THE O'DAVOREN OF CAHERMACNANAUGHTEN. BURREN, CO. CLARE.

BY DR. GEORGE U. MACNAMARA.

PART I.—(HISTORICAL).

Whatever faults the Irish people may be charged with, it can never be said that they despised learning. All our history bears out this statement, and strangers who from time to time have come amongst us—often bitter and prejudiced enemies—have reluctantly to admit that a passionate love of learning for its own sake, and a genuine respect for the man of great literary attainments, are inherent characteristics of the race. Go as far back into the past as history will allow, even to the introduction of Christianity, and this trait in the National character becomes apparent. It is very probable, indeed I might say certain, that this intense love of knowledge had its roots in a purely pagan civilisation which long preceded the coming of Patrick, for otherwise it is quite impossible to account for the sudden birth of the many noted schools which reliable history tells us sprang up like mushrooms all over the land in the years immediately succeeding the conversion of the Irish. So great, indeed, was the reputation of the schools of Ireland in those early days, that men of other nations flocked in great numbers to our shores to sit at the feet of the learned men of Eire, and, not only did they receive instruction free, but they were actually housed, fed, and supplied with books gratis and for nothing; an example of free education never seen before in any country under the sun, and which probably will never be seen again.

While most of Europe was fast sinking into a second barbarism owing to the decay of Roman government and civilization, the lamp of learning so brightly burned in the schools of Ireland that its generous light was carried far away, to Britain and the Continent, by shoals of enthusiastic missionaries, who not only brought with them the Gospel but all the secular learning that survived the fall of the Roman Empire.
TOWNLAND PLAN OF CAHERMACNAUGHTEN.
It would be altogether beyond my powers and the scope of this paper to attempt to trace, even superficially, the history of those early schools to their final extinction. This task has been fairly well fulfilled by others; I only wish so far here to emphasize certain facts which, indeed, cannot be denied, but I fear too often are lost sight of by Irishmen: that for two or three centuries before the Danish invasion, Ireland was the hub of the world's learning, and that through good and ill—at times when letters were fostered, as well as when a price was put on the unfortunate schoolmaster's head—the Irish people, whether Gaels, Normans, or assimilated Britons, loved learning and honoured the learned. When education was denied them at home, many sought it in the schools of France, Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands, and made the greatest sacrifices to obtain it. What better proof of this old spirit could one wish to have than the "Poor Scholar," a survival of early Christian times, who was frequently to be met with late in the last century. A veritable knight errant, he left his father's humble roof with a few books in his satchel and next to nothing in his pocket, in quest, not of wealth and beauty, but of learning and fame. Poor fellow! full of enthusiasm he moved about from teacher to teacher, seeking what he could never get, and, strange persistence of ancient custom, depended altogether for his maintenance on the hospitality of the peasantry, who always had, and have still, a fundamental awe of the deep-read man of books.

One of the last, perhaps the very last, of the schools formed on the ancient model flourished at Cahermacnaughten, in Burren, and continued to exist down to the occupation of Clare by the soldiers of "raging Cromwell," when the old landed gentry were ruthlessly evicted and all things Irish were cast into the melting pot. What makes this school of exceeding interest to the archaeologist is the fact that it was held in one of the ancient stone forts or cathairs, so numerous in northern Clare. It seems to have been first established in Cahermacnaughten by Gilliananascomh mór (son of Aodh, son of Magnus) O'Davoren, about A.D. 1500, and while it lasted had a great reputation all over Ireland as a school of sínnechas or ancient Irish law.

The cahir in which the school was held still exists in fair preservation. It is on the left hand side, quite close to the public road leading from
Noughaval to Ballyvaughan, and some one and a half miles north of the former place. The situation is not very prepossessing, as the country immediately surrounding is now treeless and drear, but some fine views may be obtained in clear weather of the distant Dunagore mountains to the west, and of Slieve Elva, famed in legend, to the north. Not far away, however, towards the south is the beautiful and silent valley of Kilcorney—hewn out of the living rock by the titanic force of some primeval glacier,—with its enchanted caves, from which, it is said, came a breed of fairy horses once owned by the O’Briens of Glancolumcille. If the possession of an incurably bad temper, invincible obstinacy and phenomenal endurance, be any proof of celestial origin, they certainly were divine, for they possessed all these qualities to the full, as the writer can testify from experience. The visitor has only to drive a mile or so north of the fort to the well-known Corkscrew Hill (1), when, if the day is favourable, one of the loveliest views in Burren meets his eye. The pretty valley of Glenarriga (2) lies right under his feet, bounded on either side by the grey and massive limestone hills seamed with many a streak of russet heath and greenest verdure,

"On whose awful face
Time’s iron feet can print no ruin-trace."

The restless waters of Galway Bay (Loch burgan), with many a cosy creek and wrack-strown headland, spreads out in majesty before him, all bringing irresistibly to mind the poet’s mystic words :—

"Two voices are there : one of the sea,
One of the mountains,—each a mighty voice."

Further on he clearly sees the Galway coast, and catches a glimpse perhaps of the white walls of the City of the Tribes, until at last his vision is completely lost among the blue hills and misty plains of Connaught.

The fort of Cahermacnaughten is almost a perfect circle, measuring outside 132 by 130 feet in its diameters. The ring-wall on the south is fully 9 feet high in parts, and well built with massive limestone blocks, as seen in cathairs of the best period. A late mediaeval porch, now 10

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(1) I have been told that it was Augustine Moran, of Willbrook (ob. 1869) who first gave it the name of "Corkscrew" when it was being made.

2) *Gloann fhairge*—"Glen of the Sea."
feet high, with corbels showing some sort of upper story and part of the stone ring in which the door swung, was added probably during the occupation of the fort by the O’Davorens, and looks east-south-east. It is impossible now to tell with accuracy the thickness of the ring wall owing to the accumulation inside, but it is probably 8 feet thick. The northern part of the wall is much dilapidated, as the stones being good, were taken, no doubt, to build the herd’s house close by and for other purposes. The interior is practically level with the top of the wall, and consequently is a good deal higher than the surrounding land, this being due in a great measure, but perhaps not altogether, to a large accumulation of debris, which shows a long and continuous occupation, and offers interesting results if the place was carefully excavated. The foundations of at least five houses, moss-grown and indistinct, can still be traced inside the caher, and are of extreme interest in the light of the O’Davoren deed of partition, which mentions some of them and will be dealt with later on. The original occupier and possible builder of the fort, Mac Neachtain (3) is quite unknown to history, and, although it is fairly certain that the building belongs to a comparatively late period of fort construction, I think it wiser not to give any opinion as to its probable date of foundation, or that of any other caher, until at least the exhaustive and valuable survey of our Munster and Connaught forts, now in process of making by Mr. Thomas J. Westropp, is more or less complete.

About 20 yards west of the fort, in a field called Páirc na leacht, ‘field of the stone heaps,’ is an ancient looking well, which dries up during the summer. This may be the well referred to in the deed, but it is quite possible that a well also was sunk inside, for immediately outside the fort wall on the south the land is swampy and soft at one spot. The late Mr. Frost looked upon the rough stone heaps in Páirc na leacht as being

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(3) Mac Neachtain, i.e. ‘son of Neachtan.’ The Gaelic name Neachtain is philologically identical with the latin Neptunus, which latter has undergone the well-known P change. The root *necht* (*nept*) meaning ‘clean’ (*Corn.-gloss*) is closely connected with the idea of water, hence *Neptunus*, god of the sea. Compare the Vedic *apim naapit* ‘offspring of water.’ Dr. O. Shadr, however, *Friedh. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples* (trans. by F. B. Jevons, M.A., p. 412), positively asserts that the name *Neptunus* has no connection with this phrase. Like Poseidon, *Neptunus* had equestrian accomplishments, and so had their Gaelic counterpart, for Irish legend tells of the white-named horses of *Manannan mac Lir*, one of the Gaelic Neptunes, which is but a poetical term for the foam-topped waves of the sea.
PLAN OF CAHERMACNAUGHTEN.

