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A Call for the Study of Irish Rhetoric

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A Call for the Study of Irish Rhetoric

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the existing scholarship in Irish rhetoric and the narrative that has

been built thus far. Current knowledge of Irish rhetoric examines minute periods in the literature

and communication rather than a coherent overview of its rhetorical development. This thesis

identifies and analyzes three periods of rhetorical significance using the stipulative

characterization of Irish rhetoric being narrative based relying on recursive elements from Irish

history. It then posits a new perspective and language to typify Irish rhetoric using the metaphor

of a Celtic braid. Through the composition of a braid, I classify three strands of rhetoric and trace

them through the identified rhetorical periods to demonstrate the continuous nature of Irish

rhetoric. Furthermore, I propose research questions for other scholars to use as entry points into

the conversation. These questions also propose strategies for teaching the Irish rhetorical braid in

classrooms.

INDEX WORDS: Irish rhetoric, Oratory, Narrative/Narrators, Spectrality, Vernacular

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DEDICATION

For my friends and family who have given me the strength, courage, and love to pursue my education despite the challenges I have encountered along the way. This is as much your triumph as it is mine.

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INTRODUCTION

This project idea resulted from a study abroad trip to Ireland during the final year of my undergraduate education. I was enamored by the country and explored it through the physical terrain as well as its catalogue of literature. Coincidentally, I read Bram Stoker's *Dracula* the month before my trip to Ireland. And during my visit, I saw connections between characters, plot points, and events to the Irish fight for independence from England. I explored this idea in my undergraduate thesis, "*Dracula* and the Irish Fight for Independence," and presented it at the South Atlantic Modern Language Association 2018 Conference.

While conducting research for my conference paper, I noticed the scarcity of articles or books examining Irish rhetoric. This gap became more evident as I developed a research question for my MA Thesis. Ireland has a rich history that was predominantly cultivated outside the Greco-Roman influence which can be traced throughout the rest of Europe. Resulting in a unique and innately Irish rhetoric that has been largely ignored by academics. As I continued to search for a research topic, I became frustrated by the inadequacy of scholarship related to Irish rhetoric.

My research will examine the existing scholarship in Irish rhetoric and the narrative that has been built thus far. Current knowledge of Irish rhetoric examines minute periods in literature and communication rather than a coherent overview of its rhetorical development. This thesis identifies and examines three major periods of rhetorical significance: early folklore and mythology, medieval Christian, and postcolonial. Using my initial review of sources for this project, I propose a stipulative characterization that Irish rhetoric is narrative based with recursive elements (Purdue). This understanding of Irish rhetoric is used as a lens for the

literature review in my first chapter. My second chapter then posits a new perspective and language to characterize Irish rhetoric.

One of the most common images in Celtic art is the knot or braid. For the purposes of this study, I am going to refer to the knot as a braid because the words are used interchangeably. Celtic braids are unique as all begin and end at the same place; they are continuous loops (Palmer). During a trip to Ireland in 2019, I found a sculpture featuring the Celtic cross (see Figure 1). The cross is arguably the most popular type of a Celtic braid. Along with the prominent cross in the center, there are several examples of other versions of the Celtic braid on the statue.

Figure 1: Photo of Celtic Cross in Dublin, Ireland

The commonality among every braid and knot on this statue is the infinite loop. Using Figure 1.2, we see an example of the Celtic braid on the right side of the larger statue and can observe that every strand is connected back to itself; there are no loose ends.

Figure 2: Close-up Photo of Celtic Cross

This closer image of a second Celtic cross is just one of many examples of Celtic braids. To emphasize this image, I identify the cyclical nature of Irish rhetoric throughout my project as a demonstration of how the Celtic braid exemplifies that concept. Each of the braids are based on three or four strands; using the image of a braid, I classify three continuous strands of rhetoric that weave together to create a stipulative characterization of Irish rhetoric as narrative based with recursive themes and ideas.

To differentiate Irish rhetoric from Classical rhetoric, I want to quickly submit my characterization of Classical rhetoric. The Roman philosopher, Quintilian, claims in his *Institutio Oratoria*,

> That oratory is the science of speaking well. For when the most satisfactory definition has been found, he who seeks another, is merely looking for a worse one. This much being admitted we are now in a position to see clearly what is the end, the highest aim, the ultimate goal of rhetoric, that τέλος in fact which every art must possess. For if rhetoric is the science of speaking well, its end and highest aim is to speak well. (Quintilian 318-319)

Classical rhetoric is a scientific method to speak well. There is a set goal to speak at what the orator and audience will define as "well." Roman philosopher, Cicero, proposed five elements of classical rhetoric to be used in the pursuit of speaking well: invention, arrangement, delivery, style, and memory. The elements are rearranged in accordance with the rhetorical values of each time period to best persuade audiences. Contrarily, Irish rhetoric is one extended narrative connecting time periods together with similar characteristics and values.

After analyzing the strands composing Irish rhetoric, I propose questions for future scholars to enter this conversation and engage with the braid metaphor. These questions also explore the pedagogical implications of using the Irish rhetorical braid in classrooms and its unique approach to Irish studies. My project begins to establish the differences between Classical rhetoric and Irish rhetoric, and the potential significance of those disparities in future research.

Key Terms and Phrases

Irish rhetoric, Oratory, Narrative/Narrators, Spectrality, Vernacular

CHAPTER ONE: INVESTIGATING OUR CURRENT UNDERSTANDING OF IRISH RHETORIC

Mythical Roots with the Arrival of Celtic Culture

Beginning with the arrival of the Celts in the Iron Age, Ireland entered a rhetorical period I will refer to as "early folklore and mythology." Narratives and oratory story-telling separate early rhetoric from later periods since Irish written vernacular was not developed until the fifth century with the introduction of the *ogham*[8] stones. In those early periods, *druids* and *bards*[33], storytellers and poets, used "language-based practices to teach, heal, judge, and entertain" (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 242). This was the driving force for one of the major rhetorical movements of this period: validation. It became necessary to validate and substantiate stories because academics and learned society did not value these "low-class" poets or their stories. Even to the point where audience feedback shaped narratives as the crowd would interrogate the speaker while they were telling stories. Orators began using first-person narratives, inclusions of kings and other notable figures, and recurrent story elements that connected the tales to other popular narratives or historical events—also identified as spectrality, or the "motif of return," which we will explore later in this chapter (Schultz 1). Thus, in order to establish an understanding of Irish rhetoric, we must look at its narrative foundation in folklore and mythology.

Donnchadh Ó Corráin's essay, "Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland" is part of an anthology edited by R. F. Foster. The collection constructs a chronology of Irish history in the book, *the Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*. For the purposes of this study, the analysis will be limited to Ó Corráin's chapter, "Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland." In a period beginning with descriptions of Ireland as early as the sixth century BC and continuing until the

colonization by St. Patrick in the fifth century, scholars tentatively call Early Christian Ireland, Ériu[14], in recognition of the Celtic inhabitants on the island. Since the earliest examples of Irish literature come from oratorical Celtic Myths, we use those stories as the foundation of our study and build from that period on.

Without written records of early Celtic society, many historians subscribe to the scholar Poseidonios[15] and his depiction of the continental Celts. He describes a threefold division of society and the institutions of druids, bardic praise-poetry, and clientship as they appear in early Irish literature (Ó Corráin 1-2). Though these characteristics apply to the Celts of Gaul, Ireland had existing cultures in the Neolithic and Bronze ages that predated the Celts and influenced the development of Irish society. The most evident example is Irish vernacular "is an indigenous realization of Celtic, heavily influenced by the pre-Celtic languages spoken in Ireland and containing an unknown number of words (personal and population names among them) borrowed from these languages" (Ó Corráin 2).

Influence of the Roman Empire began as early as the first century AD but is more pronounced following the decline of Roman power in Britain in the fourth century (Ó Corráin 5). The Irish took advantage of the waning Roman Empire by colonizing parts of Britain, Wales, and Scotland. It is through these colonies that Roman and Christian culture bled into Irish culture. Other scholars in this analysis such as Brian James Stone and Michael Clarke debate the extent of Roman and Christian contamination, but evidence of this merger can be found in both Irish vernacular and material culture. For example, the *ogham*[8] stones found throughout Ireland and Britain are the earliest forms of written Irish and are based on the Latin alphabet (Ó Corráin 8).

I introduce this source first so the question of overlap and the formation of Ireland can be used as a lens for the remaining sources in this chapter. Keep in mind, how do some of the other scholars reconcile the possibility of early Christian influence on Irish society predating the arrival of St. Patrick? What information is presented for and against this idea?

Richard Johnson-Sheehan and Paul Lynch's article "Rhetoric of Myth, Magic, and Conversion: A Prolegomena to Ancient Irish Rhetoric" claims through geographic position, Ireland developed separately from the influence of the Roman Empire establishing distinct cultural and religious practices that are evident today. This is a departure from the majority of our rhetorical studies as Ireland is an anomaly having grown separate from Roman influence. Irish literature predating the arrival of Christianity in the fifth century reveals unique patterns and rhetorical traditions that are not seen in other European cultures. In particular, it is because of Ireland's isolation from wars, plagues, etc. that many ideas were preserved and give scholars greater insight to "lost" periods in mainland Europe.

The Dark Ages[6] of Europe were essential in the cultivation of individual societies as many education and civic structures were established during this period. As echoed by other scholars, monasteries played a critical role in the preservation of Irish culture and intellectual compositions in Europe (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 234). Due to its isolation from other countries, Irish priests and monks reestablished intellectual and spiritual traditions as Europe recovered from the effects of the bubonic plague. Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch speculate, "for this reason the Irish have always treasured and preserved their legends and histories because they consider their contemporary culture to be an uninterrupted continuation of the past" (234). Fitting into my image of a braid linking spectral elements from history to the present.

Closer examination of Irish history reveals ancient Irish rhetoric was significantly different from the Greco-Roman rhetoric throughout the rest of Europe. Before the arrival of St. Patrick and the Roman Catholic church, Ireland was composed of small agricultural communities governed by local chiefs[7] making Classical rhetoric unsuitable for their needs in communication. The ancient Irish used

> a narrative-based rhetoric to persuade others, conduct their civil affairs, educate their youth, and preserve their cultural values. . . the Irish employed an intimate rhetoric to build a sense of identification among people in rural settings. This narrative-based rhetoric, steeped in legend, myth, and magic, promoted and preserved Irish culture and values. (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 234)

Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch construct a chronology of ancient Ireland as evidence for their stipulative definition of Irish rhetoric; beginning with the arrival of the Celts in the Iron Age, Ireland started to evolve through the development of Celtic vernacular. They also introduced Druidism and a civic structure with its foundation in storytelling, magic, naturalism, and poetry (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 235).

Rhetoric in Irish mythology can be condensed into four sets of legends: Irish origin myths, the Cycle of Invasions, the Ultonian Cycle, and the Fenian Cycle (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 236). Origin myths focus on four primary deities who use language, poetry, and rhetoric in their heroic quests. One of the deities featured in Irish origin myths is Ogma, a god of verbal eloquence. This is reflective of a rhetorical emphasis placed on eloquence in ancient narratives. Ogma is also used to explain the mysterious *ogham*[8] stones. These were the first examples of Irish written language so it is fitting that the god of verbal eloquence is attributed as the inventor (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 236).

Following Irish origin myths, the cycles of Irish legends each depict different events and periods in ancient Irish history. Many of the legends are reminiscent of Greek epics in their illustrations of the feats of great heroes. Since my study is founded on the idea that Irish rhetoric developed separate from Greo-Roman influence, this connection creates speculation to the legitimacy of my argument. It also fits with Michael Clarke's theory in his article, "Linguistic Education and Literary Creativity in Medieval Ireland"—which I review later in this chapter—that most of the surviving texts we see today were recorded by *scriptoria*[36]. Meaning, all of the legends were written by monks familiar with the Greek epics. This could account for any crossover in the Irish myths while maintaining the compositions were recognizably Irish.

The first cycle of legends, The Cycle of Invasions, is focused on Celtic colonization and contains spectral remnants of prehistoric Celtic rhetorical practices. The second, Ultonian Cycle, is set in the first century CE and depicts stories of the king of Ulster, Conor mac Nessa (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 237). Ultonian cycle legends are similar to Greek epics in their illustrations of the feats of great heroes. Finally, the Fenian Cycle is centered on High King Finn mac Cumhal during the third century CE. The High King is joined by his band of men, the Fianna, and the tales describe their adventures—evocative of Arthurian tales. Similarly, to Arthurian stories, many Fenian Cycle texts reference religious figures such as St. Patrick and his scribes; Timothy Corrigan Correll explains the usage of Christian references in ancient Irish stories as a rhetorical device providing evidence of the validity of Celtic stories (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 237). As mentioned earlier, substantiation was a major driving force in early folklore rhetoric. Since many of the stories from the cycles of legends were spread by orators, it was a common rhetorical strategy to defend their tales against argumentative audience members. I go into further detail about this attitude of condemnation in my review of Correll's article later in this section.

