

# Adomnan's Life of Columba

Edited with Translation and Notes

by the late

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rupta caput eius ordinant  
 benedixit. <sup>1100</sup> Cum enim in libro  
 quon dicitur: ubi sic coluiba pempte  
 sic dicit quod sic coluiba de didano  
 & de portu eius & de quo suo ppe  
 rans colpe det. In dubitanti  
 cuncte. O aidane qm nullus adu  
 ratorum tuorum tibi potuit neque  
 ne donec pnuat pnaudulentiā a  
 zar in me & in portu meo ppe  
 hō tu filius commenda. ut dicit  
 filius & nepotib: & portu tuis co  
 mēdit. ne p consilia mala con  
 pceptū negi huius dñanib: tuis  
 p dant. In quo cū q: sum tūpōne  
 malū aduēpū me aut aduēpū  
 cognator meos qui sunt in hibi  
 ma peccant. Flagitū q: caupa  
 tu ab angelo ruptū p ma  
 num dī sup eor in magnū plagi  
 tum uenturū. & con uimor  
 aut die tuis ab eis & inimici eo  
 rum uenturū sup eos confor  
 tabunt. Hic uenturū tūpōne  
 bi: not tuis dicit: In bello noth  
 dominus bello brecca nepotē aidan  
 sine caupa uenturū puincia  
 dominū nepotū ammuinē &  
 adie illa usq: hodie adhuc in p  
 uo rē ab ex tianer q: ruppina do  
<sup>1000</sup> <sup>in curia</sup>  
 & anglonū apparitio  
 ne alicuius beatū bnt  
 num. p. 111

ammu' ad celū usq: hūp  
**A**lio in tūpōne cum  
 uin pē in ioua com  
 monantur in pūla qui  
 dam elepū monacū bnt  
 to bonū actibū in tūpōne  
 molētia conuēpū conpo  
 tū ad ex tūna pū dūctū  
 ē. Quē cum uin uēpū  
 elū in hona sui uēpū  
 ex tū paulū pū ad lectu  
 lum eius ad pū tū & tū bē  
 nēdēnt oēpū domū hū  
 dūp nolēnt uelē hō mo  
 nū bntem. Qui eodem mon  
 to port sēi cēclomū pēp  
 tū uin pū bntem pū  
 uitam. Tū uin pū dūcabi  
 lū in plateola sui deambu  
 lanū monacū pū pēp  
 ad celū oculū elūctū ual  
 de ob pū pē cū ammu  
 batū. qui dam uō pū  
 tū aidanū nomīe filū  
 ubū bonū in dolū & nō  
 lēgōpū homo. qui pōlū  
 de pūatū: eadē ad pū

Adomnan's Life of Columba

In nomine Jesu Christi  
Orditur praefatio<sup>1</sup>

BEATI nostri patroni<sup>2</sup> Christo sufragante vitam discripturus,<sup>3</sup> fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque ammonere procurabo ut fidem dictis adhibeant conpertis et res magis quam verba perpendant, quae ut estimo inculta et vilia esse videntur. Meminerintque regnum dei non in eloquentiae exuberantia sed in fidei florulentia constare. Et nec ob<sup>4</sup> aliqua scoticae<sup>5</sup> vilis videlicet ling[u]ae<sup>6</sup> aut humana onomata aut gentium obscura locorumve vocabula, quae ut puto inter alias exterarum<sup>7</sup> gentium diversas vilescunt linguas, utilium et non sine divina

1b opitulatione gestarum dispiciant<sup>8</sup> rerum pronuntiationem.

Sed et hoc lectorem ammonendum putavimus quod de beatae memoriae viro plura studio brevitatis etiam memoria digna a nobis sint praetermissa,<sup>9</sup> et quasi pauca de plurimis ob evitandum fastidium lectorum sint<sup>10</sup> craxata.<sup>11</sup> Et hoc ut arbitror quisque haec lecturus forte annotabit quod minima de maximis per populos<sup>12</sup> fama

<sup>1</sup> Instead of this title, B1 reads: *Incipit prologus in vita sancti columbe abbatis*; and B2, *Incipit praefatio in [ ] columbe episcopi*. About eight folios, presumably a quire, are missing from the beginning of B3. Its text begins in the middle of I 3; see 15a.

<sup>2</sup> In A, rising punctuation-signs have been added (not in the text hand and not by m.h.) after *patroni, discripturus, volens, procurabo, videntur, exuberantia, constare, lingae, vocabula, linguas*; and a dot and falling sign after *perpendant*.

<sup>3</sup> discripturus A; des- B1 B2

<sup>4</sup> ob A B2; ab B1

<sup>5</sup> scoticae A; scottice B1; scocie B2

<sup>6</sup> lingae A; lingue B1 B2

<sup>7</sup> exterarum A B2; exterrarum B1

<sup>8</sup> dispiciant A; des- B1. Missing in B2.

In the name of Jesus Christ,  
the Preface begins

Wishing to respond to the importunity of the brothers, with Christ's favour I shall describe the life of our blessed patron; and I shall in the first place endeavour to persuade all who may read it to have faith in the established facts that I relate, and to regard the substance rather than the words, which appear, I think, crude and of little worth. Let them remember that the kingdom of God inheres not in exuberance of rhetoric, but in the blossoming of faith. Let them not despise the publication of deeds that are profitable, and that have not been accomplished without the help of God, on account of some unfamiliar words of the Irish tongue, a poor language, designations of men, or names of tribes and places; words that, I suppose, are held to be of no value, among other different tongues of foreign peoples.

We have thought that the reader should be warned of this also, that for the sake of brevity, we have left out many things concerning the man of blessed memory, even things that were worthy of remembrance; and that to avoid cloying the appetite of those who shall read, only a few things out of very many have been written down. And every future reader of these things will, I think, perhaps observe that rumour has spread widely among

<sup>9</sup> praetermissa A; s has later been added above the line, before s (m.h.).  
praetermissa B1 B2

<sup>10</sup> sint A B2; sunt B1

<sup>11</sup> craxata A; carraxata B1; caraxata B2

<sup>12</sup> populos A B1; plurimos B2

de eodem beato <sup>1</sup> viro divulgata <sup>2</sup> disperserit ad horum etiam paucorum comparationem quae nunc breviter craxare <sup>3</sup> disponimus.

Hinc <sup>4</sup> post hanc primam praefatiunculam de nostri vocamine praesulis in exordio secunde <sup>5</sup> deo auxiliante intimare exordiar. <sup>6</sup> |

2a

In nomine Jesu Christi  
Secunda <sup>7</sup> praefatio

VIR ERAT vitae venerabilis et beatae memoriae monasteriorum pater et fundator, cum Jona <sup>8</sup> profeta omonimon sortitus nomen.<sup>9</sup> Nam licet diverso trium diversarum sono linguarum unam tamen eandemque rem significat hoc quod ebreice <sup>10</sup> dicitur *jona*,<sup>11</sup> greccitas vero *peristera* <sup>12</sup> vocitat, et latina lingua *columba* nuncupatur. Tale tantumque vocabulum homini dei non sine divina inditum <sup>13</sup> providentia creditur. Nam et juxta evangeliorum fidem spiritus sanctus super unigenitum aeterni patris descendisse <sup>14</sup> monstratur in forma illius aviculae quae columba dicitur. Unde plerumque [in  
2b s]acrosanctis <sup>15</sup> libris co]lumba mystice spiritum sanctum

<sup>1</sup> beato A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> divulgata A; div- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>3</sup> craxare A; caraxa're B<sub>1</sub>; caraxare B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>4</sup> hinc A B<sub>2</sub>; hinc etiam B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> secunde A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>6</sup> *exordiar*, in A, is followed by the double dot that marks the end of a section. The last two lines of 1b are left blank.

<sup>7</sup> secunda A; secunda o'ritur B<sub>1</sub>; secunda orditur B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>8</sup> iona A B<sub>2</sub>; ioná B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> nomen A B<sub>1</sub>; nomine B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>10</sup> ebreice A; the second *e* has been altered later to *ae*, with a very fine pen. ebra'ice B<sub>1</sub>; hebraice B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>11</sup> iona A B<sub>2</sub>; ioná B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *πηριστηρα* A B<sub>1</sub>, glossed *peristera* in B<sub>1</sub>; *περιστη* B<sub>2</sub>. This is for *περιστερά* 'pigeon'. See pp. 309, 462.

the peoples only very little of the very great matters concerning this blessed man, in comparison with even these few things that we propose now briefly to set down.

After this first slight preface I pass on, with God's help, to tell of our superior's name, in the beginning of the second.

In the name of Jesus Christ,  
the second Preface

There was a man of venerable life and blessed memory, the father and founder of monasteries, who received the same name as the prophet Jonah. For although sounding differently in the three different languages, yet what is pronounced *iona* in Hebrew, and what Greek calls *peristera*, and what in the Latin language is named *columba*, means one and the same thing. So good and great a name is believed not to have been put upon the man of God without divine dispensation. According to the truth of the gospels, moreover, the Holy Spirit is shown to have descended upon the only-begotten son of the eternal Father in the form of that little bird that is called a dove. Hence often in sacred books a dove is understood to signify mystically the Holy Spirit.

<sup>13</sup> inditum A; i'nditum B<sub>1</sub>; indutum B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>14</sup> descendisse A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>15</sup> *jacrosanctis* A (*in s* at the beginning of the line in the bottom corner have been obliterated as if by the washing-out of a stain); *in sacro sanctis* B<sub>1</sub>; *in sanctis* B<sub>2</sub>

significare dinoscitur. Proinde et salvator in evangelio<sup>1</sup> suis praecipit<sup>2</sup> discipulis, ut columbarum in corde puro insertam simplicitatem<sup>3</sup> contenerent.<sup>4</sup> Columba etenim simplex<sup>5</sup> et innocens est avis. Hoc itaque vocamine et homo simplex<sup>6</sup> innocensque nuncupari debuit, qui in sé columbinis moribus spiritui sancto hospitium praebuit. Cui nomini non inconvenienter congruit illud quod in proverbiiis<sup>7</sup> scriptum est: Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multae. Hic igitur noster praesul non inmerito non solum a diebus infantiae hoc vocabulo deo donante adornatus proprio ditatus est, sed etiam  
 3a praemissis<sup>8</sup> multorum cyclis annorum ante suae nati-  
 vitatis diem cuidam Christi militi spiritu revelante sancto<sup>9</sup> quasi filius repromissionis<sup>10</sup> mirabili profetatione nominatus est. Nam quidam proselytus brito<sup>11</sup> homo sanctus sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus Maucteus<sup>12</sup> nomine ita de nostro profetizavit patrono sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis conpertum habetur. 'In novissimis' ait 'saeculi temporibus filius nasciturus est cujus nomen Columba per omnes insularum ociani<sup>13</sup> provincias devulgabitur<sup>14</sup> notum, novissimaque orbis tempora clare inlustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepisculae<sup>15</sup> intervallo disternabuntur. Homo<sup>16</sup> valde deo carus et grandis coram ipso meriti'.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *evangelio*. Vulgate, Matt. x. 16

<sup>2</sup> praecipit A; pre'cipit B<sub>1</sub>; precepit B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>3</sup> simplicitatem A; simplicitatem B<sub>1</sub>; simplicitate B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>4</sup> contenerent A; contine'rent B<sub>1</sub>; continerent B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> simplex A; simplex B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>7</sup> *proverbiiis*. Vulgate, Prov. xxii. 1

<sup>8</sup> praemissis A, with a minuscule s later added above the line, before the first s. premissis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>9</sup> spiritu revelante sancto A B<sub>2</sub>; the same in B<sub>1</sub>, but with transposition signs, probably entered by the text hand, before *spiritu* and above *sancto*, so as to read: *sancto spiritu revelante*.

<sup>10</sup> repromissionis A; a faint round s has been added later above the line, before the first s, with a fine pen. repromissionis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

Similarly in the gospel, the Saviour himself bade his disciples to have within them the simplicity implanted in the pure heart of doves. For indeed the dove is a simple and innocent bird. Therefore a simple and innocent person also was rightly called by this name, since he with dovelike disposition offered to the Holy Spirit a dwelling in himself. This name aptly fits what is written in the Book of Proverbs, 'Better is a good name than many riches'. Not only was this our superior by God's gift worthily enriched from the days of his infancy with the adornment of this proper name, but also, many revolving years before the day of his birth, by revelation of the Holy Spirit to a soldier of Christ, he was named as a son of promise in a miraculous prophecy. For it is an accepted fact passed down to us from ancient men who knew of it that a certain British stranger, a holy man, a disciple of the holy bishop Patrick, called Maucte, prophesied thus of our patron, saying: 'In the last years of the world a son will be born, whose name Columba will become famous through all the provinces of the islands of Ocean, and will brightly illumine the latest years of the earth. The fields of our two monasteries, mine and his, will be separated by the width of one small hedge: a man very dear to God, and of high merit in his sight.'

<sup>11</sup> brito A; bri'tto B<sub>1</sub>; britto B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>12</sup> maucteus A; ma'cteus B<sub>1</sub>; macteus B<sub>2</sub>. This was Móchta, the abbot of Louth, whose death is entered in A.U. 534=535.

<sup>13</sup> ociani A; the first i has been altered later to e, by a minuscule hand with a fine pen. occe'ani B<sub>1</sub>; oceani B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>14</sup> devulgabitur A; the e has been altered later to i with a fine pen. di- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>15</sup> sepisculae A; epi'scule B<sub>1</sub>; sepiscule B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>16</sup> Homo A; homo B<sub>1</sub>; et ille homo B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>17</sup> meriti A B<sub>1</sub>; erit B<sub>2</sub>

3b *Hujus*<sup>1</sup> igitur nostri Columbae | vitam et mores  
 describens<sup>2</sup> in primis brevi sermonis textu in quantum  
 valero strictim conpraehendam et ante lectoris oculos  
 sanctam ejus conversationem pariter exponam; sed et  
 de miraculis ejus succincte quaedam quasi legentibus  
 avidae praegustanda<sup>3</sup> ponam, quae tamen inferius per  
 tris<sup>4</sup> divisa libros plenius explicabuntur; quorum  
 primus profeticas revelationes, secundus vero divinas per  
 ipsum virtutes effectas, tertius angelicas apparitiones<sup>5</sup>  
 contenebit<sup>6</sup> et quasdam super hominem dei caelestis  
 claritudinis manifestation[*e*].<sup>7</sup> Nemo itaque me de hoc  
 tam praedicabili viro aut mentitum estimet aut quasi  
 quaedam dubia vel incerta scripturum; sed ea quae  
 majorum<sup>8</sup> fideliumque virorum tradita expertorum  
 4a cognovi<sup>9</sup> | relatione narraturum et sine ulla ambiguitate  
 craxaturum<sup>10</sup> sciat, et vel ex his quae ante nos in-  
 serta paginis reperire potuimus, vel ex his quae  
 auditu ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis sine  
 ulla dubitatione narrantibus diligentius sciscitantes  
 didicimus.

<sup>1</sup> *Hujus* begins a new section in A B1 B2.

<sup>2</sup> describens A; des- B1 B2

<sup>3</sup> praegustanda A; praegustando B1; praegustanda B2

<sup>4</sup> tris A; an *e* has been written later by a m.h. above the *i*. tres B1 B2

<sup>5</sup> apparitiones A; apparitiones B1 B2

<sup>6</sup> contenebit A; -tin- B1 B2

<sup>7</sup> manifestationis A; the last *i* has later been altered to *e* (m.h.).  
 manifestationes B1 B2. A's reading is a scribal error.

<sup>8</sup> *majorum*. Here *majores*, like O.I. *sruithi*, may mean either 'predecessors' or 'elders'.

<sup>9</sup> cognovi A B1 B2. Reeves 1857, p. 8, rendered this *congrua*, and noted that it was not legible in A. The bottom corner of this folio (3b, 4a) has been stained, and is slightly reinforced, perhaps with injury to some letters. The first *a* of *tra/dita* (3b27), and the *gnovi* of *cognovi* (3b28), and the *qu* of *quaedam* (3b24), have apparently been written later, and certainly not by the text hand, but very possibly over traces of letters written by the text hand. The shortened version (derived from A) in L, C, F, S, reads *cognovi*; so also P. D reads *congruo*. Stephen White transcribed *congrua*.

<sup>10</sup> craxaturum A; caraxaturum B1 B2

In describing the life and character of this our Columba, I shall first in brief language condense in as small space as I can, and at the same time bring before the eyes of the reader, his holy way of life; and shall also set before those that read, as morsels to be eagerly savoured, some instances of his miracles. These things will be more fully disclosed below, divided into three books, of which the first will contain prophetic revelations; the second, divine miracles effected through him; the third, appearances of angels, and certain manifestations of heavenly brightness above the man of God. Let not any one suppose that I will write concerning this so memorable man either falsehood, or things that might be doubtful or unsure; but let him understand that I shall relate what has come to my knowledge through the tradition passed on by our predecessors, and by trustworthy men who knew the facts; and that I shall set it down unequivocally, and either from among those things that we have been able to find put into writing before our time, or else from among those that we have learned, after diligent inquiry, by hearing them from the lips of certain informed and trustworthy aged men who related them without any hesitation.

Sanctus igitur Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus genitalibus, patrem habens Fedilmithum<sup>1</sup> filium Ferguso,<sup>2</sup> matrem Aethneam<sup>3</sup> nomine, cujus pater latine filius navis dici potest, scotica<sup>4</sup> vero lingua mac naue.<sup>5</sup> Hic anno secundo post Cule-drebinæ<sup>6</sup> bellum, aetatis vero suae xlii,<sup>7</sup> de Scotia ad Britanniam pro Christo perigrinari volens enavigavit.

4b Qui et a puero | christiano deditus tirocinio et sapientiae studiis, integritatem corporis et animae puritatem deo donante custodiens, quamvis in terra positus caelestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat. Erat enim aspectu angelicus sermone nitidus opere sanctus ingenio optimus consilio magnus.<sup>8</sup> Per annos xxxiiii.<sup>9</sup> insulanus miles conversatus<sup>10</sup> nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat quo non aut orationi aut lectioni<sup>11</sup> vel<sup>12</sup> scriptioni vel etiam alicui operationi incumberet. Jejunationum quoque et vigiliarum indefesis laborationibus sine ulla intermissione<sup>13</sup> die noctueque ita occupatus ut supra humanam possibilitatem unius cujusque pondus specialis videretur operis. Et  
5a inter haec omnibus carus | hilarem semper faciem ostendens sanctam, spiritus sancti gaudio in intimis laetificabatur praecordiis.

<sup>1</sup> fedilmithum A, with five over-dashes; fedilmithun B1; fedilmithum B2.

<sup>2</sup> ferguso A; fergo's B1; fergosi B2

<sup>3</sup> aethneam A; e'thneam B1; ethneam B2

<sup>4</sup> scotica A; sco'ttica B1; scotia B2

<sup>5</sup> mac naue A; mac naue' B1; macnaue B2. The O.I. *nau* means 'boat' (see p. 143).

<sup>6</sup> cule drebinæ A, with an accent and four over-dashes; culedredine B1; culedrebine B2. See pp. 71, 140, 143.

<sup>7</sup> xlii A; quadragesimo secundo B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> *magnus*. The text, in *integritatem corporis* above, and from *in terra to magnus*, is verbally derived from the Actus Silvestri; see Brüning 1917, p. 253, and Colgrave 1940, p. 316.

<sup>9</sup> xxxiiii. A; triginta iiiior B1; triginta quattuor B2

The holy Columba was born of noble parents, having as his father Fedelmith, Fergus's son, and his mother, Ethne by name, whose father may be called in Latin 'son of a ship', and in the Irish tongue *Mac-naue*. In the second year after the battle of Cul-drebene, the forty-second year of his age, Columba sailed away from Ireland to Britain, wishing to be a pilgrim for Christ.

Devoted even from boyhood to the Christian noviciate and the study of philosophy, preserving by God's favour integrity of body and purity of soul, he showed himself, though placed on earth, ready for the life of heaven; for he was angelic in aspect, refined in speech, holy in work, excellent in ability, great in counsel. Living as an island soldier for thirty-four years, he could not pass even the space of a single hour without applying himself to prayer, or to reading, or to writing or some kind of work. Also by day and by night, without any intermission, he was so occupied with unwearying labours of fasts and vigils that the burden of each several work seemed beyond the strength of man. And with all this he was loving to every one, his holy face ever showed gladness, and he was happy in his inmost heart with the joy of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>10</sup> *conversatus*. A punctuation mark (up-sign) after this word is added later (probably in the ninth century), but is intended to show that the sentence does not end here, as Reeves wrongly supposed.

<sup>11</sup> *lectioni*. From *nullum* to *lectioni*, with *incumberet* below, the text is based upon the Life of Martin (Sulpicius Severus, p. 136; see Brüning 1917, p. 248).

<sup>12</sup> vel A B1; aut B2

<sup>13</sup> *intermissione* A; an *s* has been added by m.h. after the second *i*. *intermissione* B1 B2



Nunc<sup>1</sup> primi libri kapitulationes ordiuntur.

- [6a] De virtutum miraculis brevis narratio.  
 [11a] De sancto Finteno abbate<sup>2</sup> Tailchani<sup>3</sup> filio, quomodo de ipso sanctus Columba profetavit.  
 [14a] De Erneneo filio Craseni<sup>4</sup> profetia ejus.  
 [16a] De adventu Cainnichi<sup>5</sup> quomodo praenuntiavit.  
 [16b] De periculo sancti Colmani<sup>6</sup> gente mocu-Sailni sancto Columbe revelato.  
 [17a] De Cormaco nepote Letha[ni].<sup>7</sup>  
 [17b-18b] Profetationes ejus de bellis :  
 [18b-22a] De regibus.<sup>8</sup>  
 [22a] De duobus pueris [quorum] secundum verbum ejus in fine septimanae unus<sup>9</sup> mortuus est.  
 [22b] De Colcio filio Aido Draigniche, et de quodam occulto matris ipsius peccato.  
 [23a] De signo mortis ejusdem viri.<sup>10</sup>  
 [23b] Profetia sancti Columbae de Laisrano hortulano.  
 5b [24a] De ceto magno quomodo profetavit.<sup>11</sup>  
 [25b] De quodam Baitano qui cum ceteris ad maritimum remigavit desertum.

<sup>1</sup> *Nunc*. From here to *brevis narratio* (6a12), the writing of A is in colour. B1 omits from *Nunc* to *profetia sancti* (6a8). B2 omits from *Nunc* to *narratio* (5a8). The items are written continuously in A, and every item begins in a new line in B2.

<sup>2</sup> abbate A. Omitted in B2.

<sup>3</sup> tailchani A ; talcani B2

<sup>4</sup> craseni A ; crasseni B2

<sup>5</sup> cainnichi A ; cainnechi B2

<sup>6</sup> Colmani A ; columbani B2

<sup>7</sup> lethan| A, with three over-dashes ; lethani B2, as in A 17a.

<sup>8</sup> *regibus*. B2 writes [*P*]rophetationes to *regibus* as one item.

<sup>9</sup> *unus*, in A, has been added by the text hand above the line, with a dot to place it after *septimanae* ; but the missing *quorum* has not been supplied. A mark above the end of *septimanae* is unintelligible. B2 reads correctly : *De duobus pueris quorum unus secundum verbum ejus in fine septimane mortuus est*. The chapter-heading in A 22a contains *quorum*, but omits *unus*.

<sup>10</sup> *de signo* to *vir*. This item is here entered as a chapter-heading in A B2 ; but below (23a) the manuscripts (A B1 B3) do not give it as a separate chapter.

Now the chapter-headings of the first book begin.

- [I 1] Summary of miracles of power.  
 [I 2] Of the abbot Saint Finten, Tailchan's son ; how Saint Columba prophesied concerning him.  
 [I 3] His prophecy concerning Ernene, Crasen's son.  
 [I 4] How he foretold the coming of Cainnech.  
 [I 5] Of the peril of Saint Colman, of the family mocu-Sailni, revealed to Saint Columba.  
 [I 6] Of Cormac, grandson of Léthan.  
 [I 7-8] His prophecies concerning battles :  
 [I 9-15] Concerning kings.  
 [I 16] Of two boys [of whom], according to his word, one died at the end of a week.  
 [I 17] Of Colcu, Aid Draigniche's son, and of his mother's hidden sin.  
 [I 17] Of a portent of the same man's death.  
 [I 18] Prophecy of Saint Columba concerning Laisran the gardener.  
 [I 19] How he prophesied concerning a great whale.  
 [I 20] Of Baitan, who with the others rowed to a desert in the sea.

<sup>11</sup> p[ro]f[et]avit A ; prophetavit B2. In the facsimiles of A, there is no trace of the tail of the *pro*-sign. It may have been obscured by a small hole in the parchment, before *p*. The hole penetrates thirteen folios, from 1b to 26a. Another small hole, in the upper margin, pierces 1b to 38a.

- [26b] De quodam Nemanio ficto penitente<sup>1</sup> qui postea secundum<sup>2</sup> verbum sancti carnem equae furtivae<sup>3</sup> comedit.
- [27a] De illo infelici viro qui cum sua genitrice peccavit.
- [28a] De .I. vocali littera quae una in salterio defuit.
- [28b] De libro in ydriam cadente.
- [29a] De corniculo atramenti inclinato.
- [29a] De adventu alicujus Aidani<sup>4</sup> qui jejunium solvit.
- [29b] De aliquo misero viro qui ad fretum clamitabat mox morituro.
- [30a] De civitate Romaniae partis super quam ignis de celo cecidit.<sup>5</sup>
- [31a] De Laisrano<sup>6</sup> filio Feradaig<sup>7</sup> quomodo manacos<sup>8</sup> probavit in labore.
- [31b] De Fechno Binc.<sup>9</sup>
- [32b] De Cailtano monaco.
- [33a] De duobus perigrinis.<sup>10</sup>
- [34b] De Artbranano sene quem in Scia insula baptizavit.
- [35a] De naviculae transmotatione<sup>11</sup> juxta stagnum Lochdae.<sup>12</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> pe|netente A ; the first *e* is not quite visible in the facsimiles. penitente B2

<sup>2</sup> secundum| A ; -um is not visible in the facsimiles. secundum B2

<sup>3</sup> furtivae A ; future B2

<sup>4</sup> Aidani. In A, some faint letters near the right margin, in this word, and in *jejunium*, have been touched up in modern times ; but there seems to be no reasonable doubt about the readings.

<sup>5</sup> cecidit A ; cecidit B2

<sup>6</sup> laisrano A ; laistrano B2

<sup>7</sup> feradaig A ; feradachi B2

<sup>8</sup> manacos A ; ]chus B2

<sup>9</sup> binc A, with one over-dash. The reading of B2 is given in Reeves 1857, p. 456, as *bivi*. In our facsimile of B2, folio 193, the letters *biu* are clearly visible. The fourth letter does not seem to be *i*. It might be the lower part of a *c*, but the upper part is not visible. Fechno's epithet in the text of the chapter, 31b-32b is *sapiens*.

- [I 21] Of Neman, a pretended penitent, who afterwards according to the saint's word devoured the flesh of a stolen mare.
- [I 22] Of the unhappy man who sinned with his mother.
- [I 23] Of the vowel *I*, which alone was lacking in a psalter.
- [I 24] Of a book that fell into a ewer.
- [I 25] Of a little horn of ink upset.
- [I 26] Of the arrival of a man Aidan, who relaxed the fast.
- [I 27] Of a certain unfortunate man, about to die, who shouted beyond the strait.
- [I 28] Of a city of part of the Roman dominion, upon which fire fell from heaven.
- [I 29] How Laisran, Feradach's son, overtried the monks with labour.
- [I 30] Of Féchna Binc.
- [I 31] Of the monk Cailtan.
- [I 32] Of two pilgrims.
- [I 33] Of an aged man Artbranan, whom he baptized in the island of Sci [Skye].
- [I 34] Of the removal of a boat, beside the lake of Lóchdea [Lochy].

<sup>10</sup> perigrinis A ; peregrinis sancti viri prophetia B2

<sup>11</sup> transmotatione A ; -mut- B2

<sup>12</sup> loch dae A, with two over-dashes ; the *a* is open, rather small, and slightly raised. lochdæ B2. This place-name is not in the text of 35a. The open *a* caused Reeves to read *diæ*, wrongly. His false reading has misled later writers, including Watson 1926, pp. 50, 438, but Watson gave the correct spelling in MacBain 1922, pp. 42, 147, 194. In Thesaurus 1903, p. 272, the word was spelt correctly, but one of the over-dashes was mis-rendered as a macron above the *a*. With *lôchdae* 'of the black goddess' as a river-name, cf. *fendæ* 'of the white goddess', 132a ; see pp. 141-2.

- 6a [35b] De Gallano filio Fachtni<sup>1</sup> quem daemones rapuere.  
 [40a] De Lugidio claudo.  
 [40b] De Enano<sup>2</sup> filio Gruthriche.<sup>3</sup>  
 [41a] De prespitero qui erat in Triota.<sup>4</sup>  
 [42a] De Erco furunculo.  
 [43a] De Cronano poeta.  
 [43b] De Ronano filio Aido filii Colcen,<sup>5</sup> et Colmano cane<sup>6</sup> filio Aileni, profetia sancti. .

<sup>1</sup> fachtni A ; fachni B2

<sup>2</sup> enano A B2 ; but the name is Nemanus in 40b-41a.

<sup>3</sup> gruthriche A B2, with three over-dashes in A.

<sup>4</sup> triota A ; troita B2, apparently, in a scorched line. Reeves read *trioita* in B2.

<sup>5</sup> colcen A ; colgen B2

<sup>6</sup> colmano cane A ; columbano B2

- [I 35] Of Gallan, Fachtné's son, whom demons carried away.  
 [I 38] Of Luguid the Lame.  
 [I 39] Of [Neman], Gruthrech's son.  
 [I 40] Of a priest who was in Trioit [Trevet].  
 [I 41] Of Erc, a thief.  
 [I 42] Of Cronan, a poet.  
 [I 43] Prophecy of the saint, concerning Ronan, son of Aid, son of Colcu, and Colman Dog, son of Ailen.

Incipit primi libri textus  
de profeticis revelationibus<sup>1</sup>

De virtutum miraculis brevis narratio

Vir itaque venerandus qualia virtutum documenta dederit in hujus libelli primordiis secundum nostram promissam<sup>2</sup> superius promisiunculam<sup>3</sup> breviter sunt demonstranda.

Diversorum namque infestationes morborum homines in nomine domini Jesu Christi virtute orationum perpressos sanavit. Daemonumque infestas ipse unus homo et innumeras contra se belligerantes catervas  
6b oculis corporalibus visas | et incipientes mortiferos super ejus cenubialem<sup>4</sup> coetum inferre morbos hac nostra de insula retrotrusas<sup>5</sup> primaria deo auxiliante repulit. Bestiarum furiosam rabiem partim mortificatione partim forti repulsione Christo adjuvante conspicuit.<sup>6</sup> Tumores quoque fluctuum<sup>7</sup> instar montium aliquando in magna tempestate consurgentium ipso ocius orante sedati humiliati<sup>8</sup> sunt. Navisque ipsius in qua et ipse cassu<sup>9</sup> navigabat tunc temporis facta tranquillitate portum adpulsa est optatum.<sup>10</sup> In regione<sup>11</sup> Pictorum aliquantus

<sup>1</sup> *Incipit to revelationibus*, A. Instead of this title, B1 reads: *Hic primus ordi'tur liber de vita ac miraculis sanctissimi patris nostri columbe abba'tis ac sacerdotis*. B2 reads: *Incipit liber de vita et miraculis [beati pa]tris columbe*. The letters within brackets are given by Reeves 1857, p. 456, but are not quite visible in our facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> promissam A; an *s* has been added above, by m.h., before *s*. -miss- B1 B2

<sup>3</sup> promisiunculam A; an *s* has been added above by m.h., before *s*. -miss- B1 B2

<sup>4</sup> cenubialem A; the *u* has been altered later to *o*, by bridging with a very faint line. cenubialem B1 B2

<sup>5</sup> retrotrusas A; retrotrusos B1; illegible in our facsimile of B2.

The text of the first book begins:  
Of prophetic revelations

[I 1] A summary of miracles of power

What proofs of his powers the venerable man displayed must briefly be shown in the beginning of this book, according to our promise given above.

By virtue of prayers and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ he healed people who endured the attacks of various diseases.

He, one man alone, with God's aid repulsed innumerable hostile bands of demons making war against him, visible to his bodily eyes, and preparing to inflict deadly diseases upon his community of monks; and they were thrust back from this our principal island.

With Christ's help, he checked the raging fury of wild beasts, by killing some and strongly repelling others. Swelling waves also, that once in a great storm rose like mountains, quickly subsided at his prayer, and were stilled. And his ship, in which he himself chanced to be sailing, was at that time, when the calm fell, carried to the desired haven. On his return from a

<sup>6</sup> conspicuit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. *conpe'scuit* B1; *jompescuit* B2

<sup>7</sup> fluctuum A; flu'ctuum maris B1; fluctuum [P maris] B2

<sup>8</sup> humiliati A; m.h. has added *que* above the line. *et humiliati* B1 B2

<sup>9</sup> cassu A; the first *s* has later been erased. *casu* B1 B2

<sup>10</sup> *optatum*. In A, the *p* is abnormally formed, resulting from an alteration, presumably of *b*. The clause is taken from 82a, although it fits better the sense of 62b.

<sup>11</sup> regione A B1; religione B2

diebus manens, inde reversus, ut magos confunderet contra flatus contrarios venti erexit velum ; et ita veloci  
 7a cursu ejus navicula enatans<sup>1</sup> festinabat | acsi secundum habuisset ventum. Aliis quoque<sup>2</sup> temporibus venti navigantibus contrarii in secundos ipso orante conversi sunt. In eadem supra memorata regione lapidem de flumine candidum detulit quem ad aliquas profuturum benedixit sanitates ; qui lapis contra naturam in aqua intinctus<sup>3</sup> quasi pomum supernatavit. Hoc divinum miraculum coram Brudeo<sup>4</sup> rege et familiaribus ejus factum est. In eadem itidem provincia cujusdam plebei credentis mortuum puerum suscitavit, quod<sup>5</sup> est majoris miraculi, vivumque et incolumem patri et matri assignavit. Alio in tempore idem vir beatus juvenis diaconus in Ebernia<sup>6</sup> apud Findbarrum<sup>7</sup> sanctum episcopum commanens, cum ad sacrosancta misteria  
 7b necessarium defu|isset vinum, virtute orationis aquam puram in verum vertit vinum. . Sed et caelestis ingens claritudinis lumen et in noctis tenebris et in luce diei super eum aliquando quibusdam ex fratribus diversis et separatis vicibus apparuit effusum. .<sup>8</sup> Sanctorum quoque angelorum dulces<sup>9</sup> et suavissimas frequentationes luminosas habere meruit. Quorumdam justorum animas crebro ab angelis ad summa caelorum vehi sancto revelante spiritu videbat. Sed et reproborum alias ad inferna a

<sup>1</sup> enatans A B2 ; in A, an accent has later been added with a fine pen above *e*, to indicate stress. *e'natans* B1

<sup>2</sup> Aliis quoque A ; Aliisque B1 ?B2

<sup>3</sup> intinctus A ; inti'nctus B1 ; instinctus B2

<sup>4</sup> brudeo A B2 ; bru'deo B1

<sup>5</sup> quod A ; m.h. has added *que*. B1 and B2 omit *quod* to *miraculi*. See 78a-79a.

<sup>6</sup> ebernia A ; an *i* has been written by m.h. above the first *e*. hibernia B1 B2

<sup>7</sup> findbarrum A ; fendbarrum B1 B2. The *e* in B1 has been altered from *i*, perhaps by the text hand.

visit of some days to the district of the Picts, he raised his sail against the blasts of contrary wind, in order to confound the magicians, and so his boat put out and sped on a rapid course as though it had had a following wind.

At other times also, through his prayers, winds unfavourable to voyagers were changed to favourable ones.

In the same district mentioned above, he took a white stone from the river, and blessed it, so that it should effect some cures. Contrary to nature, that stone, when immersed in water, floated like an apple. This divine miracle was performed in the presence of king Brude and his household.

In the same province, he restored to life—and this is a major miracle—the dead son of a believing layman, and gave him back alive and unharmed to his father and mother.

At another time, in his youth, when the blessed man was in Ireland, living as a deacon with the holy bishop Findbarr, and the necessary wine for the most holy mysteries was lacking, by virtue of prayer he changed pure water into true wine.

Sometimes also there appeared to certain of the brothers, on various different occasions, a great light of heavenly brightness poured out upon him, either in the darkness of night or in the light of day.

He was held worthy to receive in shining light the sweet and most pleasant visitations of holy angels.

<sup>8</sup> effusum A ; the first *s* has later been erased. effusum B1 B2

<sup>9</sup> dulces A B2 ; duces B1

daemonibus ferri <sup>1</sup> sepe numero aspiciebat. Plurimorum in carne mortali adhuc conversantium futura plerumque praenuntiabat <sup>2</sup> merita, aliorum laeta, aliorum tristia.<sup>3</sup> In bellorumque terrificis fragoribus hoc a deo virtute  
8a orationum inpetravit,<sup>4</sup> ut alii | reges victi et alii regnatores efficerentur victores. Hoc tale praevilegium <sup>5</sup> non tantum in hac praesenti <sup>6</sup> vita conversanti, sed etiam post ejus de carne transitum, quasi cuidam victoriali et fortissimo propugnatori a deo omnium sanctorum condonatum est honorificatore.

Hujus talis honorificentiae <sup>7</sup> viro honorabili ab omnipotente <sup>8</sup> caelitus conlatae etiam unum proferemus exemplum, quod Ossualdo <sup>9</sup> regnatori saxonico pridie quam contra Catlonem <sup>10</sup> Britonum regem fortissimum proliaretur ostensum erat. Nam cum idem Ossualdus <sup>11</sup> rex esset in procinctu belli castrametatus quadam die in sua papillione supra pulvillum dormiens sanctum Columbam in visu videt forma coruscantem <sup>12</sup> angelica cujus alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur.  
8b Qui scilicet | vir beatus suum regi proprium revelans nomen in medio castrorum stans eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, sui protegebat fulgida veste. Et haec confirmatoria contulit verba, eadem scilicet quae dominus ad Jesue bén Nun <sup>13</sup> ante transitum Jordanis

<sup>1</sup> ferri A ; ferre B1 B2

<sup>2</sup> praenuntiabat A ; pronunciabat B1 ; prenuntiabat B2

<sup>3</sup> aliorum tristitia A ; the first *ti* has later been rubbed out with moisture. et aliorum tristia B1 B2

<sup>4</sup> inpetravit A ; impetravit B1 ; imprecavit B2

<sup>5</sup> praevilegium A ; the *ae* symbol has been altered later to *i*, by a perpendicular line drawn with a fine pen. pri- B1 B2

<sup>6</sup> hac praesenti A ; presenti hac B1 ; hac presenti B2

<sup>7</sup> honorificentiae A ; honorificentie B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> *omnipotente*. In A, there is an apparently meaningless dot above the tongue of the final *e* ; and so also in the loop of the *b* of *nubes*, at the end of the column.

<sup>9</sup> ossualdo A ; oswaldo B1 B2

Often, by revelation of the Holy Spirit, he saw the souls of just men borne by angels to the height of heaven ; and time and again he beheld other souls of the wicked being carried to hell by demons.

Very often he foretold the future rewards of many who still lived in mortal flesh, of some happy, of others sad.

And in the terrible crashings of battles, by virtue of prayer he obtained from God that some kings were conquered, and other rulers were conquerors. This special favour was bestowed by God, who honours all saints, on him, not only while he continued in this present life, but also after his departure from the flesh, as on a triumphant and powerful champion.

Of this special honour, conferred by the Almighty from on high upon the honourable man, we shall offer one more example, that was shown to Oswald, the English ruler, on the day before he fought against Catlon, a mighty king of the Britons. One day when king Oswald was encamped in readiness for battle, sleeping on his pillow in his tent he saw in a vision Saint Columba, radiant in angelic form, whose lofty height seemed with its head to touch the clouds. The blessed man revealed his own name to the king, and standing in the midst of the camp he covered it with his shining raiment, all but a small remote part ; and gave him these words of encouragement, the same that the Lord spoke to Joshua ben-Nun before the crossing of

<sup>10</sup> catlonem A B2 ; cathlo'nem B1

<sup>11</sup> ossualdus A ; osuualdus B1 B2

<sup>12</sup> coruscantem A ; choruscante B1 ; choruscantem B2

<sup>13</sup> jesue bén nun A ; jo'sué bennún B1 ; josu[e ben] num B2. See Joshua i.

mortuo Moyse proloquutus est, dicens : ' Confortare et age viriliter. Ecce ero<sup>1</sup> tecum ', et cetera. Sanctus itaque Columba haec ad regem in visu loquens addit : ' Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede. Hac enim vice mihi dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus Catlon<sup>2</sup> inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris et feliciter regnes.'

9a Post haec verba expergitus<sup>3</sup> rex senatui congregato hanc enarrat visionem ; | qua confortati omnes totus populus promittit sé post reversionem de bello crediturum et bap-tismum suscepturum. Nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia<sup>4</sup> gentilitatis et ignorantiae tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo<sup>5</sup> cum xii.<sup>6</sup> viris qui cum eo Scotos inter exsolante<sup>7</sup> baptizati sunt. Quid plura? Eadem subsequuta nocte Ossualdus<sup>8</sup> rex sicuti in visu edoctus<sup>9</sup> fuerat de castris ad bellum cum admodum pauciore exercitu contra milia numerosa progreditur. Cui a domino sicut ei promissum est felix et facilis est concessa victoria, et rege trucidato Catlone<sup>10</sup> victor post bellum reversus postea totius Britanniae imperator a deo ordinatus<sup>11</sup> est.

9b Hanc mihi Adomniano<sup>12</sup> narrationem meus de|cessor noster abbas<sup>13</sup> Failbeus<sup>14</sup> indubitanter enarravit. Qui

<sup>1</sup> ero A B2 ; ego ero B1

<sup>2</sup> catlon A B2 ; cathlon B1

<sup>3</sup> exper|gitus A ; a line has later been drawn through *gitus*, and *rectus* has been added after *exper*, in a late hand. expergefactus B1, on an erasure ; experrectus B2

<sup>4</sup> saxonia A B2 ; saxo'nia B1

<sup>5</sup> ossualdo A ; osualdo B1 B2

<sup>6</sup> xii A ; duo'decim B1 ; duodecim B2

<sup>7</sup> exsolante A ; exulante B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> ossualdus A ; osualdus B1 ; os[ B2

<sup>9</sup> edoctus. In A, there is a meaningless dot immediately above, between *d* and *o*.

<sup>10</sup> catlone A B2 ; cathlo'ne B1

the Jordan, after the death of Moses, saying : ' Be strong, and act manfully ; behold I will be with you ', and so on. Thus in the vision Saint Columba spoke to the king, and added : ' This coming night, go forth from the camp to battle ; for the Lord has granted to me that at this time your enemies shall be turned to flight, and your adversary Catlon shall be delivered into your hands. And after the battle you shall return victorious and reign happily'.

The king, awakened after these words, related this vision to the assembled council. All were thereby strengthened, and the whole people promised that after returning from the battle they would believe, and accept baptism. For up to that time all that land of the English was shadowed by the darkness of heathenism and ignorance, excepting the king Oswald himself, and twelve men who had been baptized with him, while he was in exile among the Irish. Why should I say more ? On that same following night, as he had been instructed in the vision, king Oswald advanced from the camp, with a much smaller army, to battle against many thousands. And as had been promised to him, a happy and easy victory was granted to him by the Lord. King Catlon was slaughtered ; and the victor, returning from the battle, was afterwards ordained by God as emperor of the whole of Britain.

This was confidently narrated to me, Adomnan, by my predecessor, our abbot Failbe. He asserted that he

<sup>11</sup> *a deo ordinatus*. Cf. the Irish high-king Diormit *deo auctore ordinatum*, 36b ; and the ordination of Aidan, 107a-108a.

<sup>12</sup> adomniano A ; adamna'no B1 ; á damniano B2

<sup>13</sup> noster abbas A B2 ; abbas noster B1

<sup>14</sup> failbeus A B2 ; failbe'us B1

sé ab ore ipsius Ossualdi <sup>1</sup> regis Segineo <sup>2</sup> abbati eandem enuntiantis visionem audisse protestatus <sup>3</sup> est.

Sed et hoc etiam non praetereundum videtur, quod ejusdem beati viri per quaedam scoticae <sup>4</sup> lingae <sup>5</sup> laudum ipsius carmina et nominis commemorationem quidam quamlibet scelerati laicae conversationis homines et sanguinarii, ea nocte qua eadem <sup>6</sup> decantaverant cantica, de manibus inimicorum qui eandem eorumdem cantorum domum circumsteterant sint liberati; qui flammas inter et gladios et lanceas incolomes <sup>7</sup> evassere. <sup>8</sup> Mirumque in modum pauci <sup>9</sup> ex ipsís, qui easdem sancti viri commemorationis quasi parvipendentes canere noluerant decantationes, in illo emulorum impetu soli 10a disperierant. Hujus miraculi testes non | duo aut tres juxta legem <sup>10</sup> sed etiam centeni aut eo amplius adhiberi potuere. <sup>11</sup> Non enim <sup>12</sup> in uno aut loco aut tempore hoc idem contegisse <sup>13</sup> conprobatur; sed etiam diversís locís et temporibus in Scotia et Britannia simili tamen et modo et causa liberationis factum fuisse sine ulla ambiguitate exploratum est. Haec ab expertís unius cujusque regionis ubicumque <sup>14</sup> res eadem simili contegit <sup>15</sup> miraculo indubitanter didicimus. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ossualdi A; osuualdi B1 B2

<sup>2</sup> segineo A B2; segi'neo B1

<sup>3</sup> *protestatus*. In A, the *pro* symbol is a *p* with horizontal cross-stroke through the shaft, finished with a downward hook; this may have been an alteration made by the text hand at the time of writing.

<sup>4</sup> scoticae A; sco'ttice B1; scottie B2. See p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> lingae A; lingue B1 B2

<sup>6</sup> eadem A B2; in A, a stress accent has later been added above the first *e*. e'adem B1

<sup>7</sup> incolomes A; inco'lumes B1; incolumes B2

<sup>8</sup> evassere A; the first *s* has later been erased. evase're B1; evasere B2. Adomnan describes here an episode that must have been regarded as supreme evidence of Saint Columba's miraculous power; and he designedly expresses it in a single sentence that is a superlative example of his more intricate literary style.

<sup>9</sup> pauci A B1; paucis B2

had heard the vision from the mouth of king Oswald himself, relating it to abbot Segene.

This also seems to be a thing that should not be passed unnoticed: that certain lay people of the same blessed man, though they were guilty men and blood-stained, were through certain songs of his praises in the Irish tongue, and the commemoration of his name, delivered, on the night in which they had chanted those songs, from the hands of their enemies who had surrounded the house of the singers; and they escaped unhurt, through flames, and swords, and spears. A few of them had refused to sing, as if valuing little the chantings of the holy man's commemoration, and miraculously those few alone had perished in the enemies' assault.

Of this miracle it has been possible to produce not two witnesses or three, as law requires, but a hundred or more. For not in one place or time only is the same thing proved to have happened, but it has been established beyond any doubt as having happened at various places and times, in Ireland and Britain, but in like manner and with the like cause of deliverance. We have learned these things, without room for doubt, from people who knew the facts in every district, wherever the same thing happened, with the same miracle.

<sup>10</sup> *legem*. This is based upon the Vulgate, Deut. xix. 15.

<sup>11</sup> potuere A B2; in A, a circumflex accent has been added by m.h., above the first *e*. potue're B1

<sup>12</sup> *enim*. In A, this is the Irish symbol (the H symbol, see Lindsay 1915, pp. 63-5), here misrendered by Reeves as *tantum*.

<sup>13</sup> contegisse A; the first *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a vertical line. -tig- B1 B2

<sup>14</sup> *ubicumque*. In A, a meaningless dot stands immediately above *bi*.

<sup>15</sup> contegit A; the *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke. -tig- B1 B2

<sup>16</sup> didicimus A B2; didiscimus B1



Sed ut ad propositum <sup>1</sup> redeamus : inter ea miracula quae idem vir domini in carne mortali conversans deo donante perfecerat,<sup>2</sup> ab annis juvenilibus coepit etiam profetiae spiritu pollere,<sup>3</sup> ventura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiari, quia quamvis absens corpore praesens tamen spiritu longe acta pervidere <sup>4</sup> poterat.

10b Nam juxta Pauli <sup>5</sup> | vocem, ' qui adheret domino unus spiritus est '. Unde et idem vir domini sanctus Columba, sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis fratribus <sup>6</sup> de re eadem <sup>7</sup> aliquando percunctantibus non negavit, in aliquantibus dialis gratiae speculationibus totum etiam mundum veluti uno solis radio collectum sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur.<sup>8</sup>

Haec de sancti viri hic <sup>9</sup> ideo enarrata sunt virtutibus ut avidior lector breviter perscripta quasi dulciores quasdam praegustet dapes ; quae tamen plenius in tribus inferius libris domino auxiliante enarrabuntur. Nunc mihi non indecenter videtur beati viri licet praepostero <sup>10</sup> ordine profetationes effari quas de sanctis quibusdam et inlustribus viris diversis prolocutus est temporibus. . |

<sup>1</sup> propositum A ; the first s has later been erased. propositum B1 B2

<sup>2</sup> perfecerat A ; the i has been altered by m.h. to e. -fe'c- B1 ; -fec- B2. In A, m.h. has inserted its down-sign for the end of a sentence, after this word, erroneously.

<sup>3</sup> pollere A B2 ; in A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above the first e. polle're B1

<sup>4</sup> pervidere A ; providere B1 B2

<sup>5</sup> Pauli. Vulgate, 1 Cor. vi. 17.

<sup>6</sup> paucis fratribus. This is a significant deviation from the passage to which it refers, 44b and 45 a, where the communication is said to have been made to Lugbe mocu-Blai alone.

<sup>7</sup> eadem A ; an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above a. ea'dem B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> speculabatur. This passage (from totum etiam), like the account to which it refers, is based upon passages of Pope Gregory I's Dialogues. See p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> hic A ; huc B1 ?B2

<sup>10</sup> praepostero A (-t'ero) ; prepo'stero B1 ; prepostero B2

But to return to our subject : along with the miracles that, by the gift of God, this man of the Lord performed while he lived in mortal flesh, he began from his youthful years to be strong also in the spirit of prophecy ; to foretell future events ; to declare absent things to those present, because although absent in the body he was present in spirit, and able to observe what took place far away. For according to the words of Paul, ' he who clings to the Lord is one spirit '. So too, as this holy man of the Lord, Columba, himself admitted to a few brothers who once questioned him closely about this very thing, in some speculations made with divine favour the scope of his mind was miraculously enlarged, and he saw plainly, and contemplated, even the whole world as it were caught up in one ray of the sun.

These things have here been related concerning the powers of the holy man, so that the more avid reader may savour, as a foretaste of a sweeter feast, what has been written in brief and, with the Lord's help, will be more fully related below, in three books. It seems to me not improper to tell now, though in inverted order, of the prophecies of the blessed man, which at various times he uttered concerning certain holy and eminent men.

11a

De sancto Finteno<sup>1</sup> abbate  
filio Tailchani<sup>2</sup>

SANCTUS FINTENUS<sup>3</sup> qui postea per universas Scottorum ecclesias valde noscibilis habet<sup>4</sup> est, a puerili aetate integritatem carnis et animae deo adjuvante custodiens studiis dialis sofiar<sup>5</sup> deditus, hoc propositum<sup>6</sup> in annis juventatis<sup>7</sup> conversatus in corde habuit, ut nostrum sanctum Columbam Heverniam<sup>8</sup> deserens perigrinaturus<sup>9</sup> adiret. Eodem aestuans desiderio, ad quendam vadit seniore[m] sibi amicum in sua gente<sup>10</sup> prudentissimum venerandumque clericum qui scotice vocitabatur<sup>11</sup> Colum Crag,<sup>12</sup> ut ab eo quasi prudente aliquod audiret consilium. Cui cum suos tales denudaret cogitatus hoc ab eo responsum accipit<sup>13</sup>: 'Tuum<sup>14</sup> ut estimo a deo inspiratum devotumque desiderium quis prohibere potest, ne ad | sanctum Columbam transnavigare debeas?' Eadem<sup>15</sup> hora cassu<sup>16</sup> duo adveniunt monaci<sup>17</sup> sancti Columbae qui de sua interrogati ambulatione, 'Nuper' aiunt, 'de Britannia remigantes hodie a roboreto Calgachi<sup>18</sup> venimus'.

<sup>1</sup> finteno A; fente'no B1. Not legible in B2. The death of 'Fintan, son of Telchan', is entered in A.U. under 634=635. His death was commemorated on 21 October (Oengus 1905, p. 217; cf the commentary *ibid.* p. 226). Finten is better known by the derived name Munnu (cf. Meyer, *Wortkunde*, § 33). A late life of Munnu is edited in Plummer 1910, ii, pp. 226-39; cf. *ibid.*, i, pp. lxxxiv ff. See above, pp. 101-02.

<sup>2</sup> tailchani A; talca'ni B1; talchani B2. B1 adds to the title: *quomodo de ipso sanctus columba prophetavit.*

<sup>3</sup> fintenus A; fentenus B1 B2

<sup>4</sup> habet A; the *e* has later been altered to *i* by a vertical line drawn by a fine pen. -bit- B1 B2

<sup>5</sup> sofiar A; soph'ie B1; sophias B2

<sup>6</sup> propositum A; the first *s* has later been erased. propo'situm B1; propositum B2

<sup>7</sup> juventatis A; juventutis B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> heverniam A; hibe'rniam B1; hyberniam B2

<sup>9</sup> perigrinaturus A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. pereg- B1 B2

[I 2] Of the abbot Saint Finten,  
son of Tailchan

Saint Finten, who was afterwards held in high repute among all the churches of the Irish, with God's help preserving from the age of boyhood integrity of body and soul, and being devoted to studies of divine wisdom, had in his heart, while still in the years of his youth, the purpose of leaving Ireland and going to our holy Columba, in order to live in pilgrimage. Burning with that desire, he went to a friend of his, a certain elder in his own tribe, a very wise and venerable priest, who was called in Irish *Colum Crag*; to obtain from him, as from a wise man, some advice. When he had exposed to him these things that were in his mind, he received from him this answer: 'Who can forbid your desire inspired, as I think, by God, and devout; and say that you ought not to sail over to the holy Columba?'

In the same hour it happened that two monks of Saint Columba arrived. On being asked about their journey, they said: 'We have recently rowed from Britain, and today have come from the oakwood of

<sup>10</sup> *gente*. Finten's family is said to be the mocu-Moie, in 13a. In the Life of Munnu, he is said to belong to the cenel-Conaill (Plummer 1910, ii, p. 226).

<sup>11</sup> vocitabatur A B1; vocabatur B2

<sup>12</sup> colum crag A, with over-dashes above *um* and *ra* (not as in *Thesaurus* 1903, p. 272); columcrach B1 B2. Meyer, *Contributions*, enters *crach* 'harsh, rough?', an epithet.

<sup>13</sup> accipit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. a'ccipit B1; accepit B2

<sup>14</sup> Tuum A; Tuum est B1 B2. In B1 B2, a new sentence begins at *quis* below, with a point and capital letter.

<sup>15</sup> Eadem A B2; in A, an acute accent has been added later, above *a*. Ea'dem B1

<sup>16</sup> cassu A; the first *s* has later been erased. casu B1 B2

<sup>17</sup> monaci A; an *h* has been added by m.h. above *ci*. monachi B1 B2

<sup>18</sup> calgachi A; ca'lcagi B1; calga[ B2

'Suspes anne<sup>1</sup> est' ait Columb Crag,<sup>2</sup> 'vester Columba sanctus pater?'<sup>3</sup> Qui valde inlacrimati cum magno dixerunt merore: 'Vere salvus est noster ille patronus qui his diebus nuper ad Christum commigravit'. Quibus auditis Finten et Columb<sup>4</sup> et omnes qui ibidem inerant prostratis in terram vultibus amare flevere.<sup>5</sup> Fintenus<sup>6</sup> consequenter percunctatur dicens: 'Quem post se successorem reliquit?'<sup>7</sup> 'Baitheneum'<sup>8</sup> aiunt, 'suum alumnum'.<sup>9</sup> Omnibusque clamitantibus, 'dignum et debetum,'<sup>10</sup> Columb<sup>11</sup> ad Fintenum<sup>12</sup> inquit: 'Quid ad haec Fintene<sup>13</sup> facies?'<sup>14</sup> Qui respondens ait: 12a 'Si dominus permiserit<sup>15</sup> | ad Baitheneum<sup>16</sup> virum sanctum et sapientem enavigabo, et si me suscipierit,<sup>17</sup> ipsum abbatem habebo'.

Tum deinde supra memoratum Columbum<sup>18</sup> osculatus et ei valedicens navigationem praeparat et sine morula ulla<sup>19</sup> transnavigans Iovam<sup>20</sup> devenit insulam. Et nec dum in id temporis usque nomen ejus in his locis erat notum; unde et in primis quasi quidam ignotus hospes hospitaliter susceptus, alia die internuntium<sup>21</sup> ad Baitheneum<sup>22</sup> mittit ejus allocutionem facie ad faciem

<sup>1</sup> *Suspes anne* A; the *u* has later been altered to *o*, by bridging. *Sospes ne* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> *columb crag* A, with three over-dashes; *columcra'ch* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *pater*. An interrogation sign follows this word in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>, and has been added by m.h. in A.

<sup>4</sup> *finten et columb* A; *fentenus et columcr'* B<sub>1</sub>; *finten et columba* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *flevere* A; an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above the second *e*. *fleve're* B<sub>1</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>6</sup> *Fintenus* A; *Fentenus* B<sub>1</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>7</sup> *reliquit*. An interrogation sign follows this word in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>, and has been added by m.h. in A.

<sup>8</sup> *Baitheneum* A; *Baithenum* B<sub>1</sub>. Not legible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> *alumnum*, 'foster-son' or 'pupil', is equivalent with O.I. *daltae*.

<sup>10</sup> *debetum* A; *de'bitum* B<sub>1</sub>; *debitum* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>11</sup> *Columb* A; *Columcr'* B<sub>1</sub>; *Columba* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *fintenum* A; *fentenum* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>13</sup> *fintene* A; *fentene* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

*Calcach* [Derry]'. 'Is all well with your father, the holy Columba?' said Columb Crag. With many tears, and very sorrowfully, they said: 'Truly he is well, our patron; since within the last few days he has departed to Christ'. When they heard this, Finten and Columb, and all who were present there, with faces prostrate to the ground, wept bitterly. Thereupon Finten inquired, saying: 'Whom has he left as his successor?' 'Baithene, his foster-son', they said. And while all exclaimed, 'A worthy and fitting successor', Columb said to Finten: 'What in this case, Finten, will you do?' He answered: 'If the Lord permits, I shall sail out to Baithene, who is a wise and holy man; and if he receive me, I shall have him as my abbot'.

Thereafter he kissed and bade farewell to Columb, prepared his voyage, and crossing without any delay, reached the island of Io [Iona]. Up to that time his name was not yet known in these parts, and so he was at first received with the hospitality given to an unknown guest; and next day he sent an intermediary to Baithene, desiring speech with him face to face. He,

<sup>14</sup> *facies*. An interrogation sign follows this word in B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub>, and has been added by m.h. in A.

<sup>15</sup> *permiserit*. After this word, in A, *ad baitheneum* (repeated in 12a) has been written and partly erased.

<sup>16</sup> *baitheneum* A; *baithenum* B<sub>1</sub>; *baithenum* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>17</sup> *suscipierit* A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. *susce'perit* B<sub>1</sub>; *sus[* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>18</sup> *columbum* A; *columcr'* B<sub>1</sub>; *columbam* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>19</sup> *morula ulla* A, with transposition signs, probably added later, not by the text hand. *ulla mo'rule* B<sub>1</sub>; *ulla morula* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>20</sup> *Iovam*. The island is consistently called *ioua insula* in A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. See pp. 1, 154.

<sup>21</sup> *internuntium* A; *inter* has later been erased, apparently after the shortened version, and the version represented by P, had been copied from A. *internuncium* B<sub>1</sub>; *internuntium* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>22</sup> *baitheneum* A; *baithenum* B<sub>1</sub>; *baithenum* B<sub>2</sub>

habere volens. Qui ut erat affabilis et perigrinis<sup>1</sup> appetibilis jubet ad se adduci. Qui statim adductus primo ut conveniebat flexis genibus in terra<sup>2</sup> sé prostravit. Jususque a sancto seniore surgit, et resedens<sup>3</sup> interrogatur a Baitheneo<sup>4</sup> adhuc inscio de gente et  
 12b provincia nomineque et | conversatione, et pro qua causa inierit navigationis laborem. Qui ita interrogatus omnia per ordinem<sup>5</sup> enarrans ut susciperetur humiliter expostulat. Cui sanctus senior his ab hospite auditis, simulque hunc esse virum cognoscens de quo pridem aliquando sanctus Columba profetice vaticinatus est, 'Gratias' ait, 'deo meo<sup>6</sup> agere debeo quidem in tuo adventu filii.<sup>7</sup> Sed hoc indubitanter scito quod noster monachus non eris'. Hoc audiens hospes valde contristatus inquit: 'Forsitan ego indignus tuus non mereor fieri monachus'. Senior consequenter inquit: 'Non quod ut dicis indignus esses hoc dixi, sed quamvis maluissem<sup>8</sup> té apud me retinere<sup>9</sup> mandatum tamen sancti Columbae mei decessoris profanare non possum,  
 13a per quem spiritus sanctus de té profetavit. | Alia namque die mihi soli seorsum sic profetico profatus ore inter cetera dixit: 'Haec mea ó Baithenee<sup>10</sup> intentius debes audire verba. Statim namque post meum de hoc ad Christum saeculo<sup>11</sup> exspectatum et valde desideratum transitum, quidam de Scotia frater qui nunc bene

<sup>1</sup> perigrinis A; peregrinis B1 B2

<sup>2</sup> terra A; terram B1 B2

<sup>3</sup> resedens A; re'sidens B1; residens B2

<sup>4</sup> baitheneo A; baitheno B1 B2

<sup>5</sup> ordinem A B1 B2. In A, the letters before *d* have been written over an erasure, by a late hand. The shortened version and P, which are derived from A, read *ordinem*.

<sup>6</sup> meo A B1; nostro B2

<sup>7</sup> filii A; the third *i* has later been erased. filii B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> maluissem A B1 B2. In A, *ll* was written, and the first *l* was deleted with a dot below, by the text hand at the time of writing.

being approachable, and accessible to strangers, bade him be brought in. He was brought at once, and first, as was fitting, bowed his knees and prostrated himself upon the ground; and arose when bidden by the older saint. He sat down, and was questioned by Baithene, who did not as yet know his tribe and province, name and manner of life, and for what reason he had undertaken the labour of voyaging. Thus questioned, he related everything in order, and begged humbly to be received.

The elder saint, hearing this from his guest, and at the same time recognizing that this was the man of whom Saint Columba had once prophetically foretold, said to him: 'I ought indeed, my son, to give thanks to my God at your coming; but this you must know for certain, you shall not be our monk'. When he heard this, the guest was much saddened, and said: 'Perhaps because I am undeserving I am not thought worthy to become your monk'. Thereupon the elder replied: 'I said this not because you were unworthy, as you say. But although I should have preferred to keep you with me, I cannot profane the command of Saint Columba, my predecessor, through whom the Holy Spirit prophesied of you. For, speaking with prophetic lips, privately to me alone one day, he said this, among other things: "You must now, Baithene, give close attention to my words. Immediately after my expected and much wished-for passing from this world to Christ, there will come to you a brother from Ireland, who, directing rightly his youth in virtuous

<sup>9</sup> retinere A; the second *e* has later been altered to *i* with a fine pen. retine're B1. Not visible in B2.

<sup>10</sup> baithenee A; baithene B1; baithene B2

<sup>11</sup> ad christum saeculo A; saeculo ad christum B1 B2

juvenilem bonis moribus regens aetatem sacrae lectionis studiis satis inuitur, nomine Fintenus,<sup>1</sup> gente mocu-Moie,<sup>2</sup> cujus pater Tailchanus<sup>3</sup> vocitatur, ad té inquam perveniens humiliter expostulabit, ut ipsum suscipiens inter ceteros adnumeret monachos.<sup>4</sup> Sed hoc ei in dei praescientia praedestinatum<sup>5</sup> non est, ut ipse alicujus abbatis monachus<sup>6</sup> fieret, sed ut monachorum abbas et animarum dux ad caeleste regnum olim electus a deo est. Noles itaque hunc memoratum virum in his nostris apud | té retinere<sup>7</sup> insulis, ne et dei voluntati contraire videaris. Sed haec ei intimans verba ad Scotiam in pace remittas; ut in Laginensium<sup>8</sup> vicinis mari finibus monasterium<sup>9</sup> construat, et ibidem Christi ovinum<sup>10</sup> pascens gregem innumeras ad patriam animas caelestem perducatur.<sup>7</sup> Haec audiens sanctus junior Christo<sup>11</sup> lacrimas fundens agit gratias,<sup>12</sup> inquires: 'Secundum sancti Columbae profeticam fiat mihi et mirabilem praescientiam'. Hisdemque<sup>13</sup> diebus verbis sanctorum obtemperans et a Baitheneo<sup>14</sup> accipiens benedictionem in pace ad Scotiam transnavigat.<sup>15</sup>

Haec mihi quodam narrante relegioso<sup>16</sup> sene praespitero<sup>17</sup> Christi milite Oisseneo<sup>18</sup> nomine Ernani<sup>19</sup> filio

<sup>1</sup> fintenus A; fentenus B1 B2

<sup>2</sup> mocumoie A, with four over-dashes; mocumo'ie' B1; mocumoye B2

<sup>3</sup> tailchanus A; ta'icanus B1; talcanus B2

<sup>4</sup> monachos A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *co*. monachos B1 B2

<sup>5</sup> praedestinatum A; predestinatum B1 B2

<sup>6</sup> monachus A B1; *h* is added in A, as above. monachus B2

<sup>7</sup> retinere A; the second *e* has later been altered to *i* by a down-stroke with a fine pen. -tin- B1 B2

<sup>8</sup> Laginensium. The Lagen were a tribe whose name was given to the province of Leinster.

<sup>9</sup> monasterium. This is said to be Tech-Munnu, now Taghmon, county Wexford.

<sup>10</sup> ovinum A B2; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added above *i*. ovinum B1, altered by erasure to *ovium*.

<sup>11</sup> christo A B2; christi B1

ways, is now being well instructed in studies of sacred literature. His name is Finten, of the family mocu-Moie, and his father is called Tailchan; and he will humbly request you to receive and include him among the other monks. But in God's prescience it is not predestined for him to become a monk of any abbot, but he has long since been chosen by God as an abbot of monks, and a leader of souls to the heavenly kingdom. You will therefore refuse to keep this man with you in these islands of ours, lest you should even seem to oppose the will of God. But tell him these words, and send him back in peace to Ireland; so that he may construct a monastery in the coastal territories of the Lagen, and there feed a flock of Christ's sheep, and lead unnumbered souls to the heavenly country".

Hearing this, the younger saint with a shower of tears gave thanks to Christ, and said: 'May it happen to me according to the prophetic and miraculous foreknowledge of Saint Columba'. Within a few days, in obedience to the words of the saints, and receiving Baithene's blessing, he sailed over to Ireland in peace.

This I have learned with certainty; it was told to me by a religious old man, a priest, and soldier of Christ, by name Oissene, Ernan's son, of the family

<sup>12</sup> agit gratias A; ait, gra's B1 B2

<sup>13</sup> Hisdemque. After this word, three folios of B2 are missing. See under 27b.

<sup>14</sup> baitheneo A; baitheno B1

<sup>15</sup> transnavigat A; transnavigavit B1

<sup>16</sup> relegioso A; the second *e* has later been altered to *i*, by a down-stroke with a fine pen. religioso B1

<sup>17</sup> praespitero A; presb'ro B1

<sup>18</sup> oisseneo A; oissene'o B1

<sup>19</sup> ernani A; ernani B1

gente mocu Neth-corb<sup>1</sup> indubitanter didici; qui sé eadem omnia supra memorata verba ejusdem ab ore sancti Finteni<sup>2</sup> filii Tailchani<sup>3</sup> audisse testatus est ipsius monachus. |

14a

De Erneneo<sup>4</sup> filio Craseni  
sancti Columbae profetia

ALIO IN TEMPORE vir beatus in mediterranea<sup>5</sup> Eberniae<sup>6</sup> parte monasterio[I]um<sup>7</sup> quod scotice dicitur Dairmag<sup>8</sup> divino fundans nutu per aliquot demoratus menses, libuit animo visitare fratres qui in Clonoensi sancti Cerani<sup>9</sup> cenubio<sup>10</sup> commanebant. Auditoque ejus accessu universi undique ab agellulis monasterio vicinis, cum his qui ibidem inventi sunt congregati, cum omni alacritate suum consequentes abbatem Alitherum<sup>11</sup> sancto Columbae<sup>12</sup> quasi angelo domini obviam, egressi valum monasterii, unanimes<sup>13</sup> pergunt; humiliatisque in terram vultibus eo viso<sup>14</sup> cum omni reverentia exosculatus ab eis est<sup>15</sup>; ymnisque et laudibus resonantes honorifice ad ecclesiam perducunt. Quandamque de

<sup>1</sup> mocu neth corb A, with four over-dashes, above *mo*, *cu*, *e*, and *o*. mocu netcorb B1, with an erasure between *o* and *c*. This was the family of Dal neth-Corb, the principal tribe of the Lagen (cf. MacNeill 1911, pp. 79, 83).

<sup>2</sup> finteni A; fente'ni B1

<sup>3</sup> tailchani A; talcani B1

<sup>4</sup> Erneneo. 'The repose of Ernaine, Cresene's son' is placed by A.U. under 634=635. On 18 August, 'Cressene's son, my Ernóc, exalted to the company of the Lord', according to Oengus 1905, p. 177 (cf. the commentary *ibid.*, p. 186). His churches are believed to have been in the counties of Wicklow and Carlow.

<sup>5</sup> mediterranea. This district was Mide, the inland territory now partly represented by county Westmeath.

<sup>6</sup> eberniae A; a small *i* has been written later above the first *e*. hibe'rne B1

<sup>7</sup> monasteriorum A; *rum* has later been deleted by underlining, and a small *u* has been written by m.h. above *o*. monasterium B1, and the shortened version. The form *monasteriolum* occurs in 3a, for a monastery of Columba, and in 41a, for the monastery of Trevet.

mocu Neth-corb. He attested that he had heard all the same words reported above, from the mouth of the same Saint Finten, Tailchan's son, whose monk he was.

[I 3] Saint Columba's prophecy  
concerning Ernene, Crasen's son

At one time, when for some months the blessed man remained in the midland district of Ireland, while by God's will founding the monastery that is called in Irish *Dairmag* [Durrow], it pleased him to visit the brothers who lived in the monastery of Clóin of Saint Ceran [Clonmacnoise].

When they heard of his approach, all those that were in the fields near the monastery came from every side, and joined those that were within it, and with the utmost eagerness accompanying their abbot Alither they passed outside the boundary-wall of the monastery, and with one accord went to meet Saint Columba, as if he had been an angel of the Lord. On seeing him they bowed their faces to the earth, and he was kissed by them with all reverence, and singing hymns and praises they led him with honour to the church. They

<sup>8</sup> dairmag A; darmag B1. The *g* has been altered in A by m.h., to resemble a continental form of *g*. (The *d* in the Zürich photograph has been distorted by a photographic flaw that is not present in Mr Koch's facsimile.)

<sup>9</sup> cerani A; cera'ni B1

<sup>10</sup> cenubio A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. ceno'bio B1. The monasteries of Clonmacnoise and Durrow were upon the great road from Dublin to the west. See Colm Ó Lochlainn, in *Féil-sgríbhinn*, 1940, p. 471, and map.

<sup>11</sup> alitherum A, with three over-dashes; alithe'rum B1. See p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> co'l A, an exceptional instance of suspension; columbe B1

<sup>13</sup> un animes A; una'nimes B1

<sup>14</sup> viso A; visu B1

<sup>15</sup> ab eis est A; est ab eis B1

14b lignis piramidem<sup>1</sup> erga sanctum deambulanti con-  
stringentes a quatuor viris eque ambulan-  
tibus subportari fecerunt, ne videlicet sanctus senior Columba  
ejusdem fratrum multitudinis constipatione molestaretur.

Eadem hora quidam valde dispectus<sup>2</sup> vultu et habitu  
puer familiaris, et necdum senioribus placens, retro in  
quantum valuit se occultans accessit, ut videlicet vel  
illius anfibali fimbriam quo vir beatus induebatur  
occulte, et si fieri possit<sup>3</sup> ipso nesciente et non sentiente,  
tangeret. Sed hoc tamen sanctum non latuit; nam  
quod corporalibus oculis retro se actum intueri non  
potuit spiritalibus<sup>4</sup> perspexit. Unde subito restitit et  
post se extendens manum cervicem pueri tenet; ipsum-  
que trahens, ante faciem suam statuit. Omnibusque  
qui ibidem circumstabant dicentibus, 'Dimitte, dimitte;  
quare hunc infelicem et injuriosum retenes<sup>5</sup> puerum?',  
15a sanctus econtra haec | puro<sup>6</sup> pectore verba depromit  
profetica: 'Sinete<sup>7</sup> fratres, sinete<sup>8</sup> modo'. Ad puerum  
vero valde tremefactum dicit: 'O filii,<sup>9</sup> aperi os tuum  
et porrege<sup>10</sup> linguam'. Jusus tum puer cum ingenti  
tremore aperiens os linguam porrexit, quam sanctus  
sanctam extendens manum deligenter<sup>11</sup> benedicens ita  
profetice profatur dicens: 'Hic puer quamvis vobis  
nunc dispicibilis<sup>12</sup> et valde vilis videatur nemo tamen

<sup>1</sup> *piramidem* This probably means a square or diamond-shaped frame made of four branches tied together at the ends. Adomnan used the expression *lapidea pyramis* to describe low walls round two tombs, in *De Locis*, pp. 257, 259.

<sup>2</sup> *dispectus* A; *despectus* B1

<sup>3</sup> *possit* A; *posset* B1, correctly.

<sup>4</sup> *spiritalibus* A; *spiritualibus* B1

<sup>5</sup> *retenes* A; a small *i* has later been written above the second *e*.  
re'tines B1

<sup>6</sup> *puro*. With -ro B3 begins.

<sup>7</sup> *sinete* A; a small *i* has later been written above the first *e*. *Sinite*  
B1 B3

<sup>8</sup> *sinete* A; the first *e* has later been altered to *i* by a down-stroke with  
a fine pen. -nit- B1 B3

<sup>9</sup> *fili* A; the third *i* has later been erased. *fili* B1 B3

bound together a kind of barrier of branches, and caused it to be carried about the saint as he walked, by four men keeping pace with him; lest the elder Saint Columba should be troubled by the thronging of that crowd of brothers.

Meanwhile, a boy of the congregation, much looked down upon for his countenance and bearing, and not yet approved by the elders, came up behind, keeping out of sight as much as he could, intending to touch, secretly and if possible without the blessed man's knowledge or perception, were it but the hem of the cloak in which the blessed man was wrapped. But this was not concealed from the saint. For what he could not with bodily eyes observe, done behind his back, he discerned with spiritual sight. So he suddenly stopped; and putting out his hand behind him he took hold of the boy's neck, pulled him forward, and made him stand before his face. When all those that stood by said, 'Send him away! Send him away! Why do you keep hold of this unlucky and mischievous boy?', on the contrary the saint drew from his pure breast these prophetic words: 'Let be, brothers, let be'. And to the boy, who was trembling greatly, he said: 'My son, open your mouth, and put out your tongue'. In great trepidation the boy then opened his mouth as he was bidden, and put out his tongue, which the saint, extending his holy hand, earnestly blessed. And the saint spoke thus prophetically, saying: 'Although this boy appears to you now contemptible

<sup>10</sup> *porrege* A; a small *i* has later been written above the first *e*. -rig-  
B1 B3

<sup>11</sup> *deligenter* A; the first *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a short  
down-stroke. dil- B1 B3

<sup>12</sup> *dispicibilis* A; *des-* B1 B3

ipsum ob id dispiciat.<sup>1</sup> Ab hac enim hora non solum vobis non displicebit sed valde placebit; bonisque moribus et animae virtutibus paulatim de die in diem crescet. Sapientia quoque et prudentia magis ac magis in eo ab hac die<sup>2</sup> adaugebitur, et in hac vestra congregacione grandis est futurus profectus; lingua quoque  
15b ejus, salubri et doctrina,<sup>3</sup> eloquentia | a deo donabitur'.

Hic erat Erneneus<sup>4</sup> filius Craseni,<sup>5</sup> postea per omnes Scotiae ecclesias famosus et valde notissimus; qui haec omnia supra scripta verba Segeneo<sup>6</sup> abbati de sé profetata enarraverat, meo decessore Failbeo<sup>7</sup> intentius audiente, qui et ipse cum Segeneo<sup>8</sup> praesens inerat. Cujus revelatione<sup>9</sup> et ego ipse cognovi haec eadem quae enarravi.

Sed et multa alia hisdem diebus quibus in Clonoensi<sup>10</sup> cenubio<sup>11</sup> sanctus hospitabatur revelante profetavit sancto spiritu: hoc est de illa quae post dies multos ob diversitatem paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiae ecclesias discordia; et de quibusdam angelicis<sup>12</sup> frequentationibus sibi manifestatis, quibus quaedam intra ejusdem cenubii<sup>13</sup> septa ab angelis<sup>14</sup> tunc temporis frequentabantur loca. . |

<sup>1</sup> dispiciat A; des- B1 B3

<sup>2</sup> ab hac die. In A, the same words have been written again, in error; and were later deleted by a horizontal line drawn through the letters with a fine pen.

<sup>3</sup> et doctrina A; et doctrinali B1 B3. After *doctrina*, in A, *et* has been inserted above the line, by a later, non-Irish hand, with a rather broad pen (making 'with both salutary doctrine and salutary eloquence', an improbable meaning). This change was made before the shortened version was written. It was wrongly accepted by Reeves. The reading of B1 B3 would give 'salutary and doctrinal eloquence', also an unsatisfactory meaning. Their reading shows that the added *et* was not present in the common source. We have punctuated *salubri et doctrina* as a parenthesis, which Adomnan's style would permit.

<sup>4</sup> erneneus A; ernene'us B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> craseni A; crase'ni B1 B3

<sup>6</sup> Segeneo A; segine'o B1; segineo B3

<sup>7</sup> failbeo A B3; failbe'o B1

and of very little worth, yet let no man despise him on that account. For from this hour not only will he not displease you, but he will greatly please you. And he will grow by degrees from day to day in good ways, and virtues of the soul; wisdom also with discretion will be increased in him more and more, from this day; and in this community of yours he will be a man of great eminence. His tongue also will receive from God eloquence, with healthful doctrine'.

This was Ernene, Crasen's son, famous afterwards among all the churches of Ireland, and very widely known. He related to abbot Segene all these words that I have written above, of the prophecy concerning himself. My predecessor Failbe also was present along with Segene, and listened intently; and from his disclosure I too have myself learned these same words that I have related.

During those days in which the saint was a guest in the monastery of Clóin, he prophesied also many other things, by revelation of the Holy Spirit: that is to say, concerning the great dispute that after many days arose among the churches of Ireland over the diversity in time of the Easter festival; and concerning some angelic visitations revealed to him, in which certain places within the enclosure of that monastery were frequented by angels, at that time.

<sup>8</sup> segeneo A; segine'o B1 B3

<sup>9</sup> revelatione A; relatione B1; relacione B3

<sup>10</sup> clonoensi A B3; clonoe'nsi B1

<sup>11</sup> cenubio A; the *u* has later been altered to *o*, by bridging. cenobio B1; cenobio B3

<sup>12</sup> angelicis A; angelicis B1; anglicis B3

<sup>13</sup> cenubii A; the *u* has later been altered to *o*, by bridging. cenobii B1 B3

<sup>14</sup> ab angelis A. Omitted in B1. ab anglicis B3



16a De adventu sancti Cainnichi abbatis<sup>1</sup> de quo sanctus Columba profetaliter<sup>2</sup> prenuntiavit

ALIO IN TEMPORE, cum in Iova<sup>3</sup> insula die fragosae tempestatis et intollerabilis undarum magnitudinis sedens in domu<sup>4</sup> sanctus, et fratribus praecipiens, diceret, 'Praeparate ocius hospitium, aquamque ad lavandos hospitem pedes exaurite',<sup>5</sup> quidam ex ipsi frater consequenter, 'Quis' ait, 'hac die valde ventosa et nimis periculosa licet breve fretum prospere transnavigare potest?' Quo audito sanctus sic profatur: 'Cuidam sancto et electo homini, qui ad nos ante vesperam perveniet,<sup>6</sup> omnipotens tranquillitatem quamlibet in tempestate donavit'. Et ecce eadem<sup>7</sup> die aliquandiu a fratribus exspectata navis, in qua sanctus inerat Cainnechus,<sup>8</sup> juxta sancti profetationem pervenit. |

16b Cui sanctus cum fratribus obviam venit, et ab eo honorifice et hospitaliter susceptus est. Illi vero nautae qui cum Cainnecho<sup>9</sup> inerant, interrogati a fratribus de qualitate navigationis, sic retulerunt sicuti sanctus Columba prius de tempestate et tranquillitate pariter deo donante in eodem mari et hisdem horis mirabili divisione praedixerat; et tempestatem eminus visam non sensisse<sup>10</sup> professi sunt. .

