

A ‘most vainglorious man’: the writings of Antonius Bruodin

*Momoniensium partes scriptis, & verbis tuebatur patruus meus magnus,
bonae memoriae, Dominus Thaddaeus mac Bruodin, seu
de Bruodin, Darij filius, Dominus de Monte Scoti.*²

[The cause of the people of Munster was defended through writings and words of my great uncle of good memory, Master Thaddeus Mac Bruodin, or the Bruodin, son of Darius, (and) Master³ of Mount Scott].⁴

In the 1670s two Irish Catholic clerics clashed over their views regarding Ireland’s history and its Gaelic culture and institutions. The clerics represented opposing viewpoints about Ireland’s past which was rooted in their own identities as each belonged to one of the nation’s two communities, Gaelic Irish and Old English. Their clash, or contention, which played out over a number of extraordinary publications in Latin, stand as testimony that the Irish living in Europe were preoccupied with not only their current political reality but also abstract matters about Ireland’s past. The preoccupation echoed the type of debates which were occurring in Ireland regarding identity and legitimacy as the two groups, Gaelic Irish and Old English, increasingly sought common cause against the post-Cromwellian Protestant elite. The contention between the two clerics contains rich pickings for historians about the goings on between seventeenth-century

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2 Antonius Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis Libris X Constructum, in Duasque Partes Divisum. Pars Prima Historica in Quinque Libros* (Prague, 1669), 851.

3 The term *Dominus* is translated throughout this essay as ‘master’. The term, in its classical meaning, has the connotation of a high status political role and does not simply indicate a titled proprietor. In Latin *Dominus* is generally followed by a genitive (classical) or by *de* + ablative (post-classical); in legal texts the latter construction was often used as an official formula to indicate a role or rank. The translated term ‘master’ is employed here to denote a person of high social rank who, in the context of late medieval Ireland, was invariably possessed of an estate and whose status assumed a local standing in either a professional, political or religious context. The equivalent Irish term used during this period was *duine uasal* (‘noble person’).

4 All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

Irish intellectuals living in exile, and the academic issues that divided the Gaelic Irish and Old English communities.

In his rather disparaging remarks about the *bibliotheca* of Clann Bhruaideadha at Moynoe in east Clare, Thomas Carve, a Catholic priest who identified with Old English culture, termed Franciscan Antonius Bruodin, a *vir vanissimus*⁵ ('a most vainglorious man'). For his part Bruodin, in seeking to extol the antiquity and literary credentials of his family, Clann Bhruaideadha,⁶ chronicler-poets to the Uí Bhriain kings and later earls of Thomond, retorted to Carve's broadside dubbing him a *scarabeus* or 'dung-beetle'.⁷ In the rapacious and venomous exchanges that characterised the writings of Bruodin and Carve, gleanings on history which otherwise would have been lost have come down to us. Such gleanings, obscured by argument and digression, cast light on matters of historical interest which hitherto have not received proper attention from historians.⁸ The following seeks to rectify this situation and present Bruodin's writings in context for the benefit of students of Gaelic Ireland.

In dealing with the writings of Bruodin and Carve we are confronted by the strange paradox whereby commentary on matters such as the role of the learned class in Gaelic Ireland, exist side by side with a quagmire of argument and counter-argument, as each man attempted to outdo his opponent in unrestrained volleys of historical and literary knowledge. But the essence of their disagreement was less about literary knowledge and Irish history; rather it went right to the heart of the argument about the merits of Gaelic culture and its intellectual elite such as the bardic poets.⁹ We are fortunate that one of the authors of this exchange, Antonius Bruodin, was a member of a Gaelic literary family. For this reason we can thus judge him as an authoritative commentator. Bruodin's travels and

5 Thomas Carve, *Responsio veridica ad illotum libellum, cui nomen anatomicum examen P. Antonii Bruodini* (Sulzbach, 1672), 62. Latin wording altered to reflect the correct case form.

6 Anglicised variously as McBrody, McBrodin, Bruodin, etc., from the Irish nominative form, Mac Bruaideadha and from the Irish diminutive form, Mac Bruaidín. See Rev. Patrick Wolfe, *Sloinnnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish names and surnames* (Dublin: Gill, 1923, repr. Baltimore 1969), 324.

7 Bruodin's derogatory description of Carve as a 'dung beetle' echoes the comments of Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn) who likened English writers of Irish history as beetles who rolled themselves in cow or horse dung rather than flocking to delicate flowers. He took issue with them slavishly repeating critical remarks made about the Gaelic Irish by Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century. Geoffrey Keating, *The History of Ireland*, trans. by David Comyn & Patrick Dineen, (4 vols, London: Irish Texts Society, 1902–14), 1, 5.

8 The main attempts to detail Bruodin's writing are: Thomas Wall, 'Bards and Bruodins', in *Father Luke Wadding: commemorative volume*, ed. The Franciscan Fathers (Dún Mhuire: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), 438–62; and Cuthbert McGrath, 'Materials for a History of Clann Bhruaideadha', *Éigse*, 4:1 (1943), 48–66.

9 On the cultural debate surrounding the interpretation of Irish Gaelic history see David Finnegan 'Old English views of Gaelic Irish history and the emergence of an Irish Catholic nation, c.1569–1640' in Brian Mac Cuarta, (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland, 1550–1700, Colonization and its Consequences* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 187–213.

prolific writing make him a credible figure, having left Ireland for religious studies prior to the last vestiges of professional hereditary scholarship ceasing to exist in the wake of the Cromwellian upheaval.

This paper is concerned with the writings of Bruodin and those of his contender, Carve, in so far as they cast light on the native system of professional learning and the bardic poets, known in Irish as *file* (plural, *filí*). What is examined here is not an exhaustive assessment of their works, but those writings which touch on questions about the standing of the learned class and the status of Bruodin's own family, Clann Bhruaideadha. The writings of these men offer a glimpse into the world of classical Gaelic scholarship prior to its decline in the seventeenth century. Both men's writing was informed by their different world views. Carve, a priest with family connections to Tipperary and the Butlers, saw himself as a product of Old English culture and took a condescending view on Gaelic culture and the Gaelic learned class. Bruodin, on the other hand, was a Franciscan friar and Gaelic Irish, and acutely conscious of his family's once privileged position as Gaelic *literati*. The tension which animated their divergent views was the chief reason behind the acrimony which had developed between these clerics who represented, as it were, two irreconcilable interpretations of Irish culture and history.

The origins of their contention can be traced back to the publication of Bruodin's 1,099 page tome, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis* ('The Bulwark of Catholic Truth') in 1669.¹⁰ In it Bruodin criticised the writings of Carve, namely his work from 1639 titled *Itinerarium R.D. Thomae Carve Tipperariensis ... Cum Historia Facti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly & Aliorum* ('An account of the journey of the Rev. Master Thomas Carve of Tipperary... with a history of what Butler, Gordon, Lesly and others did'),¹¹ and also his work *Lyra seu Anacephalaeosis Hibernica ...* ('The Lyre, or the Recapitulation of Ireland ...'), which was printed in 1651.¹² Carve, who claimed to be of Old English ancestry, was hostile to the Gaelic Irish. Bruodin took exception to Carve's writings which he regarded as slanderous, taking issue with his argument that the Irish became civilised through their contact with the English. He also took issue with Carve's criticism of Rinuccini, the papal nuncio to the Irish Confederates, and Rinuccini's stance of non-accommodation with the Protestant earl of Ormond, James Butler. Carve had personal links to Ormond, including feudal and kinship ties. These were an important factor behind Carve's writings which defended Ormond

10 Antonius Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis Libris X Constructum, in Duasque Partes Divisum. Pars Prima Historica in Quinque Libros* (Prague, 1669).

11 Thomas Carve, *Itinerarium R.D. Thomae Carve Tipperariensis ...: Cum Historia Facti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly & Aliorum* (Mainz, 1639).

12 Thomas Carve, *Lyra seu Anacephalaeosis Hibernica, in qua de exordio, seu origine, nomine, moribus ritibusque Gentis Hibernicae succinte tractatur, cui quoque accessere Annales ejusdem Hiberniae necnon rerum gestarum per Europam 1148–1650* (Vienna, 1651).

who represented Old English interests. Carve's own links to Ormond and other branches of the Butler family can be traced to his mother who was of the Knockgraffon Butlers near Cashel in Tipperary.¹³

In 1670 Carve issued a response to Bruodin's critique of his writings which is contained in a book titled *Enchiridion apologeticum contra sordidorum mendaciorum farraginem R. P. Antonii Bruodini*¹⁴ ('An apologetical handbook against the indiscriminate sordid mendacities of the Rev. Fr. Antonius Bruodin'). It was thought that no copy of Carve's book survived but a copy has recently come to light in a Bavarian library.¹⁵ From this point both men entered into a virulent dispute animated by a torrent of derogatory language in Latin, full of biting puns and vitriolic quips.

In 1671 Bruodin published his *Anatomicum examen Enchiridii Apologetici, seu Famosi cujusdam libelli, a Thomas Carve (verius Carrano) sacerdote Hiberni furtive publicati, quo Carrani imposturae, & calumniae religiose refutantur*¹⁶ ('An anatomical examination of *Enchiridion Apologeticum*, or of a certain infamous pamphlet published furtively by Thomas Carve ['Carran', more truthfully], an Irish priest, by which Carran's impostures and calumnies are scrupulously refuted') which was intended as a reply to Carve's *Enchiridion*. This work was an attempt to dissect Carve's arguments in legthly, sometimes elegant, rebuttals.

Bruodin wrote *Anatomicum* under the pseudonym Cornelius O'Mollony. This was not a very convincing pseudonym given that his mother was an O'Mollony, (Mairéad Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh),¹⁷ and Carve did not doubt that the work was anything other than Bruodin's. The work shows how sensitive the Gaelic Irish were about their origins and also how active they were in the field of publication. The rather unseemly spectacle of two aging clerics hurling abuse at one another continued, and Carve responded with a final publication titled *Responsio veridica ad illotum libellum cui nomen Anatomicum examen*¹⁸ ('The truthful answer to the foul volume which is titled *Anatomicum Examen*'). Upon its publication the contention ended and it is thought Carve died soon after.

Writing in 1957 in a commemorative volume for the great Irish Franciscan,

13 Carve was born at Mobernan east of Cashel in c.1590. On his life see Michael P. Kerney, *Itinerarium Thomæ Carve, Tipperariensis ... cum historia facti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly et aliorum* (London, 1859), iii–x. A bibliography of his works is found at pages xi–xii. Also see Thomas Carve, *Enchiridion Apologeticum Contra Sordidorum Mendaciorum Farraginem RP Antonij Bruodini* (Nuremberg, 1670), 135–6.

14 Ibid.

15 The copy is found in *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (Bavarian State Library).

16 Cornelius O'Mollony *Anatomicum examen, Enchiridii Apologetici, seu Famosi cujusdam libelli, a Thomas Carve (verius Carrano) sacerdote Hiberni furtive publicati, quo Carrani imposturae, & calumniae religiose refutantur* (Prague, 1671).

17 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 961.

18 Thomas Carve, *Responsio veridica ad illotum libellum, cui nomen Anatomicum examen P. Antonij Bruodini* (Sulzbach, 1672).

Fr. Luke Wadding, Thomas Wall presented an essay on the life and writings of Antonius Bruodin, including his contention with Thomas Carve.¹⁹ In his characteristic sureness of style, Wall quotes copiously from the Latin texts of both clerics. Despite being one of the first to regard the writings of Bruodin as useful in highlighting the ‘native professional writers’ whose plight, in his view, had become ‘a pitiful one’ by the seventeenth century, Wall’s Latin quotations were without accompanying translations.

The importance of what Bruodin wrote about the status, training and responsibilities of the bardic poets, calls for a new assessment and a translation of those writings.²⁰ The following focuses on the writings of Bruodin and Carve and seeks to set the record straight about Bruodin’s claims, and show that much of his writings, insofar as it relates to matters about people and places in Thomond, is historically accurate and verifiable.

Antonius Bruodin: man, friar & scholar

Early life

The early life of Antonius Bruodin began in Co. Clare in the area historically called Thomond. The county, a territory formerly associated with the Uí Bhriain (O’Brien) lordship, was by the opening decades of the seventeenth century beginning to be integrated into the commercial and political world of the Stuart kingdoms. The county had experienced much change since the holding of the first assizes at Ennis in 1570²¹ and the subsequent conversion of the O’Brien earls of Thomond to Protestantism.²² Into this context Antonius Bruodin was born in c.1618. His Irish name, Antóin Mac Bruaideadha, connected him to the learned family of Clann Bhruaideadha who in prior generations were chronicler-poets of the classical Gaelic tradition. What is known about Bruodin’s early life is entirely derived from his own writings. He was born at Ballyogan in Kilraghtis parish in Thomond,²³

19 Wall, ‘Bards and Bruodins’, 438–62.

20 Commentators who have detailed Bruodin’s life include: Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651–1665* (*Analecta Gregoriana*, 129) (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1964), 152–3, 245–8; and Jan Pařez & Hedvika Kuchařová, *The Irish Franciscans in Prague: 1629–1786* (Prague: Karolinum, 2015), 76–85.

21 *AFM, sub anno 1570*.

22 On the anglicisation of Thomond see Bernadette Cunningham, *Clanricard and Thomond, 1540–1640: provincial politics and society transformed* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012); Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Continuity and change: Donnchadh O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond (d. 1624), and the anglicisation of the Thomond lordship’, in Matthew Lynch & Patrick Nugent, (eds), *Clare: History and Society: Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish County* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), 61–78; and Patrick Nugent, ‘The interface between the Gaelic clan system of Co. Clare and the emerging centralising English nation-state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century’, *Irish Geography*, 40.1 (2007), 79–98.

23 See the title page in Antonius Bruodinus, *Corolla oecodomiæ minoriticae scholæ Salomonis doctoris subtilis*, (Prague, 1664). Elsewhere he states Ballyogan was where his parents were domiciled: *Domini Mileri Bruodini...Domina Margarita, nata de Mollony...habitatione loci de Balliogan*. See Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 961.

and his father was Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha who died in 1668 aged 81, and his mother was Mairéad Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh,²⁴ whose anglicised maiden name of O'Mollony was used by Bruodin as a *nom de plume*.²⁵

We may assume that on account of his knowledge of history, literary Irish and genealogy, Bruodin received at least part of his education in a bardic school. This must have been a formative experience for Bruodin and would explain his sympathy and understanding of the native system that members of his family such as his great uncle, bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaideadha,²⁶ epitomised. Clann Bhruaideadha were involved in tutoring German-born settler Matthew de Renzy in classical Irish in c.1606, and it is probable that their professional role in keeping literary schools continued for some time after, just as native jurisprudence continued among the Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann brehons of Cahermacnaughten in Co. Clare well into the seventeenth century.²⁷ Bruodin's reference to the family's library at Moynoe where works of history and genealogy were kept, suggests that his early education was connected to the native scholarship of his family.²⁸

Probably the most important detail about Bruodin's early life is that he attended Quin Friary in 1644 which was operating openly, benefiting under the Confederation of Kilkenny from a relaxation on the restrictions on Catholic religious life. He provides interesting detail on the Franciscan lecturers at Quin. He goes on to note that eighteen students were members of Clann Bhruaideadha, himself counted among them:

Eugenius [O'Cahane] noster superiorum jussu, publicas aperuit in Conventu Oppidi de Quenhi, in Tuomonia, Scholas (quas ipse simul cum Reverendo Patre Thaddaeo ò Brien ejusdem Ordinis Lectore, viro pio ac docto, moderabatur). Confluit ex varijs Hiberniae Provincijs, ad dictas Scholas, tanta Juvenum multitudo, quod Anno Domini 1644 ultra 800 numeraverint studiosos (inter quos ego ipse, cum alijs octodecim Bruodinis sui). Dissipatis bellorum injuria, ac Catholicorum (proh pudor!) dissensionibus, praedictis Scholis, Pater Eugenius in Guardianum Conventus de Inish (Regijs ò Brieni Principis sumptibus magnifice fabricati) fuit assumptus.²⁹

24 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 961.

25 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum* (1671).

26 Anglicised as Teige McBrody.

27 Brian Mac Cuarta, 'Conchubhar Mac Bruaideadha and Sir Matthew de Renzy (1577-1634)', *Éigse*, 27 (1993), 122-6. Also see Brian Ó Cuív, 'A seventeenth-century legal document', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 177-85.

28 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 770.

29 *Ibid.*, 712.

[Our Eugene O’Cahane, by direction of his superiors, opened public schools in the Convent of Quin in Thomond (which he presided over together with Rev. Father Thaddeus O’Brien, lector of the same order, a pious and skilled man). Such a great multitude of youths came together to the said schools from various provinces of Ireland, that in the year of the Lord 1644 there were more than 800 students (among whom were I and eighteen other Bruodins). When, through the evil chance of wars, and (alas!) the dissensions of the Catholics, this school was dispersed, Father Eugene was made Guardian of the Convent of Ennis, (which had been magnificently founded thanks to the royal generosity of Prince O’Brien)].

While the number of students at Quin Friary is exaggerated, it is clear that Quin served as a centre of learning. It is equally significant to note that learned families like Clann Bhruaideadha were attracted to the learning of the Franciscans and the ideology of Tridentine Catholicism. Tridentine Catholicism, as propounded in Ireland and in the Irish colleges on the continent, attracted the talents of men from professional learned families. In the absence of local patronage over the course of the seventeenth century, men from these families increasingly turned to religious orders such as the Franciscans as an outlet for intellectual expression and attainment of higher learning.³⁰ At least six members of Bruodin’s family joined the Franciscans in the seventeenth century, with several achieving prominence as guardians of Ennis Friary.³¹

We may also glean from Bruodin’s writings interesting anecdotes about his early life. In one such account he narrates an event that hints at local custom and folk superstition. The event occurred on 1 May which is the festival of *Bealtaine* and marked the beginning of summer. The festival

30 Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 282–6. On the point about learned families being attracted to counter-reformation Catholicism, and their contribution to the ranks of religious orders, see Samantha Meigs, *The reformations in Ireland: tradition and confessionalism, 1400–1690* (New York, 1997), 77–89. On the amalgam of native learning and the Franciscans see Edel Bhreathnach, ‘The mendicant orders and vernacular Irish learning in the late medieval period’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 37:147 (2011), 357–75.

31 For example Nicholas (fl.1659–63) and Bonaventura (ob.1670), the former of who appears in a list of clergy and laity of Killaloe diocese in 1663. See McGrath, ‘Materials’, 50; and Benignus Millett, ‘Calendar of volume 13 of the *Fondo di Vienna* in Propaganda Archive: Part 2, ff. 201–401’, *Collectanea Hibernica*, 25 (1983), 30–62, at 31. On those Bruodins at Ennis Friary see Patrick Conlan, *Franciscan Ennis* (Athlone: Lilliput Press, 1984), 64–5. Examples include Francis (1666–9), Bonaventura (1669–72), Francis (1672–5), Francis (1680–1), Francis or Thaddeus (1683–4), Thaddeus (1684–5), Francis (1685–7), Thaddeus (1687–9) and Florence (1702–5). A funerary plaque in the friary commemorates Simon Brodin who died in 1792, aged 89. He seems to have trained in Prague. While some of these names are repeat references, it is striking how many friars at Ennis were Bruodins. On Simon Bruodin see Pařez & Kuchařová, *Franciscans*, 180.

was associated with rituals performed to protect cattle, crops and people:

Rem referam, quam ipse oculis meis vidi, dum enim circa annum 14. Meae aetatis, D. Florentij Bruodini Dni de Moyneo, mei Patruī, in domo fuisset; & nobilium nostrarum partium juvenum more, 1 Marij in aurora (illa die specialiter in lacte & butyro sagae solent nocere, seque transformare) cum primogenito praefati Domini (postea Franciscanus fuit, Bonaventura Bruodinus dictus, sed brevi, absoluto studio, consummatus, Compluti in Hispania, non sine sanctitatis fama, anno 1643, explevit tempora multa³²) assumptis canibus venaticis sagam (sic apud nos illa die lepus vocatur) investigarem, illis in locis, in quibus vaccae pascebantur; ecce repente a famulis videtur lepus unius vaccae ubera sugens, qui audito clamore, fugae se commisit; insequuntur canes, alias optimi, sed non assequuntur, antequam ad vicinum se retraxisset pagum (urgebat enim illum multitudo canum, qua illi omnis alia via aufugiendi praecludebatur) ubi videns periculum, intravit quondam domunculam per fenestrellam, ex quata cito se extricare non poterat, quin ab uno ex canibus in clunibus morderetur taliter, quod pars pellis simul cum cauda, in canis ore remaneret; superveniunt famuli, & canum circa domunculam latratus considerantes, pellisque leporinae particulam videntes, vi aperiunt ostium: ubi sordidam unam solam deprehenderunt vetulam, natione Scotam quam vel invitam examinarunt; vulneratamque non leviter (prout nobis dixerunt) retro deprehenderunt, & ad veritatem de sua in leporem transformatione dicendam compulerunt.³³

[I shall relate a thing that I saw myself with my own eyes: indeed, when I was about 14 years old, as I had been in the house of my paternal uncle Florence Bruodin, Master of Moynoe, and following the custom of the young nobles of our parts, on the first of May at daybreak (it is especially on that day that witches are wont to do harm with milk and butter and to transform themselves), having taken the hounds with us, I was, with the firstborn of the aforesaid Master (he was later a Franciscan, called Bonaventura Bruodin, but, after he completed his studies, he achieved great results, although he died soon, in Alcalá de Henares in Spain, not

32 This appears to be an allusion to *Sapientiae* 4.13: *consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa*, which has been used to refer to those who die young but achieved much in their comparatively short lives.

33 Bruodinus, *Corolla*, 73–4. Bonaventura mentioned here was not the same individual who held the Chair of Philosophy and Theology in Prague in the 1660s. See Alice Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1908), 455.

without a reputation of holiness, in the year 1643) tracking the witch (this is how the hare is called among us on that day) in those places where cows were grazing, behold! Suddenly there was seen by the servants a hare sucking the udder of a cow, and, when it heard the clamor, it started fleeing: the dogs, in general very good, followed it, but could not catch up with it before it withdrew to a neighbouring village (for the multitude of dogs was pressing it hard and shutting to it every other way of escaping), where, seeing the danger, it entered a small house through a little window, out of which it was not able to extricate itself soon enough not to be bitten on the buttocks by one of the dogs in such a way that a bit of skin together with the tail remained in the dog's mouth; thereupon the servants arrived, and, considering the barks of dogs around the small house and seeing the little bit of hare skin, they forced the door. There they discovered a dirty little old woman alone, an Irish native,³⁴ whom they examined, though against her will; and they discovered that she was wounded not slightly (according to what they told us) behind, and forced her to say the truth about her transformation into a hare].

Bruodin's writings provide us with one of the earliest descriptions of Co. Clare, albeit written decades after he had been living abroad in Prague and in the uncritical manner of an exile. Notwithstanding these caveats the descriptions which appear in his works, *Propugnaculum* (1669), and *Anatomicum* (1671), represent an intimate knowledge of landholding families and the location of their lands prior to the Cromwellian upheaval of the 1650s.

He mentions that he saw more than sixty well-groomed horses in the stables of the earl of Thomond at Bunratty'.³⁵ He also elaborates on miracles that apparently occurred, including that of a notable woman, Maria O'Gorman, who was cured after frequenting the holy well of St Michael at Kilmihil in Clonderlaw. His description is curious and he takes pains to point out that she was of 'ancient nobility' (*antiquae nobilitatis*).³⁶ Rather than Latinise the name of the holy well, Bruodin uses its correct Irish name form, *Cill Michil*, and that he witnessed the miraculous healing of a cripple there in 1642.³⁷ His description reflects good knowledge of the ecclesiastical monuments of the county. He includes the O'Brien

34 *Natione Scotam* is taken here to denote a native of Ireland. Usually Bruodin employs the term *Hibernos* to denote Irish people, but there is no reason to think that his term *Natione Scotam* meant anything other than a native Irish person. See, for example, O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 40.

35 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 960

36 *Ibid.*, 961.

37 *Ibid.*, 962, 964.

mausoleum at Ennis Friary where members of Clann Bhruaidealha were buried. He provided another interesting detail when he mentions that members of the Moynoe branch of Clann Bhruaidealha in east Clare were buried at Inishcaltra on account of their distance from Ennis.³⁸

Appropriately for a member of a chronicler-poet family Bruodin enumerates the leading families of Thomond, including the professional learned families. These included: *Clanchy* (Clancys), *Nelany* (Neylons), *Bruodini* (Bruodins), *Davorni* (Davorens), *Conry* (Mulconrys), *Chruttini* (Curtins), and *Graji* (McGraths).³⁹ Others which he lists such the Cormicans probably owed something to Bruodin's own family connections. In the case of the Cormicans (Meic Cormacáin), we know from records that they held church land at Moynoe along with Bruodin's relative Florence (Flann). In 1617 members of both the Meic Cormacáin and Clann Bhruaidealha surrendered their leases to church land at Moynoe.⁴⁰ Bruodin tell us that Flann held Upper Moynoe, Kulkosan and Achrem,⁴¹ facts which closely correspond to the historical record.⁴² The Cormicans were the original ecclesiastical lineage of Moynoe, their claim as erenaghs there dates from the early fourteenth century.⁴³ Elsewhere Bruodin describes the library and manuscripts of the Clann Bhruaidealha branch at *Tearmann Chaimín* in Moynoe.⁴⁴ This was the same branch of the family who were hereditary keepers of the *Saltair Chaimín* which was copied by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh

- 38 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 968. On the Moynoe branch Bruodin writes: '*quod quia nec etiam mortuus, sine Bruodinis suis esse voluit, nobile marmoreum sepulchrum ab illis construi fecit, penes suam sepultura, in quo hodiernam usque in diem Bruodini, plerique omnes (exceptis Dominis Bruodinis de Moynoe, qui ob loci distantiam, non ibi, sed in Insula S. Caimini, vulgo Inishcaltrach sepeliuntur) requiescunt*' [And since he [i.e. O'Brien] did not want to be separated from his Bruodins even in death, he had a beautiful marble tomb built for them next to his own, where to this day most of the Bruodins are buried; the Bruodins of Moynoe are buried on St Caimin's Island, i.e. Inishcaltra, as they live too far away']. Chris O'Mahony & Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'A seventeenth-century description of Co. Clare', *Dal gCais*, 9 (1988), 27–38, at 32.
- 39 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 971. On *Graji/Grajam* as a sobriquet for Mac Craith (*anglice* McGrath), see references to *Grajus seu Chraghius*, and *Chrahij* in Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 484, 489. Bruodin also mentions (*viz.* 1080) that a descendant of Cinnéidigh (an ancestor of the Uí Bhriain) was *Tiegnano* from whom came *Gray seu Mac Cragh*. *Tiegnano* can be identified in the Meic Craith genealogy as Eachthigheirn, confirming that Bruodin is referring to Clann Chraith. See Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (ed.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach: Maraon Le Suim Aguisíní*, (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940), 244. On Clann Chraith see Luke McLnerney, 'A 1555 papal bulla for Clare Abbey', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 141 (2011), 128–48.
- 40 NLI, Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth, 1661*, (Rev. James B. Leslie, 1936), 7. Those surrendering their lands were Fflan Mc Broodyn, Charles alias Callogh Mc Broodyn, Donogh O Cormochan and David Mac Cormochan.
- 41 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 41–2.
- 42 Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms B/16/B [Great Office, 20 March, 1621 – Tulla].
- 43 Seán mac Ruaidhri Mac Craith, *Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, trans. Standish H. O'Grady (ed.), (2 vols, London: Irish Texts Society, 1929), ii, 35–6.
- 44 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 770.

when he visited Moynoe in 1636.⁴⁵ It would appear from Bruodin's writings that he was close to the Moynoe branch in his youth, before he embarked on studies for an ecclesiastical career.

