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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ‘DUBLIN ANNALS OF INISFALLEN’*

MEIDHBHÍN NÍ ÚRDAIL
University College Dublin

ABSTRACT

This article examines the compilation and transcription of the eighteenth-century source commonly known as the ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’. It reviews, in particular, the work’s most substantial entries, i.e. those which concern the O’Briens and the history of Thomond in the medieval period, and briefly highlights the historical value of other longer entries relating to the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The ‘Dublin Annals’ attests to the readiness with which scribes indulged in editorial intrusion, while it also offers insights into the factors which impinged upon textual transmission in the Modern Irish period.

INTRODUCTION

I argued some years ago for the importance of a shifting in focus in the area of post-classical Modern Irish manuscript studies from the material transcribed to the scribe who produced it. This synchronic approach, I suggested, could throw some light from within on a layer of culture of which the scribe himself is an exponent. Not only can he be regarded as the inheritor of a tradition, therefore, but he is also its carrier, interpreter, selector and transmitter. Tradition in this scheme of things, then, is viewed as a dynamic process of conscious transmission which is determined by its exponents. At that time, I stated that such an approach contrasts with that of editorial work. Now, I would say that they complement each other. For it is the case, I believe, that the attitudes, values and milieu of the producers themselves constitute important factors which determine not only the material transcribed, but the methodology itself of the transcribers and the extent to which they indulge in editorial intrusion. These matters, in fact, have received attention in Irish manuscript studies in recent times. This paper is a further contribution in that it focuses particularly on the question of the methodology of scribes in the post-classical

* I am grateful to Professor Pádraig Ó Macháin for reading this article in draft, as well as to the editors of Ériu and an anonymous reader for their many helpful comments.
2 Ní Úrdail, The scribe in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland, 17.
Modern Irish period. Factors determining the material transcribed and the scribe as editor are also addressed here.

In undertaking this, I will make some observations on a set of annals known as the ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’. A number of preliminary remarks about the title ‘Annals of Inisfallen’ are necessary at the outset, however, as it refers to three different texts from the modern period. The title itself recalls a more famous set of annals, i.e. that compiled between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries which is now housed in the Bodleian Library at Oxford under the designation Rawlinson B. 503. That text differs, however, from the post-classical triad styled the ‘Annals of Inisfallen’ which were first compiled in the second half of the eighteenth century and which deal mainly with events relevant to Munster.

As well as the ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’ which is our concern here, a second set of annals has survived in Irish manuscripts which bears the title Blodh d’Annálaitb Innis Faithliomn, ‘An Extract from the Annals of Inisfallen’, in its three earliest sources from the 1760s. In essence, this compilation may be divided into a series of historical descriptions relating to Munster: it begins with an account of the possessions and rights of Cas, ancestor of the Dál gCais, and continues with a summary of material deriving ultimately from Lebor na Cert which, in turn, is followed by a short account of Cath Maighe Mucraimhe and the cause of this battle, and concludes with a series of annals, beginning at A.D. 250 and extending down to A.D. 1435. The work itself came to be known as the ‘MacCurtin Annals of Inisfallen’ because its authorship was attributed by Seosamh Ó Longáin (1817–1880), scribe for the Royal Irish Academy, to Aodh Buí Mac Cruitín, or Hugh MacCurtin (ob. 1755), from Co. Clare.

Somewhat similarly styled is an extant copy of a third fragmentary compilation, i.e. Blodh don tSeanstairr dó ngóitrhear Analadha Innis Faithliomn: iarna sgríobhadh as seanleabhar meamaruim do frío th a cContae Chiar[uidhe], ‘An Extract from the Old History which is called the Annals of Inisfallen, having been written from an old vellum book which was found in County Kerry’. It was compiled between 1759 and 1761 by Micheál (mac Peadair) Ó Longáin (ob. 1770), grandfather of the aforementioned Seosamh Ó Longáin, and I have referred to it elsewhere as Annála Inse Faithleann Uí Longáin, or the ‘Ó Longáin Annals of Inisfallen’, in order to distinguish it from the other two eighteenth-century Inisfallen annals. This third set of annals may be divided into

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4 Seán Mac Airt, The Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin, 1944); for a description of the manuscript and its contents, see Brian Ó Cuiv, Catalogue of Irish language manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Oxford College libraries (2 parts, Dublin, 2001), part 1, 201–7.
6 ‘It is a copy of a work compiled by Hugh Buide Mac Cruitín (or Curtin) of the Co. Clare, and not a compilation of the O’Longans’, a note in pencil signed ‘J L’ which Ó Longáin inserted into Eugene O’Curry’s unpublished description of RIA MS 732 (23 N 3) in the ‘Catalogue of the Betham Collection in the Royal Irish Academy’ (5 vols, no date), II = RIA MS 1308 (67 E 16), p. [522v]. For Seosamh Ó Longáin, see Breandán Ó Conchúir, Scriobhaithe Chorcai 1700–1850 (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 149–58, and Ní Úrdail, The scribe in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland, 119–33, while Mac Cruitín and his contribution to Irish scholarship is discussed by Vincent Morley, An crann os coill. Aodh Buí Mac Cruitín, c. 1680-1755 (Baile Átha Cliath, 1995).
7 Ní Úrdail, ‘Annála Inse Faithleann an ochtú céad déag’, 106, 117; for Micheál Ó Longáin and an inventory of his manuscripts, see Ó Conchúir, Scriobhaithe Chorcai, 88–91, and Ní Úrdail, The scribe in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland, 35–43.
two sections, the first beginning at A.D. 180 during the reign of Art mac Cuinn, king of Ireland, and continuing down to the early twelfth century with a description of a hosting led by Muircheartach Ó Briain, great-grandson of Brian Bóramhe, into Midhe, where he deposed Donnchadh Ó Maoil Sheachlainn. The second section reverts to early tenth-century Munster with a series of annals, beginning at A.D. 915 and continuing down to A.D. 1014, where the title ‘Cath Cluana Tairbh’ is inserted along with an opening fragmentary line from the prose romantic tale on the battle of Clontarf.

Another preliminary consideration here is the importance of the collation, compilation and transmission of Irish historical sources for scholars in eighteenth-century Ireland. Not only were they concerned with the recording of history, but scholars also advocated its rewriting. The foundation for this rewriting, of course, had already been established in seventeenth-century Irish historiography. One thinks, for example, of Michéal Ó Cléirigh and his fellow Franciscans whose assiduous work between the years 1632 and 1636 resulted in *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*, commonly designated the ‘Annals of the Four Masters’. Similarly, the intention by Séathrún Céitinn, or Geoffrey Keating, to compile an Irish origin legend for his contemporaries and for future generations resulted in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (FFÉ) which was completed about the year 1633.

In the century that followed, the question of an identity and the understanding of Irish culture were becoming more important for the Protestant ascendancy, and shared elements between the Irish- and English-speaking worlds were being sought after. Such cultural reappraisal is highlighted by the founding of a number of antiquarian societies during the eighteenth century, the most famous of which was the Royal Irish Academy.