<sup>1</sup> cainnichi abbatis A; abbatis cainne'thi B1; cainnechi abbatis B3. Cainnech of Aghaboe died probably in A.D. 603; see E.S., I, p. 55. His death was commemorated on 11 October (Oengus 1905, p. 215). Cf. 63a. He was of the family of mocu-Dalon or corcu-Dalan of Ciannachta in the county of Derry, whose name survives in the name of Keenaght (Plummer 1910, I, p. 152).

<sup>2</sup> profetaliter A; prophetaliter B1; prophetabiliter B3

<sup>3</sup> iova A B1 (as always in A B1 B2); iona B3 (as always in B3). We do not henceforth note this spelling variation in B3.

<sup>4</sup> domu A; the u has later been altered to o, by bridging. domo B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> exaurite A; a small h has later been added by m.h. above, before a. exaur- B1 B3

<sup>6</sup> perveniet A B3; adve'niet B1

[I 4] Of the arrival of the abbot Saint Cainnech, which Saint Columba had prophetically foretold

At another time, in the island of Io, on a day of crashing storm and unendurably high waves, when the saint, sitting in the house and giving orders to the brothers, said: 'Prepare the guest-house quickly, and draw water for washing the feet of guests', one of the brothers then said: 'On this very windy and too-perilous day, who can cross in safety even the narrow strait?' Hearing him, the saint spoke thus: 'To one holy and chosen man, who will reach us before the evening, the Omnipotent has granted calm, though in the midst of storm'.

And behold, on the same day, a ship that the brothers had for some time awaited and in which Saint Cainnech was, arrived according to the saint's prophecy. The saint with the brothers went to meet him, and honourably and hospitably received him. And the sailors who were in the ship with Cainnech, when asked by the brothers what kind of voyage they had had, replied in exact agreement with what Saint Columba had earlier foretold of storm and calm together, by God's dispensation, in the same sea and at the same hours, but miraculously separated; and they declared that they had not felt the storm, which they had seen far off.

<sup>7</sup> eadem A; an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above a. e'adem B1; ea'dem B3

<sup>8</sup> cainnechus A; canne'tus B1; cannechus B3

<sup>9</sup> cainnecho A; canne'co B1; cannecho B3

<sup>10</sup> sensisse A; sensisse se B1 B3. With A's reading cf. *profelentur* . . . *sensisse*, in 38b.

De periculo sancti Colmani<sup>1</sup> episcopi  
mocu-Sailni<sup>2</sup> in mari juxta insulam quae  
vocitatur Rechru. .

17a ALIA ITIDEM die sanctus Columba in sua commanens  
matrice eclesia repente in hanc subridens erupit vocem,  
dicens : ' Columbanus filius Beognai<sup>3</sup> ad nos trans-  
navigare incipiens nunc in un|dosís carubdis<sup>4</sup> Brecai  
aestibus valde periclitatur ; ambasque ad caelum in  
prora sedens palmas elevat, turbatum quoque et tam  
formidabile pilagus<sup>5</sup> benedicit. Quem tamen dominus  
sic terret, non ut navis naufragio in qua ipse resedet<sup>6</sup>  
undís obruatur, sed potius ad orandum intentius  
suscitetur, ut ad nos deo propitio post transvadatum  
perveniat periculum' . .

#### De Cormaco<sup>7</sup>

ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE de Cormacco<sup>8</sup> nepote  
Lethani,<sup>9</sup> viro utique sancto, qui tribus non minus

<sup>1</sup> colmani A ; columbani B1 B3. This was apparently Colman Elo, ' Colman of Lynally ' (in Offaly, not far from Durrow), whose death was entered in A.U. from Cuanu's Book, under 610=611. He is called *Colman Ela mocu* (sic lege) *Seilli* in T. 9b28-9. The Latin Life of Colman Elo in Plummer 1910, I, p. 258, says that he was a son of Beogne. The Irish tract *Apigitir crábaid* (' Alphabet of devotion ') was attributed to this Colman Beogna's son, not to Colman maccu Béognae, as in Kuno Meyer's title (*Z.C.P.*, III, p. 447). The date of its composition was actually later ; and according to Kenney 1929, not earlier than the eighth century. Colman Elo's death was commemorated on 26 September (Oengus 1905, p. 196 ; cf. the commentary *ibid.*, p. 212). He is called ' priest ' by Adomnan (64a-65a) in the year before Columba's death, and was presumably not yet bishop at the time spoken of in 16b.

<sup>2</sup> mocusailni A B3 ; mocusai'lni B1

<sup>3</sup> beognai A B3 ; beognay B1

<sup>4</sup> carubdis A ; a small *y* has later been written, probably by m.h., above *u*. caribdis B1 B3. This is the *coire Brecaín* in Cormac 1862, p. 13 ; a part of the strait between Rathlin and Antrim. See Watson 1926, pp. 63, 94.

[I 5] Of the peril of the bishop Saint Colman  
mocu-Sailni in the sea near the island that is  
called Rechru [Rathlin]

In like manner on another day, Saint Columba, while he was living in his mother church, suddenly exclaimed, with a smile : ' Colman, Beogna's son, has begun to sail over to us, and is now in great danger in the surging tides of the whirlpool of Brecaín ; and sitting in the prow he raises both hands to heaven, and blesses the troubled and very terrible sea. But the Lord terrifies him thus, not in order that the ship in which he sits may be overwhelmed by the waves in shipwreck, but rather to rouse him to more fervent prayer that with God's favour he may reach us after passing through the danger' .

#### [I 6] Concerning Cormac

Also at another time, Saint Columba prophesied and spoke thus concerning Cormac, Léthan's grandson, a

<sup>5</sup> et tam formidabile pilagus A ; the *i* of *pilagus* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. fretum et tam formida'bile B1 ; et tam formidabile pelagus B3

<sup>6</sup> resedet A ; the second *e* has later been altered to *i*, by a long down-stroke. -sid- B1 B3

<sup>7</sup> cormaco A ; sancto Cormacco B1 ; cormacco B3. Cormac, grandson of Léthan, is called the founder of a monastery, in 118a. He was a monk of Columba (95a, 97a), probably at Durrow, where he was buried (Oengus 1905, p. 156 ; Reeves 1857, p. 267) ; but Oengus calls him *clérech* ' cleric ' only, not abbot.

<sup>8</sup> cormacco A B3 ; corma'cco B1

<sup>9</sup> lethani A ; letha'ni B1 ; le'thani B3

vicibus<sup>1</sup> herimum<sup>2</sup> in ociano<sup>3</sup> laboriose<sup>4</sup> quaesivit, nec tamen invenit, sanctus Columba ita profetizans ait : ' Hodie iterum Cormac<sup>5</sup> desertum reperire cupiens enavigare incipit, ab illa regione quae,<sup>6</sup> ultra Modam<sup>7</sup> 17b fluium sita, Eirros-domno<sup>8</sup> dicitur. | Nec tamen etiam hac vice quod quaerit inveniet ; et non ob aliam ejus culpam nisi quod alicujus relegiosi<sup>9</sup> abbatis monacum ipso non permittente discessorem secum non recte comitari navigio susciperit '<sup>10</sup> . .

De bellorum fragoribus longe  
comisorum<sup>11</sup> beati profetia viri . .

POST BELLUM Cule-drebene<sup>12</sup> sicuti nobis traditum est duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia perigrinaturus<sup>13</sup> primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc est eadem hora qua in Scotia comisum<sup>14</sup> est bellum quod scotice dicitur Ondemmone,<sup>15</sup> idem homo dei coram Conallo rege filio Comgill<sup>16</sup> in Britannia<sup>17</sup> conversatus per omnia enarravit, tam de bello comisso

<sup>1</sup> *tribus . . . vicibus*. Two of Cormac's voyages (the 'second' and 'third') are mentioned by Adomnan (94b-97b), who there appears to count this one as the first. But it is implied below (*iterum incipit*) that Cormac had made a false start before.

<sup>2</sup> herimum A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -rem- B1 B3

<sup>3</sup> ociano A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. occe'ano B1 ; oceano

B3

<sup>4</sup> laboriosae A ; laboriose B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> cormac A B1 ; cormaccus B3

<sup>6</sup> quae A ; qui B1 ; que B3

<sup>7</sup> modam A ; a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. modan B1 B3. This river is now the Moy, between Sligo and Mayo counties.

<sup>8</sup> eirros domno A, with four over-dashes ; eirrosdomno B1 B3. This was part of Mayo (see Reeves 1857, p. 31 ; Hogan 1910, p. 472).

<sup>9</sup> relegiosi A ; -lig- B1 B3

<sup>10</sup> susciperit A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. susce'perit B1 ; susceperit B3

holy man who sought with great labour not less than three times a desert in the ocean, and yet found none : ' Today again Cormac, desiring to find a desert, begins his voyage from the district that is called Eirros-domno, lying beyond the river Mód [Moy]. But this time also he will not find what he seeks ; and for no other fault on his part than that he has improperly taken with him as a companion of his voyage a man who, being the monk of a religious abbot, has departed without the abbot's consent '.

[I 7] A prophecy of the blessed man  
concerning the crash of battles fought  
far away

At the time when the blessed man first sailed away from Ireland, to be a pilgrim, two years after the battle of Cul-drebene, as we have been told, on a certain day, that is at the very hour when the battle that is in Irish called ' of Ond-móne ' was fought in Ireland, the same man of God, while living in Britain, gave a complete account in the presence of king Conall, Comgells' son, not only of the fighting of the battle, but also of those

<sup>11</sup> comisorum A ; a small *s* has later been written in black ink above *is*. comissorum B1 B3

<sup>12</sup> cule drebene A ; culedredi'ne B1 ; culedrebene B3

<sup>13</sup> perigrinaturus A ; pereg- B1 B3

<sup>14</sup> comisum A ; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *i*. commissum B1 B3

<sup>15</sup> ondemmone A, without over-dashes ; the first *m* is superscript. onde'mone B1 ; ondemone B3. *Onde* is the genitive of *ond*, a 'rock' or 'stone' ; *mōne* is genitive of *móin* 'swamp'. The battle-place is called Móin Daire-lothair in the Irish annals. See pp. 74, 143, 148.

<sup>16</sup> comgill A ; comgil B1 B3

<sup>17</sup> brittannia A ; britta'nnia B1 ; bryttannia B3

quam etiam de illis regibus quibus dominus de inimicis  
 18a victoriam | condonavit, quorum propria vocabula Ain-  
 morius<sup>1</sup> filius Sétne,<sup>2</sup> et ii. filii maic-Erce,<sup>3</sup> Domnallus  
 et Forcus.<sup>4</sup> Sed et de rege Cruithnorum qui Echodius  
 Laib<sup>5</sup> vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus curru in-  
 sedens<sup>6</sup> evaserit, similiter sanctus profetizavit.<sup>7</sup>

De bello Miathoru[m]<sup>8</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE, hoc est post multos a supra  
 memorato bello annorum transcursus, cum esset vir  
 sanctus in Iova insula, subito ad suum dicit ministra-  
 torem Dermittium<sup>9</sup>: 'Clocam pulsa'. Cujus sonitu  
 fratres incitati ad ecclesiam ipso sancto praesule praeunte  
 ocuis currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus inquit:  
 'Nunc intente pro hoc populo et Aidano rege dominum  
 oremus. Hac enim hora ineunt bellum'. Et post  
 18b modicum intervallum egressus<sup>10</sup> | oratorium respiciens in  
 caelum inquit: 'Nunc barbari<sup>11</sup> in fugam vertuntur;  
 Aidanoque quamlibet infelix tamen concessa victoria  
 est'. Sed et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum  
 cctorum et iii.<sup>12</sup> virorum vir beatus profetice narravit.

<sup>1</sup> ainmorius A; anmo'rius B1; anmorius B3

<sup>2</sup> sétne A; scethni B1; scetni B3. Perhaps *ce* is an error for *ee*, indicat-  
 ing long *e*.

<sup>3</sup> maic erce A; maice'rce B1; maicerce B3. Mac-Erce, or Muir-  
 chertach, was a son of Muiredach, son of Eogan, son of Néll. See 20a.  
 The descendants of this Mac-Erce formed a branch of the cenel-nEogain  
 (cf. A.U., 628=629 and 629=630).

<sup>4</sup> forcus A B3; fergus B1, altered from ?*forcus*. He was the ancestor  
 of the cenel-Forcuso; see MacNeill 1911, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> echodius laib A; echuius laib B1; echuiuslaid B3. See p. 66. The  
 death of his son Eogan is entered in A.U. under 610=611.

<sup>6</sup> insedens A; insidens B1 B3

<sup>7</sup> similiter sanctus profetizavit A; prophetizavit similiter sanctus vir  
 B1; prophetizavit similiter sanctus B3

<sup>8</sup> miathoru A; maithorum B1; miathorum B3

<sup>9</sup> dermittium A; diormi'cium B1; vermicium B3

kings to whom the Lord granted victory over their  
 enemies; and whose proper names were Ainmure,  
 Sétne's son, and two sons of Mac-erce, Domnall and  
 Forcus; and similarly the saint prophesied of a king  
 of the Cruithni, who was called Echoid Laib, how he  
 was defeated, and escaped, sitting in a chariot.

[I 8] Concerning the battle of the Miathi

At another time, when the holy man was in the  
 island of Io, after many years had gone by since the  
 above-mentioned battle, he suddenly said to his attend-  
 ant Diormit: 'Strike the bell'. Summoned by its  
 clang, the brothers ran quickly to the church, the holy  
 superior going before them. He knelt down and  
 addressed them there: 'Now let us pray earnestly to  
 the Lord for this people, and for the king Aidan. For  
 in this hour they are going into battle'. And after a  
 short time he left the oratory, and looking into the sky  
 he said: 'Now the barbarians are turned to flight;  
 and the victory is yielded to Aidan, unhappy though  
 it is'. And also the blessed man told prophetically  
 the number of the dead in Aidan's army, three hundred  
 and three men.

<sup>10</sup> egressus A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *es*. egressus  
 B1 B3

<sup>11</sup> barbari. Adomnan's use of this word implies that the Miathi were not  
 speakers of Irish, and at the same time seems to show that they were not  
 the southern people of the Picti who had accepted Ninian's teaching of  
 Christianity.

<sup>12</sup> cctorum et iii A; a small *u* has been added by m.h. after *iii*, to  
 read *trium*. trecentorum et trium B1 B3

De filiis Aidani regis  
sancti Columbae profetia

ALIO IN TEMPORE ante supradictum bellum sanctus Aidanum regem interrogat de regni successore. Illo sé respondente nescire, quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus, Arturius<sup>1</sup> an Echodius Find an Domingartus,<sup>2</sup> sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo :  
19a 'Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator ; nam in bellis cadent, ab inimicis trucidandi. Sed nunc si alios juniores habes ad me veniant ; et quem ex eis elegerit dominus regem subito super meum inruet gremium'. Quibus accitis secundum verbum sancti Echodius<sup>3</sup> Buide adveniens in sinu ejus recubuit. Statimque sanctus eum osculatus benedixit ; et ad patrem ait : 'Hic est superstes, et rex post té regnaturus, et filii ejus post eum regnabunt'. Sic omnia post suis temporibus plene adinpleta sunt. Nam Arturius<sup>4</sup> et Echodius Fint<sup>5</sup> non longo post temporis intervallo Miatorum<sup>6</sup> superius memorato in bello trucidati sunt. Domingartus vero in Saxonia bellica in strage<sup>7</sup> interfectus est. Echodius<sup>8</sup> autem Buide<sup>9</sup> post patrem in regnum successit. .

<sup>1</sup> arturius A B<sub>1</sub> ; arcu'rius B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> domingartus A B<sub>3</sub> ; dominga'rtus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> echodius A B<sub>3</sub> ; echo'dius B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>4</sup> arturius A B<sub>3</sub> ; artu'rius B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> fint A ; find B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> miatorum A ; Mitithorum B<sub>1</sub> ; micitorum B<sub>3</sub>. Here the source of B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> has had an open Irish *a*, copied as *ci*.

<sup>7</sup> in strage A B<sub>3</sub> ; strage B<sub>1</sub>. See p. 41.

<sup>8</sup> Echodius A B<sub>3</sub> ; Eco'dius B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> buide A B<sub>1</sub> ; biude B<sub>3</sub>

[I 9] A prophecy of Saint Columba  
concerning king Aidan's sons

At another time, before the above-mentioned battle, the saint questioned king Aidan about a successor to the kingdom. When he answered that he did not know which of his three sons should reign, Artuir, or Echoid Find, or Domingart, the saint then spoke in this manner : 'None of these three will be king ; for they will fall in battles, slain by enemies. But now, if you have others that are younger, let them come to me, and the one whom the Lord has chosen from among them to be king will run at once to my knee'.

They were called, according to the saint's word ; and when Echoid Buide came in, he leaned on Columba's bosom. Immediately the saint kissed and blessed him, and said to the father : 'This is the survivor, and he will reign after you as king ; and his sons will reign after him'.

All these things were completely fulfilled afterwards, in their time. For Artuir and Echoid Find were slain a little while later, in the battle of the Miathi mentioned above. Domingart was killed in a rout of battle in England. And Echoid Buide succeeded to the kingdom after his father.

## De Domnallo filio Aido. .

DOMNALLUS FILIUS Aido<sup>1</sup> adhuc puer ad sanctum Columbam in dorso Cete<sup>2</sup> per nutritores adductus<sup>3</sup> est. 19b Quem intuens per|cunctatur inquiring: 'Cujus est filius hic quem adduxistis?'<sup>4</sup> Illis respondentibus, 'Hic est Domnallus filius Aido,<sup>5</sup> qui ad te ideo perductus est ut tua redeat benedictione ditatus',<sup>6</sup> quem cum sanctus benedixisset, contenuo<sup>7</sup> ait: 'Hic post super<sup>8</sup> omnes suos fratres superstes erit, et rex valde famosus. Nec umquam in manus inimicorum tradetur, sed morte placida in senectute, et intra domum suam, coram amicorum familiarium turba super suum morietur lectum'. Quae omnia secundum beati vaticinium viri de eo vere adimpleta sunt. .

De Scandlano filio Colmani. .<sup>9</sup>

EODEM TEMPORE sanctus et in eodem loco ad Scandlanum<sup>10</sup> fili[um]<sup>11</sup> Colmani<sup>12</sup> apud Aidum<sup>13</sup> regem in vinculis retentum visitare eum cupiens perguit; ipsumque

<sup>1</sup> filius aido A B3; filius aido' B1. Here, and in the title above, *aido* is the Irish genitive case.

<sup>2</sup> cete A, with two over-dashes; cete B1 B3. The place was Druimm-céte, where Columba attended the famous council of A.D. 575. See 49b, and p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *adductus*. In A, a small *u* has been written by m.h. above the text-hand's ligature for *us*.

<sup>4</sup> *adduxistis*. In A, there was no punctuation sign after this word: a down-sign and an interrogation sign have been added by m.h. in A; B1 has a point with question-mark; and B3, a down-sign with question-mark.

<sup>5</sup> aido A B3; aido' B1

<sup>6</sup> *ditatus* A B1 B3; in A, a small *u* has been added by m.h. above the text-hand's ligature for *us*. In A, there was no punctuation sign after *ditatus*: a point and down-sign have been added by m.h. in A; B1 has a point, and B3 a down-sign.

<sup>7</sup> *contenuo* A; the *e* has later been altered to *i* by a long down-stroke with a fine pen. *contínuo* B1; *continuo* B3

## [I 10] Concerning Domnall, Aid's son

Domnall, Aid's son, while still a boy, was brought by his foster-parents to Saint Columba in the ridge of Cete. And he, looking upon him, asked: 'Whose son is this, whom you have brought?' When they replied, 'This is Domnall, Aid's son, who has been brought to you in order that he may return enriched with your benediction', and when he had blessed him, the saint said immediately: 'This boy will in the end outlive all his brothers, and will be a very famous king. He will never be delivered into the hands of enemies; but will die on his bed by a peaceful death, in old age, and within his own house, surrounded by a crowd of his intimate friends'. All these things were truly fulfilled according to the blessed man's prophecy concerning him.

## [I 11] Concerning Scandlan, Colman's son

At the same time and in the same place, while Scandlan, Colman's son, was held in chains by king Aid, the saint went to him, desiring to see him; and after

<sup>8</sup> *super* A. Omitted in B1 B3.

<sup>9</sup> *colmani* A B3; *colmanni* B1

<sup>10</sup> *scandlanum* A B3; *scandla'num* B1. Later accounts name this hostage Scandlan Mór, and say that his father was Cennfaelad, king of Osraige (cf. E.S., I, pp. 81-3, cxlv). In Tigernach, Scandlan Mór is called 'king of Osraige' at his death, about A.D. 644; but his father is not there named (T. 10b10). Adomnan is evidence of a tradition that Scandlan's father was Colman, the king of Osraige who died about 607 (T. 9b2). Colman was perhaps for a time deprived of the kingship (cf. Plummer 1910, I, pp. 166-7); and according to regnal lists, he was immediately succeeded not by Scandlan but by Cennfaelad. Apparently Cennfaelad, who was succeeded by Scandlan, was erroneously represented in some king-list to have been Scandlan's father. Scandlan was a child in 575.

<sup>11</sup> *fili* A; a small *u* has been added after this by m.h., to read *filium*. *filium* B1 B3

<sup>12</sup> *colmani* A B3; *colmanni* B1

<sup>13</sup> *aidum* A B3; *a'idum* B1

20a cum benedixisset confortans | ait : ' Filii <sup>1</sup> noles <sup>2</sup> contristari sed potius laetare et confortare. Aidus <sup>3</sup> enim rex apud <sup>4</sup> quem vinculatus es de hoc mundo té praecedet, et post aliqua exilii tempora xxx. annís in gente tua rex regnaturus es.<sup>5</sup> Iterumque de regno effugaberis, et per aliquot exsolabis <sup>6</sup> dies, post quos a populo reinvitatus per tria regnabis brevia tempora '.

Quae cuncta juxta vaticinationem sancti pleni expleta sunt. Nam post xxx. annos de regno expulsus per aliquod <sup>7</sup> exsolavit <sup>8</sup> spatium temporis, sed post a populo reinvitatus non ut putabat tribus annís sed ternís regnavit mensibus ; post quos contenuo <sup>9</sup> obiit. .

De duobus aliis regnatoribus qui duo nepotes Muiredachi<sup>10</sup> vocitabantur Baitanus filius maic-erce <sup>11</sup> et Echodius <sup>12</sup> filius Domnail <sup>13</sup> beati profetatio viri |

20b ALIO IN TEMPORE per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens quae dicitur Artda-muirchol,<sup>14</sup> et suos audiens comites Laisranum utique filium Feradachi et Dermitium <sup>15</sup> ministratorem de duobus supra memoratis regibus in via sermocinari, haec ad eos verba depromit :

<sup>1</sup> filii A ; the third *i* has later been deleted by a point below with a fine pen. Fili B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> noles A ; noli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> Aidus A B<sub>3</sub> ; A'idus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>4</sup> *apud* is used here for the Irish preposition *la*, as it is in 19b25, and often by other Irish writers.

<sup>5</sup> es A B<sub>3</sub> ; in A, a small minuscule *t* added later after *s*. e's B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> exsolabis A ; m.h. has inserted *er* above, after *b*, with placing dots. exula'bis B<sub>1</sub> ; exulabis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> aliquod A ; a'liquod B<sub>1</sub> ; aliquot B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> exsolavit A ; m.h. has written *tus* in small letters in the margin, to read *exsolatus*. exulavit B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> contenuo A ; the *e* has later been altered to *i* by a long down-stroke with a fine pen. conti'nuo B<sub>1</sub> ; continuo B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> muiredachi A ; muiretha'chi B<sub>1</sub> ; muirethachi B<sub>3</sub>

blessing him, said, to encourage him : ' My son, do not be sad, but rather be joyful, and of good heart. For king Aid by whom you have been chained will leave this world before you ; and after some seasons in exile, you will reign as king among your own people for thirty years. And again you will be a fugitive from the kingdom ; and will be in exile for a number of days after which, recalled by the people, you will reign for three short seasons '.

All these things were entirely fulfilled according to the saint's prophecy. For after thirty years he was driven from the kingdom, and was in exile for some period of time ; but afterwards, recalled by the people, he reigned, not for three years, as he supposed he should, but for three months, immediately after which he died.

[I 12] Prophecy of the blessed man concerning two other kings, who were called two grandsons of Muiredach, Baitan, son of Mac-erce, and Echoid, Domnall's son

At another time, when he was making a journey through the rough and rocky district that is called Artda-muirchol [Arđnamurchan], and heard his companions, namely Laisran Feradach's son, and the attendant Diormit, talking on the way about the two kings mentioned above, he addressed them in these words :

<sup>11</sup> maic erce A ; maicerke B<sub>1</sub> ; maicerce B<sub>3</sub>. Cf. 18a.

<sup>12</sup> echodius A ; ecu'dius B<sub>1</sub> ; euchudius B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> domnail A ; damnail B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> artda muirchol A (with *t* not quite joining *d*) ; arđamuircol B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. The ' heights of Muirchol ' are the hills of Arđnamurchan. See p. 150. There is a pass through the border of Arđnamurchan from Loch Sunart to Loch Shiel.

<sup>15</sup> dermitium A ; dermi'cium B<sub>1</sub> ; dermicium B<sub>3</sub>

' Ó filioli, quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini? Nam illi ambo reges de quibus nunc sermocinamini nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperierunt.<sup>1</sup> In hac quoque die aliqui de Scotia adventantes nautae haec eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus '.

Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Evernia<sup>2</sup> navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur Muirbolc paradisi<sup>3</sup> pervenientes, supra scriptis ejus binis comitibus et in eadem navi cum sancto navigantibus de hisdem  
21a in|terfectis regibus expletum retulerunt. .

De Oingusio<sup>4</sup> filio Aido Commani<sup>5</sup>  
sancti profetia viri

HIC NAMQUE de patria cum aliis duobus fratribus effugatus ad sanctum in Britanniam<sup>6</sup> perigrinantem<sup>7</sup> exsul<sup>8</sup> venit. Cuique benedicens haec de eo profetizans sancto promit de pectore verba : ' Hic juvenis defunctis ejus ceteris fratribus superstes remanens multo est regnaturus in patria tempore, et inimici ejus coram ipso cadent, nec tamen ipse umquam in manus tradetur inimicorum ; sed morte placida senex inter amicos morietur '. Quae omnia juxta sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est Oingussius<sup>9</sup> cujus cognomentum Bronbachal.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> disperierunt A ; disperie'runt B1 ; disperiere B3

<sup>2</sup> evernia A ; the first e has later been changed to i by a short downstroke with a fine pen. hibe'rnía B1 ; hybernia B3. The name is here synonymous with *Scotia* above, and Scotland is not included in either name.

<sup>3</sup> paradisi A B3 ; paradí'si B1. See Watson 1926, p. 79. *Muirbolc* meant 'sea-bay', and its place must have been on the Ardnamurchan side of Loch Sunart, or more probably on the north side of the headland, near the mouth of the river Shiel, perhaps Kenra Bay.

<sup>4</sup> oingusio A B3 ; oingu'sio B1

<sup>5</sup> Commani A B1 B3. Before this name, *fili* may have been omitted.

Cf. Reeves 1857, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> britanniam A ; brittannia B1 B3

' My children, why do you thus idly converse about these things, seeing that both the kings of whom you are now talking have recently perished, beheaded by their enemies? On this day, too, sailors arriving from Ireland will tell you the same, about these kings '.

On the same day, mariners arriving from Ireland at the place that is called Muirbolc of paradise, related to his two companions named above, who sailed with the saint in the same ship, that this prophecy of the venerable man concerning the slaying of these kings had been fulfilled.

[I 13] Prophecy of the holy man concerning  
Oingus, son of Aid Comman

This man, driven out from his country with two of his brothers, came as an exile to Britain, to the saint living in pilgrimage there ; who, blessing him, drew from his holy breast these words in prophecy concerning him : ' This young man, surviving after the rest of his brothers are dead, will reign in his country for a long time ; and his enemies will fall in his presence. He himself will never be delivered into the hands of enemies, but will die by a peaceful death, an old man, among friends '.

All this was completely fulfilled according to the saint's word. This was the Oingus whose epithet was Bronbachal.

<sup>7</sup> perigrinantem A ; pereg- B1 B3

<sup>8</sup> exsul A ; exul B1 B3

<sup>9</sup> oingussius A ; oingu'sius B1 ; omgusius B3

<sup>10</sup> bronbachal A B1 B3 ; in A, an acute accent has been added later, above o. The death of Oingus Bronbachal, king of the cenel-Coirpri, is entered in A.U. under 648=649.



Profetia<sup>1</sup> beati viri de filio  
Dermi<sup>2</sup> regis qui Aidus Slane<sup>3</sup>  
lingua nominatus est scotica |

21b ALIO IN TEMPORE cum vir beatus in Scotia per aliquot demoraretur dies ad supradictum Aidum<sup>4</sup> ad se venientem sic profetice locutus ait: 'Praecavere debes filii<sup>5</sup> ne tibi a deo totius Everniae<sup>6</sup> regni praerogativam monarchiae praedestinata<sup>7</sup> parricidalis faciente peccato amittas. Nam si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris<sup>8</sup> regno sed ejus aliqua parte in gente tua brevi frueris<sup>9</sup> tempore'.

Quae verba sancti sic sunt expleta secundum ejus vaticinationem. Nam post Suibneum<sup>10</sup> filium Columbani dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus ut fertur quam iiii. annis et tribus mensibus regni concessa potitus<sup>11</sup> est parte.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Profetia A; prophetiam B<sub>1</sub>; propheta B<sub>3</sub>. The first three words are transferred in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> from the beginning to the end of this chapter-heading.

<sup>2</sup> dermi A B<sub>3</sub>; dermi'ti B<sub>1</sub>. This was Diormit, Cerball's son, king of the southern Ui-Néill, and high-king of Ireland. See pp. 75-6.

<sup>3</sup> aidus slane A B<sub>3</sub>; aidusslane B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>4</sup> aidum A B<sub>3</sub>; a'idum B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> filii A; the third *i* has later been deleted with a point below. fili B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> everniae A; hibe'rnice B<sub>1</sub>; hibernie B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> praedestinata A; predestinata B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> patris. In A, a point made with a fine pen below *i* is unexplained. A still finer dot seems to have been placed below the second stroke of *r* in *tribus* below.

<sup>9</sup> frueris A; an acute accent has later been added above *e*. finie'ris B<sub>1</sub>; finieris B<sub>3</sub>: here the Irish letters *ru* have been misread as *ini*.

<sup>10</sup> suibneum A B<sub>3</sub>; suibne'um B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>11</sup> potitus A; poti'tus B<sub>1</sub>; pocius B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> parte A B<sub>1</sub>; parce B<sub>3</sub>

[I 14] Prophecy of the blessed man concerning  
king Diormit's son who was called Aid  
Slane in the Irish tongue

At another time, when the blessed man was staying for some days in Ireland, and Aid (mentioned above) came to him, he spoke to him prophetically thus, saying: 'My son, you must take heed lest by reason of the sin of parricide you lose the prerogative of monarchy over the kingdom of all Ireland, predestined for you by God. For if ever you commit that sin, you will enjoy not the whole kingdom of your father, but only some part of it, in your own tribe, and for but a short time'.

These words of the saint were fulfilled exactly according to his prediction. For after Aid had treacherously killed Suibne, Colman's son, he had dominion over the part of the kingdom that had been yielded to him for no more, as it is told, than four years and three months.

De rege Roderco <sup>1</sup> filio Tothail <sup>2</sup>  
qui in <sup>3</sup> petra Cloithe <sup>4</sup> regnavit  
beati viri profetia

22a ALIO IDEM IN TEMPORE, ut <sup>5</sup> erat sancti viri amicus,  
aliquam ad eum occultam | per Lugbeum <sup>6</sup> mocu-Min <sup>7</sup>  
legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset truci-  
dandus an non. At vero Lugbeus a sancto interrogatus <sup>8</sup>  
de eodem rege et regno et populo ejus <sup>9</sup> respondens quasi  
misertus dicit: 'Quid de illo inquiris misero, qui qua  
hora ab inimicis occidatur nullo modo scire <sup>10</sup> potest?'  
Sanctus tum deinde profatur: 'Numquam in manus  
tradetur inimicorum; sed in sua super suam pluma-  
tiunculam morietur domu'.<sup>11</sup> Quod sancti de rege  
Roderco <sup>12</sup> vaticinium plene adimpletum est. Nam  
juxta verbum ejus in domu <sup>13</sup> sua morte placida obiit. .

De duobus pueris, quorum [unus] <sup>14</sup> juxta  
verbum sancti in fine ebdomadis obiit,  
profetia sancti <sup>15</sup>

22b ALIO IN TEMPORE duo quidam plebei ad sanctum in  
Iova commorantem insula deveniunt. Quorum unus  
Meldanus nomine de filio suo qui praesens erat sanctum  
inter|rogat, quid ei esset futurum. Cui sanctus sic

<sup>1</sup> roderco A B<sub>3</sub>; rode'rcō B<sub>1</sub>. This Roderco, Tóthal's son, was evidently the Riderch, Tutagual's son, of Welsh pedigrees; and the Riderch Hen who fought against king Husa of the Bernicians, about the beginning of the seventh century. See E.S., I, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> tothail A; totai'l B<sub>1</sub>; totail B<sub>3</sub>      <sup>3</sup> in A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> petra cloithe A B<sub>3</sub>; petraclo'ithe B<sub>1</sub>. This is a translation of the O.I. *Ail* (an I-stem; genitive *Aloo*, in Book of Armagh 20c2), or *Ail-Clóithe* 'rock of Clyde', i.e. Dumbarton. It may be inferred from this prophecy that the siege of Dumbarton, which was the subject of an Irish tale, and in which the Irish settlers presumably gained the fortress, did not occur before Roderco's death.

<sup>5</sup> ut A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Reeves read *hic ut*, erroneously.

[I 15] The blessed man's prophecy concerning  
the king Roderco, Tóthal's son, who reigned in  
the rock of Clóth [Clyde]

At one time this king, since he was a friend of the holy man, sent Lugbe mocu-Min to him with a kind of secret commission, desiring to know whether he should be slain by enemies, or not. So Lugbe, when he was questioned by the saint about the king, and his kingdom and people, answered as if in pity, and said: 'Why do you ask about that afflicted man, who can never know at what hour he is to be killed by enemies?' Then the saint spoke: 'He shall never be delivered into the hands of enemies; but he shall die on his own feather pillow, in his own house'.

This prediction of the saint concerning king Roderco was fully fulfilled. For according to the saint's word he died in his own house, a peaceful death.

[I 16] Prophecy of the saint concerning two  
boys of whom [one], according to the saint's  
word, died at the end of a week

At another time two laymen came to the saint, then living in the island of Io. One of them, named Meldan, questioned the saint about his son, who was present, as to what would happen to him. To him the saint

<sup>6</sup> lugbeum A B<sub>3</sub>; lugbe'um B<sub>1</sub>. This chapter implies that Lugbe mocu-Min knew the Cumbrian language.

<sup>7</sup> mocumin A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; with three over-dashes in A.

<sup>8</sup> interrogatus A B<sub>1</sub>; intergatus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> ejus. In A, this is the symbol resembling an inverted e; in Reeves's text, wrongly et.      <sup>10</sup> scire A; sciri B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> domu A; domo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> roderco A B<sub>3</sub>; rode'rcō B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>13</sup> domu A; domo B<sub>3</sub>. From *Nam to obiit* is omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> unus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in A.

<sup>15</sup> sancti A B<sub>3</sub>; sancti viri B<sub>1</sub>

profatur : ' Nonne sabbati dies <sup>1</sup> hodierna est ? Filius tuus sexta feria in fine morietur septimanae ; octavaque <sup>2</sup> die, hoc est sabbato, huc <sup>3</sup> sepelietur '.

Alter proinde plebeus nomine Glasdercus <sup>4</sup> et ipse de filio quem ibidem secum habuit nihilominus <sup>5</sup> interrogans talem sancti audit responsionem : ' Filius tuus Ernanus <sup>6</sup> suos videbit nepotes, et in hac insula senex sepelietur '. Quae omnia secundum verbum sancti de pueris ambobus suis plene temporibus sunt expleta. .

De Colcio,<sup>7</sup> Aido <sup>8</sup> Draigniche <sup>9</sup> filio, a nepotibus Fechureg <sup>10</sup> orto, et de quodam occulto matris ejus peccato, profetia sancti. .

ALIO IN TEMPORE supra memoratum Colgium,<sup>11</sup> apud 23a sé in Iova commo|rantem insula, sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset relegiosa<sup>12</sup> an non. Cui ipse inquiens ait : ' Bene moratam et bonae famae<sup>13</sup> meam novi matrem '. Sanctus tum sic profetice profatur : ' Mox deo volente ad Scotiam profectus, matrem diligentius de quodam suo pergrandi peccato interroga occulto,<sup>14</sup> quod nulli hominum confiteri vult '. Qui haec

<sup>1</sup> sabbati dies, Saturday. Cf. 126a.

<sup>2</sup> octavaque A B<sub>3</sub> ; octavoque B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> huc A ; hic B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. In A, the word has been altered later by erasure to *hic*. Presumably in the ninth century, a minuscule hand has apparently joined the toe of the *i* to the *c*, and added a circumflex accent, subsequently erased, above the *i*. The shortened version (in L, and apparently in C D F S) reads *hic*.

<sup>4</sup> glasdercus A ; glasdercis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, perhaps through the misreading of an Irish *us* ligature.

<sup>5</sup> nihilominus A ; nichil- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> ernanus A B<sub>3</sub> ; in A, an acute accent has later been added above *a*. ernanus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>7</sup> colcio A ; co'lgio B<sub>1</sub> ; colgio B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> aido A, with two over-dashes ; a'ido B<sub>1</sub> ; aido B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> draigniche. This is apparently 'of the blackthorn-brake', a genitive of *draignech*. Cf. p. 142.

spoke thus : ' Is not this the day of Sabbath ? At the end of a week, on the Friday, your son will die, and on the eighth day from now, that is on the Sabbath, will be brought here for burial '.

Likewise the other layman, named Glasderc, also asked a similar question about the son whom he had with him there, and he received from the saint this reply : ' Your son Ernan shall see his grandsons, and shall be buried on this island in old age '.

All these things were entirely fulfilled in their times, in accordance with the saint's words concerning the two boys.

[I 17] Prophecy of the saint concerning Colcu, Aid Draigniche's son, one of the descendants of Féchre ; and concerning a hidden sin of his mother

At another time the saint questioned Colcu (named above) who was living with him in the island of Io, about his mother, whether she were a religious woman, or no. Colcu replying said : ' That my mother is of good character and good repute, I know '. Then the saint spoke thus prophetically : ' Set out soon, God willing, for Ireland, and question your mother very earnestly about a very grave sin that she has hidden, and that she is not willing to confess to any man '.

<sup>10</sup> fechureg A B<sub>3</sub> ; fe'gurech B<sub>1</sub>. For the consonantal group involved, see p. 147. The 'grandsons' or 'descendants of Féchre' were said by Reeves to have been the ui-Fiachrach of Galway ; but there was another family of the same name in the north of Connaught (cf. Hogan 1910, p. 671).

<sup>11</sup> colgium A B<sub>3</sub> ; co'lgium B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> relegiosa A ; -lig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> bene moratam et bonae famae A ; bone fame et bene moratam B<sub>1</sub> ; bene moratam et bone fame B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> occulto A ; occulte B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

audiens obsequutus ad Eberniam<sup>1</sup> emigravit. Proinde mater ab eo studiose interrogata, quamlibet primule infitians, tamen suum confessa est peccatum; et juxta sancti judicationem<sup>2</sup> penitudinem<sup>3</sup> agens sanata, de sé quod sancto manifestatum<sup>4</sup> est valde mirata est.

Colgius<sup>5</sup> vero ad sanctum reversus per aliquot dies apud eum commoratus, de fine sui interrogans temporis, hoc a sancto audit responsum: 'In tua quam amas |  
23b patria primarius alicujus ecclesiae per multos eris annos. Et si forte aliquando tuum videris pincernam in cena amicorum ludentem, auritoriumque<sup>6</sup> in giro per collum torquentem, scito té mox in brevi moriturum'. Quid plura? Haec eadem beati viri profetatio sic per omnia est adimpleta, quemadmodum de Colgio<sup>7</sup> eodem est profetata. .

#### De Laisrano<sup>8</sup> hortulano<sup>9</sup> homine sancto

VIR BEATUS quendam de suis monacum nomine Trenanum gente mocu-Runtir legatum ad Scotiam exire quadam praecipit<sup>10</sup> die. Qui hominis dei obsequutus jusioni<sup>11</sup> navigationem parat festinus; unumque sibi deesse navigatorem coram sancto queritur. Sanctus haec consequenter eidem respondens sacro promit de pectore verba dicens: 'Nauta[m]<sup>12</sup> quem tibi non

<sup>1</sup> eberniam A; hibe'rniam B1; hyberniam B3

<sup>2</sup> judicationem A; indicationem B1 (the first *n* written on an erasure); judicationem B3

<sup>3</sup> penitudinem A B3; plenitudinem B1 (*ple* written on an erasure).

<sup>4</sup> manifestatum A B3; manifestum B1. Adomnan does not explain what this sin was, and later writers are not evidence of what he had in mind.

<sup>5</sup> Colgius A B3; Co'lgius B1

<sup>6</sup> *auritorium* (derived from a supine of *haurire*) was a vessel for drawing water or wine. The story implies that the pitcher, containing liquid, flew from the butler's hand and killed Colcu.

<sup>7</sup> colgio A B3; co'lgio B1

Hearing this, he complied and departed for Ireland. His mother, assiduously questioned by him, at first denied, but yet confessed, her sin; and by doing penance according to the saint's decision she was restored. And she marvelled greatly at what had been revealed to the saint concerning her.

Colcu returned to the saint, and remaining with him for some days questioned him about the end of his own time on earth; and obtained from the saint this reply: 'You will be for many years the head of a church within your native country that you love. And if at any time you chance to see your butler amusing himself at a supper-party of friends, and swinging a pitcher in a circle by its neck, know that you shall very soon die'.

Why say more? This same prophecy of the blessed man was fulfilled in all things precisely as it had been prophesied, of this Colcu.

#### [I 18] Concerning Laisran the gardener, a holy man

On a certain day the blessed man ordered one of his monks, called Trenan, of the family mocu-Runtir, to go to Ireland as an emissary. He, obeying the order of the man of God, prepared for his voyage quickly; and he complained to the saint that he lacked one mariner. Thereupon the saint in reply drew from his holy breast these words, saying: 'The sailor who, you

<sup>8</sup> laisrano A B3; laisra'no B1

<sup>9</sup> hortulano A; ortolano B1; ortholano B3

<sup>10</sup> praecipit A; m.h. has altered the first *i* to *e*. -cip- B1 B3

<sup>11</sup> jusioni A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *si*. jussio'ni B1; jussioni B3

<sup>12</sup> Nauta A B1 B3

24a adhuc | suppetisse dicis nunc invenire non possum. Vade in pace. Usque quo ad Eberniam<sup>1</sup> pervenias prosperos et secundos habebis flatus. Quendamque obvium videbis hominem eminus occurrurum, qui primus prae ceteris navis proram tuae tenebit in Scotia. Hic erit comes tui iteris<sup>2</sup> per aliquot in Ebernia dies.<sup>3</sup> Teque inde revertentem ad nos usque comitabitur vir a deo electus; qui in hoc meo monasterio per omne reliquum tempus bene conversabitur<sup>4</sup>.

Quid plura? Trenanus accipiens a sancto benedictionem plenis velis per omnia transmeavit maria. Et ecce appropinquanti ad portum naviculae Laisranus mocu-Moie citior ceteris occurrit, tenetque proram. Nautae recognoscunt ipsum esse de quo sanctus praedixerat.

De ceto magno quomodo  
sanctus praesciens dixerat. . |

24b QUADAM DIE, cum vir venerabilis<sup>4</sup> in Iova demoraretur insula, quidam frater Berachus<sup>5</sup> nomine ad Ethicam<sup>6</sup> proponens insulam navigare ad sanctum mane accedens ab eo benedici postulat. Quem sanctus intuitus<sup>7</sup> inquit<sup>8</sup>: 'Ó filii,<sup>9</sup> hodie intentius praecaveto ne Ethicam cursu ad terram directo per latius coneris transmeare pilagus,<sup>10</sup> sed potius circumiens<sup>11</sup> minores

<sup>1</sup> eberniam A; the first *e* has later been partly erased, to form *i*. hibe'rniam B<sub>1</sub>; hiberniam B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> iteris A; iti'neris B<sub>1</sub>; itineris B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> in ebernia dies A; the first *e* has later been erased, and an *i* formed upon it. dies in hibe'rnia B<sub>1</sub>; dies in hibernia B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> venerabilis A B<sub>1</sub>; verabilis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> berachus A; be'rachus B<sub>1</sub>; barachus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> ethicam A B<sub>3</sub>; e'thicham B<sub>1</sub>. See p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> intuitus A; intu'itus B<sub>1</sub>; intuitur B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> inquit A B<sub>3</sub>; ait B<sub>1</sub>

tell me, has not yet come forward, I cannot at present find. Go in peace: until you reach Ireland, you will have fair and favourable breezes. And you will see a little way off a man approaching, who will run to you and, in advance of the others, be the first to grasp the prow of your ship in Ireland. This man will be the companion of your journey in Ireland for some days, and when you return he will accompany you to us. A man chosen by God, he will live a good life in this my monastery throughout the rest of his time<sup>9</sup>.

Why say more? Trenan received a blessing from the saint, and crossed with full sails through all the seas. And behold, as the ship neared the harbour, Laisran mocu-Moie ran faster than the others and took hold of the prow. The sailors perceived that he was the man of whom the saint had spoken before.

[I 19] How the saint spoke with foreknowledge  
concerning a great whale

On a certain day, while the venerable man was in the island of Io, a brother named Berach, intending to sail to the island of Eth [Tiree], went in the morning to the saint, and desired his blessing. The saint looked upon him and said: 'My son, be very careful not to attempt to take the direct route across the open sea to the land of Eth this day, but instead to sail round about,

<sup>9</sup> filii A; the third *i* was deleted later with a point above, and a note *O file* was written by m.h. in the blank space between columns a and b (below an *O* which was apparently a false start); still later, the last *i* was erased. fili B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> pilagus A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. pe'lagus B<sub>1</sub>; pelagus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> circumiens A; circu'iens B<sub>1</sub>; circuiens B<sub>3</sub>

secus naviges insulas,<sup>1</sup> ne videlicet aliquo monstuoso perterritus prodigio vix inde possis evadere'. Qui a sancto accepta benedictione secessit; et navim conscendens sancti verbum quasi parvipendens transgreditur. Majora proinde Aethici<sup>2</sup> transmeans spatia pilagi,<sup>3</sup> ipse  
25a et qui ibi inerant nautae vident; et ecce | cetus<sup>4</sup> mirae et immensae magnitudinis, se instar montis eregens,<sup>5</sup> ora aperit patula nimis dentosa supernatans. Tum proinde remiges deposito velo valde perterriti retro reversi illam abortam<sup>6</sup> ex beluino motu fluctuationem vix evadere potuerunt. Sanctique verbum recognoscentes profeticum ammirabantur.<sup>7</sup>

Eadem<sup>8</sup> quoque die sanctus Baitheneo<sup>9</sup> ad supra memoratam insulam navigaturo mane de eodem intinavit ceto, inquires: 'Hac praeterita nocte media cetus magnus de profundo maris sé sublevavit,<sup>10</sup> et inter Iovam et Ethicam insulam sé hodie in superficiem ereget<sup>11</sup> equoris'. Cui Baitheneus<sup>12</sup> respondens<sup>13</sup> inquit: 'Ego et<sup>14</sup> illa bilua<sup>15</sup> sub dei potestate sumus'. Sanctus  
25b 'Vade' ait, 'in pace. Fides tua in Christo | té ab hoc defendet periculo'. Baitheneus<sup>16</sup> tum deinde a sancto benedictione accepta a portu enavigat, transcurisique

<sup>1</sup> *minores insulas*: i.e. the Treshnish Islands, between Staffa and Coll.

<sup>2</sup> aethici A; ethici B<sub>1</sub>; ethnici B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> pilagi A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. pe'lagi B<sub>1</sub>; pelagi B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> *cetus*. This 'whale' is here assimilated to the traditional idea of the sea-monster of Jonah.

<sup>5</sup> eregens A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*. -rig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> abortam A; obortam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> ammirabantur A B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a small *d* has been written by m.h. above the first *m*. admirabantur B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>8</sup> Eadem A B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the *a*. Ea'dem B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> baitheneo A; baithe'neo B<sub>1</sub>; baitheno B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> sublevavit A; the third *u* has later been bridged, and given a downstroke, to make *b*, erroneously. sullevavit B<sub>1</sub>; sullivavit B<sub>3</sub>

by the small islands; lest you be terrified by a prodigious monster, and be scarcely able to escape'.

After receiving the saint's blessing, he went away, and entered his ship; and as though making light of the saint's command, transgressed it. And so, while crossing the wide stretch of the sea of Eth, he and the sailors that were with him there looked up, and behold, a whale, of marvellous and enormous size, swimming on the surface, rose up like a mountain, and opened gaping jaws, with many teeth. So then the rowers dropped the sail, and in great terror reversed their course, and were with difficulty able to escape from the wash raised by the motion of the beast. Remembering the saint's prophetic words, they marvelled.

Also on the same day, in the morning, the saint gave news of the same whale to Baithene, who was about to sail to the above-mentioned island; and he said: 'In the middle of last night, a great whale rose from the depths of the ocean, and today it will rise to the surface of the sea between the islands of Io and Eth'. Baithene said to him in reply: 'I and that beast are in God's power'. 'Go in peace', said the saint; 'your faith in Christ will protect you from this danger'.

Thereupon Baithene received the saint's blessing and sailed from the harbour. And after covering a

<sup>11</sup> ereget A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*. e'riget B<sub>1</sub>; erigit B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> baitheneus A B<sub>3</sub>; baitene'us B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>13</sup> respondens A B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> *et*. Below this word, in A, *et* has been written with a fine pen, and smudged out. In the bottom margin, *fertur* has been written by m.h., and smudged out.

<sup>15</sup> bilua A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. be'lua B<sub>1</sub>; bellua B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> Baitheneus A B<sub>3</sub>; Baithe'neus B<sub>1</sub>

non parvis ponti spatiis ipse et socii cetum aspiciunt ;  
perterritisque omnibus, ipse solus equor et cetum ambis<sup>1</sup>  
manibus elevatis benedicit intrepidus. Eodemque mo-  
mento bilua<sup>2</sup> magna se sub fluctus inmergens nusquam  
deinceps eis apparuit. .

De quodam Baitano, qui cum ceteris  
desertum marinum appetens enavigaverat,  
sancti profetia viri. .

ALIO IN TEMPORE quidam<sup>3</sup> Baitanus, gente<sup>4</sup> nepos  
niath Taloir,<sup>5</sup> benedici a sancto petivit, cum ceteris in  
mari herimum<sup>6</sup> quaesiturus. Cui valedicens<sup>7</sup> sanctus  
hoc de ipso profeticum protulit verbum<sup>8</sup> : ' Hic homo,  
qui ad quaerendum in ociano<sup>9</sup> desertum pergit, non in  
26a deserto conditus jacebit, sed illo in loco sepelietur | ubi  
oves femina trans sepulchrum ejus minabit '.

Idem itaque Baitanus post longos per ventosa circui-  
tus equora herimo<sup>10</sup> non reperta ad patriam reversus  
multis ibidem annis cujusdam cellulae dominus per-  
mansit<sup>11</sup> quae scotice Lathreg-inden<sup>12</sup> dicitur. Hisdem-  
que diebus accedit quibus<sup>13</sup> post aliqua mortuus tempora  
sepultus est in roboreto Calcagi,<sup>14</sup> ut propter hostilitatis

<sup>1</sup> ambis A ; ambis B1 ; ambabus B3

<sup>2</sup> bilua A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. belua B1 B3

<sup>3</sup> quidam A B1 ; quida B3

<sup>4</sup> gente A B3. Omitted in B1.

<sup>5</sup> niath taloir A ; niathaloir B1 ; mathaloir B3. Baitan was a grandson, or descendant, ' of Talorc's nephew ' (sister's son) ; see p. 147. Grammatically, *niath* could also be genitive plural.

<sup>6</sup> herimum A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -rem- B1 B3

<sup>7</sup> valedicens. In A, the letter between *l* and *d* has been obliterated, possibly by a blot afterwards erased. The letter *e* (not in the text hand) was written above *i*, and placing-dots, after the *e* and below the erasure, mark where it should stand.

<sup>8</sup> verbum. Adomnan does not say whether this prophecy was made before or after Columba had left Ireland.

great stretch of the ocean he and his companions saw  
the whale ; and while they all were terrified, he alone  
undaunted, raising both his hands, blessed the sea and  
the whale. In the same instant the great beast plunged  
beneath the waves, and appeared to them no more.

[I 20] Prophecy of the holy man concerning one  
Baitan, who with the others had sailed  
out looking for a desert place in the sea

At another time, a man Baitan, by family a descend-  
ant of *nia-Taloir*, asked to be blessed by the saint on  
going to seek with the others a desert place in the sea. Bidding him farewell, the saint pronounced the follow-  
ing prophecy concerning him : ' This man, who goes  
to seek a desert in the ocean, will not lie buried in a  
desert place, but will be buried in that place in which  
a woman will drive sheep across his grave '.

The same Baitan, after long circuitous voyaging  
through windy seas, having found no desert place,  
returned to his country ; and for many years he con-  
tinued there as the head of a small church, which in  
Irish is called *Lathreg-inden*. After some seasons in the  
oakwood of Calcach [Derry] he died and was buried

<sup>9</sup> ociano A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. occe'ano B1 ;  
occeano B3

<sup>10</sup> herimo A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -rem- B1 B3

<sup>11</sup> permansit A ; remansit B1 B3

<sup>12</sup> lathreg inden A, with four over-dashes ; lathreginden B1 B3. The meaning seems to be 'house-site of Finden'. Here Adomnan may be admitted as evidence that *lathrech* could be a feminine noun ; it is elsewhere inflected as a masculine or neuter O-stem. Since the *f* of *finden* is lenited, synthesis requires that *lathreg* should be either nominative feminine, or genitive masculine or neuter.

<sup>13</sup> Hisdemque diebus accedit quibus A ; Qui B1 B3, reducing to nonsense the intricate sentence of A.

<sup>14</sup> calcagi A : ca'lgagi B1 ; calgachi B3

incursum vicina ad ejusdem loci ecclesiam plebicula<sup>1</sup> cum mulieribus et parvulis confugeret. Unde contigit ut quadam die mulier depræhenderetur aliqua quæ suas per ejusdem viri sepulchrum nuper sepulti oviculas minabat. Et unus ex his qui viderant sanctus sacerdos dixit: 'Nunc profetia sancti Columbae expleta est multis prius divulgata<sup>2</sup> annis'. Qui utique supra  
26b memoratus prespiter mihi hæc | de Baitano enarrans retulit, Mailodranus<sup>3</sup> nomine, Christi miles, gente mocu-[Cu]rin.<sup>4</sup>

De Neman<sup>5</sup> quodam ficto penitente<sup>6</sup>  
sancti profetatio<sup>7</sup> viri

ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus ad Hinbinam<sup>8</sup> insulam pervenit<sup>9</sup>; eademque die ut etiam penitentibus aliqua præcipit<sup>10</sup> cibi consulatio<sup>11</sup> indulgeretur. Erat autem ibi inter penitentes<sup>12</sup> quidam Nemanus<sup>13</sup> filius Cathir<sup>14</sup> qui a sancto jusus<sup>15</sup> rennuit<sup>16</sup> oblatam accipere consulatiunculam.<sup>17</sup> Quem sanctus his compellat verbis: 'Ó Neman<sup>18</sup>, a me et Baitheneo<sup>19</sup> indultam non recipis aliquam refectiois indulgentiam.<sup>20</sup> Erit tempus quo

<sup>1</sup> plebicula A; plebe'cula B<sub>1</sub>; plebecula B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> divulgata A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above *e*. div- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> mailodranus A B<sub>3</sub>; mailrodanus B<sub>1</sub>. This is a latinized form of *Mailodran*, a derivative of *Mailodar* or *-odur*. Cf. Maud Joynt, in R.I.A. Contributions, under *mael* and *odran*.

<sup>4</sup> mo | curin A; mocucuri'n B<sub>1</sub>; mocu|curin B<sub>3</sub>. In A, there is a gap, probably through erasure of two letters, after *mo*; and *curin* is centred in the next line. The presumption is that the text hand had written *mocu|curin*.

<sup>5</sup> neman<sup>5</sup> A B<sub>3</sub>; nema'no B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> penetente A; penitente B<sub>1</sub>; penitenti B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> profetatio A; propheti'a B<sub>1</sub>; prophecia B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> hinbinam A B<sub>3</sub>; hinbi'nam B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> insulam pervenit A; perve'nit i'nsulam B<sub>1</sub>; pervenit insulam B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> præcipit A; præcipit B<sub>1</sub>; præcipit B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> consulatio A; the *u* later altered to *o* by bridging. -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

there. And about the same time, it happened that because of an attack by enemies the neighbouring lay-people, with their women and children, took refuge in the church of that place. And so it came about that one day a woman was observed driving her sheep through the burial-place of that man, who had recently been buried there. And one of those that saw it, a holy priest, said: 'Now the prophecy of Saint Columba has been fulfilled, that was made known many years ago'. He, that is to say the above-mentioned priest, related these things to me, in telling me about Baitan. His name was Mailodran, a soldier of Christ, of the family mocu-[Cu]rin.

[I 21] Prophecy of the holy man  
concerning Neman, a false penitent

At another time, the saint came to the island of Hinba. And on that day he ordered that some indulgence in food should be allowed, even to the penitents. There was among the penitents there one Neman, Cather's son, who refused to take at the saint's bidding the proffered consolation. Him the saint addressed in these words: 'Neman, you do not accept an indulgence in diet that I and Baithene have granted. The

<sup>12</sup> penitentes A; a small *i* has later been written with a fine pen above the second *e*. -nit- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> nemanus A B<sub>3</sub>; ne'manus B<sub>1</sub>, altered by the text hand from *nema'nus*.

<sup>14</sup> cathir A B<sub>3</sub>; cathi'r B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>15</sup> jusus A; m.h. has written *s* above the first *us*. jussus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> rennuit A; the first *n* has later been erased. re'nuit B<sub>1</sub>; renuit B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>17</sup> consulatiunculam A; the first *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>18</sup> neman<sup>18</sup> A B<sub>3</sub>; ne'mane B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>19</sup> baitheneo A B<sub>3</sub>; baith'e'neo B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>20</sup> indulgentiam. After this word B<sub>3</sub> has a question mark.



cum furacibus<sup>1</sup> furtivae<sup>2</sup> carnem in silva manducabis  
 27a equae'. Hic idem itaque postea ad seculum reversus in  
 saltu cum furibus talem comedens carnem juxta | verbum  
 sancti de graticula<sup>3</sup> sumtam<sup>4</sup> lignea inventus est.

De infelici quodam qui  
 cum sua dormivit genitrice

ALIO IN TEMPORE fratres intempesta nocte suscitatur  
 sanctus; ad quos in ecclesia congregatos dicit: 'Nunc  
 dominum intentius precemur. Nam hac in hora ali-  
 quod<sup>5</sup> inauditum in mundo peccatum perpetratum est,  
 pro quo valde timenda judicialis vindicta'.<sup>6</sup> De quo  
 peccato crastino<sup>7</sup> die aliquibus paucis percunctantibus  
 intimavit, inquit: 'Post paucos menses cum Lugaido<sup>8</sup>  
 nesciente infelix ille homuncio ad Iovam perveniet  
 insulam'.

Alia itaque die sanctus ad Diormitium<sup>9</sup> interjectis  
 quibusdam mensibus praecipiens profatur<sup>10</sup>: 'Surge  
 citius. Ecce Lugaidus<sup>11</sup> appropinquat, dicque<sup>12</sup> ei ut  
 27b miserum quem secum in navi habet in Maleam<sup>13</sup> pro-  
 pellat | insulam, ne hujus insulae cispitem<sup>14</sup> calcet'.  
 Qui praecepto sancti obsequutus ad mare pergit,  
 Lugaidoque<sup>15</sup> adventanti omnia sancti prosequitur de

<sup>1</sup> furacibus A; furantibus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> furtivae A, with a deletion point above the Irish *ae*-symbol; furtive B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. If the deletion point in A was a correction by the text hand, the reading intended was *furtive* 'stealthily', as in Reeves's text, and we may compare *laboriosae* for *laboriose* in 17a. But it seems to us probable that what Adomnan wrote was *furtivae*, which makes the better sense. Compare the Life of Enda, in Plummer 1910, II, p. 73, where a stolen horse appears in a similar story. In B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, the *e* would stand for either *e* or *ae*.

<sup>3</sup> graticula A; crat- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> sumtam A; a small *p* has later been written with a fine pen above *mt*, and afterwards smeared out. sumptam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> aliquod A B<sub>1</sub>; aliquot B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> vindicta A; est vindicta B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

time will come when in a wood, with thieves, you will  
 chew the flesh of a stolen mare'.

And so afterwards, when he had returned to the  
 world, this same man was discovered, according to the  
 saint's word, in a forest pasture with thieves, consuming  
 such flesh taken from a wooden griddle.

[I 22] Concerning an unhappy man  
 who slept with his mother

At another time, the saint roused the brothers in  
 the dead of night; and when they had assembled in  
 the church he said to them: 'Now let us pray earnestly  
 to the Lord, because in this hour a sin unheard-of in  
 this world has been committed, for which the judicial  
 penalty must be very terrible'. And on the following  
 day, in answer to a few of the brothers who asked him  
 about that sin, he said: 'After a few months, that  
 unhappy fellow will arrive in the island of Io, accom-  
 panying Lugaid, who will know nothing of the matter'.

So one day, after some months had passed, the saint  
 gave an order to Diormit, and said: 'Rise quickly:  
 see, Lugaid is approaching. Tell him that he must  
 cast out upon the island of Male [Mull] the wretch  
 that he has with him in the ship, so that he may not  
 set foot upon the sod of this island'. Obeying the saint's

<sup>7</sup> crastino A; crastina B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> lugaido A B<sub>3</sub>; luga'ido B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> diormitium A; diormi'tium B<sub>1</sub>; diormicium B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> profatur A B<sub>3</sub>; prefatur B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>11</sup> lugaidus A B<sub>3</sub>; luga'dius B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> dicque A; Dic B<sub>1</sub>; Dicque B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> maleam A B<sub>3</sub>; ma'leam B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>14</sup> cispitem A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. ces- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.  
 The top lines of 27b and 26a in A are badly stained.

<sup>15</sup> lugaidoque A B<sub>3</sub>; luga'idoque B<sub>1</sub>

infelici viro verba. Quibus auditis ille infelix juravit numquam se cibum cum aliis accepturum nisi prius sanctum<sup>1</sup> videret Columbam eumque alloqueretur. Quae infelicis verba Diormitius<sup>2</sup> ad sanctum reversus retulit. Quibus conpertis sanctus ad portum perrexit. Baitheneoque<sup>3</sup> prolati sacrae scripturae testimoniis suggerenti ut miseri penitudo susciperetur sanctus consequenter inquit : ' Ó Baithenee,<sup>4</sup> hic homo fratricidium in modum perpetravit Caín,<sup>5</sup> et cum sua matre mechatus est'. Tum deinde miser in litore flexis genibus<sup>6</sup> leges penitentiae<sup>7</sup> expleturum se promisit, juxta sancti iudicationem. Cui sanctus ait : ' Si xii.<sup>8</sup> annis inter Brittones<sup>9</sup> cum fletu et lacrimis penitentiam<sup>10</sup> egeris, nec ad Scotiam | usque ad mortem reversus fueris, forsan deus peccato ignoscat tuo'. Haec dicens sanctus ad suos conversus<sup>11</sup> dicit<sup>12</sup> : ' Hic homo filius est perditionis, qui quam promisit penitentiam<sup>13</sup> non explebit sed mox ad Scotiam revertetur, ibique in brevi ab inimicis interficiendus peribit'. Quae omnia secundum<sup>14</sup> sancti profetiam ita contigerunt. Nam miser hisdem diebus ad Eberniam<sup>15</sup> reversus in regione quae vocitatur Lea<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sanctum A B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> diormitius A ; diormi'cius B<sub>1</sub> ; dormitius B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> Baitheneoque A B<sub>3</sub> ; Baithé'neoque B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>4</sup> baithenee A B<sub>3</sub> ; baithé'née B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> caín A B<sub>1</sub> ; cham B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> genibus. With this word, after three lost folios, B<sub>2</sub> begins again (see under 13b and 37a).

<sup>7</sup> penitentiae A ; the second *e* has later been altered to *i* with a long down-stroke made by a fine pen. -nit- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> xii A ; duo'decim B<sub>1</sub> ; duodecim B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> brittones A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; bri'ttones B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> penitentiam A ; the second *e* has been altered as above. -nit- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> conversus A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; reversus B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>12</sup> dicit A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; dixit B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>13</sup> penitentiam A ; the second *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a very fine down-stroke. -nit- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

command, Diormit went down to the sea and, when Lugaid came near, repeated to him all that the saint had said about the unhappy man. That unfortunate, hearing these things, swore that he would never take food with others until he had first seen Saint Columba, and spoken with him.

Diormit returned to the saint and reported to him these words of the unfortunate man. On learning them, the saint went down to the harbour ; and when Baithene suggested, quoting as evidence passages of holy scripture, that the wretch's penitence should be accepted, the saint said in reply : ' Baithene, this man has perpetrated fratricide, in the manner of Cain, and incest with his mother'.

Thereupon the wretch, kneeling on the shore, vowed that he would perform what the laws of penance required, according to the decision of the saint. And to him the saint replied : ' If you do penance among the Britons with wailing and weeping for twelve years, and do not return to Ireland until your death, perhaps God will condone your sin'. Saying this, the saint turned to his people and said : ' This man is a son of perdition ; he will not fulfil the penance that he has promised, but in a little while will return to Ireland, and will there shortly perish, killed by his enemies'.

All these things happened thus, in accordance with the saint's prophecy. For the wretch returned to Ireland about the same time, and in the district that

<sup>14</sup> secundum A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; secumdum B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> eberniam A ; a small *i* has later been written above the first *e*. hibe'rniam B<sub>1</sub> ; hiberniam B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> lea A, with a long over-dash ; lea' B<sub>1</sub> ; léa B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. There may have been a mark of length in the source of the B manuscripts.

Public  
Confession

✓

in manus incedens<sup>1</sup> inimicorum trucidatus est. Hic de nepotibus Turtrei<sup>2</sup> erat. .

De .I. vocali  
littera

QUADAM DIE BAITHENEUS<sup>3</sup> ad sanctum accedens ait : 'Necesse habeo ut aliquis de fratribus mecum psalterium quod scripsi percurrens emendet'.<sup>4</sup> Quo audito sanctus sic profatur : 'Cur hanc super nos infers sine causa molestiam?'<sup>5</sup> Nam in tuo hoc de quo dicis psalterio |  
28b nec una superflua repperietur littera nec alia deesse excepta .I. vocali quae sola deest'. Et sic<sup>6</sup> toto perlecto psalterio sicuti sanctus praedixerat repertum exploratum est.

De libro in aquarium<sup>7</sup> vas sanctus  
sicuti<sup>8</sup> praedixerat cadente

QUADAM ITIDEM die ad focum in monasterio<sup>9</sup> sedens videt Lugbeum<sup>10</sup> gente mocu-Min<sup>11</sup> eminus librum legentem. Cui repente ait : 'Praecave filii,<sup>12</sup> praecave. Estimo enim quod quem lectitas liber in aquae plenum sit cassurus<sup>13</sup> vasculum'. Quod mox ita contigit. Nam<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> incedens A ; -cid- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> turtrei A B2 B3, with three over-dashes in A ; turtre'i B1. The ui-Thuirtri were to the south of Lé ; to the west, and later to the north ; of Lough Neagh. They were a branch of the mocu-Uáis ; see Walsh 1921.

<sup>3</sup> baitheneus A B1 B3 ; baithenus B2

<sup>4</sup> emendet A B3 ; eme'ndet B1 ; emendat B2

<sup>5</sup> molestiam. After this word and above a medial point in the text hand, A has an added question-mark (not m.h.). B1 B2 B3 have question-marks.

<sup>6</sup> sic A ; sic B1 B3 ; sit B2

<sup>7</sup> aquarium A ; aqua'rium B1 ; aquarum B3 ?B2

<sup>8</sup> sanctus sicuti A B2 B3 ; sicuti sanctus B1

<sup>9</sup> monasterio. In this chapter, *monasterium* means the common house of the monastery. See p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> lugbeum A B2 B3 ; lugre'um B1

is called Lé he fell into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death. He was of the grandsons of Turtre.

[I 23] Of the  
vowel I

One day, Baithene went to the saint and said : ' I have need of one of the brothers, to run through and emend with me the psalter that I have written '. Hearing this, the saint spoke thus : ' Why do you impose this trouble upon us, without cause ? Since in this psalter of yours, of which you speak, neither will one letter be found to be superfluous, nor another to have been left out ; except a vowel I, which alone is missing '. And so, when the whole psalter had been read through, exactly what the saint had foretold was found to be confirmed.

[I 24] Concerning a book that fell into a  
ewer, as the saint had foretold

Similarly one day, while he sat beside the hearth in the monastery, he saw at a little distance Lugbe, of the family mocu-Min, reading a book. To him he suddenly said : ' Take care, my son, take care ! For I believe that the book you are studying is going to fall into a vessel full of water '.

<sup>11</sup> mocomin A B2, with three over-dashes in A ; mocumi'n B1 ; mocu-minn B3

<sup>12</sup> filii A B2 ; in A, the last i has later been erased. filii B1 B3

<sup>13</sup> cassurus A ; the first s has later been deleted, with a point above, and a point below. casurus B1 B2 B3

<sup>14</sup> Nam A B1 B2 ; Nam dum B3

ille supra memoratus juvenis post aliquod breve intervallum ad aliquam consurgens in monasterio ministrationem verbi oblitus beati viri, libellus quem sub ascella<sup>1</sup> negligentius<sup>2</sup> inclusit subito in ydriam<sup>3</sup> aqua repletam cecidit.<sup>4</sup> |

29a

De corniculo atramenti  
inaniter defusso<sup>5</sup>

ALIA INTER HAEC die ultra fretum Iovae insulae clamatum est. Quem sanctus sedens in tegoriolo<sup>6</sup> tabulis subfullo audiens clamorem dicit: 'Homo qui ultra clamitat fretum non est subtilis sensus; nam hodie mei corniculum atramenti inclinans effundet'. Quod verbum ejus ministrator Diormitius<sup>7</sup> audiens paulisper ante januam stans gravem<sup>8</sup> exspectabat superventurum hospitem, ut corniculum defenderet. Sed alia mox faciente causa inde recessit; et post ejus recessum hospes molestus supervenit,<sup>9</sup> sanctumque osculandum appetens<sup>10</sup> ora vestimenti inclinatum effudit atramenti corniculum. .

De alicujus adventu hospitis  
quem sanctus praenuntiavit.<sup>11</sup>

29b

ALIO ITIDEM TEMPORE sanctus die iii.<sup>12</sup> feriae fra|tribus sic profatus est: 'Crastina quarta feria jejunare pro-

<sup>1</sup> ascella A B2 B3; acella B1      <sup>2</sup> negligentius A; -lig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> ydriam A; fossam B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> cecidit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. ce'cidit B1; cecidit B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> defusso A; difuso B1; diffuso B2; defuso B3

<sup>6</sup> tegoriolo A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above *e*, and also above the first *o*. tuguri'olo B1; tuguriolo B2; tugurriolo B3. This was Columba's writing-hut, not his sleeping-place (*hospitium* or *hospitiolum*). See pp. 109-113.

<sup>7</sup> diormitius A; diormi'cius B1; diormicius B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> gravem A B1 B2; gravamen B3

And that presently happened. For the above-named youth, rising after a short time to perform some task in the monastery, forgot what the blessed man had said, and the book, which he had carelessly put under his arm, suddenly fell into a ewer full of water.

[I 25] Of a little ink-horn  
foolishly spilt

Further, on another day there was a shouting, beyond the strait of the island of Io. The saint, sitting in the hut that was supported on planks, heard the shouting, and said: 'The man who is shouting beyond the strait is not a man of delicate perceptions. Now today he will upset and empty the horn that holds my ink'. His attendant Diormit, hearing him say this, stood for a little while in front of the door, and awaited the arrival of the cumbersome guest, so as to protect the ink-horn; but presently some other matter caused him to withdraw from there, and after he had withdrawn the disturbing guest arrived. And, eagerly advancing to kiss the saint, he upset and emptied the horn of ink with the border of his garment.

[I 26] Concerning a guest's arrival  
that the saint foretold

Similarly at another time, on a third day of the week, the saint thus addressed the brothers: 'On the

<sup>9</sup> supervenit A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the second *e*. superve'nit B1

<sup>10</sup> appetens A B2 B3; in A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above the *a*. a'ppetens B1

<sup>11</sup> praenuntiavit A; -avit B1, altered to -avit ita; -avit B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> .iii. A (for *tertia*); an *ae*-symbol has been added by m.h. below the third *i*. terci<sup>e</sup> B1 B3. Missing in B2.

ponimus, sed tamen superveniente quodam molesto hospite consuetudinarium<sup>1</sup> solvetur jejunium'. Quod ita ut sancto<sup>2</sup> praeostensum est accedit.<sup>3</sup> Nam mane eadem iiiii.<sup>4</sup> feria alius ultra fretum clamitabat<sup>5</sup> proselytus Aidanus nomine, filius Fergnoi ;<sup>6</sup> qui ut fertur xii.<sup>7</sup> annis<sup>8</sup> Bre'ndeno<sup>9</sup> ministravit mocu-Altii<sup>10</sup> : vir valde relegiosus,<sup>11</sup> qui ut advenit ejusdem diei juxta verbum sancti jejunationem solvit.

De aliquo miserabili viro qui ultra  
supradictum clamitabat fretum

QUADAM QUOQUE DIE, quendam ultra fretum audiens clamitantem sanctus hoc profatur modo : ' Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta petiturus pertentia<sup>12</sup> ad nos venit. Cui oportunius erat veram de peccatis hodie penitendum gerere, nam in hujus fine ebdomadis | morietur'. Quod verbum qui inerant praesentes adveniendi<sup>13</sup> misero intimavere, sed ille parvipendens acceptis quae poposcerat citius recessit ; et secundum sancti profeticum verbum ante finem ejusdem septimanae<sup>14</sup> mortuus est.

<sup>1</sup> consuetudinarium A B2 ; consuetudina'rium B1 ; cos- B3. Wednesday was observed as a weekly fast in the Irish church.

<sup>2</sup> sancto A B2 B3 ; á sancto B1

<sup>3</sup> accedit A (for *accidit*) ; a small *i* has later been written with a fine pen above the *e*. a'ccidit B1 ; accidit B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> iiiii A ; a small *a* has been added (probably by m.h.). die .iiii.ta B1 ; quarta B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> clamitabat A B1 B3 ; clamabat B2

<sup>6</sup> Fergnoi A B2 B3 ; Fergnoi' B1

<sup>7</sup> xii A ; duodecim B1 B3 ; duodecm B2

<sup>8</sup> annis A ; annis B1 B3 ; anni B2

<sup>9</sup> br'endeno A ; brendeno B1 B2 B3. See 118a, and p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> mocualti A B1 B3 ; mucuanti B2

<sup>11</sup> relegiosus A ; -lig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> pertentia A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*. -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> adveniendi A B2 B3 ; adventanti B1

<sup>14</sup> septimanae. This probably means 'six days later' ; cf. 22b, and p. 119.

fourth day of the week, tomorrow, we propose to fast ; but nevertheless a disturbing guest will arrive, and the customary fast will be relaxed'.

This befell as it had been revealed to the saint beforehand. For on the same fourth day of the week, in the morning, another stranger shouted across the strait : a very religious man, by name Aidan, Fergno's son, who (it is said) for twelve years attended upon Brenden mocu-Altii. He, when he arrived, relaxed that day's fast, as the saint had said.

[I 27] Concerning a pitiable man who  
shouted beyond the above-mentioned strait

Also on a certain day the saint, hearing some one shouting beyond the strait, spoke in this manner : ' Much to be pitied is that man who is shouting and who has come to us to seek things suitable for physical remedies, when today the fitter thing for him was to occupy himself with true repentance for his sins. For in the end of this week he will die'.

Those who were there present made this saying known to the unfortunate man when he arrived ; but, thinking little of it, he took what he had asked for, and went away at once. And in accordance with the prophetic words of the saint, before the end of the same week he died.

De romani juris civitate igni sulfureo celitus  
prolapso conbusta sancti viri profetia

ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE Lugbeus gente moccu-Min,<sup>1</sup>  
cujus supra mentionem fecimus, quadam ad sanctum  
die<sup>2</sup> post frugum veniens triturationem<sup>3</sup> nullo modo  
ejus faciem intueri potuit miro superfussam<sup>4</sup> rubore ;  
valdeque pertimescens cito aufugit. Quem sanctus  
conplossis paulum<sup>5</sup> manibus revocat. Qui reversus a  
sancto statim interrogatus cur ocius aufugisset, hoc dedit  
responsum : ' Ideo fugi quia nimis pertimui '. Et post  
30b aliquod modicum intervallum fiducialius | agens audet  
sanctum interrogare, inquires : ' Num quid hac in hora  
tibi aliqua formidabilis ostensa visio est ? ' Cui sanctus  
talem dedit responsionem : ' Tam terrifica ultio nunc  
in remota orbis parte peracta est '. ' Qualis ' ait juvenis,  
' vindicta et in qua regione facta ? ' Sanctus tum sic  
profatur : ' Sulfurea de caelo flamma super romani  
juris civitatem<sup>6</sup> intra<sup>7</sup> Italiae terminos sitam hac hora<sup>8</sup>  
effusa est, triaque ferme milia virorum excepto matrum  
puerorumque numero disperierunt. Et antequam prae-  
sens finiatur annus gallici<sup>9</sup> nautae de Galliarum pro-  
vinciis adventantes haec eadem tibi enarrabunt '.

Quae verba post aliquot menses veridica fuisse sunt  
conprobata. Nam idem Lugbeus<sup>10</sup> simul cum<sup>11</sup> sancto

<sup>1</sup> moc|cumin A ; moccumi'n B<sub>1</sub> ; moccumin B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> quadam . . . die. Cf. *quadam die . . . autumnali tempore*, 54a.

<sup>3</sup> triturationem. The time of this story appears to be after the yearly  
threshing of the grain and before the end of the calendar year.

<sup>4</sup> superfussam A ; the first *s* has later been deleted with a point above.  
superfusam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> paulum A ; paululum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> civitatem. Adomnan gives no indication by which this city can be  
identified. With regard to the assumption of Notker Balbulus that the  
place was Citta Nuova in Istria, see Brüning 1917, p. 290.

<sup>7</sup> intra A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; in terra B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>8</sup> hac hora A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; hora hac B<sub>2</sub>

[I 28] The holy man's prophecy concerning a  
city of the Roman dominion, consumed by  
sulphurous fire that had fallen from heaven

Similarly at another time, on a day after the thresh-  
ing of the grain, Lugbe, of the family moccu-Min, whom  
we have mentioned above, going to the saint was quite  
unable to look upon his face, which was flushed with  
marvellous redness ; and becoming greatly afraid he  
quickly fled away. But the saint called him back by  
slight clapping of his hands. Returning, he was at  
once asked why he had run away so quickly, and he  
made this reply : ' I fled because I was much afraid '.  
And proceeding with greater confidence, after a slight  
pause, he took courage to question the saint, saying :  
' No fearful vision has been shown to you, has it, in  
this hour ? ' The saint gave him this answer : ' Very  
terrible retribution has just now been made, in a distant  
part of the world '. ' What kind of retribution ', said  
the youth, ' and in what country has it been made ? '  
Then the saint spoke thus : ' In this hour, sulphurous  
flame has been poured down from heaven upon a city  
of the Roman dominion within the borders of Italy ;  
close upon three thousand men, not counting the  
number of women and children, have perished, and  
before the present year is ended the Gallic sailors  
arriving from the provinces of Gaul will tell you the  
same '.

