AIBIDIL GAOIDHEILGE

THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN

AIBIDIL GAOIDHEILGE

(IRISH TYPEFACES : 1571 - 1680)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO :

THE FACULTY OF HISTORY OF ART AND DESIGN & C.S.

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

FACULTY OF DESIGN

DEPARTMENT OF VISUAL COMMUNICATIONS

BY

PATRICIA BRENNAN

MARCH 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

3

ILLUSTRATIONS

No.

1. Irish Majuscule from the Book of Kells, c. 800.

2. 17th century Irish script from The Annals of
    the Four Masters, scribe: Cuchoigriche
    O Cleirigh, 1632-'36.

3. Queen Elizabeth's Irish Typeface from
    Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma, 1571.

4. Ditto.

5. Ditto.

6. Page from Geoffroy Tory's Horae, 1499.

7. Louvain Type A from Teagasc Criosdaidhe, 1611.

8. Griffo's Italic from Opera, 1501.

9. Louvain Type B from
    Riaghuil Treas Uird S. Froinsias, 1641.

10. Rome Type A from Lucerna Fidelium, 1707.

11. Moxon's Type from Bedell's Bible, 1680.

12. Moxon's Irish punches.

13. Tuar Ferge Foighde.

14. Pages from The Dream of Poliphilus, published
    by Aldus Manutius, 1499.

15. The gold tooling on the binding of O'Kearney's
    A. G. agus C.

16. Title page from Tiomna Nuadh, by William
    O'Donnell.

17. Antonius Haly's handwriting from ms. Z3.5.3
    in Marsh's Library.

18. Ditto.

19. Title page from Parrthas an Anma by Anthony
    Gearnon.

20. P. an A., pages 216-217.

INTRODUCTION

The first Irish typeface was designed by order of Queen Elizabeth
in 1571, to instruct the native Irish in the Protestant principles
of faith. However, this aim was subverted by the Irish Francis-
cans at Louvain, in Belgium – then under Spanish government –
who designed a better and more complete typeface. Numerous Catholic
devotional texts were printed in Irish at Louvain and smuggled to
Ireland where they played a major role in the Counter Reformation
there. Although the preservation of the Irish language was un-
doubtedly an added impetus to the Irish friars abroad, their
main purpose in printing books in Irish was to retain the loyalty
of the native Irish population to the Church of Rome.

St. Anthony's College at Louvain, founded in 1607, was one of many
Catholic institutions set up abroad by the Irish Franciscans. The
establishment of these contental houses arose out of the Council
of Trent's decree that all future priests should be seminary
trained, a decisian which coincided with the banning of Catholic
education in Ireland. Amongst these isolated islands of Irish
culture, Louvain was the great literary centre. St. Anthony's
boasts important Irish scholars and theologians amongst its
alumni, including the historian Michael Clery, who was a chief
collaborator in the compilation of <u>The Annals of the Four Masters.</u>

Historical works such as the above were inspired by similar pro-
jects in European countries. In many other ways, the books printed

at Louvain were influenced by European trends, both literary
and artistic. The tendency towards classicism arising out of the
Renaissance proved influential to all European publishers, in-
cluding the Irish Franciscans at Louvain. The booming Dutch
book trade of the 17th Century also had an impact on the appear-
ance of the volumes issued from Belgium.

Although the English authorities authorised two designes for
the Irish typeface, Queen Elizabeth's in 1571 and Moxon's in 1680,
neither was of great typographic merit. The former was a half-
hearted, if interesting, attempt to solve the problems presented
by the Irish character in print, while the latter is based on the
design cut for the Irish Franciscans at Louvain in 1611. This
typeface shows some continental influence, after all it was
probably cut by an Antwerp craftsman. Another design, very like
the first, was cast at Louvain in 1640. A third type was made
for the Irish Franciscans at Rome in 1676 which showed several
improvements on its predecessors.

However, none of these 17th Century typefaces are inspiring
from a technical point of view. They are innovative - their
freshness and crudity convey that they are the first attempts
at disciplining the wild Celtic letters of the Irish alphabet.
All of the designers - Irish, English and European - were faced
with the same problem of how to combine legibility with the
integral beauty and character of the Irish hand.

CHAPTER I - THE PROPAGANDA WAR

17th Century Ireland was a battleground for the right
to ownership of land. As well as many rebellions,
there was a battle for the minds of the Irish people.
Education was a crucial weapon. Colleges founded by the
Franciscans and the Dominicans sprang up across Europe,
as monastic foundations were outlawed in Ireland. To
these schools and seminaries young Irishmen were sent
to be educated and often to begin new lives on the
Continent. Many of them joined the French army:-
"all bare exiles, soldiers, scholars, priests" as
Padraic Colum's poem says.(1)

Meanwhile, the English and Irish Parliaments ensured
that by the beginning of the 18th Century most of the
land was in the hands of the Protestant ascendancy.
They could not, however, ensure the political allegiance
of the majority of its people who remained loyal to the
Pope. Consequently the maintenance of the Catholic
religion was of major importance to many people,
particularly the peasantry.

The printed word proved an invaluable tool of education
and propaganda in the battle for the minds of the native
Irish. The Franciscans were not slow to take advantage
of this tool and published many books on Doctrine during

the 17th Century, which were smuggled into Ireland.

But it was Queen Elizabeth, and not the Franciscans, who
took the initiative in 1571 of publishing O'Kearney's
<u>Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticicsma</u>, (<u>An Irish Alphabet</u>
<u>and Catechism</u>), in a specially designed Irish type-
face. The alphabet used for this book contains no
more than 9 Irish characters. The rest of the letters
were taken from an ordinary Roman face. But the pub-
lication of this typeface was important not only in
itself but because it spurred the Franciscans to
design and cast their own by way of retaliation. When
their first book, O'Hussey's <u>Teagasc Criosaidhe</u> left
the presses in 1611 at Antwerp, the religious propa-
ganda war was on. (2)

Queen Elizabeth's Protestant Catechism was succeeded
by others. As late as 1712 John Richardson, Rector at
Kilmore, published <u>A Proposal for the Conversion of</u>
<u>the Papish Natives of Ireland</u>. Against those who could
not see any value in perpetuating the Irish language,
he argues that many literate Irish would dismiss out
of hand a book that was written in English, obstin-
ately perusing only Irish literature. Of this there
was plenty, thanks largely to the Irish Franciscan

houses abroad which diligently churned out Catholic
textbooks. Once one was resolved to print in Irish
it made sense to utilise an Irish typeface. Richardson
points out that the latter gave the reader an under-
standing of the sounds of the language unequalled by
the Roman letterforms and spelling. Also, substituting
the "seimhiu", or aspiration mark, for "h" economised
on space and printing costs. (3)

It would be a mistake to assume that either Protestants
or Catholics were motivated to print in Irish primarily
out of love for the language itself. At best, the pro-
motion of the native tongue was a secondary aim.
"Nach do mhunadh Gaoidhilge sgriobhmaoid ach do mhunadh
na haithridhe", ("We write not to teach Irish but to
teach repentance"), wrote Aodh MacAingil, one of the
foremost Irish scholars of the 17th Century. The
primary aim was to propagate a particular religious
credo.

Religion and politics were not easily distinguished in
those times. In a Papal Bull to the Irish rebels, dated
1641, Pope Urban VIII praises the long suffering patience
of his Irish flock. He describes them as: "...willingly
groaning under the Egyptian Yoake of Heresie, more

heavie than that of Pharaoh's..." Lest this be mis-
taken for an attitude of pacifism, the Pope further
admonishes the rebels that "..by no means ye with-
drawyour hand from this plough, least yee be ever-
after unfit for the glorious society of heavenly
triumphant Catholiques". As a final inducement to
continue the armed struggle against the English auth-
orities in Ireland, the Pope guarantees allowances
for arms, vituals and other necessities. (5)

17th Century Ireland became an increasingly oppressive
country for the Catholic population. Beginning with
the Flight of the Earls in 1607, and later reaping
the harvest of the unsatisfactory Treaty of Limerick,
this era saw more and more Irish Catholics, particul-
arly the upper classes, fleeing to the Continent.
There at least thay could find religious tolerance
or a career in the army or church.

In the heat of the Williamite campaigns, the Earl of
Ormond wrote to the Earl of Devlin:-
"More forces are arrived from England. We are likely
to be beset on all sides, and for ought I see so be
devoured .... I will shortly over too,"(to the con-
tinent) "...leaving all to the Arbitrament of Fortune,

rather than to see the miserable slavery of my nation,
and utter treading down of my country by the barbarous
merciless Scots, and proud insulting English.