A further spin-off was the increasing growth of an antiquarian readership in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland, and its concomitant patronage of Irish scribes at that time. Thus, we find that the contents of extant Irish manuscripts constitute a substantial corpus of historical matter, namely prose texts based on historical events, genealogies, historical treatises such as Keating’s FFÉ, the *Chronicum Scotorum*, and annalistic treatises which include the three eighteenth-century ‘Annals of Inisfallen’ texts referred to already here.

**The ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’: Compilation and Transcription**

The ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’ came to be thus known because of a Latin ascription given to the text by the Reverend Charles O’Conor (1764–1828) to distinguish it from the Bodleian ‘Annals of Inisfallen’ in excerpts he printed of both sources. These annals, now Part One of TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), ff. 14r–78v, record events which mostly concern

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8 AU, AI, ALC, AFM s.a. 1105.
9 These two works in the context of Irish historiography are discussed by Breandán Ó Buachalla, ‘*Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* is *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*: an comhthéacs comhaimseartha’, *Studia Hibernica* 22–3 (1982–3), 59–105; see also Bernadette Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000).
11 William Maunsell Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum: A chronicle of Irish affairs from the earliest times to AD 1135, with a supplement, 1114–50* (London, 1866).
Munster sub annis A.D. 250–1320. No title, however, is given to the original work in Irish in this source.

Three notes in all occur in Part One of TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7) which offer certain clues about the work’s compilation. The first, jotted in an unidentified hand on a folio preceding the beginning of the text of the ‘Dublin Annals’, names Seán Ó Conaire and gives the date 1765. Two more notes occur on the final leaf which state that the text was written in France. The first of these is also in an unidentified hand and refers again to Seán Ó Conaire as scribe, while the attribution in the second is to Seán Ó Maolchonaire by one Cathal Ó Conchobhair, 1775. The latter is Charles O’Conor (1710–1791), scholarly antiquary and historian (and grandfather of the aforementioned Reverend Charles O’Conor) of Belanagare, Co. Roscommon. The parish of Clooncraff near Strokestown in O’Conor’s native county was once the patrimony of the Uí Mhaoil Chonaire, and this may explain his use of the surname Ó Maolchonaire rather than its counterpart, Ó Conaire, which occurs in the other two notes.

Seán Ó Conaire (ob. 1773) was a Cork priest whose work survives in ten extant documents. It is evident, however, that the script of the main text of the ‘Dublin Annals’ and that of the two anonymous notes differ. Even though this discrepancy did not go unnoticed, the scribe of the two anonymous notes was not conclusively identified until more recent times by Breandán Ó Conchúir who stated that they were inserted by the Cork scribe Séamas Ó Conaire (fl. 1774), probably a relative of Seán Ó Conaire. This identification is supported by manuscript evidence of further contact between these scribes. RIA MS 375 (23 C 12), for example, was written jointly by Séamas and Seán Ó Conaire. Moreover, the historical content of their work is the same: of the five eighteenth-century transcripts of the ‘Dublin Annals’, two of them form part of the
contents of Maynooth Renehan MS 64, Part C, and RIA MS 764 (23 C 11), sources which, according to Ó Conchúir, were penned by Séamas and Seán Ó Conaire, respectively.  

Neither date nor signature accompany Seán Ó Conaire’s transcript of the ‘Dublin Annals’ in RIA MS 764, pp. 57–64 and pp. 109–[234], and the document was tentatively, albeit erroneously, attributed in the manuscript catalogue to one ‘Peter Connell’, i.e. Peadar Ó Conaill (1755–1826) from Co. Clare. In addition, the style of presentation in this transcript contrasts considerably with that by Ó Conaire in TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7). It does not, for example, pay the same attention to detail and individual entries tend, at times at least, to be noticeably shorter. Other entries are simply excluded altogether by our scribe. Thus, although it covers the period A.D. 250–1320, the transcript in RIA MS 764 is rather telegraphic in style. Besides, some of the leaves are incorrectly bound into the manuscript, thereby giving a modern-day reader the impression that it contains a lacunar transcript of the ‘Dublin Annals’. Also, the text itself appears to have been penned rather hurriedly because the script is by no means as neat and clear as that of its counterpart in TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7). This difference, in fact, is a feature of Seán Ó Conaire’s work in general: some texts by him may be carefully penned, while others seem to have been hurriedly produced. In the case of the ‘Dublin Annals’, then, it is possible that our scribe may have intended the text of RIA MS 764 to be a synopsis for his own use rather than for a particular reader or, alternatively, it may have acted as a draft version which he subsequently fleshed out in TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7). The manner in which the text is presented in the latter source, therefore, suggests that this was Ó Conaire’s definitive text, produced with a particular reader in mind.

The other important contributor to the ‘Dublin Annals’ project was John O’Brien, RC Bishop of Cloyne and Ross (1748–1769). Ö Conaire, as we have seen, wrote the text

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20 Ó Conchúir, Scribhnaite Chorcaí, 50 and 51, respectively. Séamas Ó Conaire’s copy of the ‘Dublin Annals’ in Maynooth MS Renehan 64, part c, pp. 143–94, breaks off at p. 172 after an opening two lines of text s.a. 1013 and resumes on p. 177 with an abbreviated description of events for the year 1170 (= TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 22v and f. 41v, respectively). As well as part c, part a of MS Renehan 64 was also attributed by Ó Conchúir to this Ó Conaire scribe while both parts remain unidentified in the catalogue by Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, Láthair Scríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Phádraig Má Nuad (Má Nuad, 1967), fasiculus iv, 38, 42. The other eighteenth-century copies of these annals are: RIA MS 1194 (23 F 9) (circa 1775); BL Egerton MS 98 (1783); Copenhagen MS NKS 266c (1789).

21 O’Rahilly, Mulchrone et al., Catalogue of Irish manuscripts, 2354; for biographical details on Peadar Ó Conaill, see Eilís Ní Dheá, ‘Peadar Ó Conaill, scoláire agus scribhnaí (1755–1826)’, in Ciarán Ó Murchadha, County Clare Studies: essays in memory of Gerald O’Connell, Seán Ó Murchadha, Thomas Coffey and Pat Flynn (Ennis, 2000), 137–49.

22 The description ‘Extracts from the Annals of Inisfallen covering the years 250–1558’ in O’Rahilly, Mulchrone et al., Catalogue of Irish manuscripts, 2354, is misleading, and the pagination cited for the text is inaccurate.