Which  
volcano?

After some months, these words were proved to  
have been correct. For this Lugbe went, along with

<sup>9</sup> gallici A B<sub>2</sub> ; ga'llici B<sub>1</sub> ; gallice B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> lugbeus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; lugbe'us B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>11</sup> cum. Before this word in A, there is a blank space of about seven  
letters. No sign of an erasure can be seen in the facsimiles.

31a viro ad | caput regionis<sup>1</sup> pergens, nauclerum et nautas adventantis<sup>2</sup> barcae interrogans, sic omnia illa<sup>3</sup> de civitate cum civibus ab eis audit<sup>4</sup> enarrata quemadmodum a praedicabili viro sunt praedicta. .

De Laisrano filio<sup>5</sup> Feradachi<sup>5</sup>  
beati visio viri. .

QUADAM BRUMALI et valde frigida die sanctus magno molestatus merore flevit. Quem suus ministrator Diormitius<sup>6</sup> de causa interrogans mestitiae hoc ab eo responsum accipit<sup>7</sup>: 'Non inmerito Ó filiole ego hac in hora contristor, meos videns monachos<sup>8</sup> quos Laisranus nunc gravi fatigatos labore in alicujus majoris domus<sup>9</sup> fabrica molestat. Quae mihi valde displicet'.<sup>10</sup> Mirum dictu, eodem momento horae Laisranus habitans in  
31b monasterio roboreti | campi quodam modo coactus, et quasi quadam pira intrinsecus succensus, jubet monachos<sup>11</sup> a labore cessare, aliquamque cibationum consulationem<sup>12</sup> praeparari; et non solum in eadem die otiari, sed et in ceteris asperae tempestatis diebus requiescere. Quae verba ad fratres consulatoria<sup>13</sup> a Laisrano dicta sanctus in spiritu audiens flere cessavit, et mirabiliter

<sup>1</sup> *caput regionis*. This is not the equivalent of O.I. *cenn thre* 'land's end'. But George Buchanan equated it with 'Kintyre', and the error was followed by other writers; cf. Watson 1926, p. 92. The *caput* of Argyll was probably Dun Add, in the times of Columba and of Adomnan. See pp. 39, 124.

<sup>2</sup> *adventantis* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; -tes B<sub>2</sub>. After this word in A there is a blank space of two or three letters, with no sign in the facsimiles of erasure.

<sup>3</sup> *illa* A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> *audit* A B<sub>3</sub>; *audivit* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *feradachi* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *ferdachi* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> *diormitius* A B<sub>2</sub>; *diormi'cius* B<sub>1</sub>; *diormicius* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> *accipit* A; *accepit* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> *monachos* A; a small *h* has been added by m.h. above *co.* *monachos* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

the holy man, to the chief place of the district; and he questioned the master and sailors of a ship that arrived, and heard those things about the city and its inhabitants related by them, all precisely as the memorable man had said before.

[I 29] Vision of the blessed man concerning  
Laisran, Feradach's son

On a very cold winter day the holy man was afflicted with great sorrow, and wept. His attendant, Diormit, questioned him about the cause of his sadness, and received from him this answer: 'Not without good cause, my son, do I grieve at this hour, when I see that Laisran is now harassing my monks in the construction of a large building, although they are exhausted with heavy labour; and it vexes me greatly'.

Strange to tell, at the same moment of time Laisran, whose abode was in the monastery of the plain of the oakwood [Durrow], being in some way impelled, and as if kindled with an inward fire, ordered that the monks should cease work; that some consolation of food should be prepared; and that they should not only take leisure on that day, but also rest on the remaining days of rough weather. The saint, hearing in the spirit these consolatory words spoken by Laisran to the brothers, ceased to weep; and wonderfully gladdened

<sup>9</sup> *domus*. This is not certainly the same building that is called *monasterium rotundum* and *magna domus* in 115ab.

<sup>10</sup> *displicet* A; -ent B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. If A's reading is right, *res* or *molestatio* must be understood.

<sup>11</sup> *monachos* A; *monachos* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; *monocho* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *consulationem* A; -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> *consulatoria* A; -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

gavisus ipse in Iova insula commanens<sup>1</sup> fratribus qui ad praesens inerant per omnia enarravit; et Laisranum monacorum<sup>2</sup> benedixit consulatorem. .<sup>3</sup>

De Fechno<sup>4</sup> sapiente<sup>5</sup> quomodo penitens  
ad sanctum Columbam, ab eodem  
praenuntiatus, venit

32a ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus in cacumine sedens montis<sup>6</sup> qui nostro huic monasterio eminus supereminet ad suum ministratorem Diormitium<sup>7</sup> conversus profatus est,<sup>8</sup> dicens: 'Miror<sup>9</sup> quare tardius | appropinquat quaedam de Scotia navis, quae quendam advehit sapientem virum qui in quodam facinore lapsus lacrimosam gerens penitudinem mox adveniet'. Post proinde haut<sup>10</sup> grande intervallum ad austrum prospiciens minister velum navis videt ad portum propinquantis. Quam cum sancto adventantem demonstraret cito surgit,<sup>11</sup> inquires: 'Eamus proselyto obviam cujus veram Christus suscipit penitentiam'.<sup>12</sup>

At vero Feachnaus<sup>13</sup> de navi descendens<sup>14</sup> sancto ad portum pervenienti obvius occurrit. Cum fletu et lamento ante pedes ejus ingeniculans flexis genibus amarissime ingemuit; et coram omnibus qui ibidem inerant peccantias<sup>15</sup> confitetur suas. Sanctus tum cum eo pariter inlacrimatus ad eum ait: 'Surge filii<sup>16</sup> et

<sup>1</sup> commanens A B<sub>2</sub>; co'mmanens B<sub>1</sub>; commonens B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> monacorum A; monachorum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; monachum B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>3</sup> consulatorem A; -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>      <sup>4</sup> fechno A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; fectno B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> sapiente A; sapiente viro B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> montis. This was probably the hill called Cnoc Mòr, which overlooks the village and modern harbours of Iona, and is visible from almost the whole of the monastic enclosure, at a distance of less than half a mile.

<sup>7</sup> diormitium A B<sub>2</sub>; diormitium B<sub>1</sub>; diormicium B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> profatus est A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; profatur B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> miror A; Miror B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; Miro B<sub>2</sub>

he, being in the island of Io, repeated them in full to the brothers who were with him at the time. And he blessed Laisran as the consoler of the monks.

[I 30] Concerning Féchna, a wise man; how he came as a penitent to Saint Columba, by whom his coming was foretold

At another time, the saint was sitting on the top of the hill that at a little distance overlooks this monastery of ours; and turning to his attendant Diormit he spoke, saying: 'I wonder why a certain ship from Ireland approaches so slowly. It brings a wise man who has become guilty of a misdeed, and who will soon arrive, in tearful repentance'.

After a short interval the attendant, looking out to the south, saw the sail of a ship that was approaching the harbour. When he pointed out to the saint that the ship was coming in, Columba rose quickly, saying: 'Let us go to meet the new-comer, whose true repentance Christ accepts'.

When the saint reached the harbour, Féchna stepped down from the ship and ran to meet him. Kneeling before his feet, he groaned bitterly, with weeping and lamentation, on bended knees; and confessed his sins before all those that were present. Then the saint, as much in tears as he, said to him: 'Rise, my son, and

public  
confession

<sup>10</sup> haut A; aut B<sub>1</sub>; haud B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> surgit A; surge B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> penitentiam A; penit- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> feachnaus A; fechna'nus B<sub>1</sub>; fechnaus B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> descendens A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> peccantias A; culpas B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> filii A; the third *i* has later been deleted with a point below made with a fine pen. fili B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>



consulare.<sup>1</sup> Dimisa sunt tua quae commisisti peccamina. Quia sicut scriptum est : | "Cor contritum et humiliatum deus non spernit".<sup>2</sup> Qui surgens gaudenter a sancto susceptus ad Baitheneum<sup>3</sup> tunc temporis in campo Lunge<sup>4</sup> praepositum<sup>5</sup> commorantem post aliquot est emisus<sup>6</sup> dies, in pace commigrans.<sup>7</sup>

De Caitano ejus monacho  
sancti<sup>8</sup> profetatio viri.

ALIO IN TEMPORE binos mittens<sup>9</sup> monachos ad suum alium monachum nomine Caitanum,<sup>10</sup> qui eodem tempore praepositus<sup>11</sup> erat in cella quae hodieque ejus fratris Diuni<sup>12</sup> vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adherens Abæ<sup>13</sup> fluminis, haec per eosdem nuntios sanctus commendat verba : 'Cito euntes ad Caitanum properate, dicitoteque ei ut ad me sine ulla veniat morula'. Qui verbo<sup>14</sup> sancti obsequuti exeuntes et ad cellam Diuni<sup>15</sup> pervenientes suae legatiunculae qualitatem | Caitano intimaverunt. Qui eadem hora nullo demoratus modo sancti prosequutus legatos ad eum in Iova insula<sup>16</sup> commorantem eorum itineris<sup>17</sup> comes celeriter pervenit.

<sup>1</sup> consulare A ; -sol- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> *Cor to spernit*, in A, is based upon the Vulgate, Ps. l. 19. B1 B3 have : *deus contritum non spernit et humiliatum cor* ; and similarly B2, with *aspernit* for *spernit*. The reading of the B version is in Adomnan's style, and the reading of A may have been assimilated to the text of the Vulgate.

<sup>3</sup> baitheneum A B2 B3 ; baithe'neum B1

<sup>4</sup> *campus lunge*, for Irish *mag lunge* 'field of ship', was the place in Tiree of a monastery (subject to Iona) to which penitents were sent ; cf. 88b and p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> praepos[is]itum A ; the first s has later been erased. prepo'situm B1 ; prepositum B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> emisus A ; a small s has been written by m.h. above the first s. emissus B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> *commigrans*. Cf. *ad dominum commigravit*, 115a.

<sup>8</sup> sancti A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>9</sup> mittens A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

be comforted. Your sins that you have committed have been forgiven, because as it is written : "A contrite and a humbled heart God does not despise". And Féchna rising was joyfully received by the saint. After some days he was sent to Baithene, who lived at that time as prior in the plain of Long ; and he went in peace.

[I 31] The holy man's prophecy  
concerning his monk Caitan

At another time the holy man sent two monks to another of his monks, by name Caitan, who was at that time prior in the monastery that even today is called by the name of his brother, Diún, beside the lake of the river Aub [Awe] ; and by the same messengers he sent these words : 'Go quickly, hasten to Caitan, and bid him come to me without any delay'. Obeying the saint's word they set out, and arrived at the monastery of Diún, and communicated to Caitan the nature of their mission. In the same hour, without lingering in any way, he accompanied the envoys of the saint, and as companion of their journey speedily reached

<sup>10</sup> caitanum A B3 ; cailta'num B1 ; jnum B2

<sup>11</sup> praepositus A ; the first s has later been erased. prepositus B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>12</sup> diuni A B3, with two over-dashes in A ; divini B1 ; dium B2. The over-dashes in A show that the writer believed this to be an Irish name, not the Latin Divinus. See p. 136. The place of *cella Diuni* is unknown.

<sup>13</sup> abæ A, with two over-dashes ; abae B1 B3 ; ab æ B2. See p. 148. *Aub*, 'river' or 'water', is here the name given to the notable river that flows from Loch Awe to Loch Etive and the sea.

<sup>14</sup> verbo A ; verba B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> diuni A B3 ; di'uni B1 ; jini B2 (Reeves read in B2 *ionunini*).

<sup>16</sup> iova insula A B2 ; iovam insulam B1 ; iona insula B3

<sup>17</sup> itineris A ; iti'neris B1 ; itineris B2 B3

Quo viso sanctus ad eum taliter loquutus hīs conpellat verbis : ' Ó Cailtane, bene fecisti ad me oboedienter festinando ; requiesce paulisper. Idcirco ad te invitandum misi, amans amicum, ut hīc mecum in vera finias oboedientia vitae cursum tuae. Nam ante hujus ebdomadis finem ad dominum<sup>1</sup> in pace transibis'. Quibus auditis gratias agens deo sanctumque lacrimans exosculatus ad hospitium accepta ab eo benedictione pergit. Eademque subsequuta infirmatus nocte juxta verbum sancti in eadem septimana ad Christum dominum emigravit.

De duobus perigrinis<sup>2</sup> fratribus  
sancti provida<sup>3</sup> profetatio viri |

33b QUADAM DOMINICA die ultra sepe memoratum clamatum est fretum. Quem audiens sanctus clamorem ad fratres qui ibidem inerant, 'Ite' ait, 'celeriter ; perigrinosque<sup>4</sup> de lonquinqua<sup>5</sup> venientes regione ad nos ocius adducite'. Qui continuo obsequuti transfretantes adduxerunt hospites. Quos sanctus exosculatos<sup>6</sup> consequenter de causa percunctatur iteris.<sup>7</sup> Qui respondententes aiunt : 'Ut hoc etiam anno apud té perigrinemur<sup>8</sup> venimus'.<sup>9</sup> Quibus sanctus hanc dedit respensionem : 'Apud me ut dicitis anni unius spatio perigrinari<sup>10</sup> non

<sup>1</sup> dominum A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> perigrinis A ; peregrinis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> provida A B<sub>3</sub> ; pro'vida B<sub>1</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> perigrinosque A ; -reg- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> lonquinqua A ; longinqua B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> exosculatos A ; exosculatus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> iteris A ; iti'neris B<sub>1</sub> ; itineris B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> perigrinemur A ; -reg- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>9</sup> venimus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; in A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above the e. ve'nimus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> perigrinari A ; -reg- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

him in the island of Io. The saint, when he saw him, thus addressed him, speaking to him in these words : ' You have done well, Cailtan, in hastening to me obediently. Rest for a little. As one that loves his friend, I have sent to invite you, so that here with me in true obedience you may end the course of your life ; for before the end of this week you will pass to the Lord in peace'.

Cailtan, hearing this, rendered thanks to God ; and weeping he kissed the saint, and after he had received his blessing went to the guest-house. He fell ill on that same following night, and in accordance with the saint's word he departed to Christ the Lord within the same week.

[I 32] The holy man's prophetic foresight,  
concerning two brothers who were pilgrims

On one Lord's-day, there was a shout on the other side of the often-mentioned strait. The saint heard the cry, and said to the brothers that were present with him : ' Make haste, and bring to us quickly the pilgrims, who come from a district far away'. They obeyed at once, crossed over, and brought the guests. After kissing the guests, the saint then questioned them about the motive of their journey. They said in reply : ' We have come, to be pilgrims in your monastery for this year'. To them the saint gave this answer : ' You cannot remain in pilgrimage with me for the space of

poteritis, nisi prius monacicum<sup>1</sup> promiseritis votum<sup>2</sup>.  
 Quod qui inerant praesentes valde mirati sunt ad  
 hospites eadem hora adventantes<sup>3</sup> dici. Ad quae sancti  
 verba senior respondens frater ait: 'Hoc in mente  
 34a propositum<sup>4</sup> licet | in hanc horam usque nullatenus  
 habuerimus, tamen tuum sequemur consilium divinitus  
 ut credimus inspiratum'.

Quid plura? Eodem horae momento oratorium  
 cum sancto ingressi devote flexis genibus votum  
 monachiale<sup>5</sup> voverunt. Sanctus tum deinde ad fratres  
 conversus ait: 'Hi duo proselyti vivam deo se ipsos  
 exhibentes hostiam, longaue in brevi christianae tem-  
 pora militiae complentes,<sup>6</sup> hoc mox eodem mense ad  
 Christum dominum in pace<sup>7</sup> transibunt'. Quibus  
 auditis ambo fratres gratias deo agentes ad hospitium  
 deducti sunt. Interjectisque diebus septem senior frater  
 coepit infirmari. Et eadem peracta septimana ad  
 dominum emigravit. Similiter et alter post septem alios  
 dies infirmatus, ejusdem in fine ebdomadis ad dominum  
 34b feliciter transit.<sup>8</sup> Et | sic secundum sancti veridicam  
 profetiam intra ejusdem mensis terminum ambo prae-  
 sentem finiunt vitam. .

<sup>1</sup> monacicum A; a small *ch* has been written by m.h. above the *i*.  
 -na'ch- B1; -nach- B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> *votum*. See p. 118. Opposite this word, in the outer margin of A, a  
 plus-sign with four dots has been written, apparently in modern times.

<sup>3</sup> adventantes A B1 B2; adventates B3

<sup>4</sup> propositum A; the first *s* has later been erased. propositum B1  
 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> monachiale A; monachi'le B1; monachile B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> *complentes*. There is some doubt here whether the meaning is 'crown-  
 ing in a short space long years of Christian service', or 'comprising in  
 a short space the equivalent of many years of Christian service'.

<sup>7</sup> in pace A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

<sup>8</sup> transit A; tra'nsiit B1; transiit B2 B3

one year, as you say, unless first you take the monastic  
 vow'. Those that were present there marvelled greatly  
 that this was said to guests who had arrived in that  
 very hour. The elder brother, in answer to these  
 words of the saint, said: 'Although until this hour  
 we have not at all had this purpose in mind, yet we  
 shall follow your counsel which, we believe, is divinely  
 inspired'.

Why say more? At that same moment they entered  
 the oratory with the saint, and on bended knees devoutly  
 took the monastic vow. Thereupon the saint turned  
 to his monks and said: 'These two strangers, offering  
 themselves as a living sacrifice to God, and consum-  
 mating in a short space long years of service as soldiers  
 of Christ, presently within this same month will depart  
 in peace to Christ the Lord'.

When they heard this, the two brothers gave thanks  
 to God, and were conducted to the guest-house. After  
 an interval of seven days, the elder brother fell ill, and  
 after that week was completed he departed to the  
 Lord. Similarly also the other fell ill after another  
 seven days, and in the end of that week passed happily  
 to the Lord. And so according to the saint's true  
 prophecy, they both ended this life within the space of  
 that same month.

De quodam Artbrano<sup>1</sup>  
sancti profetia viri

CUM<sup>2</sup> PER ALIQUOT dies in insula demoraretur Scia,<sup>3</sup>  
vir beatus alicujus loci<sup>4</sup> terrulam mari vicinam baculo  
percutiens ad comites sic ait: 'Mirum dictu Ó filioli  
hodie in hac hujus loci terrula quidam gentilis senex,  
naturale per totam bonum custodiens vitam, et bap-  
tizabitur et morietur et sepelietur'. Et ecce quasi post  
unius intervallum horae navicula ad eundem super-  
venit<sup>5</sup> portum, cujus in prora quidam advectus est  
decrepatus senex, Geonae primarius<sup>6</sup> cohortis; quem  
35a viri deponunt. | Qui statim verbo dei a sancto per inter-  
praetem recepto credens ab eodem baptizatus est. Et  
post expleta bapuzationis ministeria<sup>7</sup> sicuti sanctus  
profetizavit eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque  
socii congesto<sup>8</sup> lapidum acervo sepeliunt. Qui hodieque  
in ora cernitur maritima. Fluiusque<sup>9</sup> ejusdem loci in  
quo idem baptisma acciperat<sup>10</sup> ex nomine ejus dobur<sup>11</sup>  
Artbrani<sup>12</sup> usque in hodiernum nominatus est<sup>13</sup> diem  
ab acculis<sup>14</sup> vocitatur. .

<sup>1</sup> artbrano A B2 B3; artbrano B1.

<sup>2</sup> Cum A B1 B3; Aum B2, a mistake of the decorator.

<sup>3</sup> scia A B2 B3; sci'a B1. See p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> loci. Here and below, locus is probably used in the sense of O.I. bale 'place', later very often found as the first element in the name of a dwelling among cultivated lands.

<sup>5</sup> supervenit A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the second e. superpe'rvenit B1

<sup>6</sup> geonae primarius A; primarius ge'one B1; primarius geone B2 B3. This 'cohort' seems to have been some defensive band or military confraternity. Its place (?Geon), perhaps an island, is unknown.

<sup>7</sup> ministeria A; misteria B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> congesto A B1 B2; congestu B3

<sup>9</sup> Fluiusque A B2; Fluvius B1; Fluviusque B3

<sup>10</sup> acciperat A; the i has been altered by m.h. to e. acce'perat B1; acceperat B2 B3

[I 33] The holy man's prophecy  
concerning a certain Artbrano

When the blessed man was spending some days in the island of Sci [Skye], in a certain place he struck with his staff a plot of ground beside the sea, and spoke thus to those that accompanied him: 'My children, strange to tell, today in this place, on this plot of ground, a certain pagan old man, who has preserved natural goodness throughout his whole life, will be baptized, and will die, and will be buried'. And behold, after the space of about one hour, a little ship came to land at that harbourage, and in its prow was carried a feeble old man, the leader of the cohort of Geon (?). Two young men lifted him from the ship, and set him down in front of the blessed man. And as soon as he had, through an interpreter, received the word of God from the saint, he believed, and was baptized by him. And after the rites of baptism had been performed, he presently died in that place, as the saint had prophesied, and there his companions buried him, building a cairn of stones. It can still be seen today upon the sea-coast. And the stream of that place, in which he received baptism, down to the present day named after his name, is called by the people of the district 'dobur of Artbrano'.

possible to  
live w/o  
sin even as  
pagan

<sup>11</sup> dobur A, with two over-dashes; dobur B1 B2 B3. This was an O.I. word for 'water'.

<sup>12</sup> artbrani A B2 B3; artbrani B1. His name was not originally Irish, since Columba needed to speak to him through an interpreter. See p. 158.

<sup>13</sup> nominatus est A; nominatus B1 B2 B3. The est in A has later been deleted, with three dots above, and with a horizontal line through, the letters; both deletions are made with a very fine pen. The word may not have been in A's exemplar. It is redundant.

<sup>14</sup> acculis A; the u has later been altered to o by bridging. -col- B1 B2 B3

De navicula<sup>1</sup> noctu<sup>2</sup> transmotata<sup>3</sup>  
sancto praecipiente

ALIO IN TEMPORE trans Britanniae<sup>4</sup> dorsum iter agens aliquo in desertis viculo agellis reperto ibidem juxta alicujus marginem rivoli<sup>5</sup> stagnum<sup>6</sup> intrantis sanctus  
35b mansionem faciens, eadem nocte dormientes semi|sopore degustato suscitatur comites, dicens: 'Nunc nunc celerius<sup>7</sup> foras exeuntes nostram quam ultra rivum naviculam possuistis<sup>8</sup> in domu<sup>9</sup> huc citius advehite, et in viciniore domucula<sup>10</sup> ponite'. Qui contenuo<sup>11</sup> oboedientes sicut eis<sup>12</sup> praeceptum est fecerunt. Ipsisque iterum quiescentibus sanctus post quoddam intervallum silenter Diormitium<sup>13</sup> pulsatur, inquiens: 'Nunc stans extra domum aspice quid in illo agitur viculo, ubi prius vestram possuistis naviculam'. Qui sancti praecepto obsequutus domum egreditur, et respiciens videt<sup>14</sup> vicum flamma vastante totum concremari; reversusque ad sanctum quod ibidem agebatur retulit. Sanctus proinde fratribus de quodam narravit<sup>15</sup> emulo persecutore, qui easdem domus<sup>16</sup> eadem incenderat<sup>17</sup> nocte. .

<sup>1</sup> navicula A B<sub>3</sub>; navi'cula B<sub>1</sub>; naviculi B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> noctu A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> transmotata A; -mut- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> britanniae A; britta'nnie B<sub>1</sub>; brittannie B<sub>2</sub>; britannie B<sub>3</sub>. *Dorsum Britanniae* was a Latin rendering of O.I. *druim nAlpan* 'spine of Britain', strictly the watershed. See p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> rivoli A; rivuli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> *stagnum*. This was Loch Lochy, the lake of the river Lochy (*stagnum löch dae*, 5b). See 85a and pp. 142, 150.

<sup>7</sup> celerius A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; scelerrus B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>8</sup> possuistis A; the first *s* has later been erased. posu- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> domu A; a bar-sign (tilde) has been added by m.h. above *u*. domo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Reeves read *domum*, but the tilde is never used by the writer of A for *m*.

<sup>10</sup> domucula A; domu'ncula B<sub>1</sub>; domuncula B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> contenuo A; the *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a long down stroke made with a fine pen. -tin- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

[I 34] Concerning a boat transferred from  
one place to another by night, at the  
command of the saint

At another time, the saint, on a journey across the spine of Britain, finding a hamlet among deserted fields, made his lodging there beside the bank of a stream that flowed into a lake. In the same night, when his companions were slumbering, and had tasted their first sleep, he roused them, saying: 'Go out now, go quickly, and bring hither at once our boat that you left in a house beyond the stream; and place it in a nearer hut'. They obeyed at once, and did as they were bidden. And when they were again at rest, after some little time the saint silently touched Diormit, saying: 'Now stand outside the house, and see what is happening in the hamlet where first you put your boat'. Obeying the saint's command, he left the house, looked back, and saw that the whole village was being consumed with devastating flame. He returned to the saint, and reported what was happening there. Thereupon the saint gave the brothers an account of a certain hostile pursuer who had set fire to those houses on that night.

<sup>12</sup> eis A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> diormitium A B<sub>2</sub>; diormi'cium B<sub>1</sub>; diormicum B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> videt A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; vidit B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> narravit A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; narrante B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>16</sup> domus A; domos B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>17</sup> incenderat A B<sub>2</sub>; ince'nderat B<sub>1</sub>; incenderet B<sub>3</sub>

De Gallano filio Fachtne<sup>1</sup> qui erat  
in diocisi<sup>2</sup> Colgion<sup>3</sup> filii Cellaig<sup>4</sup> |

36a QUADAM ITIDEM die sanctus in suo sedens tegoriolo<sup>5</sup>  
Colcio<sup>6</sup> eidem lectitanti juxta sé profetizans ait : ' Nunc  
unum tenacem primarium de tuae praepositis<sup>7</sup> dio-  
ciseos<sup>8</sup> daemones ad inferna rapiunt '. At vero hoc  
audiens Colcius<sup>9</sup> tempus et horam in tabula describens,<sup>10</sup>  
post aliquot menses ad patriam reversus Gallanum<sup>11</sup>  
filium Fachtne<sup>12</sup> eodem horae momento<sup>13</sup> obiisse<sup>14</sup> ab  
acculis<sup>15</sup> ejusdem regionis percunctatus invenit, quo vir  
beatus eidem<sup>16</sup> a demonibus raptum enarravit. .

<sup>17</sup> Beati profetatio viri<sup>18</sup> de Findchano<sup>19</sup>  
prespitero illius monasterii fundatore quod  
scotice Artchain<sup>20</sup> nuncupatur in Ethica<sup>21</sup>  
terra. .

ALIO IN TEMPORE supra memoratus prespiter Find-  
chanus, Christi miles, Aidum<sup>22</sup> cognomento Nigrum,  
36b regio genere ortum, Cruthanicum<sup>23</sup> gente, de | Scotia ad

<sup>1</sup> fachtne A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; fachtne B<sub>2</sub>. This Fachtne could have been, but is not known to have been, the same man as the Fachtne, Coilbath's son, who was, according to the list in L.L. 41c, king of Dal-nAridi, and whose successor, his nephew Eochu, Conlaid's son, died in A.D. 553. Eochu was king also of the Ulaid, and was the eponym of the ui-Echach of Ulaid. He was followed (according to the same list) as king of Dal-nAridi by Aid Brecc, who was killed in 563; see p. 74. Adomnan's story implies that Gallan was a notable layman, and that his district was well known.

<sup>2</sup> diocisi A; dio'cesi B<sub>1</sub>; diocesi B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. This is the Greek *diokēsis*, 'administration' or province. Its synonym below is *regio*; it was Colcu's home-land (*patria*). The chapter implies that Colcu was still a student (*lectitans*, 36a). Cf. 115a, 58b.

<sup>3</sup> Colgion. See p. 148. The death of 'Colgu Cellach's son' is placed by A.U. under 621=622. <sup>4</sup> cellaig A; kallachi B<sub>1</sub>; cellachi B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> tegoriolo A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above *e*, and also above the first *o*. tuguri'olo B<sub>1</sub>; tuguriolo B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> colcio A; colgi'o B<sub>1</sub>; colgio B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> praepositis A; the first *s* has later been erased. prepositis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

[I 35] Concerning Gallan, Fachtne's son, who  
was in the district of Colcu, Cellach's son

On a certain day the saint, sitting in his hut, said prophetically to this Colcu, who was studying beside him: 'Now demons are dragging to hell one grasping leader from among the chief men of your district'. When he heard this, Colcu wrote down the date and hour, on a tablet. And returning to his country after some months, he learned by questioning, from people of the district, that Gallan, Fachtne's son, had died in the same hour in which the blessed man had told him of the seizure by demons.

[I 36] The blessed man's prophecy concerning  
the priest Findchan, founder of the monastery  
that is in Irish called *Artchain*, in the land of  
Eth [Tiree]

At another time, the above-mentioned priest Find-  
chan, a soldier of Christ, brought with him in clerical  
garb, from Ireland to Britain, Aid, surnamed the Black,

<sup>8</sup> diociseos A; a small *e* has been written faintly by m.h. over the second *i*. diocē'seos B<sub>1</sub>; diocese'os B<sub>2</sub>; dioceseos B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> colcius A; col'gius B<sub>1</sub>; colgius B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> describens A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> gallanum A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; galla'num B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> fachtne A, with two over-dashes; fachtne B<sub>1</sub>; factne B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> horae momento. See p. 123.

<sup>14</sup> obiisse A; obisse B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> acculis A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. accolis  
B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> eidem. In B<sub>1</sub> this has been altered to *eisdem* but not by the text hand.

<sup>17</sup> This chapter (I 36) is not mentioned in the contents list, 6a.

<sup>18</sup> Beati profetatio viri A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>19</sup> findchano A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; findca'no B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>20</sup> artchain A, with two over-dashes; ardca'iin B<sub>1</sub>; ardehaiin B<sub>2</sub>; ardca'iin B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>21</sup> ethica A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; e'thica B<sub>1</sub> <sup>22</sup> aidum A B<sub>3</sub>; a'idum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>23</sup> cruthanicum A B<sub>3</sub>; cruithi'nicum B<sub>1</sub>; crutinium B<sub>2</sub>. See p. 63.

Aedh  
Dubh

Brittanniam<sup>1</sup> sub clericatus<sup>2</sup> habitu secum adduxit, ut in suo apud sé monasterio per aliquot perigrinaretur<sup>3</sup> annos. Qui scilicet Aidus<sup>4</sup> Niger valde sanguinarius homo et multorum fuerat trucidator. Qui et Diormitium<sup>5</sup> filium Cerbulis<sup>6</sup> totius Scotiae regnatorem deo auctore ordinatum interfecerat.<sup>7</sup> Hic itaque idem Aidus<sup>8</sup> post aliquantum in perigrinatione<sup>9</sup> transactum tempus accito episcopo quamvis non recte apud supradictum Findchanum<sup>10</sup> prespiter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput ejus manum inponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus<sup>11</sup> Aidum carnaliter amans suam<sup>12</sup> capiti ejus pro confirmatione inponeret  
37a dexteram. Quae talis ordi|natio cum postea sancto intimaretur<sup>13</sup> viro egre tulit. Tum proinde hanc de illo Findchano et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquires : ' Illa manus dextera, quam Findchanus contra fas et jus ecclesiasticum<sup>14</sup> super caput filii perditionis inpossuit,<sup>15</sup> mox conputrescet et post magnos dolorum cruciatus ipsum in terram sepelienda<sup>16</sup> praecedet.<sup>17</sup> Et ipse post suam humatam manum per multos superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus vero indebete<sup>18</sup> Aidus<sup>19</sup> sicuti canis ad vomitum revertetur suum. Et ipse rursum sanguilentus<sup>20</sup> trucidator existet, et ad

<sup>1</sup> brittanniam A B1 B2 ; britanniam B3

<sup>2</sup> clericatus A B1 B2 ; claricatus B3

<sup>3</sup> perigrinaretur A ; pegrinaretur B1 ; peregrinaretur B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> aidus A B2 B3 ; a'idus B1

<sup>5</sup> diormitium A B1 B2 ; diormicium B3

<sup>6</sup> cerbulis A B1 B3 ; cerbubulis B2. See p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> interfecerat A ; the second *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -fe'c- B1 ; -fec- B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> aidus A B2 B3 ; a'idus B1      <sup>9</sup> perigrinatione A ; -reg- B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> findchanum A B3 ; findca'num B1 ; findcanum B2

<sup>11</sup> findchanus A B2 B3 ; findcha'nus B1

<sup>12</sup> suam A B1 B3 ; suas B2

<sup>13</sup> intimaretur. After this word, three folios of B2 are missing. See under 13b, 50b.

Cruithnian by race, and of royal lineage ; intending that he should for some years be a pilgrim with him in his monastery. This Aid the Black had been a very bloody man, and a slayer of many men ; he had also killed Diormit, Cerball's son, who had been ordained, by God's will, as the ruler of all Ireland. This same Aid, then, after passing some time in pilgrimage, was ordained as priest, although not rightly, in the above-mentioned Findchan's monastery, a bishop being summoned for the purpose. But the bishop dared not lay his hand upon Aid's head, until first Findchan (whose love for Aid was earthly) laid his right hand upon Aid's head, for confirmation.

When the ordination thus made was afterwards reported to the holy man, he was much displeased. Thereupon he pronounced the following terrible sentence upon that Findchan, and upon the Aid who had been ordained, saying : ' That right hand which, contrary to divine law and the law of the church, Findchan has laid upon the head of a son of perdition will presently rot, and after torments of great pain will precede him into the earth in burial ; and surviving after his hand has been buried he will live for many years. And Aid, unworthily ordained, will return like a dog to his vomit, and he will again be a bloody killer,

<sup>14</sup> ecclesiasticum. In A, the letters *um* are superscript, above a vacant space, from which apparently *a* has been erased.

<sup>15</sup> inpossuit A ; the first *s* has later been deleted with a point below made with a fine pen. impo'suit B1 ; imposuit B3

<sup>16</sup> sepelienda. In A, a bar-sign has been added later above *a*, probably by m.h., wrongly supplying *m*.

<sup>17</sup> praecedet A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*. precedet B1, altered by the text-hand to *preci'det* ; precedet B3

<sup>18</sup> indebete A ; -ite B1 B3

<sup>19</sup> aidus A B3 ; a'idus B1

<sup>20</sup> sanguilentus A B3 ; sangui'nolentus B1

Diarmait  
died  
triple  
death?

Head  
buried @  
Findchan -  
Nic-  
Nois

Body @  
batterfield

ultimum lancea jugul[a]tus<sup>1</sup> de ligno in aquam cadens submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum  
37b promeruit vitae, qui totius | regem trucidavit Scotiae<sup>2</sup>.

Quae beati viri profetia de utroque adimpleta est. Nam prespiteri Findchani dexter prae pugnus<sup>3</sup> putrefactus in terram eum praecessit, in illa sepultus insula quae Ommon<sup>4</sup> nuncupatur. Ipse vero juxta verbum sancti Columbae per multos post vixit annos. Aidus<sup>5</sup> vero Niger, solummodo nomine prespiter, ad sua priora reversus scelera dolo lancea transfixus de prora ratis<sup>6</sup> in aquam lapsus stagnem disperiit. .

<sup>6</sup> De quodam sancti solamine spiritus monacis in via laboriosis miso<sup>7</sup>

INTER HAS praedicabiles profetici spiritus profetationes non ab re<sup>8</sup> videtur etiam de quadam spiritali<sup>9</sup> consulatione<sup>10</sup> nostris commemorare literulis quam aliquando sancti Columbae monaci<sup>11</sup> spiritu ejus ipsis in via obviantem sentiebant. .

38a Alio namque in tempore | fratres post mesionis<sup>12</sup> opera vespere ad monasterium redeuntes, et ad illum pervenientes<sup>13</sup> locum qui scotice nuncupatur Cuul Eilne,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> jugulentus A ; a small *a* has been written by m.h. above *e*, and *n* has been deleted with a dot below. -latus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> p̄pugnus A B<sub>1</sub> ; prepugnus B<sub>3</sub>. Here *p̄* is wrongly rendered as *per* by Reeves and in Thesaurus 1903, p. 276. It was the regular Irish symbol for *prae*.

<sup>3</sup> ommon A, with two over-dashes ; omon B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. This island is unidentified.

<sup>4</sup> Aidus A B<sub>3</sub> ; A'idus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *ratis*, primarily a raft of logs, is here used metonymically for a ship, with a wooden stem (cf. *ligno*, 37a). In A.U., 587=588, Aid is said to have been killed 'in a ship' (*i luing*). See p. 75. Cf. Kenneth Jackson, in *Féiligríbhinn* 1940, p. 536.

<sup>6</sup> This double chapter (I 37) is not mentioned in the contents-list, 6a.

<sup>7</sup> miso A ; misso B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> abre A B<sub>1</sub> ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *e*. ab re B<sub>3</sub>

and at last, pierced with a spear, will fall from wood into water, and die by drowning. He has deserved such an end much sooner, who has slaughtered the king of all Ireland<sup>2</sup>.

This prophecy of the blessed man was fulfilled in regard to them both. For the right hand of the priest Findchan decayed first, and preceded him into the earth, being buried in the island that is called Ommon. But he himself, according to the word of Saint Columba, lived for many years afterwards. And Aid the Black, priest only in name, returned to his former evil deeds, and, pierced with a spear by treachery, fell from the prow of a ship, into the water of a lake, and perished.

[I 37] Concerning a certain relief by the holy man's spirit, sent to labouring monks upon the way

Among these memorable revelations of the prophetic spirit, it seems not out of place to record also in our pages a certain spiritual refreshment once felt by monks of Saint Columba when his spirit met them on the way.

For at one time, returning towards the monastery in the evening after their work on the harvest, when they came to the place that is in Irish called *Cuul-Eilne*

<sup>9</sup> spiritali A ; spirituali B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> consulatione A ; -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> monaci A ; a small *h* has been added by m.h. above *ci*. monachi B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> mesionis A ; the *o* has been altered from a round *s* by erasure of the lower part of the *s*, apparently by the text-hand at the time of writing ; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *si*. messionis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. After this word, in A, three or four letters, probably *tem*, have been written and erased by the text-hand, at the end of the line.

<sup>13</sup> pervenientes A B<sub>1</sub> ; perve|nientes B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> cuul eilne A, with three over-dashes ; cuuleilne B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. See pp. 140, 143.

Aedh  
Dubh  
dying  
triple  
death



qui utique locus inter occidentalem Iovae insulae campulum et nostrum monasterium medius esse dicitur,<sup>1</sup> mirum quid et inconsuetum singuli sibi sentire<sup>2</sup> videbantur; quod tamen alius alio<sup>3</sup> intimare nullo modo audebat.<sup>4</sup> Et sic per aliquot dies eodem in<sup>5</sup> loco eademque vespertina sentiebant hora. Fuit autem hisdem<sup>6</sup> in<sup>7</sup> diebus sanctus Baitheneus<sup>8</sup> inter eos operum dispensator, qui sic ad ipsos<sup>9</sup> alia die<sup>10</sup> est proloquutus, inquit: 'Nunc fratres confiteri<sup>11</sup> debetis singuli si aliquod in hoc medio loco inter mesem<sup>12</sup> et monasterium inconsuetum et inopinatum sentitis miraculum'. Unus  
38b tum ex eis senior, 'Juxta tuam' ait, 'ju|sionem,<sup>13</sup> quod mihi hoc in loco ostensum est dicam. Nam et in his praetereuntibus dieculis et nunc etiam quandam miri odoris flagrantiam<sup>14</sup> acsi universonum florum in unum sentio collectorum; quendam quoque quasi ignis ardorem, non penalem sed quodam modo suavem; sed et quandam in corde insuetam et incomparabilem<sup>15</sup> infusam laetificationem quae me subito mirabiliter consulatur,<sup>16</sup> et in tantum laetificat, ut nullius meroris, nullius laboris, meminisse possim. Sed et onus quod meo quamvis grave porto in dorso ab hoc loco usquequo

<sup>1</sup> dicitur. A possible alternative interpretation is: 'which is said to be the place half-way between'.

<sup>2</sup> sentire A B<sub>1</sub>; sentiri B<sub>3</sub>   <sup>3</sup> alio A; alii B<sub>1</sub>; alii B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> audebat A; aude'bat B<sub>1</sub>; audiebat B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> in A B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>, in a line that has been erased and rewritten on a smaller scale.

<sup>6</sup> hisdem. In A, a deletion dot has later been added with a fine pen below *h*.

<sup>7</sup> in A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> baitheneus A B<sub>3</sub>; baithe'neus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> ipsos A B<sub>3</sub>; eos B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> alia die. In A, the down-stroke of the second *a*, and the loop of *d*, have spread, as though re-written on a surface that had been abraded or damped.

<sup>11</sup> confiteri. In A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above *e*.

(which place is said to be half way between the little western plain of the island of Io, and our monastery), the brothers severally seemed to themselves to feel something marvellous and strange. But they did not by any means venture to speak of it, one to another. And for several days they had this feeling, in the same place, and at the same vesper hour.

During these days Saint Baithene was the controller of work among them; and on one day he spoke thus to them, saying: 'Now, brothers, you must confess, each of you, whether you feel any strange and unexpected miracle in this place half-way between the harvest-field and the monastery'. Then one of them, a senior, said: 'According to your command, I shall tell what has been revealed to me in this place. For both in these last few days, and also now, I perceive a fragrant smell, of marvellous sweetness, as of all flowers combined into one; and also a heat as of fire, not painful, but in some manner pleasant; and in addition a kind of inspired joyousness of heart, strange and incomparable, which in a moment miraculously revives me, and so greatly gladdens me that all grief and all labour are forgotten. Moreover, the load that I bear upon my back, however heavy it may be, is so greatly

<sup>12</sup> mesem A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *se*. messem B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> jusionem A; visionem B<sub>1</sub>, altered later to *jussionem*, not by the text hand; visionem B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> flagrantiam A; fragla'nciam B<sub>1</sub> (with *r* written above *l*, by a reviser); flagranciam B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> incomparabilem. In A, two deletion points have later been added below *n*, and a tilde has been added above the *o*, to read *-com-*, by m.h. using a very fine pen. B<sub>1</sub> has *o*, and B<sub>3</sub> has *co*, both reading either *con* or *com*.

<sup>16</sup> consulatur A; -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

ad monasterium perveniatur, quomodo nescio, in tantum relevatur, ut me oneratum non sentiam'.

39a Quid plura? Sic omnes illi mesores<sup>1</sup> operarii de sé singillatim profetentur<sup>2</sup> per omnia sensise,<sup>3</sup> sicuti | unus ex eís coram enarraverat.<sup>4</sup> Singulique simul flexís genibus a sancto postularunt Baitheneo,<sup>5</sup> ut ejusdem miri solaminis<sup>6</sup> causam et originem quod et ipse sicut et ceteri sentiebat<sup>7</sup> illís ignorantibus intimare procuraret. Quibus consequenter hoc dedit responsum, 'Scitis' inquiring, 'quod noster senior Columba de nobís anxie cogitet, et nos ad sé tardius pervenientes egre ferat, nostri memor laboris. Et idcirco quia corporaliter obviam nobís non venit spiritus ejus nostrís obviat gresibus.<sup>8</sup> Qui taliter nos consulans<sup>9</sup> laetificat'. Quibus auditís verbís ingeniculantes cum ingenti gratulatione expansís ad caelum manibus Christum in sancto venerantur et beato<sup>10</sup> viro.<sup>11</sup>

39b Sed et hoc silere non debemus quod nobís ab expertís quibusdam de voce beati psalmodiae<sup>12</sup> viri indubi|tanter traditum est. Quae scilicet vox venerabilis viri in ecclesia<sup>13</sup> cum fratribus decantantis aliquando per iiiii.<sup>14</sup> stadia, hoc est d.<sup>15</sup> passus, aliquando vero per octo, hoc est mille passus,<sup>16</sup> incomparabili elevata modo audiebatur. Mirum dictu, nec in auribus eorum qui secum

<sup>1</sup> mesores A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *so*. messores B1 B3

<sup>2</sup> profetentur A; -fit- B1 B3

<sup>3</sup> sensise A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above the final *se*. sensisse B1 B3

<sup>4</sup> enarraverat A; enarra'verat B1; enarravit B3

<sup>5</sup> baitheneo A B3; baithene'o B1

<sup>6</sup> solaminis A B1; salaminis B3

<sup>7</sup> sentiebant A, with a deletion point, apparently by the text-hand, above the second *n*. senciebat B1 B3

<sup>8</sup> gresibus A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *si*. gressibus B1 B3

<sup>9</sup> consulans A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -so'l- B1; -sol- B3

<sup>10</sup> beato A B3; beto B1

<sup>11</sup> *et beato viro*. These words are centred in A, and followed by a three-

lightened (how, I do not know), from this place until we reach the monastery, that I feel no burden'.

Why say more? All those harvest-workers confessed, each on his own behalf, that they had felt in all respects exactly as one of them had openly described. All as one man bowed their knees, and begged of Saint Baithene that he would endeavour to explain to them in their ignorance the cause and origin of the marvellous relief, which he felt as well as the others. Thereupon he gave them this answer, saying: 'You know that our senior, Columba, thinks of us with solicitude and, mindful of our labour, is much distressed when we are late in reaching him. And for the reason that he does not come in the body to meet us, his spirit meets us as we walk, and in this fashion refreshes and gladdens us'. Hearing these words, they knelt down, raising their hands toward heaven with expressions of great joy, and worshipped Christ in the holy and blessed man.

And this too we ought not to pass over in silence that has been told us without question by certain men who knew of it, concerning the voice of the blessed man in singing psalms. This voice of the venerable man, when he sang in the church with the brothers, was raised in an incomparable manner, and was heard at a distance sometimes of four furlongs, that is, five hundred paces, sometimes even of eight, that is, a thousand paces. Strange to say, in the ears of those

point stop, marking the end of a chapter (see p. 169). *Sed et hoc* begins a chapter, with a large initial letter extending through two lines, in A B1 B3.

<sup>12</sup> psalmodiae A; salmodi'e B1; psalmodie B3

<sup>13</sup> e|cclesia A; a *c* has later been written, not in the text hand, before *e*. ecclesiam B1; ecclesia B3

<sup>14</sup> iiiii A; quatuor B1 B3

<sup>15</sup> d. A; quingentos B1 B3

<sup>16</sup> pa's A, for *passus*, or possibly *passuum* as below; passus B1 B3. The Roman stadium contained 125 passus, and was considerably less than a furlong.

in eclesia stabant vox ejus modum humanae vocis in clamoris granditate excedebat. Sed tamen eadem<sup>1</sup> hora qui ultra mille passuum lonquinitatem<sup>2</sup> stabant sic clare eandem audiebant vocem, ut illos quos canebat<sup>3</sup> versiculos etiam per<sup>4</sup> singulas possent distinguere<sup>5</sup> syllabas. Similiter enim ejus vox in auribus prope et longe audientium personabat. Sed<sup>6</sup> hoc de voce miraculum beati viri non semper sed raro accedisse<sup>7</sup> conprobatur, quod tamen sine divini spiritus gratia nullo modo fieri potuisset.

40a <sup>8</sup> Sed et illud non est tacendum quod aliquando | de tali et incomparabili vocis ejus sublevatione juxta Brudei<sup>9</sup> regis munitionem accedisse<sup>10</sup> traditur. Nam ipse sanctus cum paucis fratribus extra regis munitionem dum vespertinales dei laudes ex more celebraret, quidam magi ad eos propius accedentes in quantum poterant prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinae laudis sonus inter gentiles audiretur populos. Quo conperto sanctus xl. et iiiii.<sup>11</sup> psalmum decantare coepit. Mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in aere eodem momento instar alicujus formidabilis tonitruum elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti. .

<sup>1</sup> eadem A B<sub>3</sub> ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *a*. ea'dem B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>2</sup> lonquinitatem A ; a deletion dot has later been added below, and a *g* written by m.h. above, the first *q*. longin- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> canebat. In A, a cursive *n* has been inserted above *at*, wrongly, perhaps by a modern hand.

<sup>4</sup> per. In A, deletion points before and after the Irish symbol for *per* have been added later with a fine pen.

<sup>5</sup> distinguere A ; a *u* (probably m.h.) has been added above *e*, and dots have been placed below the *e* and above the *r*. distinguere B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> Above the medial point before *Sed*, in A, there is a half-inch pen-mark, unexplained.

<sup>7</sup> accedisse A ; the first *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a long downstroke with fine pen. accid- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> A large initial *S* extends through two lines of writing in A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, and begins the lines, as a new chapter, in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

that stood with him in the church, his voice did not exceed the volume of a human voice in magnitude of sound ; and yet at the same time those that stood at a distance of more than a mile heard the same voice so clearly that they could distinguish every syllable in the verses that he sang. For his voice sounded alike in the ears of those that heard it, near or far. This miracle of the blessed man's voice is proved to have happened only rarely, not always ; but yet it could not have happened at all, without the grace of the Divine Spirit.

This too should not remain untold, which, as an instance of this incomparable uplifting of his voice, is said to have happened once beside the fortress of king Brude. While the saint himself with a few brothers was celebrating according to custom the praises of God, at vespers, outside the king's fortress, certain magicians came close to them, and tried to prohibit it to the best of their power, lest the sound of divine praise from their lips should be heard among the heathen peoples. Understanding this, the saint began to sing the forty-fourth psalm. And in the same moment his voice was, in a marvellous manner, so raised in the air like a terrible peal of thunder, that both the king and the people were filled with intolerable dread.

<sup>9</sup> brudei A B<sub>3</sub> ; bru'dei B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> accedisse A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the first *e*, and a deletion dot below the *e*. accid- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> xl et iiiii A ; quadragesimum et quartum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Ps. xlv of the Vulgate (*Eructavit cor meum*) is Ps. xlv in the English version.

De quodam divite qui  
Lugudius<sup>1</sup> Clodus vocitabatur

ALIO IN TEMPORE cum in Scotia per aliquot sanctus demoraretur dies, alium currui insedentem<sup>2</sup> videns clericum, qui gaudenter per|agrabat campum Breg,<sup>3</sup> primo interrogans de eo quis esset, hoc ab amicis ejusdem viri de eo accipit responsum: 'Hic est Lugudius Clodus, homo dives et honoratus in plebe'. Sanctus consequenter respondens inquit: 'Non ita video: sed homuncio miser et pauper in die qua morietur tria apud sé vicinorum praetersoria in una retentabit maceria; unamque electam de vaccis praeterseriorum<sup>4</sup> occidi jubebit<sup>5</sup> sibi.<sup>6</sup> De cujus<sup>7</sup> cocta carne postulabit aliquam sibi partem dari cum meritrice<sup>8</sup> in eodem lectulo cubanti. De qua utique particula mursum<sup>9</sup> accipiens statim ibidem strangulabitur et morietur'. Quae omnia sicuti ab expertis traditur juxta sancti profeticum<sup>10</sup> adinpleta sunt verbum.<sup>11</sup>

De Nemanio<sup>12</sup> filio Gruthriche<sup>13</sup>  
sancti profetia<sup>14</sup> |

41a HUNC ENIM cum sanctus de malis suis corripere parvipendens sanctum subsannabat. Cui respondens vir beatus ait: 'In nomine domini Nemanio<sup>15</sup> aliqua de

<sup>1</sup> lugudius A B<sub>3</sub>; lugu'dius B<sub>1</sub>    <sup>2</sup> insedentem A; insid- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> campum Breg. This was Mag-breg, 'plain of Brega'; see p. 147. The district called Brega (or 'Bregia') extended from north of the Boyne to south of the Liffey. Mag-breg seems to have included Teilte (105b, 106b). Through Mag-breg, Libran reached Durrow, from the sea or a navigable river (92b).

<sup>4</sup> praeterseriorum A; -soriorum B<sub>1</sub>; -sorium B<sub>3</sub>. *Praetersoria* was possibly a monastic abbreviation of \**praetercursoria*.

<sup>5</sup> jubebit A B<sub>3</sub>; videbit B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> sibi A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> cujus A; unius B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

[I 38] Concerning a certain rich man,  
who was called Luguid the Lame

At another time, while the saint was for some days in Ireland, he saw a cleric sitting in a car and gaily driving over the plain of Brega. He first asked about him, who he was, and received from that man's friends this answer concerning him: 'That is Luguid the Lame, a wealthy man, and respected among the people'. Then the saint said in reply: 'It is not thus that I see him. But on the day on which he dies, a poor and wretched man, he will have in his possession three stray beasts belonging to his neighbours, retained in one stone enclosure. And he will order one cow, chosen from the stray beasts, to be killed for him, and will ask that a portion of its cooked flesh should be given to him, as he reclines on the same couch with a harlot. So taking a mouthful of that portion, he will then and there be choked, and die'.

All these things, as is said by men who know, were completely fulfilled, according to the saint's prophetic word.

[I 39] The saint's prophecy concerning  
Neman, Gruthrech's son

This man, when the saint rebuked him for his bad deeds, mocked him, with disdain. The blessed man said to him in reply: 'In the name of the Lord, I will

<sup>8</sup> meritrice A; mere- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>    <sup>9</sup> mursum A; morsum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> profeticum A; prophetiam B<sub>1</sub>; propheciam B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> verbum A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.    <sup>12</sup> nemanio A B<sub>3</sub>; nema'no B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>13</sup> gruthriche A (so also A B<sub>2</sub> in 6a); grutheriche B<sub>1</sub>; gluteriche B<sub>3</sub>. See p. 142.

<sup>14</sup> profetia A; prophetie verbum B<sub>1</sub>; prophecie verbum B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> nemanio A B<sub>3</sub>; nema'ne B<sub>1</sub>

té veridica loquar verba. Inimici tui repperient<sup>1</sup> té in eodem cum meritrice<sup>2</sup> cubantem cubiculo, ibidemque trucidaberis; daemones quoque ad loca penarum tuam rapiunt animam'. Hic idem Nemanus<sup>3</sup> post aliquot annos in uno cum meritrice<sup>4</sup> lectulo repertus in regione Cainle<sup>5</sup> juxta verbum sancti<sup>6</sup> ab inimicis decapitatus disperiit.

De quodam prespitero  
sancti viri profetatio<sup>7</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus cum in Scotiensium<sup>8</sup> paulo superius moraretur memorata regione, casu dominica die ad quoddam devenit vicinum monasteriolum quod  
41b scotice Trioit<sup>9</sup> vocitatur. Eadem<sup>10</sup> proinde die quendam audiens prespiterum sacra eucaristiae misteria conficientem, quem ideo fratres qui ibidem commanebant ad misarum<sup>11</sup> elegerant peragenda sollemnia quia valde relegiosum<sup>12</sup> aestimabant, repente hanc formidabilem de ore profert vocem: 'Munda et immunda pariter nunc permisceri<sup>13</sup> cernuntur; hoc est munda sacrae oblationis ministeria<sup>14</sup> per immundum hominem ministrata, qui in sua interim<sup>15</sup> conscientia aliquod grande occultat facinus'. Haec qui inerant audientes

<sup>1</sup> repperient A; pe'riment B<sub>1</sub>; periment B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> meritrice A; mere- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> nemanus A B<sub>3</sub>; nema'nus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>4</sup> meritrice A; mere- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> cainle A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with two over-dashes in A. The place is unidentified, but see p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> verbum sancti A; sancti vaticinium B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-ci'n- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>7</sup> sancti viri profetatio A; qui erat in triota (-o'- B<sub>1</sub>) sancti prophetia (-cia B<sub>3</sub>) viri B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Cf. the contents-list in 6a.

<sup>8</sup> scotiensium A; scote'nsium B<sub>1</sub>; scottensium B<sub>3</sub>. The district referred to (40b) is Mag-breg.

<sup>9</sup> trioit A, with two over-dashes; trio'ta B<sub>1</sub>; triota B<sub>3</sub>. The place was Trevet, in the barony of Skreen, county Meath.

tell some words of truth, Neman, concerning you. Your enemies will discover you, lying in the same bed-chamber with a harlot, and there you will be slain; and demons will drag your soul to the place of torments'.

After some years, this same Neman, discovered in one couch with a harlot, in the district of Cainle, perished, beheaded by enemies, according to the saint's word.

[I 40] The holy man's prophecy  
concerning a certain priest

On one occasion, when the saint was for a time in the district of the Irish, that was mentioned a little above, he happened to come on a Lord's-day to a neighbouring small monastery that is called in Irish *Trioit* [Trevet]. So on the same day, when he heard a certain priest consecrating the sacred elements of the Eucharist, a priest whom the brothers residing there had chosen to perform the ceremony of the Mass because they thought him very religious, the saint suddenly let pass from his lips this terrible saying: 'Now we see clean and unclean intermingled together: the clean rite of the sacred offering administered by an unclean man, who at the same time keeps hidden in his own conscience a great sin'. Those that were present, and heard this, trembled

<sup>10</sup> eadem A; a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. Eodem B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> misarum A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *is*. missarum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> relegiosum A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*. -lig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> permisceri A; misceri B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> ministeria A; misteria B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> interim. A possible alternative translation is 'as yet'.

tremefacti nimis obstupuere.<sup>1</sup> Ille vero de quo haec dicebantur verba coram omnibus peccantium<sup>2</sup> compulsus est suam<sup>3</sup> confiteri. Christique<sup>4</sup> commilitones qui in ecclesia sanctum circumstantes occulta cordis audierant manifestantem divinam in eo scientiam cum magna ammiratione glorificarunt.<sup>5</sup> |

42a De Erco<sup>6</sup> fure mocu-Druidi<sup>7</sup> qui in Coloso<sup>8</sup> insula commanebat sancti profetizatio<sup>9</sup> viri

ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus in Iova commanens insula accitís ad se binís de fratribus virís, quorum vocabula Lugbeus<sup>10</sup> et Silnanus,<sup>11</sup> eisdem praeciens dicit: 'Nunc ad Maleam<sup>12</sup> transfretate insulam, et in campulís mari vicinís Ercum<sup>13</sup> quaerite furacem; qui nocte praeterita solus occulte de insula Coloso perveniens sub sua<sup>14</sup> feno tecta navicula inter arenarum cumulos per diem sé occultare conatur, ut noctu ad parvam<sup>15</sup> transnaviget insulam ubi marini nostri juris vituli<sup>16</sup> generantur et generant, ut de illís furanter<sup>17</sup> occisís edax valde furax<sup>18</sup> suam replens naviculam ad suum repedet<sup>19</sup> habitaculum.'

42b Qui haec audientes obsequuti emigrant, furemque in locís a sancto praesignatís absconsum | reperiunt, et ad

<sup>1</sup> obstupuere A; a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the first *e*. -e're B1 B3

<sup>2</sup> peccantium A; peccatum B1 B3

<sup>3</sup> suam A; suum B1 B3

<sup>4</sup> que A. Omitted in B1 B3.

<sup>5</sup> glorificarunt A; -cave'runt B1; -caverunt B3

<sup>6</sup> erco A B1; ereo B3

<sup>7</sup> mocu druidi A; mocudru'idi B1; mocudruidi B3 (or possibly -druidi; the three minims are written without apices, although in B3 an apex is habitually written over *i*).

<sup>8</sup> coloso A B3; colo'so B1. Cf. 70b and p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> profetizatio A; prophetatio B1; prophetacio B3

<sup>10</sup> lugbeus A; lugbe'us B1; lubbeus B3

<sup>11</sup> silnanus A; selnanus B1 B3. See 55b-57a.

<sup>12</sup> maleam A B3; male'am B1

and were much astounded. And he about whom these words were said was compelled to confess his sinfulness before them all. And the fellow-soldiers of Christ who, standing about the saint in the church, had heard him expose the secrets of the heart, marvelling greatly glorified the divine knowledge that was in him.

[I 41] The holy man's prophecy concerning a thief, Erc, mocu-Druidi, who lived in the island Colossus [Coll]

At another time, while the saint was living in the island of Io, he called to him two of the brothers, men whose names were Lugbe and Silnan, and gave them an order, saying: 'Now cross the strait to the island of Male [Mull], and look for the thief Erc, in the little plains beside the sea. He came last night secretly, alone, from the island Colossus, and he is trying to conceal himself during the day among sand-hills, under his boat which he has covered with grass; so that by night he may sail across to the small island where the sea-calves that pertain to us breed and are bred; in order that the greedy robber may fill his boat with those that he thievishly kills, and make his way back to his dwelling'.

Hearing this, they obediently set out; and they found the thief hidden in the place indicated beforehand

<sup>13</sup> ercum A B1 B3, with two over-dashes in A.

<sup>14</sup> sua. In A, a small *o* has been written by m.h. above the *a*.

<sup>15</sup> parvam A B3; puram B1

<sup>16</sup> marini vituli, i.e. Atlantic seals.

<sup>17</sup> furanter A; furerter B1 B3

<sup>18</sup> furax A B3; et furax B1

<sup>19</sup> repedet A; an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen first above the *e*. re'pedet B1 B3

sanctum sicuti illis praeciperat<sup>1</sup> perduxerunt. Quo viso sanctus ad eum dicit: 'Quare tu res alienas divinum transgressus mandatum sepe furaris?'<sup>2</sup> Quando necesse habueris, ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postulata'. Et haec dicens praecipit<sup>3</sup> berbices<sup>4</sup> occidi et pro focis dari misero furaci, ne vacuus ad sua remearet.

Et<sup>5</sup> post aliquantum tempus sanctus in spiritu vicinam furis praevideus mortem ad Baitheneum,<sup>6</sup> eo in tempore praepositum<sup>7</sup> commorantem in campo Lunge,<sup>8</sup> mittit ut eidem furi quoddam pingue pecus et vi. modios<sup>9</sup> novissima mittat<sup>10</sup> munera. Quibus a Baitheneo sicut sanctus commendaverat transmisit<sup>11</sup> ea die inventus est morte subita praeventus furax misellus; et in exequiis ejus transmisa<sup>12</sup> expensa sunt xenia.<sup>13</sup> |

43a

De Cronano poeta sancti  
profetia<sup>14</sup> viri

ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus cum juxta stagnum Cei,<sup>15</sup> prope hostium fluminis quod latine Bos<sup>16</sup> dicitur, die aliqua cum fratribus sederet,<sup>17</sup> quidam ad eos scoticus

<sup>1</sup> praeciperat A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -cep- B<sub>1</sub>; -cep- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> furaris. After this word, in A, a question-mark has been added by m.h.; B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> have question-marks.

<sup>3</sup> praecipit A; -cep- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> berbices A; a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *i*. berbi'ces B<sub>1</sub>; verveces B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> Et A B<sub>1</sub>; Q' B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> baitheneum A B<sub>3</sub>; baitheneum B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>7</sup> praepositum A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot below. -posi- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> lunge A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with two over-dashes in A.

<sup>9</sup> modios. The Roman modius was rather less than a peck; cf. 54b, and Vulgate, Ruth iii. 15, 17.

<sup>10</sup> mittat A B<sub>1</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> transmisit A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above the first *i*. -missis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

by the saint. And they brought him to the saint, who had so ordered them. Seeing him, the saint said to him: 'Why do you repeatedly steal other people's property, transgressing the divine commandment? When you have need, come to us, and you will receive the necessary things that you ask for'. And saying this, he ordered wethers to be killed, and given instead of seals to the miserable thief; so that he should not return home empty.

After some time, the saint, foreseeing in the spirit the thief's imminent death, sent to Baithene, then living as prior in the plain of Long, and bade him send to that thief a fat beast and six measures of grain, as last gifts. When Baithene had dispatched these as the saint had asked him to do, the pitiful thief was found overtaken by sudden death on that day; and the gifts that had been sent were used at his funeral.

[I 42] The holy man's prophecy  
concerning the poet Cronan

One day, at another time, while the saint was sitting with some brothers beside the lake Cei [Lough Key], near the mouth of the river that is called in Latin 'cow' [the Boyle], a certain Irish poet came to them.

<sup>12</sup> transmi|sa A; a minuscule *s* has later been added after *i*. -missa B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> xenia A; exenia B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> profetia A; propheta'tio B<sub>1</sub>; prophecica B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> ce'i A B<sub>3</sub>, with one over-dash in A; ce'i B<sub>1</sub>. Cf. 67b. The name Cei is in the genitive case; the nominative does not occur in Adomnan.

<sup>16</sup> bos. The O.I. name of the river, Bó, 'cow', is given in 67b. This is the river Boyle that flows into Lough Key. Near where the outlet of Lough Key joins the Shannon was the *cella magna Deathrib*, 52a.

<sup>17</sup> sederet A B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*, wrongly, perhaps intending *sideret*. sede'ret B<sub>1</sub>

poeta<sup>1</sup> devenit.<sup>2</sup> Qui cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem, fratres ad sanctum, 'Cur' aiunt, 'a nobis regrediente Cronano poeta aliquod ex more<sup>3</sup> suae artis canticum non postulasti modolabiliter<sup>4</sup> decantari?' Quibus sanctus: 'Quare et vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? Quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem laetitiae, qui nunc ab inimicis trucidatus<sup>5</sup> finem adusque ocius pervenit<sup>6</sup> vitae?' His a sancto dictis, et ecce ultra flumen aliquis clamitat homo, 43b dicens: 'Ille poeta qui a vobis nuper sospes | rediit hora in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est'. Omnes tum qui praesentes inerant valde mirati se invicem intuentes obstipuerunt.<sup>7</sup>

De duobus tigernis<sup>8</sup> sancti vaticinatio viri,  
qui ambo motuis<sup>9</sup> vulneribus<sup>10</sup> disperierant

ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE sanctus in Iova conversans insula repente inter legendum summo cum ingenti ammiratione gemitu ingemuit mesto. Quod videns qui praesens inerat Lugbeus mocu-Blai coepit ab eo percunctari subiti causam meroris. Cui sanctus valde mestificatus hanc dedit responsionem: 'Duo quidam nunc regii generis viri in Scotia motuis<sup>11</sup> inter se vulneribus transfixi disperierunt, haut procul a monasterio quod

<sup>1</sup> *scoticus poeta*: i.e., a composer of verses in the Irish language.

<sup>2</sup> devenit A B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the second *e*. deve'nit B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *ex more*. Cf. 45 b, 118a.

<sup>4</sup> modolabiliter A; a small *u* has been added by m.h. above the second *o*. modu- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> trucidatus A; trucidandus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> pervenit A B<sub>3</sub>; perve'nit B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>7</sup> obstipuerunt A; a small *u* has been added by m.h. above the *i*, and a circumflex accent above the first *e*. obstupue're B<sub>1</sub>; obstupuerunt B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> *tigernis*. This is a Latin formation from Irish *tigern* 'lord'. See p. 134.

<sup>9</sup> motuis A; mu'tuis B<sub>1</sub>; mutuis B<sub>3</sub>

When, after some conversation, he had gone away, the brothers said to the saint: 'When the poet Cronan was leaving us, why did you not according to the custom ask for a song of his own composition, sung to a tune?' And the saint replied: 'Why do you too now utter idle words? How would I ask a song of gladness from that unhappy fellow, who has now suddenly reached the end of his life, slaughtered by enemies?'

After the saint had said this, behold a man on the other side of the river shouted, saying: 'That poet who recently came safely back from you has in this hour been killed upon the way, by enemies'. All who were then present greatly marvelled, and looked at one another in amazement.

[I 43] The holy man's prophecy concerning  
two lords who had both perished by  
mutually inflicted wounds

Similarly at another time, while the holy man lived in the island of Io, when he was reading he suddenly groaned with a deep sorrowful sigh, in great wonder. Perceiving this, the man who was with him, Lugbe mocu-Blai, began to question him about the cause of his sudden grief; and to him the saint, greatly sorrowing, gave this reply: 'Two men of royal birth in Ireland have now perished, pierced each by the other with mutual wounds, not far from the monastery that

<sup>10</sup> *vulneribus*. In the facsimiles of A, the *b* only of the *-bus* symbol (*b*): is here visible.

<sup>11</sup> motuis A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above the *o*. mutuis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>



44a dicitur Cell-rois<sup>1</sup> in provincia Maugdornorum.<sup>2</sup> Octavaque die hac peracta ebdomade<sup>3</sup> ultra fretum alius clamitabit, qui haec de Evernia<sup>4</sup> veniens ita taliter | facta enarrabit. Sed hoc Ó filiole quandiu vixero nemini indices<sup>5</sup>.

Octava proinde ultra fretum clamatum est die. Sanctus tum supra memoratum ad se Lugbeum<sup>6</sup> vocans silenter ad eum ait: 'Qui nunc clamitat ultra fretum ipse est de quo tibi prius dixeram longeus<sup>7</sup> viator. Vade et<sup>8</sup> adduc eum ad nos'. Qui celeriter<sup>9</sup> adductus inter cetera hoc etiam retulit: 'Duo' inquiens, 'in parte Maugdornorum<sup>9</sup> nobiles viri se motuo<sup>10</sup> vulnerantes mortui sunt, hoc est Colman Canis<sup>11</sup> filius Aileni,<sup>12</sup> et Ronanus filius Aido<sup>13</sup> filii Colgen de Anteriorum<sup>14</sup> genere, prope fines illorum locorum ubi illud monasterium cernitur quod dicitur Cell-roiss<sup>15</sup>'.

44b Post haec illius verba narratoris idem Lugbeus,<sup>16</sup> Christi miles, sanctum seorsum coepit interrogare, dicens: 'Quaesso<sup>17</sup> mihi de his talibus narres profeticis revelationibus, quomodo si per visum tibi an auditum an alio homi|nibus incognito manifestantur modo'. Ad

<sup>1</sup> cell rois A, with an over-dash above *rois*; ceilrois B<sub>1</sub>; cellros B<sub>3</sub>. The name in A B<sub>1</sub> means 'monastery of the forest'.

<sup>2</sup> maugdornorum A; maugdorneorum B<sub>1</sub>; maugdorneorum B<sub>3</sub>. See p. 137. The 'province' or 'part' of the Maugdorni was in county Monaghan. See Hogan 1910, p. 544; Reeves 1857, pp. 81-2.

<sup>3</sup> ebdomade A; ebdomada B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> evernia A; hibe'rnia B<sub>1</sub>; hibernia B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> lugbeum A B<sub>3</sub>; lugbe'um B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> longeus A; longus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. In 61a, A has *longeus* for *longaevus*. Cf. Plummer 1910, II, p. 189, where a Life of Mochua describes him as *longaevus viator*, at an implied age of 59 years.

<sup>7</sup> vade et A; valde, et B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, erroneously.

<sup>8</sup> celeriter A B<sub>3</sub>; sceleriter B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> maugdornorum A; -neorum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> motuo A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above the first *o*. mutuo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> canis A; cognomento canis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. This renders the Irish *cú* 'dog'.

is called Cell-rois, in the province of the Maugdorni. And on the eighth day, after this week has ended, a man will shout beyond the strait, who, coming from Ireland, will tell that these things have happened as I have said. But, my son, so long as I live do not reveal this to any one'.

On the eighth day, there was a shouting beyond the strait. Then the saint called Lugbe to him, and said to him quietly: 'The man who is now shouting beyond the strait is that old traveller of whom I spoke to you before. Go, and bring him to us'. He was speedily brought in, and with the rest of his news he related this also, saying: 'In the region of the Maugdorni, two men of noble birth have died, each wounding the other; namely, Colman Dog, Ailen's son, and Ronan, the son of Aid, son of Colcu, of the race of the Easterners; near the boundaries of the region where the monastery that is called Cell-rois can be seen'.

After these words of the narrator, the same Lugbe, soldier of Christ, began to question the saint when they were alone, saying: 'Tell me, I beg you, about such prophetic revelations, how they are made to you; by seeing or hearing, or in some way unknown to

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His brother, 'Maelduin Alene's son' (†611), is called 'king of the Mogdornai' in A.U. 22b16.

<sup>12</sup> aileni A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with two over-dashes in A.

<sup>13</sup> aido A B<sub>3</sub>; a'ido B<sub>1</sub>. This Aid was king of the Airthir, and his death is entered in A.U. under 609=610.

<sup>14</sup> anteriorum. These were the Airthir of eastern Airgialla. Cf. 109 b. Adomnan may mean that both Colman and Ronan were of the Airthir, since that group included the Maugdorni. See James Hogan, in Féil-sgríbhinn 1940, p. 408.

<sup>15</sup> cell roiss A, with two over-dashes; celrois B<sub>1</sub>; cellrois B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> lugbeus A B<sub>3</sub>; lugbe'us B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>17</sup> quaesso A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a point beneath made by a fine pen. queso B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

haec sanctus : ' De qua nunc ' ait, ' inquiris valde subtili ré nullatenus tibi quamlibet aliquam intimare particulam potero, nisi prius flexis genibus per nomen excelsi dei mihi firmiter promittas hoc té obscurissimum sacramentum nulli umquam hominum cunctis diebus vitae meae enarraturum '. Qui haec audiens flexit contenuo<sup>1</sup> genua et prostrato in terram vultu juxta sancti praeceptionem plene omnia promisit. Qua statim perfecta promissione<sup>2</sup> sanctus ad surgentem sic locutus inquit : ' Sunt nonnulli quamlibet pauci admodum quibus divina hoc contulit gratia, ut etiam totum<sup>3</sup> totius terrae orbem, cum ambitu ociani<sup>4</sup> et caeli, uno eodemque momento quasi<sup>5</sup> sub uno solis radio mirabiliter | laxato mentis sinu clare et manifestissime speculentur '.<sup>6</sup>

Hoc miraculum sanctus quamvis de aliis electis dicere videatur, vanam utique fugiens gloriam, de sé ipso tamen dixisse, per oblicum licet, nullus dubitare debet qui Paulum legit apostolum vas electionis<sup>7</sup> de talibus narrantem sibi revelatis visionibus. Non enim ita scripsit, ' scio me ', sed ' scio hominem<sup>8</sup> raptum usque ad tertium caelum '. Quod quamlibet de alio dicere videatur, nemo tamen dubitat sic de propria humilitatem custodiens enarrare persona. Quem etiam et noster Columba in spiritalium<sup>9</sup> visionum narratione sequutus est superius memorata, quam ab eo supradictus vir,

<sup>1</sup> contenuo A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the *e*. -ti'n-B<sub>1</sub> ; -tin- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> promissione A ; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *is*. -issi-B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> totum A ; totum licet non semper B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. The reading of B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> seems to be required ; cf. 10b.

<sup>4</sup> ociani A ; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. occ'e'ani B<sub>1</sub> ; occ'eani B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> quasi A B<sub>3</sub> ; quas B<sub>1</sub>  
<sup>6</sup> *speculentur*. This passage, from *etiam totum*, is verbally reconstructed from Dialogue II or IV of pope Gregory I. See 10b and p. 20. It is

men ? ' To this the saint said : ' Of the very subtle matter about which you now ask, I shall not be able to tell you anything at all, even the least particle, unless you first kneel and firmly promise me in the name of God on high that you will never, during all the days of my life, tell of this darkest mystery to any person '. Hearing this, Lugbe immediately knelt, and with his face downcast to the ground he fully promised everything, according to the saint's command. Rising as soon as the promise had been completed, he was thus addressed by the saint, who said : ' There are some, although few indeed, on whom divine favour has bestowed the gift of contemplating, clearly and very distinctly, with scope of mind miraculously enlarged, in one and the same moment, as though under one ray of the sun, even the whole circle of the whole earth, with the ocean and sky about it '.

Although the saint, as one that shuns vain-glory, seems to tell this miracle of others of the elect, yet that he has spoken of himself, albeit indirectly, should be doubted by none who has read the apostle Paul, a vessel of election, telling of such visions revealed to himself : for Paul has thus written, not ' I know myself ', but ' I know a man, caught up to the third heaven ' ; and although he seems to tell this of another, none doubts that he speaks in this way of his own person, preserving his humility. Likewise our Columba also has followed him in the account given above of visions of the spirit ; which account the above-mentioned man,

doubtful which of the Dialogues was uppermost in Adomnan's recollection.

<sup>7</sup> *vas electionis* : derived from the Vulgate, Acts ix. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *scio hominem* : derived from Vulgate, 2 Cor. xii. 2. Bede quotes the same verse in connexion with Cuthbert. See Colgrave 1940, p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> spiritalium A ; -tua'l- B<sub>1</sub> ; -tual- B<sub>3</sub>

quem plurimum sanctus amabat, magnis precibus prae-  
 misís<sup>1</sup> vir potuit extorquere, sicut ipse<sup>2</sup> coram aliorum  
 45b personís<sup>3</sup> sanctorum | post sancti Columbae transitum  
 testatus est. A quibus haec quae de sancto supra  
 narravimus indubitanter didicimus. .

<sup>4</sup> De Cronano <sup>5</sup> episcopo

ALIO IN TEMPORE quidam de Muminensium<sup>6</sup> pro-  
 vincia proselytus ad sanctum venit qui se in quantum  
 potuit occultabat humiliter, ut nullus sciret quod esset  
 episcopus. Sed tamen sanctum hoc non poterat latere.  
 Nam alia die dominica a sancto jusus Christi corpus<sup>7</sup> ex  
 more conficere sanctum advocat, ut simul quasi duo  
 prespiteri dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus  
 proinde<sup>8</sup> ad altarium accedens repente intuitus faciem  
 ejus sic eum conpellat : ' Benedicat té Christus, frater.  
 Hunc solus episcopali ritu frange panem. Nunc scimus  
 quod sis episcopus : quare hucusque te occultare conatus  
 es, ut tibi a nobís debeta<sup>9</sup> non redderetur veneratio ? '  
 46a Quo audito | sancti verbo humilis perigrinus<sup>10</sup> valde  
 stupefactus Christum in sancto veneratus est. Et qui  
 inerant praesentes nimis ammirati glorificarunt<sup>11</sup> deum. .

<sup>1</sup> praemisís A ; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above the first *i*.  
 premissis B1 B3

<sup>2</sup> ipse A. Omitted in B1 B3.

<sup>3</sup> aliorum personís A ; personis aliorum B1 B3

<sup>4</sup> This and the remaining chapters of Book I are not included in the  
 contents list, 6a.

<sup>5</sup> cronano A B3 ; sancto cronano B1

<sup>6</sup> muminensium A B3 ; mugine'nsium B1. A district called Mumu  
 gave its name to the province of Munster.

<sup>7</sup> *Christi corpus*. The appointment of a stranger as celebrant, by courtesy,  
 took place in accordance with decrees of councils (see Reeves 1857, p. 85).  
 The present passage is evidence of the practice at Iona, in the seventh  
 century.

<sup>8</sup> *proinde*. In A, the Irish symbol for *pro* has been altered by m.h. to  
 the continental symbol.

whom the saint very greatly loved, was hardly able to  
 extort from him, after making great supplication ; as  
 Lugbe himself attested, in the personal presence of  
 other saints, after Saint Columba's death. And from  
 them we have learned of the saint, without any doubt,  
 these things that we have related above.

[I 44] Concerning the bishop Cronan

At another time, there came to the saint from the  
 province of the men of Mumu a stranger who humbly  
 kept himself out of sight, as much as he could, so that  
 none knew that he was a bishop. But yet that could  
 not remain hidden from the saint. For on the next  
 Lord's-day, when he was bidden by the saint to prepare,  
 according to custom, the body of Christ, he called the  
 saint to assist him, so that they should as two presbyters  
 together break the Lord's bread. Thereupon the saint,  
 going to the altar, suddenly looked upon his face, and  
 thus addressed him : ' Christ bless you, brother ; break  
 this bread alone, according to the episcopal rite. Now  
 we know you are a bishop : why until now have you  
 tried to conceal yourself, so that the reverence due to  
 you was not paid by us ? ' Hearing the saint say this,  
 the humble pilgrim was much astonished, and rever-  
 enced Christ in the saint. And those that were present  
 there, greatly marvelling, glorified God.

<sup>9</sup> debeta A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*.  
 debita B1 B3

<sup>10</sup> perigrinus A ; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -reg- B1 B3

<sup>11</sup> glorificarunt A ; -cave'runt B1 ; -caverunt B3

De Ernano prespitero  
sancti profetia viri

ALIO ITIDEM<sup>1</sup> in tempore vir venerandus Ernanum prespiterum senem suum aunculum<sup>2</sup> ad praeposituram<sup>3</sup> illius monasterii transmisit quod in Hinba<sup>4</sup> insula ante plures fundaverat annos. Itaque cum ipsum sanctus emigrantem exosculatus benediceret hoc de eo intulit vaticinium, dicens: 'Hunc meum nunc egredientem amicum non me spero iterum in hoc saeculo viventem visurum'.