[Owing to the great dilapidation, the inner lining of ring-wall cannot now be accurately defined, but the débris of rampart, as shown in plan, can be distinctly felt under the sodding for several feet inwards.]
the remains of huts occupied by the students attending the school of Cahermacnaughten (4). This, however, is not the case. They are simply stones gathered off the land to improve it in the "bad times," and the herd, John Conole, tells me he knew an old man who told him that he helped to make them. The name is therefore a modern one of no archaeological interest whatever.

A very curious and puzzling building in ruins is to be seen in the crag, about three-quarters of a mile south-west of Cahermacnaughten. It measures 39 feet by 31 on the outside, and is orientated east-north-east. It consists of two rooms, the western being much the larger, and the walls inside show that there was an upper story or attic. The doorway is in the north wall and enters the smaller or eastern room. It is now completely destroyed, but the stones on the ground prove that it had a well cut pointed arch. On entering the building, the first idea to strike one is that here is an ancient church, and that the cross wall dividing the two compartments is the remains of a chancel arch. On closer observation, however, it becomes evident that the gap in the cross wall is only a recess, probably for a fireplace, and the theory that the building was a church, becomes quite untenable. The place is marked wrongly "church in ruins" on the new O.S maps, which ought to be corrected.

From certain remarks of Dr. J. O'Donovan (5), I think this must be the place he refers to as "O'Loughlen's Castle," which he complains should have been shown on the old O.S. Map in the townland of Cahermacnaughten as well as the caher of that name. Whatever misunderstanding occurred between him and the officials, the curious blunder was made of marking the fort "site of O'Loughlen's Castle"

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(4) Hist. of Clare, p. 17.
on the old survey sheet. Whether the building above referred to was ever an O’Loghlen Castle, of which there is no evidence whatever, it is now known as Cabhal tighe breas ‘the ruin of the speckled house,’ a very appropriate name on account of its lichen-covered condition, and must be identified as the place called ‘Kilbrack’ in the land-holders’ list of 1641 (6). I think also it is probably the building called ‘the churchyard house,’ referred to in the deed of partition as being the property of Aodh O’Davoren in 1666, and may have been so called because it was built on the site of a prehistoric graveyard or killeen. It belongs, I believe, to the same period as the first establishment of the school at Cahermanaughten, i.e. circa A.D. 1500, and I make the suggestion that it was built by the O’Davorens as a hostel for the accommodation of their pupils. Either this, or it was the schoolhouse itself, the family using the caher as a residence only.

A school of native learning in Ireland, it must be remembered, was rather a dangerous possession in the days of good King Jamie, and it is quite possible, nay very probable, that the cautious minds of the parties concerned may have intentionally given it a harmless pseudonym, so as not to draw upon themselves the attention of the minions of the government.

Not very long ago, among old papers belonging to my father, stowed away for years in a desk, and almost forgotten, were found the following MSS. :—

(1)—A copy on paper of the Rev. Dr. Keating’s History of Ireland, in a good but to me unknown hand. It is in fair condition except that the ink has somewhat faded, the edges of the volume are frayed, and one corner is mouse-eaten. The first six pages are in a later and commoner hand, and were added, as we shall see, by one Muircheartach O’Brian to supply pages that were lost, shewing the copy was an old one when the book was restored. At the end of the Keating, and bound up with it, are four leaves containing a genealogical poem in Irish on the O’Davorens of Burren, at the end of which is the following:—

“Written by Muircheartach O’Brien, son of the daughter of Baothghalach, son of Maghnus, son of Aodh, son of Ghiollananaomh òg [O’Daibhoireann] who copied the aforesaid poem, as we found it before us by Tadhg, son of Daire Mac Bruaiseacha, the 5th day of the month, September, the year of our Lord, viz.:—1754.” Then follows a genealogy of the O’Davorens, and a further entry by the same scribe, who also was the man who mended the Keating.—“Written by

(6) Frost’s Hist. of Clare, p. 446.
Muircheartach O'Brien for the use of Cosnamhach O'Dabhoireann, priest of the parishes of Kilnaboy and Rath, a gentle, pious, and charitable gentleman, and God I implore to give him a long life in the grace of God."

(2)—A paper copy made from the original of a law deed in the Irish language. It is a settlement between Aodh and Cosmúi, sons of Gollanenaomh Ó Dávoren, regarding certain lands and houses in the Barony of Burren; left them by their father, and dated at Cahermacnaughten 14th April, 1606. The document consists of three closely-written pages in an affectedly archaic style of penmanship, being a mass of curious contractions. Writer unknown.

(3)—A few loose leaves in Irish, Latin and English, the contents being of a miscellaneous character, partly historical, partly homiletic, and of no great interest.

(4) — Another and a more elaborate pedigree of the O'Davorens, also in the handwriting of Muircheartach O'Brien. As far as my inquiries have gone, these are the only pedigrees of the family in existence. Ulster office contains none, and there is nothing about them in Mac Firbhisigh's great work, which is rather surprising, for he is said to have spent some time as a pupil at Cahermacnaughten. A translation of the second pedigree is given in Part II. of this paper, with the earlier descent in chart form. In it Muircheartach O'Brien gives three generations of his own paternal descent. He was the son of Donnchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Murchadh O'Brien, of Ballyportry, a townland with fine old castle about an Irish mile east of Corofin. His mother was Cadtin, daughter of Buaidhghalach, son of Maghnus, O'Davoren, and grand-daughter of Aodh, one of the signatories of the deed of 1606. I know nothing more about him, but his descent proves him to be a man of gentle blood, and he was of fair education for his time although rather weak in his Irish spelling. He was probably the grandson or great-grandson of one of the gentry evicted soon after the fall of Limerick to the forces of the Parliament, and, clinging like many others of his class to the old home, it became his lot to settle down and live the simple life at Ballyportry, there to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies—mostly bitter I should say—his chief solace being the recollection of the former greatness of his family (7).

(7) Conor O'Brien, of Ballyportry, died 26th March, 1614, leaving a son, Teige, 17 years of age, who, about 1619, exchanged Ballyportry for Ballymurphy (Par. of Noughaval) with Donough, 4th Earl of Thomond. (Vide Inq. Frost's Hist. of Clare, p 320). In 1641 Ballyportry belonged to Conor, son of Donough O'Brien (of Leimanegh ?).
All these MSS. belonged originally to the Rev. Cosnamhach or Cosnui O'Davoren (alias "Constance Davoren fitz Hugh") formerly Parish Priest of Kilnaboy and Rath. According to the pedigree, he was the son of Aodh, son of Buathghalach buidhe, son of Aodh (1606), and, if we are to believe his kinsman, Muirechertach O'Brien, he was a credit to his cloth at a time when the life of a Catholic clergyman must have been a very trying one. He died, probably at a good round age, some time between July, 1757, when he made his will (8), and February, 1760, at which date he was dead (9). In some way quite unknown to me, these papers came into the possession of the late Mr. Peter Owen, of Inchiquin (a man of culture and scholarly attainments), as his name is written on one of the pages of the Keating. After his death they came to my father who put them carefully by.