23 Ö Conchúir, Scribhnaite Chorcaí, 265 n. 336, refers to an dá stil, ‘the two styles’, by our scribe. This duality of presentation may explain why our Ó Conaire’s penmanship has been erroneously attributed to others, or is not fully accounted for; cf. notes 19 and 20 above, and note 35 below.

down, but Dr O’Brien was certainly its intended reader.\footnote{Ó Cuilleanáin, ‘The Dublin Annals’, 186–9. We may note, however, that during the years 1765 and 1766, Dr O’Brien conducted a general mission for his two dioceses personally, so that his contribution to the ‘Dublin Annals’ project in 1765, the year it was completed in France, could not have been a significant one; cf. Ó Conchúir, Scriobháithe Chorcaí, 219.} The prelate provided much of the work’s source material which includes the following texts: an imperfect copy of the \textit{Annals of Tigernach} and two fragments of Irish annals describing events mainly outside Munster, A.D. 1237–1249 and A.D. 1303–1314, both copied from Rawlinson MS B. 488; Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhísigh’s transcript of the \textit{Chronicum Scotorum}; and the earliest complete copy of \textit{Caithréim Thoirdealbhaigh} penned by Aindrias Mac Cruitín.\footnote{Abbot, Gwynn, \textit{Catalogue of Irish manuscripts}, 64–6.} This substantial body of source material forms part of the contents of one volume, now preserved as TCD MS 1292 (H.1.18), which according to a note on folio three was compiled ‘zelo ac industria illustrissimi ac reverendissimi Joannis O’Brien, Episcopi Cloyensis et Rossensis in Hibernia qui die xiii a mensis Martii, anno 1769, Lugduni in Gallia obiit’.

That Keating’s FFÉ hardly features among the sources directly drawn upon for the ‘Dublin Annals’ is significant, especially when one considers that it was one of the texts most frequently copied by scribes of the post-classical Modern Irish period. Yet, this too points to John O’Brien’s involvement in the compilatory stages of our annals. We may note, for example, an article published by the Bishop in 1764 under the pseudonym M. de C., i.e. Monseigneur de Cloyne, which described FFÉ not only as ‘l’Histoire fabuleuse du Docteur Keating’, but relegated its author to a circle ‘d’autres Ecrivains fabuleux’.\footnote{‘Mémoire de M. de C. a Messieurs les auteurs du Journal des Sçavans, au Sujet des Poëms de M. Macpherson’, \textit{Journal des Sçavans} (May 1764), 277–92, (June 1764), 353–62, 408–17, (August 1764), 537–55, (September 1764), 604–17, (December 1764), 845–57: December 1764, 851 and August 1764, 539–40, respectively. I am particularly grateful to Diarmaid Ó Catháin for placing his copy of the latter source at my disposal.} Dr O’Brien expressed similar sentiments four years later in the preface to his \textit{Focalóir Gaoidhilge-Sax-Bhéarla} where he stressed the importance of native sources and, in particular, the lexicographic richness of what he styled ‘our authentic annals’, while he dismissed as ‘fabulous stories’ those ‘of the kind, published in the translation of Dr. Keating’s history’.\footnote{Focalóir Gaoidhilge-Sax-Bhéarla or an Irish-English dictionary (Paris, 1768), xl–xlij.} Clearly, the Bishop did not rate FFÉ very highly in the canon of Irish historiography. Indeed, we may also note that although most of the work transcribed in manuscripts by Dr O’Brien’s scribe, Seán Ó Conaire, is historical in content, not one copy of so popular a work as FFÉ was penned by him. Thus, it may be argued that this is a good example of how a patron of particular preferences and a scribe who was aware of such preferences could impinge on the textual tradition, and determine, to some extent, the course of transmission itself.

Textual preferences notwithstanding, a certain \textit{literary} debt to FFÉ is evident in the ‘Dublin Annals’. It will emerge presently that the account of events s.a. 1014 derives inspiration from the story which evolved around the battle of Clontarf as a historical event. Keating contributed to this story and we find, for example, his particular motif of a treacherous Maol Sheachlainn, king of Midhe, also appearing in our annals. It is the case, therefore, that even though the intended reader of the ‘Dublin Annals’, Dr John O’Brien,
showed little regard for FFÊ as authentic history, these annals attest nonetheless to the literary influence of Keating’s history on the post-classical narrative tradition concerning the battle of Clontarf.\textsuperscript{30}

**TEXTUAL AND CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The most substantial entries in the ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’ concern the O’Briens of Thomond. This is not surprising, of course, given the particular predilections of the work’s patron: Dr John O’Brien was most conscious of the role his ancestors played in Irish history, as is evidenced, for example, in repeated references to them not only in his *Focalóir Gaoidhilge-Sax-Bhéarla*, but also in lengthy digressions which feature the O’Briens in his aforementioned article published in 1764.\textsuperscript{31} In addition, TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), the very volume which contains the commissioned ‘Dublin Annals’ text, reflects Dr O’Brien’s pride in his ancestry, as almost a quarter of the contents of the second part of this document, copied between 1760 and 1762 by Micheál Ó Longáin, comprises a chronicle of Thomond kings and O’Brien genealogies.\textsuperscript{32} Significantly, the scribe appended a note to one of these genealogies which specifically refers to Bishop O’Brien, claiming he descended from Conchobhar Ó Briain, joint-king of Thomond (1118–1142).\textsuperscript{33}

Mícheál Ó Longáin produced further O’Brien genealogies also at this time.\textsuperscript{34} Similar material, moreover, forms part of the contents of RIA MS 673 (23 C 23), a manuscript compiled jointly by Ó Longáin and Seán Ó Conaire who, as we have seen, penned the text of the ‘Dublin Annals’ for Dr O’Brien.\textsuperscript{35} Neither mentions a patron, but the contents


\textsuperscript{31} Ó Catháin, ‘*An Irish scholar’,* 512–3.

\textsuperscript{32} TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 2, ff. 98r–120v, published by Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (ed.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le suim aguisin* (Baile Átha Cliath, [1940]), 293–398. For Ó Longáin, whose signature occurs on f. 120v, see note 7 above; the dates 1760 and 1762 were inserted by this scribe on f. 108v and f. 84r, respectively.

\textsuperscript{33} TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 2, f. 166r (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 387).

\textsuperscript{34} Dublin MS IL 1, part e, pp. 36–52 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin I, 294–327); Dublin MS IL 1, part b, pp. 1–17 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 332–72); Dublin MS IL 1, part b, pp. 19–23, and part e, pp. 92–5 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 387–98); Dublin MS IL 1, part f, p. q (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 374–6, 379–80); RIA MS 486 (23 G 22), pp. 57–78, p. 80 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 332–72), pp. 53–6 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 387–98). The scribe inserted the dates 1759 and 1761 into MS IL 1 which is now housed in the Irish Jesuit Archives, 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin 2, while the material in the second volume was probably written at this time also; for a description of the latter manuscripts and their contents, see Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, *Clár lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge: leabharlanna na cléire agus mionchnuasaigh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1980), fasciculus ii, 70–6, and O’Rahilly, Mulchrone *et al.*, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts*, 1300–3, respectively. Although Ó Fiannachta noted that the date 1759 occurs in Dublin MS IL 1, part b, p. 18, he overlooked its occurrence in part f of the same volume on a page which is marked ‘q’, as well as the date 1761 which occurs on the same page.

