail,
Mar lonnradhaibh sneachtamhail a scéimh gan cheo,
A mama dheas ar úr-chlí i ndúiligheacht seascaireacht.
A cúimín cailce suidhte caomh go cóir.

Fochtaim feacht den bhé-bhruinnill mhaordha mhascalaigh
A géaga seanchais do shléachtadh im chomhair,
An tú an eala chruthach Déirdre lér traochadh na feara-choin
'S a céile calma ba dhéine i ngleo?
Nó an ainnir mhilis bhúch mhín d'ionnsuidheadh garbh-thruip,
Is d'fhúigeadh ceangailte an Fhéinn gan treoir,
Nó an fhinne-bhean do dhúbluigheadh cúrsaidhe i nAlbain
Nó an chiuin-ríobh charthannach do thréig mac Treoin.

I ask once of the beautiful, majestic, stately lady
To lay down before me her historical branches (of family)
"Are you Deirdre (of) swan-like (beauty) by who the manhounds (heroes) were defeated
And her brave spouse who was strong in battle
Or the fine, kind, sweet maiden who besieged rough soldiers
And left the Fianna bound, perplexed (with love) (?)
Or the fair lady who increased troubles in Scotland
Or the loving, gentle lark who fled from (Talc) Mac Treoin.

Aitris dam i n-éireact is zéill zo zasta zlic, An τύ hélen banamail maorda modamail lér treascrad laocrad tréan i zcataib chuic 'S an Trae zur lasad le tréin-neart slóż? Nó an léir a meas zur τύ bí az ionnsuide żreannmar le lúno an eala-bean craob na n-óz, Nó Minerba an cúil buide d'rúiz raoi at-tuirse 'Na zcúplaidib treascarta na céadta ar reod?

O'ṛreazair sinn an spéir-bruinneall béil-milis ċarċannaċ, Ní haon den aicme sin mé śléaċtais rós, Cioò zur rada mé zan ċéile, dom ċraoċaò az zalla-ċruip Oo ċlaoċluiţ m'aizne az déanam bróin.

Is mé buime ceart na bprionnsaide is rún croide Caroluis,  $\Delta$ tá dubac paoi ac-tuirse i ngéibeann pós,

Δζ τελέτ λησις βλη η-ιοηης μιθε ι ησύιλιξελέτ scaramain le búrλιδι malluiξέε σο τηλος λη στρεσίη.

Tell me, to the point, and give (me my) way, cleverly, smartly Are you feminine, gracious, modest Helen Through whom were defeated brave knights in hill-side battles And set Troy aflame with strong force of hosts Or is it true to suppose that it was you who were in a strong attack (?)

With Juno, the swan-like lady, the garland of the young (??) (bain craob na n-o $\dot{5}$  - won supremacy over all the maidens?) Or Minerva of the yellow hair who left in affliction In beaten multitudes (?), hundreds withering.

Aithris dam i n-éifeacht is géill go gasta glic,
An tú Hélen bhanamhail mhaordha mhodhamhail
Lér treascradh laochradh tréan i gcathaibh chnuic
'S an Trae gur lasadh le tréin-neart slógh?
Nó an léir a mheas gur tú bhí ag ionnsuidhe ghreannmhar
Le Iúno an eala-bhean craobh na n-óg,
Nó Minerbha an chúil bhuidhe d'fhúig faoi ath-tuirse
'Na gcúplaidhibh treascartha na céadta ar feodh?

D'fhreagair sinn an spéir-bhruinneall bhéil-mhilis charthannach, Ní haon den aicme sin mé shléachtais fós,

Ciodh gur fada mé gan chéile, dom thraochadh ag galla-thruip Do chlaochluigh m'aigne ag déanamh bróin.

Is mé buime cheart na bprionnsaidhe is rún croidhe Charoluis, Atá dubhach faoi ath-tuirse i ngéibheann fós,

Ag teacht anois bhar n-ionnsuidhe i ndúiligheacht scaramhain Le búraidhibh malluighthe do thraoch ár dtreoin.

The beautiful lady of the loving sweet voice answered me "I am not one of that number you set down yet Though I am long without a consort, being oppressed by foreign troops

That transformed my spirit in expressing grief
I am the true nurse of the princes and the sweetheart of Charles
Who is despondent in defeat and still in bondage
(But) is now coming towards us parting and separating (us)
From the accursed churls who defeated our chiefs.

Deiö Διρκελη πλομέλ ας cléir πα salm suilt ζο séismear seanmnac το séadmar sóξας, Is Carolus Réics ρά réim i nalbain, Is ζαεὐί το ρεαὐαμαί 'πα π-λοι-βραίξ ρός; Deiö απ λίς seo το βραίξ sinn συβάς ρλοι αξ-τυίκες, 'Πα ζεύριλιὐίδ τρεας απέλ le ρλοβάς i πςleo, Deiö scrios ακ ρελό πα σύζαίξε ακ απ ζειμίτο είλοιπ ἐελιζαίξ, Is Hold thief ρεαςτα οπέλ σά στρλοἐλὸ ακ ρεοὸ.

Hanover is blown in trouble this while
And the accursed miscreants are weakened and withering
Holland is (*The Dutch are*) unyielding, furious, fierce
And Lisbon is diseased, vastly-weak, feeble
I promise you without reservation that England will be found
In sheets of flame without yielding to the rabble
There will be total destruction of the troops of the deceitful,
mean rule

Lying thickly on the battlefield by the coming of autumn. (Portugal was allied to the Hanoverian kings of England who occupied the position previously held the Stuart monarchy and who were in competition with Holland for imperial possessions, leading to Anglo-Dutch war 1780-1784.)

Atá Hanóbher séidte le tréimhse i n-anacra
Is na méirligh mhalluighthe dá dtraochadh ar feodh,
Atá Holónd gan ghéilleadh go fraochmhar feargach,
'S is taomach treathan-lag faon Lisbón.
Geallaim daoibh gan chúinsidhe go bhfúigfidhear Sasana
'Na múrthaidhibh lasrach gan géilleadh 'on chóip;

Beidh scrios ar fad ar thrúpaidhibh an chumhang-dhlighidh chealgaigh

'Na ndlúth-luighe ar machaire le téacht an fhóghmhair.

Beidh Aifreann naomhtha ag cléir na salm suilt Go séismhear seanmnach go séadmhar sóghach, Is Carolus Réics fá réim i nAlbain, Is Gaedhil go fleadhamhail 'na n-aol-bruigh fós;

Is Gaedhil go fleadhamhail 'na n-aol-bruigh fos; Beidh an aicme seo do bhrúigh sinn dubhach faoi ath-tuirse,

'Na gcúplaidhibh treascartha le faobhar i ngleo, Beidh scrios ar feadh na dúthaighe ar an gclúid chlaoin chealgaigh,

Is Hold thief feasta ortha dá dtraochadh ar feodh.

The sacred mass will be said by the clergy of joyous psalms Music-playing, prosperous, merry

And King Charles ("Bonnie Prince Charlie", died 1788) in power in Scotland

And Gaels feasting yet in their lime-white mansions
This gang who were oppressing us in gloomy exhaustion
Defeated in multitudes (*doubly defeated*?) by arms in battle
There will be destruction throughout the land on the perverse,
treacherous crowd

And HOLD THIEF on them thereafter, oppressed and withering.

Is carcannac caom-ţlan caomna ceannasac Öeio Séarlas calma pá réim ţan ceo, Is clanna Milésiuis péastac pleadamail, Şo séanmar seasamac ţan ţéillead 'on coip; Şabaid seal is cabruiţid, a clann caoin Öanba, pá Śamain daoib ţeallaim-se ţo deradepar an pór, 'S dá bpeicinn-se mar samluiţim na samairlide creascarca, Oo bead lampaide ar lasad aţam le h-éiţean spóire.

Is carthannach caomh-ghlan caomhna ceannasach
Bheidh Séarlas calma fá réim gan cheo,
Is clanna Mhilésiuis féastach fleadhamhail,
Go séanmhar seasamhach gan géilleadh 'on chóip;
Gabhaidh seal is cabhruighidh, a chlann chaoin Bhanba,
Fá Shamhain daoibh geallaim-se go dtraochfar an pór,
'S dá bhfeicinn-se mar shamhluighim na samhairlidhe treascartha,
Do bheadh lampaidhe ar lasadh agam le h-éigean spóirt.

Amiable, kindly, pure, protective, powerful
Brave Charles will be enthroned without doubt
And the clans of Milesius will be feasting, festive
Prosperous, steadfast, unyielding to the rabble
Take a spell and help out, O kindly clans of Ireland
By Hallowe'en I promise you the brood will be defeated
And if I saw, as I suppose, the churls overthrown
I would have lamps lighting by dint of merriment.

#### 18. Do rinneað aisling beag aerac.

Οο κιπηεαό Δισίτης ὅεας Δεκαό ταμ μέτη σαη οιόċε, 1s μέ μαση-ίας σίπτε, τκάτ ακ πεοιη ζυκ σασαό ι ζοέτη μέ ας τέαπαμ σπαοιπτε 1 ης Ιεαπητάη Δοιδίπη ζαη Δοη ιμι ἐόμαικ; Μακ α καιδ σαπταίη πα η-έαη ακ ξέαζαιδ σκαιηη ξίαις, λαόλιη ις έισο ας σείτεαδ όη το ταοίτε, λη εαία ζο ζίε ας τέαὸτ ακ τυίπη απη, 'S αη μέακια ι η-ίοċτακ τκάτ ας α ζοόμαικ.

Oo bí beanna-puic méite le gréin don tír ann, Paintir míolta bánta is leomain, Sionnaig ar saotar laocrað is ríog-coin Ag téact pé coilltib breágta ar neoin; Oo b'aitnid do Phoebus an géag do b'aoirde, Is néam 'na clí mar scáil an óir, Deaca 'gus éin ag scéit im timceall, Şan bréag do b'aoibinn gáir is geoin.

#### 18. An Eerie Little Vision Appeared.

An eerie little vision appeared to me in the night
And I faint, weak, prostrate, in the evening
I returned afar pondering
In a lovely little glen with no one attending me
Where there was birdsong on branches of green trees
Ducks and fishes sprang from the water
The swan clearly alighting on the wave there
And the pearl (oyster?) at the bottom a while before them(?).

# 18. Do rinneadh aisling bheag aerach.

Do rinneadh aisling bheag aerach damh féin san oidhche, Is mé faon-lag sínte, tráth ar neoin Gur casadh i gcéin mé ag déanamh smaointe I ngleanntán aoibhinn gan aon im chómhair; Mar a raib cantain na n-éan ar ghéagaibh crainn ghlais, Lachain is éisc ag scéitheadh ón dtaoide, An eala go glé ag téacht ar tuinn ann, 'S an péarla i n-íochtar tráth as a gcómhair.

Do bhí beanna-phuic mhéithe le gréin don tír ann, Paintir míolta bánta is leomhain,
Sionnaigh ar saothar laochradh is ríogh-choin
Ag téacht fé choilltibh breághtha ar neoin;
Do b'aithnid do Phoebus an ghéag do b'aoirde,
Is néamh 'na clí mar scáil an óir,
Beacha 'gus éin ag scéith im thimcheall,
Gan bhréag do b'aoibhinn gáir is geoin.

There were fat antlered bucks basking on the ground (?) Panthers, animals, meadows, and lions
Foxes being hunted by warriors and royal hounds
Coming through fine woods at evening-tide
Phoebus was known from the highest branch
And the colour of her body like the brightness of gold
Bees and birds flowing round me
Truly the noises and humming were delightful.

Δς παċτηαṁ ταπ ρέιη ακ τκέιτε αη τςαοζαιί, ράη ερέικ το δ'αοιδιηη ιά ας α ςσόπαικ, 'Seαὁ ὁ earcas-sa bé δεας παοκόα πίη-cheis, ηάκ δ'αοςτα τημοι ις το δ'άιαιηη επόὸ; 'Π-α καιδ ιαςαό τα ςσαοκ 'ηα εσέιπ τκέ ιίτις, 'S ba caol α δκαοιτε δκεάζτα ι ςσιόὸ, α carn-ροιτ πέαπκας ιξί το δίσεας Μακ ἐξάταιδ ρίε ας ρέος.

Oo b'eaglac mé-si im aonar roimpe, Δr τέαςτ πα hoiöce τrάς ar neoin, Is falaing den aer bog baot 'na timceall, Is éadac uimpe ar deallrad sróill; San pearsa den daonnact léi dá coimdeact, Δct siollaire caoc is é do mill mé, Oo b'abaid a bréitre tré n-a saigeadaib 'S is claon do scaoil tríom lár an sword.

Pondering to myself the ways of the world Under the sky ...(?)/ I beheld a majestic, beautiful young lady Her countenance was unworn, her appearance was lovely The embers glowed through the whiteness of her face And her beautiful eyebrows were slender in appearance Her lustrous massy tresses were spiraling Like the jewels of (the Golden) Fleece growing down to the grass. Ag machtnamh dam féin ar thréithe an tsaoghail, Fán spéir do b'aoibhinn lá as a gcómhair, 'Seadh dhearcas-sa bé bheag mhaordha mhín-chneis, Nár bh'aosta gnaoi is do b'álainn snódh; 'N-a raibh lasadh na gcaor 'na scéimh tré lítis, 'S ba chaol a braoithe breághtha i gclódh, A carn-fholt néamhrach léi go bíseach Mar shéadaibh flís ag fás go feor.

Do b'eaglach mé-si im aonar roimpe,
Ar théacht na hoidhche tráth ar neoin,
Is falaing den aer bhog bhaoth 'na timcheall,
Is éadach uimpe ar dheallradh sróill;
Gan pearsa den daonnacht léi dá coimhdeacht,
Acht siollaire caoch is é do mhill mé,
Do b'abaidh a bréithre tré n-a saigheadaibh
'S is claon do scaoil tríom lár an sword.

I was fearful, alone before her
On the coming of night at evening time
And a soft, tender cloak of air around her
And clothing on her of silken appearance
Without a human person accompanying her
But a blind, sturdy fellow (*Cupid*), and it is he who destroyed
me

And her words had effect in between her darts (*glances*) And treacherously she drove through my heart the sword (*of love*).

Níor cealz mé an séitleac cé zur mill mé, le héizean zrinn is zráða don óiż, Sur tuzas beannact is céad dí i mbréitre milse Mar is é ba tuibe zo hárd dá sórt; Sur treazair mé an spéir-bean cé nár síleas, 1 labartaib Zaeðilze séim zan coimizteact, Sur blaiseas a béal beaz éadtrom íożarta. Zan séanað óm troiðe le táinte póz.

Δ ċara mo ċléib, ca scéal 'san τsliżiō leat
Πό αη κειοριο Críost άκ ζτάς το σεο?
Πό αη πθειο clanna ηα ηζαεσελι ρά κειμ 'ηα ζτκιοċαιδ,
Πό το héat ακίς ραοι δκάτα αη δκόιη,
'Πα δρεακαηηαιδ saora ας σέαναμ τίσεα,
'Οο ζαllαιδ αη Θέακια σο ċέας αν τκοιο αξαινη,
Is ταν αξαινη 'san τςαοξαι αὐτ αον σεν líne,
Το πσέακραισίς κάκ δρυιάικ τυκ leo.

I did not wound the wretched fellow, though he destroyed me With force of affection and love for the maiden And I gave her a hundred blessings in sweet words As that was highly fitting for such as her And I answered the lady though I did not expect (?)
- In fine words of Irish, without shyness — That I tasted her shapely, light little lips Without refusal from my heart, with multitude of kisses.

Níor chealg mé an séithleach cé gur mhill mé, Le héigean grinn is grádha don óigh, Gur thugas beannacht is céad dí i mbréithre milse Mar is é ba chuibhe go hárd dá sórt; Gur fhreagair mé an spéir-bhean cé nár shíleas, I labharthaibh Gaedhilge séimh gan coimhightheacht, Gur bhlaiseas a béal beag éadtrom íoghartha. Gan séanadh óm chroidhe le táinte póg.

A chara mo chléibh, ca scéal 'san tslighidh leat
Nó an réidhfidh Críost ár gcás go deo?
Nó an mbeidh clanna na nGaedheal fá réim 'na gcríochaibh,
Nó go héag arís faoi bhráca an bhróin,
'Na bhfearannaibh saora ag déanamh cíosa,
Do Ghallaibh an Bhéarla do chéas an croidhe againn,
Is gan againn 'san tsaoghal acht aon den líne,
Go ndéarfaidís nár bhfuláir gur leo.

O friend of my heart, what is the story of your travels (?) Or shall Christ ever make good our troubles Or will the clans of the Irish be in power in their territories Or until death again be under the impediment of grief In their noble landholdings earning revenues For the foreigners of the English tongue who tormented our hearts

And we with nothing in the world but one of the line (?*Charles*?)

So that they (*the foreigners*) may say (the victory?) must be with them.

Πί canaim aon scéalta bréize coiòce,
Is paonuis t'inntinn sám so póill,
So bruil taisteal na laoc as téact tar taoide,
Is an saoc dá scoimdeact i n-áird 's i scóir;
So mbeid aicme na nSaedeal 'san réim is aoirde,
'Πα βρεακαπηλίβ γείπ san aon rad cíosa,
Is Carolus sléseal Réics, mo Stíobard,
Δς τέαct arís paoi Cáisc i scoróinn.

Ní chanaim aon scéalta bréige choidche, Is faonuigh t'inntinn sám go fóill, Go bhfuil taisteal na laoch ag téacht tar taoide, Is an ghaoth dá gcoimdeacht i n-áird 's i gcóir; Go mbeid aicme na nGaedeal 'san réim is aoirde, 'Na bhfearannaibh féin gan aon rad cíosa, Is Carolus glégeal Réics, mo Stíobhard, Ag téacht arís faoi Cháisc i gcoróinn.

I do not ever relate lying stories
And calm your mind peacefully yet
The warriors are travelling, arriving over the sea
With the wind helping them in direction and in order
That the Irish people may be in supreme power
In their own homesteads, with no issue of rent
And pure, bright Charles, my Stuart,
To be enthroned again by Easter.

#### 19. 1 sleasaib na habann.

1 sleasaib na habann is mé az maċtnaṁ 's az éiżeaṁaċ Ar śiomanna is claonţala an tsaoţail zo dubaċ, 'S eaò öearcas-sa ainnir cois leasa 'na haonar Da suaiṁneaċ ba haeraċ ba ċlé cailce ʒnúis; A carnţolt cruipinneaċ pionna-ċas péarlaċ; A braoiċe zanna, a reaṁar-rosc réioţlas, 'Πα leacain bi luisne az iomaiò le caoṁlil, 'S a leabair-pip aoloa ar ţlé-òaċ a cúim.

Oo stadas-sa sealad trém mactham as péacaint Ar maiteas ar maordact ar scéim ó n-a ríomað; Níor cian dam le creata sur braiteas so paon mé 'S is anbrann tréit-tapa tréiseas mo brís; Spreasas suas m'aisne, measas sur baotbeart le n-a samail san labairt 's í im pocair 'na haonar; An tan tasair an banda cartannac béasac, A duine, suid taob liom so ndéanpair do scít.

# 19. By The Banks Of The River.

By the banks of the river and I pondering and bewailing Mournfully on the tricks and perverse spite of the world I beheld a maiden alone by a fairy-fort Her countenance, it was calm, it was sprightly, it was clear and bright

Her massy tresses were wavy, fair, twisting, pearly Her eyebrows slender, her wide eyes steady, fresh In her cheeks the blush was contending with the tender lily Her graceful throat was pale, her body a clear colour.

#### 19. I sleasaibh na habhann.

I sleasaibh na habhann is mé ag machtnamh 's ag éigheamhach Ar shíomanna is claonfhala an tsaoghail go dubhach, 'S eadh dhearcas-sa ainnir cois leasa 'na haonar Ba shuaimhneach ba haerach ba chlé cailce gnúis; A carnfholt cruipinneach fionna-chas péarlach; A braoithe ganna, a reamhar-rosc réidhghlas, 'Na leacain bhí luisne ag iomaidh le caomhlil, 'S a leabhair-phíp aolda ar ghlé-dhath a cúim.

Do stadas-sa sealad trém mhachtnamh ag féachaint Ar mhaitheas ar mhaordhacht ar scéimh ó n-a ríomhadh; Níor chian damh le creatha gur bhraitheas go faon mé 'S is anbhfann tréith-thapa thréigeas mo bhrígh; Spreagas suas m'aigne, mheasas gur bhaothbheart Le n-a samhail gan labhairt 's í im fhochair 'na haonar; An tan thagair an banba charthannach bhéasach, A dhuine, suidh taobh liom go ndéanfair do scíth.

I stopped a while in my pondering to see
The goodnes, the majesty, the beauty of her likeness
It was not long until I felt myself tremulously faint
And my vigour fled, feeble, swiftly weak
I started up in spirit, I judged it would be a foolish deed
Not to speak to such as her, and she alone with me
When the modest, amiable, fair lady spoke
"Sir, sit beside me and take your rest."

Is capa ven bruinnill v'riosruizeas zo héizneac, An cusa an vé-bean lér claoclav an c-uball;
Nó an mascalac miocair ven borb-ruil Śréazaiż
Cuz loscav na Crae coir 's a léir-cur ar zcúl;
An vuic-se vo ceapav an lomra aerva
Car connaib na víle 'na luinz cuz mac éason;
Nó Véirore cailce lér cailleav na laocra,
Nó Aoibeall ón léiccrais an bé maiseac búc?

[An tú Cilbean córac ón Þóracris aeraiz,
Nó Maoilin ón Aolcraiz nó an spéir-bruinneall cáid
Méadb crucac Cruacann ba mór cáil le péile
Nó Clíodna ón réidicnoc an spéirlinzeac mná.
An tú Úna nó Aoipe nó Íte chis aosta,
Nó Fionnacaom ní Nanzana ó lipe na zcaolbarc,
Nó Aoipe ler doircead clann lire san tréanmuir,
Nó Mór cluanac ón zClaonzlais a bruil a laocra ar lár?

Swiftly I enquire of the maiden, forcefully

"Are you the good woman by whom the apple was transformed (*Eve?*)

Or the mild maiden of the brave blood of the Greeks Who caused the burning of Troy to the east, and its total destruction

Was it for you the aerial (magic?) Fleece was seized That the son of Jason brought over the waves of the ocean in his ship

Or fair Deirdre, through whom the knights were lost Or Aoibheall of Carraig Liath (Carraiglea), the beautiful, kind lady. (Aoibheall was the bean sidhe of Dál gCais, the dynasty or clan of Brian Boru.) Is tapa den bhruinnill d'fhiosruigheas go héigneach, An tusa an dé-bhean lér claochladh an t-ubhall; Nó an mhascalach mhiochair den bhorb-fhuil Ghréagaigh Thug loscadh na Trae thoir 's a léir-chur ar gcúl; An duit-se do ceapadh an lomra aerdha Tar tonnaibh na díle 'na luing thug mac Éason; Nó Déirdre chailce lér cailleadh na laochra, Nó Aoibheall ón Léithchraig an bhé mhaiseach bhúch?

[An tú Eilbhean chórach ón Fhórathris aeraigh, Nó Maoilin ón Aolchraig nó an spéir-bhruinneall cháidh Méadhbh chruthach Chruachann ba mhór cáil le féile Nó Clíodhna ón réidhchnoc an spéirlingeach mná. An tú Úna nó Aoife nó Íthe cnis aosta, Nó Fionnachaomh ní Hangana ó Life na gcaolbharc, Nó Aoife ler doirteadh clann Lire san tréanmhuir, Nó Mór chluanach ón gClaonghlais a bhfuil a laochra ar lár?]

[This verse is given in parentheses in Ua Duinnín, 1923.]
Are you fair Eilbhean of airy Fóraithreas
Or Maoilin from Aolchraig, or the noble beauty
Shapely Maeve of Cruachann, greatly famed for hospitality
Or Clíodhna from the open hill, the woman from the skies
Are you Úna or Aoife or Íthe of the worn skin
Or Fionnachaomh Ní Hangana from the Liffey of the graceful ships

Or Aoife by whom the children of Lir were put in the mighty ocean

Or deceitful Mór from Claonghlas [killed her husband Mahon O'Collins in a jealous rage in 1266] whose knights are laid low?

An cú Ceárnaic cuir muilce 'na rocaib ar linncib, nó blánaid an réilceann le scéim do ruz bárr, nó Saðb Jeal zan cozal ón nzorm-broz mbraonac, nó Sorca ó Éeile na nzéarcaise is árd.

Aiccim orc, a ainnir, cabair c'ainm le léiJeam dam, an eazal liom dainid óc amarc ic aonar?

Ná pulainz mé i bpeannaid mo ceasna-sa réidciJ; le caise, le daonnact beir saor mé ón mbás.

Deirim 30 dearbta nac aoinneac den buidin mé, Cionn-mná 3ac bruidne cé bíd siad im páirt, Ní cian duit a n-amarc má panair im cuimdeact 30 bpeicpir na ríogna im cimceall as práisc; Dinneas tar binneas leat poirm a laoite [Ó eitnam an tinnis seo an Nodlais seo poillsis] An Péile Coin sul a deideaid mar do scriospar na milltis, Cuainiste an peill as críoc lnis Páil.

\_\_\_\_\_

Are you Ceárnait who put mills turning on streams
Or the fair lady Blánaid who was supreme in beauty
Or bright Sadhbh without shelter, of the leaking blue house (?)
Or noble Sorcha from the swift stream of the Feale
I beseech you, O maiden, give me your name to read
Must I fear a calamity from seeing you alone
Do not make me suffer in pain, relieve my torment
With pity, free me humanely from death.

An tú Ceárnait chuir muilte 'na rothaibh ar linntibh, Nó Blánaid an réilteann le scéimh do rug bárr, Nó Sadhbh gheal gan chogal ón ngorm-bhrog mbraonach, Nó Sorcha ó Fhéile na ngéarchaise is árd. Aitchim ort, a ainnir, tabhair t'ainm le léigheamh damh, An eagal liom dainid ót amharc it aonar? Ná fulaing mé i bpeannaid mo cheasna-sa réidhtigh; Le taise, le daonnacht beir saor mé ón mbás.

Bheirim go dearbhtha nach aoinneach den bhuidhin mé, Cionn-mhná gach bruidhne cé bhíd siad im pháirt, Ní cian duit a n-amharc má fhanair im chuimhdeacht Go bhfeicfir na ríoghna im thimcheall ag práisc; Binneas tar bhinneas leat foirm a laoithe [Ó eitnamh an tinnis seo an Nodlaig seo foillsigh] An Fhéile Eoin sul a dtiocfaidh mar do scriosfar na milltigh, Cuainighthe an fheill as críoch Inis Fáil.

I give my word in certainty that I am none of that crowd The foremost women in every conflict, though they are on my side

Sight of them is soon if you remain in my company You shall see these queens disporting themselves Sweetness beyond sweetness to you the form of their lays From the pain (?) of this disease this Christmas announce (?) [Dinneen (1923) has this line in parentheses] Before the Feast of Saint John arrives when the destroyers will be wiped out

This gang of treachery in the land of Ireland.

ÉIRE IS EAÖ M'AINM, AZ BÚRAIB AN ÖÉARLA
OOM MÚCAÖ IS DOM CRAOCAÖ, DOM CÉASAÖ IS DOM LOC;
PÓDLA 'ZUS DANBA MO ŻAIRM AZ ÉIZSE
CÉ PADA MÉ IM MÉIRORIŻ AZ BÉARAIB NA ZCOR;
LE DRIAN ZEAL NA SOLAS-BRAC CEANZLAS CAOMNAÖ
IS 'NA ÖIAIÖ BEIRIM CUMANN DO CINE SCUIC ÉIBIR,
Ó RÁNZA MÉ I NZAIRM AZ ZRACAIN AN ÖÉARLA
LE SCIZE ZO NZLAOĎAIO ORM DÁINCEAC NA N-UB.

Éire is eadh m'ainm, ag búraibh an Bhéarla Dom mhúchadh is dom thraochadh, dom chéasadh is dom lot; Fódla 'gus Banbha mo ghairm ag éigse Cé fada mé im mhéirdrigh ag béaraibh na gcor; Le Brian geal na solas-bhrat cheanglas caomhnadh Is 'na dhiaidh bheirim cumann do chine Scuit Éibhir, Ó ránga mé i ngairm ag grathain an Bhéarla Le scige go nglaodhaid orm Páinteach na n-Ubh.

Éire is my name, by the churls of the English tongue Being smothered and oppressed, being tormented and destroyed I am called Fódla and Banbha by poets Though I am kept a long time in harlotry by the bears of iniquity

Though I am kept a long time in harlotry by the bears of iniquity I was united in protection with bright Brian of the flaming banners

And after that I kept company with the Gaels of Éibhear Since I came to be at the disposal of the rabble of the English tongue

In mockery they dub me the Fat One of the Eggs!

#### 20. CRÍM AISLINS ARAOIR.

Crím aisling araoir do smuaineas-sa, is mé ar leadaid mín go clúdaigte, So raib ainnir 'na luige go cneasta lem taoid, Gur taitnig a gnaoi 'sa hioméar liom; Oo bí a polta dar linn go húr ar crit Ó batas a cinn go glúin ag rit A mama 'sa píop 'sa pearsa ar gat sligid Rug barra ar an mnaoi puair uball mar gift.

Corruit io suive 'tus tionnlaic mé, is ceantail to píop to humal toto crios, ar paitce tlais aoiro i ntoras an fraint, déit bainnis is rinnce ar siubal atainn. Mo scallað an té cítpeað trúip annsoin, 'S a n-airm tan teimeal ar lút aca, 'S tur binne tac laoið tá teanð tí linn, 'Ná racaireact pípe an tsiúcaire.

#### 20. Through My Dreaming Last Night.

Through my dreaming last night I supposed
- And I covered up in a fine bed –
That a maiden lay gently by my side
That her countenance and carriage appealed to me
Her tresses, I thought, were fresh, tremulous
Flowing from the crown of her head to her knee
Her breasts and her throat and her person in every way
Excelled the woman (*Eve*) who received an apple as a gift.

#### 20. Trím aisling araoir.

Trím aisling araoir do smuaineas-sa,
Is mé ar leabaidh mhín go clúdaighthe,
Go raibh ainnir 'na luighe go cneasta lem thaoibh,
Gur thaitnigh a gnaoi 'sa hiomchar liom;
Do bhí a folta dar linn go húr ar crith
Ó bhathas a cinn go glúin ag rith
A mama 'sa píop 'sa pearsa ar gach slighidh
Rug barra ar an mnaoi fuair ubhall mar ghift.

Corruigh id shuidhe 'gus tionnlaic mé, Is ceangail do phíop go humhal dod chrios, Ar faithche ghlais aoird i ndoras an Fhrainng, Béidh bainnis is rinnce ar siubhal againn. Mo scalladh an té chídhfeadh trúip annsoin, 'S a n-airm gan teimheal ar lúth aca, 'S gur bhinne gach laoidh dá gcanadh sí linn, 'Ná racaireacht phípe an tsiúcaire.

"Stir yourself up and attend to me
And tie your pipe obediently to your belt
On a noble, green field on the boundary of France
We shall have feasting and dancing going on
My scalding (? avenger?) the one who would see troops there
(?)
And their flawless arms in action"
And sweeter was every lay she recited
Than the playing of the pipe of sugar (? sweet(ly-sounding)
pipe?).

A fhir úd na pípe, dlúthaigh liom, Ó's tusa do bhí im churam-sa, Ná dearmaid maoidheamh le clanna na nGaoidheal Go bhfuil fearann a sinsear chuca anois; Gach duine do bhí aca múchta i mbruid Do chaitheadh bheith síos i sconnsa fhliuch Caithfid sin díobh an donas gan moill Is béidh aithearrach dlighidh le cúinse aca.

"You man of the pipe [double entendre?], embrace me As you are in my care
Do not forget to tell the clans of the Irish
That the lands of their ancestors are returning to them
Every one of them who was smothered in trouble
(And) who used to be (laid low) in a wet drain
He will soon be without any harm
And there will be a change of law as protection for them."

#### 21. Tríom smuaince.

Conn: Cáiclín Criaill

CRÍOM SMUAINCE DO BEARCAS AR MAIDIN INDÉ

SUR İLACAS MAR ÉIRIM CAICNEAM DO RIAN,

COIS LAOI MÉ SUR CASAD I SCAICEAM AN LAE,

AR CARRAC NA SRÉINE PÁ SCAMALLAIB SIAR;

LE HAOIBNEASAIB AICIS DO RAIDEAS DO SCLÉIP,

DA BINN SUC NA N-EALCAN, BA CAICNEAMAC JLAOD,

ÖÍ IM CIMCEALL AS CANCAIN AR BARRA NA NSÉAS

SUR LEASAD SO PAON MÉ I DCAICEAM IM NIALL.

San moill dam im ainm do sairmead mé,
So harcainneac éascaid i scarcannas bias,
Im suide annsoin sur preabas as raire ar sac caob
Cár labair an saor-suc cneasca san scian;
Caidbsisead dam so braca-sa maise sac bé
Dár síolruis ón acair do ceapad roim aon,
Oo soillsis dom amarc an calam 'san spéir
le dacanna séad ba caicneamac niam.

# 21. Through My Thoughts.

Air: Kathleen Tyrrell

Through my thoughts [In my imagination?] I resolved yesterday morning

So that I assumed the intention to seek out pleasure By the Lee I chanced during the day When the sun drew back behind clouds In transports of delight I gave myself up to merriment The voice of the birds was sweet, their call was pleasing They were singing around me on the tops of the branches Until I fell in exhaustion in a swoon of sleep.

#### 21. Tríom smuainte.

Fonn: Cáitlín Triaill

Tríom smuainte do bheartas ar maidin indé
Gur ghlacas mar éirim taitneamh do rian,
Cois Laoi mé gur casadh i gcaitheamh an lae,
Ar tharrac na gréine fá scamallaibh siar;
Le haoibhneasaibh aitis do raideas do scléip,
Ba bhinn guth na n-ealtan, ba thaitneamhach glaodh,
Bhí im thimcheall ag cantain ar bharra na ngéag
Gur leagadh go faon mé i dtaiteamh im niall.

Gan mhoill damh im ainm do gairmeadh mé,
Go harthainneach éascaidh i gcarthannas bias,
Im shuidhe annsoin gur phreabas ag faire ar gach taobh
Cár labhair an saor-ghuth cneasta gan scian;
Taidhbhsigheadh damh go bhfaca-sa maise gach bé
Dár shíolruigh ón athair do ceapadh roimh aon,
Do shoillsigh dom amharc an talamh 'san spéir
Le dathanna séad ba thaitneamhach niamh.

Soon I was called by name
Piously (?), agreeably (?), in a manner of kindness (?)
I jumped up looking all round to see
Whence this kind, noble voice spoke, without anger
It appeared to me that I saw the beauty of every woman
Who is descended from the father who was created before all (Adam)

The land and sky grew brighter to my eyes With colours of jewels of pleasing lustre.

Ο'τιος κυίξελος οί le τατάπτα α seancas saor Ας ατόταιπτς ο τεέαπ ακ αιπηικ πα τοιαδ, Ότιπη τιος α hainme σ'αιτκίς ταπ δκέας Πό απ ης lacra ὁ mé τε έι mise το cheasta σά κιακ. Απ τύ δκίσελ ὁ θα mina το δ'εατάπτα léi ξεάπη Ο κιξτίδι απ ται lim τυαικ ceannas δαπ-τέ? Μυπα η-ιπης το ταραι ὁ τάκ ξαδαις το όια ό.

Her thick, lustrous locks in regular loops

to the grass.

Twisting to the grass in soft, flowing masses
As the (Golden) Fleece, that heroes brought over the sea to
Greece,
Causing Medea to travel afar with them (?)
Her eyebrows were drawn flawlessly on her face
Her fresh, glancing eyes like new growth of grass
Her graceful, white body put the sun to shame
And her (whole) person accordingly, from the crown of her head

A dlaoi-fholt tiubh daithte go camarsach réidh
'Na slamaraibh slaodmhara 'g feacadh go fiar,
Mar fhlíosaibh tar chaise thug dragain 'on nGréig
Fá ndeara do Mhédia taisteal leo i gcian;
A braoithe ba tharraingthe ar a haighthe gan bhéim,
A claon-rosca glasa mar gheamhar ar féar,
A haolchorp ba leabhair thug masla don ghréin,
'Sa pearsa dá réir ó bhaitheas go fiar.

D'fhiosruigheas dí le tafant a seanchas saor
Ag athchaint go tréan ar ainnir na gciabh,
Dúinn fios a hainme d'aithris gan bhréag
Nó an nglacfadh mé tréimhse go cneasta dá riar.
An tú brídeach Eamhna do b'eaganta léigheann
Ó righthibh an tailimh fuair ceannas ban-dé?
Muna n-innsir go tapaidh cár ghabhais domh chaomhnadh
Is gairid mo shaoghal le hathtuirse it dhiaidh.

I asked of her with urgency her noble history
Strongly entreating the maiden of the curling hair
To relate truly to me knowledge of her name
Or should I spend a while paying attention to her
"Are you the maiden from Eamhain of most wise learning
Who was granted the supremacy of godhead by earthly kings
Unless you tell me swiftly from whence you came to protect me
My life after you will be grief because of sorrow."

Νά smuain-se ιτ αιζηε απ ὅεαπταιὅ ἀσṁ ὁαοὰ Αζως m'ṡαṁαιὶ ζο ηζείιὶτραοὁ ταιτηεαṁ του scial, Cé ἀιαοιὁεας-sa le malluiʒċεαἀτ sealat το mɨ ձοξαὶ Ὁ'τωίς m'ainm τά ξιαοτά ι ταπκυίση ι ζείαη; le cinnteaἀτ 's le cleasaiఠ το ταπκαίηζεαὁ mé léπ τοίοιας mo ἀπαιο τ'τωίς τεαιό mo τπέατο, τά τίσης παὰτια τος ζαιλιό ζαι ἀεαπημες ζαι κείμη, Αζ τεας καιλιό τασκα τά ζαπτατό ζαὰ ὁιματαίη.

Cimceall le cleasaib mo beaca is mo saoçal,
Oo b'rada le léigeam dá n-aicrisinn iad,
Óm naoidean mé san caiceac sur ranas le haos
Oom casairc mar céile do rlaicib na dcrian
Ón Scicia sur caiscealas sealad don Śréis
Is cimceall níor scadas so calam hespéiria,
Arís dam im ainm do casas car éis
le nsairmid éiss' díom Caiclín Criaill.

\_\_\_\_\_\_

"Do not think in your mind of such foolish deeds
Nor that one such as I should yield regard to your words (?)/
Though I surrendered to wickedness for a while in my life
So that my name was held in ignominy far and wide
By design and trickery I was drawn
So that I betrayed my kinsman (*Charles?*) leaving my tribe
destitute
Under dire bondage of foreigners, without supremacy or power
Under severe taxes, being expelled every year.

Ná smuain-se it aigne ar bheartaibh chómh baoth
Agus m'shamhail go ngéillfeadh taitneamh dot scial,
Cé chlaoidheas-sa le malluightheacht sealad dem shaoghal
D'fhúig m'ainm dá ghlaodhach i dtarcuisne i gcian;
Le cinnteacht 's le cleasaibh do tarraingeadh mé
Lér dhíolas mo charaid d'fhúig dealbh mo thréad,
Fá fhíorsmacht ag Gallaibh gan cheannus gan réim,
Ag teacsanna daora dá gcartadh gach bliadhain.

