IRISHNESS AND LITERARY *PERSONA* IN THE DEBATE BETWEEN JOHN LYNCH AND O'FERRALL

By Nienke Tjoelker

In 1664, the Irish priest John Lynch published his Alithinologia *as a refutation of a report by the Capuchin Richard O'Ferrall in 1658. Their debate provides two interesting examples of polemical texts written by Irish authors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The style of both authors reflects their identity, that of an ardent Gaelic supporter of Rinuccini (O'Ferrall) and that of Old English cleric who supports the faction trying to achieve a peace agreement with the English as soon as possible (Lynch). This contribution will sketch the historical background of their debate, and contrast the authors in relation to their background, the content of their works and the form and style of their writings.*

Introduction

> Qui parti ciuium consulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in ciuitatem inducunt seditionem atque discordiam.[1]

> (Those who care for the interests of a part of the citizens, and neglect another part, introduce a most pernicious thing into the state: sedition and discord.)

With this reproachful quotation from Cicero's *De Officiis* I, 85 in his *Alithinologia* (1664), John Lynch accuses the Capuchin Richard O'Ferrall of sedition through his statements about his Old English fellow-countrymen. The debate between these two Irishmen is an interesting example of the vast corpus of polemical texts written by Irish authors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In their way of writing, we can see that style and form are used by O'Ferrall and Lynch as a means to promote their ideas. O'Ferrall's style of writing is closely connected with his identity as an ardent Gaelic supporter of the clerical faction around the nuncio in the Confederation of Kilkenny. Lynch, on the other hand, even though he is also a cleric, finds an

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[1] Lynch 2010, 6, l. 14–15; Lynch 1664, *Dedicatory letter*.

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intelligent way of representing himself both as a pious cleric and a supporter of reaching a peace agreement with the English as soon as possible. Their debate gives us an idea of the genre of polemical writing of this period, but is particularly interesting because of the individual qualities of the authors.

The purpose of this article is to explore how their completely different views on Irish identity, in particular of the Old English, are reflected in the form and style of their works. The first part of this article will sketch the historical background of the debate between Lynch and O'Ferrall. In the second part, both authors will be contrasted in three aspects: in relation to their background and situation, the content of their works, and thirdly in the form and style of their work.

Historical background

Lynch's *Alithinologia* and *Supplementum Alithinologiae* (1667) were part of a controversy of the author with the Capuchin Richard O'Ferrall concerning the role of the Old English in the crisis in Ireland. To understand this debate, one needs to take into account the complicated political and religious situation in Ireland at the time. Seventeenth-century Ireland had a mixed population, consisting of three groups: the native, or Gaelic Irish, the Old English, and the New English. However, each of these groups was a complex cluster of smaller groups from different regions of Ireland. The Gaelic Irish were the oldest. Among them, a distinction existed between the more extreme Ulster Irish, who had become the main victims of the British plantations after the Nine Years' War (1594–1603), and the Munster Gaelic Irish, who lived in close contact with the Old English.[2] So also divisions existed among the Old English. The Old English, sometimes also called Anglo-Irish, then the principal landowners in the kingdom, were the descendants of Norman settlers who came to Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth century. In certain areas, such as Munster, they had become assimilated into aspects of Irish culture, but retained the English language and culture to a great extent. However, the Old English in other areas, such as Dublin, were more ex-

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[2] Cf. Lynch 1664, 52. In this passage, Lynch criticises O'Ferrall of falsely using the general term of "Catholics" to indicate the Ulster Irish. In Lynch's view, O'Ferrall did so in order to hide the distinction between the more honourable Gaelic Irish from other areas and the rebellious and dishonourable Ulster Irish from the foreign reader: "Maluit quidem Vltonienses generali Catholici nomine quam proprio designare, vt peregrinus lector, qui de rebus nostris vltra extimam corticem rimandis plerumque non laborat, nouiores Hibernos ad omnes veteres excidendos coniurasse crederet. Ab Vltoniensibus autem in hac narratione nominandis ideo abstinuit, quia ob bella, quae sub idem ipsum tempus a flagitiis auspicati sunt, nullus iis commendandis in proprio nomine locus relictus fuit, communi Catholicorum voce illos honestauit, vt laudem ex eius vocis notione emendicatam cum iis communicaret".

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treme in their views.[3] Dublin was a stronghold of Old English authority, which maintained commercial and political contact with coastal cities along the east and England.[4] Therefore, ethnic tensions existed among Catholics in Ireland, although the ethnic boundaries between them became increasingly blurred through intermarriage and a common interest in religion, land and political power by the beginning of the seventeenth century.[5] Finally, the settlers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, English, Scots and others, who were mostly Protestant, were called the New English. Through the various plantations, the New English confiscated many lands from the Gaelic Irish and Old English. In particular, a great part of Ulster was confiscated and assigned to English and Scottish settlers in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Driven into rebellion by a lack of political and economic influence and increasingly angry about the religious discrimination against Catholics in Ireland, the native Irish of Ulster went into revolt in 1641, led by Sir Phelim O'Neill. This forced the hand of the Gaelic Irish further south and of the Old English Catholic community. In an attempt to restore order and stability, the Catholic gentry and nobility forged an alliance. In 1642, the political and religious elite of the Irish Catholic community formed a confederation known as the Confederation of Kilkenny, as they took Kilkenny as their seat of government. In the period from 1642 to 1649, they effectively ruled Ireland, and engaged in a bitter conflict with various factions which represented British rule, such as Scottish, royal and parliamentarian forces. The confederation strongly supported the royalist camp in the developing English civil war, but was forced to negotiate with the English king through intermediaries. During the 1640s, James Butler, the Protestant first duke of Ormond, took part in protracted peace negotiations with the confederates as the king's representative in Ireland. In the late 1640s, Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin was also involved in peace negotiations. Internal division within the Confederation complicated these negotiations. Recently, Micheál Ó Siochrú has demonstrated convincingly that social status seems to have been essential in determining a person's political outlook. He proposed a three-party model, distinguishing a peace party, a clerical party, and a loose grouping of non-aligned moderates.[6] The first consisted mostly of wealthy, landed members of the elite, mostly Old Englishmen, who wanted a quick reconciliation with the English throne, retaining as much as possible of the

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[3] For a general account of this, see Clarke 1966. For an example of a work written from the more extreme Old English perspective, cf. Stanihurst 1584.
[4] Cf. Quinn & Nicholls 2009, 6.
[5] Ó Siochrú 2008, *Confederate Ireland*, 17.
[6] Ó Siochrú 2008, *Confederate Ireland*, 17–20.

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existing social order. The clergy, on the other hand, were only interested in full restoration of the rights of Catholics in Ireland. They refused a quick settlement without major religious concessions and a significant redistribution of land. A third group, appearing from 1644, strove for a compromise peace settlement, but with significantly better terms than the peace party.