                              Written March 14, 1641

                                 Charles Ormond." (6)

Despite the worst fears of Ormond and the oppression
of the Catholic Church, it sustained itself in Ireland
so successfully that in 1733 James Burke was prompted
to exclaim in disgust:-"If their loose behaviour,
clandestine marriages, their public quarrels did not
discover them, the government would wink at them, and
it is a truth very notorious that there are as many
priests and friars as there are Catholics to give them
diet and lodging". (7)

The publication of devotional books in Irish, using
Irish typefaces, played an important part in main-
taining the Catholic religion in Ireland at this
time. The seminaries abroad where they were printed
provided the influx of priests and friars which Burke
so bitterly lamented.

CHAPTER II - THE IRISH COLLEGES

In an era of religious oppression and intolerance,
besieged by wars and famines, the mainstay of Irish
culture and tradition were the Irish colleges abroad.
From the dissolution of the monasteries in 1540 to
the banning of Catholic education under Charles I,
the English government dealt many blows to Ireland's
great centres of learning. The Council of Trent had
decreed that all future priests should be seminary
trained, and this also prompted the first pioneers to
open Irish colleges in university towns across Europe. (1)

The first of these founding-fathers was John Lee. A
Waterford man, his merchant family had strong trading
links with the continent. This mercantile background
was a characteristic of many pioneers who founded
colleges in Europe, and proved to be advantageous to
them. Lee began teaching six Irish students at the
College de Montaigue in 1578, and twenty years later
the Irish finally got their own house in the Rue de
Sevres, Paris. In the following years colleges were
founded at Salamanca, Lisbon, in the Spanish Nether-
lands, at Donai, Antwerp, Tournai and Lille, all by
Catholic Anglo-Irish stock. (2)

The native Irish colleges - for mostly Ulster and

Connaught students - were founded too, such as St.
Anthony's College, Louvain, founded in 1607 by Florence
Conry. Although he did not have the "savoir-faire"
of his merchanting Anglo-Irish compatriots, Conry did
belong to the International Order of Franciscans,
and was a close friend of Hugh O'Donnell. (3)

By the end of the 18th Century, a network of about
thirty colleges extended from Lisbon in the west to
Prague in the east, and from Capranica in Italy to
Vielun in Poland. Paris was the most important centre
in terms of its turnover of truly well-educated young
men, many of whom became active in the Counter Refor-
mation in Ireland. It is estimated that almost two
thousand Irish students took degrees at Paris in the
17th and 18th centuries. Lecky said of these graduates:-
"If they produced little or nothing of lasting value in
theology and literature they had at least the manners
and feelings of cultivated gentlemen and a high sense
of clerical decorum." (4)

St. Anthony's at Louvain was a smaller college with an
extraordinary literary output in proportion to its size.
It was the Irish section of an illustrious university
made up of forty-four colleges and was founded in 1425.

Several colleges were set up by ex-alumni of St. Anthony's:
St. Isidore's at Rome, 1625(another great literary centre);
Prague, 1629; and Voelun, Poland which opened in 1645
and closed in 1653. (5)

The students of the Irish college at Louvain were
accustomed to poverty, as they were almost always "in
the red". Sometimes friars were sent home to tour the
country and collect alms. Fr. Canice Mooney, in his
history of the college, relates an incident on one such
pilgrimmage reported by English spies. Father Turlough
MacCroddyn, from Louvain, was seen preaching in the
Glens of Antrim, in the year 1613. Sermon over, and
Mass having been said, he proceeded to collect for the
college:-sixty cows; one hundred sheep; and the poorpeople,
the spy reported, gave twelve pence each. (6)

The officers and men of the Irish regiments serving
France and Spain were amongst the most generous bene-
factors of the Irish friars. Many of the latter worked
as chaplains and almoners in the army and navy.

For some time the friars were not allowed to ask alms
of the people of Flanders, but when this rule was
relaxed this proved an important source of income

for the college. When their books were printed, distributed and sold, the sales brought in some "hard cash" but details are not available. (7)

However hard times were, the friars somehow managed to finance the printing from their own presses of several classics in the Irish language. Their motivation for persevering in writing and printing came partly, I think, as a result of their new position on the Continent, which exposed them to a more cosmopolitan experience. Certainly, what they saw in print encouraged or sometimes goaded them to exertion, not only in the fields of writing and printing, but also in the newly-discovered area of type-designs for the Irish hand.

European historical chronicles such as the Protestant production: The Magdeburg Centuries, (Basle, 1559-1624), and the Vatican reply to it: Annales Ecclesiastici, (1597), set a precedent for Irish writers. National pride rose to the occasion, resulting in the research and writing of The Annals of the Four Masters. In this manuscript, thanks largely to the efforts of the Franciscan laybrother Michael O'Clery, the heroic deeds and historic events of Ireland's past are recorded. Other outstanding scholars from the Irish colleges abroad include

Luke Wadding, Anthony Hickey and Aodh MacAingil.
Books written by the Anglo-Irish, such as Campion's
History of Ireland, (1571), gave the necessary imp-
etus to native Irish writers to contribute their
story. (8)

By the time Tadhg O'Clery, (circa 1590-1643), became
a Franciscan laybrother, he was a fully trained hist-
orian of the highest reputation amongst others of
his profession in Ireland. He was born in Donegal
and studied under Baothghalach Ruadh MacAodhagain,
also a renowned Irish scholar. (9)

Called Michael in religion, he was one of the many
Irish friars who sustained a close association bet-
ween Ireland and Louvain by travelling extensively
from one place to the other. His primary purpose
in returning to Ireland was to seek out and assemble
material for future publications to be undertaken
at Louvain. This was part of an endeavour to impress
upon European peoples the glory that was Ireland,
and to vindicate her reputation as the "Island of
Saints and Scholars". (10)

The Annals lists the Medieval achievements of Irish
society. This consisted mostly of ecclesiastical

history since the Church was the single great insti-
tute of state.In a cabin by the River Drowes O'Clery
and his three collaboraters: his brother Cucoigcriche,
Fearfasa O Maolchonaire, and Cucoigcriche O Duibh-
gheannain, assembled The Annals of the Four Masters.
At other times they met on the shores of the River
Lee where friars from Athlone were in hiding, and
again at Lisgoole in Co. Fermanagh. Many other works
were planned by these scholars but the 1641 rebellion
drained money which they could have used to print
books into military schemes. (11)

The Annals are an historical mosaic put together
from former writings. Events are chronicled briefly
and often drily, but in this the authors followed
the style of their predecessors. As regards material
they would probably have laid no claim to originality.
Still, as O'Clery's Provincial, Fr. Valentine Browne
wrote to him in a letter of encouragement, The Annals
filled a great gap in Irish literature, and rescued
the old stories from "the almost Stygian darkness
in which they were enshrouded". (12)
However, it was to be 200 years before The Annals
were rescued from a comparable darkness and published
in their complete form by Gill in 1851. (13)

O'Clery himself wrote:

"Should the writing of them be neglected at present,
they would not again be found to be put on record
or commemorated, even to the end of the world". (14)

Only one of his manuscripts found its way into print
during his lifetime. This was his glossary of diffi-
cult words: Focloir no Sanasan Nua, which was printed
at Louvain in 1643. O'Clery's Focloir is not prim-
arily a scholarly tract, but one designed "to give
a little knowledge to those who are ignorant of their
ancient mother-tongue, and also to incite the learned
to make another such work, better and fuller".   (15)
The author claims to have translated only words that
had already been explained to him by the expert Irish
scholars, principally Baothghalach MacAodhagain –
O'Clery's teacher and a namesake and kinsman of the
Bishop of Elphin, to whom the book is dedicated. (16)

The task of collecting the necessary material could
not have been easy. O'Clery mentions several other
living scholars as sources, but adds that:
"Because we have on this side of the sea where we
are in exile only a few of the books on which they
made interpretations, we have been able to follow
them but little".(17)

Many interpretations of difficult words were found in old vellum manuscripts and books. The author seems to have generally printed the words just as he found them, without reducing them to one uniform system of orthography.

Queen Elizabeth provided the greatest literary inspiration of all for the Franciscans when she had O'Kearney's _Aibidil_ printed in the first Irish typeface, in 1571. Ironically, it was an Irishman's book and the very first proof of the typeface appeared one year earlier,when the poem of an ex-Jesuit, Pilib O Huiginn, was published on a single sheet. This was done, presumably, to make the Protestant religion more acceptable to the native Irish. (18)

In 1602 this was followed by an Irish Protestant translation of the _Tiomna Nua_ or _New Testament_, and the _Book of Common Prayer_ was printed in the Elizabethan Irish typeface in1608. (19)

The above-mentioned design had only 9 specially drawn-up Irish characters, so the Franciscans at Louvain got to work to produce a complete fount of 18 Irish letters. In 1611 Bonaventura O'Hussey's

Teagasc Criosdaidhe was printed at Antwerp, in a
typeface probably based on his own handwriting.
O'Hussey belonged to one of the literary families
of Co. Fermanagh. Fr. Mooney describes his Catechism
as a "fine piece of devotional literature"; and
O'Hussey himself as "a theologian of merit as well
as an Irish scholar". This book was one of many class
-ics in the Irish language written at Louvain.
O'Hussey was an important Irish scholar and lectured
on Irish language, style, prosody and grammar. (20)

Most of the books written and printed at Louvain
were devotional tracts which were circulated among
the Irish-speaking clergy and soldiers in the armies
of France and Spain, used in seminaries by students,
and also smuggled back to Ireland. Judging by the
numbers of sections - or even whole books being tran-
scribed, the Louvain literature had a powerful impact
on Irish Catholic society, and played an important
part in the conservation of the Catholic religion
during Penal times.

