

cultura ferè deserta. Nam non multos agros ibi obsitos videbis, & idcirco Vltionienses non sunt multi panis homines. Siquidem inter eos pecuarij plurimi, sed aratores rarissimi viuunt: qui glebam, natura bene fertilem, atrati vomere perstringunt. Stetit inibi quondam vrbs Dunensis, sed eam confecit ac consumsit vetustas. Hæc, priscis temporibus, magno in honore fuit: nunc tantum villula, cum veteris structuræ parietinis apparet, in qua corpora D. Patricij, Columbæ, & Brigidæ fuerunt sepulta. Quo tempore, illum locum habuisse multum religionis, Annales referunt. De quorum sepultura peruetusti hi versus percelebrantur.

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno*

*Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.*

Exstat item in hac prouincia, Karregfergus, cui opidulo ideo hoc nomen erat impositum, quia Fergusius Hibernus, primus, vt Hectori Boëthio placet, Scotorum Albanensium rex, ibi erat submersus. Nam Karreg Fergus, Hibernica lingua, scopulum Fergusij significat. De quo fatali exitu nos olim ita diximus.

*Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,*

*Fergusius Petræ sic dedit apta suæ.*

In hac etiam parte sedem habet Armachia, quæ, multis abhinc annis, non mediocrem in Hibernia locum obtinebat. Neque profectò iniuria. Archiepiscopo enim Armachano omnes quidem primas tribuunt, cum sit totius Hiberniæ primas: secundas Dubliniensi, tertias Cassiliensi, vltimas Tuemiensi. Nam quattuor [27] Archiepiscopi in Hibernia numerantur. verum de huius Insulæ vrbibus, & opidis satis dictum est: deinceps ad aliam eiusdem partitionem transeamus; quæ magna cum cura, & diligentia consideranda est, si quis huius terræ statum cognitum, ac perspectum habere aueat. Quare obseruare diligenter oportebit, Hiberniam in duas partes distributam esse; in Anglicam, & Hibernicam: hanc germani, & genuini Hiberni, illam Anglorum progenies incolit: eaque portio, plebeio sermone, Anglica prouincia nominatur, quòd sit Anglorum territorii, quasi palis & septis<sup>8</sup> circumsessa. Etenim posteaquam homines Britannici Dermicum, exactum regem, Hibernis hostibus armis castrisque oppressis, in patriam, atque adeò in regnum restituerunt (quibus de rebus agemus tum cum ad secundum librum peruenerimus) Britannici victores sedem stabilem & domicilia certa, in lectis Hiberniæ locis habuerunt. Deinde cum inter se & domitos Hibernos quædam quasi insulæ diuortia fecissent; tum illam partem in qua

<sup>8</sup>septis P sc. saeptis.

In Catal.  
regum Scot.

Armachia  
Archiepiscopi  
sedes.

Episco-  
poru(m)  
Hiberniæ  
ordo. Vide  
append.  
cap. 10.

Alia  
Hiberniæ  
diuisio.

Anglica  
prouincia.

Oriel<sup>77</sup> and a few other open plains) and almost devoid of the cultivation of man. You will not see many tilled fields there and, as a consequence, the men of Ulster are not great eaters of bread.<sup>78</sup> Among them are many herdsmen but few tillers to break the soil – although it is naturally quite fertile – with the ploughshare.

In that place once stood the city of Down, now wasted and ruined by the passage of time. In ancient times it was held in high esteem but now has only the appearance of a little village containing the ruined walls of an ancient structure, in which the bodies of Saints Patrick, Columba and Brigid are buried. In those days, according to the Annals,<sup>79</sup> it was a very holy place. On the burial of those saints the following ancient verses are frequently quoted:

*These three in Down are entombed in one mound,*

*Brigid and Patrick and holy Columba.<sup>80</sup>*

In this province also stands Carrickfergus: this little town was so called because Fergus, an Irishman, the first king of the Alban Scots was drowned there, according to Hector Boece.<sup>81</sup> Carrickfergus in the Irish tongue means Rock of Fergus. Concerning his fatal demise we once wrote the following verses:

*As Icarus made a name for the Icarian Sea*

*So Fergus bestowed a name fitted to his own rock.<sup>82</sup>*

Also in this province is situated Armagh which, many years ago, held no mean position in Ireland; and rightly so, for the prime place is given by all to the archbishop of Armagh, since he is the primate of all Ireland; second place is allotted to Dublin, third to Cashel and the last archbishopric to Tuam. [27] For there are four archbishoprics in Ireland. But now, enough has been said about the cities and towns of this island.

Next let us move to another division of the same: this must be considered with great care and attention by anyone wishing to gain a knowledge and perception of the state of this land. We must note carefully that Ireland is divided into two parts:<sup>83</sup> the English and the Irish. The latter is inhabited by the true, genuine Irish, the former by descendants of English forbears. That portion is called in the vernacular the English Pale, a province surrounded by English lands as if by a fence of palings.<sup>84</sup> For after the British, having suppressed the Irish who were hostile to them by a military campaign, restored Dermot to his fatherland – also to his kingdom, for Dermot was a king who had been expelled: we shall deal with these matters when we come to the second book – as victors they took possession of stable holdings and fixed dwelling places in chosen parts of Ireland. After that they made a kind of fixed division of the island between themselves and the conquered Irish, and that region in which they established their colony they called the English Province. Although in the early years this extended far and wide, nevertheless, with the

In the list of  
Scottish  
kings.

Armagh an  
episcopal  
seat.

Order of  
bishops in  
Ireland; see  
appendix,  
ch. 10.

Another  
division of  
Ireland.

The  
English  
province.

Eius termini & circumscrip-  
tio.

Mores  
Hiberno-  
Anglorum.

Chauceri  
Poëtæ laus.

Hibernicorum  
idioma ab  
Anglica  
prouincia ferè  
exsulat.

coloniam collocarunt, Anglicam prouinciam appellauerunt. Etsi verò primis annis longè lateque patuit: tamen temporis longinquitate, cœpit in exiguos quosdam fines constipari; partim posterorum socordia, qui dum in bonis, velut firmi possessores, hære non contenderunt, Hibernicos longiùs serpere ignauiter passi sunt: partim verò, quòd Britannici accolæ, quibuscum vicinitas Hibernis erat, eorum moribus obliti à pristina maiorum vrbanitate tamquam Circæo poculo pedetentim degenerarint. Maior Lageniæ pars & Mediæ pars, ac ea Vltoniæ portio, quæ Vrilia dicitur, in Anglica prouincia continetur: sed præcipua Lageniæ particula, quæ Fingallia vocatur, [28] Dublinio, ad Aquilonarem plagam, finitima, primas tenet, secundas Media. Fingalliæ enim & Mediæ agricolæ rem rusticam laboriosissimè colunt. Eaque agrorum cultio & satio ad multorum fructum redundat. Vtraque colonia Hiberniæ horreum merito nominatur. Nam ceteris insulæ oris frumentum quotannis suppeditat. Tametsi Momoniæ, & reliquarum prouinciarum agri, in quibus aratores solum stercoreant, & sementem faciunt, frugibus affatim obserantur. Glebam sanè habet Hibernia cùm natura frugiferam, tum industria cultura(ue) feracior. Qui in Anglica prouincia habitant, ab Hibernis, victu, cultu, & sermone differunt. Nam à pristinis Anglorum moribus, ne transuersum quidem vngue(m), discedunt. Anglicè item naturaliter loquuntur. Nullo alio cottidiano sermone animi sensa exprimunt. Quamuis verò à noua hac, & nimis peregrina magniloquentia, ex gentium exterarum linguis furacissimè collecta, longiùs absunt: tame(n) incorruptam Anglicæ linguæ vetustatem seruant. illam nimirum, quam Chaucerus vetus ac nobilis Poëta, & Anglorum sine dubio Homerus, in suis scriptis vsurpauit: qui ita Anglicè dixit, vt non ipsam Angliam magis crederes esse Anglicam. Nihil in illius libris lectori occurret, quod sputatilicam (hoc enim verbum iam olim, nec sine caussa, ille Romanus risit) nouitatem redoleat: ex alienis linguis verba non mutuatur, quemadmodum solent ætate nostra, illi verborum opifices, qui Anglicè vel tum maximè colloqui se putant, cùm etiam minimè Anglicè dicant. Sed vt ad nostros prouinciales Anglos reuertamur, illi sanè simplici quadam voce, non curioso oris pressu verba faciunt. Feminiæ non admodum [29] delicatè loquuntur. Rustici satis vastè, ac hiulcè (quod ipsum in aliis regionibus fit) sermocinantur. Cùm itaque vltima hæc Hiberniæ partitio à transmarinis hominibus minus sit percepta, & cognita: magno quidem opere mirari solent, quoties cum Hiberno aliquo in sermonem se dant, qui se Hibernicè nescire confitetur. verùm si in ipsa insula essent, complures edentulos senes, in Anglica prouincia,

passage of time, it became restricted to certain narrow boundaries, partly through the indolence of their successors who, by not making the effort to remain established as firm possessors of their land, slothfully permitted the Irish to encroach on them, but partly also because the British settlers whose land bordered on those of the Irish forgot their characters and gradually degenerated from the culture of their ancestors, as though they had drunk from the cup of Circe.<sup>85</sup>

The English province contains the greater part of Leinster, part of Meath, and that portion of Ulster, which is called Oriel; but that small part of Leinster, close to Dublin on the north side, which is called Fingal<sup>86</sup> is the best, [28] with Meath in second place. For the farmers of Fingal and Meath toil most industriously at the business of agriculture; and that tilling and sowing produces abundant yields to the profit of many. Each colony is deservedly called the granary of Ireland, because year by year they supply grain to the other shores of the island. Yet the fields of Munster and the other provinces, where the farmers fertilise the soil and make a sowing, can be made to give a satisfactory yield. For Ireland has arable land which is naturally fertile and is rendered even more fruitful by diligent cultivation.

Those who live in the English province differ from the Irish in their way of life, their customs and their speech: they deviate not one finger's breadth from the ancient ways of the English.<sup>87</sup> In the same way they naturally speak English. In daily life they use no other language to express their thoughts. Although it is true that they are far removed from this new and all too foreign grandiloquence which is put together by thieving from the tongues of other nations, nonetheless they preserve uncorrupted the antiquity of the English language. This is the tongue that Chaucer wrote in: he was, beyond doubt the Homer of the English,<sup>88</sup> using English in such a way that you would not believe that England itself was more English. Nothing in his writings will strike the reader as being redolent of disgusting newness (this was a word mocked by that well-known Roman<sup>89</sup> in ancient times, and not without reason). He does not borrow words from foreign languages, as is the practice in our time of those wordsmiths who think that they use the most fluent English at the point when they use English least.

But to return to our English provincials: they pronounce words by a kind of simple utterance, not by any careful compression of the mouth. The women speak with less refinement. [29] The country people speak broadly and with gaping mouths, as happens in other regions. This last division of Ireland is not clearly recognised by people from abroad: indeed they are usually greatly amazed when they engage in conversation with a person from Ireland who admits that he knows no Irish. But if they were in the island itself they would find many toothless old men in the English province who can scarcely speak, much less understand

Its bounds  
and  
circumfer-  
ence.

Character of  
the Hiberno-  
English.

Eulogy of  
the poet  
Chaucer.

Native Irish  
speech  
almost  
banished  
from the  
English  
province.

Idque rectè  
factu(m)  
videri.

Proceres  
Hiberni &  
vulgus ab  
Anglico  
sermone  
auersi.

Oreli  
dictu(m)  
ridiculum.

Anglo-Hiberni  
connubia non  
miserent cum  
germanis  
Hibernis.

conspicerent, qui vix vnum, aut alterum verbum Hibernicè loqui, ne dum intelligere possunt. Atq(ue) ego quidem (subringantur alij licet, quantum lubet) eorum in ea lingua inscientiam valdè probo. Cur enim patriam locutionem, quam à natura hauserunt, respuerent, & ad aliam, illis hactenus minimè assuefactam, derepente transuolarent? Idem ipse locus à me olim erat tractatus, in Hiberniæ descriptione, quam dictione vernacula edidi: meaq(ue) ibi disputatio dedit sermonem inuidis, me laudes Hibernici sermonis minuisse. Sed in falsa hac criminatione suam produnt maleuolentiam, non redarguunt meam. Nec enim ego tum oratione mea suscepi, linguam, cuius essem ignarus & insolens, minus consideratè vituperando, adfligere: imò contrà grauissimorum hominum auctoritas fidem mihi iamdudum fecit, eam, verborum granditate, dictionum conicinnitate atq(ue) dicacitate quadam acutula redundare; denique cum Hebraica lingua, communi conglutinationis vinculo contineri. Sed hoc, id temporis, docere argumentis institui, nostræ reipub(licae) minimè conducere, Hibernicum sermonem nimis tritum & peruagatum habere, quem maiores nostri, tamquam scopulos, declinarunt. Nec in re minimè obscura, rationes proferre maximè apertas opus erit. Hoc [30] vnum libenter scitarer, & aueo audire, quid isti boni viri ad hoc reperiant: quam ob causam Anglica locutio, in Hibernicis territoriis, despiciatui ducatur? Quos Hibernicos dynastas proferre poteris, Anglicæ colloctionis societate nobiscum coniunctos? imò nolunt mentum, Anglicè loquendo, vt ipsi iocantur, intorquere. Atqui, hoc loco, festiuum illud Oreli responsum (est autem is, inter Hibernicos, clarus, & nobilis) præterire nolo. Hic, cùm haberet infantem filium quattuor annos natum, qui balbus seu potius mutus erat, cumque alumni altrix parentem huius hæsitantiæ admoneret, dixisse fertur: A nobis igitur ad Anglicam prouinciam amandetur, & ibi discat Anglicè loqui. Existimauit nimirum homo ridiculus, nihil aliud esse Anglicè dicere, nisi vel prorsus obmutescere, vel mutila & hiantia verba rusticè atque inconditè balbutire. Sed vt inceptum opus persequamur, hi, quos iam in manibus habemus, Anglo-Hiberni, adeò sunt ab antiquis istis Hibernicis dissociati, vt colonorum omnium vltimus, qui in Anglica prouincia habitat, filiam suam vel nobilissimo Hibernicorum principi in matrimonium non daret. Hæc autem domestica connubia inter se, ea diuturnitate, coniunxerunt; vt vnus alterum iam nunc sanguinis communione, vel affinitate plerumque tangat. Atque hoc idem in omnibus illis vrbibus & opidis (de quibus antè scripsi) obseruatur. Ciues & municipales, more

one or two words of Irish.<sup>90</sup> And indeed I myself – let others pull faces as much as they like – strongly approve their lack of knowledge of that tongue. For why should they suddenly reject their paternal speech, which is bred into them, and switch to another which up to now they are not used to? This topic I have already dealt with in my *Description of Ireland*, which I published in the vernacular.<sup>91</sup>

My argument in that work caused some comment among my critics, that I had belittled the reputation of the Irish language. But in bringing this false charge they reveal their own ill-will, without rebutting my argument. In my discourse I did not set out to attack, with unconsidered criticism, a language of which I have little knowledge or experience: on the contrary I have long been convinced by the authority of serious scholars that it is rich in lofty vocabulary, elegance of diction, and a subtle, pungent wit; further, I am convinced that it is cognate to the Hebrew through a common connection. However in that discourse my object was to show that it is of no advantage to our state to accept that the use of Irish – a language which our ancestors pushed aside as they did the rocks in the fields – is common and widespread. But in a matter which is clear enough there is no need to produce arguments which are obvious to all. [30] One thing I would be glad to find out, and I am eager to hear what those good men may have to say on this point: for what reason is English speech held in contempt in the Irish territories? What Irish chieftains can you name who are linked to us by the common use of the English tongue? On the contrary they are unwilling, as they themselves say in jest, to sprain their jaw<sup>92</sup> by speaking in English. At this point I would not wish to omit the droll response of O'Reilly,<sup>93</sup> a famous nobleman among the Irish. He had a young son, four years old, who stammered so much that he was unintelligible. When the wet nurse warned the father of this impediment, he is reported to have said 'let him be sent from us into the English province, and there let him learn to speak like an Englishman'. Without doubt, that witty man thought that to speak English was nothing other than to be completely unintelligible or to stammer out use broad, broken, stammering speech in a crude rustic fashion.

But to continue with the task in hand: these Anglo-Irish, whom we are now describing, are so dissociated from those ancient Irish that the least of all the tenant farmers living in the English province would not give his daughter in marriage to even the most noble Irish chieftain. However, these families have intermarried among themselves over such a lengthy period of time that at this stage they are almost all connected to one another by ties of blood or affinity; and the same may be seen in all those towns and cities of which I have written earlier. Citizens and burghers, they live according to

And, it  
seems to  
me, rightly  
so.