In the period 1645–1649, a conflict concerning the actions of the papal nuncio Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592–1653) aggravated the divisions among the confederates. Rinuccini had been sent to Ireland in 1645 by Pope Innocent X to assist the Irish Confederates in their war against English Protestant rule. He strongly supported the clerical faction in the Confederation. Despite protests of the clergy and the nuncio, confederates agreed on a cease-fire with Lord Inchiquin on 20 May 1648. On 27 May 1648, Rinuccini pronounced censures against those who supported the peace treaty.[7] Internal tensions relating to these events and other peace settlements eventually resulted in the failure of the Confederation. In February 1649, Rinuccini left Ireland.

The conflict concerning Rinuccini's censures caused a quarrel which dominated the lives of a generation of Catholic churchmen in Ireland. A controversy as to the causes and circumstances of the failure of the Confederation provides the theme of the debate between Lynch and O'Ferrall. Both address the Lord Cardinals presiding over the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, the Congregation for the propagation of the faith, established in the Roman curia in 1622. It had authority over Catholic affairs in all countries where the Church was not legally established.

Contrast between the two historians in background and situation

The article by Patrick Corish in 1953 on Lynch and O'Ferrall emphasised the differences in personality, fortunes and background of both historians, and the influence of these on their viewpoints. While O'Ferrall came from a noble Gaelic family of Annaly (county Longford), who had lost all its possessions in the plantation of James I at the beginning of the seventeenth century, John Lynch came from an important Old English family from Galway. O'Ferrall had gone to the Low Countries in the 1630s with Francis Nugent, founder of the Irish Capuchins, studied in Douai and Lille and received the habit in 1634 at the Irish Capuchin convent of Charleville (France). After his return to Ireland, O'Ferrall became active in the politics of the Confederation as an ardent supporter and courtier of Rinuccini, and occupied an important position at *Propaganda* in Rome. He was sent to Rome to defend Rinuccini's censures, and played an important part in the controversy con-

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[7] Ó Siochrú 2008, *Confederate Ireland*, 177; Corish 1953, 217.

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cerning the possible absolution of those excommunicated. From 1658 until his death, he worked on the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*. This extensive documentation of the nunciature in Ireland of Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592–1653) was written between 1661 and 1666 by Richard O'Ferrall and Robert O'Connell.

Lynch on the other hand, after spending his youth in Galway, went to Dieppe, Douai en Rouen where he received further education, and, when he returned to Ireland, became connected as a chaplain to the household of Sir Richard Blake. Blake was mayor of Galway in 1627–1628, and a leading member of the anti-nuncioist party. From 1630 until short before his death, Lynch was archdeacon of Tuam. During his exile in France, where he lived from 1652 or 1653 until his death, he became connected to an ancient Breton family. He published most of his works at the printing press in St Malo.

Contrast in Content

Ian Campbell also noted the contrast between the two writers in his recent doctoral thesis on the *Alithinologia* and political thought.[8] He argued convincingly that both Lynch and O'Ferrall in their political thought supported early modern Aristotelian ideas in the form of Ciceronian political humanism, and both opposed Reason of State politics, but did not agree in the application of the term to the Old English. They also differed in their views on several other themes, each using different types of political thought which were common at the time in Europe. Campbell also identified the important role of ethnicity in confederate politics. The Gaelic Irish and Old English shared a common genealogical consciousness, uniting the traditional ideologies of traditional genealogists with Aristotelian doctrines of the transmission of physical and moral qualities. According to the contemporary medical theory, women played no role in this transmission, and this explains why there was still a sharp distinction between the two groups, despite extensive intermarriage. O'Ferrall stressed the ethnic distinction between them. At the start of his report, he divides the current population of Ireland into three groups: "Alii sunt veteres seu antique Regni indigenae, alii recentiores, alii denique recentissimi". (Some are Old or ancient inhabitants of the Kingdom, others more recent, and again others the most recent.)[9] The Old Irish are presented as all having sprung from the same ancient stock, right up to the present day honouring their leaders and the Catholic faith. O'Ferrall states that they were governed by the received faith, and by civil, provincial

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[8] Cf. Campbell 2009.
[9] O'Ferrall 2008, 10.

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and pontifical law, until the English gradually established their own law in these places. He then proceeds to give a very negative description of the Old English:

> Recentiores seu moderni orti sunt vel ex Ostmannis, Nordmannis, Norwegiis, Danis et similibus gentibus collectitiis in civitatibus maritimis negotiorum causa sedem figentibus, instar civium et populi Libernici in Hetruria ex diversis advenis coaliti, vel ex Anglis et Cambris in colonias illuc adductis, vel alio modo ab Anglorum invasione ibi admissis, qui postea Anglorum Ministri fuerunt et instrumenta ad supprimendum Ibernos, ex quorum ruina isti se suasque fortunas erigebant. Unde saepe conquesti sung Iberni, nullam fuisse factam expeditionem, conspirationem, aut aliam (ad Nationis extirpationem) susceptam esse machinationem cujus illi non fuerunt inventores, promotores, vel executors. Hi non in urbibus solum maritimis, ubi cum eis conspirarunt gentes illae collectitiae, habitant, sed etiam ruri et in coloniis acquisitis, ubi conantur linguam et mores Anglorum retinere. Unde disparitas et dissimilitude magna inter illos et populum antiquum.[10]

> (The more recent or modern inhabitants have sprung from either the Ostmen, Normans, Norwegians, Danes and a similar rabble of peoples, establishing their abodes in the maritime towns for the sake of trade, after the fashion of the citizens and people of the Liburni in Etruria coalesced from diverse groups of immigrants, or from English and Welsh planted there in colonies, or sent by some other means through the invasion of the English, upon whose ruins they erected themselves and their fortunes. And on this account the irish have often complained that no expedition or conspiracy, or any other machination [for the extirpation of their nation] was undertaken, of which they were not the inventors, promoters, or executors. The latter dwell not only in the maritime towns, where that rabble of peoples united with them, but also in the countryside and in the colonies they have acquired, where they try to preserve the language and customs of the English. Whence there is a great disparity and difference between themselves and the ancient population.)

We see in this fragment how O'Ferrall presented the descent from this combination of peoples as an aspect of their bad character, arguing that it was their Englishness and inherent wickedness that eventually caused the destruction of the Confederation.[11] In the next paragraph, and throughout the

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[10] O'Ferrall 1658, 8r.