Timcheall le cleasaibh mo bheatha is mo shaoghal, Do b'fhada le léigheamh dá n-aithrisinn iad, Óm naoidhean mé gan taitheac gur fhanas le haos Dom thagairt mar chéile do fhlaithibh na dtrian Ón Scithia gur thaistealas sealad don Ghréig Is timcheall níor stadas go talamh Hespéiria, Arís damh im ainm do chasas tar éis Le ngairmid éigs' díom Caitlín Triaill.

A roundabout game (long story) are my existence and life They are lengthy to read if I relate them Without substance from my infancy until age came upon me Destined (*from infancy*) to be the spouse of chieftains of baronies

From Scythia I travelled a while to Greece And I did not cease wandering until (I arrived in) the land of Hisperia

And afterwards again I changed my name So poets call me Kathleen of the Journeying. [Cáiclín Criaill: Kathleen of the Journeying, Wandering Kathleen, Kathleen Tyrrell in the O'Carolan poem.] Da Líonmar im aice mo clanna is mo cléir,
Da Lannamail paobrac zaisceamail trian,
Sac namaio orca σά σταζαό le barracas baoçail
le haicris scéil ní caspaó a στrian;
Sur síolruig slioct Cailbin a noanair 'sa gcraos
1 n-intleact, i mbeaca 's i mbailte mo laoc,
Δζ σίδικτ τακ caise le σεακδαίο claon
Sac pearsa δί τκειτεας carcannac pial.

Oά öruim sin beiö racmas az clanna na nζαeöeal ζο pairsinz i réim 's i zceannas dá riar, beiö saoirse aca ar ċalaṁ sa öpearannaið réiö Δζus zalla-puic tréiċ pá'n ama dá zciap Δζ síolraċ na öplaċa tá dealð ó scléip, i n-aolörożaið zeala 's ar eaċaið zo tréan, píonta aca is beaċuisce 'á scaipeað zan spéis, Sin aiċriste an scéal ar Ċaitlín Criaill.

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My clans and my clerics were plentiful about me
Who were valiant, arms-wielding, feat-performing, strong
Any enemy coming on them (would be) in excess of danger
I shall not begin to relate (even) a third of their story
Until the seed of Calvin took possession, with their savagery and avarice,

For the souls, the livelihoods, and the homesteads of my heroes Expelling them over the sea with treacherous treaties

- Every person who was gifted, affable, generous.

Ba líonmhar im aice mo chlanna is mo chléir,
Ba lannamhail faobhrach gaisceamhail trian,
Gach namhaid ortha dá dtagadh le barrachas baoghail
Le haithris scéil ní chasfadh a dtrian;
Gur shíolruigh sliocht Chailbhin a ndanair 'sa gcraos
I n-intleacht, i mbeatha 's i mbailte mo laoch,
Ag díbirt tar chaise le dearbhaidh claon
Gach pearsa bhí tréitheach carthannach fial.

Dá dhruim sin beidh rachmas ag clanna na nGaedheal Go fairsing i réim 's i gceannas dá riar, Beidh saoirse aca ar thalamh sa bhfearannaibh réidh Agus galla-phuic tréith fá'n ama dá gciap Ag síolrach na bhflatha tá dealbh ó scléip, I n-aolbhroghaibh geala 's ar eachaibh go tréan, Fíonta aca is beathuisce 'á scaipeadh gan spéis, Sin aithriste an scéal ar Chaitlín Triaill.

Because of that ((*Putting*) that to the back? In the future?) the clans of the Irish shall have wealth
Generous, in authority, in supreme control
They shall have freedom in their land and ready holdings
And foreign bucks weakened, harassed under the yoke
Of the seed of the nobles who are (now) bereft of pleasure
Their wines, their whiskey, distributed without restraint
Thus is told the story of Kathleen of the Journeying.

In mythology, the Gaels are descended from Fenius Farsa, a Scythian king who settled in Egypt, where his son Niul married the daughter Scota of the Pharaoh; who had a son Goidel; whose great-grandson was called Eber Scot. These personal names give rise to the various collective names by which the Gaels are known. The proto-Gaels were expelled from Egypt for refusing to join in the persecution of the Israelites, and their resulting wanderings through Africa and the Middle East, on to Spain and ultimately to Ireland, are referred to in this poem.

# 1. 1m โeabaio aréir - In my bed last night.

Néall: cloud, mist, swoon, trance; clóö: figure, appearance; zlé: bright pure; zeanamail: amiable, smiling, affectionate, modest; béal-cais: soft-lipped; όζ: young, new, fresh; casca: rolled, folded; cas: intertwined; craorac: purple, scarlet, bloodred; dréim: climbing, contending, expecting, thinking; dréimire: ladder; dréimreaċ: scaling, waving, in long strands; baċalaċ: curled; baiċeas: crown of the head; carn: heap; polc: head of hair; maṁraċ: brilliant; péarlaċ: pearl-bright; camarsaċ: twisted, curled; sladdam: I flow in loose masses (of the hair); paon: inert; cais: damp, fresh, soft, tender; paon-cais: delicately soft.

Luisne: blush; tonnrao: a mass of brightness; soineanoa: serene, pleasant, innocent; súzač: pleasant, merry; clúmail: renowned, distinguished; múirneac: amiable; mooamail: polite, elegant; miocair: affable, gentle; maiseamail: comely; claon: deceit, intrigue; Dearc: eye; claon-Dearc: enticing eye; หย์เง๋: ready, smooth; รูโฉร: green, grey, bluish-grey, silvery, bright, lustrous; Rérò-¡clas: of soft, bright colour; péi; sharp (of the eye); péin: pain; broio: difficulty; braoi: eyebrow; ruibe: hair; séis: a strain of music, voice, conversation; séim: mild, gentle, modest, gracious; pionn: fair; crob: hand; zléasaim: I set in order, prepare; beanna-poc: horned buck; com: plural of cú = dog, hound; allta: wild, fierce, savage; cú allarò: wolf (? also mountain spinach (a kitchen garden plant)?); cruinn: round, complete, gathered-up, perfect; cruinn-barc: sound ship; vion: shelter, defence; comeascar: conflict, contending; macaire: plain, field, battlefield; brac: mantle, banner, layer (of paint); sróll: satin.

Sλοζλο: saiţeλο, dart; seól: sail, direction, guidance; seargaim: I wither; zné: outward appearance; ληλελικ: distress, misery; τλοm: drop (e.g. of water), torrent, fit, disease; τλοπλέ: fitful, vexed; τκέιἐ: prostrate, weak; τλρλ: swiftness, activity;

Abaiö: sprightly, mature; sléaċtaim: I bow in reverence; mascalaċ: maiden; aiċċim: I entreat; néaṁ: niaṁ, colour, brightness; -ġein: (in compounds) a person, being; aicme: class, kind; tréao: flock, tribe, race; treaḃ: race, tribe; tréam: tream, crowd, company, class; eascraim: I spring from, descend from; pór: race, family.

Oiúlcao: refusal, rejection; rinn(e)-bean: fair lady; umluizim: I bow down in reverence; orúis: lust, adultery; cuil: impediment, prohibition, sin, lust, wickedness, incest, blood relationship; crón: any dark shade of red; crón-puic: swarthy bucks, the English; bé: lady; noċ: who; aistriżim: I change, move residence; séim: mild, pleasing, graceful; cion: affection; ceanasać: fond, beloved; ceannasać: powerful ,commanding, haughty, noble; 51le: brightness; bruinneall: fair lady, beautiful maiden; sealao: a space of time; ar bóro: on board, in one's possession; airzim: I ravage, spoil; airzėeaė: a plundered person; easburòteac: needy; dríodar: dregs; cuimriosc: rabble; mioscaiseaċ: spiteful; méircnesc: traitorous: claon: crooked, deceitful.

Réimeas: time, period, phase, lifetime, reign; ceannas: ceanas, cionas, love, friendship; scléip: joy, pleasure; seascaireact: comfort; gradam: esteem, pre-eminence; gladdac: attention, demand; cadmaa: protection; alceas: mirth; céarnuiçim: I approach; dragan: dragan, warrior; leoman: lion, hero, champion; meanma: spirit, courage; réim: course, power, authority.

lolar: abundance; punnc: ponnc, a difficult point in debate (e.g. mathematics, grammar), turning point; piontas: piúntas, worthiness; cuṁdaċ: help, protection; machas: macanas, endearment, fondling; méiroreaċ: harlot, hussy, a country ruled by a usurper or changing its ruler often; danar: dane, savage; cineaò Scuit: descendants of Scotus, the Irish race; ionnarbaim: I banish; snaiòmim: I bind, unite, knot;

preastalać: ready, free, provident, generous; pratamn: preatann, parchment; comao: last two lines of quatrain in oán oíreać, hence verse, poetry; ruire: over-king, knight, lord.

Cιοὸ: cíoὸ, although; ζlus: light, brightness, halo; tarcuisne: insult; treaðaim: I plough, serve, act; tréiċ: prostrate, weak; daoscar: dregs, rabble; céim: degree, deed, task, circumstance, adventure; daol: beetle (abusive); snóò: snuaò, countenance; calmaċ: stout, brave; craosaċ: ferocious, wrathful; léidmeaċ: valiant, strong; lannmar: strong, brave (from lann: spear); treas: battle, battle-rank; treon: tréan, strong, virile, powerful, brave, intense; dealb: empty, poor, destitute; péis: feast; séis: strain of music.

Complact: company; cuiripe: cuirpe, vicious; truipinneact: ?; truipeact: abounding in troops; truipinact: ? victorious?; pórsact: forceful, strong; zlé: bright, pure; paobar: edge, steel, weapon arms; tarnzaraim: I prophesy; bladar: flattery; beart: fact; éizeas: poet; éizse: the body of poets; dréact: a poem, poetry; deizilt: separation; béar: bear, Englishman; bratainn: standard, aegis; óiz: virgin.

Manzaire: pedlar, dealer, retailer; méiċ: fat; τκέλο: herd, tribe; rearc: virtue, power, merit, miracle; póic: drink.

Consantaċ: helpful; cúrsaċ: given to travelling; taoscaim: I drain, drink up; parraċ: a company; im parraċ: with me; σίσμας: pride; ionnarbaim: I expel; saoirse: freedom, independence, franchise, immunity, freehold; sreiòin: love; raòairse: abundance; sinsil: wretched, unheeded; ciste: chest, store, treasure.

### 2. 1 5 caol-boine - In a graceful oakwood.

Caol: narrow, slender, graceful; voire: oakwood; cluċar: shelter, recess; cluċmar: well-sheltered. comfortable; néam:

niam-, bright, glossy, lustrous; σuille: leaf; σuilleaċ: leafy; réiċ: quiet, bashful, shy; sinʒil: single, alone, lonely; réiċ-sinʒil: greatly distressed (*Dinneen*), very lonely; créiċ: weak, disabled, faint, feeble; cuirse: fatigue, affliction, grief; raon: weak, faint; caomnas: caoimneas, kindness, gentleness; bile: tree, champion; ʒlas: green, verdant, grey, fresh; spéir: sphere, firmament, sky, air, brightness, beauty; brunne: breast; brunneall: brunn-ġeal, beautiful woman, girl; oineaċ: eineaċ, face, countenance, honour, hospitality, mercy; céim: step, degree, dignity; caoin: gentle, tender, tranquil; caosc-: flowing; ruiòeaċ: free, copious, fluent; oaol-: black, gloomy; ceimeal: darkness, defect, tarnish; aċaò: aṣarò, face.

Céib: ciab, hair; réio-: smooth, loose; olaoi: lock (of hair), wisp; slaoo: swath, layer, pile, sliding mass; slaoo-cric: in a trembling layer; bis: vice (mechanical), curl; AR bis: in spirals, spiralling; caol: narrow, slender, graceful; Ruibe: a single hair, a blade (of grass); Ruinn: Rinn, point, apex; Ruicean: ray, flash, gleam; claon-ruicne: wanton flames; braoi: eyebrow; saozao: saiżeao, arrow, dart; claoròim: I defeat, destroy, oppress; ταρα: ταραό, alertness, speed, vigour; τπεοιπ: guide, direction, conduct, purpose, initiative; Luisne: blaze, sheen, blush; caor-Luisne: berry-red blush; caom: gentle, fair; suroe: sitting, besieging; suròim: I sit, encamp; zéar-iomaò: sharp contention; pléroim: I plead, contest, fight; siosma: schism, quarrel, opposition; pléro-siosma: struggle for mastery; spéirling: storm, violence, combat; réilteann: star, fair lady; créact: wound, scar; ciorrbaim: I cut, hew, destry; créacτ-ciorrbaim: I destroy by wounding; curao: warrior, champion; caom: drop, flow, overflow, fit.

Snoröim: I hew, chisel, sculpture; téacs-snoite: with polished sentences; priotal: expression, word (esp. spoken); géar-friotal: acute saying; caoin: gentle, mild, pleasing; séis: science, skill, music, conversation; séis-binneas: melodious sweetness, sweet melody; síoò: abode of fairies; síoe: adjectival genitive of

síoò, fairy, magic; siòe: blast, gush, rush, (cf. siòe τλοιċe, sheegee, whirlwind); canaim: I sing, chant, recite, say; τοέλο: tooth; léir-ċuirim: I set completely; cíor: comb, row, set; mioċair: kind, affable, mild; mín: smooth, gentle, delicate; maξλὸ: mockery, jibe, ridicule, absurdity; móio: pledge, oath, imprecation; laom: blaze (of fire); coip: froth, fermentation; laom-ċuip: sparkling foam; praoċ: storm, fury; linn: pool, water, sea; praoċ-linn: stormy sea; píop: throat; ξlan: clear, pure, bright; ξloine: ξlaine, brightness; ξréin-żloine: refulgence; léirizm: I give rise to, set, arrange; crioscal léirizòe: displaying crystal?, telescope?; míor: supremacy; píoṣar: figure, outline, shape, appearance; clóò: form; maise: benefit, goodness, beauty, (cf. "masher").

Séar: sharp, sharp-pointed, keen, well-defined; cruinn: round, full, complete, perfect; néam: mam, colour, brightness; zeal: bright, white, translucent (esp. of the skin); néam-żile: colour brightness; néam-léanuite: neam-léanuite, unwounded, inviolate, untouched; ban-cara: female friend, wife, consort; teoman: lion, champion, hero; aon-oroeas: unique learning; léizeann-cuizse: learned acuteness; céacsa: text, sentence; téacs-roirm: sentence; laorò: lay, poem, lyric, song; nós: custom, manner, style, practice; réim: course, authority, power, period; cisce: chest, store, treasure; Ríomaim: I compose, set in order, explain, enumerate; créan-cruime: powerful weight; béim: flaw; béimim: I cut, strike at; béimneac: béimeannac, striking, violent, cutting; spéirling: storm; créactaim: I wound; créactnuisim: I wound; méirleac: thief, villain; τέλκημιζιm: τέλκηλιm, I escape, escape death, recover from; maiom: crushing, fighting.

Όλοċ: "soft", foolish, weak; scenm: start, flight, escape, jump; bλοċ-scenm: quiet leap (*Dinneen*); éλοτκοm: light; éλοτκυιme: in lightness, lightly(?); sléλċτλιm: I bow, submit; κίοὑ: lark, fair lady; polc: hair; caκn-ṛolc: massy tresses; mλοκὸλ: majestic; cκίοċ: furrow, boundary, territory, land;

saoċruiţim: I labour, cultivate, get, earn; τlan: pure, fair, clear; craob: branch, garland, palm of victory; maise: beauty; pios: knowledge, insight; caoi: weeping, lamenting, mourning; éirim: course, combat, force, tendency, ability, skill, point or substance of an argument; cruinn: round, exact; σέακ: σεοκ, tear; silim: I shed; caoiċ: lament; poillsiţim: I show, reveal, publish, explain, describe; tuzaim σο: I give to, enable to, cause to; τέακπαṁ: escaping, recovering, approaching; pine: family, tribe, nation; ταοὶ-pine: relatives; τπέατο: flock, herd, crowd, race, generation, family; éακαim: I refuse, deny; κίσṁαim: I count, tell, explain, recite, set in order, weave, compose (a poem); δiţ: virgin.

Céao: rope, musical string; otoe: tutor; otoeas: instruction, counsel; puimp: pomp, pride, ostentation; λοητιιζιπ: I grant; κίοζαη: queen, fair maiden (often pronounced κίοζαη); moöamail: mannerly, gracious, modest; cλοṁ-ċeanʒal: fair union; cλοṁnձs: cλοιṁneձs, kindness, gentleness; Éιβεακ: leader of first Gaels in Ireland; κέιπ: course, sway, authority; κέιπ-ċion: a career of affection; síoċaċ: peaceful, calm; léiκ-ċκιιηπιζιπ: I gather completely; cóip: band, army; clλon-ċoipe: clλon-ċoip, wicked band; λοη-ċû: chief hound (derogatory), leader, ruler; pλοβλα: edge, blade, weapon; pλοβλα-ċulλιċeλċ: steel-suited, armoured; éλουιζιπ: I clothe, dress in armour; éιleλm: plea, cause, charge, demand; béim-βκιseλὸ: defeat with blows; léληλιπ: leonλιπ, I damage, afflict, injure, violate, ruin, destroy; mλοὸm: mλιὸm, crushing, fighting; seλλο: a space of time.

Oιl: beloved, fond, loyal; éλċτ: deed, exploit; éλċτλċ: deeddoing, powerful, magnificent; ολοππλċτ: the human race, human nature; ολοππλċτλċ: humane, clement; pionn: fair, white, beautiful, happy; snλιòmim: I bind, unite, unite with; ciste: treasure; sλοκ-ċiste: noble treasure; cλοṁnuiţċeλċ: protecting, protective; cλοκ: red berry, flame; cλοκ-ṁilleλò:

destruction by fire; inneall: machine, device; claon-inneall: evil machination; clé: left, sinister; clé-ċumann: perverse company; clab: basket, ribs, chest, breast; buime: nurse, mother; éirliġim: I slaughter, wreak havoc on; cime: captive; saob-ċime: foolish captive; aʒaill: discourse; aoòaire: herdsman, guardian.

Saol: kindred; ριξιπ: I weave; ριξτε: intertwined, bound up with; ar στόις: ar στύις, in the beginning; bile: tree, champion; sealbuiţim: I possess; ríomas: that I enumerate; σίτ: want, ruin; σλοκ: ignoble; σλοκς car: dregs (of people); éιτeλ: perjury, falsehood; clλοη-reλτ: perverse law or custom; ríoţλατ: kingdom; λοη-ċλε: sole cause; éιξελη: force; τλοιλιπ: I shed, drop; cuisle: vein, pulse; sλοκ-ċuisle: free stream; ponn: pleasure, desire, longing, intensity, energy, eagerness; sλοκ-ċuisle puinn: a free tear-stream of longing (Dinneen); τλος caim: I drain; τλος c-ṣruċ: full-tide; σληλικ: Danes, savages.

Drumeall: beautiful lady; ζlé: bright, pure; ζné: outward appearance; snoröim: I hew, sculpture; ζné-ṡnuröte: of well-cut or comely features; ζlé-ċuιζseaċ: of clear understanding; ζreann: fun, humour, affection, esteem; γriotal: word, speech; οκέαċτ: a part or division, piece, song, poem, tale; οκέαċταιπ: I tell, report; κίοṁλιπ: I count, explain, narrate; cλοl-ċrut: graceful harp; λοl-ὑruţ: lime-white mansion; críoċ: boundary, territory; óiţ: virgin.

CRÉIM: CREIM, gnawing, corrosion, bite, pain; CRÉIM-ĊIMEAÖ: malicious race; DAORAIM: I condemn; DAORČA: damned; SPÉIR-COINNEAL: a bright candle; ÉILZE: EILZE, genitive of EALZ, Ireland; SPROC: sprat, mean creature; CLAON-SPROIC: treacherous or perverse rabble; ÉICEAC: perjury, falsehood.

An τan: an τ-am, when; séim: mild, tender, pleasing; priotal: expression, (spoken) word; pras: abundant, free, nimble; pras-

AERAĊ: light as a shower (Dinneen); sceinnim: I jump away; ταραὸ: alertness, speed; ταραιὸ: quick, dexterous; scóip: scope, stretch, freedom, joy; gealc: mad person; λοη-ξεαlc: uniquely mad person; néall-scamall: dark cloud; ολοl: beetle; ολοl-ομιὸ: jet-blackness; sciaṁ: outline, face, beauty; scéiṁ-ἀκιὰ: beauty of appearance; gnλοι: countenance, appearance; scéaluiţim: I announce, relate; scíoroλim: I flee, rush; cλοl-csruċ: narrow stream, graceful stream; sealλο: a while, a (space of) time.

## 3. Mo ċás! mo ċaoi! mo ċeasna! - My trouble! My lament! My torment!

Cás: cause, case, trouble; caoi: lament; ceasna: difficulty, great need; easbaiò: want, need, necessity; páiò: prophet, learned man, poet; draoi: druid, augur, magician, poet; dám: tribe, company, academy (of bards, artists etc.); cléir: clerics, poets, clergy; ríomaim: I enumerate, relate, compose; aiceas: repose, pleasure, fun; greann: fun, mirth, humour; spreagaim: I admonish, exhort, incite, speak with fluency, play with verve; bán-broġ: white mansion; réio: clear, ready, calm, agreeable; ráib: a strong, generous person, a hero, scion; ceannas: headship, authority, power; ceanas: cionas, love, friendship; capaiò: quick, dexterous; paobar: edge, weapon; scác: estate.

Cásam: I bewail, complain; οιὁeaὁ: slaying, death (by violence), tragedy, doom, fate; seaðac: hawk, champion; scím: a fine covering, a fairy mist, a film of sleep, a doze, vision; σάιl: pouring out, distributing, conferring, convention, meeting; sílm: I think; 50 síleaċ: ? thought-provoking?, causing to blink, eye-closing (*Dinneen*); seascair: pleasant, comfortable; τάṁ: rest, sleep, trance; τάṁaċ: still, motionless; τím: spiritless (*Dinneen*); 'τím: I see; ταιs: damp, fresh, tender; ταιse: moistness, tenderness, pity, sympathy, (also – a mark or sign, shadow or ghost); τίċ: want, absence, ruin; ταραὸ: alertness, swiftness, activity; néall: cloud, mist, swoon, trance; spás: a

period of time; ránaċ: (adjective) wandering, (noun) wanderer; grinn: sharp, accurate, clear; aisling: vision; iogmar: iogair, sharp, acute, enthusiastic, emotional; aibio: abaio, ripe, mature, vigorous, lively; τάταιπ: I join together; bladar: flattery, coaxing; scáil: brightness, a shade of colour; ioġar: ríoġar, figure, outline (of the face); leaca: cheek, any flat sloping surface; mánla: mild, affable; mín: fine, gentle.

Cábla: cable, chain, rope; cáblac: in thick clusters (of the hair); cíoraim: I comb, set in order; casaim: I twist, twine, plait; tácla: tackle, cable, anything twisted; táclac: curled, falling in tresses; plaoi: lock, tress; pażać: (strong- or bright-) coloured; scáme: crack, fissure, skein; scámneaċ: fissured, in skeins or locks; TRILSEAC; TRILSEAC, in tresses, illumined, in plaits; rámneac: ringletted; blát-rolt: blooming or beautiful hair; beann: point, peak; bíneac: beannac, peaky, in flounces (of the hair); bearc: fact, deed, bunch, heap; bearcac: in clusters or heaps; cárnac: carnac, in heaps (of the hair); bis: vice, spiral, curl; bíseaċ: curled, ringletted; snaròmim: I knot, unite; snaromeac: knotted; olac: olac, olaoi, lock, tress; leabar: tenuous, long, limber, svelte, free, graceful; τάτ: act of welding, joining, compressing; táit-leabar: in long locks, long and loose (Dinneen); scáil: brightness; mánla: mild, affable; mín: fine, gentle; maise: benefit, goodness, success, agreeableness, beauty; τάταιm: τάτιιζιm, I weld, unite; scéim: sciam, outline, appearance, face, beauty; sám: tranquil, pleasant; Rosc: eye; Rınn: sharp, keen; tapaò: alertness, speed, vigour; sásta: contented, pleasing; sínim: I extend; mala: eyebrow; snoròim: I hew, carve; caol: slender, graceful.

Đκάζα: neck, throat; ζηλοι: pleasure, love, beauty, countenance; eala: swan; crob: hand; λοιτα: lime-white; leabar: long, smooth, graceful; κίσπλιπ: I weave, count, compose; brat: cloak, garment, cloth, flag; cáζ: jackdaw; míol: animal; míol mór: whale; míol ζεακτ: hare; bán: plain, dry pasture land, river-side pasture; cáκηλο: heaping up, massing; coimeascar:

conflict; seabac: hawk, warrior; ζάικ: cry, noise; ζκεασαίπ: I burn, whip, press upon, urge, excite, strike; ζκεασαό: wringing, beating; ealta: flock, crowd, (also hilt); cluċṁar: close, warm, well-sheltered; cluċaκ: cloċaκ, shelter, recess; sáṁ: tranquil, pleasing; aiste: metre, poem, composition, pattern; puiṣeall: remainder, an excess in metre; ζκιπη: sharp, accurate, clear; blasaim: I taste, test, relish.

Σωιτεωπη: ζεωι-μοπη, fair lady; bίοὑζωπ: I start, rouse, startle; bίοὑζωὸ: start, leap, vigour; crioċ: quaking, trembling, (plural creaċa); τάπὶ: rest, repose; τάπαὸ: still, motionless, invisible(?); ωε: liver, heart; sωιζεωο: arrow; σεωπο: dart; slípeωὸ: slíobωὸ, polished, edged, piercing; sleωπωπι: smooth, slippery; τάτωπι: I join together; páirc: part, side, behalf, friendship, love; bé: maid, woman; spás: period of time, delay; μάσκαὸ: embrace; cruinn: round, exact, proper(?); láitreaċ: immediately; ball: limb, spot, place; láitreaċ baill: then and there; μπηικ: maiden; mánla: mild, affable; léiţim: I read, proclaim, recite; cáiroe: respite, delay, credit, "tick"; scánaim: scaomaim, I bend, yield, refrain.

Sealad: space of time; dic: want, lack; tár: tarr, lower part (of something), belly; dríodar: dregs; danair: Danes, savages; árduiçim: I cause to rise, am the cause of; léan: sorrow; cráin: general name for a female, connoting prolific motherhood; cráin: cráin muice, sow; chaoidim: I pine away; chaoide: spent; tál: issue (e.g. of milk); puideac: free, copiously; ball: limb, place; ál: progeny, brood, litter; daoiste: churl, boor; claon: inclined, prejudiced, perverse, evilly inclined, wicked; cuide: proper, seemly; samail: copy, like, likeness; glacaim páirt cum grinn: take part in pleasure(?); áiream: reckoning; áiream liom: reckoning on my behalf (?); puiçleac: leavings, balance, remnant, more than what is required; arm: weapon, armour, army; maor: officer.

Plás: flattery, deceit; pál: hedge, protection; páirceaċ: affectionate, intimate; spás: length of time, delay; ríoḃ: lark, fair lady; aicèim: I beg, ask, beseech; rás: race, tribe; craoḃ: branch, genealogical branch, House; puirm: form, fashion, style; béas: custom, habit, what is usual; τοċτ: fit; caoïċ: weeping; saoi: expert, master of art, cultured person; snaiṁmm: I join, unite; áicreaḃ: dwelling, abode; cáiċ: noble; cumas: power (genitive used as adjective); scíoroaim: I fly quickly; aicme: sort, kind, class, tribe, battalion; víomas: pride; víomsaċ: haughty, proud; abaiċ: ripe, mature; tráċ: time, occasion, opportunity; vío-ċuirim: I put down, subdue; réim: course, sway, authority.

Im páirc: on my behalf; seabac: hawk, champion; ζuròim: I pray, request, beseech; drá: drád, drawback, disability, oppression; rá drá na daoirse: under the heel of despotism; seasam: standing, standing guard, staying constant; trác: time, opportunity; peannaid: pain; sám-coil: benign will; iodbairc: offering, sacrifice, immolation; isdirc: iosdairc, hardship, abuse; ríoc: rage; ránac: wandering (adj.), wanderer (noun); scamall: cloud, darkness; gradam: esteem, pre-eminence; spás: period of time; áitreab: dwelling, abode; tár: tarr, end, bottom, lower part; sprot: sprat, sprats mean creatures, rabble; tár-sprot: contemptible tribe; meabal: deceit; cárnac: slaughter; na: 1 n-a, in their (?).

Αιτreab: dwelling, abode; ζκοιόε: great, brave, spirited, generous, hearty; ceannas, ceanas, cionas, love, friendship; parra: with them; τάιπ: a company (of heroes); paobar: edge, weapon; scaipeaò: dispersion; ζάικοεαċas: joy, gladness; ζάικοεαċas piléar: volley in salute (?); calaiċ: channel, ferry, sea, (Dinneen: shore, port, harbour, haven, ferry); σίοζαιπ: σιύζαιπ, I drink, drain.

#### 4. Mo léan le luao - My woe to relate.

Léan: woe, affliction; Luaroim: I speak, utter; acurse: distress, sorrow, weariness; buainc: bainc; ceasc: task; céasca: tortured, tormented; tlát: weak, powerless; suato: seer, poet; seanca: historiographer, genealogist, recorder; seancas: history, lore, ancient law, minute description, pedigree, story; zéibeann: fetter, prison; anacair: affliction, calamity, distress; ana-ċruiċ: shape or appearance, ("an" sometimes signifies accentuation, sometimes negation); réim: course, power, authority; bile: tree, champion; lonn: strong, ardent, brave; cutac: madness, rage, fury; borb-cutac: fierce wrath; tréanċumas: great power; brolla: brollaċ, breast, bosom; brollastoc: genuine race or stock; sona-ċú: (lit. prosperous hound), blessed chief, chieftain; canntalac: cranky, morose, sorrowful; easburòteat: in want; cam-sprot: perverse rabble; claon: deceitful, perverse; saor-bailte: noble households; stát: estate.

Planda: plant, scion; drong: race of people; ceannas: headship, authority, power; peall: treachery, falsehood, fraud, wrong, evil; claon: sloping, inclined, partial to, evilly inclined, perverse, wicked; ξαηξαιο: deceit; samairle: pup, whelp, churl, boor, fat person; sméirle: méirleaċ, villain, malefactor; pallsa: false, unreliable, slothful; saor-scáio: free state; anacair: distress, misery; carcuisne: insult; droio: difficulty; ξέαr-βroio: keen trouble, oppression; ξάβαὸ: want, need, peril; cam-ślioċc: perverse progeny; malluiţċe: cursed, vicious; éiċeaċ: perjury, falsehood; smál: ash, ashes, stain, blemish, cloud, decay, obscurity, insult, disgrace; cealţaim: I sting, annoy, wound; drioċc: incantation, spell; suan-brioċc: sleeping spell; créiċ: prostrate, weak; creascaraim: I destroy, overthrow; créan-ċoolaò: heavy sleep, (sleep of the strong warriors?).

Néall: cloud, mist, swoon, trance; cuairo: cuairo, circle, circuit, tour, visit; dearcaim: I behold; amarcaim: I see, look

at; κέιτσελη: star, beauty; béasaċ: well-mannered, correct, exemplary; buacaċ: high-headed, lofty, proud, buxom; ceannasaċ: powerful, commanding; ceanasaċ: (from cion) fond, beloved; scuabaċ: in sweeping masses (of the hair); baċall: shepherd's crook, curl, ringlet; baċallaċ: ringletted (of the hair); taṣaim le: teaṣaim le, tiṣim le, I come with, agree with, harmonise with, correspond to; ceapaim: I capture, stop, catch, seize, control, think, compose, imagine; bearcuiṣim: bearcaim, I brandish, wield, say, pronounce an opinion, think, suggest, decide; leaca: slab, cheek, brow; páṁ: tribe, following, company (of bards etc.), academy; párò: prophet, seer, poet, learned man; seasaim: seasuiṣim, I stand, maintain; ar tí: pending, about to attack, on the point of, on the track of; paraire: brave strong man, warrior; daor-ċriċ: violent trembling.

Séis: strain of music; cana-sob: fine or delicate mouth; runneam: force, energy, vigour; spreasao: urging, exciting; TREASCRAIM: I overthrow, lay low, defeat; baot: foolish, simple, reckless; caom: gentle, beautiful, noble; snuiţim: I cut; snuiţce: delicately cut, finely wrought, neat, comely; RÉALT-DEARC: starbright eye; cáim: blemish, fault; mama: bosom, breast; seanz: graceful; seanz-ċruċ: graceful shape; téanaım: I damage, ruin, violate; práisc: filth, extravagance; leabar: long, limber; Leabar-crob: long pliant hand; breacaim: I speckle, embroider, carve, decorate; bearcaim: I brandish, wield, think, suggest; loinzeas: fleet; éanlait: bird-flocks; míonla: gentle, mild, amiable; maoroa: majestic; maiseamail: comely; iożar: ríożar, figure, outline; pearsa-cruc: bodily shape; pearsa: person, body; cearc: exact, right, symmetrical.

Ríożan: queen, fair maiden; béas: customary way of behaving; béasaċ: well-mannered, correct, exemplary; aol-ċneas: limewhite skin; aol-ċneas: fair lady; ár: slaughter; bríżoeaċ: bride, maiden; aiscriżim: I alter, flit, travel, journey; cruip: cruip, troop, flock, crowd; suiż: suiòe, ionsuiòe, siege; bearcaim: I brandish, threaten, say, express opinion; léir-rann: full or perfect stanza; mascalaċ: maiden; bárc: bark, boat; ainnir: maiden; cáin: a company (of heros), tribe, (Cáin Dó Cuailzne?); cuicim san csnám: I fall into the sea; réilceann: star, maiden (Diarmuid Mac Murchadha's lover, Dervla); aeraċ: airy, light, sprightly; saoi: savant, expert, noble; an-broio: great slavery or depression.

Scuamòa: possessing high mental qualities, modest, dignified; uaill: wail, cry, lamentation; caċuẋaò: act of mourning; scair: story, history; léir: plain, clear, perceptible; cáin: company; céile: mate, companion; nuaċar: spouse, sweetheart; σέακαċ: tearful; συαίκο: sorrowful, morose; carcuisne: insult; réim: course, sway, authority; buaiò: victory, virtue, attribute; ar pán: astray, wandering, in exile; pearc: virtue, merit, power; cearc: right, honest, proper, certain; arao: high, noble; Δrao-Mac: divine son; peannaio: punishment, penance, torment; σαπαίο: grievance, sorrow; laċc: liquid, tears; bruio: broio, difficulty; amaò: yoke; bile: tree, champion, scion; sáṁ: composed, tranquil, comfortable.

Cuar: omen, sign, portent; ταπηζαιπελότ: prophecy; sceimte: dread, terror, rout; πυαζαό: expulsion; pearann: land, country; linn: pool, water; πυαό: red, (blood-red?); sméirte: clownish person; práöainn: haste, precipitation; τπυιρ: troops; αιτρ: protuberance, high mountain, stout person; αιτ: pleasant; boc: poc, buck, billy-goat, playboy, cad; πελεαιπελότ: sale, auction, reciting (stories), sport, pastime.

### 5. Maidean drúcta le hais na Siúrac - On a dewy morning by the Suir.

Cáṁaċ: dull, sluggish, still, weak; paon: supine, subdued, weak, void; cúιl-ṗionn: fair lady; maiseaċ: beneficial, decorous, beauteous, graceful, well-dressed, decorated; múinte: instructed, polite, mannerly; séiṁ: mild; luisne: blush; lonnraċ: shining; scáil: brightness, shade of colour; time: fear, terror; leanb: babe, fair lady; ionnraic: noble, faithful.

Dlasca: elegant, perfect; búrò: gentle, gracious; beaċc: correct; páiκτελċ: "partial to", affectionate, fond of; sλοκ: free, noble, generous, unrestrained; cúmneλċ: (three?)-cornered; cúmċλ: cumċλ, shaped, well-shaped; ceλlζλιm: I pierce; ciub: thick, thick-set, close, dense, plentiful.

Muncearòa: friendly; aoil-ċneas: lime-white skin; aoil-ċneis: fair lady; Líonruiċ: Lion-riċ, full flow, rout, (great distress - Dinneen); mioċair: affable, gentle; mánla: mild, affable; pán: waywardness, wandering; le pán an σκοζαίι: adrift in the world; smísteaċ: smiter, thuggish person; ζαlla-sméirle: foreign boor; ceaouiţim: I permit, consult, wish, am agreeable with; ?ceanaioċ: love?; stát: estate.

1 ʒceanʒal: united; cinnte: fixed, definite, appointed; zailteann: zeal-rionn, fair lady; zrinn: sharp, accurate, clear, earnest, thorough; zrinn: perhaps genitive of zreann, fun, humour, affection, love; treascairt: overthrow, defeat.

Maiseaċ:beautiful woman, "masher"; mín: gentle, mild, delicate, smooth; bearcaim: I think, reflect, imagine, plan, conceive, design; oraoi: druid; párò: prophet, learned man; cliar: band, company, the clergy, the bards; ais: verge, side, back; le hais: with; olíǯim: I impose (as a command), appoint; cumann: affection, love, society, club, acquaintance; píoǯrais:

affection, enthusiasm, passion; páirc: part, side, friendship, love; ξέιλλ: ξέιλλενό, submission, yielding, obeying.

Cráċ: time, opportunity, occasion, period; pléròim: I struggle, deal with; ζlac: fist; ζlacaim: I grasp, catch (disease etc.); bíoòʒaò: start, jerk, bounce, sudden rousing, vigour; scác: state; scéal: story, tale, event, portent, cause, explanation; cneasca: modest, polite; caoin: gentle, genial; clás: defect, weakness; seaċnaim: I shun, avoid, reject, abstain from; caoi: weeping, lamenting, mourning; inncinn: spirit, courage, resolution; áro: a height, hill, top, high ground; réim: course, sway, authority.

Lann: spear; Lannaċ: armed; Líonta: crowded; σín: (genitive singular of σίση), protective, staunch, watertight; scáċ: shelter, protection, need for protection, fear; áκπαċ: scene of slaughter, battlefield, slaughter; ξκεληπιιζηπ: I love, make pleasing; Lá: day, period, life, era.

Laċtaò: lactating, milking, dripping, weeping; cíoċ: breast; ολοι: churl; ξreamuiţim: I grip, fasten, gain, obtain; snaròmim: I bind, unite (with); áιτreaḃ: dwelling, abode; scaraim: I separate, part from.

Suiţeaṁ: suiţeaṁ, position, settling, bearing witness to, proof, argument, (technical term in poetry, perhaps?); ζαċ: each, every, any; αιστε: metre, poem, composition, example; κίσṁλιm: I weave, compose; blasta: elegant, perfect; lλοιτὸ: poem; ζκελπητα: neat, elegant; scéiṁ: sciλṁ, appearance, beauty; scíoκολιm: I flee; κιċ: running, fleeing; beartaim: I think, imagine.

Ceannuiţim: I buy, redeem; níō: thing, matter; crioċ: termination, result; baoţal: danger, apprehension, point open to attack, unguarded moment, opportunity to attack; sceimle: dread, terror, rout; τάτ: date, period.

### 6. Cois abann i noé - By a river yesterday.

Acurseac: sad, afflicted; paon: supine, prostrate, subdued, quiet; suairc: agreeable, contented, joyous; bé: woman; geanamail: amiable; snuac: appearance, aspect, face, form; dreac: countenance, expression, surface; snuac-dreac: expression of countenance; innealca: neat; caisceal: journeying; ruais: swoop, charge, rout, incursion, raid; bruinneall: girl, beautiful maiden; scuaire: maiden.