A primary factor in sustaining Irish rhetoric is the cyclical nature of narratives and orations through the use of mnemonics, rhythms, antitheses, clichés, formulaic repetitions, and common thematic patterns (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 238). Thematic repetition of courage, generosity, loyalty, and beauty establishes the "Irish equivalent of common *topoi*[9]" (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 238). Since my study is built on the idea that Irish rhetoric is recursive with a continuous narrative structure, spectrality ties different periods of Irish literature and rhetoric together as it is evident throughout.

As evidence of the circular nature of Irish rhetoric, Richard Johnson-Sheehan and Paul Lynch provide the Irish legend, the *Táin Bó Cúalgne*[10]. The characters Queen Medb and Cuchulainn represent the archetypes of feminine and male ideals of power. *Táin* illustrates the struggle between Queen Medb and a bull owner, Conor mac Nessa, as she sends her army to capture his bull and bring it back to her. Cuchulainn is mac Nessa's champion and is representative of the heroes of the Fenian cycle. He uses magic and spells[11] to deter Medb's troops, forcing her to use persuasion as a means of negotiation. The usage of persuasion as a battle strategy indicates the belief that language signifies power. An important persuasive rhetorical strategy included in the epic is *doringni laíd*[12], two characters chanting in an exchange meant for persuasion and negotiation (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 240).

The *áes dána*[13] were crucial in maintaining the connection between magic and rhetoric. They were adept in poetry, teaching, law, storytelling, healing, and practical crafts. These scholars were either *druids* or *bards*—note, the ancient Irish definition of these occupations differs from those we later learn in Medieval rhetoric. As stated earlier, druids and bards used "language-based practices to teach, heal, judge, and entertain" (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch

242). These complex oratorical pieces laid the foundation for future writers and poets to use in their own compositions.

The sudden introduction of literacy to Ireland through the arrival of St. Patrick had a unique effect on Irish rhetoric as it allowed them to record the familiar Celtic legends which in turn preserved the oral tradition. Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch conclude,

> from this preliminary study of Irish rhetoric: The rural, oral, non-Roman culture of Ireland managed to survive the massive cultural shifts of Christianity and literacy. . . Their Celtic religion continued to manifest itself in their Christianity, and their oral legends continued to manifest themselves in their literate histories. Most importantly, their rhetoric continued to see words as magic. (250)

Ireland's oratorical tradition was adaptable through the introduction of new cultures and religions and incorporated into the writing techniques of the next period. Before moving into the arrival of Christianity, it is important to learn more about folklore and fairy stories to have a more comprehensive understanding of the narrative foundation of Irish rhetoric.

Timothy Corrigan Correll's article, "Believers, Sceptics, and Charlatans: Evidential Rhetoric, the Fairies, and Fairy Healers in Irish Oral Narrative and Belief" examines folklore and the competing discourses regarding the belief in fairies and fairy healers. Beginning in the 17th century, the Catholic Church rose to power in Ireland and enacted statutes condemning "magical and quasi-religious customs, including superstitious curing and beliefs" (Correll 1). A period of restructuring began after the Great Famine of 1845-1849, referred to as the "devotional revolution;" church attendance increased, more priests were ordained, and improvement in communication created a "tightening of clerical discipline and a more systematic censure of behaviour deemed inappropriate by the Church" (Correll 1).

Before continuing the analysis of Correll's article, it is important to recognize he claims the Catholic Church rose to power in the 17th century. Other sources included in this chapter such as Ó Corráin place the beginning of Catholic influence as early as the fifth century. The difference could signal an argument of when the Catholic church was at its peak influence in Irish society. We see later in this chapter that religion is at the foundation of Irish education along with being one of the catalysts of the Irish Civil War. The timeline becomes muddy because many of the sources suggest the beginning of the relationship between Ireland and the Roman Empire in different centuries and use that date as the entrance of Catholicism. Proposing a question: is Catholicism synonymous with the Roman Empire? If we separate the two, is that how Correll comes to the conclusion the Catholic Church rose to power in the 17th century?

This is important to understand the rise of Catholic influence because many of the policies regarding the censure of magical and superstitious customs came from an English/Irish version of the *Christian Doctrine* published in 1862. An attitude of condemnation stemmed from a "religious attack on superstition" which "converged with the advance of a rationalist worldview" (Correll 2). The desire to be as respectable as the rest of Europe spurred a period of enlightenment focused on reason and denigrating any superstitious beliefs. Medicine and law levied sanctions against "wise folk[2]" and used the press to further disparage fairy legend by printing stories linking injuries or deaths as a result of "fairy quackery" (Correll 2). Despite the increased persecution from the upper echelons of learned society, conjecture on the validity of Celtic mythology was not circumscribed to academia.

Condemnation of fairy belief spread far beyond the upper classes or scientific realms of society. Even in areas where *síscéalta[3]* were performed, "the debate over truth and falsehood was often at the centre of discourses" (Correll 2). At rural gatherings, people would often share

supernatural tales as a sort of forum "for considering truth, or colloquies over the nature of reality, in which the validity of fairy beliefs was assessed and debated" (Correll 3). Recordings of stories reveal a generational gap between an older generation that believed in *púcas*[4] and a younger group who were skeptical of fantastical stories. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, audience interactions with orators affected the narratives they told. Through interrogation, they would go as far as outright dismissing the storyteller in front of the crowd and called them out for their beliefs, but this prompted them to recite narrative evidence, "the narrators of legends may be 'stimulated, assisted, and encouraged or, conversely, discouraged, intimidated, challenged, and forced into argumentation by the comments of the listeners'" (Correll 4).

Stories collected by folklorists provide us with "a window into how narrators positioned themselves in relationship to the veracity of the stories they told " (Correll 4). Some used rhetorical strategies to substantiate the validity of their tales while others performed stories that implied supernatural connections but did not go as far as validating those beliefs. There are a few linguistic clues that have been linked to performance strategies for the telling of fairy stories; "these include assertions of truth, specificity of people, place, time; a stress or orienting information, and so on" (Correll 5). By providing details, the narrators were able to ground the stories in reality making them relatable for the audience. When telling local folktales, the narratives often took place *fad ó shin*[5], as a temporal remove from the audience that allowed them to potentially buy into the supernatural stories. Other times fairy stories involved a supernatural encounter by close family, friends, and neighbors or even the speakers themselves. This was a popular validation technique because it brought the story back to the listeners and people they could relate to.

As described by Richard Johnson-Sheehan and Paul Lynch, during the Cycle of Invasions storytellers would take the legends of how different cultural groups arrived in Ireland and use mystical elements as a temporal move to the otherworld—closely associated with specters and spectrality—while keeping them grounded in the real world. Elizabeth Boyle expands on the use of the otherworld in medieval literature as it represented Irish mythology and legend before the arrival of Christianity. She tells us the otherworld serves as an extended analogy for our own world; supporting the idea that orators elevated their stories through implied supernatural connections to the otherworld and its fantastical nature, but used details from common stories or well-known events to link the narratives in familiar situations for the audience.

First-person narratives relating fairy or supernatural experiences are called memorates and were often given more "evidential weight" by the audience. Third-person narratives did not have the same genuine qualities as those memorates with first-hand experience;

> It is not suprising, then, that the moral integrity, lack of superstition, lucidity of individuals who had uncanny experiences were often presented as part of an evidential rhetoric by narrators who wished to convince their audiences of the veracity of stories they were passing on second-hand. (Correll 5)

In order to substantiate those stories, speakers would personally vouch for witnesses or cite a communal agreement about the validity of those who experienced the encounter. Another quality that narrators would emphasize, is the individual in the story was a "good person"—meaning they were sober. It also helped to explain that this was not a singular occurrence but that multiple people had experienced the same thing. Some highlighted their initial skepticism to relate to the audience while explaining how their opinion was changed by the story; the conversion of nonbelievers is a popular theme in fairy narratives.

In continuation of that idea, fairy stories sometimes cited recognized skeptics of supernatural beliefs such as doctors, priests, and other members of academic circles in order to ratify their tales. Scholar Pádraig ó Héalaí concluded, "Generally the priest is portrayed as implicitly accepting the reality of fairy existence and activities. . . On the other hand, when the priest professes himself a skeptic or unbeliever, subsequent events demonstrate how misguided his skepticism was" (Correll 7). The shift from skeptic to believer in narratives created a path for the audience to follow.

Another rhetorical device used to justify fairy beliefs was to divorce a story from more questionable tales in the local community. One example substantiated a wise woman's powers by saying, "There was no lie [in it]—whatever lies there are about the fairies—[it was] neither a remarkable story nor lies. That was as true as the sun shining in the sky" (Correll 7). This "stress on authenticity" used elements such as "the reiteration of the truthfulness of events being recounted and community consensus as to their validity" (Correll 7). Common taglines were used in these tales to assert their truth such as "*scéal fíor é sin,*" "that's a true story;" or "*Níl aon fhocal bréige sa scéal sin,*" "There is no word of a lie in that" (Correll 7). How does explicitly stating the truth of a story affect the listener's understanding? Is trust necessary to these fairy stories?

The need for rhetorical devices to assert the legitimacy of fairy tales comes from the climate of skepticism that was growing in Ireland; "storytellers' accounts of specific details or claims as to the credibility of witnesses were probably presented, consciously or unconsciously, to pre-empt objections from potential critics, whether they be fellow community members or outsiders" (Correll 7). It is important to recognize that narrators were aware of their audience and the possible interrogations they could expect influencing their use of rhetorical devices in stories.

Most of these stories were presented to an audience of neighbors within their community. They were not meant for outsiders, especially educated people coming from urban centers. Narrators tailored their stories for familiar audiences because it was easier to establish trust with their neighbors than with strangers who were already biased against fairy stories. The listeners' familiarity with the storytellers affected their ability to be swayed by evidential proof and anticipation of arguments. They already knew who had a reputation for being trustworthy, and conversely the narrators knew what examples or characters would hold the greatest weight and be valued by the audience.

Introduction to Christianity and Literacy in Medieval Ireland

The arrival of St. Patrick in the fifth century marked the transition from "early folklore and mythology" to "medieval rhetoric" due to the introduction of Latin and Roman culture (Stone 1). Most of our knowledge of this period comes from the monastic scribes, *scriptoria*[36], who preserved both religious texts and secular fables. Unlike other parts of Europe, the Irish wanted to record ALL stories to create a chronology of literature for educating future scholars. Their value in establishing a catalogue of Irish literature supports my proposal that Irish rhetoric is narrative based. This task resulted in a class of writers, the *aes dana*[13], or *fili*[32]; a group of skilled freemen designated with the task to write laws, poetry, grammatical handbooks, liturgical texts, etc. It is important to know their value in society was debatable, as we will see later in this chapter, because there were other social classes of writers, *bards*[33], who were dismissed as inferior by medieval society and later scholars. This is notable because the sources in this section present a spectrum of opinions on the *fili* versus the *bard* and understanding the intricacies of the differences between the two classes reveals the rhetorical elements most important to medieval compositions.

Also, as we move into medieval rhetoric from early folklore, notice all of the featured writings contain narrative elements. Folklore and mythology, along with adapted Greco-Roman epics, were used to create medieval documents such as *dinshenchas*[16], St. Patrick's *Epistola ad Milites Corotici*[18], the *Book of Armagh*, and other illuminated manuscripts. These narratives were surprisingly standard in medieval literature; further proof of the rhetorical braid of oratorical language, narratives, and spectrality in medieval Ireland.

We start this section with Brian James Stone's "Medieval Irish Rhetorical Traditions," as he situates and presents Irish rhetoric beginning in the fifth century CE with the arrival of St. Patrick. St. Patrick is synonymous with the appearance of the church bringing a flowering literacy of Latinate and vernacular literature and learning. This included grammatical handbooks, poetry, liturgical texts, hagiography, hymns, saga, *dindshenchas*[16], triads, scriptural and grammatical commentaries, and law-texts (Stone 1). The Irish developed a reputation for *serc léigind*[17], or "a love of learning," and early monastic schools had an exceptional international reputation.

Since verbal art and oratory—the first strand of our rhetorical braid—were central in early Irish society, the Irish social structure was defined by oratorical roles. Irish learning and literature are distinct from other Western countries through embodiment of the Irish social and cultural values equally with the influence of Latin tradition (Stone 1). Early Ireland is often depicted by scholars to be "shrouded in Celtic Mists," growing outside the realm of the Roman Empire which had allowed the Celtic culture to flourish. To recall some of the other scholars in this chapter, the Irish were trading with the Roman Britons and Mediterranean World as early as the third century CE. Those interactions introduced Christianity which had a large impact on

Irish culture and society. So, the image of protective "Celtic Mists" may be a more idealized

remembrance of Ireland than a true understanding of the development of their culture.