After O'Hussey's Catechism was printed the Francis
cans managed to acquire their own printing-press,
from which emerged ,between 1614-^19, a second edit-
ion of the Catechism;Florence Conry's Irish version
of Desiderius; and Aodh MacAingil's Scathan
Shacramuinte na hAithridhe. Widely distributed, these
booksand others found their way into the Scottish
highlands and western islands. It is not impossible,
according to Fr. Mooney, that some could have reached
the Irish who were transported to the slave-
plantations of the West Indies. (21)

English spies and reporters in the Low Countries
sent complaints to their government about this mass
of Catholic devotional literature, fearing that the
Protestant religion, as well as the political link
berween Ireland and England, would suffer from such
propaganda in the Irish language. The Archdukes were
asked to halt these proceedings, but they declined
to interfere.

About the year 1641, the Franciscans at Louvain scrap
-ed together enough money to set up a new fount of
Irish type. Several Irish bishops and chieftains
helped them, though at this time a great deal of

money was being expended on arms for the rebellion.
The old Irish aristocracy had been largely swept
away, and the bardic schools were at an end:
"Continuity of scholarship had been broken". After
famines, wars, and Cromwell's military campaigns,
native Ireland was at a low ebb.(22)

CHAPTER III - AN IRISH ALPHABET EMERGES, 1571

The Gaelic typefaces of the 16th and 17th centuries
derived from manuscript sources. they were not based
on the majuscule or half-uncial, but on the style
of writing of the 16th century which came from the
minuscule hand. (Figs. 1 and 2). This was a swift,
forward slanting script which became extensively
used in manuscripts of the 12th-16th centuries. Its
popularity was due partly to its economy, as the
minuscule script used up less space and was a swift-
er hand than the round and solid majuscule which
was favoured by earlier scribes :
"Almost alone in Western Europe, Irish scribes, at
no time influenced by the cursive or Conbt hands
of copyists or writing masters, have continued to
use, in unbroken succession.., a formal book-hand
which for beauty and legibility has few equals. (1)

No types definitely derived from a distinctively
Irish script were cut by the early continental prin-
ters for books either in Latin or in the vernacular
language of any European nation. This was due
to the rising prominence of the Gothic hand which
gradually overshadowed the Irish book-hand until
the latter had disappeared by the 14th century.

So it was that while the Black Letter, the White
Letter, the cursive or italic all gave types to
Europe, the Irish script, from which many beautiful
types might have derived, was forgotten. This omiss-
ion was not rectified until more than 120 years after
the advent of printing in Europe.(2)

Meanwhile in Ireland, the oppression and the gradual
breaking-up of Irish literary culture, following
on the Tudor re-conquest of Ireland and the continued
resistance of the Irish people to the foreigner's
culture, resulted in a sad state of affairs for the
Irish language. It was neither the language of law
nor of commerce, except in so far as Irish chieftains-
aided by their churchmen, lawyers, bards, scholars
and scribes—were able to carry on their work in spite
of English interference. (3)

These men played a parallel role in 17th Ireland
to that of the druids of old, who were primarily
concerned with education, the development and pres-
ervation of knowledge of all types, and with religion.

Though Christianity reduced their numbers, the druids
survived as the order of "filid" or poets. (4)

Poetry was a family craft. The welding of words tog-
ether in an artistic form was regarded as analgous
to smithcraft or metalwork, but was also the result
of inspiration by the gods. When the poet praised
his chieftain it was a religious act. With his orat-
ory he could bestow a blessing or a curse. The belief
in the power of the poets remained at least until
the 16th century. However, a poet's wealth and status
was dependent on that of his patron, so that with
the collapse of the structure of Irish society in
the 17th century, beginning with "The Flight of the
Earls" in 1607, the influence of the poets on Irish
society dwindled. (5)

Carney estimated that the poets were numerous until
the 17th century. This gave rise to a standardisation
of the Irish language, and generally speaking verse
was intended to be understood by its upperclass aud-
ience. But when the poet wanted to be cryptic he
used a jargon called "berla na filed", or "language
of the poets". (6) Michael O'Clery's tutor,
Baothghalach MacAodhagain, is described in a tribute
by Lugaidh O'Clery as being knowledgeable in:
"Obscure history, laws of our ancients,
 The dark language of the poets". (7)

Irish society in the 17th century was at a disadvant-
age because it lacked a printing-press. The wars
which devastated the Irish countryside throughout
the 16th century made every form of industry imposs-
ible, while in the loyal districts the Government
kept printing under strict control. They did allow
some books to be printed in Irish, but only because
the majority of the people understood no other lan-
guage. Like most of the books printed in Irish on
the Continent, these were religious texts, as both
Catholic and Protestant authorities wrangled in a
lengthy propaganda campaign for the loyalty of the
Gaelic-speaking people. While more vernacular literat
-ure was being published by European printing houses,
Irish poets suffered the effects of continuous war-
fare and censorship. (8)

The dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIlI
and the proscribing of the Catholic religion drove
not only scholars, but also many accomplished scribes
into exile. These were to carry on the tradition
of the Irish script and translate it, in the 17th
century, to the medium of type. To the Irish colleges
at Louvain and Paris, to Rome and Salamanca went
the Irish students for the priesthood. Many returned

when ordained to take up their ministry in Ireland,
in the heat of the 16th century wars. It was at this
time that printing in the Irish language began. (9)

Queen Elizabeth was well aware of the threat posed
to English authority by the unruly native Irish who
dwelt mostly in Ulster and Connaught. These provinces
were the last strongholds of the ancient Irish cult-
ure which nourished the bardic tradition. An astute
politician, the Queen realised that in order to make
the people more amenable to English government, she
must seduce them from allegiance to the Catholic
Church through their own language. But the Irish
language seemed inseparably bound up with the Irish
script, which was totally different to the book-hands
of England or the Continent. Therefore, when Queen
Elizabeth decided to print books in Irish for the
propagation of the Protestant faith in Ireland, she
or her advisors decided that a special type should
be cut, and this made its first appearance in 1571.

Most of the letters of this first Irish typeface
preserved the normal form of the Roman equivalent
then in use. Only 9 lowercase letters and some cap-
itals were specially cut. For most of the capital

letters the Roman forms were used. The new lowercase
characters were: d, e, f, g, i, p, r, s, and t. Both
lowercase and capital "a" were italic. Some of the
manuscript contractions and subscripts were preserved
and 2 forms of lowercase r and s are used. (10)

As a typeface it was not a very wonderful achieve-
ment. (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). For instance, the italic
 a is incongruous, as is the slender lowercase e .
The Irish letters have no particular grace or continu
-ity of design to recommend them. The result is a
rather odd looking amalgamation of letters of diff-
erent shapes and sizes. At least uprightness and
regularity of line are achieved by the insertion
of the more disciplined Roman letters, and these
give the type rather good legibility. They also less-
en the imbalance in size of the Irish letters, lett-
ing the bulbous m and g recede a little.

The puplication of this Catechism was obviously an
attempt at reaching the large Gaelic speaking pop-
ulation as it contained:
"...certain articles of a Christian faith, which
are proper for everyone to adopt, who would be sub-
missive to the ordinance of God and the Queen of

this Kingdom..." It was printed at the cost of John
Ussher, an Alderman of Dublin. (11)

The publication of books in the Elizabethan typeface
had the beneficial effect of stirring up the Irish
Franciscans at Louvain to design and have cut the
first truly Irish typeface. It may have been based
on O'Hussey's own handwriting, and it was first used
to print his Teagasc Criosdaidhe. This typeface con-
tained all 18 letters of the Irish alphabet- j, k,
q, v, w, x, y, and z being exempt. It is at least
thoroughly Irish. However, the individuality and
over-crowding of the letters makes this a less leg-
ible typeface than its predecessor. Some of the lower
-case , eg: i, e, and n, are dwarfed by b and g.
On the other hand, the a is an improvement on the
italic of the Elizabethan fount. Well-judged variat-
ion between thick and thin strokes gives the Louvain
design a distinctly calligraphic appeal   - and in
over-all appearance it retains much of the dynamism
of the sloping book-hand on which it was based.