Camarsaċ: twisted, curled; alt: joint, juncture, interval, paragraph; craoḃ: branch, bough, garland, wreath, badge; baċallaċ: curled; néaṁraċ: maṁraċ, brilliant, variegated; oualaċ: in locks; séao: article of value, jewel; ξaisceaḃ: valour; calm-ṁac: brave son; uaiḃreaċ: proud, high-minded; ξasta: wise, clever, brisk, neat; snuiǯte: delicately cut, finely wrought, comely; snasta: neat; oilte: nurtured, well-bred, cultured; ait: pleasant; blasta: elegant, perfect; cneasta: modest, polite; suròte: staid, settled.

Leabar: long, limber; 5lan: clean, clear, pure; séim: mild, soft; éadan: front, face, façade; maiseamail: comely; 5né-èeal: of bright complexion; scuamòa: modest; mala: eyebrow; rosc: eye; claon: perverse, wanton (of the eye); ceal5aim: I sting, wound, deceive; eala: swan; ceimeal: cloud, shadow, stain, flaw; lasair: blaze, red colour; siosma: contending; caismirc: contending; urraim: honour, respect, regard, homage, veneration; 5radam: esteem, pre-eminence; suaimneas: tranquillity.

Deact: round, perfect, exact; caor-żob: red(-lipped) mouth; anaite: anrao, heavy storm, terror; uaman: fear, terror, amazement.

Cailce: chalk-white, beautiful; zéar: sharp, well-defined, shapely; seanz: graceful; séim: fine, mild, tender, slender, pleasing, graceful; cruaillizim: I corrupt, defile, pollute, adulterate; baiceas: crown of the head; easbaio: defect; béim: flaw; buaio: victory, virtue, excellence, attribute; pionnaim: I ask; aicim: I entreat; cuallact: sept, clan, band, company; poireann: troop of people, complement, due number, faction, team, army; pearann: field, land, farm, ploughland, country, territory; carn-polt: heap of tresses; oualact: in locks.

Ainnir: maiden; scuabaim: I sweep, snatch away; tréat: herd, crowd, party; luaitreat: ashes, cinders; pinne-bean: fair lady; greannea: neat, elegant, lovely; gaitle: spear, warrior; punneamail: active, vigorous; pears: anger, wrath, fury; tuargain: slaughter; comairce: coimirce, protection, safeguard, patronage; inneall: plot, snare; ceals: deceit, treachery; cruaito-cleas: dire deceit or plot.

Seacmall: passing by, neglect, omission; seacmallac: wanderer, careless person; strae: wandering; mioscais: malice, ill-will; uabar: pride; meascao: disturbance, confusion, strife; time: fear, terror; taise: pity; ionnarbao: expulsion; cuallact: sept, party, company.

Lannmar: strong, brave; Léiomeaċ: valiant, strong; praoċoa: raging, furious; creall: turn, pause, fit, effort; creallamas: industry, impudence, forwardness; pá öéin: towards; scaipeaò: dispersion; gealc: madman; singil: wretched, unheeded; gairm: call.

Seal-bé: beautiful woman; paice: tatter, rag; τλοδ: side, flank, breast, body, (*This may be a pun on ban noċτ = beannaċτ = blessing.*); mascalaċ: maiden, *also* youth; léiʒim le: I concede; leiʒim ó: I let go, put away; léiʒim uaim leat: I concede to

you; eascair: budding, descending from; préim-ślioc: rootstock; siollao: striking, smiting; siollaire: smiter; seasamac: preserving, constant; soineann: good weather; soineannoa: fair (of weather), pleasant, serene, guiltless, guileless, innocent; bile: tree, champion; bileamail: tree-like, champion-like; blasta: elegant, perfect; bleactaim: I coax, produce; bleactouantac: poem-producing; muireann: burden, family.

## 7. Im Aonar seal as siubal bios - Alone a while I was walking.

Σλοκὰ: a wooded glen; ceo: fog, mist, sorrow; ιοnnsuròim: I approach; séim: fine, mild, tender, pleasing, gracious; ciab: lock of hair; búcla: wisp or ringlet (of hair); beirim suas ar: I overtake; beirim síos: I surpass(?); scéim: appearance, beauty; craobaċ: branching; ciumas-buiòe: with yellow tips or borders; rúnsa: ronsa, hoop, band, circlet (of the hair).

Maoròa: majestic; maiseaċ: beautiful, graceful; múince: mannerly; ciúm: quiet, gentle; séim: fine, mild, tender, gracious; caom: gentle, mild, fair; ʒrınn: sharp, accurate, clear; οκύċc: dew, drop; ʒlınn: clear, pure, plain, visible; οlúiċ-ċíor: tightly-set comb or array (of the teeth); smúιc: mist, defect, sorrow; seascair: pleasant, comfortable; súẋaċ: pleasant, cheerful, merry, comfortable; síoċaċ: peaceful, calm; olúċuiţim: I press, press close to, embrace.

Caor: fire; red berry; lúċ: activity; ar lúċ sior: in constant motion; mín: mild, gentle; maoròa: majestic; moòamal: polite, elegant; maoròim: I mention, relate, boast; smúic: defect; puinn: point, particle; séan: omen, charm, good luck, success; séanmar: happy, prosperous, contented; sóʒaċ: cheerful, pleasant; olúċ-ċaoin: gently compact; leabair-piop: long (graceful) neck; zéis: swan; búċ: buaòaċ, joyous, victorious; ceannsaròe: ceannsa, beloved, affectionate; caobuiţim: I give out; móro: oath.

Spéir-bean: beautiful woman; cneasca: modest, polite; cium: quiet, gentle; caoin: gentle, mild, tender; ionncaoib: trust; ionnsuròim: I approach; ζαοκ: nearness, proximity; clóò: figure, appearance; bé: woman; searc: love; κún: secret, mystery, inclination, disposition, love; ζκοιὸe: great, brave; cóiκ: pursuit, chase, uproar, fracas; ουδ-ċκοιὸeκὸ: sad at heart; ζέιll: ζέιlleκὸ, yielding, submission; spórc: sport, pleasure.

Maiseaċ: beautiful, graceful; búċ: buaòaċ, joyous, victorious; cκúċuiţim: cκuċuiţim, I create, form, mould; pκéaṁ: offshoot, scion, stock, tribe; traoċaim: I exhaust, destroy; pionn-κiţ: fair king; oub-ċκοιοœaċ: sad at heart; éiţean: violence, compulsion, contest; ţleo: noise, tumult, battle; ionncaoib: ioncaoib, trust, confidence, a person who may be trusted; póic: drink; oéanao: oéanaṁ, making; porc: tune, jig; porc: bank, earthwork, harbour; oúbluiţim: I double, fold, repeat; uṁluiţim: I humble, stoop, submit; cneasca: modest, polite; smúic: smúio, smoke, dirt, defeat, sorrow, sleep; ţrinn: clear, sharp, steadfast; ceo: fog, mist, dust, sorrow, illusion.

Déasaċ: mannerly; blasta: elegant, perfect; búċ: buaòaċ, joyous, victorious; séiṁ: fine, mild; ζό: lie; bé: woman; oubċκοιὁeaċ: sad at heart; créaċτ: wound, injury; ar leaċaò: open, gaping; búκ: boor; súǯaò: sucking; slaoo: sliding mass (of milk); peolaim: I suck, drain out.

Mear: swift, active, valiant; crúip: troops; groide: sturdy, spirited, hearty, generous; ionnsuidim: I approach; éascaid: swift, quick; cúrsa: course, career, difficulty; curad: warrior, hero; cúrad: act of chastising, punishing, torturing; paobar: edge, weapon; gleo: battle; séidead: blowing, expelling; carcaim: I overthrow violently, clear away; cradicaim: I exhaust, oppress; peod: decaying; lúi: activity; crúi: condemned man, moribund person, wretch.

Ceaċt: lesson, text; púicín: hood, veil; úκ-maoròim: I praise nobly; cóiκ: proper; τυζαιm síos: I set down; pionn-laorò: fair lay, good poem; néata: neat, tasty, nice; clóö: cló, stamp, print, form, appearance; τκεαscaiκim: I overthrow, defeat; τούδαċ: τουδαċ, sad, melancholy, dejected; lionn: liquid, liquor; seascaiκ: pleasant, comfortable; síoċaċ: peaceful, calm; súṣaċ: súҳaċ, pleasant, merry; séanmaκ: prosperous; soṣ̄am̄ail: delicious, pleasant.

### 8. 1 Sacsaiง na séaง - In England of the treasures.

Séad: (1) track, path, course, (2) likeness, equivalent, (3) article of value; σύċċas: native land; craob: branch, (pole?, mast?); céio: quay; sciúr-barc: piloting or steering ship, (sailing ship?, tall ship?); pearann: land, territory; cúrnaṁ: tormenting or torture to death; spéirlung: storm, violence; conncas: conquest; σά ξcabair:? cf. σά ṁéio, σά ṁeaðas; pionncar: venture, struggle, risk; pearaim: I pour out, bestow; laċcṁar: with fluidity; léan: grief; aiceas: mirth; réim: course, authority, power; subaċas: pleasure.

Réilteann: star, fair lady; ʒréizeaċ: Grecian; ʒreannta: neat, elegant, lovely; zlé: bright, pure; zasta: wise, ingenious, clever; béal-tais: soft-lipped; blasta: elegant, perfect; céimeaċ: dignified; cneasta: modest, even-tempered, courteous; cúmċa: cumċa, shaped, well-shaped; maiseamal: comely; méin: mien, beauty, character; méinneaċ, méineaċ, of fair mien, kindly disposed; maoròa: majestic; measaim: I aim at, endeavour; measta: estimable; aeraċ: airy, light, sprightly; abaiò: ripe, sprightly, mature; umalaċ: submissive; aistear: journey, way; seal: for a while.

Camarsaċ: twisted; ciaḃ: lock; σlúċ: thick; slaodaim: I flow in layers; lúċ: activity, motion; lúiċ-ċriċ: vigorous trembling; aǯaiò: face; béim: fault, defect; σearc: eye; scéim: appearance; lonnraċ: shining; caor: fire, red berry; úr-lil: fresh lily;

conncas: conquest, struggle; blasta: elegant, perfect; téacsa: text, sentence; aiteascaim: I deliver (- as a lecture); spreasaireact: urging, pressing; ciúm-cruit: gentle harp.

Samail: likeness, equivalent; ζné: outward appearance; eala: swan; praoċ: storm, fury; cubar: foam; cubar-pliuċ: moist-foamed; mama: mammaries, bosom; ζέακ: sharp, well-defined; léanuiţim: I injure, violate; claon, inclined, perverse; leabar: long, graceful; crob: hand; réiò: free, pliant, supple; oearam: I draw, design; béar: bear; barc: bárc, ship, bark; sciúraċ: sciuireaċ, steering, piloting, guiding; caismirc: contending; paol-ċú: wolf; allca: wild, savage, beastly; all-ċú, alla-ċú: alien hound (derogatory term for the English); ealca: flock; clúmaċ: feathered.

Seanz: graceful, slender; séim: fine, mild, tender, placid, slender, graceful; clúio: corner, angle; 1 ζclúio ċirc: at a proper angle, correctly proportioned; searzaim: I grow withered; balbuiţim: I make dumb; leazaim: I overthrow; lúċ: nimble; cúrsa: course, event, fate, difficulty, adventure; cúṭail: bashful, tinid, humble; aicċim: I entreat; bé: woman; créao: herd, company.

Slacaim réim: I take courage (?); aξall: discourse; uṁluiṭim: I bow down in reverence; caraim: I love; scéiṁ: beauty; méinn: mien; céim: degree, dignity, step, deed, event, circumstance, task; masla: insult; ταραṁαιl: active; raon: supine, dull; puòar: damage, injury, loss, sense of insult, grief; greannuiṭim: I love; ʒné: character, mark, kind; peacaò: sin; orúis: adultery, lust.

Réilteann: star, fair lady; lonnraċ: shining; pearz: fury; meascaò: confusion; maoòm: maròm, contest, fighting, crushing; cionta: plural of cion, transgression, guilt, passion; ainnir: maiden; léan: sorrow; leazaò: overthrow; triúċ: triúċaò, cantred, district, stronghold; pearann: land, territory;

Amaö: yoke; τκείτ: weak, subdued; búκ: boor; ζαίζτεληη: fair lady; lonn-baκc: strong ship; lonn: strong, ardent.

Lúb: curve, maze, genitive plural as adjective; SCRAe: wanderer; SAMAIL: likeness, equivalent; JÉAJ: branch, off-shoot, scion; méinn: mien; ciall: sense, understanding, intellect, motive; cealJ: deceit; Réice: rake; JAIJE: coxcomb, frivolous person; in AIRM IS IN ÉIDE: in arms and in armour; pasc: shelter, protection.

Caircuisniţim: I insult; zeal-scéim: fair beauty; cúil-ṭionn: fair lady; crú: cró, gore, blood, race, family; scracaim: I tear, drag, extract; ar úrla: by the hair of the head; praoċ: storm, fury; cubar: foam; caise: stream, current; scazaim: I strain; scazaò mé as: I am derived from.

Snarömim: I join, unite with; ionnraic: noble, faithful; ξαirmim σε: I name designate; meabal: shame, disgrace, female pudenda, fraud; méiroreaċ: harlot; cealξaċ: deceitful; béim: flaw; claon: deceit, perversity; τπέασ: flock, tribe, race, company.

rearann: land, territory; riúnταċ: worthy; calaiċ: channel, ferry, the sea; éascaiċ: swift, quick; sciúrdaim: I fly quickly; conncas: conquest; complaċc: company; aṁas: mercenary, wild fierce man; préaṁ-stoc: ancestral stock; beaċa: life, food, estate, means of livelihood; casaim: I turn back; ταιċle: warrior, hero.

Carnzairim: I prophesy; σκάἀτ: poem, poetry; τέαἀτ: τeαἀτ, coming; τreas: battle, battle-rank; τreasaἀ: abounding in battle-ranks; τrάιρεαἀ: abounding in troops; tannmar: strong, brave; téισmeaἀ: valiant, strong; taoἀτα: heroic; tatraim: I beat, wound; méιὰ: fat; méιὰ-poc: fat buck; ponnc: point, detail, theme; ʒalla-ponncaἀ: of foreign manners; canaim: I sing, recite, relate; scannaim: I compose, scan; umluiţim: I bow down in deference.

Reacaireacc: auction, telling stories, sport, pastime; cionnschaim: I begin, plan, devise; cúcail: bashful, modest, timid; pearanneas: pearannas, landed property, occupation of land; ionnraic: noble, faithful.

ÉISCIM: I listen, I keep silent; oub-smacc: sad bondage; caob: direction, region; brúroeac: beastly.

Sliab: mountain, mountain-range, upland moor, moor; piúncaċ: worthy; péis: feast; péiseaċ: fond of assemblies/feasts; plúirseaċ: generous; caca: stay, support; zlé: clear, accurate; eazna: wisdom, science, knowledge; eaznaċ: prudent, wise; léiżeanca: learned, knowing; ponnc: point, detail, theme; ponncaċ: precise, exact; dréaċc: poem, poetry; dúire: gloom, sorrow, harshness; caiscim: I treasure, protect; séim: mild, kind; parraò: nearness, company; im parraò: along with me, in addition to me; léiżim: I read, declare, recite; cúrsa: course, difficulty, adventure.

Oearb-stoc: genuine stock or race; ζas: stem, stalk, scion; ζléġas: bright scion; ζasta: wise, brave, spruce, quick; oearb: real, genuine, true; oúċċas: native land; eascraim: I spring from; meaċta: decayed; maoòm: maiòm, contest, fighting, crushing; cuṁanʒ: narrow; cuṁanʒraċ: close-pressing; seasaṁaċ: persevering, constant; saor: free, noble; préiṁṡlioċt: root stock; cion: regard, attention, affection; bé: maid, woman, wife, fairy, muse; taisce: treasure, store; cuṁoaċ: protection, covering.

## 9. Ar maidin indé cois céid na slim-barc - Yesterday morning by the quay of the graceful ships.

Cérò: quay; slím: graceful; slím-barc: graceful ship; paon: supine, weak; smuaineaò: thought, reflection; zeanmnaò: modest; zaor: nearness, proximity; zaoro: tide, sea; leanbaò:

childlike, artless; Léiţeanta: learned; Líomta: polished, elegant; Lannmar: strong, brave; Léiomeac: valiant, strong; Líonmar: abounding in, full, complete; blasta: elegant, perfect; spreaţao: urging, pressing; caoin-cruit: gentle harp.

Camarsaċ: twisted, in ringlets; ciaḃ: lock; olaoi: lock of hair; sír-ċriċ: constant trebling; oearc: eye; claon: wanton; pearsa: person, body; lícis: (in heraldry) the white colour of skin or fur ("ċoṁ ʒeal le lícis"); leaca: cheek; maoròa: majestic; míonla: gentle, mild, amiable; caor: fire, red berry; caismirc: struggling; scríocaim: I yield, submit.

Leabar: long, limber; crob: hand; réio: free, pliant; néaca: neat; laċa: duck; naosca: snipe; mín-sruċ: smooth stream; barc: ship; τέαο: rope, rigging; caismirc: struggle; éaċc: deed, exploit, catastrophe; seanʒ: slender, graceful; seanʒa-poc: graceful buck; béar: bear; míol: animal, hare; daor-brac: costly cloth; síoda: silk; treascraim: I overthrow, defeat utterly; paon: supine, weak; bríţ: life, energy.

Γαċταιm: ροċταιm, I ask, enquire, demand; séim: mild, placid, tender, meek; spéir-bean: beautiful woman; míonla: gentle, mild, amiable; ζαοl-šlioċτ: ancestry; αοιl-ċneis: (genitive as adjective as noun) woman of lime-white skin, fair lady; calm: calm; calma: brave, fine, splendid; treascraim: I overthrow, defeat; tréiċ: weak, faint, feeble; paon: subdued, supine, weak; bríċ: force, vigour; ainnir: maiden; léan: sorrow; leaʒaċ: overthrow; pearann: land, territory; mear: swift, mad, active, valiant.

Séim: mild, tender, placid; céib-pionn: fair-haired lady; mionla: gentle, affable; meascaò: confusion; maoòm: maròm, contest, fighting, crushing; pinn(e)-bean: fair lady; zlé: bright, pure, clear; soineann: fair weather; soineannta: serene, quiet, pleasant; caom: gentle, mild, fair, beautiful; mion-sruò: mintsruò, smooth stream; ainnir: maiden; maoròa: majestic; mintsruò; m

tais: mild and gentle; zeanamail: amiable; zlé-żeal: very bright, clear, white, beautiful; zníomac: feat-performing.

Dé: woman; maoròa: majestic; míncais: mild and gentle; maoròim: I mention; bréaz: lie, deceit, falsehood; ceaċcaireaċc: message; σίοἑαlcas: avenging; paobar: edge, blade, weapon, arms; paolċú: wolf; pearanncas: pearannas, landed property; raċmas: power, wealth, enjoyment; réim: sway, authority; saoirse: freedom, freehold, rights, deliverance, exculpation, cheapness.

Spéir-bean: beautiful woman; míonla: gentle, affable; reacaireaċt: sport, pastime; barc: ship; spéis: heed, care; caise: stream, channel, sea; praoċda: furious, raging; nimneaċ: deadly, poisonous, peevish; aicme: sort, tribe, class, family; pearaim: I provide; laċt: fluid, tears; laċtmar: copiously; aċrann: contest; smísteaċ: smiter.

Sasta: wise, ingenious, brave, brisk, quick; γιαl: generous, liberal, warm-hearted, noble; léiţeanta: learned; laoiō: lay, poem; casaraim: I plead, refer to; baoċ: foolish; léas: lease, fixed period of time; caiċim: I spend, must, wear out; carnsraim: I prophesy; γeart: virtue, merit, power, miracle; cartaim: I clear away, overthrow violently; treascaraim: I destroy, overthrow; γaolċú: wolf; sínim: I stretch, slay; sínte: prostrate.

Carnzairim: I prophesy; σκέαċτ: poem; Laoiò: lay, poem; carrainzim: I draw, design, stretch; Léas: lease, fixed period of time; zním: I do, make, practise, beget, generate, become, show; τέακπα: term, limit, period, fixed period, speech, plan, notion; éaċτ: event, catastrophe; zreadaim: I press upon, urge, excite; ae: liver, entrail; béar: bear; Líne: line, tribe; pearanncas: land holding, occupation of land; riţn: tough; riţneas: stiffness; pearc: virtue, power.

## 10. Cráċ 1 noé 1s mé τπάιοτε 1 bpéin - A while yesterday and I tormented in agony.

Cráċ: time, occasion, time of day, period of three hours; cráiţce: oppressed, tormented; pán: wandering; ξαr.: short, near, soon; paon: supine, weak, subdued; cásaim: I bewail; cliste: skilled; siosma: contending, contest; tálaim: I pour forth; snaiţm: knot; ξέαr-ṣnaiţm: sharp binding, slavery; báb: maiden; mín: smooth, fine, gentle; cáiţi: noble; caoin: gentle, mild, tender, kind, pleasing; snuaţi: countenance; maorţa: maigestic; maiseaţi: beneficial, decorous, handsome, graceful; píoţar: figure, shape; cloţ: figure, appearance; cíoraim: I comb, set in order; scaoilteaţi: falling loosely; reiţi: free; crilseaţi: trilseaţi: triopall: cluster, festoon; triopall-ċluţmar: in sheltering bunches; cíop: hair of the head, head of hair; olaoi: lock; piţim: I weave; piţce: intertwined; aon-li: same colour.

Fionnaim: I know, try, examine, invent, discover; sléactaim: I bow in reverence; puirm: form, fashion; i bpuirm: in style; σόδας: συδας, sad, sorrowful; σκάς: journeying, mention; ξαοδακ: nearness, proximity; σάπ: rest, repose; σάπας: still, motionless; cime: fear, terror; clisce: skilled; créact: wound, scar, furrow; créact-millim: I destroy by wounding, I wound to death; éigean: violence, compulsion, force; le bárr grinn: through sheer love; bán-ríoð: a fair lark; saoite σκέας: learned men of poems; míor: mír, portion, highest portion, supremacy; cuibe: cuí, becoming, suitable; σίοη-βκας: defensive covering; buime: nurse, mother; caoṁnaiòe: companion, friend, attendant, protector.

Γαζαιπ: I get; γαċταιπ: γοċταιπ, I ask, enquire, demand; léroe: act of daring, audacity; léromeaċ: daring, audacious, strong, brave, mettlesome; ιδιπ: I drink, suck, soak; τκάċ: time,

occasion, opportunity, period; τάm: rest, trance, death, plague; scaircim: I shout, call, cry aloud, bawl; réimeas: reign of king, dynasty; cárò: noble; caoin: gentle, mild, pleasing, unruffled, tranquil; pór: race, family; cuing: yoke, bondage; míle: (plural míleaòa or mílí) warrior, soldier (Latin "miles"), hero; ζlé: clear, pure; pionn(a)-ċruipeaċ: having fair troops; praoċaiòe: angry, furious, fretful.

Sáṁ-ċoil: benign will; báire: game; buile: madness; caoṁ-ċríoċ: fair land; scán: scaon, from scaonaim, I yield (to); as ρακαίι an lae: winning the day; poireann: team, crew, the whole crew of them; as mál: mauling, bruising, crushing; an mál: the prince, champion, poet; maoöm: contending, crushing; millim: I destroy; milleaö-briseaò: crushing to destruction; claon-oliṣeaò: perverse law; sár-òíon: strong protection; sár-òín: strong protectors (?); sin: sinn ?; sas: stem, scion; ríṣ-ṣas: royal scion; claoiòim: I subdue; créimim: I bite, gnaw; oíoscaim: I drain out; iomaiò: contest; siosma: contest; saor-òliṣeaò: free law; saor-ṡliṣe: way, manner, mode; sóṣ: good cheer, pleasure, (sóṣa, genitive as adjective).

Cám: rest, repose; ζάικοeas: pleasure, joy, pastime; ζléasaim: I set in order, prepare; curaö: warrior, hero, champion; κίοξ-leoman: kingly hero; άοβαl: ? awful?; praoċ: storm, fury; ársa: (adjective) ancient, (noun) veteran; cárnaim: I slay in heaps; κάιζ: pursuit; céasaim: I torture; ciorrbuiţim: ciorrbaim, I cut, hew, shed, take away, destroy, overlook; péil(l)-oliţeao: ordinance about holy-days; réabaim: I destroy, demolish; reaċt: custom, law; ráċa: custom, regulation; reaċt is ráċaioe: laws and customs; ráċ: surety, guarantee, plural ráċa; rate (e.g. of pay); Cuaċal: - a personal name; cuaċal: tyrant; cuaċal: a turn to the left, a turn in wrong direction, error; méirleaċ: wretch, miscreant; meabal: deceit, disgrace, shame; smísteaċ: smiter, sméirle: clownish person; coimiţċeaċ: strange, foreign, wild; cuil: venomous aspect (noun), wicked (adi.); iomòa: many; iomòaòö:

couch, bed; cúil: end, corner; iomaio: conflict; cúil an iomaio: one who is hindmost in conflict, coward.

### 11. Ceo σκλοισελίτα (Razairne an τελιξοιάκα) - An enchanted mist (Sodier's carouse).

Όπλοιὁελότ: druidism, magic, enchantment; com: waist, middle; seolaim: I sail, send, steer, drive, direct; óinmito: simpleton, fool; príom-ċara: bosom friend; οίοξακ: eager, intent, vehement; οίοξκαιs: affection, family loyalty, diligence, passion; sínim: I stretch, lie at full length, lie down; clúċmar: close, warm, comfortable, well sheltered; cnómar: abounding in nuts; crócaire: mercy, pity, compassion.

Riċ: running, waves (of sensation); Líon-riċ: fullness of emotion, great distress; ζό: untruth, lie; ζλοκ: nearness, proximity; λοιδιπη: delightful, pleasant, beautiful; λοιδιπελε: delight, gladness, pleasure; smólλċ: thrush, (in this instance, nightingale?); síoò-δκιιππελει: fairy maiden; moòλmκλċ: polite, refined; ríoǯλικ: figure, shape; clóò: figure, appearance; cruċ: form, shape; ζηλοι: countenance, face; Lí: colour; rós: rose; coimeascar: contending.

Crillseaċ: τrilseaċ, in tresses, plaited; casta: rolled, folding, curling; σlaoi-rolt: hair in locks; braoi: eyebrow; τeimeal: cloud, shadow, stain, flaw; ómra: amber; claon-rosc: wanton eye; beo-żoinim: I cause life(death)-wound to; blasta: elegant, perfect; síoò-ċruiċ: fairy harp; mín: smooth; cailce: chalkwhite; cóir: order, propriety; i ζεόir ċirc: duly set; leonaim: I sprain, wound, damage, injure, afflict.

Peaċt: a time; treoir: direction, strength, activity; bíoòʒaim: I start, start up; ró-ṡearc: great love; rá òéin: towards; mar: how; scaoilim: I release, set free; beol: béal, mouth, voice; seal: a while; ar strae: wandering, directionless, uncontrolled; caoin-stair: genial narrative; ríomaim: I weave, compose (e.g.

*a poem*); όιξ: virgin; peorainn: green sward; sliab: mountain, moor.

ĐRÍṬOBAĊ: bride, girl; RINN: sharp, keen; RINN-ROSC: piercing eye; breoöaim: I enfeeble, oppress, sicken, decline, wither; σίοξκαις: affection, snóö: snuaö, countenance; scéim: sciam, scheme, outline, form, beauty; λοιl-ċneis: woman of lime-white skin, fair lady; σίοςκαιπ: I drain away; mór-ċrúp: great army; comrac: contest, combat; ríoξ-bruinneall: royal maiden; míonla: gentle, mild, amiable; σ'ρίις: σ'ρίς, left; cóm-laς: equally prostrate; míle: warrior, hero; caċ-míleaò: caċ-míle, leader in battle; créao: herd, tribe, company, army; σlíţim: I impose as a command; mór-plaic: great chieftain; ceoruiţeaċc: córuiţeaċc, act of pursuing.

Síor-silim: I constantly shed; maoròim: I mention; ʒlór: voice, sound, talking; bríġoeaċ: bride, girl; sealao: a space of time; aoròneas: delight, contentment; coróin ċearc: true crown; mír: part, highest part; mír-: (in compounds) distinguished, champion; mír-ċeannas: pre-eminence, high kingship; plérò: struggling, dealing with, contesting.

Ούβαċ: sad, melancholy; cúrsa: course, career, event, adventure, difficulty; σúr: dull; σúr-ċreimim: I sullenly gnaw; cóirneaċ: osprey (foreign bird = English person?); συβ-smaċc: sad bondage; búr: churl, boor; sóẋ: good cheer; sóẋaċas: pleasure; seolaim: I direct, send; Úr-ṁac: Noble Son; σúċċas: native land; rúscaim: I rout, make an onslaught on; crón: swarthy; crón-ṗoc: swarthy buck; raoßar: edge, blade, weapon, arms.

Cúil-rionn: fair lady; tais: gentle; múinte: manerly; crú: gore, blood, race; cúrsa: course, career, event, adventure, difficulty; smúit: mist, defeat, sorrow; caċaċ: sorrowful; ceomar: foggy, dim, gloomy; scléip: delight; bruţ: mansion; olúċ-bruţ: firmly set residence; seolaim: I sail, direct, steer; conţantaċ:

helpful; mac conχαηταċ: merciful son; súχαċ: plesant, merry; κúscaım: I rout, make an onslaught on; cκόη-poc: swarthy buck; umal: willing; ταρα: active; scópmaκ: long-reaching.

PLÍC: fleet; corp: corpse, body, main part; corp άταιs: genuine pleasure; píor-eac: sterling steed; γroide: great, brave; ταρα: active; céaprac: active, nimble; carcaim: I overthrow violently, clear away; síor-carcad: completely overthrowing, casting aside; nearc paobair: strength of arms; claoidim: I subdue; inncinn: spirit, courage, resolution; luiçe ar: encroachment on, lying down on, neglect of; luiçe: oath, imprecation, propensity, desire, tendency, control, influence; γάroa: guard, garrison; ar seasaṁ γάroa: standing guard (as a soldier), sentry duty(?); lem rae: lem ré, in my (allotted) time.

### 12. Az caisceal na Olárnan - Travelling through Blarney.

Γελκ(λ)-ċú: man-hound, warrior; ráilteλċ: welcoming, hospitable; raiksing: generous; pór: race, breed; ζleo: noise, battle; neλουιζίπ: I nestle, settle down; ál: brood; stát: estate; rearanntas: land holding; slóζ: sluλζ, company; tárċλċ: protective; treas: battle, battle-rank; treasamail: abounding in battle-ranks; cartaim: I overthrow completely, sweep away; cárnaim: I slay in heaps; λολιὸ: ripe, sprightly, mature; λολιζίπ: I cause, bring to maturity; ζrám: disgust, disgrace, reproach; eascaine: curse, excommunication; ζráscar: rabble; cealζλċ: deceitful, venomous; crón: swarthy; cóip: band of men, army; óro: clergy.

Cásaim: I bewail; cásmar: lamenting; cataċ: sorrowful; áiro: a place, direction; áiro: happiness, self-esteem; ξαη άiro: depressed (Dinneen); αιτεας: mirth; ceasnuǯαὁ: want, perplexity; ceasnuǯċeaċ: troubled; pearaim: I provide; bán-ċneis: (woman) of white skin, fair lady; banamail: feminine, womanly; mánla: sedate, stately, pleasant, affable, gentle; maiseamail: comely, handsome, elegant; ξεαπαmail: lovely,

loveable, acceptable, decent, respectable; moöamail: mannerly, gracious, modest, well-bred; κό-moöamail: very elegant; snóö: snuaö, countenance; camarsaċ: twisted, curled; cáblaċ: in thick clusters; páinneaċ: ringletted; peacaim: I bend back; sál: heel; ball: limb; baill(e)-ċriċ: limb-trembling, completely tembling; bláċ-rolc: beautiful hair; baċallaċ: curled; scáinneaċ: in skeins; crapanaċ: curled; táclaċ: curled; tálaim: I pour forth; taòall: approaching, touching; taòlaċ: pleasant to touch; snaròmim: I knot; bárr-ċas: curling at the tips (of the hair); vaiċte: coloured, bright-coloured, variegated; clóò: appearance; scamall: cloud, darkness; ceo: fog, mist, sorrow.

Deabaö: contest; scáil: brightness, shade of colour; clás: defect, weakness; lasaö: blush, bright red colour; rós-beol: rós-béal, rose-like mouth, red lips; mala: eyebrow; cáim: blemish, fault; sám-öearc: pleasant eye; abaiö: ripe, sprightly, mature; cámaċ: still, motionless; cáin: company; seabac: hawk, champion; greannuiţim: I love; clóö: form, appearance; eala: swan; bráţa: neck, throat; geal(a)-ċruċ: bright appearance; mama: breast, bosom; bláċmar: flowery, blooming, beautiful, young; seanʒ: slender, graceful; crob: hand; leabar: long, limber; carrainʒċe: drawn; cáʒ: daw; ceaċra: cattle; cairrinaò: hart, wild deer; ʒleo: noise, tumult, strife, battle; creon: créan, strong, strong man, hero; leaċan-brac: broad cloth; sróll: satin.

ζαστα: wise, ingenious, clever, brave; cáiτό: noble; sáṁ: pleasant; prás: brass, money; prás: poem; pratann: parchment; τάṁ: tribe, company (of poets), academy; easbaiτό: metrical defect; sóǯ: good cheer, pleasure; sóǯaċ: happy, comfortable; sóǯaṁail: cheerful, prosperous, comfortable; labairc: saying, utterance, speech; beoil: béil, of the mouth; baiteas: crown of the head; sáil: heel; cáim: blemish, fault; aineaṁ: blemish; ζreannta: neat, elegant, lovely; ceo: fog, mist, sorrow; clótò: appearance; mascalaċ: maiden; tláċ: tláiċ,

weak, powerless, languid, docile, amiable; ταις: damp, fresh, gentle, tender, compassionate, weak; ζάικελċ: laughing, pleasant; ζκεληπήλκ: witty, amiable, pleasant; λιτέλες: speech, utterance; preλδαιπ: I start up; bάη-ċneις: (woman) of white skin, fair lady; λιτċιπ: I entreat.

Dáb: maiden; bárr-rionn: fair-headed (lady); pearsa: person, form; seasam: standing; seasam cruic: shape, figure; clóö: form; snóö: snuaö, appearance; mascalaċ: maiden; mánla: sedate, stately, affable, gentle; ζάκοαċ: ? ζάικοεἀ?, joyful?; ζεαl(α)-ċneis: (woman of) bright skin, bright-skinned; barc: ship; ζαιl: valour; ζleo: tumult; λιηπικ: maiden; τάιπ: company; ársa: veteran; ζαιsce: valour; ársa ζαιsciö: valorous veteran; tlás: defect, weakness; λικιζιπ: I heed, obey; caċ: battle, battalion; σάηα: bold; treas: battle-rank; óiζ: virgin; seoo: jewel, ornament, pretty girl, pet.

Meanma: courage, spirit; ταςα: support; ραιό: seer, poet; αιτέρας: speech, utterance, lecture; práisc: unlawful pastime, wildness, extravagance; plás: flattery; páirc: love, friendship; ταιτηραίπ: love; όζ-leoman: young champion; sealbuiţim: I possess; όξαċτ: virginity; sáil: sáile, sea-water, sea; báire: game, contest; casaim: I turn, turn round, turn back; seasam a τράς: defence (perseverance, maintenance) of their position; ταll(α)-poic: foreign bucks; ál: brood; τráċτ: journeying; bán-plait: fair chieftain; mál: act of bruising; mál: prince, noble, champion; seol: sail; cóir: in order; pearann: land, territory.

Maţ: plain, field; maċaire: plain, low-lying country, race-course, battle-field; τακτιιση: insult; peoἀaim: I wither, decay; cóip: band, army; τκεοικ: direction; caiċ-mɨleaö: caiċ-mɨle, caiċ-bɨle, leader in battle; rás: race, tribe; sean(a)-stoc: old stock; ársa: ancient; τκεαsamail: abounding in battle-ranks; plós: flower; plós leomain: flower of a hero; τατα: support; τόικ: pursuit, charge, attack; láκ: the middle, the ground; ar láκ: prostrate; ál: brood; τκάċτ: mention; casaò: turning,

recovery; Δισεδς: recovery of health; στάτ: estate; σάπολό: σάποελό, joyous, laughing; móπ-scóp: great pleasure, freedom.

#### 13. As caisceal na sléibre - Travelling the mountains.

Δτυικερά: sad, afflicted; céasta: tormented; άικο: happiness, self-esteem; ταπ άικο τκιπη: depressed in spirits; clé: sinister; bearc: deed; ταπταίοι deceit; seartaim: I grow withered; τηθεί outward appearance; τηθίτιπ: I betray; ταλι(α)-ρο: foreign buck; claon: perverse; port: bank, fort(?); balle poirt: fortified house?; τάκαιτιπ: I turn into a desert; τοπαίο: harm, evil.

Caol-doire: graceful oakwood; ric: course, running, exertion(?); ζέακ: sharp, keen; d'rúiζ: d'ráζ; cámac: still, motionless; aiceas: mirth, happiness; spreaζaim: I urge, incite; spéir-b runneall: beautiful maiden; ζεαπαμαίι: amiable; déid-ţeal: possessing white teeth; caoin: gentle, tender, kind, genial; cartanac: loving; séim: mild, gentle; maise: beauty; maordac: majesty; barr: top, supremacy; bréaζad: falsehood; bé: woman.

Camarsaċ: twisted, ringletted; oréimre: ladder; oréimreaċ: in long wisps; daiċe: coloured, variegated; péarlaċ: pearlwhite; baċalaċ: curled; néaṁ: niaṁ, colour, brightness; néaṁraċ: brilliant, variegated; tácla: curl; carn-ċolc: heap of tresses, mass of hair; craobaċ: branching; peacaim: I bend back; slaodaim: I flow in layers; dearbaim: I assert; ciab: lock; saṁail: like; ţné: outward appearance; cáilideaċt: quality; lomrað: lomra, fleece; lear: sea; ţaisceaò: arms, feat of arms, heroism; de barr claidim: by means of the sword.

Séim: fine, mild, tender, placid, pleasing; mama:mammary, bosom; zéar: sharp, pointed, well-defined; seanz: slender, graceful, not pregnant, virginal; aoloa: limed, white as lime; teimeal: cloud, shadow, stain, flaw; zanzaio: deceit; claon-

bearc: perverse deed; ταιsce: treasure, store, keeping; ι σταιsce: stored; caoṁ-ċruċ: graceful form; ταιτηεαṁaċ: pleasing; saor-ċlan: purely noble, noble and pure; cáιlιöeaċc: quality; pléιöreaċc: playing; caor: fire, red berry; sáṁ: composed, tranquil; síoċaċ: peaceable, calm; cealţaım: I sting, wound; ae: liver, entrail; snaiömim: I unite, bind; cléireaċc: partnership.

Maiseaċ: beautiful; τais: fresh, tender; cneasta: modest, polite; samail: like, likeness; ruibe: hair; braoi: eyebrow; ζlas: green, fresh; réio: smooth, fine, ready; reio-ţlas: of soft bright colour; scéim: sciam, beauty; piosruiţim: I enquire; báibín: fair lady, dear girl; éipeaċt: force, point, substance; beart: deed, event; réilteann: star, beauty; lear: sea; pánaioe: wanderer.

Carcannac: loving, charitable, kind; anam: soul, life, activity; ban-cara: woman friend; γradam: esteem, pre-eminence; páircideacc: alliance, friendship; adbar: matter, course; airşim: I spoil, plunder, harass; airşce: despoiled, plundered; sliocc: mark, lineage, offspring, family, posterity; daor-broid: dire bondage; cíos: rent, tax, tribute; aol-broż: lime-white mansion; neac: being, person; áirmim: I count, reckon.