One important distinction to be made is that the early Irish did not refer to themselves as

"Celts" but rather as "Gaels" (Stone 2). The identification of Celts is strictly linguistic and can be

controversial when connecting Celtic mythology to early medieval Irish literature. This is

relevant to our study because all labels of Celtic legends, Celtic folklore, etc. are placed by later

scholars on the Irish. Once again, supporting the idea that our understanding of Irish literature

comes through medieval scholars onward rather than the Irish people. It also gives insight to the

origin of "Gaelic" and the "Gaelic Irish" language. They self-identified as Gaels and called their

spoken language, Gaelic, as a result. This distinction clarifies the difference between Celt being a

written identifier of the group—as it was recorded by medieval authors—and Gael being the

spoken name of the Irish people.

St. Patrick's arrival commenced the Latinate tradition in Ireland. He was the son of a

wealthy Romano-British family until he was captured and enslaved by the Irish around the age of

16. Patrick later returned to Ireland after he was ordained a bishop in the Roman British Church.

One of his surviving manuscripts, the *Epistola ad Milites Corotici*[18], was written in response to

Coroticus after he slaughtered converted Christians in Ireland. Rhetoricians have studied this

letter and revealed that Patrick was trained in Roman rhetoric through a monastic context (Stone

3). They also discovered,

> the letter's organization, skilled deployment of numerous rhetorical figures, impactful
>
> appeals to pathos, and sophisticated chains of scriptural allusion (in place of the
>
> traditional Roman allusion to Classical sources), all bear the mark of a complex rhetorical
>
> performance. (Stone 3)

The *Epistola* was also written to be performed aloud; it would be sent to a messenger who would perform it with a company of others for crowds. Making St. Patrick's letter a rhetorical artifact and evidence of rhetorical education in fourth- and fifth-century Britain. We have seen the importance of oratorical traditions in early folklore and mythology, but the *Epistola* proves it was more widespread than we initially thought. Suggesting that since St. Patrick was educated in England, oratorical stories were common in other parts of Europe. Why is this valuable for our study? Is it evidence of Ó Corráin's theory that Roman influence began much earlier than the fifth century?

Another important figure in medieval Irish rhetoric is Columbanus, a self-exiled monk in the sixth century. He employed the *Hisperic* style; a Latinate writing style commonly used in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Columbanus provides the earliest example of this style which became popular amongst British and Irish writers. It is characterized by being bombastic, ornamental, and archaizing tendency (Stone 3).

The fifth century marked the beginning of interest in grammatical handbooks. Since Latin was not a native language in Ireland, they had to learn the language on their own, leading to the creation of their own grammatical handbooks[19]. The new hybrid language was labeled Hiberno-Latin. One author adapted the Latin Donatus by replacing all pagan imagery and allusions with Biblical examples (Stone 4).

When looking at the vernacular of early Ireland[20], we see connections to "Celtic" culture as an Indo-European language stemming from the Goidelic Celtic family. The Irish people "were not aware of a shared linguistic cultural heritage among themselves and their 'Celtic' neighbors" (Stone 4). Irish vernacular is divided into three periods: Old Irish period, from 600-900 CE; Middle Irish period, from 900-1200 CE; and Early Modern Irish period, from 1200-1600 CE

(Stone 4). Most evidence of the Old Irish period is derived from texts from 1100-1500 CE, but their contents can be traced back as early as the 630s;

> the ninth-century *Book of Armagh* is the oldest manuscript containing continuous Irish prose, but the late eleventh-century *Lebor na hUidre* ('Book of Dun Cow') is the oldest manuscript containing complete secular material in prose and verse. (Stone 4-5)

The ninth century signaled a new period as Irish soon replaced Latin in Irish monastic *scriptoria* (Stone 5).

The *áes dána*[13], an Irish learned caste, practiced *filidecht*—art forms extending to poetry, history, genealogy, biography, grammar, ancient lore, and law. Their existence tied poetry and law together in "law-texts" that presented judgements in a form of verse known as *roscad*, a rhetorical and ornamental form of speech (Stone 5). The language of *roscada* "is obscure, highly stylistic, performative, and rhetorical, and it often consists of maxims or aphorisms" (Stone 5). The origin of this discourse is debated, but it may have been developed from late antique rhetorical traditions where it was intentionally obscure and archaic to give it a greater sense of authenticity and protection of the knowledge of the learned class.

Knowing the *áes dána* were responsible for the majority of surviving medieval compositions, the types of literature we most commonly study from this period are law-texts and sagas because of the quantity written. Resulting in the one area of medieval Irish vernacular literature most extensively studied by scholars is "sagas." We want to identify the popularity of this genre because it is directly related to Celtic folklore and mythology pre-dating Christian Ireland. As we learned from Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch in the previous section, this tradition is divided into four cycles: The Mythological (Celtic Origin Myths), The Ulster, The Finnian, and the Cycle of Kings. The rhetorical value of saga texts comes from their representation of the

practice of translating Roman epics through *imitatio*[21] and *aemulatio*[22] (Stone 5). While saga

transcription grew in popularity, there was also an increase in writing new saga texts. Irish sagas

did draw on the Roman tradition, but they were more representative of Irish oral tradition—first

strand of Irish rhetorical braid—making these sagas, "an excellent source for understanding the

interaction of native and classical oratorical traditions" (Stone 6).

Along with vernacular compositions, the Irish have a rich tradition of manuscript

illuminations. Some of the most famous being the *Book of Kells*, *Lindisfarne Gospels, Book of

Durrow,* and *Book of Armagh* (Stone 6). They, along with surviving *ogham* stones and inscribed

crosses, show the importance of visual and material rhetoric in medieval Irish culture. I define

material rhetoric as the use of objects such as the physical *Book of Kells* or statues of Celtic

crosses to support values or trends in society. For example, how does the illustration of a Celtic

origin legend in the *Book of Kells* demonstrate the importance of Celtic folklore to the monastic

scribes who created illuminated manuscripts? The image of a braid used in this project was

prevalent in visual and material rhetoric and there are eight variations with their own meaning. In

the future, a visual and material rhetorical analysis based on my definition of Irish rhetoric could

illustrate how the braid metaphor applies to other parts of Irish society. Some questions to

consider moving forward in our analysis of medieval Irish rhetoric: Do we see any major shifts

in rhetorical values with the arrival of the church? Why do we keep returning to the cycles of

legends when medievalism is heavily based in ecclesiastical education?

In "Linguistic Education and Literary Creativity in Medieval Ireland," Michael Clarke

argues for a new approach to the deconstruction of Irish rhetoric as it has formerly been

understood as a movement from simplicity to complexity (39). We previously saw an example of

this type of scholarly thought in Brian James Stone's text. Stone states, "with the introduction of

Christianity came the introduction of literacy," and that any extant literature from pre-Christian Ireland only exists due to the arrival of Christianity and monastic scribes (2). Clarke agrees with this theory but asserts that despite the acceptance by most scholars of an earlier cross-influence of Latin learning and other foreign cultures in Ireland, the full implications have not been realized and a separation between Celtic and Latin learning still exists. It is important to recognize this difference in opinion because Clarke is implying that Celtic culture was rich and complex before the introduction of Latinate culture while Stone alleges medieval Ireland is responsible for developing an intricate Irish culture. Clarke states, "I will explore some of the new directions that open up when this language and its literature are treated not as the embodiment of tradition but as a reflexive commentary upon it" (Clarke 40).

Marcel Detienne is used as evidence through his theoretical dichotomy between exegesis and interpretation. Exegesis "is the unceasing and also immediate commentary that a culture arrogates of its symbolism, of its practices, of everything that makes up its living culture" (Clarke 40). While "interpretation arises when there is distance and perspective from without on tradition based on memory" (Clarke 41). Designating exegesis for participants within the culture and interpretation for outsiders "to understand them and export their meanings into the intellectual frameworks of their own quite different world" (Clarke 41). Interpretation becomes a lens to analyze almost all surviving Irish literature because it acknowledges the longstanding relationship between Ireland and the outside world.

With the acceptance of Clarke's argument comes the limitation that essentially all pieces of early Irish literature and learning, or what we categorize as folklore, have been touched or assembled from manuscripts written in Latin; one term used by the author to describe the assemblage is contamination.. It is necessary for any interpretation to account for the equivalence

between Latin and Irish words being interchangeably used in translations and transcriptions. In addition to Clarke's dissection of code-switching below, Breatnach explores transcriptions between the languages and provides guidance on how to accommodate the different implications of this on translated texts. Clarke also acknowledges monastic compositions and theological discourse would be subject to the language contamination more than the other domains in the Irish rhetorical language.

One example of the complications that arise from such code-switching is the word *druí*[30]. While this word is commonly associated with Celtic folklore and early Irish narratives, it is not found in any early Irish attestations. Instead, it can be found in medieval sagas derived from Classical epics—a tradition described in Brian James Stone's article—which were not composed until after the arrival of St. Patrick. A Latin depiction of the Theban prophet Teiresias[46] describes him as a *magus*, pagan wizard, or as it corresponds to the Irish translation, a *drui* (Clarke 44). This word association constructs a specific narrative about the relationship between Ireland and the outside world; medieval Irish settlers converted the simplistic pagan Celts into educated Christian scholars.

Clarke proposes medieval Irish literature is focused on interpretations of Latin texts because "translation in the most creative sense was an activity of high seriousness and intellectual depth, reaching from one cultural world to another and recasting the meanings of the source text in the codes and conceptual structures of the target language" (46). Christianity itself was used as a tool to create a narrative, chronicled in the *Senchas Már*[31], that the broken pagan legal system became just through the incorporation of Christian ideas. We see this in the inclusion of Christian redemption as part of Irish legal terminology.

The fabled creation of the Irish language as a derivative of the best parts of all the world's languages is a clear example of Clarke's approach of a reflexive commentary rather than an "embodiment of tradition." Two primary glossary compilations for analyzing Irish terminology use

> the accumulated techniques of Late Antique Latin etymological study, creating miniature
> origin-tales for words by squeezing, distorting and combining words and phrases from
> Irish and from other languages, especially the << three sacred langauges>>—Latin,
> Greek and Hebrew. Clarke (51)

It is important to understand the terminology is being deconstructed on the assumption the vernacular contains elements of other world languages making the glossaries both analyses of the Irish language as well as "[repositories] of knowledge about the past" (Clarke 52). Once again, emphasizing the spectral quality of Irish rhetoric and language.

Continuing Clarke's research, Liam Breatnach's "Satire, Praise and the Early Irish Poet" charts and examines the role of the *fili*[32] and its spectral connections to satire and praise from the pre-Norman to Medieval periods. He then discusses evidence from law-texts pointing to the composition of praise-poetry as an important function of the *fili* (Breatnach 63). Satire was heavily regulated in law-texts due to being regarded as a weapon of *áer* and surviving materials provide a clear picture of the usage of satire in early medieval Ireland. One important sanction to note is that satire was designated for use by the *fili* and not the *bard*[33].

Before moving on, I want to explain what a praise-poem is and its function to aid our analysis of praise and satire in medieval rhetoric. If you will recall, praise-poems were briefly mentioned in Ó Corráin's earlier source on bards in Irish society. These compositions were popular during the medieval period and expressed praise for kings, saints, deities, etc. ("Praise

Poem"). One notable characteristic of praise-poetry is, "these poems are often an important part of an oral tradition as professional bards" and, "these poems offer imagery and storytelling related to a person and their history" ("Praise Poem"). Thus, making praise-poems not only a significant part of the *filidh* function in society but also examples of oratorical language and narratives in medieval rhetoric. Later in this analysis of Breatnach, we will discuss the relationship between the *fili* and the *túath*[35] that explains the motivation for writing praise-poems.

Medieval rhetoric consistently connected satire and praise; sometimes as a measure of religious attitude—praise equating to strict religious practice and satire to lackadaisical practice—other times the two are seen as positive and negative aspects of poetry (Breatnach 64). In one law-text, *Bretha Nemed Dédenach*, praise is described as washing away satire[34] through the analogy of a river.

One shortcoming in Breatnach's analysis is the ambiguity of many early texts in identifying as praise or satire;

> Although our sources frequently pair satire and praise, they do not always present binary Opposition, and a third category, which combines both of the former two, is also recognized. A composition combining elements of praise and satire served a particular purpose—namely that of warning a person of an impending full satire, was known as a *trefocal* and formed an essential part of the process of law satirizing. (Breatnach 66-67).