\textsuperscript{35} RIA MS 673 (23 C 23) and its contents are described in O’Rahilly, Mulchrone *et al.*, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts*, 2076–85; Ó Conaire’s contribution, pp. 1–123 and pp. 141–221, has been identified by Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaíthe Chochar*, 265 n. 336. The Uí Bhriain material in this volume occurs on pp. 8–12 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisin II, 387–98), p. 97 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar
of the manuscript suggest that it was intended for the Bishop. The same patron, in fact, also provided his scribes with copies of genealogies relevant to the O’Brien and Burke families, copies which ultimately derived from *Leabhar Iris Chloinne Ui Mhaolchonnaire* (LCM) and which formed part of the contents of his anthology of texts, the aforementioned TCD MS 1292 (H.1.18). The O’Brien genealogies from LCM were incorporated into the ‘Dublin Annals’, while the same source is also acknowledged by Ó Longáin and Ó Conaire elsewhere in their work. Taken together, then, not only does the evidence suggest that Ó Conaire and Ó Longáin worked together, but that they also produced transcriptions for Dr O’Brien who, in turn, also supplied them with source material. The ‘Dublin Annals’, then, was part of a larger project by this scholarly threesome which was dedicated to the recording of Munster history and the role therein of the Uí Bhriain in particular.

One wonders whether contemporary matters also had a role in supporting such a project and had heightened Dr O’Brien’s awareness of the importance of his ancestry. Of relevance in this connection, is a dispute concerning the Thomond earldom which arose in the early 1750s between two expatriate branches of the O’Brien family living in France. One of these was headed by Charles O’Brien (ob. 1761), sixth viscount Clare, Maréchal de Thomond, while the second branch was headed by Colonel Daniel O’Brien (ob. 1759), first earl of Lismore. Both O’Briens were rival claimants to the title ‘Earl of Thomond’. The dispute continued into the early 1760s, with the widows of each O’Brien advancing the cause of the respective branches. Interestingly, Dr John O’Brien took part in this genealogical controversy between 1758 and 1762, and is identified as a supporter of the Lismore faction — not only in the papers of the Chevalier Thomas O’Gorman now housed in the National Library of Ireland, but also in the collection of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle in England. Significantly, a genealogy tracing the first earl of Lismore’s

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36 See note 27 above. This material, ff. 4v–13r and ff. 13v–14v, is reproduced as Appendix D and Appendix AA, respectively, in Standish Hayes O’Grady (ed. and trans.), *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaign* (2 vols, London, 1929), I.171–92, 159–61, II.181–202, 169–71. The original LCM is now lost, but it appears to have been compiled in 1611 (O’Rahilly, *Mulchrone et al., Catalogue of Irish manuscripts*, 851).

37 The source of the extract from O’Brien genealogies by Seán Ó Conaire in RIA MS 673 (23 C 23), pp. 193–4, is located *a trosach an Leabhair Iris Chloinn Í Mhaolchonnaire*, ‘in the beginning of Leabhar Iris Chloinne Ui Mhaolchonnaire’ (p. 193), while Micheál Ó Longáin ‘found’ his extract on the Burkes, RIA MS 486 (23 G 22), pp. 81–3, *a Leabhar Iris Chloinn Í M[h]aochonnaire*, ‘in Leabhar Iris Chloinne Ui Mhaolchonnaire’ (p. 81). Ó Longáin’s copies of O’Brien genealogies are: Dublin MS IL.1, part b, pp. 1–17, the source being acknowledged on p. 18, RIA MS 486 (23 G 22), pp. 57–78, p. 80, and TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 2, ff. 105r–112r, where the source is referred to on f. 105r; the latter two texts were used in preparing the treatise on Brian Bórainme and his descendants down to 1694 by Ó Donnchadh, *An Leabhar Muimhneach, aguisín II*, 332–72.


ancestry back to the O’Briens of Carrigogunnell and to Conchobhar, king of Thomond (1400–1426), is included by Micheál Ó Longáin and Seán Ó Conaire in two of their transcripts of the aforementioned chronicle of Thomond kings and O’Brien genealogies.\footnote{TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 2, f. 112v, and RIA MS 673 (23 C 23), p. 97 (= Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, aguisín II, 373–4), respectively.}

This material, too, was provided at the behest of Dr O’Brien who was clearly keen to procure any documents which would solve the genealogical crux relating to the Thomond earldom in favour of the Lismore faction.\footnote{In this connection, we may note the following description by one Fr Thomas Kennedy in a letter addressed to the first earl of Lismore, 5 June 1758: ‘I went to join his Lordship, the bishop of Cloyne, who is the great agent of this matter. He has left no stone unturned to make all the necessary discoveries upon this occasion. He certainly has behaved like a true friend to your Lordship’s family in discovering things that never could come to light without him. He’s made out the genealogy in the County of Cork by old books both English and Irish, and the concurrent testimony of all the old people in the country who have the names of your Lordship’s ancestors and their possessions as if they were matters transacted only yesterday’ (Fagan, *Ireland in the Stuart Papers*, II.230 (vol. 382, no.150)).}

The annals’ record of events sub annis A.D. 1013 (when Brian Bóraimhe marched into Osraighe as part of a campaign to quash any revolt against him by the Leinstermen) to A.D. 1027 (when Donnchadh son of Brian attacked Mac Giolla Phádraig, king of Osraighe) ultimately derives from a post-classical Munster compilation known as the *Leabhar Oiris* (LO).\footnote{Richard Irvine Best, (ed.), ‘The *Leabhar Oiris*’, *Ér* 1 (1904), 74–112; at least twenty-five copies of this text have survived in manuscripts dating from 1711/12 to 1848 but only ten were known to Best while producing his edition.}

The ‘Dublin Annals’, too, is comprehensive in its description of this conflict. Indeed, the account of events s.a. 1014 is the work’s first considerable entry, taking up almost four leaves in the manuscript. Length alone, however, is not its distinguishing feature. There is also a stylistic shift in the narrative at this point in the annals. Instead of the terseness of presentation which dominated heretofore, the prose is more detailed and is marked by a series of *non sequiturs*:

