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Author(s): Ó Macháin, Pádraig
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An Irish manuscript at Glin Castle

Pádraig Ó Macháin

The eighteenth-century Irish-language manuscript, which is held at Glin Castle, has been known about for some time. To date, however, it has not been adequately described. The manuscript contains, as its principal text, a copy of ‘Foras Feasa ar Éirinn’. This text, composed in the 1630s by a priest of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, Dr Geoffrey Keating, became one of the staple ingredients of manuscripts in the eighteenth century and later. Regarding the manuscript tradition of the ‘Foras Feasa’, one of its early editors – the great scholar, Fr Patrick Dinneen – remarked that ‘no Irish work of equal extent ever became so popular. There are more complete copies of the work extant than of any other work in the Irish language of the same length’. One of the many reasons for its popularity among Irish scribes was its comprehensive and authoritative treatment of Irish legend and history up to the time of the Norman invasion. It effectively replaced the much older tradition of the ‘Leabhar Gabhála’ as the canonical native compendium of Irish history, and provided the later practitioners of Irish literature with a handbook of lore and learning.

While the authority of the ‘Foras Feasa’ did not always meet with unanimous acceptance, it exercised great influence on the work of Irish poets and writers from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Though liable to textual variation even within a short time of its composition – particularly, as we shall see, in the matter of genealogies – the ‘Foras Feasa’ retained its canonical status for as long as Irish manuscripts continued to be written: up to the end of the nineteenth century. For the literate Irish-speaker, a copy of this influential text was a prized possession, one that made the task of transcribing the work for his own use a proud achievement.

The scribe of the Glin manuscript was Tadhg Ó Muirithe, alias Timothy Murry, who is not noted elsewhere as a scribe. He completed the transcription of the ‘Foras Feasa’ within a period of about a year (1774–5), an average time-scale for a non-professional scribe. Full-time scribes and men of learning were a rarity at this period in the history of Irish literature. The preservation of Ireland’s native literary heritage had devolved, in many instances, upon people who, due to their daytime labours, had only evenings and Sundays available to them in which they might indulge their love of learning. Such a person was Tadhg Ó Muirithe. An indenture of apprenticeship

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1 Pádraig de Brún, Lámhscríbhinni Gaeilge: treoirliosta (Dublin 1988) 38 § 136.
2 On the popularity of the ‘Foras Feasa’ in Co. Limerick, see Breandán Ó Madagáin, An Ghaeilge i Luimneach 1700–1900 (Dublin 1974) 31–2.
4 See, for example, Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, ‘Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: establishing a literary canon’, in Pádraig A. Breathnach et al. (ed.), Léann lámhscríbhinni Lobháin: the Louvain manuscript heritage (Dublin 2007) 139–67.
7 Breandán Ó Madagáin’s supposition (An Ghaeilge i Luimneach, 30 n. 46) that this scribe and the ‘Tadhg Ó Muirighthe’ of RIA MS 12 F 3 (p. 22) are not identical can now be confirmed.
that he copied into his manuscript at page 283, and which is transcribed below, shows
that he was by trade a master carpenter. His skill as a carpenter is corroborated in
a poem by Muiris Ó Céirín, where it is also indicated that ‘Murry’ was a musician and a
captain of the Knight of Glin’s boat, the Farmer. This poem is discussed by Dr
Pádraig de Brún in his chapter elsewhere in this volume.9

That the manuscript was written by Ó Muirithe for his own use is shown by the fact
that a space on page 279 was used for the recording of the birthdays (only two of
which pre-date the writing of the manuscript) of his three sons and four daughters,
between the years 1768 and 1794 (noted as jotting (m) in the description below), in
the way that such details might be registered by others in a family bible. The pages
left blank at the end of the manuscript appear to have been put to use – presumably by
one or other of Ó Muirithe’s children – for the practice of English writing exercises
(jottings (b), (c), (r) and (t) below).