Irish  
chieftains and  
the common  
people  
averse  
to the  
English  
language.

O'Reilly's  
witty saying.

The Anglo-  
Irish do not  
intermarry  
with native  
Irish.

Hibernicæ  
prouinciæ  
mores &  
ritus.

Qui no(n)  
tam agrestes  
& feri, quàm  
putantur.

Reguli  
Hibernorum  
eorumque  
nomen-  
clatura.

Imperium  
eorum.

Agrè &  
cu(m) fraude  
pare(n)t  
Anglis.

institutoque Anglorum, viuunt: auctoritate nutuque Britannicarum legum rempub(licam) administra(n)t; Anglicè etiam ac Hibernicè loquuntur, propter cottidiana commercia, quæ cum vicinis Hibernis habent: suos tantum ciues mutua affinitate deuinciunt, & Hibernicos [31] procos, vehementissima animi contentione, repudiant. At de Anglicæ prouinciæ habitatoribus satis explicatu(m) arbitror; reliquum est, vt de Hibernicorum moribus, atque consuetudine nonnihil exponam. Vehemens quædam, & peruagata opinio per animos multorum peruadere solet, Hibernicos istos, ad quos iam orationem conuertimus, omnem humilitatem abiicere, fusos per de(n)sissimas siluas ac dispersos vagari, deniq(ue) ferina quadam immanitate effrænatos vitam horridam incul-tamque viuere. Sed qui illos his conuiciis infamant, à mendacio contra verum perspicuè stant. Quamquam enim ab Anglicæ prouinciæ vrbantate, & lautitia vtcumque abhorrent; non tamen omni ab humanitate, sicut fertur exuti, vitam traducunt. Sed vt homines, qui veri cognoscendi cupiditate ardent, inueterato hoc errore leuem; decreui quidem, fretus lectoris facilitate, præcipua quædam capita, tam moderato temperatoque calamo, quoad eius fieri potest, explicare, vt neque calumniatoris acerbi, neq(ue) adulatoris bla(n)di partes suscepisse, cuius æquo rerum æstimatori vilo modo videar. Nam mei stomachi non est, contumeliarum aculeis in aliquem declamare: neque item dignitatis meæ, quantuncula(cunq(ue)) tandem ea sit, agnosco esse, assentatoriis verborum lenociniis in hominum aures seruiliter influere. Hic igitur considerandum est, inter hos Hibernicos, esse primarios tyrannos, quorum imperio plures tenentur. Horum nomina à quarta ferè vocali exordium sumunt, vt, verbi caussa, O Nelus, O Carolius, O Rorcus, O Morus, O Connorus. Item isti tyranni inferioris ordinis præfectos domitos & subiectos habent, qui cum magno euocatorum numero parati sunt, quoties [32] eorum princeps signum sustollit, ad bellum exire; eique, quibus possunt, viribus & lacertis opitulari. Quod si officium, vel indiligentia, vel perfidia præteritum sit (nam ad tale militare obsequium in illius fundis, seu ditione viuunt, quandoquidem nullum aliud stipendiarium vectigal illis imponitur) solet princeps, illos ad arma compellere; vel si eos perpugnaces aut refractarios inueniat, manum sibi & copias comparat, signa aduersantibus intendit, eos à propriis sedibus exterminat, bonis omnibus euertit. Talem itaque sibi principatum fingunt, neque Anglico sub iure, & imperio esse volunt, nisi quamdiu Angli milites eorum territoria depopulantur. Solent enim, in huiusmodi asperis temporibus, aut metu permoti, in lacus lucosue se abdere; aut se totos dissimulanter (nam

the custom and institutions of Englishmen; they govern the state by the authority and command of British laws. They speak English as well as Irish, on account of the daily business which they conduct with their Irish neighbours. They bond only with their fellow citizens in mutual affinity and they reject Irish suitors with fierce opposition. [31]

I think enough has been explained about the English province: it remains to me to set down something about the character and custom of the Irish. Many people commonly hold in their minds a widespread and strongly held idea that the Irish, to whom our discourse now turns, have cast aside all sense of shame; that they wander about, scattered through extremely dense woodland; and even that they live rough, uncouth lives without restraint, in a kind of monstrous bestiality.<sup>94</sup> But those who defame the Irish with such insults plainly stand on the side of falsehood against the truth. For although they may fall short, in one way or another, of the urbanity and polish of the English province, nevertheless they do not live their lives, as is reported, devoid of all civilisation. In order to relieve those who are eager to know the truth of this long-established error, I have decided, relying on the reader's indulgence to set forth some of the main points. I shall do this with restrained and moderate pen, insofar as this is possible in this controversy, so that I may in every way appear to any fair judge of affairs to have taken on the role neither of bitter calumniator nor seductive flatterer. For it is not to my taste to cry out against anyone with the darts of insult; nor do I feel that it befits my dignity, whatever paltry thing that may be, to insinuate myself into men's attention in servile fashion by pandering to them with flattering words.

At this point therefore we must note that among the Irish there are rulers of high rank, under whose sway most of the people live. The names of these men begin with the fourth vowel, for example, O'Neill, O'Carroll, O'Rourke, O'More, O'Connor. Those petty kings have chieftains of lesser rank subject to their power, and these are prepared to go to war with a large number of troops, which they call up [32], as often as the king raises his banner, and to support him with all their might and main. They live within his lands or under his sway in return for such military service<sup>95</sup>, and if this duty is neglected either through negligence or treachery, the king usually compels them to arms; but if he finds them stubborn and ready to resist, he gathers his warband and his troops and campaigns against his opponents and drives them out of all their possessions. This is the kind of kingdom they fashion for themselves, and they are unwilling to be under English law or rule, except while English soldiers lay waste their territories. For they are accustomed in crises like these, or when they are afraid, to hide in lakes or woods, or they will falsely submit to the power and command of the

Character  
and  
customs of  
the Irish  
province.

Not as wild  
and savage  
as they are  
thought.

Petty kings of  
Ireland and  
their  
nomencla-  
ture.

Their power.

They obey  
the English  
unwillingly  
and  
deceitfully.



O Nelus  
perpetuus  
Anglorum  
hostis.

Aedificia  
Hibernica.

Excubiæ in  
castellis, cum  
clamore.

Areæ septæ  
fossis aut  
dumis.

Hospitalitas  
Hibernorum.

Prandia  
matutina.

Iudicia eorum.

præclarè norunt, tempori inseruire) ad victorum nutum & voluntatem conuertere. Vt primùm rursus Angli arma deponunt, isti metu releuati, vetus imperium arripiunt. Hi igitur principes (semper excipio O Nelum, qui in Vltonia dominatur. nam is, quoniam est grauis aduersarius Britannici imperij, in fæniculariis campis statiuia plerumque habet) castella possident, munitione ac mole lapidum fortiter exstructa, cum quibus aulæ satis magnæ & amplæ, ex argilla & luto fictæ factæque, vicina adhæsione copulantur. Non sunt sartæ tectæ aut saxorum laminis è lapidicina erutis, aut cæmentis, aut tegulis, sed agrariis culmis vt plurimùm conteguntur. In istis aulis epulari solent: rarò tamen somnium, nisi in castellis capiunt: quoniam aularum integumentis hostes possunt ardentes faces, aëris flabello ventilatas, facillimè admouere. quandoquidem ista materies ignem [33] perceleriter concipit. In primis autem castellano præsidio se tuentur, ne illis quiescentibus nocturna vis inferatur. Quare vt tale quiddam incommodi de nocte non accidat, habent in castelli vertice, tamquam in specula, excubias, quæ sæpissimè vociferant, & in frequentibus clamoribus maiorem partem noctis vigilant. Atque has vociferationes idcirco iterant, vt nocturnis furibus & viatoribus significant, patremfamiliàs non ita arctè & grauiter dormire, quin promptus & paratus sit (nam expergefaciunt eum vigiles, quoties inimicorum aduentum suspicantur) hostes à suis laribus viriliter reiicere, atque, si peropus sit, etiam in campo cominus ferro decertare. Habent item areas magnis aggeribus & fossis circumdatas, dumetis ac virgultis circumseptas. In has, quoties angustiiis vrgentur, armenta detrudunt; vt melius à grassatorum incursionibus & à tagacium furtis, obuallata inclusione, vindicentur. Non igitur, vt multi auersi à vero opinantur, isti, nescio per quos siluestres anfractus, & paludes vagantur; sed prædia & domicilia certa habent, quæ maxima cottidie hospitum frequentia celebrantur. Sunt sanè homines hospitalissimi, neque illis vlla in re magis gratificari potes, quàm vel sponte ac voluntate eorum domos frequentare, vel illis inuitatum condicere. Prandere solent, hieme, antelucanis horis; æstate, circa horam septimam. Pòst, si vlla militiæ vacatio illis, ab hostibus detur, cum satellitibus in campis, otiandi caussa, spatiantur; aut ad montana conuenticula iter arripiunt. Nam stato die frequens hominum concursus fit ex tota vicinitate ad certum locum, qui, cùm editus & præcelsus sit, vnus eminet inter ceteros. Ibi vnusquisque de iniuriis sibi [34] illatis, queribunda voce, conqueritur. Tales autem iniuriæ,

conqueror, because they well know how to submit when the time is right. As soon as the English quit their campaign, the kings, relieved of their fear, take up their old rule again.

With the exception always of O'Neill, the lord of Ulster, who, since he is a serious opponent of British rule, for the most part maintains permanent camps on the grassy plains, these petty kings have castles, which are strongly built and fortified with massive stonework. Attached to these are halls, quite large and spacious, which are shaped and fashioned out of clay and mud. These are not well-built, or roofed with courses of quarried stone, or with rough stone or roof tiles, but covered for the most part with thatch from the fields. The chieftains dine in these halls but they rarely sleep outside of their castles. For the enemy can very easily apply firebrands, if these are fanned by a little puff of air, to the roofs because that material catches fire very quickly. [33] Most importantly, they have a castle guard for their protection so that no one may make a night attack while they are asleep. Therefore, so that nothing untoward may happen at night, they maintain watches at the very top of the castle, like in a watchtower, and these call out very frequently. Thus they keep watch, with frequent outcry for the greater part of the night. They keep up this repeated shouting in order to indicate to thieves and nightwalkers that the head of the house is not so deeply asleep that he will not be fully prepared – the watches rouse him whenever they suspect the approach of an enemy – to drive the enemy from his hearth in manly fashion and, if there is a real need, to take the field under arms and to fight hand to hand. They also have compounds surrounded by great trenches and mounds and fenced around with briars and thickets.<sup>96</sup> Into these, in times of trouble, they drive their herds, the better to protect them with this fortified enclosure from the raids of night-prowlers and from theft by rustlers. They do not, therefore, as many men think who turn their backs on the truth, wander around through all sorts of woodland tracks and bogs, but they have fixed estates and dwellings,<sup>97</sup> which are crowded every day by a huge throng of guests. They are truly the most hospitable of men, and you could not please them more in any way than by visiting their homes on your own impulsive wish or by pledging yourself as a guest at their invitation. In winter they usually eat in the hours before daybreak; in summertime, about seven o'clock.

Afterwards, if their enemies permit them any respite from military duties, they walk in the fields, along with their retinue, for leisure purposes, or they make for meeting places in the hills. For on an appointed day a thronged gathering of men from the whole territory is held in a certain place, which, being high and steep, stands out from the surrounding district. [34] There each man, in a plaintive voice, complains of the wrongs done to him. These wrongs most often are the result of

O'Neill the  
perpetual  
enemy of  
the English.

Irish  
buildings

Watches in  
the castles,  
with  
shouting.

Enclosures  
fenced with  
trenches  
and briars.

Irish  
hospitality

Early  
breakfast.

Their  
law  
courts.

Occulta furta. clandestinis furtis, frequentissimè inferuntur. Etsi ipsi dynastæ tam abiecto ac imbecillo animo esse nolunt, nocturna incursione latrocinari: tamen infimæ conditionis furunculi, subcessiuis noctibus, in omni genere furandi versantur, & dominorum ædes furtorum receptrices habent. Quòd si ipsi proceres à quoquam, capitali odio, dissideant, noctem ad prædas non adiungunt, sed exercitum ex sicariis, excursoribus, & seruitio conficiunt, atqui de inimici ac eius prouinciæ bonis, omni totius territorij pecore compulso, luce palàm prædantur; nisi alter, ad arma vocatus, paratus sit, suas rapinarum ministris vires opponere, atque prædonum impetum pugnacissimè propulsare. Nam in huiusmodi excursionibus, agri multorum sanguine sæpius natant, & rapta præda de manibus direptorum crebrò amittitur. Verùm si congregata pecuda in territoria sua adducere possint, alacres exsultant in victoria, & præclarum illud facinus in album rerum acriter & animosè gestarum ouantes referunt. Etenim malunt Tyranni isti inter prædatores apertos, quàm latrones occultos numerari. Alterum in magna fortitudinis laude ponunt, alterum in homunculum tantum semissem cadere, adfirmant. Ceterum victi, amissis omnibus fortunis, nulla ferè via compensantur; quàm vel tempori cedendo, si viribus inferiores sint; vel parem victoribus gratiam referendo, vt primùm vliscendi occasio datur. Interim præsentem infelicitatis quasi rutam, futuræ prosperitatis pulegio, mitigant. Minas non iactant. Latrare nolunt, mordere volunt. perrarò quidem dies illorum odium placat, præsertim si aliquis ex eorum curialibus ferro, in [35] pugnis, sit interfectus. Et si enim simulatæ amicitiae mitella exulceratas simultatis reliquias, fœdere obstricti, contegere videntur; tamen multos post annos (vliscendi occasione data) facile intelliges, eos, in reconciliata gratia, animum semper retinuisse armatum: quandoquidem sanguinem nullo modo, nisi sanguine, expiari credunt. Atque non solum in homicidij auctorem implacabiles existunt; sed etiam in omnes, qui eius cognatione tenentur, odium, immoderata intemperantia, conuertunt. Illis sanè prudentissimum videtur, quod nonnulli stultissimum rentur, cum viuis, pro mortuis beligerare. Atque ita, in hoc hominum genere, de die, & in diem viuientium, volubilis fortunæ commutatio perspicuè cernitur. Qui enim, hodierno die, omni re pecuaria amplissimè abundat, postera fortassis luce, omnibus bonis expellitur. Et qui hodie ne libellam quidem habet, crastino die, præda capta, cumulatisimè ditatur. Atque ad hunc modum eorum status in lubrica, & variata fortunæ vicissitudine vacillat.

clandestine theft. Although the lords themselves would not be so lowly and mean-spirited as to engage plundering by night-raiding, petty thieves of the lowest order night after night engage in all kinds of robbery, and they use their masters' dwellings as a cache for their loot.

But if the chieftains themselves, with mortal hatred, hold an enmity against someone, they do not make the night the tool of their plundering; rather they get together an army of murderers, raiders and a rabble of the servant class and in broad daylight they plunder the goods of their enemy and his kingdom, driving off all the cattle<sup>98</sup> from his entire territory; unless the other, when called to arms, is prepared to use force for his own part against the rievors, and pugnaciously repel the plunderers' push. For in raids of this kind the fields, all too frequently, are swimming in the blood of many, and the booty wrested from the hands of the raiders is often lost. However, if they succeed in rounding up the herds and driving them off to their own territory, then they are elated and exult in their victory and they add this famous deed to the album<sup>99</sup> of their fierce and courageous exploits. Those lords prefer to be counted among open raiders than among stealthy thieves. To the former of these they give a place of glory among the brave, the latter, they declare, falls into a class of half-men. For the rest, the defeated, having lost all their fortune, have hardly any path to compensation: their only course is to yield for the time being, if their strength is inferior, or paying the victors an equal favour as soon as an opportunity for revenge occurs. In the meantime, as one might say, they soothe the bitterness of present misfortune with the sweetness of future prosperity.

They do not bandy threats. Their inclination is to bite, not to bark. It is indeed a rare day that lays their hatred to rest, especially if one of their kinsmen is killed in these skirmishes. [35] For even if they seem to bind themselves to a treaty and conceal the festering sores of the feud under a hood of feigned friendship, nonetheless, many years later (when the opportunity for revenge occurs) you will not be surprised that, even in the grace of reconciliation, they have always kept their spirit ready for conflict. For truly they believe that blood cannot be paid for by any means other than blood. And they are implacable not only to the killer but with no limit they turn their hatred on all those who are connected to him by kinship; for, although others consider this very foolish, they consider it very wise to make war on the living on behalf of the dead. Among people of this kind, the turning of the wheel of fortune<sup>100</sup> is plain to see. For a man who on this present day may be amply endowed with worldly goods, may on the morrow's dawn be driven from all his property, and a man who today has not a farthing, tomorrow may be vastly enriched with booty he has taken. In this manner their standing fluctuates in the fluid and varied vicissitudes of fortune.

