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by

Charles Graves

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II.—*On an Ogam Inscription.* By the Right Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D.,
M. R. I. A., Lord Bishop of Limerick, &c. [With Plate I.]



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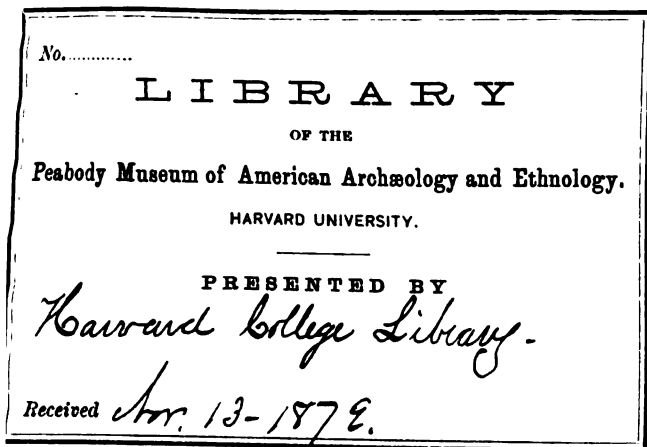
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(31)


II.—*On an Ogam Inscription.*—By the Right Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D.,
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[Read May 13, 1878.]


THE monument represented in the accompanying Plate was found by Mr. Richard Hitchcock in the Killeen of Aglish, a disused burial-ground in the parish of Minard, Co. Kerry,* and by him placed in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Objecting strongly, as he did, to the removal of monuments from the places where they originally stood, he must have had reason to suppose, either that it was exposed to injury—as no doubt has been the fate of many of our most ancient sepulchral monuments, which have been broken or buried by persons making recent graves—or that it was likely to be carried away by some mason who wanted a lintel-stone, or by some traveller who desired to add it to his own collection. If it could not be left with safety to stand where it was placed, twelve or thirteen hundred years ago, at the head of a Christian grave, it is well that it should be preserved in a Museum like ours, where it is an object of at least an antiquarian interest.


The cross within a circle, which appears upon it, is generally regarded as peculiarly Irish. It will be remarked that the outline of the cross is formed, not by straight lines, but by arcs of circles. Examples of it occur on Christian monuments in Ireland, supposed to belong to the fifth or sixth centuries. Other instances are known to me of its use on monuments bearing Ogam inscriptions; and on every anniversary of St. Patrick's Day we may see crosses of this or some similar pattern worn on the breasts of chil-

* Ordnance Survey Sheet, No. 54.

dren in our streets : it is commonly called a Patrick's cross, and I believe the name appropriate. The so-called monogram of Constantine  closed within a circle, is, no doubt, to be seen on ancient Christian monuments and frescoes in Rome ; and the symbolic import of the circle is thus explained in an inscription found at Milan :

Circulus hic summi comprehendit nomina regis
Quem sine principio et sine fine vides.

De Rossi and other antiquaries are inclined to believe that the cross formed by two diameters of a circle  perpendicular to each other is a representation of the *panis eucharisticus*. From Comte Melchior de Vogüé's work on the Architecture of Central Syria we learn that crosses thus enclosed in circles were frequently sculptured on lintel-stones over the doors or on the friezes of churches and monastic buildings in that country ; and some of these crosses are actually identical in form with the ancient Irish cross now under consideration—the outlines of the cross being formed of arcs of circles. As the buildings on which they appear were probably erected in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, it is possible that this form of cross may have been introduced from the East by some of the pilgrim monks who visited Ireland in the very early period of the history of Christianity. But I shall not be surprised if I am told that examples of the use of this Patrick's cross are to be found amongst the ancient Christian remains of Italy and France.

Of the symbol under the cross, which seems to represent a spear or arrow, I do not venture to offer any explanation, though I have no doubt that it was intended to have a meaning. For the present, it is enough to observe that the same symbol appears under the similar cross inscribed on an Ogam monument at Kilcolman, near Dingle. The practised eye of Mr. Clibborn has detected, at each side of this arrow-symbol, a small *swastika*  which I had failed to notice, though I had often and carefully

observed the stone. This disguised form of the cross only appeared in the Roman Catacombs towards the end of the third century, and held its ground on the monuments of the fourth. It was probably introduced into Ireland in or soon after the time of S. Patrick, who was accompanied by ecclesiastics called Romani, either because they were natives of Rome, or had resided in that city. I have met with no evidence to show that it was ever used in Ireland in pre-Christian times.