On page 258 of the manuscript, in the genealogical section of the text, Ó Muirithe
writes:

Cuirfiod annso craobhsgaoilte muintire Mathghamhna .i. Í Mhathghamhna
Fhinn gona chomhhrathraighb as an Leabhar Muimhneach; ar fhuraliomh an
tí da sgorbhuim an leabharsi .i. Donnchadh Óg mac Donnchaidh ....10

Again, on p. 259 we read: ‘Geinealach Dhonnchaidh Óg Í Mathghamhna annso .i. an
tí do thug orm an leabhar so do sgorbhadh’ (‘Here is the genealogy of Donnchadh Óg
Ó Mathghamhna, i.e. he who caused me to write this’). These are two colophons that
have been incorporated from an exemplar, and show that Tadhg Ó Muirithe’s text of
‘Foras Feasa ar Éirinn’ derives from a descendant of a manuscript made for one
Donnchadh Óg Ó Mathghamhna. One such manuscript is National Library of Ireland
manuscript G 17, a copy of ‘Foras Feasa ar Éirinn’ written in 1696 by Eóghan Ó
Caoimh11 for Donnchadh Óg Ó Mathghamhna,12 at Caherdaha (parish of
Kilmnamantry), Co. Cork. In this manuscript, the first of the Glin colophons is abse
13 but a variant of the second colophon occurs, with the Í Mhathghamhna genealogies, at
page 225.14 This demonstrates beyond doubt that the Glin manuscript is descended
from the work of Eóghan Ó Caoimh, as transmitted from a manuscript that was a
close relative of G 17.15

Similar work with regard to ‘Foras Feasa’ was done by Ó Caoimh for Diarmuid Ó
Súilleabháin in 1702–3. The ensuing manuscript, Royal Irish Academy 541 (23 E 23),

9 I am grateful to Dr de Brún for commenting on a draft of this article.
10 ‘I will put here the ramification of the Í Mhathghamhna .i. Í Mhathghamhna Fhinn and his kindred
from the Leabhar Muimhneach at the behest of the one for whom I write this book .i. Donnchadh Óg
mac Donnchaidh [Í Mhathghamhna].’
12 Two poems of 1697 by Donnchadh Óg occur in manuscripts, e.g. Royal Irish Academy manuscript
83 (23 0 39) pp. 167–8.
13 In its place: ‘Geinealach hÍ Mhathghamhna Fhinn annso: agus asé an tÚa Mathghamhna so Rígh
Raitheann gan freasabhradh; agus asé dhléighios ionad Rígh Caisil, an tan nách bia Rígh a cCaisiol:
agus nocha ndlíghineann do Rígh Caisil air tteacht na láthair, acht cromadh a cheinn.’
14 It reads: ‘Geinealach Dhonnchaidh Óg Í Mhathghamhna annso .i. an tí dár sgorbhadh an leabhar
so’; G 17 also omits the ‘Aoibh Fhionnladh’, Cairbre and Clann Chonchubhair branches of the Í
Mhathghamhna.
15 Supporting the supposition of a second manuscript written by Ó Caoimh for Ó Mathghamhna is the
fact that G 17 passed into the ownership of Edward Lhuyd so soon after being written (see Nessa Ní
contains Í Shúilleabháin pedigrees, at the point where the Í Mhathghamhna material occurs in G 17 and in the Glin manuscript. In introducing these Í Shúilleabháin genealogies, Ó Caoimh again makes it clear that it is in the interest of his patron (as well as in his own interest) that he is inserting this genealogical matter from the Leabhar Muimhneach. It is of interest to note that a manuscript written in 1813 by Séamus Ó Caoindealbháin in Rathcahill, parish of Monagay, Co. Limerick, includes a copy of the ‘Foras Feasa’ that incorporates both the Ó Mathghamhna colophons as they appear in the Glin manuscript, and also the Ó Súilleabháin colophons and material. This suggests that a compendium of the ‘Foras Feasa’ text, deriving from the scribal work of Ógáin Ó Caoimh, was in circulation in Limerick at this time.