Ratio  
conueniendi  
& accusandi.

Ratio  
defendendi  
mira &  
simplex.

Arbitri in  
æstimatione  
furtorum. Qui  
ex certa  
familia.

Sed vt ad priuata illa damna rursus accedamus, qui incommodo adficiuntur, acceptæ iniuriæ querelam ad coronam deferunt. Et petitor eum sæpius nomine appellat, quem in crimen vocat. Habent indagatores, qui, mercedula adducti, solertissimè furta persequuntur, vestigiis pecudum vel puluerulentis vel luteis diligentissimè insistent, & si fures de tritis ac indagatis viis, ad extraordinarias semitas declinent, facilius multò peruestigari possunt. Sed qui reus est, seu eum falsò insimules, seu verè accuses, nulla alia iuris formula, præter sceleris inficationem, se defendit. Quæcumq(ue) illi crimini dantur, ad omnia respondet: *NEGO HOC*. Quòd si accusator, certissimis [36] criminibus fretus, prius oculis, quàm coniectura, furta non deprehendat, sed quadam tantum probabilitate ducatur ad suspicandum; operam & oleum perdit. Quandoquidem talis suspicio, seu dubia opinio, tamquam frigida & ieiuna calumnia, omnium sibilis exploditur. Perfacetum erat illud Oliueri Giralaldi, fortis & virilis equitis, in tali iam olim concione, responsum. Nam cum criminator non modò Oliuerum vehementer suspicione perstrinxisset, verum etiam clara voce asseuerasset, se vidisse eum, isto ipso temporis puncto, & item in eodem loco, vbi furtum erat factum, in suo expeditum equo, qui curtatam habuit caudam (iste autem equus, quoniam ceteris, miribali pernicitate, tamquam Pegasus, præcurrebat, omni illi frequentia notissimus erat) hinc Oliuerus, cachinnari incipiens, Audite, inquit, optimi viri, quàm grauissimo scilicet argumento leuissimus conuictor ductus, vana in me criminatione vtitur. Me huius furti affinem esse confirmat, quia equum decurtata cauda possideam. Valdè bene res se habet, bone vir. Non difficilem, ac morosum habebis reum: attende itaque, quàm me sis vsurus æquo. Percurras tu omnes compascuos agros, & singula vicatim stabula quæ in tota consistunt Hibernia: & vbicumque inueneris equos, persimili pilorum breuitate notatos, compelle viritim talium equorum dominos, aliquam damni tui partem resarcire; ego, pro rata portione, non grauatè pro meo etiam equo persoluam. Persalso hoc responso auditores mirificè hilarati omnem risum in accusatorem conuertebant. At verò (vt eò iam reuocetur, vnde huc declinauit narratio) siquis signis luce meridiana clarioribus [37] conuincat, reum manifestissimo in furto teneri; aut reddendum, aut multa pensandum est, quod commisit. Vtuntur, ad tales lites æstimandas, quibusdam arbitris, quos illi, *BREHONIOS*, appellant. Isti sunt ex vna familia proseminati, intelligentiam iuris Britannici non habent, ciuilis etiam ac pontificalis imperitissimi. Retinent solummodo domestica quædam psephismata, vsu & diuturnitate corroborata, quorum animaduersione, artem aliquam, ex rebus

But to revert to those private thefts, those who have suffered loss lay before the king their complaint of the damage done to them. Very often the plaintiff names the man whom he summons to answer for the crime. They have trackers who, for a small fee, will pursue the stolen goods with great skill following diligently the traces of the cattle whether they be on dusty or muddy ground; and if the thieves turn aside from the worn and known tracks and on to unusual paths, they can be tracked much more easily. The accused, whether he is falsely or justly charged, uses one formula of law, and one only in his defence, namely denial of the crime. Whatever charges are brought against him, his response to them all is 'I DENY THIS'.<sup>101</sup> [36] But if the accuser does not bring reliable charges, and has not detected the theft by means of eyewitnesses rather than conjecture, but rather entertains a suspicion based on likelihood, then he is wasting his time and effort. A suspicion like this, or a doubtful opinion, is hissed off the stage by the whole audience, as if it were a cold and empty calumny. Oliver FitzGerald,<sup>102</sup> a brave and heroic knight, once made a very witty response in a court of this kind. For not only had the accuser raked Oliver with the keenest suspicion, but he also declared in a clear voice that he had seen him, at that very point of time, mounted on his horse, which had a docked tail. Now this horse was well known to every man in the crowd, for it was as swift as Pegasus and outran all others. At this point Oliver began to cackle, and said, 'Listen, gentlemen, how this slanderer, a man of straw, relying on a doubtless weighty argument, brings an empty charge against me. He declares that I am party to this theft because I possess a horse with a docked tail. Surely the matter is so, good sir. You will not find the accused difficult or troublesome on this point. Attend, then, how you may treat me fairly: you search all the common grazing and every stable, village by village, that there is in Ireland; and wherever you find horses which display a similar lack of hair, manfully compel the owners of such horses to make good your loss; I, in fixed proportion will pay without demur the share for my horse.' The listeners were marvellously amused by this clever response and began to turn all their mockery on the accuser.

But – to bring our narrative back from this digression – the fact is that if anyone makes his case, with evidence that is clearer than the light of noon, that the accused is taken in the most manifest theft, then either the stolen property must be returned or a compensation is assessed. [37] For the assessment of such cases they employ judges whom they call *Brehons*.<sup>103</sup> These come from certain families and have no knowledge at all of British law, being unskilled in civil as well as canon law. They preserve only certain native decisions, corroborated by use and the passage of time and by the study of these they have created a kind of expertise produced by practice on hypothetical cases. They do not by any means permit this to be made public,

Method of  
bringing an  
action and  
of making an  
accusation.

The method  
of defence is  
wondrously  
simple.

Judges who  
assess  
theft who  
come from  
a particular  
family.

lique in magno pretio vulgò. fictis commentitiisque conflatam, pepererunt: quam nullo modo, diuulgari patiuntur, sed sibimet ipsis, veluti abstrusa atque abdita mysteria, à communi hominum sensu remotissima, eam reseruant. Atque ob vanam hanc reconditæ cognitionis opinionem eorum nomen ab imperita plebecula (quæ citius ficta ostentatione, quàm vera simplicitate capitur) valdè celebratur. Viuu(n)t etiam, & vigent inter illos semidocti quidam legulei, à primis annis, ciuilibus & pontificij iuris studio dediti. Latinæ linguæ intelligentiam, ex grammaticorum fontibus non hauriunt. Totum illud, tamquam luteum negotium, ac pueriles tricas, aspernantur. Quodcumque in solum, vt dicitur, venerit, effutire solent. verba gram(m)aticorum arte non expendunt; syllabarum pondera non examinant; omnem periodum spiritus volubilitate, non artis iudicio determinant. Neque sanè mirum. Istud enim ædificium male materiatur, & ruinosum esse oportet; prius, cui, quàm iacta sunt fundamenta, fastigium imponere insipienter conaris. Sed hæc hactenus; ad montanam concionem, vnde huc defluxit oratio, redeamus. Vbi igitur, post longam litigationem, solem præcipitantem vident, domum redeunt: [38] & vt quisque est fortuna, ac auctoritate florens, ita hospitum numerum ad cenam inuitat. Cenitant magnificè & opiparè. Nam licet delicatis artolaganis minimè abundant, nec etiam illa vrbana in epulis lautitia adhibeatur; mensas tamen habent, boue, porco, & aliis cibariis, prout temporum obseruatio exigit, cumulatissimè instructas. Porcos, præcipuè opimos nimio opere appetunt: faciunt pluris omnium obsoniorum nihil. Interrogatus, à conuictore, quidam de O Neli satellitibus, an caro vitulina porco esset delicatior? id, inquit, perinde est, ac si quis percunctaretur, vtrum tu O Nelo sis honoratior? permolestè nimirum tulit, opinatorem de re minimè controuersa pueriliter dubitare. Nonnulli dictitant, illos crudis carnibus vesci; quod contra est, ac dicunt: tametsi non admodum coctis, nec plus satis assis delectantur, tamen cruditate minus sæpe nauseant. Vtuntur, pro panchresto medicamine, ignito quodam vino, nullo alio liquore permixto, quod communiter Aqua vitæ dicitur, cuius ardore cibus facilius ad concoquendum redditur. Hoc potionis genus intimo artificio instillant: adeò vt, flammula admota, totum, quasi bellicus puluis, raptim ignescat. Ingentem vini vim emunt in vicinis opidis, Hispani præsertim: quod regis Hispaniarum filium, per risum ac iocum, solent nominare. Vtroque temeto, epotis plenis cœnophoris, se obruunt. In epulis accumbunt, lectulis positis. primus in mensa locus tribuitur matrifamiliâs,

lurisperiti  
inter eos,  
sed imperiti.

Solutio iuridici  
conuentus.

Cibi eorum &  
dapes.

Potus ex vino  
ignito.

Accubitus &  
ordo in  
me(n)sa.

but keep it to themselves as an abstruse and hidden mystery, very far removed from the perception of the common man. On account of this vain opinion of arcane knowledge they are highly esteemed by the uninitiated public, who are more swiftly won by false display than by the simplicity of truth. There live and flourish among them some half-trained men of the law, dedicated from their earliest years to the study of civil and canon law.<sup>104</sup> They do not achieve a knowledge of the Latin tongue from the sources of the grammarians. They spurn all that as if it were a trifling occupation and a child's game. Their habit is to blurt forth whatever comes into their heads, as the saying goes. They do not weigh their words according to the art of the grammarians: they pay no attention to the weight of syllables, the length of each period is determined by the amount of breath in the speaker, not by skilled judgement. And no wonder: for a building must be badly constructed and prone to fall if you foolishly try to put the roof on before the foundations are laid. But so much for that: let us return to our mountain assembly, from which our discourse has wandered to this point.

When therefore after a long judicial session they see the sun beginning to set, they return home; [38] and each lord invites a number of guests to dinner in proportion to the flourishing state of his wealth and power. They dine magnificently and sumptuously: granted that they may not have many delicate pastries and that their banquets may lack the elegance of the city; nevertheless their tables are lavishly set with beef, pork and other foods in keeping with the exigencies of the season. They have an excessive appetite for pigs, especially fattened ones. They value no dish higher than this. One of O'Neill's retinue was once asked by a fellow-guest whether the flesh of a young calf was more delicate than pork. He replied, 'That is just as if someone were to ask if you were held in higher honour than O'Neill'. He found it most annoying that his interlocutor should hesitate in that childish fashion over a matter, which was simply not open to question! Some people repeat the story that they eat raw meat but the truth is the opposite of what they say. The Irish delight in meat which is cooked rare, and not overdone, but they very rarely get sick because of rawness or lack of cooking.

As a medicine to cure all ills they use a kind of wine refined by fire, which is commonly called *aqua vitæ*.<sup>105</sup> The heat of this drink makes food easier to digest. This type of potion they distil with the most profound craft: so much so that if just a tiny flame is applied, the whole ignites at once, like gunpowder. They buy a great quantity of wine in the neighbouring towns, especially Spanish wine, which they jokingly call 'the King of Spain's son'.<sup>106</sup> With two kinds of intoxicating liquor and by downing flagons of wine, they overwhelm themselves.

At banquets they recline on couches<sup>107</sup> which are set for them. First place at table is given to the lady of the house, who is dressed in a long-

These are  
highly  
esteemed by  
the people.

There are  
lawyers  
among them,  
but not  
properly  
trained.

The break-up  
of the judicial  
assembly.

Their foods  
and their  
dishes.

A drink made  
from wine  
refined by  
fire.

Reclining, and  
the protocol  
of placement  
at table.



Musica &  
citharædi.

Crusi  
citharædi laus.

Musicum  
instrumen-  
torum Hiber-  
norum.

Quod ad  
bella vsui.

talari tunica, & sæpe crocota, bene manicata, amictæ: mirum inter vtrumque coniugem, inspectante populo, silentium: sola eorum familiaritas cubicularis. Inter cenandum adest citharista, oculis sæpe captus, musicis [39] minimè eruditus, qui chordarum pulsu (sunt autem ex ferreis aut æneis filis, non ex neruis vt alibi fit, contextæ) animos accumbentium relaxat. Non plectro aliquo, sed aduncis vnguibus sonum elicit. Atque licet in musicis neque numeros expleat, neque modum, aut sonorum accentum obseruet (siquidem teretes scientis aures perinde ac sarræ stridor, facile offendit: ita omni ordini obstrepit) tamen vulgus hominum rudi eius harmonia vnicè delectatur. Quòd si aures tuas, pulsus filis, peregrinari intelligat, aut si hominis laudem, vlla ex parte, minuas, furere quidem, & tamquam rabiosulus, bacchari videbitur. Nam vt illius cognitionem ore laudes pleniore, non modo petit, verùm etiam exigit. Viuit, hac nostra ætate, Crusus, ad lyram, post hominum memoriam quàm maximè insignis. is ab illo incondito strepitu, qui incontentis, secumque discordantibus fidibus fit, plurimùm abhorret: contraque eo modorum ordine, sonorum compositione, musicum obseruat concentum, quo auditorum aures mirabiliter ferit, vt eum citius solum quàm summum citharistam iudicares. Ex quo intelligi potest, non musicis lyram, sed lyræ musicos hactenus defuisse. Vtuntur etiam Hibernici, loco tubæ, lignea quadam fistula, callidissimo artificio fabricata: cui saccus ex corio compositus, & cingulis arctissimè complicatus, adhærescit. Ex pellis latere dimanat fistula, per quam, quasi per tubum, fistulator, inflato collo, & buccis fluentibus, inflat. Tum pellicula aëre farcta, turgescit: intumescens rursus premit brachio. Hac impressione duo alia excauata ligna, breuius scilicet ac longius, sonum emittunt grandem & acutum. Adest item quarta fistula, distinctis [40] locis perforata, quam buccinator ita articulorum volubilitate, quâ claudendo, quâ aperiendo foramina, moderatur: vt ex superioribus fistulis sonitum seu grandem, seu remissum, quemadmodum ei visum erit, facile eliciat. Totius tamen rei prora & puppis est, ne aër per vllam aliam folliculi particulam, præter fistularum introitus, peruadat. Nam si quis (quod hominibus facetis quandoque vsu venit, quoties hisce auleis stomachum facere cupiunt) vel acu punctum in culeo rimaretur, actum esset de isto instrumento, quandoquidem folliis subitò flaccesseret. Hoc genus sistri, apud Hibernicos, bellicæ virtutis cotem esse constat. Nam vt alij milites tubarum sono, ita isti huius clangore, ad pugnandum ardent

sleeved ankle-length gown, which is frequently dyed saffron. The two spouses while in the public gaze preserve an amazing silence. Their sole familiarity is that of the bedchamber. [39]

Amid the dining a harper is at hand; often blind, he has no education in music, but he soothes the minds of the guests by strumming on the strings. (These however are woven from steel or bronze threads, and not from gut as is the practice elsewhere.) He draws forth the sound, not with any plectrum, but with hooked nails. And although in his music he observes neither metre nor mode, nor does he pay any attention to the pitch of the sounds he makes (indeed he offends the sensitive ears of the expert like the screech of a saw, as he dins on every class of guests), yet the lower classes are singularly delighted by his crude harmony. But if, once he has hit the strings, he notices that your attention is wandering, or if you fall short in any way in praising the man, then you will see him rage and rave like someone half mad; for he not only asks, he demands that you mark his skill with fulsome praise.

Music and  
harpers.

There lives in our own time, Cruise,<sup>108</sup> the best harper in living memory. He completely recoils from that confused din which results from strings which are untuned and clashing with themselves; on the contrary, his arrangement of measure and composition of sound, he maintains a musical harmony which has a wonderful effect on the ears of the listeners, so much so that you would sooner judge him to be the only harper, not simply the greatest. From this you may understand that up to now it was not the harp that was lacking to the musicians, but musicians to the harp.

Encomium  
on Cruise  
the harper.