This is further explored by dividing the three approaches to satire and praise into three colors of poetry: white, black, and speckled (Breatnach 67). The consistency of these divisions is reflected in our understanding of the *fili*. There are law-texts with clear guidelines of when it is appropriate to use these techniques and cautions of misuses. Breatnach is able to attribute the

directions to the *fili* rather than a common *bard* through the understanding that a *fili* serves his *túath*[35] and his status depends on their satisfaction.

Many of the examples used in Breatnach's analysis are 'poetico-legal' texts and are explicitly concerned with the rights and duties of poets. This limits the findings on connections and connotations of satire and praise in medieval Irish rhetoric. Breatnach suggests by expanding to other legal texts, the portions of 'songs of the poets'—i.e., satire and praise—were important in establishing the context of any evidence to the text's title (Breatnach 71).

Breatnach introduces Gerard Murphy's belief that pre-Norman texts, while assumed to reject praise-poetry, actually did include these compositions but were more commonly produced by *bards* rather than *filidh*. It is hypothesized that *fili* praise-poems predating the twelfth century were less likely to be preserved due to the "secondary function" of those compositions and a later shift increased the catalogue for research analysis (Breatnach 79).

Opposing scholar, Mac Cana, approached this based on the axiom that praise-poetry was widely created by the *fili*, but current research is limited, "a detailed and comprehensive discussion of this complex topic would require a much wider canvas than we have here at our disposal" (Breatnach 79). He rejects Murphy's interpretation on the basis the *fili* practiced oratory composition; writing was a technique more commonly used by the *scriptoria*[36] who are likely responsible for recording literature prior to the mid-twelfth century (Breatnach 79). The *scriptoria* created a demand for the *fili* to compose praise law-texts as they would cite them eulogies and elegies; essentially, becoming one of the *túath*.

Breatnach refutes Mac Cana's claims due to the evidence provided by the poetico-legal texts that *filidh* were literate—in this case meaning both able to read and write—which is one of the primary distinctions between them and *bards*. He also cites some of the texts Mac Cana used

in his argument as they were written compositions, with two of them included in the curriculum for the *filid*. In response to the lack of surviving praise-poetry indicative of it being a less popular form of composition, Breatnach submits the poor survival rate of biblical books, law-texts, and a variety of texts in Latin and Hiberno-Latin (81).

In his conclusion, Breatnach emphasizes his argument that due to the clear examples of praise-poetry by the *fili*, it can be theorized they commanded both the "powerful sanction of lawful satire" and the "earning power" of praise (82). Responding to the question of survival of praise-poems predating the twelfth century, he raises the question, "how can it be addressed in the isolation from that of Early Irish writing as a whole?"

After reading Clarke and Breatnach to understand how Irish texts are composed and the conversations surrounding the translations and transcriptions of said texts, we turn to Elizabeth Boyle's "Allegory, the *Áes Dána* and the liberal arts in Medieval Irish Literature." Boyle studies "the vernacular terminology used to describe figurative language in Medieval Irish literature" along with an analysis of three allegorical examples in aforementioned literature (1).

One of the primary purposes of *grammatica* was to allow for analysis and interpretation in literature. Two important rhetorical devices in medieval European literature were the metaphor and the allegory, and scholars emphasized a distinction between the two. One medieval scholar, Bede, defined metaphor as, "*rerum verborumque translatio,*" or, "the transfer of a word from one object to another " (Boyle 12). His definition of an allegory is derived from biblical examples,

> Moreover, whether allegory is verbal or historical, sometimes it prefigures an event
> literally, sometimes it prefigures [it] typologically. . ., sometimes it figuratively expresses a

tropological, or moral, principle, and sometimes it figuratively expresses an anagogical

sense, that is, a sense leading the mind to higher things. (Boyle 12)

Other researchers had slight variations on Bede's definitions, but in summation a metaphor is

one instance of transferred meaning while an allegory extends the meaning across multiple

contexts.

The education system of medieval Ireland was chiefly ecclesiastical though it was not

directly connected to monastic life. Despite education being allied with the church, learned men

went on to a number of positions including priesthood, law, and royal court. This created a

common literacy and foundation for early medieval texts because all literate writers would have

been educated in the same theological system.

The rhetorical learning and practice of grammar was tied to exegesis with the separation

of the two being a modern concept. Thus, reading and comprehension required the practice of

both grammatical and exegetical techniques. With this shared foundation comes the idea that all

compositions were molded by religious education and notable spiritual scholars.

One of the primary genres of medieval writing was creative writing in the early Irish

vernacular. Metaphor, simile, and analogy are staple features in medieval Irish literature, but

scholars debate whether there is evidence of allegories as they are less obvious and questionable

in many narratives. In several instances, it is necessary

to begin by analysing those texts which are explicitly allegorical, in the sense that they

include an interpretation of the allegory ether embedded within the text or as

accompanying glosses, before deciding whether such interpretation can usefully be applied

to other texts which, though not explicitly allegorical, may be read as such. (Boyle 14)

There may be larger implications for medieval narrative literature with a better understanding of figurative language, particularly allegory.

An important term to describe the nature of medieval figurative language is, *forscáithe*, or shadowy and obscure (Boyle 14). This circles back to the mystical and anagogical folklore narratives of the previous rhetorical era and is carried through post-modern. It is expanded on as *forrúamanda*, "dark red," but in a rhetorical context it "[further] illustrates the association between idea of 'darkness,' 'covering,' 'concealment' and figurative language as something which can be elucidated, uncovered or made bright through exposition" (Boyle 14). All of this echoing the stipulative definition of Irish rhetoric as stated in the methodology section; it being a narrative-based language relying on spectral elements in Irish history.

The first example analyzed by Boyle is the *dindschenchas*, a narrative collection of Irish prose and poetic literature describing the naming of a place, for Loch Garman. This piece is an allegorical dream-vision which some scholars have viewed through a more literal and historical lens. The story describes a thief who stole a crown and was drowned in retribution for his crimes; a lake, or a well depending on the version, sprung from where he was drowned creating Loch Garman (Boyle 16). One scholar interpreted this through a cosmological lens as restoring balance, but Boyle advocates for further readings to test a more comprehensive allegorical understanding. A separate account of the piece comes from Eochaid Éolach ua Céirín who argues the value of the poem comes through the exposition, or allegorical interpretation, of the story. Since this *dindshenchas* has passed through many generations of narrators and authors, it has taken on different genres and structures—i.e., prose, poetry—that affect the message.

Boyle's second analysis is the journey of Cormac mac Airt in "Land of Promise" (20). It exists in three recensions with the first two falling under the medieval Irish rhetorical period, and

"the text as a whole investigates concepts of truth and falsehood—and how truth might be established or revealed—through a variety of strategies, including drawing on a range of legal and (pseudo-)historical texts" (Boyle 21). As discussed in Breatnach's piece, legal rhetoric played a large role in medieval writings, even in narrative allegories. It reached past the academic realms of society and many artists, poets, etc. worked with legal rhetoric. This is incorporated into the lesson in "Land of Promise" that people chase after wealth and other worldly possessions in vain because they are always temporary. The connection is communicated through an extended analogy of the "otherworld" which the story takes place in. It is the site of strange and mystic occurrences that are representative of our world. By placing the analogy in the text,

> [it] raises the question of whether medieval Irish literary journeys to the otherworld can be taken as any kind of residual evidence for pre-Christian (or non-Christian) belief or mythology, or whether they should primarily be understood in figurative terms as something inextricably linked to the theory and practice of *enarratio*[23]. (Boyle 24)

Medieval Irish rhetoric supposedly eliminated and replaced the early folklore rhetoric, but some spectral traces can be found, particularly in narrative allegories such as Cormac's adventure. Boyle explains these inclusions as implicit metaphors that any "cosmological truth-value" intended by the authors may not be visible through a literal translation of the poem (24).

The final example analyzed by Boyle is a Latin poem, *Mentis in excessu*[24], and the only surviving version is a late-twelfth-century manuscript attributed to a bishop named Patrick (Boyle 24). One unique feature of this manuscript is the inclusion of glossed notes and annotations interpreting the allegory which are intended to be read concurrently with the poem. The narrator of the poem depicts a vision where a woman "[takes] him on a journey through a

pleasant landscape (glossed as 'Scripture')" and the many sights they encounter (Boyle 25). One

of the more conspicuous encounters is with seven sisters representing the seven liberal arts[25].

Three of the sisters speak for the rest—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric—and the glossary

explains this is because, "whatever the four disciplines know is expressed in the rules of

grammar, dialectic and rhetoric because there is nothing except these three things" (Boyle 26).

Rhetoric is pictured as wearing a purple cloak covered with gold and gems in reference to the

decoration of speech using tropes and schemas—Stone presents a more thorough description of

decorative speech, *roscad*. Through a linkage to Martianus Capella's description of Rhetoric, the

sister, in *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*[26], there are extended connections of the purple cloak

to the ornamental nature of medieval rhetoric[27].

Despite the *Mentis in excessu's* focus on the liberal arts over *áes dána*, it shares similar

vernacular examples of allegorical symbolism. One example is the inclusion of an Irish

vernacular technique, *dúnad*[28], as it is employed regularly in the poem, as well as the glossed note

highlighting the focus on the rhetorical elements: intellect, memory, and eloquence (Boyle 27).

The narrator's vision is explicitly stated to be from an incorporeal point of view reflecting the

allegorical nature of the poem. In particular, one stanza is a vernacular articulation of flighty

thoughts[29] as an extended metaphor of incorporeal thought process in his vision.

The most obvious connections to medieval Irish rhetorical tradition in these examples are

the overarching messages about Christ's teachings in the Bible about forgoing worldly

possessions and exploring the otherworldly/incorporeal "landscape" of Scripture (Boyle 33).

We have seen in this section how Christianity did not replace Celtic traditions in Irish

society but were incorporated with existing structures. Oratory maintained an important role as

St. Patrick, one of the most recognized Irish Latin scholars, commonly shared his letters and

teachings through performances by messengers. This section also examined other styles of medieval compositions such as sagas which were primarily adapted from Celtic mythology or a hybrid of Celtic and Greco-Roman legends. The principal lesson from the medieval Irish period is that Ireland was able to preserve its Celtic roots and elevate them through Latin education. Literacy and written traditions are used to document ancient Celtic narratives along with newer Hiberno-Latin teachings to create a transformed rhetorical and literary tradition for future Irish scholars.

The War with Great Britain and Postcolonial Identity Construction

The transition into the postcolonial rhetorical period is difficult to mark due to the long-standing history of tensions between Ireland and Great Britain. For the purpose of this study, I will limit my analysis to beginning in the seventeenth century; however the postcolonial era predates this by hundreds of years. The reason for this limiter is access to and availability of texts related to postcolonial rhetoric. It would require extensive archival and database research beyond the time constraints and scope of this project.

After the medieval period, Ireland was no longer separated from Europe and was subject to colonization efforts by the English. Despite Great Britain's long list of conquests, Ireland remained one of the few nations that withstood the British oppressors and tried to maintain an inherently Irish culture. The effects of continued tensions between the two countries were divisions between Irish citizens about their identity. Was Ireland its own nation? Or was it an amalgamation of Irish culture and English colonizers? It is in this debate that postcolonial rhetoric resides as language both divides and unites Ireland through religion and shared history. The question of identity in Ireland as it has been torn repeatedly in the War for Independence from Britain and the Irish Civil War—it is not a new concept and is regularly debated by

scholars. My approach is to summarize existing narratives and opinions about this period and use the metaphor of a rhetorical braid to examine current scholarship. My analysis will not be complete due to the limiters I identified, but I want to prove this as a viable research technique that can be employed by future rhetoricians.

The narrative characteristic of Irish rhetoric that we traced from early folklore and mythology through medievalism continues here. Postcolonial texts corroborate the understanding of Irish rhetoric as narrative based with continuous themes. I reiterate my definition of Irish rhetoric because all of the periods explored in this project propose explanations for the development of rhetorical strategies such as the stress and evidential weight of oratorical strategies, unparalleled incorporation of narratives in all genres of composition, and recurrent concepts that create spectral imagery and analogies for future writings. One of the most important narratives to postcolonial scholars and authors is Christianity in Ireland. Particularly during the Irish Civil War, religion dictates which side is "right" in the fight. These sources use religion to construct opinions of different people, religious symbolism to represent Biblical characters and events and what they imply about current situations, and religion is used as justification for actions by groups. Our brief overview of medieval Ireland and the integration of Christianity into their society is crucial for understanding postcolonial rhetoric and its interpretations.