Little doubt can be entertained as to the mode of reading this inscription. The characters are distinct, and give the legend—

M A Q I M A Q A
A P I L O G D O

the first line being on the right, the second on the left-hand side of the stone. I am bound indeed to mention, that Sir Samuel Ferguson was at one time of opinion that the name was to be read A P I L O S T O, and regarded as an anagram of A P O S T O L I; but I doubt whether he still adheres to that opinion. The four strokes which he took to represent the character which stands for z, or st, form two groups—the first of which is certainly g, and the second is almost as certainly d. No doubt could remain on this head if we were assured that the flaw which is observable at this part of the edge had existed at the time when the inscription was made. (Note A.)

With respect to this name, A P I L O G D O, I have to remark—first, that Irish scribes frequently made *p* to stand for *bh*; it was then pronounced with the sound of the English *v*; and, secondly, that the English *v* sometimes took the place of the Irish *dh* in proper names. For instance, Glasnevin is the present name of *Glas Naoidhen*; and Neville is the English form given to the Irish name of *O'Neidhe*. Other examples of the same change in orthography might be adduced. These points being established, it becomes evident that the name is the Ogam equivalent of A E D H L O G O D H, the genitive case of a well-known proper name. (Note B.)

We possess materials which enable us, almost certainly, to determine who this person was. I think I shall be able to show that he was a chieftain living in the sixth century, in the neighbourhood of the place where the monument was found. The materials which furnish us with the pre-

misses leading to this conclusion are, for the most part, gathered from the ancient pedigrees of the descendants of Fergus M'Roich. In the first place, we have the pedigree of the O'Connor Kerry, as given by M'Firbis. It is as follows:—

CONCHABHAR (living in 1650).	26. m. Rehtabrat.
1. m. Seaain.	27. m. <i>Maoltuile</i> .
2. m. Conchabhair.	28. m. <i>Aodha logha</i> .
3. m. Conchabhair.	29. m. Durthacht.
4. m. Diarmada.	30. m. Senaigh.
5. m. Conchabhair.	31. m. Rethach.
6. m. Diarmada.	32. m. Ferba.
7. m. Mathgamhna.	33. m. Iomchada.
8. m. Diarmada Sluaghaigh.	34. m. Ebric.
9. m. Mathgamhna.	35. m. Mochuine.
10. m. Cuire.	36. m. Auluim.
11. m. m. Bethach.	37. m. Mesicon.
[12. m. Muireadhaigh Claen.]	38. m. Saula.
13. m. CONCHABHAIR (from whom the tribe takes its name).	39. m. Mogha Airt.
14. m. Cathail.	40. m. Orbsen mair.
15. m. Aodha.	41. m. Eachadaon.
16. m. Taidhg.	42. m. Aithre.
17. m. Ruaidrigh.	43. m. Eochamuin.
18. m. Con Luachra.	44. m. Fiodmuine.
19. m. Diarmada.	45. m. Dealbna.
20. m. Conchabhair.	46. m. Eonna.
21. m. Finn.	47. m. Laimne.
22. m. Maoileachlain.	48. m. Ulsaigh.
23. m. Flann Feorna.	49. m. Asdomain.
24. m. Colmain.	50. m. Mogha tuath (no taoi).
25. m. Cobhthaigh.	51. m. Cer.
	52. m. FERGUSA.

It will be observed that, according to this pedigree, Aedhlogha, father of Maoltuile, was seventeen generations above Mac Beatha, who was doubtless the lord of Ciarraige Luachra, mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters," as having been slain in the battle of Clontarf (A. D. 1014). Dr. O'Donovan, in his note on the passage, says—"He was evidently the an-

cestor of O'Connor Kerry, though in the pedigrees the only Mac Beatha to be found is made Mac Beatha, son of Muireadhach Claen, son of Conchobhar, the progenitor from whom the O'Connor Kerry derive their hereditary surname."