Caċuṩ̃aȯ: mourning; léan: grief, sorrow; ceanʒal: binding, fethering; σλοκ-smaċc: dire oppression; ζκελσαιπ: I press upon, urge, incite; céasaım: I torture; carcaım: I overthrow violently, clear away; craoċaım: I oppress, weary; amaȯ: yoke; peall: treachery; ζπάċ-reall: constant treachery; abaiṩim: I cause, bring to maturity; sméirle: clownish person.

ΌλοΔR: flattery; κέιλτελη: star, fair lady; caċaċ: sorrowful; caoòm: fit, disease; caoòmaċ: diseased, feverish; pliuċ: wet, wet with tears, tearful; λαċτ: fluid; λαċτα: streams; αδαιὸ: ripe, sprightly, mature, ?plentiful?; cráżaim: I dry up; αιτċim: I entreat; éας: death; éιξελη: force, violence; éιξηρελċ: forcefully;

ολοκ-scamall: oppressing cloud; pláiţ: plague, pearaim: I pour out, bestow.

### 14. Cois caoibe abann since - Lying by a river-side.

Sínim: I stretch, stretch out, lie; smaoinim: I think; claon-bearc: perverse deed; snás: fashion, habit; saoi: master of art(s), cultured person, noble, savant; ársa: ancient; scáċ: shelter, protection.

Scéim: beauty; síolruiţim: I spring from; príom-ślioċc: original race or stock; olaoi: lock; mín-ċriċ: gentle trembling; caoi: weeping; pras: shower; caoinceaċ: mournful; cráioċe: tormented.

Díoòʒaım: I start, start up; Líon-κιċ: full flood; bκίż: force, vigour; ball: limb; τάπαċ: still, motionless; τκéιċ: prostrate, weak

Nán: shameful; claoròim: I subdue; croròe-misneac: courage of heart; érġim: I call upon, appeal to; bríġoeac: bride, girl; aoɪl-ċneas: lime-white skin.

Oίοςπαις: affection, ardour; plás: flattery; ταιτεαπη: fair lady; κίου: lark, fair lady; caιtce: chalk-white; comeascar: conflict.

Linn-sruċ: sea current; mín-maiseaċ: gently beautiful; míonla: gentle, mild, amiable; tarr: lower point, bottom, belly; ré tarr: underneath; tár: contempt, disgrace, wickedness; táir: base, vile, wretched; príom-ślioċt: original race or stock; saois: wisdom, skill, power; saoismear: wise, talented.

Aol-ċκuċaċ: of lime-white appearance; míonla: gentle, mild, affable; κίοὂ-ὂκυἡ: royal mansion; καοn: supine, dull; míκ: portion, prize, supremacy; cuκαὸ: warrior, hero; míκ-ċuκαὸ: supreme champion; míleaὸ: míle, warrior, champion, hero;

céim: degree; Lann: spear; paobar-Lann: edged spear; Lann(a): strong; píor-Lann: true sword (*Dinneen*); cliab: breast; bráicre cléib: bosom friends.

Mλοιόιm: I mention; τάπλċ: vagrant; σίδικτελċ: exile, refugee; coιmiţċeλċ: strange, foreign, wild; spás: period of time; κέιm: course, sway, authority; σίλις: σίλελς, own, owned, special, genuine, native, reserved for, worthy, safe, dear, fond, loyal.

Míκ: portion, prize, supremacy; míκ-ċion: highest regard, great fondness; píoκ-ġradam: true esteem; κίοġrað: dynasty, line of kings, kings; ζαιλλ-ṡλιοċτ: foreign tribe or progeny; άιτκεδὸ: habitation, residence; σίτ: want, ruin; σίτ-ċreaċτα: ruinously plundered; cárnaım: I slay in heaps.

Mλοιόιm: I mention, relate, boast; lλοιό-scair: historical poem; σκλοι: bard; γάιό: seer, prophet; σκέλο: poem, poetry; άισκελο: abode; γίσκ-scaipim: I truly scatter; σλοικse: bondage, slavery.

Ríomaim: I weave, compose; κάσαιm: I say; σίος caim: I drain out; cáil: fame, repute; céim: degree, dignity; slioċc: tribe; millim: I destroy, wound deeply; Δοιπε: Friday's feast; paon: supine, weak, dull; σοċc: tight, strict, stiff, hard, dear, profitless.

Cλοισο: tide, flood; Líoncaċt: fullness; τκάξαιm: I dry up, ebb; ρίοκ-scoirm: real storm; ρκλοιċ-scoirm: fierce or raging storm; coimiţċeaċ: foreign, strange, wild; σίοξκαιs: affection, loyalty, zeal, determination; τάκ: contempt; sprot: sprats, mean creatures, rabble; τάκ-sprot: contemptible rabble; clé: sinister; λοικοε: elevated; ξοιll-poimp: foreign pride or pomp; τlάċ: weak, powerless.

Caoroe: tide, sea; tunn-muir: rolling ocean; béim: blow, stroke, cut, scar, flaw, blemish; strocaim: I yield, submit;

scríob: career, progress; maor: officer; maoirseact: sovereignty.

Ceanξal: envoi; creaċ: plunder, booty, cattleprey, raid; cneasta: modest, polite; striapaċ: harlot, fornicator; pleaċ: feast; ξrorċe: great, brave, hearty; mín: gentle, mild, tender, smooth; caiċim: I wear out, spend; iasaċt: lending, being given away to strangers, strangeness, foreignness, a foreign thing.

#### 15. Crác is mé cois leasa - Once and I by a fairy-fort.

Cráċ: once (upon a time), while; Leasa: a place-name or rivername?; Leasa: genitive of Lios, enclosure, courtyard, fairy-fort, rath; τλάċ: weak, feeble; réim: course, sway, authority; γλαιċ: chieftain; sluaṣmar: abounding in hosts; staonam: I yield (to); crapaim: I wither, shrink; sóṣ: joy, ease, luxury, prosperity, good cheer; spórc: sport, pleasure; aiteas: mirth; scléip: revelry; luaò: moving, stirring, mentioning, betrothing; scoċ: tip, top, reef, flower, choicest part; sár-scoċ: truly best; oúċaiṣ: country; aol-b̄ruṣ: lime-white mansion; cailce: chalk-white; crón-poc: swarthy buck; cill: church; cáiroe ξαοιl: relatives; cáblaim: I bind in bondage.

Dúòar: loss, injury; scíos: weariness, fatigue, grief; damo: danaid, grievance, pity; caoid: weeping, lamentation; ceasna: difficulty, great need; ξroide: great, brave; capa: active, swift; scánaim: scaonaim, I yield, submit; ξliad: battle; maidm: contest; ξaisce: hero, champion; ξaiscead: valour, feats of arms, exploits; ξleo: noise, tumult, battle; creascairc: destruction, overthrow; ár: slaughter; cnoc: hill, mountain, anything large, impediment, difficulty, (in stock phrases — woe, bad luck, defect); óro: clergy; craos: maw, gluttony, fierce anger; uξaim: harness, plough-traces, care, worry, tyranny; paţálcas: gain, profit, means; paon: supine, weak, dull.

Créic: weak, prostrate, defeated; amoeas: (neg. of oeas), wretched; prasać: in showers; sínce: stretched, prone; osnaó: sigh; ceasna: difficulty, great need; cearnuisim: I approach; Ainnir: maiden; moòamrac: polite, refined; náireac: modest; maiseaci: beautiful, decorous; snuao: countenance; snuaojlan: of pure countenance; zréine: ? zrianac, bright, shining?; cailce: chalk-white; scéim: sciam, form, beauty; cíorta: combed; casca: twisted, curled; crillseac; crilseac, in tresses, plaited; olaoiščeać: olaoičeać, in locks; oaičce: coloured, variegated; búcla: a wisp or ringlet of hair; búclac: in ringlets; péarlac: pearly white; prinse: prainse, fringe, flange, groove; prínseac: fringed, grooved; néamrac: mamrac, coloured, bright; olačać: olaščać, in locks; rámneać: ringletted, curled; cáblać: in thick clusters; crażać: trembling; oualać: in locks; oréimreac: in long wisps or strands; zreanaim: I carve, engrave, sculpt; greanta: sculpted, adorned, neat, elegant, lovely; bán-cneis: (woman) of white skin; craob: branch, branch or palm of victory, trophy, fig. for house, mansion.

Annir: maiden; caoin: gentle, kind; cais: moist, soft, tender; créiceac: accomplished, virtuous; cailce: chalk-white, beautiful; caom: gentle, fair; smól: snuff of a candle, flaw, stain; pléròim: I defeat, crush, contest; uball: ball, globe, round fruit, apple, a choice thing, choicest part; mairs: woe, pity, despondency, oppression; réacaim: I watch, appear, test, attempt, explore, visit, attend to; réacamc: (1) examining, (2) consideration, pity; mamrac: bright, coloured; cailce: chalkwhite, beautiful; ár: slaughter; ár-501n: deadly wound; réroim: I settle; ceasna: difficulty, trouble; anac: eanac, path, pass, road, watery place, pond, lake; maoroa: majestic; maiseac: beautiful, graceful; caoin: gentle, kind; céao-cuirim: I first put; ríor: fact, truth, trial, ordeal; mulleann: mill, water-mill; bé: woman; Laocrao: band of heroes or champions; creoir: direction, sense.

Caoin: gentle, kind; caom: mild, fair; priotal: word, speech, utterance; miocair: kind, affable; otizir: otuizir; zó: lie, falsehood; zéill: submission, obedience; urraim: esteem, respect, honour; tuirseac: tired, oppressed, anguished; zníomac: active, feat-performing; zleo: tumult, battle; súil: eye, eye to, expectation; tréan-muir: mighty sea; poireann: team, band, army; puireac: delay; méireleac: wretch, miscreant; tuirse: oppression; easbaio: defect, flaw, need, want; uireasbaio: deficiency, need, poverty; séan: omen, charm, good luck, prosperity, happiness; séanmar: happy, prosperous, contented; sám: tranquil, comfortable; sult: delight, fun, savour; sultmar: jolly, joyous.

Spéir-bean: beautiful woman; miocair: kind, affable; clúio: covering; ξεαl-ċlúio: fair protector, foster-nurse; ceimeal: cloud, shadow, stain, flaw; oineaċ: hospitable; puireann: band, army; réabaim: I destroy, demolish; broid: difficulty; méirleaċ: wretch, miscreant; sméirle: clownish person; creoir: direction, leadership; cailce: chalk-white, beautiful; crúip: troops, army; líonmar: plentiful; buiðeanmar: with abundant forces, with a large following; nearcmar: strong; coimeascar: conflict; ξleo: noise, tumult, battle; claon: perverse; pearann cloiðim: field of the sword, battle-field; creascraim: I destroy, overthrow.

# 16. Ar maidin indé is mé as caisceal i scéin - Yesterday morning and I travelling afar.

Močar: clump, cluster, grove; buacać: lofy, gay, buxom, luxurious; ζαλακ: disease, distress, trouble; ταραπι: hunting, chasing, barking at, driving, routing; amoeis: *opposite of* deas, untidy, wretched, miserable; amoeise: wretchedness; sléaċtaim: I bow, submit, hang down; taise: moistness, softness, pity, faint-heartedness; pionnaim: I know, try, see, recognise, discover.

Solasca: bright, radiant, brilliant; spionnaö: strength, force, prowess, vigour; luaöail: motion, stirring; olúiceac: close, compact; oricle: spark, flash; oricleac: sparkling, bright, beautiful; oramac: ?; oreamac: abounding in companies; ouibreac: ? darkness?; caisce: treasure, hoard, stake, pledge; seoc: seac, by, beside, compared with, rather, better than; pionnall: ? pinn-żeal?, bright, fair lady?; prasac: showery, bedewed, fruitful, generous, eloquent; caom: drop, torrent, fit, disease; amarc: sight, vision, scene.

'Deabaro: conflict, strife; scríocam: I fall, submit, desist from; séanam: I deny, refuse, abstain from, avoid; scríb: scríob, scrape, track, line; meamram: parchment, scroll, manuscript; slím: slim, smooth, graceful; céadac: hundred-fold; céado: hundred, first, choicest; céado-: first-, fundamental; ceaduiţim: I permit, dismiss, wish, consent, consult; cneadam: I wound; snoide: hewn, chiselled, delicately carved, neat; snasta: glossed, polished, elegant, neat; blasta: delicious, tasty, elegant, fluent.

Γιοππαιπ; I know, discover; mιοċακὸα: ? mιοċακ, kind, friendly, mild; bileamail: tree-like, distinguished, stately; bleaċt: milk, abundance; bleaċt: (adjective) milky, copious, generous, hospitable, productive; σειπεαπαιl: genealogical?; caoimneas: gentleness; caoimnaċt: company, protection, nurture; taob: side, body; taob-leabaik: graceful body, beauty(?).

ÉASCRUC: absence of form, deformity, dismay, terror, sad plight; ruiseall: remnant, defect, bad result; rrasac: showery, fruitful, generous, eloquent; rárbon: ? rác arb ann, the reason why (something) should exist (an tAth Pádraig Ó Fiannachta), rorbann, excess (Canon Michael Manning – the earrao being liquor or uisce beaca); earrao: property, materials, dress, armour; ealsa: noble; eals: Ireland; ealsac: Irish; cáir: base,

vile; cáil: quality, reputation, fame, means, state, sort, amount, share, quantity.

Dreas: great, beautiful; cosnam: protection, defence, championing; drazan: dragon, hero; cuirim: I put, fix, set, sow, bury, shed, send, cause.

Muirinneaċ: muirineaċ, lovable person; μπίτ: was found; síolraċ: progeny, race, tribe; μοίζει: nearness; ματαċ: giant; αιτακε: triumph, success.

Déibceac: ? το αδτάς, quarrelsome; curaτό: warrior; cineacac: cineacac; cineacac, cineacac, having many relatives; coimirseac: sociable, affable; crústálaim: I throw missiles at, I fight; τύκπαιm: τοικπιm, I descend, lower, humble, destroy, defeat; τιμιπ: tune, humour, mood.

Lınʒım: I leap, spring, rush away, escape; ionţoil: ?, ionţoil, attack, battle, battlefield, armour; peròmim: I accomplish.

## 17. Sealad dem saosal - A while in my life.

ΔΕRΑĊ: airy, eerie, weird, haunted; ιοηζαπταĊ: wonderful, surprising; τυικse: fatigue, affliction; κιακαὸ: serving, ruling, sharing, complying with, experiencing, submitting to; ceasnuiţċeaċ: troubled, concerned; connail: discreet, worthy, thrifty; connail-boċc: poor though worthy, pitiful; búrò: gentle, affable, gracious; cium: calm, gentle, quiet; subaċ: pleasant, merry, comfortable.

Γείζεαπαι : weak, defective, also keen, sharp; suioce: seated, placed, settled, certain, staid, neat; séaomar: rich in jewels or ornaments, wealthy; είγεα το force, point, substance, avail, sense, wisdom, maturity, prodigy; cúirnín: ?; cuar: hoop, ring, circle, curve; cacais: guard, sentinel; cacaiseac: vigilant,

valiant, clever, quick, amiable; oúil: element, creature, anything created, being; 5Rinn: sharp, accurate, clear.

Dalsam: balm, fragrance; peoǯaim: I wither, decay, droop, perish; ζrinn: sharp, clear, steadfast, close, earnest; búið: gentle, affable, gracious; clí: chest, ribs, heart, body; ρύιλιοἐκὸτ: σάιλιοἐκὸτ, distributing, partition, division; seascair: comfortable, easy, quiet, sheltered, snug, pleasant; cúimín: ?; cuimín: coimín, little waist ?; cúm: form, body, waist.

react: turn, time, occasion; mascalac: masculine, manly, muscular, firm, strong, proud, stately; seanca: history; sléactaim: I bow, worship, submit, deign; sléactaim: I cut, fell, clear, destroy; búc: buòac, free, liberal, kind; σúbluiţim: I double, fold, repeat.

lonnsuröe: ionnsaröe, approaching, setting about, attacking, enterprise; zreann: fun, humour *also* incitation, challenge, *also* fur, beard, hair; zreannmar: witty, pleasant, amiable, strange, strong, vigorous, fierce; craob: branch, garland, palm of victory.

Oúilioeact: disributing, partitioning, dividing.

Creacan: vast; cúmse: protection, trick, plan, understanding, alternative, condition; múr: wall, fortification, cloud of dust, abundance; cuṁanʒ: narrow, tight, narrow-minded, miserly.

Séis: science, skill, music; clúro: corner, recess, protection, society.

Samairle: cub, whelp, boor, fat person.

# 18. To rinnead aisling beag aerac- An eerie little vision appeared.

Δεκαċ: airy, eeries; nóm: noon, evening; τκάċ nóna: evening; casaım: I twist, return, cause to turn back, begin, raise; scéiċim: I spew, overflow, betray; comair: presence; ós comair: in front of; as comair:?

Méiċ: fat; pʌinτiʀ: ? panthers?; míol: animal, hare; míol bán: ?; ξeoin: shout, hum.

Deag: small, can also mean young; aosta: old, worn-out.

ปังงั: foolish, soft, weak, tender; รางปางเพล: smiter, sturdy fellow; งbงางาเก: I cause to ripen.

Séiċleaċ: weakling, old person, lazy person, a term applied to Cupid; blaisim: I taste, sip, begin to enjoy; ίοξακὰα: ρίοξακὰα, shapely.

Dráca: rake, harrow, impediment, incubus.

Paonuism: I mollify, soothe, calm; airo: point of compass, direction, region; rad: giving, casting, discharging, (could be rud, amount).

## 19. 1 sleasaib na habann - By the banks of the river.

Émmeac: énjeam, crying aloud, bawling, groaning, complaining, fairy-crying; síomanna: tricks, pranks, pretences, pretended illness; pala: grudge, spite, treachery, displeasure; cruipinneac: wavy; sann: scarce, stunted, thin, narrow; cúm: form, body, waist.

Anörann: weak, feeble; aizne: heart, mind, intention, desire; cazraim: I plead for, reason, argue, dispute, mention, refer to; banba: poetic name for Ireland, fair lady.

ÉIZEAN: violence, force, necessity, distress; ÉIZNEAĊ: violent, distressful; pé-bean: good woman; cuirim ar zcúl: I put back, abolish, cancel, postpone; ceapaim: I stop, catch, seize, control, think, compose; lomra: lomraö, shearing, a fleece, the Golden Fleece; aeròa: aerial, airy; píle: deluge, ocean; búċ: free, liberal, kind.

(This verse is given in parentheses in Ua Duinnín, 1923.) Cóκαċ: just, fair, even, well-proportioned, handsome, tidy; cκuċαċ: well-formed, shapely; κετοċ: clear, cleared, open; an speiκlingeaċ mná: the woman from the skies (Dinneen); cluan: flattery, dissimulation, deceit; cluanaċ: deceitful.

Cozal: cowl, shell, hiding, protection, *also* corn-cockle; broz: house, mansion; braonaċ: dewy, dropping, rainy, tearful; áro: high, loud, noble, mighty; caise: stream, curent, flood; oanno: grief, loss, regret.

Práisc: dirt, wildness, extravagance, wantonness; eitneam: ?; eiteat: perjury, lie; eiteat: refusal, denial; poillsiţim: I show, reveal, explain, publish, describe; scriosaim: I scrape clean, remove, cancel, blot out; millteat: (adjective) destructive, deceitful (milte, thousands?); cuain: pack of dogs or wolves, tribe, company, retinue.

Méiroreaċ: harlot; cor: throw, cast; coir: sin, crime; cine Scuic: Scots, Gaels; χκαċαin: flock, multitude, mob, low tribe; scize: jeering, buffoonery; páinceaċ: a sleek, well-developed person or animal.

## 20. Crim aisling araoir - Through my dreaming last night.

Aıslınz: dream, vision, apparition.

Cionnlacaim: I accompany, escort, attend; píob: pipe, tube, neck, throat, bagpipe; voras: doorway, door, gateway, breach, entrance, boundary; scallaö: scalding, burning, scolding; racaireaċc: sport, pastime; siúcaire: sugar.

Olúcuiçim: I draw close to, press together, embrace; sconnsa: drain; cúinse: protection.

# 21. Críom smaoince - Through my thoughts.

Éirim: course, aspiration, importance; rianaim: I mark, trace out, walk, journey; raioim: raoaim, I give, send, deliver, bestow, fling; raiceam: sleep, rest; niall: néall, cloud, swoon.

ÉASCAIÒ: quick, nimble, ready, willing, agreeable; ARĊA: ORĊA, prayer, curse; carċannas: charity, kindness, gentleness; bias: ?béas, custom, form, manner; scian: knife, dagger, edge, angry note in speech; ταιβκιζίπ: I dream; ταιβειζίπ: I appear, show, represent, portend; soillsiζίπ: I show, shine, brighten.

Slamar: heavy mass, soft mass, luxuriant growth; peacaim: I bend, bow, twist; piar: péar, grass; pá deara: observing, causing; seamar: green blade of corn, green grass.

Capann: hunting, barking at, pressing, urging; seanċas: history, lore; ατὸ ainτ: entreaty, petition, requesting; riar: service, attendance, management; eagna: wisdom, prudence; eaganta: ?; eagnaċ: wise, prudent, discreet.

Scial: ? scéal?; cinnim: I fix, resolve; víolaim: I pay, sell, betray; teacsanna: ? taxes?; cartaim: I discharge, spill, clear away.

Cimċeλl: circuit, detour; cleas: play, game, feat, trick, craft; τλιċeλċ: strength, substance; τκιλη: third, portion, barony, (τκιμċ, cantred, district), could be alt. form of τκέλη; casaım: I turn, return, begin (a song or recitation); τκιλι!: journeying, march, attempt, plot; Cáιτlín Cκιλιll: Kathleen of the Journeying, Wandering Kathleen, Kathleen Tyrrell in the O'Carolan poem.

Crian: ? τréan ?; barraċas: surplus, excess, supremacy, sway; σεακδα: genuineness, certainty; τκειτελε: clever, talented.

Orum: back; oe orum: over; oá orum sin: on account of that; rairsing: wide, plentiful, generous.

# Some of the Airs to which the Poems are sung

# Seán Ó Duibhir an Ghleanna

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pQKoOm9g34A http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CSX\_-\_wj7Bk&noredirect=1

# An Spealadóir

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHUsi2hC-xU

## An Clár Bog Déil

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6x3hB7Kx\_T8

## An Binsín Luachra

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xDZyZp1f9ZI http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bjmqsgkvubc&feature=related

## Seán Buí

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W6QJRMtWR4w

# Cáitlín Triaill

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h13\_GpLOcJk

# **Conflicting Views Of Ireland In The 18th Century:**

# Revisionist History Under The Spotlight

There is an account of the death of Fr. Thade O'Sullivan in the *Catholic Bulletin* for September 1934:

"Never again shall we hear the great songs of the poets of the Clann Ruadh O'Sullivan—Eoghan and Tomás—sung with such weird effect—
Taisteal na Blarnan, Amhrán no Leabhar and Sean Buidhe will only be coldly rendered lyrics from Tonic Solfa text-books for evermore. When the doctors of the Mater Nursing Home, in the last days of his earthly sojourn pronounced his memory a blank for ever, he opened his great eyes—already misty by Divine decree—on the entrance of an old Iveragh friend, and burst into

Go Cuan Bhéil—Inse casadh mé Cois Góilín aoibhinn Dairbhre.

He sang through some half-a-dozen lines with his old enthusiasm, and having failed to take a higher note, exclaimed in anguish, quoting the last remark of Eoghan Ruadh: 'Sin é an file go fann'—there is the poet played out."

Thade O'Sullivan was born in Cahirciveen in 1859, but spent the greater part of his life in Hounslow, London, having been seconded on ordination to the Diocese of Westminster. One of his duties was to act as Catholic chaplain to regiments based at Hounslow Barracks. He was a supporter of the Gaelic revival and was a member of the Irish Texts Society, and when the time came for Republicanism, he was a Republican. Having served the cause of religion and nationality in foreign parts for half a century, he retired to Dublin to die. He died with Owen Roe on his lips. And the *Catholic Bulletin* (a very earnest publication at a time when religion was a very earnest preoccupation of the country) did not think it was a bad way for a priest to die—even though Owen Roe was an utterly wayward and wilful scapegrace who gave scandal by word and deed at every turn.

#### Slieve Luacra.

Owen Roe, the O'Sullivan who became a poet in Slieve Luacra, was the supreme product of the culture of the Hedge Schools. He was made possible by the combination of Slieve Luacra and Hedge Schools.

Slieve Luacra was where many important families of Gaelic Ireland found refuge after they were broken by Cromwell or by William of Orange. It is

an ill-defined region extending around a triangle of villages (Knocknagree, Gneevaguilla and Ballydesmond) in Cork and Kerry. It is not a mountain at all, but a kind of plateau. What grows best there is rushes, and there is bogland in plenty, but within it there are patches of quite good land.

According to Dinneen, the O'Sullivans retreated into Slieve Luacra after they were dispossessed in Kenmare, and they brought with them their "hereditary labourers", the Cullotys. My grandmother was a Culloty, in the townland of Glencollins, close to the townland of Meentogues where Owen Roe was born, and to O'Rahilly's Meenganine. I presume that my ancestors lost their hereditary status soon after arriving in Slieve Luacra, if only because the O'Sullivans lost theirs. Slieve Luacra assimilated its immigrants and forged them all into a vigorous, democratic, egalitarian Gaelic *mélange*, and was a civilisation unto itself for a great many generations thereafter.

The village of Ballydesmond did not exist in Owen Roe's time. It was constructed by the British administration after the suppression of the last Whiteboy rising in 1830, when a military road was built through the region. The village was named Kingwilliamstown. A 'model farm' was established on the outskirts, in Glencollins, for the purpose of showing the cultured Gaels how to become industrious serfs of the landlord system. But that never happened. And the pair of lions displayed at the gates of the model farmhouse are now decorating the entrance to my sister Sheila's house down the road.

I shouldn't think that Gneevaguilla existed in Owen Roe's time either. It is still a very small village, though bigger than it was when I knew it.

Knocknagree was the urban centre. I say "urban centre" because the term says itself in the English language, moulded on a civilisation where the countryside is boorish and such sociability as exists is to be found in towns. But that tight association of ideas, "urban centre", is not one that I would make on the basis of my own experience of living in Slieve Luacra into my twenties. Anyhow Knocknagree was some kind of centre in Owen Roe's time. And it is where he was killed by the servants of a person from Rathmore, a village on the highway connecting two parts of the other civilisation.

(There is a description of Slieve Luacra in a biography of Fr. Dinneen, *An Duinnineach*, by Proinsias O Conluain and Donncha O Ceileachair, published in 1958. It must be quoted, if only because the region is so rarely mentioned in published material:

"The Dinneens were historians and storytellers to the O Donoghues in ancient times... They owned eight acres of rough ground in Sliabh Luacra, which is an area of raised bogland... The poets Aodhagan O Rathaille and Eoghan Rua O Suilleabhain had belonged to Sliabh Luacra, and Gaelic culture

remained strong in the area up to Dineen's time... Sliabh Luacra translates as Bog of Rushes. The word "sliabh" has the alternate meaning of "moor, a piece of moorland, often low-lying". Sliabh Luacra had been the refuge of Gaelic leaders who, after the Cromwellian defeat, retreated there rather than to Connacht. Ulstermen and Scots had fled there after the battle of Knocknanoss. Whiteboyism—a system of self-defence against the new rulers—remained common. It is an inhospitable and barren country, whose boggy character made drinking water scarce. For historical reasons it was densely populated, the typical smallholding having three or four cows. The people there are known for their industry and thrift, and a certain quality of determined individuality. While the area was poor, it was not backward or parochial, but had a tradition of scholarship and learning, often associated with particular families. The Sliabh Luacra area, including the Dinneen family, was in the process of switching from the Irish to the English language during Patrick's childhood.")

## Role Models—Hodge or Cincinnatus?

The Hedge Schools were the great obstacle to the peasantising of the Irish. The culture of the Os and Macs—marked down for destruction by Spenser, the *Gauleiter*/poet—was preserved by them throughout the century of the Molyneuxs and Floods, and the Smiths and Turners. William O'Brien, the agrarian revolutionary cum constructive statesman, discovered that the English peasant idea of Heaven was "Swinging on a gate munching bread and cheese", and saw that fact as destining Ireland to part company with England. West Britain had no secure base in rural Ireland because the Gaels were never trained to chew the cud (*Irish Ideas*, 1893, p2).

They were excluded from the educational structures of Anglo-Ireland (Penal Law Ireland). The intention was to reduce them to ignorance and make them malleable. The effect was that they kept on educating themselves within a culture that took no account of utilitarian economics.

Two generations after the death of Owen Roe, a classical Hedge School in Kerry was described, disapprovingly, by the Rev. William Hickey, Protestant Rector of Mulrankin, Co. Wexford, in *Hints Addressed To The Small Holders And Peasantry Of Ireland* (1837). The Rev. Hickey published under the pseudonym of "Martin Doyle". He wrote in the guise of a progressive and philanthropic gentleman farmer who was anxious that the mass of the people of Ireland should accomplish their true destiny by becoming an industrious, ant-like, peasantry, such as the rural English were. In various booklets he aspired to teach them how to become peasants. He instructed them in the growing of Potatoes, Turnips and Mangel Wurzels, in the handling of cows and the folly of keeping horses, in manures, and in the usefulness of bee-keeping. The bee had a two-fold usefulness—making honey and setting a moral example:

"Regard the labours of the *Bee*Example meet of industry;
Although he roves through Summer flowers,
"Tis not to waste in play his hours."

The Rev. Hickey approved of education as he approved of dress. Clothes should be worn, but "I like to see people dressed according to their rank in life". And he regretted a tendency observable in the lower classes to dress above themselves.

"When the idea of educating the lower classes was first entertained and considered, it was opposed by many as likely to substitute vain and unsatisfying knowledge, in the place of sober industry and necessary labour. But this was over-ruled (for who with any heart and feeling, could agree to keep his fellow-man, created in the image of the Almighty, in the disgraceful state of blind and unassisted ignorance)".

But a dangerous error was prevalent, "considering education as the great *end*", when, properly considered, it would be seen as a means towards an appropriate end. And the appropriate end of education for the lower classes was not statecraft: "You don't want by education to become *statesmen* or *privy counsellors*". What the aspiring peasant needed was to have his moral character trained so that he "recommends himself to his landlord... as improved in steadiness and propriety"—and a better payer of rent.

The Rev. Hickey used a rather unfortunate example when trying to show this feckless people that it was a worthy ambition to aspire to become a peasant whose horizon was bounded by his landlord:

"A great *dictator* found more pleasure in guiding the plough, than the state: and when called upon to do so, left his farm, cultivated by his own hands, with bitter regret. I need not trouble you with his name, which is a very hard one, and Latin besides".

If Cincinnatus could be called from his plough to the helm of state, that must mean that, as a ploughman, he had the qualities of a statesman. The Rev. Hickey subverted his entire case with this mention of a ploughman who was called from the plough to run the government. Withholding his name was neither here nor there. If you were told on good authority that there was once a ploughman who governed a state, why should you heed the same authority when he told you that, because you were to become a ploughman, you should not have the education of a statesman?

A little over a century later I grew up amongst ploughmen—or at least amongst men who could plough—and who had taken part in the formation of a state. And I even ploughed a field myself just before horses became obsolete. (The State being then already formed, free, wilful energy expressed itself in other unprofitable ways.)

The capacity for statecraft, that was found to be widespread in parts of Ireland, when the British Government attempted to overrule the 1918 Election result, undoubtedly owed its existence to the rejection of the practical advice given by the Rev. Hickey and many other philanthropic gentlemen. The peasantry refused to become peasants. All too often they submitted their children to "bad education that I would have you avoid"—education in Greek or Latin, which is "a nuisance among you". This impractical strain in the cultural make-up of those who were peasants to their betters, though not to themselves—and who were unable to recognise their betters as better—proved in the end to be a very great nuisance indeed. In 1919-21 it caused them to emulate the Roman of the Rev. Hickey's unfortunate example by combining ploughing with statecraft.

"Martin Doyle" supplied examples of bad education from—

"...the kingdom of Kerry, where rich and poor are, or were some time ago, classical scholars. I recollect some years back, riding through a valley in that country, and seeing a ragged fellow on a high rock, herding goats: I beckoned him to come down, and asked him some question about the romantic spot on which he stood. He did not understand one word I said, but addressed me very fluently in Latin. I was as badly off there—it being a little out of Martin's line—and we parted as wise as we met; for the native language, which he also tried on me, was thrown away upon a Wexford man. It struck me that he must have been taught the Latin in Irish, for not a word of English could he speak, or, I believe, understand. Not so another Latinist whom I fell in with the same day, and who answered me in tolerable English (but with a little more of the brogue than I am accustomed to) all the questions I put to him. This was a schoolmaster who had emerged from his little school-room of sods, at the edge of a turf-bog, and had collected his boys around him under a sunny bank by the road side.

"I asked him what he taught those fine boys? He answered that he taught them Latin and Greek, and that he hoped I would let him put them through their *construin*' and *parsin*' for me. I told him I was a bad judge of these matters, and was hurrying on to Dingle. He pressed hard; and I at length compromised, by letting one boy be put *to his author*.

"'Will you plase to let him do Homer or Virgil?' he inquired.

"'Indeed, my friend', answered I, 'it is pretty much the same to me'.

"'Well, Shane', said the master, tapping one of his boys on the shoulder, 'take this Virgil in your hand, an' go on there, an' mind now—do you hear?— attintion—do it handsome for the gintleman—none of your dirty, mane, close, conthracted thranslations, but free and lib'ral—do you mind me Shane?'

"He then directed my eye to the passage: I could read, but not understand it: but when all was over, he wrote it down for me to take home."

With the help of the translation, the Rev. Hickey reconstructed Shane's performance. When it was done the master said to him:

"'Oh, Sir, it does one's heart good to hear a little jockey of this sort doing

the thing as grand as Dryden. That's the way I tache my boys; I'd not give a sod of turf for any thing else. I'd rather they missed the since altogether, than not consthrue freely'.

"I told him again that I was but a bad judge, patted Shane upon the head... pocketed his copy of the passage and translation, and proceeded to my dinner and bed at Dingle.

"Now, notwithstanding all this, I am still of opinion that this kind of education is not only useless, but injurious for the lower classes. One in ten thousand may possess great and decided talent, and rise through many difficulties to some eminence in a learned profession; but a smattering of that sort of knowledge is dangerous, and always sure to end in disappointment. Such knowledge creates pride; a certain degree of it makes a man think he is born to be a learned man, and that the handles of the plough, or the business of the counter, would disgrace him; but either of these is safe for him who attends to them, while the former is uncertain and deceitful."

The Rev. Hickey was undoubtedly a kindly man, concerned to minimise suffering within the order of things established by his kind. He wanted the dispossessed people to have a utilitarian education that would increase their usefulness as a labouring 'lower class', supplemented by a sort of Christian doctrine that resigned them to their fate. Anything else would both diminish their market value as tenants and burden them with existential discontent. The difficulty was that the dispossessed people were not disposed to mould themselves into the 'lower classes' of the Williamite colony.

#### Existence vs Utility.

Classical education for people whose destiny is to become peasants is not utilitarian. But what is to be done about people who do not know their destiny?

Destiny is thought. And thought is inseparable from language. And the language of the disrupted Gaels was not conducive to the realisation of the destiny conceived for them by others.

Language is loaded with destiny. You cannot accomplish the destiny that others have objectively set out for you if your subjective world, determined by your habitual language, is at variance with it. The disrupted Gaels did not speak a language which predisposed them to become industrious servants of "the dull plodding plunderer, Sean Buidhe" (Edward Walsh's translation of a line of Owen Roe's).

Perhaps the language they did speak was charged with a lost destiny which could never be recovered. Cromwell and William and Anne and the Georges had broken up their world so diligently that it could never be put together again, and had blotted them out with Penal Laws. But when, in their blotted-out condition, they spoke a language that was loaded with an

unrealisable destiny, that language also made the destiny conceived for them by Sean Buidhe unrealisable.

And so they dreamed their Gaelic dreams and cultivated classical learning uselessly. For what is the use of Homer or Virgil to a shepherd? Indeed, what is the use of Homer or Virgil at all? The Rev. Hickey sees it as having utility in a "learned profession", which Shane will certainly not enter. And why has it got utility in a learned profession? Because it brings in a salary. The professor of Latin or Greek could make a living instructing young gentlemen. But, what would be the utility of such instruction to the young gentlemen, apart from giving them a handful of Latin tags in common? Well, one in a thousand of them could become a professor of Latin.

It did not occur to the Rev. Hickey that the shepherd might have felt that his sheer existence was rendered immensely satisfactory by the fact that Homer and Virgil were buzzing around in his head. How could it? Existential satisfaction has no utility—no market value.

#### Two 18th Centuries.

I had got this far with this effort to present Owen Roe's historical setting, and was wondering how best to approach the 18th century—an era to which much whitewash has been applied in recent decades—when I chanced to hear an interview with Professor Marianne Elliott on the Jeremy Paxman show on BBC Radio 4 (Start The Week) about her book, The Catholics Of Ulster. His introductory selling point, the hook to whet the hearer's appetite, was that she had demonstrated that the Penal Laws—the regime of oppression supposedly directed against the Irish Catholics for many generations, and supposedly the source of all that has happened in Irish-English and Catholic-Protestant relations ever since—were, if not a total invention of nationalist propagandists, at least a very great exaggeration of something slight. And what she said in the interview confirmed that this was in fact the message of her book.

Here is what I had written when I heard this interview:

"Eighteenth century Anglo-Ireland has been so extensively touched up and improved in retrospect in recent decades that Egan O Rahilly and Owen Roe can have no place in the new version. That is why it is necessary to reassert some of the crude, elemental facts of life about it.

"Anglo-Ireland—the English ruling caste in Ireland—was an active participant in the life of the English state which had slavery at its economic base, and religious bigotry at its crown. And the 'culture' of which we hear so much—what was that but the flowers on the dunghill?

"England devotes considerable resources to cleaning up its past, and through its very effective patronage system it has been recruiting Irish talent for the work. (The extreme case is a Drogheda historian, Tom Reilly, who in 1999 wrote *Cromwell: An Honourable Enemy*, cleaning up Cromwell, and was given prime-time coverage on the BBC *Today* programme.)

"As the English past is massaged into shapes that are more pleasant to contemplate by the English present, other societies are deprived of any credible past, insofar as they had been interfered with by England. They are required to deny the past, so that England in the present might indulge in unlimited self-righteousness. Ireland is, of course, the prime case. And revisionist Ireland is Ireland in denial."

Having written that much, I hesitated, thinking that I might be overstating the case. That was when the message came to me over the airwaves from the horse's mouth that I was, if anything, understating it. I procured Marianne Elliott's book to make quite certain that she had not been led on by the BBC to make rash statements beyond what she had said in print after careful academic consideration. She hadn't.

She tells us that there was no Penal Code, though there were some laws, "piecemeal and erratic, produced by genuine political crises", and usually not enforced. And that: "in terms of social relations Ireland differed little from contemporary Europe" (p164). "It was not that Catholics were being denied freedom of conscience" (p166). "...the 18th century was a period of opportunity for Irish Catholics" (p180).

Professor Elliott's theme is that English rule in Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries was benevolent, enlightened, progressive, and in the interest of the mass of the people, and that it was unjustly condemned by an overthrown elite of Gaelic aristocrats, the real oppressors of the people.

Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien has revealed that, at the heart of the English regime of slavery and bigotry in the 18th century, there was "the English Enlightenment". This was an admirable Enlightenment—discriminatory, controlled, particular, and socially hierarchical—infinitely preferable to the French Enlightenment, with its baneful egalitarianism and its generalised Rights of Man.