Declan Kiberd is one of the foremost scholars in Irish rhetoric and in his book, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation*, he poses the question: If God invented whiskey to prevent the Irish from ruling the world, then who invented Ireland (1)? This text is fundamental to my project because it supports my idea to study what makes Irish rhetoric unique. What makes Ireland different from the rest of Europe? Why do we care about Irish identity? I believe Ireland

is an example of how culture can form essentially without outside influence, or how a society can survive numerous conquests and invasions without losing all of its inherent qualities and values. Irish identity, and subsequently Irish rhetoric, was formed by a circular narrative that links back to its history while recognizing external influences. Instead of a strictly chronological analysis, Kiberd choses to include cuts between texts as a means of identifying key relationships, influences, and continuities between literary periods. The Irish were one of the first people to decolonize during the twentieth century, and Kiberd is intentional in exploring analogies between generations of writers while avoiding efforts to "recolonize" cultural studies through a specific literary theory (Kiberd 4-5). In essence, he analyzes the recursive nature of Irish rhetoric by placing samples from different literary periods side-by-side to highlight any continuities.

As a response to the questions I pose in my project, Kiberd suggests one answer is the Irish defined themselves. The term *Sinn Féin*[39] became emblematic of the movement for independence which "imagined the Irish people as an historic community, whose self-image was constructed long before the era of modern nationalism and the nation-state" (Kiberd 1). Through analysis and examination of texts, Kiberd argues for the Irish ability to adapt to new elements and cultures. Irish identity is not a fixed concept rather a mindset that encourages negotiations and exchanges of culture and ideas. Rhetoric mirrors that mindset especially in the medieval period as the Irish integrated their Celtic lore and sterilized it using Latin learning. The foundations were still there—fairy stories, legends, Celtic mythology—but belief in the mystical was replaced by remembering it as artifacts of narrative past. Matthew Schultz explains this is a "textual specter;" Irish identity personifies the overlap between myth and history as Ireland adapted to a new culture but preserves memories to keep Celtic elements in their changing society.

Kiberd then submits a second, and more controversial, answer that the English helped invent Ireland. Britain has fought for the control of Ireland for centuries to varying degrees of success, and in that time viewed the Irish people as poets in a fantasy land. There was a shared image of the "other" being a mystical unknown area as the idea was reciprocated by the Irish in their vision of England. Oscar Wilde developed it further as he made connections between the English nobility to exotic foreign lands and people (Kiberd 2). The relationship between Ireland and England could be described as unwillingly symbiotic as the tensions helped define each country's identity. This idea becomes more controversial in terms of rhetorical study because it agrees with Stone and Clarke on the "contamination" of Ireland and how many scholars do not recognize or truly understand how early this began. If we continue along this line of thought, when did Ireland begin its relationship with England? Does the study of Irish rhetoric require a simultaneous study of English rhetoric to understand the crossover of both cultures? Should we be looking at Ireland as an offshoot of Britain rather than its own separate entity?

Kiberd presents a third answer that "exile is the nursery of nationality" (Kiberd 2). The famines of the 1840s stranded thousands of Irish citizens in different countries with the collective burden of remembering their idea of Ireland. Oscar Wilde's ideas on the effects of the mass exodus on modern Irish culture provide the foundation for Kiberd's third answer. He states, "the implication was that only when large numbers of Irish people spoke and wrote in English (and, maybe, French and German) would a fully-fledged national culture emerge" (Kiberd 2). Wilde's idea was ratified by the Irish Renaissance that followed the exile of Irish citizens. To support this definition of Irish identity requires further research into Irish crossovers with different countries. We would have to look at Irish-Americans, Irish-Germans, Irish-Italians, Irish-Filipinos, etc. to see how they view their Irish culture meeting their existing country's culture. Also, we would

need to account for how historic Irish identity before the 1840s was characterized. What is inherently Irish? Or was it founded on the relationship between Britain and Ireland? Only then could we piece together the "Irish identity" and how rhetoric is used to maintain it. Do people of Irish origins rely on narratives as a way of communicating? Do they refer to a common Irish history to support their current understanding of events, traditions, and ideas? There are too many variables at play for this study to fully examine how exile identity may be affected by my understanding of Irish rhetoric.

Kiberd continues his brief deliberation of Irish identity by introducing a form of internal exile that shaped Irish rhetoric at the end of the nineteenth century, as citizens migrated from rural communities to more urban cities and towns. The education system in urban areas differed from rural ones so children were taught a standardized vernacular—generally English. A natural retaliation to the language homogenization was led by the Gaelic League with the intention of reviving the native language (Kiberd 2). This movement spurred a need for political independence and identification. As a result, two opposing sides promptly formed between Irish unionists and Irish republicans. Carolyn Augspurger presents arguments from the Irish unionists who advocated for a merger with England in fear that a revival of native Ireland would eliminate English Protestants in favor of Irish Catholics. By the 1840s, many of the urban cities that people migrated to were more diverse than rural communities in religion, language, education, and other societal aspects. For those in-line with the Gaelic League and the preservation of Ireland, the forced exile to urban centers was an opportunity to eliminate British influence and return to an Irish republic. Literature, newspapers, and political writings became allegorical battlefields where rhetorical strategies promoted the message of each side.

As evidence of my statement, Kiberd presents literary artists as prime examples of the evocation and necessity of homecoming after being exiled. W. B. Yeats quickly became disillusioned by the attitudes of London publishers as they reduced professional Celts to entertainment. His homecoming was motivated by a mass movement to return to Dublin and subsequent shift of Irish culture back to Ireland (Kiberd 3).

Moving from theories on identity construction to an overview of the rhetorical strand of spectrality, Matthew Schultz's *Haunted Historiographies: The Rhetoric of Ideology in Postcolonial Irish Fiction* examines, "the motif of return: return to rhetoric, a return to thematics, a return to textual criticism" in Irish postcolonial literature (Schultz 1). The author argues for a "textual specter" that symbolizes the overlap between myth and history (Schultz 1). I have highlighted instances of return or spectrality throughout this chapter to auger this elaboration on Schultz's theory.

Schultz introduces his spectral theory with an analysis of James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*[37] and its role in establishing the notion of spectrality as a theoretical lens. Joyce's story touches on a central idea in Irish literature that spectrality offers insight into postcolonial writers' methods of reinvention. *Finnegans Wake* has been explained as, "a textual river, where mythology and history contaminate one another, where past and present overlap" (Schultz 2). It elicits the idea that Irish mythology and history are so intertwined that it is necessary to read Irish culture as a historical narrative. Contamination has been a recurrent descriptor in this group of sources and it relates with the braid imagery for Irish rhetoric. Contamination, overlap, cross-examination, intertwining, and braiding all describe two or more things being pulled together until they are unidentifiable as separate entities.

The rhetorical significance of spectral tropes—resurrection, contamination, apparition of the inapparent, and omnipresence—is that they "evoke and conflate multiple spaces, temporalities, and languages so that individual words and sentences, as well as the text as a whole, always mean at least 'two thinks at a time'" (Schultz 3). All of this brings us back to the recursive ideology found throughout this project.

In the late nineteenth century, Douglas Hyde issued a cry to cultivate everything in the most Irish way in order to preserve the Celtic core of the Irish civilization. Twentieth century writers, W.B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, and Eamon de Valera, responded to this by inventing a romanticized historical narrative that sought to unify Ireland under the one identity, present a strong connection to their "origins" in folklore and Celtic mythology, and create strictly Irish art all as a way of "[seeing] life through Irish eyes" (Schultz 4-5); they were known as the Revivalist artists. Their message resembles the description of Irish republicans in the Jack Shanahan memoirs later in this chapter.

On the other side, James Joyce fought against this "monological, authoritarian representations of Irish history and identity" due to its rejection of separate individual and national identities; "Our civilization is an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed. . . In such a fabric, it is pointless searching for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and uninfluenced by other threads nearby" (Schultz 5). The idea of Irish identity as a tapestry has been expanded by authors in the centuries since Joyce first introduced it, and Schultz claims, "'there is nothing to hold it together' but webbings of contradiction, ambivalence, and equivocation of language—specters" (6). The role of the "ghost" is to let it reconstruct common misconceptions in historical representation. *Finnegans Wake* through the lens of spectrality

establishes, "contemporary Ireland is the future of Ireland's past—with the compulsion to reinvent old national myths for a postcolonial culture" (Schultz 7).

Carolyn Augspurger examines the Irish rhetoric of opposition to Home Rule in 1912 in her article, "National Identity, Religion, and Irish unionism: the Rhetoric of Irish Presbyterian opposition to Home Rule in 1912." The Protestant opposition to Home Rule was unanimous; Home Rule was a political movement which "sought to alter the constitutional position of Ireland within the British Empire" (Augspurger 332). The movement took on a religious component as the signing of the Ulster Covenant was paralleled by religious services and the heads of the mainline Protestant denominations signed the Covenant. While there has been some scholarly analysis of how Protestants contributed to the opposition of Home Rule, Augspurger argues a more comprehensive investigation needs to take place.

She cites Stewart in his argument that religion was a motivating factor due to a fear of persecution of Protestants under Home Rule. Another scholar, Parkinson, cites the unity of the Protestant churches, unionism, and its role in the opposition as more clergy supported the unionist cause during the third Home Rule crisis than they would in future years. A Protestant fraternal organization, the Orange Order, took on a leadership role in refining the opposition from the entirety of Ireland to Ulster. Augspurger includes Bowman's assertion that members of the Ulster Volunteer Force, UVF, used religion as part of their ideological framework and church rituals were used in displaying the group's movements (332).

This article builds on the aforementioned scholars' analyses to examine "how religion influenced unionist national identity among Ulster Presbyterians and their opposition to Home Rule" (Augspurger 332). And argue that Presbyterian rhetoric was shaped by the two sides of attitudes towards Home Rule:

liberal unionism based on a belief in the beneficial effects of the Union on Ireland and a

commitment to civil and religious liberty, and a more apocalyptic, quasi-historical narrative

that portrayed Ulster Protestants as a divinely chosen people with a divine right to its

territory. (Augspurger 332)

Despite conflicts between the two groups, they were reconciled in the Ulster Day ceremonies.

This resolution is discussed later in the article and its implications for the relationship between

religion and national identity; this is tied to the ethno-symbolist theory which places emphasis on

symbols and religious imagery and their ties to national identity. Using symbols and religious

imagery relies on an understanding that the audience will have common rhetorical knowledge of

the chosen examples of each.

The establishment of Home Rule created fear of subordination among Irish Presbyterians

as the Irish Parliament consisted of a majority of Catholic nationalists. This is key to the

development of modern Irish Presbyterianism as religion became closely tied to national identity.

One scholar argues for this connection due to the employment of religious liturgies, religious

texts, and ceremonies used to tie groups together through a sense of common origins

(Augspurger 347). Nationalists also draw on religious narratives to establish legitimacy in their

nation by shifting the focus to the common origins that unite each group. They then claim a

divine sanction on the chosen community as a way to justify its importance. This "chosen

people" narrative was primarily spread through political and religious leaders, or elites, in

speeches, newspaper articles, and targeted newsletters. The majority of this rhetoric was

descended from the Presbyterian's Scottish heritage and traditional British nationalism; all of

which contributes to the goal of uniting Ireland with Britain. But, the Presbyterians were not

alone in using the "chosen people" narrative which led to greater strife between unionists and

republicans as they were not just fighting for control of Ireland but the "correct" way to worship God.

To illustrate the rhetoric and beliefs of the other side of the Irish war, is a collection of tapes recorded by Jack Shanahan, an IRA soldier, in 1971 and transcribed by his grandchildren in 2009. Shanahan's story is clearly limited by his role as an IRA soldier, but it speaks to the religious rhetoric used to justify the war. With many of the story elements stemming from medieval Irish rhetoric, the transcription can be seen as a bridge between the two periods and the importance of Christianity in the foundation of Ireland's identity as defined by Irish Republicans. As mentioned earlier in this section, evidence of my claim is seen in the prolonged debate between this group of sources of when Christianity was first introduced to Ireland. It has been essential in the development of Irish literature and language because even the first written Irish alphabet, *ogham*, contained elements of Latin. I have argued that Irish rhetoric is based on a narrative, so what is at the root of that narrative? Is it Celtic mythology? Or is it Celtic mythology as it was valued by Irish monks? Did the monastic *scriptoria* have a larger impact than we first understood because they recorded our earliest examples of Irish literature?

Looking at the Jack Shanahan tapes, the first tape begins with a recitation of the constitution of *Oglaidh na hEireann*[40]. And it makes three statements: 1) the army shall be known as the Irish Republican Army; 2) it shall be purely on a volunteer; and 3) It's objects shall be (a) to guard the honour and maintain the independence of the Irish Republic, (b) to protect the rights and liberties common to the people of Ireland, and (c) to place its services at the disposal of an established Republican government which upholds the above objects (Butler 1). In June of 1920, Jack Shanahan became a sworn member of the IRA through the following oath,

I, John Shanahan, do solemnly swear that to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will

support and defend the Irish Republic against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and I

will bear true faith and allegiance to same. I do further swear that I do not and shall not

yield a voluntary support to any pretender government, authority or power within Ireland

hostile to that republic. I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or

purpose of evasion, so help me God. (Butler 1-2)

As an IRA member, Shanahan primarily fought against the colonist actions of Great Britain—the

"pretender" government. He felt the oath "sang a song inside [him]" as it prepared him for the

possible threats that come with being a soldier (Butler 2). It was a holy war in some respects as

he identifies, "that cruel and awful Civil War when all the might of Episcopal authority backed

up by the Free State Ireland" (Butler 3); it is this detail that acknowledges the struggle between

Episcopal and Protestant Christianity during the war as Carolyn Augspurger writes about in her

piece.