[11] Note that the reference to the *Liburni* in Etruria in this quotation seems to be a later addition by a copyist of the report, as it does not occur in Lynch's quotation of the sentence. (Campbell 2009, 214.) The Liburni, known as pirates, were a people of Illyria,

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report, O'Ferrall refers to the Old English by the term *politicus*, a derogatory term for a Macchiavellian opportunist, who valued profane objects above sacred,[12] and as Anglo-Irish, stating that they call themselves by this name.[13] For O'Ferrall the only real Irishman is a Catholic Gaelic or Old Irishman.

Lynch on the other hand stressed the unity of the Irish. Along with many other Irish intellectuals, such as Geoffrey Keating, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh and Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh, he asserted the Irishness of the *Sean-Ghall* or Old English. Lynch stresses how O'Ferrall is causing discord among his own people by his strict distinctions. Lynch did not deny the descent of the Old English from a group of peoples, but he did try to remove the stains of piracy and atrocity through descent from the Ostmen from the bloodline of the Old English. This can be explained by the already mentioned genealogical tradition, in which dishonour could be passed on through generations. O'Ferrall had used the presence of this group in the genealogy of the Old English to attack the same group. Lynch also attacked O'Ferrall's use of the word *politicus* or *Catholico-politicus* to indicate the Old English, giving the following description of a *Catholico-Politicus*:

> Catholico-politicus ille sit tantum habendus, qui politiae, id est, quaestus aut ambitionis causa, Catholicam religionem prae se fert, et cui virtus post nummos est, sum autem illi ob Catholicae fidei professionem, compendio multo et honore exciderint, non specie tenus sed reuera Catholici sunt, ac propterea Catholico-politici minime nuncupandi.[14]

> (Because only he should be considered a Catholico-politique, who professes the Catholic religion, for the sake of policy, which means for the sake of financial gain or display, and for whom virtue comes after money. But since they lost much gain and honour, because of their profession of the Catholic religion, they are Catholics not for the sake of appearances, but in truth, and for that reason should not be called "Catholico-politiques".)

Lynch uses the Greek *politeia* (in Latin transcribed as *politia*) in the meaning of "political cunning", for which the word *policy* was used in early modern English.[15] Throughout the *Alithinologia*, Lynch consistently calls

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whereas Etruria is present-day Tuscany. Nevertheless, the idea fits with O'Ferrall's presentation of this ethnic group as descendants of a group of peoples without honourable genealogy.

[12] Cf. Oxford English Dictionary, s. v. *politician.*

[13] "*Anglo-Ibernorum, ut ipsi sese vocant*".

[14] Lynch 1664, 14–15.

[15] Cf. Oxford English Dictionary, s. v. *policy.*

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this group the more recent Irish (*recentiores Hiberni*), stating that none of them call themselves Anglo-Irish, but that all the famous writers from that stock call themselves *Hibernus* (Irish). Stanihurst had used the term, he admits, but "only once, so that he could explain more meaningfully a division made by him of Ireland into the English and Irish province […], but in that term he does not include the citizens and townsmen of Ireland, and to the Fingallians themselves he assigned the name of 'Irishman'".[16] A marginal note refers to page 30 of the work, which explains that the Anglo-Irish should be distinguished from the Old Irish because of their English origin, but that both groups are closely connected by blood relations and other, because of intermarriage (*domestica connubia*) after a long time. Lynch also uses analogies with other peoples in Europe to strengthen his argument. In the rest of the work, Lynch keeps defending the Old English, emphasising their Irishness, ancestry, and their honour.

Contrasts in Form and Style

In his analysis of the debate, Campbell stated that both authors used particular literary *persona* to represent themselves in a certain way. O'Ferrall's self-representation was that of a Capuchin friar and courtier, a *persona* constructed by himself, Rinuccini and his friend and colleague Robert O'Connell. Rinuccini had in the 1630s written a popular narrative, *Il Cappucino Scozzese* about a converted Presbyterian Scot, George Lesley, who became a Capuchin friar and missionary among the Scottish Protestants. It was translated into many languages, for example French, English, and Dutch. For the Roman audience of Rinuccini, O'Ferrall could easily be placed in such a context. Two other aspects of his persona were his lifelong passionate battle against heresy and the ancient nobility of his family. The same picture of O'Ferrall was painted by O'Connell in the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*. He described the style of O'Ferrall's report as blunt and unpolished: "Contenta brevius tractatur, detractis plurimis et additis pauculis, idque stylo minus polito".[17] According to Campbell, "O'Ferrall's disdain for classical Latin was part of his persona as plain-speaking friar, fresh from the war on the heretics".[18] Lynch, on the other hand, moved in civic and collegiate political environments. Classical politics, and the concept of an honour-based citizenship played a large role in his literary persona. In the following, I would like to explore a little further how Latin style and literary examples were used in the creation of these personas in O'Ferrall's report and Lynch's *Alithinologia*.

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[16] Lynch 2010, 22 (Lynch 1664, 10).
[17] O'Connell & O'Ferrall 1932–1949, vol. v, 284–285.
[18] Campbell 2009, 67.

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O'Ferrall's report

O'Ferrall described his report and his intentions in the concluding paragraph of his work:

> Ego relatiunculam hanc sive potius Ideam eversionis Iberniae eorum jussu, quibus reluctari non poteram, scripsi, paratus ex publicis Actis, quorum citationes hic brevitatis causa prudens praetermisi, probare, et longe graviora detegere, si quis quid ibi ambiguum insinuet. Nullius defectus, errores, aut facinora malevolo animo detexi, sed, omissis gravioribus, haec pauca solum qua potui modestia et sinceritate in-sinuavi, ut malo adhuc serpenti occurrere dignentur Eminentiae Vestrae".[19]

> (I have written this little report, or rather image, or the destruction of Ireland at the command of those, whom I could not resist, and I am ready to prove it from public ordinances, of which I have omitted the citations intentionally here for the sake of brevity, and to uncover far more weighty things, if anyone should insinuate any uncertainty in the matter. I have uncovered no failing, errors, or crimes with a malicious mind, but I have introduced only these few matters, leaving the graver unmentioned, as I was able modestly and honestly, in order that your Eminences should deign to oppose the evil crawling to this place.)

He emphasised the wish for conciseness and brevity, even to the extent of omitting all citations to public ordinances. The author presents himself as honest and most respectful to the cardinals of Propaganda fide, and empha-sises his good intentions. We can clearly see the modesty-topos, central in humanistic self-representation. The description implies a short, practical report, and not a highly learned literary work. The Greek word *idea*, which I translated as "image", was also used in other contemporary titles of works.[20] The report is divided in three parts, clearly structured. The first part gives an account of pre-war Ireland, the second of the 1640s organised around the nuncio's 1648 censures. The third offers a number of remedies for the pres-ervation of the remains of the Catholic religion and people, concluding with a list of names (*schema*) of those recommended by O'Ferrall for the various bishoprics in Ireland, ordered by province.