The writing of these comments was interrupted by a journey to Kilkenny for a weekend celebration of the life of Hubert Butler, on the centenary of his birth. The celebration was sponsored by the British Council and the *Irish Times*. Three collections of his articles were on sale. One of them (*In The Land Of Nod*) included his Election Address in 1955 when he was a candidate in the local elections. His message to Kilkenny voters was: "We live in a democracy but the democratic principles which we obey were not developed by a Roman Catholic majority except under Protestant leadership... most of our free institutions in Ireland were evolved by Protestants or men of Anglo-Irish or English stock and it would be very surprising if we had not a particular gift for making them work". They

worked poorly in Ireland "because the heirs of the men who invented them and have a sort of hereditary understanding of how they work play no part in them. Most of us can act independently because we have independence in our blood".

Eminent academics on the platform and in the audience praised Butler for his courageous condemnation of religious and racial bigotry—in Croatia and in Catholic Ireland. They did not comment on Butler's own religious and racial bigotry at home. They did not welcome it when Jack Lane, shrugging off the atmosphere of unthinking goodwill, read out this passage to them and asked for their comments. Their reluctant comments failed to show that Butler's Election Address was not an expression of religious and racial bigotry, but fell short of being an admission that it was. The attitude was one of embarrassment that the matter had been raised, and of stoical endurance until the end of the Conference, when it could be forgotten. A report of the Conference in the *Times Literary Supplement* by Geoffrey Wheatcroft [29.12.2000] made no mention of it. The cultured mentality that gave rise to the Penal Laws and maintained them for a century and a half is taking a long time to die.

Insofar as there is factual ground for Butler's statement that English Protestants established democracy in Ireland, it is that Ireland was ruled by English Protestants, on the mandate of force, during the century and a half of the Penal Laws and for most of a further century thereafter, and that the structures of government in Ireland were in that period established by those who ruled it. Whatever the mode of government was (and it was undemocratic and, what is more to the point, unrepresentative), it was of necessity the work of English Protestants who had taken the business of government into their exclusive control. The system of government of the "English Enlightenment" was anti-democratic, both in detail and in spirit, all through the 18th century and for most of the 19th. Parliament represented the gentry until 1832, the middle-class from 1832 to 1867, and the middleand lower-middle classes from 1867 to 1918. The Reform Act which established substantive democracy was enacted in 1918 as an emergency measure in a war that had got out of hand. Ireland voted itself independent in the first democratic election held in the United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Ireland, and it was subjected to military rule by the first democratically elected British Parliament, supported by most of the Protestant minority in Ireland.

The ethos of British Parliamentary government was anti-democratic until late in the 19th century. That is to say that stable Parliamentary government was held to be impossible on the basis of a democratic franchise. But, after the 1867 Reform, the word 'democratic' began to be applied to an electorate which, though greatly increased, was still a small minority of the adult

population. And, once 'democratic' became the in-word, it was projected backwards over the centuries when Parliament had specifically repudiated democracy.

Modern democracy is neither English nor Protestant in origin, and least of all is it the product of English Protestantism in Ireland. It has its origin in the unruly, uncontrolled French Enlightenment and Revolution.

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The "English Enlightenment" was a function of the unstable Reformation state, its ambitions and dilemmas. And Monarchy, Oligarchy and Democracy were matters of expediency to it, to which it was in principle indifferent.

A grasping middle class was fostered by the Tudor state as an element in its Reformation project. It would be misleading to call them bourgeois—a name which properly applies to cultured town life in parts of Europe: orderly, smug, sedate, pretentious perhaps, but a thing of its own, with its own inertia. One of the peaks of the 19th century European art-culture is the representation of a rapprochement between a free-ranging aristocrat and the burghers of Nuremberg. It necessarily appears quaint to the English Protestant view, even though Nuremberg was a Protestant town, because nothing like it could have occurred in Protestant England. The great Tudor revolution of destruction, through which the Tudor middle class was created, put an end to autonomous bourgeois life in English towns. There was extensive cultural and social continuity across the watershed of the Reformation in Germany, where the Reformation was a popular event. In England the Reformation was an event in the continuous life of the Tudor state, but it was accomplished through a fundamental rupture in social and cultural life.

The Tudor state proclaimed itself an Empire—an absolute sovereignty which would do just as it pleased in the world—when Henry merged Church and state by making himself his own Pope.

Traditional bourgeois life—which, being traditional, had cultural connections with Rome—was disrupted by Henry's demonically energetic Minister, Thomas Cromwell. A new middle class, beholden to the state, was created through the privatisation of Church property. And a hundred years later the remnants of traditional social life were scotched by Oliver Cromwell and the theocratic Republicans.

The absolute state became the general condition of social life in England in the mid-16th century. The new middle classes, the new gentry (who were only successful middle class types a generation on) and the monarchy combined in making the state absolute and dynamic. These elements experienced some difficulty in working out a generally acceptable Constitutional routine, and the middle classes had to fight and win a war against the monarchy in order to discover that they did not have it in them to

conduct the state as a Republic. The Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660 by the Republicans who, though still dominant, were at their wit's end, was a conclusive demonstration that the middle classes produced out of the English Reformation were not a functional bourgeoisie. John Milton, a stubborn Republican to the bitter end, made a grandiloquent claim on their behalf when he said: "Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live". But the truth was that England itself no longer knew how to live—only how to conquer.

The components of the absolute English sovereignty had their difficulties with each other, but they were all pretty well agreed about what needed to be done with the Irish.

## The Faerie Queen—The True Aisling?

It has recently been revealed that the greatest North Cork poet was Edmund Spenser. On my only visit within the precincts of Cork University I heard a lyrical description of a picnic-pilgrimage to the ruins of Kilcolman Castle to do him honour. It was there that he wrote *The Faery Queen*. But the only reason he was there was that he was given a large estate in County Cork out of the confiscations, in reward for services rendered in the war of 1580. And he did not only write a long poem while he was there, but took a part in the governing of the country. And he did not only govern the country: he analysed it, discerned the "evils" which diminished its usefulness to England, and devised a scheme for making it useful: A View Of The Present State Of Ireland. I do not know if it was the first general analysis of its kind. But I know that those who came after him, whatever their views were on how the internal affairs of the English state should be arranged, acted in Ireland as if they were implementing his programme. And, if his programme for Ireland was OK, I do not see how there could be very much wrong with Hitler's programme for the Ukraine as set out in Mein Kampf.

A biography attached to the 1887 edition of his *Works* remarks that "there was in him a certain great self-containedness, that he carried his world with him wherever he went". And so, unlike many Englishmen before him, he never went Irish in the slightest degree.

Among the ingratiating verses prefaced to *The Fairie Queen* there is the following, addressed to the Lord Chancellor:

"Those proudest heads, that with their counsels wise Whylom the pillars of the earth did sustaine, And taught ambitious Rome to tyrannise And in the neck of the world to reign;
Oft from those grave affairs were wont to abstain, With sweet Lady Muses for to play..."

All work and no play makes John a dull tyrant! More than that—even in play something can be done for tyranny.

The Faerie Queen is a series of tales of chivalry, each drawn out at great length. I read it during a month spent in institutional Limbo towards the end of my brief military career, when I had nothing else to read. But I still gained no insight into the psychology of post-Reformation England in which "faery", and rustic idylls, accompany an irresistible imperialistic urge to reduce the world to a drab utilitarian hinterland serving English needs. I only know that it is always there, from Spenser to Kipling.

The Present State Of Ireland, written in 1596, discusses how the "goodly and commodious soil" of Ireland can be put to better use than the Irish are making of it. And also, of course, the "reducing of a savage nation to better government and civility". English Imperialism has always been human rights Imperialism. And the "evils" which Spenser saw as depriving the Irish of their human rights were of three kinds: "the first in the Laws, the second in the Customs, and the third in Religion".

What would be left of the Irish when those three "evils" that stood between them and their rights were abolished by the totalitarian action of the Tudor state? Laws, customs and religion were to go. What was there beyond them that might remain?

As things turned out it was Spenser himself who had to go. Two years after he wrote his scheme for the reduction of the savages they reclaimed their own, burned Kilcolman Castle and let him escape home to England, where he died in 1599, four years before Elizabeth, his Faery Queen. But his scheme for extensive plantation, garrison towns and the suppression of the Irish "evils" by force and law, lived after him. It is the history of Ireland during the next two centuries.

Professor Elliott quotes him a few times, usually as confirming some point of her own. But she never gives the reader a comprehensive view of him. She never lets it out that Spenser develops in systematic form the very scheme that she denies the existence of.

## The Ethos Of Outcast Education.

Owen Roe wrote satires against Grattan's Volunteers, who established 'Irish independence' during the last years of his life. He held Grattan's Parliament in contempt. It would follow from Marianne Elliott's theme that he did so from the viewpoint of a dispossessed Gaelic noble, who saw the last possibility of recovering his ancestral possessions disappearing with the consolidation of the Williamite colony into a national regime.

Grattan's Parliament had nothing whatever to do with democracy. That much should still be obvious, despite all the 'revisionist' obfuscation of recent times. But neither had it anything to do with government. The hereditary

Protestant aptitude for government did not manifest itself during the twenty years of legislative independence of the Protestant Ascendancy Parliament — its twenty years of sovereignty. That Parliament might have formed its own government. There was no external power that could have stopped it from doing so during the American War. It chose not to do so.

Was Owen Roe delinquent in heaping ridicule on the colony when it presented itself as the nation? Was he the voice of the people, or was he nursing the grievance of an obsolete social stratum which had been discarded by 'history', and retarding the development of the people through the charm his words exercised on them?

Two generations after his death, Slieve Luacra entered the mainstream of national development proper, in politics, economics and culture, and ever since it has usually been to the fore in all three. When it became economically enterprising (and it was bustling when I grew up there), it did not look back on Owen Roe as somebody who had held it back. It revelled in the memory of him.

(I do not know if that is still the case, now that its economic enterprise has become multi-national. On the narrow road between Ballydesmond and Knocknagree, in a townland close to Meentogues, there is a factory, developed entirely by local enterprise, in which a thousand people work. Its economic range has extended overseas, not only to Britain, but to Asia. Perhaps Owen Roe will be forgotten and in future business will be all that people think about. I can only say that the memory of him was very much alive half a century ago, when the economic ground, from which the spectacular growths of recent times have sprung, was well developed.)

Here is a view of things which the 'revisionists' would put down as romantic, and which certain of them would therefore describe as evil:

"From the decade of the Boyne and Aughrim down to the decade of the Famine, ...the work done [in general education] was essentially the product of the people, by the people, for the people.

"They were the real organisers and controllers of the schools, the teachers, the curriculum, and the aims of the studies undertaken in the Hedge Schools. These schools made the Irish people, the people that kept coolly aloof from the persecutors alike and the posturing patriots of the sham nation that sold itself every session in their political mart in College Green, until in the end, as Hottentot Salisbury said with due contempt a generation ago, the English Executive of the day found it cheaper and better business to buy out, once for all, the fee-simple of chronic corruption.

"The people who worked the Hedge School system had nothing to do with that alien-minded gentry and their shoddy culture... Hence... the bitter complaints of the alien Castlemen... from 1800 onwards. The Hedge Schools

were, they complained, not under 'control' at all: they were outside ascendancy influence: these unfettered teachers were potent in their complete intimacy with the people: they were essentially the ministry of 'a foreign power' confronting the Castle, the Ascendancy, and the various Protestant battlefronts in Ireland. This absolutely popular school organisation rested on the working classes, remained with, in, among them, and so served powerfully to strengthen our people in their stand against tremendous odds. As a result, the people of Ireland were, at the opening of the last century, a highly educated and fully cohesive nation, fit to confront all the forces of England and the English garrison in Ireland, and to beat them. To all the silly squabbles and sordid schemes of the English Colonial Debating Club on College Green, Dublin, whether in the years 1778-1783 or in the years 1797-1800, the real Irish people remained indifferent...

"Arthur Young, as early as 1777... noted the complete and separate popular culture of the real people, strictly set apart, both in education and in recreation, from the Protestant Bashaws who were, by mortgages and by 'big houses', by tawdry extravagance of every kind, the active architects of their own dependence and ruin...

"...the climax of the work of the Hedge Schools... was the Waterford Election of 1826, with its sequel, the Clare Election of 1828... Both of them were the direct result of the splendidly combined energies, educated intelligence and fully trained capacities of our own people, the plain people of the countryside farms, the plain people of the towns. The work of these two elections, we affirm, owed nothing whatever to the Protestants of any colour or class in Ireland; owed nothing either to the genteel Catholic class that was, in all its ignorance, ineptitude and self-conceit, assuming that it was to serve as a purveyor of leaders and advisers to the plain people... To be even more explicit, the thoroughly educated electorate of Catholic Ireland, 1825-28, owed much less than nothing to the Catholic Association Committee. They even led O'Connell to see what it was his plain duty to do. The lesson that the men of Waterford most determinedly taught in 1826, was very slowly, very reluctantly and very imperfectly learned by 'the leaders'... The said 'leaders' had, of course, the drawback that they had not received the benefits of normal Hedge School education" (Dermot Curtin, The Hedge Schools in Catholic Bulletin, April 1935).

It seems to me that what happened in Ireland in the 19th and early 20th centuries was possible on the assumption that the *Catholic Bulletin* description of things is substantially accurate, while it was not possible on the basis of Professor Elliott's description. And, since what happened did happen, any account of it which makes a mystery of it cannot be accurate.

I suppose the most suspect thing in the *Catholic Bulletin* account is the assertion that O'Connell was influenced in the right direction—or at least in the direction he eventually took—by the Hedge School culture which predated him and continued to exist independently of him (eventually feeding

into the Young Ireland development). It hardly fits in with the generally prevalent idea of O'Connell—the 'image'. But it is undoubtedly the case that O'Connell underwent a profound change, under popular influence, as he approached middle age. Around 1800 he was an atheist, rationalist, utilitarian gentleman, embarking on a brilliant legal career and shaping himself to the ways of the Ascendancy. What he started to become about ten years later was not a development of what he was then. An external force—a force outside the culture on which he moulded himself when he paraded with the Yeomanry—was brought to bear on him.

Walter Cox's *Irish Magazine* was certainly an instrument of that force. Although Cox had been a United Irishman, the United Irish leaders had disapproved of him, and the explosive content of his *Magazine* (which began publication in 1807) was not forged from the better-known United Irish ideologies produced by the Ulster Presbyterians and the gentry.

It is with Cox that the voice of the people begins to be the public voice. And it was after Cox that O'Connell began to be the voice of the people.

Somebody—I forget who—referred to the 18th century as "the silent century" in Ireland. If one thinks of the Irish 18th century as being constituted by Swift and his multitude of successors, a more appropriate description of it would be the voluble century. But silence occurs when you do not hear what you are listening for. It is when you listen for the voice of the people in the public domain that the 18th century becomes silent.

The state in Ireland in the 18th century was an annex of the English state and its public life, conducted by the colony, was an extension of English public life. The Irish were excluded from the English State in Ireland and from the public life connected with it—and there was no other public life.

Irish cultural life, comprehensively excluded from the realm of the State, did not wither. It continued beyond or beneath the ideological parameters of the State, and eventually it thwarted the designs of the State.

## O'Sullivan, Viewed From Poland.

I grew up in the Jacobite culture of Slieve Luacra—the culture which in Owen Roe's time was powerful as sentiment but which was reinvigorated and re-politicised by the Young Ireland movement. And Young Ireland was the first political movement in which Slieve Luacra took an active part. But Slieve Luacra was only a medium of existence for me, not a subject of thought. I never spent a day outside it all through my teens, and did not even submit to such educational structures as reached into it from the outside. When I left in my twenties—squeezed out by encroaching urban influences—it was not with the intention of becoming something different from what I had become there. I had already become whatever it is that I became, and that was that.

Slieve Luacra did not reflect on itself. It reflected on the world at large from its own secure vantage point, but took its own existence unreflectingly for granted. When I began to think about it, I did so from the vantage point of an outside observer—not the vantage point of an emigrant however (I was never an emigrant, only an outcast), but from that of a Pole. It happened like this. I set out to locate James Connolly in European politics and found that his only European counterpart was Josef Pilsudski, a socialist in a nationalist medium, who founded the modern Polish State while fighting as an ally of Germany and Austria in the 1914-18 war. Pilsudski led me on to Adam Mickiewicz (pronounced Mitskievitz), the poet who reinvigorated traditional Poland in a modern setting under the Russian conquest around 1830, and whose epic of traditional Polish life, Pan Tadeusz, is still the centrepiece of Polish culture. I became a virtual Pole for a time, due to an impulse towards understanding generated by the culture of Slieve Luacra. And then, seeing that Connolly would willingly have conducted his political affairs within a national movement of renascent Gaeldom, I asked how such a renaissance might conceivably have come about. I asked as a virtual Pole, but the materials for an answer were to hand within myself as an actual product of Slieve Luacra. Thus, pursuing a line of political thought, I found myself led, by way of a "vicus of recirculation" through Poland and Lithuania, back to Slieve Luacra. And here is how I saw things fifteen years ago.

"Owen Roe O'Sullivan was the last major Gaelic poet. He was the first and last major Gaelic poet who was of the people. And, by general consensus, he was one of the greatest of the Gaelic lyric poets.

"Owen Roe straddles Gaelic and modern Ireland. He was extraordinarily articulate in Irish and English, as well as being well up in Latin and Greek, but he was spiritually a Gael. He wrote poetry in Irish and doggerel in English. He is the Gael who appears most human to the modern view. And he lived in stirring times.

"O'Rahilly lived in the immediate aftermath of the Flight of the Wild Geese, and during the high tide of the Penal Laws. Nothing was stirring in the land.

"But Owen Roe lived in stirring times. In his lifetime the Patriot Parliament flexed its muscles, the Volunteers were organised throughout the country, legislative independence was achieved, Grattan orated to the mass of his countrymen, the Catholic Committee was taken over from timid aristocrats by a middle class which had imbibed the spirit of the French enlightenment through being educated on the Continent, and Nano Nagle was pioneering popular Catholic education of a liberal variety.

"Owen Roe, therefore, lived at a moment when an Irish *Pan Tadeusz* might have been produced to good effect, making Cromwellian/Williamite society comprehensible to the Gaels, making an end of their crippling, stylised dismissal of that society as "Sean Bui" (Yellow Jack), involving them in the

national politics of the period (which originated from "Sean Bui"), representing Gaelic society to the other societies on the island (Anglo-Irish and Ulster Scots), and laying the basis for a Gaelic renaissance in the modern world. And the finger of destiny points unwaveringly at Owen Roe O Sullivan—the poet who lived in both worlds, the classical scholar, the labourer, the disputer with priests, the school-master, the voyager around the world, the seducer of virgins—as the only possible Gaelic Mitskievitz. As one investigates this period one sees destiny pointing at Owen Roe, like the Kitchener poster in World War I, and one hears it saying 'Your Country Needs You!'.

"Dinneen writes of him:

"'From chieftains degraded to husbandmen and bondsmen sprang Eoghan Ruadh, the great glory of the common people of Ireland. Though rejoicing in a liberal education he did not disdain to dig and reap and mow, and while engaged in agricultural pursuits he broke into poetry as by a necessity of existence. He composed poetry in a language which was to such an extent the poetic cultivation of the spoken idiom that the ordinary speaker revelled in it: He built his house from the stones that lay around him. He had a keen eye for the best materials. He excelled in arranging them; in hewing them; in welding them together with appropriate cement. He presses into service the conventions of the traditional poets, but only as a means to float his melody and add distinctiveness to the outlines of his picture. His Aislingidhe, or poetical visions, have had a profound influence on the social and political outlook of the people. They found their way into the dwellings of rich and poor:

"'To our fathers and grandfathers and to some of those of us who have passed into middle age, the Eoghan Ruadh tradition has been vivid and inspiring. His name is a household word not only in Kerry but throughout the greater part of Munster' (P.S. Dinneen, Four Notable Kerry Poets, 1929, p23-5).

"How, then, could Owen Roe—the brilliant, innovating traditionalist: the supreme poet of a society which lived through its poetry—have failed to be the Irish Mitskievitz? Did Gaelic Ireland, near the end of its tether, not renew itself through him to become the cultural medium of modern Irish social development?

"Obviously not. What Catholic Ireland is today, is proof positive that a Gaelic renaissance was not the medium of 19th century social development. But it does not follow that Owen Roe failed in an attempt to make the Gaelic spirit functional in the politics of the Volunteers. He did not fail because he did not make the attempt. The great events of his time left him cold.

"The finger of destiny is an illusion of retrospect. Owen Roe escaped his destiny with a sublime ease that was only possible to someone who was entirely oblivious of it. There was an hour, and there was a man. Looking backwards one wonders how the the man failed to be the man of the hour. In historical actuality that man and that hour had nothing at all to do with one another" (James Connolly: The Polish Aspect, Athol Books, 1985, p122-4).

That is certainly one way of seeing it. And, considering that I had then been deeply immersed in Six County politics for almost twenty years—and on what most people thought was the wrong side—it is surprising that it is now worth reprinting. But, since Pat Muldowney says it is, there it is.

There was, of course, sufficient reason in the differences between the Irish and Polish situations to explain why Owen Roe missed what appeared to have been his destiny. The Russian mode of oppression did not begin to compare with the English for comprehensiveness, durability and ingenuity. The sprawling Polish nobility, the *szlachta*, had not been pulverised and scattered to the four winds as the Irish had been. There was not a sympathetic English or Anglo-Irish intelligentsia with which Owen Roe might have communicated, as Mitskiewitz communicated with Pushkin and others in St. Petersburg for a time. And Poland itself had not begun to produce Professor Elliotts who enrolled themselves in the service of the empire and conjured away oppression enacted in the cause of Progress.

### The People As "Trappings".

The gist of Professor Elliott's case against the Irish version of Irish history is that what England did was to enact "a major revolution in land ownership" in the 17th and 18th centuries (p91), undermining the "elitism and social snobbery of Gaelic society" (p95).

"It was the Gaelic system of overlordship and all its trappings which England sought to destroy. Bringing the Irish into the benefits of the common law, granting rent relationships and leases in place of the customs tying man to lord in the Gaelic system was as important as planting settlers in the early colonial schemes" (p86).

A similar case might have been argued with regard to the Russian conquest of Poland. Russia, like England, was above all else a State and was intent on subjugating as many peoples as possible to its apparatus of state. Poland at the best of times was only very slightly a State, its vigorous internal life being lived in the medium of custom. Progress, in the sense of objectivisation and regularisation of relations between standardised and regimented individuals, is the work of an apparatus of state. The human spirit must be "house-trained and brought to heel" in order that this kind of progress can be accomplished. (I am indebted to Ulster Unionist Leader David Trimble for this striking way of putting it.)

But Poland is still Poland only because it did not succumb to Progress. *Pan Tadeusz* might be described as romantic nostalgia—a nostalgia which preserved the spirit of the traditional world as a medium of future existence and action. It celebrates the life of the village in the social medium of the *szlachta*—the sprawling traditional nobility which encompassed rich and poor—and it culminates in the arrival of Napoleon's army in 1812 on its

way to Russia. It was through "the system of overlordship and all its trappings" that the Polish spirit outlasted Tsarist progress and two subsequent forms of progress, and played a major part in undoing the United Nations settlement of Europe made in 1945.

The "trappings" are, in matters like this, of as much consequence as the "overlordship". They are human beings after all and, if they are constrained by the overlords, they also exercise constraint on the overlords. The Gaelic and Polish societies can be described from the modern middle class viewpoint as systems of aristocratic oppression from which the masses ought to have been yearning to be liberated. But that is a 'moral' position. The factual position is that the life of the mass of the people in those societies was quite obviously experienced as being satisfactory over long periods of time in a way that life in societies of regimented individuals structured by the commercial middle class has not yet been.

But, in the 'moral' view, morality has precedence over existential fact, and it is beside the point that greater contentment was actually experienced in those traditional societies than is experienced in progressive middle class society today. The paradoxical 'morality' of the middle class world view says that only Progress is good. It is paradoxical because 'moral' is the Latin for customary, and the description of a society as progressive means that it is driven by an essential discontent with itself to be always subverting any momentary equilibrium it may have established. A progressive society might be described as being always in flight from itself, always disrupting itself, and also disrupting other societies to the extent that it has the power to do so. Morality in both the literal and historical meaning (action in accordance with established custom) is alien to it.

There is no vantage point beyond humanity—at least none to which humanity has access—from which an objective judgment can be passed on these two ways of living. The way of the regimented mass of essentially depersonalised individuals, held together by commercial competition and functioning through the power structure of a state-apparatus, is now dominant, and it is intent on crushing the life out of all else in the name of progress towards global uniformity. And it is the business of its historians to write defamatory accounts of the social forms that had to be destroyed in the cause of progress, as Professor Elliott has done.

## Language Suppressed?

Was the Irish language suppressed by the English state, or did it die a natural death through feelings of inferiority in the presence of the English language? I have heard it said in the English media in recent times that the triumph of English over so many other languages was due to its superior qualities as a language. Professor Elliot does not go quite as far as that. But

#### she writes:

"The Irish language goes into rapid decline from the 17th century, not because of oppression but because the new legal system [the mythical Penal Laws?] required the populace to come to terms with the English word and the written document" (p126).

This is one of the many false antitheses with which her discourse is littered. She says the Irish language was not oppressed by the English regime, but went into decline because English was made the language of the English administration of Ireland. But was not the exclusive use of English in the governing of a predominantly Irish-speaking population, by an administration based on military conquest, a form of oppression? It is indisputable that the English administration in Ireland—the Cromwellian administration and its Williamite successor—was founded on military conquest, and that it was viable after the end of the wars only because it continued to be backed by overwhelming physical force.

In earlier times—before the Irish had ceased to play a part in Irish affairs—there had been English laws against the use of Irish. But, in the new circumstances brought about by the Williamite wars and the establishment of a stable totalitarian administration, a more effective means of establishing the supremacy of English was at hand. The laws had been comparatively ineffective. Administrative practice was more easily controlled. And: sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. The English ruling class of the Glorious Revolution knew that prudence had its place alongside boldness in the long campaign for world conquest. The language of the Irish was left free under the law when administrative means of stifling it had been achieved by the thoroughness of the military conquest.

About a century and a quarter after the Treaty of Limerick, Slieve Luacra, through a voluntary internal movement, became English-speaking. I made that observation in the Polish pamphlet and was criticised for it. That was in the days, before 'revisionism' had become utterly dominant in academic life and publishing, when an apparent softening of explanation in terms of English oppression elicited condemnation. How the times have changed!

But, in describing the change as having been made voluntarily, i.e., by an act of will, I did not deny that systematic oppression brought about the conditions in which the act of will was made. My object was to distinguish what happened in Slieve Luacra from what happened in a region of Donegal which I knew fairly well in the 1960s, and from what Douglas Hyde described as happening in Roscommon in the 1880s. Here is what I wrote:

"Walsh, in an Introduction to his Irish Popular Songs, gives an account of how Gaelic was suppressed by the Munster Gaels. He deplores, excuses, and partly explains the occurrence. He makes no mention of the priest. [It was fashionable in 'radical' circles a generation ago to blame the decline of the Irish language on Rome and O'Connell.] And it should be borne in mind that the hedge schoolmaster was an entrepreneur who depended on the fees paid by parents...

"The society which Owen Roe had enchanted freed itself from enchantment by a powerful act of will in the early 19th century and saved itself from Gaeltacht misery and demoralisation in the late 19th and 20th centuries. And, consequently, what little carry-over there has been of Gaelic spirit into modern Ireland occurred in that region where Gaelic Ireland Anglicized itself. The region became neither Galltacht nor Gaelteacht but something new—the Gaels who enacted a cultural revolution of a kind without parallel in modern centuries quickly absorbed the culture of the modern world and assimilated the regional Galltacht into their developing world...

"The grandsons of Owen Roe [and who, if the stories were true, could be sure that he was not a grandson?] embarked on a fruitful interaction with Sean Bui while maintaining a sentimental regard for Owen Roe" (p139-40).

When British world domination after Waterloo made progress on the English pattern inevitable, Slieve Luacra enacted a change within itself instead of waiting to be progressively eroded by external forces.

Douglas Hyde describes the alternative process—the internal demoralisation caused to passive traditional life by the irresistible encroachment of the English world. He was told by an old man in Achill that the young men, even while still Irish-speaking, had come to the point where they would rather listen to "geimneach na mbo", the lowing of the cows, than to the stories of Irish life. And, when they left for Boston, they became Americanised on the boat going over (see Beside The Fire, 1890 and The Necessity For De-Anglicizing Ireland, 1892).

Professor Elliott's remark, as well as being mistaken in the particular, carries the suggestion that England did not see language as an instrument of its Imperialist project. The truth is that linguistic Imperialism was there at the start, and that it remained there after the formal Empire was lost. Churchill's *History Of The Second World War* is the story of how England, having in 1918 made itself the greatest Imperial power the world had ever seen, bungled its affairs so badly that only a generation later the formal Empire was undermined. He followed it up with his *History Of The English-Speaking Peoples*. The speaking of English is seen as being both commercially and politically advantageous to British interests. The British Council is now active in Irish life, working to make the Irish an English-speaking people in more than the narrowly linguistic sense. And the bloody wars in Central Africa in recent times have been Anglicizing wars on the Francophone region left behind by the French Empire—wars waged by proxy, of course, with the Ugandan Government and the aristocratic Tutsi

tribe as instruments, and the Hutus as victims who tried to defend themselves by genocide, as the Irish were alleged to have done in 1641. Information control in the British media—of which the Irish media are now little more than an offshoot—makes it possible for there to be indignant denials that the wars have this commercial/linguistic purpose, on the very rare occasions when the French view breaks through the linguistic and moral barriers and gets an airing.

Language is the medium of actual human life. And it was this ultimate medium of human life that England sought to monopolise in Ireland as the ground for everything else.

Reflections on language are rare in the literature of England, partly because literary participants in English culture do not care to dwell on the events which brought it to world dominance, and partly because the linguistic usage by means of which those events were swept under the mental carpet as they occurred makes it all but impossible to dwell on them. Euphemism, ellipsis, and "the argot of the Upper Fourth Remove" are the linguistic means by which the English not only kept themselves virtuous, but kept themselves nice, while doing things which—if registered in language expressive of the experience of the victims—would have made them monsters, even to themselves. (Heinrich Himmler, an Anglophile, did his best to reproduce the English way of doing things. He took all possible measures to keep what he was doing to the Jews hidden from the German people because, while he thought it was good for them that it should be done, he thought they would not remain such nice people if they knew it was being done. But his secret speech to leaders of the SS in 1943, in which he said this, shows how badly he failed to realise his Anglophile aspirations. If he had actually grasped the secret of British success, he would have used language which suggested to the SS, and perhaps even to himself, that what they were really doing was nothing as vulgar and commonplace as killing Jews for their own benefit.)

Euphemistic usage in all that pertains to oneself and demonisation in all that pertains to the enemy became habits of language in England, and those who failed to acquire those habits were eccentrics. The linguistic capacity to think about language atrophied.

But American existence is different in kind from English existence, even though it began as an English offshoot. The English nation used itself up centuries ago in the construction of the Imperial state, the people becoming individualist materials of the state. But America, even when becoming a world power, continued to live a substantial national life of its own—a coherent national life, even though fed by a score of other nationalities, including the Irish. Its world power might be seen as an expression of its

own national exuberance—whereas the expansion of the English state was driven by the impossibility of making a post-Reformation national settlement. American literature, with its source in a live national culture, tends to have an unembarrassed philosophical dimension, which is never found in the literature of England, where the substance of philosophy long ago gave way to military/commercial utilitarian calculation and to the brain-dead academic form which consists of mere logic-games.

The following reflection on language (written by the fundamentalist feminist, Andrea Dworkin) could only have been thought in America:

"Humans are animals of meaning and meaning requires a rigorous but nuanced linguistic palate; language is the fragile but brilliant bridge between reality and human subjectivity; language is not endlessly elastic—if it were it could not carry meaning; language is not indestructible—if it were it could not have become a totalitarian tool because bad use would destroy it, wrong meaning would make it break. Like the law, which begins with words, language can be a sword or a shield—it can wound, cut, kill, or it can save; but language, like the law, can also console, provide dignity in an inner soliloquy, convey experience outside the bounds of propriety or acknowledged commonplaces; even in silence language can run through one like a river" (*Scapegoat*, p133).

It is, however, not merely a bridge between reality and subjectivity. It is a component of reality as experienced. It is a determinant of experience. With regard to human existence, reality is not something which can be observed apart from language and a language then found to express it. One does not go far beyond the reality experienced in bumping into things before one arrives at realities which cannot exist without the language through which they are experienced. And, while many experiences which are constituted through language can be reproduced in different languages, many can not.

The tendency of English language, and therefore of English life, since the abortive Reformation launched by the Tudor state, has been to diminish the range of subjective experience made possible by language. Conjugation and declension have been discarded in general, but a few were retained for pretentious purposes (the use of "whom", for example). And, in foreign translations, experiences hingeing on the personal pronoun, second person singular, are untranslatable and can only be lectured about. The linguistic ideal expressed in the final fling of English philosophy around 1900 was of a kind of algebra, or propositional logic, in which words were unambiguous symbols for purely objective things—appropriate for buying and selling and for military activities.

Irish and English stand poles apart in the kinds of experience which they

make possible and encourage. The English administration in Ireland did not simply require the people to say things in English instead of Irish. It abolished a universe. The reality constituted by the one language was incapable of existing in the other. And, in the generations which were compelled to stop speaking Irish and start speaking English, the feeling of many was that, for certain purposes, they had simply been deprived of language.

When Spenser said that, "it hath been ever the use of the conquerors to despise the language of the conquered, and to force him by all means to learn his", he knew that much more was at issue than technical convenience in administration. He was a conqueror whose second line of business was language, and he understood that, "words are the Image of the mind, so as, they proceeding from the mind, the mind must needs be affected with the words. So that the speech being Irish, the heart must needs be Irish; for out of the abundance of the heart, the tongue speaketh" (p638).

There is, of course, another side to the matter. The closing of one universe opened another. If the Irish remained locked up in the Gaelic language, they could not have become functionaries of progress in the British Empire throughout the world, and they would not have responded in their hundreds of thousands to the Imperial call to defend civilisation against barbarism in 1914

Progress, being a secularised form of Puritanism, always requires the sacrifice of things that are merely pleasant or merely sacred. The Gaelic and Puritan visions of life are absolutely irreconcilable. In the Gaelic vision, the other world was a kind of spice added to the affairs of this world. The Puritan impulse subordinated everything in this life to the requirements of the other world, conceiving an abhorrence of pleasure and finding every tangible form to sacredness to be superstition. The Puritan vision of the other world as the Kingdom of God evaporated about a hundred years ago, just as the Puritan social stratum (the middle class) was becoming dominant in English political life, but the practices connected with it in this life continued to flourish in the service of Empire. The Great War was the first middle-class war since Cromwell's Irish campaign. It was hailed by many eminent literary men of the time (John Buchan, for example) as marking the arrival of the middle class to the position of dominance in the state. And the fanatical recklessness of the war propaganda was a reversion to the 17th century mode. It was, in short, the wrong British war for the Irish to have supported—as the Freeman's Journal (the Redmondite paper) discovered late in the day:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hottentots.

<sup>&</sup>quot;General Sir Bryan Mahon is the bearer of an old Irish name which traces

its origin back to the dawn of civilisation in Europe. It is a name bearers of which have won high honour, not in Irish history alone, but in European history... Great, therefore, must have been the surprise of the gallant soldier in hearing from a military tribunal that the name he has inherited and the Christian name bestowed upon him are of a language that is comparable only to the language of the Hottentots. A prisoner brought before this typical courtmartial spoke a few words of Irish whereupon the presiding officer said: 'I don't understand the Hottentot language'. Later on, more Irish having been used, the President said: 'I am not going to sit here and be insulted by any man, I don't care whether he is a Hottentot or a Sinn Feiner'... As no member of the tribunal dissociated himself from the language of the President, it must be assumed that there are people who think that such language addressed to Irishmen does not matter, even if the expression necessarily includes in its sweep the Munster Fusiliers, the Connaught Rangers, the Royal Irish, and other Gaelic-speaking regiments who have spilled their blood and given their lives for the cause of Great Britain in this war" (21st November 1917).

But consistency lies with the military tribunal. If Hottentot might be sacrificed to Progress, why not Gaelic?

## Rebellion, Revolution and Progress.

It has become a standard theme of the Imperialist critique of national development in Ireland (otherwise known as 'revisionism') that it was socially backward. At the point of national revolution in 1920-21 the Imperialist propaganda tended to depict Sinn Fein as a catspaw of Bolshevism, but in retrospect it has been judged more advantageous to condemn it for being socially unadventurous. The only operative test of truth is the calculation of what will best serve the interests of the State at a particular moment in a particular situation. And it is calculated that the charge of social backwardness is what will activate the inferiority complex of the Irish middle class at this juncture.

The middle-class inferiority complex in the face of Imperial power and progress had little scope in Polish life. A Polish gentleman of the late 19th century could be as venomous in his attitude towards the civilizing conqueror as any Gaelic poet of the 18th century. Joseph Conrad's father marked his birth with a poem: *To My Son In The 85th Year Of The Muscovite Oppression*. It begins:

"My child, my son,
If the enemy calls you a nobleman and a Christian
Tell him that you are a pagan
And that your nobility is rubbish."

Apollo Korzeniowski was a leader of the rebellion of 1863. His son,

Jozef Konrad Korzeniowski, having become the English novelist, Joseph Konrad, found himself described admiringly as "the son of the revolutionist". He repudiated the description as misrepresenting his father's position:

"Why the description 'revolutionary' should have been applied all through Europe to the Polish risings of 1831 and 1863 I really cannot understand. These risings were purely revolts against foreign domination. The Russians themselves called them 'rebellions', which from their point of view was the exact truth. Amongst the men concerned in the preliminaries of the 1863 movement my father was no more revolutionary than the others, in the sense of working for the subversion of any social or political scheme of existence. He was simply a patriot in the sense of a man who believing in the spirituality of a national existence could not bear to see that spirit enslaved" (Preface to 1919 edition of *A Personal Memoir*).

The Poles, simply by insisting on being Poles, and by refusing to make that insistence depend on the adoption of some social scheme brought to bear on them by the conqueror, have been the most durable nationality in Europe and the sharpest thorn in the side of the Empires. And that means, of course, that they have been the most reactionary, the least progressive, people in Europe—because what progress means in practice in this connection is adaptation to the schemes of the conqueror and thereby submission to him.

Finding myself being returned to Slieve Luacra in the sphere of political thought, by way of the Polish system and its trappings, I was not inclined to dismiss the trappings of Gaelic/Jacobite Ireland as things of no consequence. I doubt that I would have done so in any case, since I am myself a piece of those trappings and am comprehensible as nothing else. But, returning by way of the reactionary Polish obstruction of Russian progress—Tsarist and Soviet—made doubly certain that I would not do so.