Perhaps among all of Bruodin's works it is *Anatomicum* which gives the best insight into his intellectual formation. It is clear, not only from his own imitation of Ciceronian Latin, but also from the frequent references to ancient authors such as Seneca, the Greek grammarian Zoilus, and the Latin grammarian Priscian, that he was well read in classical literature. This was no doubt thanks to his further education in Rome. During his residency there Bruodin would have been exposed to instruction in higher philosophy and theology and his command of Latin must have been greatly augmented. This can be evidenced by his erudite use of rhetorical tropes and metaphorical devices in his writings. His allusion to biblical themes and quotations from the Psalms, Acts and the Book of Daniel, are not surprising considering his studies in theology. His knowledge of Latin grammars like William Lily's *Grammar of Latin in English* (1540–43)⁴⁶ and his quotations from English authors not only suggests knowledge of English but a broad-based education. Bruodin's digressions on Irish toponymy and his accurate rendering of Gaelic Irish surnames and placenames also show a good understanding of Irish. This might have been due to a familiarity, if not a study, of classical literary Irish. In one example he explains the origin of the name Co. Clare, identifying it as an Irish placename denoting a wooden foot-bridge (*an Clár*), rather than a name recalling the Anglo-Norman De Clare family of the thirteenth-century, as has been inferred by some authors since:⁴⁷

Locus ille, non a cognomine Comitum Clarensium dicitur Clare, sed ab assere, pontis loco, quondam supra fluvium Forgium extenso: asser enim Hibernice Clare dicitur.⁴⁸

[That place is not called Clare after the Earl of Clare; it comes, rather, from the board which once spanned the river Fergus; the Irish word for board is Clare].⁴⁹

He also had access to modern books, both religious and secular. In *Anatomicum* he refers to Franciscus Lanovivus' *Chronicon Generale Ordinis*

45 Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed.), *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, his associates and St Anthony's College, Louvain* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 110.

46 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, p. 56.

47 Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, (2 vols, London: S. Lewis and Co., 1837), ii, 479.

48 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 958.

49 O'Mahony & Ó Dálaigh, 'Description', 28. This translation has been slightly altered from the printed version.

Minorum (Paris, 1635)⁵⁰ and Luke Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome, 1650).⁵¹ In *Anatomicum* he refers to Thomas Good, an English academic and clergyman, and he appears to have been familiar with the writings of John Coppinger, an Irish cleric from Cork, and with the Irish writings of Seathrún Céitinn.⁵² Bruodin's literary interests were wide and undoubtedly included the writings of his own family such as works of genealogy and bardic poetry to which he also makes reference.

Ecclesiastical career

Bruodin left Ireland during his twenties in 1643⁵³ to embark on further studies with the Franciscans. He initially studied under Luke Wadding at St. Isidore's College in Rome before moving to the Hapsburg territories in Bohemia. Upon arriving there in 1650 Bruodin appears to have been a rather controversial but impressive figure. The reason behind his relocation from Rome to Bohemia is not entirely clear but according to Cuthbert McGrath he was exiled by Fr. Luke Wadding.⁵⁴ By Bruodin's own account, two of his kinsmen, Fr. Bonaventura Bruodin who held a chair of theology in Prague, and Captain Marcus Bruodin, may have been factors behind his relocation.⁵⁵ Bruodin's writings and election as the guardian of the Franciscan friaries of Olomouc (1663), Our Lady of the Snows in Prague (1668) and Jindřichův Hradec (1672), stand as testimony to his intellectual and personal abilities.⁵⁶ During the 1670s he was resident at Our Lady of the Snows in Prague, and in his last years, at the Irish College in Prague.

Bruodin was just one of the Irish religious diasporans who sought refuge in Europe in the seventeenth century. Some historians have passed critical comment on Bruodin portraying him as responsible for sowing discord among the friars of the Bohemian province, being unruly, even antagonistic. One historian went so far as pointing to the shortcomings of his writings claiming that he missed an opportunity to become a 'first class propagandist' of the Irish Catholic martyrs.⁵⁷ However, on closer examination, it is clear that he was a scholarly figure and a capable administrator, one who bridged the world of classical Gaelic learning and the Latin learning of the Church. What sets him apart from many of his contemporaries is the energy that he devoted to publishing his works, many of which contain miscellanea about Ireland not found in comparable works.

50 Franciscus Lanovivs, *Chronicon Generale Ordinis Minorum* (Paris, 1635).

51 Lucas Waddingus, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome: F.A. Tanus, 1650).

52 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 59; Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 1086.

53 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 964. The date of 1643 contradicts Bruodin's statement that he was a student at Quin Friary in 1644. See Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 712.

54 McGrath, 'Materials', 49.

55 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 45–6, p. 125.

56 Pañez & Kuchařová, *Franciscans*, 76–9.

57 Fr Brendan Jennings, 'The Irish Franciscans in Prague', *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review*, 28 (1939), 210–22, at 220.

His success also rested on securing aristocratic patronage to finance his publications, and he found ready sponsors among the Bohemian nobility.

Bruodin's principal work, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis* (1669), was dedicated to Joanni and Ignatio Wenceslao (Jan and Ignác Václav), counts of Šternberk, who financed the cost of printing. The Šternberks and other Bohemian nobles had close links to the Irish Franciscan community and on occasion made bequests and endowments.⁵⁸ It is unlikely that Bruodin's writings were directed solely at the Bohemian nobility. Even in *Propugnaculum*, which purported to be a history of heresy, he expends considerable time on tangential subjects like the libraries of Gaelic learned families or the writings of his family.

Bruodin's audience was likely to have included his Czech students who must have been cognisant of the parallels between their own position as one of several competing ethnic groups within the Hapsburg territories, and that of the tension which existed between the Old English and Gaelic Irish.⁵⁹ His stories about the persecution of Catholics under Elizabeth I and Cromwell would have found sympathy among a continental Catholic audience and, more immediately, among his Franciscan brethren, many who were Irish exiles like himself. His later writings, especially *Anatomicum*, must have been directed to the Gaelic Irish community living on the continent, because he delves into matters of Gaelic interest, touching on the role of particular hereditary learned families.

Indeed it is difficult to think of *Anatomicum* as anything other than a book length vindication of Bruodin's family and the native system of professional learning to which they belonged. Given *Anatomicum's* idiosyncratic purpose in some ways it is hard to see a wider audience beyond Bruodin's erstwhile antagonist, Thomas Carve. However, we might also include a handful of other Thomond notables living on the continent whom Bruodin mentions such as Lieutenant Taddeus O'Hassie or his relatives, Fr. Bonaventura and Captain Marcus Bruodin.⁶⁰ The fact that *Anatomicum* received approbations from a number of Franciscans living in Prague and who bore Thomond names like Daniel Bruoder, Bernardus Clanchy and Joannes Clanchy,⁶¹ suggests that Bruodin's audience may also have included fellow Thomond clerics. In seeking approbators of scholarly standing Bruodin also looked farther afield to the Catholic diaspora in the Irish Colleges in Rome and Louvain.⁶² One such approbator was Peter Geanor who was trained at Louvain, and appointed vicar apostolic of the

58 Pařez & Kuchařová, *Franciscans*, 18.

59 In the Franciscan province in Bohemia there existed tension between the German-speaking and Czech-speaking friars, and such tension was palpable during appointments to Franciscan posts. *Ibid.*, 79

60 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 31-3, 45-6, 66, 125.

61 *Ibid.*, 268.

62 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 269-71; and preface.

Irish Franciscan province in 1669. He had links with the Irish Franciscans in Prague and was involved in sending young friars there for education in the early 1670s where, perhaps, he was in contact with Bruodin.⁶³

Bruodin was an influential figure among the Franciscans and Irish exiles in the imperial territories of Bohemia. He was by specialisation a Scotist theologian and when he was Guardian of Prague he not only lectured but also wrote theological and other works. For a great part of his ecclesiastical career in Bohemia he busied himself with publishing a range of titles which reflected his theological and personal tastes. His first publication was a book devoted to Scotist theology. It was printed in two volumes over the years 1663 and 1664.⁶⁴ In the second volume he digresses to make reference to St. Patrick's Purgatory at Lough Derg in Ulster, and he lists the noble Irish families, including a number with Thomond origins. In this list he includes the O'Briens, McNamaras (*de Mara*) and McMahons (*Mohaniij, seu Matthaei*).⁶⁵ No doubt their recording was designed to pay homage to their noble standing, an act that, as a Bruodin, he may have felt was incumbent on him.

In 1669 he completed his principal work, the already mentioned *Propugnaculum*. It must have been of unique, if not peculiar, interest to his Czech students, in that it relates many particulars about Ireland. Such a work had not been attempted before on this scale and scope. The book itself serves as an almanac on the history of heresy, culminating in descriptions of the killing and martyrdom of Irish Catholics by the English authorities. The work shows a considered understanding of the progress of the reformation in England, Scotland and Ireland, and the fourth book-chapter is devoted to Protestant 'sects' such as Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents and Brownists.⁶⁶

For Irish audiences however, its most immediate appeal probably lay in the account of the Confederate and Cromwellian wars in Ireland, to which Bruodin was a partial eye witness. His references in *Propugnaculum* to clerics killed in Thomond should be regarded as personal accounts, probably from first-hand recollections by Bruodin's kin or fellow Franciscans.⁶⁷ This was likely the case in the executions of Jeremias de

63 Terence O'Donnell, *Franciscan Abbey of Multyfarnham* (Multyfarnham: Franciscan Friars, 1951), 85.

64 Antonius Bruodinus, *Oecodomia Minoriticae Scholae Salomonis Doctoris Subtilis* (Prague, 1663); Antonius Bruodinus, *Corolla Oecodomiae Minoriticae Scholae Salomonis Doctoris Subtilis*, (Prague, 1664).

65 Bruodinus, *Corolla*, 100–1.

66 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 588–618.

67 On his kinsmen in Europe see O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 35–8, 125. His cousin Bonaventura Bruodin taught philosophy at the archbishop's seminary in Prague, and from 1651 to 1654 he lectured theology at the friary of Our Lady of Snobs in Prague. A collection of lectures given by Bonaventura in 1655–6 is preserved in a manuscript in the University Library, Prague. See Millett, *Franciscans*, 152, 494.

Nerihiny⁶⁸ and Daniel Clanchy,⁶⁹ two Franciscans at Quin Friary, in 1651. Both were from important local families (*nobili familia natus*), and Bruodin was acquainted with the parents of both men.⁷⁰ Members of his own family feature, including Dermot Bruodin of Moynoe, described by Bruodin as *nobili ortus prosapia* ('descended from a noble stock'). He relates that Dermot was burned alive along with six others in a house near Scariff by Cromwellian troops.⁷¹

Bruodin did not exclusively publish on topics relating to Ireland. In 1669 he also published *Synopsis Vitae, Virtutum, et Miraculorum S. Petri de Alcantara*⁷² ('A synopsis of the life, virtues and miracles of St Pedro de Alcántara'), which focused on the life of the Spanish Franciscan, Pedro de Alcántara. In 1676 Bruodin produced an important Scotist work titled *Armamentarium Theologicum Ad Mentem Doctoris Subtilis*⁷³ ('A theological arsenal for the mind of a subtle doctor'), in which he remarked that he was responsible for introducing Scotist philosophy and theology to Bohemia.⁷⁴

His last work titled *Descriptio Regni Hiberniae Sanctorum Insulae, et De Prima Origine Miseriarum & Motuum in Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia, Regnante Carolo Primo Rege*⁷⁵ ('A description of the kingdom of Ireland, island of saints, and about the first source of miseries and troubles in England, Scotland and Ireland during the reign of King Charles the First'), was published posthumously in 1721 and contains a chapter on martyred Irish Catholic clerics. Perhaps unsurprisingly the text drew heavily on events in his native Co. Clare.⁷⁶ This work was edited by the son of Phelim O'Neill who himself was an émigré so it is not clear if it represented a separate and unfinished work of Bruodin, or an amalgamated work of O'Neill using material from Bruodin. In what perhaps was an exercise in antiquarianism the book contains the funerary epitaph engraved on the tomb of Hugh (*ob.*1609), baron of Dungannon and eldest son of Aodh Mór Ó Néill (*ob.*1616), at San Pietro in Montorio, Rome.⁷⁷ In 1680 Bruodin died of

68 This surname is Mac an Oirchinnigh, anglicised as McInerheny or McNertney. The modern form is McInerney.

69 This surname is Mac Fhlannchadha, anglicised as Clanchy or Clancy. Two Franciscans of the Clanchy family were living in Prague in 1671. See O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 268.

70 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 716–7.

71 *Ibid.*, 717.

72 Antonius Bruodinus, *Synopsis Vitae, Virtutum, et Miraculorum S. Petri de Alcantara* (Prague, 1669).

73 Antonius Bruodinus, *Armamentarium Theologicum Ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis* (Prague, 1676).

74 Páez & Kuchařová, *Franciscans*, 85.

75 Antonius Bruodinus, *Descriptio Regni Hiberniae Sanctorum Insulae, et De Prima Origine Miseriarum & Motuum in Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia, Regnante Carolo Primo Rege* (Rome, 1721).

76 Bruodinus, *Descriptio*, 101, 103–4. In particular he mentions: Daniel de Clanchy (i.e. Clanchy); Taddeaus de Carighy (i.e. Teige Carrigy); and Dionysius de Nelan (Donough Neylan). The latter was from Kilraghtis parish and he sheltered with Laurentii de Neherenny (Laurence McInerheny), before being captured at Inchicronan.

77 *Ibid.*, 107–8.

plague while resident in the Irish College in Prague, and was buried in an unmarked grave at Olsanské Hřbitovy cemetery, outside the city centre.⁷⁸

Contention with Thomas Carve (alias Carew or Carran)

As already mentioned, a crucial component of Bruodin's works was the contention with Thomas Carve (dubbed 'Carran' by Bruodin).⁷⁹ In this part of the essay some of the main issues raised in the contention are examined before turning to the specific issue of the Gaelic learned class.

The origin of the contention which arose between the two men can be traced to the publication of Carve's views about the Gaelic Irish in his works, *Itinerarium* (1639) and *Lyra seu Anacephalaeosis Hibernica* (1651) and was taken up by Bruodin in *Propugnaculum* (1669). However, a more immediate possible cause of the contention may have been the issue concerning a bequest made by Count Walter Butler of Tipperary to the Irish Franciscans of Prague. During the 1620s and 1630s Carve served as chaplain and secretary to Butler's regiment in the imperial forces during the Thirty Years War. On his death in 1634 Butler bequeathed 30,000 florins to the Irish Franciscans in Prague.⁸⁰ Given that Carve's *Itinerarium* was written during his service in Butler's regiment and contains excerpts about Butler's life⁸¹ Carve may have felt entitled to a portion of Butler's bequest.⁸² Perhaps in this context Carve developed vexatious feelings toward the Irish Franciscans in Prague and their control over the bequest. Disputes concerning donations and bequests were often protracted and hard fought; the matter may have arisen when Bruodin was guardian of the Franciscan friary in Prague. Whatever the cause of the contention it quickly descended into a debate about the status of Bruodin's family, Clann Bhruaideadha.

During the contention Carve presented a cynical argument about the efficacy of the hereditary principle that operated in Gaelic Ireland.⁸³ The Gaelic learned families, including the Bruodins, were called the *aos dána* or *aos ealadhna*, which signified people of the 'poetic arts' or 'high-skill'. They formed a hereditary professional caste and received patronage from aristocratic families. According to Carve, the sinews of learning and the integrity of the Gaelic learned class of Ireland was not to be found within the hereditary principle which itself militated against novelty and worth. In

78 The author thanks Martin Breen for his advice on this point which was communicated to him in 2014 by Jan Pařez, Curator of the Manuscript Collection of the Strahov Library, Prague.

79 He was also known as Carew but Bruodin refers to him as Carran (*Carrane* in Latin). For the sake of consistency he is referred to as Carve here, except in translations where Bruodin labels him as Carran.

80 Pařez & Kuchařová, *Franciscans*, 8.

81 See Carve, *Itinerarium*, 57–9.

82 The author thanks Brian Ó Dálaigh for pointing out this possibility.

83 Carve, *Responsio*, 19–20.

his view a system that permitted the hereditary transmission of learning, and which rewarded those who cultivated bardic poetry, would mean that the writings produced would be neither original nor truthful, but would be tainted with venality. Carve says:

Nec tam facile parentes veracitatem et virtutem transmittunt in filios, quam bona; et ubi non est alienae et pauperi virtuti locus, veritas patitur.⁸⁴

[Neither do parents transmit truthfulness and virtue to their children as easily as their possessions; and where there is no place for the virtue of another and of a poor man, truth suffers].

Having first attacked the hereditary basis on which the Gaelic men of letters received their education, Carve went on to criticise Bruodin's claims about Clann Bhruaideadha. His criticism was directed at the family's most notable member, bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaideadha. In attacking the profession of Bruodin's family, Carve railed against the system of native learning that once held sway in Gaelic areas. *Ollamh*-poets like, for instance, Tadhg mac Dáire, were taught in the bardic schools where they learnt to versify in *Bearla Féine*, the literary dialect used by the intellectual class. The curriculum of the bardic schools was demanding and esoteric, encompassing poetry (*filidheacht*), law (*féineachas*), history (*seanchas*) and onomastics (*dinnsheanchas*).⁸⁵

Carve sought to rebuke Bruodin's claim in *Anatomicum* that his great uncle, poet Tadhg mac Dáire served as the tutor to Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond (*ob.1624*).⁸⁶ He pointed out the lowly situation of Tadhg mac Dáire and compared him to a country rustic in a broadside that was calculated to create lasting enmity with Bruodin:

Objeceram tibi quod vane & impudenter toties jactares te esse ex Sanguine Principum ô Brienorum, Regum Hiberniae, Scythiae, & Aegypti, cum Majores tui ad mensam serviverint ô Briennis, inconditum carmen ad fides ibidem canere debuerint, ac vibrissare; & illi ex tua gente habuerint interdum obstetrices, & nutrices, ut ipse fateris pag.112 examinis, ubi dicis Donatum ô Brien annos septem fuisse nutritum, lactatum, & ablactatum apud Finolam Bruodinam & suum meritum Cornelium Clanchii: Et ego hisce meis oculis viderim Thadaeum Bruodinum filium Darii, familiae caput, (psoricum profecto) sine equo sine famulo, sine carro, aut

84 Ibid.

85 On the medieval bardic schools see Proinsias Mac Cana, 'The rise of the later schools of filidheacht', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 126-46.

86 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 112-3.

curru (nisi quod obvio cisio aliquo rustico interdum vehebatur, cum rustico lubebat) sine veste, quae decem valeret florenos, iter facientem; quod de ô Briennis cogitare nefas esset.⁸⁷

[I had thrown in your face your false and shameful claim, which you so tirelessly repeated, that you are of the bloodline of the O'Brien princes, kings of Ireland, Scythia, and Egypt, whereas your ancestors were servants at the table of the O'Briens and they were forced on the spot to sing an improvised song to the sound of a lute and to shake their voices. Whereas your kin sometimes had midwives and nurses, as you admit on page 112 of the relevant text, where you say that Donatus O'Brien was for seven years nursed, suckled, and weaned at the house of Finola Bruodin and her husband Cornelius Clanchy. Whereas I have seen with these very eyes of mine Thaddeus Bruodin, son of Darius, head of the household (indeed a remedy for an itch) travelling somewhere without horse, servant, wagon, or a carriage (except that from time to time he was given a lift on some buggy⁸⁸ by a peasant he met on the way when the peasant was happy to do so) and even without a shirt worth ten florins; something which even to think about with regard to the O'Briens would have been an aberration].

Carve paints a biting image of the ageing bardic poet being reduced to a lowly station, casting doubt on the poet's status as a member of the *literati* attached to the earl of Thomond. Carve claimed to have met Tadhg mac Dáire at the residence of James Butler, second baron Dunboyne (*ob.*1624), where he examined the poet on his knowledge of other languages but was disappointed only to have received a reply in Irish. Carve went on to mention the fact that the poet travelled by foot and wore Gaelic dress rather than English attire.⁸⁹ Bruodin rejected these criticisms levelled by Carve and questioned his integrity. He cited a poem by Tadhg mac Dáire which he described as *Rithmos Latino-Hibernicos* ('Hiberno-Latin rhymes') and that it was proof enough of the poet's proficiency in Latin.⁹⁰

When we consult contemporary sources we find an altogether different picture, one that gives credence to Bruodin's account. Documents show that Tadhg mac Dáire held considerable estates in the barony of Ibrickan, suggesting that Carve's description of him as a pauper-like representative of the Gaelic learned class is embellished and inaccurate. In a survey of the earl of Thomond's Ibrickan estate in 1615 the large townland of

87 Carve, *Responsio*, 124–5.

88 Alternatively, a 'two-wheeled cart'.

89 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 114–5.

90 *Ibid.*, 116.

Knockanalban was held by ‘Teig McBroady’ rent-free.⁹¹ Knockanalban (alias Mount Scott) was not only free from the dues owed to Ó Briain as ‘lord of the soil’ but also of those claimed by the Church. This was because it was part of the professional lands of the family, or *fearann ollamhnachta*, and was granted to support an *ollamh*. Bruodin, who was well informed on such matters, wrote:

Mons Scoti ... in Baronia est de Ibrickan, in qua nec Abbas, nec Episcopus ullus pedem terrae unquam habuit. Dominum Thadaeum Bruodinum, ac post illius obitum, Dominum Jacobum, Thadaei filium, montis Scoti fuisse Dominum⁹² nobis Tuomoniensibus notum est.⁹³

[Mount Scott ... is in the barony of Ibrickan, in which neither an abbot nor any bishop ever held a foot of land. It is known to us people of Thomond that Master Thaddeus Bruodin [Tadhg mac Dáire] and, after his death, Master Jacob, the son of Thaddeus, ruled over Mount Scott].

This comment was in response to Carve’s claim that Bruodin’s family did not even own the land that they held, but leased it from the Church. Although largely incorrect in his charge, Carve, living in Vienna and writing decades after the events he was describing, was still well informed about matters. Carve’s comment was half-true as Lettermoylan on Mount Callan was ecclesiastical land.⁹⁴ In 1614 Lettermoylan was claimed by the Protestant Bishop of Killaloe against its occupant, ‘Teig McBroodie gent’, who held it along with his ‘houses and mancons’.⁹⁵ Bruodin sought to correct Carve by pointing out that Knockanalban was never church land, rather it was the estate of Tadhg mac Dáire.⁹⁶

Records show that Tadhg mac Dáire was one of the largest landowners in Ibrickan. In 1615 he held seven quarters of land including Doonogan (undoubtedly Doonogan towerhouse as well).⁹⁷ According to modern

91 See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms C27/A/60, printed in Luke McNerney, ‘The Earl of Thomond’s 1615 Survey of Ibrickan, Co. Clare’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 53 (2013), 173–91, at 188.

92 *Fuisse Dominum* implies a political or high status role, distinct from *habuit* which infers possession. It is translated here as ‘ruled over’, implying possession and social rank commensurate with holding an estate.

93 O’Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 109.

94 R. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey and Distribution, Being Abstracts of Various Surveys and Instruments of Title, 1636–1703*, 4 [Co. Clare] (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1967), 533.

95 See NLI Ms 45,686/1 [c.1614]; and John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1961), 432. (no.1318).

96 See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms C27/A/39, printed in Martin Breen, ‘The 1626 rental of Thomond property’ in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 54 (2014), 1–25 at 24–5.

97 See McNerney, ‘1615 Survey’, 186. Also see RIA Ms R.R. 14, B-18, ff 498–530, *Ordinance*

measurements these lands amounted to over 6,000 acres, just over half of the Clann Bhruaidealha lands in Ibrickan. Knockanalban, which was one of his chief residences, was still rent-free in 1626 and was held by his widow.⁹⁸ This reference is proof enough that Tadhg mac Dáire died soon after composing an elegy on the death of his patron, the fourth earl, in 1624.⁹⁹ It also disproves the story collected by Theophilus O'Flanagan that Tadhg mac Dáire was killed by being hurled from the precipice of Doonogan in the 1650s by Cromwellian soldiers.¹⁰⁰

Bruodin mentions the death of Tadhg mac Dáire by stating that he had been dead for around fifty years in 1671 but his memory still persisted in Ireland due to his *arte poëtica excellentiam* ('excellence in the art of poetry').¹⁰¹ This stands as evidence that Tadhg mac Dáire enjoyed considerable wealth and status. Bruodin reminds us that the literary class which the bardic poets and chroniclers embodied enjoyed many privileges. These included immunity from rent and tribute and an annual income from aristocratic patrons, as well as exemption from military quartering during hostings.¹⁰² While it is doubtful whether by the early seventeenth century these privileges remained wholly intact, the writings of poets and the annals confirm the type of respect and privilege that the learned class continued to enjoy.¹⁰³ Bruodin's comments can be read as a reference to the system of native learning which operated in former times when the 'Irish reigned' (*Regnantibus Hibernis*).¹⁰⁴

Ballyogan: patrimony of Clann Bhruaidealha

In retorting to Bruodin's comments about Clann Bhruaidealha and their privileges and wealth, Carve, in a rather combative style, criticised the 'palatial' residence of the family at Ballyogan in Kilraghtis parish. Carve's criticism of the branch of the family to which Bruodin belonged provides material on the type of settlement of a Gaelic literary family. In describing their dwellings of Clann Bhruaidealha, Carve renders his description with a biblical metaphor:

Survey Ireland: Co Clare Extracts, ii, 510–11 ['Extract of a letter from Mr E. Curry to George Smith Esq. College Green, Dublin, dated at Limerick 8 July 1835']. I wish to thank Brian Ó Dálaigh for this reference.

- 98 Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms C27/A/39, printed in Breen, '1626 Rental', 25.
 99 Brian Ó Cuív, 'An Elegy on Donnchadh Ó Briain, fourth Earl of the Thomond', *Celtica*, 16 (1984), 87–105.
 100 Theophilus O'Flanagan, 'Advice to a Prince', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society*, 1 (1808), 27.
 101 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 106.
 102 See Bruodin's, *Propugnaculum*, 771; and O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 40–1.
 103 The Ulster poet Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa makes it clear that an *ollamh* was expected to receive a rent-free estate in perpetuity near his patron. See James Carney, *The Irish Bardic Poet* (Dublin, 1967, re-print: 1985), 24–5. Also see the respect accorded to Maoilín Óg by Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill in 1599. *AFM, sub anno*, 1599.
 104 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 40–1.

Bruodini (inquis fol.98 tui famosi libelli) Mandras non nullas habere consveverunt in montium jugis suis vaccis, & capris inhabitandas (ditiores sic erant Christo, qui non habuit ubi reclinaret caput suum)¹⁰⁵ & infra fol.99 in Balliogan sunt parva tuguriola, levi materia edificata ex transtris, stramine contacta, & introsus bovino stercore, illinita satis liquet, saltem meo tempore, quando fui in Tuamundia sic apparuit Bruodinorum locus, et cetera.¹⁰⁶

[The Bruodins (you say in folio 98 of your famous book¹⁰⁷) ‘were accustomed to have some stalls¹⁰⁸ in the ridges of the mountains to be inhabited by their cattle and flock (they were thus richer than Christ, who did not have a place to lay his head)’, and below in folio 99 ‘in Balliogan there are small huts, built with light material out of crossbeams, quite clearly covered with straw and smeared with cow dung on the inside, at least the place of the Bruodins had this appearance in my time, when I was in Thomond, etc’].

Elements of Carve’s description of Ballyogan are consistent with other seventeenth century accounts of Gaelic domestic buildings, including one by Fynes Moryson which referred to ‘cabin[s] made of the boughs of trees and covered with turf’.¹⁰⁹ It is not clear whether Carve’s passage refers to sites at Ballyogan associated with Clann Bhruaideadha’s professional activities, or if he was passing comment on the temporary shelters erected for seasonal transhumance. It is possible that Ballyogan was a place of professional learning and Carve’s description, if accurate, would suggest that little differentiated the family’s domestic habitations which may have been used for literary activities, from other habitation types.¹¹⁰

The branch of Clann Bhruaideadha settled at Ballyogan in the seventeenth century belonged to Bruodin’s immediate family. Bruodin tells us that their estate was substantial and encompassed ‘Balliogan’, ‘Drumbanuff’, ‘KluonanWullin’, & ‘Knocknamuchky’, townlands in Kilraghtis and

105 *Qui non habuit ubi reclinaret caput suum ...* is a reference to Luke 9:58, ‘And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.’