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1014 Kl Sluag[hadh] mór le Brian Borúmha mac Cinnēide rígh Êireann\footnote{Cinnēide [le cancelled] rígh Éireann} et le Maolseachluim rígh Midhe go hÁith Cliath ag tabhairt catha do Ghalbáibh et do Laighnibh um a ttaoiseacha Lochlannach[a] et um Maolmórdba mac Murchadh rígh Laighean gona riog[h]ra et go [f]rí catha uime, gur chuir Maolseachloinne teachta chuige òs ísiol dà inisin gur chuir Brian Don[n]chadh mac Briain go nglasladh\footnote{i.e. nglasláith} Dhäil cCais et go [f]tríri shlíuach sleachta Eogcháin Mhóir air cheann chreach Laigheann et Ó cCinnsealach, et geallas féin go bhfuíganadh Brian et deich ccéad do Mhídheachaibh leis. O’d-choncadar Gaill et Laighnig Brian air
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‘1014 Kl. A great hosting by Brian Bóramahe son of Cinnéidigh, king of Ireland, and Maol Sheachlainn, king of Midhe, to Dublin, fighting the foreigners and the Leinstermen led by their Viking rulers, and Maol Mórdha son of Murchadh, king of Leinster, together with his chiefs and three battalions about him, and Maol Sheachlainn sent him [Maol Mórdha] a message secretly telling him that Brian had sent Donnchadh son of Brían and the young champions of the Dál gCais and a third of the host of the descendants of Eoghan Mór to plunder Leinster and the Uí Chinnsealaigh, and he himself promised that he, along with ten hundred men from Midhe, would abandon Brian. When the foreigners and Leinstermen saw Brian with a diminished host around him on the outskirts of Dublin, they themselves advanced as seven battalions against him and divided themselves into three, i.e. a Viking host equipped with arms and in uniform from head to foot led by Carolus son of Eibhric and Anrudh son of Eibhric, two sons of the king of the Norwegians, and led by Dolat and Conmhaol, two strong warriors, and the foreigners of Dublin with them. The second host, i.e. Maol Mórdha son of Murchadh, king of Leinster, with his Leinstermen, and the third host with the foreigners of the Isles led by Luadar, earl of Inis Orc, and Brodar ruler of the Danes, including the foreigners of Inis Céad and Manainn and Sgiticc and Leodhas and Ceanntíre and Oirear Gaoidehal, and the Corr-Britons and Britons of Cill Muine, and Coir na Liogóg with all their kings, and also foreigners from Tir an tSneachta and the Maeotian marshes.’

This pre-battle depiction of the enemy forces in the ‘Dublin Annals’ replicates almost to the word that in the LO which, in turn, echoes that in Cath Cluana Tarbh (CCT), one of the most popular prose tales of the post-classical Modern Irish period. 49 The description of Brian’s enemies, their advance in seven battalions and their threefold division ar

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45 d’éide [ó bhonn go bathas cancelled] ó mhullach
46 thréinnmhíleadha [um Luadha cancelled] et Gaill
47 le [Luadar cancelled] Gallaibh
48 TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 22v; the accompanying English translation and all those that follow here are my own. The placenames Inis Orc, Inis Céad, Manainn, Sgiticc and Leodhas are glossed Orcaed Insula, Hebrides, Mona Insula, Insula de Shetland [and] Insula Lewis, respectively, in the margin of the manuscript; Coirbhreathnaicc is glossed Cornwallia, and Tir an tSneachta is explained as Norwegia, Suedia [and] Jutlandia.
faithche Átha Cliath, ‘on the outskirts of Dublin’, ultimately derives, of course, from the Middle Irish account of the battle in *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallab* (CGG).\(^50\) However, the above characterisation of Maol Sheachlainn as traitor who informs the enemy of Brian’s diminished numbers is a later textual accretion of the Modern Irish period which first occurs in Keating’s colourful account of the battle of Clontarf in FFÉ.\(^51\) Keating’s characterisation of Maol Sheachlainn as friend turned foe is an interpolation which occurs in some copies of the LO, while it also becomes an important motif in the subsequent transmission of CCT. Evidently, then, the manner in which the historical event is presented at this point in the ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’ is influenced by the story which had evolved around it.

Continuing in bombastic vein, the next section of the entry s.a. 1014 in the ‘Dublin Annals’ reiterates Maol Sheachlainn’s duplicitous act and introduces a valiant Brian Bóraimhe:


\[Ar \, riarradh \, a \, shluigheacht \, amhla \, san \, do \, Bhrían, \, do \, luidh \, féin \, mar \, aon \, le \, Murchadh \, mac \, Bhrían \, 'na \, measg \, ón \, ceann \, go \, roile \, dá \, ndìosgadh \, chum \, cródhacht a \, n-aighidh \, na \, n-allmhùrach, \, et \, rò \, fhioilisce \, dóibh \, gan \, luighid \, meanma \, do \, ghabháil \, trí \, Dhonnchadh \, mac \, Bhrían \, go \, [t]riair \, sluagh \, Muimhnicce \, d’imtheacht \, uatha \, òir \, is \, ag \, creachadh \, Laighen \, et \, Gall \, do \, bhí; \, iar \, san \, nochtas \, dóibh \, gur \, fada \, bhádair \, fír \, Èirionn \, và \, anbhruid \, na \, Lochlannach \, n-allmhùrda \, ag \, marbhadh \, iomad \, righthe \, et \, príomhthaoiseacha \, et \, ag \, sliorargain \, 's \, ag \, losgadh \, dún \, et \, cealla \, et \, eaglaise \, Dé \, go \, mionnaibh \, Naomh; \, et \, rò \, ràidh \, sè \, do \, ghuth \, àrd. \, “a \, chàirde, \, rò \, thug \, an \, Coimhde\(^52\) \, cómhacht \, et \, calmacht \, dhìbhse \, anuigh \, chum \, an \, anfhithlathas \, Lochlannach \, fòr \, fhearaibh \, Èirionn \, do \, shrianadh \, go \, bhruinne \, [sic] \, an \, bhràtha, \, et \, chum \, na \, n-iomad \, feall \, et \, ceallairgthe \, sin \, do \, dhìos[h]ail \, fhorra \, an \, lá \, so \, ‘nar \, fuilling \, Cristi \, fein \, bás \, ar \, bhùr \, soin’; \, et \, taisbeànas \, dóibh \, an \, tan \, san \, an \, chros-fhìghil \, ina \, láimh \, chlìdhe \, et \, a \, chloídheamh \, go \, [n]dòr[a][n]clìlainn\(^53\) \, òir \, ina \, láimh \, dheis, \, dà \, fhoiillsìughadh \, dóibh \, go \, bhfìògheadh \, féin \, bás \, mar \, aon \, leò \, dà \, cosnamh. \, Iar \, san \, gabhas \, Brian \, et \, Murchadh \, go \, sluagh \, D[h]ail \, cCais \, ag \, ionnsaigh \, lucht \, na \, deich \, ccèad \, luithreach \, um \, dhìs \, [h]ach \, rìgh \, Fionnlochlan[n]ach, \, ach \, d’èalaigh \, Maolseachloinn \, gona \, Mhìdheachbaibh, \, mar \, do \, gheall \, an \, oidhche \, roimhe \, sin, \, et \, do \, chuir \, gort \, eatartha \, et \, an \, chath; \, acht \, nir \, luighid \, sin \, meanmain \, Bhrían \, nà \, an \, Dàil \, cCais, \, òir \, do \, chosnamhadar \, an \, cath \, go \, rò \, dhàsachtach.\(^54\)\]

‘Having arranged his hosts thus, Brian, together with his son, Murchadh, went amongst them from one to another, encouraging them to valiant deeds against the foreigners; and he indicated to them that they should not lose heart at the departure from them of Donnchadh son of Brian and a third of the Munster hosts, for they

\(^{50}\) James Henthorn Todd (ed. and transl.), *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallab*. *The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen* (London, 1867), 150–3, § lxxvii.