The war was fought over how to define Irish identity. What makes an Irish person

"Irish"? Is it their religious beliefs? But Christianity is practiced all over the world, so is it the

specific Irish Christian narrative? Or is this argument closer to Kiberd's debate on the

construction of Irish identity through self-identity, the relationship with England, or the narrative

of exile? As a reminder, we have established that identity is directly correlated to Irish rhetoric

because this study argues that their rhetoric is based on a continuous narrative intertwined with

oratorical skills and spectrality. The resulting braid can also be applied to identity construction.

Despite the importance of the civil war, this was a volunteer position. Shanahan had a

day-job and spent his nights training and attacking opposing forces with his company. The

enemy[41] was stationed throughout Ireland so much of the fighting took place in towns where

innocents were likely to be injured or killed. This led to a mass exodus to the country, and it became a joke to IRA soldiers as they had to run back and forth across enemy patrols on their way from work to home. The IRA was a rebellion organization forcing its soldiers to constantly move as different communities were attacked, IRA members revealed, or reports came in of where the enemy was weak or had blind spots prime for ambush.

Kiberd discussed the movement, or as he described exile, from the country to the city in his earlier piece. The rural countryside is emblematic of Gaelic tradition and republican thought. Urban centers were more closely associated with unionists as British citizens had migrated over to Ireland and settled in many of its populated cities. Making it dangerous for IRA soldiers to be moving so frequently and many of them narrowly escaped capture through wearing civvy[42] clothes, using a variety of transportation, and cutting through the houses, churches, convents, businesses, etc. of republic sympathizers (Butler 16). The unionists had the upper hand due to the strength of the British empire and its tight hold on Ireland. So the republican narrative was founded on restoring Ireland to its Celtic roots and returning to a strictly Irish nation.

The rhetorical language used throughout these tapes signals the influence that religion had over this war. Shanahan uses phrases such as "design of providence" and "providential," reminding the reader these soldiers believed in divine influence over the identity and ruler of Ireland (Butler 8, 9). In some places, he states, "thank God," in exclamation for any good fortune he experienced (Butler 28). Churches, convents, fryries, and other establishments controlled by the Church were used for the assemblage of troops, safe houses, escape routes, and a variety of other purposes for the army. When describing fellow members of the IRA, Shanahan wrote about the spirituality of many of the leaders and how that contributed to their authority over other troops (Butler 19).

Jack Shanahan sings an Irish rebel song, "Down by the Glenside[43]," at the end of the second tape after describing his inability to deliver the message of a dead soldier to his mother. The song connects God and the Fenian men, Irish Republicans. Lyrics such as,

> But they loved dear old Ireland
>
> And they never feared danger
>
> [Glory o], [Glory o]
>
> To those bold Fenian men
>
> I passed on my way
>
> God be praised that I met her
>
> Be my life long or short
>
> I shall never forget her (Butler 23)

The phrase, "Glory o" is adapted from Latin and means to praise or honor in reference to divine glory. By singing, "Glory o/ To those bold Fenian men," Shanahan is once again equating the rebel cause with God's divine purpose. This is important as it suggests the center of Irish culture is Christianity. Celtic folklore and mythology was incorporated into Latin Christian society as entertaining fables from ancient Irish history. Since the fifth century, or potentially before that period, the Irish narrative has included Christianity making it reasonable to state that their values and identity lie in religion. Shanahan and Augspurger have demonstrated how essential Christianity is to Ireland through the competing narratives in the Irish Civil War. With both sides relying on religious rhetoric to justify their beliefs and actions.

Prayer is a common practice in most religions and is invoked in a variety of situations. Shanahan uses it to preface his story of the fight at Headford and it changes the tone of his story from a man fighting in battle to a reflection on the sacrifices made in the name of God,

And now before I finish my story of the fight at Headford I feel bound as one soldier to

another, to pay a just tribute to the bravery of the men who fought us on that day. And I

pray that the good God may be merciful to all who fell in that battle. (Butler 29)

He makes a temporal movement from a spectral recollection of the battle to fifty years later as he

stood in Headford at a memorial mass in honor of the men who died there. It supports the

message of divine providence, and that God willed the Irish Republicans to win the war. He

states, "Without this cooperation and loyalty we couldn't possibly have survived as we were

outnumbered by the enemy by at least a hundred to one" (Butler 31). How could an army survive

such odds without some form of divine intervention?

One question that came to my mind is addressed in these tapes: if both sides were

Christian, how does God decide which one should win? Shanahan indirectly answers this

through the contradiction in how the enemy and the IRA treated members of the opposing side.

In recounting his time wounded in an enemy hospital, he describes the hostility he received,

"The weather was extremely hot and my wounds were suppurating badly and the stench was

unbearable. They were dressed every four or five days, or longer and I was treated like a dog"

(Butler 45). This image comes soon after he said, in reference to an injured Black and Tan, "I

think he was praying for me. I know I was praying for him until he died in mid-September"

(Butler 44). Shanahan even goes so far as to forgive his captors, "In retrospect, it is hard to

blame them. Scurrilous British propaganda had been telling them repeatedly that we were hired

assassins and murderers and paid so much for each killing that we made, so what else could you

expect from them under the circumstances" (Butler 45). By placing blame on the British

propaganda, he paints the image of a forgiving Godly man who holds no ill will towards his

captors. Therefore, the IRA has been redeemed through forgiveness and can continue with their divine destiny to win the war.

Without a direct line to God, there is no way of knowing if either side was destined to win by divine providence. The reason these sources are important for this study is they provide insight to the values of Irish society and how rhetoric reflects those values.

Continuing with this line of contemplation of Irish values, Thomas E. Hachey posits and examines two questions in his article "The Rhetoric and Reality of Irish Neutrality." Those questions being: 1) whether or not [neutrality] has been, and remains, a fundamental tenet of Irish nationalist identity and 2) what neutrality has come to mean in the contemporary context, with some of its attendant implications (Hachey 26).

Hachey provides Ireland's response to the attack on 9/11 in New York as evidence there is no established understanding of what neutrality means in the Irish context. Some Irish citizens called on the government to maintain its perceived policy of noninvolvement by preventing American military planes from using Irish refueling facilities should the United States respond to these attacks. Others sympathized with the United States and were in support of pledging assistance in a war on terrorism. Due to the declassification and release of documents pertaining to Irish foreign policy over the past twenty years, scholarship exploring neutrality has greatly expanded. However, the availability of information has not proven useful in defining what the Irish policy of neutrality means but rather what it does not mean (Hachey 27). By tracing neutrality to its earliest known appearance—sometime during the Home Rule period—Hachey composes a chronology of Irish neutrality policy to understand the contemporary meaning of neutrality.

But why do we care about policies of neutrality? What value does this source hold for our rhetorical study? Neutrality is a commitment to not participate in arguments, wars, debates, etc. In order to remain neutral, the Irish government had to convince its citizens to not have an opinion in certain world affairs. So far, we have seen religious rhetoric and the important role it plays in postcolonial rhetoric, examined identity construction and the different rhetorical methods used in that, but have not fully examined other facets of Irish rhetoric during this period such as political propaganda.

Our study will be limited to Hachey's summarization of Irish policies during the 20th century. In the years 1913 and 1914, the concept of neutrality gained popularity as it was attached to nationalism corresponding with World War I. The Irish did not want to participate in any wars on behalf of Great Britain so they proposed a treaty giving Ireland the option to remain neutral should Britain declare war on a foreign entity. The treaty did not pass, and it was not until 1922 that Ireland gained "freedom" through the establishment of the Irish Free State (Hachey 28). During this time, the League of Nations implemented a policy that member nations are required to assist others should they be the victim of aggression—undercutting any Irish hope of neutrality.

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1936 allowed Ireland the opportunity to reject the League and declare a policy of neutrality. To solidify this statement, it became necessary to dissolve the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty allowing British control of various Irish harbors. This was accomplished in 1938. The following year a war against Germany commenced and forced the hypothetical policy of neutrality into actual practice. Cracks in Ireland's position of neutrality formed as the president ignored the concept in favor of "[showing] a certain consideration for Britain" (Hachey 31). The media attempted to offset the break in policy by enforcing strict

propaganda removing all references to the war. Rhetoric focused on a united Ireland as they tried to hide their support of the British army from civilian citizens. The end of World War II marked the elevation of neutrality to a national dogma and remained so until the change in governing political parties after the election of 1948 (Hachey 35).

Neutrality had never developed an ideological foundation making it easily overcome by an obsession with sovereignty. Without a strong narrative to support neutral politics, there was an opening for any political agenda, and its accompanying rhetoric, to move to power. When Ireland was established as a sovereign equal in 1948, foreign policy was focused on building alliances to further support its sovereignty. Acceptance to the United Nations in 1955 officially displaced neutrality with a commitment to support the other members of the UN. A few years later, a strategic decision was made in 1957 and Ireland revived its policy of neutrality to unite conflicting groups in the UN (Hachey 37). As the Cold War[38] waged on, Ireland aligned itself with the United States and abandoned all statements of neutrality as the price for admission to the European Economic Community. At this point, neutrality has become a placeholder for rhetoric supporting Irish self-reliance. When "neutrality" is invoked, Irish narratives are focused on sovereignty and freedom. Otherwise, Ireland rejects "neutrality" to support and strategically align itself with other nations.

This turbulent pattern of enforcing or rejecting the policy of neutrality based on governing political parties and what consequences it has on key alliances for Ireland continues today. Hachey concludes that to comprehend the Irish concept of neutrality it must be understood "as a feature of Irish political culture reflecting a core value for a people who, quite understandably, place a real premium on such symbols" (43). Ethno-symbolism was a prevalent

rhetorical strategy in the Irish Civil War, so it is understandably part of overall national politics. He prompts further discussion by stating,

> Hence, the challenge that Irish statesmen will soon need to address is that of reconciling rhetoric to reality. What will be crucial is whether that effort is perceived as simply sacrificing the holy cow of neutrality on the altar of expediency, or whether it is seen as a desirable and voluntary transition from independence to interdependence. (Hachey 43)

This quote supports my earlier correlation of neutrality to the rhetoric of Irish sovereignty and freedom. It is not about whether Ireland agrees or disagrees with the issue at hand, but whether they choose to serve themselves or serve others—i.e. independence versus interdependence. After reading Hachey's evaluation of Ireland's policy of neutrality during the 20th century, it may be appropriate to ask if there is any evidence of neutrality in earlier rhetorical periods? Based on my definition of Irish rhetoric as recurrent, a potential subject for further studies would be analyzing the previous rhetorical periods for neutrality and what its prior form may have been.

I am limiting the scope of my study to the sources previously discussed in this chapter because they demonstrate my theory that Irish rhetoric is narrative based with cyclical themes. Postcolonial rhetoric highlighted the importance of religion to Irish rhetoric and how it is used to form the identity of Ireland and its inhabitants. Scholars focusing on postcolonial or modern Irish rhetorical studies should consider the following questions: To what extent has identity become more important to the Irish since the 17th century? How have modern politics exacerbated the issue of identity? If we were to reject the association of identity and rhetoric, how else might we see rhetoric in postcolonial compositions?

CHAPTER TWO: LESSONS AND QUESTIONS

The second chapter of this thesis will further explore some of the ideas presented in chapter one. As established earlier in this essay, Irish rhetoric differs from Classical rhetoric due to a more complex temporality. Greco-Roman rhetoric is based on five classical rhetorical tenents: invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. These canonical structures only change in order of priority and focus throughout the different rhetorical periods. This differs from Irish rhetoric as it can be imagined as a braid; the strands represent rhetorical values and are woven together in a continuous pattern carried throughout the timeline of Irish composition. The concept of temporality is applicable as all of the original strands exist in future rhetorical periods, but they evolve with the invasions of new cultures, languages, and events. Unlike Classical rhetoric's revolving arrangement of rhetorical elements, Irish rhetoric relies on the constancy of rhetorical values as they are acted upon by factors introduced over the course of time.