In the case of the Í Mhathghamhna and Í Shúilleabháin pedigrees, Eóghan Ó Caoimh makes it clear that he is supplementing Geoffrey Keating’s work by drawing on the genealogical compilation known as the Leabhar Muimhneach. Also deriving from the Leabhar Muimhneach are the genealogies of the Anglo-Norman families on pages 280–82 of the Glin manuscript. These are not found in Ó Caoimh’s G 17, as it survives today, but they do occur in another of his manuscripts, National Library of Ireland G 117, where they were written in 1703, and are included after a copy of the ‘Foras Feasa’ that was written by Ó Caoimh in 1693–4 but without the Í Mhathghamhna connections. That these pedigrees in the Glin manuscript derive from the earlier compilation is readily demonstrable. For example, the genealogy of Ridire an Ghleanna in Ó Muirithe’s text (page 282) is practically identical with that in the ‘Leabhar Muimhneach’ and in G 117 (page 184). This genealogy of the Knight of Glin is not of any eighteenth-century representative of the family, but is rather that of Tomás mac Éamuinn, alias Tomás Spáinneach, who died in 1659.

At no point does Tadhg Ó Muirithe give the place of writing of the manuscript. In the Tithe Applotment Book for the Parish of Kilfergus, drafted in September 1830, ‘Tim’ Murray’ and ‘Widow Murray’ are listed together in the townland of Tullyglass in Glin. If these are related to our scribe – and they appear to be the only bearers of that surname in Glin in this source – then, perhaps, this was Tadhg’s widow, and an unrecorded son or nephew of his. Twenty years later, there is no mention of the widow, and Timothy is recorded in Griffith’s Valuation, still living in Tullyglass, renting 17 acres directly from the Knight. Close by were John and James Murray,
who are listed as living in the New Mall in Glin. These, perhaps, are to be identified with two of Ó Muirithe’s sons whose births are recorded in the manuscript in 1768 and 1779.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the manuscript appears to have passed into the possession of another master craftsman, Michael Fitzgerald, a shoemaker living in Cloonoughtar just east of the town of Glin; Fitzgerald records his name and profession on page [i] of the manuscript (jotting (a) below). A neighbour of Fitzgerald’s in Cloonoughtar at the time of the Valuation was Laurence Madigan, and it is probably of relevance that one of the parties mentioned in the indenture of apprenticeship was Laurence Madigan, who apprenticed his son to Ó Muirithe in 1776, and was possibly an ancestor of his namesake recorded in 1852.

As the manuscript came into the ownership of the Knight of Glin at the end of the nineteenth century, and as the circumstantial details outlined above suggest the possibility that it may have been written in Glin at a time when, it is estimated, this part of Co. Limerick was close to 90% Irish-speaking, it seems distinctly possible that this book has remained in the area in which it was written for well over two hundred years.27

Apart from the textual history, the scribal details, and the indenture of apprenticeship, the contents are of additional interest on account of the three extraneous leaves that bear the numbering 284–9. These leaves are the work of another, unidentified hand, possibly of the nineteenth century. Prior to the manuscript being rebound in the twentieth century, these leaves were loosely inserted in the book. They contain two items: a version of the folksong known elsewhere as ‘Bacach buí na Léige’,28 and a song on the death of a goose.

The account that follows is in two parts: (a) a formal description of the book; (b) a transcription of the deed of apprenticeship.

(a) Description of Manuscript

18th cent. Paper. 32 x 19.5 cm. Pp. [xii] (un-numbered) + 24 (numbered i–xxiv) + 288 (scribal numbering 1–291, skipping 45; pp. 272–3 missing). Scribes: (a) main scribe, Tadh(a)g Ó Mu(ir)ithe (Timothy Murry in marginalia), (pp. xxiii, 88, 139, 194, 271, 281, 282, 283), Co. Limerick (p. 283), 1774–1775 (pp. xxiii, 282). (b) pp. 284–8, unsigned.