\(^{52}\) i.e. Coimhde

\(^{53}\) i.e. ndornchlainn

\(^{54}\) TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 23r–23v.
were plundering the men of Leinster and the foreigners; after that he explained to them that the men of Ireland were for a long time under the oppression of the foreign Vikings, killing many kings and chief leaders, and constantly plundering and burning fortresses and monasteries and churches of God containing saints’ relics; and he said in a loud voice: “friends, the Lord granted you powers and strengths today to curb the Viking oppression of the men of Ireland till doomsday, and to exact vengeance for those many treacheries and church-plunders this day on which Christ himself died on your behalf”; and he showed them then the crucifix in his left hand and his gold-hilted sword in his right hand, revealing to them that he himself would die together with them protecting it.

After that Brian, Murchadh and the Dál gCais host set about attacking the ten hundred armoured men led by the two sons of the king of the Norwegians, but Maol Sheachlainn absconded with his men of Meath as he promised the night before and established a distance of a field between them and the battle; but this did not diminish Brian’s courage nor that of the Dál gCais for they contested the fight very fiercely.

Brian Bóraimhe, as presented here, is not only a source of strength for his men, but he is also protector of the crosfhighil which, in this context, refers to the cross. The crosfhighil is also the standard reference for the cross in the LO and CCT, although in these sources it is held by the Dál gCais king while praying in his tent. The pre-battle account just cited does not occur in other prose descriptions and is, it seems, peculiar to the ‘Dublin Annals’. It is not part of the narrative in CGG, for example, nor is it in the Modern Irish accounts of Clontarf in the Annals of Loch Cá, the Annals of Boyle, LO, FFÉ or in CCT. Notably, in all of these sources Brian Bóraimhe adopts the more passive role befitting an elder king who opts to remain apart in prayer from the combat. According to the ‘Dublin Annals’, however, the Thomond king is above all else an active defender of the cross — dá cosnamh — rather than protector of his men — dá ccosnamh.

The ensuing account of the battle would amount to little more than a list of casualties on both sides were it not for the colourful description of how Murchadh son of Brian meets his death:

Is amhla do marbhadh Murchadh mac Briain le Anrudh i. sáith sannta ch do sgían Mhurchadh a n-iochtar a chuip tag an t-allmhurdhach dó, et é treasgartha fá lár ag an laochmhileadh óir do rug Murchadh air lena láimh chlidhe (uair når bhfídir leis breith air ’na láimh d[h]eis iar sgolta a laghrach ’sa ghlaice et iar

55 For crosfhighil, literally ‘cross-vigil’, and the extending of the arms in the form of a cross while praying, see DIL s.v. crosfíghil.

56 In the following seventeen copies of CCT, however, Brian Bóraimhe prays with his rosary beads rather than with the crucifix: Aberystwyth Additional MS 414D, p. 131; UCC MS 106, p. 27; UCC MS 124, p. 56; NLI MS G 63, p. 88; NLI MS G 122, p. 200; RIA MS 327 (23 C 28), p. 10; RIA MS 505 (23 D 12), p. 278; RIA MS 897 (12 F 20), p. 216; RIA MS 946 (23 H 15), p. 63; RIA MS 981 (23 N 18), p. 85; RIA MS 1132 (23 O 52), p. 124; RIA MS 1383 (23 O 74), p. 46; UCD Ferriter MS 25, p. 122; Fermoy MS 3, p. 27; Manchester MS 73, p. 9; Roscrea MS 5, p. [172]; Wisconsin, MS 175(a), p. 99.

57 We may note here that the translation ad eos protegendos by the Reverend Charles O’Connor (‘Annales Inisfalenses’, 65) is erroneous; cf. Ní Úrdail, ‘Annála Inse Faithleann an ochtú céad déag’, 112 n. 36.
‘Murchadh son of Brian was thus killed by Anruadh, i.e. the foreigner thrust Murchadh’s [own] knife fiercely into his lower body while he [the foreigner] was pinned flat to the ground by the mighty hero, for Murchadh had grabbed him with his left hand (since he could not hold him in his right hand, his fingers and palm having split and the hilt of his sword having melted in his hand from [heat caused by] excess smiting) shook him out of his armour onto the ground and forced his sword with his chest through the foreigner, and Anruadh drew Murchadh’s knife and stabbed the great hero, but Murchadh survived until he received the body of Christ, having made his confession.’

Although this passage ultimately derives from CGG, its animated depiction of the heroic Murchadh, overcoming his opponent before succumbing to death on receiving absolution and communion, closely follows that of the LO and CCT. By way of illustration, we may note the following from the latter source:

Gidheadh síneas an lámh chlí chum an allmhúraicc 7 croitheas a lúireach tar a cheann amach 7 glacas a chloidheamh 7 an Lochlannach faoi 7 léigios a ucht air an ecloidheamh ó nárbo fhéidir leis a bhualadh 7 sáthas tríd go talmhaíonn é. As ann sin ró tharraing Hannrí sgígan Murchadh asa chumhach 7 ró sháthaidh go sanntach amhráin ós a chionn i a n-íochtar a meadheadhón gur thuit an cathmhíleadh Murchadh don aonghoin sin. Gidheadh éirghios arís go deaghthapa 7 ditheannas mac righ Lochlann ann sin 7 ró mhair féin go solas tráth éirgh e do ló arna mhárach gur chaith corp Christ iar ndéanamh faoisidín a bheatha 7 lórghníomha ris an saoghal.

‘Nevertheless, he stretched out his left hand to the foreigner and shook his armour out over his head, and grabbed his sword with the Viking beneath him and pressed his chest onto the sword since he could not strike him, and forced it through him to the ground. Annraoi then drew Murchadh’s knife from its cover and thrust it

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58 i.e. dornclann
59 The scribe inserted a length-mark here to represent the diphthong /əi/ in the first syllable of leigheadh, i.e. leaghadh ‘melting, dissolution’. We may note Leigheann lúthgháir an formadach, ‘joy melts [grieves] the envious one’, in Párlaimint na mBan which Domhnall Ó Colmáin from Co. Cork first compiled in 1670 and revised in 1703 (Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), Párlaimint na mBan (Baile Átha Cliath, 1952), 46 l. 1451); Do thóg sí aon diobh aghas do chuir dá leigheadh i bhnéigre é, ‘she took one of them [an earring] and placed it for melting in vinegar’, in Corraghlíocas na mban léirmhinithe which Dáibhí de Barra, also from Co. Cork, compiled between 1775 and 1780 (Brendán Ó Conchúir (ed.), Corraghlíocas na mban (Baile Átha Cliath, 1991), 27 l. 1045); we may also note ór athleigate, ‘refined gold’, in the latter text (Ó Conchúir, Corraghlíocas na mban, 20 l. 799, 27 l. 1044).
60 TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 23v.
fiercely and most powerfully out over him into his [Murchadh’s] lower midriff and the champion, Murchadh, fell as a result of that single wound. He rose most speedily again, however, and decapitated the son of the king of the Vikings then and he himself lived until daylight the following day and he received the body of Christ after making his life’s confession and atonement with the world.’