106 O’Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 154–5. This passage originally appeared in Carve’s *Enchiridion* and is quoted at length in *Anatomicum*.

107 *Famosus libellus* appears to be used here in a sarcastic sense by Carve to imply that the book was neither famous or a proper book but rather more like an invective text.

108 Probably meaning a hut or bothy (*bothán* in Irish).

109 Moryson cited in Katharine Simms, ‘Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 108 (1978), 67–100, at 81.

110 One such composite settlement was that of the Uí Dhálaigh poets in southwest Cork. See Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, ‘The landscape and settlements of the Uí Dhálaigh poets of Muinter Bháire’, in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Princes, Prelates and Poets in Medieval Ireland: essays in honour of Katharine Simms* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 460–80.

Inchicronan parishes.¹¹¹ Ballyogan remained in the possession of the family and in 1641 it was occupied by Moylan McBrodin who also held Drumbonniv in Inchicronan.¹¹² Bruodin's writings can also serve as a guide to the landholding of the family a century earlier in the sixteenth century. In *Anatomicum* Bruodin provides detail that explains the dispersed settlement of Clann Bhruaidealha in Ibrickan, Inchiquin, Bunratty and Tulla baronies. He stated that Darius (Dáire), the father of bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire, (ob. 1624/6) was the *dominus* of Mount Scott (Knockanalban in Ibrickan), Ballyscanlan (in Inchicronan) and Ballyogan (in Kilraghtis).¹¹³ Bruodin's entry on Darius is significant because many of the family branches in the seventeenth century appear to trace their origins back to Darius and the lands that he held in the mid-sixteenth century:

Darius Bruodinus, Dominus montis Scoti, Balliscanlan, Balliogan, &c., Finolam Grajam, Donati de Balli An Crow filiam in uxorem habuit.¹¹⁴

[Darius Bruodin, master of Mount Scott, Ballyscanlan, Ballyogan, etc, took as a wife Finola Grajam (i.e. McGrath), the daughter of Donat of Ballyancrow].

This recounting of the hereditary lands in the line of Tadhg mac Dáire suggests a common origin of the Ibrickan and Kilraghtis branches which can be traced to Darius. It could be that those lands, held by *Darius* in the mid-sixteenth century, descended to his sons through partible inheritance, resulting in the establishment of separate branches by the seventeenth century. This would explain the link between the Ibrickan branches at Knockanalban and Mount Callan, with those of central and east Clare. All of these branches therefore originated from the lands of Dáire (Darius) Mac Bruaidealha. Ballyogan, then, formed part of the original hereditary lands of Clann Bhruaidealha. This finds support elsewhere. In an inquisition from 1586 Ballyogan was regarded as mensal lands of the Meic Conmara of Dangan-i-viggin, and upon such lands a lord's followers such as the poets and chroniclers were often settled.¹¹⁵

111 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 42. Some writers have incorrectly identified Ballyogan as in Co. Galway. It is clearly in Kilraghtis (ten kilometres northeast of Ennis) where Clann Bhruaidealha maintained proprietorial interests into the mid-seventeenth century. See Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 961 where he states that his parent's residence was at Ballyogan near the holy wells of *Sancti Camini* and *Sancti Chronani*. In the *Griffith Valuation* of c.1850, three members of the family resided at Ballyogan in Kilraghtis (James, Thomas and Patrick), presumably descendants of the seventeenth century branch.

112 Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 107–8, 121.

113 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 124

114 *Ibid.*

115 Luke McInerney, 'The West *Clann Chuiléin* Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 48 (2008), 33–62, at 45–7, 60.

Carve's description of Ballyogan predictably drew the ire of Bruodin. In *Anatomicum* Bruodin launched into a concerted personal attack on Carve claiming that his family name denoted a sickle (in Irish *corrán*), thus calling him *Carrane* and dubbing him a *mechanicus* ('mechanic').¹¹⁶ This was a deliberate attempt to foist upon him a lowly occupation congruent with his supposed base ancestry and plebian Gaelic, rather than Old English, origins. He also casts doubt on Carve as an eye witness to events and places in Thomond, alleging that Carve invented his descriptions and thus debased his credibility:

Bone Deus, Carrane erit ne aliquando finis mendaciorum & calumniarum, quibus innocentes in pace requiescentes diffamas? ex ijs quae dixi n.26 & 27 huju capitis abunde lectoribus constabit, hae que sine fronte scribis, non argumenta esse, sed procacis linguae impudentissimas fabulas, quae alio non stabiliuntur fulcro, quam tua autoritate, quae inter viros probos nullius est fidei. Non ita pridem Theologum infelici successu egisti; jam Carrane mechanicum more tuae prosapiae agis; transtraque e navibus furaris, ut ope tuae falcis Bruodini Mandras construas, quas relicta calce, bitumine, & argilla, quibus Tuomonia, Plerisque incolis abundat, bovinis excrementis obducis. Nisi tu Carrane scarabeus potius esses, non haberes in ore tam faetidum pulmentum, & non fingeres, quod in tua Catholica patria, honestorum virorum habitatio, tam absurdo lineretur excremento. Mi Carrane non Tuomoniensis, sed transsinnanus es tu verna; quid ergo in Tuomonia nostra habuisti quod ageres, in qua vix subsistere integrum tibi fuisset quare mihi Carrane facile persvadeo te nunquam fuisse ausum illam patriam visitare, & consequenter hae qua hic commisceris, reclamante tua conscientia, in odium P. Bruodini te finxisse nam Bruodini nostri, more aliorum patriae multorum Nobilium, honorates semper habuerunt Aedes multas, quas primarij Proceres, Nobiles, Praelati, & Ecclesiastici, non solum Tuomoniae, sed etiam, vicinorum comitatum, & provinciarum frequenter visitarunt, & intrarunt.¹¹⁷

[Good God, Carran, will there ever be an end to the lies and calumnies with which you defame the innocent while they rest in peace? From that which I mentioned in paragraphs 26 and 27 of this chapter, it will be abundantly evident to the readers that the things you shamelessly pen are not arguments, but the most impudent tales of an insolent tongue that rest on no other basis than your

¹¹⁶ O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 155–6.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

own authority, which finds no credence amongst upright men. Not so long ago you played the theologian, with unhappy result; now, Carran, you are playing the mechanic after the manner of your family; and you steal thwarts¹¹⁸ from ships, so that with the aid of your sickle you can construct cattle pens¹¹⁹ for the Bruodins, which you, leaving behind the lime, pitch, and argil¹²⁰ that Thomond abundantly affords for the majority of its inhabitants, instead smear it with cattle excrement. If you were not a dung beetle, Carran, you would not spew such stinking scraps from your mouth, and you would not make the absurd claim that in your Catholic country the dwelling-place of so many honourable men could be plastered with cow excrement! My dear Carran, you are not a vulgar commoner of Thomond, but come from across the Shannon; so what, then, had you to do in our Thomond, where it would have been hardly possible for you to remain alive safe and sound? Therefore Carran I am easily convinced that you never dared to venture to that country and consequently those things that you invent here, in spite of the claims of your conscience, you contrived in hostility towards Fr. Bruodin.¹²¹ For our Bruodins, in the manner of many other noblemen of the country, always held in honour the many shrines which the foremost chiefs, nobles, prelates, and ecclesiastics, of not only Thomond but also of neighbouring counties and provinces, would frequently visit and enter].

Carve: Old English or Gaelic imposter?

Bruodin's claims regarding Carve's ancestry may have had a basis of truth. In *Enchiridion* Carve wrote that he was of Old English lineage, tracing his ancestry back to Thomas Carve (or Carew), an Anglo-Norman lord whose large tract of land in Desmond was inherited by the ancestor of the Fitzgerald family before the year 1467.¹²² Bruodin rejected these claims, suggesting that Carve's actual ancestor was Tomás Ó Corráin who, Bruodin asserted, cut-off the arm of St Lachtín'.¹²³ Carve's family, then, attained the dubious honour of having the derisive cognomen of Ó Corráin (i.e. descent

118 *Transtra*, or thwarts, is a nautical term for the seats used by the rowers in an oar powered vessel.

119 *Mandras* in this context refers to cattle pens and is a reference to Carve's criticism about the domestic habitations of the Bruodins.

120 A type of white clay used by potters.

121 i.e. Antonius Bruodin.

122 Carve, *Enchiridion*, 85.

123 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 985. Bruodin claims that the reliquary of St Lachtín's arm was held at Kilnamona in Co. Clare for many years before being removed to Lislaughtin in Co. Kerry. The 1842 Ordnance Survey map records at Kilnamona the name 'Autkeenlaughteen' (*Áit Cinn Lachtín*, 'head place of Lachtín'). It may have been the place where the reliquary was kept.

of the *corrán* or sickle) due to the action of his infamous ancestor.

It is possible that Carve's family adopted the surname Carve and that their original surname was indeed Ó Corráin. Carve wrote that his father's name was Malachy¹²⁴ which is an anglicisation of the Gaelic Irish name Maolsheachlann, a name rarely found among the Old English. A Melaghlen Roe O'Carren was recorded as the late owner of lands in 'Ballenwillen alias Miltown in the Crosse' in 1591, located just south of Mobarnan in Tipperary where Carve himself was born.¹²⁵ In a grant from 1518, Mobarnan was transferred to Cornelius son of Thatheus Karrayn by John O'Hadyan.¹²⁶ Six years later several 'O'Karrans' were transacting land just to the north of Mobarnan around Foulkstown in Tipperary (one had the Gaelic Irish name 'Mohany' or Mathghamhain).¹²⁷ As nothing in these names suggests Old English ancestry, Bruodin may have been correct to claim that Carve was of the O'Carran, or Uí Chorráin, family.

Elsewhere Bruodin defends his writings on Clann Bhruaidealha, berating Carve and asserting that the family was of noble stock. In support of these assertions Bruodin stated that he had identified family members who he classified as noble, many of whom were *praeclaros nobiles* ('outstanding noblemen').¹²⁸ They possessed landed estates before being deprived of them by Cromwell in 1650:

Nobis Carrane, qui Tuomonienses sumus nati, certissimum est, quod tu calumniaris in hac parte; nam a me jam num: 19 nominati Bruodini, in Tuomoniam Nobiles erant, qui diversa, & pulchra habuerunt Bona.¹²⁹

[To us, Carran, who were born of Thomond, it is absolutely certain that you are calumniating on this point; for there were 19, already named by me, noble Bruodins in Thomond who had various and beautiful possessions].

Bruodin explains that these noble members of Clann Bhruaidealha held lands in different parts of Thomond. They were clustered in the parishes of Moynoe and Tuamgraney in east Clare; in Kilraghtis, Inchicronan and Ruan parishes (formerly Dysert³⁰) in central Clare; and in Kilmurry-

124 Carve, *Enchiridion*, 135–6.

125 Edmund Curtis, *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1584–1603* (6 vols, Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, repr: 1970), vi, 46.

126 Edmund Curtis, *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1509–47* (6 vols, Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1937), iv, 53.

127 *Ibid.*, 98.

128 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 41.

129 *Ibid.*, 44.

130 Their estate in Dysert was at Kilkee in modern day Ruan parish. Kilkee has been confused by writers, including Edmund Hogan, with Kilkeedy on the basis of Conchobhar Mac

Ibrickan and Inagh parishes in west Clare around Mount Callan.¹³¹ His description of the landholding segments of the family are surprisingly accurate and can be corroborated against the historical record (see appendix 2).¹³² He goes on to suggest a link between the noble status of Clann Bhruaidealha and their learning. The lands of Clann Bhruaidealha were held under lease from leading men, confirming that learned families were allocated land, often mensal land, on the estates of Gaelic lords in exchange for professional services:

Praeter hos jam nominatos Carrane in Tuomonia nostra multi erant alii Bruodini Nobiles, qui (more multorum per Hiberniam Nobilium) Bona habuerunt conducta, ab uno vel altero ex proceribus Patriae; quippe vixerunt tam honorate, sua Industria, & oeconomisandi peritia, ac alii Nobiles, qui propria habuerunt Bona.¹³³

[Beside these people already mentioned, Carran, there were many other noble Bruodins in our Thomond who (in the manner of many nobles throughout Ireland) had possessions on lease from one or another of the leading men of the country; indeed they lived as honourably by their industry and by their managing skill, as the other nobles who had possessions of their own].

Carve, who culturally identified with the Old English culture, sought to deflate and ridicule Bruodin's claims about the status of the Gaelic *literati*. In one such passage Carve sees Bruodin as the personification of

Bruaidealha's approbation of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh's *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* in 1636. Conchobhar noted his residence as 'Chill Chaoide 7 o Leitir Mhaoláin i ccontae an Chláir'. *Chill Chaoide* should read *Chill Chaoidhe* and contain a *seimhiú*, causing the pronunciation to reflect what is now its anglicised form, i.e. Kilkee. This is confirmed in the 1618 Great Office for Inchiquin Barony where Connor McBrody and Shane McBrodin were recorded as of 'Kilky'. In the 1641 Conor mc Moyllin McBrody held 'Kilkie alis Lissinrahahick' followed by John Mc Brodyn of 'Kilkie alias Lissnecreuy'. No one of the name appears at Kilkeedy. See Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), 179; and Paul Walsh, *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts*, (Dublin, 1933), 78. Also see Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin]; and Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 553–4. A more recent work that repeats the error in identification is Frank Brew, *The Parish of Kilkeedy: A local history* (Tubber, 1998), 81–4.

131 See the denominations listed under their Latinised equivalents in O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 41–3, 123–36.

132 For example see the 1618 Great Offices for Inchiquin and Tulla at Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin] and Ms B/16/B [Great Office, 20 March, 1621 – Tulla]. Also see Luke McInerney, 'The Earl of Thomond's 1615 Survey of Ibrickan, Co. Clare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 53 (2013), pp 173–91 (original shelfmark at Petworth House Archive is Ms C27/A/60); Breen, 'The 1626 rental' pp 1–25 (original shelfmark at Petworth House Archive is Ms C27A/39); Séamus Pender (ed.), *A census of Ireland, c.1659: with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances (1660–1)* (Dublin, 1939).

133 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 43–4.

the bardic order, whereunto the souls of dead bards had metamorphosed into his body. Carve's comment was intended as a personal slight made to show that Bruodin was himself an embodiment of the ills of the bards and thus was more of a bard than a Franciscan, his Catholicism being secondary to his bardic calling:

More omnium Bardorum, quorum animae et ingenia per mirabilem Metempsychosin in tuum corpusculum transmigravere.¹³⁴

[In the manner of all the bards, whose souls and geniuses have transmigrated into your little body by a wondrous metempsychosis].

What we may glean from the preceding can be characterised as a crystallization of the opposing views of these two men, both of the same nation, but each a representative of the two ethno-cultures in Ireland. The seventeenth century saw the Gaelic Irish re-evaluate their culture. A number of authors were involved in these new interpretations of Gaelic culture, including Catholic priest Seathrún Céitinn whose background spanned both the Old English and Gaelic cultural and intellectual traditions.¹³⁵

The contention between Bruodin and Carve also focused on the validity of the writings of Seathrún Céitinn. In one of the earliest, if not the earliest, recorded debates among Irish scholars concerning Céitinn's popular *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* ('Foundation of Knowledge on Ireland'), Bruodin defends the authority of Céitinn and his Gaelic Irish sources. From these sources Céitinn constructed a narrative of the history and antiquity of Ireland using a combination of *seanchas* writing like the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, along with royal genealogies, placename lore and heroic tales.¹³⁶ Carve repudiated Céitinn's validity, regarding him instead as a compiler of fables, thus displaying derision for Gaelic Irish historiography.¹³⁷ Bruodin makes the point that Carve's ignorance was due to the fact that Céitinn wrote in Irish and his writings were unintelligible to Carve. The following passage encapsulates the opposing views of the two men:

Credo Carrane, quod a te, aut alijs tuae farinae ignavis hominibus, in nullo Authore historia illa fuit lecta; R.P. Bruodinus vero, (sicut & nos omnes, qui genuinas Regni Hiberniae Chronicas

134 Carve, *Responsio*, 116.

135 On Seathrún Céitinn see Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

136 On *seanchas* writing see Edel Bhreathnach, 'The *seanchas* tradition of late medieval Ireland' in Edel Bhreathnach & Bernadette Cunningham (eds), *Writing Irish History: The Four Masters and their World* (Dublin: Wordwell, 2007), 19–23.

137 Carve, *Responsio*, 186–7. I would like to thank John Minahane for drawing my attention to this point.

legimus) non semel legit in diversis Authoribus illam historiam. Omnium loco tibi Carrane; si vir bonus es, sufficiat Authoritas, Eximij SS. Theologiae Doctoris, antiquitatúmque; Hibernicarum sagacissimi indagatoris, Domini Syardi Ketten qui lib. 2. Historiae Hiberniae, agendo de Hiberniae Regibus refert, ut verissimam Historiam illam de resolutione nivium Finacti Regis tempore in vinum; sicut & quod Dermitius Morphei, Lageniae quondam Princeps, praeter, Evam filiam, filium habuerit Arthurum nomine. Tu Carrane Kettengum, qui Hibernice suam scripsit historiam, legere non didicisti, sic tuam excusatam habeo imprudentiam, & ignorantiam. Vnicum hoc a te scire vellem, an tu putas Carrane incredibile esse, quod in Hibernia nives in vinum sint resolutae? Si sic ad sequentia rogo te obturatas tuas applica aures, & mirabiliora ex Autenticis Historicis desumpta audies.¹³⁸

[I believe you, Carran, when you say that you or other lazy people of your kind did not read that story in any other author; however, the Rev. Father Bruodinus (just like all of us, too, who read the authentic chronicles of the Kingdom of Ireland) read that story more than once in various authors. If you are a good man, Carran, may the authority of the distinguished doctor of most holy theology and very sagacious investigator of the Irish antiquities, Master Syard Ketten,¹³⁹ be enough for you in place of all others. In the second book of his *History of Ireland*, while treating the subject of the kings of Ireland, he reports as absolutely true that story concerning the dissolution of the snow into wine in the time of King Finactus,¹⁴⁰ just as he does with the fact that Dermot, son of Morpheus,¹⁴¹ once prince of Leinster, had a son called Arthur beside his daughter Eve. You, Carran, have not learnt how to read Ketteng, who wrote his history in Irish, so I regard your lack of judgement and your ignorance as excusable. I would like to know just this single thing from you: do you consider unbelievable, Carran, that the snow dissolved into wine in Ireland? If your answer is yes, please lend your plugged ears to the following, and you shall hear yet more extraordinary facts picked out from authentic historians].

138 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 137–8.

139 Seathrún Céitinn (*anglice* Geoffrey Keating).

140 This was Fionnachta son of Ollamh Fodla, who held the 'sovereignty of Ireland' for twenty years.

141 Diarmaid Mac Murchadha (*anglice* Dermot MacMurrough), (c.1110–1171), was a king of Leinster. In 1167, he was deprived of his kingdom by the high king, Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair. To recover his kingdom, Mac Murchadha solicited help from king Henry II of England and in doing so initiated the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.

The significance of the exchange of views about C eitinn is that it prefigured later English criticisms of C eitinn, most notably that of Sir Richard Cox in the 1680s.¹⁴² That Bruodin and Carve entered into debate on the subject in the 1670s demonstrates that the writings of C eitinn caused controversy not only for foreign-born and New-English Protestants in Ireland, but also among Catholic clerics from different cultural traditions.

The Gaelic learned class

The core argument of Bruodin which runs through both *Propugnaculum* and *Anatomicum* is the defence of Clann Bhruaideadha and the Gaelic learned class. His defence rested on several pillars. Firstly, because Clann Bhruaideadha were members of the Gaelic learned class they were noble and enjoyed privileges. Secondly, that the family was endowed with lands, some of which were rent-free by virtue of their professional status. Thirdly, that Bruodin's great-uncle, Tadhg mac D aire Mhic Bhruaideadha, was a *litteratus*, a man of distinction and influence.

One question to ask is why the defence of his family mattered so much to Bruodin? And why was he so sensitive to criticism directed at his family and the Gaelic learned class, especially from a fellow Irishman? For Bruodin the defence of his family rested on more than familial pride: it also referred to a deep grievance. It mattered because he was writing after the military defeat of the Gaelic Irish when many were forced into exile. As a result the Gaelic Irish were sensitive to issues concerning honour and status and to the loss of what they perceived as their rightful patrimony. Within the Irish religious communities abroad there were old rivalries between Old English and Gaelic Irish interests which were more or less contained under the stewardship of Fr. Luke Wadding. In the aftermath of the Cromwellian upheaval old rivalries found new life as both sides, the Old English and Gaelic Irish clerics, exiled on the continent and reeling from the disasters that had befallen their communities, found themselves arguing over who was responsible for the defeat. The tensions between Ormondists and those aligned with the Catholic Confederacy and the papal nuncio Rinuccini, very often reflected older Old English-Gaelic divisions.¹⁴³

Carve's claim of Old English ancestry and disparagement of Bruodin's family members, was a direct challenge to Bruodin. It criticized much of what Bruodin represented and identified with: an older, immutable tradition whereby bardic poets and learned families played a necessary role in the calculus of noble honour in Gaelic society.¹⁴⁴ The issue of honour and

¹⁴² Cunningham, *Keating*, 209–11.

¹⁴³ John J. Silke, 'The Irish Abroad, 1534–1691', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin & F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland: Volume III: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) 587–633, at 614–5.

¹⁴⁴ Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541–1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 80.

the competition for place and status was a pre-occupation of the bardic/intellectual class in the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁵ Carve's criticisms, given the ethnic divisions that permeated the Irish abroad, and also his denial of the nobility of the Bruodins who asserted that their honour was linked to the Thomond O'Briens, compelled Bruodin to defend his family against such criticisms.

In defending his family's honour, Bruodin uses Clann Bhruaideadha's most illustrious member, Tadhg mac Dáire, as a virtual symbol of the classical Gaelic tradition, despite the reality that it was almost vanquished by the time Bruodin was writing. Issues of status and reputation were important for Irish exiles who were acutely aware of their families' dramatically changed circumstances following the Cromwellian upheavals, and their own position as exiles. That the Gaelic Irish were sensitive to criticism reflected their own plight and a realization by some that Gaelic culture, or at least its literary heritage, was in retreat. Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's list of Irish writers and *ollúna*, (titled *Ughdair Éireann*)¹⁴⁶ may have been guided by a realization that Gaelic culture was declining and efforts were needed to preserve its literature and important writings.¹⁴⁷ In the same way Bruodin's defence of Clann Bhruaideadha and his focus on their literary activities formed part of his vindication of Gaelic culture against 'outsiders' like Carve.

Bruodin presents us with a number of important fragments of information on the Gaelic learned class. He was a well-informed authority and his writings suggest that his command of literary Irish and knowledge of nomenclature, genealogy, poetry and etymology, were the products of a literary, if not a bardic, education. Certainly he was literate in Irish, as he himself remarks that he had the poems of Tadhg mac Dáire in his hands and they were in Irish and Latin.¹⁴⁸ He also shows a familiarity with the 'Contention of the Bards' (*Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh*) which suggests that he probably had knowledge, if not command, of the literary dialect of the bardic class that many of his forebears had.¹⁴⁹ At a time when most Irish-speakers were illiterate, Bruodin seems *au fait* with the language's higher register forms, and his reference to a manuscript version of Seathrún Céitinn's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, suggests that he possessed and read Irish manuscripts while writing in Prague.¹⁵⁰

145 Ibid., 146–93.

146 James Carney, 'De Descriptoribus Hibernicis', *Celtica*, 11 (1946), 86–110.

147 A similar realisation has been observed in relation to brehon families and their motivation, in the sixteenth century, to copy and preserve Irish law texts. See Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Cólín Ó Drisceoil, 'The landscape and law school settlement of the O'Doran brehons, Ballyorley, Co. Wexford', in Ian W. Doyle, (ed.) *et al.*, *Medieval Wexford: Essays in memory of Billy Colfer* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 383–415, 386.

148 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 116.

149 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 851.

150 Ibid., 1086.

While no bardic poetry is attributed to Bruodin, his fellow Irish Franciscan, Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh, published in Latin a grammar of Irish poetry in 1677 which contained several of his own poems in classical metre.¹⁵¹ Ó Maolmhuaidh was clearly a product of the bardic schools. As contemporaries and members of learned families, it is likely that Bruodin and Ó Maolmhuaidh were the last generation to have some acquaintance with the bardic schools that continued to operate, as we are told in other sources, until the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁵² Bruodin marshalled the verses of Ó Maolmhuaidh to defend his claims concerning Clann Bhruaideadha. In one passage Bruodin appended the following elegiac couplets from Ó Maolmhuaidh as a sort of approbation:

Inter Tuomonides priscis fulgere Bruodini,
Moribus & vita, nobilitate sati
Si genus & proavos horum Carran notasses,
Horreres celsos vellere dente viros.
Consule vel vivos, Chronicos vel consule Regni
Istos Heroas aequiparasse leges.¹⁵³

[Among the old inhabitants of Thomond, the Bruodins sprung of nobility,
Shone bright in their customs and [way of] life.
Had you noted their [noble] stock and forefathers, Carran,
You would shudder to pull down by tooth [these] eminent men.
Consult the living, or consult the chronicles of the Kingdom:
You will read that those [Bruodins] were equal to heroes].

Ó Maolmhuaidh's testimony regarding the authenticity of Bruodin's writing about Clann Bhruaideadha appears at the back of *Anatomicum*. His testimony focuses on factual claims regarding Bruodin's family which formed a core component of Bruodin's argument regarding the bardic class:

Nos infra subscripti Ordinis Sancti Francisci Strictioris
Observantiae Provinciae Hiberniae testamur, & fidem omnibus has
Lecturis certam facimus, Tuomoniae in Hibernia, Bruodinianam

- 151 Examples of Froinsias Ó Maolmhuaidh's poems composed in Irish have survived and appear in his scholastic work on Irish poetry, *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica nunc compendiatá*, which was printed in Rome in 1677. See Tomás Ó Flannghaile (ed.), *De Prosodía Hibernica* (Dublin: M.H.Gill and Co., 1908), 108–14.
- 152 Thomas O'Sullivan, *Dissertation in Memoirs of the Right Honourable The Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy General of Ireland ...* (London: James Woodman, 1722), cxix.
- 153 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 136.

familiam, honoratam, aestimatam, & ab hospitalitate, doctrina, ac moribus, fuisse merito semper laudatam; ex qua plurimi Nobiles Viri nobis noti, diversa habuerunt Haereditario jure bona, & subditos ac sequaces multos, usque ad infausta illa tempora, quibus, praevalentibus Rebellibus Parlamentarijs, plerique omnes per Hiberniam, Magnates, & Nobiles, Dominijs & bonis fere, omnibus, Tyrannico ritu sunt spoliati. Veritatem hanc subscriptione manuum, & ordinarij Collegij nostri Sigilli appositione confirmamus. Actum Romae ad Sanctum Isidorum, 1. Martij, Anno 1671.¹⁵⁴

[We, the undersigned below, of the Order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance of the Province of Ireland, testify and give full assurance to all who will read this letter that in Thomond in Ireland the Bruodin family were always deservedly honoured, held in high esteem and praised for their hospitality, learning and customs; and many noble men from this family, who are known to us, held various properties by right of inheritance as well as numerous subjects and followers, until those unfortunate times in which, when the rebels of the Parliament prevailed, most of the magnates and nobles throughout Ireland were stripped of almost all their dominions and possessions in a tyrannical way. We confirm this truth with the undersigning of our own hands, and the affixing of the seal of the confraternity of our Order. Ratified in Rome, at St Isidores, 1 March 1671].