Itaque idem Ernanus post non multos dies quadam molestatus egrimonia ad sanctum volens reportatus est. Cujus in perventione valde gavisus ire obvius ad portum  
46b coepit. | Ipse vero Ernanus quamlibet infirmis<sup>5</sup> propriis tamen vestigiis a portu obviare sancto conabatur valde alacer. Sed cum esset inter ambos quasi xxiiii.<sup>6</sup> pasuum<sup>7</sup> intervallum subita morte praeventus, priusquam sanctus faciem ejus videret viventis, exspirans in terram cecidit<sup>8</sup>; ne verbum sancti ullo frustraretur modo. Unde in eodem loco ante januam canabae<sup>9</sup> crux infixata est; et altera ubi sanctus restitit illo exspirante similiter crux hodieque<sup>10</sup> infixata stat. .

<sup>1</sup> itidem A B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> aunculum A; avunc- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Ernan, Columba's uncle, is named among the twelve original monks of Columba in Britain. See the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> praeposituram A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a point below made by a fine pen. -osi- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> hinba A B<sub>3</sub>; himba B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> infirmis A; -mus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> xxiiii A; viginti quatuor B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> pasuum A; -ss- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. 24 Roman paces were 48 steps, or 120 Roman feet. That was an estimate of the distance between the two crosses mentioned below; and it is implied that from the one cross the other was out of sight. See p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> cecidit A; ce'c- B<sub>1</sub>; cec- B<sub>3</sub>      <sup>9</sup> canabae. See p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> similiter crux hodieque A: similiterque crux hodie B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (si'm- B<sub>1</sub>)

[I 45] The holy man's prophecy  
concerning the priest Ernan

Also at another time, the venerable man sent the priest Ernan, his aged uncle, to be prior of the monastery that, many years before, he had founded in the island of Hinba. The saint kissed him at his departure, and blessed him; and uttered this prophecy concerning him: 'This friend of mine, now setting out, I do not expect that I shall see again, while he lives in this world'.

So, before many days had passed, the same Ernan was attacked by an illness, and by his own wish was carried back to the saint. And he, greatly rejoicing in his arrival, set out to meet him at the harbour. And Ernan himself, although feeble, yet on his own feet, very eagerly endeavoured to go from the harbour to meet the saint. But when there was between the two a distance of some twenty-four paces, he was overtaken by sudden death, and fell to the ground dying, before the saint could see his face in life; so that the saint's word should not be rendered vain in any way. And therefore the cross was set up in that place before the doorway of the shed; and likewise the other cross, set up where the saint stood when Ernan died, stands even today.

De alicujus plebei familiola<sup>1</sup>  
sancti profetia<sup>2</sup> viri. .

ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE quidam inter ceteros ad sanctum plebeus venit in loco hospitantem qui scotice vocitatur Coire-salcháin.<sup>3</sup> Quem cum sanctus ad sé vespere venientem vidisset, 'Ubi' ait, 'habitas?'<sup>4</sup>  
47a Ille inquit: | 'In regione quae litoribus stagni Crog-reth<sup>5</sup> est contermina ego inhabito'. 'Illam quam dicis provinciolum' ait sanctus, 'nunc barbari populantur vastatores'. Quo audito miser plebeus maritam et filios deplangere coepit. Quem sanctus valde merentem videns consulans<sup>6</sup> inquit: 'Vade homuncule vade. Tua familiola tota in montem fugiens evassit<sup>7</sup>; tua vero omnia pecuscula secum invasores abigerunt,<sup>8</sup> omnemque domus suppellectilem similiter saevi raptores cum praeda rapuere'. Haec audiens plebeus ad patriam regresus cuncta sicuti a sancto praedicta sic invenit expleta. .

De quodam plebeo Goreo<sup>9</sup> nomine filio  
Aidani sancti profetia<sup>10</sup> viri

ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE quidam plebeus omnium illius aetatis in populo Korkureti<sup>11</sup> fortissimus<sup>12</sup> virorum

<sup>1</sup> *familiola*. In this chapter, Columba is represented as using diminutives throughout his conversation with his visitor from beyond the Spine, as if he were talking to a child.

<sup>2</sup> *profetia* A; *propheta'tio* B<sub>1</sub>; *proph'ia* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *coire salcháin* A, with two over-dashes above *coire*; *co'ire salcani'* B<sub>1</sub>; *coire salcani* B<sub>3</sub>. See p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> *habitas*. After this word, in A, m.h. has added a question-mark. B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> have question-marks.

<sup>5</sup> *crog reth* A, with two over-dashes; *crochret* B<sub>1</sub>; *crochreth* B<sub>3</sub>. The name is of North-British origin (see p. 159). Crog-reth is almost certainly the Cruach on the boundary of Argyllshire (Watson 1926, p. 78). The lake near the Cruach is Loch Rannoch; and the region mentioned by Adomnan was within the modern district of Rannoch.

[I 46] The holy man's prophecy concerning  
the family of a certain layman

Also at another time, when the saint was a guest at the place that is in Irish called *Coire-salcháin*, there came to him among the rest a certain layman; and when the saint saw him coming to him in the evening, 'Where' he said, 'do you live?' He replied: 'In the district bordering upon the shores of the lake of Crog-reth is my home'. 'The district that you speak of' said the saint, 'is now being plundered by barbarian marauders'. When he heard this, the unhappy layman began to bewail his wife and children. The saint, seeing that he was greatly grieved, comforted him, saying: 'Go, little man, go! Your whole family has escaped, fleeing to the mountain. But the invaders have driven away with them all your little cattle; and the cruel robbers have likewise carried off with the prey all your household furniture'. Hearing this, the layman returned to his district, and found that everything had happened exactly as the saint had foretold.

[I 47] The holy man's prophecy concerning a  
certain layman, by name Góre, Aidan's son

Similarly at another time, a certain layman, the strongest of all the men of that time among the people

<sup>6</sup> *consulans* A; *u* later altered to *o* by bridging. -so'l- B<sub>1</sub>; -sol B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> *evassit* A; the first *s* later deleted with a dot below. *evassit* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> *abigerunt* A B<sub>1</sub>; *ambi-* B<sub>3</sub> <sup>9</sup> *goreo* A B<sub>3</sub>; *gore'o* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> *profetia* A; *prophetatio* B<sub>1</sub>; *prophecia* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> *korkureti* A, with four over-dashes; the letters *k r t* are of the Greek type of alphabet used in p. 137 of A, and the inference is that Adomnan's writing of this name was ostensibly Greek. *cope'upeti* B<sub>1</sub>; *corforepti* B<sub>3</sub>. The family-name Corcu-reti appears to be synonymous with Dal-Réti, and Góre may have been regarded as a son of king Aidan. See pp. 22, 35.

<sup>12</sup> *fortissimus*, perhaps 'most valiant'.

47b a sancto percuncta[tur]<sup>1</sup> | viro qua morte esset praeveniendus.<sup>2</sup> Cui sanctus : 'Nec in bello' ait, 'nec in mari, morieris. Comes tui iteneris<sup>3</sup> a quo non suspicaris causa erit tuae mortis'. 'Fortassis' inquit Goreus,<sup>4</sup> 'aliquis de meis comitantibus amicis me trucidare cogitet; aut marita ob alicujus junioris viri amorem me maleficio<sup>5</sup> mortificare'. Sanctus : 'Non ita' ait, 'continget'. 'Quare' Goreus inquit, 'de meo interfectore mihi nunc intimare non vis?' Sanctus : 'Idcirco' ait, 'nolo tibi de illo tuo comite nocuo<sup>6</sup> nunc manifestius aliquid edicere,<sup>7</sup> ne te ejus crebra cogniti recordatio nimis mestificet, donec illa veniat dies qua ejusdem rei veritatem probabis'.

48a Quid inmoramur verbis? Post aliquot annorum excursus idem supra memoratus Goreus<sup>8</sup> casu alia die sub navi<sup>9</sup> resedens<sup>10</sup> cultello proprio cristiliam<sup>11</sup> de astili | eradebat. Tum deinde alios prope inter se belligerantes audiens citius surgit, ut eos a belligeratione separaret; eodemque cultello illa subitatione negligentius<sup>12</sup> in terra dimiso ejus genucla<sup>13</sup> offenso graviter vulnerata est. Et tali faciente comite causa ei<sup>14</sup> mortificationis aborta<sup>15</sup> est; quam ipse continuo secundum sancti vaticinationem viri mente percussus recognovit. Postque aliquantos menses eodem aggravatus dolore moritur.

<sup>1</sup> percuncta A; an abbreviated *tur* has been added, probably by m.h., at the end of the line. -atur B1 B3

<sup>2</sup> praeveniendus A; perimendus B1; preveniendus B3

<sup>3</sup> iteneris A; itin- B1 B3 <sup>4</sup> goreus A B3; gore'us B1

<sup>5</sup> maleficio, 'sorcery' or possibly 'poison'.

<sup>6</sup> nocuo A; no'cua B1; nucua B3

<sup>7</sup> edicere A; edi'cere B1; edicece B3

<sup>8</sup> goreus A B3; gore'us B1

<sup>9</sup> sub navi. An inverted curach provided convenient shelter. Cf. 42a.

<sup>10</sup> resedens A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the second *e*. -sid- B1 B3

of the corcu-Réti, asked the holy man by what death he should be cut off. The saint said to him : 'You will die neither in battle, nor in the sea. A companion of your journey, from whom you suspect nothing, will be the cause of your death'. 'Perhaps' said Góre, 'one of the friends that accompany me may have it in mind to kill me; or my wife, to contrive my death by magic art, for love of a younger man'. The saint said : 'It will not happen so'. 'Why' said Góre, 'will you not tell me now about my slayer?' The saint replied : 'I will not disclose anything to you more plainly now, about that baneful companion of yours, lest you be too greatly troubled by frequent remembrance of what you know, before the day comes on which you will learn the truth of this matter'.

Why linger over words? After some years had passed, it chanced one day that the same Góre was sitting under a ship, and with his own knife was scraping the bark (?) from a spear-shaft. Then he heard some men near by fighting among themselves, and he rose quickly, to part the fighters; and his knee, striking against that knife, which in the sudden movement he had carelessly dropped on the ground, was severely wounded. And by this companion's doing, the cause of his death arose. Directly, with consternation of mind, he remembered that it was in accordance with the prophecy of the holy man. And after some months, oppressed by this evil, he died.

<sup>11</sup> *cristiliam*. This may perhaps have been a corruption, in speech, of *crustulam*. At the same time, *is* could have been a textual error for the Irish ligature of *us*.

<sup>12</sup> negligentius A; neglig- B1; neclig- B3

<sup>13</sup> genucla A; geni'cula B1; genicula B3

<sup>14</sup> ei A B3; ejus B1

<sup>15</sup> aborta A; oborta B1 B3

De alia etiam ré quamlibet minore puto non  
esse tacenda sancti jucunda praescientia et  
profetizatio<sup>1</sup> viri

ALIO NAMQUE IN TEMPORE cum sanctus in Iova in-  
habitaret insula, unum de fratribus advocans sic con-  
pellat: 'Tertia ab hac inlucescente<sup>2</sup> die exspectare  
debebis in occidentali hujus insulae parte, super maris  
oram sedens. Nam de aquilonali Everniae<sup>3</sup> regione  
48b quaedam hospita grus<sup>4</sup> | ventis per longos aeris agitata  
circuitus post nonam diei horam valde fessa et fatigata  
superveniet, et pene consumptis viribus coram té in  
litore cadens recumbet. Quam misericorditer sublevare  
curabis, et ad propinquam deportabis domum, ibidem-  
que hospitaliter receptam per tres dies et noctes ei  
ministrans sollicite cibabis. Et post, expleto recreata  
triduo, nolens ultra apud nos perigrinari,<sup>5</sup> ad priorem  
Scotiae dulcem unde orta<sup>6</sup> remeabit regionem plene  
resumptis viribus. Quam ideo tibi sic deligenter<sup>7</sup> com-  
mendo, quia de nostrae paternitatis regione<sup>8</sup> est  
oriunda'.

Obsecundat frater, tertiaque die<sup>9</sup> post horam nonam  
ut jusus<sup>10</sup> praescitae<sup>11</sup> adventum prestatur<sup>12</sup> hospitae;  
49a adventantemque<sup>13</sup> de litore | levat lapsam, ad hospitium

<sup>1</sup> profetizatio A; prophetia B1; prophetica B3

<sup>2</sup> *inlucescente*. If this is to be taken with *hac*, the suggestion is that the conversation occurred after the office of prime. Cf. p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> everniae A; hibernie B1 B3

<sup>4</sup> grus A B3; crus B1

<sup>5</sup> perigrinari A; -reg- B1 B3

<sup>6</sup> orta A B3; orta est B1

<sup>7</sup> deligenter A; dil- B1 B3

<sup>8</sup> *regione*. The ancestral land of Columba (and of Adomnan) was the land of the cenel-Conaill, in north-western Ireland.

<sup>9</sup> *tertia die* would normally mean 'two days later'; but above, 48a, the meaning seems to be 'three days after' the time of speaking, and the same is implied by *post ternos soles*, 49a.

[I 48] In another matter also, though it be a  
lesser one, yet I think that the holy man's  
pleasant foreknowledge and prophecy  
should not be passed over in silence

At one time, while the saint was living in the island of Io, he called in one of the brothers, and thus addressed him: 'On the third day from this that dawns, you must watch in the western part of this island, sitting above the sea-shore; for after the ninth hour of the day a guest will arrive from the northern region of Ireland, very tired and weary, a crane that has been tossed by winds through long circuits of the air. And with its strength almost exhausted it will fall near you and lie upon the shore. You will take heed to lift it tenderly, and carry it to the house near by; and, having taken it in as a guest there for three days and nights, you will wait upon it, and feed it with anxious care. And afterwards, at the end of the three days, revived and not wishing to be longer in pilgrimage with us, it will return with fully recovered strength to the sweet district of Ireland from which at first it came. I commend it to you thus earnestly, for this reason, that it comes from the district of our fathers'.

The brother obeyed; and on the third day, after the ninth hour, as he had been bidden, he awaited the coming of the foreknown guest. When it arrived, he lifted it from the shore where it had fallen; in its

<sup>10</sup> ut jusus A. Omitted in B1 B3.

<sup>11</sup> praescitae A; a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *i*. presci'te B1; prescite B3

<sup>12</sup> prestatur A; the first *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -stol- B1 B3

<sup>13</sup> adventantemque A B1; -tatem- B3

portat infirmam, essurientem<sup>1</sup> cibata. Cui ad monasterium vespere reverso sanctus non interrogans sed narrans ait: 'Benedicat te deus, mi filii,<sup>2</sup> quia perigrinae<sup>3</sup> bene ministrasti hospitae; quae in perigrinatione<sup>4</sup> non demorabitur, sed post ternos soles ad patriam repeda[b]it'.<sup>5</sup> Quod ita ut sanctus praedixit et<sup>6</sup> res etiam probavit. Nam trinalibus hospitata diebus, coram hospite ministro<sup>7</sup> de terra se primum volando elevans in sublime, paulisperque<sup>8</sup> in aere viam speculata, ociani<sup>9</sup> transvadato equore ad Everniam<sup>10</sup> recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo. .

De bello quod in munitione Cethirni<sup>11</sup> post multa commissum est tempora, et de quodam fonticulo ejusdem terrulae proximo, beati<sup>12</sup> praescientia viri. . |

49b ALIO IN TEMPORE vir beatus cum post regum in dorso Cette<sup>13</sup> conductum, Aidi<sup>14</sup> videlicet filii Ainmurech,<sup>15</sup> et Aidani<sup>16</sup> filii Gabrani,<sup>17</sup> ad campos reverteretur equore[o]s,<sup>18</sup> ipse et Comgellus abbas<sup>19</sup> quadam serena aestei<sup>20</sup> temporis die haut procul a supra memorata

<sup>1</sup> essurientem A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot below made by a fine pen. esu- B1 B3

<sup>2</sup> filii A; the third *i* has later been deleted with a dot below made by a fine pen. fili B1 B3

<sup>3</sup> perigrinae A; peregrine B1 B3      <sup>4</sup> perigrinatione; pere- B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> repedavit A; a small *b* (?text hand) has been written above *v*. -abit B1 B3      <sup>6</sup> et A. Omitted in B1 B3.

<sup>7</sup> ministro. In A, a medial punctuation point is wrongly placed, by the text-hand, after this word. The point stands before *coram* in B1 B3.

<sup>8</sup> paulisperque A B3; paulisper B1

<sup>9</sup> ociani A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. oceano B1; oceani B3

<sup>10</sup> everniam A; hiberniam B1 B3

<sup>11</sup> *munitione cethirni* is a translation of *dún Cethirn*. The place intended was almost certainly the hill-fort on Sconce Hill, about five miles west of Coleraine. See Reeves 1857, pp. 95-6.

weakness, he carried it to the lodging; in its hunger, he fed it. When he returned to the monastery in the evening, the saint, not questioning but affirming, said to him: 'God bless you, my son, because you have tended well the pilgrim guest; which will not remain in pilgrimage, but after three days will return home'.

This, precisely as the saint foretold, the event also proved to be true. After being a guest for three days, it first rose from the ground in the presence of its host that had cared for it, and flew to a height; and then, after studying the way for a while in the air, crossed the expanse of ocean, and in calm weather took its way back to Ireland, in a straight line of flight.

[I 49] The blessed man's foreknowledge regarding a battle that was fought many years later in the fortress of Cethern; and regarding a well close to the land of that fortress

At one time, after the conference of kings in the ridge of Cete (namely of Aid, Ainmure's son, and Aidan, Gabran's son), when the blessed man was returning to the plains of the sea-coast, he and the abbot Comgell sat down not far from the above-mentioned fortress, on

<sup>12</sup> beati A; sancti B1 B3

<sup>13</sup> cete A, with two over-dashes; cete B1 B3. The council of Druimm-céte was held perhaps at the Mullach, near Newtown Limavady, on the river Roe, in county Londonderry, about A.D. 575. See p. 40.

<sup>14</sup> aidi A B3, with two over-dashes in A; a'idi B1

<sup>15</sup> ainmurech A B1, with three over-dashes in A; ammurech B3

<sup>16</sup> aidani A; aida'ni B1; aidam B3

<sup>17</sup> gabrani A B3, with three over-dashes in A; gabra'ni B1

<sup>18</sup> equoreas A; a very fine dot has later been added above *a*. -eos B1 B3

<sup>19</sup> abbas. Comgell was the founder of the abbey of Bangor, county Down. His death is entered in A.U. under A.D. 601=602.

<sup>20</sup> aestei A; estivi B1 B3



munitione resedent.<sup>1</sup> Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo ad manus lavandas fonticulo ad sanctos in eneo<sup>2</sup> defertur vasculo. Quam cum sanctus Columba accipisset<sup>3</sup> ad abbatem Comgellum a latere sedentem sic profatur: 'Ille fonticulus, Ó Comgelle, de quo haec effusa nobis allata est aqua veniet dies quando nullis ussibus<sup>4</sup> humanis aptus erit'. 'Qua causa' ait Comgellus,<sup>5</sup> 'ejus fontana corrumpetur unda?'<sup>6</sup> Sanctus tum<sup>7</sup> Columba: 'Quia humano' inquit, 'cruore 50a replebitur. Nam mei cognitionales<sup>8</sup> | amici, et tui secundum carnem cognati, (hoc est Nellis<sup>9</sup> nepotes, et Cruthini<sup>10</sup> populi) in hac vicina munitione Cethirni<sup>11</sup> belligerantes committent bellum. Unde in supra memorato fonte aliquis de mea cognitione trucidabitur homuncio; cujus cum ceteris interfecti sanguine ejusdem fonticuli locus replebitur'.

Quae ejus veridica suo tempore post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello ut multi norunt populi Domnallus Aidi filius victor sublimatus est<sup>12</sup>; et in eodem secundum sancti vaticinium viri fonticulo quidam de parantella<sup>13</sup> ejus interfectus est homo. Alius

<sup>1</sup> resedent A<sub>3</sub>; the second *e* has later been altered to *i* with a down-stroke by a fine pen. resideret B<sub>1</sub>; resident B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> eneo A B<sub>3</sub>; in A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above the first *e*, and a hairpin loop has been added below, with a very fine pen, changing *e* to *ae*. *e'ne*o B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> accipisset A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -cep- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> ussibus A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot below. usibus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> comgellus A B<sub>3</sub>; cogellus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> unda A B<sub>3</sub>; vena B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>7</sup> tum A B<sub>1</sub>; tunc B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> cognitionales A; cogniciales B<sub>1</sub>; cognicionales B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> nellis A B<sub>3</sub>; nellus B<sub>1</sub>. Columba's people were the northern Ui-Néill. See pp. 67, 136.

<sup>10</sup> cruthini A B<sub>3</sub>; cruithi'ni B<sub>1</sub>. See p. 134. Here, the *Cru' thini populi* are placed in antithesis to *Néllis nepotes*. The construction is parallel with that of *genus Loerni* 101b. It is noteworthy that Adomnan makes Cruthen the eponym of the Cruithni, and not an individual Cruithnian. The

a fine day of summer. Then water for washing their hands was brought to the saints in a bronze vessel, from a well close by. When Saint Columba had received it, he spoke thus to abbot Comgell, who was sitting by his side: 'Comgell, the day will come when that well, from which this water, poured out for us, has been brought, will be fit for no human use'. 'How' said Comgell, 'will its springing water be defiled?' Saint Columba then replied: 'Because it will be filled with human blood. For my friends by kinship, and your kinsmen according to the flesh (that is to say the descendants of Néll, and the peoples of Cruthen), being at war will fight a battle in this near-by fortress of Cethern. And so one of my kindred will be slaughtered in the above-mentioned well, and with the blood of that poor fellow, killed among the rest, the place of that well will be filled'.

This true prophecy of his was fulfilled in its time, after many years, in the battle in which, as many people know, Domnall Aid's son was raised up as victor; and in the same well, in accordance with the holy man's prophecy, a certain man of his kindred was killed.

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words *Cruthini populi* represent the Irish *Cruthen-tuatha* (literally 'Cruthen-tribes'). If *Cruthini* had been a nominative plural, it would, according to Adomnan's normal usage, have been a noun in apposition, not an adjective. Comgell (called *mocu-Aridi*, 118a) was a member of the tribe Dal-nAridi, which held the principal kingdom of Cruithni in northern Ireland.

<sup>11</sup> cethirni A; cethi'rni B<sub>1</sub>; cechirni B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *sublimatus est*. This may mean that Domnall Aid's son became the king of Ireland after the battle. In the battle of Dun-Cethirn (A.U. 628=629), Comgell's kinsman, Congal Caich, the king of Dal-nAridi and of Ulaid, was defeated. He was killed in a battle fought against Domnall Aid's son at Roth; see pp. 47-8.

<sup>13</sup> parantella A; a small *e* has been written by m.h. above the second *a*, and the first *l* has been erased but not by the text-hand. parentela B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

50b mihi Adomnano<sup>1</sup> Christi miles Finanus nomine, qui vitam multis anchoriticam<sup>2</sup> annis juxta roboreti monasterium campi inreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello se praesente commiso<sup>3</sup> aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicto fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse; eademque die ad monasterium sancti Comgil<sup>4</sup> quod scotice dicitur Cambas<sup>5</sup> commiso<sup>6</sup> reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat; ibidemque duos sancti Comgilli<sup>7</sup> senes<sup>8</sup> monacos<sup>9</sup> repperisse, quibus cum de bello coram se acto et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto aliquanta enarraret, illi consequenter: 'Verus profeta Columba' aiunt, 'qui haec omnia, quae hodie<sup>10</sup> de bello et de fonticulo expleta enarras, ante multos annos futura nobis audientibus coram sancto Comgello juxta Cethirni<sup>11</sup> sedens munitionem praenuntiaverat'<sup>12</sup>.

De diversorum discretione xeniorum  
sancto revelata<sup>13</sup> viro diali gratia. . |

51a EODEM IN TEMPORE Conallus episcopus Cule-rathin,<sup>14</sup> collectis a populo campi Eilni<sup>15</sup> pene innumerabilibus xenis,<sup>16</sup> beato viro hospitium praeparavit post conductum

<sup>1</sup> adomnano A; á domnano B<sub>1</sub>; adamnano B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> anchoriticam A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. anacoreticam B<sub>1</sub>; anachoreticam B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> commiso A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *is*. -isso B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> comgil A; comgelli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> cambas A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with two over-dashes in A. This monastery is said to have been on the west side of the Bann. Cf. Reeves 1857, p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> commi|so A; an *s* has been added by m.h. after *i*. -isso B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> comgilli A; comgelli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> senes A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> monacos A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *co*. -chos B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> quae hodie. Here B<sub>2</sub> begins again; see 37a.

<sup>11</sup> cethirni A; ce'thirni B<sub>1</sub>; with -*in* changed to -*ni* by an apex added above the last stroke by the text-hand; cethirin B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> praenuntiaverat A; -at B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; -ant B<sub>2</sub>

Another soldier of Christ, Finan by name, who for many years lived irreproachably the life of an anchorite beside the monastery of the plain of the oakwood [Durrow], described to me, Adomnan, some things concerning that battle, fought in his presence, and bore witness that he had seen a dismembered corpse in the above-mentioned well; and that returning on the same day, after the battle was fought, to the monastery of Saint Comgell that is in Irish called *Cambas*, since it was from there that he had come before, he had found there two old men, monks of Saint Comgell. And when he had related to them something concerning the battle that had been fought in his sight, and the well defiled with human blood, they immediately said: 'A true prophet was Columba who, in our hearing, foretold as happening in the future all these things concerning the battle, and the well, that you tell us have been fulfilled today, when, many years ago, he sat with Saint Comgell beside the fortress of Cethern'.

[I 50] Concerning the distinction, revealed  
to the holy man by the grace of God,  
between different gifts

At the same time, Conall, the bishop of Cul-rathin [Coleraine], collected from the people of the plain of Eilne almost innumerable gifts, and prepared a lodging

<sup>13</sup> *revelata*. In A, the *ve* has been inserted above, by the text-hand.

<sup>14</sup> culerathin A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with four over-dashes in A; culerathi 'n B<sub>1</sub>. The bishop of Coleraine appears also to have been head of the monastery.

<sup>15</sup> eilni A, with two over-dashes; elni' B<sub>1</sub>; elni B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Eilne lay between the rivers Bann and Bush.

<sup>16</sup> xenis A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; exeniis B<sub>3</sub>

supra memoratorum regum turba prosequente multa revertenti. Proinde sancto adveniēti<sup>1</sup> viro xenia<sup>2</sup> populi multa in platea monasterii strata<sup>3</sup> benedicenda adsignantur. Quae cum benedicens aspiceret, xenium alicujus opulenti viri specialiter demonstrans: 'Virum' ait, 'cujus est hoc xenium<sup>4</sup> pro misericordiis pauperum et ejus largitione dei<sup>5</sup> comitatur misericordia'.

Itemque aliud discernit inter alia multa xenium,<sup>6</sup> inquiens: 'De hoc ego xenio viri sapientis et avari nullo modo gustare possum nisi prius veram de peccato avaritiae penitudinem egerit'. Quod verbum | cito in 51b turba divulgatum<sup>7</sup> audiens adcurrit<sup>8</sup> Columbus filius Aidi<sup>9</sup> conscius, et coram sancto flexis genibus penitentiam agit, et de cetero avaritiae abrenuntiaturum se promittit, et largitatem cum morum emendatione consequitur. Et jusus<sup>10</sup> a sancto surgere ex illa hora est sanatus de vitio tenacitatis. Erat enim vir sapiens sicuti sancto in ejus revelatum erat xenio.

Ille vero dives largus, Brendenus<sup>11</sup> nomine, de cujus xenio paulo superius dictum est, audiens et ipse sancti verba de se dicta ingeniculans ad pedes sancti precatur, ut pro eo ad dominum sanctus fundat precem. Qui ab eo primum pro quibusdam suis objurgatus peccatis penitudinem gerens, de cetero se emendaturum promissit. Et<sup>12</sup> sic uterque de propriis emendatus et sanatus est vitiis. . |

<sup>1</sup> *adveniēti*. Before this word, in A, *et* has been added by m.h. above the line, unnecessarily.

<sup>2</sup> *xenia* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; *exenia* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *in platea strata*. Cf. p. 114. Another possible translation is: 'in the paved courtyard'.

<sup>4</sup> *xenium* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *exenium* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *dei* A; *diu* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (perhaps an error for *dn̄i*, domini).

<sup>6</sup> *xenium* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; *exenium* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> *divulgatum* A; the *e* has later been altered to *i* with a long downstroke made by a fine pen. *div-* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

for the blessed man, when, with a large crowd accompanying him, he was returning after the conference of the above-named kings. So when the holy man arrived, the many gifts of the people were presented to him for benediction, laid out in the courtyard of the monastery. While he was blessing and examining them, he pointed especially to the gift of a rich man, saying: 'God's mercy goes with the man whose gift this is, for his mercies to the poor, and his generosity'.

Again, he distinguished one gift among many others, saying: 'I can taste nothing of this, the gift of a wise but avaricious man, unless he first shows true repentance for the sin of avarice'. This saying was quickly made known among the crowd, and hearing it Columb, Aid's son, conscience-stricken, ran up, and on bended knees expressed penitence in the presence of the saint, and promised that he would thenceforward renounce avarice, mend his ways, and practise liberality. And when he was bidden by the saint to rise, from that hour he was cured of the vice of meanness. For he was a wise man, as had been revealed to the saint in his gift.

That generous rich man, by name Brenden, of whose gift mention was made a little above, also heard the saint's words spoken concerning himself; and kneeling at the saint's feet, he prayed that the saint would raise a prayer for him to the Lord. First he was chidden by him for certain sins, and professing repentance he promised that he would thenceforth amend. And so each was corrected and healed of his particular faults.

<sup>8</sup> *adcurrit* A; *cucurrit* B<sub>1</sub>; *accurrit* B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> *aidi* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with two over-dashes in A; *a'idi* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> *jusus* A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above the first *us*. *jussus* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> *brendenus* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *brede'nus* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *et* A; *Et* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; *Q'* B<sub>3</sub>

52a Simili scientia sanctus et alio tempore xenium alicujus tenacis viri inter multa cognovit xenia, Diormiti<sup>1</sup> nomine, ad cellam magnam Deathrib<sup>2</sup> in ejus adventu collecta.

Haec de beati viri profetica gratia, quasi de plurimis pauca, in hujus libelli textu primi craxasse<sup>3</sup> sufficiat. 'Pauca' dixi, nam hoc de venerabili viro non est dubitandum, quod valde numerosiora fuerint quae in notitiam hominum sacramenta interius celata<sup>4</sup> venire nullo modo poterant quam ea quae quasi quaedam parva aliquando stillicidia veluti per quasdam rimulas alicujus pleni vassis<sup>5</sup> ferventissimo novo distillabant<sup>6</sup> vino. Nam sancti et apostolici viri vanam evitantes gloriam plerumque in quantum possunt interna quaedam  
52b arcana<sup>7</sup> sibi intrinsecus | a deo manifestata celare festinant. Sed deus nonnulla ex eis, vellint nollint<sup>8</sup> ipsi, devulgat<sup>9</sup> et in medium quoquo profert modo; videlicet glorificare volens glorificantes sé sanctos, hoc est ipsum dominum, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. .<sup>10</sup>

Huic<sup>11</sup> primo libro híc<sup>12</sup> inponitur terminus. .<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> diormiti A B<sub>3</sub>; diormi'thi B<sub>1</sub>; Jti B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> deathrib A, with three over-dashes; dethirid B<sub>1</sub>; dethrib B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>. This place was below Lough Key, near the Shannon. See 43a, 67b, and p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> craxasse A; caraxasse B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> celata A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; scelata B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> vassis A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot below made by a fine pen. vasis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> distillabant A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; des- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> arcana A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *ca.* archana B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> vellint nollint A; the first *l* in each word has later been deleted with a dot below made by a fine pen. velint nolint B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> devulgat A; the *e* has later been altered to *i* with a down-stroke made by a fine pen. div- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> saeculorum A; saeculorum amen B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> Huic A; Hic B<sub>1</sub>; De B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

At another time, with similar knowledge, the saint recognized the gift of a certain niggardly man, Diormit by name, among many gifts that were brought to the great church of Deathrib at the coming of the saint.

Let it suffice to have written down these things, as a few instances out of very many of the blessed man's prophetic gift, in the text of this first book. I say 'few', because it cannot be doubted, in the case of the venerable man, that the instances which, inwardly concealed as holy mysteries, could never come to the knowledge of men, were far more numerous than those that from time to time dripped, as it were, like small drops through the cracks of a vessel filled with new strongly-fermenting wine. For holy and apostolic men, shunning vainglory, very often hasten to conceal, as well as they can, such inner secrets as are manifested to them inwardly by God. But, whether they will or no, God makes known, and in one way or another publicly exposes, some of these things; inasmuch as he wishes to glorify the saints that glorify him, namely the Lord himself, to whom be glory, through the ages of the ages.

Here an end is put to this first book.

<sup>12</sup> híc A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> terminus. After this word, a contents-list of Book II is given by B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, beginning: *Capitula secundi libri incipiunt de virtutum miraculis*; and ending: *Expliciunt capitula secundi libri* (B<sub>3</sub>; B<sub>2</sub> partly illegible). In general, the list copies the chapter-headings that appear in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Deviations of the list from the chapter-headings are noted below, in the footnotes. See p. 9. The contents-list was included in the editions of Reeves and Fowler, who placed it after *comitatur* below.

Nunc sequens orditur<sup>1</sup> liber de virtutum miraculis quae plerumque etiam profetalis praescientia<sup>2</sup> comitatur. .

53a De vino quod de aqua factum est<sup>3</sup> |

ALIO IN TEMPORE<sup>4</sup> cum vir venerandus<sup>5</sup> in Scotia apud sanctum Findbarrum<sup>6</sup> episcopum adhuc juvenis sapientiam sacrae scripturae addiscens commaneret, quadam sollemni die vinum ad sacrificiale misterium<sup>7</sup> cassu<sup>8</sup> aliquo minime inveniebatur. De cujus defectu cum ministros altaris inter sé conquirentes<sup>9</sup> audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit<sup>10</sup> urceo, ut ad sacra eucharistiae ministeria aquam quasi diacon<sup>11</sup> fontanam auriret.<sup>12</sup> Ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu amministrans.<sup>13</sup> Vir itaque beatus aquaticum quod de latice ausit<sup>14</sup> elimentum<sup>15</sup> invocato nomine domini Jesu Christi fideliter benedixit, qui in Cana<sup>16</sup> Galileae<sup>17</sup> aquam<sup>18</sup> convertit; quo<sup>19</sup> etiam in hoc operante miraculo inferior hoc est aquatica | natura in gratiorem videlicet vinalem per manus praedicabilis viri conversa est speciem.

Vir itaque sanctus a fonte reversus et ecclesiam intrans talem juxta altare urceum intra se habentem deponit

<sup>1</sup> Nunc sequens orditur A; Incipit secundus B1 B3. Instead of *Nunc comitatur*, B2 read: *Incipit liber [secundus]*.

<sup>2</sup> plerumque etiam profetalis praescientia A; plerumque et praescientia propheta'lis B1; plenissime plerumque etiam praescientia propheta'lis B3

<sup>3</sup> *De to est.* So also in B1 and contents-list of B3; omitted here by B3. B2 and contents-list of B2 read: *De vino quod factum est de aqua.* A's heading is written in the third and fourth of eleven lines that had been left blank at the foot of 52b. In the bottom of the column, 6 or 7 letters (?m.h.) have been written, with the page upside-down, perhaps beginning *Colum*; and smeared out, while the ink was wet.

<sup>4</sup> *Alio in tempore* A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>5</sup> *vir venerandus* A; *venerandus vir* B1 B3; *vir sanctus columba* B2

<sup>6</sup> *findbarrum* A; *fendbarrum* B1 B2 B3. See p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> *misterium* A B1 B3; *ministerium* B2

Now begins the next book, concerning miracles of power, which are often accompanied by prophetic foreknowledge.

[II 1] Of wine that was made from water

At one time, when the venerable man, while still a youth, was living in Ireland with the holy bishop Findbarr, acquiring knowledge of sacred scripture, it chanced on a certain festival that no wine was found for the sacrificial rite. When he heard the attendants of the altar lamenting among themselves over the lack of it, he took a pitcher and went to the well, so that he as a deacon might draw spring water for the sacred purposes of the Eucharist; for at that time he was serving in the order of deacon. So the blessed man blessed in faith the watery element that he drew from the spring, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who transmuted water in Cana of Galilee; by whose power in this miracle also the baser, that is the watery, substance was changed into the more desirable form, that is to say of wine, through the hands of the memorable man. The holy man returned from the well and entered the church, and put down beside the altar the

<sup>8</sup> *cassu* A; the first *s* has later been erased. *casu* B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> *conquirentes* A; *-quer-* B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> *pergit* A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

<sup>11</sup> *diacon* | A; a *us* symbol has been written by m.h. above *n.* *diaconus* B1 B2 B3. Cf. *diacon* in 73a2.

<sup>12</sup> *auriret* A; an *h* has been written by m.h. before *a.* *haur-* B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> *amministrans.* In A, the first *m* has been underlined, and *d* has been written by m.h. above it.

<sup>14</sup> *ausit* A; *hausit* B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> *elimentum* A; *ele-* B1 B2 B3

<sup>16</sup> *cana* A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *ca.* *chana* B1 B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> *galileae* A; *galilée* B1; *galée* B2; *galilee* B3

<sup>18</sup> *aquam* A; *aquam* in *vinum* B1 B2 B3

<sup>19</sup> *quo* A; *Quod* B1; *Quo* B2 B3

liquorem, et ad ministros : 'Habetis' ait, 'vinum quod dominus Jesus ad sua misit peragenda misteria'. Quo cognito sanctus cum<sup>1</sup> ministris episcopus<sup>2</sup> eximias deo referunt<sup>3</sup> grates. Sanctus vero juvenis hoc non sibimet sed sancto Vinniavo<sup>4</sup> adscribebat episcopo. Hoc itaque protum<sup>5</sup> virtutis documentum Christus dominus per suum declaravit discipulum, quod in eadem<sup>6</sup> ré initium ponens signorum in Cana<sup>7</sup> Galileae<sup>8</sup> operatus est per semet ipsum.

Hujus<sup>9</sup> inquam libelli quasi quaedam lucerna inlustret exordium, quod per nostrum Columbam diale manifestatum est miraculum, ut deinceps transeamus  
54a ad caetera quae per ipsum | ostensa sunt virtutum miracula. .

De alicujus arboris fructu amaro per sancti benedictionem in dulcedinem<sup>10</sup> verso<sup>11</sup>

QUAEDAM ERAT arbor valde pomosa prope monasterium roboris campi in australi ejus parte ; de qua cum incolae loci quoddam haberent<sup>12</sup> pro nimia fructus amaritudine querimonium, quadam die sanctus<sup>13</sup> ad eam<sup>14</sup> accessit autumnali tempore. Vidensque lignum incassum abundos<sup>15</sup> habere fructus, qui ex eis gustantes plus lederent quam dilectarent,<sup>16</sup> sancta elevata manu

<sup>1</sup> cum A B2 B3. Omitted in B1.

<sup>2</sup> epi's A ; episcopus B2 ; episcopis B1 B3. In B1, the final s of *ministris* and of *episcopis* has been erased, and a marginal note by the reviser emends *sanctus* to *sancti*.

<sup>3</sup> referunt A B3 ; re'ferunt B1 ; refert B2, correcting the grammar.

<sup>4</sup> vinniavo A B2 ; vinniano B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> protum A ; promptum B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> eadem A B2 B3 ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. ea'dem B1

<sup>7</sup> cana A ; chana B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> galileae A ; galilee B1 B3 ; galée B2

<sup>9</sup> *Hujus* has a large coloured initial letter in A B1 B2 B3.

pitcher containing this fluid. And he said to the attendants : 'Here is wine, which the Lord Jesus has sent for the performance of his rite'. Learning this, the holy bishop with the attendants returned great thanks to God. But the holy youth attributed it not to himself, but to the holy bishop Findbarr. And so Christ the Lord manifested through his disciple, as a first evidence of power, this that he had performed through himself in Cana of Galilee, when he made the same thing the beginning of his signs.

Let this miracle of God that was shown through our Columba illumine like a lantern the opening of this book, so that we may pass forward to the other miracles of power that were shown through him.

[II 2] Concerning the bitter fruit of a tree, turned to sweetness by the saint's blessing

Near the monastery of the plain of the oak [Durrow], on its southern side, there was a tree that bore much fruit. Since the inhabitants of the place made a complaint against it because of the too great bitterness of the fruit, the saint went to it one day in the autumn season. And seeing that the tree vainly produced abundant fruit, more hurtful than pleasing to those that tasted it, he raised his holy hand, blessed the tree, and

<sup>10</sup> dulcedinem A ; -ced- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>11</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads : *De amarissimis alicujus arboris pomis in dulcedinem per sancti benedictionem versis* (B2 partly illegible).

<sup>12</sup> haberent A B1 B3 ; -entur B2

<sup>13</sup> sanctus A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>14</sup> eam A B1 B3 ; eandem B2

<sup>15</sup> abundos A ; habundos B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>16</sup> dilectarent A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. del- B1 B2 B3

benedicens ait : ' In nomine omnipotentis dei, omnis tua amaritudo Ó arbor amara a té recedat, tuaque huc usque amarissima nunc in dulcissima vertantur poma '.  
 Mirum dictu, dicto citius eodemque momento ejusdem  
 54b arboris | omnia poma amisa<sup>1</sup> amaritudine in miram secundum verbum sancti versa sunt dulcidinem.<sup>2</sup>

De segite<sup>3</sup> post medium aestatis tempus seminata, et in exordio agusti mens[is]<sup>4</sup> sancto orante mesa in Iova conversante insula.<sup>5</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus suos misit monacos,<sup>6</sup> ut de alicujus plebei agellulo virgarum fasciculos ad hospitium afferent<sup>7</sup> construendum. Qui cum ad sanctum oneraria repleta navi de supradictis virgularum materiis reversi venirent, dicerentque plebeum ejusdem causa dispendii valde contristatum, sanctus consequenter precipiens dicit : ' Ne ergo illum scandalizemus virum, ad ipsum a nobis bis terni deferantur ordei modii<sup>8</sup> ; eosdemque his in<sup>9</sup> diebus arata ipse seminet in terra '. Quibus ad  
 55a plebeum Findchanum<sup>10</sup> | nomine juxta sancti jusionem misís,<sup>11</sup> et coram eo cum tali commendatione adsignatis, gratanter accipiens ait : ' Quomodo post medium esteum<sup>12</sup> tempus seges seminata contra hujus naturam terrae proficiet ? '<sup>13</sup> Marita econtra : ' Fac ' ait, ' secun-

<sup>1</sup> amisa A ; a small s has been written by m.h. above i. amissa B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> dulcidinem A ; -ced- B1 B2 B3      <sup>3</sup> segite A ; segete B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> agusti mense A ; mensis augusti B1 ; augusti mensis B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads : *De terra post medium aestatis tempus arata et seminata mensis augusti incipientis exordio maturam messem proferente.*

<sup>6</sup> monacos A ; a small h has been written by m.h. above co. -chos B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> afferent A B3 ; in A, a small r has been written by m.h. above r. afferent B1 B2

said : ' In the name of almighty God, thou bitter tree, may all thy bitterness leave thee, and thy fruit, hitherto most bitter, now become most sweet '. Marvellous to say, more quickly than words, and in the same moment, all the fruit of that tree lost its bitterness, and was changed, according to the saint's word, into wonderful sweetness.

[II 3] Concerning a crop of grain sown after the middle of summer, and reaped in the beginning of the month of August, at the prayer of the saint, while he was living in the island of Io

At one time, the saint sent his monks to bring bundles of wattle from the field of a certain layman, for the building of a guest-house. When, having filled a freight-ship with the aforesaid materials of wattle, they returned and came to the saint, and said that the layman was much distressed on account of this loss, the saint immediately gave instructions, saying : ' Therefore, lest we offend the man, let twice three measures of barley be taken to him from us ; and let him sow the same at this time, in ploughed land '.

When, according to the saint's command, the grain had been sent to the layman, Findchan by name, and delivered to him with this instruction, he, while receiving it gladly, said : ' How shall a crop sown after mid-summer succeed, against the nature of this land ? ' His wife on the contrary said : ' Do according to the bidding

<sup>8</sup> modii. Cf. 42b.      <sup>9</sup> in A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>10</sup> findchanum A ; findcha'num B1 ; findcanum B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> misís A ; a small s has been added by m.h. above the first is. missis B1 B2 B3      <sup>12</sup> esteum A ; esti'vum B1 ; estivum B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> proficiet. After this word, in A, a question-mark has been added by m.h. ; B1 B2 B3 have question-marks.

dum sancti mandatum, cui dominus donabit quodcumque ab eo postulaverit'. Sed et qui misi<sup>1</sup> sunt simul hoc addiderunt, dicendo: 'Sanctus Columba, qui nos ad té cum hoc misit munere, hoc mandatum per nos de tua commendavit segite,<sup>2</sup> dicens: "Homo ille in omnipotentia dei confidat. Seges ejus quamvis de mense junio xv.<sup>3</sup> premisis<sup>4</sup> diebus seminata in principiis agusti<sup>5</sup> mensis metetur". Obsequitur plebeus arando<sup>6</sup> et seminando; et mesem<sup>7</sup> quam supradicto in tempore contra spem seminavit cum omnium ammiratione<sup>8</sup> | 55b vicinorum in exordio agusti<sup>9</sup> mensis maturam juxta verbum sancti mesuit,<sup>10</sup> in loco terrae quae dicitur Delcros.<sup>11</sup>

De morbifera<sup>12</sup> nube et plurimorum<sup>13</sup> sanitate.

ALIO ITIDEM<sup>14</sup> IN TEMPORE cum sanctus in Iova commoraretur insula, sedens in monticulo qui latine munitio<sup>15</sup> magna dicitur, videt ab aquilone nubem densam et pluialem<sup>16</sup> de mari die serena abortam.<sup>17</sup> Qua ascendente visa sanctus ad quendam de suis juxta se monacum<sup>18</sup> sedentem, nomine Silnanum filium Nemai-

<sup>1</sup> misi A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *is*. missi B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> segite A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -get- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> xu A; quindecim B1 B3; qui[ B2. Reeves misread *xu* as *xii*. See p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> premisis A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above the first *i*. premissis B1 B3; ]sis B2

<sup>5</sup> agusti A; augusti B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> arando A B1; orando B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>7</sup> mesem A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *es*. messem B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> ammiratione. In A, a small *d* has later been written above the first *m*.

<sup>9</sup> agusti A; augusti B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> mesuit A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *es*. messuit B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> delcros A B3; delcors B1; d[e]lcros B2. In A, the *c* does not join the *r*. The name is a compound of *delc* and *ros*.

of the saint, to whom the Lord will grant whatever he may ask of him'. And likewise the messengers also added this, and said: 'Saint Columba, who has sent us to you with this gift, gave this injunction through us in regard to your crop, saying: "Let that man trust in the omnipotence of God. His crop, although sown after fifteen days of the month of June have passed, will be reaped in the beginning of the month of August".'

The layman obeyed, in ploughing and sowing. And the harvest that, at the time spoken of above, he had sown without hope, he reaped, to the astonishment of all the neighbours, in the beginning of the month of August, fully ripe, according to the saint's word; in a piece of the land that is called Delcros.

[II 4] Of a pestiferous cloud, and the healing of very many people

Also at another time, while the saint was living in the island of Io, as he sat on the little hill that is in Latin called 'great fortress', he saw a heavy rain-cloud that had risen from the sea in the north, on a clear day. Watching it as it rose, the saint said to one of his monks, sitting beside him, by name Silnan, Nemaïd's son,

<sup>12</sup> morbifera A B3; morbi'fera B1; mortifera B2

<sup>13</sup> plurimorum. The contents-list of B2 reads *languentium*; that of B3, *-cium*.

<sup>14</sup> itidem A B2; i'tidem B1. Omitted in B3.

<sup>15</sup> munitio A; muni'tio B1; munitio mun B2; municio B3. This word is a translation of Irish *dún* 'fortress' (a neuter O-stem which in Iona has become feminine, and appears there to mean 'hill'); The *munitio magna* is Dun-Í, which has a clear view to the north, and no fortification.

<sup>16</sup> plu|ialem A; a *v* has been added by m.h. before *i*: pluivalem B1 B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> abortam A; ob- B1 B2 B3

<sup>18</sup> monacum A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *c*. -chum B1 B2 B3

*Handwritten note:* The name is a compound of *delc* and *ros*.



56a don,<sup>1</sup> mocu-Sogin<sup>2</sup> : 'Haec nubes' ait, 'valde nocua hominibus et pecoribus erit. Hacque die velocius transvolans super aliquantam Scotiae partem, hoc est ab illo rivulo qui dicitur Ailbine<sup>3</sup> usque ad vadum Clied,<sup>4</sup> pluuiam vespere distillabit morbiferam, quae gravia et purulenta humanis in corporibus et in pecorum uberibus nasci faciet ulcera. Quibus homines morbidi et pecodes<sup>5</sup> illa veninosa<sup>6</sup> gravitudine usque ad mortem molestati laborabunt. Sed nos eorum miserati subvenire langoribus domino miserante debemus. Tu ergo Silnane<sup>7</sup> nunc mecum descendens<sup>8</sup> de monte navigationem praepara crastina<sup>9</sup> die, vita comite et deo volente, a me pane accepto dei invocato nomine benedicto; quo in aqua<sup>10</sup> intincto homines ea consparsi<sup>11</sup> et pecora celerem recuperabunt salutem'.

Quid moramur? Die crastina his quae necessaria erant citius praeparatis Silnanus accepto de manu sancti pane benedicto in pace enavigavit. Cui sanctus a se eadem<sup>12</sup> emigranti hora addit hoc consulatorium<sup>13</sup> verbum, dicens: 'Confide filii,<sup>14</sup> ventos habebis secundos et prosperos die noctuque usque<sup>15</sup> ad illam pervenias

<sup>1</sup> nema|don A, with three over-dashes; nemaidon B1 B3; nemaido B2. See p. 147. Reeves 1857, p. 108, read this as *Nemani-don*, wrongly interpreting the heavy dash over *ma* as an *n* symbol (which A does not use).

<sup>2</sup> mocusogin A B2 B3, with four over-dashes in A; mocusogi'n B1. The mocu-Sogin appear to have been regarded as Cruithnians. See MacNeill 1911, pp. 62, 90; O'Rahilly 1946, pp. 465-6.

<sup>3</sup> ailbine A B2 B3, with three over-dashes in A; ailbi'ne B1. This river is identified with the Delvin, on the north boundary of county Dublin.

<sup>4</sup> clied A, with two over-dashes; clēeth B1 (the *th* was entered by the text-hand in accordance with a marginal alteration by the reviser); dēeth B2; cleeth B3. The *vadum Clied* or *Cleeth* became later *Ath cliath*, 'ford of hurdles', over the Liffey at Dublin.

<sup>5</sup> pecodes A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above *o*. pecudes B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> veninosa A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. venenosa B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> silnane A B2 B3; silna'ne B1

<sup>8</sup> descendens A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> Crastina A B1 B2 B3

mocu-Sogin: 'This cloud will be very hurtful to men and beasts; and on this day it will quickly move across, and in the evening drop pestiferous rain upon some part of Ireland, that is to say from the stream that is called Ailbine to Ath-clíath [Dublin]; and it will cause severe and festering sores to form on human bodies and the udders of animals. Men and cattle who suffer from them, afflicted with that poisonous disease, will be sick even to death. But we must take pity upon them and help them in their illness, by the mercy of God. You, Silnan, therefore now go down with me from the hill, and prepare to make a voyage tomorrow, if life continue and God will, after receiving from me bread that has been blessed with invocation of the name of God. When it is dipped in water, men and beasts sprinkled with that water will speedily recover health'.

Why do we linger? On the next day, all the necessary things having been quickly made ready, Silnan received from the saint's hand the bread that had been blessed; and he sailed away in peace. The saint gave him this additional word of encouragement in the hour of his departure, saying: 'Be confident, my son; you will have favourable and prosperous winds, by day and night, until you arrive at the district that is called

<sup>10</sup> aqua A; aquam B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>11</sup> conspari A; the loop of the *a* has been deleted by underpointing, and the second part of the *a* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -sper- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>12</sup> eadem A B3; in A, a circumflex accent has been written by m.h. above *a*. ea'dem B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> consulatorium A; -sol- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>14</sup> filii A; the third *i* has been erased, later than the time when a medial point (?m.h.) was inserted as punctuation after this word. fili B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>15</sup> usque A; usque quo B1 B2 B3

compax? 7  
small compax?

56b regionem quae dicitur Ard-ceannachte,<sup>1</sup> ut languen|tibus  
ibidem celerius cum salubri subvenias pane '.

Quid plura? Silnanus verbo obsequutus sancti,  
prospera et celeri<sup>2</sup> navigatione auxiliante domino ad  
supra memoratam perveniens partem, illius regionis<sup>3</sup>  
plebem de qua sanctus praedixerat devastatam nubis  
praedictae morbifera reperiit pluia superpluente citius  
praecurrentis. In primisque bis terni viri in eadem<sup>4</sup>  
mari vicina domu<sup>5</sup> reperti in extrimis<sup>6</sup> morte positi  
appropinquante<sup>7</sup> ab eodem Silnana aqua benedictionis  
aspersi in eadem praesenti<sup>8</sup> die oportunius sanati sunt.  
Cujus subitae sanationis rumor<sup>9</sup> per totam illam morbo  
pestilentiore<sup>10</sup> vastatam regionem cito divulgatus<sup>11</sup>  
omnem morbidum ad sancti Columbae legatum in-  
vitavit populum; qui juxta sancti mandatum homines<sup>12</sup>  
et pecora pane intincta benedicto aqua consparsit.<sup>13</sup> Et  
57a continuo | plenam recuperantes salutem homines cum  
pecodibus<sup>14</sup> salvati Christum in sancto Columba cum  
eximia<sup>15</sup> gratiarum actione laudarunt.

In hac itaque superscripta narratione ut estimo duo  
haec manifeste pariter comitantur,<sup>16</sup> hoc est gratia pro-  
fetationis de nube, et virtutis miraculum in egrotantium

<sup>1</sup> ard ceannachte A; ardcenachte B<sub>1</sub>; ardcenacte B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. This was  
a district in Brega, to the north of Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> celeri A; ce'leri B<sub>1</sub>; sceleri B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> regionis. After this word, there is no mark of punctuation in A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>  
B<sub>3</sub>. But one of the ninth-century or later punctuators has added a low  
point in A, and that was wrongly accepted by Reeves. After *partem* above,  
A B<sub>3</sub> have no stop, but there is a correct punctuation mark in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> eadem A B<sub>3</sub>; ei'dem B<sub>1</sub> (altered, apparently from *eadem*); eodem B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> domu A; domo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> extrimis A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -rem- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> appropinquante A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; -ti B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> praesenti A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> rumor A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; rumur B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> pestilentiore A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; pestilencie B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> divulgatus A; di- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> homines A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; homine B<sub>2</sub>

Ard-ceannachte, so that you may quickly cure the sick  
in that place, with the healing bread '.

Why say more? Following the saint's instruction,  
after a prosperous and speedy voyage Silnan arrived,  
with the Lord's help, at the place aforesaid; and found  
the people of that district, of whom the saint had fore-  
told, devastated by the pestiferous rain falling upon  
them from the cloud, which had gone more quickly  
before him. In the first place six men, in extremity  
and with death approaching, found in one house near  
the sea, were sprinkled by Silnan with water of the  
blessing, and were opportunely restored to health on  
that same day. The fame of that sudden cure was  
spread swiftly through the whole of that district, wasted  
by very pestilent disease, and drew all the sick people  
to Saint Columba's messenger, who according to the  
saint's command sprinkled men and beasts with water  
in which the blessed bread had been dipped. And  
immediately recovering full health the men, saved with  
their cattle, praised Christ in Saint Columba, with very  
great rendering of thanks.

In the story written above, these two things are, as  
I think, clearly associated together: that is to say, the  
grace of prophecy concerning the cloud, and the miracle  
of power in the curing of the sick. That these things

<sup>13</sup> consparsit A; the *a* has been altered by m.h. to *e* (as in *consparsi*, 56a).  
-spe'r- B<sub>1</sub>; -sper- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> pecodibus A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above *o*. -cud-  
B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> eximia A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; maxima B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>16</sup> comitantur A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; comittantur B<sub>3</sub>, with the *a* altered from *u*.

sanitate. Haec per omnia esse verissima supradictus Silnanus Christi miles sancti legatus Columbae coram Segineo<sup>1</sup> abbate et ceteris testatus est senioribus.<sup>2</sup>

De Maugina<sup>3</sup> sancta virgine Daimeni filia quae inhabitaverat hi Clochur<sup>4</sup> filiorum Daimeni<sup>5</sup>

57b ALIO IN TEMPORE sanctus, cum in<sup>6</sup> Iova demoraretur insula, prima diei hora quendam advocans fratrem Lugaidum<sup>7</sup> nomine, cujus cognomentum scotice Lathir<sup>8</sup> dicitur; et taliter eum | compellat, dicens<sup>9</sup>: 'Praepara cito ad Scotiam celerem navigationem, nam mihi valde est necesse té usque ad Clocherum<sup>10</sup> filiorum<sup>11</sup> Daimeni distinare<sup>12</sup> legatum. In hac enim praeterita nocte cassu<sup>13</sup> aliquo Maugina<sup>14</sup> sancta virgo filia Daimeni<sup>15</sup> ab oratorio post misam<sup>16</sup> domum reversa titubavit, coxaque ejus in duas confracta est partes.<sup>17</sup> Haec sepius meum inclamitans nomen commemorat, a domino sperans sé accepturam per me consulationem'.<sup>18</sup>

Quid plura? Lugaido<sup>19</sup> obsecundanti et consequenter emigranti sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione

<sup>1</sup> segineo A B2 B3; segine'o B1

<sup>2</sup> senioribus. After this, B1 B2 add: *Transeamus ad alia* 'Let us pass to other things'.

<sup>3</sup> maugina A; maugu'ina B1; mauguina B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> hi clochur A; in loco qui scotice dicitur clocher B1 B3 (clochcher B1); in loco q[ui sco]tie dicitur clocher B2. A's reading is O.I. for 'in Clocher'. The place was Clogher in Tyrone, later the head of an ecclesiastical district to the west of Armagh.

<sup>5</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: *De mauguina sancta virgine et fracture coxe ejus sanata*.

<sup>6</sup> in A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>7</sup> lugaidum A B2; luga'idum B1; lugaidium B3

<sup>8</sup> lathir A B2 B3, with two over-dashes in A; lathi'r B1. *Lathir* here, and *lathirus* in 86a, are equally well attested as Adomnan's spellings. They are epithets of the same man, and should express the same attribute. But they are inconsistent forms. *Lathir* 'strong' would make sense, but it is difficult to decide that *lathir* is wrong.

<sup>9</sup> dicens. The construction is: *advocans et taliter dicens . . . compellat*.

are in all respects perfectly true the aforesaid soldier of Christ, Silnan, Saint Columba's messenger, testified in presence of the abbot Segene and the other elders.

[II 5] Concerning Maugin, a holy virgin, Daimen's daughter, who lived in Clocher of the sons of Daimen

At another time while the saint resided in the island of Io, in the first hour of the day he summoned a brother, Lugaid by name, whose epithet in Irish speech is *Lathir*, and addressed him in these words: 'Prepare at once a speedy voyage to Ireland, for it is very needful that I should send you as an emissary to Clocher of the sons of Daimen. In this past night by some mischance the holy virgin Maugin, daughter of Daimen, returning after the office from the oratory to her house, stumbled; and her hip was broken into two pieces. Crying aloud she constantly repeats my name, hoping that she will obtain relief through me from the Lord'.

Why say more? Lugaid obeyed, and was presently setting out, when the saint handed to him a little box

<sup>10</sup> clocherum A B2 B3; clo'cherum B1

<sup>11</sup> filiorum A; filium B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> distinare A; des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> cassu A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot below made with a fine pen. casu B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>14</sup> ma|ugina A, with an over-dash above *ma*; maugu'ina B1; mauguina B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> daime|ni A, with two over-dashes above *daime*; daime'ni B1; daimeni B2 B3

<sup>16</sup> misam, A; missam B1 B2 B3. *Missa* means here the office of midnight. See p. 122.

<sup>17</sup> partes. In *De Locis* (Geyer 1898, p. 290), Adomnan described the death of a horse, *cujus coxa in duas confracta est partes*.

<sup>18</sup> consulationem A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -sol- B1 B2 B3

<sup>19</sup> lugaido A B2 B3; luga'ido B1

capsellam, dicens: 'Benedictio<sup>1</sup> quae in hac capsellula continetur<sup>2</sup> quando ad Mauginam<sup>3</sup> pervenies visitandam in aquae vasculum intinguatur; eademque benedictionis aqua super ejus infundatur coxam. Et 58a statim invocato dei nomine coxale conjungetur | os et densebitur<sup>4</sup>; et sancta virgo plenam recuperabit salutem'. Et hoc sanctus addit: 'En ego coram<sup>5</sup> in hujus<sup>6</sup> capsae operculo numerum xxiii.<sup>7</sup> annorum [describo],<sup>8</sup> quibus sacra virgo in hac presenti post eandem salutem victura est vita'.

Quae omnia sic plene expleta sunt, sicuti a sancto praedicta. Nam statim ut Lugaidus<sup>9</sup> ad sanctam pervenit virginem aqua benedicta sicut sanctus commendavit perfussa coxa sine ulla morula condensato osse plene sanata est. Et in adventu legati sancti Columbae cum ingenti gratiarum actione gavisus xxiii.<sup>10</sup> annis secundum<sup>11</sup> sancti profetiam post sanitatem in bonis actibus permanens vixit.

De his quae<sup>12</sup> in dorso Ceate<sup>13</sup> peractae<sup>14</sup> sunt diversorum sanitatibus morborum.<sup>15</sup>

58b VIR VITAE praedicabilis, sicuti nobis ab expertis traditum est, diversorum languores infirmorum invocato

<sup>1</sup> *benedictio*, an object that has been blessed; but here possibly a written prayer. Cf. 58b, 59a, 80b.

<sup>2</sup> *continetur* A; the first *e* has later been altered to *i* with a long down-stroke. -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> *mau|ginam* A, with an over-dash above *mau*; *maugui'nam* B1; *mauginam* B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> *coxale conjungetur os et densebitur* A; *coxalis (coxa'lis B1) conjunctura solidabitur* B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> *coram*. With this word, Columba is made to take Lugaid as a witness; but its meaning is ambiguous, either 'in your presence' or 'with my own hand'.  
<sup>6</sup> *hujus* A; *ejus* B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> *xxiii* A; *viginti trium* B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> *describo* B1 B2 B3. Omitted in A.

of pine-wood with a blessing, saying: 'When you arrive to visit Maugin, let the blessing that is contained in this little box be dipped into a vessel of water, and let the same water of the blessing be poured over her hip; and as soon as the name of God has been invoked, the hip-bone will join and be knit together, and the holy virgin will regain complete health'. And the saint added this: 'See, in your presence I [write] on the lid of this box the number of the years, twenty-three, that the holy virgin will live in this present life, after this cure'.

All these things were entirely so fulfilled, just as they had been foretold by the saint. For as soon as Lugaid came to the holy virgin, and her hip was sprinkled, as the saint instructed, with the blessed water, the bone joined firmly with no delay at all, and the hip was completely healed. And with great rendering of thanks she rejoiced over the coming of Saint Columba's emissary, and according to the saint's prophecy, continuing in good works, she lived after her healing for twenty-three years.

[II 6] Concerning the cures of various diseases, performed in the ridge of Cete

As has been told us by men that knew of it, the man of memorable life cured the ailments of various sick

<sup>9</sup> *lugaidus* A B2 B3; *luga'idus* B1

<sup>10</sup> *xxiii* A; *viginti tribus* B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> *secundum* A B1; *secumdum* B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>12</sup> *quae* A; *que* B1 B2; *qui* B3

<sup>14</sup> *peractae* A; *peracta* B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: *De multorum morbis fimbriae vestimenti ejus tactu in dorso cete sanatis* 'Of many people's diseases that were cured, in the ridge of Cete, by their touching the hem of his garment'.

Christi nomine illis in diebus sanavit, quibus ad regum pergens conductum in dorso Cete<sup>1</sup> brevi commoratus est tempore. Nam aut sanctae manus protensione aut aqua ab eo benedicta egroti plures aspersi, aut etiam fimbriae ejus tactu anfibali, aut alicujus rei salis videlicet vel panis benedictione accepta et limfis<sup>2</sup> intincta, plenam credentes recuperarunt salutem. .

De petra salis a sancto benedicta  
quam ignis absumere non potuit

ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE Colgu<sup>3</sup> filius Cellachi<sup>4</sup> postulatam a sancto petram salis benedictam accipit<sup>5</sup> sorori et suae nutrici profuturam; quae ophthalmiae<sup>6</sup> laborabat valde gravi langore. Talem eulogiam eadem<sup>7</sup> 59a soror et nutricia de manu | fratris accipiens in pariete super lectum suspendit; cassuque<sup>8</sup> post aliquantos contegit<sup>9</sup> dies ut idem viculus cum supradictae domucula<sup>10</sup> feminae flamma vastante totus concremaretur. Mirum dictu illius parietis particula, ne beati viri in ea deperiret suspensa benedictio, post totam ambustam<sup>11</sup> domum stans inlessa<sup>12</sup> permansit, nec ignis ausus est attingere binales in quibus talis pendebat salis petra sudes. .<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cete A, with two over-dashes; cete B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> limfis A; limphis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; limfis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> colgu A; colgius B<sub>1</sub>; colgiu B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Cf. 35b.

<sup>4</sup> cellachi A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; ce'llachi B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> accipit A B<sub>3</sub>; a'ccipit B<sub>1</sub>; accepit B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>6</sup> ophthalmiae A; ofchalmie B<sub>1</sub>; ofthalmie B<sub>2</sub>; ofthamie B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> eadem A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above the first e. e'adem B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>8</sup> cassuque A; the first s has later been deleted with a dot below made by a fine pen. Casuque B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> contegit A; the e has later been altered to i, with a very faint down-stroke. -tig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> domucula A; -u'nc- B<sub>1</sub>; -unc- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

people, by invocation of the name of Christ, during those days in which, when he went to the conference of kings, he remained for a short time in the ridge of Cete. By the extending of his holy hand, or when they were sprinkled with water blessed by him, or even by touching the hem of his cloak, or by receiving a blessing of any thing, such as salt, or bread, and dipping it in water, very many sick people, believing, regained full health.

[II 7] Of rock-salt, blessed by the saint,  
which fire could not consume

So at another time, Colcu, Cellach's son, requested and received from the saint a piece of rock-salt, blessed for the benefit of his sister and foster-mother, who was suffering from a very severe inflammation of the eyes. That sister and foster-mother received this blessing from her brother's hand, and hung it on the wall above her bed. It happened by a mischance, after some days, that the village was entirely burned down with devastating flame, including that woman's cottage. Strange to say, a small part of that wall remained, standing undamaged, after the whole house had been burned about it, so that the blessed man's blessing, hung up on it, should not perish. And the fire did not dare to touch the two pegs on which this rock-salt hung.

<sup>11</sup> ambustam A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; combustam B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>12</sup> inlessa A; the first s has later been deleted with a dot below made by a fine pen. illesa B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> sudes. In A, a small i has been written by m.h. above the e.

De librario folio sancti manu discripto<sup>1</sup>  
quod aqua corrumpi non potuit. .<sup>2</sup>

ALIUD MIRACULUM estimo non<sup>3</sup> tacendum quod aliquando factum est per contrarium elimentum.<sup>4</sup> Multorum namque transcursis annorum circulis<sup>5</sup> post<sup>6</sup> beati ad dominum transitum viri, quidam juvenis de equo  
59b lapsus, in flumine quod scotice<sup>7</sup> Boend<sup>8</sup> vocitatur mersus et mortuus, xx.<sup>9</sup> sub aqua diebus permansit. Qui, sicuti sub ascella<sup>10</sup> cadens libros in pellicio<sup>11</sup> reconditos sacculo habebat, ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus sacculum<sup>12</sup> cum libris inter brachium et latus contenens.<sup>13</sup> Cujus etiam ad aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, folium sancti Columbae sanctis scriptum degitulís<sup>14</sup> inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta sed et putrefacta inventum est siccum et nullo modo corruptum, acsi in scriniolo<sup>15</sup> esset reconditum.<sup>16</sup>

De alio miraculo in  
ré simili gesto

ALIO IN TEMPORE ymnorum liber septimaniorum<sup>17</sup>  
sancti Columbae manu discriptus<sup>18</sup> de cujusdam pueri de

<sup>1</sup> discripto A ; des- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>2</sup> In the contents-list of B2 and of B3, there is only one heading for this and the following chapter : *De librariis foliis manu sancti scriptis que aqua nullo modo corrumpi potuerunt* (last word illegible in B2).

<sup>3</sup> non A B1 B2 ; no B3

<sup>4</sup> elimentum A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. ele- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> circulis A ; curri'culis B1 ; circulis B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> post A B1 B2 ; primo B3

<sup>7</sup> scotice A ; sco'ttice B1 ; scottie B2, a *c* added above *ie* ; scottice B3

<sup>8</sup> bo end A, with two over-dashes ; bofend B1 B2 B3. See pp. 141, 148. In Thesaurus 1903, p. xxxi, the reading of B3 is wrongly given as *Bofind*, following Reeves.

<sup>9</sup> xx A ; viginti B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> ascella A B3 ; as[c]ella B1, with a letter after *s* erased by the text-hand ; asc[el]la B2

[II 8] Concerning a page that was written by  
the saint's hand, and that could not be injured  
by water

I think that another miracle should not be omitted, that was once performed in connexion with the contrary element. The cycles of many years had run by after the blessed man's departure to the Lord, when a certain young man falling from a horse sank and was drowned in the river that is in Irish called *Boend* [Boyne], and remained under the water for twenty days. And just as when he fell he had had books enclosed in a skin satchel under his arm, so also he was found after the said number of days holding fast between his arm and side the satchel with the books. When his body was brought back to dry land, and the satchel was opened, among the pages of other books which were not merely damaged, but even rotten, the page written by the holy fingers of Saint Columba was found dry, and not at all injured, as though it had been kept in a coffer.

[II 9] Concerning another miracle  
performed in a similar matter

At another time a book of hymns for the week,  
written in the hand of Saint Columba, fell from the

<sup>11</sup> pellicio A B2 B3 ; pelli'ceo B1, with *ceo* written small over an erasure.

<sup>12</sup> sacculum A B3 ; in A, a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *m*, wrongly. sa'cculum B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> contenens A ; the first *e* has later been altered to *i* with a down-stroke of a fine pen. -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>14</sup> degitulís A ; dig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> scriniolo A B2 B3 ; in A, a stress-accent has been added later with a fine pen above the second *i*. scrini'olo B1

<sup>16</sup> reconditum. In A, a stress-accent has later been added with a fine pen above the *o*.

<sup>17</sup> septimaniorum A ; septimanariorum B1 B2 B3

<sup>18</sup> discriptus A ; des- B1 B2 B3

60a ponte elapsi humeris cum pellicio<sup>1</sup> in quo inerat<sup>2</sup> sacculo in quodam partis Laginorum fluio submersus |  
cicidit.<sup>3</sup> Qui videlicet libellus, a natalicio domini usque ad pascalium consummationem<sup>4</sup> dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quendam Iogenanum<sup>5</sup> prespiterum gente Pictum<sup>6</sup> cujus prius juris erat in eodem non solum madefacto sed etiam putrefacto portatur sacculo. Quem scilicet sacculum idem Iogenanus aperiens suum incorruptum libellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum acsi in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore et numquam in aquas<sup>7</sup> cicidisset.<sup>8</sup>

60b Sed et alia de libris manu sancti Columbae craxatis<sup>9</sup> similia ab expertis indubitanter didicimus in diversis acta locis. Qui scilicet libri in aquis<sup>10</sup> mersi nullo modo corrumpi potuerunt.<sup>11</sup> De supra memorati vero Eugenani<sup>12</sup> libro a viris quibusdam veracibus<sup>13</sup> | et perfectis bonique testimonii sine ulla<sup>14</sup> ambiguitate relationem accipimus,<sup>15</sup> qui eundem libellum post tot supradictos submersionis dies candidissimum et lucidissimum considerarunt.<sup>16</sup>

Haec<sup>17</sup> duo quamlibet in rebus parvis peracta et per contraria ostensa elementa,<sup>18</sup> ignem scilicet et aquam,

<sup>1</sup> pellicio A B<sub>2</sub>; pelli'cio B<sub>1</sub>; pelliceo B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> inerat A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; i'nerant B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> cicidit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. ce'c- B<sub>1</sub>; cec- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> consummationem. See p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> iogenanum A B<sub>3</sub>; iogena'num<sup>1</sup> B<sub>1</sub>; ioienanum B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>6</sup> Pictum. A priest in Ireland who had been born in the provinces beyond the Spine of Britain, and who possessed a book alleged to have been transcribed by Columba, had very probably gone to Ireland from Iona, and may have been educated there.

<sup>7</sup> aquas A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; aquam B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>8</sup> cicidisset A; cec- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> craxatis A; caraxa'tis B<sub>1</sub>; caraxatis B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> aquis A; aquas B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> potuerunt A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the first *e*. potue're B<sub>1</sub>

shoulders of a boy who had slipped from a bridge, and, with the skin satchel that contained it, was submerged in a certain river of the region of the Lagin. This book remained in the water from the Lord's nativity until the days of Easter were concluded, and after that, found on the river bank by some women who were walking there, it was carried to a certain priest Iogenan, a Pict by race, to whom it formerly belonged; in the same satchel, which was not only sodden, but even rotten. When Iogenan opened the satchel, he found his book undamaged, and as clean and dry as if it had remained all that time in a coffer, and had never fallen into the water.

Other similar things too, that occurred in different places, we have heard without question, from those who knew of them, concerning books written by the hand of Saint Columba; which (that is to say the books), lying in water, have been able to remain entirely unharmed. But in the case of the above-named Iogenan's book, we have received an account of the facts, without any possible doubt, from certain truthful and blameless men of good testimony, who found the same book to be, after so many days of immersion, extraordinarily white and clear.

These two things, although performed in small matters, and shown in contrary elements, namely fire

<sup>12</sup> eugenani A; iogenani B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. There is a slight presumption that the B texts have here preserved Adomnan's spelling.

<sup>13</sup> veracibus A B<sub>3</sub>; vera'cibus B<sub>1</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> ulla A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>15</sup> accipimus A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -ce'p- B<sub>1</sub>;  
-cep- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> considerarunt A; -averunt B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>17</sup> Haec has a bold *h* in A; a larger and more decorative *H*, beginning a new paragraph, in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>18</sup> elementa A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. ele- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

beati testantur honorem viri et quanti et qualis meriti apud habeatur deum.<sup>1</sup>

De aqua quae sancto orante ex dura producta est petr[a].<sup>2</sup>

ET QUIA PAULO superius aquatici facta est mentio elimenti,<sup>3</sup> silere non debemus etiam alia miracula quae per sanctum dominus ejusdem in re licet diversis temporibus et locis creaturae peregit.<sup>4</sup>

Alio namque in tempore, cum sanctus in sua con-  
61a versaretur perigrinati|one,<sup>5</sup> infans ei per parentes ad babtizandum offertur iter agenti. Et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, sanctus ad proximam declinans rupem flexis genibus paulisper oravit; et post orationem surgens ejusdem rupis frontem benedixit. De qua consequenter aqua abundanter ebulliens fluxit, in qua continuo infantulum babtizavit. De quo etiam babtizato haec vaticinans intulit verba, inquires: 'Hic puerulus usque in extremam longeus<sup>6</sup> vivet aetatem. In annis juvenilibus carnalibus desideriis satis serviturus, et deinceps cristianae<sup>7</sup> usque in<sup>8</sup> exitum militiae mancipandus, in bona senectute ad dominum<sup>9</sup> emigrabit'.

Quae omnia eidem viro juxta sancti contigerunt<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> habeatur deum A; deum habeatur B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> petro A; petra B1 B2 B3, and the contents-list of B2 and of B3.

<sup>3</sup> elimenti A; ele- B1 B3 ?B2

<sup>4</sup> peregit. This sentence is written as a separate paragraph in A, beginning with a decorative *Et*. In B1 B2 B3, it continues the chapter-heading, written in coloured ink; but it is not included in the contents-list of B2 B3.

<sup>5</sup> perigrinatione A; pereg- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>6</sup> longeus A; a small *v* has been written by m.h. above *eu*. longevus B1 B2 B3. Cf. 44a.

<sup>7</sup> cristianae A; a small *h* has later been added above *cr*. cristiane B1 B2 B3, in abbreviated form.

<sup>8</sup> in A; ad B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> dominum A B2 B3; deum B1

<sup>10</sup> contigerunt. In A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *e*.

and water, bear witness to the honour of the blessed man, and prove how greatly and how highly he is esteemed by God.

[II 10] Of water that, at the prayer of the saint, was produced from hard rock

And because just above reference has been made to the element of water, we ought to mention also other miracles, which the Lord performed through the saint in connexion with the same substance, although in different times and places.

At one time during the saint's life in pilgrimage, while he was making a journey, an infant was brought to him by its parents for baptism. And because water was not to be found anywhere near, the saint turned aside to a rock close by, bowed his knees, and prayed for a little while. And rising after his prayer, he blessed the face of the rock, from which thereupon water flowed in an abundant cascade; and in it he immediately baptized the infant. And also, concerning the baptized child, he pronounced these prophetic words, saying: 'This little boy will live long, to extreme age. In the years of his youth he will sufficiently obey the desires of the flesh, and afterwards, devoted until his death to service as a soldier of Christ, will depart to the Lord in good old age'.

All these things happened to that man according to

infant  
baptism?  
When =  
Sacrament?



vaticinium. Hic erat Ligu Cen-calad,<sup>1</sup> cujus parentes  
61b fuerant in Artdaib -muirchol,<sup>2</sup> | ubi hodieque fonticulus  
sancti nomine<sup>3</sup> Columbae pollens cernitur. .

De alia maligna fontana aqua quam vir  
beatus in Pictorum regione benedixit<sup>4</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE vir beatus, cum in Pictorum pro-  
vincia per aliquo[t]<sup>5</sup> demoraretur dies, audiens in plebe  
gentili de alio fonte divulgari<sup>6</sup> famam, quem quasi  
deum stolidi homines diabulo<sup>7</sup> eorum obcaecante sensus  
venerabantur. Nam de eodem fonticulo bibentes aut in  
eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes,<sup>8</sup> daemonica<sup>9</sup>  
deo permittente percussi arte aut lepri<sup>10</sup> aut luscii aut  
etiam debiles aut quibuscumque aliis infestati infirmi-  
tatibus revertentur. Ob quae omnia seducti gentiles  
divinum fonti deferebant honorem. Quibus conpertis  
sanctus alia die intrepidus accessit ad fontem. Quod  
videntes magi, quos sepe ipse confusos<sup>11</sup> et victos a sé  
62a repellebat, | valde gavisii sunt, scilicet putantes eum  
similia illius nocuae tactu aquae passurum. Ille vero  
inprimis elevata manu sancta cum invocatione Christi  
nominis manus lavat et pedes. Tum deinde cum sociis  
de eadem a sé benedicta bibit.<sup>12</sup> Ex illaque<sup>13</sup> die

<sup>1</sup> ligu cencalad A ; ligucencalath B1 B2 ; ligucen calath B3. Reeves misread B3 as *lugucen calath*, and his reading was quoted by Thesaurus 1903, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> artdaib muirchol A (with the *t* not joined to the *d*) ; ardaib muircol B1 B2 B3 (with a dot separating the words in B3). See pp. 133, 150. The preposition *in* should perhaps here be regarded as Irish.

<sup>3</sup> nomine A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>4</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads : *De aqua fontana quam sanctus ultra britannicum benedixit dorsum et sanavit* (B2 partly missing).

<sup>5</sup> aliquod A ; a small *t* has been written by m.h. above *d*. aliquot B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> divulgari A ; div- B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> diabulo A ; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -bolo B1 B2 B3

the saint's prophecy. This was Ligu Cen-calad, whose parents were in Artda-muirchol [Ardnamurchan]. And there even today a spring is seen, that is potent in the name of Saint Columba.

[II 11] Concerning the malignant water of another well, which the holy man blessed, in the land of the Picts

At one time, when the blessed man passed some days in the province of the Picts, he heard that the fame of another well was wide-spread among the heathen populace, and that the insensate people venerated it as a god, the devil deluding their understanding. For those that drank from this well, or deliberately washed their hands or feet in it, were struck, by devilish art, God permitting it, and returned leprous, or half blind, or even crippled, or suffering from some other infirmity. Led astray by all this, the heathen gave honour to the well as to a god. When he learned of that, the saint went boldly to the well one day. The magicians, whom he often repelled from himself in confusion and defeat, rejoiced greatly when they saw this, since they imagined that he would suffer the like ills, from touching that noxious water. But he, first raising his holy hand in invocation of the name of Christ, washed his hands and feet ; and after that, with those that accompanied him, drank of the same water, which he had blessed. And

divulgar  
well of  
cult  
beliefs

<sup>8</sup> lavantes A B1 B3 ; levantes B2

<sup>9</sup> daemonica A ; demonica B1 ; demonica B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> lepri A ; leprosi B1 B3 ; leproso B2

<sup>11</sup> confusos A ; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot above. -usos B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> bibit A ; bibit aqua B1 B3 ; bibit a' B2

<sup>13</sup> ex illaque A B3 ; et ex illa B1. Illegible in B2.

daemones ab eodem recesserunt fonte ; et non solum nulli nocere permisus est, sed etiam post sancti benedictionem et in eo lavationem multae in populo infirmitates per eundem sanatae sunt fontem. .