The report is not adorned by any quotations, neither literary nor historical ones. Rarely, works are mentioned, but almost always these are historical and religious documents such as papal bulls and documents of the confed-

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[19] O'Ferrall 1658, f. 17r.
[20] Cf. for example John Mullin's *Idea Togatae Constantiae* (1629).

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eration.[21] On folio 10v there is a reference to three religious books by distinguished Irish Franciscans of Gaelic background, in a passage praising the piety of the Old Irish and as means for increasing piety and learning, all printed at the Irish press in Louvain.[22] Despite this lack of literary adornment, the author clearly did not simply jot down his ideas as they came into his mind. A great deal of attention has been paid to the practicality of the work, and the style of the Latin contributes to a clear, vivid and straightforward presentation of the author's views. Not many very long sentences are used, no complicated periods. Nevertheless, his classical education is visible. The use of certain rhetorical devices contributes to the clarity and style of his text. For example, in the fragment quoted on page 5. In this fragment, we see several examples of *dicolon, tricolon,* and illustration. Throughout the text we also see a few proverbs that can be found in Erasmus' *Adagia,* such as *terra natus* (f. 8r),[23] and *nobilis e crumena* (f. 8v).[24] Language of invective is very frequent in the work, and direct criticism is not shunned. One example is this statement about Clanricarde, in which he added several creative descriptions as appositions:

> […] Clanricardiae Marchionem, persecutorem D. Nuncii, Cleromastigem, Corvum, Noeticum, qui inter Ibernos solus toto illo bello remanserat inter putrida cadavera via gratiae privata extra sacram Catholici faederis arcam.[25]

> ([…] the marquis of Clanricarde, persecutor of the lord nuncio, scourge of the clergy, raven, Noetian, who alone among the Irish had remained for the whole war among the putrid corpses deprived of the life of grace outside the holy citadel of the Catholic confederation.)

The first describes Clanricarde as a "pursuer of the Nuncio", using the post-classical word *persecutor.* The second, *cleromastix* or "scourge of the clergy", is a composition of the Latin *clerus,* and the Greek *mastix,* "scourge", a word-formation very similar to titles of other polemical texts from the period, such as Philip O'Sullivan-Beare's *Tenebriomastix, Zoilomastix,* and *Archicornerigeromastix.* Thirdly, he describes him as a raven or crow,[26] and finally as a Noetian. The Greek adjective *Noetianus* indicates a

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[21] For example, there is a reference to an *Apologia Procerum etc., Anglicanae in Ibernia Coloniae pro assumptis armis, etc.* and *Norma Regiminis* on f. 11r.

[22] Namely *Doctrina Christiana* by Hugh MacCaghwell, primate of Ireland, *Speculum Paenitentiae* by Florence Conry, archbishop of Tam, and *Speculum Vitae Religiosae* by Bonaventure Ó hEodhasa, Guardian of Louvain.

[23] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia,* 786 = I. 8. 86, *terrae filii.*

[24] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 1727 = II.8.27, "*generosus es ex crumena*".

[25] O'Ferrall 1658, 14r.

[26] Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* 1096 = II.1.96 *ad corvos.*

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follower of Noetus, who acknowledged only one person (the Father) in the Godhead, and was an anti-Trinitarian heretic.[27] The word *Noetianus* is also discussed by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* VIII, 41.[28] The events relating to the excommunication by Rinuccini are presented in a rather dramatic manner. After confederates had agreed on a cease-fire with Lord Inchiquin on 20 May 1648, against the wishes of the clerical party and Rinuccini, on 27 May 1648, Rinuccini excommunicated those who supported the peace treaty.[29] As a strong supporter of Rinuccini, O'Ferrall sees these censures as a justified measure for the papal nuncio, and even sees other events as proof of God's punishment of the supporters of the cease-fire. On page 14r it is God, the avenger of evil (*ultor malorum*), who takes up vengeance against the *politiques* (the Old English, and members of the peace party) at Dublin and Galway by plague and famine, to punish them for their betrayal of the lord nuncio.

The syntax of the Latin is generally according to classical usage, but contains some peculiarities and errors. Like Lynch, O'Ferrall frequently uses constructions with gerunds and gerundives. Mistakes in the sequence of tenses occur: f. 8r has the imperfect subjunctive in a final clause *ne* […] *appeterent* in a primary sequence (depending on the present consecutive clause *ut* […] *permittant ejus Eversores*). On page 486, in an uneasy discussion of the papal grant of the Irish kingdom to the English kings, which O'Ferrall regards of no effect, because contrary to natural law and justice, two ungrammatical subjunctives instead of indicative are used. Lynch described this passage as an *argumentorum incondita strues* (*Supplementum Alithinologiae*, p. 23).

Another aspect of the style criticised by Lynch in his *Alithinologiae Supplementum* is the vocabulary. I will confine myself here only to a few examples mentioned by Lynch. Lynch points out that *votum,* in the phrase *votis et suffragiis* (f. 9v), is an Anglicism instead of *suffragium.* This use of *votum* is indeed un-classical, namely Medieval Latin,[30] but in this particular case, I think the criticism is ignoring the rhetorical effect of the synonymous pair. *Parens* (in the sense of "kinsman, relative") is criticised as a Gallicism instead of *cognatus.* In the report, the word is also part of a doublet. According to Lewis and Short, the word occurs in this sense rarely and certainly not ante-classical.

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[27] Cf. Forcellini et al. 1940 and Blaise, *Aut. Chrét.,* s. v. *Noetianus* and Oxford English Dictionary, s. v. *Noetian.*

[28] *Isid.* 8, *Orig.* 5.41 "Noetiani – Trinitatem in officiorum nominibus, non in personis accipiunt.

[29] Ó Siochrú 2008, 177; Corish 1953, 217.

[30] Cf. Blaise, *Med.,* s. v. *votum.*

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Lynch's **Alithinologia**

O'Ferrall's short and clear style in his report stands in contrast to Lynch's rich and abundant style in the *Alithinologia*. Lynch describes the work as a speech (*oratio*). It is written in the tradition of the formal disputation, which was widespread throughout the early modern period as a method of formal argumentation and public debate. The work is structured around quotations from fragments of O'Ferrall's report, which are discussed mostly in the same order as they occur in O'Ferrall's text.

The genre of controversial writing has not received the attention it merits. There does not seem to have been a strict rule for the structure of polemical works and refutations, but some kind of conventions can be seen. An analysis of the structure of the *Alithinologia* can contribute to our knowledge of the genre.