Bruodin was of the same mould as Ó Maolmhuaidh; a cleric who combined both the secular learned tradition of Gaelic Ireland and the Latin learning of the Church. His approbation, along with those supplied by other Franciscans, are reminiscent of the approbations that Mícheál Ó Cléirigh received from fellow Gaelic *literati* – including Bruodin's own kinsman Conchobhar Mac Bruaideadha in 1636 – to lend legitimacy to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.¹⁵⁵

Bruodin had a detailed knowledge of the genealogies of the principal Thomond families. The inclusion of a genealogy of the Uí Bhriain kings in *Propugnaculum* points to him having more than a superficial acquaintance of *seanchas*.¹⁵⁶ His use of Gaelic orthography, such as where he refers

154 Ibid., 269–70.

155 See Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 278–98; and John O'Donovan (ed. & trans.), *Annala Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, 1 (repr. Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co., 1856), lxix.

156 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 1077–86.

to the lineage-group of the McNamaras as the *Síol Aodha*, is evidence of his familiarity with the genealogies of the Dál gCais dynasty. But his claim that the progenitor of Clann Bhruaídeadhá was of the O'Deagh family and who shared, as it were, *cognomen, semen simul & sanguinem* ('family name, at the same time seed and blood'), is not substantiated in other Dál gCais genealogies.¹⁵⁷ It has been suggested that Clann Bhruaídeadhá disregarded their early links to the ruling *Corca Mruadh* dynasty and instead re-imagined a genealogical connection to the Dál gCais.¹⁵⁸ Bruodín's account may represent his family's accepted view of their origin. In light of this it is a remarkable fact that for a family of chronicler-poets, Clann Bhruaídeadhá appears not to have left behind a genealogical tract charting their own origins.¹⁵⁹

When writing about the chroniclers and poets, he acknowledges that as a Bruodín he felt compelled to honour his family's ancient profession and include a genealogy of their traditional patrons, the Uí Bhriain. The genealogy prominently appears at the end of *Propugnaculum*, prefaced by an interesting account on the duties of the learned families:

Chronologi & Poetae in summa semper fuerunt in Hibernia Veneratione, Poetarum fictionibus, & persuasionibus multa commissa sunt a Proceribus Regni, priscis temporibus mala, ob quae non immerito eos expellere voluit Rex Dermitius, Fergusij filius. De chronologorum conditionibus & obligationibus, jam supra, circa initium hujus libri c.4. egi. Inter alia, quae posteris memoriae tradiderunt Antiquarij, maxime Genealogia nobilium familiarum Proceribus Hibernis summe semper placuit. Porro ipsi Chronologi, tam exacte arbores illas Chronologicas, & ramos omnes ab illa descendentes notabant, ut in Hibernia vix fit hodie notabilis familia, quae ex libris Chronologorum, suam deducere non posset Genealogiam, usque ad ipsum Adamum, quod ut videas gratiose Lector (cum mei muneris nec hujus loci sit, arbores omnes Genealogicas describere) pro fine hujus libri hic subjungam, veram Genealogiam Regiae ò Brienorum familiae Principis, nimirum Tuomonia Comitis moderni: nec mihi Hiberni alij rationabiliter vitio vertent, si omissis aliarum familiarum Genealogijs, ò Brienorum Genealogiam subjungam: Bruodinus namque sum, sic mirum non est, si familiae hujus Illustrissimae, cujus Antecessores mei semper fuerunt Chronologi, recordabor, omissis pro nunc alijs.¹⁶⁰

157 Ibid., p. 1082. McGrath, 'Materials', 54.

158 On a discussion about their genealogical origins see Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The Origins of Clann Bhruaídeadhá', *Éigse*, 31 (1999), 121–30.

159 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 1081–2.

160 Ibid., 1075–6.

[Chroniclers and poets have always been held in the highest respect in Ireland. Many evils were committed in olden times by the leading men of the kingdom due to the inventions and persuasions of poets, because of which king Dermot, son of Fergus, not undeservedly wanted to ban them. The subject of the situations and obligations of chroniclers, I have already treated above, towards the beginning of chapter 4 of this book. Among other things which antiquaries have transmitted to the memory of following generations, the genealogy of noble families was above all always highly appreciated by the Irish leading men. Moreover, chroniclers themselves so precisely represented those chronological trees and all the branches descending from it, that there is hardly any distinguished family today in Ireland that could not trace its genealogy from the books of the chroniclers back to Adam himself. So that you may see this, dear reader (as it is my role but not here the place to describe all genealogical trees), I will annex here as a conclusion to this book the true genealogy of the chief of the kingly O'Brien family, namely today's earl of Thomond: nor will other Irishmen reasonably reckon it as a fault on my part if I omit the genealogies of other families and annex the genealogy of the O'Briens: for I am a Bruodin, so it is not surprising if I will give my thoughts to this most illustrious family, whose chroniclers my predecessors have always been, omitting the others for now].

The inclusion of the O'Brien genealogy could have been an oblique way to seek O'Brien patronage, although we know nothing about Bruodin's links, if any, to the O'Briens when he was living in Prague. What is more likely is that he was emulating his forebears by paying homage to his family's traditional patrons. In *Propugnaculum* he also appended a list of the noble families of Ireland.¹⁶¹ These inclusions must have been curious additions to what is best described as a composite work, embracing disparate topics ranging from heresy, theology and topography, sprinkled with anecdotes about Clann Bhruaideadha, to the military forces of Gaelic Ireland (*gallogloch*) and detail about the Irish harp (*clairseach*).¹⁶² Such matters must have seemed quite obscure to his continental readers.

Bruodin tells us that the bardic poets were distinguished by different grades, each grade reflecting their status and learning:

Inter Hibernos ... (more omnium per Evropam Nationum) sunt
Nobiles, Nobiliores, Nobilissimi: Divites, Ditiores, Ditissimi.
Bruodinus non negavit; sed palam confessus est, suam familiam

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1095–9.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 1073, 1075. Bruodin uses the Irish terms *clairseach* and *gallogloch* in the Latin text.

esse tantum Nobilem, ex qua semper unus fuit familiae caput, seu Senior (vulgo mac Bruodin dictus) cujus erat priscis Regnantibus Hibernis, inter alios Regni Chronologos Historiam Regni scribere, Genealogias, et facta notabilia Principum ô Brien & aliarum certarum magna[r]um familiarum observare.¹⁶³

[Among the Irish ... (as by custom of every nation across Europe) there are noble people, nobler people and the noblest people: the rich, the richer and the richest. Bruodin did not deny, but – instead – he openly confessed that his family was only a noble one, from which always a single man was brought forth as the head of the family, or the senior (generally called Mac Bruodin). Back in the time when the Irish of old reigned, it was up to him to write, among other chroniclers of the realm, the history of the realm, and to keep note of the genealogies, and the remarkable deeds of the O'Brien princes and those of other certain great families].

His description is interesting in that it draws from his own recollections about his family which are rightly referred to as chroniclers and keepers of genealogies. The passage also suggests that the head of the family was denoted 'MacBruodin', (in Irish, *Mac Bruaideadha*), and it was him, in this recognised designation, who was conferred the official role of chronicler-poet or *ollamh*.

We know that other Gaelic learned families in the later medieval period functioned in the same manner. Eligibility for the role of *ollamh* was not pre-ordained, although the office tended to be hereditary within a kindred. Bruodin explains that seniority and learning were important qualifiers for attaining an official role:

Non omnes, qui ex familia erant, sed unus tantum vel alter, ex senioribus, & in facultate maxime doctis, Judicis v.g. munus, vel Historici exercere poterant.¹⁶⁴

[Not all members of the family could exercise the function of e.g. judge or historian, but only one or two of the elders most learned in the field].

Bruodin's writings on Clann Bhruaideadha reveal that several leading kinsmen were acknowledged heads of the family. It may be surmised that what Bruodin meant by *familiae caput, seu senior* ('head of the family, or the senior') was that an individual was both the acknowledged head of a

¹⁶³ O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 40.

¹⁶⁴ Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, 787.

family branch and had attained accomplished learning. Bruodin uses this distinction for both Flann of Moynoe and Maoilín Óg who, we are told, were distinguished learned men. This view is supported in other sources. The main branch of the family from Ibrickan held the *ollamhnacht seanchais* in the late sixteenth century. The annals note that Giolla Brighde Mac Bruaideadha succeeded his brother Maoilín as *ollamh seanchais* in Thomond in 1582 on the latter's death.¹⁶⁵ Giolla Brighde must not have held the *ollamhnacht* for long as Maoilín's son, Maoilín Óg (ob. 1602), succeeded as *ollamh* around 1588.¹⁶⁶ On his death it appears that his son Conchobhar inherited the designation – the *Mac Bruaideadha* – evidenced by the fact that he signed a land deed in 1606 as 'Connor Brodyn otherwise McBrodye'.¹⁶⁷ This designation remained and in 1636 he signed his name as 'Conner Mac Brody, dá ngoirther Mac Bruadan'.¹⁶⁸

Tadhg mac Dáire, by contrast, was not accorded the official designation *ollamh flatha* ('professor to a prince') despite producing an impressive flurry of classical poems in defence of his patron's ancestors. Moreover, he is not mentioned in the annals, unlike Maoilín Óg. Tadhg mac Dáire gained Ireland-wide fame as the initiator of the 'Contention of the Bards' (*Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh*) in c.1616¹⁶⁹ where he defended his Protestant patron, Donough O'Brien, from the claims of the Ulster poets.¹⁷⁰ Such contentions were literary devices designed to ensure that competing poets who were engaged in a controversy over genealogical or historical claims could maintain their linguistic and metrical skills at a time when the bardic schools were in decline. The contention which Tadhg mac Dáire entered must have been calculated to enhance the political currency of his patron among the Gaelic Irish. The style of the contention points to it being initiated by Tadhg mac Dáire at the behest of the earl, despite Tadhg mac Dáire not being the official *ollamh* of Thomond.

Bruodin calls Tadhg mac Dáire 'the Bruodin', and 'the senior, or head, of his family', but this appears to have referred only to his superior learning.¹⁷¹ He was not the chief *familiae caput* – that position was held first

165 *AFM*, *sub anno*, 1582. The translation reads 'kinsman' but the use of the term *bráthair* indicates they were brothers.

166 A set of annals compiled by Maoilín Óg were begun in 1588, indicating that he was fulfilling the role of official *seanchaidh* (historian) from this time. See Bernadette Cunningham, 'The Historical Annals of Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha, 1588–1603', *The Other Clare*, 13 (1989), 21–4.

167 See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms C.13/34a [23 September 1606] printed in Luke McNerney, 'Documents from the Thomond Papers at Petworth House Archive', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 64 (2011), 7–55, 40–2.

168 i.e. 'Conner Mac Brody, called Mac Bruadan'. See O'Donovan (ed.), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*, lxi.

169 Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Contention of the Bards*, 2 vols (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1918–20).

170 Joep Leerssen, *The Contention of the Bards* (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1994), 49.

171 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 851–2.

by Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha as the official *ollamh seanchais* and later by his son Connor Brodyn, a man less learned but held in respect due to his father's position. When the German-born settler Matthew de Renzy came to Clann Bhruaideadha at Kilkee in Dysert seeking to learn classical Irish it was clear that Connor, the son of Maoilín Óg, was regarded as the *Mac Bruaideadha*, not Tadhg mac Dáire.¹⁷² The latter's standing was that of an office-bearer to the earl that owed much to the cultivation of a personal relationship which stretched back to the earl's youth when Tadhg mac Dáire acted as his guardian and tutor, and later when he held a position at the earl's court. As we have already seen, other members of Clann Bhruaideadha, such as Flann who was called *an t-ollamh toghtha*¹⁷³ ('the elected *ollamh*'), were regarded by Bruodin as heads or seniors of the family.¹⁷⁴ But the title of chief head or official *ollamh* of the family was the prerogative of the Inchiquin branch, as represented by Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha.

In the later medieval period there also existed a peripatetic class of *literati* who enjoyed neither the office of an *ollamh (ollamhnacht)*, nor were endowed with tax-free professional lands. They were footloose, moving around the country in search of patrons. Learned families may only have had one *ollamh* who maintained a school and who was granted a tax-free estate, but there were other learned kinsmen to be considered too. In the case of Clann Bhruaideadha a number of scribes and minor poets flourished in the seventeenth century. Many of these acted as notaries and witnesses to land transactions for local nobles, while others continued to act as genealogists and historians for their patrons.¹⁷⁵

Bruodin leaves us with other aspects of the standing of the learned class. In one passage he singles out the learned chroniclers who were practiced in *seanchas* and *genelach* (genealogy) and who were appointed as chronicler-poets to Gaelic lords. The cultivation and recording of the genealogies of landholding families was not undertaken for antiquarian reasons

172 Mac Cuarta, 'Conchubhar Mac Bruaideadha', 122–6.

173 Cuthbert Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1967), [poem 39; date: 1646].

174 Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, 770.

175 Scribes and notaries of Clann Bhruaideadha are found in legal documents in both the *Inchiquin Manuscripts* and Irish deeds printed by James Hardiman. See Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*: (nos. 890, 920; 930; 936; 937; 952; 964; 966; 975; 980; 981; 984; 995; 999; 1003; 1008; 1011; 1018; 1021; 1025; 1029; 1030; 1044; 1318; 1321; 1344; 1482); and James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 15 (1826), 1–95, pp 61, 67, 80, 81, 84. Other scribes are found at Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Seven Documents from the Inchiquin Archives', *Analecta Hibernica*, 26 (1970) 45–70, at 53–3. And see the reference from the 1630s to a pedigree drawn up by 'Teig McDonell McBrodyne' for Sir Dermot O'Mallone, lord of Hagerue in Belgium (later baron of Glenomallun in Thomond) cited in Anne O'Sullivan, 'Saint Brecán of Clare', *Celtica*, 15 (1983), 128–139, at 139.

but formed a crucial role in charting proprietorship and other rights. In a society where kinship with the ruling dynasty in each *locale* determined landholding, status and wealth, the keeping of genealogical records by professional historians was an important function. Bruodin explains:

Denique notandum est, quo in honore inter Hiberniae Principes semper fuere Chronologi illi, qui diligenter, syncere, & veridice acta Regum, & praecipuarum, Familiarum, earumque Genealogias, observabant. Nam praeterquam quod ipsi antiquissimae erant nobilitatis, ex eodem ordinarie stipite originem trahentes, ex quo ij quorum erant Chronologi descenderunt (Bruodini v. g. qui o Brienorum semper fuere Chronologi, originem trahunt, non solum ab Eibero Mileri primogenito, sed etiam a Casio, a quo ò Brieni descenderunt; Bruodiga namque a quo Bruodini dicuntur, filius fuit Deaghi, filij Aenae capitosi, filij Cassi, ex cujus primogenito Bloid dicto, descendunt ò Brieni, ut inferius fusius ostendam) sed & exemptione plus, quam Ecclesiastica gaudebant. A Principibus enim annuam recipiebant pensionem. In publicis sessionibus, non infimas post Principes sedes occupabant. Tam pacis, quam belli tempore, a Contributionibus, militumque Quartirijs exempti erant. His, aliisque privilegijs gaudebant, eo fine, ut diligenter suo insisterent muneri, postpositoque omni respectu, nitidam describerent veritatem.¹⁷⁶

[Finally, it should be noted in what honour those chronologists, who diligently, sincerely and truthfully kept the deeds of kings and of the most important families, and the genealogies of the latter have always been held among the princes of Ireland. For aside from the fact that they themselves were from very ancient nobility, drawing their origin regularly from the root of those whose chronologists they were (the Bruodins, for example, who were always the chronologists of the O'Briens, draw their origin not only from Eiber, first-born of Milerus, but also from Cas, from whom the O'Briens are descended; for Bruodiga, after whom the Bruodins are called, was the son of Deagh, son of 'Aena capitosus,'¹⁷⁷ son of Cas, from whose first-born, who was called Bloid, the O'Briens are descended, as I shall demonstrate more at length below), but they also enjoyed greater exemption than that of the Church. For they received a yearly pension from the princes. In public sessions, they

¹⁷⁶ Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 771.

¹⁷⁷ This was Aengus Ceann Nathrach, and the early medieval lineage grouping known as the *Cinéal Fearmhaic* claimed descent from him. The genealogies name him as an ancestor of the Uí Dheaghaidh and a brother to Caisin and Bloid, ancestors of the Meic Conmara and Uí Bhriain.

occupied seats that were not the lowest after the leading men. In times of peace as well as in times of war, they were exempted from contributions and quartering of soldiers. They enjoyed these and other privileges to this purpose so that they might devote themselves carefully to their duty and, disregarding all other respects, describe the clear truth].

Carve took exception to Bruodin's depiction of them as embodying a privileged and high status caste. He argued that little distinguished the Gaelic chroniclers and poets in status, and besides they were given to slanderous writings. His criticisms applied not just to contemporaries but to the learned class in general, given, he charged, to false flattery and dubious learning:

Sane putidum est mendacium illud, quo conatur nobis persuadere Chronographos fuisse hominum genus honestius, & distinctum a Bardis, & Bardum non fuisse nomen Artis aut Poetae apud Hibernos, sed proprie significasse infamem detractorem. Non, mi Bruodine, non hac subtilitate te, tuosque Majores eximas ab hac Professione & Academia. Bardus significabat Poetam non in Hibernica tantum lingua, sed etiam in veteri Gallica & Britannica antequam fortasse ars illa ingressa esset in Hiberniam: Et Chronographi erant ex ipsa schola Bardorum: Et Bardi vocabantur Poetae ex Professione & Arte, ad distinctionem aliorum, qui ex voluptate aut virtute dicebantur Poetae, non Bardi. Sed quia Bardi plerumque mordaces conviciatores erant, facta est inde figurata locutio, qua omnes procaces & maledici detractores, Bardi Hibernice vocarentur, ut dicimus Zoilos, Momos, &c. Sic tibi triplici nomine hic titulus competit, arte, vitio, & origine. Oportuit haec de Bardis fusius deduci, cum ii sint aut materia aut certe fulcra omnium scientiarum Bruodini, ut constet cujus generis sint & quantae fidei?¹⁷⁸

[That lie is quite disgusting, by which he tries to persuade us that chroniclers were a kind of men more honorable than, and different from, the bards, and that 'bard' was not the name of an art or of a poet among the Irish but properly meant 'infamous detractor'. No, my Bruodin, it is not with this subtlety that you may prove yourself and your ancestors innocent of this profession and academy. Bard signified a poet not only in the Irish language, but also in old Gaulish and Britannic¹⁷⁹ possibly even before that

¹⁷⁸ Carve, *Responsio*, 27–29.

¹⁷⁹ i.e. Brythonic.

art was introduced in Ireland: and the chroniclers were of the very same school as the Bards; and the Bards were called Poets by virtue of their profession and art, to distinguish them from others who, by virtue of their delight or vigor, were called Poets not Bards. But given that the Bards were mostly biting railers, a metaphorical expression was therefore invented, by which all the insolent and slanderous disparagers were called Bards in the Irish language, as we say 'a Zoilus', 'a Momos', and so on. Thus, this title [i.e. Bard] fits you for your threefold reputation, namely for your art, vice and origin.¹⁸⁰ As these men [i.e. the Bards] are either the subject or indeed the core of every expertise of Bruodin, was it [even] necessary for me to explain these things about the Bards rather extensively, in order to show what kind of people they are and how little you can trust them?].

In another passage from *Responsio*, Carve's attack on Bruodin's writing takes a more venomous turn, crystalized in the following passage which attributes the wealth of the bardic poets to the fear they inspired by their satirizing tongues:

In Hibernia ad epulas, nuptias, exequias, aliorum denique mensas et cibaria toto Regno cursitabant, ut & alii parasiti et Catillones, & ventris causa nullum genus carminis sive in laudem, sive in vituperum, in utroque nimii, & immodici, pangere recusabant. Hi prophetias, & vaticinia quaedam a se, vel ab aliis conficta de rebus circumferebant, sicut reliqui Zingari & Aegyptii. Hi timori & amori suis Dominis & alienis erant; Voluptatis, facetiarum, & laxandi animi causa, non necessitatis, aut boni publici, ut plurimum alebantur. Hi quaestum non exiguum sua lingua faciebant, a proceribus compluribus, & plebejis, nummis aliisque humanitatis officii donati, non quod eos amarent, sed ne linguae virus experirentur...¹⁸¹

[They used to run about in Ireland to feasts, marriages, funerals, in short, they used to run about to the tables and food of others throughout all the kingdom as other parasites and plate-lickers do, and for their belly's sake they used to refuse to compose no kind of poem, whether for praise or for criticism, excessive and immoderate in both kinds. They used to carry around some prophecies and predictions invented by them or by others concerning events,

180 The meaning here is that Bruodin can be called a bard because he produced slanderous writings (*arte*), because slanderous criticisms are his vice (*vicio*), and because his ancestors were slanderous bards (*origine*).

181 Carve, *Responsio*, 15–16.

like the rest of Gypsies and Egyptians. Their own masters and other (masters) used to host these people for fear and for love; they were sustained for the sake of pleasure, humour, and relaxation of the mind, not for that of necessity or of the common good as was usually the case. They used to make no little profit with their tongues, as they were offered money and other generous gifts by a great number of aristocrats and plebeians, not because they loved them, but lest they should experience the venom of their tongues].

Carve's passage contains a number of interesting points. While cynically suggesting that poets composed poems for food and compares them unfavorably to gypsies who had a proclivity for prophecies and predictions, he does admit that they were sustained by patrons for pleasure, humor and relaxation and that they were well remunerated. He also admits that the poets were popular and received support from many patrons.

Carve's writings, however, generally deprecate the role of the poets. For him they had little value as 'cultural figures' representing, as it were, Gaelic literary culture. Carve held this literary culture in contempt, viewing it inferior to classical Latin scholarship. In doing so he attacked the very principle of the hereditary transmission of professional skills and learning which prevailed in Gaelic areas.¹⁸² Bruodin emphasised that in medicine the hereditary physicians treated diseases at no great cost and that instruction in medicine was undertaken among certain kin-groups:

Medicos quod attinet Hibernorum, caeci de coloribus iudicium, est Lindani, caecorumque Ducis Stanihurstij, de illis testimonium. Nam illorum medicos libros legere non poterant; nec, Si legissent, in re medica cum illis discurrere valebant. Vnde ergo sutoribus (ne sutor ultra crepidam) constare potuit, quod in Hibernia haereditas, non vero doctrina, medicos facit? Si saepe iterata praxis curandi periculosos morbos, unica est via, qua medici experti in arte sua, doctrina colligitur, Hibernorum medici doctissimi erant. Nam quotidiana experientia eorum in hac parte felicitas constabat, & defacto probatur; deinde in latina & materna lingua Galenum, Hypocratem, & alios medicos habuerunt libros, quibus diligenter incumbabant, cur igitur non essent docti? Fuerunt verum est ante adventum Anglorum in Hibernia, certae familiae, quibus solis licebat artem medicam exercere; nam sicut Iudices erant unius stirpis, & cognominis, & Historici alterius; sic etiam medici erant, unius certae familiae (quales sunt hodie Nelani & Hiquaei, in Tuomonia) qui suos liberos, & cognatos (ut loquitur

182 Carve, *Responsio*, 19.

Camdenus) in sua arte erudiunt, morbosque feliciter curant, sine magnis expensis, aut recursu ad Apothecas; (ipsi namque herbas, & alia colligebant, & praeparabant, quibus morbos feliciter, & facile curabant) & hi (sicut hodie in Bohemia, & Moravia, certis, & juratis medicis, & chirurgis, a provincijs certa datur annualis pensio) a Principibus, & alijs, quibus haereditario jure servire tenebantur, annua dabatur solutio.¹⁸³

[Concerning the physicians of the Irish, Lindan's¹⁸⁴ judgment is the judgment of a colour-blind man concerning colours, and Stanihurst's testimony about them is that of the leader of the blind. For they were unable to read their [i.e. the Irish physician's] medical books, and, even conceding that they did read them, they were unable to discourse about medicine with them. How then could cobblers (lest a cobbler speak about a topic beyond shoes) feel certain that in Ireland it is heredity, not real knowledge, that makes physicians? If the often-repeated practice of curing dangerous diseases is the only thing by which a physician experienced in his art gains his knowledge, then the physicians of the Irish were the most learned. For their success on this point was made evident by their daily experience, and is proven de facto; then they had, in Latin and in their mother tongue [i.e. Irish], Galen, Hippocrates and other medical books, which they studied carefully; why then would they not be learned? There were in Ireland, it is true, before the coming of the English, certain families that alone were allowed to practice the medical art; for just as judges were of one stock and one family name, and historians of another, so were physicians also of one certain family, (such as today are the Neylons and the Hickeys in Thomond), who instruct their children and relatives (as Camden says) in their art, and cure diseases successfully without great expenses or recourse to apothecary's shop; for they themselves gather and prepare herbs and other things, with which they would successfully and easily cure diseases; and these people (in the same way as today in Bohemia and Moravia certain sworn physicians are granted a certain annual pension by the provinces) were granted a yearly payment by the leading men and other people whom they were obliged to serve by hereditary right].

The study of classical Graeco-Latin medical texts was, in fact, well established in medieval Ireland and a translation of the Aphorisms of

183 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 791.

184 Professor Joannes Antonides van der Linden (1609–64), a renowned authority in Hippocratic medicine in the Netherlands.

Hippocrates into Irish was made in Thomond by Niocol Ó hIcidhe in 1403.¹⁸⁵ Bruodin's remarks reflected the observations made by Van Helmont (1579–1644), a physician from Brussels, who commented that an Irish doctor of the Gaelic tradition (*ollamh leighis*, 'professor-practitioner of medicine'), was appointed 'not on account of learning he brings away in his head from colleges, but because he can cure disorders'.¹⁸⁶ Van Helmont also observed that these learned men owed much of their knowledge 'from books belonging to particular families left [to] them by their ancestors'.¹⁸⁷

Both the Neylons (Uí Nialláin), and Hickeys (Uí Iceadha) mentioned above were prominent medical families in Thomond from the late medieval period. The Uí Nialláin claimed a physician-progenitor whose *floruit* was c.1300.¹⁸⁸ By the seventeenth century kinsmen of these medical families had also distinguished themselves in Europe as physicians.¹⁸⁹ An extensive corpus of medical writing survives for the medieval period, much of which can be attributed to the hereditary medical kindreds who were responsible for the organisation and regulation of medical schools in Gaelic areas. Like the literary families, physicians were supported by rent-free lands granted in exchange for medical services.¹⁹⁰ Bruodin also makes the point that the physicians, like the chronologists, also received an annual payment for their services.

In *Anatomicum* Bruodin noted family marriages with other learned families. He mentions Gabriel Donlevi of the Uí Dhuinnshléibhe hereditary physicians of Ulster who, Bruodin assures his readers, was an *Excellentissimus Medicinae Doctor in Comitatu Tyrconellensi* ('excellent medical doctor in County Tirconnell'), and was married to Maria Bruodin.¹⁹¹ Bruodin's reason in relating this information was to assure readers that Clann Bhruaideadha contracted marriages that were commensurate with the family's high social position. Bruodin's listing of such marriages purposely sought to refute Carve's lowly view of the family.

185 Norman Moore, *The history of the study of medicine in the British Isles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), p. 145.

186 Cited in Francis Shaw, 'Irish medical men and philosophers', in Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Seven Centuries of Irish learning 1000–1700* (Cork: Mercier, 1971), 75–86, at 82.

187 Ibid.

188 RIA Ms 24 P 41; also see the genealogy printed in Luke McInerney, *Clerical and learned of medieval Co. Clare: A survey of the fifteenth-century papal registers* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), 172.

189 Benjamin Hazard, 'Medical services for Spanish armed forces in the Low Countries and Ireland, 1586–1685,' in Ryszard Skowron (ed.), *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the early modern world* (Valencia: Albatros, 2015), 231–46, at 234.

190 On the medical families of Thomond see Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'Doctor's Donnell and James Neylon and the O'Briens of Thomond, 1530–1599', *The Other Clare*, 15 (1991), 15–19; also see Charlie Dillion, 'Medical practice and Gaelic Ireland,' in Fiona Clark & James Kelly (eds), *Ireland and medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Burlington VT: Routledge, 2010), 39–52.