The genealogical poem, written for Gisunanaeann og O'Davoren by Tadhg mac Duire, is a most elaborate composition in seanchas metre. As it was altogether beyond my powers, my good friend, Dr. Douglas Hyde, kindly offered to translate it for me. He tells me that it consists of most exquisite rhymes and elaborate and ingenious word-spinning, and that it is so full of difficult and obsolete terms that his translation must be considered only tentative. The author, Tadhg mac Duire, was an accomplished poet, and a most voluminous writer. A great deal of his poetry still survives, but although he was a well-known man in his day, very little of his personal history has come down to us, and is practically confined to a notice of him in a work by Theophilus


(9) Viz, will and codicil of John Davoren, of Ennis, Pub. Rec. Dub. Father Conor Moylan was P.P. of Kilnaboy in 1704. Dr. William O'Daly held the same office in 1721, and was probably succeeded by Dean Ignatius O'Donoghue, who had charge of the parish in 1725. Then comes an interval in the history of the parishes of Kilnaboy and Rath about which we know very little, until the pastorate of the above Father Cosnui O'Davoran, who died, as stated, sometime between July, 1757 and February, 1760. Another blank in the records of about 40 years then occurs, ending with the death of the Rev. John Finucane, P.P. on the 28th January, 1799 (Ennis Chronicle, 1st February, 1799). The Rev. John O'Neill was P.P. in the early part of the 19th century, and ruled the parishes just before the Rev. John Murphy who took office in January, 1818. This remarkable man was born in Newmarket-on-Fergus in 1790, was ordained in 1814, and died at Lisdoonvarna, September 9th, 1831, in his 42nd year. He it was who built the Catholic church of Corofin, dedicated to St. Brigid, in 1822, the first modern Catholic church of any architectural pretensions erected in the county of Clare. Father Murphy was a man of high mental powers and of great force of character, idolized by his flock, and his name is held in great
O’Flanagan (10). As this publication is rather rare, I give the extract here:—

"The author [Tadhg mac Daíre] of this ‘Advice to a Prince’ was born about thirty years before the close of the sixteenth and lived until about the middle of the seventeenth century [1570-1650]. He possessed a fine appanage as the hereditary philosophic Bard of Thomond (even in the decline of such establishments)—the castle of Dunogan (11) and its appurtenances, in the Barony of Ibrickan in the west of the County of Clare, but for this he was assassinated by a marauding soldier of Cromwell’s army, who must himself have been a native Irishman (12) as in the act of treacherously hurling him down a precipice, which caused his destruction, he with savage exclamation exclaimed: ‘Abhin do maith anois! Phib big,’ say your verses now little man’ (13).

For generations the Mac Brodys were scholars and poets in Thomond. We learn from the Four Masters that Diarmaid Mac Brody (son of Conchoobhar, son of Diarmaid, son of Seaghan), was "ollamh of Uí mBracain and Uí th Fearnait" (Ibrickan and Inchiquin baronies), and died in 1563. His brother, Maolín, son of Conchoobhar, "ollamh to O’Brien in history," succeeded him and died 1582. Another brother (brathair), Giollaobhraidhe, succeeded Maolín. The next of the family we read of is Maolín Óg, son of Maolín, son of Conchoobhar, who died in 1602, and "there was not in Eire in one personality a better historian poet and versifier than he." Conchoobhar, son of Maolín Óg, was one of the learned men to whom the Four Masters submitted their great work for approbation, at which time, 11th Nov. 1636, his address is given as Cill Croíde, i.e. Kilkeedy, Barony of Inchiquin. This, I have not the

veneration still. To him in a great measure O’Connell owed his successful return as M.P. for Clare, and to honour and commemorate his memory, certain leading men in Dublin, including Richard O’Gorman and O’Gorman Mahon, soon after his death, presented the Catholic church of Corofin with an engraved memorial chalice which is still in use. Father Murphy was succeeded by the Rev. Patrick O’Gorman in October, 1831. He resigned his charge in 1834 for some other parish, and the Rev. Stephen Walsh was appointed in his place. Father Walsh was a native of Waterford, where he died in 1862, in which year he was succeeded by the Rev. James McMahon. The latter died in 1882, aged 62 years, when the present incumbent, the Very Rev. Canon Michael O’Donovan, was appointed P.P. of Kilnamboy and Rath.

(10) Transactions of the Gaelic Society, p. 27, Dublin, 1808. Introduction to "Advice to a Prince," (Donough, 4th Earl of Thomond from 1580 to 1624), by Tadhg mac Daíre.

(11) Doonogan, Par. of Kilmurry Ibrickan, which place Tadhg mac Daíre held by virtue of his office of Ollamh to O’Brien, Earl of Thomond but no longer a "Prince."

(12) O’Flanagan was not justified in this assumption, for the fact that the story came to him through the medium of Irish is no proof whatever that the Cromwellian ruffian spoke that tongue.

(13) He therefore met with a similar fate to that great Irish scholar and historian, Dubhaltach mac Firbheigh, who was cruelly and wantonly slain at Dunfin, Co. Sligo, in 1670, by one Crofton (O'C's M M, p. 122).
slightest doubt, is a misreading of either the Four Masters or Dr. John O'Donovan, for *Cill Caoidhe* or *Cill Cuaidh*, i.e. Kilkee, par. of Dysart, for this place was Conor McBrodys property in 1641, and *Maoilín* MacBrody, seemingly his son, still held it as tenant to the Earl of Inchiquin as late as 1664. (14)

It is but fair to state, however, that Dr. O'Donovan had no autograph text before him of the letters of approbation prefixed to the first part of the Annals of the Four Masters when he edited that gigantic work, and had to depend altogether on a copy in the Library of T.C.D., made 1734-5, from an autograph copy belonging to Dr. Charles O'Connor of Belandgare, by one Hugh Molloy, for Dr. John O'Fergus of Dublin, the original autograph of these letters being in the College of St. Isidore, Rome. (A. F. M., p. LXVIII). It is quite easy to understand how the mark of aspiration may have been omitted by a scribe who was probably ignorant of Clare topography. O'Curry spells the name correctly, *Cill Chaidhe* (MS. Mat. p. 151) However the mistake occurred, Kilkee, Parish of Dysart, not Kilkeedy, was the residence of Conor MacBrody in 1636-41. The station of Ruan, West Clare Railway, is built on the southern verge of this townland, and Ballybrody, adjoining, seems to have been the early home of the MacBrodys.

Another member of the MacBrody family was Father Anthony MacBrody, author of *Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis* (1668) a copy of which is in the Franciscan Library, Dublin. I have never seen the work, but it must be one full of interest to natives of Clare, as it gives many details, I understand, of the Cromwellian regime in that county not obtainable elsewhere. He was the son of one Maoilín MacBrody, of Ballogygan, parish of Killraghtis, and Margaret, sister of John O'Molony, Catholic Bishop of Killaloe. This Maoilín, the father of Father Anthony, owned Gortnafinch, a sub-denomination of Ballyogan.

(14) Frosi's Hist. of Clare, p. 473). The MacBrodys had no connection whatever with Kilkeedy parish as far as I can make out. Conor, son of Maoilín 6b, signs himself in his letter to the F. M. as being also of Latermoylan, which Dr. O'Donovan (note a. F. M., vol. vi., p. 1960) identifies as Lettermooylan, and calls it a subdivision of the townland of "Glangee" in Dysart parish. Now "Glangee" cannot be found in the townland list at all, but there is a Glennageer in the adjoining parish of Inagh, probably the "Lettermooylan" of the 1641 list. Maccon, son of Cucogy, son of Dermo, son of Teige cém O'Clery, oilav to O'Donnell in history, died at Lettermooylan in Thomond, 1595 (A. F. M.) probably while on a visit to one of the MacBrodys.
parish of Kilraghtis, in 1641. He was evicted by the Cromwellians, but held part of his ancient patrimony as tenant in 1659-61, and one Constance MacBrody, probably his son, got back a small portion. Maolitin, of Ballyogan, was 81 years old in 1668, and was not the same individual as Maolitin, of Kilkee, who was probably a son of Conor, and grandson of Maolitin og, who died in 1602. Conor, of Kilkee, owned also part of the townland of Formoyle, Parish of Inagh, in 1641, and "Conor Macdaire MacBrody," a brother, I have no doubt, of Tadhg, the historian and poet, with others of the name, were part owners of this townland and of Cloonanaha in same parish. All were unceremoniously evicted, and their lands, though poor and unproductive, helped to fill the hungry maw of Morough the Burner.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the MSS. found at Corofin, is the Irish deed here given, which is stated to be a copy made from the original document at some date unknown. Its difficult contractions have been expanded and a translation into English made in a most careful and scholarly manner by the Rev. R. Henegby, Ph. D., Professor National University, Cork. I am responsible for the notes only.