De beati viri in mari periculo et tempestatis <sup>1</sup> eo <sup>2</sup> orante subita sedatione <sup>3</sup>

62b ALIO IN TEMPORE vir sanctus in mari periclitari cepit ; totum namque vas navis valde concussum magnis undarum cumulís fortiter feriebatur, grandi undique insistente ventorum tempestate. Nautae <sup>4</sup> tum forte sancto sentinam <sup>5</sup> cum illis exaurire | conanti <sup>6</sup> aiunt : ' Quod nunc agis non magnopere nobis proficit periclitantibus ; exorare potius debes pro pereuntibus '. Quo audito aquam cessat amaram ex inani ré <sup>7</sup> *hi nin glas*, <sup>8</sup> dulcem vero et intentam precem <sup>9</sup> coepit ad dominum fundere. Mirum dictu, eodem horae momento quo sanctus in prora stans extensis ad caelum palmis omnipotentem exoravit, tota aeris tempestas et maris sevitia <sup>10</sup> dicto citius sedata cessavit, et statim serenissima tran-

<sup>1</sup> tempestatis A B1 ; tep- B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>2</sup> eo A B1. Illegible in B2 ; omitted in B3.

<sup>3</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads : *De sancti periculo in mari, et de magna tempestate in tranquillitatem continuo orante ipso conversa* (B2 partly illegible).

<sup>4</sup> *nautae*, in A, follows a punctuation dot (text-hand), and has a bold initial ; *Naute* in B1 B2 B3 begins a new sentence.

<sup>5</sup> *sentinam*. In A, two dots were added later with a fine pen over *s* ; a similar pair of dots in the margin stands above this added note (m.h.) : *sentina est fervida aqua navis* ' sentina is surging water in a ship '.

<sup>6</sup> conanti A B1 B2 ; conati B3

<sup>7</sup> *ex* | in ani ré A ; *exinanire* B1 B2 B3 (-ni're B1). If the words are read *ex inani re*, they would mean ' to no advantage ', and *fundere* would govern both *aquam* and *precem*. But if they were read *exinanire*, ' to empty ', the object would be *aquam*, and the object of *fundere* would be *precem* only. Adomnan seems to have intended his words to be a pun, with two possible interpretations.

from that day, the demons withdrew from that well, and not only was it not permitted to harm any one, but after the saint's blessing, and washing in it, many infirmities among the people were in fact cured by the same well.

[II 12] Concerning the blessed man's danger on the sea, and the sudden calming of the storm at his prayer

At another time, the holy man began to be in danger on the sea. For the whole body of the ship was violently shaken, and heavily struck by great masses of waves, with a mighty storm of winds that pressed on all sides. Then it happened that the sailors said to him, as he tried with them to bail the water out of the ship : ' What you are doing now does not very greatly profit us in our danger. You should rather pray for us who are perishing '. Hearing this, he ceased to pour out vainly bitter water into the green wave [?], and began to pour out sweet and fervent prayer to the Lord. Marvellously, in the same moment of time in which the saint, standing in the prow, extended his palms to heaven and prayed to the Almighty, the whole tempest of the air and wildness of the sea in less time than it takes to tell subsided and became still ; and immediately

<sup>8</sup> *hinin glas* A, with three over-dashes ; *hini'nglas* B1 ; *hi'ninglas* B2 ; *hininglas* B3. With *ex inani re*, the Irish phrase would have the meaning ' into deep sea ' ; with *exinanire*, the phrase would have a double meaning, ' into deep sea ', and ' without effect '. We must suppose that ' to pour water into the sea ' was an Irish proverb of futility. (Cf. *in mare fundat aquas*, in Ovid, *Tristia*, v ; Eleg. 6, line 44.) See p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> *precem* A B1 B3 ; *parcem* B2

<sup>10</sup> *sevitia* A B1 B2 ; in A, the *e* has been altered by m.h. to the *ae* symbol. *sevincia* B3

quilitas subsequuta est. Qui vero navi inerant obstupfacti cum magna ammiratione referentes gratias glorificaverunt deum in sancto et praedicabili viro. .

De alio ejus in mari  
simili periculo <sup>1</sup>

63a ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE seva nimis insistente et periculosa tempestate | sociis ut pro eis sanctus dominum exoraret inclamitantibus, hoc eis dedit responsum, dicens : ' Hac in die non est meum pro vobis in hoc periculo constitutis orare, sed est abbatis Cainnichi <sup>2</sup> sancti viri '. Mira dicturus sum. Eadem <sup>3</sup> hora sanctus Cainnechus <sup>4</sup> in suo conversans monasterio, quod latine campulus bovis dicitur, scotice vero Ached-bou, <sup>5</sup> spiritu revelante sancto supradictam sancti Columbae interiore cordis aure vocem audierat. Et cum forte post nonam coepisset horam <sup>6</sup> in refectorio eulogiam <sup>7</sup> frangere, ocius deserit mensulam, unoque in <sup>8</sup> pede inherente calceo et altero pro nimia festinatione relicto festinanter pergit hac cum voce ad ecclesiam : ' Non est nobis nunc temporis prandere <sup>9</sup> quando in mari periclitatur navis sancti  
63b Columbae. Hoc enim momento ipse hujus <sup>10</sup> | nomen Cainnichi <sup>11</sup> ingeminans commemorat, ut pro eo et sociis periclitantibus Christum exoret '. Post haec illius verba

<sup>1</sup> *periculo*. After this, B1 B2 B3 add : *in vortice brecaim* (altered to *brecani*, by an apex above the last stroke, in B1 ; *bercaynni* in B2). The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads : *De altero ejus periculo et de sancto cainnecho pro ipso et sociis ejus orante* (B2 partly illegible).

<sup>2</sup> *cainnichi* A B3 ; *cainnichi'* B1 (with faint apices on the first and second *i*). Illegible in B2.

<sup>3</sup> *eadem* A ; a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *a*. *Ea'dem* B1 ; *Eadem* B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>4</sup> *cainnechus* A B2 ; *cainnichus* B1 B3 (faint apices above the *i*'s, B1).

<sup>5</sup> *ached bou* A, with three over-dashes (one above *ou*) ; *acheth bou* B1 ; *acheth bou~* B2 (as if for *boum*) ; *achetbbou* B3

<sup>6</sup> *post nonam horam*, the time for dinner. See p. 122.

there followed the fairest calm. Those who were in the ship were amazed, and returning thanks, with great wonder glorified God in the holy and memorable man.

[II 13] Of another similar  
danger to him on the sea

Also at another time, when a very fierce and dangerous storm was blowing, and his companions importuned the saint to pray to the Lord for them, he gave them this answer, and said : ' On this day it is not for me to pray for you in this danger that you are in ; it is for the holy man, the abbot Cainnech '.

I have marvellous things to tell. In the same hour, Saint Cainnech, being in his own monastery, which is in Latin called ' field of the cow ', and in Irish, *Ached-bou* [Aghaboe], by revelation of the Holy Spirit heard in the inner ear of his heart those words of Saint Columba. And since it chanced that he had begun after the ninth hour to break the holy bread in the refectory, he suddenly abandoned the small table, and with one shoe on his foot, and the other left behind through the excess of his haste, he went hurriedly to the church, with these words : ' We cannot have dinner at this time, when Saint Columba's ship is in danger on the sea. For at this moment he repeatedly calls upon the name of this Cainnech, to pray to Christ for him, and his companions in peril '. After saying these words he entered

<sup>7</sup> *eulogiam* here means bread that has been prepared for use in the Eucharist, but not consecrated.

<sup>8</sup> in A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>9</sup> *prandere* A B2 B3 ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the first *e*. *prande're* B1

<sup>10</sup> *hujus* A ; *ejus* B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> *cainnichi* A B2 B3 ; *cai'nnichi* B1

oratorium ingressus flexis genibus paulisper<sup>1</sup> oravit. Ejusque orationem exaudiente domino ilico tempestas cessavit, et mare valde tranquillum factum est. Tum deinde sanctus Columba, Cainnichi<sup>2</sup> ad ecclesiam pro-  
 perationem in spiritu videns quamlibet longe conver-  
 santis, mirabiliter hoc de puro pectore profert verbum,<sup>3</sup>  
 dicens : ' Nunc cognovi, Ó Cainneche,<sup>4</sup> quod deus tuam  
 exaudierit precem. Nunc valde nobis proficit tuus ad  
 ecclesiam velox cum uno calciamento cursus '. In hoc  
 itaque tali miraculo amborum ut credimus oratio  
 cooperata est sanctorum. .

De baculo in portu sancti  
 Cainnichi<sup>5</sup> neglecto<sup>6</sup>

64a ALIO IN TEMPORE idem supra memoratus Cainnechus<sup>7</sup>  
 suum a portu Iovae | insulae ad Scotiam navigare  
 incipiens baculum secum portare oblitus est.<sup>8</sup> Qui  
 scilicet ejus baculus post ipsius egresum in litore repertus  
 sancti in manum traditus est Columbae. Quemque<sup>9</sup>  
 domum reversus in oratorium portat, et ibidem solus in  
 oratione diutius demoratur.

Cainnechus<sup>10</sup> proinde ad Oidecham<sup>11</sup> appropinquans  
 insulam subito de sua oblivione conpunctus interius  
 percussus est. Sed post modicum intervallum de navi  
 descendens<sup>12</sup> et in terra cum oratione genua<sup>13</sup> flectens  
 baculum quem in portu Iovae insulae<sup>14</sup> oblitus post sé

<sup>1</sup> paulisper A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; palisper B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> cainnichi A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; cai'nnichi B<sub>1</sub>    <sup>3</sup> verbum A ; verba B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> cainneche A B<sub>2</sub> ; cai'nniche B<sub>1</sub> ; cainni'che B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> cainnichi A ; cai'nnichi B<sub>1</sub> ; cainnechi B<sub>2</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>3</sub>  
 and ? of B<sub>2</sub> ; cainechi B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> neglecto A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; neclecto B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> cainnechus A B<sub>2</sub> ; cainnichus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> est A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

the oratory, bowed his knees, and prayed for a little  
 while. The Lord heard his prayer, and at once the  
 storm ceased, and the sea became perfectly calm.

Then Saint Columba, miraculously seeing in the  
 spirit the hastening of Cainnech to the church, although  
 Cainnech was far away, pronounced these words from  
 his pure heart, saying : ' Now, Cainnech, I know that  
 God has heard your prayer. Now your swift running  
 to the church, wearing one shoe, greatly helps us '.

In this so great miracle, the prayers of both the  
 saints worked, we believe, together.

[II 14] Concerning Saint Cainnech's  
 staff, left behind at the harbour

At another time the same Cainnech, mentioned above,  
 forgot to take with him his staff, when he began to sail  
 for Ireland from the harbour of the island of Io. After  
 his departure, this staff of his was found on the shore,  
 and put into Saint Columba's hand ; and when he had  
 returned home, he carried it into the oratory, and there  
 for a long time remained alone, in prayer.

So Cainnech, approaching the island of Oídech,  
 suddenly conscious of his forgetfulness, was struck with  
 inward dismay. But after a little while, leaving the  
 ship, and kneeling on the ground in prayer, he dis-  
 covered, there before him on the turf of the land of  
 Oídech, the staff that he had forgotten and left behind

<sup>9</sup> quemque A ; quem B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> Cainnechus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; Cai'nnichus B<sub>1</sub>, altered from *-ech-*.

<sup>11</sup> oidecham A ; ovide'tham B<sub>1</sub>, with the *th* erased ; ovidecham B<sub>3</sub>.  
 Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> descendens A ; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> genua A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; ganua B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> insulae A ; insule B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

reliquit super cispitem<sup>1</sup> terrulae Aithche<sup>2</sup> ante sé invenit.<sup>3</sup> De cuius etiam effecta divinitus evectione valde est miratus cum gratiarum in deo actione. .

De Baitheneo<sup>4</sup> et Columbano filio Beogni<sup>5</sup>  
sanctis prespiteris eadem sibi die ventum  
prosperum a deo per beati viri orationem  
donari postulantibus, sed diversa  
navigantibus via<sup>6</sup> |

64b ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE superius<sup>7</sup> memorati sancti viri ad sanctum venientes ab eo simul unianimes<sup>8</sup> postulant ut ipse a domino postulans inpetraret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari, diversa emigraturis<sup>9</sup> via. Quibus sanctus respondens hoc dedit responsum: ' Mane<sup>10</sup> crastina die Baitheneus<sup>11</sup> a portu Iovae enavigans insulae flatum habebit<sup>12</sup> secundum usquequo ad portum perveniat campi Lunge'.<sup>13</sup> Quod ita juxta sancti verbum dominus donavit. Nam Baitheneus plenís eadem<sup>14</sup> die velis magnum totum<sup>15</sup> pilagus<sup>16</sup> usque ad Aethicam<sup>17</sup> transmeavit terram.

<sup>1</sup> cispitem A; ces- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>2</sup> aithche A; a hook has later been attached below the *e*, with a very fine pen, to make an *ae* symbol. ovide'the B1, with the *h* erased; ovidchae B2 B3. See p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> invenit A; invenit positum B1 B2 B3 (-ve'n- B1)

<sup>4</sup> baitheneo A B3; baithe'neo B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>5</sup> beogni A; beo'gnoi B1, with ?*i* erased between *n* and *o*; beog[ B2; beognoi B3. Here the reading *beognoi* or *beognai* is to be preferred. Cf. 16b, and see p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: *De baitheneo et columbano filio beogni qui a (á B2) sancto secundum eadem die sed diversa via ventum sibi dari postularunt (postularunt B2)*. According to legends of uncertain value, Baithene and Colman were cousins, nephews of Columba.

<sup>7</sup> superius A B1 B2; supernis B3

<sup>8</sup> unianimes A; the first *i* has later been deleted with a point below made by a fine pen. unanimes B1 B2 B3 (-a'- B1)

<sup>9</sup> emigraturis A; -ris B1 B2; -rus B3

<sup>10</sup> Mane A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

him at the harbour of the island of Io. And he marvelled greatly, with thanksgiving to God, because of its transference divinely effected.

[II 15] Concerning the holy priests Baithene, and Colman, son of Beogna, when they asked through the blessed man's prayer from God, for wind to be granted favourable to themselves, on the same day, although they were sailing in different directions

Once also the above-named holy men came to the saint and at the same time, with one accord, asked him to ask and obtain from the Lord that favourable wind should be given to them on the following day, when they were to set out in different directions. In reply, the saint gave them this answer: 'Early tomorrow Baithene, sailing from the harbour of the island of Io, will have a favourable breeze until he reaches the harbour of the plain of Long'. And this the Lord granted, according to the saint's word. For Baithene with full sails on that day crossed the whole great sea to the land of Eth [Tíree].

<sup>11</sup> baitheneus A B2 B3; baithe'neus B1. So also thrice below, in 64b-65a.

<sup>12</sup> habebit A B1 B2; -bat B3

<sup>13</sup> lunge A B2 B3; lu'nge B1. Cf. 32b.

<sup>14</sup> eadem A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. ea'dem B1

<sup>15</sup> totum. In A, a -*que* symbol has been added by m.h.

<sup>16</sup> pilagus A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. pelagus B1 B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> aethicam A; e'thicam B1; ethicam B2 B3

65a Hora vero ejusdem diei tertia vir venerandus Columbanum advocat<sup>1</sup> prespiterum, dicens: 'Nunc Baitheneus prospere obtatum pervenit ad portum. Ad navigandum té hodie praepara.<sup>2</sup> Mox dominus ventum convertet aquilonem'. Cui sic prolato | beati viri verbo eadem<sup>3</sup> hora auster<sup>4</sup> obsecundans ventus sé in aquiloneum convertit flatum. Et ita in eadem die uterque vir<sup>5</sup> sanctus alter ab altero in pace aversus, Baitheneus mane ad Etheticam<sup>6</sup> terram, Columbanus post meridiem Everniam<sup>7</sup> incipiens appetere, plenís enavigavit velís et flatibus secundís. Hoc<sup>8</sup> inlustri viri virtute orationum domino donante effectum est miraculum, quia sicut scriptum est: 'Omnia possibilía sunt credenti'.<sup>9</sup> Post illa in die sancti Columbani egresum sanctus hoc de illo<sup>10</sup> profeticum Columba protulit verbum: 'Vir sanctus Columbanus cui emigranti benediximus nusquam in hoc saeculo faciem videbit meam'. Quod ita post expletum est, nam eodem anno sanctus Columba ad dominum transiit. .

De repulsione daemonis qui in lactario latitabat vasculo. <sup>11</sup>|

65b ALIO IN TEMPORE quidam juvenis Columbanus nomine nepos Briuni<sup>12</sup> ad januam tegorioli<sup>13</sup> subito

<sup>1</sup> advocat A B2 B3; in A, an acute accent has later been written with a fine pen above the first *a*. a'dvocat B1

<sup>2</sup> praepara A; pre'- B1; pre- B3; propera B2

<sup>3</sup> eadem A B2 B3; a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. e'adem B1

<sup>4</sup> *auster*, 'south wind'. This implies that Tíree was to the north of Iona; but it is to the north-west. <sup>5</sup> vir A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

<sup>6</sup> etheticam A; e'thícam B1; ethícam B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> everniam A; hibe'rniam B1; hiberniam B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> hoc A (the Irish symbol, *h* with a dot above the bow; the dot was later altered with a fine pen to an apostrophe, possibly intending to read *hujus*. Cf. Lindsay 1915, pp. 100, 35). Hoc B1 B2 B3

And at the third hour of the same day the venerable man called to him the priest Colman, saying: 'Now Baithene has safely reached his desired harbour. Make ready to sail today; the Lord will presently change the wind to north'. The south wind, complying with the blessed man's word thus uttered, in the same hour changed into a northerly breeze.

And so in one day the two holy men, parting each from the other in peace, put to sea with full sails and favourable breezes; Baithene in the morning to the land of Eth, Colman after mid-day beginning his voyage to Ireland. This miracle, the Lord granting it, was performed by virtue of the prayers of the celebrated man; because, as it is written, all things are possible to him who believes.

After the departure of Saint Colman on that day, Saint Columba pronounced this prophetic saying concerning him: 'The holy man Colman, whom we have blessed on his departure, will never in this world see my face again'. And that was afterwards fulfilled. For in the same year Saint Columba departed to the Lord.

[II 16] Concerning the expulsion of a demon who lurked in a milk-vessel

At another time, a certain youth, by name Colman, descendant of Briún, reaching the door of the hut in

<sup>9</sup> *credenti*. Vulg. Mark ix. 22

<sup>10</sup> hoc de illo A; de illo hoc B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: *De demonis repulsione qui in lactis vasculo latitabat*.

<sup>12</sup> briuni A B2, with three over-dashes in A; briuni' B1; brirni B3

<sup>13</sup> tegorioli A; tuguri'oli B1; ]rioli B2; tugurioli B3

perveniens restitit, in quo vir beatus scribebat. Hic idem post vaccarum reversus mulsiōem in dorso portans vasculum novo plenum lacte dicit ad sanctum ut iuxta morem tale benediceret onus. Sanctus tum ex adverso eminus in aere signum salutare manu elevata depinxit [et invocato dei nomine vas benedixit],<sup>1</sup> quod ilico valde concusum est; gergennaque<sup>2</sup> operculi per sua bina foramina retrusa longius projecta est. Operculum terra tenus cecidit.<sup>3</sup> Lac ex majore mensura in solum defusum<sup>4</sup> est. Juvenculus vas cum parvo quod remanserat lactis super fundum in terra deponit. Genua supliciter flectit. Ad quem sanctus: 'Surge' ait, 'Columbane. Hodie in tua operatione negligenter<sup>5</sup> egisti. Daemonem enim in fundo vacui latitantem vasculi inpresso dominicae crucis signo ante infus|ionem<sup>6</sup> lactis non effugasti. Cujus videlicet signi nunc<sup>7</sup> virtutem non sustenens<sup>8</sup> tremefactus toto pariter turbato vasse<sup>9</sup> velociter cum lactis effusione aufugit. Huc ergo ad me propius vasculum ut illud benedicam approxima'. Quo facto sanctus semivacuum quod benedixerat vas eodem momento divinitus repletum repertum est, parvumque quod prius in fundo vassis<sup>10</sup> remanserat sub sanctae manus benedictione usque ad summum citius excreverat.

<sup>1</sup> *et to benedixit* in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; omitted in A, through homoioteleuton.

<sup>2</sup> *gergenna*. This word is explained by its context as a wedge, passing through holes (*foramina*) in two lugs that projected from the rim of the milk-vessel, and holding down a lid. The word could hardly have been derived from *gerchenn* 'short-head'; *gercend* 'lock' (Meyer 1892, p. 87) was more probably derived from *gergenna*.

<sup>3</sup> cecidit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. *ce'c*- B<sub>1</sub>; *cec*- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> defusum A; diffusum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> negligenter A; negli- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; necli- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> infus|ionem A; the first *s* has later been erased. -usi- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> nunc A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> sustenens A; the first *e* has later been altered to *i* with a down-stroke of a fine pen. -tin- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

which the blessed man was writing, suddenly stopped. This youth had returned after the milking of the cows, carrying on his back a vessel full of new milk; and he said to the saint that he should bless this burden, according to the custom. Then the saint, being at a little distance, with upraised hand made in the air the saving sign towards it, [and with invocation of the name of God blessed the vessel,] which was at once violently shaken. The fastening-peg of the lid was thrust back through its two holes, and thrown far off; the lid fell to the ground; the greater part of the milk was spilt upon the earth. The boy put down the vessel on its base, upon the ground, with the little that remained of the milk. He bowed his knees in supplication. The saint said to him: 'Rise, Colman. You have been careless in your work today. Before the milk was poured in, you did not, by imprinting the sign of the Lord's cross, expel a demon that lurked in the bottom of the empty vessel. Now, unable to endure the power of that sign, by his trembling he has shaken the whole vessel, and has spilt the milk in his sudden flight. Bring hither therefore the vessel, nearer to me, so that I may bless it.'

When this was done, the half-empty vessel that the saint had blessed was found in the same moment to have been divinely filled again; and the little that had remained before in the bottom of the vessel had, under the blessing of his holy hand, instantly swelled up to the brim.

<sup>9</sup> vasse A; a deletion point has later been added above the first *s*. va'se B<sub>1</sub>; vase B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> vassis A; a deletion point has later been added above the first *s*. vasis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus nomine  
Silnanus lacte de masculo bove expreso  
repleverat <sup>1</sup>

66b HOC IN DOMU <sup>2</sup> alicujus plebei divitis, qui in monte  
Cainle <sup>3</sup> commorabatur Foirtgirni <sup>4</sup> nomine factum  
traditur. Ubi cum sanctus hospitaretur, inter rusticanos  
contententes duos quorum prius adventum prescivit  
recta judicatione judicavit. Unusque ex eis qui maleficus  
erat a sancto ju|sus de bove masculo qui prope erat lac  
arte diabolica <sup>5</sup> expressit. Quod sanctus non ut illa  
confirmaret maleficia fieri jusit, quod absit, sed ut ea  
coram multitudine distrueret. <sup>6</sup> Vir itaque beatus vas  
ut videbatur tali plenum lacte sibi ocius dari poposcit ;  
et hac cum sententia benedixit, dicens : ' Modo pro-  
babitur non esse hoc verum quod putatur lac, sed  
daemonum fraude ad decipiendos homines decoloratus  
sanguis '. Et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam  
versus est <sup>7</sup> propriam, hoc est in sanguinem. Bos quoque,  
qui per unius horae momentum turpi macie tabidus et  
maceratus erat morti proximus, benedicta a sancto aqua  
superfusus mira sub celeritate <sup>8</sup> sanatus est. .

<sup>1</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads : *De vasculo quod quidam maleficus lacte de masculo bove expreso diabolica replevit arte ; sed sancto orante ipsum quod videbatur lac in sanguinem hoc est in naturam propriam versum est* (B2 partly illegible).

<sup>2</sup> domu A ; domo B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>3</sup> cainle A B3 ; cai'nle B1. Illegible in B2. Cf. 41a.

<sup>4</sup> foirtgirni A B3, with one over-dash above *oi* in A ; foirtgi'rni B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>5</sup> diabolica A ; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -bo'l- B1 ; -bol- B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> distrueret A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. des- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>7</sup> est A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>8</sup> celeritate A B1 B2 ; scel- B3

[II 17] Concerning a vessel that a certain  
sorcerer, called Silnan, had filled with  
milk drawn from a bull

This is said to have happened in the house of a rich layman called Foirtgern, who lived on the mountain Cainle. While the saint was a guest there, he judged with a true judgement between two rustics who were disputing, and whose arrival he had foreseen. One of them, who was a sorcerer, at the saint's command by diabolic art drew milk from a bull, which was near by. This the saint commanded to be done, not in order to confirm those sorceries (let it not be thought), but in order to confound them before the crowd. So the blessed man asked that the vessel, full, as it seemed, of this milk, should at once be given to him ; and blessed it with this pronouncement, saying : ' Now this will be shown not to be the true milk that it is thought to be, but blood bleached by the imposture of demons, to deceive mankind '. And immediately that milky colour was changed to its proper nature, that is into blood. The bull also, which for the space of an hour, shrunk with hideous leanness and wasted, was at the point of death, was sprinkled with water that had been blessed by the saint ; and it was cured with marvellous rapidity.



De Lugneo<sup>1</sup> mocu-Min<sup>2</sup>

67a QUADAM DIE quidam bonae<sup>3</sup> indolis juvenis Lugneus<sup>4</sup> | nomine, qui postea senex in monasterio Elenae<sup>5</sup> insulae praepositus<sup>6</sup> erat, ad sanctum veniens queritur de profluo<sup>7</sup> sanguinis qui crebro per multos menses de naribus ejus immoderate profluebat. Quo propius<sup>8</sup> accito<sup>9</sup> sanctus ambas ipsius nares binis manus dexteræ digitulis constringens benedixit. Ex qua hora benedictionis numquam sanguis de nasso<sup>10</sup> ejus usque ad extremum distillavit diem. .

De piscibus beato viro specialiter  
a deo praeparatis<sup>11</sup>

67b ALIO IN TEMPORE cum praedicabilis viri sociales strenui piscatores quinos<sup>12</sup> in rete pisces coepissent<sup>13</sup> in fluio Sale<sup>14</sup> piscoso, sanctus ad eos: 'Iterato' ait, 'rete in flumen mittite, et statim invenietis grandem quem mihi dominus praeparavit piscem'. Qui verbo sancti obtemperantes mirae magnitudinis | traxerunt in reticulo essocem a deo sibi praeparatum. .

<sup>1</sup> lugneo A B2 B3; lugne'o B1

<sup>2</sup> mocumin A B2 B3; mocumi'n B1. The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: *De lugneo mocumin (mocumi'n B2) quem sanctus de profluvio sanguinis qui crebro ex naribus ejus profluebat oracione et digitorum tactu sanavit.* After *sanguinis*, B2 adds *latitabat*, in error.

<sup>3</sup> bonae A; bone B1 B3; bove B2

<sup>4</sup> lugneus A B2 B3; lugne'us B1

<sup>5</sup> elenae A B2 B3; he'lene B1. This island is unidentified.

<sup>6</sup> praepositus A; a deletion point has later been added with a fine pen above the first *s.* prepositus B1 B3; propositus B2

<sup>7</sup> profluo A; proflu'vio B1; profluo B2; profluvio B3

<sup>8</sup> propius A B1 B3; prius B2

<sup>9</sup> accito A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *i.* acci'to B1

<sup>10</sup> nasso A; deletion points have later been added with a fine pen above and below the first *s.* naso B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

## [II 18] Concerning Lugne mocu-Min

One day, a young man of good ability, called Lugne, (who afterwards, when he was an old man, was the prior of a monastery in the island of Elen) came to the saint and complained of a discharge of blood that at frequent intervals during many months had flowed immoderately from his nostrils. The saint bade him come nearer; and blessed him, pressing together both his nostrils with two fingers of the right hand. And from the hour of that blessing until his last day, blood never fell from his nose.

[II 19] Concerning fishes that were specially  
provided by God for the blessed man

At another time, when the memorable man's companions, active fishers, had caught five fishes in a net, in the river Sale, which abounds with fish, the saint said to them: 'Cast the net once more into the river; and immediately you shall find a great fish, which the Lord has provided for me'. They followed the saint's instruction, and drew in with the net a salmon of marvellous size, provided for them by God.

<sup>11</sup> The heading of this chapter is illegible in B2. In B1 B3, and in the contents-list of B2 and of B3, it is: *De esoce (eso'ce B1) magno in fluvio sale (sale is omitted in contents-list) juxta verbum sancti invento.*

<sup>12</sup> quinos A B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added above *i.* qui'nos B1; qui' B2

<sup>13</sup> coepissent A; cep- B1 B3. Illegible in B2. Read: *cepissent.*

<sup>14</sup> Sale. Perhaps the Blackwater, in county Meath. See p. 70.

Alio<sup>1</sup> quoque in tempore cum sanctus juxta Cei<sup>2</sup> stagnum aliquantís demoraretur diebus comites ire ad piscandum cupientes retardavit, dicens : ' Hodie et cras nullus in flumine reperietur piscis ; tertia mittam vos die, et invenietis binos grandes in rete retentos fluminales essoces '. Quos, ita post duas dieculas rete mittentes, duos rarissimae magnitudinis in fluio qui dicitur Bo<sup>3</sup> reperientes ad terram traxerunt.

In his duabus memoratis piscationibus miraculi apparet virtus et profetica simul praescientia comitata. Pro quibus sanctus et socii deo grates eximias redderunt.<sup>4</sup>

De Nesano curvo qui in ea regione  
conversabatur quae stagno Aporum<sup>5</sup>  
est contermina. .<sup>6</sup> |

68a Hic<sup>7</sup> NESANUS<sup>8</sup> cum esset valde inops sanctum alio tempore gaudenter hospitio recipit<sup>9</sup> virum. Cui cum hospitaliter secundum vires unius noctis spatio ministrasset, sanctus ab eo inquit, cujus boculas<sup>10</sup> numeri haberet. Ille ait : ' Quinque '. Sanctus consequenter :

<sup>1</sup> *Alio* is written in A as though it began a chapter. The two half-chapters are separated by a line left blank, but both halves are included in A's chapter-heading. Reeves numbered the two halves as one chapter. Each half has a separate title in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. The title of the second half, in B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub> (partly missing), B<sub>3</sub>, and in the contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>, is : *De duobus piscibus illo prophetante in flumine quod vocatur böo* (boo B<sub>3</sub>) *reperitis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cei*. In A, there is one over-dash, resembling the bar abbreviation-sign. Cf. 43a. Here also *cei* is probably genitive.

<sup>3</sup> bo A, with an over-dash, somewhat resembling an accent ; böo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; bo.o. B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> *Pro* to *reddiderunt*. This sentence seems to have been misplaced in the common source of A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; it should have followed *traxerunt*, and we have placed it there in the translation. It is to be noted however that *pro* does not begin a new sentence in any of the manuscripts, and that in A no original punctuation mark follows *traxerunt* or *comitata*.

<sup>5</sup> *stagno aporum*. Here *aporum* is a Latin genitive plural of *apor*, derived from North-British speech. The 'lake of river mouths' was upper Loch

Also at another time, while the saint was staying for some days beside the lake Cei [Lough Key], his companions wished to go fishing ; and he delayed them, saying : ' Today and tomorrow not one fish will be found in the river. On the third day I will send you, and you shall find two great river salmon caught in the net '. So after two days they cast their net and found in the river that is called Bo [Boyle], and drew to land, those two salmon of most exceptional size. And for them the saint and his companions rendered very great thanks to God.

In these two above-mentioned catches of fish there appears the power of miracle, with prophetic foreknowledge also accompanying it.

[II 20] Concerning Nesan the Crooked, who  
lived in the district [Lochaber] that borders  
upon the lake of river-mouths

This Nesan, when he was very poor, once joyfully received the holy man as a guest. After Nesan had provided for him hospitably according to his means for the space of one night, the saint inquired of him how many cows he had. He said : ' Five '. Thereupon

Linnhe, an Linne Dhubh, and the district named by Adomnan extended to that arm of the sea ; as does the modern district of Lochaber. Cf. Watson 1926, pp. 78-9.

<sup>6</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads : *De quodam plebeo qui nesanus* (*ne's-* B<sub>2</sub>) *curvus dicebatur*.

<sup>7</sup> Hic A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; Sic B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>8</sup> nesanus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; nesa'nus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> recipit A ; receipt B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> boculas A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (bo'c- B<sub>1</sub>) ; in A, u, and apparently a deletion dot, have been written by m.h. above o.

'Ad me' ait, 'adduc, ut eas<sup>1</sup> benedicam'. Quibus adductis et elevata manu sancta benedictis: 'Ab hac die tuae pauculae quinque vacculae<sup>2</sup> crescent' ait sanctus, 'usque ad centum et quinque vaccarum numerum'. Et quia idem<sup>3</sup> Nesanus<sup>4</sup> homo plebeus erat cum uxore et filiis hoc etiam ei vir beatus benedictionis augmentum intulit, dicens: 'Erit semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum'. Quae omnia plene juxta verbum sancti sine ulla expleta sunt inminutione.<sup>5</sup>

De quodam vero di'vite tenacissimo nomine Vi'geno<sup>6</sup> qui sanctum Columbam despe'xerat, nec eum hospicio recepit, hanc econtrario pro'tulit prophetalem sententiam, i'nquiens: 'Illius autem avari divitiae, qui Christum in peregrinis hospiti'bus sprevit, ab hac die paulatim imminuentur, et ad ni'chilum redigentur; et ipse mendicabit, et filius ejus cum semivacua de domo in domum pe'rula discurret; et ab aliquo ejus e'mulo securi in fossula excusso'rii percussus morietur'. Que omnia de utroque juxta sancti propheti'am viri plene sunt expleta.

De Columbano eque plebeo<sup>7</sup> viro cujus pecora admodum pauca vir sanctus benedixit; sed post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium | creverunt numerum.<sup>8</sup>

ALIO QUOQUE TEMPORE,<sup>9</sup> vir beatus quadam nocte cum apud supra memoratum Columbanum tunc tem-

<sup>1</sup> eas A B1 B2; eis B3

<sup>2</sup> vacculae A; -le B2 B3; vacce B1. Adomnan's use of diminutives in the talk of Columba to this man, and to Columbanus, below, suggests that they were not of Irish origin, although their names are Irish in form. Cf. 46b.

<sup>3</sup> idem. In A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *i*.

<sup>4</sup> nesanus A B2 B3; nesa'nus B1

<sup>5</sup> inminutione. The chapter is continued, without a break, in B1 B2 B3. This continuation was perhaps made by Adomnan (see p. 8). It receives a separate chapter-heading in the contents-list of B2 and of B3: *De quodam divite tenacissimo nomine vigeno (vi'geno B2)*. We take the continuation from

the saint said: 'Bring them to me, so that I may bless them'. They were brought, and the saint raising his holy hand blessed them, and said: 'From this day, your small number of five little cows will increase up to one hundred and five cows'. And because this Nesan was a layman, with wife and children, the blessed man gave him this further benediction also, saying: 'Your seed will be blessed in your sons and grandsons'. All these things were completely fulfilled in accordance with the saint's word, without any diminution.

But concerning a certain very niggardly rich man, Vigenus by name, who had slighted Saint Columba, and did not receive him as a guest, he pronounced on the contrary this prophetic doom: 'The riches of that greedy man, who has spurned Christ in pilgrim guests, will from this day be gradually diminished, and will be reduced to nothing. And he himself will be a beggar, and his son will run from house to house with a half-empty bag. And he will die, struck with an axe by one of his enemies, in the trench of a threshing-floor'.

All these things concerning each were completely fulfilled according to the prophecy of the holy man.

[II 21] Of Colman, another layman; whose cattle, very few in number, the holy man blessed. And after blessing they increased to a hundred

At another time, when the blessed man was well entertained one night at the house of the above-named

B1. Much of it is illegible in B2. B2 and B3 give no accents, and there are some insignificant variations of spelling that we have not noted.

<sup>6</sup> vi'geno B1; ingenio B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>7</sup> eque plebeo. This refers to the subject of the previous chapter in A, Nesan, called *plebeus*. Vigenus, the subject of the preceding chapter in B1 B2 B3, is not explicitly called *plebeus*. It seems, therefore, that the Vigenus chapter was not in Adomnan's original version.

<sup>8</sup> creverunt numerum is, in A, written in the upper margin.

<sup>9</sup> tempore A; in tempore B1 B2 B3

poris inopem bene hospitaretur, mane primo sanctus sicuti superius de Naesano<sup>1</sup> commemoratum est de quantitate<sup>2</sup> et qualitate substantiae plebeum hospitem interrogat. Qui interrogatus: 'Quinque' ait, 'tantummodo habeo vacculas; quae si eas benedixeris<sup>3</sup> in majus crescent'. Quas ilico a sancto jusus<sup>4</sup> adduxit; similique modo ut supra de Nesani<sup>5</sup> quinis dictum est vacculis, et hujus Columbani boculas<sup>6</sup> quinales equaliter benedicens, inquit: 'Centenas et quinque deo donante habebis vaccas. Et erit in filiis et nepotibus tuis florida benedictio'.

Quae omnia juxta beati viri profetationem in agris et pecoribus ejus et prole plenissime adimpleta sunt. 69a Mirumque in modum numerus a sancto | praefinitus supra memoratis<sup>7</sup> ambobus viris in centinario<sup>8</sup> vaccarum et quinario expletus numero nullo modo superaddi potuit; nam illa quae supra praefinitum excedebant<sup>9</sup> numerum diversis praerepta cassibus<sup>10</sup> nusquam comparuerant, excepto eo quod aut in usus proprios familiae aut etiam in opus elimoysinae<sup>11</sup> expendi poterat.

In hac itaque narratione, ut in ceteris, virtutis<sup>12</sup> miraculum et profetia simul aperte ostenditur. Nam in magna vaccarum ampliacione<sup>13</sup> benedictionis pariter et orationis virtus apparet, et in praefinitione numeri profetalis praescientia. .

<sup>1</sup> naesano A; the first *a* has later been erased (see p. 130). nesa'no B1; nesano B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> quantitate A B1 B2; quantite B3

<sup>3</sup> benedixeris A B1 B2 (-di'x- B1); benedixieris B3

<sup>4</sup> jusus A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *us*. jussus B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> nesani A B1 B3; nasani B2

<sup>6</sup> boculas A B2 B3; in A, a small *u* has been written by m.h. above *o*. bo'culas B1

<sup>7</sup> memoratis A; -tus B1; -tis B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> centinario A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -ten- B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> excedebant A; -bat B1 B2 B3

Colman, then a poor man, the saint (as has been related above in the case of Nesan) questioned his lay host in the early morning about the nature and amount of his property. Thus questioned, he replied: 'I have but five little cows; if you bless them, they will become more'. He brought them immediately at the command of the saint, who, just as has been told above of the five little cows of Nesan, blessed likewise the five little cows of this Colman also, and said: 'God granting it, you shall have a hundred and five cows. And there will be a blessing of fruitfulness upon your sons and grandsons'.

All these things were very completely fulfilled according to the prophecy of the blessed man, in Colman's fields and cattle, and in his descendants. And in a strange manner, when the number fixed by the saint for either of those men had reached the total of a hundred and five cows, it could not be increased by any means. For those beasts that surpassed the above predetermined number were carried off by various mischances and nowhere seen again; except any one that could be devoted either to the own needs of the household, or else to the use of charity.

In this story, as in the others, a miracle of power, together with prophecy, is clearly shown. For in the great increase of cows, the power of blessing appears equally with that of prayer; and in the predetermination of the number, prophetic foreknowledge.

<sup>10</sup> cassibus A; the first *s* has later been deleted with dots above and below made by a fine pen. casibus B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> elimoysinae A; elemo'sine B1; elemosine B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> virtutis A B1 B3; in A, small letters *bu* have been added by m.h. above *is*, and marked with dots for insertion between *i* and *s*. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> ampliacione A; amplifica- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

De malefactorum interitu qui  
sanctum dispexerant<sup>1</sup>

VIR VENERANDUS supra memoratum Columbanum,<sup>2</sup>  
69b quem de paupere virtus benedictionis ejus<sup>3</sup> ditem | fecit,  
valde deligebat,<sup>4</sup> quia ei multa pietatis officia praebebat.  
Erat autem illo in tempore quidam malefactor homo  
bonorum persecutor<sup>5</sup> nomine Ioan<sup>6</sup> filius Conallis filii<sup>7</sup>  
Domnallis<sup>8</sup> de regio Gabrani ortus genere.<sup>9</sup> Hic supra-  
dictum Colum<sup>10</sup> sancti amicum Columbae perseque-  
batur, domumque ejus omnibus in ea inventis devasta-  
verat ereptis non semel sed bis inimiciter agens. Unde  
forte non inmerito eidem maligno accedit<sup>11</sup> viro, ut tertia  
vice post ejusdem domus tertiam depredationem<sup>12</sup>  
beatum virum quem quasi longius possitum<sup>13</sup> dispexerat<sup>14</sup>  
propius appropinquantem ad navem<sup>15</sup> revertens preda  
onustus cum sociis obvium haberet. Quem cum sanctus  
de suis corripere malis predamque deponere rogans  
suaderet ille inmitis et insuadibilis permanens sanctum  
dispexit,<sup>16</sup> navimque cum praeda ascendens beatum  
70a virum subsannabat<sup>17</sup> et diridebat.<sup>18</sup> | Quem sanctus ad  
mare usque prosequutus est, vitreasque intrans aquas

<sup>1</sup> The chapter-heading in B<sub>1</sub> is: *De i'nteritu Johannis filii conallis, die eadem qua sanctum spernens dehonoraui.* So also (without accents, and reading *eadem die*) in B<sub>3</sub> and in contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>. B<sub>2</sub> reads: ] filii conallis ea[ ] dehonoraui. <sup>2</sup> columbanum A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; colmanum B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> ejus A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> deligebat A; a small *i* has later been written above the first *e*. dil- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> persecutor A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a small *q* has been written (by ?m.h.) above *c*. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> io|an A, with two over-dashes; johannes B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Cf. 72a.

<sup>7</sup> filii A; filius B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> domnal|lis A; domnalli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; ]nalli B<sub>2</sub>. See p. 136.

<sup>9</sup> gabrani ortus genere A; genere gabrani ortus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; genere gab| B<sub>2</sub>. Ioan's grandfather was a son of Gabran (E.S., 1, p. cl). In A, a later curved line, made with at least two strokes, connects the end of *regio* with the *g* of *gabrani*.

[II 22] Concerning the destruction of  
evil-doers who had scorned the saint

The venerable man greatly loved the above-named Colman, whom the power of his blessing raised from poverty to wealth; for Colman rendered him many pious services. There was at that time a certain man, sprung from the royal family of Gabran; an evil-doer, an oppressor of good men, by name Ioan, son of Conall, son of Domnall. He oppressed the aforesaid Colman, Saint Columba's friend, and acting as an enemy had sacked his house, carrying off all that he found there, not once, but twice. So it happened not undeservedly to this evil man that on the third occasion, after his third plundering of the same house, when, with his associates, he was returning, laden with booty, to his ship, he encountered the blessed man, whom he had scorned as being very far away, approaching very near. When the saint rebuked him for his misdeeds, and entreated him to put down the booty, he remained unyielding and obstinate, and scorned the saint; and entering his ship with the booty he scoffed at the blessed man, and mocked him. The saint followed him down to the sea, and entering knee-deep the glassy waters of the ocean

<sup>10</sup> colum| A, with an over-dash above *ol* (see p. 127); colmanum B<sub>1</sub>; columbanum B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> accedit A; accidit B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> depredationem A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; deprecacionem B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> possitum A; the first *s* has later been deleted with a dot above made by a fine pen. positum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> dispexerat A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> navem. In A, the *e* has later been altered to *i* with a down-stroke of a fine pen.

<sup>16</sup> dispexit A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>17</sup> subsannabat A; -a'vit B<sub>1</sub>; -avit B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>18</sup> diridebat A; der- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

usque ad genua equoreas levatis ad caelum ambis<sup>1</sup> manibus Christum intente precatur, qui suos glorificantes sé glorificat electos.

Est vero ille portus in quo post egressum persecutoris stans paulisper dominum exorabat<sup>2</sup> in loco qui scotice vocitatur<sup>3</sup> Aithchambas<sup>4</sup> Art-muirchol.<sup>5</sup> Tum proinde sanctus expleta oratione ad aridam reversus in eminentiore cum comitibus sedet<sup>6</sup> loco. Ad quos illa in hora formidabilia valde profert verba, dicens: 'Hic miserabilis homuncio qui Christum in suis dispexit<sup>7</sup> servis ad portum a quo nuper coram vobis emigravit numquam revertetur, sed nec ad alias<sup>8</sup> quas appetit<sup>9</sup> terras subita praeventus morte cum suis perveniet malis cooperatoribus. Hodie quam mox videbitis de nube a borea orta<sup>10</sup> in|mitis inmiscia<sup>11</sup> procella eum cum sociis submerget, nec de eis etiam unus remanebit fabulator'.

Post aliquantum paucularum interventum morarum die serenissima, et ecce de mari aborta<sup>12</sup> sicut sanctus dixerat<sup>13</sup> nubes cum magno<sup>14</sup> fragore venti emisa<sup>15</sup> raptorem cum praeda inter Maleam<sup>16</sup> et Colosum<sup>17</sup> insulas<sup>18</sup> inveniens subito turbato submersit medio mari. Nec ex eis juxta verbum sancti qui navi inerant etiam unus evassit.<sup>19</sup> Mirumque in modum toto circumquaque

<sup>1</sup> ambis A; ambabus B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> paulisper dominum exorabat A; dominum exorabat paulisper B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> vocitatur A; vocatur B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> aithchambas A, with three over-dashes; aidcambas B1 B2; ad cambasi B3. The place intended was probably known to Adomnan, but it has not been identified. See p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> art muirchol A, with three over-dashes; ardmuircol B1; ardmuircoll B2 B3. See 20b.

<sup>6</sup> sedet A B1; sedit B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> dispexit A; des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> alias A B3; illas B1. Missing in B2.

<sup>9</sup> appetit A B3; in A, an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. a'ppetit B1. Missing in B2.

<sup>10</sup> orta A; ortam B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>11</sup> inmiscia A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *is*. immensa B2 B3; et immensa B1

<sup>12</sup> aborta A; oborta B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

he raised both hands to heaven, and earnestly prayed to Christ, who glorifies his chosen ones that glorify him.

That harbour in which for a little while he stood praying to the Lord, after the persecutor's departure, is in the place that is called in Irish *Aithchambas Art-muirchol*. Then after finishing his prayer the saint returned to dry land, and sat with his companions on higher ground; and in that hour he spoke to them very terrible words, saying: 'This wretched mortal, who has despised Christ in his servants, will never return to the harbour from which as you saw he has lately departed; and neither will he reach with his fellow evil-doers the other lands for which he makes his course, for he will be overtaken by sudden death. This day very soon, you shall see, a violent squall, hurled from a cloud that rises in the north, will sink him with his company; and not even one of them will survive to tell the story'.

After an interval of some little time, the day being very calm, behold, as the saint had said, a cloud arose from the sea, and was released with great clamour of wind; and finding the robber with his booty between the islands Male [Mull] and Colossus [Coll], it suddenly raised a storm in the middle of the sea and sank him. And in accordance with the saint's word not even one escaped of those that were in the vessel. And in a marvellous manner, while all the sea remained calm

<sup>13</sup> dixerat A; predixerat B1 B2 B3

<sup>14</sup> magno A B1 B2; altered in B1 from *magna*. magna B3

<sup>15</sup> emisa A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *is*. emissa B1 B2 B3

<sup>16</sup> maleam A B2 B3; ma'leam B1

<sup>17</sup> colosum A B1 B2; colosam B3

<sup>18</sup> insulas A B1; insulam B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>19</sup> evassit A; the first *s* has later been deleted, with points above and below. evasis B1 B2 B3

manente<sup>1</sup> tranquillo equore, talis una rapaces ad inferna  
submersos prostravit procella, misere quidem sed digne. .

De quodam Feradacho subita  
morte subtract[o]<sup>2</sup>

ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE vir sanctus quendam de  
71a nobili Pictorum genere<sup>3</sup> | exsulem<sup>4</sup> Tarainum<sup>5</sup> nomine  
in manum alicujus Feradachi<sup>6</sup> ditis viri qui in Ilea<sup>7</sup>  
insula habitabat deligenter<sup>8</sup> adsignans commendavit, ut  
in ejus comitatu quasi unus de amicis per aliquot menses  
conversaretur. Quem cum tali commendatione de  
sancti manu viri suscipisset<sup>9</sup> commendatum, post paucos  
dies dolose agens crudili<sup>10</sup> eum jusione<sup>11</sup> trucidavit.  
Quod inmane<sup>12</sup> scelus cum sancto a comeantibus esset  
nuntiatum, sic respondens profatus est: ' Non mihi<sup>13</sup>  
sed deo ille infelix homunculus mentitus est, cujus nomen  
de libro vitae delebitur. Haec verba aesteo<sup>14</sup> nunc  
mediante proloquimur tempore; sed autumnali ante-  
quam de suilla degustet carne arboreo<sup>15</sup> saginata fructu  
subita praeventus morte ad infernaliam rapietur loca<sup>16</sup>.

71b Haec sancti profetia | viri cum misello nuntiaretur<sup>16</sup>  
homuncioni,<sup>17</sup> dispiciens<sup>18</sup> inrissit<sup>19</sup> sanctum. Et post

<sup>1</sup> toto circumquaque manente A; circumquaque manente toto B<sub>1</sub>  
B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> The chapter-heading reads, in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, and the contents-list of  
B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>: *De alicujus (ali'cujus B<sub>1</sub>) feradachi morte fraudulentis viri,  
a sancto pronunciata* (partly missing or illegible in B<sub>2</sub> and the contents-list of  
B<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>3</sup> Below this column, with the page upside-down, m.h. has written,  
and smeared out, *M Milium*, a trial of the pen.

<sup>4</sup> exsulem A; e'xulem B<sub>1</sub>; exulem B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> tarainum A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; tharainum B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> feradachi A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; ferada'chi B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>7</sup> ilea A; i'lia B<sub>1</sub>; ilia B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> deligenter A; the first *e* has later been changed to *i* with a down-  
stroke of a fine pen. dil- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> suscipisset A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -cep- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

round about, this one squall drowned the plunderers and  
cast them down to hell, a wretched but a worthy fate. \*

[II 23] Of a certain Feradach,  
carried off by sudden death

Also at another time, the holy man committed an  
exile, Tarain by name, of a noble family of the Picts, to  
the protection of a certain Feradach, a rich man, who  
lived in the island of Ile [Islay]; earnestly requiring  
that Tarain should for some months live in Feradach's  
retinue, as one of his friends. When he had received  
him from the hand of the holy man, commended with  
this commendation, after a few days Feradach acted  
treacherously and, by a cruel order, caused him to be  
slain. When this monstrous crime was reported to the  
saint by travellers, he thus declared in reply: ' That  
unhappy being has lied not to me, but to God; his  
name will be removed from the book of life. Now in  
the midsummer season we pronounce these words, but  
in the autumn season, before he can taste pigs' flesh  
fattened on the fruit of trees, he will be overtaken by  
sudden death and carried off to the infernal regions '.

When this prophecy of the holy man was reported to  
the wretched mortal, he scorned the saint and mocked

<sup>10</sup> crudili A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. crudeli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> jusione A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *us*. juss- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> Quod inmane A B<sub>1</sub>; Qui in-mane B<sub>2</sub>; Qui i~mane B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> mihi A; nobis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> aesteo A; estivo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> arboreo A; a'rborum B<sub>1</sub>; arborum B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>16</sup> nuntiaretur. In A, the end of the Irish *tu* symbol is faint. Reeves  
misread the word as *nuntiare*.

<sup>17</sup> homuncioni A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; homutioni B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>18</sup> dispiciens A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>19</sup> inrissit A; a small *r* has been written by m.h. above *n*, and deletion  
points entered below *n* and the first *s*. irrisit B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

dies aliquot autumnalium mens[i]um<sup>1</sup> eo jubente scrofa nucum inpinguata nucleis jugulatur, necdum aliis ejusdem viri<sup>2</sup> jugulatis suis. De qua celeriter exinterata<sup>3</sup> partem sibi in veru celerius assari<sup>4</sup> praecipit,<sup>5</sup> ut de ea inpatiens homo praegustans beati viri profetationem distrueret.<sup>6</sup> Qua videlicet<sup>7</sup> assata dari sibi poposcit aliquam praegustandam mursus<sup>8</sup> particulam; ad quam percipiendam extensam manum priusquam ad os converteret exspirans mortuus retro in dorsum cecidit.<sup>9</sup> Et qui viderant et qui audierant valde tremefacti ammirantes Christum in sancto profeta honorificantes glorificarunt. .<sup>10</sup>

De alio quodam nefario homine ecclesiarum<sup>11</sup> persecutore, cujus nomen latine manus dextera dicitur. .<sup>12</sup> |

72a ALIO IN TEMPORE vir beatus cum alios ecclesiarum persecutores in Hinba<sup>13</sup> commoratus insula excommunicare<sup>14</sup> coepisset, filios videlicet Conallis filii Domnaill,<sup>15</sup> quorum unus erat Ioan<sup>16</sup> de quo supra retulimus, quidam ex eorundem malefactoribus sociis diabuli<sup>17</sup> instinctu cum hasta inruit,<sup>18</sup> ut sanctum interficeret.

<sup>1</sup> mensum A; a subscript *i* has been added by m.h. after *s*, in lighter ink. mensium B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>2</sup> jugulatur to viri in A B1 B3; omitted in B2 through homoioteleuton.

<sup>3</sup> exinterata A; exent- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> assari. In A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the second *a*.

<sup>5</sup> praecipit A; precepit B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> distrueret A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> videlicet. After this word, *parte* appears to have been omitted, in the common source of A B1 B2 B3.

<sup>8</sup> mursus A; morsus B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> cecidit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. ce'c- B1; cec- B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> glorificarunt A; -averunt B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> quodam to ecclesiarum in A; omitted in B1 B2 B3, and in the contents-list of B2 and of B3.

him. After some days of the autumn months, a sow fattened on kernels of nuts was slaughtered by his command, before any of his other pigs had been killed. And he ordered that the sow should be quickly disembowelled, and that part of it should at once be broiled for him on a spit; so that the rash fellow, by tasting of it in advance, might confound the blessed man's prophecy. When the part had been broiled, he asked for a morsel to be given him to taste. Before he could bring to his mouth the hand that he had stretched out to receive the morsel, he expired, and fell dead on his back. And those that saw, and those that heard, trembled greatly, marvelled, and glorified Christ, honouring him in his holy prophet.

[II 24] Concerning another impious man, a persecutor of churches, whose name is called 'Right Hand' in Latin

At another time, when the blessed man was in the island of Hinba, and had begun to excommunicate other persecutors of churches, namely the sons of Conall Domnaill's son, (of whom one was Ioan, whose story we told above) one of their company of evil-doers, prompted by the devil, rushed in with a spear, intending

<sup>12</sup> manus dextera dicitur A B3, and the contents-list of B2 and of B3; dicitur manus dextera B1; manus dextra [ B2

<sup>13</sup> hinba A; hi'mba B1; ]ba B2; himba B3

<sup>14</sup> excommunicare A; a small *u* has been written by m.h. above the second *o*. -muni- B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> domnaill A B2 B3; domnai'l B1

<sup>16</sup> ioan A, with two over-dashes; johannes B1 B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> diabuli A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -boli B1 B2 B3

<sup>18</sup> inruit A; a small *r* has been written by m.h. above *n*. i'rruit B1; irruit B2 B3



Quod praecavens<sup>1</sup> unus ex fratribus, Findluganus<sup>2</sup> nomine, mori paratus pro sancto viro cucula<sup>3</sup> ejus indutus intercessit. Sed mirum in modum, beati viri tale vestimentum quasi quaedam munitissima et impenetrabilis lurica,<sup>4</sup> quamlibet fortis viri forti impulsione acutioris hastae, transfigi<sup>5</sup> non potuit, sed inlessum<sup>6</sup> permansit. Et qui eo indutus erat intactus et incolomis<sup>7</sup> tali protectus est munimento. Ille vero sceleratus, qui  
72b manus dextera<sup>8</sup> [dicebatur],<sup>9</sup> retro repedavit, | estimans quod sanctum hasta transfixisset virum.

Post ex<sup>10</sup> ea die completum<sup>11</sup> annum, cum sanctus in Iova commoraretur insula: 'Usque in hanc diem' ait, 'intigratus<sup>12</sup> est annus, ex qua die Lam Dess<sup>13</sup> in quantum potuit Findluganum<sup>14</sup> mea jugulavit vice; sed et ipse ut estimo hac in<sup>15</sup> hora jugulatur'. Quod juxta sancti revelationem eodem momento in illa insula factum est quae<sup>16</sup> latine longa<sup>17</sup> vocitari potest, ubi ipse solus Lam Des<sup>18</sup> in aliqua virorum utrimque acta belligeratione Cronani<sup>19</sup> filii Baitani<sup>20</sup> jaculo transfixus, in nomine ut fertur sancti Columbae emiso,<sup>21</sup> interierat; et post ejus interitum belligerare viri cessarunt.

<sup>1</sup> praecavens A; an acute accent has later been added with a fine pen above *p*. pre'- B1; pre- B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> findluganus A B1 B2; finducanus B3

<sup>3</sup> cucula A; a small *l* has been written by m.h. above *ul*. -ulla B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> lurica A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging; and a circumflex accent has been added with a fine pen above *i*. lori'ca B1; lorica B2 B3. (Cf. O.I. *lúreach*, S.G. *lúreach*, 'shirt of mail', applied to a charm against mischance.)

<sup>5</sup> transfigi A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above the first *i*. transfi'gi B1

<sup>6</sup> inlessum A; the first *s* has later been deleted with points above and below made by a fine pen. illesum B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> incolomis A; inco'lumis B1; incolumis B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> dextera A B1; dextra B2 B3. <sup>9</sup> dicebatur B1 B2 B3. Omitted in A.

<sup>10</sup> ex A B3; hec B1. Omitted in B2.

<sup>11</sup> completum A B2; copletum B1; co~pletum B3

<sup>12</sup> intigratus A; the second *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -teg- B1 B2 B3

to kill the<sup>1</sup> saint. In order to prevent this, one of the monks, by name Findlugan, wearing the holy man's cowl, came between, ready to die for him. But miraculously that garment of the blessed man, like a coat of well-fortified and impenetrable armour, could not be pierced even by a strong man's powerful thrust of a very sharp spear, but remained uninjured; and the man that was clad in it was shielded by that covering from hurt or harm. But the miscreant, who [was called] Right Hand, withdrew, believing that the spear had transfixed the holy man.

When a whole year had passed from that day, and the saint was in the island of Io, he said: 'A year has been completed to this day from the day on which Lám Dess did his best to kill Findlugan in my place. But in this hour, as I believe, he is himself being killed'. And in accordance with the revelation of the saint, at the same moment this happened in the island that in Latin may be called 'long'. In a fight that took place there this Lám Dess alone of the men on either side perished, pierced by the javelin of Cronan, Baitan's son (thrown, it is said, in the name of Saint Columba). And after his death, the men stopped fighting.

<sup>13</sup> lam dess A, with one over-dash (above *lam*; misread *Lám* in Thesaurus 1903, p. 278); lamdhes B1; laudes B2; lamdes B3. In A, a later hand has written above *lam*, with a very fine pen, a sign that, so far as it can be seen in the facsimiles, seems to be the continental symbol for *quaere*. The name is 'right hand' in O.I., but was probably not understood by the annotator. It had previously been given in a Latin translation only, *manus dextera*.

<sup>14</sup> findluganum A B3; findlucanum B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>15</sup> in A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

<sup>16</sup> quae A; quod B1; que B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>17</sup> longa. See p. 156.

<sup>18</sup> lam des A, with two over-dashes; lamdhes B1; lamdes B2 B3

<sup>19</sup> cronani A B3; crona'ni B1; croma'ni B2. See p. 79.

<sup>20</sup> baitani A; baeta'ni B1; baetani B2 B3

<sup>21</sup> emiso A; a small *s* has been added by m.h. above *is*. emisso B1 B2 B3

73a De alio itidem innocentium  
persequutore<sup>1</sup> |

CUM VIR BEATUS adhuc juvenis diacon<sup>2</sup> in parte Lagenensium<sup>3</sup> divinam addiscens sapientiam conversaretur, quadam accedit<sup>4</sup> die ut homo quidam innocuorum inmitis persequutor crudilis<sup>5</sup> quandam in campi planitie<sup>6</sup> filiolum fugientem persequeretur. Quae cum forte Gemmanum<sup>7</sup> senem supra memorati juvenis<sup>8</sup> | diaconi magistrum in campo legentem vidisset, ad eum recto cursu quanta valuit velocitate confugit. Qui tali perturbatus subitatione Columbam eminus legentem advocat, ut ambo in quantum valuissent filiam a persequente defenderent. Qui statim superveniens, nulla eis ab eo data reverentia, filiam sub vestimentis eorum lancea jugulavit, et relinquens jacentem mortuam super  
73b pedes eorum aversus | abire coepit.

Senex tum valde tristificatus conversus ad Columbam<sup>9</sup> : ' Quanto, ' ait, ' sancte puer Columba, hoc scelus cum nostra dehonoratione temporis spatio inultum fieri iudex justus<sup>10</sup> patietur deus ? ' Sanctus consequenter hanc in ipsum sceleratorem protulit sententiam,<sup>11</sup> dicens : ' Eadem hora qua interfectae ab eo filiae anima ascendit ad caelos, anima ipsius interfectoris descendat<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The chapter-heading in B1, B3, and B2 so far as it is legible, and in the contents-list of B2 and of B3, reads : *De alio (alia B1) innocencium persecutore, qui in lagingensium (lagingin- B1) provincia (provincia contents-list of B2) sicut ananias (annani'as B1, annanias contents-list of B3) coram petro eodem momento a sancto terribiliter objurgatus cecidit (ce'c- B1) mortuus.*

<sup>2</sup> diacon| A ; a us symbol has been written by m.h. above n, with a very fine pen. dia'conus B1 ; diaconus B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> lagenensium A ; the first e has later been altered to i, by erasure. lagingensium B1 B3 (-ne'n- B1) ; lagingensium B2

<sup>4</sup> accedit A ; the e has later been altered to i, by erasure (cf. above). a'ccidit B1 ; accidit B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> crudilis A ; the first i has been altered by m.h., very faintly, to e. et crudelis B1 ; crudelis B3. Illegible in B2.

[II 25] Concerning yet another  
oppressor of innocents

While the blessed man, still a young deacon, was living in the region of the Lagingin, studying divine wisdom, it happened one day that a certain cruel man, a pitiless ! oppressor of the innocent, was pursuing a young girl, who fled upon the level surface of the plain. When by chance she saw the aforesaid young deacon's master, the aged Gemman, reading on the plain, she ran straight to him for protection with all the speed she could. Alarmed by this sudden happening he called to him Columba, who was reading at a little distance, so that together they might to the extent of their power defend the girl from her pursuer. But as soon as the man came near, showing them no reverence he killed the girl with a spear, under their robes. And he left her lying dead upon their feet, and turning away began to depart.

Then the old man in great distress of mind turned to Columba, and said : ' For how long, holy boy, Columba, will God, the just judge, suffer this crime, and our dishonour, to go unavenged ? ' Thereupon the saint pronounced this sentence upon the miscreant : ' In the same hour in which the soul of the girl whom he has slain ascends to heaven, let the soul of the slayer

<sup>6</sup> *campi planitie.* This plain, in the district of the Lagingin, was presumably Mag-lagen, to the south of the Liffey.

<sup>7</sup> gemmanum A B2 B3 ; gemma'num B1

<sup>8</sup> juvenis A ; juvenilis B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> columbam A ; sanctum columbam B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> iudex justus A ; justus iudex B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> sententiam A B2 ; sentenciam B1 ; setenciam B3

<sup>12</sup> descendat A ; desc- B1 B3 and ?B2

ad inferos'. Et<sup>1</sup> dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut Annanias<sup>2</sup> coram Petro,<sup>3</sup> sic et ille innocentium jugulator coram oculis sancti juvenis in eadem mortuus<sup>4</sup> cecidit<sup>5</sup> terrula. Cujus rumor subitae et formidabilis vindictae continuo per multas Scotiae provincias cum mira sancti diaconi fama divulgatus<sup>6</sup> est. .

Hucusque de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus dixisse sufficiat.<sup>7</sup> Nunc de bestiis aliqua narrabimus pauca. |

74a <sup>8</sup> ALIO IN TEMPORE vir beatus cum in Scia<sup>9</sup> insula aliquantís demoraretur diebus, paulo longius solus orationis intuitu separatus a fratribus silvam ingressus densam, mirae magnitudinis aprum quem forte venatici canes persequabantur<sup>10</sup> obvium habuit. Quo viso eminus sanctus aspiciens eum<sup>11</sup> restitit. Tum<sup>12</sup> deinde invocato dei nomine sancta elevata manu cum intenta dicit ad eum oratione: 'Ulterius huc procedere noles<sup>13</sup>; in loco<sup>14</sup> ad quem nunc devenisti morire'.<sup>15</sup> Quo sancti in silvis personante verbo non solum ultra accedere non valuit, sed ante faciem ipsius<sup>16</sup> terribilis ferus verbi ejus virtute mortificatus cito conruit.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> et A; Et B1 B2; Quo B3

<sup>2</sup> annanias A B2 B3; ananias B1

<sup>3</sup> Petro. Cf. Vulgate, Acts v. 5.

<sup>4</sup> mortuus A B1. Omitted in B3; illegible in B2.

<sup>5</sup> cecidit A; cec- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>6</sup> divulgatus A; div- B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>7</sup> sufficiat A; suff- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> This chapter has no heading in A. The heading in B1 is: *De apris mortificatione qui a sancto eminus cecidit, signo prostratus dominice crucis*. The heading is verbally the same in B2 (as far as it is legible), B3, and the contents-list of B2 and of B3.

<sup>9</sup> scia A; sua B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>10</sup> quem to persequabantur. In place of this clause, B1 B2 B3 read *tunc*.

<sup>11</sup> eum A; tunc B1; tum B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> Tum A B1 B2; Tunc B3

<sup>13</sup> noles. Cf. 75a.

descend to hell'. And more quickly than speech, with that word, like Ananias before Peter, so also before the eyes of the holy youth that killer of innocents fell dead on the spot. The fame of this sudden and dreadful vengeance was immediately spread abroad throughout many provinces of Ireland, with wonderful renown of the holy deacon.

Let it suffice to have told so much of terrible vengeance upon enemies. Now we shall tell some few things about animals.

[II 26]

At another time, when the blessed man was for some days in the island of Sci [Skye], being alone for the sake of prayer, and separated from the brothers by a considerable distance, he entered a dense wood, and encountered a boar of remarkable size, which was being pursued by hunting-dogs. The saint saw it a little way off, and stood still, regarding it. Then he raised his holy hand, with invocation of the name of God, and praying intently said to the boar: 'You will approach no further; in the place to which you have now come, die'. When these words of the saint rang out in the wood, not only was the wild beast unable to advance further, but before Columba's face it immediately fell, slain by the power of his terrible word.

<sup>14</sup> loco A; loco hoc B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> morire A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. quanto'cius mo'rere B1; q[ ]totius mo'rere B2; quantocius morere B3

<sup>16</sup> ipsius A B2 B3; ejus B1

<sup>17</sup> conruit A; a small *r* has been written by m.h. above *n*. co'rruit B1; corruit B2 B3

De cujusdam aquatilis bestiae virtute  
orationis beati viri repulsione. .<sup>1</sup>

74b ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE, | cum vir beatus in Pic-  
torum provincia per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse  
habuit fluium<sup>2</sup> transire Nesam.<sup>3</sup> Ad cuius cum acces-  
sisset ripam alios ex acculis<sup>4</sup> aspicit misellum humantes  
homunculum, quem ut ipsi sepultores ferebant quaedam  
paulo ante nantem aquatilis praeripiens<sup>5</sup> bestia mursu<sup>6</sup>  
momordit sevissimo. Cujus miserum cadaver<sup>7</sup> sero  
licet quidam in alno<sup>8</sup> subvenientes porrectis praeripuerunt  
uncinis. Vir econtra beatus haec audiens praecipit ut<sup>9</sup>  
aliquis ex comitibus enatans<sup>10</sup> caupallum<sup>11</sup> in altera  
stantem ripa ad se navigando reducat. Quo sancti  
audito praedicabilis viri praecepto, Lugneus<sup>12</sup> mocu-  
Min<sup>13</sup> nihil moratus obsecundans,<sup>14</sup> depositis excepta  
vestmentis tunica, inmittit se in aquas. Sed bilua,<sup>15</sup>  
75a quae prius non tam satiata quam | in praedam accensa,  
in profundo fluminis latitabat. Sentiens eo nante<sup>16</sup>  
turbatam supra aquam, subito emergens natatilis ad  
hominem in medio natantem alveo cum ingenti fremitu  
aperto cucurrit ore. Vir tum<sup>17</sup> beatus videns, omnibus

<sup>1</sup> The chapter-heading in B1 is: *De alia aquatili bestia que eo orante et manum e contra levante retro repulsa est, ne lugne'o natanti vicino noceret.* So also (without accents) B2 B3 and the contents-list of B2 and of B3.

<sup>2</sup> fluium A; a small *v* has been written by m.h. above *ui*. fluvium B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> nesam A; nessa'mi: B1; nessamius B2; nessamus B3

<sup>4</sup> acculis A; a'ccolis B1; accolis B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> praeripiens A; p~ri'piens B1; p~ripiens B3. Omitted by B2.

<sup>6</sup> mursu A; the first *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. raptu B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> cadaver. In A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the second *a*.

<sup>8</sup> alno. In Latin usage, *alnus* was a wooden boat; and the context favours that meaning here. <sup>9</sup> ut A B2 B3; aut B1

<sup>10</sup> enatans A B3; in A, an acute accent has later been written above *e*. e'natans B1. Illegible in B2.

[II 27] Concerning a certain water beast  
driven away by the power of the blessed  
man's prayer

Also at another time, when the blessed man was for \* \* \*  
a number of days in the province of the Picts, he had to  
cross the river Nes [Ness]. When he reached its bank,  
he saw a poor fellow being buried by other inhabitants;  
and the buriers said that, while swimming not long  
before, he had been seized and most savagely bitten by  
a water beast. Some men, going to his rescue in a  
wooden boat, though too late, had put out hooks and  
caught hold of his wretched corpse. When the blessed  
man heard this, he ordered notwithstanding that one  
of his companions should swim out and bring back to  
him, by sailing, a boat that stood on the opposite bank.  
Hearing this order of the holy and memorable man,  
Lugne mocu-Min obeyed without delay, and putting  
off his clothes, excepting his tunic, plunged into the  
water. But the monster, whose appetite had earlier  
been not so much sated as whetted for prey, lurked  
in the depth of the river. Feeling the water above  
disturbed by Lugne's swimming, it suddenly swam up  
to the surface, and with gaping mouth and with great  
roaring rushed towards the man swimming in the  
middle of the stream. While all that were there,

<sup>11</sup> caupallum A B2 B3; caballum B1

<sup>12</sup> lugneus A B3; lugne'us B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> mocumin A B1 B3 and ?B2, with three over-dashes in A.

<sup>14</sup> obsecundans A B3; obsecu'ndas B1. Missing in B2.

<sup>15</sup> bilua A; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. be'lua B1; be[ B2; belua B3

<sup>16</sup> nante A; natante B1 B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> Vir tum A; Tum vir B1 B3; ]vir B2

qui inerant<sup>1</sup> tam barbaris quam etiam fratribus nimio terrore percussis, cum salutare sancta elevata manu in vacuo aere crucis pinxisset signum invocato dei nomine feroci imperavit bestiae, dicens: 'Noles<sup>2</sup> ultra progredi,<sup>3</sup> nec hominem tangas. Retro citius revertere'. Tum vero bestia hac sancti audita voce retrorsum acsi funibus retraheretur velociore recursu fugit tremefacta,<sup>4</sup> quae prius Lugneo<sup>5</sup> nanti eo usque appropinquavit ut hominem inter et<sup>6</sup> bestiam non amplius esset quam  
75b unius contuli<sup>7</sup> longitudo. Fratres tum | recessisse<sup>8</sup> videntes bestiam,<sup>9</sup> Lugneumque<sup>10</sup> commilitonem ad eos intactum et incolomem<sup>11</sup> in navicula<sup>12</sup> reversum, cum ingenti ammiratione glorificaverunt deum<sup>13</sup> in beato viro. Sed et gentiles barbari qui ad praesens inerant ejusdem miraculi magnitudine quod<sup>14</sup> et ipsi viderant compulsi deum magnificarunt<sup>15</sup> christianorum.

De benedicta a sancto hujus insulae terrula  
ne deinceps in ea viperarum alicui  
nocerent venina<sup>16</sup>

QUADAM DIE EJUSDEM aestei<sup>17</sup> temporis quo ad dominum<sup>18</sup> transiit, ad visitandos fratres sanctus plaustro

<sup>1</sup> inerant A B2 B3; in A, a later mark above the first *n* may be intended for a stress-accent. i'nerant B1

<sup>2</sup> noles A B1 B2 B3. This must be the future indicative, notwithstanding that it is followed by *tangas* in the present subjunctive.

<sup>3</sup> progredi A B2 B3; in A, an acute accent has later been written with a fine pen above *o*. pro'gredi B1

<sup>4</sup> tremefacta · quae A; retracioneque facta B1; retractione factaque B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> lugneo A B2 B3; lugne'o B1

<sup>6</sup> hominem inter et A; inter hominem et inter B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> contuli A B3; co'ntuli B1. Omitted in B2.

<sup>8</sup> recessisse A; -isse B1 B2; -isset B3

<sup>9</sup> videntes bestiam A; bestiam videntes B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> lugneumque A B1 B2; lugneum B3

<sup>11</sup> incolomem A; -lum- B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> navicula A B1 B2; -lam B3

barbarians and even the brothers, were struck down with extreme terror, the blessed man, who was watching, raised his holy hand and drew the saving sign of the cross in the empty air; and then, invoking the name of God, he commanded the savage beast, and said: 'You will go no further. Do not touch the man; turn backward speedily'. Then, hearing this command of the saint, the beast, as if pulled back with ropes, fled terrified in swift retreat; although it had before approached so close to Lugne as he swam that there was no more than the length of one short pole between man and beast.

Then, seeing that the beast had withdrawn and that their fellow-soldier Lugne had returned to them unharmed and safe, in the boat, the brothers with great amazement glorified God in the blessed man. And also the pagan barbarians who were there at the time, impelled by the magnitude of this miracle that they themselves had seen, magnified the God of the Christians.

[II 28] Concerning the saint's blessing of the soil of this island, so that thenceforward the poison of snakes should hurt no one in it

On a certain day of that summer season in which he passed to the Lord, the saint went, drawn in a wagon,

<sup>13</sup> deum A B1 B3; christum B2

<sup>14</sup> quod A; qui B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> magnificarunt A; -caverunt B1 B2 B3

<sup>16</sup> The chapter-heading in B1: *De insule Iove viperinis serpentibus, qui ex qua die sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere poterint.* Verbally the same in B2 B3 and their contents-lists, except that they read *potuere*, and that B3 and its contents-list have, as usual, *Ione* for *Iove*. The title of A alone shows that its source was composed in Iona; see pp. 8-9.

<sup>17</sup> aestei A; estivi B1 B3. Illegible in B2. This was in May, [597], according to 124b.

<sup>18</sup> dominum A B1 B2; omitted by B3.

76a vectus pergit qui in campulo occidentali Iovae insulae opus maceriale<sup>1</sup> exercebant. Post quorum consularia<sup>2</sup> a sancto prolata alloquia, in eminentiore stans loco sic vaticinatur, dicens: 'Ex hac filioli die scio quod in hujus campuli locis numquam | poteritis in futurum videre faciem meam.' Quos hoc audito verbo valde tristificatos videns, consulari<sup>3</sup> eos in quantum fieri possit conatus ambas manus elevat sanctas, et totam hanc nostram benedicens insulam ait: 'Ex hoc hujus horulae momento omnia viperarum venina<sup>4</sup> nullo modo in hujus insulae terrulis<sup>5</sup> aut hominibus aut pecoribus nocere poterunt, quandiu Christi mandata ejusdem commorationis incolae observaverint'.

De pugione a sancto cum dominicae  
crucis signaculo benedicta<sup>6</sup>

76b ALIO IN TEMPORE, quidam frater nomine Molua<sup>7</sup> nepos Briuni,<sup>8</sup> ad sanctum eadem<sup>9</sup> scribentem hora veniens, dicit ad eum: 'Hoc quod in manu habeo ferrum quesso<sup>10</sup> benedicas'. Qui paululum extensa manu sancta cum calamo<sup>11</sup> signans benedixit, ad | librum de quo scribebat facie conversa. Quo videlicet supra-dicto fratre cum ferro benedicto recedente sanctus per-

<sup>1</sup> maceriale A; materiale B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, wrongly accepted by Reeves. *Opus maceriale* should mean the building of dry-stone walls. Cf. *maceria*, in 40b, and *lapidum maceria* in Adomnan's *De Locis*, p. 243 (but *maceriola*, p. 229, is a partition cut out of rock).

<sup>2</sup> consularia A; conlatoria B<sub>1</sub>; consolatoria B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> consulari A; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> venina A; the *i* has been altered to *e*, by a fine pen (not m.h.). venena B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> terrulis A; -lis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; -lus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads: *De hasta ab eo signata, que deinceps nullo modo quamlibet fortiter impulsam, alicui potuit nocere animanti.*

<sup>7</sup> molua A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, with two over-dashes in A. See p. 107.

to visit the brothers who were engaged upon the building of stone enclosures in the little western plain of the island of Io. After addressing some words of comfort to them, the saint, standing on higher ground, prophesied thus, saying: 'My sons, I know that from this day forward you will never more be able to see my face within this little plain'. When he saw that they were greatly saddened by hearing this, he tried to comfort them as far as might be, and raising both his holy hands he blessed all this island of ours, and said: 'From this moment of this hour, all poisons of snakes shall be powerless to harm men or cattle in the lands of this island, so long as the inhabitants of that dwelling-place shall observe the commandments of Christ'.

[II 29] Concerning a dagger blessed by the  
saint with the sign of the Lord's cross

At another time, a brother, by name Mo-lua descendant of Briún, came to the saint at a time when he was writing, and said to him: 'Please bless this implement that I have in my hand'. Columba held out his holy hand a little way, made with his pen a sign of the cross, and gave the blessing, while his face was turned towards the book from which he was copying. And when the aforesaid brother went away with the implement that had been blessed, the saint asked:

<sup>8</sup> briuni A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; briu'ni B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> eadem A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written by a fine pen above *a*. ea'dem B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> ques|so A; later, a subscript *a* has been written before *e*, and the first *s* has been deleted with dots above and below made by a fine pen. queso B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> cum calamo. Columba's pen might literally have been a reed.

cunctatur, dicens: 'Quod fratri ferrum<sup>1</sup> benedixi?'<sup>2</sup> Diormitius<sup>3</sup> pius ejus ministrator: 'Pugionem' ait, 'ad jugulandos tauros vel boves benedixisti'. Qui econtra respondens infit: 'Ferrum quod benedixi confido in domino meo quia<sup>4</sup> nec homini nec pecori nocebit'.

Quod sancti firmissimum eadem hora conprobatum est verbum. Nam idem frater valum<sup>5</sup> egressus monasterii bovem jugulare volens tribus firmis vicibus et forti impulsione conatus, nec<sup>6</sup> tamen potuit etiam ejus transfigere pellem. Quod monaci<sup>7</sup> scientes experti ejusdem pugionis ferrum ignis resolutum calore per omnia monasterii ferramenta liquefactum diviserunt inlinitum,<sup>8</sup>  
77a nec postea ullam | potuere carnem vulnerare, illius sancti manente benedictionis fortitudine. .