The Irish also use, instead of a trumpet, a kind of wooden pipe<sup>109</sup> which is fashioned with the most skilful craftsmanship; to this is glued a bag made of hide which is folded over, with very tight bindings. From the side of the skin protrudes a pipe through which the piper blows, as through a tube, with swelling neck and puffing cheeks. Then the skin, being filled with air, swells, and as it swells the piper presses it in again with his arm. As a result of this pressing two other pieces of hollowed-out wood, one longer and one shorter, emit a sound both loud and shrill. [40] There is also a fourth pipe, with holes in different places, which the piper regulates by a rolling action of his fingers, closing the apertures here, opening them there, in such a way that he can, as he pleases, draw from the upper pipes a sound either loud or soft. However, the stem and stern of the whole matter is that the air must not pass through any part, however small, of the bag, except through the entrance to the pipes. For if anyone were to puncture the sack, even with the point of a needle – a trick sometimes played by practical jokers wishing to vex the pipers – it would be all over with the instrument because the bellows would slacken all at once. This type of pipe is held among the Irish to be the whetstone of courage in battle, for as other soldiers are ardently fired up for battle by the

A musical  
instrument  
of the Irish.

This is of use  
in wartime.

Militia  
eoru(m) &  
ordo.

Equites  
hastati.

Pedites.

incenduntur. At verò quoniam huc declinauit oratio, non multum extrarem erit, eorum in praeliis ordinem, & mores breuiter attingere. Primus ordo est equestris. Sed Hibernici equites ab aliarum gentium consuetudine multum diffident. Nam hastas bene ponderosas, circa medium manibusprehendunt, non ad latera sua, infra brachium, apponendo; sed supra capita lacertis viribusque vibrando. Habent etiam excellentes equos, & dociles, quibus in hostium manum multitudinemque se committunt; aut corporum declinatione, eorum impetum, si certamen non fit æquum, vitant. Totum istud absque magno equitis labore, fit, etiamsi laxissimas habenas habeat. Nihil enim Hibernicis equis est tractabilis. Nunquam petasati in equis hærent: verum ita altè, in vnaquavis lutilenta via, furas attollunt, & ita placidè, sine villo succussu, equitant, ut caligas cæno atque fordibus nullo modo prorsus oblinant. Ad hæc, ferreis scalis (quæ à nonnullis, stapides, [41] dicuntur) in equos minimè ascendunt: neq(ue) huiusmodi nugatoria (sic istorum opinio fert) adminicula phaleris adhærescere permittunt. Sed eas iubarum feras, quæ frontibus imminet, aut equorum auriculas sinistra apprehendunt; atque dum equi, obstipis capitibus quietè inclinant (nam ad talem facilitatem, ut est eorum docilitas, à domitoribus finguntur) equites, etiam loricis aut sagis amicti, mira corporis agilitate, se esserunt, diuicarisque cruribus, ephippia clitellis non dissimilia, subito occupant. Talis autem ascensio ita in eorum consuetudine versatur, ut non sit tam laudabile illud munus præstare, quàm turpe non perficere. Canteriis, licet sint placidissimi asturcones, rarò aduehuntur. Equas, ut pariant, tantum pascunt. Nihil ad equitis æstimationem turpius, nihil ad inspectantium cachinnos aptius, quàm in equa sedere. Proximus est equitibus ordo pedestris, qui constat ex quodam genere sagatorum militum, quos isti Galeglasios appellant. Homines sunt magnæ staturæ, præter communem morem corporati, fortes bustuarij, sanguinarij toti, ac minimè propitij milites. Humanum apud illos nihil tam est, quàm odium humanitatis. Habent tela pedalia, securibus similia & gemina, cultris tonsoriis pænè acutiora, longiusculis hastilibus adfixa, quibus plagam grauem faciunt, ubi feriunt. Prius verò quàm aliquis in eorum collegiu(m) cooptatur, magna religione iurat, quoties in aciem dimicationemq(ue) venit, nunquam tergiuersari: tametsi iste mos magis magisq(ue) antiquari incipiat. In omni acri ac acerbo prælio, si ad manus veniatur, aut citò illa pereunt, aut citò perimunt. Sunt, sine controuersia, homines valentissimi, atq(ue) Hibernici belli fundamentum & robur.

sound of trumpets, so are the Irish by the sound of this. Since our discourse has digressed to this point, it will not be too irrelevant to touch on their ranks in battle and their customs.

The first rank is cavalry. But Irish horsemen differ much from the practice of other nations. They grip their spears – and these are quite heavy – about in the middle with their hands; they do not hold them underarm into their side, but brandish them above their heads by strength of muscle. They have excellent docile horses, on which they launch themselves at the packed ranks of the enemy; or if the odds are against them they can avoid the attack by a swerve of the body. All this is done with no great effort on the part of the horseman, even though he holds the reins very slack, for nothing is more manageable than an Irish horse. When equipped for a journey they never cling to their horses: no matter how muddy the track, so high do they raise their calves and so smoothly do they ride, without any shaking, that they do not in the least splash their boots with dirt and filth. [41] Also, they do not mount their horses by means of iron steps – stirrups, as some call them – nor do they permit such nugatory aids (such is their opinion of them) to be attached to the harness. Instead with the left hand they grasp the stiff hair of the mane, which sticks out at the forehead, or the ears of the horses. The horses, moulded to such willingness by their trainers, such is their docility, lean quietly with bowed heads as the horsemen, even when wearing breastplate or mantle, leap up with amazing agility and in one movement are seated on a horseblanket which is not unlike a saddle.<sup>110</sup> Such mounting is so widely practised among them that it is not so much praiseworthy to be able to do it as it is shameful not to be able to. They rarely ride geldings, even if they be the most placid Asturians.<sup>111</sup> They pasture mares only for the purpose of breeding: nothing in the estimation of a horseman is more disgraceful, more likely to provoke the mockery of the onlookers, than to be seated on a mare.

Next to the cavalry come the infantry. This consists of a class of soldiers wearing the mantle, whom they call Gallowglasses.<sup>112</sup> These are men of great stature, muscled beyond what is normal, brave fighters, utterly bloodthirsty, and ruthless soldiers. Being human for them is to be a hater of humanity! They have weapons one foot long, like axes but double-edged and almost sharper than barbers' razors, which are fixed to longish spearshafts, and when they strike with these they inflict serious wounds. Truly, before anyone is enrolled into their company he swears, with religious solemnity, that whenever he comes to fight in the front line, he will never turn his back – although that practice is now becoming increasingly out-dated. In any fierce and bitter battle, when it comes to hand-to-hand fighting, they either die quickly, or they kill quickly. They are, without argument, very powerful men and the foundation and strength of the Irish war machine.

Their army  
and its ranks.  
Mounted  
Spearmen.

Footsoldiers.

Pedites, qui  
Karni dicti.

Eorum arma,  
& pugnae  
ratio.

Enses suos  
amant.

In ea re  
animosum  
dictum.

Bombardis  
etiam  
manuarii ut  
incipient.

Adagium  
Hibernicum.

Sæuitia erga  
cæsos.

Quartus  
ordo militum  
qui Daltini  
dicti.

Eorum  
munera.

[42] Tertius ordo comprehendit alios etiam pedites, ac levis armaturæ machærophoros: ab Hibernicis Karni dicuntur. Isti quidem hastas amantatas toris viribusque adeò viriliter torquent, ut eas, instar circuli, in orbiculatum gyrum compelli existimares. Cetris aut manicis ferreis armati, pugnant: non admodum ponderoso vestitu tecti incedunt. Hastilium spiculis, equites vel equos eminus sauciant, cominus, districtis gladiis, certamen ineunt. Insignes sunt lapidatores: armis palæstricè uti, omnino nesciunt: nec in ludicra gladiatorum arte sunt exercitati. Rarò hostes, pungendo, effodiunt; ictibus crebrius vulnerant. Enses acuti & minimè scabri, mirabiliter illis in amoribus sunt: & ne in æruginem incidant, nèue eorum acies hebescat, omni diligentia curant. Ferunt, quendam, de horum grege, è prælio reuertentem, plus quattuor periculosis vulneribus acceptis, gladium inspexisse; cumque ex nulla parte fractum, aut aduncum vidisset, maximas numini gratias egisse, quòd illa vulnera corpori, non ensi fuerint inflicta. Ferrearum vsus fistularum iam ta(n)dem apud eos increbuit. Esti enim, primis temporibus, harum sonitum ferre tremefacti non poterant: multò minus eas inflammare audebant; tamen, nostra ætate, ipsi tormentarium puluerem conficiunt & plumbeos globulos per istas fistulas, admodum disposite ac expedite collimant. Horum posteriores cognitiones, deteriores ac immaniores solet esse. Nam si hominis salus in contentione ponatur, quò diutius consilium capiunt, eò proprius captiui caput petunt. Prouerbum est Hibernico sermone celebratum, quoties de rebus deliberatis diffidunt: POSTERIOR KARNORVM CONSVLTATIO. Si quem isti [43] occidant, semper ad stratum cadauer noua vulnera addunt. Nam vnusquisque interfecti sanguine, ne fortè reuiuiscat, gladium cruentat. Neque vlla cæde occisum putant, quoadusque gladiatoris ictibus caput abscissum vident. Tum confectam rem colli sectores arbitrantur, imò pænè credunt. Quid hoc genere hominum cautius? Vltimus omnium ordo cursorum numero concluditur, quos Hiberni, Daltinos, nos Latine scurras velites, seu seruos à pedibus nominare possumus. Isti inermes incedunt; ministros se præbent equitibus, sparos etiam amentatos vibrant; phaleras sordibus maculatas mundant. Equos, in præsepibus, dentata strigili diligentissimè refricant, & pexis setis, nitidos reddunt. Ad hanc poliendi curam, omnibus corporis neruis incumbunt; quantum detrahunt de hac industria, tantum amittunt ex gloria. Etenim hac elegantia, atque equina munditia specialis diligentia nomen inueniunt. Verecundiam loquendi isti, præ omnibus negligunt, scurrili dicacitate, & inquinatissimis sermonibus ut

[42] The third rank comprises others, also footsoldiers, who are light-armed swordsmen. The Irish call them Kerns.<sup>113</sup> They whirl spears, which are fitted with thongs,<sup>114</sup> so powerfully by the force of their muscles that the spears seem to be forced into an orbital circuit like a ring. They are armoured with short shields or iron gauntlets; going into battle they wear no heavy armour. With spearpoint they inflict wounds from a distance on men and horses; then at close quarters they enter the fray with drawn swords. They are notable stone-throwers, but they have no knowledge of how to use their weapons in a well-trained manner: they have no familiarity with the art of the fencing schools, rarely piercing the foe with a thrust, more often wounding him by slashing. They have an amazing love for their swords, which are kept sharp and not pitted: they care for them diligently so that they may not become rusty or blunt. The story is told that a man of this class, returning from battle having received four or more dangerous wounds, inspected his sword: when he saw that it was nowhere chipped or bent he gave great thanks to God that the wounds were inflicted on his body, not on his sword. The use of firearms has at last increased among them. Although at first they were so afraid that they were not able to bear the sound of these weapons, much less dare to fire them, nevertheless, in our time they themselves, with method and skill, make gunpowder and polished balls for these guns. If these men deliberate long, their decision is usually more wicked and savage. For if they are deliberating about the life of a captive, the longer they debate, the closer they come to seeking his head. There is a proverb common in the Irish language, used when they have a doubt about their deliberations: 'THE KERNS' FINAL DECISION'.<sup>115</sup> [43] If they kill someone, they always inflict fresh wounds on the fallen corpse. For each one of them reddens his sword with the blood of the slain man, lest perchance he should revive; and they do not think that he has been killed by any cut until they see the head cut off by swordstrokes. Then those cutthroats consider the matter completed, or rather they almost believe it. Is there anything more cautious<sup>116</sup> than this kind of man?

The last rank of all is rounded off by a number of runners, whom the Irish call 'daltinnes'<sup>117</sup> but whom we, in Latin, can call lightarmed servants, or footmen. They advance without armour and they act as grooms for the horsemen – although they also wield thonged spears – and they clean harness, which has become stained with filth. In the paddocks, they rub down the horses with currycombs until they have them shining, with their manes combed. These horseboys strain every sinew of their bodies at this careful grooming, and as they fail in this diligence, so their reputation drops: for they gain a reputation for especial diligence through the elegance and cleanliness of their horses. Beyond all others, they are careless of restraint in speech, being for the most part addicted to scurrilous wit and

Footsoldiers  
who are  
called kerns.

Their  
weapons  
and method  
of fighting.

They love  
their swords.

A witty story  
on this  
matter.

They are  
beginning to  
use firearms,  
even hand  
held.

An Irish  
saying.

Ferocity  
towards the  
slain.

The fourth  
rank of  
soldiers, who  
are called  
daltinnes.

Their duties.

plurimu(m) illigati. Totus autem tam equitatus, quàm peditatus, quoties ad manus, & pugnam venit, alta voce, PHARRO, PHARRO, inclamat. Vtrum à rege Pharaone, Gandeli socero, an ab alia caussa clamor iste natus sit, parum ad rem attinet explicare. Qui ex acie inuulnerati discedunt, saucios commilitones domum octophoro porta(n)t. Tum præsto sunt empirici, qui herbulis vulnere applicatis, ægritudinem abstergere conantur. Isti, vt etiam pragmatici, in aliquo esse numero volunt: cum tamen planè indocti, & omnino omnis chirurgiæ expertes sint. Habent suas similiter familias; hereditate, non eruditone medici euadunt. Cùm illud Hippocratis, memoriter [44] possunt recitare: VITA BREVIS, ARS LONGA, se satis luculentè instructos arbitrantur. Inanes esse confirmant hominum conatus, in hoc exiguo vitæ curriculo, se medicorum libris inuoluere; quorum lectio est adeò infinita, vt prius moriendo naturæ, quàm curatione ægrotis medicinæ studiosus satisficiat. Lectitant tamen, qui inter eos lectitare sciunt, peruetustas, & fumosas membranulas, multis lituris interpunctas, Hibernicè scriptas, quas in ore & in amore mirificè habent. Quando oua, in schaphiis, agitare virgulâ norunt, cùm digitos comprimendo, succum ex herbis, minutatim concisis ac tritis, exprimunt; cùm vulnus specillo attentare, & fasciis obligare discunt; tum se Asclepiadas, & Hippocratas germanissimos opinantur. Et tamen, inquiet aliquis, solent vulneribus mederi. Sanè quidem: etiamsi illa, vt vt est, curatio naturali efficientiæ potius, quàm his empiricis, qui omni arte carent, sit tribuenda. Sed quoniam hic noster libellus in academicorum manus peruenturus est, in quorum auribus, propter crebras exercitationes, sagacissima laudatorum mysteriorum indagatrix, Philosophia, scientiæ naturalis domicilium collocavit: de his studiis, quæ academiis egregiè nota, mihi sunt non inaudita, fretus eorum humanitate, opidò paucis disputabo. Natura igitur, cuius nutu, ac moderatione cuncta existunt, inseuit, in omni re creata, quosdam igniculos, quorum calore singula conseruantur. Hæc ignea vis à plerique dialectis calor naturalis appellatur. Etenim est in scholis res perrecondita ac multum & sæpe quæsita, an ille calor vitalis ab homine, vel alia quauis natura, vt ceteræ aduentitiæ res, cogitatione seiungi ac diuelli possit. Quæ sanè dubitatio nihil ad [45] rem facit. Neque enim homo proximum est huius caloris fundamentum, sed naturalis ignis in homine, ac in qualibet re, per omnem mundum, consistens: siquidem est proprium vnus ignis munus calefacere. Absque hoc igne sol calorem impertire nulli rei posset. Non enim, vt plebei philosophi affirmant, calor iste ex hoc tantum manat, quod solis radij reflectantur, sed naturalis flamma (quæ in sole maximè

Clamor  
Hibernorum  
præliaris.

Cura in  
sauciis.

Audaces sed  
imperiti  
chirurgi.

Quibus ars ea  
Hereditaria.

Libri eorum.

Quæsitum  
breuiter, tam  
imperiti cum  
sint, quomodo  
curent.

Id fieri, vi insiti  
nobis calor.

In Sole ignem  
quidam  
etia(m) esse.

filthy conversation. All of them, cavalry and infantry alike, whenever they come to close quarters cry out in a loud voice, 'Pharro, Pharro'.<sup>118</sup> Whether this cry is derived from King Pharaoh, the father-in-law of Gaidelus,<sup>119</sup> it is not my business to explain.

Battle-cry of  
the Irish.