This deed, contrary to what one would expect, has little of Brehon law in its composition. It is clearly drawn up in terms of Feudal law, which at the time (1636) was quite a new introduction into Thomond. From this we may reasonably infer that the new law, as well as the feneacs or ancient law of Ireland, was taught in Cahermacnaughten. Another copy of this deed, in the main identical with the one here given, was found in the hands of Mr. Michael Reilly, of Ennistymon (15), by Dr. John O'Donovan in 1839 (16). It is, however, not signed by either Aodh or Cosnuc, the two parties concerned, but by "Gilla-na-Naev oge O'Davoren," and called his "will." The date (3rd April, 1675) is 69 years later than that of the Corofin copy, and the witnesses, James Fitzgerald and Francis Sarsfield, are also different (17). I shall, I hope, be able

(15) Mr. Reilly was a native of the north of Ireland who had settled down in Ennistymon, and, like Dubhaltach macFlrisigh and Tadhg macDaire, met with a violent death. He was poisoned by rat-poison, probably arsenic, accidentally put in a cake of which he partook, sometime in the early fifties of the last century, and his books and MSS. were scattered to the four winds of heaven.

(16) Ord. Survey Letters, 1839, R.I.A.

(17) Vide Mr. J. Frost's Hist. of Clare, pp. 18-20.
to convince the reader that Mr. Reilly's MS. was not a true copy of the original deed in all its parts, and was intentionally altered to fulfil some special purpose, probably a legal one, in the year 1675.

In the first place, I may remark that the document is in no sense a will, but a deed of partition of certain lands and houses in Burren between two brothers, sons of Geóllananaomh Ó'Davoren, probably immediately after his death, the terms being in accordance with their father's and grandfather's wills, about which documents we know nothing more. The date, 1675, is an anachronism and an impossibility, because long before that year the O'Davorenens were evicted out of all the lands mentioned in the deed, a part only of Cahermacnaughten being regained at a later period by a Geóllananaomh Óg of a younger generation, the very man, I believe, who signs the Ennistymon copy, and eldest son and heir of Aodh (1606). It is practically certain that the brothers Aodh and Cosmúi were long dead in 1675, because two years later (1677) Cosmúi's grandson, "Constance," son of Hugh O'Davoren, got confirmation of a grant of Lislaraheen, parish of Rathborney, formerly "set out to his father Hugh, as a transplanted person," said Hugh (Aodh) being certainly dead when his son sought relief in 1677 (18). Again, James Davoren of Lisdoonvarna, who died, aged 59 years, in 1725, was the great-grandson of Aodh, the elder of the two brothers who made the partition; and, allowing thirty years to a generation, Aodh should have died about 1635. It is probable, however, that he had the misfortune of living just long enough to be pitched out of his paternal estate, for he is given as one of the owners of Cahermacnaughten in 1641.

For these reasons—and there are others I could bring forward equally strong—it is evident that the date of the Ennistymon copy, 1675, is not the true date of the partition of the lands in question, which must be put several years further back. When, on the other hand, we examine the Corofin version—date, witnesses, and all—everything is in true historical perspective and hangs together in perfect order and consistency. How then shall we account for this altered text found at Ennistymon by Dr. John O' Donovan, which, though tampered with for some reason or another, was undoubtedly founded on the original document of 1606,

(18) Vide Mr. Frost's Hist. of Clare, 391.
the true date of the partition? "Not difficult," I think, and may be explained in this way, without any suggestion of either forgery or fraud:—it is in all essential particulars a bona fide copy of the original document, attested before two respectable witnesses a few years after the Restoration by Giollananaomh Óg O’Davoren, eldest son, I have no doubt, of Aodh of Cahermacnaughten (who, with his brother, Cosmain, made the agreement of 1666) for the purpose of helping him to get back the lands that once belonged to his father; in which attempt, it appears, he was partially successful. That, and nothing more.

The O’Davorens, like the O’Hehirs and some other septs west of the Shannon, belonged to the Eoghanacht stock, claiming name and descent from Dubhdadbhoireann, son of Aengus, King of Cashel, slain 957, and the family settled in Burren in mediaeval times, exact date unknown (19). We first hear of them as hereditary ollamhs to the O’Loghleans of that district, who are of the race of Fergus mac Reighl, of Ulster. The earliest reference to them I can find in print is in the Annals of the Four Masters under the year 1364, where the death of " Giollananaomh Ua Dubhdadbhoireann, ollamh of Corcomhrudadh in Brehon law," is recorded (20). There is little reason to doubt but that members of the sept held this high and responsible office continuously down to the general débâcle which followed the rising of 1641. They were scholars by descent and profession, and their glory was achieved by the pen, not by the sword. Who will dare to say they chose not the nobler weapon?

The sept was, I believe, at all times a small one, and consequently did not hold much land. At any rate in 1641 they were confined to the parishes of Noughaval and Rathborney, with the exception of one townland, or part of townland, in Carran. They were all ruthlessly evicted by the Cromwellians, but after the Restoration the following seem to have got small grants as ‘transplanted papists.’ One Cyprian

(19) Father Shearman, however, gives them a descent from Lughaid, son of Cas, son of Conall eachdubhath, thus making the O’Davorens a Dál g-Cais sept. See Chart Pedigree Journ. Arch. Soc., Vol. IV., 1878, p. 408.

(20) Long before this date, however, one of the sept gave his name to Cora mhic Dhahboireann, i. e. weir of mac Dabhoireann, now Curraghvinbarrion, or Kelis Bridge, 2½ miles east of Corofin, for this ancient ford is so called in connection with events of 1317, by John mac Rory McGrath in Carthaíimi Thoir’dhálaígh.
O'Davoren (21) got part of the lands out of which Finghin mac Gioillaphadraig (22) was evicted in the parish of Kilmoon Gioillaneavenagh by of a later generation got back some part of Cahermacnaughten, and Constance son of Hugh (i.e. Cosnamhach, son of Aodh, son of Cosnui of the deed) obtained by letters patent, dated February 29th, Charles II., a grant of Lislarheen, as we have stated above. Lislarheen was previously set out to his father, Hugh, by the Loughrea Commissioners, being land forfeited in the rising of 1641 by one Donough O'Brien (23).

Certain members of this learned family, Domhnall, son of Aodh O'Davoren, and his kinsmen, Maghneus and Muircheartach, left Burren sometime in the 16th century and set up a school for themselves at a place called Paore. Neither of these, strange to say, are mentioned

(21) Heaven only knows what this man's real Christian name was. The mania for substituting foreign and ridiculous names for the genuine Irish ones when speaking English, commenced at an earlier time than is generally supposed.

(22) The Lisdoonvarna mac Gioillaphadraig, alias Fitzpattrick, were, according to a funeral entry in Ulster Office, a branch of the Ossory family (vide 'Loca Patriciana,' by Rev. J. F. Shearan, Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, now R.S.A.I.) 1878, p. 397.) From it we learn that Diarmaid mac Gioillaphadraig died at Limerick S.P. on 21st September, 1637. His younger brother, Finghin, of Lisdoonvarna, was a member of the Kilkenny Parliament, and consequently outlawed and his estates forfeited. He built the Castle of Lisdoonvarna, now totally ruined, in 1619. This Finghin was the son of Finghin, of Drumsalach, Co. Clare (probably Drumsillagh, alias Sallybank, Par. of Kilseily), son of Diarmaid, son of Gioilladubh, who was a lineal descendant of Conchober, King of Ossory, brother to Domhnall mór who built Jerpoint Abbey in 1185. Father Shearan states (ibid) that one Dermot FitzPatrick, who got a grant of 411 acres in Co. Clare, was probably a son of Finin, of Lisdoonvarna. This must be the Dermot FitzPatrick who got a lease of Drumcliff, Gortnagall, and the two Sheshives, in Barony of Clonderlaw, from the Earl of Thomond in 1687, and was slain in "rebellion," 1691, probably at Limerick (vide Frost's History of Clare, p. 601.) The stone with inscription, stating the Castle of Lisdoonvarna was built by Finin Fitzpatrick, is now inserted into the wall of an outhouse belonging to Mr. O'Connor, in the townland of Ballytigue, parish of Kilmoon; and a mantelpiece from the same building is in the house of Mr. Austin Neville, townland of Lisdoonvarna. The exact inscription is as follows:—