#### De Diormiti<sup>9</sup> egrotantis sanitate

ALIO IN TEMPORE Diormitius<sup>10</sup> sancti pius minister usque ad mortem egrotavit. Ad quem in extremis constitutum sanctus visitans accessit, Christique invocato nomine infirmis<sup>11</sup> ad lectulum stans et pro eo exorans dixit: 'Exorabilis mihi fias precor domine mi, et animam mei ministratoris pii de hujus carnis habitaculo me non auferas superstite.'<sup>12</sup> Et hoc dicto aliquantis per conticuit.<sup>13</sup> Tum proinde hanc de sacro ore profert

<sup>1</sup> fratri ferrum A; ferrum fratri B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> *benedixi*. After this word, a question-mark has been added later with a fine pen, in A; and there is a question-mark in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> diormitius A; Diormi'cius B<sub>1</sub>; Diormitius B<sub>2</sub>; Diormicius B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> quia A; quod B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *valum*. See p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> nec A B<sub>1</sub>; nec non B<sub>2</sub>; non B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> monaci A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *ci*. mo'nachi B<sub>1</sub>; monachi B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

'What implement have I blessed for the brother?' Diormit, his devoted attendant, said: 'You have blessed a dagger for the killing of bulls or cows'. But he said in reply: 'I trust in my Lord that the implement I have blessed will not hurt either man or beast'.

This word of the saint was proved in that same hour to be very well founded. For the brother went outside the rampart of the monastery, intending to kill a cow, and thrusting strongly made three serious attempts, yet was unable even to pierce its skin. When they knew of this, skilled monks softened the metal of that dagger in a hot fire, and distributed it, melted, by overlaying\* it upon all the iron tools of the monastery; and after that, the tools were not able to wound any flesh, because the efficacy of that blessing of the saint continued.

#### [II 30] Of the healing of Diormit, when he was sick

At another time, Diormit, the saint's devoted attendant, was mortally sick. The saint went to visit him when he was at the point of death, invoked the name of Christ, and, standing by the bedside of the sick man, prayed for him, and said: 'My Lord, I beseech thee, hear my prayer; and while I live take not away from the habitation of this flesh the soul of my devoted servant'. After saying this, he was silent for a space. Thereafter he let fall these words from his holy lips,

<sup>8</sup> inlinitum A; a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the third *i*. illini'tum B<sub>1</sub>; illinitum B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> diormiti A; -micii B<sub>1</sub>; -itii B<sub>2</sub>; -icii B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> diormitius A B<sub>2</sub>; -i'cius B<sub>1</sub>; -icius B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> infirmis A; the *s* has later been erased. infirmi B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> superstite A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a faint acute accent has later been written with a fine pen above the first *e*. supe'rstite B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>13</sup> aliquantis per conticuit A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> (-ti'c- B<sub>1</sub>); aliquantis perconticuit B<sub>3</sub>

vocem, dicens : ' Hic meus non solum hac vice nunc non morietur puer, sed etiam post meum annis vivet multis obitum '. Cujus haec exoratio<sup>1</sup> est exaudita.

77b Nam Diormitius<sup>2</sup> statim post sancti exau|dibilem<sup>3</sup> precem plenam recupera[v]it<sup>4</sup> salutem. Per multos quoque annos post sancti ad dominum emigrationem supervixit.

De Finteni<sup>5</sup> filii Aido<sup>6</sup> in  
extremis positi sanitate

ALIO QUOQUE IN TEMPORE, sanctus cum trans Britannicum<sup>7</sup> iter ageret dorsum, quidam juvenis unus comitum subita molestus egrimonia ad extrema usque perductus est,<sup>8</sup> nomine Fintenus<sup>9</sup>; pro quo comilitones sanctum mesti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim eis conpatiens sanctas cum intenta oratione expandit ad caelum manus, egrotumque<sup>10</sup> benedicens ait : ' Hic pro quo interpellatis juvenulus vita vivet longa, et post omnium nostrorum<sup>11</sup> qui hic adsumus exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta '.

78a Quod beati viri vaticinium plene per omnia expletum est. Nam idem juvenis, illius postea | monasterii fundator quod dicitur Kailli au inde,<sup>12</sup> in bona senectute praesentem terminavit vitam. .

<sup>1</sup> exoratio A ; oratio B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; oratio B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> diormitius A B<sub>2</sub> ; -icius B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> exaudi|dibilem A ; exaudibilem B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-di'b- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>4</sup> recuperabit A ; a small *v* has been written by m.h. above *b*. -a'vit B<sub>1</sub> ; -avit B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> finteni A ; fente'ni B<sub>1</sub> ; fen[ B<sub>2</sub> ; fenteni B<sub>3</sub> and the contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> aido A B<sub>3</sub> and the contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> ; a'ido B<sub>1</sub> ; ]do B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>7</sup> britannicum A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> (-a'- B<sub>1</sub>) ; britannicum B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> est A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> fintenus A ; fente'nus B<sub>1</sub> ; fentenus B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> egrotumque A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; egroque B<sub>3</sub>

saying : ' Now not only will this servant of mine not die on this occasion, but he will even live for many years after my death '.

This supplication of the saint was heard ; for immediately after his acceptable prayer, Diormit recovered his full health. Also he survived for many years after the saint's departure to the Lord.

[II 31] Concerning the healing of Finten,  
Aid's son, at the point of death

Also at another time, when the saint was making a journey across the spine of Britain, one of his companions, a young man, by name Finten, was attacked by sudden illness and brought to the point of death. His fellow-soldiers sorrowfully implored the saint to pray for him. The saint at once took pity upon them, and spread his holy hands to heaven, with earnest prayer, blessed the sick youth, and said : ' This boy for whom you plead will live a long life ; and after the death of all of us who are here, will survive us, dying in good old age '.

This prophecy of the blessed man was entirely fulfilled in all things. For the same youth, afterwards the founder of the monastery that is called Cailli áufinde, ended this life in good old age.

<sup>11</sup> nostro|rum A ; nostrum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> kailli au inde A, with five over-dashes ; kailli anfinde B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; kailli anfind B<sub>3</sub>. The common source probably had *kailli áufinde*. Adomnan's *kailli* is apparently the nominative plural of a noun, *caill* 'wood'. It is qualified by *au inde*, which is a feminine compound, either *áufinde* 'of the White-eared', or perhaps *áufind + dē*, with the usual reduction of *ndd* to *nd*, 'of the white-eared goddess'. See pp. 143, 144, 148.



De puero quem mortuum vir venerandus  
in Christi domini<sup>1</sup> nomine suscitavit.<sup>2</sup>

78b ILLO IN TEMPORE<sup>3</sup> quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum  
provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum  
tota plebeus familia verbum vitae per interpretatorem<sup>4</sup>  
sancto predicante viro audiens credidit, credensque  
baptizatus est maritus cum marita liberisque et familiari-  
bus. Et post aliquantum diecularum intervallum pau-  
carum unus filiorum<sup>5</sup> patris familias gravi correptus  
egritudine usque ad confinia mortis et vitae perductus  
est. Quem cum magi morientem vidissent parentibus  
cum magna exprobratione coeperunt inludere, suosque  
quasi fortiores magnificare deos, | christianorum vero  
tamquam infirmiori deo derogare.

Quae omnia cum beato intimarentur viro zelo  
suscitatus dei ad domum cum suis comitibus amici pergit  
plebei, ubi parentes nuper defunctae<sup>6</sup> prolis mestas  
celebrabant<sup>7</sup> exequias. Quos sanctus valde tristificatos  
videns confirmans dictis<sup>8</sup> compellat consulatoriis,<sup>9</sup> ut  
nullo modo de divina omnipotentia dubitarent. Con-  
sequenterque percunctatur, dicens: 'In quo hospitio  
corpus defuncti jacet pueri?'<sup>10</sup> Pater tum<sup>11</sup> orbatus  
sanctum sub mestum deducit<sup>12</sup> culmen. Qui statim  
omnem foris exclusam relinquens catervam solus mesti-  
ficatum intrat habitaculum; ubi ilico flexis genibus

<sup>1</sup> domini A B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads: *De puero quem mortuum in nomine domini Jesu Christi in regione pictorum suscitavit.*

<sup>3</sup> Illo in tempore A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; In tempore illo B<sub>1</sub>. See p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *per interpretatorem.* This implies that the Irish language was not understood by the people living to the east of the Spine. See p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> filiorum A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; filius B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>6</sup> defunctae A; -te B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; deflere B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>7</sup> celebrabant A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; celebrant B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> confirmans dictis A; dictis confirmans B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

[II 32] Concerning a boy whom the venerable  
man raised from death, in the name of  
Christ the Lord

At the time when Saint Columba passed some days  
in the province of the Picts, a certain layman with his  
whole household heard and believed the word of life,  
through an interpreter, at the preaching of the holy  
man; and believing, was baptized, the husband, with  
his wife and children, and his servants. And after the  
interval of a few short days, a son of the head of the  
household was seized by a severe illness, and brought  
to the boundary of death and life. When the magicians  
saw that he was dying, they began to taunt his parents,  
with great reproach, and to magnify their own gods as  
the stronger, and to belittle the Christians' God as the  
weaker.

When all this was reported to the blessed man, he  
was roused with zeal for God, and went with his com-  
panions to the house of the layman, his friend; where  
the parents were performing the sad funeral rites for  
the child that had lately died. Seeing that they were  
in great grief, the saint addressed them with heartening  
words, encouraging them to have no doubt at all of  
the divine omnipotence. Thereafter he questioned  
them, saying: 'In what lodging lies the body of the  
dead boy?' Then the bereaved father led the saint  
under the sad roof. And he, leaving all the company  
outside, immediately entered the sorrowful habitation  
alone; and there at once he knelt, and, his face suffused

<sup>9</sup> consulatoriis A; -sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> *pueri.* After this word, a question-mark (?m.h.) has been added in A; and there are question-marks in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> tum A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; cum B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> deducit A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; ducit B<sub>1</sub>

faciem ubertim lacrimis inrigans Christum precatur dominum. Et post ingeniculationem surgens oculos convertit ad mortuum, dicens: 'In nomine domini |  
79a Jesu Christi resuscitare, et sta super pedes tuos'. Cum hac sancti honorabili voce anima ad corpus<sup>1</sup> rediit, defunctusque apertis revixit oculis; cujus manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in statione<sup>2</sup> stabiliens secum domum egressus deducit, et parentibus redivivum adsignavit. Clamor tum<sup>3</sup> populi attollitur, plangor<sup>4</sup> in laetationem<sup>5</sup> convertitur, deus christianorum glorificatur.

Hoc noster Columba cum Elia<sup>6</sup> et Eliseo<sup>7</sup> profetis habeat<sup>8</sup> sibi commune<sup>9</sup> virtutis miraculum, et cum Petro et Paulo et Joanne<sup>10</sup> apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione, et inter utrosque, hoc est profetarum et apostolorum coetus, honorificam caelestis patriae sedem homo profeticus et apostolicus aeternalem, cum Christo qui regnat cum patre in unitate spiritus sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum. .<sup>11</sup> |

79b De Broichano<sup>12</sup> mago ob ancillae<sup>13</sup>  
retentionem<sup>14</sup> infirmato, et pro ejus  
liberatione sanato<sup>15</sup>

EODEM IN TEMPORE vir venerandus quandam a Broichano<sup>16</sup> mago scoticam postulavit servam humanitatis miseratione liberandam. Quam cum ille duro

<sup>1</sup> anima ad corpus A B<sub>1</sub>; anima et corpus B<sub>2</sub>; ad corpus anima B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> statione A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; statione et B<sub>2</sub>      <sup>3</sup> tum A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; tunc B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>4</sup> plangor A; planctus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> laetationem A; leticiam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>      <sup>6</sup> elia A; helia B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> eliseo A; helise'o B<sub>1</sub>; heliseo B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> habeat A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; habebat B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> commune A; commune B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> joanne A; johanne B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> amen is added in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> broichano A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-a'no B<sub>1</sub>); bricano B<sub>2</sub>

with tears, prayed to Christ the Lord. Rising from his knees he turned his eyes to the dead boy, and said: 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ be restored to life, and stand upon thy feet'. With these glorious words of the saint, the soul returned to the body; and the dead boy opened his eyes, and lived again. The apostolic man took his hand and raised him, and steadying him on his feet led him out from the house, and committed him, alive again, to his parents. Then a shout of the people arose, mourning was turned into rejoicing, the God of the Christians was glorified.

Let this miracle of power, in the raising of the dead, be attributed to our Columba, in common with the prophets Elijah and Elisha; and a like share of honour with the apostles Peter and Paul and John; and a glorious eternal place in the heavenly land, among both the companies, namely of prophets and apostles, as a man prophetic and apostolic: with Christ, who reigns with the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit, through all the ages of the ages.

[II 33] Concerning the magician Broichan, who was smitten with illness because he retained a female slave; and was cured, when he released her

At the same time, the venerable man asked of the magician Broichan that a certain slave, an Irish woman, should be released as an act of human kindness. And

<sup>13</sup> ancillae A; ancille B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> retentionem A B<sub>1</sub>; ionem B<sub>2</sub>; -ionis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads: *De conflictu ejus contra magum broichanum ob ancille retentionem, et de lapide quem sanctus benedixit qui in aqua quasi (sicut B<sub>2</sub>) pomum supernatavit.*

<sup>16</sup> abroichano A, with four over-dashes (a spelling error); á broichano B<sub>1</sub>; á broicano B<sub>2</sub>; a broichano B<sub>3</sub>

valde et stolido retentaret animo,<sup>1</sup> sanctus ad eum loquutus hoc profatur modo : ' Scito Broichane<sup>2</sup> scito quia si mihi hanc perigrinam<sup>3</sup> libe[ra]re<sup>4</sup> captivam<sup>5</sup> nolueris priusquam de hac revertar provincia, citius morieris '.<sup>6</sup> Et hoc coram Bruideo<sup>7</sup> rege dicens domum egressus regiam ad Nesam<sup>8</sup> venit fluium. De quo videlicet fluio lapidem attollens candidum, ad comites : ' Signate ' ait, ' hunc candidum lapidem, per quem dominus in hoc gentili populo multas egrorum perficiet sanitates '. Et hoc effatus verbum consequenter intulit, inquires : ' Nunc Broichanus<sup>9</sup> fortiter concussus est ;  
80a nam angelus de | caelo misus<sup>10</sup> graviter illum<sup>11</sup> percutiens vitream in manu ejus de qua bibebat confregit in multa biberam fragmenta, ipsum vero anchellantem<sup>12</sup> egra<sup>13</sup> reliquit suspiria morti vicinum. Hoc in loco paululum exspectemus binos regis nuntios ad nós celeriter misos,<sup>14</sup> ut Broichano<sup>15</sup> morienti citius subveniamus. Nunc Broichanus formidabiliter correptus ancullulam<sup>16</sup> liberare est paratus '.

Adhuc sancto haec loquente verba, ecce sicuti praedixit duo a rege misi<sup>17</sup> equites adveniunt ; omnia quae in regis munitione de Froichano<sup>18</sup> juxta sancti vaticinium sunt acta<sup>19</sup> enarrantes ; et de poculi confractione et de

<sup>1</sup> duro valde et stolido retentaret animo A ; latro valde et fortiter retentaret B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> broichane A B1 B3 ; broicane B2

<sup>3</sup> perigrinam A ; the first *i* altered by m.h. to *e*. -reg- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> libe[ra]re A ; *ra* added by m.h. at end of line. liberare B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> captivam A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>6</sup> morieris A B1 B3 ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *e*. Illegible in B2.

<sup>7</sup> bruideo A ; bru'ideo B1 ; brudeno B2 ; brudeo B3

<sup>8</sup> nesam A B2 B3 ; nessam B1

<sup>9</sup> broichanus A B1 B3 ; broicanus B2

<sup>10</sup> misus A ; a small *s* written by m.h. above *is*. missus B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> graviter illum. These two words were written twice in A ; the first pair was later partly erased, probably not by the text hand.

when Broichan, with unyielding and obstinate heart, retained her, the saint addressing him spoke in this manner : ' Know this, Broichan, know that if you will not release for me this pilgrim captive before I depart from this province, you shall presently die '. This he said before king Brude ; and he left the king's house, and came to the river Nes [Ness]. From that river he took a white stone, and said to his companions : ' Mark this white stone. Through it the Lord will work many cures of the sick among this heathen people '. And after pronouncing these words he continued : ' Now Broichan has received a hard blow. For an angel sent from heaven has struck him heavily, and broken into many pieces in his hand the glass vessel from which he was drinking, and has left him breathing with difficulty, and near to death. Let us wait a little in this place for two messengers of the king, sent to us in haste, to obtain our immediate help for the dying Broichan. Now Broichan, terribly stricken, is ready to release the slave-girl '.

While the saint was still speaking these words, behold, as he had predicted, two men on horse-back, sent by the king, arrived, and told all that had happened concerning Broichan, in the king's fortress, in accordance with the prophecy of the saint : the breaking of

<sup>12</sup> anchellantem A ; anhelantem B1 B3 ; anelantem B2

<sup>13</sup> egra A B1 B2 B3. In A, a very fine loop has later been attached below *e*, to make the *ae* symbol. See p. 175.

<sup>14</sup> mi|sos A ; an *s* has been added by m.h. after *i*. missos B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> broichano A B1 B3 ; braichano B2

<sup>16</sup> ancullulam A ; a very small *i* has been written (? by m.h.) above *e*. -ci'll- B1 ; -cill- B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> misi A ; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *is*. missi B1 B2 B3

<sup>18</sup> froichano A ; broichano B1 B3 ; briochano B2. See p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> acta A B1 B3 ; facta B2

magi correptione et de servulae parata absolutione.<sup>1</sup>  
 Hocque<sup>2</sup> intulerunt dicentes: 'Rex et ejus familiares  
 80b nos ad té miserunt, ut nutricio<sup>3</sup> ejus | Broichano<sup>4</sup>  
 subvenias mox morituro'. Quibus auditis legatorum  
 verbis sanctus binos de comitum numero ad regem cum  
 lapide a sé benedicto mittit, dicens: 'Si in primis  
 promiserit sé Broichanus famulam liberaturam, tum  
 deinde hic lapillus intinguatur in aqua et sic eo<sup>5</sup> bibat,  
 et continuo salutem recuperabit. Si vero renuerit  
 refragans absolvi servam, statim morietur'.

Duo misi<sup>6</sup> verbo sancti obsequentes ad aulam de-  
 veniunt regiam, verba viri venerabilis regi enarrantes.  
 Quibus intimatis<sup>7</sup> regi et nutricio ejus Broichano valde  
 expaverunt. Eademque hora liberata famula sancti  
 legatis viri adsignatur; lapis in aqua<sup>8</sup> intingitur,  
 mirumque in modum contra naturam lithus<sup>9</sup> in aquis  
 supernat<sup>10</sup> quasi pomum vel nux, nec potuit sancti  
 81a benedictio viri | submergi. De quo Broichanus<sup>11</sup> natante  
 bibens lapide statim a vicina rediit morte, intigramque<sup>12</sup>  
 carnis recuperavit salutem. Talis vero lapis postea in  
 thesauris regis reconditus multas<sup>13</sup> in populo egritudinum  
 sanitates, similiter in aqua natans intinctus, domino  
 miserante efficit.<sup>14</sup> Mirum dictu, ab his egrotis quorum

<sup>1</sup> absolutione A B1 B2; obsolucione B3

<sup>2</sup> hocque A; Hecque B1; Hocque B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> *nutricio* is the equivalent of O.I. *aite* 'foster-father'. It does not imply that Brude was of immature age. See p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> broichano A B1; braichano B2; baichano B3

<sup>5</sup> eo A; de ea B1 B2 B3. Reeves read *de eo*, unnecessarily.

<sup>6</sup> misi A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *is*. *missi*, B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> intimatis A B1; ]timatis B2; auditus B3

<sup>8</sup> aqua A B1 B3; qua B2

<sup>9</sup> lithus A; lapis B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>10</sup> supernat | A; after this, m.h. has added *at*. *supernatat* B1 B2 B3  
 (-pe'r- B1)

<sup>11</sup> broichanus A B1 B3; briochanus B2

<sup>12</sup> intigramque A; the second *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -teg-  
 B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> multas A B1 B3; multa B2

<sup>14</sup> efficit A; effecit B1 B2 B3

the cup, the magician's seizure, the intended release of the slave-girl. And they added this: 'The king and the persons of his household have sent us to you, to obtain your help for his foster-father Broichan, who<sup>7b</sup> is near death'.

When he heard these words of the envoys, the saint sent two out of the number of his companions to the king, with the stone that he had blessed, and said: 'If first Broichan promises that he will release the slave-girl, then let this small stone be dipped in water, and let him drink thereof, and he will at once recover health. But if he refuses, and opposes the slave-girl's release, he will immediately die'.

The two emissaries went to the king's castle, in obedience to the saint's instructions, and repeated to the king the words of the venerable man. When these things had been made known to the king and to Broichan his foster-father, they were very much afraid. And in the same hour the slave-girl, set free, was handed over to the envoys of the holy man. The stone was dipped in water; and, in a marvellous manner, contrary to nature the stone floated in the water, as though it had been an apple or a nut. And the blessing of the holy man could not be submerged. After he had drunk of the floating stone, Broichan immediately returned from the brink of death, and recovered full bodily health.

This stone was afterwards kept among the king's treasures. When it was dipped thus in water, and floated, it effected by the Lord's mercy many cures of diseases among the people. Strange to say, when it

vitae terminus supervenerat requisitus idem lapis nullo modo reperiri poterat. Sic et in die obitus Brudei<sup>1</sup> regis quaerebatur, nec tamen in eodem loco ubi<sup>2</sup> fuerat prius reconditus inveniebatur. .

De beati viri contra Broichanum magum  
refragatione, et<sup>3</sup> venti contrarietate

POST SUPRA memorata peracta quadam die Broichanus<sup>4</sup> ad sanctum proloquens<sup>5</sup> virum inquit: 'Dicito mihi Columba, quo tempore proponis enavigare?'  
81b Sanctus: | 'Tertia' ait, 'die, deo volente et vita comite, navigationem proponimus incipere'. Broichanus<sup>6</sup> econtra: 'Non poteris' ait, 'nam ego ventum tibi contrarium facere caliginemque umbrosam superinducere possum'. Sanctus: 'Omnipotentia dei' ait, 'omnium dominatur, in cuius nomine nostri omnes motus ipso gubernante deriguntur'.<sup>7</sup> Quid plura? Sanctus die eadem<sup>8</sup> sicut corde proposuit ad lacum Nisae<sup>9</sup> fluminis longum multa prosequente caterva venit. Magi vero gaudere tum coepere,<sup>10</sup> magnam videntes superinductam caliginem et contrarium cum tempestate flatum.

Nec mirum haec interdum arte daemonum posse fieri, deo permittente, ut etiam venti et equora in asperius

<sup>1</sup> brudei A B2 B3; bru'dei B1

<sup>2</sup> ubi A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>3</sup> et|et A; et B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> broichanus A B1 B3; broicanus B2

<sup>5</sup> proloquens A B3 ?B2; in A, a stress accent has later been written with a fine pen above the first *o*. pro'- B1

<sup>6</sup> Broichanus A B1 B3; Broicanus B2

<sup>7</sup> deriguntur A; the *e* has later been altered to *i* with a down-stroke of a fine pen. dir- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> eadem A B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *a*. ea'dem B1; eodem B2

was sought by sick people whose time had come, the stone could by no means be found. So also it was looked for on the day of king Brude's death, and it was not found in the place where it had formerly been kept.

[II 34] Of the blessed man's resistance to the  
magician Broichan; and of contrary wind

After the events recorded above, one day Broichan, addressing the holy man, said: 'Tell me, Columba, when do you intend to sail?' The saint said: 'We propose, God willing and life lasting, to begin our voyage on the day after tomorrow'. Broichan, on the contrary, said: 'You will not have the power; for I have power to raise an adverse wind against you, and to bring up a mist of darkness'. The saint said: 'The omnipotence of God rules all things, and in his name, under his guidance, all our movements are directed'. Why say more? On the appointed day as he had intended the saint came to the long lake of the river Nes [Ness], followed by a large crowd. Then the magicians began to exult, because they saw a great mist brought up, and a stormy adverse wind.

It is not strange that, with God's permission, these things can at times be done by the art of demons, so that even winds and waves can be roused to violence.

<sup>9</sup> nisae A; nesse B1; nesae B2 B3. A's *nisae* (with ligatured *ae*) would spell the genitive either of Adomnan's latinized \**Nesa*, or of the O.I. \**Nes*. See pp. 130, 141.

<sup>10</sup> coepere A; a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the second *e*. ce'pe're B1; cepe're B2; cepere B3

82a concitentur. Síc enim aliquando daemoniorum legiones<sup>1</sup>  
 sancto Germano episcopo de sinu gallico<sup>2</sup> causa humanae  
 salutis ad Brittanniam naviganti medio in equore occur-  
 rerant, et oponentes | pericula procellas concitabant ;  
 caelum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant. Quae  
 tamen omnia sancto orante Germano dicto citius sedata  
 detersa cessarunt caligine.

Noster itaque Columba videns contra se elimenta<sup>3</sup>  
 concitari furentia Christum invocat dominum ; cimbu-  
 lamque ascendens nautis esitantibus<sup>4</sup> ipse constantior  
 factus velum contra ventum jubet subregi.<sup>5</sup> Quo facto  
 omni inspectante turba navigium flatus contra adversos  
 mira vectum<sup>6</sup> occurrit velocitate. Et post haut grande  
 intervallum venti contrarii ad itineris<sup>7</sup> ministeria cum  
 omnium ammiratione revertuntur. Et síc per totam  
 illam diem flabrís lenibus secundís flantibus beati cimba  
 viri obtatum provecta<sup>8</sup> ad portum pulsa<sup>9</sup> est.

82b Perpendat itaque lector quantus<sup>10</sup> et qualis idem vir  
 venerandus in quo deus | omnipotens talibus praescriptis  
 miraculorum virtutibus coram plebe gentilica inlustre  
 suum manifestavit nomen. .

<sup>1</sup> *legiones*. In A, below and to the left of *le*, another hand has later written with a fine pen *legio* as a suggested emendation, afterwards wiped out. The passage in Constantius's Life of Germanus from which this paragraph of Adomnan is partly taken has *legionis* (or *relegionis, religioni inimica vis daemonum*). In Adomnan's preceding account of Broichan's threat of storm, and in the following account of Columba's voyage, Adomnan uses a few words (e.g. *caligo*) taken from, or suggested by, Constantius. The relevant passage of Constantius is quoted in Reeves 1857, p. 149, and partly in Brüning 1917, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *sinu gallico*, Constantius's name of some bay in France.

<sup>3</sup> *elimenta* A ; the *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. elem- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> *esitantibus* A ; a small *h* has been added by m.h. above, before *e*. hes- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> *subregi* A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above *e*. su'brigi B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> *vectum* A ; factum B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> *itineris* A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the first *e*. itin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> *provecta* A ; profecta B1 B3 and ?B2

<sup>9</sup> *pulsa* A ; appulsa B1 B2 B3 <sup>10</sup> *quantus* A ; quantus sit B1 B2 B3

Thus did hosts of evil spirits once attack the holy bishop Germanus in the midst of the sea, when he was sailing from the bay of Gaul to Britain, in the cause of man's salvation. They put perils in his way, and stirred up storms ; they covered sky and daylight with a mist of darkness. But more quickly than speech, at the prayer of Saint Germanus all these things were calmed, and ceased. And the mist was cleared away.

So our Columba, seeing that the elements were being roused to fury against him, called upon Christ the Lord. He entered the boat, and while the sailors hesitated, he himself, more steadfast, ordered the sail to be raised against the wind. When this was done, and with the whole crowd looking on, the ship moved with extraordinary speed, sailing against the contrary wind. And after but a short space of time, to the astonishment of all, the adverse winds were turned about, to serve the voyage. So throughout that day, driven by gentle breezes blowing favourably, the blessed man's boat was carried to the desired harbour.

Let the reader reflect how great and of what nature was the venerable man, in whom almighty God made manifest to the heathen people the glory of his name through those signs of miraculous power described above.

De spontanea regiae<sup>1</sup> munitionis  
portae subita apertione<sup>2</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE, hoc est in prima sancti fatigatione itineris<sup>3</sup> ad regem Brudeum, cassu<sup>4</sup> contegit<sup>5</sup> ut idem rex, fastu elatus regio, suae munitionis superbe agens in primo beati adventu viri non aperiret portas.<sup>6</sup> Quod ut cognovit homo dei cum comitibus ad valvas portarum accedens primum dominicae crucis inprimens signum, tum deinde manum pulsans contra ostia ponit; quae continuo sponte retro retrusis fortiter serris cum omni celeritate aperta sunt. Quibus statim apertis sanctus consequenter cum sociis intrat. Quo cognito rex cum  
83a senatu valde pertimescens domum | egressus obviam cum veneratione beato pergat viro, pacificisque verbis blande admodum compellat. Et ex ea in posterum die sanctum et venerabilem virum idem regnator suae omnibus vitae reliquis diebus valde magna honoravit ut decuit honorificentia.<sup>7</sup>

De ecclesiae duorum<sup>8</sup> agri rivorum<sup>9</sup>  
simili reclusionem . .

ALIO ITIDEM in tempore vir beatus aliquantis in Scotia diebus conversatus ad visitandos fratres qui in monasterio duum<sup>10</sup> ruris commanebant rivulorum ab

<sup>1</sup> regiae A; rege B1; ]gie B2; regie B3 and contents-list of B2; regis contents-list of B3, with the *s* erased.

<sup>2</sup> portae subita apertione A B1 B2 (porte B1 ?B2). Omitted in B3.

<sup>3</sup> itineris A; itin- B1 B2 B3. See p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> cassu A; the first *s* has later been deleted with points above and below made with a fine pen. casu B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> contegit A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above *e*. -tig- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>6</sup> portas. This act is attributed to royal pride, rather than to the king's antagonism to Christianity (cf. p. 85). It belongs to the legend that was expanded in the Life of Comgell (see p. 22).

[II 35] Concerning the sudden spontaneous  
opening of the gate of the royal fortress

At another time, that is on the saint's first tiring expedition to king Brude, it happened that the king, uplifted with royal pride, acted haughtily, and did not open the gate of his fortress at the first arrival of the blessed man. When the man of God learned this, he went with his companions up to the doors of the gate, and first imprinting the sign of the Lord's cross upon the doors, he then knocked, and laid his hand upon them. And immediately the bars were forcibly drawn back, and the doors opened of themselves with all speed. As soon as they were open, the saint entered with his associates.

Learning this, the king with his council was much alarmed, and left the house, and went to meet the blessed man with reverence; and addressed him very pleasantly, with words of peace. And from that day onwards, throughout the rest of his life, that ruler greatly honoured the holy and venerable man, as was fitting, with high esteem.

[II 36] Concerning a similar opening of the  
church of the land of two streams [Terryglass]

Again at another time the blessed man, while living for some days in Ireland, went to visit the brothers who occupied the monastery of the land of two streams, and

<sup>7</sup> honorificentia A B1; -cen- B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> duorum A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>9</sup> rivorum A and contents-list of B2 and of B3; rivulorum B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> duum A B2 B3; duorum B1

83b eís invitatus perrexit. Sed cassu<sup>1</sup> aliquo accedit<sup>2</sup> ut eo ad ecclesiam accedente claves non repperirentur oratorii. Cum vero sanctus de non repertis adhuc clavibus et de obserratis<sup>3</sup> foribus inter sé conquirentes<sup>4</sup> alios audisset, ipse ad hostium appropinquans : ' Potens est | dominus ' ait, ' domum suam servis etiam sine clavibus aperire suis '. Cum hac tum voce subito retro retrusis forti motu pissulis<sup>5</sup> sponte aperta janua sanctus cum omnium admiratione ecclesiam ante omnes ingreditur. Et hospitaliter a fratribus susceptus honorabiliter ab omnibus veneratur. .

De quodam plebeo mendico cui sanctus sudem faciens ad jugulandas benedixit feras. .<sup>6</sup>

84a ALIO IN TEMPORE quidam ad sanctum plebeus venit pauperrimus qui in ea habitabat regione quae stagni litoribus aporici<sup>7</sup> est contermina.<sup>8</sup> Huic ergo miserabili viro, qui unde maritam et parvulos cibaret non habebat, vir beatus petenti miseratus ut potuit quandam largitus elimoysinam<sup>9</sup> ait : ' Miselle homuncio, tolle de silva contulum vicina et ad me ocius<sup>10</sup> | defer '. Obsecundans miser juxta sancti jusionem<sup>11</sup> detulit materiam. Quam sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit. Quodque propria

<sup>1</sup> cassu A ; the first *s* has later been deleted with dots above and below made by a fine pen. casu B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> accedit A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above *e*. accidit B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (a'cc- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>3</sup> obserratis A ; the first *r* has later been deleted with dots above and below made by a fine pen. obserratis B<sub>1</sub>, with the first *r* erased ; observatis B<sub>2</sub>, with the *v* deleted by two dots below ; obseratis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> conquirentes A ; -quer- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> pissulis A ; pessulis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads : *De alio paupere plebeo mendico (medico B<sub>2</sub>) cui sanctus sudem faciens benedixit ad ferarum jugulacionem silvestrium.*

<sup>7</sup> aporici A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; apo'rici B<sub>1</sub>. See 67b.

<sup>8</sup> contermina A B<sub>3</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub> ; conterminata B<sub>1</sub>

who had invited him. But it happened by some chance that when he came to the church its keys were not found. The saint heard the others lamenting among themselves, that the keys were still missing, and that the doors were barred ; and he himself, going to the doorway, said : ' The Lord has power to open his house for his servants, even without keys '.

Then at this saying, with a vigorous motion the bolts were suddenly drawn back, the door opened of its own accord, and, while every one marvelled, the saint entered the church, first of them all. And he was hospitably entertained by the brothers, and was revered by them all with honour.

[II 37] Of a certain beggarly layman, for whom the saint made a stake and blessed it for the killing of wild animals

At another time, a certain layman came to the saint, a very poor man, who dwelt in that district [Lochaber] that borders upon the shores of the lake of river-mouths. Pitying this wretched man, who had not the means to feed his wife and children, the blessed man bestowed upon him, when he asked, such alms as he could give, and said : ' My poor fellow, take from the forest near by a stick of wood, and bring it to me quickly '. The poor man obeyed, and fetched the wood according to the saint's command. The saint took it, and shaped it into a spike. Sharpening this with his own hands, and

<sup>9</sup> elimoysinam A ; elemosinam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> ocius A B<sub>3</sub> ; o'cius B<sub>1</sub> ; otius B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>11</sup> jusionem A ; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *us*. jussi- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>



exacuminans manu benedicens et illi adsignans inopi dixit : ' Hoc veru deligenter <sup>1</sup> custodi ; quod ut credo nea homini nec alicui pecori nocere potuit, exceptis feris bestiis quoque et piscibus. Et quandiu talem habueris sudem numquam in domu <sup>2</sup> tua cervinae carnis cibatio abundans deerit '. Quod audiens miser mendiculus <sup>3</sup> valde gavisus domum revertitur, veruque in remotis infixit terrulae locis, quae <sup>4</sup> silvestres frequentabant ferae. Et vicina transacta nocte mane primo <sup>5</sup> pergit revisitare volens veru, in quo mirae magnitudinis cervum cecidisse <sup>6</sup> reperit <sup>7</sup> transfixum.

84b Quid plura ? Nulla ut nobis traditum est transire poterat dies qua non aut cervum aut cervam aut aliquam repperiret in veru infixo <sup>8</sup> cecidisse <sup>9</sup> bestiam. Repleta quoque tota de ferinis carnibus domu, <sup>10</sup> vicinis superflua vendebat quae hospitium suae domus capere non poterat. Sed tamen diabuli <sup>11</sup> invidia per sociam ut Adam et hunc etiam miserum invenit, quae non quasi prudens sed fatua taliter ad maritum <sup>12</sup> locuta est : ' Tolle de terra veru. Nam si in eo homines aut etiam pecora perierint, tu ipse et ego cum nostris liberis aut occidemur aut captivi <sup>13</sup> ducemur '. Ad haec maritus inquit : ' Non ita fiet, nam sanctus vir mihi benedicens sudem dixit quod numquam hominibus aut etiam pecoribus nocebit '.

<sup>1</sup> deligenter A ; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the first *e*. dil- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> domu A ; domo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> mendiculus A B<sub>2</sub> ; mendi'cus B<sub>1</sub> ; mendicus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> quae A ; que B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, altered to *quo* in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> primo A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> cecidisse A ; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. cec- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> reperit A B<sub>2</sub> ; repe'riit B<sub>1</sub>, with the first *i* erased ; reperiit B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> infixo A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; fixo B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> cecidisse A ; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. cec- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> domu A ; domo B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

blessing it, he bestowed it upon the needy man, and said : ' Keep this spike carefully. It will, I believe, have power to hurt neither man nor any cattle, but only wild animals, and also fish. And so long as you have this stake, there will never be wanting in your house an abundant supply of venison to eat '.

Hearing this, the wretched beggar returned home, rejoicing greatly. He set up the spike in an out-of-the-way part of the district, frequented by wild creatures. \* And when the next night had passed, in the early morning he went to visit the spike again, and found that a stag of marvellous size had fallen transfixed upon it.

Why say more ? As we are told, no day could pass without his finding that a stag or a hind, or some other creature, had fallen upon the spike he had fixed up. Also when the house was completely filled with the carcasses of wild animals, he sold to neighbours the excess that the hospitality of his house could not use. But the malice of the devil reached this wretched man, as it did Adam, through his wife. She, not like a wise woman but as a fool, spoke to her husband thus : ' Take up the spike from the ground. For if people, or if cattle, should perish upon it, you yourself and I, with our children, will either be put to death, or be led into slavery '. To this the husband replied : ' That will not happen ; for the holy man said, when he blessed the stake for me, that it will never hurt people, or cattle '.

<sup>11</sup> diabuli A ; the *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging. diaboli B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> maritum A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. In A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *i*.

<sup>13</sup> captivi. Cf. the instance of slavery substituted for death, under Irish law, in 88a.

85a Post haec verba mendicus uxori consentiens pergit,  
 et tollens de terra veru intra domum | quasi amans illud <sup>1</sup>  
 secus parietem possuit ; in quo mox domesticus <sup>2</sup> ejus  
 incedens <sup>3</sup> canis disperiit.<sup>4</sup> Quo pereunte rursum marita:  
 'Unus' ait, 'filiorum tuorum incedet <sup>5</sup> in sudem et  
 peribit'. Quo audito ejus verbo maritus veru de pariete  
 removens ad silvam reportat, et in densioribus <sup>6</sup> infixit  
 dumis, ut putabat ubi a nullo posset animante offendi.  
 Sed postera reversus die capream in eo cicidisse <sup>7</sup> et  
 periisse <sup>8</sup> reperiit.<sup>9</sup> Inde quoque illud removens in  
 fluio <sup>10</sup> qui latine dici potest nigra dea <sup>11</sup> juxta ripam sub  
 aquis abscondens infixit. Quod alia revisitans die  
 esocem in eo mirae magnitudinis transfixum et retentum  
 invenit ; quem de flumine elevans vix solus ad domum  
 portare poterat. Veruque secum de aqua simul re-  
 85b portans extrin|secus in superiore tecti adfixit loco ; in  
 quo et corbus <sup>12</sup> de volatus <sup>13</sup> impetu lapsus disperiit  
 jugulatus. Quo facto miser fatuae conjugis <sup>14</sup> consilio  
 depravatus veru tollens de tecto adsumpta securi in  
 plures concidens <sup>15</sup> particulas in ignem proicit. Et post

<sup>1</sup> amans illud A B1 B2 B3 ; in B2, a punctuation sign follows *illud*. Reeves substituted *amens*, *illud* in his text, without justification. Cf. *amans amicum* in 33a.

<sup>2</sup> domesticus A ; the first *i* was altered by m.h. to *e* ; the second *i* had been similarly altered, and the alteration wiped out. -me's- B1 ; -mes- B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> incedens A B1 B2 B3. In A, the first *e* has later been altered to *i*, (1) with a vertical down-stroke of a fine pen, and (2) with a small *i* written by m.h. above *e*. Cf. 28a.

<sup>4</sup> disperiit A B1 B2 B3 (-pe'r- B1) ; in A, the last *i* has later been deleted with a point above made by a fine pen.

<sup>5</sup> incedet A ; the second *n* has later been deleted with points above and below made by a fine pen. incedet B1 B2 B3 (-ce'd- B1)

<sup>6</sup> densioribus A B1 B2 ; densoribus B3

<sup>7</sup> cicidisse A ; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. cec- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> periisse A ; perisse B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> reperiit A B1 B3, with the first *i* erased in B1 ; reperit B2

<sup>10</sup> fluio A ; fluvium B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> nigra dea. This is the river Lochy that flows from Loch Lochy to Loch Linnhe. See 5b, and p. 142.

After these words the beggar, yielding to his wife, went, and lifting the spike from the ground placed it, as if he loved the thing, inside the house, beside the wall. And before long his house-dog fell on it and was killed. When the dog died, the wife said again : ' One of your children will fall upon the stake, and be killed '. Hearing her say this, the husband removed the spike from the wall, and carried it back to the forest, fixing it in a very dense thorn-brake, where, as he thought, no living thing could stumble upon it. But returning on the following day, he found that a she-goat had fallen upon it and been killed. He removed the spike again from there, and fixed it in the river that in Latin may be called ' black goddess ' [Lochy], hiding it near the bank, under the water. When he went back to it next day, he found a salmon of marvellous size impaled and held fast upon it. When he lifted the salmon out of the river he was hardly able to carry it home by himself. He carried the spike back with him from the water at the same time, and fixed it in a high place on the outside of the roof. And on it a raven also, falling from rapid flight, was pierced through, and perished. After that, the wretched man, led astray by the advice of his foolish wife, lifted the spike down from the roof, took an axe, chopped the spike into many small pieces, and threw them into a fire. And afterwards he began \*

<sup>12</sup> corbus A ; corvus B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> de volatus A B2 (with very slight space after *de*) ; devolutus B1 B3, followed by Reeves. In A, a small *u* has been added by m.h. above *a*, construing *devolutus* as a participle and *lapsus* as the genitive of a noun. The shortened version, derived from A, apparently read *devolutus* (L and Reeves's F ; but *de volatus* in C).

<sup>14</sup> conjugis A ; a small *n* has been written by m.h. above *o*. conjugis B1 B2 B3

<sup>15</sup> concidens A B1 B2 B3. In A, a circumflex accent has later been placed above *i*.

quasi suae paupertatis amisso non mediocri solacio,<sup>1</sup> remedicare ut meretus<sup>2</sup> coepit. Quod videlicet penuriae rerum solamen sepe superius in veru<sup>3</sup> memorato dependebat; quod pro pedicis<sup>4</sup> et retibus et omni venationis et piscationis genere servatum posset sufficere, beati viri donatum benedictione; quodque amisum<sup>5</sup> miser plebeus eo ditatus pro tempore ipse cum tota familiola sero licet omnibus de cetero deplanxit reliquiis<sup>6</sup> diebus vitae.

86a

De lactario utre quem salacia<sup>7</sup> abstulit unda, | et venilia<sup>8</sup> iterum representavit in priore loco<sup>9</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE beati legatus viri, Lugaidus nomine cognomento Laitirus,<sup>10</sup> ad Scotiam jusus<sup>11</sup> navigare proponens, inter navalia navis sancti instrumenta utrem lactarium quaesitum inveniens sub mari congestis super eum non parvis lapidibus madefaciendum posuit.<sup>12</sup> Veniensque ad sanctum quod de utre fecit intimavit. Qui subridens inquit: 'Uter quem ut dicis sub undis possuisti<sup>13</sup> hac vice ut estimo non té ad Everniam<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> solacio A B<sub>3</sub>; solatio B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> meretus A; the second *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. meritus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> in veru A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; invenru B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>4</sup> pro pedicis A; a stress accent made with a fine pen has later been placed above *e*. pro pe'dicis B<sub>1</sub>; pro peditis B<sub>2</sub>; propedicis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> amisum A; small *s* written by m.h. above *is*. amissum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> reliquiis A; the third *i* was later deleted by a dot below made with a fine pen, and still later the second *i* was erased. re'liquias B<sub>1</sub>; reliquias B<sub>2</sub>, with *a* deleted by a dot below; reliquis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> salacia A; salatia B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> venilia. The use of these expressions (*salacia* and *venilia*) was described by Augustine. See Reeves 1857, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads: *De utre lactario quem unda maris abduxit et reduxit ad terram.*

<sup>10</sup> laitirus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; laiti'rus B<sub>1</sub>. This appears to be an early instance of the modern *láidir* 'strong'. In 57a, the epithet, in Irish, is spelt *lathir*.

again to beg, as a deserving person, on the plea that a great alleviation of his poverty had been lost. But that alleviation, the relief of his want, was dependent upon the spike often mentioned above; which if it had been preserved could have supplied the place of snares and nets, and every kind of hunting and fishing, since it was endowed with the blessing of the holy man; but which, when lost, the wretched layman who had for a time been enriched by it bewailed thenceforward, although too late, himself with his whole family, during all the remaining days of his life.

[II 38] Concerning a milk-skin which the ebb-tide carried away, and the flood-tide brought back again in the same place

At another time, the blessed man's emissary, by name Lugaid, surnamed Laitir, planning to sail to Ireland as he was bidden, looked for and found among the sea-going equipment of the saint's ship a milk-skin,\* and placed it in the sea, to soften, heaping some fairly large stones upon it. And he went to the saint, and told him what he had done with the skin. The saint said with a smile: 'The skin that you say you have put under the water will not, I think, accompany you this time to Ireland'. 'Why' said Lugaid, 'shall I

<sup>11</sup> jusus A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above the first *s*. missus B<sub>1</sub>; jussus B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> posu|it A, *uit* written in margin in the text hand; posuit B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> possuisti A; the first *s* has later been deleted with points above and below. possuisti B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>14</sup> everniam A; the first *e* was later altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen, and a small *b* was written by m.h. above *v*. hiberniam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

comitabitur'. 'Cur' ait, 'non mecum in navi comitem eum habere potero?'<sup>1</sup> Sanctus: 'Altera' inquit, 'die quod res probabit scies'.

Itaque Lugaidus<sup>2</sup> mane postera die ad retrahendum de mari utrem pergit; quem tamen salacia<sup>3</sup> noctu subtraxit<sup>4</sup> unda. Quo non reperto ad sanctum reversus  
86b tristis flexis in terram<sup>5</sup> | genibus suam confessus est negligentiam.<sup>6</sup> Cui sanctus illum consulatus<sup>7</sup> ait: 'Noli frater pro fragilibus contristari rebus. Uter quem salacia<sup>8</sup> sustulit unda ad suum locum post tuum egressum<sup>9</sup> reportabit venilia'.

Eadem die, post Lugaidi de Iova insula emigrationem, hora transacta nona,<sup>10</sup> sanctus circumstantibus sic profatus ait: 'Nunc ex vobis unus ad<sup>11</sup> equor<sup>12</sup> pergat. Utrum de quo Lugaidus<sup>13</sup> querebatur, et quem salacia<sup>14</sup> sustulerat unda, nunc venilia retrahens in loco unde subtractus est repraesentavit'. Quo sancti audito verbo quidam alacer juvenis ad oram<sup>15</sup> cucurrit maris; repertumque utrem sicut praedixerat sanctus cursu reversus concito<sup>16</sup> reportans valde gavisus coram sancto  
87a cum omnium qui ibidem in|erant ammiratione adsignavit.

In his ut sepe dictum est binis narrationibus superius discriptis,<sup>17</sup> quamlibet in parvis rebus, sude videlicet et

<sup>1</sup> *potero*. After this, above a point in text hand, a question-mark has been added by m.h. in A; and there are question-marks in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> *lugaidus* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *luga'idus* B<sub>1</sub>      <sup>3</sup> *salacia* A B<sub>3</sub>; *salatia* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>4</sup> *subtraxit* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *subtra'xerat* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *in|terram* A, added by the text hand, at the end of, and below, the last line. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. The words are included in the shortened version.

<sup>6</sup> *neglegentiam* A; *-lige'n-* B<sub>1</sub>; *nelegenciam* B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> *consulatus* A; the first *u* has later been altered to *o* by bridging.  
-sol- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> *salacia* A B<sub>3</sub>; *salatia* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>9</sup> *egresum* A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *es*. -ss- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

not be able to have it as my companion in the ship?' The saint said: 'Tomorrow you shall know what the event will disclose'.

So Lugaid went early on the following day to recover the skin from the sea. But the ebb-tide had carried it off in the night. Not finding it, he returned sadly to the saint. He knelt upon the ground and confessed his negligence. The saint said to him reassuringly: 'Do not grieve, brother, over things that perish. The skin that the ebbing tide has carried away, the flowing tide will bring back to its place after you have gone'.

On the same day, after Lugaid's departure from the island of Io, and when the hour of none was ended, the saint spoke thus to those that stood about him, and said: 'Now one of you go to the sea: the skin that Lugaid lamented, and that the ebb-tide had removed, the flood-tide has now brought back and restored to the place from which it had been taken away'. Hearing these words of the saint, one active lad ran to the sea-shore, and raced back carrying the skin, which he had found as the saint had foretold; and he joyfully handed it over in the presence of the saint, while all who were there marvelled.

In these two stories told above, (although they concern small matters, namely a spike and a skin) prophecy,\*

<sup>10</sup> *nona*. This episode suggests that there was a period of leisure after dinner. See p. 122.      <sup>11</sup> *ad* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *ex* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *equor*. In A, the *e* has been altered to the *ae* symbol by the addition of a fine subscript closed loop. See p. 174.

<sup>13</sup> *lugaidus* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *luga'idus* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>14</sup> *salacia* A B<sub>3</sub>; *salatia* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>15</sup> *oram* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a small *h* has been written (? by m.h.) above, before *o*. *horam* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>16</sup> *concito* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a stress accent was later added with a fine pen above the first *o*. *co'ncito* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>17</sup> *discriptis* A; *des-* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

utre, profetia simul et virtutis miraculum comitari cernuntur. Nunc ad alia tendamus.<sup>1</sup>

De Librano harundineti  
profetatio sancti<sup>2</sup> viri. .

ALIO IN TEMPORE, cum vir sanctus in Iova conversaretur insula, homo quidam plebeus nuper sumpto clericatus habitu de Scotia transnavigans ad insulanum beati monasterium viri devenit. Quem cum alia die sanctus in hospicio resedem<sup>3</sup> hospitantem invenisset solum, primum de patria de gente et causa itineris<sup>4</sup> a sancto interrogatus, de Connachtarum<sup>5</sup> regione oriundum sé professus est, et ad delenda in perigrinatione<sup>6</sup> peccamina longo fatigatum | itinere.<sup>7</sup> Cui cum sanctus, ut de suae penitudinis exploraret qualitate, dura et laboriosa ante oculos monasterialia<sup>8</sup> propossuisset<sup>9</sup> imperia, ipse consequenter ad sanctum respondens inquit: 'Paratus sum ad omnia quaecumque mihi jubere volueris, quamlibet durissima quamlibet indigna'.

Quid plura? Eadem<sup>10</sup> hora omnia sua confessus peccata leges penitentiae flexis in terram genibus se impleturum promisit.<sup>11</sup> Cui sanctus: 'Surge' ait, 'et resede'.<sup>12</sup> Tum deinde resedentem<sup>13</sup> sic conpellat:

<sup>1</sup> nunc ad alia tendamus A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> profetatio sancti A; propheta'tio sancti B<sub>1</sub>; ]sancti B<sub>2</sub>; prophetacio sancti B<sub>3</sub>; sancti prophetatio contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> (-acio B<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>3</sup> resedem A; the second e has later been altered to i, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. residere B<sub>1</sub>; residens B<sub>2</sub>; residenti B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> itineris A; -tin- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> connachtarum, A; conactarum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; ]starum B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>6</sup> perigrinatione A; the first i altered by m.h. to e. -reg- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> itinere A; the first e altered to i, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. itinere B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> monasterialia A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; monasteriola B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>9</sup> propossuisset A; the first s has later been deleted with dots above and below. -osu- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

and at the same time a miracle of power, as often remarked, are seen to go together. Now let us turn to other things.

[II 39] Prophecy of the holy man  
concerning Libran of the reed-plot

At another time when the holy man lived in the island of Io, a certain layman who had recently put on clerical dress sailed across from Ireland, and came to the island monastery of the blessed man. Next day the saint found him sitting alone as a guest in the hospice. The saint first asked him about his country, his family, and the cause of his journey; and he declared that he was a native of the district of the Connachta, and that he had made the long laborious journey on purpose to expiate his sins in pilgrimage.

When, in order to make trial of the nature of his penitence, the saint had exposed to his view the hard and heavy discipline of monastic life, he then said to the saint in reply: 'I am ready for any commands that you may wish to impose upon me, though they be very hard, though they be humiliating'.

To be brief, in that hour he confessed all his sins; and promised, kneeling on the ground, that he would perform all that the laws of penance required. The saint said to him: 'Rise, and sit'; and when he was seated, then addressed him thus: 'You are required

<sup>10</sup> eadem A; a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above a. Ea'dem B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; Eadem B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> promisit A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; promi'sit B<sub>1</sub>. In A, the Irish sign for *pro* has later been altered to the continental symbol (m.h.). Cf. 91b20.

<sup>12</sup> resede A; the second e has later been altered to i, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. -sid- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> resedentem A; altered as above. -sid- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

'Septennem debebis in Ethica<sup>1</sup> penitentiam explere terra. Ego et tu usque quo numerum expleas septinalium<sup>2</sup> annorum deo donante victuri sumus'.

88a Quibus sancti confortatus dictis grates deo agens ad sanctum: 'Quid me' ait, 'agere oportet de quodam meo falso juramento?'<sup>3</sup> Nam ego quendam in patria commanens trucidavi homuncionem.<sup>4</sup> | Post cujus trucidationem quasi reus in vinculis retentus sum. Sed mihi quidam cognitionalis homo ejusdem parentellae<sup>5</sup> valde opibus opulentus subveniens me oportune et de vinculis vinculatum absolvit, et de morte reum eripuit. Cui post absolutionem cum firma juratione promiseram me eidem omnibus meae diebus vitae<sup>6</sup> servituum. Sed post aliquot dies in servitute peractos, servire homini dedignatus et deo potius obsecundare mallens, desertor illius carnalis domini juramentum infringens decessi<sup>7</sup>; et ad te domino meum prosperante iter perveni'.

88b Ad haec sanctus virum<sup>8</sup> pro talibus valde angustatus videns sicuti prius profetans profatur, inquit: 'Post septenorum sicut tibi dictum est expletionem annorum, diebus ad me huc quadragesimalibus<sup>9</sup> venies, ut in paschali sollemnitate ad altarium accedas, | et eucharistiam sumas'.

Quid verbis immoramur? Sancti viri imperiis per omnia penitens obsequitur perigrinus<sup>10</sup>; hisdemque<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ethica A B2 B3; e'thica B1

<sup>2</sup> septinalium A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. septennalium B1; septennialium B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> quodam meo falso juramento. This question, and the explanation that follows it, should not have been put into direct speech; since according to Adomnan's previous statement the penitent had confessed *omnia sua peccata* before Columba imposed upon him the seven-years' penance for manslaughter.

<sup>4</sup> homuncionem A B3; homuntionem B1; homuntionem B2

<sup>5</sup> parentellae A; the first *l* has later been deleted with dots above and below made with a fine pen. -tele B1 B2 B3. Here, 'the same kindred' probably means the dead man's kindred.

to complete a penance of seven years, in the land of Eth [Tiree]. We shall live, I and you, God granting it, until you complete the number of seven years'.

Encouraged by these words of the saint, he rendered thanks to God, and said to the saint: 'What must I do with regard to a false oath that I gave? For while I lived in my native land I killed a man. After he was killed, I was held in chains, as one condemned. But a very wealthy relative, of the same kindred, coming to my assistance, opportunely released me, a prisoner, from chains, and rescued me, a condemned man, from death. After my release I promised to him with a binding oath\* that I would serve him during all the days of my life. But after some days passed in servitude, disdaining to be a servant of man, and choosing rather to obey God, I broke my oath, and departed, deserting that earthly master. And with the Lord's favour on my journey, I have come to you'.

Seeing that the man was greatly distressed about these things, the saint, as before, spoke prophetically in reply, saying: 'After the completion of the seven years of which you have been told, you will come to me here, throughout the days of Lent, so that in the celebration of Easter you may approach the altar, and receive the Eucharist'.

Why linger over words? The pilgrim penitent obeyed the orders of the holy man in everything. He

<sup>6</sup> meae diebus vitae A; mee diebus vite B1 B2 (mee B2); diebus vite mee B3

<sup>7</sup> decessi A B2 B3; dicessi B1

<sup>8</sup> virum A B1; mirum B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>9</sup> quadragesimalibus A; -gesi- B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> perigrinus A; peregr- B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> hisdemque A; Hisdem B1 B2 B3

diebus ad monasterium campi misus<sup>1</sup> Lunge<sup>2</sup> ibidem plene expletis in penitentia septem annis ad sanctum diebus quadragensimae<sup>3</sup> juxta ejus priorem profeticam jusionem<sup>4</sup> revertitur. Et post peractam pascae sollempnitatem<sup>5</sup> in qua jusus<sup>6</sup> ad altare accessit, ad sanctum de supra interrogans memorato venit juramento. Cui sanctus interroganti talia vaticinans responsa profatur: 'Tuus de quo mihi aliquando dixeras carnalis superest dominus; paterque et mater et fratres adhuc vivunt. Nunc ergo praeparare te debes ad navigationem'. Et inter haec verba macheram beluinis ornatam dolatis protulit dentibus,<sup>7</sup> dicens: 'Hoc accipe | tecum portandum munus quod domino pro tua redemptione offeres; sed tamen nullo modo accipiet. Habet enim bene moratam conjugem,<sup>8</sup> cujus salubri obtemperans consilio te eadem<sup>9</sup> die gratis sine pretio libertate<sup>10</sup> donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuis resolvens lumbis. Sed hac anxietate solutus aliam e latere surgentem non effugies sollicitudinem. Nam tui fratres undique coartabunt<sup>11</sup> te, ut tanto tempore patri debetam<sup>12</sup> sed neglectam redintigres<sup>13</sup> pietatem. Tu tamen sine ulla esitatione voluntati eorum obsecundans patrem<sup>14</sup> senem pie excipias confovendum. Quod onus quamlibet

<sup>1</sup> misus A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *is*. missus B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> lunge A B1 B2; longe B3

<sup>3</sup> quadragensimae A; the *n* has later been partly erased (not by text hand). -gesime B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> jusionem A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *us*. jussi- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> sollempnitatem A; solempni- B1; sollempni- B2; solenni- B3

<sup>6</sup> jusus A; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *us*. jussus B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> *beluins dentibus*. Literally 'teeth of a great [sea]-animal'. Walrus ivory was used for decorated hilts of Irish swords; see Solinus XXII, quoted in Fowler 1894, p. 110; and above, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> conjugem A; a small *n* has been written by m.h. above *oj*. conjugem B1 B2 B3 (co'n- B1)

was sent within those days to the monastery of the plain of Long; and completed there seven full years of penance. In accordance with the saint's former prophetic command, he returned to him for the days of Lent; and after the celebration of Easter had been completed, in which as he was bidden he had approached the altar, he went to the saint, and questioned him about the above-mentioned oath. To his question the saint prophesying made this reply: 'Your earthly lord, of whom you once told me, is alive; and your father, and mother, and brothers, still live. Now therefore you must prepare yourself for a voyage'. With these words he held out a sword decorated with shaped pieces of ivory, saying: 'Take this, to carry with you as a gift that you will offer to your lord for your redemption; but yet he will by no means accept it. For he has a virtuous wife, and yielding to her sound advice he will on that day grant you liberty, freely and without recompense, unloosing according to custom the captive's belt from your loins. But when your mind has been relieved from this anxiety, you will not escape another responsibility arising at your side; for your brothers will together constrain you to make good the filial service that you have for so long owed to your father, and have neglected. But obey their will without hesitation, and receive your aged father into your dutiful care. And although that charge may seem to you

<sup>9</sup> eadem A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added with a fine pen above *a*. ea'dem B1

<sup>10</sup> libertate A B3; -tatem B1, with *m* erased; -tati B2

<sup>11</sup> coartabunt A B1 B2; -bant B3

<sup>12</sup> debetam A; the second *e* has later been partly erased. -bit- B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> redintigres A; the second *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -teg- B1 B2 B3

<sup>14</sup> patrem A B1; patrem tuum B3. Illegible in B2.

tibi videatur grave contristari non debes, quia mox depones. Nam ex qua die incipies patri ministrare alia <sup>1</sup>  
 89b in fine ejusdem septimane mortuum sepelies. | Sed post patris sepultionem iterum fratres tē acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis inpendas obsequia. De qua profecto compulsionē tuus junior tē absolvet frater qui tua vice paratus omne pietatis opus quod debes pro tē matri serviens reddet'.

Post haec verba supra memoratus frater, Libranus nomine, accepto munere sancti ditatus benedictione perrexit; et ad patriam perveniens omnia secundum sancti vaticinium invenit vere probata. Nam statim ut pretium suae offerens libertatis ostendit domino accipere volenti, refragans uxor: 'Ut quid nobis' ait, 'hoc accipere quod sanctus pretium misit Columba? Hoc non sumus digni. Liberetur ei pius hic gratis ministrator. Magis nobis sancti viri benedictio proficiet quam hoc quod offertur pretium'. Audiens itaque maritus |  
 90a hoc maritae salubre consilium continuo gratis liberavit servum.

Qui post <sup>2</sup> juxta profetiam sancti compulsus a fratribus patrem cui ministrare coepit septima die mortuum sepelivit. Quo sepulto ut et matri debete <sup>3</sup> deserviret compellitur. Sed subveniente juniore fratre sicuti sanctus praedixerat vicem ejus adimplente absolvitur; qui <sup>4</sup> ad fratres sic dicebat: 'Nullo modo nos oportet <sup>5</sup> fratrem in

<sup>1</sup> *alia*. Below, 90a, the interval is six days.

<sup>2</sup> post A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; postea B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> debete A; the second *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen, and the third *e* has been altered erroneously to the *ae* symbol, by a fine loop (cf. 86b14), perhaps of the eighth century (see p. 175). debite B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> qui A; Qui B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; Sed junior qui B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> oportet. In B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, this word is placed after *retentare*.

burdensome, you need not be disheartened, since you will lay it down soon. For on one day you will begin to wait upon your father, and on another at the end of the same week he will have died, and you will bury him. After your father's burial, your brothers will again urge you sharply to pay also the services of filial duty that are owed to your mother. But from that obligation your younger brother will in fact release you, for he will be ready to render in your place all the labour of filial duty that you owe, serving your mother on your behalf'.

After these words, the aforesaid brother, namely Libran, went away, taking the gift and enriched with the saint's blessing. And arriving in his native land, he found everything confirmed as the saint had prophesied. As soon as he showed the price of his liberty, offering it to his master, who was willing to receive it, the master's wife refused, saying: 'How can we take this price that Saint Columba has sent? We are not worthy of this. Let this pious servant be released for him without payment. The holy man's blessing will profit us more than this price that is offered'. When the husband heard this salutary counsel of his wife, he immediately released his slave without payment.

Then Libran, in accordance with the prophecy of the saint, was compelled by his brothers and began to serve his father; and on the seventh day, his father being dead, he buried him. After his father was buried, Libran was compelled duly to devote himself to his mother also; but he was released, because his younger brother came to his assistance, as the saint had foretold, and took his place, speaking to the brothers thus: 'We ought by no means to detain our brother in this



patria retentare qui per vii.<sup>1</sup> annos apud sanctum Columbam in Brittannia salutem exercuit animae'.

90b Postque ab omnibus quibus molestabatur absolutus matri et fratribus valedicens, liber reversus, ad locum qui scotice vocitatur Daire-Calcig<sup>2</sup> pervenit; ibidemque navem<sup>3</sup> sub velo a portu emigrantem inveniens clamitans de litore rogat ut ipsum nautae cum eís susciperent navigaturum | ad<sup>4</sup> Britanniam.<sup>5</sup> Sed ipsi non suscipientes refutaverunt eum quia non erant de monacís<sup>6</sup> sancti Columbae. Tum deinde ad eundem venerabilem loquens virum (quamlibet longe absentem tamen spiritu presentem, ut mox res probavit): 'Placetne tibi' ait, 'sancte Columba, ut hí nautae qui me tuum non suscipiunt socium plenís velís et secundís enavigent ventís?' In hac voce ventus qui ante illís erat secundus dicto citius versus est contrarius. Inter haec videntes virum eundem e regione secus flumen<sup>7</sup> cursitantem subito inter sé inito<sup>8</sup> consilio ad ipsum de navi inclamitantes dicunt nautici: 'Fortassis idcirco citius in contrarium nobis conversus est ventus, quia<sup>9</sup> té suscipere rennuerimus. Quod si etiam nunc té ad nos in navem<sup>10</sup> 91a invitaverimus, con|trarios nunc nobís flatus in secundos convertere poteris'. Hís auditís viator ad eos dixit: 'Sanctus Columba ad quem vado, et cui hucusque per vii.<sup>11</sup> annos obsecundavi, si me susciperitis<sup>12</sup> prosperum

<sup>1</sup> vii A; septem B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> daire calcig A; daire' calgai'ch B1; daire calgaich B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> navem A; the *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. navim B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> ad A B1 B2; in B3

<sup>5</sup> britanniam A; britt- B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> monacís A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *ci*. mo'nachis B1; monachis B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> flumen. The Foyle, between Derry and Lough Foyle.

<sup>8</sup> inito. In A, a stress accent has later been added with a fine pen above the first *i*.

country, considering that he has for seven years, in Britain with Saint Columba, laboured for the salvation \* of his soul'.

After that, relieved from all his troubles, he bade farewell to his mother, and his brothers, and returned a free man, coming to the place that is called in Irish *Daire-Calcig* [Derry]. There he found a ship under sail, setting out from the harbour, and called from the shore, begging the sailors to take him with them, as a voyager to Britain. But they repelled him, and would not receive him, because they were not of the monks of Saint Columba. Thereupon he spoke to that venerable man, (who although far distant was yet present in spirit, as the event soon showed) and said: 'Does it please you, holy Columba, that these sailors who will not receive me, your associate, are sailing away with full sails and with favourable winds?' As he said this, the wind that had before been in their favour was changed, more quickly than speech, to a contrary wind. Meanwhile, the sailors saw that the same man was running alongside of them, by the river; and suddenly taking counsel together they shouted to him from the ship, saying: 'Perhaps the wind has turned so suddenly against us because we refused to take you with us. And if now we do invite you to join us in the ship, you will be able to change winds that are now against us into winds that are favourable'. Hearing this, the traveller said to them: 'Saint Columba, to whom I am going, and whom I have obeyed for the last seven years, will,

<sup>9</sup> quia A; quod B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> navem A; the *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. navim B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> vii A; septem B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> susciperitis A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -cep- B1 B2 B3

vobis ventum a domino suo virtute orationum inpetrare poterit'. Quibus auditis navem<sup>1</sup> terrae approximant ipsumque ad eos in eam invitant.<sup>2</sup> Qui statim rate ascensa: 'In nomine omnipotentis'<sup>3</sup> ait, 'cui sanctus Columba inculpabiliter servit, tensis rudentibus<sup>4</sup> levate velum'. Quo facto, continuo contraria venti flamina in secunda vertuntur, prosperaque usque ad Britanniam<sup>5</sup> plenís successit navigatio velis.

91b Libranusque postquam ad loca perventum est britannica illam deserens navem<sup>6</sup> et nautis benedicens ad sanctum devenit Columbam in Iova commorantem insula. Qui videlicet vir beatus gaudenter suscipiens | eum omnia quae de eo<sup>7</sup> in itinere<sup>8</sup> acta sunt nullo alio intimante plene narravit: et de domino, et uxoris ejus salubri consilio, quomodo ejusdem suassu<sup>9</sup> liberatus est; de fratribus quoque; de morte<sup>10</sup> patris et ejus finita septimana sepultione; de matre, et de fratris oportuna junioris subventionem; de his quae in regresu<sup>11</sup> acta sunt; de vento contrario et secundo; de verbis nautarum qui primo eum suscipere recusarunt; de promissione prosperi flatus, et de prospera eo suscepto in navi venti conversione. Quid plura, omnia quae sanctus adinplenda profetavit<sup>12</sup> expleta enarravit. Post haec

<sup>1</sup> navem A; the *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. navim B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> invitant A B1 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the second *i*. -vi't- B1

<sup>3</sup> nomine omnipotentis A B3; nomine omnipotentis dei B1; omnipotentis nomine B2

<sup>4</sup> tensis rudentibus. Cf. the apparently synonymous *protenstis rudentibus* in 101a, and see p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> britanniam A; britt- B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> navem A; a small *i* written by m.h. above *e*. navim B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> eo. After this, in the extreme top margin of A, m.h. has written *mem*.

<sup>8</sup> itinere A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the first *e*. -ti'n- B1; -tin- B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> suassu A; the second *s* has later been deleted with dots above and below made with a fine pen. suasu B1 B2 B3

if you take me with you, be able to obtain from his Lord by the power of prayer a wind that will favour you'. When they heard this, they brought the ship to the land, and invited him to join them in it. Immediately on entering the ship, he said: 'In the name of the Almighty whom Saint Columba blamelessly serves, hoist the sail, making taut the ropes'. They did this, and the contrary winds were at once changed to favourable ones, and a prosperous voyage to Britain followed, with full sails.

After their arrival in British land, Libran left that ship, and blessing the sailors made his way to Saint Columba, who was living in the island of Io. The blessed man received him joyfully, and related in full, without being told by any one, all that had happened to Libran on his journey: of the lord, and his wife's salutary counsel; how Libran had been set free, by her persuasion; also of his brothers; of his father's death, and burial after the end of seven days; of his mother, and of the timely help of his younger brother; of the things that happened on his way back; of the wind, contrary and favourable; of the words of the sailors who at first refused to receive him; of the promise of prosperous winds, and the favourable change of wind after he had been received in the ship. To be brief, all that the saint had prophesied would happen, he repeated as having been fulfilled. After this narra-

<sup>10</sup> de morte A B2 B3; ac de morte B1

<sup>11</sup> in regresu A; in regressu B1 B2; ingressu B3

<sup>12</sup> profetavit A; proph- B1 B2 B3. In A, the Irish symbol for *pro* has been altered to the continental symbol, by m.h.; cf. 87b14.

verba viator pretium suae quod a sancto accipit<sup>1</sup> redemptionis adsignavit. Cui sanctus eadem<sup>2</sup> hora vocabulum indidit, inquiring: 'Tu Libranus vocaberis, eo quod sis liber'.

92a Qui videlicet Librán<sup>3</sup> hísdem in diebus votum monasticum<sup>4</sup> devotus vovit. Et cum a sancto viro | ad monasterium in quo prius vii.<sup>5</sup> annís penitens domino serviit<sup>6</sup> remitteretur, haec ab eo profetica de se prolata accipit<sup>7</sup> verba valedicente: 'Vita vives longa, et in bona senectute vitam terminabis praesentem. At tamen non in Britannia sed in Scotia resurges'. Quod verbum audiens flexis genibus amare flevit. Quem sanctus valde mestum videns consulari<sup>8</sup> coepit, dicens: 'Surge et noles tristificari. In uno meorum morieris<sup>9</sup> monasteriorum, et cum electis erit pars tua meis in regno monacis,<sup>10</sup> cum quibus in resurrectionem vitae de somno mortis evigelabis'.<sup>11</sup> Qu[a]<sup>12</sup> a sancto accepta non mediocri consulatione<sup>13</sup> valde laetatus et sancti benedictione ditatus in pace perrexit.

92b Quae sancti de eodem viro verax postea est adimpleta profetatio. Nam cum per multos annales cyclos in monasterio campi Lunge post sancti Columbae de mundo transitum oboedienter domino | deserviret monachus,<sup>14</sup> pro quadam monasteriali utilitate ad Scotiam misus<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> accipit A; -cep- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> eadem A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *a*. e'adem B1

<sup>3</sup> librán A; libranus B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> monasticum A; a small *h* has been added by m.h. above *ci*. -chis B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> vii. A; septem B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> serviit A; servivit B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> accipit A; -cep- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> consulari A; the *u* later altered to *o* by bridging. -sol-B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> morieris A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *e*. morie'ris B1

<sup>10</sup> monacis A; a small *h* written by m.h. above *ci*. -chis B1 B2 B3

tion, the traveller handed over the price of his ransom, which he had received from the saint. In the same hour the saint gave him a name, saying: 'You shall be called Libran, because you are free.'

In those same days this Libran devoutly vowed the monastic vow. And when he was sent back by the holy man to the monastery in which he had formerly served the Lord as a penitent for seven years, he received these prophetic words concerning him, spoken by Columba in farewell: 'You will live for a long life-time, and end this present life in good old age. Nevertheless your resurrection will be not in Britain, but in Ireland'. Hearing these words, Libran bowed his knees and wept bitterly. Seeing that he was very sad, the saint began to comfort him, saying: 'Rise, and do not be grieved. You will die in one of my monasteries; and your part in the Kingdom will be with my elect monks, and with them you will awake from the sleep of death into the resurrection of life'. Much cheered by the great comfort that he had received from the saint, and enriched with the saint's benediction, he went away in peace.

This truthful prophecy of the saint concerning that man was afterwards fulfilled. For when he had served the Lord obediently as a monk in the monastery of the plain of Long for many years after the passing of Saint Columba from the world, he was sent, a very old man, to Ireland, on some monastic business; and as soon as

<sup>11</sup> evigelabis A; the second *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. -gil- B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> qui A, altered by erasure from *quia*; Qua B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> consulatione A; the *u* later altered to *o* by bridging. -sol- B1 B2 B3

<sup>14</sup> monachus A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *cu*. -chis B1 B3; -chus B2

<sup>15</sup> misus A; a small *s* written by m.h. above *is*. missus B1 B2 B3

valde senex, statim ut de navi descendit<sup>1</sup> pergens per campum Breg ad monasterium devenit roborei<sup>2</sup> campi. Ibidemque hospes receptus hospitio quadam molestatus infirmitate septima egrotationis die<sup>3</sup> in pace ad dominum perrexit; et inter sancti Columbae electos humatus est monacos,<sup>4</sup> secundum ejus vaticinium in vitam resurrecturus aeternam.

Has de Librano harundineti sancti veridicas Columbae vaticinationes scripsisse sufficiat. Qui videlicet Libranus ideo harundineti est vocitatus<sup>5</sup> quia in harundineto multis annis harundines collegendo<sup>6</sup> laboraverat.

De quadam muliercula magnas et valde<sup>7</sup>  
dificiliores parturitionis ut Evae filia  
tortiones passa<sup>8</sup> |

93a QUADAM DIE SANCTUS in Iova commanens insula cito a lectione surgit et subridens dicit: 'Nunc ad oratorium mihi properandum, ut pro quadam misellula deum deprecere<sup>9</sup> femina, quae nunc in Evernia<sup>10</sup> nomen hujus inclamitans commemorat Columbae, in magnis parturitionis difficillimae torta punitionibus. Et ideo per me a domino de angustia absolutionem dari sibi sperat, quia et mihi est cognitionalis de meae matris parentella<sup>11</sup> genitorem habens progenitum'. Haec dicens sanctus illius mulierculae motus miseratione ad ecclesiam currit, flexisque genibus pro ea Christum de homine natum

<sup>1</sup> descendit A; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> devenit roborei A; roboreti deve'nit B1; roborei devenit B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> septima die. I.e. after six days.

<sup>4</sup> monacos A; a small *h* has been written by m.h. above *co*. -chos B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> vocitatus A B1; vocatus B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> collegendo A; a small *i* has been written by m.h. above the first *e*. colligendo B1 B3; colli[ B2

he landed from the ship he went through the plain of Brega, and came to the monastery of the oak plain [Durrow]. There, hospitably received as a guest, he fell ill of a malady; and on the seventh day of his illness he went to the Lord in peace. And he was buried among the elect monks of Saint Columba, according to his prophecy, to rise again into eternal life.

Let it suffice to have written these true prophecies of Saint Columba concerning Libran of the reed-plot. This Libran is called 'of the reed-plot', because for many years he worked in a reed-plot, gathering reeds. \*

[II 40] Of a certain young woman who was suffering, as a daughter of Eve, great and very hard pangs of childbirth

One day, while the saint was in the island of Io, he rose quickly from reading, and said with a smile: 'Now I must go in haste to the oratory, to plead with God for a certain woman in distress, who now in Ireland cries out, calling the name of this Columba, while racked by the pangs of a very difficult birth; and hopes that relief from her distress may be granted to her by the Lord through me, for the reason that she is related to me, and has a father born of my mother's kindred'. Saying this, the saint, moved by pity for that young woman, ran to the church, and bending his knees prayed for

<sup>7</sup> valde A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>8</sup> parturitionis to passa. Instead of these words, the contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: parturitiones (-ici- B3) tortiones passa et sanata.

<sup>9</sup> deprecere A B2 B3; in A, a stress accent has later been written with a fine pen above the first *e*. de'precere B1

<sup>10</sup> evernia A; hibernia B1 B3; ybernia B2

<sup>11</sup> parentella A; the second *l* has later been partly erased. -e'la B1; -ela, B2 B3

exorat.<sup>1</sup> Et post precationem oratorium egressus<sup>2</sup> ad fratres profatur occurrentes, inquires : ' Nunc propitius dominus Jesus de muliere progenitus oportune miserae subveniens eam de angustiis liberavit ; et prospere |  
93b prolem peperit,<sup>3</sup> nec hac morietur vice '. Eadem<sup>4</sup> hora, sicuti sanctus profetizavit, misella femina nomen ejus invocans absoluta salutem recuperavit. Ita ab aliquibus postea de Scotia et de eadem regione ubi mulier inhabitabat transmeantibus intimatum est.

De quodam Lugneo<sup>5</sup> guberneta,<sup>6</sup> cognomento Tudicla,<sup>7</sup> quem sua cojux<sup>8</sup> odio habuerat valde deformem, qui in Rechrea<sup>9</sup> commorabatur insula.<sup>10</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE cum vir sanctus in Rechrea<sup>11</sup> hospitaretur<sup>12</sup> insula quidam plebeus ad eum veniens de sua querebatur uxore, quae ut ipse dicebat odio habens eum ad maritalem<sup>13</sup> nullo modo ammittibat concubitum accedere. Quibus auditis sanctus maritam advocans in quantum potuit eam hac de causa corripere coepit, inquires : ' Quare mulier tuam a te carnem abdicare conaris ; domino dicente, " Erunt duo in carne una " ?<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> exorat A B<sub>3</sub> ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *a*. exo'rat B<sub>1</sub> ; e'xorat B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> egressus A ; a small *s* has been written by m.h. above *su*. -essus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> peperit A ; pe'perit B<sub>1</sub> ; pe[ ]rit B<sub>2</sub> ; peperit B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> Eadem A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above *a*. Ea'dem B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> lugneo A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; lugne'o B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> guberneta A ; gubernatore B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>. The word *guberneta* is a latinized form of the Greek *kybernētēs* 'steersman' or 'pilot'.

<sup>7</sup> tudicla A ; tutlida B<sub>1</sub> (or possibly *tutlicla*) ; tudica (?) B<sub>2</sub> ; tutida B<sub>3</sub>. Reeves, and Thesaurus 1903 p. 279, read in A, falsely, *Tudida* (cf. p. 166). The Latin word *tudicula*, a diminutive formation from *tudes* 'hammer', was used by Columella for an olive-crusher. With the form and gender of Adomnan's *tudicla*, compare his *genucla*, 48a, for *genucula*, from *genu*.

her to Christ, the son of man. After praying he left the oratory, and spoke to brothers who met him, and said : ' Now the Lord Jesus, born of woman, shows favour, and giving timely help to the sufferer has released her from her distress. And she has safely borne a child, and will not die at this time '.

In the same hour, exactly as the saint had prophesied, the poor woman who called upon his name was relieved, and was restored to health. It was so reported afterwards by some people who crossed the sea from Ireland, from the same district in which the woman lived.

[II 41] Concerning a certain Lugne, a pilot, surnamed Tudicla, who lived in the island of Rechru, and whom his wife held in aversion because he was very ugly

At another time, when the holy man was a guest in the island of Rechru [Rathlin], a certain layman came to him and complained regarding his wife, who, as he said, had an aversion to him, and would not allow him to enter into marital relations. Hearing this, the saint bade the wife approach, and began to chide her as well as he could on that account, saying : ' Why, woman, do you attempt to put from you your own flesh ? The Lord says, " Two shall be in one flesh " .

<sup>8</sup> cojux A ; conjux B<sub>1</sub> ; conjunx B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> rechrea A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; re'chrea B<sub>1</sub>. See p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> The contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> reads: *De conjugo lugnei odiosi gubernatoris*.