## [Digression:Pushkin and Pomeroy.

Before we leave Poland, notice must be taken of a recent cultural event in Pomeroy, which is one of the places where I have never been, but which I have known about all my life from the song about the "outlawed man in a land forlorn". A *Pushkin Prize* was awarded to a child in the school at Pomeroy. A Lady Bountiful was to come along to award the prize. Pomeroy showed that it had not lost the spirit of the outlawed man by telling her she was not welcome. But this Lady Bountiful turned out not to be just any common or garden aristocrat. She was a direct descendant of Pushkin, the Tsarist Court-poet. If she had come as Pushkin's great- great etc.-granddaughter to award a prize in his name, I don't suppose Pomeroy would have taken offence. But she came as the Duchess of Abercorn. And Pomeroy treated her accordingly. The family of which she was a representative for

the time being was responsible for making Pomeroy a land forlorn and driving its people abroad or into the mountains. And Pomeroy, which was now coming back into its own, was not inclined to forget who the Abercorns were. Barry McElduff, the Sinn Fein Councillor, explained why the Duchess was not welcome. The Duchess (egged on by the *literati* and artists of Dublin 4) told Pomeroy that it was time for it to "move on" and "re-imagine" itself and not be living in the past. But it is precisely because Pomeroy is moving on that it rebuffed the Duchess. The aristocratic scheme for people who are ill-treated so that great families might exist is that they should be held within the event of their subjugation, passing through resentment, demoralisation and hopelessness to passive acceptance. That is not "moving on". It is resignation. Moving on is what Pomeroy has done—surviving on its own ground and making a comeback. And telling the Abercorns to bugger off is a natural part of moving on.

I know nothing about the Duchess beyond the fact that she is a Duchess and I see no reason to find out. These great aristocratic families are corporate bodies within which individuals come and go. The Duchess confronted Pomeroy as a Duchess. When Pomeroy treated her as befitted a Duchess, she revealed that she was not only a Duchess, but was Pushkin's great etc.granddaughter. But, if her Duchess role were discounted and her Pushkin dimension gone into, I don't see that her situation would have been much improved.

Pushkin was the Tsarist court poet. At first he was Byronic and rebellious, and in that phase he was a friend of Mickievitz. But he matured into a Court poet. And, when the Poles rebelled against the Tsar in the 1830s, he denounced them in verse as reactionaries. In Klevetnikam Rossii (To The Slanderers Of Russia) he challenged the rebellious poets of Poland: "You threaten us with words—but just you try to act! Send us your embittered sons, O Bards; we will find room for them in Russian fields, amidst graves that are not unknown to them". And he wrote a particularly venomous poem (which he left untitled) in denunciation of Mickievitz: "He lived amongst us... and we loved him... We shared pure dreams and songs with him... He often spoke of a future time when nations, forgetting their discords, would unite in a great family... He departed for the West with our blessing, But our gentle guest has become our enemy. And in order to please the unruly rabble he injects venom into his verses. His spiteful voice comes to us from afar... O God, enlighten his heart with thy truth and restore peace to his soul!"

And make him a Tsarist internationalist!

If Ireland had the kind of relationship with Poland which it ought to have, there would surely be a Mickiewitz Prize for striking literary expression of the kind of spiritual 'moving on' that Pomeroy shares with Poland.]

## Leggo Sociology.

The destruction of "a system of overlordship and all its trappings" is not the slight thing that Professor Elliott appears to think it is. And it is not at all realistic to suppose, as she does, that "the vast majority of the Catholic population remained unaffected by dramatic changes at the top" (p110).

The notion implied here of what constitutes a society is a particularly unimaginative variation of the most vulgar Marxist notion. I do not know that Professor Elliott ever participated in any of the Marxist tendencies that dominated British academic life in the sixties and seventies when she was in the early stages of her career, but the evidence of her book leaves little room for doubt that her mind was heavily influenced by the variant of Marxist ideology which saturated the academic atmosphere in those years.

Her argument (or her dogmatic assertion) assumes that the elements of a society exist in essential independence of each other in such a way that the removal of one of them leaves the others essentially unaffected—" The vast majority of the Catholic population remained unaffected by the dramatic changes at the top, and in many ways their position was a strong one".

The idea that comes across in her confused discourse is that the mass of the people in Irish society were oppressed, plundered and humiliated by "Gaelic overlords"; that England "dismantled" Gaelic society in the 17th century (pp89,117); that progressive legal and economic arrangements were set up in place of the Gaelic structures; that the mass of the people "remained unaffected by the dramatic changes at the top" on the one hand, while on the other hand, "the bulk of the people adapted as they had always done" (p117); but, whether remaining unaffected or adapting, the people, in their new "rent relationships", continued to be influenced in their basic world outlook by the Gaelic ideas of social status. Despite "the elitism and snobbery of Gaelic society" (p95), the "churls" who had been liberated from it, continued to live imaginatively in it, instead of moulding themselves spiritually to their new legal and economic status of free men making contracts with their new landlords: "The 'churls' may well have fared a good deal better under the new dispensation than under the Gaelic land system. But the elite did not, and it is their voice we hear" (p84).

Professor Elliott's narrative is diffuse, intellectually fragmented, littered with false antitheses, and her generalisations are often contradicted by her factual observations, but the whole acquires a kind of implicit coherence by the sheer crudity of her class conception of social affairs. That crudity is starkly expressed in her description of what the English state did to Irish society as "dismantling".

Irish society was disrupted, or destroyed, and it was thereby thrown into flux. Something which is a combination of distinct bits might be dismantled or disassembled. A society can be disrupted or broken up but not dismantled.

When it is broken up the result is not that distinct bits lie around ready for re-assembly into new combinations in which some of the bits need not be used. Destructive activity applied to a society throws the entire society into flux, because social connections are not mechanical but organic.

Half a century ago Stalin, a reluctant revolutionary in 1917, published a book on Linguistics, in which he took issue with the notion that the different classes in a society existed in such a degree of independence of each other that they spoke virtually separate languages. It appeared unlikely to me that such an idea should exist so forcefully that it needed such refutation. Even the English, amongst whom there is extreme cultural differentiation between those who use the Latin dimension of the language and those who are confined to the Anglo-Saxon, do ultimately participate in the same language, and the English lower classes would not remain unaffected by a surgical removal of the upper classes (such as Professor Elliott describes the English ruling class as enacting in Gaelic Ireland). I thought Stalin was labouring the obvious when he wrote:

"Language exists... in order to serve society as a whole... The superstructure is the product of one epoch... The superstructure is therefore short-lived... Language on the contrary is the product of a whole number of epochs in the course of which it takes shape, is enriched, develops and is polished" (*Concerning Marxism In Linguistics*, 1950, p5-6).

But clearly I was mistaken. Because here is an eminent middle class academic, an official Member of the British Empire, who imagines that society is an assembly of independent bits and pieces, rather than an organically interconnected whole.

"What necessity is there, after every revolution, for the existing structure of the language to be destroyed and supplanted?", Stalin asked. Spenser saw a fundamental necessity for it in connection with what Professor Elliott describes as having been in essence a revolution in land ownership.

(Stalin on the relationship of language and thought: "It is said that thoughts arise in the mind of man prior to their being expressed in speech, that they arise without language material... in, so to say, naked form. But this is absolutely wrong. Whatever the thoughts that may arise in the mind of man, they can arise and exist only on the basis of language material. Pure thoughts, free from 'the natural matter' of language—do not exist. 'Language is the direct reality of thought' (Marx). The reality of thought manifests itself in language" (p29, Athol Books edition).

# Coercion As A Remedy For Priestcraft And Poetcraft.

It follows logically from Professor Elliot's argument, as formally laid out, that the history of Ireland in the 19th century did not happen. If what

happened around 1700 was that the snobbish and oppressive Gaelic overlords were removed by the agents of England's Glorious Revolution, while the mass of the people, unaffected by this event, were not only let be but had reforms made in its interests, and if the 18th century was a century of freedom and opportunity for the liberated Gaels, who enjoyed freedom of conscience in their Catholic dimension—and that is what she says—what ground could there have been for a great struggle for religious, economic and political freedom in the 19th century?

Was Irish history after 1800 the product of an intense popular struggle against non-existent oppression? That was certainly the prevailing English view. And it was frequently argued that, because the oppression against which Irish agitations were directed was delusory, the only realistic policy was to suppress these agitations by whatever means were necessary. An agitation against real oppression might be ended by removing the oppression. But, where the oppression was illusory, reform would be futile. Irish agitations should therefore be dealt with by Coercion Acts rather than Reform Acts—the purpose of coercion not being to preserve injustice, but to bring people to their senses, so that they could see that they had been duped by irresponsible agitators into feeling a sense of grievance where there was no objective ground for it. Good government was taken to require the coercing of the people out of their delusions.

Who were these influential agitators—these magicians who could cause great masses of people to experience what did not exist? They were the dispossessed and degraded lords of the snobbish Gaelic elite, who became priests and poets and infected others with the frenzy which was an authentic growth from their own experience, but which stood in the place of authentic experience for the others:

"The culture transmitted in these poems is that of a declining elite for whom loss of land, status and the Gaelic order is a searing experience. Poetic language is often stark and exaggerated, concepts and images pared down to their suggestive minimum. Yet the language of such poems had become stereotyped by the 19th century, and poets and priests were often one and the same" (p127).

The Gaelic overlords, metamorphosed into poets and priests, created "pseudo-histories", and generations of us lived in pseudo-history, instead of registering in authentic experience the liberating reforms which the regime of the Glorious Revolution had enacted in our interest.

This is not the place to discuss the empirical detail of that argument. But Professor Elliott's explanation of why the mass of the Gaels, liberated by the Williamite conquest, thought they were oppressed by it, blows apart her assertion that "the vast majority of the Catholic population remained unaffected by the dramatic changes at the top". On her account of things, the majority, whose interests were advanced by the Williamite system, experienced life under that system in a way that conflicted with their own interests, and corresponded with the interests of the overthrown Gaelic elite. Is it possible to be less "unaffected by changes at the top" than that?

Professor Elliott's vision, or dogmatic scheme, assumes that there was an embryonic capitalist society lying within Gaelic society in a stifled condition, that it was liberated by the Williamite conquest, and that it was prevented by the insidious cultural influence of the snobbish Gaelic overlords (whose political and economic power had been broken) from availing of the opportunities opened up to it by the conquest. An alternative view—which does not require convoluted, and often mutually inconsistent, explanations—is that Gaelic society was a coherent whole, whose various strata were not the stifled classes of capitalist society, but the organic components of the Gaelic mode of life, who shared a common experience of the catastrophe which overtook that way of life.

There was not a will to capitalist freedom lurking within Gaelic society—at least I could find no trace of it. And, if there had been, English policy in Ireland was not designed to draw it out.

What Professor Elliott's account of English policy in Ireland puts me in mind of is Bolshevik policy which, in the 1920s and 1930s, developed or constructed elements within the various social entities around the USSR as bases for the Bolshevik state. Bolshevism presented itself to the lower social strata of the various nationalities as a force which was aligned with them against their tribal/feudal/bourgeois overlords, and its presentation was so persuasive that elements drawn into the activity of the State from this multitude of nationalities held firm against the Nazi assault of 1941-42 and carried Bolshevik power to dominance in central Europe in 1944-45. If England's Glorious Revolution had come to Ireland with a comparable policy, it might be that Ireland's 18th century would have been as Professor Elliott describes it. But the factual truth of history is that it came as an oppressor and was responded to as an oppressor. The reason the Irish did not respond favourably to the advent of the Glorious Revolution regime is no more mysterious than the reason the Ukrainians did not respond favourably to the Nazi regime.

Professor Elliott elaborates her theoretical scheme of the 18th century in fine disregard of the actual condition of the Irish under the Williamite regime, but the reality of things makes regular appearances in her discourse, in the form of factual sub-clauses which stand in gross contradiction with her generalisations. For example: "the image of the suppressed Gael stoking up thoughts of revenge is far-fetched. Participation in the new system, where permitted, was more likely" (p132).

This is a statement in dual mood, indicative-cum-subjunctive. It says that the Irish were not suppressed, because they would have participated in the system if they had been permitted to. The discourse as a whole is subjunctive, describing what would have been the case if English policy had been different—if Irish participation in the system had been encouraged instead of forbidden. But the Irish were forbidden to participate. (If they had not been forbidden, 1688 would have been Jacobite, rather than Glorious, in Ireland.) And they lived amidst the facts as stated in indicative mood. It was not open to them in the actual 18th century to live in the subjunctive glow cast over it a couple of hundred years later by an Imperialist historian. (As I write it is announced that Professor Elliott has attended a function at Buckingham Palace at which she was enrolled in membership of the Order of the British Empire.)

The Irish lived in the immediate presence of a system from which they were excluded, and which presumed in its administrative and judicial ideology that they did not exist. A judge ruled that the legal presumption was that the Catholics did not exist. Their existence was illegal. They were not subjects. They were only subjugated.

The Catholics did not respond to this system which confronted them—and affronted them—at every turn by living in it subjunctively, vicariously, in a mode of sympathetic delusion, such as Adam Smith declared to be the way the poor lived in the presence of the rich. They were not even sufficiently admitted to the system to behave as its poor. And so they withheld themselves imaginatively from the system which pressed down on them as an external power, and continued to live imaginatively in cultural remnants of the system which had been theirs from time immemorial until the regime of English Enlightenment set about wrecking it.

The priest, Nicholas Sheehy, was excecuted for impertinence in 1766. Art O'Leary was killed in 1773 because he would not acknowledge his disqualification as a Catholic for owning a horse worth more than £5 (by Abraham Morris of Hanover Hall). And Charles O'Conor, the Connacht historian, was apprehensive about making any improvements on the bit of poor land that had somehow been saved from the Williamite confiscations, lest his boldness should provoke 'discovery' (see notes to Athol Books reprint of *Bolg an Tsolair*, p168).

The Sheehy and O'Leary killings stand out as unusual events. The execution of respectable Catholics was not a routine occurrence in the mid-18th century. But these killings, though unusual, were not anomalous. They were exemplary events, designed to let Catholics understand that a degree of practical toleration of them did not mean that they had secured a framework of legal right. They were topping-up events of persecution, directed at

eminent figures in the community, designed to maintain the community as a whole in an intimidated condition. Fr. Sheehy was a Parish Priest. Art O'Leary had for many years been a gentleman of consequence in Europe, and on returning home he would not accept that he did not have the right to own a horse worth £10—a gift from the Empress of Austria.

It was hardly realistic to criticise Owen Roe because, while these events

It was hardly realistic to criticise Owen Roe because, while these events were still in the air, he did not effect a rapprochement between Jacobite Ireland and the Volunteers—many of whom, a decade after he had written his satires against them, demonstrated how well they merited the epithet of *Sean Buidhe* by becoming Orangemen.

But at least I did not criticise him for the part he played in holding the Caribbean slave camps for Britain.

### The Inconvenient Denys Scully.

Professor Elliott simplifies her task of denying the existence of a system of Penal Laws by ignoring the major legal writings on the subject. Her extensive Bibliography does not include the *History Of The Penal Laws* by Henry Parnell (also known as Lord Congleton) published in the 1820s, or the *Statement Of The Penal Laws Which Aggrieve The Catholics Of Ireland* by Denys Scully, published in 1812. (Neither Parnell nor Scully was a poet or a priest. The one was an Anglo-Irish Protestant gentleman, the other a rather smug Catholic bourgeois.) And she doesn't mention Edmund Burke's description of the Penal Laws as a uniquely perverse system.

The way things went in Irish history from the 17th century to the 19th has usually been explained by the existence of a Penal Law system directed against the Catholic population, and by the effects of this system on the Catholic population. The existence of a system of Penal Laws was asserted close to the alleged time of origin of that system by those who purported to be its victims. And the existence of the system was not denied by those who were alleged to be maintaining it.

That the Catholic population, by and large, was in a degraded condition in the 18th century was also an idea that was generally held in the 18th century. Such few Catholic writers as contrived to express views publicly (usually under pseudonyms) held that the degradation was an effect of the Penal Laws. Ascendancy writers, when they chose to address the coincidence of anti-Catholic laws and the social degradation of Catholics, often denied that there was any causal connection between the two things. George Berkeley, the famous philosopher, was the Bishop of Cloyne. He addressed a pamphlet to the Catholic priests operating in his Diocese and told them to instruct their flocks that their degraded social position was due to their own laziness, fecklessness and improvidence, and that the remedy was that they should become industrious, obedient and thrifty. But Berkeley would not

have dreamt of denying that there existed a system of Penal Laws directed against Catholicism. He insisted that the system should be maintained because it was indispensable to progress (*A Letter To The Roman Catholics Of His Diocese*, 1746).

The Penal Law system was alleviated following the accession to the throne in 1760 of George III, the first English monarch since 1714 who spoke English. George aspired to re-establish the monarchy as a governing institution. He had the ambition of becoming a "Patriot King", actively involved in government, instead of merely stamping the Crown on decisions of the republic of aristocrats as his grandfather and great-grandfather had done, and that required that he should attempt to establish a direct relationship with the mass of his subjects. He embraced the mass of his Irish subjects, so to speak, merely by recognising that they existed. Under the untrammelled regime of the English Enlightenment, affairs of state were conducted on the presumption that there were no Catholic subjects. This was a presumption indicative of destiny. The condition which the laws were designed to achieve was made a working assumption of the Constitution.

The only right accorded to Catholics as recognised subjects in the first instance was the right to address Humble Petitions to the Crown—and since the Crown did not actually succeed in seizing power back from the aristocracy and gentry, Catholic petitions had to be very humble indeed.

Some years later, Catholics were accorded the legal right to own land for the first time in two generations. In 1793 they were admitted to the practice of law and to the Parliamentary franchise as electors (but under conditions which gave them very little actual electoral power)—though they continued to be banned from Parliament.

In 1812, after more than thirty years of reform of the Penal Law system, Denys Scully, a Catholic barrister, drew up a summary of the Penal Laws still in force. It was published anonymously, under the title, A Statement Of The Penal Laws Which Aggrieve The Catholics Of Ireland: With Commentaries. Because he believed in the accuracy of what he wrote, and was a prudent man, Scully did not put his name to the book. The Government proved his case by prosecuting the printer, Hugh Fitzpatrick, for seditious libel. Fitzpatrick was convicted, fined heavily, and imprisoned. (The operative principle in those days was: the greater the truth the greater the libel.)

Scully was the last person who would have fed an illusory complaint against the British administration of Ireland. He was the son of a prosperous Tipperary farmer, one of the first Catholics admitted to Trinity College in the 1790s, following the repeal of the Penal Law excluding Catholics from Trinity, and one of the first Catholics admitted to the legal profession following the repeal of the Penal Law excluding them. He became a

successful barrister, specialising in commercial law; married an English Catholic aristocrat; and was on visiting terms with the Viceroy. He supported the Act of Union. In 1803, after Emmet's Rebellion, he published a pamphlet urging Irish Catholics to have nothing to do with the French, ridiculing the French Revolution, and treating the United Irishmen as the dupes of France: An Irish Catholic's Advice To His Brethren, How To Estimate Their Present Situation, And Repel French Invasion, Civil Wars, And Slavery. He supported the movement for Catholic Emancipation, but disagreed with O'Connell's policy of blending religious grievance with national aspiration, publishing in 1824, A Letter To Daniel O'Connell, Esq. by A Munster Farmer. He was a moderate, respectable, middle class Catholic, loyal to Britain, and yet he saw fit to publish a statement of the Penal Laws still in force in 1812, after twenty years of reform. And what makes his book particularly relevant to Professor Elliott's thesis is that it deals with the extensive effects of the Penal Laws in the sphere of life not formally subject to them—the commercial sphere—in what she describes as "a period of opportunity for Irish Catholics" (p186).

In an earlier generation Professor Elliott's omission of Burke, Scully and Parnell would have incurred the ridicule of reviewers. But the era of historical revisionism is also the era of profound historical ignorance among the official intelligentsia.

## Snobbery, Clans And Classes.

The "elitism and social snobbery of Gaelic society" is asserted by Professor Elliott when depicting English conquest and Plantation as liberating and progressive. The implication here is that the English brought the spirit of equality to Ireland. Was Margaret Thatcher then entirely mistaken when she asserted that inequality was of the essence of English life, and of progress? When Professor Elliott was writing Chapter Four she must have thought so. But, when she came to write Chapter Six, she understood that Irish backwardness did not lie in the elitism of clan life, but in its egalitarianism:

"For some three hundred years after 1500 a process had been developing in Europe which historians call the emergence of polite society. This saw the gradual moving apart of the social classes from the shared rough lifestyle of the middle ages to the pursuit of refinement, good taste and social codes of restraint which would set the upper classes apart after the seventeenth century..." (p163).

There was a "new definition of property and wealth, by which political and social status and power would be defined thereafter". Under this new definition, "even the great warlords of the sixteenth century would have been found wanting". But the Gaelic elite was broken "before this new

definition entered into popular currency", and therefore they "retained their status in the popular mind" (p159).

The thrust of this element of her argument appears to be that, if the mores of "polite society" had got a grip on Irish life before the overthrow of the Gaelic nobility, we (I write as a descendent of the Cullotys who were brought to Slieve Luacra by the O'Sullivans as their labourers) would not have sympathised with our Chiefs in their misfortune, but would have despised them for it.

And what would we have done with ourselves then? Gaped in awe at our new, polite, betters? Shaped ourselves into industrious serfs for them, become the raw materials of Empire, and entered the lower reaches of the infinitely graded hierarchy of snobbery and "class distinction" that was still the pattern of English social life when I first went there, and remains so to a considerable extent.

As befitted my Culloty ancestry, I was a labourer in Slieve Luacra all through my teens. That I went to England and discovered snobbery and class distinction. In Slieve Luacra equality in social intercourse was simply taken for granted. It was not made a virtue of, because nothing else was conceivable. I presume that "class distinction" as a cultural force emigrated with the Anglo-Irish landlords after 1903. (I gather from my sister that there was a particular family which attempted to slot itself into the place of the departed gentry and give itself airs, but it had such slight success that I was simply unaware of it.)

In London I encountered the social culture of class distinction, and I gravitated naturally towards the only authentically classless elements that were to be found—the cultured casual labourers, largely Irish, who existed below the respectable working classes and had their base in the Rowton House in Camden Town, and the West Indian community, which was then in its first generation. The West Indians were entirely oblivious of the culture of class distinction then and, as far as I can see, they have only very slowly and minimally been broken into it. The Irish were somewhat more susceptible to English influence and many sought to integrate into the English culture of class snobbery, making their way steadily up through the respectable working classes into the lower middle classes, with an eye to a future in the middle classes for their children—and then who knows what?

Mary Colum, wife of Patrick Colum, the poet, was a high-powered Euro-American intellectual from a traditional Irish background. She was educated in Ireland and on the Continent a little under a hundred years ago, and she makes the following observation in her memoirs:

"...the middle classes from whom so many of the students came had imbibed some of the worst as well as some of the best elements of British civilisation... among the worst was that fantastic English snobbery

widespread in Irish towns... But in other respects we were more like young Continental girls than English girls. We had little if any of that affectation which so many young English people seem to have imbibed with their mother's milk. The foreigners who occasionally came to study were very much like ourselves, and the young English girls of our age were not very like us" (*Life And The Dream*, 1947).

"Class distinction" in Irish life has invariably been connected with the Anglicizing tendency. There was no basis for it in "the shared rough lifestyle" of Irish society. The hereditary pre-eminence of certain families on the grounds of genealogy is grossly misconceived as snobbery. Snobbery is a phenomenon of English society, which Professor Elliott somehow conceives as egalitarian, and it is quintessentially a phenomenon of what are known as the lower middle classes in their struggle to distinguish themselves from the 'respectable' stratum of the working class or to climb into the middle class.

The English culture of "class distinction" has had its moments in Ireland, but something always happened to upset it. The pretentious world of the Home Rule middle class lost itself in its Great War on Germany. There was a perceptible move towards "polite society" in the 1920s when, after the death of Michael Collins, social elements which had played no part in the independence movement attached themselves to the Treaty party, but the culture of the "shared rough lifestyle" was restored in the 1930s.

Within the authentic culture of "class distinction", class accent is an effective stabilising (i.e. stratifying) influence. The Englishman carries his class about with him in his mouth, and there is an intricate network of conditioned reflexes connected with class accents. Indeed, it is doubtful whether anything actually exists in the way of English national culture, apart from the network of class accents and the attitudes which they generate.

The 1945 Labour Government, which commanded more actual power to change things than any other British Government of the 20th century, operated with an ideology of classlessness in a national medium of class culture. Halfway through its Parliamentary term it suddenly realised that it was in danger of abolishing the aristocracy and it took immediate measures to halt the process. And where, in the restructuring of the educational system, it might have undermined the reproduction of middle class culture and fostered egalitarian culture, it chose not to do so. The function of the education reform therefore was to provide a step ladder into the middle class for bright and ambitious working class youth through the Grammar Schools, where they were trained to talk proper and to endure with fortitude the boredom of what was decreed to be high culture.

One of the great difficulties of consolidating a culture of class distinction in Irish life was the lack of authentic class accents. I recall that, when Radio Eireann in the early fifties tried to cultivate a national middle class accent

(as the BBC had done very effectively), the response was popular ridicule. The new accent was heard only as "posh". And posh effectively meant imitative Anglo. (As I recall, it sounded something like Brian Farrell's accent today.) So Radio Eireann prudently gave up on the attempt to cultivate amongst us a manner which is surely indispensable to the development of "polite society". Because of the persisting influence of the "shared rough lifestyle", which we had as Gaels, we remain only slight stratified, in the cultural medium of life, into the layers of class distinction which Reformation England sought to confer on us.

#### Individualism Versus Individuality.

Perhaps what Professor Elliott is trying to say, but falls into gross self-contradiction in the saying of it because of the conceptual inadequacy of her language, is that Gaelic society was not individualist, that it is the destiny of the human race to become individualist, and that England was the providential agent of progress towards individualisation in Ireland.

It remains to be seen whether there is a necessary tendency towards individualism in human affairs. But England was, at least in ideological form, an agent of individualism in Ireland, while being an enemy of egalitarianism.

Spenser's programme for the Irish might be summed up in one word: *Individualism*. Through individualism the Irish were to be comprehensively subordinated to England.

The governing motive for the subordination of the Irish was, no doubt, a concern for the military security of England. (But security concerns based on the possibility that neighbours might become enemies grow rather than diminish when neighbours are subjugated into friends. The state whose frontiers are expanded in search of security acquires even more neighbours to be potential enemies. The security concerns of England grew with the Empire. The only conceivable end was world dominance. Two hundred years after England was made absolutely secure to the West, its safety was endangered on the other side of the globe, in the Himalayan mountains! The line of English development which began in Ireland could only have reached a natural conclusion in total world Empire.)

But Protestant England has always acted morally in pursuit of its interests. It has always conceived a genuine moral horror of whatever it is that is obstructing it at any given moment. The specific content of the moral horror is not constant over time. The abomination which needs rooting out might be democracy at one moment and monarchy at another, but each is berated with genuine moral feeling.

Spenser had a genuine moral horror of the way the Irish lived. It was for him a moral imperative that they should be stopped from living like that and

compelled to live in some other way. Half a century later this attitude was crisply expressed by Cromwell's Secretary of State, Milton: "Let England not forget her precedence in teaching the nations how to live".

Spenser was pained by the thought that there were regions, beyond the reach of English oversight, where the Irish were living contentedly in their own way—where "whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishman amongst them, ...may do what they list, and compound or altogether conceal amongst themselves their own crimes, of which no notice could be had by them which would and might amend the same, by the rule of the laws of England" (*Works*, 1877 edition, p610).

England was under obligation to manage "this stubborn nation of the Irish, to bring them from that delight of licentious barbarism into the love of goodness and civility" (p613).

But the Irish could not be civilised merely by dispersing Englishmen amongst them. Unfortunately, "it is the nature of all men to love liberty" (p675), and the Englishmen who in earlier times had been placed amongst the Irish, despite "having been brought up at home under a strict rule of duty and obedience, being always restrained by sharp penalties from lewd behaviour", quickly succumbed to Irish influence and became libertines. The King had given his Laws (the Common Law) to his Irish colonists, "the same laws under which they were born and bred, the same which it was no difficulty to place amongst them, being formerly well-enured thereunto". But, "inured" to English law though they were, these law-bred people felt the urge of liberty rise up in them under the influence of the licentious barbarians amongst whom they had been placed, and they were now part of the problem.

So what was to be done?

Spenser's programme for civilising Ireland and making it useful amounted to the destruction of Irish society. While it rules out the physical extermination of the Irish, it only does so on practical grounds. (England did not have the population resources for a complete colonisation of Ireland.) And the alternative he proposes is social-cultural colonisation—the Irish were to be stripped of their existing social and cultural attributes and reconstituted with attributes which were serviceable to English requirements.

Spenser's tract is written in the form of a dialogue between Eudoxus, who would like the required "reformation" to be done by law, and Irenaeus, who is better informed and more hard-headed. Irenaeus explains that—

"...the Irish do strongly hate and abhor all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that, having been once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. So now they fear, that if they were again brought under, they should likewise be expelled out of all... Therefore the reformation must now be the strength of a greater power" (p649).

Eudoxus asks: "How then do you think is the reformation thereof to be begun, if not by laws and ordinances?"

Irenaeus: "Even by the sword, for all those evils [i.e. Laws, Customs, Religion] must first be cut away with a strong hand before any good can be planted..."

Eudoxus: "...I said by the halter [i.e. the law] and you say by the sword. What difference is there?"

Irenaeus: "There is surely great difference when you will understand it; for by the sword... I mean the royal power of the Prince, which ought to stretch it self forth in the chiefest strength to redressing and cutting off of all those evils, which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evil. For evil people by good ordinances and government may be made good; but the evil that is of it self evil will never become good" (p650).

It's the system, as we say nowadays.

The application of English laws to individuals bred within the Irish way of life would not accomplish the required reformation. Law is effective when applied—within a system where its content is generally supported—to individuals who can be judged to be evil in a particular sense because they break it. But English law was fundamentally at variance with Irish life. The system of Irish life bred people who acted in ways that English law judged to be evil. And that system would continue to breed such people, even though English law was meted out to a handful of individuals.

What was required was the destruction of the system of Irish life by main force, holding the people in abeyance while a new system was constructed to fit them into. It is a very modern project of social engineering indeed—and it includes what Stalin called "the engineering of human souls".

How was it do be done? Eudoxus asks: "Would you lead forth your army against the Enemy, and seek him where he is to fight?"

Irenaeus: "No, Eudoxus; ...for it is well known that he is a flying enemy, hiding himself in woods and bogs... Therefore to seek him out were vain and bootless; but I would divide my men in garrison upon his country, in such places as I should think might most annoy him."

The apparatus of the English state would be extended throughout Ireland in the form of garrisons. The garrisons would be the basis of corporate towns—towns which were arms of the state. Official markets would be established in these towns, and buying and selling would be forbidden elsewhere "upon pain of great penalty". Highways would be cut through woods. Bridges would be built over all rivers, "and all fords marred and spoilt, so as none might pass any other way but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a small gatehouse set thereon" (p681).

"Also that in all straits and narrow passages as between two bogs... there should be some little fortilage, or wooden castle set, which should keep and command that strait". And "all high ways should be fenced and shut up on both sides, leaving only forty foot breadth for passage, so as none should be able to pass but through the high ways" (p681).

With the entire country thus brought under its supervision, the state could get a grip on things.

Although he has explained that, in the past, Captains "specially employed to make peace through strong execution of war" had dallied, "as if they would not have the enemy beaten down", and that these English-Irish "need a sharper reformation than the very Irish, for they are much more stubborn", Irenaeus proposes that they should nevertheless play a crucial part in the new scheme of things. Eudoxus, having gathered that the English-Irish were "worse than the wild Irish" ("Lord! how quickly doth that country alter men's natures!"), is surprised that they are again to be "sprinkled" amongst the Irish under the new scheme. Irenaeus is of the opinion that the new state apparatus will determine a very different outcome of English/Irish interaction: "where there is no good stay of government, and strong ordinances to hold them, there indeed the few will follow the more, but where there is due order of discipline and good rule, there the better shall go forward, and the worse shall follow" (p675).

In the new order the population was to be organised into hundreds, each hundred to be headed by an Englishman, and to meet annually before the Justices of the Peace to renew their pledges. (The old Saxon hundreds are mentioned in this connection, but the idea, rather than being a throwback, is a precursor of a device used by revolutionary states of the 20th century—the Street Committee.)

The Irish would have to be remade in order to be functional as units of these Hundreds. An important element in the re-making was re-naming. They were in future to have the names of things rather than people:

"...since Ireland is full of her own nation, that may not be rooted out, and somewhat stored with English already, and more to be, I think it best by an union of manners and conformity of minds, to bring them to be one people" (p675).

It went without saying that the "one people" was to be an English people. And, to make the Irish ready for Englishing, they must be "withdrawn from their lords, and subjected to their Prince": meaning that the Irish form of social existence, the sept, had to be broken up, so that the Irish could be reduced to atoms for re-assembling in the English Hundreds:

"...for the better breaking of those heads and septs, which... was one of

the greatest strengths of the Irish, methinks, it should do very well to renew that old statute in Ireland that was made in the realm of England (in the reign of Edward the Fourth), by which it was commanded, that, whereas all men that used to be called by the name of their septs, according to their several nations, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take unto himself a several surname, either of his trade or faculty, or of some quality of his body or mind, or the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, whereby they shall not only depend upon the head of their sept, as now they do, but also shall in short time learn quite to forget this Irish nation. And herewithal would I also wish all the Oes and Macks, which the heads of the septs have taken to their names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguished; for that the same being the old manner (as some say) first made by O'Brien for the strengthening of the Irish, the abrogating thereof will as much enfeeble them" (p677).

It would thus be arranged that "every man standeth upon himself", and that there would be no ground of communal action available to the ill-disposed:

"For by this the people are broken into many small parts, like little streams, that they cannot easily come together into one head, which is the principle regard that is to be had in Ireland" (p673).

That is the vision of the other Slieve Luacra poet. (He does actually mention the place, reporting a complaint by the citizens of Cork City that the conflicts of the English-Irish—Geraldines and Butlers—"greatly encouraged and enabled the Irish, which till that time had been shut up within the Mountain of Slewloghir", p636.)

This programme of Spenser's was the basis of *ad hoc* actions by various English administrations in subsequent generations.

*Individualise and conquer!* Establish chasms of class distinction between the layers of the individualist former Irish. That was (and one might almost say *is*) the programme of the English Reformation state in Ireland.

Individualism is the general mode of existence in the modern English state—the Reformation state. The word has somehow acquired romantic liberal overtones of an almost Renaissance kind, as if it signified the ground for a flourishing of personality. What it signifies in actual fact is the condition of the individual as a closed, self-sufficient little world, living in a routine which is almost automatic. The individualist individual is self contained. He is absolutely distinct from, but virtually identical with, the multitudes of other distinct individuals. He lives in a formal ideology of individual free choice, but what he chooses has the appearance of being pre-ordained. Whether this is the outcome of a consistent working out of Calvinism I do not know, but it is evident that the individualists of English life three centuries

after they adopted of the *Westminster Confession Of Faith* is not a practical rebuttal of the doctrine of predestination.

When Margaret Thatcher observed that there was no such thing as society, only the nuclear family, the remark was judged to be imprudent, rather than inaccurate.

The individualist participates in society in the way that a perfectly formed single tooth in a cog-wheel participates in the functioning of a great machine. Society is out there somewhere, beyond the parameters of ordinary life, experienced only on Royal Jubilees and in wartime. Society is the state. And it somehow ensures that the individualist individual in the exercise of free choice chooses to be a cog in a cog-wheel.

I read about English individualism in a Canon Sheehan novel (*Luke Delmege*) long before I saw it at close quarters. When I did see it I could not understand how millions of human beings could choose to live like that. But it was clear that they did choose it, that if they had not chosen it the history of the English state could not have happened, and that over generations and centuries they had experienced profound satisfaction in serving the purposes of the state as individualist cogs in the great machine.

Underlying the individualist regimentation was the conviction that the Reformation state served a cosmic purpose. That was the residual outcome of centuries of intense theological conflict operating through revolution and counter-revolution. The conviction became so habitual that it survived the formal collapse of theology as the medium of public life. It was the transcendental condition which gave wider meaning to the otherwise arid life of the individualist—the cog in the great mechanism of the state.

One way of putting it would be that the individualist is the negation of the individual. The "ist" is the brand of mass production.

Resourcefulness is the outstanding quality of the individual who stands at the source of modern European culture, Odysseus—who bears little resemblance to our modern "Ulysses". In the culture of individual ism the quality of resourcefulness belongs to the great mechanism that sets the multitudes of individualists in motion—the state. The culture of individualism leads to the anthill—to the form of society in which each atom is perfectly motivated to play the part in the life of the state for which his antecedents and/or particular qualities fit him.

Perhaps it is inevitable that the kind of society in which individuality flourishes will be obliterated by the massed ranks of individualists functioning as a state. But, even if that proves to be the case, it is not a reputable reason for surrendering, or for describing the matter in false categories, as Professor Elliott does.

(The negation of individuality by the system of individualism is a fact

one can hardly fail to observe in moving between Slieve Luacra and England, but it is not much discussed by political or social theorists. I know of only one book on the subject. It was published in Milwauki in 1926. I came across it entirely by accident, noticing it in the British Library catalogue while making a survey of the writings of Major C.J.C. Street, the official British Government apologist of the Black-and-Tan War. The author is C.L. Street. The title is *Individualism And Individuality In The Philosophy Of John Stuart Mill*. The gist of the argument is as follows:

"The early Utilitarians had much to say about 'the individual'... But for them the individual was an abstraction. Jeremy Bentham and James Mill were not interested at all in real individuals or individuality. Bentham was looking for a philosophy of legal reform and for a safe and businesslike government. James Mill was looking for general principles on which an objective science of government and economics and psychology might be based".

Bentham, who had studied chemistry, adopted the idea of the individual as a social equivalent of the atom: "'The individual' was for them simply the atom of their social chemistry".

John Stuart Mill, who was brought up by his father and Bentham to be the perfect Utilitarian, soon began to yearn for a social system which would "help the development of individuality in the sense of spontaneity and diversity". But he could not let go of the system to which he had been bred. And anyway the idea of a *system* of spontaneous diversity doesn't bear much thinking about.)

# Of Slaves & Ships & Colonies & Things.

Owen Roe ran away to sea to escape a personal predicament and found himself part of a great naval battle in the West Indies that brought fame to Admiral Rodney—and he celebrated *Rodney's Glory* in English verse in the hope that flattery would bring him an early release from His Majesty's Service. Rodney's task was to defend England's slave colonies in the Caribbean from the French who, having declared war on England in support of the American struggle for independence, were lawfully entitled to take any English possession they could conquer.

Why is it that our revisionists, who are dedicated to certain kinds of progress, have not denounced Owen Roe, the Jacobite reactionary, as an upholder of slavery? Because the slavery in question was English, and the fact that England was the major slave state in the world throughout the 18th century is not something they care to dwell upon.

It would of course be more pleasant to contemplate Owen Roe's naval escapade if it had not placed him at the service of the English slave system.

But those who have been comprehensively dispossessed by a great Empire have to live somehow, and it is hardly reasonable to hold them morally responsible in the slightest degree for the condition of the world brought about by that Empire. And the right of those who have nothing, because they have been dispossessed by force and law, to run away to sea would appear to be an elemental right of existence.

He might of course have had a comparatively virtuous naval career outside the slave system if he had gone to sea in a pirate ship. But that was the only way he could have done so. And pirate ships did not have recruiting offices in Fermoy.

The year of *Rodney*'s *Glory* was also the year when the Colonial Parliament in Ireland asserted its independence and the British Parliament recognised it. Owen Roe left the Royal Navy and returned to Slieve Luacra, where he ridiculed the patriotism of the Volunteers in English verse. Living an unprogressive life in the obscurity of Slieve Luacra, he severed his connection with the great slave system on which progress was based. Slieve Luacra was obscure in the sense that it was content to live its own life. It was unprogressive in that it did not engage in international trade. If it had been an economically progressive region, and had participated in the world market established by England, it would have been a participant in the slave system.