The *Alithinologia* has a very loose structure. The first part is the dedicatory letter to the cardinals of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*.[31] This part of the *Alithinologia* contains elements of the traditional *exordium* of a classical forensic speech, a speech of the *genus iudiciale*, such as a *captatio benevolentiae*. It tries to catch the attention of the audience, and to acquire a favourable attitude from the cardinals. The traditional rhetorical *topoi* are applied to achieve this: a positive presentation of the author's own character, emphasising his modesty; a contrasting image of the character of the opponent, who is presented as wicked and rebellious; and, thirdly, a flattering picture of the judges, by paying tribute to their wisdom.[32]

The second part begins with a kind of *narratio*, which states that Irish Catholics, both clergy and laymen, are in a terrible situation after the recent war.[33] Lately, another affliction has been added to this, namely that O'Ferrall, a fellow countryman, is sowing discord among his own citizens. O'Ferrall's accusations are false and have been spread to Rome. Although Rome punished him, some have protected him and therefore his memorandum needs to be refuted. The *propositio* argues that the integrity of the innocent (i.e. the Old English) should be vindicated.

The main body of the text is structured around the refutation of a number of quotations from O'Ferrall's treatise. This was a common structure in the flourishing genre of refutation and controversial writing of the early modern period. It combines a scholastic method of arrangement with the style of a Ciceronian judicial case, taking each (available) paragraph of O'Ferrall's

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[31] Lynch 2010, 2–7 (Lynch 1664, i–viii).
[32] Cf. Cicero, *De inventione* 1.20–26 and Kennedy 1980, 92–93.
[33] Lynch 2010, 8–11, l. 15 (Lynch 1664, 1–3).

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work, and refuting it, point by point.[34] It is unclear how this structure relates to the classical *dispositio* (arrangement) of a judicial speech. Unlike many contemporary refutations, the *Alithinologia* is not divided in numbered chapters or *libri*, but simply runs uninterrupted until the conclusion. In the main part of the work,[35] the main points in O'Ferrall's report are refuted. Lynch first explains that he only had access to part of O'Ferrall's report. Because this part is full of things worthy of reproach, the whole work must be even worse. Therefore, Lynch announces, the work will be structured according to the statements in this part which Lynch wants to refute, unless the situation requires otherwise:

> Quod si pars operis ista, quam exagito, tanta tabe sit imbuta, immensa profecto veneni copia totum opus abundare oportet. Itaque ad eius conuicia conuellenda eo quo ipse protulit ordine, nisi subinde aliud occasio postulet, sermonem conuerto.[36]

> (Surely, if that part of the work, which I am attacking, already is so full of foulness, the whole work must be filled with a vast amount of poison. Therefore, in order to tackle his slanders, I shape my discourse in the same order, as that in which he himself produced them, unless the occasion now and then demands another order.)

The *Alithinologia* discusses short passages of O'Ferrall's report, only roughly following the order of O'Ferrall's report.

There are several reasons why Lynch decides to deviate slightly from this order. For example, he postpones discussing O'Ferrall's mention of the parliament until a more suitable time: "*Parlamenti mentione, quam is hic inserit, in commodiorem locum reiecta, coeptae ab illo habitatorum Hiberniae diuisioni insistemus*".[37] ("Setting aside for a more convenient time the mention of parliament which he inserted here, and keeping it for a more convenient time, we shall press on with the division of the inhabitants of Ireland which he has begun".) In O'Ferrall's report, between the previous quotation from O'Ferrall (O'Ferrall 2008, 12, line 11–13), and the next (O'Ferrall 2008, 13, l. 20), O'Ferrall had stated that "new men (i. e. the Old English,

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[34] Cp. for example O'Sullivan Beare's *Zoilomastix* and his *Tenebriomastix*. O'Sullivan's works are divided into chapters called *retaliationes*, wherein O'Sullivan takes controversial items from Gerald of Wales's works as general themes for counter-attack, and sub-headings called *certamina*, wherein he responds to particular items within these larger headings. Cf. Caulfield 2009, 114. A similar structure is followed by Stephen White in his *Apologia pro Ibernia* and *Apologia pro innocentibus Ibernis*, containing elements of a judicial speech, but in which the argument is adapted to a systematic commentary that follows the structure of the texts analysed. Cf. Harris 2009, 130.

[35] Lynch 1664, 3–141.

[36] Lynch 2010, 11, l. 13–15 (Lynch 1664, 3).

[37] Lynch 2010, 13 (Lynch 1664, 4).

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ed.) born from the soil and an obscure position had been substituted by the English in the place of princes, magnates and dynasts elected in the parliaments and general assemblies of the kingdom, where now they enjoy the right neither of sitting, voting, or deciding, unless they obtain at a price the titles of baron or lord for themselves".[38] In Lynch's view, his treatment of O'Ferrall's division of the Irish people into three classes, a section with ethnographic elements traditionally treated at the beginning of a historical work,[39] is not the right place to deal with the attendance in parliaments, as this topic deserves separate discussion. Lynch returns to this sentence of O'Ferrall's *Relatio* on page 35–36,[40] when he defends the Old English (or more recent Irish, as he calls them), asserting that they are worthy Irish citizens. He discusses the matter of the attendance of the Old Irish in the parliament in particular on page 42–43,[41] where he denies O'Ferrall's statement that the Old Irish no longer sat in the parliament.

Another reason to deviate from O'Ferrall's order is his style of argumentation, in which one argument leads him to another. The chain-like progression of arguments, in which one example leads to another, while sometimes deviating from the main point, seems to be a common type of argumentation in early-modern polemical texts.[42] In some instances, this leads him also to digressions relating only sideways to a topic which he started discussing while refuting O'Ferrall.[43] These digressions are not digressions in the strict sense, because, even though they digress from a particular argument, they do support Lynch's overall reasoning. The use of digressions such as these is common in classical rhetoric. According to Cicero, a digression "might involve praise or blame of individuals, comparison with other cases, or something that emphasized or amplified the subject at hand. Thus it is not literally a digression. Cicero criticises the requirement as a formal rule and says such treatment should be interwoven into the argument".[44]

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[38] O'Ferrall 1932–1949, 486/ O'Ferrall 1658, f. 8r.

[39] Cf. Barry 2002, 1–14.

[40] Lynch 1664, 18–19.

[41] Lynch 1664, 22–23.

[42] This characteristic of polemical writing is also observed in Sir William Herbert's *Ad Campianum Iesuitam eiusque Rationes Decem Responsio* (1581) by Arthur Keaveney and John A. Madden. However, Keaveney and Madden do not consider this element as a characteristic of the genre, and criticise the author's inability to maintain a coherent argument for any length of time, stating that "ideas are simply jotted down at random as they occur to the author". (Cf. Keaveney & Madden 2009, xxviii.)

[43] Harris noted similar digressions, or rather "increasingly extended discussions" in the *Apologiae* by Stephen White. Cf. Harris 2009, 130.