<sup>11</sup> rechrea A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; re'chrea B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *hospitaretur*. The monastery in Rathlin was not founded until 635×. See p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> odio habens eum ad maritalem A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> *una*. Vulgate, Matt. xix. 5 ; Mark x. 8

94a Itaque | caro tui cojugis<sup>1</sup> tua caro est'. Quae respondens<sup>2</sup> : 'Omnia' inquit, 'quaecumque mihi praeciperis<sup>3</sup> sum parata quamlibet sint valde laboriosa adimplere,<sup>4</sup> excepto uno, ut me nullo compellas modo in uno lecto dormire cum Lugneo.<sup>5</sup> Omnem domus curam exercere non recusso,<sup>6</sup> aut si jubeas etiam maria transire, et in aliquo<sup>7</sup> puellarum monasterio permanere'. Sanctus tum ait : 'Non potest recte fieri quod dicis. Nam adhuc viro vivente, alligata es a lege viri.<sup>8</sup> Quod enim deus licite conjunxit nefas est separari'. Et his dictis consequenter intulit : 'Hac in die tres, hoc est ego et maritus cum cojuge,<sup>9</sup> jejunantes dominum precemur'. Illa dehinc : 'Scio' ait, 'quia tibi impossibile non erit, ut ea quae vel difficilia vel etiam impossibilia videntur a deo inpetrata donentur'.

Quid plura, marita eadem die cum sancto jejunare consentit, et maritus similiter. Noctequae subsequente  
94b sanctus in | somnis<sup>10</sup> pro eis deprecatus est. Posteraque die sanctus maritam praesente<sup>11</sup> sic compellat marito : 'Ó femina, si ut hesternam dicebas die parata hodie es ad feminarum emigrare monasteriolum?' Illa : 'Nunc' inquit, 'cognovi quia tua a deo de me est audita oratio. Nam quem heri oderam hodie amo. Cór<sup>12</sup> enim meum

<sup>1</sup> cojugis A ; co'nj- B1 ; conj- B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> respondens A ; respondit B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> praeciperis A ; the first *i* has been altered by m.h. to *e*. -ce'p- B1 ; -cep- B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> adimplere A ; the *n* has later been altered clumsily to *m* not by the text hand. adimp- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> lugneo A B2 B3 ; lugne'o B1

<sup>6</sup> recusso A ; the first *s* has later been deleted with points above and below made by a fine pen. recu'so B1 ; recuso B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> aliquo. In A, the small final *o* has been formed (? by the text hand) out of a partly-erased *a*.

<sup>8</sup> lege viri. This differs somewhat from the sentence of Paul's Epistle to the Romans (vii. 2) upon which it is based : see the Vulgate version and the Greek New Testament.

<sup>9</sup> cojuge A ; co'nj- B1 conj- B2 B3

Therefore the flesh of your husband is your flesh'. She replied : 'I am ready to perform all things whatsoever that you may enjoin on me, however burdensome : save one thing, that you do not constrain me to sleep in one bed with Lugneo. I do not refuse to carry on the whole management of the house ; or, if you command it, even to cross the seas, and remain in some monastery of nuns'. Then the saint said : 'What you suggest cannot rightly be done. Since your husband is still alive, you are bound by the law of the husband ; for it is forbidden that that should be separated, which God has lawfully joined'. After saying this, he continued : 'On this day let us three, myself, and the husband with his wife, pray to the Lord, fasting'. Then she said : 'I know it will not be impossible that things appearing difficult or even impossible may be granted by God to you, when you ask for them'.

In short, the wife agreed to fast on the same day, and the husband also, with the saint. And on the night following, in sleep, the saint prayed for them. On the next day the saint thus addressed the wife, in the presence of her husband : 'Woman, are you today, as you said yesterday, ready to depart to a monastery of nuns?' She said : 'I know now that your prayer concerning me has been heard by God. For him whom I loathed yesterday I love today. In this past night,

<sup>10</sup> in | somnis A ; in sompnis B1 B3. Missing in B2. Reeves's reading *insomnis* ('awake') is not in the texts, but may have been Adomnan's meaning.

<sup>11</sup> praesente A ; presentem B1 ; presen[ B2 ; presente B3

<sup>12</sup> Cór A ; Cor B1 B2 B3. See p. 163.

hac nocte praeterita quomodo ignoro in me<sup>1</sup> innotatum<sup>2</sup> est de odio in amorem<sup>3</sup>.

Quid moramur? Ab eadem<sup>4</sup> die usque ad diem obitus anima ejusdem maritae indesociabiliter<sup>5</sup> in amore conglutinata est mariti, ut illa maritalis concubitus debita quae prius reddere renuebat nullo modo deinceps recussaret. .

De navigatione Cormaci<sup>5</sup> nepotis  
Lethani<sup>6</sup> profetatio beati viri<sup>7</sup>

95a ALIO IN TEMPORE Cormacus,<sup>8</sup> Christi miles, de quo in primo hujus opusculi libello breviter aliqua commemoravimus pauca,<sup>9</sup> etiam | secunda vice conatus est herimum<sup>10</sup> in ociano<sup>11</sup> quaerere. Qui postquam a terris per infinitum ocianum<sup>12</sup> plenís enavigavit velís, hisdem diebus sanctus Columba, cum ultra dorsum moraretur Britanniae, Brudeo<sup>13</sup> regi<sup>14</sup> praesente Orcadam<sup>15</sup> regulo commendavit, dicens: 'Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigraverunt, desertum in pilago<sup>16</sup> intransmeabili invenire obtantes. Qui si forte post longos circuitus Orcadas<sup>17</sup> devenerint insulas, huic regulo cujus obsedes<sup>18</sup> in manu tua sunt deligenter<sup>19</sup> commenda, ne aliquid adversi intra terminos ejus contra eos fiat'. Hoc vero sanctus ita dicebat quia in spiritu praecognovit<sup>20</sup> quod post aliquot

<sup>1</sup> in me A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

<sup>2</sup> innotatum A, divided by a flaw in the parchment; a small u has been written by m.h. above o. -mut- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> eadem A B2 B3; in A, a circumflex accent has later been added by a fine pen above a. ea'dem B1 <sup>4</sup> indesociabiliter A; indiss- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> cormaci A B2 B3; Cormacci B1 <sup>6</sup> lethani A B2 B3; lethani B1

<sup>7</sup> The contents-list of B2 and of B3 reads: *De cormaco (chormacho B2) nepote lethani (letani B2) et ejus navigationibus sancti columbe prophetacio (-tio B2).*

<sup>8</sup> cormacus A B3; -ma'ccus B1; -maccus B2 <sup>9</sup> pauca. See 17ab.

<sup>10</sup> herimum A; the i has been altered by m.h. to e. heremum B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> ociano A; the i altered by m.h. to e. occe'ano B1; oceano B2 B3

(how, I do not know) my heart has been changed in me from hate to love<sup>3</sup>.

Let us pass on. From that day until the day of her death, that wife's affections were indissolubly set in love of her husband; so that the dues of the marriage-bed, which she had formerly refused to grant, she never again denied.

[II 42] The blessed man's prophecy concerning  
the voyage of Cormac, grandson of Léthan

At another time, Cormac, a soldier of Christ, of whom we have briefly related some few things in the first book of this work, attempted for the second time to seek a desert place in the ocean. After he had sailed away from the land, with full sails, over the limitless ocean, in those same days Saint Columba, while he was beyond the spine of Britain, charged king Brude, in the presence of the subject-king of the Orcades, saying: 'Some of our people have recently gone out desiring to find a desert place in the sea that cannot be crossed. Earnestly charge this king, whose hostages are in your hand, that, if after long wanderings our people chance to land in the islands of the Orcades, nothing untoward shall happen to them within his territories'. The saint spoke thus because he foreknew

<sup>12</sup> ocianum A; the i has been altered by m.h. to e. oceanum B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> brudeo A B3; bru'deo B1; bru[ B2

<sup>14</sup> regi A; rege B1 B2 B3 (wrongly)

<sup>15</sup> orcadum A B2 B3; o'rcadam B1

<sup>16</sup> pilago A; the i has been altered by m.h. to e. pe'l- B1; pel- B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> orcadus A B2 B3; o'rcadas B1

<sup>18</sup> obsedes A; a small i has been written by m.h. above the first e. -sid- B1 B2 B3 <sup>19</sup> deligenter A; dil- B1 B2 B3

<sup>20</sup> praecognovit A; cognovit B1; precog- B2 B3

menses idem Cormaccus<sup>1</sup> esset ad Orcadas<sup>2</sup> venturus. Quod ita postea evenit.<sup>3</sup> Et propter supradictam sancti viri commendationem de morte in Orcadibus liberatus est vicina.

95b Post aliquantum paucorum intervallum mensium, cum sanctus in Iova commoraretur insula, quadam die coram eo ejusdem Cormaci<sup>4</sup> mentio ab aliquibus subito aboritur<sup>5</sup> sermocinantibus et taliter dicentibus: 'Quomodo Cormaci<sup>6</sup> navigatio prosperane an non provenit adhuc nescitur'. Quo audito verbo sanctus hac profatur voce,<sup>7</sup> dicens: 'Cormacum<sup>8</sup> de quo nunc loquimini<sup>9</sup> hodie mox pervenientem videbitis'. Et post quasi unius horae interventum, mirum dictu et<sup>10</sup> ecce inopinato Cormacus<sup>11</sup> superveniens oratorium cum omnium admiratione et gratiarum ingreditur actione.

Et quia de hujus Cormaci<sup>12</sup> secunda navigatione beati profetationem breviter intulerimus viri, nunc et de tertia eque<sup>13</sup> profeticae ejus scientiae aliqua describenda<sup>14</sup> sunt verba.

96a Cum idem Cormacus<sup>15</sup> tertia in ociano<sup>16</sup> mari fatigaretur vice, prope usque ad mortem periclitari coepit. Nam cum ejus navis a terris per xiiii.<sup>17</sup> aestei<sup>18</sup> temporis | dies totidemque noctes<sup>19</sup> plenis velis austro<sup>20</sup> flante vento ad septemtrionalis plagam caeli directo excurreret cursu,

<sup>1</sup> cormaccus A B<sub>2</sub>; corma'ccus B<sub>1</sub>; cormacus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> orcadus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; o'rcadas B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> evenit A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; in A, a circumflex accent has later been written with a fine pen above the second *e*. eve'nit B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>4</sup> cormaci A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; cormacci B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> aboritur A; oritur B<sub>1</sub>; oboritur B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> cormaci A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; cormacci B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>7</sup> hac profatur voce A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; hec profatur B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> Cormacum A B<sub>3</sub>; Cormaccum B<sub>1</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> loquimini A; the *e* has later been altered to *i*, with a down-stroke of a fine pen. -quim- B<sub>1</sub>; -quim- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> et A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> cormacus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; cormaccus B<sub>1</sub>

in the spirit that after some months this Cormac would come to the Orcades. And it did afterwards so happen. And because of the aforesaid commendation of the holy man, Cormac was delivered from imminent death in the Orcades.

After an interval of a few months, when the saint was living in the island of Io, one day in his presence men who were conversing together suddenly made mention of Cormac, and spoke in this manner: 'How Cormac's voyage has fared, whether it is successful or not, is still unknown'. Hearing them talk thus, the saint uttered these words, saying: 'You speak of Cormac; today quite soon you will see him arrive'. And after the interval of about one hour, strange to tell, behold, Cormac appearing unexpectedly entered the oratory; and all were amazed and rendered thanks.

Since we have briefly inserted the prophecy of the blessed man concerning the second voyage of this Cormac, we must now write down also some words showing his prophetic knowledge likewise of the third.

While Cormac was labouring for the third time in the sea of Ocean, he came into dangers that nearly caused his death. When his ship, blown by the south wind, had driven with full sails in a straight course from land towards the region of the northern sky, for fourteen summer days and as many nights, such a voyage

<sup>12</sup> cormaci A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; cormacci B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>13</sup> eque. In A, the first *e* has later been altered to the *ae* symbol by a fine loop, perhaps of the eighth century (see p. 174).

<sup>14</sup> describenda A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> cormacus A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; cormaccus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>16</sup> ociano A; oceano B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-e'a- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>17</sup> xiiii A B<sub>2</sub>; quatuordecim B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-o'r- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>18</sup> aestei A; estivi B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>19</sup> totidemque noctes A B<sub>3</sub>; totidemque noctem B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>20</sup> austro A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; astro B<sub>3</sub>



ejusmodi navigatio ultra humani excursus modum et inremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit ut post decimam ejusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam pene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores. Quaedam quippe usque in id temporis invisae mare<sup>1</sup> obtegentes occurrerant tetrae et infestae nimis bestiolae, quae horribili impetu carinam et latera pupimque et proram ita forti feriebant percusura, ut pellicium tectum navis penetrales putarentur penetrare posse. Quae, ut hi qui inerant ibidem postea narrarunt, prope magnitudine ranarum aculeis<sup>2</sup> permolestae non tamen volatiles sed natatiles erant; sed et remorum |  
 96b infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis inter cetera monstra, quae non hujus est temporis enarrare,<sup>3</sup> Cormaccus<sup>4</sup> cum nautis comitibus, valde turbati<sup>5</sup> et pertimescentes,<sup>6</sup> deum qui est in angustiis<sup>7</sup> pius et oportunus auxiliator inlacrimati precantur.<sup>8</sup>

Eadem hora et sanctus noster Columba quamlibet longe absens corpore spiritu tamen praesens in navi cum Cormaco<sup>9</sup> erat. Unde eodem momento personante signo<sup>10</sup> fratres ad oratorium convocans et ecclesiam intrans adstantibus sic more sibi consueto profetizans profatur, dicens: 'Fratres, tota intentione pro Cormaco<sup>11</sup> orate, qui nunc humanae discursionis limitem immoderate navigando excessit. Nunc quasdam monstruosas ante non visas et pene indicibiles patitur horrificas perturbationes. Itaque | nostris<sup>12</sup> commembribus in periculo

<sup>1</sup> mare A B2 B3; maris B1

<sup>2</sup> aculei usually means 'stings', but here the context suggests that they were in front, and resembled beaks of birds.

<sup>3</sup> enarrare. A point with up-sign added in A after this word is the last alteration made by m.h. or the fine pen in A.

<sup>4</sup> Cormaccus A; cormaccus B1; cormacus B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> turbati A; turbatis B1 B2 B3    <sup>6</sup> pertimescentes A; -tibus B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> angustiis A; -tiis B1 B2; -tiis, B3. The B version substitutes *angustiae* 'a strait' for A's *angusta* 'cases of difficulty'. Cf. A's *angustiae* in 93a.

appeared to be beyond the range of human exploration,<sup>\*</sup> and one from which there could be no return. And so it happened, after the tenth hour of the fourteenth day, that there arose all around them almost overwhelming and very dreadful objects of terror; for they were met by loathsome and exceedingly dangerous small creatures covering the sea, such as had never been seen before that time; and these struck with terrible impact the bottom and sides, the stern and prow, with so strong a thrust that they were thought able to pierce and penetrate the skin-covering of the ship. As those that were present there related afterwards, these creatures were about the size of frogs, very injurious by reason of their stings, but they did not fly, they swam. And moreover they damaged the blades of the oars. Seeing these with the other prodigies, which this is not the time to recount, Cormac and his fellow-sailors were in great alarm and terror, and with tears prayed to God, who is a true and ready helper in times of need.

At that same hour, our Saint Columba also, though far distant in body, was nevertheless in spirit present with Cormac in the ship. So in that moment, calling the brothers together to the oratory with the sound of the bell, and entering the church, he spoke thus prophetically according to his custom to those that were standing by, and said: 'Brothers, pray with your whole might for Cormac, who now in his voyage has far exceeded the bounds of human travel. Now he endures the terrors of certain horrible and monstrous things never before seen, and almost indescribable. In our

<sup>8</sup> inlacrimati precantur A; illacrimatus precatur B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> cormaco A B2 B3; corma'cco B1    <sup>10</sup> signo A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>11</sup> cormaco A B2 B3; corma'cco B1

<sup>12</sup> itaque nostris A; Nostris itaque B1 B2 B3

intollerabili constitutis mente conpati debemus fratribus, et dominum exorare cum eis. Ecce enim nunc Cormacus<sup>1</sup> cum suis nautis faciem lacrimis ubertim inrigans Christum intentius<sup>2</sup> precatur, et nos ipsum orando adjuvemus, ut austrum flantem ventum usque hodie per xiiii.<sup>3</sup> dies nostri<sup>4</sup> miseratus in aquilonem convertat. Qui videlicet aquiloneus ventus navem<sup>5</sup> Cormaci<sup>6</sup> de periculis retrahat<sup>7</sup>.

Et haec dicens flebili cum voce flexis genibus ante altarium omnipotentiam dei ventorum et cunctarum gubernatricem precatur rerum; et post orationem cito surgit, et abstergens lacrimas gaudenter grates deo agit, dicens: 'Nunc, fratres, nostris congratulemur pro quibus oramus caris, quia dominus austrum nunc in 97b [aquilonem]<sup>7</sup> | convertet flatum nostros<sup>8</sup> de periculis commembres retrahentem, quos huc ad nos iterum reducet'. Et continuo cum ejus voce auster cessavit ventus, et inspiravit aquiloneus per multos post dies, et navis Cormaci<sup>9</sup> ad terras reducta est, et pervenit Cormac<sup>10</sup> ad sanctum Columbam, et se donante deo<sup>11</sup> facie ad faciem cum ingenti omnium ammiratione viderant et non mediocri laetatione.

Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir beatus,<sup>12</sup> qui talem profeticam habens scientiam ventis et ociano<sup>13</sup> Christi invocato nomine potuit imperare. .

<sup>1</sup> cormacus A B2 B3; cormaccus B1

<sup>2</sup> intentius A B2; intencius B1; intentus B3

<sup>3</sup> xiiii A B2; quatuordecim B1 B3 (-o'r- B1)

<sup>4</sup> nostri A; nos B1 B2 B3 <sup>5</sup> navem A; navim B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> cormaci A B2 B3; corma'cci B1

<sup>7</sup> aquilonem B1 B2 B3. In A, over a blank space or erasure, an italic hand (? seventeenth century) has written *aquilonarem*, which is followed by Reeves. Manuscript L of the shortened version reads *aquilonem*; Reeves cites no readings from C, D, F, S. The reading of P is: *dominus austrum nunc convertit flatum*.

<sup>8</sup> *nostros*. After this word, in A, a comma-sign has wrongly been added, perhaps by the writer of *aquilonarem*.

minds, therefore, we must share the sufferings of our brothers, our fellow-members, who are placed in unendurable danger; and we must pray to the Lord with them. For now behold Cormac, copiously watering his face with tears, prays earnestly with his sailors to Christ, and let us help him in praying, that Christ may take pity upon us, and may turn into a north wind the south wind that has blown for fourteen days, until today; so that this northerly wind may bring Cormac's ship out of its dangers<sup>7</sup>.

After saying this, he bent his knees before the altar, and in a tearful voice prayed to the omnipotence of God, which controls the winds and all things. After praying, he rose quickly, and wiping away the tears joyfully rendered thanks to God, saying: 'Now, brothers, we may congratulate our friends for whom we are praying, because the Lord will now change the south into a [north] wind bringing our fellow-members back from their dangers, and will lead them here to us again'. And simultaneously with his words, the south wind ceased, and the north wind blew for many days afterwards. Cormac's ship was brought back to land, and Cormac came to Saint Columba; and God grant-<sup>\*</sup>ing it they saw each other face to face, to the great wonder of all, and with uncommon rejoicing.

Let the reader therefore consider how great and of what nature was this blessed man, who had such prophetic knowledge, and by invoking the name of Christ was able to command the winds and the ocean.

<sup>9</sup> cormaci A B2 B3; corma'cci B1

<sup>10</sup> cormac A; cormaccus B1; cormacus B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> deo A; domino B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> beatus A; beatus fu'erit B1; beatus fuerit B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> ociano A; occe'ano B1; oceano B2; occeano B3

De venerabilis viri in curru evectione absque  
currilium obicum communitioe. .

ALIO IN TEMPORE, cum in Scotia per aliquot dies  
sanctus conversaretur, aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus  
98a coactus, currum ab eo | prius benedictum ascendit  
junctum, sed non insertis primo qua negligentia<sup>1</sup>  
accedente nescitur necessariis obicibus per axionum<sup>2</sup>  
extrema foramina. Erat autem eadem diecula Colum-  
banus filius Echudi,<sup>3</sup> vir sanctus, illius monasterii fun-  
dator quod scotica vocitatur lingua Snám luthir,<sup>4</sup> qui  
operam aurigae in eodem curriculo cum sancto exercebat  
Columba. Fuit itaque talis ejusdem agitatio diei per  
longa viarum spatia sine ulla rotarum humerulorumque  
separatione sive<sup>5</sup> labefactione,<sup>6</sup> nulla ut supra dictum  
est obicum retentione vel communitioe<sup>7</sup> retenente,<sup>8</sup> sed  
sola diali sic venerando prestante gratia viro, ut currus  
cui insederat salubriter absque ulla inpeditione recta  
incederet orbita.

98b Huc usque de virtutum miraculis quae | per prae-  
dicabilem virum in praesenti conversantem vita divina  
operata est omnipotentia scripsisse sufficiat. . Nunc etiam  
quaedam<sup>9</sup> de his quae post ejus de carne transitum ei a  
domino donata conprobantur pauca sunt commemo-  
randa. .

<sup>1</sup> negligentia A ; negligentia B1 B2 ; necligencia B3

<sup>2</sup> axionum A ; axium B1 B2 B3. These *axiones* (or *axes*) seem to be the  
ends of an axle-tree (*axis*, Greek *axōn*) that did not revolve.

<sup>3</sup> echudi A B2 B3 ; echudi' B1. Cf. Bergin 1932, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> snám luthir A, with one over-dash, above *lu* ; snamluthir B1 ?B2 ;  
snam luthir B3. See Reeves 1857, pp. 173-174. *Snám* was a swimming-  
ford ; *luthir* is unexplained.

<sup>5</sup> sive A B2 B3 ; sine B1

<sup>6</sup> labefactione A B1 B2 ; labefactione B3

<sup>7</sup> communitioe A B1 B2 (-ici- B1) ; communione B3

[II 43] Concerning the venerable man's riding  
in a carriage without the security of lynch-pins

At another time, when the saint was living for some  
days in Ireland, compelled by ecclesiastical affairs he  
entered a carriage that had previously been blessed by  
him, and that had been yoked, but by some unknown  
negligence without the necessary bolts having first  
been inserted through holes in the ends of the axle-tree.  
It was Colman, Echuid's son, a holy man, the founder  
of the monastery that is called in the Irish language  
*Snám luthir* [Slanore], who on that day acted as driver  
in the carriage with Saint Columba. The day's driving  
over the long distances they travelled did not cause any  
separation of the wheels from the axle-shoulders, or any\*  
slackening, although, as has been said above, the wheels  
were held on by no retaining or securing bolts ; God's  
grace alone so preserving the venerable man that the  
carriage in which he sat followed a true course, safely  
and without any hindrance.

Let it suffice to have written thus far about the  
miracles of power which the divine omnipotence per-  
formed through the memorable man, while he continued  
in the present life. Now a few must also be recorded of  
those that are proved to have been granted by the Lord  
to him, after his passing from the flesh.

<sup>8</sup> retenente A ; -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> quaedam A ; quidam B1 ; quedam B2 B3

De pluia post aliquot siccitatis menses beati  
ob honorem viri super<sup>1</sup> sitientem domino  
donante terram effussa<sup>2</sup>

99a ANTE ANNOS namque ferme xvii.<sup>3</sup> in his torpentibus  
terrís valde grandis verno tempore facta est siccitas jugis  
et dura, in tantum ut illa domini in levitico<sup>4</sup> libro  
transgressoribus coaptata populís comminatio videretur  
imminere, qua dicit: 'Dabo<sup>5</sup> caelum vobis desuper  
sicut ferrum, | et terram eneam. Consummetur incassum  
labor vester, nec proferet terra germen nec arbores poma  
praebebunt', et cetera.

Nos itaque haec legentes, et imminentem plagam  
pertimescentes, hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati sumus,  
ut aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum  
campum cum sancti Columbae candida circumirent<sup>6</sup>  
tunica, et librís stilo ipsius discriptis,<sup>7</sup> levarentque<sup>8</sup> in  
aere et excuterent eandem per ter tunicam qua etiam  
hora exitus ejus de carne indutus erat, et ejus aperirent  
libros et legerent in colliculo angelorum, ubi aliquando  
caelestis patriae cives ad beati viri conductum<sup>9</sup> visi sunt  
discendere.<sup>10</sup>

99b Quae postquam omnia juxta initum sunt peracta  
consilium, mirum dictu, | eadem die caelum in prae-  
teritis mensibus, martio videlicet et apreli,<sup>11</sup> nudatum

<sup>1</sup> super A B1 B2 and c.l. of B2 and of B3. Omitted in B3.

<sup>2</sup> After this title, a line is left blank in A. In B1 the title is continued: *Miraculum quod nunc deo propitio describere incipimus, nostris temporibus factum propriis inspeximus oculis.* Verbally the same in B2, B3 and contents-list of B2 and of B3; in the contents-list the sentence is written as if it were the title of a separate chapter. See p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> xuii A; quatuordecim B1 B2 B3 (-o'r- B1). See p. 167. Reeves read A wrongly, as *quatuordecim*.

<sup>4</sup> levitico A B3; levi'tico B1; levi[ B2. Cf. Vulgate, Lev. xxvi. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> *dabo*. In A, *da* is just visible through a stain that penetrates to pp. 97 and 100, and is deepest on 98b and 99a.

[II 44] Concerning rain that fell upon thirsty  
land after some months of drought, the Lord  
granting it in honour of the blessed man. [The  
miracle that now with God's favour we are  
about to describe was performed in our time,  
and we have seen it with our own eyes.]

For indeed about seventeen years ago, in the season  
of spring, there was a very great drought, persistent and  
severe, in these lifeless fields; to such an extent that  
the peoples seemed to be threatened by the Lord's curse  
laid upon transgressors, where he says, in the book of  
Leviticus: 'I will give to you a sky above like iron,  
and earth like bronze. Your labour shall be spent in  
vain. The earth shall yield no produce, nor shall the  
trees give fruit', and so forth.

Reading this, and in dread of the impending stroke,  
we formed a plan, and decided upon this course: that  
some of our elders should go round the plain that had  
been lately ploughed and sown, taking with them the  
white tunic of Saint Columba, and books in his own  
handwriting; and should three times raise and shake  
in the air that tunic, which he wore in the hour of his  
departure from the flesh; and should open his books  
and read from them, on the hill of the angels, where  
at one time the citizens of the heavenly country were  
seen descending to confer with the holy man.

After all these things had been performed according  
to the adopted plan, strange to tell, on the same day  
the sky, which had been bare of clouds during the

<sup>6</sup> circumirent A; circuirent B1 B2 B3 (-i'rent B1)

<sup>7</sup> discriptis A; descriptis B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> levarentque A B1 B2; lav- B3

<sup>9</sup> conductum A B1 B2; condittum B3. See 117b.

<sup>10</sup> discendere A; des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> apreli A; aprili B1 B2 B3

nubibus mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus ilico opertum est, et pluvia facta est magna die noctuque descendens.<sup>1</sup> Et sitiens prius terra satis satiata oportune germina produxit sua, et valde laetas eodem anno segites.<sup>2</sup> Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri, in tunica et librís commemorata, multis regionibus eadem vice et populís salubri subvenit oportunitate. .<sup>3</sup>

De ventorum flatibus contrariis venerabilis  
viri virtute orationum in secundos conversis  
ventos

100a PRAETERITORUM NOBÍS quae non vidimus talium miraculorum<sup>4</sup> praesentia quae ipsi perspeximus fidem indubitanter confirmant. Ventorum namque flamina contrariorum tribus nos ipsi vicibus in secunda vidimus | conversa. Prima vice, cum dolatae per terram pineae<sup>5</sup> et roboreae traherentur longae navis<sup>6</sup> et magnae navium pariter materiae eveherentur domus,<sup>7</sup> beati viri vestimenta et libros inito consilio super altare cum salmís<sup>8</sup> et jejunatione et ejus nominis invocatione possumus, ut a domino ventorum prosperitatem nobís profuturam inpetraret. Quod ita eidem sancto viro deo donante factum est. Nam ea die qua nostri nautae omnibus

<sup>1</sup> descendens A ; des- B1 B2 B3      <sup>2</sup> segites A ; -get- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> oportunitate A B3 ; oportunitate. Ad alia veniamus B1 B2

<sup>4</sup> *talium miraculorum*. Here Adomnan refers back to the words of the chapter-heading, i.e. miracles of wind-changing.

<sup>5</sup> per terram pineae A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3.

<sup>6</sup> navis A ; naves B1 B2 B3. See p. 131. Reeves silently altered *navis* to *naves*, thus completely changing the meaning of A's sentence. The change of *navis* to *naves* in the B texts belongs to the class of grammatical emendations, true or false, that are automatically made by medieval scribes. The translation in E.S., I, p. 187, was made from Reeves's text. But A's reading is grammatical, and gives good sense. It eliminates the former implication that dug-out boats were conveyed to Iona. The expression *longa navis* was not used to mean a dug-out canoe, but meant a sea-going ship built of wood.

previous months, namely March and April, was with marvellous rapidity instantly covered with clouds that rose from the sea ; and there was great rain, falling by day and by night. And the earth, previously parched, was well watered, and produced its crop in season, and a very plentiful harvest in that same year. Thus the commemoration of the name of one blessed man, made with his tunic and books, on that occasion brought saving and timely help to many districts and peoples.

[II 45] Concerning winds that were contrary and that by the virtue of the venerable man's prayers were changed to favourable winds

The credibility of miracles of this kind, that happened in past times and that we have not seen, is confirmed for us beyond doubt by those of the present day, that we ourselves have observed. For indeed we ourselves have thrice seen contrary winds turned into favourable ones.

On the first occasion when dressed timbers of pine and oak for a long ship were being drawn over land, and timbers were being conveyed for the great house, as well as for ships, we adopted the plan of laying garments and books of the blessed man upon the altar, with psalms and fasting, and invocation of his name ; in order that he might obtain from the Lord prosperous winds in our favour. And so it happened, God granting it to that holy man. For on the day on which our

<sup>7</sup> *domus*. See 31a, 115ab, and p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> salmís A ; palmis B1 ; psalmis B2 B3

praeparatis supra memoratarum ligna materiarum pro-  
 possuere scafis per mare et curucis trahere, venti  
 praeteritis contrarii diebus subito in secundos conversi  
 sunt. Tum deinde per longas et oblicas<sup>1</sup> vias tota die  
 prosperis flatibus<sup>2</sup> deo propitio famulantibus et plenis  
 sine ulla retardatione velis ad Iovam insulam omnis illa |  
 100b navalis emigratio prospere pervenit.

Secunda vero vice, cum post aliquantos inter-  
 venientes annos aliae nobiscum<sup>3</sup> roboreae ab hostio  
 fluminis Sale<sup>4</sup> xii.<sup>5</sup> curucis congregatis materiae ad  
 nostrum renovandum traherentur monasterium,<sup>6</sup> alia<sup>7</sup>  
 die tranquillo nautis mare palmulis verrentibus subito  
 nobis contrarius insurgit fabonius<sup>8</sup> qui et zefirus<sup>9</sup> ventus.  
 In proximam tum declinamus insulam quae scotice  
 vocitatur Airthrago,<sup>10</sup> in ea portum ad manendum  
 quaerentes. Sed inter haec de illa inopportuna venti  
 contrarietate querimur,<sup>11</sup> et quodam modo quasi accus-  
 sare nostrum Columbam coepimus, dicentes: 'Placetne  
 tibi sancte haec nobis adversa retardatio? Huc usque  
 101a a té deo propitio | aliquod nostrorum<sup>12</sup> laborum praestari  
 speravimus consulatorium<sup>13</sup> adjumentum,<sup>14</sup> té videlicet  
 estimantes<sup>15</sup> alicujus esse grandis apud deum honoris'.

His dictis, post modicum quasi unius momenti inter-  
 vallulum,<sup>16</sup> mirum dictu ecce fabonius<sup>17</sup> ventus cessat

<sup>1</sup> oblicas A; obliquas B1 B2 B3      <sup>2</sup> flatibus A B1 B3; ventis B2

<sup>3</sup> nobiscum. The Latin *cum* is used (as the Irish *la* could be used) for 'by'.

<sup>4</sup> sale A B2 B3; sale' B1. This was probably the Shiel, between the  
 counties of Argyll and Inverness.      <sup>5</sup> xii A; duodecim B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> monasterium. Here, as in 28b and 115a, the common house of the  
 monastery appears to be meant. See p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Alia A B1 B2 B3, after a punctuation point that does not here mark  
 the end of a sentence. Reeves changed the word to *alio*, altering the  
 construction and meaning.

<sup>8</sup> fabonius A; favonius B1 B2 B3 (-vo'n- B1)

<sup>9</sup> zefirus A B3; zepirus B1 ?B2

<sup>10</sup> airthrago A; airtrago B1 B3; airtago B2. Perhaps this island was  
 Shona; see p. 156.

sailors had made all ready and intended with boats  
 and curachs to tow the pieces of timber through the\*  
 sea, the winds that had been contrary on previous days  
 were suddenly changed to propitious ones. Then with  
 God's favour, attended during the whole day by pros-  
 perous breezes, without slackening speed and with full  
 sails throughout the long and devious route, that whole  
 sea-transport came safely to the island of Io.

On the second occasion, some years later, when  
 twelve curachs had been collected, and other oak timbers  
 were being towed by us from the mouth of the river  
 Sale, for the restoration of our monastery, one day,  
 while in still weather the sailors were sweeping the sea  
 with their oars, suddenly the wind Favonius, which is\*  
 also called Zephyrus, arose against us. We turned aside  
 then to the nearest island, which is called in Irish 'of  
 Airthraig', seeking in it a harbour in which we could  
 remain. But meanwhile we complained about the in-  
 convenience of this contrary wind, and began in a  
 manner as it were to upbraid our Columba, saying:  
 'Is this hindrance that opposes us pleasing to you, holy  
 one? Till now, we have expected some consolation of  
 help in our labours to be given by you, with God's  
 favour, since we imagined that you were in somewhat  
 high honour with God'.

A short space, as it were of one moment, after we  
 had spoken, behold, the contrary wind Favonius mar-

<sup>11</sup> querimur A, altered by erasure from *quaerimur*; querimur B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> nostrorum A B1 B3. Omitted in B2.

<sup>13</sup> consulatorium A; -sol- B1 B2 B3

<sup>14</sup> adjumentum A B1 B2; adjuventum B3

<sup>15</sup> estimantes A B1 B2; estimentes B3

<sup>16</sup> intervallulum A; intervallum B1 B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> fabonius A B3; favonius B1 B2 (-vo'n- B1)

contrarius, ulturnusque <sup>1</sup> flat dicto citius secundus. Jutum nautae antemnas crucis instar et vela protensis sublevant rudentibus <sup>2</sup>; prosperisque et lenibus flabris eadem die nostram appetentes insulam sine ulla laboratione cum illis omnibus qui navibus inerant nostris <sup>3</sup> cooperatoribus in lignorum evectione gaudentes devehimur.

101b Non mediocriter quamlibet levis illa querula nobis sancti accussatio viri profuit. Quantique et qualis est apud dominum meriti sanctus ap|paret, quem <sup>4</sup> in ventorum ipse tam celeri conversione audierat.

Tertia proinde vice, cum nos aesteo <sup>5</sup> tempore post everniensis <sup>6</sup> sinodi <sup>7</sup> conductum in plebe generis Loerni <sup>8</sup> per aliquot venti contrarietate retardaremur dies, ad Saineam <sup>9</sup> devenimus insulam; ibidemque demoratos festivae <sup>10</sup> sancti Columbae nox et sollempnis diei <sup>11</sup> nos invenit valde tristificatos videlicet desiderantes eandem diem in Iova facere <sup>12</sup> laetificam insula. Unde sicut prius alia querebamus vice, dicentes: 'Placetne tibi sancte crastinam tuae festivitatis inter plebeos et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem?' <sup>13</sup> Facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a domino inpetrare, ut contrarii in secundos ver-

<sup>1</sup> ulturnusque A; vult- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Favonius was the west wind. Vulturinus usually meant a wind blowing from 30° (more or less) east of south; a wind that in modern sailing might have served to take a boat from Shona to Iona, but hardly in Adomnan's time, and with logs in tow. Adomnan used the word Vulturinus differently. Cf. his *De Locis* (Geyer 1898, p. 228, and the diagram on p. 231): *quatuor . . . ad Vulturinum spectant, qui et Caecias* [sic lege; the MSS have *lc* and *lt*, misread presumably from an Irish *ec*] *dicitur ventus, alii vero quatuor ad Eurum respiciunt*. Here Eurus is 30° (more or less) east of south, and Vulturinus is made 30° (more or less) north of east. A wind from that direction would have been entirely favourable for the voyage from Shona.

<sup>2</sup> *rudentibus*. Cf. 91a, and see p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> *inerant nostris* A; in nostris *inerant* B<sub>1</sub>; *inerant nostris* B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> *quem* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *que* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *aesteo* A; *estivo* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> *everniensis* A; *hiberniensis* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub>

vellously fell, and more quickly than speech the favourable Vulturinus blew. Then at our bidding the sailors raised the yards up cross-wise, and the sails, stretching tight the ropes; and rejoicing we were carried by fair and gentle breezes, without any effort, until we reached our island on the same day, and with us all those that had been in the ships, helping us to fetch the wood.

That querulous complaint, light though it was, against the holy man profited us in no small measure. It is clear of how great and high merit in the sight of the Lord is the saint whom he heard in so swift changing of the winds.

So too on the third occasion, in the summer season, after the meeting of the Irish synod, when for several days we were delayed by contrary wind among the people of the tribe of Loern, we came to the island of Saine, and there the night of the festive and solemn day of Saint Columba found us waiting, much saddened, because we desired to spend that joyful day in the island of Io. Therefore again, as before, we complained, saying: 'Does it please you, holy one, that we should pass the day of your festivity tomorrow among laymen and not in your church? In the beginning of such a day it is an easy thing for you to obtain of the Lord that the contrary winds should be turned to favourable

<sup>7</sup> *sinodi*. Adomnan seems to have attended this synod as abbot of Iona.

<sup>8</sup> *loerni* A B<sub>2</sub>; *loerni'* B<sub>1</sub>; *lorrni* B<sub>3</sub> (with two small-capital *r*'s). Cf. pp. 37, 79.

<sup>9</sup> *saincam* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *sainc'am* B<sub>1</sub>. This island has not been identified.

<sup>10</sup> *festivae* A; *festiva* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> *diei* A; *dies* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>. See p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> *facere*. In A, an *et* ligature was begun, instead of *a*, and neither finished nor corrected.

<sup>13</sup> *nos* must be supplied, perhaps before *crastinam*.

102a tantur venti, et in tua celebremus eclesia tui natalis  
misa|rum sollemnia.

Post eandem transactam noctem diluculo mane con-  
surgimus, et videntes cessasse<sup>1</sup> contrarios flatus con-  
sensus navibus nullo flante vento in mare progredimur.  
Et ecce statim post nos auster cardinalis qui et nothus  
inflat. Tum proinde ovantes nautae vela subregunt.<sup>2</sup>  
Sicque ea die talis sine labore nostra tam festina navigatio  
et tam prospera beato viro donante deo fuit, ut sicuti  
prius exobtavimus post horam diei tertiam ad Iovae  
portum pervenientes insulae, postea manuum et pedum  
peracta lavatione hora sexta eclesiam cum fratribus  
intranses sacra misarum sollempnia pariter celebrare-  
mus; in die festo inquam natalis<sup>3</sup> sanctorum Columbae  
et Baithenei,<sup>4</sup> cujus diluculo ut supra dictum est de  
102b Sainea<sup>5</sup> insula longius | sita emigravimus.

Hujus ergo praemisae narrationis testes non bini  
tantum vel terni secundum legem sed centeni et amplius  
adhuc exstant. .<sup>6</sup>

### De mortalitate

ET HOC ETIAM ut estimo non inter minora virtutum  
miracula connumerandum videtur, de mortalitate quae  
nostris temporibus terrarum orbem bis ex parte vasta-  
verat majore. Nam ut de ceteris taceam latioribus  
Eoropae<sup>7</sup> regionibus, hoc est Italia et ipsa romana  
civitate et cisalpinis<sup>8</sup> Galliarum provinciis,<sup>9</sup> hispanis<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cessasse A; cessare B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> subregunt A; -rig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> natalis A B2 B3; natale B1

<sup>4</sup> baithenei A B2; baithenei B1; baitheni B3

<sup>5</sup> sainea A B2 B3; saine'a B1

<sup>6</sup> exstant A; extant. Veniamus ad alia B1 B2; extant B3

<sup>7</sup> eoropae A; europe B1 B3 ?B2

<sup>8</sup> cisalpinis A; cis alpinas B1 B3 (-pi'n- B1); eis alpinas B2

ones, and that we should celebrate in your church the  
solemn rites of masses, on your natal day'.

After that night had passed, we arose in the morning  
twilight, and seeing that the contrary winds had ceased  
we entered the ships, and, with no wind blowing, put  
out to sea; and immediately the due south wind, which  
is also called Notus, rose behind us. Then the sailors  
exulting raised the sails, and thus with no labour this  
journey of ours was on that day so rapid and so pros-  
perous, God granting it to the blessed man, that just  
as we had before desired we arrived at the harbour of  
the island of Io, after the third hour of the day; and  
later, after the washing of hands and feet, we entered  
the church with the brothers, and at the sixth hour we  
celebrated with them the holy ceremonies of the Mass;  
on the festival, I repeat, of the Natal day of the saints  
Columba and Baithene, in the dawn of which, as was  
said above, we had sailed out from the island of Saine,  
a long distance away.

To the truth of the foregoing narrative there are  
still living not two witnesses only, or three, as law  
requires, but a hundred, and more.

### [II 46] Of the plague

This also I consider should not be reckoned among  
lesser miracles of power, in connexion with the plague  
that twice in our times ravaged the greater part of the  
surface of the earth. Not to speak of the other wider  
regions of Europe (that is to say, of Italy and the city  
of Rome itself, and the provinces of Gaul on this side

<sup>9</sup> provinciis A; provincias B1 B3 (-vi'nc- B1); provintiam B2

<sup>10</sup> hispanis A; hispanias B1 B2 B3 (-pa'n- B1)



quoque Pirinei<sup>1</sup> montis interjectu disternatis,<sup>2</sup> ociani<sup>3</sup> insulae per totum, videlicet Scotia et Britannia, binis vicibus<sup>4</sup> vastatae sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus  
 103a populis, hoc est Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Brit|anniae inter<sup>5</sup> quos utrosque dorsi montes brittannici disternant.<sup>6</sup> Et quamvis utrorumque populorum non desint<sup>7</sup> grandia peccata, quibus plerumque ad iracundiam<sup>8</sup> aeternus provocatur iudex, utrisque tamen huc usque patienter ferens ipse pepercit. Cui alio itaque haec tribuitur gratia a deo conlata nisi sancto Columbae, cujus monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque usque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata? Sed<sup>9</sup> hoc quod nunc dicturi sumus ut arbitramur non sine gemitu audiendum est, quia sunt plerique in utrisque populis valde stolidi qui se sanctorum orationibus a morbis<sup>10</sup> defensos nescientes ingrati dei patientia male abutuntur. Nos vero deo agimus crebras grates qui nos et in his nostris insulis orante pro  
 103b nobis nostro venerabili pa|trono a mortalitatum invasionibus defendit, et in Saxonia regem Aldfridum<sup>11</sup> visitantes amicum adhuc non cessante pestilentia et multos hinc inde vicos devastante. Ita tamen nos<sup>12</sup> dominus et in prima post bellum Ecfredi<sup>13</sup> visitatione, et

<sup>1</sup> pirinei A B<sub>1</sub>; pirenei B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> disternatis A; -natas B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> ociani A; occe'ani B<sub>1</sub>; oceani B<sub>2</sub>; oceani B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> binis vicibus. The earlier plague may have been that mentioned in connexion with the solar eclipse of A.D. 664, by Bede and Irish annals.

<sup>5</sup> inter A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> disternant. In A, the second *n* has been inserted, by the text hand, above *at*.

<sup>7</sup> desint A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; de'sunt B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>8</sup> iracundiam A; -cun- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> sed. In A, this abbreviated word (*s~*) has later been erased, possibly because it was thought to have been a repetition of *sunt*. P reads *Sed*; this chapter was not included in the shortened version.

<sup>10</sup> morbis A; morbis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; moribus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> aldfredum A B<sub>2</sub>; eldfredi B<sub>1</sub>; alfridum B<sub>3</sub>. See p. 54.

of the Alps, and the Spanish provinces, separated by the barrier of the Pyrenean mountain), the islands of the Ocean, namely Ireland and Britain, were twice ravaged throughout by a terrible pestilence, excepting two peoples only, that is the population of Picts, and of Irish in Britain, between which peoples the mountains of the spine of Britain are the boundary. And although neither people is without great sins, by which the Eternal Judge is often provoked to anger, yet until now he has spared both of them, enduring patiently. To whom else can this favour conferred by God be attributed, but to Saint Columba, whose monasteries, placed within the boundaries of both peoples, are down to the present time held in great honour by them both?

But what we are now going to tell is, as we judge, not to be heard without sorrow, that there are in both nations many very foolish people who, not knowing that they have been protected from disease by the prayers of saints, ungratefully abuse God's patience. We, however, give frequent thanks to God, who, through the prayers of our venerable patron on our behalf, has protected us from the invasion of plagues, both in these our islands, and in England, when we visited our friend king Aldfrith, while the pestilence still continued and devastated many villages on all sides. But both in our first visit, after the battle of Ecfriht, and in our second

<sup>12</sup> nos A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> ecfridi A; egfridi B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>. The battle of Dunnichen was fought in A.D. 685, and Adomnan's visits are placed in 686 and 688.

in secunda interjectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit, ut ne unus etiam de nostris comitibus moriretur,<sup>1</sup> nec aliquis ex eis aliquo molestaretur morbo. .

Hic secundus de virtutum miraculis finiendus est liber, in quo animadvertere lector debet quod etiam de conpertis in eo multa propter legentium evitandum praetermissa sint<sup>2</sup> fastidium. .

Finitur secundus liber. .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> moriretur A ; moreretur B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> sint A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; sunt B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> Phinityr sekyndys liber A, in ostensibly Greek characters of contemporary uncial type (with eta for short *e* in *secundus*) ; see p. 180. Explicit liber secundus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. After this, B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> insert a contents-list of book III, beginning : *Incipiunt capitula tercii libri* ; and ending : *Expliciunt capitula tercii libri*. We give variant readings from this list, in the same manner as from the contents-list of book II ; see under 52b.

visit, two years later, although we walked in the midst of this danger of plague, the Lord so delivered us that not even one of our companions died, nor was any of them smitten by any disease.

Here must end the second book, of miracles of power ; in which the reader should observe that even of the known instances many have been omitted in it, in order to avoid cloying the appetite of those that read.

The second book ends.

Hic tertius liber orditur de angelicis visionibus. <sup>1</sup> |  
 104a <sup>2</sup> In primo ex his tribus libellis libro, ut <sup>3</sup> superius <sup>4</sup>  
 commemoratum est, de profeticis revelationibus quae-  
 dam breviter succincteque domino navante <sup>5</sup> discripta <sup>6</sup>  
 sunt. . In secundo superiore, de virtutum miraculis quae  
 per beatum declarata sunt virum, et quae ut sepe dictum  
 est <sup>7</sup> plerumque profetationis comitatur gratia. In hoc  
 vero tertio, de angelicis apparitionibus <sup>8</sup> quae vel aliis  
 de beato viro, vel ipsi de aliis, revelatae sunt ; et de his  
 quae utroque quamlibet disparili modo, hoc est ipsi  
 proprie et plenius, aliis vero <sup>9</sup> inproprie et ex quadam  
 parte, sunt manifestatae, <sup>10</sup> hoc est extrinsecus et explora-  
 tive, in hisdem tamen vel angelorum vel caelestis visioni-  
 bus lucis. Quae utique talium discrepantiae visionum  
 suis craxatae <sup>11</sup> locis inferius clarebunt. |  
 104b Sed nunc ut a primordiis beati nativitatis viri easdem  
 describere <sup>12</sup> angelicas apparitiones <sup>13</sup> incipiamus.

Angelus domini in somniis <sup>14</sup> genitrici venerabilis viri  
 quadam nocte inter conceptum ejus et partum apparuit ;  
 eique quasi quoddam mirae pulchritudinis peplum  
 adsistens detulit, in quo veluti universorum decorosi

<sup>1</sup> Hic to *visionibus*. Instead of this title, B<sub>1</sub> reads : *Incipit textus libri tertii de angelicis visionibus vel apparitionibus, que vel aliis de beato viro, vel eidem de aliis revelate sunt*. B<sub>2</sub> has no title of book III. B<sub>3</sub> reads : *Incipit textus tertii libri de angelicis visionibus*. The title given by B<sub>1</sub> seems to have been in the common original of the B texts, for the greater part of it (*De angelicis apparitionibus que to sunt*) appears, written as if it were the first item of book III, in the contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> There is no heading of the first chapter in A B<sub>3</sub>. B<sub>1</sub> has : *De angelo domini qui ejus genitrici in sompnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem appa'ruit*. Verbally the same heading is in B<sub>2</sub>, and in contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> ut A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> *superius*. See 3b.

<sup>5</sup> navante A ; juvante B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> discripta A ; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> est A B<sub>1</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>8</sup> apparitionibus A ; -rici- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; -riti- B<sub>2</sub>

Here begins the third book, of angelic visions.

In the first of these three books, as has been indicated above, some things have with the Lord's assistance been described briefly and in few words concerning prophetic revelations ; in the second book above, concerning miracles of power, which have been manifested through the blessed man, and which, as has been said many times, the grace of prophecy often accompanies ; and in this third book, concerning angelic apparitions, that were revealed to others in relation to the blessed man, or to him in relation to others, and concerning those that were made visible to both, though in unequal measure (that is, to him directly and more fully, and to others indirectly and only in part, that is to say from without and by stealth), but in the same visions, either of angels, or of heavenly light. These disparities of the visions will appear clearly below, written in their places.

Now let us begin to describe these angelic apparitions from the time before the birth of the blessed man.

### [III 1]

An angel of the Lord appeared to the mother of the venerable man in a dream, one night between his conception and his birth ; and standing there, gave her, as it seemed, a robe of marvellous beauty, in which there appeared embroidered splendid colours, as it were of

<sup>9</sup> vero A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> manifestatae A ; -state B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; -ste B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> craxatae A ; caraxate B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-a'te B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>12</sup> describere A ; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>13</sup> apparationes A ; -rici- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> somniis A ; sompnis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

colores florum depicti videbantur. Quodque post aliquod breve intervallum ejus de manibus reposcens abstulit; elevansque et expandens in aere<sup>1</sup> dimisit vacuo. Illa vero de illo tristificata sublato sic ad illum venerandi habitus virum: 'Cur a me' ait, 'hoc laeticum tam cito abstrahis<sup>2</sup> pallium?' Ille consequenter: 'Idcirco' inquit, 'quia hoc sagum alicujus est tam magnifici honoris, apud te diutius retinere<sup>3</sup> non poteris.'

105a Hīs dictis supra memoratum peplum | mulier paulatim a sé elongari volando videbat, camporumque latitudinem in majus crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus majore sui mensura superare. Vocemque hujusmodi<sup>4</sup> subsecutam audierat: 'Mulier, noles tristificari. Viro enim cui matrimoniali [copula]<sup>5</sup> es juncta talem filium editura es<sup>6</sup> floridum qui quasi unus profetarum dei inter ipsos connumerabitur; innumerabiliumque animarum dux ad caelestem a deo patriam est praedestinatus'.<sup>7</sup> In hac audita voce mulier expergescitur.<sup>8</sup>

De radio luminoso super dormientis  
ipsius pueri faciem viso

ALIA<sup>9</sup> IN NOCTE ejusdem beati pueri nutritor,<sup>10</sup> spectabilis vitae vir, prespiter Cruithnechanus,<sup>11</sup> post misam<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *aere*. In A, the *ae* symbol has been altered to a small *a* followed by *e*, by the text hand, probably at the time of writing.

<sup>2</sup> *abstrahis* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> (a'b- B<sub>1</sub>); *abstahis* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *diutius retinere* A; *retinere diutius* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-*cius* B<sub>3</sub>)

<sup>4</sup> *hujusmodi* A; *hujusmodi* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *copula* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in A. In A, *federe* has been added above, after *juncta*, in letters imitating the text hand, but in modern times, with a modern caret. Different texts of the shortened version, derived from A, appear to have supplied here different words: L and C read *foedere* after *juncta*; and D, according to Reeves, reads *jure* before *juncta*. P reads *cui matrimonio juncta es*.

all kinds of flowers. And after some little space, asking it back, he took it from her hands. And raising it, and spreading it out, he let it go in the empty air. Grieved by losing it, she spoke thus to that man of reverend aspect: 'Why do you so quickly take from me this joyous mantle?' Then he said: 'For the reason that this cloak is of very glorious honour, you will not be able to keep it longer with you'.

After these words, the woman saw that robe gradually recede from her in flight, grow greater, and surpass the breadth of the plains, and excel in its greater measure the mountains and woods. And she heard a voice that followed, speaking thus: 'Woman, do not grieve, for you will bear to the man to whom you are joined by [the bond] of marriage a son, of such grace that he, as though one of the prophets of God, shall be counted in their number; and he has been predestined by God to be a leader of innumerable souls to the heavenly country'. While she heard this voice, the woman awoke.

[III 2] Concerning a ray of light seen above  
the face of that boy while he slept

One night, this blessed boy's foster-father, a man of admirable life, the priest Cruithnechan, returning to his

<sup>6</sup> *es* was altered, in A, from *est*, by erasure, before the following word was written.

<sup>7</sup> *praedestinatus* A; *predest-* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> *expergescitur* A; -*gi's-* B<sub>1</sub>; -*gis-* B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> *Alia* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; *Alio* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> *nutritor*, and *alumnus* below, stand for the Irish *aite* and *dalte*, 'foster-father' and 'foster-son', or 'tutor' and 'pupil'.

<sup>11</sup> *cruithnechanus* A B<sub>2</sub>; -*neca'nus* B<sub>1</sub>; -*necanus* B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> *misam*. Here probably the Eucharist is not meant. See p. 122.

105b ab eclesia ad hospitium re|vertens totam invenit domum suam clara irradiatam<sup>1</sup> luce; globum quippe igneum super pueruli dormientis faciem<sup>2</sup> stantem vidit. Quo viso statim intremuit, et prostrato in terram vultu valde miratus spiritus sancti gratiam super suum intellexit alumnum caelitus effusam.

De angelorum apparatione<sup>3</sup> sanctorum quos sanctus Brendenus<sup>4</sup> beati comites viri per campum viderat comiteantes

106a POST NAMQUE multorum intervalla temporum, cum a<sup>5</sup> quadam synodo pro quibusdam veniabilibus<sup>6</sup> et tam<sup>7</sup> excusabilibus causis non recte ut post in fine claruit sanctus excommunicaretur<sup>8</sup> Columba, ad eandem contra ipsum collectam venit congregationem. Quem cum eminus appropinquantem sanctus vidisset Brendenus, | illius monasterii fundator quod scotice Birra nuncupatur, citius surgit, et inclinata facie eum veneratus exosculatur. Quem<sup>9</sup> cum aliqui<sup>10</sup> illius seniores coetus<sup>11</sup> seorsum ceteris<sup>12</sup> redarguerent semotis,<sup>13</sup> dicentes: 'Quare coram excommunicato<sup>14</sup> surgere et eum exosculari non renueris?'; taliter ad eos inquiring: 'Si vos' ait, 'videretis<sup>15</sup> ea quae mihi dominus hac in die de hoc suo quem dehonoris electo manifestare non dedignatus

<sup>1</sup> irradiatam A; a short stroke has later been added (not by text hand) as a mark of deletion, above the second *n*. irradiatam B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; |atam B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> faciem is repeated in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> apparatione A; -riti- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub>; -rici- B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> sanctus brendenus A B<sub>1</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>; brendenus sanctus B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> a A B<sub>3</sub>; á B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> veniabilibus A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-bi'l- B<sub>1</sub>); venerabilibus B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>7</sup> tam A; tamen L. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> and C.

<sup>8</sup> excommunicaretur A; -mmunc- B<sub>1</sub>; -mmunic- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> Quem A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; Que B<sub>1</sub>

lodging from the church after the office, found his whole house illumined with clear light; for he saw a ball of fire standing above the place of the sleeping child. Seeing this, he began at once to tremble; and marveling greatly bowed his face to the ground, and understood that the grace of the Holy Spirit had been poured from heaven upon his foster-son.

[III 3] Concerning an apparition of holy angels whom Saint Brenden saw going through the plain in company with the blessed man

After many years had passed, when, on a charge of offences that were trivial and very pardonable, Saint Columba was excommunicated by a certain synod (improperly, as afterwards became known in the end), he came to the assembly that had been convoked against him.

When Saint Brenden (the founder of the monastery that is in Irish called *Birra* [Birr]) saw him approaching at a little distance, he rose quickly and bowed his face, and he kissed Columba reverently. Some of the elders of that assembly, putting the others aside, remonstrated with Brenden apart, saying: 'Why do you not refuse to rise in the presence of an excommunicated person, and to kiss him?' Then he addressed them thus: 'If you had seen what the Lord has deigned to reveal to me this day, concerning this his chosen one, whom you

<sup>10</sup> aliqui A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; alicui B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> coetus A; cetus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; fetus B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> ceteris A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>13</sup> semotis A; semotis B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; semotim B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>14</sup> excommunicato A; excomun- B<sub>1</sub>; excommun- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>15</sup> videretis A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> (in B<sub>2</sub>, altered from -rit-); -rit- B<sub>3</sub>

est, numquam excommunicasetis <sup>1</sup> quem deus non solum secundum vestram non rectam sententiam nullo excommunicat <sup>2</sup> modo, sed etiam magis ac magis magnificat'. Illi econtra: 'Quomodo' aiunt, 'ut dicis ipsum glorificat deus quem nos non sine causa excommunicavimus,<sup>3</sup> scire cupimus'. 'Ignicomam et valde luminosam' ait  
 106b Brendenus, | 'columnam vidi eundem quem vos dispicitis <sup>4</sup> antecedentem dei hominem, angelos quoque sanctos per campum ejus iteris <sup>5</sup> comites. Hunc itaque spernere non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a deo praeordinatum video'. His ab eo dictis non tantum ultra sanctum excommunicare non ausi cessarunt, sed etiam valde venerati honorarunt.

Hoc famen <sup>6</sup> factum est *hi Teilte*. <sup>7</sup>

De angelo domini quem sanctus Finnio <sup>8</sup>  
 beati viri socium itineris <sup>9</sup> vidit

ALIO IN TEMPORE vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finnionem,<sup>10</sup> suum videlicet magistrum, juvenis senem adiit. Quem cum sanctus Finnio<sup>11</sup> ad sé appropinquantem vidisset, angelum domini pariter ejus comitem

<sup>1</sup> excommunicasetis A; excommunicassetis B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; excommunicassetis B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>2</sup> excommunicat A; excomu'n- B<sub>1</sub>; excommun- B<sub>2</sub>; excomun- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> excommunicavimus A; excommun- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; excomun- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> dispicitis A; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> iteris A; itineris B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-ti'n- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>6</sup> famen. Reeves 1857, pp. 444, 194, wrongly thought that this was an error for *tamen*. Cf. *famen* in 115b.

<sup>7</sup> hiteilte A, with four over-dashes. This is O.I. for 'in Teiltiu', Teltown, county Meath. See p. 73, and cf. R.I.A. Contributions, under Tailltiu. The sentence *Hoc to teilte* is not in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. It was probably an addition by Adomnan to the exemplar of A. A continuation of the chapter, by Adomnan, appears to have been misplaced, and stands at the end of the following chapter, in A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. In our translation we have restored it to its proper position.

deprive of honour, you would never have excommunicated him whom God not only does by no means excommunicate, according to your unjust decree, but even more and more greatly magnifies'. They said, on the other hand: 'How, we should like to know, does God exalt, as you say, him whom we have excommunicated, not without cause?' 'I have seen a pillar' Brenden said, 'fiery and very bright, going before that man of God, whom you despise; and holy angels accompanying him on his way, through the plain. Therefore I dare not humiliate this man, whom I see to have been predestined by God to be a leader of nations into life'.

When he had spoken thus, not only did they desist, daring to proceed no farther with the excommunication of the saint, but they even honoured him with great reverence.

This utterance was made in Teiltiu [Teltown].

In those same days, the saint sailed over to Britain, with twelve disciples as his fellow-soldiers.

[III 4] Concerning an angel of the Lord, whom Saint Finnio saw attending the journey of the blessed man

At one time the holy man, a youth, went to the aged man, the venerable bishop Finnio, his master. When Saint Finnio saw him coming towards him, he saw likewise an angel of the Lord, accompanying him upon

<sup>8</sup> finnio A; fe'nnio B<sub>1</sub>; fennio B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>. This bishop Finnio was probably the Findbarr, or Vinniavus, of 53ab. See pp. 68-70.

<sup>9</sup> iteneris A; -ti'n- B<sub>1</sub>; -tin- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> finnionem A; fennionem B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> finnio A; fennio B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

iteris<sup>1</sup> vidit ; et ut nobis ab expertis traditur quibusdam  
 107a asstantibus intimavit fratribus, inquiring : ' Ecce<sup>2</sup> nunc |  
 videatis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui com-  
 meatus meruit habere socium angelum caelicolam '.

Hisdem diebus sanctus cum xii.<sup>3</sup> commilitonibus  
 discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit. <sup>4</sup>

De angelo domini qui ad sanctum Columbam  
 in Hinba<sup>5</sup> commorantem<sup>6</sup> insula per visum  
 apparuit, misus ut Aidanum in regem  
 ordinaret<sup>7</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE, cum vir praedicabilis in Hinba<sup>8</sup>  
 commoraretur insula, quadam nocte in extasi mentis  
 angelum domini ad se misum vidit, qui in manu vitreum  
 ordinationis regum habebat librum. Quem cum vir  
 venerandus de manu angeli accipisset<sup>9</sup> ab eo jusus legere  
 coepit. Qui cum secundum quod ei in libro erat  
 commendatum Aidanum in regem ordinare recussaret,  
 107b quia magis Iogenanum<sup>10</sup> fratrem ejus dilegeret,<sup>11</sup> subito  
 angelus extendens manum sanctum percussit flagillo,<sup>12</sup>  
 cujus livorosum<sup>13</sup> in ejus latere vestigium omnibus suae  
 diebus permansit vitae. Hocque intulit verbum : ' Pro  
 certo scias ' inquiring, ' quia ad te a deo misus sum cum  
 vitreo libro, ut juxta verba quae in eo legisti Aidanum in

<sup>1</sup> iteris A ; itineris B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> Ecce A ; En B1 B3 ; Et B2

<sup>3</sup> xii A ; duodecim B1 B2 B3. See the list of Columba's companions,  
 in the Appendix, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Hisdem* to *transnavigavit*. This sentence is clearly out of place here,  
 since the chapter describes an episode of Columba's youth, and Adomnan  
 says that Columba was in his forty-second year when he went to Britain  
 (4a). The sentence fits perfectly the end of the preceding chapter, and no  
 other place in the Life.

<sup>5</sup> hinba A ; himba B1 B3 and contents-list of B2 and of B3 ; hymba B2

<sup>6</sup> commorantem A B1 and contents-list of B2 and of B3 ; -tem B2,  
 altered from -tes ; -te B3

his way. And as we are told by men with knowledge  
 of it, Finnio exclaimed to some brothers who were  
 standing by : ' Look, behold now the holy Columba  
 comes, who has deserved to have as his travelling-  
 companion an angel of heaven '.

[III 5] Concerning an angel of the Lord, who  
 appeared in a vision to Saint Columba, then  
 living in the island of Hinba ; and who was  
 sent to bid him ordain Aidan as king

At one time, while the memorable man was living  
 in the island of Hinba, he saw one night, in a trance of  
 the mind, an angel of the Lord, who had been sent to \*  
 him, and who had in his hand a glass book of the  
 ordination of kings. And when the venerable man had  
 received it from the hand of the angel, by the angel's  
 command he began to read it. But when he refused to  
 ordain Aidan as king, according to what was com-  
 manded him in the book, because he loved Iogenan,  
 Aidan's brother, more, the angel suddenly stretched out  
 his hand and struck the holy man with a scourge, the  
 livid scar from which remained on his side all the days  
 of his life. And the angel added these words, saying :  
 ' Know surely that I am sent to you by God, with the  
 book of glass, in order that, according to what you have  
 read in it, you shall ordain Aidan to the kingship. But \*

<sup>7</sup> ordinaret A B1 B2 B3 ; -ent contents-list of B3. Illegible in contents-  
 list of B2.

<sup>8</sup> hinba A ; himba B1 B3 ; imba B2

<sup>9</sup> accipisset A ; -cep- B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> iogenanum A B3 ; ioiena'num B1. The words *quia* to *dilegeret* are  
 omitted in B2.

<sup>11</sup> dilegeret A ; -li'g- B1 ; -lig- B3

<sup>12</sup> flagillo A ; flagello B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> livorosum A ; livosum B1 B2 B3 (-vo's- B1)

regnum ordines. Quod si obsecundare huic nolueris  
jusioni, percutiam te <sup>1</sup> iterato '.

Hic itaque angelus domini cum per tris <sup>2</sup> contenuas <sup>3</sup>  
noctes eundem in manu <sup>4</sup> vitreum habens codicem  
apparuisset, eademque domini jusa de regis ejusdem  
ordinatione commendasset, sanctus verbo obsequutus  
domini ad Iovam transnavigavit insulam, ibidemque  
Aidanum hísdem adventantem <sup>5</sup> diebus in regem sicut  
erat jusus ordinavit. Et inter ordinationis verba de filiis  
et nepotibus pronepotibusque ejus futura profetizavit,  
108a inponensque manum | super caput ejus ordinans  
benedixit. .

<sup>6</sup> Cummeneus albus <sup>7</sup> in libro quem de virtutibus sancti  
Columbae scripsit sic dixit, quod sanctus Columba de Aidano  
et de posteris ejus et de regno suo profetare coepit, dicens :  
' Indubitanter crede, Ó Aidane, quoniam nullus adversariorum  
tuorum tibi poterit resistere, donec prius fraudulentiam agas  
in me et in posteros meos. Propterea ergo tú filiis commenda,  
ut et ipsi filiis et nepotibus et posteris suis commendent, ne  
per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni hujus de manibus  
suis perdant. In quocumque enim tempore malum adversum  
me aut adversus cognatos meos qui sunt in Hibernia fecerint,  
flagillum quod causa tui ab angelo sustenui per manum dei  
super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur ; et cor virorum  
auferetur ab eis, et inimici eorum vehementer super eos  
confortabuntur ' . .

Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est  
in bello Roth, Domnallo Brecco nepot[e] <sup>8</sup> Aidani sine causa

<sup>1</sup> te A B2 B3. Omitted in B1.

<sup>2</sup> tris A ; tres B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> contenuas A ; -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> manu A B1 B2 ; navi B3

<sup>5</sup> adventantem diebus A ; diebus adventantem B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> *Cummeneus to incutit*. This passage is not in B1 B2 B3. It was inserted,  
in smaller lettering, by the writer of A, almost certainly not on the authority  
of Adomnan. It contains the only fragment of Cummene's work that is  
known to exist. See pp. 13, 91, 103.

<sup>7</sup> *albus* is written by the text hand above *mene*.

<sup>8</sup> In *nepot[e]*, the last letter is formed like the first part of *o*.

if you refuse to obey this command, I shall strike you  
again '.

So when this angel of the Lord had appeared on  
three successive nights with the same book of glass in  
his hand, and had charged him with the same commands  
of the Lord, for the ordaining of the same king, the holy  
man submitted to the word of the Lord. He sailed  
over to the island of Io, and there, as he had been  
bidden, he ordained as king Aidan, who arrived about  
that time. And among the words of the ordination he  
prophesied future things of Aidan's sons, and grandsons,  
and great-grandsons. And laying his hand upon  
Aidan's head he ordained and blessed him.

Cummene the White, in a book that he wrote on the mira-  
culous powers of Saint Columba, spoke to this effect, that Saint  
Columba began to prophesy of Aidan, and of his descendants,  
and of their kingdom, saying : ' Believe, O Aidan, and doubt  
not, that none of your opponents will be able to stand against  
you until first you practise deceit against me, and against my  
successors. For this reason therefore do you charge your sons  
that they also shall charge their sons and grandsons and  
descendants, not through evil counsels to lose their sceptre of  
this kingdom from their hands. For at whatever time they shall  
do evil to me, or to my kindred who are in Ireland, the scourge  
that I have endured from an angel on your account will be  
turned by the hand of God to a great disgrace upon them. And  
the heart of men will be taken from them ; and their enemies  
will be strongly heartened against them.'

This prophecy has been fulfilled in our times, in the battle  
of Roth, when Domnall Brecc, Aidan's grandson, without cause \*



vastante provinciam Domnail nepotis Ainmuireg. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis : quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.<sup>1</sup>

108b De angelorum apparatione<sup>2</sup> alicujus beati Brittonis<sup>3</sup> | animam ad caelum vehentium

ALIO IN TEMPORE, cum vir sanctus in Iova comoraretur insula, quidam de suis monachus<sup>4</sup> Brito bonis actibus intentus molestia correptus corporis<sup>5</sup> ad extrema perductus est. Quem cum vir venerandus in hora sui visitaret exitus, paulisper ad lectulum ejus adsistens et ei benedicens ocius domum egreditur nolens videre morientem<sup>6</sup>; qui eodem momento post sancti de domu secessum viri praesentem finiit vitam.

109a Tum vir praedicabilis in plateola sui deambulans monasterii porrectis ad caelum oculis diutius valde obstupescens ammirabatur. Quidam vero frater Aidanus nomine filius Libir,<sup>7</sup> bonae indolis et relegiosus<sup>8</sup> homo, qui solus de fratribus eadem adfuit | hora, flexis genibus rogare coepit, ut sanctus eidem tantae ammirationis causam intimaret. Cui sanctus : ' Nunc sanctos angelos in aere contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi. Christoque agonithetae<sup>9</sup> gratias ago, quia victores angeli animam hujus perigrini,<sup>10</sup> qui primus<sup>11</sup> apud nos in hac

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 47-8, 51, for historical implications of this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> apparatione A; -riti- B<sub>1</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub>; -rici- B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> brittonis A and contents-list of B<sub>3</sub>; bri'tonis B<sub>1</sub>; britonis B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub>; ]tonis B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>4</sup> monachus A B<sub>1</sub>; -chus B<sub>2</sub>; -chis B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> correptus corporis A; corporis correptus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> morientem. Here it is implied that Columba avoided being present at a death, which would have caused pollution, and prevented him as a priest from celebrating Mass. See the Tallaght Discourse § 65, where Leviticus is named as the authority. Reconsecration by a bishop would have been needed to remove the pollution, and Adomnan seems to assume that there

wasted the province of Domnall, Ainmuire's grandson. And they are from that day to this still held down by strangers; which fills the breast with sighs of grief.

[III 6] Concerning an apparition of angels carrying the soul of a holy Briton to heaven

At another time, when the holy man was living in the island of Io, one of his monks, a Briton, devoted to good works, was attacked by a bodily affliction, and brought to the point of death. When the venerable man visited him in the hour of his decease, after standing for a little while beside his couch, and blessing him, he quickly left the house, being unwilling to see him die. And immediately after the holy man had gone away from the house, the monk ended the present life.

Then while the memorable man was walking in the court of his monastery, he turned his eyes to the sky, and was much amazed, and marvelled for a long time. A brother, called Aidan, Liber's son, a man of good ability, and religious, who alone of the brothers was present at that hour, bending his knees began to ask the saint to tell him the cause of so great marvelling. To him the saint replied : ' Now I have seen holy angels at war in the air against the adversary powers. And I render thanks to Christ the arbiter, because the angels have victoriously carried off to the joys of the heavenly

was no bishop in the community of Iona in Columba's time (cf. the episode of bishop Cronan, 45b).

<sup>7</sup> libir A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; liber B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> relegiosus A; -lig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> agonithetae A; -te B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; agoni'tice B<sub>1</sub>, altered from -tece.

<sup>10</sup> perigrini A; -reg- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> primus. This chapter differs greatly from the legend of the death of Odran in the Irish Life of Columba (cf. E.S., I, p. 45); and it may have been written on purpose to contradict an early form of that legend.

insula mortuus est, ad caelestis patriae gaudia evexerunt. Sed hoc quesso sacramentum nemini in vita mea reveles'..

De angelorum revelata eidem sancto viro  
visione, qui animam alicujus Diormiti<sup>1</sup>  
ad caelum ducebant. .

109b ALIO IN TEMPORE quidam everniensis<sup>2</sup> perigrinus<sup>3</sup>  
ad sanctum perveniens per aliquot apud eum menses<sup>4</sup>  
in Iova commanebat insula. Cui vir beatus alia die :  
' Nunc ' ait, ' quidam de conprovincialibus<sup>5</sup> tuís clericus  
ad caelum ab angelís portatur, | cujus adhuc ignoro  
nomen '. Frater vero hoc audiens coepit secum de  
provincia<sup>6</sup> perscrutari anteriorum, qui scotice ind  
Airthir<sup>7</sup> nuncupantur,<sup>8</sup> et de illius beati hominis voca-  
bulo. Hocque consequenter intulit verbum, inquires :  
' Alium Christi scio militonem qui sibi in eodem terri-  
torio in quo et ego commanebam<sup>9</sup> monasteriolum con-  
struxit, nomine Diormitium '.<sup>10</sup> Cui sanctus ait : ' Ipse  
est<sup>11</sup> de quo dicis qui nunc ab angelís dei in paradísium  
deductus est '.

Sed hoc etiam non neglegenter<sup>12</sup> annotandum est,  
quod idem vir venerabilis multa sibi a deo arcana<sup>13</sup> ab  
aliis celata sacramenta nullo modo in hominum notitiam  
prodi passus sit : duabus, ut ipse aliquando paucís

<sup>1</sup> diormiti A ; -mi'tti B1 ; -micíi B2 ; -mitii contents-list of B2 ;  
-micíi B3 and contents-list of B3

<sup>2</sup> everniensis A ; hiberniensis B1 B3 ; hyberni[ B2

<sup>3</sup> perigrinus A ; -reg- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> apud eum menses A B1 B3 ; dies apud eum B2

<sup>5</sup> conprovincialibus A ; between *de* and *provincialibus*, a small *con*  
symbol has been added above the line, and a small placing point inserted  
beneath it, both probably by the text hand. com- (or con-) B1 B2 B3.  
The shortened version and P, both derived from A, omitted *con*. So also  
did Reeves.

<sup>6</sup> provincia A ; vita B1 B2 B3

country the soul of this pilgrim, who first among us has  
died in this island. But I beg, do not reveal this  
mystery to any one, in my life-time '.

[III 7] Concerning a vision, revealed to the  
holy man, of angels who were leading to  
heaven the soul of one Diormit

At another time, an Irish pilgrim, coming to the  
saint, remained for some months with him in the island  
of Io. One day, the blessed man said to him : ' Now  
a cleric, a man of your own province, is being carried  
to heaven by angels. As yet, I do not know his name '.  
The brother, hearing this, began to search his memory  
regarding the province of the easterners, who are in  
Irish called *ind Airthir*, and for the name of that holy  
man. Then he added these words : ' I know another  
soldier of Christ, named Diormit, who has constructed  
for himself a little monastery in the same region in  
which I also lived '. The saint said to him : ' He of  
whom you speak is the man who has now been led to  
paradise by angels of God '.

But this also is to be observed with care, that many  
secret mysteries, hidden from others, but imparted to  
him by God, were never allowed by this venerable man  
to reach the knowledge of men. There were for this

<sup>7</sup> indairthir A, with four over-dashes ; ondairtir B1 B3 ?B2 (-ti'r B1).  
See 44a, and p. 134.

<sup>8</sup> nuncupantur A B3 ; -atur B1. Missing in B2.

<sup>9</sup> commanebam A ; -e'bat B1 (-t altered to -m, ?not by text hand) ;  
-ebat B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> diormitium A B2 ; -mi'ti- B1 ; -micí- B3

<sup>11</sup> ait ipse est A ; ipse est ait B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> neglegenter A ; neglig- B1 ; neclig- B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> arcana A ; archana B1 B2 B3. The meaning ' secrets imparted '  
needs a passive participle, which Adomnan has apparently not supplied.

110a intimaverat fratribus, causis existentibus, hoc est ut  
jactantiam devitaret, et ad<sup>1</sup> semet ipsum<sup>2</sup> | inter-  
rogandum insustentabiles turbas de se aliqua interrogare  
volentes divulgata<sup>3</sup> revelationum fama non invitaret.

De angelorum contra daemones forti  
belligeratione sancto in eodem bello  
oportune subvenientium. <sup>4</sup>

110b ALIA DIE VIR sanctus in Iova conversans insula  
remotiore ab hominibus<sup>5</sup> locum aptumque<sup>6</sup> ad ora-  
tionem in saltibus<sup>7</sup> quaesivit. Ibidemque cum orare  
coepisset subito, ut ipse postea paucis intimaverat fratri-  
bus, videt contra se tetram et nigerrimam daemonum  
cum ferreis veribus aciem proeliari; qui sicuti sancto  
viro per spiritum revelatum erat monasterium ejus  
invadere et multos ex fratribus hisdem volebant jugulare  
sudibus. Ipse vero contra tales emulos unus homo  
innumeros accepta Pauli armatura apostoli forti con-  
flictu dimicabat. Et | ita ex majore diei parte utrimque  
dimicatum est; nec innumerabiles unum vincere<sup>8</sup>  
poterant, nec eos unus de sua valebat insula repellere,  
donec angeli dei, ut sanctus post quibusdam non multis  
retulerat, in am[ni]niculum<sup>9</sup> adfuere; quorum<sup>10</sup> timore  
proturbati daemones loco cessere.

<sup>1</sup> ad A B1 B3; ab B2    <sup>2</sup> ipsum in | A; ipsum B1 B2 B3, correctly.

<sup>3</sup> divulgata A; div- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> subvenientium A B1 B2 and contents-list of B2 and of B3 (-ie'nt- B1);  
-ientis B3

<sup>5</sup> hominibus A B1 (on an erasure in B1); omnibus B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> aptumque A B1 B3; apertumque B2

<sup>7</sup> saltibus. These *saltus* were, doubtless, the valleys and rocky corridors  
that characterize central Iona to the south-west of Dun-f.

<sup>8</sup> vincere A B2 B3; evi'ncere B1

<sup>9</sup> am[ni]niculum A; mi: has been added at the end of the line, in a  
modern hand. adminiculum B1 B2 B3 (-ni'c- B1)

<sup>10</sup> quorum A; quo B1 B2 B3

two reasons, as he at one time told a few of the brothers; namely, to avoid boasting; and not, through wide-spread reports of his revelations, to invite questioning of himself by intolerable crowds of people who wished to ask some question of him.

[III 8] Concerning a strong combat against  
demons by angels who in that battle brought  
timely help to the saint

One day, while the holy man was living his life in the island of Io, he sought in wild places a spot more remote from mankind, and suitable for prayer. And when he had begun to pray there, suddenly, as he afterwards informed a few brothers, he saw a foul and very black array of demons making war against him with iron spits. They, as was revealed by the Spirit to the holy man, wished to assail his monastery, and with these same spikes to slaughter many of the brothers. But he, one man against these innumerable enemies, fought a strong fight, taking to himself the armour of the apostle Paul.

So for the greater part of the day the battle continued on both sides, and neither could the numberless enemies defeat the one man, nor was the one strong enough to drive them from his island; until, as the saint afterwards related to a few men, angels of God came to his support. Through fear of them the demons were repelled, and withdrew.

Eademque die sanctus ad monasterium post daemoniorum reversus de sua insula effugationem, hoc de eisdem turmís hostilibus verbum profatur, inquiring: ' Illi exitiabiles emuli, qui hac die de hujus terrulae deo propitio regione angelís nobís subvenientibus ad Ethicam<sup>1</sup> effugati sunt terram, ibidem<sup>2</sup> saevi invasores fratrum monasteria<sup>3</sup> invadent, et pestilentes<sup>4</sup> inferent morbos; quorum molestia infestati multi morientur'.

111a Quod<sup>5</sup> hísdem diebus juxta beati prae|scientiam viri ita et<sup>6</sup> factum est. Et post interveniente biduo ei revelante spiritu: ' Bene' ait, ' Baitheneus<sup>7</sup> auxiliante deo dispensavit, ut ejusdem ecclesiae cui deo auctore praeest in<sup>8</sup> campo Lunge<sup>9</sup> jejuniis et orationibus collectio a daemonum defendatur<sup>10</sup> invasione; ubi nemo, excepto uno qui mortuus est, hac vice morietur'. Quod ita juxta vaticinium ejus expletum est. Nam cum multi in ceterís ejusdem insulae monasteriis eodem morbo morirentur,<sup>11</sup> nemo nisi unus de quo sanctus dixit apud Baitheneum<sup>12</sup> in sua est mortuus congregatione. .