Taking account of Dr. O'Donovan's correction, and allowing thirty years to a generation, we should place Aedhlogha as having lived in the early part of the sixth century. This determination admits of being confirmed in a remarkable way by the evidence of the life of S. Mochuda, of Lismore, which makes mention of a chieftain (*Dux*), no doubt a lord of Kerry, named Maeltuile, living near the mouth of the River Mang, that is to say, somewhere near the head of Castlemaine Bay. This Maeltuile was the patron of Mochuda in his boyhood, and must therefore have been considerably his senior. Now, as Mochuda died A. D. 636, his patron may be supposed to have flourished in the latter half of the sixth century, and therefore may be identified with the Maeltuile, son of Aedhlogha, in the pedigree of O'Connor Kerry. Of this we have yet a further confirmation: for we happen to have preserved to us the pedigree of Mochuda himself. It is given as follows in the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* ("Leabhar Breac," p. 16, col. 2):—

MOCHUDAI.	35. m. Mochon.
m. Fingein.	34. m. Ebrice.
m. Noei.	36. m. Auluim.
m. Cellain.	37. m. Mesicon.
m. Saigleand.	38. m. Tala.
32. m. Firb (<i>a quo</i> h. Firb).	39. m. Moga Airt (<i>i. e.</i> Ciar).
m. Ambrith.	40. m. Oirbsen mair.
33. m. Imchada.	

From this it appears that Mochuda and the Maeltuile named in the pedigree of O'Connor Kerry were both descendants in the fifth degree from Ferb, who was the head of a *Fine*, the Ui Ferba. They were, therefore, collaterals, and nearly contemporaries.

The numbers prefixed to the names in this pedigree refer to those in the pedigree of O'Connor Kerry, and show that the two substantially agree, though there is some difference in the orthography; and one name, that of

Ambrith, has been either omitted or repeated by mistake. It looks like a various spelling of Ebric.

The names of Aedhloga and Maeltuile appear in another ancient pedigree, that of a Bishop Lugaidh, as given in the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum*, in the "Leabhar Breac," p. 20, col. 4 :—

LUGAID Espoc hi Cuil Benchair.	32. m. Ferba.
m. Lugdach.	33. m. Imhada.
m. Luchta.	34. m. Amrit.
m. Anrudain.	35. m. Mochon.
27. m. Moiltuli.	m. Masaul.
28. m. Aedaloga.	37. m. Mesicon.
29. m. Daurthacht.	m. Echoid.
30. m. Senaigh.	38. m. Masaul.
31. m. Rethi.	39. m. Moga Airt qui et Ciar.

Here, though some errors have been committed in the spelling of the names, in the substitution of m. Masaul for Mac Auluim, and in the introduction of the name of Echod, the pedigree of Aedhloga is the same as that given in p. 34.

A less accurate account of this Bishop Lugaid is given in the "Martyrology of Donegal" (Oct. 6) :—

Luccharth, mac Luchta, mic Anro-
dhan, mic Maeltuile, mic Aithcleacha,
mic Ferba; acur Meob, ingen Garbain,
mic Brocain, mic Garbain, mic Uib-
cheirtain, do Uib Saithghil do Ciarraighe
Luachra, & madair. Eppcop ó Chuil
Bennchair i lurg for bhu Loch a hErne,
acur o Rath Muighe tuaiscirt i Ciar-
raighe Luachra, no ó Chuil Bennchair i
nUib Failge, acur ic Tuaim Fobhair i
Luigne.

"Lughaidh, son of Lucht, son of Anro-
dhan, son of Maeltuile, son of Aithleach,
son of Ferb; and Medhbh, daughter of
Garbhan, son of Brocan, son of Garbhan,
son of Dubhchertan, of the Ui-Saithghil of
Ciarraighe Luachra, was his mother. He
was bishop of Cuil Beannchair, on the
brink of Loch Erne, and of Rath Muighe-
tuaiscirt in Ciarraighe Luachra; or of Cuil
Beannchair in Ui-Failghe, and of Tuaim-
fobhair in Luigne."

Though the name of Aedhloga is here spelt Aithcleacha, and three gene-
rations are omitted between him and Ferb, there can be no doubt that an
attempt is made to give the pedigree of the Lugaid named in the "Leabhar

Breac." He is also mentioned by M'Firbis, in his tract *De quibusdam Episcopis*,* as a bishop residing or having episcopal authority at Rath mór Muighe tuaisgirt, now Rattoo, in the north of Kerry, on the verge of the present boundary of the barony of Iraghticonnor.

Such variations in orthography as have been here noticed show that the ancient Irish scribes were not always careful in copying; or that they wrote phonetically from dictation. In some cases they seem to have indulged in pedantic eccentricities of spelling.