Those who come off the battle line unscathed carry their wounded comrades home on an eight-man litter. There, standing by, they have 'empiricks' who attempt to cleanse the infection by applying crushed herbs. They would wish to be numbered among the physicians on the grounds that they too are skilled although they are plainly untaught and completely unskilled in all matters of surgery. Likewise, they belong to certain families: they become doctors by heredity, not by learning. [44] When they can recite from memory that tag from Hippocrates,<sup>120</sup> 'LIFE IS SHORT, ART IS LONG', they consider themselves sufficiently brilliantly educated. They assert that, in this brief course of life, the efforts of men to bury themselves in medical texts is useless, and that the reading of these is so endless that the student will sooner satisfy nature by dying than he will satisfy medicine by curing the sick. However, those among them<sup>121</sup> who can read, read over and over some ancient murky manuscripts, which are written in Irish and punctuated with many emendations, and they keep these lovingly on their lips in an amazing fashion. When they know how to beat eggs in a bowl with a rod; when they can squeeze fresh juice from herbs, chopped fine and pounded, with their fingers; when they learn to explore a wound with a surgeon's probe, and how to bind the wound with bandages; then they consider themselves the truest sons of Asclepius,<sup>122</sup> and incarnations of Hippocrates.

Care for  
the  
wounded.

Bold but  
uneducated  
surgeons.

Their art is  
hereditary.

Their books.

Brief inquiry  
into how,  
since they  
are so  
unskilled,  
they achieve  
a cure.

And yet, someone will say, they do heal wounds. True: although that healing process, when it happens, ought to be attributed to the efficiency of nature rather than to these 'empiricks' who lack all theoretical skill. But this slight work of ours is destined to come into the hands of academics, in whose comprehension, resulting from continuous research, the abode of natural science, is placed by Philosophy, the wisest seeker of these honoured mysteries. Relying on their kindness, I will discourse very briefly on these studies which are of great note in the Universities and not unknown to me.

Nature, then, by whose rule and regulation all things exist, has implanted in every created thing certain sparks of fire by whose heat individual objects are kept alive. This fiery force is called 'natural heat'<sup>123</sup> by many dialecticians. For in the schools this abstruse question is often deeply explored: whether that vital heat can, by reasoning, be distinguished and separated from man or from any other thing in nature, as can other things which come from outside. This dispute does nothing for the matter in hand. [45] The immediate foundation of this heat, since heating things is the property of fire alone, is not man but natural fire that exists in man and in everything

It happens  
by the power  
of the heat  
implanted  
in us.

In the sun is  
also a certain  
fiery force.



viget) hoc munus præstat; quæ si a sole abesset, nunquam radij percussio ardentem istam qualitatem procrearet. Etenim quî sol elargiri posset, quod non habet? Quod autem in scholis peruagatum ac decantatum habeatur, cotem acuere, cûm sit ipsa hebes: in eo etiam homines non satis scienter philosophantur. Nec enim acumen aliquod ex cote in ferrum transit, sed dum chalybem refricamus, paulatim extenuatur acies, & quò tenuior est, eò acutior efficitur: quod non coti, tanquam proprium est tribuendum; sed etiam arenulæ, vmbilicis, pulueri, & aliis rebus, quæ nouaculæ aciem exulcerando corrodunt. Ego iam olim, in commentariolis meis, quibus Porphyrij institutiones, ad Chrysaoriu(m) scriptas, explanavi, nimis frigide de hoc calore disputavi, cûm tamen locus ad tractandum aptissimus mihi fuisset oblatus. Sed danda est hæc venia ætatlæ meæ, vndeuginti solûm annos fui natus, cum istas lucubrationes scripserim, atque id temporis (dicam enim, quod verum est) de hoc naturali & vitali foco minimè somnavi. Quod non multûm mirabile videri debet. Etenim nihil est, in locupletissimo præpotentis philosophiæ narthecio, tanta æstimatione dignandum, nihil in venis ac visceribus naturæ tam abitrusum atque reconditum, quàm exacta huius [46] ignis cognitio. Pretiosissimam sanè hanc margaritam, naturæ pala inclusam, velut incorruptam virginem, ab importuna insipientiu(m) procûm sollicitatione, eius custos Philosophia solet disiungere; ex eo euênit, quàm minimè multos naturæ venatores, propter angustiatos & interclusos aditus, ad eam, scientiæ peruestigatione, adspirasse. Quin etiam ipse Paracelsus, medicorum, vt eius fautores gloriantur, deus, ne per transennam quidem, hanc nostram deam adspexit: dumque D(iui) Thomæ sententiam lucifugus Andabata reprehendit, suam inscientiam manifestò prodit. Nam & inibi, vt sæpius alibi, veritatem mendaciis Paracelsus contaminat; & qui sit de hoc igne, prorsus in media Philosophia retruso atque abdito, D(iui) Thomæ sensus, in eius mentem & sensum non intrauit. præposterè verò aduersarium refellis, cuius mentem perperam intelligis. Sed ad propositum. Hæc igitur naturæ scintillula, per totum corpus fusa, membra salutaris calore fouet; languentem naturam excitat; iacentem extollit; fessam recreat; mansa concoquit; cruda digerit; cibos in sanguinem conuertit; denique esculentas reliquias depellit, postremò naturam, omni, qua possit, tutione tegit. Quod si homo (hoc idem de ceteris animantibus intelligi oportet) in morbum incidat, aut ei vulnus impositum sit; solet

Admiratio & vera elatio huius ignis per omnia didici.

Ad quem caecutit prorsus Paracelsus. In Aurora philosoph. Cap.9.\*

Doctorum acutissimus Thomas defensus.

In curatione corporum, præsentanea vis eius nativi ignis.

throughout the universe. Without this fire the sun would not be able to impart heat to anything. For this heat does not, as philosophers of the people assert, emanate from the fact that the rays of the sun are reflected, but the natural heat – which is at its strongest in the sun – performs this office. If this natural heat were lacking from the sun, then the striking of a ray of the sun would never produce that burning quality. For how could the sun share out what it does not possess? As to that point which was widely debated in the schools, that a whetstone sharpens although it is itself blunt: in this dispute also men do not reason scientifically enough. For sharpness does not pass from the whetstone to the iron: rather, as we rub the steel, the edge is gradually narrowed, and the narrower it is, the sharper it becomes. This is not to be attributed as an exclusive property to the whetstone: it may be said also of grains of sand or dust or other things that wear down the edge of a razor with a grinding action. In former times, in my slight commentary<sup>124</sup> on *The Institutions of Porphyry*, addressed to Chrysaorius, I argued too coldly about this heat, although I had a very suitable place to treat of it. But pardon must be granted to my tender age, for I was only nineteen when I wrote those studies, and at the time – I shall confess it since it is true – I did not dream of this vital heat of nature. This ought not to be too surprising.

For there is nothing in the rich medicine chest of mighty Philosophy that is worthy of such estimation; and there is nothing so abstruse and hidden in the veins and bowels of nature as the exact knowledge of this fire. [46] Philosophy, guardian of this knowledge, protects her most precious pearl set in the bezel of nature, like a pure virgin, from the importunate courting of foolish suitors. The result has been that very few students of nature have aspired to reach her by scientific investigation, on account of the narrow and closed approaches. Indeed, even Paracelsus<sup>125</sup> himself, the god of medical professors, as his fans boast, did not catch a glimpse of this goddess of ours, not even through a lattice: and while that blindfold fighter<sup>126</sup> who flees the light finds fault with the opinion of St Thomas, he clearly betrays his own lack of knowledge. For there also, as often elsewhere, Paracelsus contaminates the truth with lies, and he never grasped in his own mind the perception of St Thomas concerning this fire which is remote and completely hidden in the depths of Philosophy. Truly you act in a perverse fashion when you refute an opponent when you have a false understanding of his thinking.

But to return to my point: this tiny spark of nature, spread throughout the whole body, warms the limbs with saving heat. It revives languishing nature; it raises up those who have collapsed; it restores the exhausted; it digests food which has been chewed; it breaks down raw things; it converts food to blood; and finally it expels undigested residue. It affords nature all the protection of which it is capable. For if a man (this same applies to other living things) contracts a disease or suffers a wound: this fire of nature gathers itself, to soothe

Wonder and true appreciation of this fire are learned from all things.

Paracelsus completely blind to it.

Aurora Philosophiæ, ch. 9.

Defence of Thomas, most acute of Doctors.

Immediate power of that innate fire in the cure of bodies.

hic naturæ focus se colligere, inustum dolorem fomentis mitigare, postremò ægritudinē<sup>9</sup> medicinam adhibere. Si artis efficacia accedat breuiori temporis interuallo, ægrotus ex vulnere, aut morbo recreatur. Sin maior sit naturæ labor, quàm artis vis; tum diuturnior est curatio, dolor acerbior, periculum maius, ex vulnere item sanies emanat; quandoquidem luctator ignis naturæ, quasi cum [47] igne contra naturam, nec ita citò incendium per se restinguit. Horum tamen nihil contingit (nisi plaga sit insanabilis) vbi per artis suppeditationem naturæ vires integrantur. Nam tum vacuitas est ab angoribus, vulnus purum ac mundum manet. Etenim nullum pædorem medicina, germanæ artis particeps, in carne permittit: quoniam vitali igni opem fert, cuius auxilio recalescit, quocum mirifica operandi societate constringitur. Ex quo profectò intelligitur, ista empiricorum medicamenta penitus esse otiosa. Tantùm enim abest, vt conquassatam naturam commoueant, currentem quidem vix incitant. Cùm itaque naturæ ignis suo per se fungatur officio, plures illiterati idiotæ sibi arrogant, quod nullo iure vendicare debent. Etenim nulla est carunculae particula, quæ, modò putrida non sit, hanc curandi vim à natura nori arripuerit; quod à talium mysteriorum speculatoribus, βάλαμον peracutè nominatur. Sed hæc missa faciamus, quæ indoctis obscura, minutis medicis incondita, ipsis Physicis spinosiora & ad historiæ propositum non admodum necessaria videntur. Iam verò si quis, inter Hibernicos, præsertim summo loco natus, à vita discedat, incredibile est, quanto, & quàm fæmineo fletu, omnia loca circumsonare soleant. Atque vt lugubrem lamentationem, rationis temperamento modificatam, magnopere non reprehendam, tamen peruersum anicularum morem non possum non liberius accusare. Nam vt primùm vnus ex his, qui in honoribus populi versatur, halitu(m) extremum efflat, videre licet, complures mulieres, per vicos & campos cursare, lupino vlulantiq[ue] clamore, omnium aures obtundere. At verò vbi templum, in quo mortuo [48] parentatur, ingrediuntur, quanto eiulatu sacram complent ædem, non facile dixerim. Buccis inflatis exclamant, perquàm flebiliter voces eliciunt, redimicula ponunt, capita nudant, crines lacerant, frontem feriunt, latera intendunt, palmas dilatant, manus in cælum extollunt, mortuorum cistas versant, operimenta diloricant, cadauer amplexantur, oscula infigunt, mortuum humari vix permittunt. Hæc eò scribo, vt Christianæ fidei præcones commonefaciam, deformem hanc consuetudinem, orationis flumine, & minarum fulmine, ex fæminarum cœtu.

<sup>9</sup>ægritudine P; corrected from errata [271].

the fever with alleviation, and ultimately to apply a means of healing to the sickness. If the efficacy of medical skill is brought to bear within a shorter space of time, the sick man recovers from his wound or illness. If the effort demanded of nature is greater than the power of the medical skill employed, then the healing takes longer, the pain is more acute, the danger is greater, and pus issues from the wound; for the natural fire is fighting as if with fire against nature, and if left to itself does not so quickly extinguish the blaze. [47] None of these things happens however (unless the blow is incurable) if nature's strength is restored by the application of medical skill. For then there is freedom from pain and the wound remains pure and clean. Medicine, the partner in the true art of healing, permits no uncleanness in the flesh: medicine assists the natural fire by whose aid it is warmed; it is linked to the natural fire in a wondrously effective alliance.

Therefore it is perfectly obvious that the remedies of 'empiricks' are completely useless. Far from having any effect on stricken nature, they can scarcely spur a willing horse. Therefore when the natural fire fulfils its function by itself, many unlettered idiots appropriate for themselves credit they have no right to claim. There is no tiny particle of flesh, provided it is not rotten, which does not derive from nature this healing force. This is accurately named βάλαμον (balsamon)<sup>127</sup> by those who investigate such mysteries. But let us bid farewell to these matters, since they seem obscure to the unlearned, confused to lesser physicians, a thorny problem to the doctors themselves and not quite necessary to the purpose of our history.

Now, among the Irish, if someone departs this life, especially someone born to high station, it is incredible how the whole of the locality is filled with the sound of women's wailing.<sup>128</sup> While I do not object to grief-stricken lamentation provided it is checked by the restraint of reason, I cannot criticise too strongly this perverse custom that the old women practise. For as soon as one of those who are held in honour among the people breathes his last, many women may be seen running through the fields and the villages, assailing the ears of all with a wailing, wolflike outcry. [48] But when they enter the church in which the rites for the dead are being performed, it is not easy to describe the volume of wailing with which they fill the sacred edifice. They cry aloud with inflated cheeks, they raise their voices amid floods of tears, they lay wreaths, they bare their heads, they tear their hair, they beat their foreheads, they strain their lungs, they spread out their palms, they raise their hands to heaven, they overturn the coffins of the dead, they tear open the shroud, they embrace the corpse and plant kisses on it and scarcely permit the body to be buried. I write these things so that I may admonish preachers of the Christian faith to eradicate by the very roots this ugly practice from the minds of women, using floods of

Innate fire helped and aroused by skilled medicine.

But nothing is achieved by unskilled medicine.

Procedure at funerals among the Irish.

Dirges and laments of female mourners.

Truly gestures of actors.

All of which ought to be rejected by the Christian community.

mentibus stirpitus extrahere, ipsos etiam mortuorum manes in effæminatum hunc ploratum testes laudare. Neque enim squalore vultus, aut genarum laceratione, aut corporum percussione, aut nænarum plangore exsequiæ, & funera celebrantur. Talia viuis abesse valent, mortuis nihil prodesse solent. Ex hoc lacrimarum fonte profluxit (vt arbitror) tritum illud & celebratum, in Anglico sermone, prouerbium, HIBERNICE LACRIMARI. Dicit mihi meminisse, nonnullas mulierculas, tantum de more, se his lamentis lacrimisque dedere. Cuius rei fidem fecit, non multis abhinc lustris, vetula anicula, quæ cum, diu multumque vociferata, irraucuisset, de socia quæsiuit, quod tandem mortuo nomen fuit? Quam grauiter notum lugeret, quæ incognitum tam vehementer deplorabat? Hactenus de Hibernicorum institutis distributus, ni fallor, est explicatum; pauca etiam generatim adiungam. Sunt, vt supra commemorauimus, perhospitales; prolixa, benificaque natura; in laboribus, ex omni hominum genere, patientissimi; omnium bellicosissimi; in rerum angustiis raro fracti. Nutrices, ad extremum vitæ spatium, in [49] loco parentum habent. Earum natos, quos vocant Collactaneos, magis ex animo, quam germanos fratres amant. Singula illis credunt; in eorum spe requiescunt, omnium consiliorum sunt maximè conscij. Collactanei etiam eos fidelissimè, & amantissimè obseruant. Nihil perfidiosum & insidiosum, nihil fallax in illis inuenies: quin etiam parati sunt, offerre capita sua, pro lacteorum fratrum, vt appellant, salute, periculis omnibus. Cæstibus hominem contundas, eculo excrucies, ignitis laminis amburas, omnia exquisita supplicia, vehemens feroxque tortor, in illum expromas: tamen nunquam eum de insita mentis fidelitate deduces; nunquam vt officium prodat, induces. Hibernici etiam, magna ex parte, sunt religionis summè colentes. Quod certè laudandum est in iis, qui vitam, ad veram religionis normam dirigunt: alioquin in spoliis, prædis, homicidio religio non valet. Sacerdotes apud illos magnam obtinent dignitatem: quorum salutari admonitione (vt est hominum genus tenerum & flexibile) auditorum conscientiæ facillimè mordentur. Si omnia bello ardeant, religiosi, tamquam feciales caduceo ornati, vtrouique rusticari incolumes possunt. Nefas esse arbitrantur, vel teruncium de sacerdotis bonis, in vlla direptione, attingere, multò magis execrantur, eorum corpora vulnerare. Idem honor rythmicis tribuitur, quorum ingeniis subiectam vitam, famamque habent. Nam horum laudationibus immortaliter gaudent;

Lacrimas eas  
nec veras  
esse.locundo  
exemplo  
doctum.De moribus  
Hibernoru  
(m), paullo  
communius.Amor in  
nutrices &  
collactaneos.