A later book by O'Hussey was innovative for another
reason - he was the first scholar to bring the old
Irish system of grammatical tracts into line with

the framework of the Latin grammar, in his <u>Rudimenta</u>
<u>Grammaticae Hibernicae</u>. It has since been copied,
plagiarised, and utilised by many later grammarians.

But despite their brave first attempt at designing
an Irish typeface, and their eagarness to come into
line with the general European trend towards class-
icism, the Louvain friars were many years too late
to put the Irish typeface on an equal footing with
other continental alphabets. Printing had already
advanced too far in Europe - the forms of capital
and lowercase had become set and unalterable. There-
fore, typefounders or typedesigners failed to rec-
ognise in this new Irish print a collateral develop-
ment of the Roman form. (12)

CHAPTER IV - EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

By the time the first truly Irish typeface had been designed, in 1611, the Roman letterform had become dominant throughout Europe. Important developments in book production began during the Renaissance. The publication of classical literature and the work of the Italian humanists was closely bound to an innovative approach to book design. Typography, layout, ornament, illustration, book binding, in fact the total design of the book were all rethought by Italian printers and scholars.

The birthplace of this new approach to book design was Venice - which was the centre of commerce and Europe's gateway to trade with the eastern Mediterranean states, as well as India and the Orient. Designers such as Jenson and Griffs developed new typefaces based on the Roman letter during the late 15th Century. The 16th Century was the Golden Age of French typography, with brilliant graphic artists such as Geoffray Tory and Claude Garamond creating visual forms that were embraced by printers for two hundred years. The former achieved a precise harmony of the various elements of book design : text initials, borders and illustrations (see Fig. 6). The effect was light and graceful, with an innovative attitude

toward form and a new clarity of thought. (1)

The 17th Century saw the Dutch taking a leading place
in the fields of literature, science, learning and the
arts. Combined with unbroken economic prosperity,
this justifies the appellation of the Golden Age
which the Dutch have given their 17th Century.

The flowering of the Dutch book trade had its beginn-
ing in Antwerp. Christopher Plantin was born in France
and moved to Antwerp in 1549. He soon became the
foremost publisher in the southern, Roman Catholic
part of the country, employing the best French type-
cutters. More than half of all books printed in the
Low Countries before the mid 16th Century had come
from Antwerp presses. In the 17th Century this great
centre went from strength to strength. The Dutch book
trade reached its culmination with the rise of the
House of Elzevir. The founder of this firm, "Louis
I" (1540-1617), a native of Louvain, entered the
trade in Plantin's shop in Antwerp. The firm of
Elzevir which Louis set up in Leiden dominated the
Protestant north, specialising in the publication of
books by classical ancient authors. This trend coin-
cided with the great age of Dutch classical scholarship.

Due to this famous dynasty of printers, books became
more important as an export commodity. (2) The handy
and practical little volumes produced by the firm of
Elzevir had solid, legible Dutch types surrounded by
economically narrow margins and featured engraved
title pages. Competent editing, economical prices, and
convenient size enabled the Elzevirs to pioneer an
expansion of the book-buying market. The business
spread to Utrecht and Amsterdam from Leiden. Books
in English, French, German and Latin were published
and exported throughout Europe. Many of their type-
faces were designed by the great Dutch designer and
punchcutter, Christoffel van Dyck.

Certain aspects of these current trends in book design
may have influenced the early publications at Louvain
by the Irish friars. Like the popular Elzevir volumes,
the Irish books were small pocket-size editions. This
meant, of course, that they were economical to produce,
easy to transport(to Ireland) and suitable for use as
instructional texts by a schoolteacher. Lynam refers
to the first truly Irish typeface which appeared in
O'Hussey's <u>Teagaisg Criosaidhe</u>(Antwerp, 1611) as
Louvain type A (see Fig. 7). Although it is thought
by some to be based on O'Hussey's own handwriting,

Lynam notes that this type little resembles any of the
better-known contemporary Irish hands. These show in
general a heavier and simpler design of letter. He
compares the Louvain type A with the italic type of
the 16th Century, which was itself an attempt to
adapt a cursive manuscript hand to the requirements
of printing. It is likely that the cutter of this
Irish type, presumably an Antwerp man, took italic
as his general guide (see Fig. 8). However, these
letters are sprawling and untidy, unlike neat italic.
(3) Also, to be used successfully in print, all letter-
forms must be simplified to achieve unity. These
individual Irish forms are complicated, and are made
even less clear and legible by being cast on too
small a body. (4)

The tendency towards the Roman letter and the classics,
encouraged by the spread of the Renaissance, influenced
the kind of books that were printed. O'Hussey's grammar
is an example of the standardising tendency towards
conformity with classical models.

Printing helped spread such intellectual ideas, and
so unify different peoples. It preserved, or in some
cases, caused the elimination of the literature of

small and poor countries. If Irish literature has
survived to the present day, it is due to the early
efforts of exiled Irish writers who compiled manuscript
summaries of ancient texts, as well as printers of the
17th and 18th Centuries who published these books in
Irish type.

A second type design, cut for the Franciscans, was
used in the printing of the Rule of the Third Order
of Franciscans, Riaghuil Treas Uird S. Fransias(1641).
This type shows some improvements on the earlier one:
the letters are more upright, more uniform and better
spaced (Fig. 9). Still Lynam calls it "ugly" and says
the letters "badly shaped and straggling". Again,
there was no attempt to simplify and unify the alphabet,
though legibility had improved. At any rate this type
only appeared in three or four books, and after 1662
not at all. (5)

A third Irish typeface of some worth was designed by
the priests at Rome for the press of the Sacra Con-
gregatio de Propaganda Fide (Fig 10). As at Louvain,
the books produced there were religious. Lynam praises
this typeface as being "a decided improvement on its
predecessors". (6) The designer obviously realised

that he must forego the flowing slanting script of
contemporary Irish book hands in order to achieve
legible and beautiful typography. The letters are
therefore quite independent of each other, but to-
gether form a handsome and regular line. "They are
also upright, well spaced, boldly made and boldly
printed." (7) Lynam still despairs at the lack of
proportion between some of the letters, and compares
F to a large policeman trying to keep an unruly
crowd in order. Also, the tails attached to ascenders
and descenders are not in keeping with the character
of the type. (8)

This typeface was "lifted" by Napoleon when he sacked
Rome and was brought to the Imprimerie Nationale in
Paris. Apparently a second typeface had been designed
by the Irish priests at Rome and was also lodged at
Paris. The Director of the Imprimerie made some use
of it but it was ugly and ungainly. (9)

By the late 17th Century the Protestant religion was
quite firmly established in Ireland - due to colonis-
ation and the Cromwellian conquest. Bishop Bedell
decided it was time for an Irish translation of the
Old Testament to be published. He had already been

responsible for the printing of an _Aibgitir_ or elemen-
tary catechism in Queen Elizabeth's typeface. But by
the time the Old Testament translation was ready for
printing, no Irish type was available as Queen Eliza-
beth's had disappeared. Bedell was then forty years
dead. (10)

Robert Boyle, a scientist who was interested in religious
matters, decided to pay for the design and casting of
a new Irish typeface, in order that Bishop Bedell's
manuscript could be published (Fig. 11). The cutter of
this type in 1680 was Joseph Moxon, author of _Mechanick_
Exercises (1683). This was the first manual of printing
in any language, preceding others by about forty years.
It became a standard text-book, plagiarised by tech-
nical encyclopaedias and printers' grammers. (11)

Moxon was an innovator and designer but hardly a
great craftsman, due perhaps to the fact that he
never devoter himself to learning one skill for a
sufficiently lengthy period. He dabbled in many other
projects apart from letter founding, which may have
been just as well for him economically, as letter-
founding was a poorly paid occupation. He learnt the
trade of printing in Holland, but it is not known
for certain where he learnt to cut type, or if indeed

he was a typefounder or simply commissioned someone else to do the work for him. What he wrote in his Mechanick Exercises about the customs of the founders' chapel he must have picked up by talking to workmen. They could also have informed him about the practice and language of the trade. Moxon himself says:- "Letter cutting is a Handy-Work hitherto kept so conceal'd among the Artificers of it, that I cannot learn any one hath taught it any other."(12) The only set of punches made by Moxon which have survived till this day are his Irish ones which were cast in 1680.