FININ FICTE
PATRICKE-ME
FECIT.1619.
DENIS CLOCHRE [SSV]

(23) This was, I believe, the "Donough O'Brien, of Newtown," stated by Father Anthony MacBrody to have been burned to death in his old age by the Cromwellians, and whose nephew, James, was hanged at Nenagh (vide Mr. Frost's History of Clare, p. 493). Whoever he was, he must not be confounded with "Donough O'Brien, of Newtown," High Sheriff of Clare, 1682, who was the son of Tadgh O'Brien (of Dough and Ennistymon), and Mary, daughter of Mortough (son of Turlough) Mac-i-Brien-ara, Protestant Bishop of Killaloe.
in the pedigrees here given, but it is just possible that Domhnall son of Aodh, was a younger brother of the Gíollánanaomh mór, who founded the high school at Cahermacnaughten. All the work of the Burren Academy, as far as I know, has perished—except we consider the composition written by Uílliam for Domhnall, Egerton 88, fol. 77, as much—but some at least of the MSS. written by Domhnall and Maghnus and their pupils at Páirc have come down to us and are now in the British Museum. They are catalogued Egerton 88, and the volume consists of 93 folios, vellum. Eight leaves, once forming part of this codex, are now in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. Mr. S. H. O'Grady has written 57 closely-printed pages of a description of these valuable MSS. which are the only O'Davoren productions known to be in the British Museum. The collection at one time belonged to an Archdeacon Mahon, whose sister sold the lot to James Hardiman, from whom the Museum authorities purchased them.

But where is Páirc, where Domhnall and Maghnus held their school? There are several places called Park in Ireland, and one noted one in the Liberties of Limerick City, but, as far as I know, there is no place of the name in Co. Clare. Father Edmund Hogan, however, whose authority we must respect, states in his learned work, Onomasticon Goedelicum, that the Park in question is in that county. We have little to guide us in Egerton 88 except a few topographical allusions in the marginalia and colophons, which in themselves are most amusing and interesting, but do not help us much in locating Park. All that can be deduced from them is: that the place was somewhere near the River Shannon, and not far from Tuaim árd, which Mr. S. H. O'Grady considers to be Tuam in the County Galway. One of the scribes writes:

"This to Domhnall from David, and his love accompanying all the contents. To-day is the feast of Aengus, we all being at Rossmuinchair,"

(fol. 75, b)

by which is probably meant Rosmanagher, parish of Feenagh, Co. Clare. But this does not help us much, for David may have been on a visit to his friends in Thomond, sending on his work when finished to Park. It appears, moreover, from certain statements in the marginal notes that O'Davoren and his pupils occasionally moved about "through all
"Elga," i.e. Ireland, but Park was certainly their headquarters. The same reasoning applies to an extract from another scribe:—

"Here's a sorry gloss on a profound composition from Ulliam for "Domhnall, from the land of Fera arda" (fol. 77), this (Fera arda) being a poetical name for ancient Corcomroe, now the baronies of Burren and Corcomroe, Co. Clare; but perhaps it was not written in Corcomroe at all and only means that Domhnall was a native of that district.

The following extracts refer to some historical event to which I can find no allusion elsewhere, and plainly shew how little we know of the minor phases of our history. We only see the mountain tops, the secluded glens and homely vales are shrouded in mist:—

"The eve of Lady Day in Spring: and I grieve that from the Earl of Ormond's son Domnachad O'Braithe goes in danger of death. The Park is my quarters. Magnus for Domhnall, who is himself travelling over all Ireland. A.D. 1567." (fol. 12, b.)

"[I am] Glialanaamh, and of the Trinity I crave mercy. But if it be true for David I must needs curse, and let the prayers be for the soldiers that are mustering for the fight." (fol. 27, b.)

There are several allusions to Connaught, which inclines one to believe that Park was somewhere in that province. For instance, the scribe Suorbretach writes:—

"The lord of Clannicord's son is coming to this place to-night." (fol. 28),

and Maghnus, who evidently is badly in love, lets off a little emotional steam:—

"I am scrivening while Domhnall and Geralit dictate the cases of 'Savaghagh.' A worse [thing] Grinne! My mind is unstable because of one certain thing and wanders through all Elga zealously considering if for love or money can be procured for us the substance of a certain herb (24) in Med's province [i.e. Connaught]. Paire is the place in which I scribble." (fol 29 h.)

"The conflict rages in every district of Medh's province, and I implore the King of both the hither and the yondite world to shield self and comrades from all harm both here and hereafter, and contrariwise to Ulliam na hAngaeil (25). This is Maghnus. The women are mighty jealous of a certain girl far down" [i.e. far north of Park] (fol. 30, h).

(24) A love-philtre, or more probably a herb having opposite qualities, viz., to cure love.

(25) This is the Norman name De Nangle, Gaelicised mac Goisléibh now Costelloe.
"An end made of the 'Supernatural Chariot' by Magnus for his own kinsman, Donnchadh, and there are many points in regard to which Donnchadh does not to me fully extend 'Family Law,' but specially in the matter of his trip to Tuaim to-day, ... A.D. 1568, Phíre 'no log' (fol. 15).

In MS. H. 3. 18, p. 450, Trin. Coll., Dublin, which was written at this school, the writer adds the colophon:

"To-day is the dies after Lady-day, and for myself, through Mary's intercession, I implore the mercy of God, for 'I feel anyhow,' and think still worse since 'the one that makes us jump' (26) lies in fever, and I having to cross the Sínéin (Shannon) to-morrow. I am at Phíre, 1564."

From the foregoing I think that Mr. S. H. O'Grady is right when he locates Park somewhere in Connaught, but perhaps it is not quite so certain that Tuaim ard means the present town of that name. Judging by the examples in Father E. Hogan's 'Onomasticon,' names beginning with tuaim are more numerous in ancient Connaught than elsewhere in Ireland, and it is very easy to mistake one for another without some special mark to guide us.

The following is a description and complete list of the works contained in Egerton 88:—(27)

Egerton MS. 88—Small folio, vellum. A.D. 1564, etc., in double columns written in various years, by Donnchadh ua Dubhdaiboireann and his pupils. 93 folios. None of the handwriting is very good, with the exception of Cormac ua Briuin's and Magnus ua Daiboireann's.

Colophons, Notes, and Marginalia abound in this MS. The scribes, it seems, often worked sorely against their will, and under circumstances of great discomfort, notably cold and hunger. Dictation too was a common practice, so it is no wonder that errors are frequently met with in the MSS. which have survived. A fair share of liberty prevailed in the Park seminary, but Donnchadh evidently could compel obedience.

Facetious and familiar marginalia, very idiomatic, but often colloquial, provincial, and more or less phonetically written, are often difficult to understand.

(26) Elsewhere Donnchadh is addressed: "O you that make us jump," i.e. the head master or principal of the academy, whom they all feared but were strangely familiar with.

(27) Kindly supplied me by my friend, Mr. R. W. Twigge, F.S.A.
The following list is a brief summary of the contents of this MS.:—

1. Tract on the law of Honour-price.
2. Concerning cows in-calf and calved.
3. Injuries to the person (resumed from 1).
4. Compensation due for satirising, etc.
5. Of injuries committed by oxen.
6. Of damage caused by swine.
7. Of injury to sporting dogs.
8. Concerning the right to keep dogs. "A chief is entitled to keep a greyhound. A young hostipaller, a doctor, a harper, and the chief's wife may keep a lap dog."
9. The rights of ollamhs, etc.
10. How various classes of the community may be sued.
11. Concerning an accessary to a theft.
12. "Idiots, lunatics, and maniacs.
13. "Valid judgments. The "five paths" considered are "Truth and Legality," "Right and Possession," and "the right of Appeal."
14. A tract on evidence. In every tribal community are seven classes that may rightfully depose a supreme chief.
15. Section on a chief's right to give evidence.
16. Tract on decisions given in cases relating to bees.
17. On limitations of pleading.