If the Aedhloga named in the pedigrees above quoted had belonged to a remote part of the country, the attempt to identify him with the person whose name appears on the Ogam monument would have been less hopeful. It happens, however, that the monument stood within sight of the territory of which the Maeltuile and Aedhloga of the pedigrees were chieftains, if not actually within its limits. They were lords of Ciarraighe Luachra, a district the position and extent of which are well known. It is thus described in the topographical poem of O'Huidhrin, edited by Dr. O'Donovan:—

Rí Ciarraighe ór-clannair Ciar,
O'Conchobhair cóir soifin,
Ceile cláir an miosófuinn mair,
On tráig co Sionainnó rruithgíl.

"King of Ciarraighe over the plains of Ciar,
O'Conchobhair, it is right for him so to be,
Chief of the mead-abounding land,
From the strand to the fair-streamed Sion-
[ainn.

O'Laoghain, laoch ra állaó,
Ar uib Fearba fuaradair;
O'Caithneannaigh fuair an fonn,
Cruaidó ra áitbeannaib Cualann.

"O'Laoghain, hero of renown,
Over Ui-Fearba we have found;
O'Caithneannaigh obtained the land
Hard under the battlepeaks of Cualann."

The O'Connor mentioned here is the O'Connor Kerry whose pedigree has been given above, including in it Maeltuile, Aedhloga, and Ferb, the chief of Ui-Fearba.

The O'Connor Kerry's country extended, as this poem shows, from Tralee to the River Shannon, comprising about the northern third part of

* See "Proceedings" of the Royal Irish Academy. vol. ix. (1865), p. 184.

the present county of Kerry. The name is still preserved in that of the barony of Iraghticonnor.

O'Donovan failed to identify the territory of Ui-Fearba. The poem intimates that it was near Tralee, as it is named between the country of O'Connor Kerry and that of the Alltraighe, a sept seated round the river of Tralee. But I believe Mr. Hennessy has exactly determined the limits of the Ui-Fearba. (Notes C. and D.)

The results put forward in the preceding Paper may be recapitulated as follows:—

Chronological arguments show, with something like certainty, that the Maeltuile, son of Aedhloga, named in the pedigrees of O'Connor Kerry and Lugaidh, bishop of Rattoo, was identical with the chieftain Maeltuile of whom mention is made in the Life of S. Mochuda. This chieftain, who is called lord of Kerry (*dux regionis Kiarraighe*), lived near the mouth of the River Mang, in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where the Ogam monument was found, bearing the name of Aedhloga. As it is natural to assume that his father lived in the same place, it is most probable that the Aedhloga whose name appears on the Ogam monument is the Aedhloga named in the pedigrees—a chieftain who lived in the sixth century. A more complete demonstration could hardly be expected in a case of this nature.

I also desire to notice that, if I have rightly explained the Ogam name as being equivalent to Aedhloga, I may point to this inscription as justifying the general proposition which I have always maintained, viz., that the Ogam names were not those by which the persons commemorated by the monuments were commonly known. As the character was a secret one, so the names themselves were disguised, sometimes by tricks of spelling, and sometimes by other devices. I can hardly imagine that any philologist will seriously contend that at the time when this monument was inscribed, that is to say, about the middle of the seventh century, the ordinary mode of writing the name Aedhloga was Apilogdo.

There was a time when I should not have appealed with as much con-

fidence as I now feel to the testimony of the ancient pedigrees recorded in our manuscripts; but a careful examination of some of these documents has led me to take a different view of the subject.

In the first place, the pedigrees are extremely ancient. The "Book of Leinster," which contains a great body of them, is itself a manuscript nearly eight hundred years old. But further, we cannot set aside the historical evidence by which it is proved that great pains were taken to perpetuate the knowledge of Irish genealogies. The institutions of the country, respecting the rights of persons and property, rendered it absolutely necessary.

And finally, when we come to compare the pedigrees with one another, and test them by the independent criteria supplied by histories, annals, and monuments, we find them to be, in the main, trustworthy. It is true that transcribers have, in many places, made mistakes in copying them. It may be admitted too that, here and there, they have been falsified; and we may go so far as to reject the very early portions of them, as wholly fictitious. Still, on the whole, I venture to assert that they will be found to be of the utmost value to the historian, when they are subjected to the systematic analysis which they have never yet received.

NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

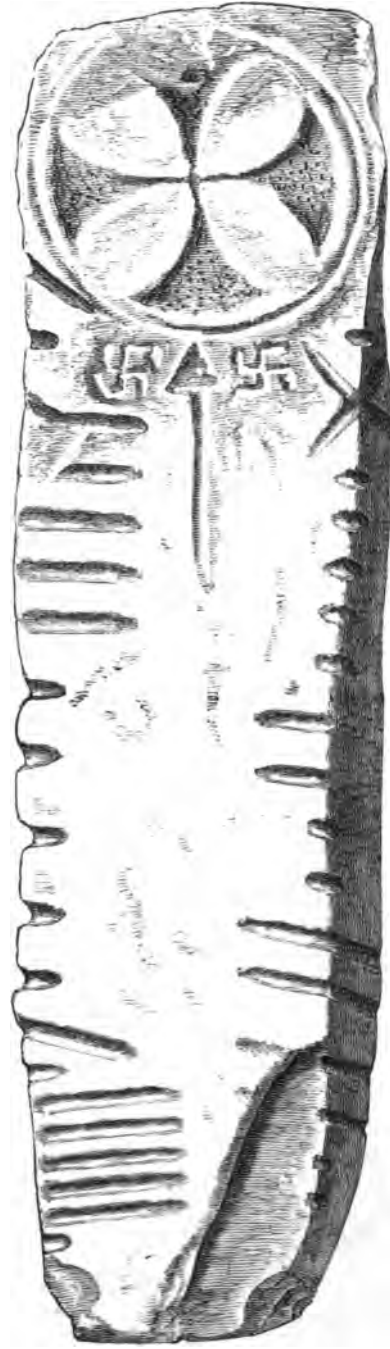
NOTE A.—Another careful examination of the monument, made since this paper was put to press, has confirmed me in the opinion that the inscription is to be read *Apilogdo*, and not *Apiloggo*. It seems to me almost certain that the Ogam-carver originally inscribed a second *g* and then, finding that he had committed an error, endeavoured to efface the portions of the strokes appearing on the face of the stone. But being dissatisfied with this attempted correction he split off the part of the stone exhibiting those strokes. The points at which the strokes representing the letters *d* and *o* turn over from the side to the face of the stone are not in the same line with the corresponding points in the rest of the characters along the edge. They are on the parallel edge exposed after the removal of a part of the stone.

It is thus evident that these characters representing *d* and *o* were made or finished after the fracture. There is very distinct evidence of the attempt to efface the small portion which remains of the first stroke of the second *g*.

NOTE B.—The reader will, perhaps, be surprised at my making no reference to the name *Abilogus* occurring in Dr. O'Connor's edition of the "Annals of Inisfallen." The omission was intentional. The editor of the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* has, in this instance, unconsciously prepared a pitfall for incautious philologists. He has misread the name. Having examined the Oxford manuscript, I can state that it is *Abilogus*, the latinized form given by O'Connor to Findloga, the father of St. Brendan; *Albus* being the equivalent of Find. There are few paragraphs in this edition of the Annals of Inisfallen in which some similar error may not be detected.

NOTE C.—The Alltraige, of whom was Findlug, father of St. Brendan the Navigator, was a Kerry tribe, descended, like the other old "Kerry" families, from Ciar, the son of Fergus Mac Roy (1st cent. Christ. Era). In the Irish Life of St. Brendan he is stated to have been born "in the *Fianand*." "The *Fianand*" is the Irish name of Fenit Island, eight miles to the west of Tralee, where the sites of some very old churches are still visible in a field called the "Seven Church field." The tribal land of the Alltraige was, therefore, most probably the district adjacent to and including Fenit, although the writers of some of the Latin lives of the Saint would place it further east, on the *Littus Ly*, by which is meant the estuary of the Tralee river.

NOTE D.—The Ui-Ferba, a Kerry tribe descended from Ferba (generally set down in the Irish pedigrees of the old Kerry families as the 20th in descent from Ciar, a quo *Ciarraigi*, son of Fergus Mac Roy), anciently occupied the district from Tralee to Ardfert. In the Survey of the Desmond Forfeitures (1587, MS. Public Record Office of Ireland), Loghercannon, near Tralee, Listrim, and Ardfert, with other intermediate townlands, are described as included in the Half-cantred of "O'Farboe," or "Farbowe." In O'Huidhrin's Topographical Poem the patronymic of the tribe is stated to be O'Laoghain, which, under the Anglicised forms of Lane and Leen, is pretty common in the district at present. The information contained in this and the preceding note has been kindly communicated to me by William H. Hennessy, M. R. I. A.



†

OGAM STONE FROM THE KILLEEN OF AGLISH, IN KERRY.