These Irish punches have a technical defect character- istic of a self-taught practitioner, i.e. in some characters he had filed out the angles between di- vergent strokes so deeply that it made them liable to spread when the punches were struck in the copper (Fig. 12). (Each character in the font:- lowercase; capitals; numbers; punctuation; and ligatures had to be engraved into the top of a steel bar to make a punch. This punch was driven into a softer matrix of copper or brass to make a negative imprint of the letterform. From this matrix type was cast.) Whether Moxon actually cast the type himself is dubious - there are no records of his being a master of the

trade. He could have been working illegally - the
trade was strictly controlled by the government.
Soon after the Restoration the number of typefounders
in the kingdom was limited to four by the Licensing
Acts of 1662-95. T.B. Reed was of the opinion that
Robert Andrews, to whom Moxon's foundry material
eventually passed, could have been his typefounder.
This would account for the want of any record that
Moxon worked the trade himself. (13)

Andrew Sall, an ex-Jesuit from Douai, and a good
Irish scholar, prepared the manuscript of Bishop
Bedell. Lynam says that at Douai Sall would have
been familiar with Irish books from Louvain, so he
could have provided Moxon with designs based on the
Louvain A type. (14)

Moxon's type was first used in a little Christian
Doctrine or Teagasg Criosduighe by Robert Ebheringam,
printed in London, 1680. It was used now and again
in the eighteenth century, and in several books printed
in London and Dublin during the 19th Century. It last
appeared in E.O'Reilly's Chronological Account of
Irish Writers (A.O'Neill, Dublin, 1820). (27) Moxon's
is definitely an improvement on the original Louvain

typeface. It is upright, the line is even, spacing
good, and the differences in size between letters is
less marked. However, it is not very beautiful. Moxan's
became the standard Irish typeface for the next one
hundred and forty years only because there was no other
in existence. (15)

CHAPTER V - <u>A DETAILED EXAMINATION OF VARIOUS</u>
<u>PUBLICATIONS</u>

As part of the Tudor policy of conquering Ireland both physically and spiritually, the first fount of Irish letters for printing was made in London by Queen Elizabeth's order, and sent over before 1571 to Dublin where an Irish printing-press was set up at once.

The first known piece of printing with this fount was a religious poem, Tuar Ferge Foighide by Pilib O'Huiginn, printed in 1571. It must have been a trial piece, for the poem appears on a folio sheet(Fig. 13). Though many of O'Huiginn's poems are well-known, little is forthcomming about the poet himself. It seems he was alive when Tuar Ferge Foighide was printed, and was probably a convert to the Church of England. (1)

The initials which appear along the left margin of the sheet are decorated with woodcuts depicting figurative and narrative scenes. These were obviously cut specially for the new typeface, though they include superfluous letters such as the K,V,X,Y, and Z. The simple three-column layout with its vertical emphasis is easy to read and pleasing to the eye. The reversed P which starts the poem is puzzling but seems to serve no other purpose than decoration. The stars-and-curves pattern used for justification of the text appears again in

some other books which will be referred to later.

John O'Kearney's Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma
was the first book to be printed in this typeface, in
1571, as he informs the Irish reader "...being produced
for you and put forth in your own national tongue and
in its own dear alphabet." He goes on to tell of the
difficulties and exertion involved in the production:-
"I have accordingly taken (as no other man has seen
fit to take) instruction and travel to give this type
to the form of the fashion in which it is now seen at
the cost...etc..." (2)

The woodblock initials which decorate the Tuar Ferge
Foighde broadsheet appear again in O'Kearney's Catechism
as does the simple ornamentation.(Figs 3,4 and 5) The
text is set one column per page, with well proportioned
margins and wide leading space between lines. The
weight of the capitals is sufficient, blending with,
rather than dominating, the text. The wide leading and
generous spacing of paragraphs is in contrast to the
rather cramped text of the Louvain volumes. The sym-
metry of shaped text that tapers down (Fig. 4) echoes
the innovations of Manutius masterpiece printed in 1499:
Hypnerotomachia Polophili, which set standards in typo-

graphy and overall book design that have never been
surpassed. (Fig. 14) Manutius also introduced a more
spacious layout which became characteristic of Ren-
aissance book design, and which can be seen to have
influenced later books such as Aibidil Gaoidheilge
agus Caiticiosma. Aldus' great type-cutter, Griffo,
designed the italic typeface which first appeared in
a 1501 edition of Virgil's Opera.(Fig. 8) Griffo's
italic was closely modelled on the cancelleresca
script, a slanted book-hand which was finding favour
among scholars who liked its writing speed and in-
formality. This may have been the typeface which in-
spired the Antwerp cutter of what Lynam calls the
Louvain A typeface of 1611. (3)

O'Kearney's catechism also contains an introduction
to the Irish alphabet. Presumably he hoped his book
would be read by the Protestant Anglo-Irish as well
as the Catholic peasantry.

The gold tooling on the leather binding of the Nat-
ional Library's copy of Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus
Caiticiosma would rarely have been seen in English
bookbinding before the 16th Century. (Fig. 15) Up
until that time blind, rather than gold, tooling

was the rule. (Blind tooling is the technique by
which impressions are made on the leather using
brass stamps.) But the influence of French design
crept into English bindings as the reputation of
European craftsmen caused the English patrons to
commission work from French and Italian bookbinders.
The change from blind to gold tooling had more impact
than anything else in the history of English book-
binding. Then in the reign of Henry VIII a French
man named Thomas Bethelet settled in London to
decorate books in the French style. (4) He embell-
ished his leather bindings with several new motifs
including interlaced parallel lines, like those de-
corating the binding of O'Kearney's Catechism. How-
ever, the preference of Queens Maryand Elizabeth
for textile rather than leather bindings retarded
the development of gold tooling in England. Elabor-
ate binding was a luxury trade, and the abscence of
the monarch's patronage was deeply felt. A foreign
visitor to the Queen's library at Whitehall in 1598
described the numerous books as all "bound in velvet
of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps
of gold and silver; some have pearls and precious
stones set in their bindings." (5)

An Anglo-Saxon typeface was cut by one John Day about
the year 1566. The resemblance of the 9 Irish letters
in Queen Elizabeth's fount to this typeface of Day's
has led some bibliographers to state that they were
one and the same. Lynam says that the resemblance
is misleading, for all the letters except s are diff-
erent in the two founts. It is possible that the
Irish letters were modelled on Day's to some extent,
as they were cut in England and nothing is known
of their designer or cutter. It was for Archbishop
Parker that Day cut the Anglo Saxon typeface to en-
able him to publish a series of texts. (6) The aim
was not to revive that particular form of speech,
but to underpin the tenets of the Elizabethan Church.
The first edition of the Gospel in Irish was printed
in Queen Elizabeth's typeface in 1602. (Fig. 16).

O'Donnell's book opens with a dedication to King
James I, and he pays tribute to the efforts made
by Queen Elizabeth "in conscience of dutie" to lead
the native Irish away from "superstition", ie: Roman
Catholicism. Despite these past valiant efforts,
it would appear that O'Kearney's Catechism had little
influence on the minds of the native Irish:
"Both the unnaturall barbarous rebell, and the proude

bloudie Spaniard, under the colours of the Romish
Antichrist, proclaimed themselves absolute Lords
of the land: having cast lots for the lives, lands
and goods of those few, that professed either relig-
ion or subjection unto God and his annointed". (8)

The page format is a double column one, with generous
margins.(Measurements are about 23 by 16cm.) The
title page mixes a Roman typeface with Queen Eliz-
abeth's Irish fount. Throughout the text, in.fact,
Roman initials are used . As there are only 9 truly
Irish letters this appears quite logical, and not
incongruous. The same decorated initials first used
in Tuar Ferge Foighde appear in chapter openings,
and some ornaments in the Renaissance style adorn
the title page and chapter endings, as tailpieces.
Based on floral motifs, these designs follow the
precedent of great printers such as Plantin. Over-
all, decaration is restrained, following the current
trend.

In answer to these protestant productions, the Irish
Franciscans at Louvain had their own typeface cut,
and their first publication was Bonaventura
O'Hussey's Teagasc Criosdaidhe, which was printed

at Antwerp in 1611. (Fig. 7). It is a pocket-size edition, about 7 by 10cm. Despite its small size wide margins are left, manuscript-like, to accomodate references. The latter are in a Roman typeface. Large calligraphic initials are used at chapter openings, though Roman initials are used in the first 3 chapters.

O'Hussey was the author of about 12 classical poems. He was educated for a bard, ut afterwards became a Franciscan in Louvain. A later edition of the Teagasc Criosdaidhe was printed at Rome in 1707. As with the first edition, both Roman and Irish typefaces are found together on the title page. Unsuitable Roman initial letters are inserted into the Irish text, but one of O'Hussey's poems which appears near the end of the book, is decorated with several Irish initials. The typeface used in this 1707 edition is a great improvement on its predecessors. The letters are independent of each other and the spacing is good. They are also superior from a technical point of view, being better made and more sharply printed. In the later edition, there are Renaissance style decorations , eg: cherubs, urns and leafy motifs. Illustration is scant. Two woodcuts depict the

Crucifixion and the Coronation of the Virgin. The technique is crude, the figures are stolid and lifeless, and the standard of illustration is not high.