TALES.—

18. The Death of Cúrbi [muc Daire].
19. Amna Conrāi, or Elegy on the death of that hero.
20. "The Siege of the Men of Fáilga" [the Isle of Man]—very corrupt and obscure.
22. "A bowlful of words": i.e. a few obscure figurative expressions.
23. Memorandum upon scribal compendia.
25. Tale of the abduction of Connia ruadh.
“Frenzy of Conn hundred-battler”: very obscure and corrupt.
“Birth of Cuchullainn.”
“Destruction of Dáderga’s dwelling”: a fragment.
“The last Will of Morana son of Moen.”
Excerpt from the lost Book of Druim-snechtá.
“Cuchullainn’s Supernatural Chariot.”
“The Birth of Mongán.”
“A Legend of Mongán.” At the end he is identified with Finn mac Cumhaill.

LAW —

Copy of a very important tract modified from the old maxims of Law, and probably dating from the 12th century.

On the law of Cattle-driving. [useful still. G.U.M.]
On the liabilities incurred by the spectator of a crime [also useful just now.—G.U.M.]
Tract called Melibrelbha or Sweet-Judgments, said to date from the 3rd cent.—copied by Maghnus O’Davoren.
On the binding power of covenants.
On the seventeen cases that bring a man disrepute.
On the right of affording protection exerciseable by each grade of chiefs.
On Fines and Compensations.
On Exemption, etc.
—45. On Covenants and Contracts.
On Releases.
On the compilers of the Senchas mór, etc.
On Honour-price.
On Debts, Fines, Damages, etc.
On Social Observances.
On Evidence.
On Violation of protection, etc.
On the Law of Asylum.
On Ecclesiastical Asylum.
On Reprisal or Distress.
GRAMMAR.

63—64. Fragments of a tract introductory to the "Poet's Primer."
69—70. Preface and text of the 'Dialogue of the Two Sages.'

71 The Valuable Law Glossary, chiefly of legal terms, transcribed, if not actually compiled, in O'Davoren's school at Park. Across the top margin is the heading in Latin and Irish: — "Mine is to begin and God's to finish. [Written] for Domhnall ua Duibhdhaboirenn the night following St. Bridget's feast, 1569.

Imagination, if not kept well in hand, may sometimes prove a sorry handmaid both to the historian and the archaeologist. After all, what they are in search of are hard facts, not fancies, assumptions, and hasty generalizations. But that man is not to be envied who, knowing something of the history and associations of Cahermacnaughten, can look on this most interesting ruin unmoved and with a cold heart. A sort of pathos is undoubtedly attached to every building once occupied by human beings, but I know of no more melancholy object, or one more calculated to arouse sad thoughts, than a ruined school.

"All houses wherein men have lived and died
Are haunted. Thro' the open door
The harmless phantoms on their errand glide
With feet that make no sound upon the floor."

The cahir is now but a sorry simulacrum of its former self, the empty shell of what once held within it—like a human skull—a complicated living organism. If we only had the power to make them articulate, every stone in its lichen-covered wall would have a long story to tell us, of the hopes, the loves, the joys and sorrows, hates and ambitions, that swayed the lives of those who lived there. In the days of its glory the country immediately surrounding the fort was not, I think, as dreary as it is now, for it is probable that a certain amount of scrub and small trees abounded. The ring-wall was then perfect and at its full height, perhaps fourteen or fifteen feet, and the massive door swung on its hinges in the porch, the whole ensemble presenting a very striking, if not imposing, appearance. When school opened in the early morning, crowds of students might be seen converging towards the place from every side, not from rude huts built near by, as the late Mr. J. Frost supposed, but from the castles of
he gentry and the snug thatched cottages of the smaller landholders and farmers, where the food, though plain, was plentiful and wholesome. The sons of the gentlefolk, no doubt, came thither on horseback, the poorer students on foot, and I am quite sure our quixotic friend, the 'poor scholar,' was also there,

"And the whining schoolboy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school."

But these were not all who patronised this seat of learning in the heart of hoary Burren. Ripe scholars and noted historians like the MacAogáins and MacFirbísighs (28), ollamhs in poetry, law, and history, were often visitors and honoured guests of the O'Davoren. They came of course to pay their court to the head of the establishment—'the one that makes us jump'—to perfect their knowledge, and also, we may be certain, to procure copies of rare manuscripts, loving, as men of their kind always do,

"Everything that's old, old friends, old times, old manners, old books, old wine."

When one realises the fact that this old caher was the seat of a famous school down to a comparatively late period, and the residence for generations of a family of noted scholars and ollamhs in ancient law, together with the unexpected light cast upon the social life within it by this Irish deed—which, flimsy as it is, has survived the rack and ruin of the place itself—one can hardly avoid the conviction that it is one of the most interesting spots in Thomond, if not in Ireland, and is archaeologically unique. It was considered in its day, I have no doubt, both caher and school, as something indestructible and everlasting—"a forted residence 'gainst the tooth of time"—but, alas, it fell upon evil days, the school at last came to an end and the fort was abandoned. We can only speculate on what it might have become had an evil fate not crossed it; but unprotected and derelict, "the inaudible and noiseless foot of time" and the desecrating hand of man have done their work on the caher, and the good men who worked within its walls are long since gathered to their fathers.

(28) Dubháilteach MacFirbísigh (eb, 1670), author of the greatest genealogical work ever penned, is said by Boghan O'Curry to have studied in Cahermacnaughten in 1595, under Domhnall O'Davoren. (M.S. Mat., p. 121). If he founded this statement on anything in Egerton 88, the leaves of which he one time arranged for the binder, I think he was hardly justified. At any rate the Dubháilteach mac Firbísigh, author of the Colophon fol. 86, Egerton 88, wrote it at Park, not at Cahermacnaughten, and belonged to an earlier generation than that of the great genealogist. However, it is possible O'Curry may have had other reasons for his statement unknown to me.
O'DAVOREN DEED.
(1606.)

Here a fior as 5 ac ton seine eirperear leighear agus eisinip in tinebirdi ro sopaib mar ro aoaodogear agus ro oignid oear agus ro pinnab clann Gdia na naon 51g uDhuibhidh in an Cathar mic Neachtain a bhaagairg e na Conshagala a mbaigantacht boine agus ceuntae in Glaif + doo mac Gdia na naon 7 an Cornui mar Gdia na naon on Cathar ceona pin poine riopmuide 7 contnao riopmuide pe ceile easter pein. 7 roib a miodt ana poine 50 riopmuide ari an da reighe baile osean an u-acair 7 a roinntair, doceairo contnao easter fá mar a thaitheighe Cathar mic Neachtain a bhaagairg e na-Conshagala. 7 taitheighe Leapa mic Tarod. 7 taitheighe Leapa oibain. 7 Leapa na luachmainn a bhaagairg e Urimna cribe. 7 taitheighe Cille Colmain Baime a bhaagairg e Cille Cornui 7 iopmu pe ceile anna bhaigantacht 7 anna contnae ceona. 1r i ro an poine ab toir + in ceathair mic arraibhrach in an Cathar mic Neachtain fá mar ghabhar an triuchtain do 50 riopmuide 7 an claib leagana 7 an claib taitheighe oon Urimna leagana ro 50 mine an uiplainn móip. 7 claide na húirtaimn móip pein tineoitli ari in taoib triair roib, 50 caob na Cathar 7 taitheighe Leapa mic Tarod. 7 ceathair mic mic Leapa mic Cille Colmain Baime ab ugro Dugha mic Gdia na naon boib pin 7 an ceathair mic arraibhrach roib. [recte roib] in an Cathar mic Neachtain mar ghabhar an tóig dhóin ceona 7 taitheighe Leapa oibain. 7 Leapa na luachmainn 7 an ceathair mic eite in an taitheighe Cille Colmain Baime ab ugro in Cornui mic Gdia na naon oon fheamann ceona pin. 15 ro poine chennaitte Cathar mic Neachtain mar in geéona + ait tiise moip na Cathar arioi. 7 ait tiise na eirpoineda oon beith 15 in taece moip oon numpa Cathar arioi. 7 ait tiise na eithe ag ap in taoib triair con Cathar. 7 a buid o dochab anphoda Tarod muair mic Gdia feitig riob dona saibeag ari a taoib amhac oon ghabhrd oon Taid 7 uDhuibhidh mic Gdia muair pein ab ugro Dugha an chennaitt pin, 7 an teig ari roib eivin in eiste moip 7 doinair na Cathar 7 ait tiise eite ab ap an
την αν ποιήσει παρασκευάζεις ως πρώτη αποδεικνύουσα.