Et mira fides.

Pietas  
illoru(m).Verentur vnicè  
sacerdotes.A quibus  
iniuriam  
omnem belli  
abstinent.

speech, lightening-bolts of threats, even summoning the shades of the dead themselves to witness against this wailing of women. For funerals and the last rites are not celebrated with squalor of countenance, laceration of cheeks, beating of the body, or the wailing of dirges. The living do not need such things, and they are of no benefit to the dead.

From this font of tears has flowed – in my opinion – that well-known proverb in English, ‘TO SHED IRISH TEARS’.<sup>129</sup> I remember it being told to me that some women abandon themselves to wailing and weeping solely out of habit. Proof of this was provided, not many years ago, by a little old lady who, when she had become hoarse with wailing long and loudly, finally asked her companion, ‘Who was the dead man?’ How grievously would she mourn a man who was known to her, when she wept so passionately for an unknown?

Up to now, unless I am mistaken, we have expounded the institutions of the Irish under particular headings: now I shall add a few things in a more general vein. They are, as I have recorded above, very hospitable; of an obliging and kindly nature; of all the human race they are the most enduring of toil; of all they are the most warlike; rarely crushed in times of shortage. They have nurses in place of parents<sup>130</sup> up to the last stage of their lives. [49] They love their nurse’s children, whom they call milk-brothers, more keenly than their true brothers. They entrust everything to them; they place all their expectations in them; especially they share all their plans with them. Their foster brothers likewise regard them most faithfully and lovingly. You will never find anything perfidious, treacherous or false in their dealings with one another; on the contrary they are prepared to expose their own lives to any peril for the safety of their milk-brothers, as they call them. O fierce and savage executioner, you may batter such a man with lead-lined gloves, you may stretch him on the rack, you may burn him with red-hot plates, you may apply every refinement of torture; you will never deflect him from that fidelity which is instinct in his mind: you will never bring him to betray his duty.

The Irish are also, for the most part, in the highest degree attentive to religion. This is certainly praiseworthy in those who conduct their life according to the true precepts of religion: otherwise, religion has no power against looting, plunder and murder. They are singularly reverent towards priests and keep all the hurts of war from them. Priests are held in great honour among them: the conscience of those who hear them is easily pricked by their salutary admonitions, since the human race is docile and flexible. Even if war is raging everywhere, the religious can live quietly on either side in safety, as if they were a Roman high priesthood,<sup>131</sup> protected by the herald’s staff. In any raid they consider it an impious deed to touch even a farthing of a priest’s property; even more so they consider it cursed to wound the person of a priest.

Those tears  
are false.Shown by  
this droll  
example.Something a  
little more  
general  
about the  
customs of  
the Irish.The love  
they hold  
towards  
their nurses  
and foster  
lings.Their  
wondrous  
loyalty.

Their piety.

They are  
singularly  
reverent  
towards  
priests.They keep  
all the hurts  
of war from  
them.

Propensi idem in litteratos. contraque eorum versibus violari, carnificinam existimant. Nam vt reliqua omnia æquissimo animo ferant, quî illud infamiæ frænum mordeant, non inueniunt. Nec sacerdotes & rythmici solùm, sed omnes etiam, litteris [50] tincti, sunt in laude & gratia apud illos. Item ipsa optimarum artium cognitio est in honore maximo. Atque vt veteres se, nullo modo, sapientes volebant nominari, sed philosophos, qui sapientiam expeterent, eiusque decretis parerent; ad eundem modum, Hibernici, etiamsi hominem omnium litteratissimum, ad cælum laudibus efferre studeant, eum nunquam virum doctum, sed bonum doctrinæ filium appellant. Præterea si hostes, in armorum ardore, ad templa, animis tardati, confugiant, in istis asyis, omni periculo liberati, magis securè conseruantur, quàm si castellana maceria essent muniti, atque firmati. Rustici, & alij plebei homines, in huiusmodi depopulationibus, in sacra loca, quæ omnibus bellis inuiolata sunt, subuolare, cum tota familia, consuescunt, nisi direptores, omni celeritate, eorum migrationem anteuertant. Simplex & falsum quoddam, in tali euentu; comitis Kildariæ responsum litteris celebrandum existimo. Vir fuit honoratus, & nobilis, summa potestate præditus. Nam Hiberniam, sub Anglico imperio, triginta & tres annos occupauit. verùm non decrant inuidi, qui eum à dominatione reipub(licae) semotum vellent. Deferebant multa ad Henricum septimum, Angliæ regem: eius scilicet vicarium, Kildariæ comitem, ex quo tempore ad rempub(licam) accessit, non tam prouinciam administrare, quàm regno, per se, vti. Omnium fortunas deuorare; ducem se, principemque ad quoduis flagitium præbere; quin etiam, certo quodam tempore, initum fuisse consilium, ab ipso comite, inflammandi, sacrilegum in modum, Templi Cassiliensis. Giraldus, reus citatus, adfuit. Atque ne fortè, in rebus sitis ante omnium oculos, diuerticula [51] flexionesque quæreret, accusatores vnumquodque crimen planum facere; in digitis suis singula flagitia constituere; atque in sani exustione diu acriterque commotari; multi fide digni, quorum primus Archiepiscopus Cassiliensis fuit, testes in reum procedere. Rex ac Consiliarij, quid ad hæc comes haberet, percunctari. Ille, præter omnium expectationem, crimen fassus est. Hic rex exalbescere, adstantes oculos in reum conuertere, hominis audacissimi dicto obstupescere. Quid multis? Rex, comitem stomachans fastidiosè, interrogare, quî fiebat, vt violarit, & imminuerit ius ac officium? aut quo ore auderet, illud confiteri, quod esset sacrilegium perpetrare? Ad

Quos doctrinæ filios appellant.

Templa omnia, pro intermeratis asyis.

Kildariæ Comitis laus.

Circa annu(m) salut. 1500.

Eius Comitis liberrimæ simplicitatis dictum.

Poets are held in the same respect, for they value life and reputation by the measure of the poet's ability. They rejoice like gods in the praises of these men, and on the other hand they consider it torture to be satirised in their verses. For anything else they can bear with the greatest equanimity, but they can in no way bite on the bit of ill-fame. It is not only priests and poets who are held in honour and respect among them, but also all those who are engaged in literary activity. [50] In the same way, even an acquaintance with the higher professions<sup>132</sup> is held in the greatest honour. And just as the ancients did not wish to be called wise men, but rather lovers of wisdom – philosophers, who sought out wisdom and obeyed its decrees – so the Irish, although they will strain to praise to the sky the man who is most learned of all, never call him a learned man, but a good son of learning.<sup>133</sup>

They are similarly disposed towards men of letters.

They call them 'sons of learning'.

If the enemy lose courage in the heat of battle and flee into the churches, they find safety there and secure asylum, free from all danger and safer than if they were fortified within a strong castle wall. Peasants and others of the lower class, during raids of this kind, are accustomed to flee with their whole families – unless the raiders speedily cut off their escape – to the sacred places. These remain undamaged in all their wars. I consider worthy of being set down in writing the simple – and false – response of the earl of Kildare<sup>134</sup> concerning one such event. He was an honoured man and noble and endowed with the highest power, for he had possession of Ireland, under English rule, for thirty-three years. But men of ill-will were not lacking, who wanted him removed from governing the state. They began to make many charges before Henry the Seventh, king of England: namely that his deputy the earl of Kildare, from the time when he had taken over the state, had not so much administered it as a province, as used it as a kingdom; that he swallowed up the fortunes of all; that he was ready, as leader and chief, for any crime; and even worse, the earl himself had embarked upon a plan to commit the sacrilege of burning the cathedral of Cashel. Gerald was present, being cited as the accused. Lest, in proceedings which were being conducted before the eyes of all, he might attempt contradictions and evasions, [51] the accusers made plain each and every charge: they itemised on their fingers each single crime and they dwelt long and keenly on the burning of the church. Many witnesses, worthy of credence, entered proceedings against the earl, and the first of these was the archbishop of Cashel.

All churches held as undefiled places of refuge.

Praise of the earl of Kildare.

About the year of salvation 1500.

The king and his counsellors asked what the earl had to say to these charges and he, contrary to everyone's expectation, confessed to the crime. At this point the king paled; the bystanders stared at the accused, amazed at the utterance of that audacious man. Why make a long story of it? The king, with anger and loathing against the earl, asked how did it happen that he violated and diminished his right and his office? Or with what countenance did he dare to confess what was in effect the crime of sacrilege? To these

The earl's statement which was of the most noble simplicity.



hæc ille, ita me Deus, inquit, amet, nunquam ego faces isti delubro inicere animum inducerem, nisi quidam nuntij liquidò dicerent, & mihi pro certo significarent, Cassiliensem Antistitem, id temporis, in te(m)plo fuisse. Hic risum continere rex no(n) potuit, cum virum simplice(m), sacrorum religionisq(ue) minimè hostem, eo argumento crimen diluere animaduertisset, quod eius crimen re vera duplicauit. Ista ergo omnis accusatio in risum conuersa est. In Hiberniam, cum imperio rursus mittitur. Nam cum aduersarij summum Henrici odium in illum transferre conarentur, dicebant, Giraldum tam furiosum ac effrænatum esse, vt eum tota Hibernia gubernare non possit; Itane verò, inquit Rex, tum ille totam Hiberniam gubernabit. Sed non vagabitur oratio mea longius: ad Hibernicos redeo, quorum mores satis, vt arbitror, enucleatè illustraui. Quod autem quorundam sermo increbruit, eos passim in siluis, inter feras, ætatem degere, fænumque, instar pecudum, esse; id tam abest à vero, vt nihil magis vero esse [52] possit contrarium. Sed ductum & conflatum hinc mendacium istud existimo, propter nonnullos exleges, omnibus flagitiorum maculis notatissimos. Etenim isti nulla fidei, nulla religionis iura retinent; nec Britannico imperio subiiciuntur, nec Hibernicis Dynastis morigerantur; sed desertissimas solitudines persequuntur; in rapinis & ex rapinis viu(n)t; villulas & pagos noctuabu(n)di ince(n)dunt; omnem vitæ societate(m) vi & armis disturbant. Quòd autem in siluis, prohibiti cibis & tectis, delitescant, quòd ieunitate corpora adfligant, quòd olusculis & aquatilibus herbis vescantur; hæc incommoda, seu potius calamitates, non voluntate inducti, sed necessitate coacti, perferunt: tametsi rarò, absque obsoniis & vino, etiam in suis cauernis, inueniantur. Talis vitæ & victus asperitas, multorum iudicio, illis vituperationi est: ego tamen hanc duritatem in aliqua ponenda(m) laude duco. Nam licet nocturna ista prædandi atque rapiendi licentia accusabilis, imò verò exsecranda sit; tamen in istis perditis ac profligatis excursoribus, hæc duritia sum-mopere est miranda. Quem enim potes mollem & eneruatum nouitium, aliquo in numero, putare, qui cum hoste non valet con-fligere, nisi dulcicula potionem, & quibusdam sportellis sustentetur, imò nisi, abdomini natus, crapulam cottidie exhalet, nisi vnguentorum odore nares recreet, nisi sub pellibus interquiescat, nisi variis vestibis, & nescio quibus lacernis oneretur? Bellicosus quidem ille miles, & neruosus haberi debet, qui sudo & vdo cælo aptus est, qui ad omnes labores impiger inuenitur, qui famem pro condimento, nasturtium pro

Hiberni à  
barbara  
feritate  
excusati.

Nisi quod  
quidam inter  
eos solivagi &  
exleges  
prædones.

Quorum vita  
& victus,  
aspera.

Eaque  
excusatione,  
imò laude  
digna.

things he replied 'So may God love me, I would never have formed the intention of putting that shrine to the torch, if my scouts did not state clearly and indicate to me for certain that the bishop of Cashel was, at that precise moment, in the cathedral. At this point the king could not contain his laughter at this simple man, who was by no means an enemy to religion and sacred things, and who was intending to dilute the charge by an argument that in fact doubled the crime. The whole proceeding therefore was turned into a joke. Gerald was sent back to Ireland, again with the king's authority. For while his adversaries were trying to focus the extreme of Henry's hatred on him, they kept repeating that Gerald was so fierce and unbridled that the whole of Ireland could not control him. 'Is it so indeed?' said the king, 'then he shall control the whole of Ireland'.

The Irish  
cleared of  
the charge  
of barbarous  
savagery.

But enough of this digression. Let us return to the Irish, whose customs I have outlined plainly enough, as I think. However, since the account given by some authors has become common that the Irish everywhere live their lives in woods, among the wild beasts, and eat hay, in the manner of cattle, let me say that this is so far from the truth that nothing could be more contrary to reality. [52] I think that this lie has arisen from the fact that there are some outlaws among them, men who are marked by all the stains of crime. These keep none of the laws of good faith or of religion; they are not subject to British rule, nor are they obedient to Irish Lords. They search through the most deserted wildernesses; they live amid plunder and on plunder; they make night attacks on small estates and villages; by armed force they upset all the social bonds of life.

Except for  
some  
vagabonds  
and outlawed  
robbers.

However, to speak of the fact that they lurk in the woods, barred from food and shelter, that they afflict their bodies with starvation, that they feed on wild vegetables and water herbs: they endure these inconveniences, or rather, disasters, not willingly by their own choice, but compelled by necessity. And yet they are rarely found, even in their caves, without sauces and wine. Many think that they ought to be criticised for such coarseness in their diet; nevertheless I consider that this toughness is somewhat praiseworthy. Although that indulgence in nocturnal robbing and looting is blameworthy or rather to be completely condemned, nevertheless in those abandoned and profligate raiders such toughness is greatly to be admired. What soft effeminate novice can you hold in any esteem, who cannot fight the enemy unless he is sustained by some little sweet drink and some titbits; no, rather, unless he sleeps off a hangover every day, since he is born in the service of his belly; or unless he refreshes his nose with the scent of perfumes, and sleeps between times under fur coverlets, and unless he is weighted down with various kinds of clothing and cloaks? He must be considered a tough and warlike soldier who is used to sweat and wet; who is found to be keen for every task; who

Their life  
and their  
diet are  
rough.

These things  
are worthy  
of excuse,  
even of  
praise.

Insignis duritiæ  
& patientiæ  
exemplum.

Vana quædam  
prodigia  
sparsa de  
Hibernia.

cibo, humum pro cubili, arbustum pro tabernaculo habet. Hanc autem vitæ acerbitatem isti spoliatores [53] vexatoresque ita seuerè ac vehementer confectantur, vt cùm iam olim par grassatorum, posteaquam totam noctem peruigilasset, somno se dare in publico parasset (hoc autem accidit brumali tempore, quo omnes passim agri pruina obriguerant) & vnus ex illis ingentem niuis globum capiti suo imposuisset, alter, contubernalis sui mollitiem ægrè ferens, dixisse fertur, Næ tu quidem (excors, ac effæminate tiro) vapulare debes. Tantâne, amabo te, mollitia fluis, vt non absque puluinari, ex nocturna lassitudine, dormire valeas? Hoc in libro, quorundam fortassis iudicio, lectoris exspectationi satisfaciendu(m) fuit, quæ nonnihil de purgatorio S. Patricij (nam hoc monumentum, in exteris gentibus, multorum sermonibus peruulgatum, & percelebratum est) atque de nepis, natricibus, aliisq(ue) venenatis animantibus, quibus Hibernia caret, libenter audiret. Sed hoc totum in aptiorem locum, approbante Deo, coniiciam. Plura item huic libello, de insula viuientium, & multis Hibernicorum fontium prodigiis adfingere potui, sed quoniam ista loca nunquam perlustraui, neque ab hominibus fide ac religione excellentibus, quidquam de illis pro vero accepi; satius esse duxi, de dubiis portentis prorsus conticescere, quàm certos, de rebus incertis, sermones dissipare.

has hunger for sauce, cress for food, the ground for a bed and the forest for a tent.<sup>135</sup> [53] Yet these plundering raiders pursue this harshness of life so severely and keenly that once upon a time, a pair of footpads, having kept watch for a whole night, got ready to go to sleep in the open (this happened in winter, when all the fields were stiff with frost). One of them had put a big snowball under his head, and the other, vexed at the effeminacy of his comrade said, 'surely you deserve to be whipped, you cowardly womanish recruit. I ask you, are you so flushed with softness that, after being awake all night, you cannot sleep without a pillow?'

An example  
of their  
toughness  
and  
endurance.