191 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 135.

Places of learning

Important information is contained in the writings of Bruodin about the places of professional learning. In one passage from *Propugnaculum* Bruodin refers to a library or *bibliotheca* of Clann Bhruaideadha. Bruodin's passage provides insight into the literary holdings of a learned family. His testimony gives us reason to believe that it was genuinely based from his own eye-witness account:

Vidi insuper ego non semel in Bibliotheca minimae meae familiae Senioris (vulgo mac Bruodin) nobilis viri, D. Florentij mac Bruodin, Domini de Moyneo, antiquissimas Regni Hiberniae historias, ante tot saecula a Bruodinis in membrana mundissime exaratas, & duobus Tomis (quorum unus Rufus, & alter Ruber dicitur) contentas. In Rufo omnia facta Regum & Principum Familiarum (praesertim vero earum quae ex Eibero primogenitor Milerij Hispani, primique ex illa stirpe Regis Hiberniae, descend-erunt) continebantur. In Rubro vero libro, inter alia Arbores Genealogicae, non solum Regiae ò Brienorum Familiae, sed & praecipuarum omnium Hibenicarum familiarum artificiose collocatae videntur.¹⁹²

[Moreover, I myself have seen not just once in the library of the Senior (called Mac Bruodin) of my very humble family, the noble man Master Florence [Flann] Mac Bruodin, Master of Moynoe, the most ancient histories of the Kingdom of Ireland, set down on parchment by the Bruodins very neatly so many centuries ago, and contained within two volumes (of which one is called Rufus ['Reddish'] and the other Ruber ['Red']). In Rufus were contained all the deeds of the families of kings and princes (but especially of those that have descended from Eiber [i.e. Éibhear Fionn], the first-born son of Milerus the Spaniard [i.e. Míl Espáin], and of the first King of Ireland from that branch). In the book Ruber, however, there can be seen, skilfully put together, among other things, genealogical trees, not only of the royal family of the O'Briens, but also of all the principal Irish families].

This is one of only a handful of descriptions that exists about a library or site of literary production belonging to a learned family of Thomond. A recent archaeological excavation suggests that the law school of the Uí Dhuibhdábhóireann brehon family of the Burren was a narrow stone building located at a distance from their residence at Cahermacnaughten.¹⁹³

192 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 770.

193 See Elizabeth FitzPatrick, 'Excavations in the Law School Settlement of the O'Davoren Brehons' [unpublished report held at the Royal Irish Academy] (Dublin, 2010).

Few other descriptions exist for similar sites in the county, and none mention the literary contents of the libraries.¹⁹⁴ Bruodin's description notes that manuscripts were compiled by Clann Bhruaidealha centuries before his time, implying that the family's literary credentials stretched back to the medieval period. This indeed may have been the case. The earliest reference existing to a learned member of the family is a praise-poem composed by Seán Buidhe Mac Bruaidealha for Mathghamhain Ó Briain in 1365–69.¹⁹⁵ Little else is known about the professional activities of Clann Bhruaidealha until they are first recorded in the annals in 1563.¹⁹⁶

What is also revealed from Bruodin's description is that important genealogical material, not only of their Uí Bhriain patrons but of other families, was preserved in a manuscript book. In the book called *Rufus* the narrative of the deeds of kings and princes was possibly a work of *seanchas* combining such things as chronological history and literary narrative. It was probably at this library that Mícheál Ó Cléirigh saw a copy of the eleventh-century religious text, *Saltair Chaimín* at Moynoe in 1636, and that its custodians were the sons of Mac Bruaidealha, i.e. Flann and Bernard.¹⁹⁷

Bruodin's description of the library was criticised by Carve. In a salvo against Bruodin he wrote:

Sunt hi duo Tomi, Bardorum Bruodinorum sacra Biblia, quae a Bruodinis, si Diis placet, tanquam ab altero Moyse conscripta, servantur in Bibliotheca (panario dicas, vir vanissime) Genearchae. Quam speciosum illud Bibliothecae nomen? Quales ibi plutei, & foruli, quibus lemniscis ornati? Qualia ibi peristromata? Quot tomi & volumina? O curas hominum! Quantum est in rebus inane.¹⁹⁸

194 In Co. Clare there are several references to libraries and schools of the classical Gaelic tradition. There is a reference to the books of the Uí Mhaoilchonaire of Ard Kyle; two references to the cultivation of poetry and music at the Uí Dhálaigh school in Finavarra; and several references to the law school of the Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann of Cahernacnaughten. See Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the British Museum*, (3 vols, London, 1926), ii, 67; Eoghan Ó Neachtain, 'Tochmarc Fhearbhlaide', *Ériu*, 4 (1908), 47–67, at 51; John O'Donovan (ed.), *The Tribes of Ireland: A Satire by Aenghus O'Daly* (Dublin, 1852), 82–3; and Kathleen Mulchrone & Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, (28 vols, Dublin, 1943), vi, 3421–4.

195 See the poem: *Dlighthidh ollamh urraim ríogh* ('An ollamh should be respected by his prince'), in Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith (ed.), *Dioghluidh Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1938), 252–6. Also see a translation of the poem in L. McKenna, S.J. 'Poem to Ó Briain', *The Irish Monthly*, 49 (1921), 112–7.

196 *AFM*, sub anno 1563. A genealogy printed in O'Hart traces further generations back to the early fifteenth century but the exemplar used by O'Hart is not known. John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees or, the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation* (2 vols, Dublin: J. Duffy, 1892), i, 104–5.

197 Ó Muraile, (ed.), *Ó Cléirigh*, 110.

198 Carve, *Responsio*, 62.

[These are two tomes, the sacred 'bibles' of the Bruodin bards, which were composed – if it pleases the gods – as if by a second Moses, kept in the library (the 'bread-basket',¹⁹⁹ you might say, you most vainglorious man) of the head of the family. How fine is that library's reputation? What shelves and bookcases are there, adorned with what ribbons? What coverlets are there? How many tomes and volumes? Oh the cares of men! How much vanity there is in (such) things].

Whatever Carve's criticisms, it seems safe to say that the Clann Bhruaidealha library was a place where the family's prized genealogical writings were kept. Elsewhere Bruodin writes that Clann Bhruaidealha kept a chronicle of the Uí Bhriain kings which may have been stored at the library.²⁰⁰ In 1640 at 'Currewmore' in Moynoe stood three stone houses which were 'very well enclosed' and were held by Charles McBroodie. Nearby at Coolocossane stood two stone houses and a mill also held by Flann McBrodyn.²⁰¹ These buildings may have been related to the professional activity of the family, as places to store manuscripts, *scriptoria*, or perhaps a library.

Bruodin mentions other libraries kept by learned families. He gives an account of the library of the head of the Meic Aodhagáin brehons, Florentius Egan (Flann Mac Aodhagáin).²⁰² This family were pre-eminent brehon lawyers whose professional branches were settled in Ormond where they served as judges to Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lords:

Vixit in Ormonia, me adhuc in Patria existente, Nobilis vir, Dominus Florentius Eganus (Egani olim erant Charteorum, Kenediorum, Molloyorum, & aliarum Illustrium aliquot familiarum, sicut & ò Briennorum, sive qua Regum Hiberniae, sive qua Momonia & Tuomoniae Principum, Clanchy erant Judices) in Jure communi, & Hibernico versatissimus, qui Antecessorum suorum Bibliothecam habuit nobilem in qua videre licuit Jura Hibernica, mundissime in membrana, exarata. In multis alijs etiam Hiberniae locis, Jura Regni diligenter servantur, de quibus solliciti non erant Britannorum falsi scriptores, quum

199 This is hyperbole employed by Carve which recalls the words attributed to Jesus in Matthew 4:4: 'man doth not live by bread only'. As Carve likens the books in the library to bibles, a parallel could be made with the books in the library and the bread referred to by Jesus. Clearly, Carve is trying to ridicule the library by the use of imagery from the Gospels.

200 Bruodin must have had a copy of this chronicle of the Uí Bhriain kings when he wrote his works in Prague, as evidenced by his detailed exposition of their genealogy in his work. Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 1077–86.

201 See NLI, Ms 1777, 7.

202 Flann Mac Aodhagáin was a historian and jurist and was visited by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh in 1636 at his residence at Ballymacegan in Lorrha, Co Tipperary. See Ó Muraíle (ed.), *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*, 104–7.

Hibernorum Judices, litesque componendi ignotum sibi ritum taxarunt, & spreverunt. Habuerunt antiqui Hibernorum Reges, & Principes, ex certis semper, & nobilibus familijs, suos Judices, Historicos, Medicos, & Poetas (non omnes, qui ex familia erant, sed unus tantum, vel alter, ex senioribus, & in facultate maxime doctis, Judicis v.g. munus, vel Historici exercere poterat) hi libros habuerunt ab Antecessoribus suis conscriptos, quibus ipsi Judices v.g. novas Regni, & Provinciae constitutiones, & recepta Regum, Principúmve placita, adjungebant. Sic salva ignorantia Legum Anglicanarum (hoc Hibernis Angli exprobrant) qua Hiberni, sine querela, per 2000 annorum laborarunt constanti perpetuaque voluntate Judices, quod rectum erat judicabant, jus suum cuique, in quantum fieri poterat, tribuendo.²⁰³

[When I was still in my fatherland there lived in Ormond a nobleman, Master Florence Egan (the Egans were once the judges of the Carthys, Kennedys, Molloyes, and of a few other noble families, just as the Clanchys were the judges of the O'Briens whether as kings of Ireland or as princes of Munster and Thomond) who was well versed in common and Irish law, who owned an excellent library that had belonged to his predecessors, in which one could see the Irish laws very neatly set down on parchment. The laws of the kingdom are also carefully kept in many other places in Ireland – those laws which the false writers of the British did not care about when they censured and despised the Irish judges and their way of settling disputes which was unknown to them. The old kings and princes of the Irish had, always from specific and noble families, their own judges, historians, physicians, and poets (not all members of the family could exercise the function of e.g. judge or historian, but only one or two of the elders most learned in the field). These had books written by their predecessors, to which the judges themselves added e.g. the new constitutions of the kingdom and of the province, the receipts of the kings or decisions of the princes. Thus the [Irish] judges, while remaining in ignorance of English laws (the English reproach the Irish with this) under which the Irish suffered for 2000 years without grievance, judged with firm and persevering resolution what was right, granting everyone what was due to them insofar as that was practical].

Interestingly, it is Carve rather than Bruodin who provides us with information about the techniques employed by the bardic poets to compose

203 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 786–7.

the highly stylistic metres of *filidheacht*. It is not known if Carve wrote this from personal observation or from secondary sources. They may have been derived from his early life in Tipperary. It was there that another Irish writer of the early eighteenth century penned a description of the 'poetical seminaries or schools' which, he claimed, operated into the 1640s.²⁰⁴ In regard to the techniques used by the bardic poets, Carve treats us to this description:

Multa millia versuum ediscere necesse erat ad memoriae cultum, qui tali se disciplinae tradidisset. Si vena non fluebat, ventri superimponeretur prae grande saxum, sic supinus & bene onustus jacebat Bardus, donec carmen effunderet; Museum tali Musa dignum.²⁰⁵

[He who had devoted himself to such discipline had to learn by heart many thousands of verses to cultivate his memory. If his vein did not flow, a huge stone was placed on top of his belly: so would the bard lie flat on his back and well laden until he uttered the poem; a *Mouseion*²⁰⁶ worthy of such a muse].

Such a method of literary reproduction (if it is accurate) suggests the survival of archaic techniques designed to concentrate the mind on an intellectually demanding activity involving the memorisation of complex texts. Carve's observation is confirmed in other sources, including the writings of Martin Martin (Màrtainn Mac Giolla Mhàrtainn), the Scottish Gaelic writer.²⁰⁷ Carve's passage infers that during composition poets were recumbent and concentrated. One of the earliest references to the practice of composing poetry while lying on a bed in a darkened room can be found in a recension of the *Dindshenchas* from the eleventh century.²⁰⁸ An early eighteenth-century description of the bardic schools suggests they were

204 O'Sullivan, *Dissertation*, cxix.

205 Carve, *Responsio*, 25.

206 In ancient times *mouseion*, or the 'insitiation of the muses', was a type of academy where poets, artists, teachers, grammarians and other intellectuals could study and work. It was associated with the cultivation of music, poetry and philosophy. Carve uses the term pejoratively to describe the place of bardic learning.

207 Martin Martin noted that Scottish Gaelic poets would 'lie on their backs with a stone upon their belly, and plaid about their heads, and their eyes being covered, they pump their brains rhetorical encomium panegerick.' Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (London: Andrew Bell, 1703), 116. The same technique is implied in the writing of Edmund Campion, the Jesuit who visited Ireland in 1571. Campion wrote that he visited 'where they kept schoole, ten in some one chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their bookes at their noses, themselves lying flatte prostate, and so to chaunte out their lessons by peecemeale'. Edmund Campion, *A historie of Ireland, written in the yeare 1571*, (ed.), John Morrisson, (Dublin, 1809), 26.

208 James Carney (ed.), *Early Irish Poetry* (Cork: Mercier, 1965), 64.

built structures akin to a ‘snug, low Hut, and Beds in it at convenient Distances, each within a small Apartment’.²⁰⁹ Bardic schools, according to a seventeenth-century manuscript, were partitioned into ‘four divisions of poetic knowledge’.²¹⁰ Descriptions like these imply that spatial features of the schools were designed to aid the mnemonic and creative processes.

On the topic of education, Bruodin is generous in his description of a system of private tutoring that prevailed between Clann Bhruaideadha and their patrons. The description is important as it hints at the early life of Donough O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, about which little is known. It also accords with the State Papers which make reference to Donough’s stay in England in 1577:²¹¹

Catholico ritu Baptizatus, ac tandem delicate lactatus, nutritus per annos 7. in Domo viri Illustris, Domini Cornelij Clanchi, Domini de Inse & Finolae Bruodinae ejus uxoris. Crescente aetate Principis pueri, parentis jussu, Dominus Thadaeus Bruodinus Finolae frater, curam illius accepit, illumque sub sua disciplina in diversis Hiberniae locis, in quibus studuit, per annos 14. habuit, tandem mortuo Catholico suo parente, Juvenis Comes 21. circiter tunc agens annum, in Angliam, cum suo Praefecto Bruodino navigavit; ubi persvasione Thomae Butleri, Ormoniae tunc potentissimi Comitis (ut Reginae favores sibi conciliaret) a fide defecit Catholica. Post duos tandem annos in Hibernia(m) Comes una cum Thadaeo Bruodino, Catholico suo Praefecto venit; ubi Thadaeus, ex illustrissima Mohuniorum familia uxorem duxit.²¹²

[(Donough O’Brien was) baptized according to the Catholic rite and was delicately breast-fed at length, nurtured for 7 years in the house of that illustrious man, Master Cornelius Clanchy, master of Ennis and Finola Bruodin, his wife. Over the course of the boy prince’s years, Master Thaddeus Bruodin, the brother of Finola, received the care of him by order of his father, and kept him for 14 years under his tutorage at diverse places in Ireland, where he studied; when at last his own Catholic parent died, the young earl, at about the age of 21 years, sailed for England with his guardian

209 O’Sullivan, *Dissertation*, clix.

210 Eoghan Ó Neachtain, ‘Tochmarc Fhearbhlaide’, *Ériu*, 4 (1908), 47–67, at 51. The reference reads: *ceithre randaidh fesa na filidhachta* (‘four divisions of poetic knowledge’) and it refers to the Uí Dhálaigh bardic school at Finavarra in Co. Clare in the early seventeenth century.

211 H.C. Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Ireland: Elizabeth I, 1574–85* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1867), 113. Also see J.S. Brewer & W. Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth 1575–1588*, (London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868), 115.

212 O’Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 112–3.

Bruodin; whereupon through the persuasion of Thomas Butler, at that time the powerful Earl of Ormond, he forsook the Catholic faith (in order to commend himself to the Queen's favours). Eventually, after two years, the Earl, together with Thaddeus Bruodin, his Catholic guardian, came back to Ireland; whereupon Thaddeus took a wife from the most illustrious family of the McMahons].

This claim helps explain the personal connection between Tadhg mac Dáire (Thaddeus Bruodin) and the earl.²¹³ A poetic elegy composed by Tadhg mac Dáire on the death of the earl in 1624 underscores those professional and personal links between poet and patron.²¹⁴ Moreover, the claim is significant because it shows that the Meic Fhlannchadha brehons, represented here by Cornelius Clanchy, were involved in fostering the earl. Perhaps unsurprisingly this family were among the earl's followers in later years.²¹⁵

Tadhg mac Dáire

Central to Bruodin's writings is the claim that his great uncle, bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire, was an important office-bearer to the earl of Thomond. Bruodin vehemently argued that Tadhg mac Dáire was a leading personality, and as we can see from the following remarks in *Propugnaculum*, he served as a 'prefect of the court' (*aulae praefectus*) of his patron, the earl of Thomond:

Dominus Thaddeaus mac Bruodin, seu de Bruodin, Darij filius, Dominus de Monte Scoti (qui Familiae suae senior, seu caput erat, & Excellentissimi, Illustrissimique Domini, Donati Magni ò Brien; Tuomoniae Comititis, & Momoniae tunc Praesidis, Aulæ Praefectus) ut erat in Graecis, Latinis, Anglicis, & Hibernicis literis apprime doctus, & in antiquitatibus Regni, praedecessorum more, versatissimus....²¹⁶

[Master Thaddeus MacBruodin, or the Bruodin, the son of Darius,

213 Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruideadha was credited with a poem dedicated to the earl on his accession to the lordship in 1581. See Theophilus O'Flanagan, 'Advice to a Prince', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society*, 1 (1808), 41–54. The poem's title in Irish is *Mór a-tá ar theagasg flatha*. On a recent discussion about the poem see Emma Nic Cárthaigh, 'Mo cheithre rainn duit, a Dhonnchaidh: advice to a prince by Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha', in Emer Purcell (ed.), et al., *Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015), 490–517.

214 See Ó Cuív, 'Elegy', 87–105.

215 See A. Martin Freeman, (ed.), *The Composicion Booke of Conought* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1936), 29. Also see *AFM.*, sub anno, 1598.

216 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 851–2.

Master of Mount Scott [i.e. Knockanalban] (who was the ‘senior’, or head, of his family, and prefect of the court of the most excellent and most illustrious Sir Donatus ‘the Great’ O’Brien, Earl of Thomond, and then President of Munster), being exceedingly learned in Greek, Latin, English and Irish literature and in the manner of his predecessors, extremely well-versed in the antiquities of the realm ...].

In describing Tadhg mac Dáire, Bruodin notes his great uncle’s linguistic accomplishments, painting a picture of him as *litteratus*, skilled not only in Irish but in classical languages as well. Following criticisms made by Carve, Bruodin reiterates the claim in *Anatomicum* that Tadhg mac Dáire was a *praefectus* at the court of the earl of Thomond.²¹⁷ *Praefectus* could refer to an official post in one of the Thomond’s baronial courts such as at Ibrickan or Clonroad. Elsewhere Bruodin provides more detail when he says that Tadhg mac Dáire was sheriff of Clare three times and served as the seneschal of Ibrickan.²¹⁸ Carve neither confirms nor denies this claim in his subsequent work.²¹⁹ While no record has been found to verify these claims, there is no reason to doubt them. Bruodin makes a similar claim about Flann Bruodin of Moynoe,²²⁰ and records show that he served as high constable of Tulla in 1634.²²¹

Bruodin’s staunch defence of Tadhg mac Dáire is exemplified by the following passage that refers to the poet’s involvement in the celebrated literary exchange known as the ‘Contention of the Bards’ in c.1616:

Momoniensium partes scriptis, & verbis tuebatur patruus meus magnus, bonae memoriae, Dominus Thaddaus mac Bruodin, seu de Bruodin, Darij filius, Dominus de Monte Scoti.²²²

[The cause of the people of Munster was defended through writings and words of my great uncle of good memory, Master Thaddeus Mac Bruodin, or the Bruodin, son of Darius, (and) Master of Mount Scott].

Tadhg mac Dáire’s achievements were apparently considerable. Bruodin also makes the point that Tadhg mac Dáire was highly erudite, leaving us in no doubt that he was the product of the bardic schools and no stranger to classical learning either:

217 O’Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 107.

218 *Ibid.*, 113.

219 Carve, *Responsio* (1672).

220 O’Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 41–2.

221 See ‘Flan McBruodine’ in Mark Empey, *Early Stuart Irish Warrants, 1623–1639: The Falkland and Wentworth Administrations* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2015), 115.

222 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 851.

Nobis qui Domini Thadaei Bruodini scripta, & poëmata prae manibus habemus, praesertim jocosos illos Rithmos Latino-Hibernicos, quibus Hiberniam inter se, & Illustrissimi Domini Joannis de Burgo filios, jucunde divisit (ex quibus abunde constat illum in lingua Latina fuisse fundatissimum ...) ²²³

[(to) us, who have Master Thaddaeus Bruodin's writings and poems in our hands, in particular those humorous Hiberno-Latin rhymes, in which he delightfully divided Ireland between himself and the sons of the most illustrious Master John de Burgo (from which it is abundantly proved that he was most thoroughly instructed in the Latin language ...)].

What is interesting about this passage is that a poem exists in the hand of Tadhg mac Dáire titled *Rannam le chéile, a Chlann Uilliam Inis Banbha*, to which Bruodin refers. ²²⁴ In this poem Tadhg mac Dáire writes from 'stream-wasted' and 'rough-fielded *Leitir Maoláin*' on Mount Callan when addressing his Burke patrons. ²²⁵ Along with Bruodin's inclusion of a genealogy of the Uí Bhriain in *Propugnaculum*, the poem here attributed to Tadhg mac Dáire suggests that he had access to Gaelic manuscripts in Prague. Bruodin probably had access to other poems and genealogies and his references to writers such as Giraldus Cambrensis, Richard Stanihurst and Seathrún Céitinn, suggests that copies of their works were available in the collections of the Franciscans in Prague.

Elsewhere Bruodin makes reference to the annals of Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha (*ob.* 1602). ²²⁶ Despite being a Franciscan, Bruodin had no inhibition about mentioning Maoilín Óg, who at one stage was involved in an Irish translation of the New Testament (*Tiomna Nuadh*) for Protestant clergy in the 1590s: ²²⁷

223 O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 116.

224 Allowance may be made here in that Bruodin appears to be in error stating that the poem was addressed to the sons of John (Seán) de Burgo, when in fact it was addressed to Seán (John) and Uilleog Burke, sons of Richard Sassanach, the earl of Clanrickard (*ob.* 1582). The poem is in two issues of Lambert McKenna, 'A Partition of Ireland', *The Irish Monthly*, 57 (January-June, 1929), 330-3; and Lambert McKenna, 'A Partition of Ireland', *The Irish Monthly*, 57 (July-December, 1929), 368-72.

225 See McKenna, 'Partition', 368. *Leitir Maoláin*, anglicised Lettermoylean, locates on Mount Callan in Ibrickan in the west of Co. Clare.

226 *AFM.*, *sub anno*, 1602.

227 Brian Ó Cuív, 'The Irish language in the early modern period', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin & F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland: Volume III: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 509-45, at 512. At least three other Bruodins are known to have conformed to the reformed Church, but their conformity was probably more about securing a parish benefice than a confessional adherence to the reformed religion. Sometime prior to 1611 Teig McBroody held Bunratty rectory where he probably was the earl of Thomond's chaplain. In 1621 Gilbertus Bruodye was vicar of Killuran, and in 1633 Daniel McBrodin (ordained in 1624) was vicar of Kilfarboy and Killard, but elsewhere is described

Donatus ò Brien Caribrac dictus Limericensis & Tuomonia, pijssimus simul, & potentissimus Princeps: qui (ut legitur in Bruodinatorum Chronicis, & refert Milerus Juvenis mac Bruodin, seu de Bruodino, in Elogijs ò Brienorum) per varias alias Hiberniae partes, fundavit, & dotavit 80. Monasteria, Parochiales Ecclesias, & Sacella.²²⁸

[Donatus O'Brien known as Caribrac of Limerick and Thomond, both a most pious and powerful prince: who (as we read in the chronicles of the Bruodins, and Milerus the younger [i.e. Maoilín Óg] mac Bruodin, or the Bruodin, reports in the Eulogies of the O'Briens) founded and endowed 80 monasteries, parish churches and shrines through various other parts of Ireland].

Bruodin was familiar with the chronicles or annals that were compiled by Maoilín Óg. Presumably it is these annals that are mentioned elsewhere by Bruodin which suggests that they were an important work produced by the family and known to him variously as *Tuomonienses Bruodinatorum Annales* and *Chronica Bruodinatorum in Tuomonia*.²²⁹ Whether or not these chronicles were the same that were used in the *Annals of the Four Masters* for their sixteenth-century entries relating to Thomond is not known, but seems possible.²³⁰ They may have been the same set of annals known to scribe Micháel mac Peattair Uí Longáin (1693–1770) as *Annála Chloinne Bhruaideadha* but which are now lost.²³¹ Bruodin's passage confirms that the head of the family was responsible for keeping annals and composing eulogies for the Uí Bhriain.²³² The figure of eighty 'monasteries, parish

as a former 'schoolmaster'. Could the latter be the son of poet Tadhg mac Dáire? See Rev. Philip Dwyer, *The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Figgis, 1878), 148, 164–5, 171; and Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 328–9 (no. 1018).

228 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 967.

229 Ibid., 781, 783. The work *Bruodinatorum Chronica* ('The Bruodin chronicles') may have been known to Charles Vallancey and used in his *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*. He mentions one manuscript source as a work by the 'Brodines' which identified the wives of king Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain. Vallancey gives no further details on this work. It is feasible he was working from a manuscript of Clann Bhruaideadha, possibly even the same chronicles to which Bruodin referred. See Charles Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1781), 557, 567. Also see the reference therein to the manuscript 'Leabhar Irse of the Mulconnerys' which is likely a more complete version of *Leabhar Oiris* than what has survived. See Richard Irvine Best, 'The Leabhar Oiris', *Eriú*, 1 (1904), 74–112.

230 See Cunningham, 'Historical Annals', 21–4. It is possible that the annal entries attributed to Clann Bhruaideadha covered a longer period than just the late sixteenth century, their role as chroniclers to the Uí Bhriain would have necessitated the keeping of annals over generations.

231 Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, *The scribe in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland: Motivations and milieu* (Münster, Nodus, 2000), 140.

232 Maoilín Óg's poetry shows that his relationship with the earl of Thomond was fraught and

churches and shrines', mentioned above, does not occur in the Irish annals. It may, however, have been based on a set of chronicles kept by the family, which has not survived.

Another topic that occupies Bruodin is the life of his kinsman and fellow Franciscan, Dermot Mac Bruodin (see appendix 1). Aspects of the so called 'mad friar's' life have been recorded by T.J. Westropp, but until now it has not been fully translated.²³³ Bruodin's narrative of the career of Dermot Mac Bruodin from Mount Callan is striking in its detail and length. Bruodin tells us that Dermot was the son of Milarus (Maoilín) of Mount Callan and Joanna 'de Mohony' (McMahon) of Clann Mhathghamhna of Corkavaskin, a family into which Bruodin's great uncle Tadhg mac Dáire married and for whom he acted in land transactions.²³⁴ Dermot was possibly related to Clann Bhruaideadha of Ibrickan, whence a succession of kinsmen held the *ollamhnacht*. He may even have been the son of Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha (*ob.*1582),²³⁵ *ollamh* to Conchobhar Ó Briain, third earl of Thomond. Bruodin's description submits to such a possibility when he mentions that Dermot's father was Milarus (Maoilín) who was 'especially dear to Prince Cornelius O'Brien'.