The interpretation of events s.a. 1014 in the ‘Dublin Annals’, therefore, portrays Brian Bóraimhe as the consummate ruler who, together with his son, opposes the forces of evil. Such a presentation of his eponymous ancestor would undoubtedly appeal to the partisan sympathies of Dr John O’Brien who commissioned the work itself: a valiant Brian Bóraimhe and his heroic son, Murchadh, both pitted against foreign oppression and plunder, would engage the reader whose episcopate was one of vigilance and steadfastness in the defence of the liberties of the Catholic Church.62

This may explain, in fact, why the concluding section of the entry s.a. 1014 returns to the rather flat style of presentation which dominated hitherto in the annals. It outlines in brief the internal dynastic struggle of Eoghanacht Raithlinn and their revolt against the O’Briens, which is derived from LO.63 Unlike the latter source, however, three poems on the theme of the ubi sunt? which celebrate the bygone glorious era of the Dál gCais are excluded in the annals’ account.64 Consequently, the detailed interpolation in the LO is considerably shorter in the ‘Dublin Annals’, the main concern of which, no doubt, is the retelling of the battle of Clontarf, as well as the highlighting of its heroic contributors, the O’Briens of Thomond. In style and form, then, the entry s.a. 1014 is a literary re-creation of the historical event itself rather than a factual recording thereof.

THE ‘DUBLIN ANNALS OF INISFALLEN’, ‘MAC CÁRTHAIGH’S BOOK’ AND CAITHRÉIM THOIRDHEALBHAIGH

It has been argued thus far that the first substantial entry in the ‘Dublin Annals’ exemplifies the re-creation of an event in history. What then of the historical value of other substantial entries in this compilation? To this end, we may examine those entries in the work which focus mainly on Munster affairs in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A first set of entries forms a group which deals particularly with the affairs of Desmond and which is closely related to another collection of Irish annals, styled ‘Mac Cárthaigh’s Book’ (MCB). This source was once in the possession of the Mac Cárthaigh family and appears to have been originally written in the late fifteenth century. It begins at A.D. 1114 and concludes with a series of unconnected events of various years from 1424 to 1464, all of which are entered s.a. 1437.65 The events documented in MCB and

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62 Dr O’Brien’s episcopal difficulties are outlined by Coombes, A bishop of penal times, 40–69.
65 NLI MS G 6, ff. 1r–12v and NLI MS G 5, ff. 9r–24v, now Fragment I in Séamus Ó hInnse (ed. and transl.), Miscellaneous Irish annals (A.D. 1114–1437) (Dublin, 1947), 2–115; for a description of these
the ‘Dublin Annals’ are undoubtedly important as sources for Munster history, but it is also the case that the number of northern entries in them is by no means negligible and adds considerably to information not recorded elsewhere. The entries A.D. 1134–1154 help complete the chasm at this point in the Annals of Ulster, while entries sub annis 1206–1210 are more informative than their counterparts in the Annals of Ulster and Annals of Loch Cé. As such, therefore, both texts are valuable historical documents for the medieval period.

The close relationship between MCB and the ‘Dublin Annals’ notwithstanding, certain differences are also evident between them. For example, a number of lacunae occur in the former source, the most extensive being the absence of entries from 1264 to 1305 and from 1316 to 1397. Entries in the ‘Dublin Annals’ bridge the first of these textual gaps, while the second chasm is completed in part because the final kalend in the eighteenth-century compilation, as stated earlier, is A.D. 1320. Furthermore, although succession dates and obituaries of several Munster kings are established in the annals from 1215 until the first chasm which occurs after 1263 in MCB, many of them contain a single entry only for each year. The documentation for the same period is more comprehensive in the post-classical ‘Dublin Annals’ compilation. Indeed, a number of other entries common to each source are more detailed in the eighteenth-century text.

A second set of substantial entries in the ‘Dublin Annals’ focuses at length on the O’Briens of Thomond in the early fourteenth century. By way of illustration, we may consider the account for the year 1306 and compare it with the equivalent annal in MCB. The latter source gives the following four entries in brief under this year: the death of Tóirdhealbhach Mór Ó Briain; the succession of his son, Donnchadh, as eighth king of Thomond; the defeat of Sir Piers de Bermingham and his followers by Ó Maoil Sheachlainn and Mac Eochagáin in Midhe; and, finally, the capture of Domhnall Óg Mac Cáithaigh by his kinsman, Domhnall Maol, and his subsequent beheading at Baile Ui Mhoinigh, probably Ballymoney near Ballineen, Co. Cork.

The corresponding text s.a. 1306 in the ‘Dublin Annals’ is interspersed with additional entries, and many of these, incidentally, are also found in Rawlinson MS B. 488, a copy of which forms part of the contents of TCD MS 1292 (H.1.18), which itself, as we have seen, was made available to Seán Ó Conaire by Dr John O’Brien. The first of the additional entries in question refers to the killing of Fearghal Mac Raghnaill, chief of Muintear Eolais in Co. Leitrim, by his own kinsmen, while the second records the killing of Donnchadh son of Conchobhar an Chopáin Mac Diarmada and Flann Ó Floinn by
Aodh son of Eoghan Ó Conchobhar. Further entries follow (for example, the death of Henry III, king of England; the succession of Edward II; the threat to Aodh son of Eoghan Ó Conchobhair’s kingship of Connacht; the death of Donnchadh Ó Flaitbheartaigh, bishop of Killala; Robert Bruce’s contending for the kingship of Scotland; the deaths of Domhnall Ó Néill of Tuirtre and Sir William Prendergast; and a great foray by Clann Mhuircheartaigh into Cairbre) before documenting de Bermingham’s defeat in Midhe and the capture of Domhnall Óg Mac Cárthaigh.\footnote{TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 64v–65r.} Not only is the account for the year 1306 longer in the ‘Dublin Annals’, but its main concern is with the history of the O’Briens and that of Thomond in general. In this connection, we may note the following concluding entries which include the death of Toirdhealbhach Mór Ó Briain and Donnchadh’s subsequent accession to the Thomond kingship:

\textit{Toirdhealbhach mac Taidhg Chaoluisge mic Chonchúbhair na Siúdaine h. Bhriain d'éag et a adhlacadh san mainistir aolta do rinn féin a nfhnse an Laoighe.}


\textit{Galar mór do ghabháil Cú Mheadha Mór Mac Con Mara et a éag dhe, et a adhlacadh a bhfochair a righ a nfhnse Chluain Rámhfhada gur tóghasad Cloinn C[h]oiléin Do[n]cha mac Con Mheádhha chum árdcheannais do ghabháil orrtha féin.}\footnote{TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 64r–64v; the dating of the first additional entry is arbitrary, of course, as Henry III died in 1272.}

‘Toirdhealbhach son of Tadhg Caoluisce son of Conchobar na Siúdaine Ó Briain died and was buried in the limewhite abbey he himself built at Inis an Laoigh.