Bound in full calf, blind-tooling front, back and spine; ‘KEATING / FORUS / FEASA / AR / ÉIRINN / DION- / BHROLLACH’ in gold on spine. Original binding possibly dates from late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, greatly restored in twentieth century when manuscript was disbound, and later rebound, to allow for comprehensive conservation work, a fact that causes the original collation to be obscured; pencil pagination at

Names and jottings: (a) [i]. ‘Mich’h FitzGerald Clonoughter / Mich’h FitzGerald Clonoughter, Master Shomaker.’ (b) i (fragment). English writing exercise: draft of will. (c) ii (fragment). English writing exercise: ‘... zealous’ repeated over eight lines and dated ‘Oct’ the 5th 1780’. (d) xi, inner margin, transversely. ‘lege Plutarchi dicta.’ (e) xxi, inner margin, transversely. ‘here is.’ (f) xxiv. Irish lettering, pencil. (g) 88, lower margin. ‘Timothy Murry’s book.’ (h) 139, inner margin, transversely. ‘Monday Evening, ar na sgriobhadh le Tadhg Ó Murithe.’ (i) 163–4, gutter, inverted. Numbers in pencil. (j) 194, lower margin. ‘Timothy Murrys book.’ (k) 239, lower margin, pencil. Subtraction of numbers: ‘1800/1170/630’. (l) 260, inner margin. ‘Budh he.’ (m) 279,33–40. ‘An deichiugh lá don mhí July do rugadh mo mhac Seaghan Aois an tigarna 1768 / my son John was born y’e 10th of July In ye year of our Lord 1768 / Mary was born December 16th 1772 / Cathrine was born Septem’ 10 1775 / Marget was born May 27 1777 / James was born February 14 1779 / Daniel was born July 1783 / Sarah was born April 23rd 1794.’ (n) 280, lower margin. Subtraction of numbers: ‘87/68/19.’ (o) 281, lower margin. ‘Timothy Murry.’ (p) 281, lower margin. ‘Johannes Hynes & Honora O’Brien, me / fieri fecere anno Domini 1647.’ (q) 285, lower margin, inverted. ‘Dunloe an seachtu la [cancelled]’. (r) 290 (fragment). English writing exercise: letter complaining of a brother ill with love; repeated and dated ‘Sunday Sept’ y’ [. . .]’. (s) 290, inverted. ‘Novemb’ the 11th 1780 / M’ Jam’ Wall Jun’, with various single words and expressions written across jotting (r). (t) 291 (fragment). English writing exercise: ‘When you ought to’ repeated over eleven lines. Scribal jottings: (d), (g), (h), (j), (m), (n), (o).

p.

[i]–[iv]. Blank save for jotting (a) noted above.


[xi]–[xii]. Table of contents covering pp. 1–84 of present manuscript.

i–ii. Fragments of pages noted under jottings (b) and (c) above.

29 Correspondence (27 August 1942) from the Irish Manuscripts Commission, communicating notes on this manuscript by Eoin Mac Néill to the Knight of Glin, shows that what are now pp. i–ii and 284–91 were not bound with the manuscript at the time. This correspondence is now loose with the manuscript.

1. ‘FORUS FEASA AR EIRINN Lib: Primus.’ Begins Ag so do Sheanchus Eireann 7 do gach ainm dá tugadh uirthe, Do gach roimn dá nderrnadh uirthe, Do gach gabhail dá nderrnadh uirthe, Do gach drong dá ghaibh i, 7 do gach gníomh ttagamhual dá nderrnadh inne ré linn gac árdrígh dá ghaibh i da raibh ó thús riamb, go flathus an tara Hannraoi Ríogh Ságsan. Ends (p. 147) 7 as [amhlaidh expunged] laimh ré sliabh Alpa do marbhadh é, tré dhíoghaltas Dé, mar do hargedh leis durtheacht [sic] díthreabhaigh naomhtha dá bhainm Parmenius léar malludh é, 7 ar na mharbhadh amhlaidh sin, tugadar a mhuinter a chorp leo an Eirinn, gur haidhleas a Roilg na Ríogh a Cruachainn é.