The first book printed in the Rome type, (as Lynam refers to it), was Lucerna Fidelium or Lamp Of The Faithful (1676), by Fr. Francis O'Molloy. (9) The title page has tapering taxt, again indebted to Italian Renaissance printers. Technically, the printing in this volume is markedly superior to that in O'Donnell's Tiomna Nuadh of 1602, which was in places too faint and elsewhere heavy and blotchy. The heavy capitals which descend below the line of type may owe something to Geoffrey Tory's Horae, or Book of Hours (1525) that set the style for the era. Tory achieved a light, delicate effect in his books, adding darker accents with heavy initials. The typefounder responsible for the Roman type achieved a comparable lightness in typography, though the capitals could benefit from being slightly smaller. The text is set in the classic one-column format. (The pages are about 9.2 cm x 15.2 cm) (10)

Anthony Gearnon came of noble family, descended from the normans. His Parrthas an Anma, published at Louvain

in 1645, was the first printed Irish Catholic prayer-
book. (Figs 19 & 20) Gearnon's simple, expressive lit-
erary style endeared this book to many Irish people.
Frequent transcripts were made of parts, or the whole,
of it. This was also one of the few well-illustrated
books to issue from Louvain, and Irish scribes often
used tailpieces and initial letters borrowed from
Parrthas an Anma. It is easy to understand the popula-
rity of Parrthas an Anma, with its lavish ornamentation
and profuse illustrations - about eighty - six in all.

Although it was printed in 1645, by which time a second
fount of type had been cut, the old typeface of 1611
was used. Pages 1 to 248 are a Teagasc Criostai or
catechism, and pages 249 to 503 a Leabhar Urnaithe,
or prayer-book. For the first part, Gearnon was indebted
to O'Hussey's Teagasc Criostaidhe from which he stole
parts and simplified them. Much of the book is written,
therefore, in question and answer form. The influence
of the Irish poets on even the prose writers of the
17th Century tended to make their style rather flowery
but Gearnon was an exception to this rule, keeping his
style simple and lucid.

Parrthas an Anma has a high standard of book design,

compared with many of the other Louvain volumes. As can be seen from Fig. 20, the illustrator was highly gifted. His lively figures, each enthusiastically characterised, are in contrast to the stiff Crucifixion and Coronation of the Virgin, from the 1707 edition of O'Hussey's Teagasc Criostaidhe. The solid, realistic figures, accurate detail, and perspective show the influence of contemporary printing - even miniaturist work. The artist was experienced and daring - see how he not only cuts off the rays of grace, but also the figures kneeling on the right hand side. These friends of the sick man point to the central standing figure, the strongest vertical in the composition - obviously a representative of Christ come to minister to the sick man.

In Marsh's library is a small volume comprising six different tracts. The short Summary of the Rule of St. Francis printed in Irish at Louvain in the early part of the 17th Century, and the handwritten trans-criptions in Latin and Irish made from other books make an interesting comparison. Two scripts are used, European bookhand for the Latin, and Irish Miniscule for the Gaelic texts. (Fig. 17 & 18) Part of the tran-scription is taken from Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae

transcribed by Antonius Haly in 1634. There are some notable similarities between the Irish bookhand used here and the printed type in the Summary of the Rule of St. Francis. The capital and lower case forms of the Irish "A" are almost identical with each other. The distinctive curves of the capital "A" and the pointed small letter were surely taken from contemporary manuscripts.

Lynam identified the type in this volume as Louvain "A" in a letter to the library dated 8th of December, 1932. He was working in the Map Room of the British Museum at this time. (The Irish Character in Print, his thorough study of the printing of Irish from Elizabethian times to the twentieth Century, appeared in 1924). "The type is what I call Louvain A type, which dates from about 1611 to 1728. From the size of the page, and from the little printer's ornaments I should say your book was printed about 1650 - 60 - but this is pure conjecture. The book was certainly printed by the Franciscans on their own press for their own use ... It is quite possible that your copy is unique." (11)

There is speculation as to what sources were used for the first truly Irish typeface which appeared in 1611.

Some say Bonaventura O'Hussey's handwriting was copied,
but the punches were obviously cut by a continental
typefounder, presumably an Antwerp man. In this case,
the continental italic, of which we have here in
handwriting, was the model for the cutter. This would
account for the script-like appearance of the Louvain A
typeface of 1571, which was a Roman fount.

CONCLUSION

What characterises the books of this period printed
in Irish, apart from their subject matter and unique
typogrophy, is their totally conventional approach to
book design. The Franciscan volumes printed on the
continent tend to follow Dutch books in their compact
size and neatness. English publications of Gaelic texts
are on a larger scale, tending to be less decorative,
with a more rigid layout and fewer printer's ornaments
than the continental books. The innovative and exper-
imental approach to the design of Irish typefaces did
not extend to the overall design of the books' layout.
Typefounding was an art in itself, not necessarily
associated with a genius for general book design.
Although some talented and imaginative craftsmen des-
igned and cut Irish typefaces, it would not necessarily
have occurred to the printers to produce a truly com-
plete Irish identity for their publications.

Since the Renaissance, publishers such as Manutius
had pushed forward the concept of the book as a whole,
harmonising the various elements of subject matter—
typography, illustration, layout and presentation.
Manutius made book design and publication into an art,
and although new ideas may have permeated most of the
printing houses of Europe by the 17th Century, the

masterpieces printed during the Renaissance remained
the highest ideals - to be aimed for but not always
achieved.

It may be said that the publications here examined
could not compare with such high standards. However,
it must be remembered that their goals were entirely
different to those of Manutius and Tory, Griffo and
Garamond. They did not concern themselves with produc-
ing high quality design of lasting value but with
reaching as many people as possible with their own
particular message, on a very low budget. Lack of
funds would also account for the scarcity of illus-
tration in the continental books. Perhaps the Protest-
ant publications eschewed decoration in favour of
simplicity in order to contrast with the lavish Cat-
holic volumes of European printers. There may also
have been a Puritanical preference for plainness in
Protestant religious works.

Irish literature, and especially the bardic tradition,
remained impoverished despite the many books printed
on the continent. Unfortunately, most of them were
devotional texts, as the Franciscans felt the need to
propagate their true faith as keenly as Queen Eliza-

beth did hers. Interminably planning the next rebell-
ion, Irish chieftains probably had little inclination
and less funds with which to set up a printing-press
in defiance of English authority.

There was some awareness of the need to protect the
old culture of native Ireland. Michael O'Clery sought
to take advantage of the new method of mass-production,
at least new to Irish society, called the printing-
press to preserve the ancient sagas. Still, the fate
of his greatest work - to be left unprinted for another
two hundred years - says much about the singularity of
his vision.

If religious and political zealousness are partly
responsible for the dearth of Irish literature during
the 17th Century, it could also be said that this
enthusiasm for propagating the true faith - both of
them - brought about the introduction to the printing
industry of an Irish alphabet.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Poem by Padraic Colum "The Old College of the
   Irish, Paris", quoted by Liam Swords, Soldiers,
   scholars, priests (A short history of the Irish
   College Paris), Paris, The Irish College, 1985.

2. Edward W. Lynam, The Irish Character in Print,
   Shannon, Irish University Press, 1968, p. 7.

3. John Richardson, A Proposal for the Conversion of
   the Popish Natives of Ireland, London, J. Downing,
   1712, p. 6.

4. Canice Mooney OFM, "St. Anthony's College Louvain",
   edited by Bartholomew Egan OFM, The Donegal Annual,
   Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1969, p. 32.

5. Two Remarkable Letters from Ireland, edited by
   John Thomas, London, John Thomas, 1641.

6. Ibid.

7. John Burke, a letter to unnamed, Paris 6 December,
   1733, quoted in "Some Problems of the Irish Mission
   1733-74", Roman Archives, the Franciscan Library,
   Killiney, Dublin.

CHAPTER II

1. Swords.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Mooney, p. 20.

6. Ibid, p. 22.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, p. 31.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Poem by Padraic Colum "The Old College of the Irish, Paris", quoted by Liam Swords, Soldiers, scholars, priests (A short history of the Irish College Paris), Paris, The Irish College, 1985.

2. Edward W. Lynam, The Irish Character in Print, Shannon, Irish University Press, 1968, p. 7.

3. John Richardson, A Proposal for the Conversion of the Popish Natives of Ireland, London, J. Downing, 1712, p. 6.

4. Canice Mooney OFM, "St. Anthony's College Louvain", edited by Bartholomew Egan OFM, The Donegal Annual, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1969, p. 32.

5. Two Remarkable Letters from Ireland, edited by John Thomas, London, John Thomas, 1641.

6. Ibid.

7. John Burke, a letter to unnamed, Paris 6 December, 1733, quoted in "Some Problems of the Irish Mission 1733-74", Roman Archives, the Franciscan Library, Killiney, Dublin.