Perhaps some people will judge that this book ought to have satisfied the expectations of those readers wishing to hear something about St Patrick's Purgatory<sup>136</sup> (since this monument is widely known, and its fame has been spread overseas by many reports), and the fact that Ireland is free from scorpions, snakes and other poisonous creatures. But, God willing, I will put all this material together in another place. I could have added many embellishments to this book, about the isle of the living, and also many wonders<sup>137</sup> from Irish sources, but since I have never visited these places, and have never received confirmation of their veracity from men of faith and religion, I have thought it better to maintain complete silence about doubtful wonders than to spread reports of uncertain things as if they were certain.

Some of the  
wonders  
reported  
about Ireland  
are false.

## TESTO LEZIONE 2

### Tutorial 5: A Briefe Relation of Ireland and the diuersity of Irish in the same

ff. 95r-98r, TCD MS 580

*The Spanish-language original of this text was submitted by Gaelic-Irish revolutionaries to the Spanish government in 1618-19. This English translation was then sent by a spy from Spain to the Protestant Archbishop James Ussher, a member of the Irish Privy Council. The first page of the manuscript contains a note in Ussher's handwriting which says 'presented to the Counsell of Spayne circ. an. 1618 by Florence the pretended archb. of Tuam and thought to be penned by Philip O Sullivan Bear.' This cannot be entirely right: Florence Conry was not in Spain at that time; but it is indeed quite likely that Philip O'Sullivan Beare was the author.*

In the kingdom of Ireland, there be three kinde of Irish: to wit, auncient Irish, English Irish and mixt Irish.

The aunciente Irish descend from the Spaniards whoe, above 1000 yeares agoe got that kingdome from the Graecians, and governed it with just and holie lawes, being holpen therein by the doctrine and holynes of many holy miraculous and learned men of there owne, untill the comeing of the Danes, the which by overthrowing and destroying churches and Universityes in that island, brought in much barbarietie, and evill customes, with tyranny, after which there followed, even in the Irish themselves sinnes and offences against God, civil wars, and domesticall hatred, murthers, &c.

Notable was the wickednesse of Dermotus king of Leynster, one of the five kinges of Ireland, who tooke away by force the wife of O'Roarke, another king of the same island, for which the said Dermotus being pursued by O'Roarke, was fayne to fly the land, and to crave ayde of Henry the second King of England, whoe at [this] time was in France, and gave free liberty to all his subjectes, that voluntaray would, to helpe Dermotus to recover his lost kingdome, whereupon, with ayde of certaine of the king of Englands subjectes, he regained his owne, and laied hold on other men's lands besides.

Henry the second seeing the Irish divided amongst themselves [,] by a false relation (as they say) to Pope Adrian the fourth, an English man; obtained of his holynes lycence to conquer the land, and to be collector of the church rentes, which the Sea Apostolicke had in Ireland, with the title of lord of Ireland: But after the kings of Englande forsaking the true fayth have by their own proper authoritie intituled themselves Kings of Ireland.

These Englysh which at first passed over into Ireland with Dermotus, and others also that came after are divided into two sortes.

The chiefe nobility and gentlemen married with the daughters of the auncient Irish, and so have their discentes downe after them in such sort that those whoe doe now inherite, have equally as much of the Irish bloud as of the Englishe, and in their language habite and custome doe conforme themselves for the most part with the Irish, and these are they whom I call mixt Irish. Such are the earles of Kildare, Desmond, Clanrickard, Ormond, Viscount Barry, Roche, &c.

The Englishe that did not marry with the auncyent Irish, nor tooke hold either of their customes, manners or language, but kept their former English stille, these are called English-Irished, and are all for the most part marchants, and men of trade in all the cities and townes of Ireland.

There are also some knightes and gentlemen, which live in the county of East-Meath and about Dublin and in the

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counties that the Irish call the pale.

These severall kinds of Irish agree all in one thing, to wit, in being true Catholickes, and children of the church of Rome; yet doe they differ in their manner of living, natural inclinations and desires to have princes and lawes over them, every one desireing his naturall inclination, and imitating his predecessors. And therefore, the Auncient Irish, as these that are descended from the Spanyards, desire alwayes to be governed by the kings of Spayne and their successors, and beare greate affection, and love to the Spanish nation, contrarywise greate hate and enmity to their enemyes, and in sharpnes of wit and valour in warr are altogether like unto the Spaniard.

The Englished-Irish follow the inclination of the English, and affect the laws, manners and government, which they had first from them; and if the king of England would grant them libertie of conscience, or permitt to keepe in their houses priestes to say Masse privately and minister the holy Sacraments, they would be right glad that there should be noe change of lawes at all in Ireland, nor of government of King, and amongst these sortes (unlesse there be some od ecclesiasticall man to whom the pope hath assigned some benefice or church rent) there is none that careth much whether there be ever made restitution of church livings or not, or whether the church obtayne her publick government, nay many of them have no other landes nor liveinges, but such as were taken from the church when the kings of England withdrew themselves from her obedience.

The mixt Irish as their bloud is mingled with the English and Irish, so their inclynations and manners of life doe inclyne generally; For notwithstanding that most of them, and the noblest and best qualified, doe follow the inclinations of the auncyent Irish yet doe other[s] follow that of the English.

These three sortes of Irish have their abovesaid inclynations soe deeply rooted in them, that in what state soever they live, they keepe them still; which is true not only in seculars, as Knightes, souldiers, and others, but also in others as schollers, priestes, yea and religious men; yet as man hath free will, by which he may forsake his owne inclynation, and follow the contrary, soe wee have seene sometymes, that an English-Irished hath followed or imitated the Auncient Irish, and auncent Irish the English, as it fell out with Capton Whyte whoe being an Englished-Irish fought against the English for the

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king of Spayne, and the Earle of Thomonde being an auncent Irish did helpe the English.

The difference of naturall inclinations and love did plainly appeare in the last warres which the Irish, holpen by his Catholicke Majesty made against the Englishe, for the auncyent Irish, and also the most and noblest of the mixt Irish held for the King of Spayne, and almost all the Englyshed-Irish



held with the King of England, yet after that peace was confirmed betwixt Spayne and Englande great persecution was used against [this last word is an insertion, and appears to be in Ussher's hand] all three sortes of Irish without exception, whereby the Englished Irish now perceive how farre they were overseene in helping the English, and resisting the auncyent Irish and mixt, and now at this present they repent it very much, and are very desirous to get occasion to make satisfaction and to serve the Catholicke King of Spayne. But if they were shutt of their persecution and troubles, their naturall inclynations carryeth them more towards the English King and nation.

And to the end that the lords of the councell and Officers of his Majestie may know of what Irish they may make use of in the King's occasions, we will lay down a Table of the names and estates of such as have been bred here, and speake the Spanish tongue, and serve his Majestie in severall places of his dominions.

#### Auncient Irish ecclesiasticall

Owen m'Mahon archbishop of Dublin, which is the court of Ireland, whoe was bred in Salamanca by his Majestie's appointment, and now in Ireland.

Don Florence Conrio, arch. of Tuomond [i.e. Tuam] in Ireland, intertayned by his Majestie in the States of Flaunders.

Father Fraunces Collman whoe hath beene provinciall of the order of St. Frauncis in Ireland.

Father Donnough O'Moonie provinciall that now is of the same order in Ireland [Last two words inserted in Ussher's hand].

The presented fryer Ross vicar-generall of St. Dominick's order.

Vincent Ogano of the same order.

Don De la Crux of the same order in Lisborne.

Bernardus O Brien of the same order.

Hugh Cawill of St. Frauncis in Louaine.

John Baptista of the societie Rector in Lisborne.

Cornelius de la Rocha of the same societie.

William Macragh of the societie reader in the Seminary of Lisborne.

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Cornelius de Schole Benedictine now going for Ireland.

#### Auncient Irish seculars in his Majesties Dominions

Don John Oneile earle of Tirone corronell of the Irish in Flaunders.

Don Hugh O Donnell earl of Tirconnell page to the Infanta in Flaunders.

Don Dermitius O'Sullivan earle of Bearhaven, in Madride.

Don Artus Oneile capton

Don Thadie o Sullivan capten [this inserted in Ussher's hand].

Cormack O'Donnell.

Samuell McDonnell. [an entry for Thadie O Sullivan follows, deleted].

Owen O Hanlon.

Robert Davies.

Cormuck O Neile.

Owen Carty.

Morish O'Mahone, cum multis alijs, quos nunc prescribere longum.

#### Mixt Irish Ecclesiasticall

Father Francis Nugent, of St. Dominick's order in Salamanca.

Father Robert Nugent of the societie in Ireland.

Father Nicholas Nugent his brother of the society prisoner in Dublin for the Catholicke faith.

#### Mixt Seculars

Don Redmond Bourke baron of Leytryme.

Don Balthazar Bourke page of the chamber,

William Bourke

Murish Fitz Gerald

Edward Fitz Gerald

Thomas Fitz Gerald

Gerald Mc Murish, &c.

#### English Irished Ecclesiasticall

Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh and Primate in Rome.

Thomas Walsh of the habite of St. Johne in Ireland.

Paul Ragett vicar general of the order of St. Bernard in Ireland.

William of the Holy Ghost, Dominican in Madride.

Luke Waden vice secretary to the governor of St. Francis in Rome.

Thomas White of the Societie, Rector of the Irish Seminarie in Salamanca.

Richard Convoe of the same order Rector of the Irish in St. James.

Christopher Hollywood Superior of the Societie of Jesus in Ireland, who is a pure Englished, and almost all those of his order, yea the very auncient Irish that enter into that same order become almost all Englished, conforming themselves to their superior, not only in their rules of Religion, but alsoe in their rules of policy and government, and manner of life, procuring to conforme themselves to the tymes, and to winne the wills of the mighty.

#### Englished Irish seculars

Nicholas Wise

Capten Thomas Preston

James Gernon

Walter Delahoyde, who served the auncient Irish in the last warres

George Delahoyde

William Walsh

captain Rathe

Thomas Stanyhurst

John Bathe, &c.

Noe where can we find place amongst the above names for Don David Carney Archbishop of Cashell, nor for Father Archer of the Societie. For the Archbishop being intertayned by his Majestie with allowance of a 1000 crowns yearly, and descending by right lyne from the auncient Irish, notwithstanding having somewhat of the English blood, and not being a divine, but a Canonist, and guided by the fathers of the Societie, his kinsmen, is of an Englished condicion.

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On the contrary side Father Archer though altogether Englished, yet is he of the inclynation and condicion of the auncient Irish, and much affected to the Spaniards and their King, and their manner of liveing more then to the auncient Irish whom he followed and ayded in their last warres.

These are those that are known here of the three sortes, notwithstanding there be in Ireland many more, both lords knightes captaynes and souldiers, and other several persons of different quality and state.

Now if you aske of me what sorte there are most in number, greatest in power and dignity, I aunswere that the auncient are most in number, for they have many lords of Title, and knightes

amongst them, and withall the vassalls of the mixt and englished lords and Knightes for the moste part are Auncient Irish, next unto these the mixt are most in number.

For power and strength of money the englished passe, because for the most part either they [inserted in Ussher's hand] or their auncestors have bene or are officers and dealers in the court, neither doe they use such liberality and hospitallity as the auncient Irish and mixt doe use, frankly and gratis to all straungers and passengers, therefore it is thought that they have store of coyne gathered together, but the auncient and mixt have more lands and goods, notwithstanding that they have lost farre more then the englished in the persecution, yet they are more powerfull to make souldiers and armies, and truly many of all the three sortes doe excellent service to his Majestie, in the exercise of their weapons and the skill of military discipline both in Flaunders and in Ireland.

The auncient and mixt Irish are not only great soldiers but allso warriors; but the englished are more inclyned to other imployments than to warre; as for their quality or nobility, the question is easily resolved, considering the originall of every sorte by itselfe. For all the titularyes and knightes of the auncient Irish doe descend from the Kings of Spayne and Ireland, and are of the auncient bloud royally of that Kingdome, derived from Iberus, Cremon, Evergino [this word adjusted in Ussher's hand] and Lucio, foure sons of King Melsius of Spayne which

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conquered that kingdome some 2900 years agoe, taking it from the Graetians whoe had killed a Spanish prince whoe by chance landed in Ireland.

The mixt Irish, although they enjoy not this descent so well authorised by the right line of their forefathers, yet they have it by their mothers, whoe were married to the ancient Irish.

The englished, although they have not this nobility, yet have they another given by them by the Kings of England, by parliament in Ireland, so auncient that it is above 500 yeares that some knightes and Lordes of title began.

And this is in briefe all the relation that may be made of Ireland for the above mentioned intent of the King of Spayne.

Copia vera.



## TESTO LEZIONE 3

### John Punch's Lectures, Rome 1642.

Punch's writings on theology and politics were printed in the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s; but the material was first given at lectures to young Franciscan friars in Rome from about October 1642.

### John Punch, *Complete Theology Course according to the Scotist Method* (Lyon, 1671).

p. 277. You ask thirdly, what lordship [*Dominium*] might be: because justice as such, or at least commutative justice, inclines towards giving that to each, which is his, or of which he is lord; therefore something must be said briefly about lordship here.<sup>1</sup> Wherein the authorities commonly note that lordship is two-fold. One of jurisdiction, which is the power of governing subjects, consisting chiefly in commanding, forbidding, permitting, judging, rewarding, and punishing. The other of property which is that which is relevant to our premise, and is the power which anyone has of disposing of a thing from the fact that either by the nature of the thing or by the laws or by custom, it may be his in such a way, that he can give such power to another, unless it is obstructed from some other direction, and not on account of him not being lord, or because he does an injury to anyone else if he gives it to another, but on account of defect of some circumstances, which may be required by law: hence although he might be lord he could not alienate it, as though he were a ward or a prodigal.<sup>2</sup>

p. 741. Question: Whether unbelievers, sinners, children before the use of reason, and the insane might be capable of lordship.

Conclusion 1. Lordship both of property, and of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction can be held without faith, or charity. This was stated definitively in the Council of Constance against Wycliffe.

It is proved further on the basis of the fact that, in Matthew 23 Christ himself says that which is Caesar's, give to Caesar, although he was an unbeliever; and consequently without faith and charity.

There is also the consideration that otherwise it would provide badly for the commonwealth [*respublica* = state or political community] since it would be uncertain who had faith and charity; and since, if as often as lords were to sin mortally, it were just for subjects to disobey them, it would disturb commonwealths too much, but I do not want to linger on an obvious matter.

You will object: lordship is lost on account of sin, as is obvious from Ecclesiasticus 10, 'the kingdom is transferred from people to people on account of injustice'. Therefore sinners are not lords.<sup>3</sup>

Your argument is reinforced: because all lordship is conferred by God, but it is not likely that God would give lordship to sinners, who are his enemies.

I respond by denying that it follows, because although lordships are often transferred on account of sins; but they are not always so transferred, and not on account of sins of all kinds. Next although lordships may be transferred for reason of sin, in so far as God permits that for the punishment of sins; it does not follow that lordship is instantly lost on account of the sin itself; but it follows only, that sin may be the cause, and motive, on which account someone loses lordship.

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<sup>1</sup> Among Aristotelians like Punch, distributive justice was the just distribution of benefits; commutative justice was the righting of wrongs or injuries.

<sup>2</sup> Whether or not one had the right to squander family property was widely debated.

<sup>3</sup> 'Lords', that is *domini*; holders of *dominium* or lordship.