There were three distinct Colonial components of the British Empire in the 1770s—the group of Colonies on the American mainland, the group of Colonies in the Caribbean islands, and the Cromwellian/Williamite colony in Ireland. All had their subordinate Colonial Assemblies, and the settlers represented by these assemblies saw themselves as participants in the great world enterprise of the British Empire. (India was an Imperial possession but not an area of colonial settlement.)

England fought its first World War in 1756-63 (the Seven Years' War) and won it, becoming the dominant world power. This led to the adoption of Imperial attitudes by the English Government in its relations with all and sundry, including the Americans. But the Americans were Britons who never would be slaves—though as Britons they were of course the owners of slaves. They were Imperialists—partners in Empire—makers of Empire. (George Washington fought his first battles in the service of the Empire in the World War.) And, when they found themselves subjected to Imperialist attitudes by their countrymen who had stayed at home to enjoy the fruit of Empire, well, they wouldn't stand for it. And, when the Government at home would not be reasonable, they disowned their homeland, formed their own government, and defended it in arms.

There was at the same time some friction between the Crown and its Colonial Assemblies in the Caribbean and in Ireland. In both cases these Colonial Assemblies asserted their privileges and sought to enhance them. The one in Ireland even indulged in the extravagance of declaring itself a sovereign Legislature, and the Mother of Parliaments, being at war with its American Colonies and with France, had little choice but to recognise the Declaration as valid. But neither the Irish nor the West Indian Colonial Assemblies followed the American precedent by forming independent governments. The limit of their ambition was to preserve their Colonial privileges, or to increase them a little. The reason they did not aspire to independence—that in fact they did not want independence—was that the maintenance of their position as ruling elites depended absolutely on the power of the Westminster Government. They were in effect privileged protectorates of the Crown. They wished to maximise their privileges under the protection of the Crown, knowing that they could not preserve themselves without the protection of the Crown.

Ireland, America and the Caribbean were *Lebensraum* for the expansion of England—the expansion of the English—in the 17th and 18th centuries. Hundreds of thousands of the English migrated to each of them. The colonies in America and the Caribbean relied economically on imported slave labour, while the Irish colony relied on the labour of the subjugated native population, which had been reduced to a kind of serfdom. The American Colonies flourished despite the slavery—and the genocide that preceded it. The native population was destroyed. The imported slave population was employed—or deployed—in comparatively small agricultural undertakings; and the white settler population formed a large majority of the total population.

In the Caribbean Colonies, on the other hand, the English colonisers did not even reproduce themselves. The English migration went in roughly equal quantities to the Caribbean and the American mainland, but in the Caribbean it never took on the quality of a settlement. The Caribbean English—the West Indians, as they were called—took on the character of overseers of slave-labour camps. They did not reproduce themselves, much less expand. They were minority overlords of large slave-labour populations. The slave majorities were deployed in large-scale, regimented industrial undertakings. They were in certain respects the unfree forerunners of the free (unowned) industrial proletariat of the Manchester capitalism of later times.

The American colonists did not see themselves as protected from their dispersed slave minority by English state power. Slavery does not appear to have been a factor which influenced their relations with England one way or the other. But it was a major factor influencing relations between the overseers of the slave labour camps in the Caribbean and the mother-state. The Caribbean Colonists, the white West Indians, had to live with the possibility of rebellions by their regimented slave majorities. They did not

rate their chances of independent survival very high. Therefore, while defending their privileges within the British State, they never considered leaving its protection. And they supported Britain in its war against the Americans—while at the same time making a dishonest buck by trading illegally with the Americans when the opportunity arose.

At first glance it appears that the Colony in Ireland resembled the American Colony rather than the Caribbean Colony. Expressions of sympathy with the Americans were heard from the Volunteers, and England's difficulty in America was the opportunity for asserting Legislative independence in Ireland. But this appearance does not survive a second glance. The military function of the Volunteers was to free the regular British army for the American war. And the declaration of Legislative independence, deliberately dissociated from the establishment of independent government, was merely an enhancement of Colonial privilege within the British state and under its protection. The Anglo-Irish Colony, with its subjugated native majority, was no more inclined to strike out on a course of independent statehood than the West Indian colony with its imported slave majority. Each considered that the power of the British state was necessary to its long-term survival.

(Twenty years later the British State revoked colonial privilege in Ireland with the *Act Of Union* (though its withering took most of a century thereafter), and fifty years later it revoked the privileges of the West Indian colonies—initiating the long, painful process through which the name West Indian came to signify a descendent of the slave population.)

The white West Indian colony, like the Anglo-Irish colony but unlike the American colony, kept up cultural/social/educational contacts with the mother-state. The Caribbean slave-owning gentry, like the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, were members of the Church of England—religiously sceptical perhaps, but politically diligent members of it. (The "Church of Ireland" was, of course, a department of the Church of England—as the Irish Government was a department of the English Government—and its Bishops were English appointees.) And the sons of the Anglican overseers of slavery were educated at Eton and Harrow. (I believe that the Ascendancy gentry did not, for the most part, receive their education in England itself, but in an adjunct of the English educational system in Ireland.)

The American colony, by contrast with the Irish and Caribbean colonies, began to live its own life culturally and spiritually from an early stage, even while in politics it was contentedly a part of the British Empire, and it had therefore the internal resources to force its disagreement with Britain to a parting of the ways when the enhanced Imperial style of Crown government after the Seven Years' War became obnoxious to it.

The Colonial Assembly of the Anglo-Irish acted the part of the

Assemblies of the West Indian slave-owners, rather than that of the free-spirited Americans, even though it carried the privileged status of its Assembly to the extreme of getting it recognised as a sovereign legislature. A handful of bolder spirits within it proposed that the colony should gradually relinquish its position as an Ascendancy lording it over the Irish majority and constitute itself the nucleus of a functional national development. That was certainly a practical possibility for the Anglo-Irish Colony, though not for the Colonies of overseers of slave-labour camps in the West Indies. But the Irish Parliament chose to go the West Indian way.

[PS: The difference in kind between the British colonies in the Caribbean and on the American mainland with regard to the character of the slave system and the political orientation of the colonists, which I have asserted here, must appear self-evident to anybody who knows the general history of both and reflects on it. But I give below a few brief extracts from a couple of books to assure others that I have not simply dreamed up the idea. The influence of British historical propaganda in Ireland at present is so great that people who do not go out of their way to find out about the matter might easily get the idea that what Britain did with regard to slavery was abolish it:

*America:* "Cruel, unjust, exploitative, oppressive, slavery bound two peoples together in bitter antagonism while creating an organic relationship so complex and ambivalent that neither could express the simplest human feelings without reference to the other...

"The Old South, black and white, created a historically unique kind of paternalist society. To insist upon the centrality of class relations as manifested in paternalism is not to slight the inherent racism or to deny the intolerable contradictions at the heart of paternalism itself... Southern paternalism... grew out of the necessity to discipline and morally justify a system of exploitation...

"The slaveholders of the South, unlike those of the Caribbean, increasingly resided on their estates and by the end of the 18th century had become an entrenched ruling class... Of all the slave societies of the New World, that of the Old South alone maintained a slave force that reproduced itself. Less than 400,000 imported Africans had, by 1860, become an American black population of more than 4,000,000...

"Paternalism created a tendency for the slaves to identify with a particular community through identification with its masters; it reduced the possibilities for their identification with each other as a class. Racism undermined the slaves' sense of worth as black people and reinforced their dependence on white masters...

"The slaveholders had to establish a stable regime with which their slaves could live. Slaves remained slaves... But masters and slaves, whites and

blacks, lived as well as worked together. The existence of the community required that all find some measure of self interest and self respect...

"Half the slaves in the South lived on farms, not on plantations as defined by contemporaries—that is, units of twenty slaves or more. Typically a twenty-slave unit would embrace only four families. If a big plantation is to be defined as a unit of fifty slaves, then only one-quarter of the Southern slaves lived on big plantations. The slaveholders of the Caribbean or Brazil would have been amused by this definition, for their own plantations usually had more than one hundred slaves..." (Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World The Slaves Made*, 1975 edn, pp3-7).

The Caribbean: "In 1760, Charles Townshend favorably contrasted [white] West Indians to North Americans because they 'never consider themselves at home' in the islands and they sent 'their children to the Mother Country for education...

"West Indian whites... treated the islands as little more than temporary abodes to facilitate their spectacular reentry into British society... In the last two decades of the seventeenth century, some three hundred West Indians were annually going back to Britain 'with this advantage that their fathers went out poor and the children came home rich'. Over one-third of Jamaican planters were absentees by 1740...

"The most enduring visible monument to the presence of the British in the Caribbean were those commemorating the deaths of individuals who died before achieving their ambition of returning home...

"The migration of a little under half a million Europeans to the British Caribbean was roughly comparable to that of British North America before the American Revolution. Yet there were fewer than fifty thousand whites in the British Caribbean, compared to two million in North America, in 1776...

"Whites became a besieged minority in a majority black population [in the Caribbean]... On the eve of the American Revolution three-quarters of the English slave trade was destined for the Caribbean...

"The rise in the proportion of blacks and the frequency of slave rebellions created a garrison mentality among the whites, who became more dependent for their protection on Britain. The white population on the islands was too small to effectively police the slaves...

"Absenteeism created a special bond with the mother country by establishing a large West Indian community in Britain... West Indians dominated parts of London, Bath and Bristol... They inhabited the fashionable new developments north of Oxford Street in Marylebone, including Wimpole Street, Welbeck Street, Portman Square, Portman Street and Montague Square...

"West Indians possessed impressive landed estates which adorned the British countryside...

"West Indians were painted by the foremost British portrait artists. Harewood House in Yorkshire contained a seventy-five-foot-long gallery to display family portraits of the Lascelles of Barbados by Sir Joshua Reynolds...

"Charles II created five baronetcies in Barbados alone, which was almost twice the number created among North Americans before 1776. West Indians successfully intermarried with the nobility... including... the earl of Abercorn...

- "...Stephen Fuller, the agent for Jamaica, ...listed forty-eight West Indian 'colony' members of the House of Commons in 1781...
- "...In Jamaica, three-quarters of the planters sent some three hundred children a year to be educated in Britain...
- "...There were no universities in the British Caribbean, in contrast to the thirteen mainland colonies' nine colleges at the end of the colonial period and in contrast to the Spanish Caribbean, where the University of San Domingo was the oldest in the Americas... West Indians went primarily to Oxford and Cambridge at a time when the social composition of those universities was becoming more exclusively aristocratic. The Codrington Library at All Souls College (Oxford)... was endowed by Christopher Codrington of Barbados and the Leeward Islands" (An Empire Divided: The American Revolution And The British Caribbean, by Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000, Chapter I, British Sojurners).

### An Irish Slave Empire!

D.A. Akenson, Professor of History at Queen's University, has published a book with the title, *If The Irish Ran The World: Montserrat*, 1630-1730 (1997). I quote from the blurb:

"What would have happened if the Irish had conquered and controlled a vast empire? Would they have been more humane rulers than the English? Using the Caribbean island of Montserrat as a case study of 'Irish' imperialism, Donald Akenson addresses these questions... Montserrat, although part of England's empire, was settled largely by the Irish and provides an opportunity to view the interaction of Irish emigrants with English imperialism in a situation where the Irish were not a small minority among white settlers. Within this context Akenson explores whether Irish imperialism in Montserrat differed from English imperialism in other colonies. Akenson reveals that the the Irish proved to be as effective and as unfeeling colonists as the English and Scottish... If The Irish Ran The World provokes interesting insights into whether ethnicity was central to the making of the colonial world..."

Akenson writes in the Ulster Unionist interest, and is heavily blinkered by that interest. I do not recall that, when some of us attempted to shift the ground of conflict in Northern Ireland from "ethnicity" to the structures of British party politics, he expressed any support. But, when that attempt had been brought to nothing by Ulster Unionism, he published a hagiography of

Conor Cruise O'Brien, whose irrational and impossible object was to secure a Unionist victory by strong measures within the confines of the Six County hothouse—a victory which, given the circumstances of the case, could only be "ethnic".

The communities in the North are sometimes called religious and at other times ethnic. I have always called them national. I do not know what ethnic, as distinct from national, means if it does not mean racial. As a naive reader of Aristotle when I was very young, I have always held Aristotle's maxim that man is by nature a political animal to be an indisputable truth with farreaching implications. And I have taken its meaning to be what it clearly is in the book, that the conduct and thought of the human is very heavily influenced by the Constitution, in the sense of the effective political framework within which he lives.

The massive disruption of life in Ireland by the English state in the mid-17th century, coming after a series of disruptions going back to Spenser's time, resulted in a great many Irish finding themselves in the Caribbean. Some were transported by Cromwell, some apparently sold themselves as indentured labour, and there were some adventurers. When a society is treated in the way that the English state treated Ireland, it is to be expected that chips will fly off in all directions. Akenson concedes this obliquely: "Ireland's putative empire in the West Indies, the island of Montserrat, was a fragment kicked lose by the cultural equivalent of a nuclear blast" (p12 a strange figure of speech: the Cromwellian blast, which had cultural effects, was itself no more cultural than the atomic bomb, whose use also had cultural effects). The chapter in which this is said is titled, Ireland's Neo-Feudal Empire. But the state was indisputably the English state. The Irish in Montserrat were a population displaced from Ireland by the destructive activity of the English state there and moved to another location where the English state had a use for them. The Irish in Ireland were a nuisance to England, but they were useful in bulking out the white population in Montserrat and were better treated there. Those who remained Catholics were subject to the Penal Laws, though in much milder form than in Ireland, and were therefore excluded from the governing circle of the British state on the island. Excluded from administration, they concentrated on economic activity within the system laid down by the English state, which was the slave system.

Akenson's assumption that the conduct of fragments of Irish society, which were coerced or seduced into the expansionist activity of the English state abroad, demonstrates what an Irish state would have done if the English state had allowed one to exist, is a bizarre flight of fancy with racist implications. It would be reasonable only on the assumption that social conduct is biologically determined. It is a negation of Aristotle's view, which

would lead to the conclusion that those fragments, plucked out of Irish life by the English state and required to survive in an English slave labour camp across the ocean, had their conduct determined by their new framework of life—the English Constitution. But the determining factor was the actual Constitution of the English state: not the pretty one the Constitutional commentators write about.

While it seems likely that some of the Irish felt a sense of affinity with the blacks and mixed with them, they would not be the ones who flourished. But it would be remarkable if many of them had not adapted to the respectable influences of their new conditions of life and become the grasping slave-drivers described by Akenson. They were racists. But the determinant of their racism was the English Empire.

The very notion of the Irish running the world is in any case a historical absurdity. They found their own life too enjoyable and absorbing to subordinate it to the requirements of forming the kind of bureaucratic/militaristic state that might even attempt to rule others.

Professor Akenson's book is published by Liverpool University, where Professor Elliott operates, and it is of a kind with hers.

The colony which ran Ireland was, of course, an active participant in the British attempt to run the world, but nobody seems to want to write up *that*. Many years ago, while I was discovering that Glorious Revolution Britain was one of the greatest and most ruthless slave states known to history, I came across an 1820s magazine that surveyed Caribbean affairs, and one of the slave camps it looked at was called Dublin Castle.]

#### A Great (Unwritten) Historical Novel.

In Connolly: The Polish Aspect I wrote:

"The incident which led to Owen Roe's naval career did not at the time appear to be a historic event. Indeed, it was not in actuality a historic event. But it might have become the subject of a historical novel which would have become a historical event. Around 1779 he became tutor to the children of the Nagle family. It appears that he seduced a servant girl, and that Dr. Nagle went looking for him with a gun. He escaped to Fermoy barracks and enlisted in the navy.

"Now, the Nagles produced one very influential historical figure at that time. Nano Nagle, having gone to Paris to be educated, graduated into the licentious court of Louis XV and spent ten years indulging in its pleasures before feeling the urge to do good works. She returned to Cork and decided to educate the poor. To assist with this she got the Ursuline nuns introduced into Ireland. Finding the Ursulines unsuitable, (they were a closed order dedicated to the education of upper class females), she founded her own order—the Presentation Order—though it is not at all clear that she actually became a nun herself. The Presentation Order is the oldest institution of modern Ireland.

"Nano—who was well launched in her educational work in Cork city when Owen became a tutor in the Nagle family—was a first cousin of Edmund Burke. And North Cork was Burke's homeland more than anywhere else was.

"The fact that Owen Roe, Nano and Burke have not been brought into interaction even in a bad attempt at a novel shows what a trifling thing the dominant trend in Irish national culture has been."

The thoroughly civilized member of the trio would be Nano, since to be civilized was to be French (or Austrian or Italian or Spanish). The Irish who went to the Continent found civilization unproblematical, from which it is reasonable to deduce that there was a quality in the Irish way of life which predisposed it to civilized development. Nano Nagle in France lived as a lady within the spectrum of urbane pleasure which included at its other end Louisa O'Murphy, the most famous nude of the century, whose celebrated nakedness made her a King's mistress.

Owen Roe lived according to his own impulse at home, in the medium of his Gaelic and Graeco/Roman cultural inheritance, and he would no doubt have found a congenial line of development if he had happened to find himself in France.

Burke, the most powerful pamphleteer of British statecraft in the last third of the 18th century, was a kind of lost soul, half-civilized and half-English, who had grown up in the society of the Blackwater Catholics and yearned to incorporate it into a British state; who projected an ideology of romance and chivalry onto the life of the calculating and mercenary upstart aristocracy of England; who would have no truck with the French Enlightenment view that thought should not be subject to authority but should be free (or should be wild, as he saw it); and who abhorred the Penal Laws and spent many years harassing Warren Hastings for improper conduct in India, while maintaining absolute silence on the major British atrocity of the century—the West Indian slave-labour camps.

An interaction between those three would be worth overhearing. But, instead of that, what we have got is *Ulysses*.

## Edmund Burke's Two Blind Spots.

Burke, who made no pretensions to Gaelic overlordship, denounced the Penal Law system in categorical terms that would shock Professor Elliott if she knew of them. Her "monster" of resentment against imagined wrongs springs into snarling life in his pages. And it was clearly the waste of it, rather than the injustice, that roused such fury in him. He saw a large body of people, who might have been advantageously included within the particular Liberty of the English, being wantonly turned into enemies by exclusion from it. He kept quiet about Slavery because he knew that the

Liberty and prosperity of England depended upon it, but he failed to see the relevance to English Liberty of the lesser evil of the anti-Catholic system.

The fact that Burke never uttered a word about the great English slave labour camps in the Caribbean should tell us all that we need to know about the quality of the English Enlightenment. He knew that they existed. Everybody did. He might have denounced them without risking his life, but he chose not to. Slavery was at least as vital to the well-being of 18th century England as control of the sources of oil was to the 20th century. And it was not some traditional form of slavery that somehow hung on for a century and a half after the inauguration of the regime of Liberty by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, but a new form of slavery, specifically designed to meet the requirements of the regime of Liberty.

Both the slave trade and the system of slave production were modernised and greatly expanded in the 1690s by the Revolution. It was a hundred years before even an ineffectual protest movement arose in England, and it was fifty years after that before slavery was abolished—with handsome compensation to the slave-owners, but none to the slaves. The evangel of Liberty, John Locke, was an investor in the slave trade, but in his chapter on Slavery in his *Second Treatise On Civil Government* (169) he dealt only with traditional forms of slavery, making no mention of the new slavery where his money was. And that set the pattern.

Maria Edgeworth, author of long novels on social themes (*Castle Rackrent*, *The Absentee* etc.), was an Anglo-Irish liberal intellectual with a position in the vanguard of English civilisation. A century after Locke she wrote a story, set in the Jamaican slave-labour camp, about Mr. Jeffries and Mr. Edwards:

"Mr. Jeffries considered the negroes as an inferior species, incapable of gratitude, disposed to treachery, and to be roused from their natural indolence only by force: he treated his slaves, or rather suffered his overseer to treat them, with the greatest severity.

"Jeffries was not a man of a cruel but of a thoughtless and extravagant temper. He was of such a sanguine disposition, that he always calculated upon having a fine season, and fine crops on his plantation; and never had the prudence to make allowance for unfortunate accidents: he required, as he said, from his overseer, produce and not excuses.

"Durant, the overseer, did not scruple to use the most cruel and barbarous methods of forcing the slaves to exertions beyond their strength. Complaints of his brutality, from time to time, reached his master's ears; but, though Mr. Jeffries was moved to momentary compassion, he shut his heart against conviction: he hurried away to the jovial banquet, and drowned all painful reflections in wine.

"...Mr. Edwards... treated his slaves with all possible humanity and

kindness. He wished that there was not such thing as slavery in the world; but he was convinced, by the arguments of those who have the best means of obtaining information, that the sudden emancipation of the negroes would rather increase than diminish their miseries. His benevolence therefore confined itself within the bounds of reason. He adopted those plans for the melioration of the state of the slaves, which appeared to him the most likely to succeed without producing any violent agitation, or revolution. For instance, his negroes had reasonable and fixed daily tasks; and, when these were finished, they were permitted to employ their time for their own advantage, or amusement".

When Mr. Jeffries' imprudence led him into debt he decided to sell an exceptionally industrious slave named Caesar, separating him from his woman. The matter came to the attention of Mr. Edwards, who, knowing what a good slave Caesar was, purchased them both. While making the bargain he discussed with Mr. Jeffries the possibility of getting the slaves to work for a wage and leaving them to look after themselves:

"Does any negro, under fear of the overseer, work harder than a Birmingham journeyman, or a Newcastle collier; who toil for themselves and their families?"

Transferred to Mr. Edwards' plantation, "Caesar now considered a white man as his friend". But Caesar had another friend, Hector, who had been brought with him from Africa. And, Hector was organising a general conspiracy of slaves in Jamaica, leaving aside those belonging to Mr. Edwards, who had been too well treated to be revolutionary.

Caesar tried to persuade Hector to make an exception of Mr. Edwards. Hector insisted that Mr. Edwards must be treated as part of the system, and he tried to reason Caesar out of his foolishness. But—

"The principle of gratitude conquered every other sensation. The mind of Caesar was not insensible to the charms of freedom: he knew the negro conspirators had so taken their measures that there was the greatest probability of their success. His heart beat high at the idea of recovering his liberty; but he was not to be seduced from his duty, not even by this delightful hope; nor was he to be intimidated by the dreadful certainty that his former friends and countrymen, considering him as a deserter from their cause, would become his bitterest enemies".

Caesar betrayed the conspiracy to Mr. Edwards, who armed his loyal slaves and nipped the rebellion in the bud. In the course of the nipping, Hector "plunged his knife into the bosom of Caesar. The faithful servant staggered back a few paces: his master caught him in his arms. 'I die content', said he". But it turned out to be a flesh wound. And so all lived happily ever after—except for Mr. Jeffries, whose nerve was broken by the affair:

"At length, he and his lady returned to England; where they were obliged to live in obscurity and indigence. They had no consolation, in their misfortune, but that of railing at the treachery of the whole race of slaves.— Our readers, we hope, will think that at least one exception may be made, in favour of *The Grateful Negro*".

That's the title of the story—*The Grateful Negro*. It was written in 1802—ten years after the French Revolution in its Jacobin phase had decreed the abolition of slavery on the grounds that it was essentially incompatible with the rights of man and should not be tolerated. Maria Edgeworth's view of the matter would seem to be that attributed to Mr. Edwards—that it would be pleasant if slave labour could be reformed into wage labour, but that precipitate action should be avoided for fear of revolutionary consequences—and of course that the moral right to decide and act in the matter lay with the state, which had instituted the slave labour camps and supplied the power to maintain them, and not with the slaves.

The British slave system was maintained for a further thirty years. In 1832 Parliament voted to abolish it in 1838. But, in the very Act of abolition, it treated the slaves as chattels by voting money to compensate the slave-owner for the loss of their property, while making no compensation of any kind to the slaves for having been made into property.

And it was not through the growth of fellow-feeling between kind-hearted slave-masters and grateful Negroes that abolition came about, but through the obstinate wilfulness of thousands of Hectors who kept on launching hopeless rebellions and being executed by the hundred for them until Parliament found it easier to abolish the system than to continue doing what was required to maintain it.

Towards the end of the 19th century (1898) John Kells Ingram (author of *Who Fears To Speak Of '98?*) published a *History Of Slavery*. He described the economic function of slavery in the ancient world, but it appears that his mind, so scientific in other directions, refused to engage with the actuality of the system of slavery established by the Glorious Revolution. He treats it as an inexplicable aberration which had no economic function—

"...not very long after serfdom had begun to disappear in the most advanced communities, comes into sight the new system of colonial slavery, which, instead of being the spontaneous outgrowth of social necessities and subserving a temporary need of human development, was politically as well as morally a monstrous aberration, and never produced anything but evil" (p141).

That is both a condemnation and a denial of what is condemned. The system of Glorious Revolution slavery, maintained over a century and a

half, produced the system of industrial capitalism. One could construct a speculative argument that the capitalist system might have been developed without going through the phase of slave-labour camps. But, in actual history, the Glorious Revolution progressed to capitalism through a massive expansion of slavery. (It is not often realised that the great South Sea Bubble stock market speculation, in which most of the upper classes, from Royalty downwards, were implicated, had slavery at its core.)

The only major English public figure of mid-18th century who was unequivocally opposed to English slavery was Dr. Johnson. And Johnson, of course, was not on the side of progress. He was a Tory reactionary.

Boswell records:

"He had always been very zealous against slavery in every form in which I with all deference thought that he discovered 'a zeal without knowledge' (Romans x.21). Upon one occasion, when in company with some very grave men at Oxford, his toast was, 'Here's to the next insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies'. His violent prejudice against our West Indian and American settlers appeared whenever there was opportunity. Towards the conclusion of his 'Taxation no Tyranny', he says 'how is it that we hear the loudest *yelps* for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" (23rd September, 1777).

But Boswell, who was a progressive, could not let Johnson's reactionary rant go unchallenged: "I record Dr. Johnson's argument fairly... But I beg leave to enter my most solemn protest against his general doctrine with respect to the *Slave Trade*", which was a "very important and necessary branch of commercial interest".

Boswell's assertion of the commercial importance of the slave trade is indisputable. The civil prosperity of England rested on the slave system. But Boswell was not an amoral cynic who would support Slavery merely on the grounds that it was necessary to English economic life:

"To abolish a *status* which in all ages *God has* sanctioned and man has continued, would not only be *robbery* to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects; but would be extreme cruelty to the African Savages... To abolish trade would be 'to shut the gates of mercy on mankind'."

To condemn a system of Slavery after it has served its purpose, as Ingram did, was no great matter. But to write what purports to be a history of it without even hinting that, while it was serving its purpose, all the virtuous men in English public life—and as far as I can discover all the Nonconformists, with their famous conscience, supported it—that is whiting the sepulchre. (It is not often realised that the great South Sea Bubble stock market venture, in which nearly all the upper classes, from Royalty down, were implicated, concerned a slave investment.)

During the forty years between *Who Fears To Speak?* and the *History Of Slavery* Ingram developed into a Unionist. And it shows.

To describe Glorious Revolution Slavery as aberrant when it was purposeful and consequential, and to fail to connect the slave system with the Glorious Revolution, is falsification of history on a grand scale. But falsification of history is of the essence of English history writing. And it is so easily done because so much of English history is external to England.

If one takes a bird's-eye view of all that went on under the authority of the English state, the oppression of the Irish as Catholics must appear amongst its lesser evils. And it certainly appeared to Burke to be an evil which might be eradicated without damage to English Liberty and prosperity. In fact, the obsessive anti-Catholicism of England struck him as a damaging point of irrationality in English public life. For all that he prided himself on understanding the vital importance of irrational things in human affairs, including affairs of state, he proved in this matter to be as great a rationalist as the King of Prussia—though lacking the command of power that enabled Frederick to give practical effect to his rationalism in the form of actual religious tolerance. If he was sceptical of the general principles of Enlightenment which liberal enthusiasts projected onto the Glorious Revolution, he was blind to the ongoing necessity to the State of the anti-Catholic bigotry which had been the actual ideological medium of the Revolution.

Anti-Catholicism was the only strong cultural bond between the antagonistic tendencies produced by the failed English Reformation—a Reformation in which the King broke with Rome for dynastic reasons but failed to devise an effective national substitute for the religion he rejected. The English Reformation as a national event consisted only of the rejection of Rome, and therefore Rome had to be rejected continuously, century after century, regardless of whether Rome constituted any kind of external danger to England.

The 'Papist' danger lay within England itself—and not in the continuing presence within the English state of a handful of Catholics, but in English Protestantism itself, in its uncertainty and inadequacy as a national religious event, and in the multiform theocratic obsessiveness to which this inadequacy gave rise.

Protestant England could never settle into a routine of its own, because of extensive internal disagreement about what it was. It fought internal wars in search of a settlement (from which Ireland, an innocent bystander, suffered heavily), but the victorious party could neither crush the defeated party, nor secure its consent to terms of settlement. Its only certainty related to what it was not, and therefore the immediate presence of what it was not

was a condition of united action and, when that presence ceased to be actual, it had to be imagined. The hostile Protestant tendencies were at one while they were engaged in virtuous Penal Law business against Papists. If they stopped jointly whipping Papists they were likely to resume the activity of trying to destroy each other, denouncing one another as virtual Papists.

England could not be at rest. It had to torment others as the condition of not tormenting itself. It achieved a semblance of national unity through joint action against an imaginary external danger. 'Toleration' meant in practice that the unresolvable antagonism within the English Reformation was contained within the English state by having its energy directed outwards against third parties. This is what fuelled the demonic activity of England in the 18th century, and long afterwards.

[PS: Burke's silence about Slavery embarrasses modern admirers and they stay virtually silent about it. His American biographer, Ross Hoffman, understands a paragraph in the 1765 *Annual Register* (produced by Burke) as a condemnation of Slavery, and Conor Cruise O'Brien follows suit in his hagiography, but they read far too much into it.

Burke is probably best known for telling the electors of Bristol, who had just sent him to Parliament, that he was not their delegate, but their representative—and, indeed, scarcely their representative in the modern sense because he had little to do with them during his six years as the Member for Bristol. He told them, what they had not known when voting for him, that they had sent him to Parliament to use his own judgment in deciding the affairs of the nation.

Bristol was the slave centre of the world. It was, says Ernest Barker, "a city which had come to be identified with negro slavery". Barker (a uniquely straightforward and worthwhile writer amongst all the Professors of Political Science that I know of) lamented "the sad and paradoxical chance which made Burke, with his ways of thinking, the Member for Bristol, with its ways of living" (*Burke & Bristol*, 1931, p77).

Having exercised his judgment independently for six years, Burke came to a parting of the ways with the electors of Bristol in 1780. He had come into disagreement with them on America, Free Trade with Ireland, and Religious Tolerance, and he told them at the parting that he opposed "any kind of oppression, on any grounds whatsoever". But Slavery did not figure in the list of wrongs which he would not support on any grounds.

His 1765 comment, written about the time of his first election to Parliament, was made in the context of the debate on whether Parliament had the right to tax the American colonies, which were not represented in it. Burke upheld the right of taxation without representation, while arguing that the way it was being done was disadvantageous to Britain itself. He

urged that the taxing should be done in ways that encouraged trade, which benefited Britain, instead of ways that must encourage the Americans to develop their own industries, instead of buying from Britain. But he would not admit the claim that there should be no taxation without representation:

"We are still further from admitting the claim of the British colonies to be represented in the British parliament, at least as fully as the people of Great Britain are. Common sense, nay self-preservation, seem to forbid, that those who allow themselves an unlimited right over the liberties and lives of others, should have any share in making laws for those, who have long renounced such unjust and cruel distinctions. It is impossible that such men should have the proper feeling for such a task. But then we could wish, that, since it was resolved to make the colonies contribute to their defence by taxes imposed on them without their concurrence, instead of abiding by the good old methods heretofore pursued for that purpose, these disqualifications in them to be fully represented in a British parliament had been assigned as the reason for the mother country's taxing them unrepresented. Then her doing so, instead of carrying an appearance of arbitrariness, considering her own claims to liberty, would manifest her best title to that invaluable blessing, and even of absolute empire over her colonies" (*Annual Register 1765*, p37).

The argument is against colonial representation, not against the representation of slave-masters. Maybe that was because Slavery was unmentionable, and maybe not. The main trouble over taxation was with the North American colonies, where the great majority of the population was white and free, and everything was not based on Slavery, and not with the Caribbean slave-labour camps, where the great majority were slaves and those who were free did not constitute a society.

British Slavery existed in accordance with the will of Parliament, the supreme authority in the British state. It would be misleading to say that the Slavery interest was well-represented in Parliament, because that might suggest that there was also an anti-Slavery interest, which there was not. But the Caribbean slavers, who never ceased to be a functional part of English society, were well-represented in Parliament. They were not represented in their colonial capacity. (And, in fact, they never became colonial in substance). They were represented as English gentlemen who conducted slave-labour camps, and they looked after the slavery business in Parliament, in which they sat as the owners of property acquired in England by the profits of Slavery.

If Burke objected to colonial representation because it would be overt representation of the slave system, he was a humbug. He knew very well that slave-production and the slave trade—what Adam Smith called "the roundabout trade"—was the source of English prosperity. And, ten years later, when elected for Bristol, he might be fairly described as the Member

for Slavery.

If he had somehow acquired the power to abolish the slave system, I am sure he would not have done it. Civilisation depended on it—not the least element of which was the "unbought grace of life" which he so admired in the aristocracy.

\*]

Thomas Erskine, a famous barrister and Whig MP of the late 18th century and the early 19th, who rose to the position of Lord Chancellor, acted for the defence when the Crown prosecuted the printer of Tom Paine's *Rights Of Man* in the 1790s, introduced a Bill for Prevention Of Cruelty To Animals in 1809, which passed in the Lords, but failed in the Commons, but he declared himself against the abolition of Slavery. He had spent some time in the Caribbean and had "formed a favourable opinion of the condition of the West Indian slaves, which determined his course on the emancipation question till near the end of his life". But, towards the end, "he altered his early views on slavery, and inclined more and more to emancipation" (Entry in *Dictionary Of National Biography*).

A Bill against cruelty to animals was enacted in 1822, the year before Erskine's death. An Act for the abolition of Slavery was passed ten years later.

The multi-volume DNB is the most informative and truthful history of Britain that I know of. It was published a little over a hundred years ago, when the Imperialist intelligentsia felt that the world was falling into line with Britain and that frankness and truthfulness were affordable luxuries. I have never come across a specific history of the involvement of Glorious Revolution intelligentsia with slavery. It was through looking up John Locke's associates in the DNB that I first began to suspect the extent of it.]

### Poetry & Politics.

Ireland in the 18th century was a piece of England superimposed on a large Catholic population as a ruling and exploiting stratum. The suggestion that Owen Roe might have functioned in that situation as a kind of Irish Mitskievitz, reinvigorating the old as a medium for new development, was obviously misconceived, in that it involved a blending of Gaelic/Catholic Ireland with the English colony. The Polish development was something quite different from that.) But, when I made it, it was not patently absurd in terms of the prevailing ideas of what England and Anglo-Ireland were. There is no Irish history of England, and English histories are invariably written in the light of some current political purpose. I had to figure out the history of modern England for myself—with some invaluable assistance from Joe Keenan—and in doing so I undermined what I had said about Owen Roe.

But that is not the end of the question. Allowing that it was not within the realm of practical possibility that an organic combination could have been made between the Irish who were being pulverised and the English who, warding off domestic instability, were pulverising all who came within their reach, and that any bold overture from the Irish side was likely to be met with capital punishment, there remains the matter of what the Irish were to do since, in the face of the brute power of English hostility, it was not possible for them to stay as they were.

In my book on James Clarence Mangan I contrasted a plodding translation of O'Rahilly's *Gile na Gile* given in the *Faber Book of Irish Verse* (1974) with another translation that I found in a revolutionary newspaper of 1849, Mitchel's *The Irishman*, and commented:

"Slieve Luacra cast a spell on itself in the 18th century by means of linguistic lusciousness: and that lusciousness begins with *Gile na Gile*. If a translation is to give any idea of why those Gaels turned up their noses at the Patriot Parliament, Grattan's Volunteers, and the United Irish, it must convey something of the richness and movement of the language in which they lived. I chose *The Irishman* version because it does that. If the original had been more in the style of the Poets & Poetry [Faber] version, I think Slieve Luacra would have escaped from enchantment into politics much earlier" (p145, *James Clarence Mangan*).

(The version put into circulation by Faber begins:

"The Brightest of the Bright met me on my path so lonely; That Crystal of all Crystals was her flashing darkblue eye."

The Irishman version begins:

"The loveliest of the lovely
I met upon my path, with honeysuckles rich bestrewn,
And million daisies all as bright
As the rayed stars that round the moon
'Mid Heavens blue well of light
Above lie."

The translation of poetry into poetry is a rare art. Mangan sometimes produced miracles of translation, while at other times he was merely routine, as is shown by these two versions. And, unfortunately, he was not sparked into miraculous mode by Owen Roe.)

The idea that, in the latter part of the 18th century, Slieve Luacra lived in the marvels of language is, I think, sound enough. But, if it had not had marvels of language to live in, what politics might it have escaped into? Politics is the business of governing a state, and that was exclusively English

business in Ireland throughout the 18th century. The body politic consisted of members of the Church of Ireland, which was an Irish branch of the Church of England. A certain amount of public activity was allowed to Presbyterians on the ground of Protestant toleration. But public activity by the Catholic body was treated by the governing authorities as sedition—as an attempt to usurp the functions of the state. Sedition can only succeed as rebellion. But the Irish capacity for rebellion on a scale that might be successful had been broken by the destructive effects of the Williamite conquest and the totalitarian system founded on it.

Slieve Luacra began to engage in political activity as soon as it became possible to do so without engaging in rebellion—that is to say, during O'Connell's political campaigns. Until then it maintained its internal distance from the Ascendancy by living in its exuberant culture of political nostalgia.

The first voice from Slieve Luacra heard on the national state was that of Edward Walsh, who contributed to the Young Ireland newspaper, *The Nation*. By this time the region had become English-speaking. It must have been bilingual to a considerable extent even in Owen Roe's time, even though it lived through Irish. After 1830, when it began to engage in political activity within the existing state structure, it lived the political part of its life through English, and the speaking of Irish even in familiar life declined sharply in the course of a couple of generations.

(I have never regarded myself as anything but English-speaking. The grammar of the spoken language was English with some Irish modification, but many hundreds of the words in the most common use were Irish—many more than I realised until I went to England. But the Irish words did not exist in place of English words. Both were present, and so there was no need to acquire an English word when an Irish word was discarded. It was only that the Irish words were felt to be more expressive. The word 'generous' somehow lacked the overtones of 'flahoolach'. During my brief encounter with the educational system I found it easier to write in Irish than in English, but that might have been because the critical faculty was more developed with regard to English—not that I ever took education seriously enough to apply any deliberate thought within it. But somebody has given the useful definition of culture: as what remains when everything that was consciously learned has been discarded. And I have gone through life with a headfull of Irish verse that I somehow acquired. (I squirm whenever I hear the words of Danny Boy because the tune is fixed in my mind to the words: "Is é mo chaoi gan mise maidean aereach".) It is evident that, though we took ourselves to be English-speaking, we were still in the mid-20th century poised between the two languages and might have gone either way.

I also have a considerable amount of German verse and some Russian verse in my head. I assume that it stuck because of a quality in the language

similar to Irish and dissimilar to English. The German verse I acquired largely in connection with music and philosophy. And, in my experience, a predisposition towards German culture arose naturally out of life in Slieve Luacra, both through musical affinity—music lying at the source of both cultures—and through a residue of the Young Ireland connection with German literature. The Goethe novels I read in my teens did not come from libraries or bookshops, but from farmhouses. And it was a natural progression—though in retrospect it may appear a freakish one—from listening to John MacCormack singing *The Old House* or *The Kerry Dances* to listening to him singing *Schlafendes Jesuskind* or *Ganymede*—and he was incomparable in the latter, as in the former.