CHAPTER II

1. Swords.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Mooney, p. 20.

6. Ibid, p. 22.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, p. 31.

9. Brendan Jennings OFM, <u>Michael O'Cleirigh and his Associates</u>, Dublin and Cork, Talbot Press Ltd., 1936, p. 17.

10. Mooney, p. 36.

11. Ibid, p. 38.

12. Jennings, p. 134.

13. <u>Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters</u>, translated by John O'Donovan, Dublin, Gill, 1851, Vol I, introduction.

14. Jennings, p. 127.

15. <u>The Irish Glossary of Michael O'Clery</u>, edited by Arthur W. K. Miller, 1881, Revue Celtique, Vol. IV and V, p. 355.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Lynam, p. 5.

19. Mooney, p. 31.

20. Ibid, p. 32

21. Ibid, p. 35.

22. Ibid, p. 36.

CHAPTER III

1. Colm O'Lochlainn,"Gaelic Script and Modern Type", in <u>Progress in Irish Printing</u>, edited by F. R. Higgins, Dublin, Alex. Thom & Co., 1936, p. 73.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 75.

4. James Carney, "Society and the Bardic Poet", <u>Studies</u>, Autumn/Winter 1973, p. 234.

5. Ibid, p. 236.

6. Ibid, p. 237.

7. Miller, p. 355.

8. Lynam, p. 7.

9. O'Lochlainn, p. 75.

10. Lynam, p. 7.

11. John O'Kearney, <u>Aibidil Gaoigheilge agus Caiticiosma</u>,
    Dublin, 1571, title page.

CHAPTER IV

1. Philip B. Meggs, <u>A History of Grafic Design</u>, Penguin
    Books Ltd., 1983, p. 117.

2. S. H. Steinberg, <u>Five Hundred Years of Printing</u>,
    third edition, Penguin Books Ltd., 1979, p. 179.

3. Lynam, p. 9.

4. Ibid, p. 10.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, p. 11.

7. Ibid, p. 13.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid, p. 14.

11. Joseph Moxon, <u>Mechanick Exercises</u>, edited by Herbert
    Davis and Harry Carter, London, Oxford University
    Press, 1962, p.vii.

12. Ibid, p. 357.

13. Ibid, p. 358.

14. Lynam, p. 16.

15. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

1. Lynam, p. 5.

2. O'Kearney, introduction.

3. Steinberg, p. 76.

4. Arthur W. Johnson, <u>The Thames & Hudson Manual of Bookbinding</u>, London, Thames & Hudson, 1978, p. 14.

5. Paul Needham, <u>Twelve Centuries of Bookbinding 400 - 1600</u>, London, Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 270.

6. Lynam, p. 7.

7. Needham, p. 270.

8. Uilluim O'Domhnuill, <u>Tiomna Nuadh</u>, Dublin, Sean Franke, 1602, dedication.

9. Lynam, p. 12.

10. Meggs, p. 121.

11. E. W. Lynam, letter to Marsh's Library, 9th December 1932, in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boorde, Andrew. The Fyrste Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge, edited by F. J. Furnivall, London, 1870

Burke, John. Letter to unnamed, Paris 6th Dec. 1733, quoted in "Some Problems of the Irish Mission 1733-'74", Roman Archives, Franciscan Library, Killiney.

Carney, James. "Society and the Bardic Poet", Studies, Autumn/Winter 1973, pp. 233-250.

Chichester, Arthur. Late and True Relation from Ireland, London, John Thomas, 1641.

Connellan, Owen. The Annals of Ireland, Dublin, B. Geraghty, 1846.

Gearnon, Anthony. Parrthas an Anma, Louvain, 1645.

Gearnon, A. Parrthas an Anma, edited by Anselm O Fachtna, Dublin, Institute for Higher Education, 1953.

Hogan, Rev. E. ed. Description of Ireland in Anno 1598, Dublin and London, 1878.

Hogan, E. The History of the Warr of Ireland from 1641-1653, Dublin, McGlasham and Gill, 1873.

Jennings, Brendan. Michael O Cleirigh and his Associates, Dublin and Cork, Talbot Press Ltd., 1936.

Johnson, Arthur W. Bookbinding, London, Thames & Hudson, 1978.

Laoidhe, Seosamh. Dunaire na Midhe, Dublin, Gaelic League, 1914.

Lynam, E. W. The Irish Character in Print, Shannon, Irish University Press, 1968.

Lynam, E. Letter to Marsh's Library, 9th Dec. 1932, in Marsh's Library.

Meggs, Philip B. A History of Graphic Design, Penguin Books Ltd., 1983.

Moxon, Joseph. Mechanick Exercises, London, Oxford University Press, 1962.

Mooney, Canice. "St. Anthony's College Louvain", The Donegal Annual, Vol. VIII No. 1, 1969.

Needham, Paul. Twelve Centuries of Bookbinding 400-1600, New York and London, Oxford University Press, 1979.

O'Clery, Michael. The Irish Glossary of Michael O'Clery, edited by A. W. K. Miller, Revue Celtique, Vol. IV and V, 1881.

O Domhnuill, Uilluim. Tiomna Nuadh, Dublin, Sean Francke, 1602.

O'Donovan, John translator. Annals of the Four Masters Dublin, Gill, 1851, Vol. I.

O Flannghaile, Tomas. Seacht Sardhanta Gaedhilge, Dublin, Sealu Bruers, 1908.

O'Hussey, Bonaventura. Teagasc Criosdaidhe, Antwerp, 1611.

O'Hussey. Teagasc Criosdaidhe, second edition, Philip Maguidhire ed., Rome, Typis Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 1707.

O Kearnaigh, Seann. Aibidil Gaoidheilge agus Caiticiosma, Dublin, 1571.

O'Lochlainn, Colm. "Gaelic Script and Modern Type", Progress in Irish Printing, Dublin, Alex. Thom & Co., 1936.

O'Molloy, Francis. Lucerna Fidelium, Rome, Typis Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 1676.

O'Molloy, F. De Prosodia Hibernica, ed. by Tomas O Flannghaile, Dublin, Gill, 1908.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

CLEACHTA CHCID.

Anáinmanacha,agus na mís, 7 na
ρ'bíomao noñí. Amen.

do nacdé τ r g ð oíje ch tτ ch γ ρ uρ ð

A a. aim.	4.	m. muin.	m.
b. bec	b.	n. njoir	n.
C. coll	c.	o. oir	o.
d. bayp	b.	p. petbog	p.
e. eaða	e.	q. cept	q.
f. ρ'hn	f.	r. rys	r.
g. gort	g.	s. rol	s.
h. huate	h.	t. tjne	t.
j. joða	j.	u. ur	u.
k. colljm	k.	z. cpaρ.	₃
L. luir	l.		

x. y. o. y. agus gach τjειl no gac nod
ele, ni lucpe naouma bon gαojbelg fiu.
ojunbebljo amana ogum aca ince:0 á
am r'bjjobeaji mao, ir-bhjg ðoec bjój
4ξ 34.

Abgjtir.

45 x. ct bpjg u 7j, bjòs 45 u. ct bhjg e,7
e, bjoy 45 gac ct 7 ojob ro.agus ir jo-
nañ e ljone.agus 7 na gaojbelge.

Rojnceam abg vjm na gaojbelge nar
gac bjoy elea gon áñ oñ gne,mar

guchp	aro nmar ojbu caojbe lnna.
	e 7j, an od guchp ge caola.
	b . g . m . b . p . l . n. na reañ gconpoja eorpnoma.
a conpne	ju . ll . m . m . lom. on͂g . na cújg con- rojcñá.o.g . b na τ r j còñajcρ͂aþòe. þ.boge . μ. c.na- þj con͂o gboga. c.c.r.na τ rj còñ ojgñ́ba. r.cònρój,ajñmo

Fig. 3

uRRnajshthe.

Ghмовицр соrreanca од сloipaб, opó gltim, 7 voſegad : 7 veónajṫ гós a с hḟ ḃсарма aṁ aга cloiproin 7 aṁ a léṁab duiṅ, nan páṫbam ojlbem ḟo bráć aṅ, acd ḟo mab hḋep hḃ aṁaṅ éorroṁirḟ do ṫujṫ
ḟo ṁririeaṫ, 7 aṁ na ṫuṫṅ ḟo ḟṁeḃm hḟo neaṁ ciṅṫ aḃapṫaṫ, 7 aṁ na cṁe- veaṅ ḟo leaṅā hi ḟo ṫḟeaṫṫaṫ iṁoṁu- ḟe neaṁ taṫbémeaṫ aṅ ḟac ule veṫṁeṫ ṫáni 7 uṁaco, aṁ vaḃapṫ ṫoṁaṁo bus ḟomṁuḃaṁo ḃṁṁ cṁoṁoṁṁ uaṅ, 7 aṁ ṁṁuṁṁ 7 aṫ loṁṫaiṁeaṫo ṫo coṁnuṫ- vheaṫ ṫaṫ ni ṁévooṁ heaṫ hoṁojṁṫe vor cṅacoa 7 vo ṫlójṁlé aṅ nṫṁ ṫmaṅ ṫhaṫb ṁle, ṁṁé joṁa Cṁjoṁo aṅ nom tṁlánuṫ- ṫeoṁ 7 aṁ noon a jone ṁén aṁa ḃ ṁl ṫaṫ ṫloṁ molaṫ 7 onoṁ oṁṁé
bhjaḃ ṫṁóṁ, ṁuṁ.
ob maṅ iṁ.