After reviewing my sources in the previous chapter, I began to create connections between periods that form a larger theme for Irish rhetoric. Through an expanded analysis and critique, I will highlight my findings to better understand trends in the rhetorical periods. This is different from existing approaches to understanding Irish rhetoric because I view the strands as separate entities that continuously crossover each other. Like a braid, the rhetorical strategies in each strand occur in every source I have analyzed to generate an underlying pattern of rhetoric across the catalogue of literature. The web imagery previously mentioned leaves empty holes, or as I would define them as missing rhetorical techniques, in parts of the chronology. This excludes any theories of constant trends. The tapestry imagery contradicts my definition of Irish rhetoric as a steady narrative due to the finite edges of a weaving. The sides of the tapestry

signifying periods of rhetoric that begin and end in observable manners. My second chapter will augment the connections to illustrate why the braid is more representative of Irish rhetoric.

Before probing my construction of the Irish rhetorical braid, it is necessary to understand previous metaphors for Irish rhetoric. James Joyce rejected monological representations of Irish history and identity in saying, "Our civilization is an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed. . . In such a fabric, it is pointless searching for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and uninfluenced by other threads nearby" (Schultz 5). Joyce frequently championed the intricate composition of Irish identity and the understanding that different elements were spun together resulting in a rich narrative. This is later echoed by novelist Sebastian Barry, "The fact is, we are missing so many threads in our story that the tapestry of Irish life cannot but fall apart. There is nothing to hold it together" (Schultz 5). Barry's statement reflects the evolution of the question of Irish identity. Many later generations, including those today, were disillusioned by the lack of consistency in their history and felt uncertain of what it was to be Irish. What Barry failed to recognize, like Joyce and many other scholars, is rather than a finite tapestry their culture is composed of strands of thread connecting the pieces of their history into a complex braid. Identity does not come from an unbroken story but from the rhetorical elements that bridge the past to the present. Another example that scholars have proposed is the image of a web. I also reject web imagery because that indicates separation between the connecting factors. Irish rhetoric is unique because all of the identified rhetorical elements are woven together to deliberately influence each other.

As explained in the introduction, Celtic braids are infinite because the ends connect to the beginning of each strand. I chose this image as a reflection of the repeating patterns of oration and narratives along with the spectral quality of Irish rhetoric that is constantly referring to the

past. Every person, language, event, tradition, etc. of Irish society is connected to previous examples. To support my proposed metaphor of a braid, I will establish, analyze, and debate the three strands I believe to compose Irish rhetoric.

First Strand: Oratorical Language

The first strand in the braid of Irish rhetoric is oratorical language. Beginning in the early folklore and mythology rhetorical period, we see how language devices are used to reinforce and embellish narratives as orators told fantastical stories based in Celtic mythology. The most important rhetorical strategies to come from these narratives are incorporating evidential proof and anticipating arguments from your audience. Orators were skilled in validating their stories with rhetorical techniques such as mnemonics, rhythms, antitheses, clichés, formulaic repetitions, and common thematic patterns (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 238). Oratorical devices such as these are useful in almost all genres of composition.

Along with masterful use of rhetorical techniques, oratorical language is performative as narrators had to maintain the attention of their audiences. To capture "performative" language, Irish scholars used direct speech tools such as *prosopopeia*[44] to ensure the translation from oratory to written vernacular was seamless. Direct translation was so important because performative language can be categorized as ornamental and engaging. Poets, fiction writers, dramatists, etc. all aim to entice their audience to listen to what they have to say. By using oratorical language, they can harness its ornamental and performative features to create interest in their compositions.

With this knowledge in mind, we can discuss how recognizing this particular strand is relevant to my classification of Irish rhetoric. Once literacy was introduced to Irish culture, it could have easily replaced any value in skilled orators with that of adept writers. But the early

Irish social structure was defined by oratorical roles and medieval society developed around the existing framework. Why? As seen throughout Irish history, they have a strong sense of tradition and incorporate their existing beliefs into any shifts in culture or society. Medieval monastic scribes intentionally chose to write down Celtic legends as a way of preserving the stories. Similarly, oratorical strategies were willfully passed from one period to the next as remnants of Irish rhetorical tradition.

Many of the sources I collected contain evidence of an oratorical strand of rhetoric, but do not deliberately highlight these practices. This is especially true of sources relating to postcolonial Ireland. In neglecting to recognize these language strategies, scholars are missing techniques not used in other rhetorical practices.

The strand of oratorical language is evident in postcolonial texts such as Thomas Hachey's, "The Rhetoric and Reality of Irish Neutrality." As seen in the first chapter, Ireland's policy of neutrality was constantly fluctuating due to political parties and alignment with allied countries. Frequently, it would be decided in speeches and conversations by ruling political figures. An example is the ambiguous policy of neutrality that Ireland established after Britain joined World War II,

> De Valéra was never a neutralist in principle. His pragmatism, moreover, was evident
> when he sought to explain to Dr. Eduard Hempel, the German minister to Ireland, why
> Dublin's neutrality would be necessarily modified by existing realities. In a conversation
> with Hempel shortly after the outbreak of war, de Valéra affirmed that it was essential for
> Ireland to "show a certain consideration for Britain," despite the Dublin government's
> sincere desire to observe neutrality equally towards both belligerents. (Hachey 31)

Through the use of public speeches, Irish politicians were able to influence citizens with oratorical language devices like evidential proof of the benefit of certain alliances and policy changes. They also could anticipate opposition by acknowledging other opinions and argue against specific claims for their political strategies. Another obvious use of oratorical language is conversations between political leaders to negotiate deals, secure alliances, and share policies. It is important to use the rhetorical strategies inherent to oratorical speech, as described above, to persuade others and share messages.

Before concluding this section on oratorical language as a rhetorical technique in Irish rhetoric, I want to suggest some research questions for subsequent studies:

- Since we chose oratorical language as a major part of Irish rhetoric and the rhetorical braid, how could we better define and recognize oratorical language as it is used in Irish rhetoric?

- Some may argue the role of storytellers or orators is obsolete due to technological advances and the effect on modern communication. If we reject this notion based on the evidence of oratorical language in postcolonial texts, what are modern examples of orators? Do we call them something else?

- Hachey provides examples of oratorical language used in Irish politics on neutrality and political speeches. The first example being Ireland's response to the 9/11 attack on the United States of America, "In the weeks and months that followed, some radio and television talk shows. . . echoed that sentiment and often alluded to the country's historic tradition of neutrality" (Hachey 26). Despite this evidence, could it be argued that oratorical rhetoric is strictly confined to verbal communication?

- In the movement from early folklore and mythology to medieval rhetoric, writers used devices such as *prosopopeia*[44] to translate oratorical speech to written vernacular; what components are lost in the transfer of verbal oratorical rhetoric to written?

- We have seen evidence that the Irish maintained constant strands of rhetorical tradition despite changes in their civilization while many other cultures lost their oratorical customs through colonization and wars. Was the Irish oratorical tradition more adaptable than that of other cultures?

Second Strand: Narratives

The second strand in our braid is represented by narratives. Part of the inspiration for this project came from my initial reading of Johson-Sheehan and Lynch's article when they said,

a narrative-based rhetoric to persuade others, conduct their civil affairs, educate their youth, and preserve their cultural values. . . the Irish employed an intimate rhetoric to build a sense of identification among people in rural settings. This narrative-based rhetoric, steeped in legend, myth, and magic, promoted and preserved Irish culture and values. (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 234)

I was intrigued by the idea that rhetoric could be part of a continuous narrative and one story would always be relating back to a previous one while laying the foundation for a future tale. As I began to study other sources, I saw evidence supporting the authors' idea that Irish textual history is characterized by a reliance on narratives to convey a message. This is important because it provides an explanation of how Irish culture has been so resilient to external influences.

To further elaborate on what I mean by narrative based, I want to call back to chapter one where I probe why the debate of when Christianity arrived in Ireland is so important. One of the reasons scholars study Ireland is because it supposedly developed outside of the influence of the Roman Empire. Isolation protected the Irish from wars and plagues that decimated mainland Europe and destroyed unknown quantities of knowledge and intellectual compositions. We know this is true to some extent because of surviving textual evidence from Ireland that cannot be found in other European countries. But in the more recent debate of Irish identity, much of it relies on Christianity's role in the development of Ireland and its people. The narrative of Ireland's evolution is tied to how Christianity brought an education system which grew into the one that exists today. Of course, there are conflicting opinions on how Celtic culture or British influence played parts in its development but the common theme is that current understandings of the composition of Irish culture are grounded in an extended narrative of its history.

Once again, the reason I chose narrative as the second strand of Irish rhetoric is because it exists in all of the sources I reviewed but is not always recognized for its role in developing a unique rhetoric inherent to Irish compositions. Narratives are often associated with fictional stories or as a strategy to describe a series of events, but the Irish utilized them in a variety of compositions. One of the best examples of how narratives transcended the fine arts to traditionally academic fields is medieval law-texts. Instead of the straightforward no nonsense law-texts we see today, Irish law-texts were composed by *fili* and used narratives to communicate their purpose,

> *Roscada* are central to the law-texts, one of which quotes the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in
> Latin. The pronouncement of judgment in legal contexts, as well as the narratives that

often surround them, provide the student of rhetoric with insight into the syncretic nature of the learned legal tradition. (Stone 5)

We see a crossover of the oratorical language, *roscad*, and how it was used beyond conventional storytelling to impart a syncretic narrative combining legal tradition with embellished narrative techniques.

From this example, we can understand the versatile use of narratives in Irish rhetoric. I propose a few questions for future studies of this strand of rhetoric:

- The sources in this essay establish four cycles of Celtic mythology, so can we identify a foundational narrative for the Irish?

- One of the most disputed facts in this essay is when the Romans were first introduced to Ireland because they had a significant impact on Irish culture. Without a consensus, we are left with a large period of time with questionable roots and influences. The period is referred to as early folklore and Celtic mythology due to the prevalent Celtic oratorical culture. What competing narratives are most prominent in a chronology of Irish texts?

- Building on the previous question, once we have determined the foremost narratives in their textual history, do any narratives disappear over time? Do any appear?

- After choosing narratives to represent the second strand in my braid of Irish rhetoric, I have demonstrated its continued presence throughout the rhetorical periods identified in this essay. Narratives also serve as the basis of my definition of Irish rhetoric as narrative based with recursive themes and elements. In accepting this claim we must ask, why do the Irish value a narrative tradition for their language?

Third Strand: Spectrality

The third strand of the Irish rhetorical braid is represented by spectrality. I am using spectrality here as a rhetorical strategy connecting events, beliefs, and traditions to previous examples in Irish history. In my first chapter, I included an explanation of spectrality that I want to reiterate before continuing this section; "the motif of return: return to rhetoric, a return to thematics, a return to textual criticism" (Schultz 1). As with the previous strands, there is significant overlap between the three strategies I have chosen for the Irish rhetorical braid. This is why the braid metaphor is emblematic of how the strands work together to create a narrative based rhetoric with recursive themes and ideas.

Spectrality is an important rhetorical strategy because it acknowledges how Irish rhetoric is constantly building on itself while maintaining previous ideas and values. Schultz describes why many Irish scholars do not specifically name spectrality as a rhetorical technique, "the textual specter—a non-present presence, a dual being and non-being—precisely symbolizes. . . the overlap between Irish myth and Irish history" (1). It exists in all Irish literature, as we see from the extended Irish narrative, but is not acknowledged because of its unconscious usage by writers. I believe it is important to recognize because it explains the cyclical nature of Irish compositions. Donnchadh Ó Corráin best explains the role of spectrality in early Celtic myths,

> The Irish language is an indigenous realization of Celtic, heavily influenced by the
> societies which they found before them in Ireland. . . . Early Irish mythological writings
> link the great Neolithic and Bronze Age sites with the ancient gods and regard them as
> cult centres of great importance—displaying a continuity of cult as well as of occupation.
> (2)

As we learn from Breatnach, monastic scribes believed that Celtic legends were important to document in the chronology of Irish literature so they recorded them for posterity purposes. The *fili* would then use these stories in law-texts, poetry, and other compositions as narrative elements to create intrigue while conveying the purpose of their writings.

To expand on the value of identifying spectrality as a tool in Irish rhetoric, it plays a significant role in the debate over the composition of Irish identity in postcolonial rhetoric. The prevailing recursive theme in postcolonial texts is best described as, "the future of the literary past" (Schultz 1). Identity became important to a nation that was constantly fighting for autonomy from English domination. The divisions seen in the Irish War for Independence extend beyond the battlefield to writers, artists, and other creators. The Revivalist artists were driven to identify Ireland as a monological entity,

> We must strive to cultivate everything that is most racial, most smacking of the soil, most
> Gaelic, most Irish, because in spite of the little admixture of Saxon blood in the north-east
> corner, this island is and will ever remain Celtic at the core. (Schultz 4)

This simplification of identity "reconstruct[s], or re-[signifies], common pitfalls of historical representation: misremembering, misperceiving, and the 'necessary falsification' of the past" (Schultz 6). Spectrality must be carefully employed as rhetoric cannot only create a thread linking the past to the present, but also write history using the pieces that best fit the ideal narrative.