#### When Ireland Ceased To Be European.

I suppose the fundamental breach with German culture at the philosophical level came with John Redmond's declaration of war on Germany on behalf of Home Rule Ireland for British Imperial purposes, and the removal of Kuno Meyer's portrait from public buildings. And I suppose it was because Slieve Luacra had comprehensively broken with Redmondism long before 1914—the North Cork seat was not even contested by the Home Rule Party in 1910—that the German connection too so long to wither there.

It might have been expected that the German connection would have been resumed when Redmondism was rejected. The reason it wasn't probably had to do with the Civil War. Whatever the reason, the last flickering of official Irish interest in German culture that I know of is the publication by Professor Tadg O Donncadha of Cork University of a collection of Irish translations of German poems, *Fíon Gearmánach*.

By rejecting its German dimension, nationalist Ireland rejected the philosophical ground on which it might have understood its past unapologetically. Traditional Ireland preserved itself through music and poetry throughout the era of the Penal Laws, but it never developed philosophical understanding out of itself. It looked to Germany in the 1840s. When it turned away from Germany, it became philosophically bereft.

English philosophy is little more than a rationalisation of military/commercial utilitarianism—a calculus of egoism. Its function with regard to other ways of life is to destroy them. George Berkeley, who could only get an Irish Bishopric, is sometimes described nowadays as an Irish philosopher—an absurdity which the hard-thinking *Catholic Bulletin* would never have tolerated. He was a Penal Law fanatic who in an address of 176 blamed the victims for their distress.

The most famous English philosopher since Berkeley was Bertrand Russell, who was also the ultimate utilitarian. One of his prime objects was to reduce language to a kind of semaphore system. This was entirely in accordance with the long-term Imperial project of establishing English as the universal language for purposes of commercial advantage. Under the concept of "logical positivism", the subjective dimension of language, through which the variegated existence of humanity developed, is decreed to be mere delusion and is marked down for extinction.

The modern philosophy which sought to understand the different ways of human existence on their own ground is the German philosophy that began with Kant. Schopenhauer (who I read long ago in Slieve Luacra), was the most English of the German philosophers, but he was still so little English that he took music to be a fit subject for philosophical understanding. Canon Sheehan's novels are shot through with German ideas. James Connolly with his sense of what was vital, put Rudolf Eucken in the pages of *The Workers' Republic* in 1915-16. And the writings of Martin Heidegger—the latest and possibly the last of the German philosophers—deal almost entirely with language as the subjective medium of human existence.

Human existence differs from the existence of other animals in the subjective dimension in which it is lived. Even those who are least given to thought live in the medium of ideas, and it is impossible for those who are least reflective not to reflect. And thought is language.

Dostoevsky (whom I first came across in a rudimentary public library in Boherbue almost half a century ago) was a Russian progressive who responded to the reduction of progress to things—to improved material environment—by asserting that human environment is people. And people are language. Words start going into the child almost as soon as milk, and it is not the milk that distinguishes him from a calf or a bonham.

Things are in flux. Artefacts come and go. The constant amidst the flux is the intangible, inexplicable, inescapable subjectivity of human existence. There are many different ways in which it is coped with, but coping with it is always the central subject of culture. And the effectiveness of the coping is what gives durability to particular societies.

Gaelic society was durable. Half a millennium after the English conquest it was still not in flight from itself. The example of English life had not thrown it into existential discontent. It was still content to live as it had always lived—in a kind of vigorous activity of mind and body which confirmed the established framework of life rather than subverting it, and which was therefore not progressive.

It lived vigorously amidst a wealth of appearances which were sources of profound satisfaction. And there was no tendency within it to undermine the sources of satisfaction by reducing appearance to the status of delusion. Whether this was because the possibility of doing so had not been thought

of, or because it had been thought through to the conclusion that it led nowhere, I do not know. All I know is that it was so.

A poet in Ruhill, a townland between Boherbue and Knocknagree, celebrated the village of Boherbue in a poem of which I remember only two remarkable lines:

"With truth and pretence as a mixture This world is a puzzle profound".

The mixture is so closely blended that the project of breaking it down and living in one of its elements is not practical. And I do not recall that it was entertained as a possibility, or that it was felt that life would be more enjoyable if it were accomplished.

The saying, *Mol an oige agus tiocfaid se* ("Flatter the youth and he'll flourish" is close enough to it, provided that the flattery is done with a degree of insight) was still in common use when I was young. It was an applied maxim in the part of society that I related to, and I am in some degree a product of it. And there is a passage in Heidegger's *Introduction To Metaphysics* which put me in mind of it. He is discussing the word *doxa* (the source word of the Christian orthodoxy) as used by the ancient Greeks to mean fame and glory with relation to the modern idea of fame:

"To glorify, to attribute regard to, and disclose regard means in Greek: to place in the light and thus endow with permanence, being. For the Greeks glory was not something additional which one might or might not obtain; it was the mode of the highest being. For moderns glory has long been nothing more than celebrity and as such a highly dubious affair, an acquisition tossed about and distributed by the newspapers and radio—almost the opposite of being" (Anchor Books, Yale University translation, 1961, p87).

The experience of being unknown is not something which might be easily had in Gaelic society. But the evolution of what is called individualism has been towards a state of affairs in which individuals, distinct and separate from each other, are both uniform and unknown, and in which personality is therefore retarded and stilted, and in which an insuppressible yearning simply to be known leads to the kind of fame which is detached from existence.

"Glory is in Greek *doxa*. *Dokes* means: I show myself, appear, enter into the light. Here the emphasis is on sight and aspect, the regard in which a man stands; in the other Greek word for glory, *Kleos*, it is on hearing and calling. Thus glory is the fame... in which one stands".

And, if one lives in a society in which to be is to be known by sight and hearing in one's own proper existence, and in the singular character which one has little choice but to develop and display openly, what attraction can there be in a progressive society where obscurity is the common lot and fame is sought through role-playing?

Having flourished after my fashion in the unprogressive dimension of the life of Slieve Luacra, I was nudged out by the encroaching progressive element. I had by then read all of Bernard Shaw's plays, along with much else that he wrote. He was then only a few years dead and was still the most famous English writer of the era. I wondered if I should do something with myself, as the saying goes. Those were the days of the Angry Young Men, and Colin Wilson had become famous as a kind of Shaw-substitute. I took a look at some of these people and the kind of fame in which they lived and the kind of behaviour it induced. I recoiled from it and knew that the destiny of becoming a literary man in London was one which would not be realised in my case. Being a creature of impulse—as befitted a product of Slieve Luacra—I did not question the impulse on which I acted. And I did not reflect on it afterwards. But, when I came across Heidegger's dissection of the words, 'fame' and 'being', I thought it must be the explanation, not only of my instantaneous retreat from the possibility of modern fame, but of the unattractiveness of English progress to Gaelic Ireland and to a hundred other societies which had devised satisfactory modes of life for themselves.

The fame of a Slieve Luacra fiddler was an attribute of his existence, which was known independently of his fame. Fame in the medium of progress is the attribute of an image and is gained at the cost of existence.

Coercion is indispensable to progress. I do not know of a single society which was inspired by the example of England to discard its own way of life and remake itself in the image of England. When Marx said that force was the midwife of history, he only stated half of it. In the progressive order of things, what the midwife delivers is something that was conceived by force.

## Gaelicised Christianity.

Heidegger describes the rupture in Greek thought which happened in the fifth century BC:

"It was in the Sophists and in Plato that appearance was declared to be mere appearance and thus degraded. At the same time being, as idea, was exalted to a supersensory realm. A chasm, chórismas, was created between the merely apparent... here below and real being somewhere on high. In that chasm Christianity settled down, at the same time reinterpreting the lower as the created and the higher as the creator. These refashioned weapons it turned against antiquity (as paganism) and so disfigured it. Nietzsche was right in saying that Christianity is Platonism for the people" (p89).

But, when Ireland became Christian, it did so under the hegemony of the Gaelic culture. Christianity was added to the pre-existing culture. The

range of impulses for which there was an outlet was thereby increased without destroying the coherence of the whole. The chasm between appearance and idea, by means of which the world can be reduced to a Vale of Tears, did not open up within it.

I took issue in the Polish pamphlet with Dinneen's view that the Irish under the Williamite tyranny concentrated themselves on their Christian side. He wrote:

"The ancient faith, they felt, was the embodiment of what was highest in their civilisation and what was at the same time developable... Their ancient civilisation was departing from them under the pressure of unspeakable tyranny. But some of its seeds were still unspilled, and it behoved them to see that they were duly planted and watered. There was, however, very little planting or watering outside the organisation of their ancient creed" (Four Notable Kerry Poets).

#### I commented:

"Social development through the 'ancient creed' of Ireland would not have occurred at the expense of the 'ancient civilisation'. The old creed could only have developed through a development of the old civilisation. If under pressure of the Penal Laws the society had concentrated on its Christian elements as the highest expression of the old culture, and the 'developable' part of it, the old culture would have undergone a renaissance, and the national development of Ireland would probably have occurred in a Gaelic form. What happened was that Gaelic culture retreated from Christianity in its 18th century flowering, that it broke down internally around 1800, and that a Catholic Church such as had never existed in Gaelic Ireland was established in the 19th century and functioned as the ideological medium of social development in modern nationalist Ireland" (p118).

I based this argument largely on Dineen's edition of O'Rahilly's poems, and on his remark in his Introduction that Irish poetry remained Homeric in kind right to the end, even when, as in the case of Keating, the poet was a priest in a regular order.

O'Rahilly's Elegy on Diarmuid O'Leary describes what must be a unique baptism:

"When our hero was baptized as a child, Mars bestowed on him a spear for the fight;/ .../ And Diana gave him a ring of gold// Jupiter gave him a suit of satin, .../ Venus gave him great gifts",

and Pan, Bacchus, Vulcan, Sybil, Juno and Neptune were also in attendance. And, when O'Rahilly decided that the time had come to take his leave from a country which had fallen "In pledge for a penny to a band from the land of Dover", he wrote: "I will follow the beloved among heroes to the grave,/ Those princes under whom were my ancestors before the death of Christ".

## I commented on this:

"...he put Christianity in its true Gaelic perspective, as one of those novelties which a man may flirt with in his prime but which he cannot take seriously at the hour of death".

Mitskievitz by contrast was a Christian as well as a Pole—a Catholic Christian in the Polish manner, who did not need to make theological inquiries in order to know what was Christian; and who, while according all due precedence to the Pope, did not see why he should always have the last word in contentious matters. And he produced a kind of additional book of the Bible for Poles—a sort of Polish Catholic counterpart of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. It was *The Books Of The Polish Nation And The Polish Pilgrimage*. Neither O'Rahilly nor O'Sullivan could have conceived of such a thing for Ireland.

The popular development of Ireland on its Christian side begins with O'Connell's political agitations, and Christianity as "Platonism for the people" gets a firm grip around the time of the Famine.

It used to be customary to condemn O'Connell for putting an end to Irish as the generally spoken language, and it has become the thing to condemn his friend, Cardinal Cullen, for imposing a kind of theologically overdeveloped Catholicism, which appears in many ways to be a mirror image of English Puritanism. I do not think either criticism is well-founded in actual historical terms—in terms of the circumstances of time and place within which each of them acted.

The Irish spirit was broken when O'Connell came on the scene. The tyranny had got a grip on the soul, fragmented it, and precipitated the fragments into the line of progress. Progress had become inescapable. And, since progressive societies flee from themselves, Gaelic Ireland was in flight from itself, and all that was in question was the direction of its flight.

# O'Connell In A Polish Perspective.

The military/commercial power of England, applied destructively over many generations, was what overcame the inertial force of Gaelic society and made progress inescapable. Social progress—social disruption—in England fed energy into the construction of an expansionist Imperial state. English society in flight from itself formed itself into the materials of a state. English continuity over hundreds of years has been political, not social. Continuous social disruption provided a continuous source of energy for the construction of worldwide state power. All that existed deserved to perish except for the English state. The English state was taken to be the purpose of human existence—tacitly so by all and sundry, and explicitly so in J.R. Seeley's influential *Expansion Of England*—and progressive

significance was conferred by it on all the forms of human existence it destroyed if, in the course of perishing, those forms gave up their energy to the English state, whose appetite for power was insatiable.

When the Editor of *The Nation* wrote of the English people that they were a "mild and generous people, who happened every twenty years since we first knew them to butcher and rob us", he was not giving routine expression to an inherited passion (see Athol Books collection, *The Nation*, Volume 1, 2.3.1844, p165). He was concerned to know what England was, and this was one of the things he found it to be—a state whose people were its willing agents in all that it chose to do in the world.

Gaelic Ireland was very much a social rather than a political existence—a nationality rather than a state. It was, when O'Connell began his demagogic career, a nationality at the end of its tether. Four generations later Pearse described it as having been a mob at that time. The distinguishing feature of a mob is not that it is uncultured, but that it is unregimented and cannot sustain purposeful action in the face of regimented opposition. Gaelic Ireland had been worn down by the unrelenting pressure of the regimented power of the English state and it did not have within its own culture the elements of fanatical, regimented, bureaucratic statehood which might have enabled it to mount a defence out of its own resources. English power had reduced it to the condition of a mob, or a series of mobs, and it could only confront that power by making a kind of submission to it—by emulating it to the extent of adopting its methods.

It had to give up a considerable part of itself in order to survive. It formed itself in the first instance into a regimented political party designed to function in the English Parliament, and therefore English-speaking. And its success in the course of the 19th century depended on it being possible for the English power structure to see Irish developments as being a completion of the conquest, rather than a means of effective resistance.

English authority was puzzled by the English-speaking political movement, embracing the mass of the people, but using 'Constitutional' language, that arose in Ireland under O'Connell's leadership. If O'Connell had drawn a political movement from the elements of Gaelic culture and developed it into a mass movement, there would have been no puzzlement in the English state. It would have been seen that a matter which was taken as having been settled by the battle of Aughrim and the surrender of Limerick had become unsettled, and appropriate measures would have been taken.

It was only through apparent submission to the authority of the English state and by the adoption of English political methods that Irish resistance could be mounted in the early 19th century. The mere advocacy of Irish independence was treason. Open political activity could therefore only be conducted within the ambience of British hegemony. O'Connell, who

imbibed the ideology of English utilitarian radicalism in London in the 1790s and who served in the Lawyers' Corps of Yeomanry on his return to Ireland, was perfectly cut out for the function of developing Irish popular politics under the Union. He was to all appearances a loval subject of the Crown, whose concern was that Ireland as an entity should again take part as a distinct Kingdom in the affairs of the Empire, as it had done in the 18th century, but this time with the general population as a political base, instead of the small protestant colony. Whether appearances were deceptive was something that was never put to the test. With Poland in mind, I incline to see him as a potential Konrad Wallenrod or General Jaruzelski. Mitskievitz, with his acute sense of what Poland required in the way of role models, produced a second epic about Wallenrod, an ambiguous mediaeval figure who joined the Teutonic Knights in order to gain the power to secure their defeat by the Poles. When Jaruzelski declared military rule in Poland in 1981 in alliance with the Kremlin, I judged that he was playing a Wallenrod role, holding the ring so that the Solidarity movement might survive. By appearing to secure Poland within the Soviet system, he made it possible for the Kremlin not to undertake direct rule, which the Solidarity movement would not have survived.

In the ideology or mythology of Irish political history there is no Wallenrod figure, which is a weakness since it restricts the sense of what is possible. And there is no such figure in historical fact, aside from Hugh O'Neill, who is almost pre-history. The calculated deception has been the other way about. Perhaps that is why I incline to the view that the moving spirit of O'Connell's loyalty was disloyal. But, whether or not that was the case, O'Connell's way was in O'Connell's time the only possible way, given the totalitarian proclivities of English power in Ireland. You not only had to join them to beat them: you had to appear to join them in order to be able to do anything at all. And the way things worked out over four generations was as if England's trust had been gained for the purpose of leading it to destruction. The Home Rule Party, which dominated Irish national life everywhere outside County Cork, placed itself in the forefront of the propaganda and military assault of the British Empire on Germany in 1914. Four years later it renounced Britain and the Empire and fought its own war in support of its Declaration of Independence. It encouraged the British war mania in 1914-15, and the Redmondite elite participated in it with reckless abandon. Then in 1917-18 it withdrew itself from British hegemony, largely because of the necessary measures taken by the British Government to win the war—the first British war supported outright by the elected representatives of the people of Ireland. And then it was able to make good its vote for independence in the face of British intransigence because Britain over-reached itself in that Great War. It had placed itself in hock to the

United States, and for the first time in three-quarters of a millennium it was not entirely free to deal with Ireland as it pleased.

This is a long way from Owen Roe. That point is that there was no master-mind and no master-plan, and yet a keenly-interested outside observer looking a the sequence of events over the eight or nine political generations between O'Sullivan and De Valera might be forgiven for thinking that there was. And of course there was such an observer. The Ulster Protestant community, which became increasingly Orange in outlook in the course of the 19th century, was convinced that what it saw in operation was a general conspiracy of Catholics implementing a master plan and using whatever means were practicable at any given moment. If that is a mistaken view—if there was no master-plan—what was the constant element on the Irish side which resisted the constant purpose of the English state?

That there was such a constant element, and that it was cultural—subjective—seems beyond serious philosophical dispute. I came to this conclusion about thirty years ago after considering the suggestion that there was no human continuity in history—that history was "ahuman", was a "process without a subject". That idea, called Althusserianism, dominated academic life then. It was put to me by one of the leading 'revisionist' academics of today with whom I was briefly associated then. It struck me at once as being absurd, if only because I found Sophocles more interesting than Shakespeare or Shaw, despite the intervention of thousands of years and numerous modes of production, but I gave it a try in Irish history before rejecting it outright and publishing a long criticism of it. With the collapse of Marxism as a power-structure, the Althusserian academics relapsed into the "category of the subject", mine becoming close adviser to the fundamentalist leader of the Ulster Unionist Party.

There is no difficulty in locating the ground of continuity sustaining English activity in Ireland. English social life has centred on the state ever since its internal Protestant antagonisms were overcome three centuries ago by being turned outwards against the world. English memory, which sustains English politics, is bureaucratic and administrative. It is, in that sense, regimented—which, in view of the crucial part played by the Navy and the Army in the life of the state, can be taken as more than a figure of speech. The shibboleths of regimental life provide moral and historical orientation within the routines of power, and Kipling describes them (in *The Puzzler*) as being the functional form of thought at the highest level:

"Being void of self-expression they confide their views to none; But sometimes in the smoking room, one learns why things were done, Yes, sometimes in the smoking room, through clouds of 'Ers' and 'Ums', Obliquely and by inference, illumination comes,
On some step that they have taken, or some action they approve—
Embellished by the argot of the Upper Fourth Remove.
In telegraphic sentences, half nodded to their friends,
They hint a matter's inwardness—and there the matter ends."

The shibboleths which take a power structure for granted are spiritually and mentally effective in the habitat of the public school, the regiment and the smoking room of the Pall Mall Club. They make for constancy of purpose. But what was there on the Irish side under the Penal Laws to sustain a purposeful resistance over the generations without institutions, and even without ideas for the most part? There was music and words floated on music.

Oisin lived contentedly in the timelessness of *Tir na nOg*—a luxury flat, let us say, in a millionaire's row in some part of Dublin 4 where only rich and cosmeticised people were ever encountered—until one day the wind happened to blow a few notes on the harp, which put him in mind of things he had all but forgotten and compelled him to return to them. And if the music could recall Oisin from Utopia, how could it fail to fill the lives of people who had been deprived of almost everything else? And what is music? In the realm of ideas, it is only German philosophy that gives it its true weight. In Slieve Luacra I lived amidst music made by people who did not make money from it and who had no concern with fame (except in the sense described by Heidegger, which is obsolete in the world of progressive ideology), and it was there that I read Schopenhauer.

To save writing it again I will quote what I said in *Spotlights On Irish History* (a book about a series of meetings held at Newmarket, a town on the edge of Slieve Luacra):

"...Music, to a musical people, is the most insidiously influential of all the arts. England lost the art of music, except for hymns, hundreds of years ago. It was one of the effects of the state-orientated English Reformation. Ireland could almost be said to have lost all the arts except music. It survived and recreated itself through the art which it prized most and England prized least. Perhaps it was fortunate for it that England had made itself so unmusical...

"The Germans are the other extraordinarily musical people in Europe. But they were never put in the condition to which England reduced Ireland in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Their musical activity was therefore able to broaden out, while the Irish had to contract and concentrate. And there has also been a continuity of language and literary activity in Germany...

"One of the books I read in the mid-fifties in Gneeves was Arthur Schopenhauer's *The World As Will And Idea*. (It was got for me on loan by Mary Mulcahy of Boherbue, who was then a librarian in Dublin.)

"Schopenhauer attempted a classification of the fine arts in terms of his scheme of the world as Will and Idea. All the other arts he could explain as variants of the Idea of the world. But music wouldn't fit. He therefore concluded that music was an art of a unique kind: that it was an expression of the will itself, and did not belong with the objectified, petrified ideas, of which the other arts consisted.

"By Will he meant the basic, continuous impulse of life. The Will constructed particular sets of ideas which took on an objective existence over against itself. People might live in these detached structures, but in the course of time they were subject to decay. But the Will itself was on-going.

"That way of looking at things strikes me as being very appropriate to the condition of Ireland after 1690. It was deprived of its own ideas. They were destroyed by British ideas with the aid of the British army and the British apparatus of state. Being stripped of ideas and reduced to bare will, it took refuge in the fiddle, and re-emerged from nothingness a long time later-proving Schopenhauer's point that music 'could still exist even if there were no world at all'. Because the music surged on for many generations with little or no support from the world of ideas.

"Anyway, here are some bits of Schopenhauer.

'We have now considered the fine arts in a general way... But we find that there is one fine art that was left out of consideration, and was bound to be left out, because in our systematically connected discussion there was no fit place for it: this is the art of music. It stands apart from the others. We do not recognise in it any copy of any Idea of the inner nature of the world. But it is such an extraordinarily fine art, and its effect on man's inner nature is so powerful, and it is is so completely and profoundly understood by him in his inner being as a universal language, whose clarity surpasses that of the world of perception, that we certainly must look in it for something more than "the unconscious exercise in arithmetic..." that Leibniz took it to be.'

'The inexpressible profundity of music, by which it flows past us as a familiar, yet eternally remote, Paradise, and is so easily understood though inexplicable, arises from the fact that it reproduces the emotions of our inner being.'

'Men have always practised music without being able to explain it. They have been content to understand it in its immediacy'.

"The aim of the other arts is to picture individual things... Therefore they all objectify the will indirectly... Because music passes over the Ideas, it is independent of the phenomenal world, bypasses it, and could still exist to some extent even if there were no world at all... Music therefore is not, like the other arts, an expression of the Ideas, but is an expression of the will itself... That is why music has a more powerful and penetrating effect than any other art' (*The World As Will And Idea*, Section 52)."

O'Sullivan however was not a musician. He was a poet. And the business of a poet is words. But his words seem as if they had sprouted from music.

Nevertheless, words express ideas. So what were his ideas? Being pedantic, one might say that he reasserted the Jacobite political programme a generation after Jacobitism as a political position within the British state became defunct. Or one could say that he produced luscious descriptions of women as seductresses in a lost cause, whose purpose was to enable the people to refrain from making a spiritual submission to the Williamite conquest, dominant though it was in every sphere of life connected with the state—and few spheres of life were not connected with the state in that totalitarian system. His illusory goddesses were the conscience of the people.

I quoted some of Edward Walsh's English versions of the *Aislings* in the Polish pamphlet, and commented as follows:

" Owen Roe did not interfere with the content of the *Aisling*. His innovations were in the language. And he dwelt more sensually on the women of his visions than earlier writers did. While there was some prospect of an actual restoration of the Stuarts, the message was the thing in the *Aisling*. But as that prospect receded, the messenger increased in importance. Owen's visions may still have been virgins, but they are in no danger of being confused with the Blessed Virgin:

"White bosomed, heavenly fair!
Her thick, luxuriant ringlets fell,
Or streamed, the soft-wing'd zephyr gracing,
Or clustered o'er her paps' round swell,
Like sun-wreaths hills of snow enchasing
Light, bright, and beautiful there."
(Ag Taisteal Na Blarnan, from Irish Jacobite Poetry)

"All his Visions had noticeable breasts, and they were usually said to be high, firm and pointed. And if he remarked that they never knew the clasp of a lover, the purpose was to raise the idea of them being clasped by a lover."

That the princesses exuded a sexual aura was unmistakeable. But it is not unknown for a sexual appearance to be associated with a sexless interior. Such, however, was not the case with O'Sullivan's women. I am informed by Pat Muldowney that they compelled O'Sullivan to give expression to *their* feelings, which were not satisfied by mere admiration, in a pornographic *Aisling*. I presume that this *Aisling*, though considered unfit for publication in later times, was well known to O'Sullivan's contemporaries in Slieve Luacra and that it informed the hearing of the other *Aislings*. [We hope to reproduce it in a future volume of this series: Editor.]

Insofar as something like O'Sullivan's poetry was produced in English, I do not think it was either Burns or Kipling who produced it. Dinneen compares him with both of these, though on other points than the quality of the verse. In point of spirit and language I think his only English counterpart is Shelley—the "beautiful angel vainly beating his wings in the void", as the industrious pedant of mid-Victorian culture, Matthew Arnold, called him. The beautiful angel was almost as charming, almost as wicked, and almost as free a spirit as O'Sullivan, and he had an equal appetite for sensuous language. ("Like a rose embowered/ In its own green leaves/ By warm winds deflowered/ Tell the scent it gives/ Makes faint with too much sweet those heavy-weighted thieves"—and that's only about the skylark.)

Edward Walsh, too compared O'Sullivan to Burns:

"Owen Roe was to Ireland what Robert Burns was at a somewhat later day to Scotland—the glory and shame of his native land. I know of no two characters in my range of observation that so closely resemble each other as Burns and Owen Roe. The same practical temperament—the same desire of notoriety—the same ardent sighings for woman's love—the same embracing friendship for the human family—the same fatal yearnings after 'cheerful tankards foaming'... Like Burns, Owen Roe first turned his reed to the charms of nature and the joys of woman's love—like Burns, the irregularity of his life obliged the clergymen of his persuasion to denounce him, and like him, he lashed the priestly order without ruth or remorse—like Burns, he tried the pathetic, the sublime, the humourous, and like him succeeded in all. Nor does the parallel end here; they were both born in an humble cottage—both toiled through life at the spade and plough; and both fell, in the bloom of manhood, in the pride of intellect, the victims of uncontrolled passion!" (*Irish Popular Songs*, p27-8).

But Burns was 'discovered'. The Whig elite in Edinburgh noticed him, fêted him, and provided him with a Government job in Dumfries where he spent the end of his life as a slightly unruly bourgeois and where his house can still be visited. O'Sullivan was never 'discovered'. I doubt that he was discoverable. There are people whose existence is such that it does not lend itself to discovery because it is absolute. The practical meaning of discovery is patronage, and the patronising of absolutes is problematical. The discovered poet of the era of Grattan's Parliament was Thomas Dermody from Clare. Lady Moira took him into her entourage and he performed his part for her—and he disappeared without trace when the Parliament and its social milieu went. Lady Moira never heard of O'Sullivan; his existence did not depend to the slightest extent on her knowing about him; and, if she had known about him, she could have made nothing of him for her purposes.

Charlotte Brooke, an altogether more substantial person than Lady Moira in existential terms, did not know about him either. He was comprehensively

unknown everywhere except where he was famous. And that kind of undiscovered fame—of fame which was indifferent to discovery, as were the virtuoso Slieve Luacra fiddlers when I lived there—was the source of the unexpected turn of events in Irish affairs under the Act of Union.

When O'Sullivan was eventually discovered, in the sense of being noticed in English, the discovery was made within Slieve Luacra itself, as a function of the change of language, by the first 'progressive' intellectual produced by the region, Edward Walsh. Which is to say that Slieve Luacra, where he had never been unknown, discovered him in the sense of carrying him with it when it began to take part in political activity in the English language. (And, with Owen Roe as a central figure in its communal memory, Slieve Luacra could never participate wholeheartedly in the Puritanism of post-Famine Christianity. The story of how, after the fracas in Knocknagree in which he was killed, a young woman lay down with him and tempted him to make sure he was really dead, was passed on with relish.)

## Power And Morality.

Wilhelm Dibelius, a German Anglophile writing in the 1920s, held that Glorious Revolution England conducted itself admirably in its relations with other peoples, leaving aside the Irish. I did not see how it could be more reasonable to leave aside the treatment of the Irish by the English state over a couple of centuries than it would be to leave aside the treatment of the Jews by the German state over a period of twelve years. Even if the English state had behaved admirably towards other peoples in distant regions—which as a matter of fact it did not—its treatment of the Irish should still be taken as the litmus test of its character.

The Jews survived the twelve years of the Nazi regime and their considerable talents and influence have ever since been dedicated to ensuring that Germany will forever be judged by the doings of the Nazi state during those twelve years, and particularly by its doings in occupied Poland between 1939 and 1945. Prior to 1933 Germany was the European state where the Jews had the greatest freedom and influence. Since 1945 Germany has again become the European state where the Jews are most welcome. Nevertheless, Jewish influence continues to ensure that Germany is characterised by the Nazi aberration in its history.

The English system in Ireland was not an aberration in English dealings with foreign parts.

The peoples of the North American continent were successfully exterminated by the English settlement. Because the exterminating state had the power to enact a thorough genocide, the culture of those who disappeared counts for nothing and their disappearance does not figure in the moral concerns of the world.

The multiple genocide systematically enacted over a period of centuries in Anglo-America cannot be justified on any moral grounds which would not also justify the Nazi genocide—and indeed the Nazi regime took its moral justification for this aspect of its activities from the precedent of the British Empire.

Why is it that the extensive North American genocide, inaugurated by Britain and continued under the powerful successor-state, is a moral irrelevance in the contemporary world? Why, despite the moral pretensions which saturate our world, can that great genocide, and certain others, never be raised as anything stronger than a debating point? The only answer I can think of is that the state in which they were enacted never suffered a defeat in war—at least not a defeat which led to its collapse as a state—and that the victims were comprehensively snuffed out.

An alternative answer is that the peoples who were exterminated were racially inferior and that their extermination was a moral requirement of progress. That is a view which was expressed openly by very respectable members of the British establishment at one time. It is not a view which could be openly expressed in the present atmosphere of moral pretension. Though I have no doubt that it remains the substantive opinion of many respectable people, it has been ruled out of order for purposes of public reasoning. We are therefore left with effectively accomplished fact as the thing which distinguishes genocides which are morally bland, or even praiseworthy, from genocides which arouse fierce moral indignation for generations after the event. And this would mean that there is a very special relationship indeed between power and morality.

The position of Ireland within the British sphere of influence provides an interesting variant on the power/morality relationship. The Irish are 'natives' who survived through their own wilfulness. Despite the close attention of the British state apparatus over four centuries they were never quite remade. In the end they rejected the 'progressive' evolution as voluntary subordinate participants in Empire, which Britain prepared them for, and asserted an atavistic separatism so forcibly that Britain found it expedient to give way.

I have seen the independence movement described as 'atavistic' by revisionists and I see no need to quibble about it. It was certainly not an event within the line of progress mapped out by Britain. And it was undoubtedly a throwback in the sense of connecting up with the traditional culture of Ireland which Britain thought it had aborted. And, while Britain did not lose the Irish War of Independence to the extent of itself collapsing as a state, neither did it win it to the extent of preventing a new power structure with alien features from being formed on its doorstep—indeed, within what it had taken to be its house. And the new power structure

brought a new moral perspective—or reopened an old one.

The mode in which Ireland was governed in the 18th century established the foundations on which modern Ireland was erected. The general understanding until very recently has been that the core of 18th century government—the Constitution—was the system of anti-Catholic Penal Laws, under which the agents of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 consigned the great bulk of the actual people of Ireland to oblivion, with the result that, when that people eventually rescued itself from oblivion in defiance of the Protestant Ascendancy, it saw Liberal England in much the same way that Jews see Germany, and that the Palestine Arabs see the Jews.

Owen Roe's poetry is an expression of the will through which the remnant of Irish society lying beneath the colony still denied the legitimacy of the colony three-quarters of a century after the Boyne and Aughrim. It was a refusal to accept the Boyne and Aughrim as the last word on Irish existence. It was a negation which helped to preserve the basis for a future affirmation.

If morality is an attribute of power—and that is the only conclusion that can realistically be drawn from the way of the world—then there is an obligation on power to assert the morality of its being *vis a vis* other powers. If lesser powers, which have survived the attempt of great Empires to snuff them out, do not make a virtue of the means by which they survived and present their past as a running indictment of the Empires, then there will be very little morality in the world.

**Brendan Clifford** 2002

# **Index To Prologue And Appendix**

Abercorn, Duchess of 280 Akenson, D.A. 304-6 Althusserianism 326 America 276 American colonies 300-Anglo-Irish 301 Annakissey 1 Annual Register 313-4 Aristotle 305 Arnold, M. 330 Atavism 332 Aughrim 324

Ballydesmond 256,267 Barker, E. 313 Bentham, J. 298 Berkeley, G. 287,318 Beranger 8-9 Boherbue 319-20 Bolshevism 279 Boswell 311 Boyne 267 Bristol 313 British Council 262 British Empire 278,283-4,286,299,301,325,332 Brooke, C. 330 Buchan, J. 278 Burke, E. 287,289,307-9, 312-Burns, R. 8-9,330 Butler, H. 262

Calvinism 296
Caribbean 298Catholic Bulletin 255, 268,318
Cearnait 6
Charles II 304
Christianity 321
Churchill, W.S. 275
Cincinnatus 257-8
Class Distinction 290-1, 296

Collins, M. 291
Colonial Assemblies 299Colum, Mary 290
Congleton, Lord 287
Connolly, J. 270,305,319
Conrad, J. 279
Cox, W. 269
Cromwell, O. 255,260, 262,278,305
Cromwell, T. 264
Cruelty to Animals 315
Cullen, P. 323
Cullotys 256,290
Curtin, D. 286

Deirdre 6
Democracy 262
Dermody, T. 330
Dervla 1
Destiny 260
De Valera 326
Diana 6
Dibelius, W. 331
Dinneen 256,332
Donegal 274
Dostoevsky, F. 319
Dumfries 330
Dworkin, A. 277

Edinburgh 330
Education 257Elitism 289Elliott, M. 261,266,268,
272-3.275,282,287,
297,306
English State, The 323,
326
Enlightenment, English
262-,287
Erskine, T. 315
Eucken, R. 319

Edgeworth, M. 308

Faerie Queen 265 Fame 320-1,331 Farrely, J.J. 4 Fermoy 306 FitzGerald, Fr. N. 1 Fitzpatrick, H. 288 Freeman's Journal 278 Fuller, S. 304

Gaelic Society 319-20, 323
Genocide 331-2
Genovese, E. 302-3
George III 288
German culture 318
Glencollins 256
Glorious Revolution 274, 284-6,310,331
Gneevaguilla 256
Goethe 318
Grattan, H. 266,270,316
Grattan's Parliament 301, 330
Greek 259

Hastings, W. 307 Hedge Schools 256,267 Heidegger, M. 319-21 Henry VIII 264 Hickey, Rev. W. 257-Himmler, H. 276 Hitler 265 Hodge 257 Hoffman, R. 313 Home Rule Party 325 Homer 259,261 Hottentots 278 Hyde, D. 274-5

India 299,307 Individualism 292,296-, 320 Individuality 297 Ingram, J.K. 310-11 'Irish Imperialism' 304 Irish Parliament 299-

## Irish Times 262

Jacobitism 329 Jaruzelski, General 325 Jews 321 Johnson, Dr. 311

Kant, I. 319 Keating, G. 322 Keenan, J. 315 Kenmare 256 Kilkenny 262 Kingwilliamstown 256 Kipling, R. 9,266,326, 330 Knocknagree 256,267, 320,331

Lane, J. 263
Language etc 260,273, 276,283
Lascelles, The 304
Latin 259
Law 294
Leibniz 328
Liberty 293
Limerick 324
Limerick, Treaty of 274
Locke, J. 308,315
Louis, King 2,7
Louis XV 306

MacCormack, J. 318 McElduff, B. 281 Mac Murchadha, D. 1

Mahon, Sir B. 278
Mallow 1
Mangan, J.C. 316
'Martin Doyle' 257,259
Meenganine 256
Meentogues 256,267
Metre 9
Meyer, K. 318
Mickiewicz, A. 270,272, 281,323
Middle Class 278Mill, J.S. 298
Milton, J. 265,293
Moira, Lady 330

Montserrat 304 Morality 273,292,331 Mulcahy, Mary 327 Muldowney, P. 272,329 Mulrankin 257 Music 327

Nagle, N. 1,270,306 Nagle, P. 1 Names 295-6 Napoleon 272 Nation, The 324 Nazis 285 Nietzsche, F. 321

O'Brien, C.C. 262,305, 313 O'Brien, W. 257 O Ceileachair, D. 256 O Conluain, P. 256 O'Connell, D. 268,323-O'Conor, C. 286 O Donoghues, The 256 O Donnchadha, T. 318 O Fogludha, R. 1 O'Leary, A. 286-7 O'Leary, D. 322 O'Murphy, L. 307 O'Neill, H. 325 O'Rahilly, A. 256,261, 270,316,322 O'Shaughnessy, A.J. 303-O'Sullivan, Thade 255 O'Sullivans, The 256

Odysseus 297 Oisin 327 Orpheus 7

Paine, T. 315
Palestine 333
Papism 312
Parnell, H. 287
Paxman, J. 261
Pearse, P.H. 3,324
Penal Laws 3,257,260-2,270,287-,305,322
Pilsudski, J. 270
Pindar 9

Poland 269-,279-,315
Polite Society 289-92,
297,312
Pomeroy 280
Presentation Nuns 306
Priests 284
Progress 273,278,299,
321,323
Protestant England 312
Prussia 312
Puritans 278
Pushkin 272,280-

## Quintus Ennius 7

Radio Eireann 291 Rathmore 256 Redmond, J. 318,325 Reformation, The 264, 277,297,312 Reilly, T. 261 Restoration 265 Rodney, Admiral 298 Rowton House 290 Ruhill 320 Russell, B. 318

Sean Buidhe 275,287 Seeley, J.R. 323 Shaw, G.B. 321,326 Schopenhauer, A. 319, 327-8 Scully, D. 287-9 Seven Years' War 299, 301 Sheehan, P.A. 297,319 Shelley 330 Sinn Fein 279,281 Slavery 298,307-Slieve Luacra 255-,269, 290.316 Solidarity 325 Snobbery 290 Sophists 321 Sophocles 326 South Sea Bubble 311 Spenser, E. 5,257,265-6,278,283,292-3 Stalin 283 Street, C.L. 298

Strongbow 2	Ulster Unionism 304,326	297
Stuart, C. 2,7	Ursulines 306	Wheatcroft, G. 263
Swift, J. 269		White Boys 256-7
	Virgil 259,261	Williamite colony 260,
Thatcher, M. 289,297	Volunteers 301,316	266,284,322,329
Theocracy 264		William Of Orange 255,
TLS 263	Wallenrod, K. 325	260
Townshend, C. 303	Walsh, E. 260,274,317,	Wilson, N.C. 321
Trinity College 288	329,331	Workers' Republic 319
Tuatha dé Danann 2	Warren, M. 4	World War I 325
	Washington, G. 299	
Ua Duinnín, P. 1-2,271	West Indians 290,300-4,	Young, A. 269,317-8
Uganda 275	307,311,315	Young Ireland 317-8
Ukraine 265	Westminster Confession	

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