[44] Kennedy 1980, 94. Cf. Cicero, *De inventione*, 1.97.

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An example of such a digression occurs,[45] when the refutation of O'Ferrall's accusation of the Old English of taking church property leads Lynch into a discussion of the topic of legitimate ownership of ecclesiastical possessions in the history of other countries, such as France and Spain. First, Lynch states on the authority of O'Sullivan-Beare that no magnates were guilty of claiming church property, because the estates of monasteries were assigned to poor and obscure people. Then, he refutes O'Ferrall's statement by claiming that the laity in Ireland claimed the possessions of the church by the consent of the pope and the approval of the clergy. He supports this statement by the argument that claiming ecclesiastical possessions by laity can be legitimate, using the mention of several other countries as an argument from history. He also refers to a passage from St Bernard's *Life of Malachy*, in which Malachy gives away church lands to laity.[46] So far all the arguments support his initial statement that the Old English did not take church property illegitimately. Now, however, the logically supporting argument that heretics avoided owning ecclesiastical lands because of the fear that it would bring ruin to them, brings Lynch into a digression on the danger of the possession of church property by laymen. He concludes with a warning against this danger to princes and other people:

> Vt hinc reliqui Principes aliique homines discere debeant quam periculose siue sub annuo praetenso censu, siue alio modo laicus possideat res Ecclesiae, quas saepe inuiti et nolentes fatigatique precibus, vel aliis compulsi occasionibus vel decepti falsis suasionibus Romani Pontifices illis possidendas indulgent.[47]

> (May the remaining princes and other people learn from that, how dangerous it is if a layman owns, either under an annual demanded payment, or another way, goods of the church, of which the Roman popes granted them possession, often unwilling and reluctantly and tormented by requests, or forced by the circumstances, or deceived by false pieces of advice.)

Eventually, on page 37 of the 1664 print, he returns to the (Old English) Catholics who acquired ecclesiastical estates in Ireland, stating that this danger does not apply to them, because they are protected by the indulgence of Paul IV, or the authority of the pope, or by some benefice of the pope onto those who pursued the ecclesiastical land:

> Sed vt eo, vnde in hoc diuerticulum excessi reuertar, qui Catholici cum veteres tum noui Ecclesiastica praedia sibi compararunt, vel me-

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[45] Lynch 1664, 34–37.
[46] Lynch 1664, 37.
[47] Lynch 1664, 37.

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morata iam Pauli IV indulgentia tecti, vel authoritate Pontificis sibi quisque nominatim impetrata, vel beneficentia aliqua in sacerdotium a Pontifice consecutos collata, conscientiam extra delicti periculum plerumque constituerunt.[48]

(But in order to return where I left to this digression, the Catholics, both old and new, who acquired ecclesiastical estates for themselves, have fixed their conscience outside of most danger of crime, either protected by the indulgence of Paul IV which was already mentioned, or by the authority of the pope, which each one by one had obtained for themselves, or by some benefice conferred by the pope onto those who pursued the sacerdotal land.)

A similar chain of arguments leading away from O'Ferrall's statement, but supporting Lynch's over all argument, occurs later on in the same work, when Lynch contradicts O'Ferrall's statement that the Old English were punished "by God's just judgement".[49] He states that, instead of the Old English, rather the Ulster Irishmen should be criticised. He then continues with the statement that many perceived a lack of prudence in Eugene O'Neill, the commander of the Ulster troops.[50] In an elaborate passage, Lynch questions his good intentions in his actions, and accuses him of disgracefully stirring up rebellion. After this, a long apology follows for this severe reproval of O'Neill. It includes an analogy to the Phocians, who plundered the temple of Apollo at Delphi, to relieve their poverty. Although all cursed this act of the Phocians for the sacrilege of it, it brought more odium upon the Thebans, by whom they were compelled to this necessity, than upon themselves.[51] In the same way, Lynch excuses himself for his severe words against O'Neill. After this long digression away from O'Ferrall's statement about the Old English, Lynch returns to O'Ferrall's report:

Nunc diuerticulis, in quae sermo alius ex alio enatus me abduxit egressus, cum aduersario congressum redintegro non ad eius dicta, vt hactenus consueui, carpenda, sed approbanda […][52]

(Now, after having departed [from my main topic] to the digressions, to which one discussion, arisen from another, brings me, I renew my argument with the adversary not in order to carp at his words, which I was accustomed to so far, but to approve them […])

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[48] Lynch 1664, 37.
[49] Lynch 1664, 55.
[50] Lynch 1664, 56.
[51] Cf. Justinus, *Historiae Philippicae,* liber 8, caput 1.
[52] Lynch 1664, 58.

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On page 141 (Lynch 1664), Lynch eventually moves on from refuting particular points to a general conclusion. In the last pages of the work, he attacks O'Ferrall more generally, by an *argumentum ad hominem*, and once more explains his reasons for writing his *Alithinologia*. This passage contains a lot of strong invective language, and a justification of such an angry attack.

Lynch describes O'Ferrall's work as an "invective" (*inuectiua*),[53] while he presents his own work, on the other hand, as a true account, claiming more credibility.

Contrary to O'Ferrall's report, Lynch's 144-page long account is embellished by numerous literary references and quotations, often adapted to fit in the new context. This includes not only strictly classical prose texts, such as Cicero's *De Officiis,* bu also poetry and later literature. See for example this fragment, taken from Lynch's defence of the ancestry of the Old English.

> Sed iracundi hominis ardor in ciues nondum deferuit, nouo enim adhuc probro eos cumulat, dum affirmat *omnes non nisi ex crumena esse nobiles*. Nimirum in ciues eius odium sic exarsit, ut ad nobilitatis splendorem illos attolli quam indignissime ferat. Frendeat tamen, et disrumpatur inuidia licet. Qui per viam virtutis ad honorem tendunt, ad nobilitatem semper emergent. Etenim nobilitas sola est. Atque unica virtus, nec solo genere continetur. Nam virtute decet non sanguine niti. Quo spectat hibernicum adagium, quod latine sic efferri potest, sola sanguinis nobilitas futilis est ac inanis. *Non census, nec clarum nomen auorum, sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit.*[54]

> (But the ardour of that irritable man has not yet ceased raging against the citizens, for he heaps yet a new reproach upon them, when he asserts that *non are noble except from the purse*. Without doubt his anger against the citizens has been inflamed to such a degree, that he bears extremely indignantly that they are being raised to the splendour of nobility. But let his gnash his teeth, and burst with ill-will. Those who strife after honour by means of virtue, will always rise to nobility. For virtue is the one and only nobility, and it is not held by birth alone. For it is fitting to contend in virtue, not in blood. And to this, the Irish proverb refers which can be expressed in Latin as follows: the nobility of blood alone is worthless and vain. *Not the fortune, nor the celebrated name of the ancestors, but uprightness and intelligence makes great men.*)

The fragment has classical vocabulary expressing the principle of an honour-based nobility. Nevertheless, this is not simply Ciceronian vocabulary, but also an elegant combination and adaptation of various quotations. *No-*

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[53] Lynch 2010, 1 (Lynch 1664, i.).
[54] Lynch 2010, 29–30 (Lynch 1664, 15).