## TESTO LEZIONE 4

### Tutorial 10 Hobbes Petty and Modernity

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John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, *Castigations of Mr Hobbes his last Animadversions in the Case concerning Liberty and Universal Necessity, with an Appendix concerning the catching of Leviathan* (London, 1658).

p. 159. Bramhall quotes and comments upon a line from Hobbes's book *De Cive* (On the Citizen): '*It is manifest therefore, that in every Common-wealth there is some one man or Councel which hath ... a Sovereign and absolute power, to be limited by the strength of the Common wealth, and by no other thing.* What neither by the Law of God, nor nature, nor nations, nor the municipall laws of the land, nor by any other thing but his power and strength? Good doctrine ...'

p. 167. 'Whereas I called just laws the ordinances of right reason, he saith *It is an error that hath cost many thousands of men their lives.* His reason is, *If laws be erroneous shall they not be obeyed? Shall we rather rebell?* I answer, neither the one nor the other. We are not to obey them actively, because *we ought to obey God rather than man* (Acts 5.29). Yet we may not rebell, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man, for the Lords sake* (I Pet. 2. 13). Passive obedience is a mean between active obedience and rebellion. To just laws which are the ordinances of right reason, active obedience is due. To unjust laws which are the ordinances of reason erring, passive obedience is due. Who shall hope to escape exception, when this innocent difinition is quarrelled at ...'

pp. 172-4. He asketh, *to whom the Bible is a law?* The Bible is not a law, but the positive laws of God are contained in the Bible. Doth he think the Law of God is no Law without his suffrage? He might have been one of Tiberius his Council, when it was proposed to the Senate, Whether they should admit Christ to be a God or not. He saith, *I know that it is not a law to all the World.* Not *de facto* indeed. How should it? when the World is so full of Atheists, that it make no more account of their soules than of so many handfuls of salt, to keep their bodies from stinking? But, *de jure*, by right it is a Law, and ought to be a Law to all the World ... He asketh, *How the Bible came to be a Law to us? Did Gd speak it viva voce to us? Have we seen the miracles? Have we any other assurance than the words of the Prophets and the authority of the Church?* And so it concludeth, *that it is the Legislative power of the Commonwealth, wheresoever it is placed, which makes the Bible a Law in England.* If a man digged a pit, and covered it not again, so that an ox or an asse fell into it, he was obliged by the Mosaical Law, to make satisfaction for the damage. I know not whether he do this on purpose to weaken the authority of holy Scripture, or not. Let God and his own conscience be his Triers: But I am sure he hath digged a pit for an ox or an asse, without covering it again, and if they chance to stumble blindfold into it, their blood will be required at his hands. If a Turke had said so much the Alchoran at Constantinople, he were in some danger.

p. 175. 'But that which is sufficient to confute him, is the law of nature, which is the same in a great part with the positive Law of God recorded in holy Scriptures. All the ten Commandments in respect of their substantials, are acknowledged by all men to be branches of the law of nature. I hope he will not say, that these laws of nature were made by our Suffrages, though he be as likely to say such an absurdity as any man living. For he saith, that the law of nature is the assent it self which all men give to the means of their preservation. Every law is a rule of out actions; a meer assent is no rule. A law commandeth or forbiddeth, an assent doth neither. But to shew him his vacuity; Since he

delighted so much in distinctions, let him satisfie himself out of the distinction of the law of nature. The law of nature is the prescription of right reason, whereby through that light which nature hath placed in us, we know some thins to be done because they are honest, and other things to be shunned because they are dishonest. He had forgotten what he had twice cited and approved out of Cicero, concerning the law of nature ...'

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Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civill* (London, 1651).

## CHAP. V. OF REASON, and SCIENCE.

*Reason what  
it is.*

**W**Hen a man *Reasoneth*, hee does nothing else but conceive a summe totall, from *Addition* of parcels; or conceive a Remainder; from *Subtraction* of one summe from another: which (if it be done by Words,) is conceiving of the consequence of the names of all the parts, to the name of the whole; or from the names of the whole and one part, to the name of the other part. And though in some things, (as in numbers,) besides *Adding* and *Subtracting*, men name other operations, as *Multiplying* and *Dividing*; yet they are the same; for Multiplication, is but Adding together of things equall; and Division, but Subtracting of one thing, as often as we can. These operations are not incident to Numbers onely, but to all manner of things that can be added together, and taken one out of another. For as Arithmeticians teach to adde and substract in numbers; so the Geometricians teach the same in lines, figures (solid and superficiall,) angles, proportions, times, degrees of swiftnesse, force, power, and the like; The Logicians teach the same in *Consequences of words*; adding together *two Names*, to make an *Affirmation*; and *two Affirmations*, to make a *Syllogisme*; and *many Syllogismes* to make a *Demonstration*; and from the *summe*, or *Conclusion* of a *Syllogisme*, they substract one *Proposition*, to finde the other. Writers of Politiques, adde together *Pactions*, to find mens duties; and Lawyers, *Lawes*, and *facts*, to find what is *right* and *wrong* in the actions of private men. In summe, in what matter soever there is place for *addition* and *subtraction*, there also is place for *Reason*; and where these have no place, there *Reason* has nothing at all to do.

*Reason defined.*

Out of all which we may define, (that is to say determine,) what that is, which is meant by this word *Reason*, when wee reckon it amongst the Faculties of the mind. For REASON, in this sense, is nothing but *Reckoning* (that is, Adding and Subtracting) of the Consequences of generall names agreed upon, for the *marking* and *signifying* of our thoughts; I say *marking* them, when we reckon by our selves; and *signifying*, when we demonstrate, or approve our reckonings to other men.

Why certain  
creatures  
without rea-  
son, or speech,  
do neverthe-  
lesse live in  
Society, with-  
out any cōer-  
cive Power.

It is true, that certain living creatures, as Bees, and Ants, live sociably one with another, ( which are therefore by *Aristotle* numbred amongst Politicall creatures ; ) and yet have no other direction, than their particular judgements and appetites; nor speech, whereby one of them can signifie to another, what he thinks expedient for the common benefit : and therefore some man may perhaps desire to know, why Man-kind cannot do the same. To which I answer,

First, that men are continually in competition for Honour and Dignity, which these creatures are not ; and consequently amongst men there ariseth on that ground, Envy and Hatred, and finally Warre ; but amongst these not so.

Secondly, that amongst these creatures, the Common good differeth not from the Private ; and being by nature enclined to their private, they procure thereby the common benefit. But man, whose Joy consisteth in comparing himselfe with other men, can relish nothing but what is eminent.

Thirdly, that these creatures, having not ( as man ) the use of reason, do not see, nor think they see any fault, in the administration of

their common businesse: whereas amongst men, there are very many, that thinke themselves wiser, and abler to govern the Publique, better than the rest ; and these strive to reforme and innovate, one this way, another that way ; and thereby bring it into Distraction and Civill warre.

Fourthly, that these creatures, though they have some use of voice, in making knowne to one another their desires, and other affections ; yet they want that art of words, by which some men can represent to others, that which is Good, in the likenesse of Evill ; and Evill, in the likenesse of Good ; and augment, or diminish the apparent greatnesse of Good and Evill ; discontenting men, and troubling their Peace at their pleasure.

Fifthly, irrationall creatures cannot distinguish betweene *Injury*, and *Damage* ; and therefore as long as they be at ease, they are not offended with their fellows: whereas Man is then most troublesome, when he is most at ease: for then it is that he loves to shew his Wisdom, and controule the Actions of them that governe the Common-wealth.

Lastly, the agreement of these creatures is Naturall; that of men, is by Covenant only, which is Artificiall: and therefore it is no wonder if there be somewhat else required ( besides Covenant ) to make their Agreement constant and lasting ; which is a Common Power, to keep them in awe, and to direct their actions to the Common Benefit.

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Sir William Petty, *Political Arithmetic, or a Discourse concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings; Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artizans, Seamen, Soldiers; Publick Revenues, Interest, Taxes, Superlucration, Registries, Banks; Valuation of Men, Increasing of Seamen, of Militias Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. As the same relates to every Country in general, but more particularly to the Territories of His Majesty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France* (London, 1690).

Preface: 'I have ... thought fit to examin the following Persuasions, which I find too currant in the World, and too much to have affected the Minds of some, to the prejudice of all. viz.

That the Rents of Lands are generally fall'n; that therefore, and for many other Reasons, the whole Kingdom grows every day poorer and poorer; that formerly it abounded with Gold, but now there is a great scarcity of Gold and Silver; that there is no Trade nor employment for the People, and yet that the Land is under-peopled; that Taxes have been many and great ; that *Ireland* and the Plantations in *America* and other Additions to the Crown, are a Burthen to *England*; that *Scotland* is of no Advantage; that Trade in general doth lamentably decay; that the *Hollanders* are at our heels, in the race of Naval Power; the *French* grow too fast upon both, and appear so rich and potent, that it is but their clemency that they do not devour their Neighbours; and finally, that the Church and State of *England*, are in the same danger with the Trade of *England*; with many other dismal Suggestions, which I had rather stifle than repeat ...

But notwithstanding all this ... the Buildings of *London* grow great and glorious; the *American* Plantations employ four Hundred Sail of Ships; Actions in the *East India* Company are near double the principal Money; those who can give good Security, may have Money under the Statute-Interest; Materials for building (even Oaken-Timber) are little the dearer, some cheaper for the rebuilding of *London*; the Exchange seems as full of Merchants as formerly; no more Beggars in the Streets, nor executed for Thieves, than heretofore; the Number of Coaches, and Splendor of Equipage exceeding former Times; the publique Theatres very magnificent; the king has a greater Navy, and stronger Guards than before our Calamities; the Clergy rich, and the Cathedrals in repair; much Land has been improved, and the Price of Food so reasonable, as that Men refuse to have it cheaper, by admitting *Irish* Cattle ...

These general Observations ... have encouraged me to try if I could also comfort others, being satisfied my self, that the Interest and Affairs of *England* are in no deplorable Condition.

The Method I do take to do this, is not yet very usual; for instead of using only comparative and superlative Words, and intellectual Arguments, I have taken the course (as a Speciment of the Political Arithmetick I have long aimed at) to express my self in Terms of *Number, Weight, or Measure*; to use only Arguments of Sense, and to consider only such Causes as have visible Foundations in Nature; leaving those that depend upon the mutable Monds, Opinions, Appetites, and Passions of particular Men, to the Consideration of others: Really professing my self as unable to speak satisfactorily upon those Grounds (if they may be called Grounds), as to foretell the cast of a Dye; to play well at Tennis, Billiards, or Bowles, (without long practice), by virtue of the most elaborate Conceptions that ever have been written *De Projectilibus & Missilibus*, or of the Angles of Incidence and Reflection.

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*Concerning the Late Rebellion.*

**T**HE number of the People being now *Anno* 1672 about 1 100,000. and *Anno* 1652. about 850 M. because I conceive that 80 M. of them have in 20 years encreased by Generation 70 M. by return of banished and expelled *English*; as also by the access of new ones, 80 M. of New *Scots*, and 20 M. of returned *Irish*, being all 250 M.

Now if it could be known what number of people were in *Ireland*, *Ann.* 1641. then the difference between the said number, and 850, adding unto it the encrease by Generation, in 11 years will shew the destruction of people made by the Wars, *viz.* by the Sword, Plague, and Famine occasioned thereby.

I find, by comparing superfluous and spare Oxen, Sheep, Butter and Beef, that

there was exported above 1 more *Ann.* 1664. than in 1641. which shews there were 1 more of people, *viz.* 1466,000; Out of which Sum take what were left *Ann.* 1652. there will remain 616,000. destroyed by the Rebellion.

Whereas the present proportion of the *British* is as 3 to 11; But before the Wars the proportion was less, *viz.* as 2 to 11. and then it follows that the number of *British* slain in 11 years was 112 thousand Souls; of which I guess 1 to have perished by War, Plague and Famine. So as it follows that 37,000 were massacred in the first year of Tumults: So as those who think 154,000 were so destroyed, ought to review the grounds of their Opinion.

It follows also, that about 504 M. of the *Irish* perished, and were wasted by the Sword, Plague, Famine, Hardship and Banishment, between the 23 of *October* 1641. and the same day 1652.

Wherefore those who say, That not 1 of them remained at the end of the Wars, must also review their opinions; there being by this Computation near 1 of them; which Opinion I also submit.

There were transported of them into *Spain*, *Flanders*, *France*, 34,000 Soldiers; and of Boys, Women, Priests, &c. no less than 6000 more, where not half are returned. 40,000.

If *Ireland* had continued in peace for the said 11 years, then the 1466 M. had increased by Generation in that time to 73 M. more, making in all 1539, which were by the said Wars brought *Ann.* 1652, to 850, *viz.* 689 M. for whose Blood some body should answer both to God and the King. M. 689

*Anno* 1650. there were before the great Plague, above one Million of People, *viz.* 21 more than in *London* *Anno* 1665. But in that year there died in *London* by account 97,000 people, but really were 110 M.

Wherefore, if the Plague was no hotter in *Ireland* than in *England*, there must have died in *Ireland* 275 M. But 1300 dying in a Week in *Dublin*, the Plague of *London* was but 1 as hot; Wherefore there died in *Ireland* M. 450



So as subtracting 412 M. 500 dying of the Plague, and 37 Massacred *English*, it follows that 167 M. died in 11 years by the Sword and Famine, and other Hardships. Which I think not incredible; for supposing the Number, viz. 87 M. died in 11 years, of Famine and Cold, Transportation to *Spain* and *Barbadoes*, &c. it is not hard to believe, that the other 87 M. perished by the Sword, when the *British* had Armies of near 40 M. Men, and the *Irish* of near double, sometimes on Foot.

*Ann.* 1653. Debentures were freely and openly sold for 4 s. and 5 s. per l. And 20 s. of Debenture, one place with another, did purchase two Acres of Land; at which rate all the Land of *Ireland*, if it were 8 Millions of profitable Acres, might have been had for a Million of Money, which *Ann.* 1641. was worth above 8 Millions

M.  
1.

The Forces kept on Foot by all Parties for the said 11 years, were at least 80,000 Horse and Foot (for even *Ann.* 1652. the *English* were 35,000 and 34,000 *Irish* transported) the Charge whereof, Train of Artillery, and General Officers included, cannot be less than 15 l. per Head per *Ann.* which for 11 years comes to 13 Millions and 200 M. l.

13,200,000

The superlucration above expressed, of all which adult Men (among which were no Women nor Children) cannot be reckoned at less than 5 l. per Head, or of the last mentioned Sum, viz.

M.  
4,400,000

Wherefore the effects of the Rebellion were these in pecuniary value, viz.

By loss of people	10,335,000
By loss of their superlucration of Soldiers	4,400,000
By the superlucration of the people lost, at 10 l. per Head for the whole 11 years, deducting 80 M. Soldiers	6,000,000
By impairing of the worth of Lands	11,000,000

The Cattel and Stock which *Ann.* 1641. was worth above 4 Millions, reckoning one Beef of 20 s. value, or the Equivalent in other Stock to two Acres; but *Ann.* 1652. the people of *Dublin* fetch'd Meat from *Wales*, there being none here, and the whole Cattel of *Ireland* not worth 1. 500,000

Corn was then at 50 s. per Barrel, which is now, and 1641. under 12.

The Houses of *Ireland*, *Ann.* 1641. was worth 2 Millions; but *Ann.* 1652. not worth 1/3 of the same 1. 500,000

The value of people, Men, Women and Children in *England*, some have computed to be 70 l. per Head, one with another. But if you value the people who have been destroyed in *Ireland*, as Slaves and Negroes are usually rated, viz. at about 15 l. one with another; Men being sold for 25 l. and Children 5 l. each; the value of the people lost will be about 10,335,000

Of the Stock	3,500,000
Of the Housing	2,000,000
	5,500,000

And the 20 years Rent of all the Lands forfeited, by reason of the said Rebellion, viz. since the year 1652, to 1673. hath not fully defray'd the Charge of the *English* Army in *Ireland* for the said time; nor doth the said Rents at this day do the same with as much more, or above 100 M. l. per *Ann.* more

And the Adventurers after 10 years being out of their Principal Money, which now ought to be double by its Interest, they sold their Adventures for under 10 s. per l. *Ann.* 1652. in open and free Market.

The Number of Landed *Irish-Papists*, or Freeholders before the Wars, was about 3000; whereof, as appears by 800 Judgments of the Court of Claims, which sate *Ann.* 1663. upon the Innocence and Effects of the *Irish*, there were not above 1 part or 400 guilty of the Rebellion, unto each of whom I allow 20 Followers, which would have made up an Army of 8000: But by the 49 Officers account, the *British* Army before 1649. must have been about 40 M. men; upon whom the said 8000 Nocent *Irish* so

prevail'd, as that the Peace ended in the Articles of 1648. By which the *Irish* were made at least equal Partners with His Majesty in the Government of *Ireland*; which sheweth, that the *Irish* were men of admirable Success and Courage: Unless we should rather think, that the said Court of Claims were abused by their Perjuries and Forgeries, which one would think, that a Nation, who caus'd the destruction of so many thousand Lives, for the sake of God and Religion, should not be so guilty of.

The Estates of the *Irish* before the Wars, was double to that of the *English*; but the number and natural force of the *Irish* quintuple to that of the *English*.

The Cause of the War was a desire of the *Romists*, to recover the Church-Revenue, worth about 110 M. l. *per Ann.* and of the Common *Irish*, to get all the *Englishmens* Estates; and of the 10 or 12 Grandees of *Ireland*, to get the Empire of the whole. But upon the playing of this Game or Match upon so great odds, the *English* won and have (among, and besides other Pretences) a Gamester's Right at least to their Estates. But as for the Bloodshed in the Contest, God best knows who did occasion it,