Τήτελε έτσι αστεία, αλλά ακόμη δεν είναι 

τοιχογραφήματα του Ηρώδη της Ακρόπολης.

Τοιχογραφήματα του Ηρώδη της Ακρόπολης

του Ηρώδη της Ακρόπολης.
Tuille eiste atá i gcumhacht é aoncheall comhion roin an Dó. 7 ar CCorp na céad sin crot do chúd féin do naolaí gan fuitmithe díonghalta ó na cóip féin aír, an reap eiste 7 a oíghnide do bheith aon nóigmithe aon píobumhith 7 aon ríghi aír anphna. Peàrannasraír sin truaí aubhnamar ón phéin mar fhabhar long an athar asar a peannach 6obh. Tuille eiste crot do méid do éir an Dó[a] céad sin ná aisteóra ró féin má phéidhin aní CCorp a hártnaighd atá oícheab aír in Dó sin gan toimhreis ná náipte uaidhe féin do cúl aír aír cion anáisteóra ró óí do pháippe Slaine ingine gráda do bheith aon oíche aír rá mar atá do páip. 7 lá rath ina araí císpéime mith ní dhéac an dáitignadh aon peàrann do bhi aní Slaine 7 mar dealbhá 7 mar fuithiubhá aír gá in a bhfrith ríghimhda anphna anúr an bheith ceangailte poruighidh 60 riogha mhe atá an Dó sin 7 aír arí CCorp, níomhartaí sin opra féin aír aonfhiubh aír a peàrannais aír a riogha mhe aon fhiubh 60 peàrmaí atáimhrí aír ćeòirín a cúl mo láimhe 7 mo phásil aír in 6cruin oír rioghadh po atá 65 aní CCorp, toin aonchimheá aír do Dó sin 7 atáimhrí arí CCorp (7) [7 atáimhrí arí CCorp sin] do phásil mo coitl 7 mo aná raí féin aír aonfhiubh aír a réidh po in 6cruin oír rioghadh po atá 65 in Dó réimhartaí réidh aír do réidh na peopment atá anphna anúr an coimhead lá déag do ná Díolóir aní a 6catair roí Néartain do láithr na bhréadain cuimhir a láimhe sin po fior aní aír náilse 7 in bhríi an tréimhir po aubhnamar do bheith 7 Slaine ingine gráda 65 don óine do nóigmithe aon oíche. Anno Domini 1608. 7 anphra tath bhia aír do pháippe 6ir aubhnamar Séan ó na 6ir Saspan, na Pháinne, 7 na Neáinn. 7 anphra naomhadh bhia aír x x x. do pháippe na Haidh aír.

Dó 6 oabaireadó.

Cóillte na naomí o Oaiboitean.
Cóilltearaigh mac doibhain.
Kubhrí o Conchubhair.
Perolm mac Conchubhair.
Symon fitz Patrick.
Morogh o’Brien.

Copia vera concordans cum originali.

(*) Omitted in MS.
O'DAVOREN DEED.

TRANSLATION.

Let everyone who hears, reads, and understands this writing know, that it was in this way the children of Giolla na naemh ó Dúbhidh Ó Dochartaigh, of Cathair Mhic Neachtain, in the parish of Nuaconghabhaill (1), in the barony of Buirin, in the county of Clare (2), to wit: Aodh, son of Giolla na naemh, and the Cosnui, son of Giolla na naemh, of the said cathair, agreed and devised, and made a perpetual division, and a perpetual mutual covenant between themselves and between their descendants for ever, regarding the two ploughland homesteads of the land of their father and grandfather. They entered into covenant as regards the half-ploughland of Cathair Mhic Neachtain in the parish of Nuaconghabhaill; and the half ploughland of Lios Míc Taidgh (3); and the half-ploughland of Lios Dubháin and of Lios na luachraíinne (4) in the parish of Drumcruche; and of the half-ploughland of Cill Cholmáin báire (5) in the parish of Cill Coirne, and all of these in the same barony and county.

(1) According to the official list of townlands, Cahernacoughten is now in the parish of Rathborey, and not in Noughaval.
(2) Clare, the County of the Cár or Plank (bridge), so called in mediæval times from a wooden bridge which spanned the Fergus at Aith na Charadh, the ford of two weirs, now Clare Castle. The name was most appropriate, for the ancient weirs that preceded the plank bridge, and, doubtless, the bridge itself, were in two sections, resting on a small island in the centre of the river. An Anglo-Norman, named Robert de Mussegros, obtained a fee-farm grant of the district of Traidebre from Henry III. in 1248, and to defend his newly-acquired territory built two castles, that of "Tadery," alias Bunratty, and "Ocormoke," alias Clare Castle. The latter, a little of which still exists, he built on this island in the river about 1251. Vide paper on "Inchiquin." Journal R.S.A.I., 1904, p. 218. Clare Castle was also known as Cláir mbó, "the great plank" (bridge). A. F. M., 1558. Another bridge to the west of Ennis is still known as the "little plank," viz.: Cláirín (Clareens) bridge. In a note by Dr. J. O'Donovan. A. iv. M., 1770, in which year Brian radad K.T. took the Castle of Clare from the Anglo-Normans, he considers the old name Cláir atha na charadh to mean 'plank of the ford of the two weirs.' The above explanation of the name, however, is more in accordance with facts and probabilities. Vide note O'Donoghue's Hist. Mon. of the O'Briens, p. 473. The castle of Clare, which was long used as a military barracks, has, I understand, been very recently sold to a private individual.
(3) Lios Míc Taidgh, now the townland of Lismacote, parish of Rathborey.
(4) Lios Dubháin, i.e., Dubháin's fort. Dubháin means "dark-complexioned," and in the genitive equates exactly with Dobhann found on our Ogam monuments. Lios na luachraíinne. This and the preceding cannot now be identified, but, as 'Lisduane' and 'Lisraelgherne,' they are given in the townland list of proprietors in 1641. They were then in the parish of Rathborey, not Drumreechy, and were the property of Aodh na Dúbhóireann, one of the parties to this deed. Vide Frost's 'History of Clare,' p. 447.
(5) Cill Cholmain báire. Nothing remains but the supposed site of this ancient church in Kilcorney Parish.
And in the first place, this is the division, to wit: the most western quarter of Cathair mic Neachtain, according as the Sruthán dubh (6) goes up the mountain, and by the fence from the Sruthán dubh straight downwards to the front of the Buailé legana (7), and by the western fence of the Buailé legana down to the Urla mór (8), and by the fence of the Urla mór itself, around on the west side down to the side of the cathair; and the half-ploughland of Lios mic Taidhg, and a quarter (9) of the half-ploughland of Cill Colmain bháire, belong to Aodh, son of Giolá na naomh.