Bruodin wrote that Dermot served as a novice at Ennis Friary and travelled to Spain to further his studies. His career appears to have been recorded among the O'Sullivan Beare papers from 1604 where it is noted that he served as the head chaplain of the Catholic army in Munster:

Dermissio Brodigno,²³⁶ priest, prelate and head chaplain of the Catholic army. He served throughout the war with the Baron of Lihsnave [recte Lixnaw] and the Lord of Biraven, administering the holy sacraments and maintaining soldiers at his own cost. He was captured by the enemy, imprisoned for three years and sentenced to death for the Catholic cause, but he escaped miraculously. It was he who formed a league of fifteen Catholic lords who began the war in Momonia [i.e. Munster]. In this war he lost all his estates, five relatives and many soldiers.²³⁷

he complained about a lack of patronage. See Leerssen, *Contention*, 38. In his poem *Bráthair don bhás an doidhbhreas*, ('Poverty is death's brother') addressed to the third earl, Maoilín Óg expressed frustration about the lack of patronage.

233 See, for example, Thomas J. Westropp, 'History of Ennis Abbey, Co. Clare' (1240–1693)', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 9, 78 (1889), 44–8, at 46; also see Fr Paul Mary, *The Old Friaries of Ennis and Quin* (Wexford: Wexford People, 1959), 29–31.

234 See the land deed at NLI Ms 45,669/2 [dated 1606] where Tadhg mac Dáire acted as a 'feoffee for uses' (i.e. acting as a trustee) for land in Clonderlaw. He was recorded as 'Thadeus McBruodine de Corkanalabuna' (i.e. Knockanalban). The main signatory was Teige McMorogh Roe McMahon.

235 *AFM*, *sub anno* 1582.

236 Micheline Kerney Walsh, 'O Sullivan Beare in Spain: Some Unpublished Documents', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 45 (1990), 46–63, at 55. Elsewhere in a list of priests his name is spelled 'Brodino'.

237 *Ibid.*, 53.

According to Bruodin, Dermot was captured at Limerick in 1603, but due to the intervention of the earl of Thomond who argued that Dermot was a fool and used for his entertainment, he was freed and he continued to preach openly under the earl's protection until his death in 1617. Bruodin's view that the earl was 'a heretic in words, but at heart a Catholic man' may contain an element of truth. The earl held the advowson of Bunratty and maintained a cleric there by the name of Teig McBroody.²³⁸ Other sources infer that the earl's devotion to the reformed religion may have been more about political expediency than religious sincerity, perhaps hinting that he was a crypto-Catholic or, at least, had Catholic sympathies.²³⁹ Bruodin's writing on friar Dermot was undoubtedly embellished to appeal to foreign readers, informing them about the tribulations of Ireland's Catholics. His emphasis on Dermot's life was both out of religious duty as a fellow Franciscan and deference to their shared kinship. For these reasons the detail he presents can be considered accurate in both substance and form.

Concluding remarks

The contention between Bruodin and Carve bore unexpected fruit. From among the contorted argumentation there emerges a contested picture of the role and standing of the Gaelic learned class. For Bruodin, it was important to defend the status of Clann Bhruaideadha, due to the family's recent loss of influence, making them vulnerable to criticism by detractors like Carve.

However, when analysing the contention scholars must contextulise the participants in their respective cultural milieu. Carve was attached to Old English culture and his views on Gaelic Ireland were textured by his background and by a general disdain for the Gaelic learned class. Bruodin, for his part, straddled the worlds of Gaelic native learning and Latin counter-reformation culture. His views were tinged by a desire to defend the old system which his family once embodied. The 'mutual vituperation' between Bruodin and Carve, as one scholar coined it, was fundamentally a clash of culture and worldview.²⁴⁰

The pangs of exile and the decline in Gaelic culture – especially in aristocratic circles – were keenly felt by Bruodin. His family's former standing along with their learned status and office-holding was already relegated to yesteryear by the time of his contention with Carve. Many of their lands were forfeit to the earl of Inchiquin under the Cromwellian conquest. Writing in 1912, antiquarian Dr. George U. Macnamara stated, although not without some hyperbole, that Clann Bhruaideadha were

238 Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe*, 148.

239 One contemporary source supports this view: see Bernadette Cunningham, 'A View of Religious Affiliation and Practice in Thomond, 1591', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 48 (1994), 13–24.

240 Wall, 'Bards and Bruodins', 445.

'unceremoniously evicted and their lands, though poor and unproductive, helped fill the hungry maw of Morough the Burner'.²⁴¹

In concluding this survey of the contention one is left with the essence of Bruodin's contextualised argument: that Clann Bhruaidealha and the Gaelic learned class were held in respect in Ireland (*semper fuerunt in Hibernia*).²⁴² It was their decline that Bruodin found most lamentable, motivating him to defend the Clann Bhruaidealha – a lineage whose fortunes, for him, were analogous to those of Gaelic Ireland.

241 Dr. George U. Macnamara, 'The O'Davorens of Cahermacnaughten, Burren, Co. Clare', *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, 2 (1912–13), 63–212, at 75.

242 Translated as: 'always held in the highest respect in Ireland'. See Bruodin, *Propugnaculum*, 1075.

Appendix I
The life of Dermot Mac Bruodin, OFM²⁴³

Tuomoniae in Hibernia, familiam a pietate, doctrina, & hospitalitate a multis saeculis notam, sortitus est Dermitius mac Bruodin, seu Bruodinus, Franciscani Ordinis inclytus opinione sanctitatis alumnus. Patrem habuit Milarum Bruodinum, Dominum montis Calany, Cornelio Principi ò Brien, ac Tuomoniae Comiti inprimis charum; Matrem vero Joannam de Mohony seu Mattaei. Hic peracta infantia, excoltaque primis Grammaticae fundamentis pueritia, sublatis morte parentibus, tantum cum DEO inierat consuetudinem, ut subinde integris de die duabus horis, totidemque non raro etiam de nocte, orando & meditando, cum eo confidentissime conversaretur. His tanquam praeludia futurae sanctitatis jactis fundamentis, Dermitius relicto foris saeculo, in Claustro inter strictos Evangelicae paupertatis observatores Franciscanos se inclusit. Seraphicus jam Tyro existens, in Conventu Inishensi in Tuomoniam, vitam duxit talem, ut conclausis Neofratribus exemplo, reliquis vero liberiori aura utentibus, admirationi fuerit. In orationibus fuit assiduus, in humilitatis exercitijs promptus, inedia crebra in sue durus, & quotidiana flagellatione in corpus inclemens.

Professione emissa Superiorum jussu in Hispaniam contendit, ibique inter Almae Divi Jacobi Provinciae alumnos, magnum in litteris, majorem vero in spiritu Bruodinus fecit progressum. Tandem absolutis feliciter studijs in Sacerdotem promotus, inexplebilem salutis animarum sitim, qua semper ardebat, effusione proprij si aliter mitigare non posset, sanguinis, secum tacitus exstinguere decrevit. Vrsit itaque ut cum bona superiorum venia, in Patriam Apostatarum rabie eversam, ad succurrendum afflictis, ac pene agonizanti Rei Catholicae remeare posset. Annuerunt Ordinis Moderatores pijs supplicantis desiderijs, unde Dermitius noster, Christi cruce munitus, conscensa navi, propria indutus Franciscana veste (nullis unquam periculis, aut amicorum persuasionibus induci poterat, ut aliorum more Missionariorum, deposita Religiosa veste, in habitu incederet saeculari) relicta Hispania, Oceani tempestatibus se commisit; quibus superatis, Deo ita disponente, portum attigit in ipsa nativitatibus suae terra, penes Insulam Santi Sinnani, vulgo Inishcaha, in medio Principis Sinnei fluvij sitam, Anno 1575.

Natale solum statim ac, Bruodinus calcavit, peractis superis condignis gratijs, coepit inter cognatos, & notos (quorum Bruodinatorum tunc, ut nunc etiam, tantus erat numerus, quantus in Tuomoniam. Catholici nominis professorum) Pastorum penuria jam esurientes, cum tanto fervoris spiritu,

243 Text hereunder taken from: Antonius Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis Libris X Constructum, in Duasque Partes Divisum. Pars Prima Historica in Quinque Libros* (Prague, 1669), 500–4.

Catholicae veritatis semen serere, nunc e suggestu haereticorum deliria modeste refutando, nunc aviatae Religionis fundamenta explicando, nunc sacramenta ad salutem necessaria indefesse administrando, ut ipsius diligentia Catholici per omnes Tuomoniae Baronias, seu Circulos, maximum acceperint spiritualis alimenti augmentum. Indefesse dum hoc modo verbo & exemplo, per multos annos Dermitius, in vinea laborasset Domini, odoremque bonae famae post se ubique sparsum relinqueret, humanae salutis hostis, per Elisabethae haereticos Satellites conatus, & progressus illius deturbare voluit. Invigilant igitur diversi venatores pestiferi, per diversa Tuomoniam loca, ut Thaumaturgum nostrum (qui ut flagrantissima Martyrii cupiditate semper ardebat, dudum se dedisset in conspectum hostium, nisi Superiorum impediretur imperio, Catholicorumque obstitisset petitio, quibus cordi erat, ut, pro eorum consolatione, se quam maxima cura Bruodinus tueretur) suis in retibus intercipere possent.

Erat illis diebus, quibus maxime quaerebatur, Dermitius catechizans, & praedicans Verbum Dei, non procul Limerico, in locis alias montosis, & ab haereticorum, excursionibus ordinarie immunibus. Hoc non latuit Arcis Limericensis haereticum Praefectum; quare expeditis subito aliquot sclopetarijs, Dermitius actu e suggestu perorans comprehenditur, pugnis, fustibus, & mille scomatibus a furiosis militibus male mulctatur, ac tandem ligatis retro manibus post tergum, Limericum trahitur, Anno Salutis 1603. Praefectus Arcis, de capta praeda certior factus, manicis ferreis, & compedibus ornatum, in faetidissimis malefactorum carceribus Dermitium macerari jubet. Ducitur Bruodinus (voluntarijs jejunijs, mortificationibusque quotidianis alias extenuatus) a lictoribus ad carceres, in quibus per menses continuos quatuor, summas pati debuit afflictiones & miserias; nam sub gravi multa nulli licuit Catholico cum illo loqui, aut publice subsidium aliquod illi subministrare.

Tandem e custodia extractus, in examen sedentibus pro Tribunali Regijs Judicibus, vocatus, & circa varia interrogatus impertinentia, Dermitius animose respondit, opus non esse ulteriori examine. Vestem se Catholicum esse, & Franciscani Ordinis Religiosum demonstrare; de illius nomine, Patria, dignitate, laboribus, & amicis jam abunde illis constare, qui illum apprehenderunt actualiter concionantem; sic aliud superesse nihil, quam ut dimittatur, aut illius in professione Catholicae doctrinae constantia, exquisitissimis probetur tormentis. Bene est, inquit Judex, fiet quod petis. Exiit itaque Judicis mandato, Seraphica veste, & dirissime a carnificibus duobus, flagris & virgis caeditur. Demum attractis manibus, elevatur in altum, qua tortura dum constans Christi Athleta probaretur, a quodam pecultani Praedicatio interrogatus num sentiret dolores? Respondit, sentio sed minimos, respective, ad illos, quos pro me sustinuit Salvator meus Jesus, cujus causam hic propugno quo dicto, laxata tortura ad carceres fuit reductus.

Circa illam horam qua Bruodinus torquebatur, Limericum appulit Donatus ò Brien, familiae suae Princeps, & Tuomoniae potentissimus Comes. Vir illis temporibus per Angliam & Hiberniam magnae autoritatis. Hic solito ò Brienorum in Bruodinos suos affectu motus, de modo liberandi Patrem Dermitium ab alijs torturis, & morte, qua mox erat plectendus, cogitavit; itaque Judicibus in Curia sedentibus, persuasit Comes Dermitium stultum esse, quo ipse pro sua recreatione non raro uteretur: & ad ad hoc probandum pro argumento ad duxit, quod, nisi fatuus esset, non incederet ita publice rasmus in capite, & barba, & longa illa veste indutus, contra communem praxim omnium aliorum per Angliam, & Hibernicam Papistarum Sacerdotum. Judices, hac persuasione placati; vel ut ego mihi persuadeo quia non sunct ausi potentissimi Comitibus (cujus fidem in Regem, & merita erga Coronam tota praedicabat Anglia) desiderijs resistere. Dermitium pene jam torturis, & aerumnis consumptum, libertati donarunt. Redijt jam emancipatus Christi stultus Dermitius in patriam; pristinosque labores per Tuomoniam prudenter reassumpsit. Vbique (sub umbra stultisantis Monachi, a Comite ò Brien, ore haeretico, sed corde Catholico Viro protectus) in medio persecutorum, Anglorum, Ineshiae, & alibi per Provinciam, publice in Franciscano habitu semper incedens, verbo & exemplo, plurimas lucratus est Christo (pro cujus nominis gloria prudenter stultizare, verbera, irrisiones, & scomata, stultorum more, non raro patienter sufferre, honori sibi duxit) animas, & daemones eripuit. Jam gravi senectute, exantlantibus laboribus, magnisque aerumnis Bruodinus confectus, munitus omnibus necessarijs Sacramentis pijssime in Franciscano suo Conventu Oppidi de Inish (in quo solus cum famulo, expulsis jam inde Fratribus, ab haeticis, Anno Salutis 1575. per tres ultimae vitae suae annos, afflictum Ecclesiae & Patriae statum, ferventibus precibus Deo recommendans, ordinarie se continuit) obdormivit in Domino 9. Augusti, Anni 1617.²⁴⁴

[In Thomond, Ireland, Dermot MacBruodin, also known as Bruodin, a member of the Franciscan Order famed for his sanctity, was born to a family noted for many centuries for their piety, learning, and hospitality. His father was Milarus Bruodin, Lord of Mount Calany,²⁴⁵ a man especially dear to Prince Cornelius O'Brien, the earl of Thomond; his mother was Joanna de Mohony, also known as Matthaeus.²⁴⁶ Having lived out his infancy here, and having enriched his childhood with a solid foundation in grammar, after the death of his parents he entered into such a close acquaintance with God that he conversed very confidingly with

²⁴⁴ Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 500–4.

²⁴⁵ This is Mount Callan in Ibrickan where Clann Bhruaidealha held land in the seventeenth century, including on the eastern slopes at Lettermoyle. It was incorrectly copied by Westropp as 'Mount Calary'. See Westropp, 'Ennis Abbey', 46.

²⁴⁶ This is the Co. Clare surname, Mac Mathghamhna, which is anglicised as McMahon.

him through prayer and meditation for two full hours every day, and often just as much at night. Having laid these foundations as a foretaste of future sanctity, Dermot, leaving the world outside, enclosed himself within the cloister among the Franciscans who were strict observers of evangelical poverty. Already as a seraphic tyro²⁴⁷ in the convent of Ennis in Thomond, he led such a life that by his example he was a source of admiration to his new brothers in the enclosure, the rest of whom took a rather freer approach. He was assiduous in prayer, prompt in exercises of humility, hard on himself through frequent fasting, and severe with his body through daily flagellation.

After he was ordained he went to Spain by order of his superiors and there, amongst the members of the nourishing province of St James, Bruodin made great progress in his studies, but even greater progress in his soul. Once he was finally promoted to the priesthood, after he had successfully completed his studies, he decided to satisfy quietly within himself an unquenchable thirst for the salvation of souls, with which he always burned, by the shedding of his own blood if he could not calm it in any other way. Therefore, he longed to be able, with the good permission of his superiors, to go back to his homeland, which had been subverted by the savageness of the apostates, in order to bring help to its Catholicism, which was afflicted and almost in its last agony. The moderators of the Order consented to the supplicant's pious desires, whence our Dermot, armed with the cross of Christ, boarded ship and clad in his proper Franciscan habit (he could never be persuaded either by the dangers or by the blandishments of his friends to lay aside the religious habit and go about in secular attire, in the manner of other missionaries), having left Spain he entrusted himself to the storms of the ocean; and after he overwhelmed these storms, he reached port in the land of his birth near the island of Saint Sinnan, commonly called Inishcaha,²⁴⁸ located in the middle of the great river Shannon, in the year 1575.

As soon as Bruodin stepped on his native soil, having fulfilled suitable graces from above, among his relatives and acquaintances (then as now, there were as many of these Bruodins as the people who professed the Catholic faith in Thomond), by then hungry because of the lack of pastors, he started sowing the seed of Catholic truth with such great fervour of spirit, now by modesty refuting from his pulpit the mad statements of the heretics, now by explaining the foundations of their ancestral religion, now by administering tirelessly the sacraments necessary for salvation, insomuch that, thanks to his diligence, Catholics through all the baronies or circuits of Thomond received a very great increase of spiritual sustenance. Dermot tirelessly laboured in this way by word and example for

²⁴⁷ i.e. a novice of the Franciscan order.

²⁴⁸ This is Scatterry Island, called Inis Cathaigh in Irish, and was associated with St Seanán.

many years in the vineyard of the Lord, and was leaving spread everywhere behind him the savour of a good reputation; the enemy of human salvation [i.e. the devil], through the heretical followers of Elizabeth, wished to strike down his [Dermot's] attempts and progress. Various pestiferous²⁴⁹ hunters therefore kept watch in different parts of Thomond so as to be able to catch in their nets our wonderworker (who as he always burned with a raging desire for martyrdom, at length would have put himself within sight of his enemies unless impeded by the command of his superiors, and the requests of the Catholics had stood in the way, in whose heart it was that for their consolation Bruodin should be kept safe with the greatest care).

On those days, in which he was especially sought after, Dermot was catechising and preaching the Word of God not far from Limerick in places which, being full of mountains, were generally immune from the expeditions of the heretics. This did not go unnoticed to the heretical commander of Limerick castle; wherefore some pursuers having immediately been sent out, Dermot was arrested in the act of preaching from a pulpit and was badly treated by angry soldiers with assaults, cudgels and a thousand taunts, and eventually was dragged to Limerick with hands bound behind his back in the year 1603. The commander of the castle, informed of his captured prey, ordered Dermot to be crushed in hand cuffs and shackles in a stinking prison for malefactors. Bruodin, (already weakened by voluntary fasting and other daily mortifications), was led by the guards to the prison where for four continuous months he had to suffer extreme afflictions and misery; for under grave penalty no Catholic was permitted to speak to him or publicly provide him any help.

At last brought out from custody and called for examination before the royal judges sitting as a tribunal and interrogated about various irrelevant matters, Dermot gave a lively reply that there was no need for further examination. His habit demonstrated that he was a Catholic and religious of the Franciscan Order; those who had arrested him while he was publicly speaking were already aware of his name, homeland, profession, activities and friends; thus nothing remained except for him to be dismissed, or for his constancy in professing Catholic teaching to be tested with most exquisite tortures. 'That is fine', said the judge, 'it will be as you ask'. And so at the judge's order he was stripped of his seraphic habit and beaten most severely by two butchers with whips and staves. Then he was suspended on high by bound hands, and while the constant athlete of Christ was being tested by this torture he was questioned by a certain corrupt preacher whether he could feel the pain. He replied, 'I feel it but it is very slight compared with those blows that my Saviour Jesus bore for me, for whose cause I am here fighting', and after he said this, the torture was ended and he was returned to prison.

249 i.e. someone morally corrupt.

About the time that Bruodin was being tortured, Donat O'Brien, head of his family and most powerful earl of Thomond,²⁵⁰ came to Limerick, a man in those days of great authority in England and Ireland. This man, moved by the customary affection of the O'Briens for the Bruodins, thought about a way of freeing Fr Dermot from the other tortures and death by which he was soon to be punished; and so the earl persuaded the judges sitting in the court that Dermot was a fool, whom he often used for his entertainment, and to prove this he added as an argument that if he had not been foolish, he would not have gone about in this way in public with a shaven head, a beard and robed in that long habit contrary to the common practice of all the other popish priests in England and Ireland. The judges, calmed by this argument, or, as I am convinced, because they did not dare resist the desires of a most powerful earl (whose loyalty to the king and merits towards the crown the whole of England proclaimed), restored Dermot to freedom, already almost worn out by torture and sickness. Dermot, the fool of Christ, set once again free, returned to his homeland and prudently resumed his former labours throughout Thomond. Everywhere (under the guise of a stupid monk and protected by earl O'Brien, a heretic in words, but at heart a Catholic man) in the midst of the English persecutors, going about Ennis and elsewhere throughout the province, always publicly in the Franciscan habit, and by word and example he gained many souls for Christ (for the glory of whose name he considered an honor for himself to prudently fake to be a fool, and often endured blows, laughters and taunts, as fools are used to) and seized them from the devil. By then Bruodin was affected by great old age, exhausting labours and great sickness, after he was fortified by all the necessary sacraments²⁵¹ he died very piously in the Lord on 9th August 1617²⁵² in his Franciscan Convent in the town of Ennis (in which he remained alone with a servant, his Brothers already having being expelled from there by the heretics in the year 1575, for the last three years of his life, normally and continually recommending the afflicted state of the Church and his homeland to God in fervent prayer)²⁵³

250 Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond (*ob.*1624).

251 i.e. the last rites.

252 This date could derive from a necrology of Ennis Friary which is since lost.

253 I thank Giacomo Fedeli of the Classics Department at King's College London, and Monsignor Gordon Read of Kelvedon parish, Essex, for their assistance with the translation.

Appendix 2
Clann Bhruaideadha matrimonial genealogies²⁵⁴

1. ²⁵⁵ Ex Bruodinis Carrane (crepa prae indivia si vis) nominabo tibi diversos praeclaros Nobiles, qvi usq(ve) ad Annum 1650. Subditos multos, & diversa commoda habuerunt Bona, in Tuomonia; ut Testimonio non solum meo, sed & omnium, qvi in Tuomonia hodie vivunt, & aliorum fide dignorum (ut videre est in fine, & principio hujus Libelli) calculo, probabo; ut sic tua calumnia cedat in perpetuam Laudem, & honorem Bruodinatorum inter externos; & tuam confusionem, & ignominiam, inter domesticos, & extraneos. Jam ad rem.
2. In Baronia de Tully in Tuomonia, Carrane, Dominus Florentius Bruodinus, vulgo mac Bruodin dictus, qvi binis vicibus Comitatus de Clare fuit Capitaneus, vulgo Schirriff, fuit Dominus in Superiori Moyneo, Kulkosan, & Achrem.
3. Carolus Bruodinus, Dominus in Bealanegh, in inferiori Moyneo, & Bally Mennogh, [c]ujus filius est Capitaneus Bruodinus, de quo tu tam male scribis.
4. Caherus Bruodinus, Dominus in Sannobogh.
5. Daniel Bruodinus, Dominus in Toburkulan.
6. Bernardus Bruodinus, Dominus de Rosnahally.
7. Bruodinus, (Patris Antony Parens) Dominus in Balliogan, Drumbanuff, Kluon an Wullin, & Knocknamuckky.
8. Ioannes Bruodinus, Dominus in Bally an Tonny.
9. Donatus Bruodinus, in Ballyscanlan.
10. In Baronia Insularum, Dominus Gilbertus Bruodinus, fuit Dominus in Boly Duff, & in parte Montis Callani.
11. Cornelius Bruodinus, Dominus in Rossin.
12. Daniel Bruodinus, Dominus Montis Callani.
13. In Baronia de Insequen, Dominus Millerus (juvenis dictus) Dominus in Superiori Kilky.
14. Dominus Boetius Bruodinus, Dominus Rachalan.
15. Dominus Gilbertus Bruodinus, Ioannis filius, Dominus in inferiori Kilky.
16. In Baronia de Ibrickan, Dominus Iacobus Bruodinus (Thadaei filius) Dominus Montis Scoti.
17. Dominus Bernardus Bruodinus, Dominus de Kurr.
18. Praeter hos jam nominatos Carrane in Tuomonia nostra multi erant alii Bruodini Nobiles, qvi (more multorum per Hiberniam Nobilium) Bona habuerunt conducta, ab uno vel altero ex proceribus Patriae;

²⁵⁴ These are excerpted from O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 41–6, 123–36.

²⁵⁵ This section onwards is taken from O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 41–3. Line numeration is the author's own.

- quique vixerunt tam honorate, sua Industria, & oeconomisandi peritia, ac alii Nobiles, qvi propria habuerunt Bona.
19. An mihi, & aliis dignissimis viris (qvi suo testimonio confirmant veritatem, qvam seribo) vel invido, & passionato Carrano, qvi Tuomoniam vix unqvam vidit, sit in hac parte credendum, maturo Lectoris relinqvo iudicio.
 20. Jam consideremus, qvomodo Carrane, probas vera esse ea, qvae de Bruodiniana familia inverecunde scribis! non teste, non signo, non apice; probo (inqvis fol: 19.) qvia nullum unqvam Dominium habuerunt, res est certa, &c.
 21. Nobis Carrane, qvi Tuomonienses sumus nati, certissimum est, qvod tu calumniaris in hac parte; nam a me jam num: nominati Bruodini, in Tuomonia Nobiles erant, qvi diversa, & pulchra habuerunt Bona. Si tu autem vis, ut tibi potius, qvam nobis Lectores credant, oportet ut evidenti saltem aliquo signo probes, illius te spiritus testimonio niti, qvi nec falli, nec fallere potest: qvod cum facere neqveas, non tibi persvadeas Carrane, Lectores adeo tibi devinctos, ut arbitrio tuo fidem suam committant.
 22. Adduco, inqvis, evidens hoc argumentum, qvia si Capitaneus Bruodinus habuisset Dominium aliquod, in Tuomondia, certe non maneret in Bohemia. Quid rogo cogitas Senex Carrane? Argumento enim, tuo acumine digno, id est, qvod nec in modo est, nec figura, conaris colorare calumnias tuas, miselle! none Serenissimus Noster Carolus, Rex fuit Magnae Britanniae, & Hiberniae; durante potentia rebellium Parlamentariorum, & suo in Belgio, & Gallia longo exilio?
 23. Hodie etiam, proh dolor! centeni sunt ex primaria nobilitate Regni Hiberniae qvi habuerunt amplissima Dominia in Hibernia, anteqvam fuissent a Cromwellistis debellati, & injuste privati Bonis omnibus, (qvod tu, qvamvis alias aliis effrons, negare non audebis) & tamen debent haerere hinc inde, in Hispania, Germania, Gallia, Anglia, & Bellgio; vel in ipsa Patria misere vivere, dolenterq(ve) aspicere Haereticos Anglos in iniqua possessione suorum Dominiorum; An ergo inde infertur, qvod non sint legitimi Domini Bonorum illorum?
 24. ²⁵⁶ Milerus Bruodinus, vulgo magnus dictus, Dominus de Moyneo, in vxorem habuit Margaritam de Grady, Illustris Domini, Joannis Grady, aurati Equitis de Creny, & Tarumun filiam, ex qua tot egregios filios, & filias genuit.
 25. Darius Bruodinus, Dominus montis Scoti, Balliscanlan, Balliogan & c. Finolam, Grajam, Donati de Balli An Krow filiam in uxorem habuit, ex quibus multi egregij viri, & foeminae descenderunt.