Some questions to consider for prospective studies of spectrality in Irish rhetoric:

- Schultz describes spectrality as a "non-present presence" in Irish literature and the lack of further recognition and analysis on a rhetorical specter echoes his claim.

To what extent does the unintended usage of spectrality prevent researchers from understanding its pervasiveness in Irish history?

- By categorizing spectrality as one of the three primary strands of Irish rhetoric, we are claiming its constant presence in the chronology of Irish literature. In doing so, we are creating the exigence for other scholars to study the rhetoric of spectrality. So what techniques would allow us to easily identify spectrality in literature?

- One attribute of a braid is the crossover of strands and this can be interpreted in the rhetorical braid as the sharing of rhetorical techniques between the three strands. The production of "pseudo-historiography" saga texts in medieval Ireland is an example of the intersections of narrative, oratorical language, and spectrality. They used old Irish myths, applied them to the structure of Roman epics, and recorded the new tales using direct speech writing techniques, *ethopoeia* and *prosopopeia*[44] (Stone 6). Since the strands of the rhetorical braid influence each other and spectrality and narratives are the most closely related, how is spectrality different from narratives?

- Schultz offers another characterization of spectrality as the "motif of return" to acknowledge its recursive nature, but is there a better term to describe the "motif of return" in Irish rhetoric?

- One of the primary conflicts in postcolonial rhetoric is identity construction. Kiberd provides our most thorough analysis of Irish identity along with the testimonies from Augspurger and the Jack Shanahan memoirs. Why should we forgo studying the rhetoric of identity for spectrality?

Further Questions to Consider

Since I am developing a foundation for rhetoricians to further study and engage with Irish rhetoric, I think it is important to create research questions to consider in the future. I identified questions earlier directly related to the three strands of the Irish rhetorical braid, so the following will address a more comprehensive study of rhetoric that addresses the braid as a whole. The goal is to summarize my research and establish entry points for other researchers and rhetoricians to engage with my work.

- I chose three rhetorical periods based on my own analysis and the suggestion found in Brian James Stone's piece. For future researchers, how could the rhetorical periods defined in this essay be further broken down to construct a more thorough understanding of Irish rhetoric?

- While Celtic braids are traditionally composed of three to four strands, it would be pertinent to inquire if there are other rhetorical techniques I did not identify. What other strands of rhetoric can be found in the rhetorical periods outlined in this essay?

- Based on the prior question, what incites the exigence for a new strand of rhetoric to be introduced?

- We generally see contamination as a bad thing in cultural construction because it implies colonization efforts or takeovers, but how could it be positively interpreted in our study of Irish rhetoric?

- Looking back at medieval rhetoric, was the popularity of allegories such as the *dindshenchas*[16] due to being an easier way to include elements of our rhetorical braid?

- Should we identify the most common genres of composition and apply our rhetorical braid to them before moving on to more complex analyses of literature?

- Does a catalogue of foundational texts need to be collected before more research can be conducted?

CONCLUSION

This project originated with the goal of establishing the existence of an Irish rhetorical canon to challenge the existing Classical canon. As I conducted my research, it was evident that my theory of a new rhetorical canon was beyond the scope of this project and the ability of this researcher. Instead, I need to argue for the importance of Irish rhetoric before any application of my theory in Irish studies. It was through developing my argument I formed the idea that Irish rhetoric was composed of common strands woven together to create my definition of a narrative based rhetoric with recursive themes and ideas. When I described the braid metaphor to my advisor, he pointed out that braids are a popular Celtic symbol. This is when my argument began to take shape as I refined my research to three essential components of Irish rhetoric: oratorical language, narratives, and spectrality. Reading my sources, I saw that no other scholar had pieced together these common rhetorical strategies or discussed how they came together to influence each other in a braid formation.

Before attempting to answer the research questions I propose in this essay, there are a few readings I suggest every student examine as an introduction to Irish studies and the Irish rhetorical cannon. The first being Donnchadh Ó Corráin's "Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland," followed by Richard Johnson-Sheehan and Paul Lynch's "Rhetoric of Myth, Magic, and Conversion: A Prolegomena to Ancient Irish Rhetoric." These sources illustrate the formation of Ireland from its Celtic roots through the arrival of the Romans a few centuries later. For the purpose of introduction to the early folklore and Celtic mythology rhetorical period, the readings will educate students on storytelling traditions in Celtic society and techniques attached to oratorical language. Brian James Stone's "Medieval Irish Rhetorical Traditions" and Elizabeth Boyle's "Allegory, the *áes dána* and the liberal arts in Medieval Irish Literature" can be used for

a brief but comprehensive understanding of the middle rhetorical period. The principal focus should be for students to recognize the *scriptoria*[36] and the *áes dána*[13] and their important roles as writers in medieval society. For the last rhetorical period, students should familiarize themselves with *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* by Declan Kiberd and Matthew Schultz's *Haunted Historiographies: The Rhetoric of Ideology in Postcolonial Irish Fiction*. The authors describe the fundamental issue of Irish identity and introduce the third strand of spectrality in the Irish rhetorical braid. By reading the former proposed sources, students are prepared to identify the three strands I propose for an Irish rhetorical braid along with a foundational knowledge of Irish history. I recommend later examining the other readings I analyzed in this thesis for students pursuing a further course of study in Irish history and rhetoric.

In this project, I was limited by external factors and the scope of my research from fully exploring how these elements work together in Irish rhetoric and applying the braid metaphor to the sources I identified, as well as others not included in this study. In addition to the three strands recognized in my second chapter, there are many other threads that were introduced in the different rhetorical periods which can be seen in later compositions. The limitations of this essay prevented me from further exploring the supplemental threads and would require more research to suitably examine them. In the future, I would like to continue this study to further support my belief that Irish rhetoric should be studied for its characteristics that are not seen in the Classical rhetorical canon.

Despite these limitations, I believe my research introduces an important metaphor for understanding Irish rhetoric through the image of a braid. By pulling together sources and classifying them into three rhetorical periods, I was able to trace rhetorical strategies through the

different periods and identify ones that existed in all of them. After recognizing oratorical language, narratives, and spectrality as consistent rhetorical techniques, I constructed an argument explaining how these elements came together to support my definition of Irish rhetoric, as I had derived it from the sources explored in this study. I highlighted these techniques throughout my first chapter as well as pulled specific findings from my literature review to demonstrate the three strands of Irish rhetoric. My project lays the foundation for other scholars to explore how constructing Irish rhetoric as a braid changes our understanding of Irish compositions and rhetoric as a whole.

In summation, Irish culture is believed to have developed primarily outside of the influence of the Roman Empire. This gave the Irish the opportunity to establish societal values and traditions that were maintained despite arriving colonizers and the introduction of other cultures. Isolation also preserved intellectual property that was lost to plagues and wars in mainland Europe—protecting vital knowledge of our world's history. I classified three essential periods of Irish rhetoric containing separate values: early folklore and mythology, medieval, and postcolonial. Early folklore is characterized by the heavy influence of Celtic culture and contains legends which are later used to construct an innate image of Celtic Ireland. This moved into the medieval era with the arrival of Christianity and Latin culture. The establishment of a Hiberno-Latin language provided literate Irish people to compose poetry, law-texts, grammatical handbooks, and other genres of writing to expand Irish literary tradition. Moving into the final rhetorical period recognized in this essay, postcolonial rhetoric is characterized by a need to establish Irish identity. Some scholars used religion while others looked at their version of the Irish narrative, but there is a shared struggle to classify what it means to be Irish. Even with the

changing rhetorical eras, there are common strategies that connect them and form an Irish rhetorical tradition.

With the application of a Celtic braid metaphor, three continuous strands of rhetoric can be recognized and followed through the chronology of Irish literature: oratorical language, narratives, and spectrality. As we study these elements further, we can construct a detailed understanding of Irish rhetoric and how it differs from the Classical rhetorical canon. Any subsequent research on Irish rhetoric will contribute to the diversity of the field of Rhetoric and Composition by augmenting our existing intellectual histories in rich ways. Narrative based rhetoric could have a significant impact on current rhetorical studies by challenging prior argument based analyses of literature. Potentially leading scholars to new understandings of different cultures and periods of rhetorical study. It also could be advantageous in investigating the previously neglected voices of women, minorities, LGBTQ+, and others in our catalogue of Western rhetorical scholars. The strands of the Irish Celtic braid: oratorical language, narrative, and spectrality are fundamental elements in introducing new rhetoricians and their impact on the field, so analyzing the braid and grounding it in Irish history may be impactful for researchers in those disciplines. The takeaway being the research questions proposed in this essay should prompt future scholars to continue the study started by my project to support and expand on the claims made here. Until further research is conducted, we cannot know the potential implications of adding Irish rhetoric to the field of Rhetorical Studies.

NOTES

1. Purdue U, https://web.ics.purdue.edu/~rjohnso/ancientirish.pdf. Accessed 16 November 2020.

2. Also known as fairy healers (Correll 2).

3. *Síscéalta*: Fairy stories (Correll 2).

4. *Púcas*: Fairies and ghosts (Correll 3).

5. *Fad ó shin*: Long ago (Correll 5).

6. The Dark Ages include the fifth through ninth centuries (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 233).

7. Local chiefs: *rì tùaithe* (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 234).

8. *Ogham*: The first alphabet in Irish written language (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 236).

Photo credit: Dempsey, Jim. "Aghascrebagh." *Megalithicireland*,

http://www.megalithicireland.com/Aghascrebagh.htm.

9. Topoi: A traditional theme of formula in literature.

10. *Táin Bó Cúalgne*: The driving-off of cows of Cooley.

11. *Geise*- A spell or magical sanction that cannot be violated without great misfortune. These were popular devices used by druids and bards (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 240).

12.   *Doringni laid*: "chant a lay;" a two-sided poem set in four-line stanzas (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 240).

13.   *Áes dána*: A class of skilled freemen (Johnson-Sheehan and Lynch 242).

14.   *Ériu*: A goddess who represents Ireland in the form of a woman (Eriu and Mebd).

15.   Poseidonios: Stoic philosopher and historian (Foster 1).

16.   *Dindshenchas*: Lore of place-names (Stone 1).

17.   See Stone 1.

18.   *Epistola ad Milites Corotici*: Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus (Stone 3).

19.   The form of Latin created by the Irish is referred to as Hiberno-Latin (Breatnach 80).

20.   *Sengoídelc*: Early Irish vernacular (Stone 4).

21.   *Imitatio*: The study of conspicuous deployment of features recognizably characteristic of a canonical author's style or content.

22.   *Aemulatio*: The endeavor to be equal to or match another in something.

23.   *Enarratio*- Exposition of literature (Boyle 11)

24.   *Mentis in excessu*- In ecstasy of mind (Boyle 25)

25.   Seven liberal arts- grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, music, geometry, astrology, arithmetic (Boyle 25-26).

26.   De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii- On the marriage of Philogoy and Mercury (Capella).

27.   Some examples of ornamental speech: Lumen- light Figurae- devices Schemata- figures Colores- colours Gemmae- jewels (Boyle 26).

28.   *Dúnad*: A poem beginning and ending with the same word (Boyle 27).

29.   Flighty thoughts- *qui mare transuolitans* (Boyle 29).

30.   *Druí*: Druid.

31.   *Senchas Már*: A collection of Early Irish law texts.

32.   *Fili*: Member of an elite class of poets.

33.   *Bard*: Poets of a lower social class.

34.   *Molad do-nig aír*- 'praise which washes away satire' (Breatnach 65).

35.   *Túath*: king, noble, laymen, patron, clergy.

36.   *Scriptoria*: Monastic scribe.

37.   Joyce, James. *Finnegans Wake*. Penguin, 1999.

38.   The Cold War was a geopolitical tension from 1947 to 1991 between the US and allies with the Soviet Union following the end of WW II.

39.   *Sinn Féin*: Ourselves (Kiberd 1).

40.   *Oglaidh na* hEireann: Can be translated as "soldiers of Ireland," "warriors of Ireland," "volunteers of Ireland," or "Irish volunteers."

41.   Referred to as Black and Tans by Shanahan.

42.   Civvy refers to civilian clothes rather than military uniforms.

43.   Down by the Glenside (The Bold Fenian Men)- by Peadar Kearney.

44.   *Prosopopeia*: A figure of speech that represents an imaginary, absent, or dead person speaking or acting.

45.   *Auraicept na n-Éces*: a quasi-scientific exposition of the nature of the Irish language (Clarke 48).

46.   Teiresias: Found in Greek mythology, he is a blind seer from the city of Thebes. His character is featured in the *Odyssey*, *Antigone*, *Oedipus Rex*, *Dante's Inferno*, and other classical and modern texts ("Tiresias").

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