And the most western [recte ‘eastern’] (10) quarter of Cathair mic Neachtain as defined by the same meaning; and the half-ploughland of Lios Dubhán and of Lios na leachrainne; and the other quarter of the half-ploughland Cill Colmain Bháire, are the share of the Cosmni, son of Giolá na naomh, out of that same land.

And this is the partition of the ‘home division’ (11) of Cathair mic Neachtain, likewise:—the place of the big house of the cathair within, (12) together with the place of the kitchen house to the said big house of the cathair within, and the place of the churchyard house (13) on the western side of the cathair, and all there is of gardens from the road of the garden of Taidhg ruadh, son of Giolá feichín (14) westwards, upon the outside of the garden of Taidhg ruadh itself [are] to belong to Aodh out of that home division.

(6) Sruthán dubh, i.e., the ‘black streamlet,’ so called on account of its water being coloured by the bog through which it flows. It is now a mere trench, but formerly must have been more voluminous, and strong enough to turn a small mill wheel, for it ends near the road in a ‘swallow-hole,’ called Foll an mhúthúinn.

(7) Buailé legana. Unidentified. The name probably signifies the Booley or milking place of the ‘knocking down,’ perhaps for shearing purposes.

(8) Urla mór, i.e., the big field or tract, with coarse pasture. This place must be the high ground to the north-west of the townland of Cahermacnaughten, which is very coarse and rushy. Of fadius Bo Fríoch. Also Glossary to the Altirishe Holdensage Thín bód Chlubne E. Windisch, Leipzig, 1905.

(9) Ceathramha mhír—thirty acres, being the fourth part of a steirseach or ploughland.

(10) A mistake of the copyist, no doubt.

(11) Ceannáit. Literally ‘head-place,’ denoting the particular part of the land on which the residences of the owner and his family stood, and which was more or less common to all; in this case the fort and its annexes.

(12) Probably the house-site marked (2) on plan.

(13) Probably the ruined house about 1000 yards west of the cahir, now known as Cathair tiogaí breac.

(14) Who this red-haired individual was I know not. Giolá feichín means ‘servant of St. Feichín of Fobhar (?),’ now Fore, Co. Wexford, who died A.D. 664. A. F. M.
And the house which is between the front of the big house and the
door of the cathair (15) and another house-site at the north-western side
of the cathair within; and the big house which is at the eastern side of
the door of the cathair; and all there is from the gap of Fána an
Tadhail (16) on the eastern side to the road of the garden of Tadhg
ruadh on the west, and that same garden itself, are the Cosnui's portion
of that said home division.

Furthermore, the lawn of the 'booley' (17) and the road from the
lawn westwards as far as Mothar d'Sortanach (18), and the water of the
'homestead' (19), that is to say, the Sruthan dúbh above, and the well of
the 'homestead' within, are equally free to each in the said 'home
division.'

Furthermore, this is the covenant of the aforementioned Aodh and the
Cosnui, between themselves in the first place, and between their legiti-
mate heirs after them in the second place, concerning the two
'ploughlands' which we have mentioned above, and concerning every other
land besides, regarding which the right of their father and grandfather
speaks, as evidenced by their indentures, viz.: that they are both bound
to equal labour, equal defence, equal security and costs of pleading, and
maintenance of possession of that land, both themselves and their heirs
after them for ever, against any person who has troubled or who shall
happen to trouble them concerning all those lands or any part of them.

Furthermore, if there should arise from trouble concerning those
lands, or from any pleading or redemption of land, any circumstance
whatever through which any portion of those lands should be lost, the
Aodh and the Cosnui before-mentioned are bound to make a redistribu-
tion of the land or of the redemption with each other as regards whatever
shall be left to them; and their heirs after them are bound to make
similar redistribution with each other likewise.

(15) Probably the house-site marked (1) on plan.
(16) Fána an tadhail. Perhaps the 'slope of the visitation.' Unidentified.
(17) Buile, a milking fold.
(18) Mothar d'Sortanach, unidentified.
(19) Baille, anglicised 'bally,' had more than one meaning according to the con-
text. When applied to a division of land it meant twelve seisreachs of six score acres
each, according to Keating: Vol. I., p. 113. As baille is the Irish equivalent of 'home,' I
think it was originally understood that it should have a residence on it in which a
family lived to farm, till, and defend it. Here, however, it means the Cathair with
its group of houses and the surrounding premises, including the faitche or lawn, the
buile and the well.
Furthermore, the aforementioned *Aodh* and the *Cosnui* are bound and have covenanted with each other to this effect:—That if one of them should mortgage or alienate from himself to any other person for ever his own share of these lands, he shall not be empowered to exclude the other from possessing it, if he is able to redeem it, as anyone might do; but if he cannot do so he shall not impose a *sáine* (20) upon him who redeems it, until the next term of redemption comes round.

Furthermore, there is a covenant and obligation between the aforementioned parties, the *Aodh* and the *Cosnui*, and between their heirs after them:—Whatsoever portion of the lands we have mentioned, or of any other lands besides, that shall be mortgaged from them both or from one of them, whichever of them shall first happen to redeem that pledge, the other is bound to give over to him his own place and security for the purpose of redeeming that, until such term as it shall be redeemed from him again by payment of what he shall have lost by it.

Furthermore, there is a covenant and mutual agreement between the said *Aodh* and the self same *Cosnui*, that whichever of them shall happen to be without legitimate heirs of his body, the other and his heirs are to be for heirs, executors, and assigns to him regarding those lands which we have mentioned above, according to what the descent from their father and grandfather assigns to them.

Furthermore, whatsoever part of the share of the said *Aodh* shall not be occupied by himself, if the *Cosnui* can occupy it, the said *Aodh* is bound to impose no hindrance or rent for himself upon it; but for what of it he shall occupy, the 'freedom' of *Sláine ni Gráda* shall accompany that occupation and burden him, that is to say:—a free cow and a free day in quittance for the 'quarter' that shall be occupied of the land which belonged to *Sláine*.

And as a proof and a testimony that everything written herein above has been tied and bonded for ever upon the said *Aodh* and the said *Cosnui*, upon themselves, upon their heirs, upon their executors, and upon their

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(20) *Sáine*. I cannot explain this very obscure law term. The meaning of the passage, however, is that if any person besides one of the two brothers had redeemed a part of the land which was mortgaged, and got possession of it, the other brother had the right of redemption at the end of the term only, and provided he paid up. A *sáine*, therefore, appears to have been a certain recognised legal power of a member of the family to veto the alienation of the land, their common inheritance. The Rev. K. Heaney, whose opinion possesses great weight, considers *Sáine* to be equivalent to the English 'stink,' used originally in the sense of 'putting a man in bad odour.' Compare *Stándún*, a diminutive, meaning a quarrel.
assigns irremovably, I, the said Aoðhb, am putting my hand and my seal upon the portion of this writing which the Cosnui has, of my own free will, and after the Cosnui. [And I, the Cosnui, aforementioned] according to my own will and consent am putting my hand and my seal upon the portion of this writing which the said Aoðhb has, according to the feoffment which is therein above.

To-day is the eleventh day of the month of April, in Cathair mic Neachtain, in the presence of the witnesses who shall put their hands here below after us. And that 'freedom' which we mentioned that belonged to Sláine ni Gráda does not descend to any one of her heirs after her.

Anno Domini 1606, and in the third year (21) of the reign of our gracious Prince James, by the Grace of God, King of Saxonland, France, and Êire, and in the thirty-ninth year of his reign in Alba, etc.

Aoðhb ì Dabhoireand.

Giuil na noamh ì Dabhoirean.
Giuollaphadraig mac Aoðhagain.
Ruðhbri ì Conchubair.
Feltim mac Conchubair.
Symon fitz Patrick.
Morogh ì Brien.

Copia vera concordans cum originali.

(21) According to my calculation, April 1606 corresponds to the fourth year, not the third, of James I., as King of England, and, as in the text, to the thirty-ninth of his reign as King of the Scots.