256 This section onwards is taken from O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 123–36.

26. Cornelius Bruodinus de Moyneo, Mileri magni filius, Annam Mac Nemara Illustris Equitis, Domini Donati de Ballinahensy filiam, habuit in uxorem.
27. Thadaeus Bruodinus, Darij de monte Scoti filius, in uxorem habuit Annam Mohuny, seu Mathaei, Illustris viri D. Thadaei de Tuonafarna filiam.
28. Daniel Bruodinus, Darij secundus filius, Mariam Geraldinam, Illustris Equitis Domini Ioannis de Ballynamona, in Comitatu Kierensi filiam.
29. Constantinus Bruodinus de Balliogan, Darij tertius filius, Ninduviam Brian, Illustris viri, Domini Therentij ô Brien, de Craghbrien filia.
30. Bernardus Bruodinus, Darij quartus filius, & Dominus montis Callani, & Balli Antonna, in uxorem accepit Catharinam Maguivir, ex illustrissima familia in Comitatu Fermanaghensi in Ultonia natam.
31. Florentius Bruodinus, vulgo Mac Bruodin, Cornelij de Moyneo filius, Onoram de Mara, Illustris viri, Domini Thadae Mac Nemara de Fiechel, & Cecilia Saghnasij filiam.
32. Bernardus Bruodinus, Florentij frater, Slaniam de Mara, Illustris viri Domini Joannis Mac Nemara filiam (horum primogenitus R.P. Bonaventura Bruodinus, in Archi Episcopali Pragensi Seminario, multis annis Theologicam cum applausu rexit Cathedram).
33. Jacobus Bruodinus, Thadae de monte Scoti filius, Mariam Gormanam, Thomae Gormani de Drumelihy filiam.
34. Daniel Bruodinus, Jacobi frater, Elionoram Fitz Patrick Praenobilis Domini Thadae Fitz Patricka filiam.
35. Milerus Bruodinus, Constantini filius, & Dominus de Balliogan (Antagonistae tui Carrane dignissimus parens, in uxorem habuit) ex qua 27. filios, & filias accepit, Margaritam de Mollonij Gellatij ô Molloni, Domini de Ballikrom; & Sabina de Mara Illustris D. Donati de BallinaHense filiam.
36. Hujus Margarita Patruelles duo, Illustrissimi Domini Malachias ô Mollanij, & Joannis ô Mollonij, per 46. circiter annos, Laonensis sedis consequenter erant Episcopi.
37. Donatus Bruodinus, Mileri frater, Dominus de Knocknamucky Margaritam de Mara, Cormachi de BalliMoylinae filiam.
38. Cutbertus Bruodinus de Fernan, Mileri tertius frater, Phinolam de Gripha in uxorem accepit.
39. Gilbertus Bruodinus, Mileri junior frater, in uxorem habuit Onoram de Burgo, Illustris Equitis, Domini Edmundi de Ballyan Kurnin, in Comitatu Limericensi filiam. Et sororem nominatissimi Equitis, Domini Joannis de Burgo, Edmundi primogeniti.
40. Carolus Bruodinus Dominus de Bealanegh, Onoram Minogh Joannis de Burgo, Domini de Pallis in Comitatu Galviensi nepotem.
41. Joannes Bruodinus de Kilky, Mariam Nelanam, Jacobi de Balli Nielan filiam.

42. Gilbertus Bruodinus, de Boly Duff, Mariam Hein Illustris viri, Domini Florentij ô Hein de Keilovieragh filiam.
43. Constantinus Bruodinus, Iuvinis dictus, Milerij de Balliogan filius, Onoram Saghnessij, Illustris viri, Domini Danielis Saghnessij in Comitatu Galviensi, & Elionorae Gradij filiam.
44. Cornelius Bruodinus, Florentij de Moyneo filius, Onora Mohuni, Praenob: D. Matthaei Mochunij & Slane de Marra filiam.
45. Lucas Bruodinus, Cornelij frater, Elionoram Kusag de Lismolin in Midia filiam.
46. Jacobus Bruodinus de Kilgki, Joannis filius, Mariam Clanchi, Praenobilis viri, Domini Cornelij Clanchi filiam, Milerus juvenis dictus, Cornelij Bruodini de Kilky filius, Phinolam, Brian, Domini Matthaei ô Brian, de Drommile, & Elionora Sunigani filiam.
47. Taceo brevitatus gratia plurimos alios Nobiles Bruodinos, qui ex Clancheis, Girmanis, Nelanis, Gradiis, de Mara, Chrahis, Gilriagh, Fitz Patrick, &c. uxores habuerunt. Si Bruodini tam viles essent, ac tu Carrane, sine fronte fingis, non acciperent uxores ex familijs tam praeclaris, potiori ex parte per totam Hiberniam notis.
48. Iam nominabo paucos ex multis praeclaros Illustres viros, ex diversis per Hiberniam familijs, qui reciproce ex Bruodinatorum familia uxores habuerunt. Et primo in Tuomonia.
49. Praenoibilis vir, Dominus Cornelius Mac Mohony, seu Matthaei, Dominus de Tuonafarna, accepit in uxorem Brigittam Bruodinam, Darij de monte Scoti filiam, ex qua natus fuit Gloriosus Christi martyr, Joannes Matthai Societatis JESU, cuju vitam scripsit Alegambe & Bruodinus l.3. sui Propug. cap.20.
50. Ioannes Mohuny, de Tuonafarna, in uxorem habuit, D. Annam Bruodinam, Thadai Bruodini, Domini montis Scoti filiam.
51. Cornelius Clanchy Dominus de Inse Phinolam Bruodinam, Thadai de Monte Scoti sororem in uxorem habuit.
52. Perillustris Dominus Rolandus De la Heud, potentissimus quondam auratus Eques in Tuomonia. Horum filiam, Annam (Hibernice Vna) Clanchy, in uxorem duxit, ex qua 6 filios & duas filias accepit.
53. Oliverus DelaHaid horum primogenitus, in uxorem duxit Annam Conoram, Illustrissimi Domini ô Conori Kiery filiam.
54. Ioannes secundo genitus, Margaritam Winckfeld, Perillustris Equitis Domini Edvardi Winckfeld, & Onorae Brian, natae Baronissae de Insiquen filiam.
55. Iunior filius, Gerardus DelaHaid, duxit Illustris Domini ô Mary, in Comitatu Tipperaniensi filiam.
56. Margarita DelaHaid, Rolandi primogenita, maritum accepit, Illustrissimum Dominum Thadaeum, Baronem Mac Namara Riegh.
57. Catharina Dela Haid, Margarita soror, nupsit Illustri Equiti Domino Thoma de Burgo, Ioannis de Burgo, de Tulleire primogenito.

58. Rogerius Mac Nemara, de Bonnaneu, in uxorem accepit Margaritam Bruodinam, Constantini de Balliogan filiam, quae praeclaros genuit filios, & filias, matrimonio respective conjunctos, cum Mac Mohunis, ô Brienis, Hoganis, Mollonis, & Hurleis.
59. Daniel Mac Nemara de Cahir Ballymorana, Nabliam Bruodinam, Constantini de Balliogan filiam, in uxorem, duxit.
60. Moriathus Clanchy de Ballynaklohy, Mariam Bruodinam Cornelij, de Moneo filiam.
61. Thomas de Burgo, de Polmore, Annam Bruodina, Gilberti filiam, ex quo natus est Abbas de Burgo.
62. Jacobus Grady de Crossin, Mariam Bruodinam, Constantini de Ballyogan filiam.
63. Cornelius ô Dea de Brentire in uxorem accepit Annam Bruodinam, Thadai de monte Scoti filiam.
64. Jacobus Mac Nerinhy, de Lagh Bally, Ninduviam Bruodinuam; Mileri de Balliogan filiam.
65. Dermittus ô Brien, de Mogona, & Drommile, Margaritam Bruodinam, Mileri de Balliogan secundo genitam.
66. Dionitius Gormanus, de Geran, Phinolam Bruodinam, Margaritae sororem duxit.
67. Donaldus Gormanus de Dromelihi, Mariam Bruodinam, Thadai de monte Scoti filiam duxit.
68. Thadaus Mohony de Tuonafarna, Elionoram Bruodinam, Cornelij de Kilky filiam.
69. Cornelius Cruttin de Ballybeg, Elionoram Bruodinam, Cutberti de Fernan filiam in uxorem accepit.
70. Matthaüs ö Brien de Bealnafirvarnin, Eleonoram Bruodinam, Domini Bernardi de monte Callani, filiam duxit.
71. **Extra Tuomoniam in Conatia aliquos nominabo**
72. Ioannes de Burgo, de Barnaboy in Comitatu Galviensi, & Baronatu de Knalehin, in uxorem accepit Onoram Bruodina, Mileri magni de Moyneo filiam, ex qua plurimi nominatissimi, & potentes viri, & foeminae nobiles in Comitatu Galviensi descendunt.
73. Thadaeus ô Higgin, de Kulracheil, Comitatus de Sligo toties Capitaneus (vulgo Schirriff) & Pacis Justiciarius, in uxorem habuit Phinolam Bruodinam, Constantini de Balliogan filiam. Horum filius Paulus in uxorem accepit Caciliam Iordanam, Perillustris Domini mac Iordan filiam. Filia vero primogenita Maria Higgin dicta, nupsit nobilissimo viro, Domino Therentio Mag Donoghu. Junior autem filia Mithilda dicta, nupsit Perillustri Domino Ioanni de Hara, potenti quondam in illa patria Dynastae.
74. **In Momonia**
75. Donatus ô Hogan de Ballynamona in Ormonia, in uxorem habuit Helenam Bruodinam, Cornelij de Moyneo filiam, qua multos genuit

- filijs, & filias, cum ô Kenediis, ô Brienis, & alijs praeclarissimis familijs in illo tractu Matrimonio ligatos.
76. Jacobus Ba[?]y de Bally Naknock in Comitatu Corcagiensi, Phinolam Bruodinam, Gilberti filiam in uxorem habuit.
77. Horam filiam in uxorem accepit Praenobilis Dominus Iacobus Rocheus, in praefato Comitatu potens quondam Eques.
78. In Ultonia
79. Ferallus Wardeus in Comitatu Tyrconellensi nominatissimus quondam vir, Principisque; ô Donel Archipoeta, & Historicus, Mariam Bruodinam, Darij filiam in uxorem habuit.
80. Daniel Clery jam nominti Principis ô Donel Consiliarius & Chronologus, Magaritam Bruodinam, Mariae soroem ab his duabus foeminis plurimi praeclari viri, saeculares, & Ecclesiastici in Ultonia originem traxerunt.
81. Gabriel Donlevi (vulgo Ultanus dictus) Excellentissimus Medicinae Doctor in Comitatu Tyrconellensi, accepit in uxorem Mariam Bruodinam, Chuttberti de Fernan filiam.
82. Si voluissem nominare omnes praeclaras familias Bruodinis, mediantibus filijs, filiabus, ac nepotibus jam nominatorum Dominorum sanguine junctos, citius mihi charta, quam scribendi materia deficeret. Haec quae notavi abunde sufficiunt ad Bruodiniana familiae honestatem ostendendam, & ad tuas Carrane calumnias refutandas, & si his non contentatur, sequentes versus tibi a tuo populari, Reverendo Admodum Patre Francisco ô Molloy SS. Theologiae Lectore Emerito, ejusdemque facultatis in Romano S. Isidori Collegio, Professore Primario, missos accipe & tace.
83. Inter Tuomonides priscis fulgere Bruodini,
Moribus & vita, nobilitate sati
Si genus & proavos horum Carrane notasses,
Horreres celsos vellere dente viros.
Consule vel vivos, Chronicos vel consule Regni
Istos Heroas aquiparasse leges.

Translation

1. Of the Bruodins, Carran (shout out in envy if you wish), I will give you the names of various outstanding noblemen, who until the year 1650 had many people under their control and fairly various possessions in Thomond, as I will prove arithmetically not only by my own testimony, but also by that of everyone who lives in Thomond today and by the reckoning of other trustworthy people (as you may see at the end and in the beginning of this book). So that your calumny may thus turn into perpetual praise and honor among strangers for the Bruodins, and into shame and disgrace for you among both natives and strangers. Now to the point.

2. In the barony of Tully in Thomond, Carran, Master Florence Bruodin, commonly called Mac Bruodin, who was twice the Captain of County Clare, otherwise called the Sheriff, was the master of upper Moynoe, Kulkosan and Achrem.²⁵⁷
3. Charles Bruodin,²⁵⁸ master of Bealanegh, in lower Moyneo and Bally Mennogh,²⁵⁹ his son is Captain Bruodin of whom you so improperly write.
4. Caherus Bruodin, master of Sannobogh.²⁶⁰
5. Daniel Bruodin, master of Toburkulan.²⁶¹
6. Bernard Bruodin, master, of Rosnahally.²⁶²
7. Bruodin, (parent-father of Antony²⁶³) master of Balliogan, Drumbanuff, Kluon an Wullin, and Knocknamuchky.²⁶⁴
8. John Bruodin, master of Bally an Tonny.²⁶⁵
9. Donat Bruodin of Ballyscanlan.²⁶⁶
10. In barony of the Islands, master Gilbert Bruodin²⁶⁷ was the master of Boly Duff²⁶⁸ and on one side of Mount Callan.²⁶⁹

257 These are now called Moynoe and Aughrim and situate in Moynoe and Tuamgraney parishes respectively. In 1618 'Flan McBrody of Moineo gent.,' held one quarter of Aughrim in mortgage from Luke Brady. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms B/16/B [Great Office, 20 March, 1621 – Tulla].

258 Probably the same individual at number 40 below (*viz* Carolus) where his wife is listed as Onora Minogh (i.e. Minogue). Probably Charles alias Callogh Mc Broodyn who together with Flann Mc Broodyn and the Mac Cormochans, surrendered their leases to the church land of Moynoe in 1617. See NLI, Ms 1777, 7.

259 Ballyminoge in Tuamgraney parish. It may have passed to him upon his marriage to Onora Minogh whose surname indicates a familial connection to the townland. On Onora see number 40 below.

260 Possibly Shanavogh in Kilmurry-Ibrickan parish. 'Sheanvoyhe' in Ibrickan was held by Conor Mc Broady in 1615. See McInerney, '1615 Survey', 186.

261 This is the *tobar*, or holy well, of St Coolan, and it situates on the roadside between Bodyke and Tuamgraney, next to Coolan's Bridge. A stone structure was built to cover the well in 1803.

262 This placename cannot be identified. Cuthbert McGrath notes that this is Rosnehealy in the *Fourth Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts*. An inspection of the reference gives no firm evidence that the placename is in Co. Clare, the name simply appearing in a letter from Austas Comerford to the Marquis Ormond dated 18 March 1660. McGrath, 'Materials', 65. Also see *Fourth report of the Royal commission on historical manuscripts: Part 1* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1874), 511.

263 Antonius Bruodin, OFM, (*ob.*1680) the author of this work written under the pseudonym Cornelius O'Mollony.

264 These are now called Ballyogan in Kilraghtis parish, and Drumbonniv, Cloonawillin, Knocknamucky in Inchicronan parish. In 1641 'Ballyogan alias Gurtinafinch' was held by Moylan McBrodin who also held Drumbonniv along with James Oge McBrode. In 1641 Cloonawillin and Knocknamucky were held by James Oge McBrody and Donogh McBrody respectively. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 107–8, 121.

265 While this placename cannot be positively identified, it could be Knockatunna in Feakle parish.

266 Ballyscanlan in Inchicronan parish.

267 Gilbertus of Ballyduff appears to be the same individual mentioned at number 42.

268 Ballyduff in Inagh parish. James MacBrody held Ballyduffbeg in 1641. See Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 541.

269 Mount Callan, otherwise called Slieve Callan, in the barony of Ibrickan.

11. Cornelius Bruodin, master of Rossin.²⁷⁰
12. Daniel Bruodin,²⁷¹ master of Mount Callan.
13. In the Barony of Inchiquin, master Millerus (called 'the younger')²⁷² was the master of Upper Kilky.²⁷³
14. Master Boetius Bruodin,²⁷⁴ master of Rachalan.²⁷⁵
15. Master Gilbert Bruodin, son of John the master of Lower Kilky.²⁷⁶
16. In the Barony of Ibrickan, master Jacob Bruodin, [was] the son of Thaddeus, master of Mount Scott.²⁷⁷
17. Master Bernard Bruodin, master of Kurr.²⁷⁸
18. Beside these people already mentioned, Carran, there were many other noble Bruodins in our Thomond who (in the manner of many nobles throughout Ireland) had possessions on lease from one or another of the leading men of the country; indeed they lived as honourably, by their industry and by their managing skill, as the other nobles who had possessions of their own.
19. As to whether in this matter one should believe me and other most worthy men (who confirm by their testimony the truth that I write) or the envious and passionate Carran, who has hardly ever seen Thomond, I leave it to the reader's mature judgment.

²⁷⁰ Possibly Rushaun in Kilnamona.

²⁷¹ In 1618 a Daniel McBrodin held 'Formoil Iaghter' with Dary McBrodin in what is now Inagh parish. He may have been the Danyel McBrody of a deed concerning lands in Dysert parish along with Boeitus McBrody in 1637. Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin]; and NLI Ms 45,682/5.

²⁷² Probably *ollamh* Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha who died in 1602, and whose son, Conchobhar of Kilkee and Lettermoylan, gave his approbation to Micháel Ó Cleirigh's *Annals of the Four Masters* in 1636. See *AFM, sub anno* 1602. It was here that Matthew De Renzy received tutoring in Irish by Conchobhar and Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaideadha in c.1606. See Mac Cuarta, 'Conchubhar Mac Bruaideadha', 122–6.

²⁷³ Kilkee in Ruan parish. In the seventeenth century it was in Dysert parish and was held in 1641 by Conor mc Moyllin mcBrody who was recorded holding 'Kilkie alis Lissinrahahick' followed by John Mc Brodyn of 'Kilkie alias Lissnecreuy'. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, pp 553–4. Conor mc Moyllin was Conchobhar Mac Bruaideadha who gave his approbation to the *Annals of the Four Masters* in 1636. Walsh, *Gleanings*, 78.

²⁷⁴ Boetius of 'Rathcahan, gent.,' is recorded in marriage articles in 1630 with Finola Fitzpatrick, sister of Dermot Fitzpatrick, a kinsman of the Meic Giolla Phódraig lineage of Lisdoonvarna. In 1641 a Boetius Brody held part of Cloonanaha (called 'Buolliduffe') to the north of Mount Callan. See NLI, Ms 45,666/3 [2 May 1630]; and Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 533.

²⁷⁵ Rathcahaun in Ruan parish (formerly Dysert parish) was held in 1618 by 'Teig McBrodin' (i.e. Tadhg mac Dáire) who also had an interest at Cloonanaha near Mount Callan. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin].

²⁷⁶ Kilkee in Ruan parish. In 1617 a John McBrody of Kilkee was a juror on an inquisition. Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 321 (no.1003). Constance McBrody of Ballyogon was recorded on the same inquisition.

²⁷⁷ James was the son of poet Tadhg mac Dáire of Mount Scott (Knockanalban).

²⁷⁸ Coor in Kilmurry-Ibrickan parish. Bernard was probably the brother of Tadhg mac Dáire; also see number 30. Coor was held by Teig McBroadly in 1615. In 1618 Bernard McBrodin and Teig McBrodin held 'Lettermollan' on Mount Callan and land at 'Formoil Iaghter'. See McNerney, '1615 Survey', p. 186 (*viz.* Curr); and Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin].

20. Let's examine, Carran, how you prove that the things you shamelessly write about the Bruodin family are true! Not with a witness, not with a sign, not with a title; 'I prove – you say on page 19 – that they have never had any property, the fact is certain', etc.
21. To us, Carran, who were born Thomondians, it is absolutely certain that you are calumniating on this point; for there were 19, already named by me, noble Bruodins in Thomond who had various and beautiful possessions. But if you want the readers to believe you rather than us, you need to prove by at least one evident sign that you are relying on the testimony of that spirit which can neither be deceived nor deceive: since you cannot do this, do not, Carran, persuade yourself that the readers are so devoted to you that they should give their trust to your judgment.
22. 'I am bringing forth', you say, 'this clear argument, namely that, if Captain Bruodin²⁷⁹ had had any lordship in Thomond, he would certainly not have stayed Bohemia.' What, I ask, are you imagining, senile Carran? For with an argument worthy of your shrewdness, that is to say, not an argument in any manner or shape, you are attempting to palliate your calumnies, you wretch! Was not our most serene Charles still King of Great Britain and Ireland during the power of the rebellious Parliamentarians and his own exile in Belgium and France?
23. Nowadays, alas and alack, there are hundreds of high-ranking Irish nobles who had huge estates in Ireland before they were defeated by Cromwell's forces and unjustly deprived of all their possessions (things that you will not deny, though you're shameless in other matters), and notwithstanding are forced to bide time in all sorts of places such as Spain, Germany, France, England and Belgium, or else live wretchedly in their own country and lamentably see the English heretics enjoy the unjust possession of their estates. So how can one draw the conclusion that they are not the rightful lords of their possessions?
24. Milerus Bruodin, commonly called 'the great'²⁸⁰ was master of Moynoe, had as a wife Margaret de Grady, daughter of the illustrious master John Grady, the gilded knight of Creny and Tarumun,²⁸¹ from whom so many eminent sons and daughters were born.

279 According to Bruodin this was Captain Marcus of Ballyminoge in Tuamgraney parish.

280 Probably *ollamh* Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha, who died in 1582. *AFM, sub anno 1582*.

281 Tarumun can tentatively be identified as 'Tarmon-Igrady', church land belonging to Tuamgraney and referred to in the 1585 Composition of Connacht. In 1582 the manor of Tuamgraney was granted to John O'Grady on the death of his father Sir Dionysius O'Grady. See Freeman, *Composicion Booke*, 7, 12; and Kenneth Nicholls & Tomás G. Ó Cannan (eds), *The Irish Fians of the Tudor Sovereigns During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth I* (Dublin: Éamonn de Búrca, 1994), no. 3943.

25. Darius Bruodin,²⁸² master of Mount Scott,²⁸³ Balliscanlan, Balliogan,²⁸⁴ etc, married Finola Grajam,²⁸⁵ daughter of Donat of Balli An Krow,²⁸⁶ from whom descended many exceptional men and women.
26. Cornelius Bruodin of Moynoe,²⁸⁷ son of Milerus 'the great', married Anna Mac Nemara, the daughter of Donat of Ballinahensy,²⁸⁸ the illustrious knight.
27. Thaddeus Bruodin,²⁸⁹ son of Darius of Mount Scott, married Anna Mohuny, or [known as] Matthaheus, daughter of the illustrious man master Thaddeus²⁹⁰ of Tuonafarna.²⁹¹
28. Daniel Bruodin,²⁹² second son of Darius, [married] Maria Geraldin, daughter of the illustrious knight master Ioannis of Ballynamona²⁹³ of Co. Kerry.
29. Constantin Bruodin of Balliogan,²⁹⁴ third son of Darius, [married]

- 282 Dáire, father of bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire (*ob.c.1626*). Dáire's floruit was mid-sixteenth century. Tadhg mac Dáire inherited Mount Scott (Knockanalban, *q.v.*, note below).
- 283 Also known as Knockanalban in Kilmurry-Ibrickan parish. It was held in 1586 by Teig Mc Brodie of 'Knockinalbie' and recorded again in 1602. See Nicholls & Ó Cannan, *Fiants*, nos. 4860 [year 1586], 6615 [year 1602]. In 1626 it was held by 'Teig mc Brodies widdowe'. See Breen, 'The 1626 rental', 25.
- 284 Mount Scott (Knockanalban), Ballyscanlan and Ballyogan situate in Kilmurry-Ibrickan, Inchicronan and Kilraghtis parishes respectively.
- 285 For the surname *Grajam* read Mac Craith (*anglice*, McGrath). On *Graji/Grajam* being a sobriquet for Mac Craith see references to '*Grajus seu Chraghius*', and '*Chrahij*' in Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 484, 489. The Meic Craith were chronicler-poets associated with Clare Abbey, however a branch of them were settled in Ibrickan in 1615. See McInerney, '1615 Survey', 188.
- 286 This may have been the original 'super denomination' of which the modern Skaghvickincrow in Inagh parish constituted part of. In 1618 it was held by members of the McEnchroe (Crowe) lineage. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin].
- 287 Possibly Conoghor McBradine of Moynoe who serve as a juror to an inquisition of 1612. See Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 313 (no. 984).
- 288 In 1621 a Donogh mcDonnill Merigagh McNemarra gent., held the castle and lands of Ballynahinch in Kilnoe parish. In 1570 the castle was held by his grandfather Donogh mac sida. For a genealogy of '*Mic Con [Mara] Fhinn Bhaile na hInnse*' see RIA Ms 23, H. 25, page 85 printed in Seán hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir: a tríocha agus a tuatha* (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1938), 141. Also see Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms B/16/B [Great Office, 20 March, 1621 – Tulla] and Martin Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 36 (1995), 130–8.
- 289 Tadhg mac Dáire (*ob. 1625/6*), bardic poet and great uncle of Antonius Bruodin.
- 290 This could be '*Tadhcc an Dunaidh*' who was the 'senior of the Mac Mahons of Tuath-na-Fearna (i.e. of *Corca-Bhaiscinn*)' and whose death was recorded in the annals for 1589. *AFM*, *sub anno 1589*.
- 291 Tuonafarna is an anglicisation of *Tuath na Fearna* or Killadysert parish. See hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir*, 106.
- 292 A Domhnall (Daniel) mac Dáire composed a number of poems, including one for the earl of Clanrickard (*ob.1581*). See Osborn Bergin, 'A poem by Domhnall mac Dáire', *Eriu*, 9 (1921/23), 160–174.
- 293 This is Ballynamona in Kiltallagh parish in Co. Kerry where the Fitzgerald family had extensive estates.
- 294 This could be Constance Brody who gave evidence during an inquiry into the church lands

- Ninduvia²⁹⁵ Brian, daughter of the illustrious man, master Terence O Brien of Craghbrien.²⁹⁶
30. Bernard Bruodin, fourth son of Darius, and master of Mount Callan and Balli Antonna,²⁹⁷ took as a wife Catharine Maguivir born of an illustrious family of County Fermanagh in Ulster.²⁹⁸
 31. Florence Bruodin, called Mac Bruodin, son of Cornel[ius] of Moynoe, [married] Onora de Mara, daughter of master Thaddeus Mac Nemara of Fiechel,²⁹⁹ an illustrious man, and Cecilia Shaughnessy.
 32. Bernard Bruodin, brother of Florence, [married] Slany de Mara, daughter of the illustrious man master Joannis Mac Nemara, (the first-born of these [two was] Rev. Fr. Bonaventura Bruodin, who held the Chair of Theology at the Archbishop of Prague's seminary for many years, [receiving] praise).³⁰⁰
 33. Jacob Bruodin, son of Thaddeus of Mount Scott [married] Maria Gorman, daughter of Thomas Gorman of Drumelihy.³⁰¹
 34. Daniel Bruodin,³⁰² brother of Jacob, [married] Elionor Fitz Patrick, daughter of the celebrated master Thaddeus FitzPatrick.³⁰³

of Tulla in 1627. Constance Brody was recorded as 80 years of age and resident of Tirredagh in Tulla for 54 years, giving him a birth year of 1547. See RIA Ms 24 D 17, pp 45–6.

- 295 This name is not known in classical literature and appears to be a Latinisation by Bruodin of an Irish forename. It could be a version of Iníondubh ('dark-haired daughter') or a mangled form of the name Niamh.
- 296 Cragbrien in Clondagad parish.
- 297 This placename cannot be identified.
- 298 This is the Maguire family of Fermanagh.
- 299 Probably Feakle in east Clare.
- 300 Bonaventura Bruodin was recorded in a list of Irish scholars and students in Prague where he was noted as *Prof. Philosophiae & Theologiae 15 annis. Pro fide obiit in carceribus Dublinij* ('Prof. of Philosophy and Theology for 15 years. For his faith he died in prison in Dublin'). Bonaventura returned to Ireland in 1663 and was guardian of Ennis Friary in 1669, but within a few years died in a Dublin dungeon. He received a mention in the necrology of the Prague Franciscans. See Green, *The Making of Ireland*, 455; and Millett, *Franciscans*, 152.
- 301 He may have been the same Thomas recorded in 1618 holding 'Caherkenevan' (Cahercannavan) in Kilmihil, the adjoining parish to Kilmacduane where Drumelihy situates. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/D/1 [Great Office 1618 – Clonderalaw & Moyarta].
- 302 He may have been Daniel mcTeig McBrody who in 1641 held 'Beanormollogh', a sub-division in 'Formoyluagheragh' in Inagh parish. See Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 534. Was he Daniel McBrodin who was ordained a minister in the Established Church in 1624 and served as vicar of Kilfarboy and Killard in 1633? He is described as 'schoolmaster', suggesting a link to the world of native learning and the professional learning of Clann Bhruaideadha of Ibrickan. See Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe*, 164–5, at 171.
- 303 Thaddeus FitzPatrick may have been the Teig McGillipatrick who held 'Glann' and 'Carowcloghagh' in Clooney parish, Corcomroe, in 1618. He was possibly of the Fitzpatrick, or Meic Giolla Phádraig lineage, who are recorded in the funerary entry of Derby Fitzpatrick (d.1637) of Lisdoonvarna. Generations of them were of 'Downsallagh' in Ibrickan. See Genealogical Office Funeral Entries, vii, 317. I thank Kenneth Nicholls for this reference. Also see Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/D/2 [Great Office 1618 – Corcomroe].