148. ‘Liber secundus.’ Begins Ag so sios do Roighthibh [sic] Eireann da ndailaibh deis creidimh, 7 dá hanalaibh go teacht gall innte 7 gur ghabhadh a hurlamh hulasa. Ends (p. 253) 7 ionad do shleachtaibh uaise eile seangall tainig ò thaoiseachaidh, 7 o thriathaibh diobh, nách luaidhfiom ann so. Followed (p. 253.21–254.3) by: ‘Ag so don lionn Comntae ata an Eirinn, do reir Chamden’, list of Irish counties from William Camden, Britannia.30

254.4. ‘Do ghablughadh Maca Mile ann so sios.’ Begins Aderid cuid dona Seanchuidhilb go bhfuilid dá chineal déag saorclann, nó dtoirn faisleibh do Ghaoidhiolaibh an Eirinn. ‘Croabhsgaoile Shleachta Eibhir Fhinn annso’ (255.w); ‘Geinealach Mheic Cártha Mhoír’ (256–7); ‘Cuirfid annso croabhsgaoile muintire Mathghamhna i. Í Mhathghamhna Fhinn gona chomhbraithraibh as an Leabhar Muimhneach; ar fhuraliomh an tí da sgriobhui am leabharsi. 7 an Dornchadh Óg mac Donnchaidh . . .’ (258) ‘Geinealach Í Mhathghamhna Fhinn’ (258.6); ‘Geinealach Í Mhathghamhna Aoibh Fhionnuadha’ (258.25); ‘Geinealach Í Mhathghamhna Chairbrig’ (258.30); ‘Geinealach Chloinne Conchubhair’ (259); ‘Geinealach Chloinne Conchubhair’ (259.25); ‘Craobhsgaoile Í Briain Iarla Tuadhmuir anso’ (259.25); ‘Craobhsgaoile sleachta Cille na Gluaire’ (259.10); ‘Croabhsgaoile sleachta Dhiairmada mhic Seain’ (259.14); ‘Geinealach Dhonnchaidh Oig Í Mathghamhna annso i. an tí do thug orm an leabhar so do sgriobhadh’ (259.20); ‘Do chroabhsgaoile sleachta Choruic Cais mic Oilealla Oluim annso. ar tuis geinealach Í Bríain Iarla Tuadhmuir anso’ (259.25); ‘Craobhsgaoile sleachta Ír mhic Mile ann so’ (261.29); ‘Geinealach Mic Aongusa annso .i. Tigerna Ibh Eachach’ (262); ‘Geinealach Í Conchubhair Ciariudhe’ (262.18). ‘Croabhsgaoile Shleachta Eireamhoin annso’ (263); ‘Geinealach Í Neill’ (263.5); ‘Geinealach Í Domhnail’ (264.23); ‘Geinealach Í Chonchubhair Ruadh annso: mar a titubram astec sliocht Bhraíann mhic Eochaidh Muighmhedhoin’ (265.13); ‘Croabhsgaoile sleachta Fhiacha mhic Eochaidh Muighmhedhoin annso: ar tuis geinealach Í Sheacnaisaicce’ (266.19); ‘Ag so do Clann nDomhnaill: ar tuis geinealach Mic Samhairle, Iarla Antruim’ (267.11); ‘Geinealach Í Cealla’ (267.w); ‘Geinealach Daile-Riada Alban’ (268.24); ‘Do Laighníbh annso sios . . . agus do bheram tosach so Chaomhanchaibh annso’ (269.8);