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bilitas sola […] *unica virtus* is a quotation of Juvenal, *Satire* VIII, 20. The theme of virtue giving true honour was commonplace in seventeenth century Latin literature, and Juvenal's Eighth Satire is a classic text that could be consulted for *topoi* in this field.[55] The next quotation, *virtute decet* […] *sanguine niti* is a sententia from Claudian, *De Quarto Consulatu Honorii Augusti Panegyris* 220, which had become proverbial in the Middle Ages and occurs frequently in Neo-Latin literature. Then a Latin translation of an Irish proverb follows. The paragraph is concluded with a quotation from Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 9.39–40. This verse had also become proverbial in the Middle Ages.[56] The combination of these quotations contributes to a literary persona of a humanist, expert in classical and Christian literature (prose and poetry), as well as Irish literature and culture. As previously mentioned, the Ciceronian civic humanism was essential to his *persona*. His Latin style was certainly part of this persona. Modern scholars stated that Lynch "wrote Latin with ease, and indeed in a rather complicated style".[57]

The syntax is characterised by many long sentences, often achieved by the use of consecutive clauses. Constructions such as *ita* […] *vt* are very frequent. Lynch also very frequently places the correlative *ita* directly preceding *vt*, instead of placing *ita* separately in a main clause. This is characteristic of Late Latin.[58] In the *Alithinologia* the expression *ita vt* is often used to form cohesion between different sentences in a paragraph.

Prepositions with gerundive-constructions are also very frequent. Especially the construction of *ad* with a noun and gerundive, expressing purpose, is one of Lynch's most frequent constructions. It also occurs frequently in classical Latin,[59] but Lynch seems to use it particularly frequently as a variation on the *ut*-clause, which he also uses. Another reason for using this construction might be that it is easier than an *ut*-clause, avoiding the difficulties concerning the sequence of tenses. Lynch also constructs other prepositions with gerundive phrases and gerunds, such as *in* + abl. gerundive,[60] mostly according to classical syntax, and *inter* with an accusative gerund,[61] a usage

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[55] Helander 2004, 547.

[56] Singer 1995, vol. 8, 31.

[57] D'Ambrières & Ó Ciosáin 2003, 51. Cf. also Corish 1953, 227: "The first thing to be noticed about this society was the learning which flourished in it– the learning of the renaissance, as modified by the counter-reformation. John Lynch has all the renaissance scholar's fastidiousness for purity and elegance of Latin style […]"

[58] Cf. LHS 640, II. The earliest example from the TLL of *ita* used "*per abundantium*" directly preceding *ut*, from Vitruvius 4, 3, 9 "*sic est forma facienda, ita uti* […]" (TLL, vol. VII, 2.1, lemma *ita* II B, b, p. 524.)

[59] Cf. LHS 377; K&S II. 1, 749–750.

[60] E.g. Lynch 2010, 10, l. 18: "*in insulsis* […] *promendis*". (Lynch 1664, 2.)

[61] For example Lynch 2010, 2, l. 4: "*inter legendum*". (Lynch 1664, ii.)

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familiar in classical Latin, but more frequent in post-classical Latin.[62] The construction of *pro* with a gerundive, expressing purpose, also occurs in the *Alithinologia*.[63] It is Late Latin, but occurs frequently in Neo-Latin authors.[64] Occasionally he also uses the gerundive instead of the non-existent future passive participle.[65] This construction does not occur in classical Latin, but occurs frequently in Late Latin,[66] and in many Neo-Latin texts.[67] Lynch constructs certain verbs with predicative gerundives expressing purpose, such as *ablego* and *abripio*.[68] In classical Latin the gerundive is only used predicatively with a restrictive group of verbs. In post-classical Latin, the construction occurs with several more verbs (*tribuo, mando, divido, commendo, obicio* and similar verbs). The use of this construction spreads to other verbs especially in Late Latin,[69] and is frequent in Neo-Latin authors.[70]

His vocabulary eclectic, and includes many common expressions from post-classical, Ecclesiastical and Medieval Latin. It also contains some Greek words. *Alithinologia* is a rare Greek word, meaning "true discourse" or "speaking truth", of which Liddell and Scott only attest two examples, in the second century grammarian Pollux, *Onomasticon* 2.124,[71] and in Polybius 12. 26d.1.[72] Polybius used the term to describe the correct method of history. In his view, the essential characteristics of the genre of history, a genre not inferior to that of poetry, are truth and the practical value to contemporary and future generations of an accurate knowledge of the past. Polybius and his followers were aware of the danger of subjectivity, and urged caution with regard to it. The precepts of Polybius regarding historical writing were very influential in early modern debates on the theory of history, and it seems very probable that Lynch intended reference to what the

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[62] LHS 233.

[63] Lynch 2010, 44, l. 19 "*pro instauranda religione Catholica*". (Lynch 1664, 24.)

[64] Cf. Löfstedt 1981, 47; Löfstedt 1983, 31; LHS 271b.

[65] E.g. Lynch 2010, 11, l. 18: "*in plurimos in medium infra producendos incidit*". (Lynch 1664, 3.)

[66] See LHS 374; K&S I, 733–734; Blaise 1955, *Manuel* 192.

[67] E.g. Spinoza, A. 338.14/G III 123.20, "*quod cum ex modo dictis, tum ex jam dicendis evidentissime sequitur*". See Kajanto 2005, 41. Cf. also Löfstedt 1983, 29.

[68] E.g. Lynch 2010, 8, l. 9 "*cruciandi* […] *ablegantur*" (Lynch 1664, 1); p. 9, l. 14 "*venundandi* […] *abrepti sunt*" (Lynch 1664, 2).

[69] LHS 371–372; K&S II. 1, 731.

[70] Cf. for example Tunberg 1997, 26, where Tunberg discusses the Latin of the Ciceronian author Christophorus Longolius.

[71] Pollux, *Onomasticon* 2.124 (or liber 2, caput 4) refers to Plato for this word.

[72] Polybius 12.26 discusses sophistical commonplaces. In paragraph d, the Greek historian Timaeus is criticised for impressing many people by the appearance of a true account (διὰ τὴν ἐπίφασιν τῆς ἀληθινολογίας), and the pretence of proof, and in that manner convincing them of falsities.