Donnchadh son of Toirdhealbhach son of Tadhg Caoluisce Ó Briain was made king in Magh Adhair by Cú Mheadha Mór Mac Con Mara over the districts of all Thomond and its borders, and Uaithne and the two Ėile [i.e. Éile Thuaisciirt and Éile Deiscirt], and Urmhumhha and Uí Luighdheach and Aos Grēine and Cuanach and the Eoghanacht Bheag and Aos Tri Maighe and a portion of Connacht, and Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain, his father, left all those territories under the high-kingship of his son Donnchadh in this year. Here follows the full extent of the Thomond kingdom, i.e. from Léim Chon Chulainn to Áth na Bóraimhe and from Biorra to Cnoc Áine Cliach and from the Eoghanacht of Caiseal to the north of the white, stony Boireann.

\footnote{TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 64r–64v; the dating of the first additional entry is arbitrary, of course, as Henry III died in 1272.}
A great sickness befell Cú Mheadha Mór Mac Con Mara and he died as a result of it, and he was buried next to his king at Inis Chluain Rámhfhada and the Clann Chuiléin chose Donnchadh son of Cú Mheadha to take leadership over themselves.’

Significant here, of course, is the evocative use of placenames in the ‘Dublin Annals’ which clearly fixes the territorial claims of the O’Briens to Thomond.

The above concluding encomium s.a. 1306 echoes passages from the mid-fourteenth-century Caithréim Thoirdealbhthaigh (CT). It has been noted already here that the earliest complete copy of this historical saga forms part of an anthology of texts, now preserved as TCD MS 1292 (H.1.18), which was in the possession of Dr John O’Brien who, in turn, supplied its contents as source material for the compilation of the ‘Dublin Annals’. CT was also the source for the substantial material inserted in our annals sub annis 1308–1309 and 1311–1318 which outlines at length political upheavals in Thomond at that time. In certain cases, individual phrases or longer passages derive from the text of CT. Furthermore, the latter text’s biased presentation of events in favour of Clann Thaidhg, the descendants of Tadhg Ó Briain (ob. 1259), but at the expense of Clann Bhriain, the opposing faction descended from Brian Ruadh Ó Briain (ob. 1277), is also apparent in the ‘Dublin Annals’. CT, for example, outlines in exaggerated terms the high regard of the Anglo-Irish for Muircheartach Ó Briain (ob. 1343), son of Toirdhealbhach Mór son of Tadhg, who in 1317 supported Lord Richard de Clare in blocking the Scots’ invasion of Thomond led by Edward and Robert Bruce. Not only is Muircheartach described as the chosen leader of the Anglo-Irish magnates, but the Gaelic chief was given audience by them, directly after the Bruce invasion, in a parliament at Dublin where he confuted de Clare’s attempts at purchasing peace for his rivals, the descendants of Brian Ruadh.

Similar propaganda in favour of Muircheartach Ó Briain is evident in two entries from the ‘Dublin Annals’ inserted s.a. 1316:

Comhthionól do dhéanamh do Ghallaibh Leithe Mogha idir iarla et barún, idir eniocht et cathbharún et glasghallaibh fó dhaingin Luimnigh a n-adhaigh na nAlbannach do thógha árdtaoiseach orro re hucht an chatha, gur thoghasad uile Muircheartach mac Toirdhealbhthaigh mic Taidhg Chaoluisge h. Briain don dula san.

An Clárach do dhol go siosa Átha Cliath do cheannach siodha do chloidh Bhriain Ruadh go ndeachaidh Muirchiortach h. Briain air choimirce an Bhuiltéaraigh

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73 O’Grady, Caithréim Thoirdealbhthaigh, I.1–2, 27, 34, II.1, 29, 34.
74 See notes 26 and 27 above.
75 For example s.a. 1308 (= O’Grady, Caithréim Thoirdealbhthaigh, I.35–6, II.36), 1309 (= O’Grady, Caithréim Thoirdealbhthaigh, I.37–43, II.37–43), 1311 (= O’Grady, Caithréim Thoirdealbhthaigh, I.51, 53–4, II.49, 50–1), 1318 (note 81 below).
77 air choimirce an [Chláraigh cancelled] Bhuiltéaraigh
gus an siosa céadhna a ccoinne an Chlárcaigh, et a rig[e] do thabhairt air iocht et air choimirce Diarmada h. Bhriain, a dhearbhráthair. 78

‘An assembly was held by the foreigners of Leath Mogha, lord and baron, soldier and officer and steel-armoured foreigners, gathered in opposition to the Scots at the stronghold of Limerick to appoint a commander in chief over them for the battle, and they all chose Muircheartach son of Toirdhealbhach son of Tadhg Caoluisce Ó Briain on that occasion.

De Clare went to the assizes in Dublin to purchase peace for the descendants of Brian Ruadh, and Muircheartach Ó Briain under the protection of [Edmund] Butler went to the same assizes against de Clare and gave his kingdom into the charge and protection of Diarmaid Ó Briain, his brother.’

The text of CT, then, was extensively borrowed from in the concluding section of the ‘Dublin Annals’ which deals in particular with the O’Briens and outlines political unrest in Thomond in the early fourteenth century. However, there are also instances where the annals dispense with extended lavish prose passages typical of the historical saga. A case in point is the description of the battle at Corcumroe Abbey in 1317 which marked a decisive victory for Muircheartach Ó Briain and his followers over the descendants of Brian Ruadh. The ‘Dublin Annals’ follows the order of presentation as given in CT, albeit in more measured tones. 79

The last set of substantial entries in the post-classical text occurs under the year 1318 and marks a final flourish on the glorious era of the O’Briens. 80 The reader is given a detailed description of Muircheartach Ó Briain’s second great victory which resulted in the death of Richard de Clare at Dysert O’Dea and ultimately quashed any Anglo-Norman hopes of conquering Thomond. Once again, the account in the ‘Dublin Annals’ closely follows that in CT. 81 Indeed, the length and style of the text s.a. 1318 contrasts with that to follow which marks a return to affairs concerning Desmond in a series of short entries sub annis 1319–1320. Thus, the history of Thomond in the early fourteenth century features prominently in the closing section of the ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’, and would have been of special interest to the intended reader of the work, Dr John O’Brien.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the above observations, then, it has been argued that substantial entries in the eighteenth-century ‘Dublin Annals of Inisfallen’ concentrate in particular on the O’Briens of Thomond. The first of these entries is a literary re-creation of the battle of Clontarf, showing that an O’Brien saga of sorts continued to be re-created down to the post-classical Modern Irish period. By contrast, the early fourteenth-century entries in the text, which rely heavily on CT, are an important authority on the history of Thomond in

78 TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, f. 72v and f. 73r, respectively.
80 TCD MS 1281 (H.1.7), part 1, ff. 75r–77v.
the medieval period. In addition, these annals provide important documentation of affairs in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The compilation itself, moreover, attests to the importance of contextual matters — be they the scribe–patron relationship, the particular interests of the patron, or contemporary issues — in determining the process of textual transmission in the Modern Irish period.