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‘Geinealach Mhic Giolla Phátraig annso’ (270); ‘Do Chraobhsgaoile Shleachta Lughaidh Mac Ite annso / Ginealach Í Eidirsgeoil’ (271.13). This section ends (p. 271) with scribal colophon: ‘Do gheabhadh an léighthoir ann so reomhun Seanachus gall i. Baraicc Geraltaig 7 Builthearaig. Foircéann le Tadhg Ú Muirithe.’ Pp. 272–3 missing. Followed (p. 274) by: [Cathán Ó Duinnín. Éistidh re coibhneas bhur gcath.] Begins acephalous: Trí maca eile fa hárd bladh. 108 quatrains. ‘Finis.’ Followed (p. 279.33) by jotting (m) noted above. Followed (p. 280) by: ‘Geinealach lárla Barach’; ‘Geinealach an Bharaicc Oig’ (280.8); ‘Geinealach an Bharaicc Mhóir do chuaidh gan sliocht’ (280.12); ‘Geinealach lárla Úrmhumhain’ (280.16); ‘Geinealach Tigerna Mhotta Ghoiread’ (280.24); ‘Geinealach Thigherna na Cathrach’ (280.27); ‘Cráobhsgaoile sleachta na hIarlachta annso (i. Gearaltaig)’ (281); ‘Geinealach Thigherna na Claoinglaisí’ (282); ‘Geinealach Ridire an Ghleanna’ (282.5); ‘Geinealach Shleachta Bhaile an Fheiritéará [sic]’ (282.11); ‘Geinealach sleeachta Bhaile an Aird’ (282.14); ‘Geinealach an Ridire Fhinn’ (282.16); ‘Geinealach Bhaile Í Chrionain’ (282.19); ‘Geinealach Sur Seaghain ó Chluainn’ (282.23); ‘Geinealach sliocht Bhaile an Arat’ (282.27). Ends (p. 282) with scribal colophon: ‘Finis / Foircéann le Tadhg O Muirithe san mbliadhain daois Criost 1775.’

283. Copy of indenture of apprenticeship of Edmond Madigan to Timothy Murry, carpenter, 16 February 1776; see below.


290–91. See jottings (r), (s) and (t) above.

(b) Transcript of Indenture of Apprenticeship 1776 (p. 283)

This Indenture Witnesseth that Edmond Madigan / son of Laurence Madigan of the County of Lime, doth put himself Apprentice to Timothy Murry in s County Carpenter / to learn his Art; and with him (after the manner of an Apprentice) to Dwell / and Serve from the Date hereof until the full End & Term of Seven years / from thence next following to be fully compleat and ended, during which / Term the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his / secrets keep, his lawful Commandments everywhere gladly do; he shall / do no Damage to his said Master nor see to be done of others, but he to / his power power [sic], shall let or forthwith give warning to his said Mast’ / of the same; he shall not waste the goods of his said Master, nor give nor lend them unlawfully to any; he shall not commit Fornication, / nor Contract Matrimony within the said Term; hurt to his said Mast’ / he shall not do, Cause or procure to be done of others; he shall not / play at Cards, Dice, Tables, or any other unlawful Games, whereby / his said Master may have a loss with his own or other Goods during / the said Term, without licence of his s Master he shall not buy / nor sell, he shall not haunt or use Taverns, Ale Houses, or Play / Ho[u]ses, or absent himself from his s Masters service Day nor Night / unlawfully; but in all Things as an honest & Faithfull Apprentice / he shall behave himself towards his said Master & all his during the / said Term, and the said Timothy Murry his s Apprentice in the / Art which he now useth by the best way and means that he can, shall / teach and Instruct, or cause to be taught and Instructed, with due / [di]rection, finding unto [him
cancelled] his said Apprentice, Meat, Drink, Log=ing [sic] and all other Necessaries befiting [sic] such an Apprentice, during the said Term, according to the Custom of the County of / Lime\^k his Father and uncle Edm^d Flanigan having engaged / to find him in all Wearing apparel Sufficient for an Apprent^d / during s^d Terms of Seven years – and for the true Performance / of all and every the s^d covenants and Agreements either of the Parties / [b]indent himself to the other by these presents. **In Witness** where=/of the Parties above named, to these **Indentures** interchangeable / have put their hands & Seals the Sixteenth day February in the / [year] of our Lord God, one thousand seven hundred and seventy six / and in the 18\(^{th}\) year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the / third of Great Britain & France and Ireland, King, Defender of the / Faith &c

Signed Sealed and Delivered / in the presence of D. G. / [? B] K

E. M

T. M