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sixteenth century theorist Uberto Foglietta had called the "Polybian norm" (*norma Polybiana*) of objective truth.[73] The word also found its way into Pollux's thesaurus of Greek synonyms and phrases, which was widely available to Renaissance scholars and antiquaries, both in the original Greek and in the Latin translation.[74] It was used frequently by contemporaries for medical and other vocabulary.[75] *Alithinologia* is a compound of the Greek words ἀληθῖνός (true) and λόγος (discourse, account). The use of Greek words in Latin, in imitation of Cicero, was very popular in the learned culture of the Renaissance and Early Modern period and its use here adds authority to the text. The meaning of the title must have been readily accessible to the contemporary reader, as we know of many vernacular works of the time with titles starting with "A true account", or "A true discourse". It is a frequently used name for an early modern work: part of controversial writing, with the claim to unbiased truth.[76] The Latin *veridicus* was also used frequently in this context.[77] Lynch further explains his title with the Latin phrase *veridica responsio*, which confirms the genre of this work.

The title *Alithinologia* is but one example of the frequent Greek words in the work. The Greek vocabulary in the *Alithinologia* is also interesting in view of how Lynch represents himself and Ireland. Lynch addresses the members of the Propaganda Fide as *nomophylaces*,[78] from the Greek compound word of νόμος (law) and φύλαξ (guard). The Greek word is used by Plato in his *Laws*.[79] It was a title created for the head of the law school in Constantinople in the mid-11th century. It is used in the sense of "guardian of the law" in Neo-Latin, for example by Budé and Bodin.[80] By using this word, Lynch not only shows off his knowledge of the Greek language, but

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[73] Cf. Kelley 2003, 753–754, and Reynolds 1992, 135–136.

[74] The Latin translation by Rodolphus Gualtherus (Basel: Robertus Winter, 1541) translated the word as *veritas*, so it seems more likely that Lynch would have consulted a Greek version of the work. The same translation is used in the bilingual edition by Wolfgang Seber (1608).

[75] The text was widely available in the Renaissance, and anatomists of the period drew on it for obscure Greek words to describe parts of the body. (Mitchell 2007, 502.) The work is also used extensively in the Adagia by Erasmus. (Phillips & Mynors 1981, v. 31, p. 53.)

[76] E.g. *A true relation of a great victory obtained by the forces under the command of the lord Inchiquin in Munster in Ireland*, London 1642 (BL Thomason Tracts E135 f. 26), and Ligon, Richard. *A true and exact history of the island of* Barbados. London, 1657.

[77] E.g. Veridicus Hibernicus, *Hiberniae sive antiquioris Scotiae vindiciae* (Antwerp, 1621); Thomas Carue, *Responsio Veridica* (1672). The word is also included in Schrevelius's school dictionary (first edition, Leiden, 1654) with the Greek translation ἀληθινολόγος.

[78] Lynch 2010, 6, l. 2 (Lynch 1664, vi).

[79] Cf. Plato, *Lg.* 755a, 770c etc.

[80] Hoven 1994 gives the meaning "guardien des lois", referring to Budé II, 171, 53; 312, 21; Bodin I, 184 B 54; etc.

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also conveys a sense of respect for his audience as judges in the debate. The leaders of important family groups are described as *phylarchi familiarum*.[81] *Phylarchus*, originally a Greek word signifying a leader of a political "tribe", is very rare in classical Latin, and is used by Cicero to describe the chief of a tribe.[82] The word is also used by Thomas More in his *Utopia*, indicating the head ruler of a group of thirty households in the rural districts of his ideal commonwealth.[83] Lynch adapts it to an Irish context, and by choosing this Greek word, he places himself in the classicising tradition, and shows his expertise through active *imitatio* of the classics. It also enables him to vary his vocabulary, and to explain typical Irish concepts to a wider European audience.

In some instances, Lynch deliberately uses a particularly rare or strange word to emphasise his statement. For example, he describes his opponent O'Ferrall as a "fellow-countryman, blowing on the coals of internal discord, who tries to rob the Irish of their reputation" (*domesticus intestini dissidii ciniflo fama spoliare contendit*).[84] The word *ciniflo* is a very rare noun, attested once ancient literature, in Horace's *Satires*.[85] Porphyrius, in his commentary to Horace, notes that the word has the same meaning as *cinerarius*, meaning a hairdresser, or more literally someone who heats irons used by hairdressers in hot ashes (*cinis*).[86] It is used as social satire by Horace. In Medieval Latin, the word is used in plural with the sense of "nobodies".[87] While the phrase is used by Horace as social satire, Lynch intends serious comment on the fomentation of war, playing on the meaning of *cinis*, "ruins of a city laid waste and reduced to ashes".[88] It is clearly intended as an insulting riposte to the address of O'Ferrall, and is a good example of the creative invective language in the *Alithinologia*.

Lynch's style is moreover characterised by a much more frequent use of rhetorical devices such as antithesis, pairs, tricolon, tetracolon, alliteration, metaphors and paronomasia than O'Ferrall's style. Apart from that, we have already seen that both Latin and Irish proverbs are used.

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[81] Lynch 2010, 42, l. 15–16 (Lynch 1664, 23). See also Lynch 1848–1852, 239. It is Lynch's translation of the concept described in English as "chiefetains" in Sir John Davies, *A Discouerie of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (London 1613), 241.

[82] Cf. Cic. *Ad Familiares*, 15.1.2 "*phylarcho Arabum*".

[83] More 1974, 114.

[84] Lynch 2010, 3, l. 6 (Lynch 1664, iv).

[85] Horace, *Satires* 1.2.98 "*multae tibi tum officient res, custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae*".

[86] Cf. TLL.

[87] Blaise, *Med.*

[88] L&S, lemma *cinis*, II B.

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Conclusion

This article explored how the contrasting views of John Lynch and Richard O'Ferrall on Irish identity, in particular of the Old English, are reflected in the form and style of their works. It showed that the background of O'Ferrall, his origins in a noble Gaelic family, who had lost all its possessions in the plantation of James I at the beginning of the seventeenth century, shaped his identity and political activity in the Confederation as an ardent supporter and courtier of Rinuccini. This identity was an important factor in his choice for his particular style in his report on the role of the Old English in the crisis of the failure of the Confederation. Lynch's religious background as a priest, combined with his connections to members of the peace party placed him at the opposite side of the political spectrum, and his thorough education enabled him to produce a lengthy learned tome on the same subject. The two authors have been contrasted with regard to the content, form, and style of their works. John Lynch's and Richard O'Ferrall's views on the Irish identity of the Old English are represented using a carefully crafted literary persona, supported by a particular Latin style. This technique explains the surprisingly long and rhetorical reply by an exiled Irish priest with Old English background, to a short, efficient report by a supporter of the extreme religious views of the papal nuncio in Ireland.

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