AIRCIOGUIL

vaiṅṁne von MiaṁaiL
cṁoṁoaiṫe, aṫá aṅ ná
ṫ cuṁ amaṫ máille le iṁuṫ
vorṁas vachoaṅan chjlle
aṁus ṫuaiṫe na juṫe ṁo
na héṁeáo, js coṁ vá ṫaṫ
con moṁne aṫá uṁal vo
ṁeaṫo Oṁa aṁus na baṅ-
hṁoṁan vo ṁaḃaṁl ciuṫé,
aṁus ṫo ḃeṁaḃea
von clez.

1571.

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

psalᵯ. 1.

S beηηᵹ an feη ηaċ ṙiubliᵹioη a ccoᵯᵹle ηa ηeiᵯ·ḃiaḋaċ, ηaċ ṙeᵹraῆ a ṙliᵹe ηa bṗeċaċ, ⁊ ηaċ ṙῆᵹioη a ṙῆᵹeċaη ηa ttáηcṙiṙηeċh.

2. 21ċt atá a ḃṙl a ηoliᵹeḋ an Tiᵹeηηa, aᵹuṙ ioηa ḃliᵹeḃ ṙmuameῆ ṙe ḋo ló aᵹuṙ ḋoiḃċe.

3. 21ᵹuṙ biaiḃ ṙe coṙᵯṙl ṙe cṙaῆ plaηḃηᵹte láiᵯ ṙe haiḃηiḃ ṫiᵹe, ηoċ ḋo ḃeiṙ a ṫoṙaḋ ioηa aimṙiṙ iomċubaiḃ; ηi ċṙioηṙṫḋ ṙóṙ a ḃṙlle, aᵹuṙ ᵹiḋ ḃè ηi ḋo ḃῆa ṙè, tioċṙaiḃ biṙᵹ̃ a.

4. Ṅi maṙ ṙiη ḋo ηa mioċṙáiḃṫiᵹ: aċt ataiḃ coṙᵯṙl ṙiṙ an lóċáη ηoċ ṙᵹabuṙ an ᵹáoṫ.

5. 21ṙ a ηaḋḃaṙṙiη ηi ṙeṙṙḃ ηa mioċṙáiḃṫiᵹ aῆṙa mḃṙeiṫeᵯηuṙ, ηá ηa ṗeċaiḋ a ccoiṁṫioηól ηa ḃṙiηḃuη.

6 Oiṙ bi ṙioṙ ṙliᵹe ηa ḃṙiηḃuη aᵹ an Ttiᵹeηηa: aċt ṙaċaiḃ ṙliᵹe ηa ηeiᵯḃiaḋaċ ṙᵹeċaḃ.

ᵹlaċaiḃ ηa ṙiaᵹlóiṙiᵹ coᵯᵹle ṙe ċéile a ηaᵹaiḃ an Tiᵹeηηa, aᵹuṙ a ηaᵹaiḃ a uηᵹtaiᵹ, (aᵹ ṙáḃ)

3. Ḃṙiṙᵹm ó ċéile a ccηḃṙeċaṙ, aᵹuṙ teilᵹiom uáῆ a ccᵹηᵹait.

4. 21ηtè ṙῆᵹioṙ aηṙηa ṙlaitᵹeṙηḃḋo ḃῆa ṙè ᵹáiṙe: ḋo ḃῆa an Tiᵹeηηa ṙoċᵯṙḋ oṙṙa.

5. 21ῆṙiη laḃḃeoηṫḋ ṙè ṙiu ioηa ṙeiηᵹ, aᵹuṙ cṙáiḃṙiḃ ṙè iaḃ ioηa ḃiḃṙeiηᵹ.

6. Ᵹiḋḋ ḋo ċṙṙ miṙi mo Ṙiᵹ a mo ċηoc ηáoᵯṫa Sioη.

7. Ṙoillṙeoċa mè an ṙeṙ: a ḋuḃṙ̃ an Tiᵹeηηa ṙiomṙa, iṙ tú mo ᵯac, a ηiuᵹ ḋo ᵹiη mè tú.

8. Iaṙṙ oṙum, aᵹuṙ ḋo ḃῆa mè ḃṙt ηa ᵹeiηte maṙ oiᵹṙeċht, aᵹuṙ ηa coḃċa iṙ iṁċeiηe ḋoη talaᵯ maṙ ṙeilḃ.

9. Ḃṙiṙṙe tú iaḃ lè ṙlait iaṙṙῆ, mioηḃṙῆᵹṙiη iaḃ ioηa ccoḃċηᵹ maṙ ṙoiᵹṙᵹè cṙiaḃ.

10. Ḃiti ᵹlic aηoiṙ ῆmeṙiη ó a Ṙiᵹte: ᵹlaċηḃ tᵹᵹaiᵹ, a ḃṙeitᵹᵯṙη ηa talman.

11. Ṙóᵹaηṫᵹ ḋon Tiᵹeηṙa maille le heᵹla, aᵹuṙ lúṫᵹáiṙiᵹiḃ maille lè

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

DUAN ANN SO CPHILIP MHAC CUINN CHROSAIGH ANN

a dcairbeneas cuirorgadaj uaenas lajde enbaioh, agus an inobara oerocra epiorsou cum en breceamnajs agus na brjaejaraoepaeno.

Tuar ferge roigoe ohe,
bjou anoijpchjllanjhife:
Il aohjomga ag rajug gach rear,
gras mac ojonghja ra oeraeo.

JS bjanrheag mhall js mearg,
achuall js cujs rhujccheara:
Tjoc ja pjugan cocho rajohojl,
ole nocha ou ginojoghojl.

An cheanorjacho chajcheas rjnoe,
is gran angaj ohjlnoe:
Leanrajoh re rosna rolra,
achos nj hejs jonmholra.

Anegco; jles oj locrah,
oobjegnajn jean reanrhocal:
Se taneare oean gach oujne,
acheapt js hejs eaglujohe.

Fogus oa rheng a luohujnc,
oujhn nj cujrhe a geunncablujgt:
Li na coghajnia oho cheacho,
achomajjjoa aeas eg cojgheacho.

(... text continues, Early Modern Irish, largely illegible ...)

breach be mons oecoa leam,
nj rorajoh jno ojrjeano:
Sj oo gujoe an oujljhnolamh,
en glujnjbh mujne marchap.
Meargajoh an cus ceacho agcorp,
meargajoh jos beoj ambochoseo:
Achujgh gan noenojrne bo,
enojohje rajchejr jojo.

TUAIR FERGE FOIGHIDE

(final line, italic Gaelic, illegible)

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

TIOMNA·NVADH

AR DTIGHEARNA AGVS

AR SLANAIGHTHEORA IOSA
CRIOSD,

AR NA TARRUING GU FIRINNEACH
ar Ghreigis gu faoibheilg.

RE HUILLIAM O DOMHNUILL.

·Tic. Cap. 2.·

Uerr. 11. Do foillsigh grás Dé gu teallpuigteach, do beir slánughadh
ris do chum na nuile dáoineadh:

Uerr. 12. Agus do beir teagurg dúine, fá neam' diaghacho, agus fá
airmiánuib an tsáoghaltre co seachna, agus ri ar mbeacha oho
chaiteaih olúih gu measarrga, agus gu cutchrom, agus gu diaga,
ra sáoghalra co láthair.

ATA SO AR NA CHUR AGCLO AMBAILE
athá Chath, a otigh mhaigirein Uilliam Uiréin Chois au Drouch-
tio, ré Seón Francke. 1602.

Fig. 16

Rudimenta Gramaticae
Hibernicae

Hoc opusculum dividitur in quatuor partes. In 1ª igitur de literis et syllabis. In 2ª de partibus orationis. In 3ª de Syntaxi seu Constructione. In 4ª de arte poetica.

Caput 1m de litteris

Litterae Hibernicae iuxta primaevam originem sunt tantum septemdecim quarum figurae nomina potestates ex schemate subscripto patebunt.

ɑ —— Ailм —— ailm —— a
b —— beiṫ —— beith —— b
c —— coll —— coll —— c
d —— dur —— duir —— d
e —— eaḋaḋ —— eaghadh —— e
f —— fearn —— fearn —— f
g —— gort —— gort —— g
h —— uaṫaḋ —— uathadh —— h
i —— ioġaḋ —— ioghadh —— i
l —— luis —— luis —— l

In usum ... Artion:
Italy pro
Conuentu
Limericensi
... superscripta

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 20