35. Milerus Bruodin,³⁰⁴ (your antagonist's father, Carran) son of Constantin³⁰⁵ and master of Balliogan³⁰⁶ [took as a wife] from whom he had 27 sons and daughters, Margaret Mollony, daughter of Gellati O Mollony,³⁰⁷ master of Ballikrom,³⁰⁸ and Sabina de Mara, daughter of the illustrious master Donat of BallinaHense.³⁰⁹
36. This Margaret's two cousins, the most illustrious masters Malachy O Mollany and Joannis O Mollony, were later bishops of the See of Killaloe for around 46 years.³¹⁰
37. Donat Bruodin, brother of Milerus, master of Knocknamucky³¹¹ [married] Margaret de Mara, daughter of Cormac of BalliMoylinae.³¹²
38. Cuthbert Bruodin of Fernan,³¹³ third brother of Milerus, took as a wife Phinola de Gripha.³¹⁴
39. Gilbert Bruodin, younger brother of Milerus, had as a wife Onora de Burgo, daughter of the illustrious knight master Edmund of BallyanKurnin in Co Limerick, and sister of the renowned knight master Joannis de Burgo, first-born of Edmund.
40. Carolus Bruodin³¹⁵ master of Bealanegh³¹⁶ [married] Onora Minogh, the granddaughter of Joannis de Burgo, master of Pallis in County Galway.³¹⁷

304 Father of Antonius Bruodin, OFM, (c.1618–80) who was the author of this work under the pseudonym Cornelius O'Mollony.

305 Constance McBrody of 'Baleyogan' was a juror on an inquisition in 1617. Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 321 (no.1003).

306 Ballyogan in Kilraghtis parish.

307 *Anglice* O'Moloney; in Irish the name is Ó Maoldomhnaigh.

308 Ballycroom, a sub-division of Gortindune in Feacle parish where a branch of the O'Moloneys were settled in 1641. See Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 14.

309 This is Ballynahinch in Kilnoe parish. Donogh mcConmea McNemarra held lands there in 1621. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms B/16/B [Great Office, 20 March, 1621 – Tulla].

310 These bishops were Malachy O'Moloney and John O'Moloney, both Catholic bishops of Killaloe. Malachy's episcopate lasted from 1571–76 when he was translated to Kilmacduagh. John's episcopate lasted from 1630–51, during the Catholic Confederacy and the beginning of the Commonwealth interregnum. Bruodin claims that both bishops were relatives of his mother. The point that their two episcopacies together amounted to 46 years is surely a misprint for 26 years. See Dermot Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin; Gill, 1962), 522.

311 Knocknamucky in Inchicronan parish.

312 Ballymullin in Tulla parish. In 1641 a branch of the McNamaras held lands there and, at an earlier period, they held the towerhouse. In 1659 it was recorded as 'Ballymoilen'. See Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 24; and Pender (ed.), 1659, 170. The author thanks Martin Breen for information on the towerhouse.

313 This denomination is difficult to identify. It could be a truncated form of Clonyfernane which was an obsolete denomination in Killinaboy parish. See hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir*, 17–8. Alternatively, it could be a misprint for Fortane in Tulla parish.

314 O'Griffey (Ó Griobhtha) were an important lineage whose hereditary lands were at Ballygriffy in Dysert parish.

315 Same individual recorded at number 3 above. He was recorded together with the Mac Cormochans surrendering their leases to the church land of Moynoe in 1617. See NLI, Ms 1777, p. 7.

316 This placename cannot be identified.

317 The de Burgo (Burkes) family erected Pallas Castle near Loughrea in the early sixteenth century.

41. Joannes Bruodin of Kilky³¹⁸ [married] Maria Nelan, daughter of Jacob of Balli Nielan.³¹⁹
42. Gilbert Bruodin of Boly Duff³²⁰ [married] Maria Hein, daughter of the illustrious man, master Florence O Hein of Keiloveragh.³²¹
43. Constantin Bruodin, called 'the younger', the son of Milerus of Balliogan, [married] Onora Shaughnessy, daughter of master Daniel Shaughnessy of County Galway, an illustrious man, and Elionor Gradi.³²²
44. Cornelius Bruodin, the son of Florence of Moynoe,³²³ [married] Onora Mohuny, daughter of master Matthaëus Mochuny, a celebrated man, and Slane de Marra.
45. Lucas Bruodin,³²⁴ brother of Cornel[ius], [married] Elionor, the daughter of Kusag of Lismolin in Meath.³²⁵
46. Jacob Bruodin of Kilgki,³²⁶ son of Joannis [married] Maria Clanchy, daughter of master Cornel[ius] Clanchy, a most noble man. Milerus who was called 'the younger', son of Cornel[ius] Bruodin of Kilky [married] Phinola Brian, daughter of master Matthaëus O Brian of Drommile³²⁷ and Elionor Sunigan.³²⁸

318 This is the same individual as in number 15, John McBrody of Kilkee, in present day Ruan parish (formerly Dysert). In 1618 he was recorded as Shane McBrodin who occupied Kilkee with Conor McBrodin. He could be the same John who witnessed a lease with Conor's father, Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha, in 1598. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin]; and Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 294 (no.937).

319 There is no known James Nelan (or Neylon) of Ballyneillan in Kilnamona. The annals record a Dr James Neylon (Ó Niallán) dying at Ballyallia in Templemaley in 1599 where the family were physicians and kept a house of hospitality. See *AFM, sub anno 1599*. On the Uí Nialláin genealogy see McInerney, *Clerical and learned lineages*, 172. Also see RIA Ms 24, p. 41.

320 Gilbertus of Ballyduff appears to be the same individual mentioned at number 10. Gilbert or Giolla Brighde, succeeded as *ollamh* in 1582 on the death of Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha. *AFM, sub anno 1582*.

321 *Coill Ua bhFiachrach* (anglicised as 'Killoveragh') situated in the northwest part of the barony of Kiltartan in Co. Galway, and was sometimes known as O'Heyne's country. See John O'Donovan, *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, Commonly Called O'Dowda's country* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1844), 4.

322 In 1627 Daniel O'Shaughnessy was high-sheriff of Co. Galway. See Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 335 (no.1037).

323 Florence (Flann) who kept a library at Moynoe.

324 A Luke Broadie was recorded at Killokenedy townland in Killokenedy parish in 1641. In the same parish a number of McCusacks held lands. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 64.

325 Lismullin in the parish of Lismullin in Co. Meath. The Cusack family were settled there since medieval times.

326 Kilkee in Ruan parish, but in the seventeenth century it was in Dysert parish.

327 Probably Drummoyle which was recorded in Dysert parish in 1641. In 1618 'Dromile' was held by 'Mahowne mCmurogh O Brien of Magowny'. He may have been 'Matthaëus O Brian', father of Phinola. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin].

328 This obscure surname is listed by Bruodin as among the 'noble families' of Thomond. See Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, p. 971. It appears in the list of names and septs in the book of 'Arms of Irish Families' compiled by Sir James Terry, *Athlone Herald* (c.1690) found at BL, Harleian Ms 4039, p. 254.

47. I omit, for brevity's sake, many of the noble Bruodins, who took wives from the families of Clanchy, Girman, Nelan, Mara, Chrahy, Gilriagh, Fitz Patrick,³²⁹ etc. If the Bruodins had been as base-born as you, Carran, shamelessly portray them to be, they would not have taken wives from so many celebrated families known throughout the whole of Ireland.
48. Now, I shall name a few out of many celebrated illustrious great men from various families across Ireland, who in turn, had wives from the family of the Bruodins. In Thomond, first:
49. Master Cornelius Mac Mohony, a celebrated man, known as Matthews,³³⁰ master of Tuonafarna, took as a wife Bridget Bruodin, the daughter of Darius of Mount Scott, from whom was born a glorious martyr for Christ, John Matthews of the Society of Jesus, whose life has been written about by Alegambe³³¹ and Bruodin in chapter 20 of his Propug[naculum].³³²
50. Joannes Mohony, of Tuonafarna, married, mistress Anna Bruodin, daughter of Thaddeus Bruodin,³³³ master of Mount Scott.
51. Cornelius Clanchy, master of Inse,³³⁴ had as a wife Phinola Bruodin, the sister of Thaddeus³³⁵ of Mount Scott.
52. Master Roland De la Heud, a great nobleman and once a most powerful gilded knight in Thomond, married their daughter Anna (in Irish Una) Clanchy³³⁶ from whom he had six sons and two daughters.³³⁷

329 In anglicised form these families are: Brodys, Clancys, Girmans (Gormans?), Neylans, McNamaras, McGraths, Gallerys, Fitzpatricks.

330 This is from the Latinisation of the surname Mac Mohony, which is now called McMahan.

331 Philippe Alegambe (1592–1652), a celebrated Jesuit priest from Belgium, distinguished as a bibliographer.

332 See Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 458–9.

333 Tadhg mac Dáire (*ob.*1625/6) bardic poet and great uncle to Antonius Bruodin.

334 Probably 'Connoghor Maglanchy' who held the towerhouse of 'Enenshy' in 1574. Enenshy could be Inch in Drumcliff parish where Boetius Clancy held the lands in 1641. Alternatively it could be Ennis. See R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 1:2 (1910), 75–85, at 84; Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 275.

335 This is poet Tadhg mac Dáire. On Cornelius Clanchy and Phinola (alias Finola) see O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 112–3.

336 Mentioned in an inquisition from 1611 was that Ro[w]land Delahoyde came to Thomond from Leinster and married a daughter of Clancy of Inch, near Ennis. From this and the previous entry we know that Anna was the daughter of Cornelius Clanchy of Inch and Phinola Bruodin. See James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare from the Earliest times to the Beginning of the 18th century* (Dublin; Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1893), 286–8.

337 According to R.W. Twigge, Sir Rowland Delahoyde of Formerly in Tulla married Una, daughter of Conor Clanchy of 'Inishy' (i.e. Inch) Co. Clare. When Delahoyde's son Oliver was brought before Barnabas, the fifth earl of Thomond, in 1642, charged with attacking Protestant settlers, the earl dismissed the charges and conferred upon him the authority to execute martial law. Twigge cites 'Funeral Entry IX, 275' (Ulster's Office), as his authority. See R.W. Twigge, *Pedigrees of the MacNamara Family* (1908; repr. Martin Breen, Ruan, 2006), 39. Also see Frost, *History*, 287, 295, 341–2.

53. Oliver DelaHaid,³³⁸ this first-born son, married Anna Conor, daughter of the most illustrious master O'Conor of Kerry.
54. Joannes, the second-born, [married] Margaret Winckfeld, the daughter of master Edward Winckfeld, a knight of great nobility, and Onora Brian,³³⁹ who was born of the Baron of Inchiquin.
55. Gerard DelaHaid, the younger son, [married] the daughter of the most illustrious master O Mary³⁴⁰ of Tipperary.
56. Margaret DelaHaid, first-born of Roland, married the illustrious master Thaddeus, the Baron Mac Namara Riegh.³⁴¹
57. Catherine DelaHaid, the sister of Margaret, married the illustrious knight master Thomas de Burgo, first-born of Ioannis de Burgo of Tulleire.³⁴²
58. Roger Mac Nemara of Bonnaneu³⁴³ married Margaret Bruodin, daughter of Constantin of Balliogan who begot celebrated sons and daughters who, in turn, established relationships of marriage with the Mac Mohuns, O Briens, Hogans, Mollonys, & Hurles.³⁴⁴
59. Daniel Mac Nemara of Cahir Ballymorana,³⁴⁵ married Nablia Bruodin, daughter of Constantin of Balliogan.

338 Oliver Delahoyde appears as a witness to an inquisition of 1629 where his residence was recorded as Tyredagh in Tulla parish. See Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 337 (no.1045).

339 Bruodin seems to be in error here. In 1585 Richard Winckfeld (*recte* Wingfield) married Honora O'Brien (b.1570), daughter of Teige McMurrough O'Brien of Smithstown, the son of the first Baron of Inchiquin. One of their sons was Sir Edward who died in 1638. See Edward Kimber, *The Peerage of Ireland: A Genealogical and Historical Account of all the Peers of that Kingdom*, (2 vols, London: J. Almon, 1768), ii, 106. On a deed about lands of Richard and Honora at Smithstown in Co. Clare, which was witnessed by 'B. McBrody', see Ainsworth (ed.), *Inchiquin*, 317–18 (no.995).

340 O'Meara, an important family from Toomevara in Tipperary.

341 Likely to have been *Tadhg m. Domhnaill riabhaigh* ('Tadhg son of Domhnaill riabhaigh') of the 'McNamara Reagh' lineage in east Clare and recorded in Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh's *Genelach Meic Con Mara Riabhaigh*, in the 1630s. The annals record the death of his grandfather, Domhnall Riabhach, in 1592. Tadhg was born in c.1603 and made a ward of the earl of Thomond in 1609. He held lands in Tulla and Feakle parishes in 1641 and died in 1678. See Seamus Pender, 'O'Clery Book of Genealogies', *Analecta Hibernica*, 18 (Dublin, 1951), §2003. Also see *AFM, sub anno 1592*; and R.W. Twigg, British Library Add Ms 39270: 'Materials for a History of Clann-Cuillein'.

342 Probably Tullira in Ardrahan parish in Co. Galway.

343 Bunnahow in Inchicronan parish.

344 *Anglice*: McMahons, O Briens, Hogans, Moloneys, and Hurllys.

345 Caher in Oggonnelloe parish but was recorded as 'Cahir Ballymurlona' in 1659. In 1618 the towerhouse was held by Donogh mcShane neginelagh (McNamara) and the lands by Maccon McShane, John mcDonogh roe, & Teig mcDonogh roe. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms B/16/B [Great Office, 20 March, 1621 – Tulla]; and Pender (ed.), 1659, 171.

60. Moriathus Clanchy³⁴⁶ of Ballynaklohy³⁴⁷ [married] Maria Bruodin, daughter of Cornel of Moynoe.
61. Thomas de Burgo of Polmore, [married] Ann Bruodin, daughter of Gilbert, from whom was born Abbot de Burgo.³⁴⁸
62. Jacob Grady of Crossin³⁴⁹ [married] Maria Bruodin, daughter of Constantin of Ballyogan.
63. Cornelius O Dea of Brentire³⁵⁰ married Anna Bruodin, daughter of Thaddeus of Mount Scott.
64. Jacob Mac Nerinhy³⁵¹ of Lagh Bally,³⁵² [married] Ninduvia Bruodin, daughter of Milerus of Balliogan.
65. Dermot O Brien of Mogona and Drommile,³⁵³ [married] Margaret Bruodin, second-born of Milerus of Balliogan.
66. Dionitius Gorman of Geran³⁵⁴ [married] Phinola Bruodin, sister of Margaret.
67. Donald Gorman of Dromeliyh,³⁵⁵ married Maria Bruodin, daughter of Thadae of Mount Scott.
68. Thaddeus Mohony of Tuonafarna [married] Elionor Bruodin, daughter of Cornel of Kilky.
69. Cornelius Cruttin of Ballybeg³⁵⁶ married, Elionor Bruodin, daughter of Cut[h]bert of Fernan.

346 He was of the Tradraige branch of the Meic Fhlannchadha. See Luke McInerney, 'The Síol Fhlannchadha of Tradraige, Co. Clare: Brehon Lawyers of the Gaelic Tradition', *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies*, 9 (2016), 19–54.

347 Ballynacloghy, otherwise Stonehall in Kilconry parish. Stonehall towerhouse was held in 1574 by 'Tege Maglanchy'. See Twigge, '1574', 79.

348 Abbas Joannes de Burgo, a doctor of theology, whom Bruodin's refers to in: O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 47.

349 This is an unidentified placename.

350 *Bréan Tír* ('foul land'), the generic name for the northern and western parts of Ibrickan.

351 The Clare surname Meic an Oirchinnigh (McInerheny or McInerney). See Luke McInerney, 'Land and lineage: the McEnerhyns of Ballysallagh in the sixteenth century', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 49 (2009), 7–32.

352 Possibly Loughvella in Drumcliff parish.

353 Magowna in Dysert parish. In 1612 Daniel son of Dermot O'Brien held Magowna and certain rooms of the castle. In 1618 Donell mcDermot O'Brien and Therlagh mcMurrough O'Brien held 'Magowny'. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin]. See also Frost, *History*, 286.

354 Possibly Garraunnatooha in Kilmacduane parish. Bruodin recounts details of his life in *Propugnaculum* where he states that 'Dionysius' was married to Bruodin's sister Phinola and that he was a captain of forces in Thomond but was killed in 1652. Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 712–3.

355 Drumellihiy in Kilmacduane parish. It was the seat of the Meic Gormáin lineage in the seventeenth century. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/D/1 [Great Office 1618 – Clonderalaw & Moyarta].

356 Probably Laghvally in Kilmacrehy parish where the Meic Cruitín chroniclers had their chief seat. See Luke McInerney, 'The origins of Clann Chruitín: chronicler-poets of the learned Gaelic tradition', *The Other Clare*, 38 (2014), 19–30.

70. Mattheus O Brien of Bealnafirvarnin³⁵⁷ married Eleonora Bruodin, daughter of Bernard of Mount Callan.³⁵⁸

71. **I will name some outside of Thomond, in Connacht:**

72. Joannes de Burgo of Barnaboy³⁵⁹ in County Galway and Baron of Knalehin,³⁶⁰ married Onora Bruodin, daughter of Milerus the 'great' of Moynoe,³⁶¹ from whom a great number of renowned and potent nobles, men and women, in County Galway descend.

73. Thaddeus O Higgin,³⁶² of Kulracheil [who was] so often Captain (commonly known as the Sheriff), and Justice of the Peace so many times in County Sligo, married Phinola Bruodin, daughter of Constantin of Balliogan. Their son Paul took as a wife Caecilia Jordan, daughter of the distinguished master Mac Jordan. The first-born daughter (who was) named Maria Higgin, married master Terence Mag Donogh, a most noble man; whereas the younger daughter named Mithilda, married master Joann de Hara,³⁶³ a very illustrious nobleman, formerly a powerful ruler in the country.

74. **In Munster:**

75. Donat O Hogan of Ballynamona in Ormond³⁶⁴ married Helen Bruodin, daughter of Cornel[ius] of Moynoe, who begot many sons and daughters who were bound in marriage with the O Kenedys,³⁶⁵ O Briens, & other celebrated families in that region.

76. Jacob Ba[?]³⁶⁶ of Bally Naknock in County Cork married Phinola Bruodin, daughter of Gilbert.

77. In the aforementioned county, master Jacob Roche, a great noble man, [who was] once a powerful knight, married their daughter.

78. **In Ulster:**

79. Fergal Ward³⁶⁷ of County Tyrconnell, who was a great notable man,

357 O'Brienscastle in Inchicronan parish. In 1641 it was called Balnaferevarnagh and according to the 'castle builder's list' a towerhouse was erected by Bishop Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain (ob.1525) at 'Bealnafirberna'. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, pp 106–7; and RIA Ms 24 D 10, 71.

358 A Bernard McBrodin held part of Lettermoylan on Mount Callan in 1618. See Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin].

359 Barnaboy in Kilkilvery parish in Co. Galway.

360 Now known as the village of Abbey in Co. Galway, known as Kilnalahan in former times.

361 Likely to have been *ollamh* Maoilín Mac Bruaideadha who died in 1582. AFM, *sub anno* 1582.

362 Probably Teige O'Higgin of 'Coulengerogh' who was a juror on inquisitions in Co. Sligo in the 1630s and high-sheriff of Sligo in 1634. See W.G. Wood-Martin, *History of Sligo; county and town* (Dublin, 1882), 312, 497. Bruodin mentions Thadaeus O Higgin and his wife Phinola Bruodin in *Corolla*, 76.

363 O'Hara (Ó Eadhra) an important family in Co. Sligo.

364 Ballynamona in Finnoe parish in Co. Tipperary.

365 O'Kennedys of Ormond.

366 The print is illegible here. The surname is probably Barry.

367 Likely Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird (c.1550–c.1616) a celebrated bardic poet noted for his poem *Trí coróna i gcairt Shéamais*, on James VI's ascension to the throne in 1603. See Osborn Bergin (ed.), *Irish Bardic Poetry* (Dublin: Institute of Advanced Studies, 1970), 37–48.

O'Donnell's arch-poet and historian, married Maria Bruodin, daughter of Darius.

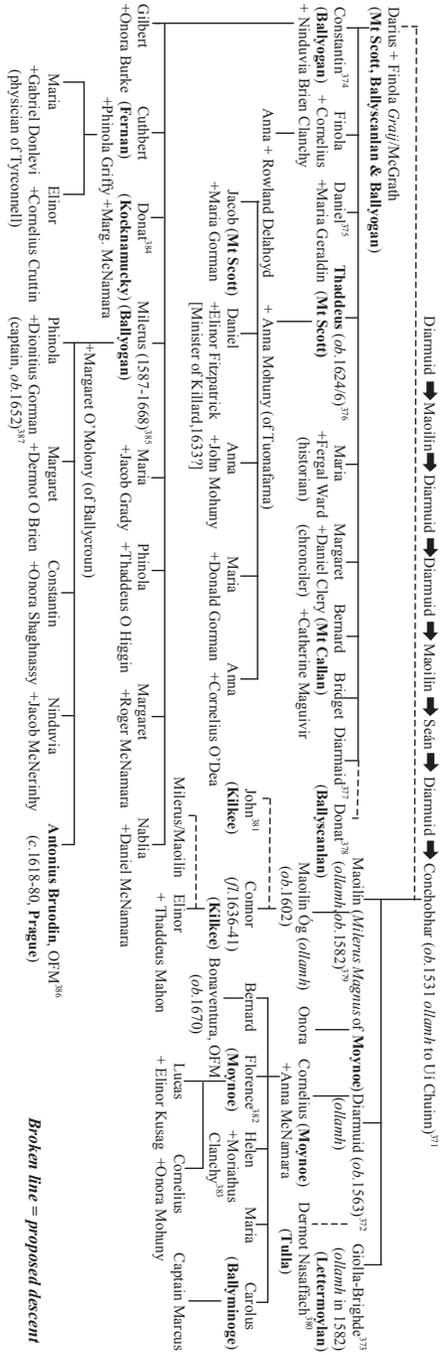
80. Daniel Clery³⁶⁸ counsellor and chronicler of prince O'Donnell, whom I have already mentioned above [married] Margaret Bruodin, Maria's sister. From these two women very many distinguished men, both of the world and of the Church, took their origin in Ulster.
81. Gabriel Donlevi³⁶⁹ (commonly called the Ulsterman), an excellent medical doctor in County Tyrconnell, married Maria Bruodin, the daughter of Cuthbert of Fernan.
82. Had I wished to name all of the distinguished members of the Bruodin family joined by blood to the middling sons, daughters, and grandchildren of the already named renowned masters, I would have sooner run out of paper, than of subject matter, to write on. These facts which I have noted are sufficient to show the honorableness of the Bruodin family and to refute your calumnies, Carran, and if they do not satisfy, then receive these following verses sent to you by your fellow countryman Rev. Fr. Francis O Molloy,³⁷⁰ Emeritus Lector in holy theology of the same faculty at St. Isidores College in Rome, a Professor Primario, and be silent:
83. Among the old inhabitants of Thomond, the Bruodins, sprung of nobility,
Shone bright in their customs and [way of] life.
Had you noted their [noble] stock and forefathers, Carran,
You would shudder to pull down by tooth [these] eminent men.
Consult the living, or consult the chronicles of the Kingdom:
You will read that those [Bruodins] were equal to heroes].

368 He cannot be positively identified. Clann Bhruaideadha and the Uí Chléirigh of Tyrconnell had links since the sixteenth century. See *AFM, sub anno 1584*; also see Paul Walsh, *The O Cléirigh family of Tír Conaill; an essay, with the O Cléirigh genealogies* (Dublin: Three Candles, 1938).

369 Dunleavy (Uí Dhuinnshléibhe), a medical family from Ulster.

370 Irish Franciscan and scholar, known alternatively as Francis O'Molloy and Froinsias Ó Maolmhuidh (c.1606–77), whose *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica nunc compendiata* (Rome, 1677) was the first printed grammar of the Irish language in Latin.

Appendix 3: Genealogy of the Bruodin family (footnotes on facing page)



Broken line = proposed descent

- 371 On these earlier generations see Richard F. Cronnelly, *Irish family history, Part III: A History of the Dal-Cais or Dalcassians, Descendants of Cais, of the Line of Heber* (Dublin: N.H. Tallon, 1864), 329–31; and O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, 104–5; The exemplar used by Cronnelly and O'Hart is not known and the dates cannot be verified. I have followed the principle that given the confusion of names, only known facts or verifiable links are used in this pedigree.
- 372 *AFM, sub anno* 1563. The obit translates: 'Mac Brody, Ollav of Hy-Bracain and Hy-Fearmaic, died, i.e. Dermot, son of Conor, son of Dermot, son of John; and his brother, Maoilin, took his place'.
- 373 He appears as a witness to an undated deed for Tadhg Mac Conmara (*ob.*1571). See James Hardiman (ed.), 'Deeds', 66–7. His son may have been Tadhg mac Giolla Brighde who wrote a poem for the Uí Eaghra in 1584. See Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of O'Hara* (Dublin 1990), (vi, vii). A pardon was issued to 'Gilabride McBrodynne of Letter Mellane' in 1591. McGrath, 'Materials', 59.
- 374 Possibly Constance Brody mentioned during an inquisition of 1627. He was recorded as 80 years of age and resident of Tirredagh in Tulla parish for 54 years, giving him a birth year of 1547. See RIA, Ms 24 D 17, pp 45–6. Perhaps he was Cosneagh McBrody of Ballyscanlan in 1599. McGrath, 'Materials', 56.
- 375 Possibly Domhnall mac Dáire Mic Bruaidíogha, who wrote a poem about the harp of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond. See Walsh, *Gleanings*, 111–13.
- 376 This is bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire and great uncle to Antonius Bruodin, and the subject of much of his contention with Thomas Carve.
- 377 Witnessed a legal deed in 1592. See 'Diarmoid mac Dáire Mhic Bruaideadha' in Mac Niocaill, 'Seven Documents', 52–3.
- 378 Pardon to 'Donill McBrody of Balliskanlon' for 1599. See McGrath, 'Materials', 59.
- 379 *AFM, sub anno* 1582. The obit translates: 'Mac Brody (Maoilín, the son of Conor, son of Dermot, son of John), Ollav to O'Brien in history, died; and his kinsman [*recte* brother], Gilla-Brighde, was elected in his place.'
- 380 Bruodinus *Propugnaculum*, 726. His grandson was Bernard who was killed by the Cromwellians in 1652. O'Mollony, *Anatomicum*, 31–3.
- 381 In 1618 Kilkee in Dysert was held by Shane and Connor McBrody. Petworth House Archive, West Sussex, Ms 16/B/E [Great Office, 1 Sept. 1618 – Inchiquin].
- 382 According to Antonius Bruodin, Florence was his uncle. However, as he gives Florence's father as Cornel[ius], this connection appears unlikely. Bruodin also claimed that his great uncle (*patruus meus magnus*) was bardic poet Tadhg mac Dáire and we are provided with a sufficient line of descent to verify this.
- 383 This could be the Muriertagh Maglanchy who held Urlan towerhouse in 1574.
- 384 Donogh Brody held 'Knocknemuck' in Inchicronan in 1641. Drumbonniv was held by Moylin and James Oge McBrody. See Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 107–8.
- 385 Moylin McBrodin held 'Ballyogan alias Gurtanafinch' in 1641. See Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey*, 121.
- 386 This is Antonius Bruodin, Franciscan and author. He died in Prague in 1680.
- 387 Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum*, 712–3.