<sup>1</sup> ethicam A B2 B3; e'thicam B1

<sup>2</sup> ibidem A B1; ibidemque B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> monasteria A B1 B3; monasteriola B2

<sup>4</sup> pestilentes A ?B2; -tos B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> quod A; Quos B1; Quod B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> ita et A; ita B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> Baitheneus A; baithé'neus B1, later altered to -nus; baitheneus B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> in A B2 B3; ut in B1

<sup>9</sup> lunge A B1 B2 B3, with two over-dashes in A.

<sup>10</sup> defendatur A B1; -antur B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> morirentur A; morrer- B1; morer- B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>12</sup> baitheneum A B2 B3; baithé'neum B1

On the same day, when the saint returned to the monastery, after the repulse of the demons from his island, he pronounced these words about those hostile forces, saying: ' The deadly foes who have today, by God's favour, angels helping us, been driven away from the region of this little land, to the land of Eth [Tíree], will cruelly invade the monasteries of brothers there, and will bring upon them pestilential diseases; and many that suffer from the affliction of those diseases will die'.

In accordance with the foreknowledge of the blessed man, that happened in the days that followed. After two days' interval, by the revelation of the Spirit, he said: ' With the help of God, Baithene has contrived well, so that the community of the church over which, by God's disposition, he rules, in the plain of Long, is defended by fasts and prayers from the assault of demons; and no one there, excepting one man who has died, will die on this occasion'.

This was fulfilled according to his prophecy. For while many in the other monasteries of the same island died of that disease, only the one man of whom the saint had spoken died in Baithene's community.

De angelorum apparatione<sup>1</sup> quos vir dei  
viderat alicujus animam nomine<sup>2</sup> Columbi  
fabri ferrarii Coilrigini<sup>3</sup> cognomento ad  
caelos evehere

111b QUIDAM FABER ferrarius in mediterranea Scotiae  
habitabat parte<sup>4</sup> elimoysinarum<sup>5</sup> operibus satis | in-  
tentus et ceteris justitiae actibus plenus. Hic cum ad  
extrema in bona senectute perduceretur supra memo-  
ratus Columbus cognominatus Coilriginus,<sup>6</sup> eadem hora  
qua de corpore eductus est sanctus Columba in Iova  
commanens insula paucis quibusdam sé circumstantibus  
sic profatus senioribus : ' Columbus Coilriginus ' <sup>7</sup> ait,  
' faber ferrarius non incassum laboravit, qui de propria  
manuum laboratione suarum praemia emax felix con-  
par[a]vit<sup>8</sup> aeterna. Ecce enim nunc anima ejus a sanctis  
vehitur angelis ad caelestis patriae gaudia. Nam quod-  
cumque de suae artis negotiatione acquirere potuit in  
egenorum elimoysinas<sup>9</sup> expendit ' . .

De angelorum simili visione<sup>10</sup> quos vir beatus<sup>11</sup>  
aspexerat alicujus bene moratae feminae  
animam ad caelum ferre |

112a ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE vir sanctus in Iova con-  
versans insula quadam die subito oculos ad caelum  
diregens<sup>12</sup> haec profatus est verba : ' Felix mulier felix  
bene morata, cujus animam nunc angeli dei ad para-

<sup>1</sup> apparatione A ; -riti- B<sub>1</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> ; -rici- B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> nomine A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> ; ejus B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>3</sup> coil rigini A ; coilrigini B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> <sup>4</sup> mediterranea . . . parte. Cf. 14a.

<sup>5</sup> elimoysinarum A ; elemos- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6-7</sup> coil riginus A, with very slight separation ; coilriginus B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>  
(-ri'g- B<sub>1</sub>) <sup>8</sup> comparuit A ; -raviv B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

[III 9] Concerning an apparition of angels,  
whom the man of God saw carrying to the  
heavens the soul of a certain iron-smith,  
named Columb, surnamed Coilrigin

In the midland part of Ireland dwelt a certain iron-smith, much devoted to works of charity, and full of the other acts of righteousness. When this man, the above-named Columb, surnamed Coilrigin, came in good old age to the end of his life, in the same hour in which he was taken from the body, Saint Columba living in the island of Io spoke to some few of the elders who were standing beside him, and said : ' Columb Coilrigin the iron-smith has not laboured in vain. He has been fortunate in procuring with the labour of his own hands the eternal rewards that he desired to buy. See now, his soul is being carried by holy angels to the joys of the heavenly country. For whatever he was able to gain by practising his craft he laid out in alms to the needy '.

[III 10] Concerning a similar vision of angels  
whom the blessed man beheld carrying to  
heaven the soul of a certain virtuous woman

At another time also, while the holy man lived in the island of Io, one day he suddenly turned his eyes to the sky, and uttered these words : ' Happy woman, happy and virtuous, whose soul the angels of God are now carrying to paradise '.

<sup>9</sup> elimoysinas A ; elemo's- B<sub>1</sub> ; elemos- B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>10</sup> visione A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>11</sup> beatus A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> and contents-list of B<sub>3</sub> ; sanctus contents-list of B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>12</sup> diregens A ; -rig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Illegible in B<sub>2</sub>.

disum evehunt'. Erat autem quidam relegiosus<sup>1</sup> frater Genereus nomine Saxo, pistor, opus pistorium<sup>2</sup> exercens, qui hoc audierat verbum ex ore sancti prolatum. Eademque die mensis eodem terminato anno sanctus eidem Genereo Saxoni: 'Miram rem video', ait. 'Ecce mulier de qua té praesente praeterito dixeram anno nunc mariti sui relegiosi<sup>3</sup> cujusdam plebei in aere obviat animae, et cum sanctis angelis contra emulas pro ea belligerat potestates; quorum amminiculo ejusdem  
112b homuncionis<sup>4</sup> justitia suffragante a daemonum belligerationibus erepta ad aeternae refrigerationis locum anima ipsius est perducta'.

De angelorum apparitione<sup>5</sup> sanctorum quos sanctus Columba obvios in transitu viderat beati Brendini<sup>6</sup> animae, illius monasterii fundatoris quod scotice Birra nuncupatur

ALIA ITIDEM DIE, dum vir venerandus in Iova conversaretur insula, mane primo suum advocat sepe memoratum ministratorem, Diormitium<sup>7</sup> nomine, eique praecipit,<sup>8</sup> inquiens: 'Sacra celeriter eucharistiae ministeria praeparantur. Hodie enim natalis beati Brendini<sup>9</sup> dies'.<sup>10</sup> 'Quare' ait minister, 'taliamis arum sollempnia hodierna praeparari praecipis? Nullus enim ad nos de Scotia sancti illius viri obitus pervenit nuntius'.

<sup>1</sup> relegiosus A; -lig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> pistorium A B2; -rum B1 B3

<sup>3</sup> relegiosi A; -lig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> homuncionis A B3; homutionis B1; homuntionis B2

<sup>5</sup> apparitione A; appa[ ]ne B1 (3 or 4 letters have been erased, and the reviser has noted *aricione* in the margin); -riti- B2 and contents-list of B2; -rici- B3 and contents-list of B3

<sup>6</sup> brendini A; brendeni B1 B2 B3 and contents-list of B2 and of B3

<sup>7</sup> diormitium A B1 ?B2 (-mi't- B1); -micium B3

<sup>8</sup> praecipit A; pre'cipit B1; precept B3. Illegible in B2.

There was a certain religious brother named Genereus the Englishman, a baker, who while engaged upon the work of baking heard those words coming from the mouth of the saint. And after the end of a year, on the same day of the month, the saint said to the same Genereus the Englishman: 'I see a marvellous thing. Behold, the woman of whom I spoke in your presence a year ago is now meeting in the air the soul of her husband, a pious layman, and is fighting for it along with holy angels against the hostile powers. Through the help of the angels, aided by the righteousness of the mortal man himself, his soul, snatched from the battling of demons, has been brought to the place of eternal rest'.

[III 11] Concerning an apparition of holy angels whom Saint Columba saw at the passing of the blessed Brenden, coming to meet his soul. Brenden was the founder of the monastery that is called *Birra* in Irish

Again, when the venerable man lived in the island of Io, one day in the early morning he summoned his attendant Diormit (whom we have often mentioned), and gave him an order, saying: 'Let the sacred ministries of the Eucharist be quickly made ready. For today is the blessed Brenden's natal day'. 'Why' said the attendant, 'do you order this solemn rite of the Mass to be prepared, for today? No one has come to us from Ireland bringing news of the death of that

<sup>9</sup> brendini A; -deni B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> dies A; dies est B1 B2 B3. Brenden's death was commemorated on 29 November (cf. Oengus 1905, p. 237). The year of his death is variously given; see p. 80.

113a 'Vade tum' | ait sanctus, 'meae obsecundare jusioni debes. Hac enim nocte praeterita vidi subito apertum caelum, angelorumque choros<sup>1</sup> sancti Brendini<sup>2</sup> animae obvios descendere,<sup>3</sup> quorum luminosa et incomparabili<sup>4</sup> claritudine totus eadem hora inlustratus est mundi orbis'.

De angelorum visione<sup>5</sup> sanctorum qui sancti Columbani episcopi mocu-Loigse<sup>6</sup> animam ad caelum evexerant

QUADAM ITIDEM DIE, dum fratres sé calciantes mane<sup>7</sup> ad diversa monasterii opera ire praepararent, sanctus econtra ea die otuari<sup>8</sup> praecipit, sacraeque oblationis obsequia praeparari, et aliquam quasi in dominico prandioli adjectionem fieri. 'Meque' ait, 'hodie, quamlibet indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animae quae hac in nocte inter sanctos angelorum choros vecta  
113b ultra siderea caelorum spatia ad paradisum ascendit, sacra oportet eucharistiae celebrare misteria'.

Et his dictis fratres obsequuntur, et juxta sancti jusionem eadem otiantur die, praeparatisque sacris ad ecclesiam ministeriis quasi die sollempni albati<sup>9</sup> cum sancto pergunt. Sed forte, dum inter talia<sup>10</sup> cum

<sup>1</sup> choros A ; choros innumerorum B1 B3 ?B2

<sup>2</sup> brendini A ; -deni B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>3</sup> discendere A ; desc- B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>4</sup> incomparabili A, apparently altered from *incorporabili* by the text hand at the time of writing ; incomparabili B1 B3 ; ]bili B2

<sup>5</sup> visione A B1 B2 and contents-list of B2 and of B3 ; visioine B3

<sup>6</sup> mocu loigse A ; moculoigse B1 B2 B3 and contents-list of B3 (-loi'g-B1) ; moculigse contents-list of B2. The family name mocu-Loigse indicates origin in the tribe that gave its name to county Leix, in Leinster. Cf. MacNéill 1911, p. 78.

<sup>7</sup> mane. Here, probably, the time meant is after Prime. It is not implied that Mass was to be celebrated at the next canonical hour ; perhaps Sext was the hour of celebration that Adomnan had in mind.

<sup>8</sup> otuari, and otiantur 113b, imply that by Columba's order the monks refrained from carrying out the heavy work of the day. Adomnan does

holy man'. 'Yet go', said the saint ; 'you must obey my command. For in this past night I have seen the sky suddenly opened, and companies of angels coming down to meet the soul of Saint Brenden. Their shining and incomparable brightness in that hour lit up the whole circle of the world'.

[III 12] Concerning a vision of holy angels who were carrying to heaven the soul of the holy bishop Colman mocu-Loigse

Also on a certain day, when the brothers were putting on their shoes in the morning, preparing to go to the various labours of the monastery, Saint Columba on the contrary gave orders that they should not go to work on that day, and that the rites of the sacred oblation should be prepared, and that there should be the addition of a small meal, as on a Lord's-day. 'And I', he said, 'although I be unworthy, must celebrate today the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, in veneration of the soul that in this night has ascended to paradise beyond the starry spaces of the heavens, carried between holy companies of angels.'

After these words, the brothers obeyed, and according to the saint's command did not go to work on that day ; and when the sacred ministries had been prepared, they went with the saint to the church, clothed in white, as on a solemn feast-day. But when in the course of

not say that they were ordered to refrain from all work (*requiescere*). His words involve the assumption that on 'solemn days' similar relaxation was customary.

<sup>9</sup> albati A B1 B2 ; abbati B3

<sup>10</sup> talia A B1 B2 ; alia B3

modolatione<sup>1</sup> officia illa consueta decantaretur depre-  
 catio in qua sancti Martini<sup>2</sup> commemoratur<sup>3</sup> nomen,  
 subito sanctus ad cantatores<sup>4</sup> ejusdem onomatis ad  
 locum pervenientes : ' Hodie ' ait, ' " pro sancto Colum-  
 bano episcopo " decantare debetis '. Tunc omnes qui  
 inerant fratres intellexere quod Columbanus episcopus  
 lagenensis carus Columbae amicus ad dominum emigra-  
 verit. Et post alicujus temporis intervallum aliqui de  
 lagenica<sup>5</sup> commeantes provincia ea nocte eundem obisse  
 114a nuntiant episcopum | qua sancto ita revelatum est.

De angelorum apparitione<sup>6</sup> qui obviam  
 animabus sancti monachorum Comgelli<sup>7</sup>  
 discenderant<sup>8</sup>

ALIO IN TEMPORE vir venerandus cum in Iova con-  
 versaretur insula quadam subitatione incitatus signo  
 personante collectis fratribus : ' Nunc ' ait, ' oratione  
 monachis abbatis Comgilli<sup>9</sup> auxiliemur, hac in hora in  
 stagno dimersis vituli.<sup>10</sup> Ecce enim hoc momento in aere  
 contra adversarias belligerant potestates, animam ali-  
 cujus hospitis simul cum eis dimersi eripere conantes '.

Tum post lacrimosam et intentam orationem cito  
 ante altarium surgens inter fratres pariter in oratione

<sup>1</sup> modolatione A ; -dul- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> *Martini*. Here, we think, Adomnan implies that in the Commemora-  
 tion of the dead the name of Martin of Tours came first in the section of  
 bishops (as it does in the Stowe Missal) ; and that Columba interrupted  
 the Commemoration before the bishops' section began, and ordered that  
 Colman's name should be added at the end of that section. In the com-  
 memoration list of the Stowe Missal (II, p. 16), a Colman is mentioned,  
 after Findbarr, among the bishops.

<sup>3</sup> commemoratur A ; commemoraretur B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> cantatores A ; the letters *ta* have later been deleted by over-pointing  
 (not by text hand). cantores B1 B2 B3 <sup>5</sup> lagenica A B2 B3 ; -ge'n- B1

<sup>6</sup> apparitione A ; -riti- B1 ; -rici- B3 and contents-list of B3. Illegible  
 in B2. This chapter-heading is omitted in the contents-list of B2.

this service that customary prayer was chanted, with  
 melody, in which the name of Saint Martin is men-  
 tioned, suddenly Saint Columba said to the singers,  
 when they came to the place of that name : ' Today  
 you must sing, " For Saint Colman, the bishop " . '

Then all the brothers who were present understood  
 that Columba's dear friend Colman, a bishop of the  
 Lagen, had departed to the Lord. And after the lapse  
 of some time, travellers from the province of the Lagen  
 reported that the same bishop had died on the night  
 on which it had so been revealed to the saint.

[III 13] Concerning an apparition of angels  
 who descended to meet the souls of monks  
 of Saint Comgell

At another time, while he lived in the island of Io,  
 the venerable man suddenly sprang up, summoned the  
 brothers with the sound of the bell, and said to them :  
 ' Let us now aid with prayer abbot Comgell's monks,  
 that have been drowned in the lake of the calf, in this  
 hour. For see, at this moment they are fighting in the  
 air against hostile powers that are trying to carry off the  
 soul of a guest who has been drowned along with them '.

Then after tearful and earnest prayer he rose  
 quickly, before the altar, among the brothers who were  
 likewise prostrated in prayer, and said with joyful

<sup>7</sup> comgelli A B3 and contents-list of B3 ; congelli B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>8</sup> discenderant A ; des- B1 B3 and contents-list of B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>9</sup> comgilli A ; congelli B1 (with the *con* symbol) ; comgelli B3. Missing  
 in B2.

<sup>10</sup> *stagno vituli*. This is a translation of Loch-láig, an Irish name of  
 Belfast Lough. Comgell's monastery, of Bennchor (Bangor), was on the  
 south side of that loch.



prostratos, laetificato<sup>1</sup> vultu: 'Christo' ait, 'grates agite; nunc enim sancti angeli sanctis obviantes animabus et ipsum hospitem ereptum a daemonum belligera|tionibus quasi victoriales liberarunt belligeratores'.

De angelorum manifestatione alicujus  
Emchathi<sup>2</sup> animae obviantium.

ALIO IN TEMPORE vir sanctus ultra Britanniae dorsum iter agens secus Nisae<sup>3</sup> fluminis lacum subito inspiratus spiritu sancto ad fratres pariter commeantes: 'Properemus' ait, 'sanctis<sup>4</sup> obviam angelis qui, de summis caeli regionibus ad praefendam alicujus gentilici animam emisi, nos illuc usque pervenientes expectant, ut ipsum naturale bonum per totam vitam usque ad extremam senectutem<sup>5</sup> conservantem priusquam moriatur<sup>6</sup> oportune baptizemus'.

Et haec dicens sanctus senex<sup>7</sup> in quantum potuit comites festinus praecedebat, donec in illum devenit agrum qui Airchartdan<sup>8</sup> nuncupatur. | Ibidemque quidam repertus senex Emchatus nomine audiens a sancto verbum dei praedicatum et credens baptizatus est; et continuo laetus et securus cum angelis obviantibus ei ad dominum commigravit. Sed et filius ejus Virolecus<sup>9</sup> credens cum tota domu<sup>10</sup> est baptizatus.

<sup>1</sup> laetificato A; leti- B1; liti- B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>2</sup> emchathi A B3; emchati B1 B2 and contents-list of B2; emdathi contents-list of B3. See p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> nisae A; nesse B1; nese B2 B3. Cf. note under 81b.

<sup>4</sup> sanctis A B2; sanctus B1 B3

<sup>5</sup> senectutem A B1 B2; -tam B3

<sup>6</sup> moriatur A B1 B2; moreatur B3

<sup>7</sup> senex. According to Bede's reckoning, Columba came to Britain and visited the Picts in 565, when he was about forty-five years old. He could then have been called *senex* in comparison with his younger followers. But Adomnan says that Columba came to Britain when he was in his forty-second year, and implies here that when he visited the province of the

countenance: 'Give thanks to Christ; for now holy angels, coming to meet the holy souls, have, like victorious warriors, rescued also that guest, snatched from the battling of demons'.

[III 14] Concerning a manifestation of angels  
coming to meet the soul of one Emchath

At one time, when the holy man was making a journey on the other side of the Spine of Britain, beside the lake of the river Nes [Ness], he was suddenly inspired by the Holy Spirit, and said to the brothers who travelled along with him: 'Let us hasten towards the holy angels that have been sent from the highest regions of heaven to conduct the soul of a pagan, and who await our coming thither so that we may give timely baptism, before he dies, to that man, who has preserved natural goodness through his whole life, into extreme old age'.

Saying this, the aged saint went as fast as he could, ahead of his companions, until he came to the farmland that is called Airchartdan [Urquhart]. And a certain old man whom he found there, Emchath by name, hearing and believing the word of God preached by the saint, was baptized; and thereupon, gladly and confidently, with the angels that came to meet him he departed to the Lord. And his son Virolec also believed and was baptized, with his whole house.

pagans  
capable of  
living  
sinless  
life  
of Pelagian

Picts he was physically an old man. This seems to require that the visit was made several years after 563. See p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> air chart dan A (one word, slightly spread); aircardan B1 B2 B3 (-a'n B1). This appears to be an Irish form of a British name. See pp. 106, 157.

<sup>9</sup> virolecus A B3; viroletus B1. Illegible in B2. See p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> domu A; domo B1 B3 ?B2

De angelo domini qui alicui fratri lapsa de  
monasterii culmine rotundi<sup>1</sup> in roboreti  
campo oportune tam cito subvenerat. .

115b ALIO IN TEMPORE, vir sanctus dum in tegoriolo<sup>2</sup> suo  
scribens sederet, subito ejus inmotata<sup>3</sup> facies, et hanc  
puro de pectore promit vocem, dicens : ' Auxiliare,  
auxiliare '. Duo vero fratres ad januam stantes, vide-  
licet Colgu<sup>4</sup> filius Cellachi et Lugneus<sup>5</sup> mocu-Blai,<sup>6</sup>  
causam talis subitae interrogant vocis. Quibus vir  
venerabilis hoc dedit res|ponsum, inquires : ' Angelo  
domini qui nunc inter vos stabat jusi ut alicui ex fratri-  
bus de summo culmine magnae domus laps[o]<sup>7</sup> tam cito  
subveniret, quae his in diebus in roboreti campo fabri-  
catur '. Hocque consequenter sanctus intulit famen,  
inquires : ' Valde ammirabilis et pene indicibilis est  
angelici volatus pernicitas, fulgoreae ut estimo caeleritati  
parilis. Nam ille caelicola qui hinc a nobis nunc illo viro  
labi incipiente avolavit quasi in ictu oculi priusquam  
terram tangeret subveniens eum<sup>8</sup> sublevavit ; nec ullam  
fracturam aut lessuram ille qui cecidit<sup>9</sup> sentire potuit.  
Quam stupenda inquam haec velocissima<sup>10</sup> et oportuna  
subventio, quae dicto citius tantis maris et terrae inter-  
jacentibus spatiis tam celerrime effici potuit '. . |

<sup>1</sup> *monasterii rotundi*. This building is called *magna domus* in 115b. It appears to have been a communal house of the monastery. See 31a, and p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> tegoriolo A ; tuguriolo B1 B3 ?B2 (-i'olo B1)

<sup>3</sup> inmotata A ; inmutatur B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> colgu A ; co'lgius B1 ; colgius B2 B3. Cf. 35b.

<sup>5</sup> lugneus A B2 B3 ; lugne'us B1

<sup>6</sup> mocublai A B1 B3 ; moccublai ?B2

<sup>7</sup> lapsae A ; lapsa B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> eum A B2 B3 ; illum B1

<sup>9</sup> cecidit A ; ce'c- B1 ; cec- B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> velocissima A B1 B2 ; vol- B3

[III 15] Concerning an angel of the Lord, who  
came very quickly and opportunely to the  
rescue of a brother as he fell from the top  
of the round monastic house in the plain  
of the oakwood [Darrow]

At one time, when the holy man sat writing in his  
hut, suddenly his face changed, and he uttered from  
his pure heart this cry : ' Help, help ! ' .

Two brothers, standing at the door, namely Colcu  
son of Cellach, and Lugne mocu-Blai, asked the reason  
of this sudden exclamation. The venerable man gave  
them this answer, saying : ' One of the brothers was  
falling from the highest point of the great house that is  
at the present time being built in the plain of the oak-  
wood, and I bade an angel of the Lord, that stood but  
now between you, to go with all speed to his rescue '.  
Then the saint added this utterance : ' Exceedingly  
marvellous and almost beyond description is the swift-  
ness of angels' flight, equal as I think to the speed of  
lightning. For the heavenly one who flew away from  
us just now, when that man was beginning to fall, came  
to the rescue as though in the twinkling of an eye, and  
held him up before he touched the ground ; and he  
that fell was unable to feel any fracture or injury. How  
amazing, I say, was this timely and most rapid rescue  
which, more quickly than words, could be made so very  
speedily, when so great spaces of sea and land lay  
between ! ' .

116a De angelorum multitudine sanctorum visa  
ad beati conductum viri de caelo  
discendentium<sup>1</sup>

ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE quadam die vir beatus in Iova conversans insula fratribus congregatis cum ingenti animadversione denunciavit, ad eos dicens: 'Hodie occidentalem nostrae campulum insulae solus exire cupio. Nemo itaque ex vobis me sequatur'. Quibus obsecundantibus solus quidem ut voluit egreditur,<sup>2</sup> sed frater quidam callidus explorator alia means via in cujusdam monticelli cacumine, qui eidem supereminet campulo, sé occulte conlocat, videlicet illius causam solitariae beati egresionis viri explorare cupiens. Quem cum idem explorator de monticelli vertice in quodam  
116b illius campuli colliculo stantem et expansionem ad caelum manibus orantem, oculosque ad caelos elevantem, conspiceret, mirum dictu et ecce subito res miranda apparuit; quam idem supra memoratus homo, ut estimo non sine permisu dei, de propioris monticelli loco oculis etiam corporalibus aspexerat, ut nomen sancti et ejus honorificancia<sup>3</sup> quamvis ipso nolente ob<sup>4</sup> hanc manifestatam visionem postea magis in populis divulgaretur.<sup>5</sup> Nam sancti angeli caelestis patriae cives mira advolantes subitatione sanctum virum orantem circumstare coeperunt albatis<sup>6</sup> induti vestibus. Et post aliquam cum beato sermocinationem viro illa caelestis caterva quasi sé exploratam sentiens ad summa citius repedavit caelorum.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> discendentium A; desc- B1 B2 B3 and contents-list of B2 and of B3

<sup>2</sup> egreditur A (the R results from an alteration by the text hand, perhaps from o); egred- B1; egred- B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> honorificancia A B1; -cancia B3; -centia B2

<sup>4</sup> ob A B2 B3; ad B1 <sup>5</sup> divulgaretur A; div- B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> albatis A; albatis B1 B3 ?B2 (altered from *abbatis* in B3)

[III 16] Concerning a multitude of holy angels  
seen when they descended from heaven to  
a conference with the blessed man

At another time also, while the blessed man lived in the island of Iona, one day he admonished the assembled brothers, with great severity, and said to them: 'Today I wish to go out alone, to the western plain of our island. Let none of you therefore follow me'. They obeyed, and he did go alone as he desired; but a certain brother, a cunning spy, going by another way, took up a position secretly on the top of a little hill that overlooks that plain, wishing to detect the cause of that solitary expedition of the blessed man.

From the top of the little hill the spy saw him standing on a certain knoll of that plain and praying, with his hands outstretched to the sky, and his eyes raised to heaven, and then, strange to tell, behold suddenly a marvellous thing appeared, which the man from his position on the nearby hill looked upon, even with bodily eyes; as I think, not without the permission of God, in order that the name of the saint, and his renown, should, although against his will, afterwards be spread more widely among the peoples, because of this vision made manifest. For holy angels, citizens of the heavenly country, flew down with marvellous suddenness, clothed in white raiment, and began to stand about the holy man as he prayed. And after some converse with the blessed man, that heavenly throng, as though perceiving that they were watched, quickly returned to the highest heaven.

<sup>7</sup> *caelorum*. This chapter can hardly be dissociated from the belief prevailing in the ancient Irish church that angels became visible to men in the form of birds. Cf. Plummer 1910, I, p. cxlvii.

117a Beatus | et ipse vir post angelicum condictum reversus ad monasterium, iterum collectis fratribus cum quadam non mediocri objurgatione inquit quis de illis esset transgressionis<sup>1</sup> obnoxius. Quibus consequenter se nescisse protestantibus ille conscius sui inexcussabilis transgressus ultra non<sup>2</sup> sustenens<sup>3</sup> delictum celare suum flexis genibus in medio fratrum choro coram sancto veniam supplex precatur. Quem sanctus seorsum ducens, ingeniculanti<sup>4</sup> cum grandi commendat comminatione ut nulli hominum de illa angelica visione in diebus ejusdem beati viri aliquid etiam parvum occultum aperiret. Post egresum vero de corpore sancti viri illam caelestis coetus apparitionem<sup>5</sup> fratribus cum grandi intimavit protestatione.<sup>6</sup> Unde hodieque et locus illius  
117b angelici con|dicti rem in eo gestam suo proprio protestatur vocabulo, qui latine potest dici colliculus angelorum, scotice vero Cnoc-angel.<sup>7</sup>

Hinc itaque animadvertendum est, et non neglegenter<sup>8</sup> perscrutandum, quantae et quales ad beatum virum himalibus<sup>9</sup> plerumque noctibus insomnem, et in locis remotioribus aliis quiescentibus orantem, angelicae fuerint et suaves<sup>10</sup> frequentationes quae nullo modo venire in hominum notitiam potuere, quae procul dubio valde numerosae fuerant: si etiam quaedam ex ipsis quoquo modo ab hominibus vel in die vel noctu explorari potuerint, quae absque dubitatione paucae admodum

<sup>1</sup> transgressionis A B1 B2; -onibus B3

<sup>2</sup> non A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>3</sup> sustenens A; -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> ingeniculanti A B1 B2; -lati B3

<sup>5</sup> apparitionem A; -riti- B1 B2; -rici- B3

<sup>6</sup> *pro|testatione*. In A, the letter *p* was originally written, and was altered by the text hand to the *pro* symbol, by adding a horizontal line through the shaft.

<sup>7</sup> *cnoc angel* A, with two over-dashes above *cnoc*; *cnoc angel nuncupatur* B1; *]*nuncupatur B2; *cnocangel nuncupatur* B3. A's reading,

The blessed man himself also, after his conference with the angels, returned to the monastery. The brothers were assembled again, and with severe reproof he asked which of them was guilty of a transgression. Thereupon they protested their ignorance; but the one who was conscious of his inexcusable trespass was able to conceal his sin no longer, and with bended knees he prayed humbly for pardon, before the saint, in the midst of the company of the brothers. The saint led him aside, and charged him under severe penalties, as he knelt, to expose to no one, during the days of the blessed man, anything secret, however little, of this angelic vision. But he, after the holy man's departure from the body, revealed to the brothers, with strong affirmation, that apparition of a heavenly assembly. And hence even today the place also of that angelic conference bears witness to the event that occurred in it, in its proper name, which may be rendered in Latin 'knoll of the angels', and in Irish *cnoc angel*.

From this it is to be noticed and earnestly considered, of what extent and nature were the pleasant visits of angels to the blessed man, often when he was awake on winter nights, and when he prayed in remote places, while others rested; visits that could never come to the knowledge of men, but that without doubt were very numerous: even although certain of them were, by some means or other, in the day or in the night, discernible to men, which were without question very

taken too literally, would imply that the name rendered in Irish was not an Irish name.

<sup>8</sup> *neglegenter* A; *neglig-* B1; *neclig-* B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>9</sup> *himalibus* A; *hiem-* B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> *suaves* A B1 B2; *suases* B3

ad earum comparationem angelicarum frequentationum quae videlicet a nemine sciri<sup>1</sup> poterant.

118a Hoc idem similiter et de quibusdam luminosis manifestationibus | annotandum,<sup>2</sup> quae a paucis exploratae inferius craxabuntur. .

De columna luminosa sancti viri  
de vertice ardere visa

ALIO IN TEMPORE iiii.<sup>3</sup> ad sanctum visitandum Columbam monasteriorum sancti fundatores de Scotia transmeantes in Hinba<sup>4</sup> eum invenerunt insula; quorum inlustrium vocabula Comgellus mocu-Aridi,<sup>5</sup> Cainnechus<sup>6</sup> mocu-Dalon, Brendenus mocu-Alti,<sup>7</sup> Cormac<sup>8</sup> nepos Leathain.<sup>9</sup> Hí uno eodemque consensu elegerunt ut sanctus Colum<sup>10</sup> coram ipsis in ecclesia sacra eucharistiae consecraret misteria. Qui eorum obsecundans iusioni simul cum eis die dominica ex more post evangelii lectionem ecclesiam ingreditur. Ibidemque dum misarum sollemnia celebrarentur sanctus Brendenus mocu-Alti, sicut post |  
118b Comgello<sup>11</sup> et Cainnecho<sup>12</sup> intimavit, quendam crinium igneum globum et valde luminosum de vertice sancti Columbae ante altare stantis et sacram oblationem consecrantis tamdiu ardentem et<sup>13</sup> instar alicujus columnae sursum ascendentem vidit donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta ministeria. .<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sciri A B1 B2; scire B3

<sup>2</sup> an notandum A (for one word); ad notandum B1 B3; ]dum B2

<sup>3</sup> .iiii. A; quatuor B1 B2 B3      <sup>4</sup> hinba A; himba B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> mocuaridi A B2 B3; mocua'rdi B1. See 49b, 50a.

<sup>6</sup> cainnechus A B3; cainecus B1; cainechus B2. He was the founder of Aghaboe. See 16a, 63a.

<sup>7</sup> brendenus mocualti A B2 B3; brende'nus mocualti' B1. He founded Cloin-fertae (Clonfert). His death is entered in A.U. under 576=577.

<sup>8</sup> cormac A; cormaccus B1 B2 B3 (altered from -acus B1). See 17a.

few in comparison with those angelic visitations that could be known to none.

This same thing is likewise to be noted also of certain manifestations of light, observed by a few, and to be written below.

[III 17] Concerning a column of light seen  
to glow from the head of the holy man

At another time, four holy founders of monasteries crossed over from Ireland, to visit Saint Columba, and found him in the island of Hinba. The names of these illustrious men were Comgell mocu-Aridi, Cainnech mocu-Dalon, Brenden mocu-Alti, Cormac grandson of Léthan. They chose, all with one accord, that Saint Columba should consecrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist in the church, in their presence. He obeyed their command, and on the Lord's Day according to custom he entered the church, along with them, after the reading of the Gospel. And there, when the rites of the Mass were being celebrated, Saint Brenden mocu-Alti saw (as he afterwards told Comgell and Cainnech) a kind of fiery ball, radiant and very bright, that continued to glow from the head of Saint Columba as he stood before the altar and consecrated the sacred oblation, and to rise upwards like a column, until those holiest ministries were completed.

<sup>9</sup> leathain A; lethani B1; letani B2; lethani B3. This chapter seems to belong to the tradition of Columba's visit to king Brude, and suggests that Adomnan knew of the legend that other Irish abbots accompanied Columba on that journey. See p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> colum A, with an over-dash above ol; columba B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> comgello A B2 B3; congello B1

<sup>12</sup> cainnecho A B3; cainne'co B1; cainecho ?B2

<sup>13</sup> et A; ad B1 B2 B3      <sup>14</sup> ministeria A; misteria B1 B2 B3

De spiritus sancti discensione<sup>1</sup> sive visitatione  
 quae in eadem<sup>2</sup> insula tribus continuís  
 diebus et<sup>3</sup> noctibus super venerabilem<sup>4</sup>  
 mansit virum

ALIO IN TEMPORE CUM sanctus vir in Hinba<sup>5</sup> com-  
 maneret insula gratia sancti spiraminis super eum  
 habunde<sup>6</sup> et incomparabiliter effussa per triduum mira-  
 biliter mansit<sup>7</sup>; ita ut per tris<sup>8</sup> dies totidemque noctes  
 119a intra<sup>9</sup> obserratam et repletam caelesti claritudine  
 domum manens nullum ad se acce|dere permetteret,  
 neque manducans neque bibens. De qua videlicet  
 domu<sup>10</sup> immensae claritatis radii per rimulas valvarum  
 et clavium foramina erumpentes noctu visebantur.<sup>11</sup>  
 Carmina quoque quaedam spiritalia<sup>12</sup> et ante<sup>13</sup> inaudita  
 decantari ab eo audiebantur. Sed et multa quaedam, ut  
 ipse post coram paucis admodum professus est, occulta  
 ab exordio mundi arcana aperte manifestata<sup>14</sup> videbat.  
 Scripturarum quoque sacrarum obscura quaeque et  
 difficillima plana et luce clarius aperta mundissimi cordis  
 oculis patebant. Baitheneumque<sup>15</sup> alumnum<sup>16</sup> non  
 adesse querebatur, qui si<sup>17</sup> forte adesset illo<sup>18</sup> in triduo  
 vel de praeteritis vel de futuris deinceps seculis ab ore  
 viri beati quaedam plurima ab aliis ignorata hominibus

<sup>1</sup> discensione A; des- B1 B3 and contents-lists of B2 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>2</sup> eadem A B3 and contents-list of B2; ea'dem B1; eade contents-list of B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>3</sup> et A; totidemque B1 B3 and contents-lists of B2 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>4</sup> venerabilem A B1 and contents-list of B3; -bile B3. Missing in B2; illegible in contents-list of B2.

<sup>5</sup> hinba A; himba B1 B3; im[ B2

<sup>6</sup> habunde A B1; ab- B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> mirabiliter mansit A; mansit mirabiliter B1 B3 (-bi'l- B1); man[ B2

<sup>8</sup> tris A; tres B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> intra intra A; intra B1 B3. Missing in B2. The second *intra* in A has been crossed out with a horizontal line, not according to the text hand's custom. The ink of the deleting line is indistinguishable in the facsimiles from that of the text.

<sup>10</sup> domu A; domo B1 B2 B3

<sup>11</sup> visebantur A B1; vide- B3. Missing in B2.

[III 18] Concerning a descent or visitation of  
 the Holy Spirit remaining over the venerable  
 man, in that same island, for three continuous  
 days and nights

At another time when the holy man was living in the island of Hinba, the grace of the Holy Spirit was poured out upon him abundantly and in an incomparable manner, and continued marvellously for the space of three days, so that for three days and as many nights, remaining within a house barred, and filled with heavenly light, he allowed no one to go to him, and he neither ate nor drank. From that house beams of immeasurable brightness were visible in the night, escaping through chinks of the door-leaves, and through the key-holes. And spiritual songs, unheard before, were heard being sung by him. Moreover, as he afterwards admitted in the presence of a very few men, he saw, openly revealed, many of the secret things that have been hidden since the world began. Also every-thing that in the sacred scriptures is dark and most difficult became plain, and was shown more clearly than the day to the eyes of his purest heart. And he lamented that his foster-son Baithene was not there, who, if he had chanced to be present during those three days, would have written down from the mouth of the blessed man very many mysteries, both of past ages and of ages still to come, mysteries unknown to other men;

<sup>12</sup> spiritalia A; spiritalia B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>13</sup> ante A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.

<sup>14</sup> manifestata A B2 B3; manifesta B1

<sup>15</sup> baitheneumque A B2 B3; baithé'neu'mque B1

<sup>16</sup> alumnum, i.e. 'foster-son' or 'pupil'. Cf. 11b.

<sup>17</sup> si A B1 B2. Omitted in B3, and added somewhat later in very fine writing.

<sup>18</sup> illo A B2 B3; illi B1

119b misteria describeret,<sup>1</sup> aliquantas | quoque sacrorum<sup>2</sup>  
 explanationes<sup>3</sup> voluminum. Qui tamen Baitheneus,<sup>4</sup> in  
 Egea<sup>5</sup> insula contrarietate detentus usque quo illi  
 trinales illius incomparabilis et honorificae visitationis  
 dies et totidem noctes terminarentur, adesse non potuit. .

De angelicae lucis claritudine<sup>6</sup> quam Virgnous  
 bonae indolis juvenis, qui postea<sup>7</sup> deo<sup>8</sup> auctore  
 huic praefuit ecclesiae, super sanctum Columbam  
 in ecclesia fratribus himali<sup>9</sup> nocte in cubiculis  
 quiescentibus<sup>10</sup> discendere<sup>11</sup> viderat: cui<sup>12</sup>  
 ego indignus licet deservio

QUADAM HIMALI<sup>13</sup> nocte supra memoratus Virgnous<sup>14</sup>  
 in dei amore fervens ecclesiam orationis studio aliis  
 quiescentibus solus intrat, ibidemque in quadam exedra<sup>15</sup>  
 quae oratorii adhaerebat parieti devotus orabat. Et post  
 aliquantum quasi horae intervallum unius vir veneran-  
 120a dus<sup>16</sup> Columba eandem | sacram ingreditur domum,  
 simulque cum eo aurea lux de summa caeli altitudine

<sup>1</sup> describeret A; des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> sacrorum A B1 B2; sanctorum B3

<sup>3</sup> explanationes A B2 B3 (-aci- B3); -num B1, unaltered, although *es* has been written in the margin by the reviser.

<sup>4</sup> baitheneus A B2 B3; baitheneus B1

<sup>5</sup> egea A B2 B3; ege'a B1. See p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> claritudine A B1 and contents-list of B2 and of B3; claritate B3. The whole chapter-heading is illegible in B2.

<sup>7</sup> postea A; post B1 B3 and contents-list of B2 and of B3

<sup>8</sup> deo A B1 B3 and contents-list of B2; de contents-list of B3

<sup>9</sup> himali A.; hiemali B1 and contents-list of B3; hyemalis B3. Illegible in contents-list of B2.

<sup>10</sup> quiescentibus A B1 and contents-list of B3; quiescentibus B3. Illegible in contents-list of B2.

<sup>11</sup> discendere A; des- B1 B3 and contents-list of B3. Illegible in contents-list of B2.

<sup>12</sup> *cui*. In A, in the space between the columns, before *cui*, there is a dot that appears to have been made by the text hand, and serves as a placing-point; the confused order of the sentence probably resulted from a marginal addition made by Adomnan in the manuscript from which

and also a number of interpretations of the sacred books. But Baithene was detained in the island of Ege [? Eigg] by contrary winds, and was unable to be present until those three days and nights of the incomparable and glorious visitation had come to an end.

[III 19] Concerning the brightness of angelic light that Virgno, a young man of good ability (who by God's guidance was afterwards the ruler of this church, which I, although unworthy, serve) saw descending upon Saint Columba in the church, on a winter night, while the brothers rested in their sleeping-chambers

One winter night, the above-named Virgno, fired with the love of God, entered the church alone for the sake of prayer, while others slept. There, in an exedra that adjoined the oratory wall, he prayed devoutly. After some space of time, as it were of one hour, the venerable man Columba entered the same sacred building; and along with him there entered a golden light,

both A and the B texts are derived. Assuming that there was such an addition, the text of A should have read: *bonae indolis juvenis (qui postea deo auctore huic praefuit ecclesiae, cui ego indignus licet deservio) super sanctum Columbam . . . discendere viderat*. This is the order followed by B1, ?B2, B3, and the contents-list of B2 and of B3. The parenthesis was needed to identify Virgno as the abbot of Iona (see p. 90).

<sup>13</sup> himali A; hiemali B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>14</sup> virgnous A B3; virgno'us B1. Illegible in B2. *Virgno* was the British (or N.B.) form of a name that had become, in Irish speech, *Fergno* in Adomnan's time.

<sup>15</sup> *exedra*. See p. 112.

<sup>16</sup> venerandus A B2 B3; venerabilis B1

discendens<sup>1</sup> totum illud ecclesiae spatium replens ; sed et illius exedriolae separatam conclave,<sup>2</sup> ubi se Virgnous in quantum potuit latitare conabatur, ejusdem caelestis claritas luminis, per interiorē illius cubiculi januam quae ex minore patebat parte erumpens, non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore. Et sicut<sup>3</sup> nullus aestum<sup>4</sup> et meridianum solem rectis et inreverberatis potest intueri oculis, sic et illam caelestem claritudinem ille Virgnous<sup>5</sup> qui viderat sustinere<sup>6</sup> nullo poterat modo, quia valde oculorum reverberabat aciem illa luminosa et incomparabilis effusio. Quo fulminali et formidabili splendore viso in tantum idem supra memoratus frater  
120b exterritus erat, ut nulla in | eo virtus remaneret.

Sanctus vero Columba post non prolixam orationem egreditur ecclesiam ; Virgnoumque valde timoratum ad se crastina advocat die, hisque brevibus compellat consulatoriis<sup>7</sup> verbis : ' Bene O<sup>8</sup> filiule ' ingeminans, ' hac praeterita nocte in conspectu dei placuisti, oculos ad terram depremendo<sup>9</sup> claritatis timore perterritus ejus.<sup>10</sup> Nam si non ita<sup>11</sup> fecisses, illa inestimabili obcaecarentur tui luce visa oculi. Sed hoc non negligenter<sup>12</sup> observare debebis, ut talem hanc lucis manifestationem nemini umquam in mea denudes vita '.

Haec itaque praedicabilis et ammirabilis res post<sup>13</sup> beati viri transitum multis eodem Virgnovo narrante innotuit. Cujus scilicet Virgnovi sororis filius Com-

<sup>1</sup> discendens A ; des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> *conclave*. Here probably the meaning is figurative, but the normal meaning is a compartment that can be locked.

<sup>3</sup> sicut A ; sicuti B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> aestum A ; estivum B1 B3 ?B2

<sup>5</sup> virgnous A B3 ; virgno'us B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>6</sup> sustinere A ; -tin- B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> consulatoriis A ; -sol- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> o A B3 ; ó B1. Omitted in B2.

<sup>9</sup> depremendo A ; -prim- B1 B2 B3

descending from highest heaven and wholly filling the inside of the church. Also the enclosed space of the exedra, in which Virgno tried to conceal himself as well as he could, was filled with the brightness of that heavenly light, which streamed through the partly-open inner door of that room, not without some effect of terror. And just as none can look with direct and undazzled eyes upon the summer midday sun, so also Virgno, who saw that heavenly brightness, could not at all endure it, because the brilliant and incomparable radiance greatly dazzled his sight. When he saw this flashing and terrifying effulgence, that brother was so greatly overcome by fear that no strength remained in him.

Saint Columba left the church after praying for a short time ; and on the following day he summoned to him the awe-stricken Virgno, and spoke to him in these few reassuring words : ' You have been well-pleasing, little son ; you have been well-pleasing ' he repeated, ' in the sight of God, this last night, in lowering your eyes to the ground, through dread of his brightness. For if you had not done so, your eyes would have been blinded by seeing that inestimable light. But you must diligently observe this, never in my life-time to disclose to any one this so great manifestation of light '.

So, through the narration of that Virgno after the passing of the blessed man, this memorable and wonderful thing became known to many people. His, that is Virgno's, sister's son, the honourable priest Comman,

<sup>10</sup> perterritus ejus A ; ejus perteritus B1 B2 B3 (-te'ri- B1 ; -terri- B2)

<sup>11</sup> non ita A ; ita non B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> negligenter A ; neglig- B1 B2 ; neglig- B3

<sup>13</sup> post A B3. Omitted in B1 ; illegible in B2.



121a manus, honorabilis prespiter, mihi Adomnano<sup>1</sup> de hac  
supra visione craxata<sup>2</sup> aliquando sub testificatione |  
enarraverat ; qui eam enarratam ab ore ipsius Virgnovi  
abbatis et avunculi sui ab eo in quantum potuit visam  
audierat. .

De alia prope simili celsae  
claritudinis visione<sup>3</sup>

ALIA ITIDEM nocte quidam de fratribus Colgius  
nomine, filius Aido<sup>4</sup> Draigniche,<sup>5</sup> de nepotibus Fechreg,<sup>6</sup>  
cujus in primo<sup>7</sup> fecimus mentionem, cassu ad januam  
eclesiae aliis dormientibus devenit, ibidemque aliquandiu  
stans orabat. Tum proinde subito totam videt ecclesiam  
caelesti luce repleri, quae scilicet fulgoralis lux dicto  
citius ab ejus recessit oculis. Sanctum vero Columbam  
hora eadem intra ecclesiam orantem ignorabat. Postque  
talem subitam luminis apparitionem<sup>8</sup> valde per-  
timescens domum revertitur.

121b Postera die sanctus illum advocans asperius objur-  
gavit, inquiring : ' De caetero prae|cavere debes, filii,<sup>9</sup>  
ne quasi explorator caeleste lumen quod tibi non est  
donatum inspicere coneris, quia té effugiet ; et ne alicui  
in meis diebus quod vidisti enarres ' . .

<sup>1</sup> adomnano A (with space after *ad*) ; á domnano B<sub>1</sub> ; a domnano  
B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> craxata A ; caraxata B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> visione A B<sub>1</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub>, and contents-list of B<sub>2</sub> and of B<sub>3</sub> ; visioi~e B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> aido A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; ai'do B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> draigniche A ; draignichae B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> fechreg A ; fechrech B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; fecreh B<sub>2</sub>. See 22b.

<sup>7</sup> primo A ; primo libro B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> apparitionem A ; -riti- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; -rici- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> filii A ; fili B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

once related to me, Adomnan, in testimony, the vision  
that I have above set down. He had heard it told by  
the lips of his uncle, the abbot Virgno himself, by whom  
it was seen, in so far as he was able to see it.

[III 20] Of another nearly-similar vision  
of light from above

On another night also, one of the brothers, Colcu  
by name, of whom we made mention at the beginning,  
son of Aid Draigniche, of the descendants of Féchre,  
chanced to come to the door of the church, while others  
slept, and standing there prayed for some time. And  
then he saw that the whole church was suddenly filled  
with heavenly light. Quicker than speech, this flash  
of light vanished from his eyes. He did not know that  
Saint Columba was at the same hour praying within  
the church, and after this sudden apparition of light he  
was much afraid, and returned to his dwelling.

On the following day the saint summoned him, and  
sharply reproved him, saying : ' Henceforth take great  
care, my son, not to attempt like a spy to observe  
heavenly light that has not been granted to you, for it  
will flee from you ; and not to relate to any one, in my  
time, what you have seen ' .

De alia parili divinae lucis  
apparatione. <sup>1</sup>

ALIO ITIDEM IN TEMPORE vir beatus cuidam suo sapientiam discenti alumno nomine Berchano,<sup>2</sup> cujus cognomentum <sup>3</sup> Mes-loen,<sup>4</sup> non mediocriter quadam denuntiavit die, inquit: 'Caveto, filii,<sup>5</sup> ne <sup>6</sup> hac sequenti nocte juxta tuam semper consuetudinem ad <sup>7</sup> meum appropinques hospitium'. Qui hoc audiens contra interdictum ad domum beati viri in noctis silentio aliis quiescentibus accessit, callideque explorans oculos e regione ad clavium foramina possuit, estimans scilicet, ut res probavit, aliquam intus caelestem visionem sancto  
122a manifestari. | Nam eadem hora beati viri illud hospitium caelestis <sup>8</sup> splendore claritudinis erat repletum, quam non sustenens <sup>9</sup> intueri transgressor juvenis ilico aufugit.

Quem die crastina sanctus seorsum dicens cum magna severitate objurgans haec ad eum profatur verba, dicens: 'Hac in nocte, filii,<sup>10</sup> coram deo peccasti; nam tuae infitalis<sup>11</sup> explorationem calliditatis a spiritu sancto celari vel abscondi posse inaniter putasti. Nonne ad mei hostium hospitium té illa in hora appropinquantem et inde redeuntem vidi? Et nisi ego eodem momento pro té orarem, ibidem ante januam aut cadens morireris,<sup>12</sup> aut tui de suis foraminibus oculi eruerentur. Sed tibi <sup>13</sup> hac vice propter me dominus pepercit. Et hoc scito,

<sup>1</sup> apparatione A; -riti- B1 B2 and contents-list of B2; -rici- B3 and contents-list of B3

<sup>2</sup> berchano A B2 B3; bercha'no B1

<sup>3</sup> cognomentum A B1 B2; -mento B3

<sup>4</sup> mesloen A B1 B2, with three over-dashes in A; mosloen B3, with s altered from l.

<sup>5</sup> filii A; fili B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> ne A; de B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> ad A; ne ad B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> caelestis. After this word, in A, two letters, apparently *pa*, (perhaps a beginning of *patriae*) were written and erased by the text hand.

[III 21] Concerning another like apparition  
of divine light

At another time also the blessed man one day gravely admonished a pupil of his, who was studying philosophy, called Berchan, surnamed Mes-loen, and said: 'Beware, my son, of coming near my lodging this night, as you are accustomed always to do'. But he, hearing this, came to the blessed man's house in violation of the interdict, in the silence of the night while others rested. And craftily spying he set his eyes opposite the holes for the keys, supposing that within the house some heavenly vision was being manifested to the saint, as the event showed to be true. For in that hour the blessed man's lodging was filled with the glory of heavenly brightness; the youthful transgressor could not bear to look upon it, and immediately fled away.

On the following day, the saint took him aside, and reproving him very severely spoke to him these words: 'In this night, my son, you have sinned before God; for you have vainly imagined that the crafty spying that you have denied could be concealed or hidden from the Holy Spirit. Did not I see you in that hour coming to the door of my lodging and going away from it? And if I had not at that moment prayed for you, there before the door either you would have fallen and died, or your eyes would have been torn from their sockets. But this time the Lord has spared you for my sake. And

<sup>9</sup> sustenens A; -tin- B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>10</sup> filii A; fili B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>11</sup> *infitalis*. This word implies that Columba had charged Berchan with frequent spying, which Berchan had denied; and suggests that Adomnan has omitted part of the story.

<sup>12</sup> morireris A; morereris B1 B2 B3

<sup>13</sup> tibi A B2; tui B1 B3

122b quod in tua evernili<sup>1</sup> patria luxuriose<sup>2</sup> vivens exprobra-  
tionem facies tua omnibus patietur diebus | vitae tuae.  
Hoc tamen a domino orans inpetravi, ut quia noster sis  
alumnus lacrimosam ante exitum agas penitudinem, et  
a deo misericordiam consequaris'. Quae omnia secun-  
dum verbum beati viri ita ei postea contigerunt, sicuti de  
eo profetata sunt. .

De alia angelorum sancto manifestata viro<sup>3</sup>  
apparatione,<sup>4</sup> quos sanctae ejus animae obviare  
incipientes quasi mox de corpore viderat  
migraturae

123a ALIO IN TEMPORE dum vir beatus in Iova commaneret  
insula, quadam die sancta facies ejus subita mirifica et  
laetifica hilaritate effloruit ; oculosque ad caelum elevans  
inconparabili repletus gaudio valde laetificabatur. Tum  
post modicum alicujus momentioli intervallum, illa  
sapida et suavis laetificatio in mestam convertitur  
tris|tificationem. Duo vero viri qui eadem hora ejus  
tegorioli<sup>5</sup> ad januam stabant, quod in eminentiore loco  
erat fabricatum, et ipsi cum eo valde tristificati, quorum  
unus Lugneus<sup>6</sup> erat<sup>7</sup> mocu-Blai, alter vero Pilu<sup>8</sup> nun-  
cupabatur Saxo, causam ipsius subitae laetationis<sup>9</sup> in-  
quirunt et illius subsequents<sup>10</sup> mestitiae. Ad quos  
sanctus sic profatur : 'Ite in pace, nec illius laetaminis<sup>11</sup>  
causam nec etiam tristificationis a me nunc inquiratis  
manifestari'.

<sup>1</sup> evernili A ; hibernali B1 (altered from probably *hibernili*, following the reviser's marginal note, *ali*) ; hibernali B2 ; hibernili B3

<sup>2</sup> luxuriose A ; -xur- B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>3</sup> viro A B2 B3 and contents-list of B2 and of B3 Omitted in B1.

<sup>4</sup> apparatione A ; -riti- B1 B2 and contents-list of B2 ; -rici- B3 and contents-list of B3.

<sup>5</sup> tegorioli A ; tuguri'oli B1 ; tugurioli B2 ; tugurrioli B3. See p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> lugneus A B2 B3 ; lugne'us B1 <sup>7</sup> erat A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3

be sure of this, that while you live luxuriously in your home in Ireland, your face shall bear a mark of reproach, during all the days of your life. But this I have obtained from the Lord by prayer, that because you are our pupil you may do tearful penance before your death, and obtain from God mercy'.

All these things happened to him afterwards as they had been foretold of him, in accordance with the word of the blessed man.

[III 22] Concerning another apparition,  
revealed to the holy man, of angels whom  
he saw on their way to meet his holy soul,  
as if it were about to depart from the body

At another time while the blessed man lived in the island of Io, one day his holy face lit up with sudden mirth, strange and joyous. Raising his eyes to heaven, he rejoiced greatly, being filled with incomparable gladness. Then, after the brief space of a moment, that sweet and pleasant joy was turned into dull sorrow.

Two men were at that time standing at the door of his hut that had been constructed on higher ground. One of them was Lugne mocu-Blai, and the other was called Pilu the Englishman. They too were made sorrowful by his sorrow ; and they asked the cause of his sudden joyfulness and of the sadness following it. And the saint addressed them thus : 'Go in peace. Do not ask me now to explain the cause, either of that gladness, or yet of the sorrow'.

<sup>8</sup> pilu A B3 ; pilum B1. Illegible in B2.

<sup>9</sup> laetationis A ; leticie B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> subsequents A B1 ; -tes B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>11</sup> laetaminis A ; leticie B1 B3 ; leti[ B2

Quo audito inlacrimati ingeniculantes prostratis in terra<sup>1</sup> vultibus supliciter rogant, scire volentes aliquid de illa re, quae hora eadem sancto erat revelata. Quos valde tristificatos videns: 'Quia vos' ait, 'amo, tristificare nolo. Promittere prius debetis ne ulli hominum sacramentum quod inquiritis | in vita mea prodatis'. Qui continuo secundum ejus commendationem prumte<sup>2</sup> promiserunt; et post talem promisionem vir venerandus sic ad eos proloquitur: 'Usque in hunc' inquires, 'praesentem diem meae in Britannia<sup>3</sup> perigrinationis<sup>4</sup> terdeni completi sunt anni. Interea multis ante diebus a domino meo devote postulavi, ut in fine tricensimi<sup>5</sup> hujus praesentis anni<sup>6</sup> me de meo absolveret inculatu,<sup>7</sup> et ad caelestem patriam ilico advocaret. Et haec fuit mei<sup>8</sup> causa laetaminis,<sup>9</sup> de qua vos me mesti interrogatis. Angelos enim sanctos de excelso vidi misos throno ad meam de carne animam obvios educendam. Sed ecce nunc subito retardati ultra nostrae fretum insulae stant<sup>10</sup> in rupe, scilicet volentes ad me de corpore advocandum appropriare, | sed propius accedere non permittuntur, mox ad caelorum summa repedaturi. Quia dominus quod mihi totis viribus roganti donavit,<sup>11</sup> ut hac in die ad ipsum de mundo transirem, multarum magis ecclesiarum pro me orationes exaudiens dicto citius innotavit.<sup>12</sup> Quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus sic a domino donatum est ut, quamlibet contra meam voluntatem, quatuor ab

<sup>1</sup> terra A; terram B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>2</sup> prumte A; prompta B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> brittannia. In A, the final *a* has been altered from the *ae* symbol, probably by the text hand. <sup>4</sup> perigrinationis A; -reg- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> tricensimi A; -ces- B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>6</sup> praesentis anni. This means A.D. 593. See 124b.

<sup>7</sup> inculatu A; -col- B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> mei A; mee B1 B3; mēe B2

<sup>9</sup> laetaminis A; leti'cie B1; leticie B3; Juentie B2, deleted by points below. <sup>10</sup> stant A; stantes B1 B2 B3 <sup>11</sup> donavit A B1 B2; dan- B3

<sup>12</sup> innotavit A; immutavit B1 B3; intimavit B2

When they heard this, they knelt, weeping; and with faces bowed to the ground they humbly implored that they might learn something of the matter that in this hour had been revealed to the saint. Seeing that they were very sorrowful, he said: 'Because I love you, I am unwilling to cause you sorrow. First you must promise not in my life-time to betray to any person the secret about which you ask'. Thereupon following his injunction they promised readily; and after this promise the venerable man thus spoke to them, saying: 'Thirty years have been completed of my pilgrimage in Britain, down to this present day. Meanwhile, for many days past, I have earnestly requested of my Lord that in the end of this present thirtieth year he would release me from my residence, and at once call me to the heavenly country. And it was this that caused my gladness, about whose cause you sadly question me. For I saw holy angels sent from the high throne to meet and conduct my soul from the flesh. But see now, they have suddenly been held back, and are standing on a rock beyond the strait of our island; they wish to approach, in order to summon me from the body, but they are not allowed to come nearer, and will presently return to the highest heavens. Because what the Lord granted me when I asked it with my whole strength, that I should pass to him from the world on this day, he has changed, more quickly than speech, answering in preference the prayers of many churches for me. And it has so been granted by the Lord to the prayers of those churches that, although against my will, four more years

hac die mihi in carne manenti superaddantur anni. Haec talis mihi<sup>1</sup> mesta retardatio hodiernae tristificationis non inmerito causa fuit. Quibus videlicet<sup>2</sup> iiii.<sup>3</sup> futuris deo propitio terminatis in hac vita annis subita emigratione nulla praecedente corporis molestia cum sanctis mihi obviaturis illo in tempore angelis ad dominum<sup>4</sup> laetus emigrabo'. Secundum haec verba vir venerabilis,  
 124b quae non sine magno gemitu et merore ut | traditur necnon et ingenti lacrimabilitate proloquutus est, quatuor postea annis in carne mansit.<sup>5</sup>

De transitu ad dominum sancti  
 nostri patroni<sup>6</sup> Columbae

ANNORUM SUPRA iiii.<sup>7</sup> memoratorum<sup>8</sup> termino jam appropinquante, post quorum completionem<sup>9</sup> finem praesentis vitae veridicus praesagator sibi futurum fore multo ante praesciebat tempore, quadam die mense maio, sicut in priore secundo scripsimus libro,<sup>10</sup> ad visitandos operarios fratres sanctus senex senio fessus plastro vectus<sup>11</sup> pergit. Ad quos in occidua insulae Iovae laborantes parte sic ea die exorsus est loqui, dicens :  
 125a 'In pascali sollemnitate nuper apreli<sup>12</sup> peracta mense desiderio desideravi | ad Christum dominum, sicut et mihi ab eo concessum erat si malluissem, emigrare. Sed

<sup>1</sup> talis mihi A ; mihi talis B1 B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>2</sup> videlicet A B2 B3 ; scilicet B1

<sup>3</sup> .iiii. A ; quatuor B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> dominum A B3 ?B2 ; deum B1

<sup>5</sup> mansit. Columba lived, according to Adomnan, until after a day in May (124b), thirty-four years after the beginning of his pilgrimage (123b) ; i.e. until May 597. See p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> nostri patroni A and contents-list of B2 and of B3 ; ac venerabilis deo dilecti patroni nostri B1 B3 ?B2. The title in A is written in large letters, comparable with those in 1a.

<sup>7</sup> .iiii. A ; quatuor B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> memoratorum A B1 ?B2 ; meoratorum B3

from this day shall be added to my sojourn in the flesh. This delay, grievous to me, was justly the cause of my sorrow today. After the end of the four coming years in this life, by God's favour I shall, with a sudden departure and no preceding bodily distress, joyfully depart to the Lord, with the holy angels who will come to meet me at that time'.

In accordance with these words which the venerable man pronounced, as it is said, not without great lamentation and grief, and also with much weeping, he remained in the flesh for four years afterwards.

[III 23] Concerning the passing to the Lord  
 of our holy patron Columba

When the end was drawing near of the four years above-mentioned, after the completion of which the foreteller of truth had long ago foreknown that his present life would come to a close, one day, in the month of May, as we have written in the preceding second book, the saint went, drawn in a wagon (being an old man, weary with age) to visit the labouring brothers, at work in the western part of the island of Io ; and on that day he began to speak to them in this manner, saying : 'At the Easter festival recently held, in the month of April, I desired with desire to depart to Christ the Lord, as had indeed been granted by him to me, if I had so chosen ; but I chose rather to put off a little

<sup>9</sup> completionem A ; complet- B2 B3 ; complect- B1

<sup>10</sup> libro. See 75b-76a.

<sup>11</sup> plastro vectus. In A, these words have been written by the text hand in smaller letters (similar to those of 108a), probably over an erasure of which some trace is visible in the facsimiles in 123a.

<sup>12</sup> apreli A ; apri'li B1 ; aprili B2 B3. Cf. E.S., I, p. 107.

né vobis laetitiae festivitas in tristitiam verteretur, diem meae de mundo emigrationis paulo diutius protellari mallui'.

His ab eo mestis monaci familiares auditis interim dictis valde tristificati sunt; quos in quantum poterat verbis coepit consulatoriis<sup>1</sup> laetificare. Quibus finitis ut erat in vehiculo<sup>2</sup> sedens ad orientem suam convertens faciem insulam cum insulanis benedixit habitatoribus. Ex qua die, ut in supra memorato craxatum<sup>3</sup> est libello, viperarum venina<sup>4</sup> trisulcarum linguarum usque in hodiernum diem nullo modo aut homini aut pecori nocere potuere. Post ejusdem benedictionis verba sanctus ad suum revehitur monasterium.

125b Tum proinde paucis diebus transactis, | dum misarum sollempnia ex more dominica celebrarentur die, subito<sup>5</sup> susum<sup>6</sup> elevatis oculis facies venerabilis viri florido respersa rubore videtur; quia sicut scriptum est, 'Corde letante vultus floret'<sup>7</sup>; eadem namque<sup>8</sup> hora angelum domini supra volitantem<sup>9</sup> solus vidit intra ipsius oratorii parietes; et quia sanctorum angelorum amabilis et tranquillus aspectus gaudium et exultationem electorum pectoribus infundit,<sup>10</sup> haec<sup>11</sup> fuit illius subitae causa laetitiae beato infusa[e]<sup>12</sup> viro.

De qua scilicet causa inspiratae laetationis<sup>13</sup> cum qui inerant ibidem praesentes inquirerent, hoc eis sanctus responsum sursum respiciens dedit: 'Mira et incon-

<sup>1</sup> consulatoriis A; -sol- B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>2</sup> vehiculo A; vehiculo B1 B3 (-hi'c- B1). Missing in B2.

<sup>3</sup> craxatum A; carax- B1 B2 B3      <sup>4</sup> venina A; venina B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> subito A B1 B2. Omitted in B3.      <sup>6</sup> susum A; sursum B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> floret. This quotation differs from the Vulgate text of Prov. xv. 13.

<sup>8</sup> namque A B1 B2; nanque B3

<sup>9</sup> volitantem A B1 B3; voluntatem B2

<sup>10</sup> sanctorum to infundit. This passage is a close quotation from the version by Evagrius of the Life of Antony; see Brüning 1917, p. 245.

longer the day of my departure from the world, so that the festival of joy should not be turned for you into sorrow'.

Meanwhile the monks of his congregation that heard him speak these sad things became very sorrowful; and he began to cheer them, as well as he could, with comforting words. After which, still sitting in the wagon, he turned his face to the east, and blessed the island, with the islanders its inhabitants. And from then to the present day, as has been written in the above-mentioned book, the poison of three-forked tongues of vipers has not been able to do any injury to either man or beast. After the words of this blessing, the saint was carried back to his monastery.

Then after a few days had passed, while the rites of the Mass were being celebrated on a Lord's-day according to the custom, the venerable man lifted up his eyes, and suddenly his face was seen to flush with a ruddy glow; for, as it is written, 'The countenance glows when the heart is glad'; and in fact at the same moment he alone saw an angel of the Lord hovering above, within the walls of the oratory itself; and because the calm and lovely sight of holy angels fills the hearts of the elect with joy and exultation, this was the cause of the sudden gladness that filled the blessed man.

When those that were present there asked about this, the cause of the gladness inspired in him, the saint, gazing upward, gave them this reply: 'Wonderful and

<sup>11</sup> Haec in A has a large coloured initial letter; B1 also begins a new sentence with *Hec*. B1 B2 B3 had begun a new sentence at *Et quia*.

<sup>12</sup> infusa A B1 B2 B3; but the context requires *infusae*.

<sup>13</sup> laetationis A; leticie B1 B2 B3

parabilis angelicae subtilitas naturae. Ecce enim angelus domini, ad repetendum aliquod deo carum misus depositum, nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiciens et benedicens rursum | per parasticiam<sup>1</sup> ecclesiae reversus nulla talis vestigia exitus reliquit'.<sup>2</sup>

Haec sanctus, sed tamen de qualitate illius depositi ad quod misus est angelus requirendum nemo de circumstantibus recognoscere potuit. Noster vero patronus sanctam propriam a deo sibi commendatam animam depositum<sup>3</sup> nuncupavit; quae sicuti inferius narrabitur alia senis intervenientibus<sup>4</sup> continuís diebus dominica nocte ad dominum emigravit. .

Vir itaque venerabilis in fine ejusdem ebdomadis, hoc est die sabbati,<sup>5</sup> ipse et ejus pius minister Diormitius<sup>6</sup> ad proximum pergunt benedicendum horreum. Quod intrans sanctus cum benedixisset, et duos in eo frugum sequestratos<sup>7</sup> acervos, hoc intulit verbum cum gratiarum actione, inquires: 'Valde congratulor meis familiaribus monacis, quia hoc etiam anno, si quoquam a vobis | emigrare me oportuerit, annum sufficientem habebitis [panem]'.<sup>8</sup>

Quo audito verbo Diormitius<sup>9</sup> minister tristificari coepit et sic dicere: 'Hujus anni tempore, pater, sepius nos contristas, quia de tuo transitu crebro commemoras'. Cui sanctus dedit responsum: 'Aliquem arcanum habeo<sup>10</sup> sermusculum, quem si mihi firmiter promiseris nemini ante meum denudare obitum, de meo tibi egressu aliquid manifestius intimare potero'. Quam cum talem

<sup>1</sup> *parasticiam*. See p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *reliquit* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *requirit* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>3</sup> *depositum*. Cf. the Life of Antony, quoted in Brüning 1917, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> *intervenientibus* A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *intuenientibus* B<sub>2</sub>

<sup>5</sup> *sabbati*: i.e., the twenty-four hours from vespers on Friday to vespers on Saturday. See p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> *diormitius* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *-mi'cius* B<sub>1</sub>

incomparable is the fineness of angelic nature! See, an angel of the Lord, sent to recover a deposit dear to God, looking down upon us within the church and blessing us, has returned through the roof-courses of the church, leaving no trace of that departure'.

This the saint said, but yet none of those standing by could know of what kind that deposit was, to recover which the angel had been sent. Our patron, however, described as a 'deposit' his own holy soul, entrusted to him by God, which, as will be related below, departed to the Lord after an interval of six consecutive days, on the Lord's-night following.

In the end of the same week, that is, on the Sabbath day, the venerable man himself, and his devoted attendant Diormit, went to bless the nearest barn. After entering it, and blessing it and two heaps of grain that were there in store, the saint spoke thus, and rendering thanks said: 'I greatly congratulate my family of monks, because in this year also, if I have to depart from you to any place, you will have enough [bread] for the year'.

When the attendant Diormit heard this, he began to be sorrowful, and to speak in this manner: 'This year, father, you very often sadden us, because you frequently speak of your passing'. The saint gave him this answer: 'I have a few secret words concerning my departure that I shall be able to communicate somewhat more plainly to you, if you will faithfully promise me not to disclose them to any one before my death'. After the

<sup>7</sup> *sequestratos*. This means either 'stored', or 'held in reserve'.

<sup>8</sup> *panem* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in A.

<sup>9</sup> *diormitius* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *-mi'cius* B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>10</sup> *habeo* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub>.

minister promisionem juxta voluntatem sancti flexis genibus terminasset, vir venerandus consequenter sic profatur : ' Haec in sacrís voluminibus dies sabbatum nuncupatur, quod interpretaetur requies. Et vere mihi est sabbatum haec hodierna, quia hujus praesentis laboriosae vitae | mihi ultima est, in qua post meas laborationum molestias sabbatizo. Et hac sequenti media venerabili dominica nocte, secundum eloquia scripturarum, patrum gradiar viam. Jam<sup>1</sup> enim dominus meus Jesus Christus me invitare<sup>2</sup> dignatur ; ad quem inquam hac mediante nocte ipso me invitante emigrabo. Sic enim mihi ab ipso domino revelatum est '. Haec mesta minister audiens verba coepit amare flere, quem sanctus in quantum potuit consulari<sup>3</sup> conabatur.

Post haec sanctus horreum egreditur, et ad monasterium revertens media resedet<sup>4</sup> via. In quo loco postea crux molari infixá lapidi<sup>5</sup> hodieque stans in margine cernitur viae. Dumque ibidem sanctus, ut praefatus sum, senio fesus paululum sedens requiesceret, ecce albus<sup>6</sup> occurrit cavallus<sup>7</sup> | oboediens servitor, qui scilicet lactaria bocetum inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad sanctum accedens mirum dictu caput in sinu ejus ponens, ut credo inspirante deo cui omne animal rerum<sup>8</sup> sapit sensu quo juserit ipse creator, dominum a sé suum mox emigraturum et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, coepit plangere ubertimque quasi homo lacrimas in gremium sancti fundere, et valde

<sup>1</sup> Jam A ; Ita B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> *secundum eloquia* to *invitare*. This passage follows closely the words of the Life of Antony . See Brüning 1917, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> consulari A ; -sol- B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> resedet A ; -sid- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> *lapidi*. This was the stone of a hand-mill. See p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> *albus*. In A, the *l* has apparently been begun as a *b*, and altered by crasure.

<sup>7</sup> cavallus A ; caballus B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> rerum A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3. Reeves by mistake gave B3's reading as *brutum*.

attendant had completed that promise on bended knees, according to the saint's desire, the venerable man made a statement to this effect : ' This day is called in the sacred books " Sabbath ", which is interpreted " rest ". And truly this day is for me a Sabbath, because it is my last day of this present laborious life. In it after my toilsome labours I keep Sabbath ; and at midnight of this following venerated Lord's-day, in the language of the Scriptures I shall go the way of the fathers. For now my Lord Jesus Christ deigns to invite me. To him I shall depart, I say, when he invites me, in the middle of this night. For so it has been revealed to me by the Lord himself '. The attendant hearing these sad words began to weep bitterly, and the saint tried to comfort him, as well as he could.

After this, the saint left the barn, and returning towards the monastery sat down midway. In that place a cross that was later fixed in a mill-stone is seen, standing by the roadside, even today. And while the saint sat there, resting for a little while, being (as I have said above) weary with age, behold, a white horse came to him, the obedient servant who was accustomed to carry the milk-vessels between the cow-pasture and the monastery. It went to the saint, and strange to tell put its head in his bosom, inspired, as I believe, by God, before whom every living creature has understanding, with such perception of things as the Creator himself has decreed ; and knowing that its master would presently depart from it, and that it should see him no more, it began to mourn, and like a human being to let



spumans flere. Quod videns minister coepit illum flebilem repellere lamentatorem. Sed sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens : ' Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat <sup>1</sup> amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis et rationalem animam habeas, nullo modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper <sup>2</sup> manifestavi. Huic vero bruto et irrationali |  
128a animanti, quoquo modo <sup>3</sup> ipse conditor voluit, egresurum a se domnum <sup>4</sup> manifeste revelavit '. Et haec dicens mestum a sé revertentem eum benedixit ministratorem.

Et inde egrediens, et monticellum <sup>5</sup> monasterio supereminentem ascendens, in vertice ejus paululum stetit ; et stans ambas elevans palmas suum benedixit cenubium, <sup>6</sup> inquires : ' Huic loco quamlibet angusto et vili non tantum Scotorum reges cum populis, sed etiam barbararum <sup>7</sup> et exterarum gentium regnatores cum plebibus sibi subjectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem. A sanctis quoque, etiam aliarum ecclesiarum, non mediocris veneratio conferetur '.

Post haec verba de illo descendens <sup>8</sup> monticellulo et ad monasterium revertens sedebat in tegorio <sup>9</sup> psalterium scribens. | Et ad illum xxx. tertii <sup>10</sup> psalmi versiculum perveniens ubi scribitur, ' Inquirentes autem dominum non deficient omni bono ' <sup>11</sup> : ' Hic ' ait, ' in fine cessandum est paginae. Quae vero sequuntur Baitheneus <sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> effundat A ; fundat B1 B2 B3    <sup>2</sup> nuper A B1 B3. Omitted in B2

<sup>3</sup> modo A ; modo ut B1 B2 B3    <sup>4</sup> domnum A ; dominum B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> monticellum A B1 B2 ; -tec- B3. This hill was outside the boundary of the monastery, therefore not the Cnoc nan Carnan, but more probably Sgùrr an Fhithich, near the middle of the western rampart. See p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> cenubium A ; -no'b- B1 ; -nob- B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>7</sup> barbararum A. Omitted in B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> descendens A ; des- B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> tegorio A ; tugurio B1 B2 B3 (-gu'r- B1). This hut, Columba's writing-house, was within the rampart of the monastery, and near, if not at, the south-western gate. See pp. 108ff.

tears fall freely on the lap of the saint, and foaming much, to weep aloud.

When he saw this, the attendant began to drive away the weeping mourner ; but the saint forbade him, saying : ' Let him, let him that loves us, pour out the tears of most bitter grief here in my bosom. See, man though you are, and having a rational soul, you could by no means know anything of my departure except what I myself have even now disclosed to you. But to this brute and unreasoning animal the Creator has, in what way he would, revealed clearly that its master is going to depart from it '. Thus speaking, he blessed his servant the horse, as it turned sadly away from him.

Going from there, he climbed a small hill overlooking the monastery, and stood on its summit for a little while. And as he stood he raised both hands, and blessed his monastery, saying : ' On this place, small and mean though it be, not only the kings of the Irish with their peoples, but also the rulers of barbarous and foreign nations, with their subjects, will bestow great and especial honour ; also especial reverence will be bestowed by saints even of other churches '.

After these words, he descended from that little hill, returned to the monastery, and sat in the hut, writing a psalter. And when he came to that verse of the thirty-third Psalm where it is written, ' But they that seek the Lord shall not want for anything that is good ', he said : ' Here, at the end of the page, I must stop. Let Baithene write what follows '.

<sup>10</sup> xxx tertii A ; tricesimi tercii B1 B2 B3 (-ii B1 B2)

<sup>11</sup> dominum to bono. In B1, d' . n̄ . d' . o . b . ; the Vulgate (Ps. xxxiii. 11) reads *minuentur* instead of *deficient*.

<sup>12</sup> baitheneus A B2 B3 ; baithe'neus B1

scribat'. Sancto convenienter congruit decessori novissimus versiculus quem scripserat,<sup>1</sup> cui numquam bona deficient aeterna. Successori vero sequens patri spiritualium<sup>2</sup> doctori<sup>3</sup> filiorum, 'Venite filii audite me; timorem domini docebo vos', congruenter convenit, qui sicut decessor commendavit non solum ei docendo sed etiam scribendo successit.

129a Post talem superius memoratum terminatae versum perscriptum<sup>4</sup> paginae, sanctus ad vespertinalem<sup>5</sup> dominicae noctis<sup>6</sup> misam<sup>7</sup> ingreditur ecclesiam. | Qua<sup>8</sup> continuo consummata<sup>9</sup> ad hospitium<sup>10</sup> revertens in lectulo resedet<sup>11</sup> pernox ubi<sup>12</sup> pro stramine nudam habebat petram, et pro pulvillo lapidem<sup>13</sup> qui hodieque quasi quidam juxta sepulchrum ejus titulus stat monumenti.<sup>14</sup> Ibidem itaque resedens<sup>15</sup> ultima ad fratres mandata solo audiente ministro commendat, inquit: 'Haec vobis ó filioli novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos motuam<sup>16</sup> et non fictam habeatis<sup>17</sup> caritatem cum pace. Et si ita juxta sanctorum exempla patrum observaveritis, deus confortator bonorum vobis auxiliabitur, et ego cum ipso<sup>18</sup> manens pro vobis interpellabo; et non tantum praesentis vitae necessaria ab eo sufficienter amministrantur, sed etiam | aeternalium bonorum proemia

<sup>1</sup> versiculus quem scripserat A; quem scripserat versiculus B1 B2 B3 (scri'p- B1)

<sup>2</sup> spiritualium A; spiritualium B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> doctori. Transposition signs in A are intended to place this word before *qui sicut* below. They are entered (shaped like a superscript *u*, below *oc*, and before *qui*) by the text hand. In B1 B2 B3 the text is as in A, but without any sign of transposition. The transposition was ignored in the shortened version and in P.

<sup>4</sup> perscriptum A B2 B3; pres- B1

<sup>5</sup> vespertinalem A; -ale B1 B2 B3

<sup>6</sup> dominicae noctis. 'Sunday night' began at or after the vespers of Saturday; in this case, on Saturday, 8 June, A.D. 597. See p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> misam A; officium B1 B2 B3. Cf. p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> qua A; Quo B1 B2 B3

The last verse that he wrote aptly befits the holy predecessor, who will never lack eternal good things. And the verse that follows, 'Come, my sons, hear me; I will teach you fear of the Lord', is fittingly adapted to the successor, the father of spiritual sons, a teacher, who, as his predecessor enjoined, succeeded him not in teaching only, but in writing also.

After he had written the former verse, at the end of the page, the saint entered the church for the vesper office of the Lord's-night. As soon as that was finished, he returned to his lodging, and reclined on his sleeping-place, where during the night he used to have for bed, the bare rock; and for pillow, a stone, which even today stands beside his grave as a kind of epitaph. So while reclining there, he gave his last commands to the brothers, in the hearing of his attendant alone, and said: 'I commend to you, my children, these latest words, that you shall have among yourselves mutual and unfeigned charity, with peace. If you follow this course after the example of the holy fathers, God, who gives strength to the good, will help you; and I, abiding with him, shall intercede for you. And not only will the necessities of this life be sufficiently provided by him, but also the rewards of eternal good things will be

<sup>9</sup> continuo consummata A; -ato B2 B3; consummato continuo B1, with pen-marks, possibly indicating transposition, above and below the first *c*.

<sup>10</sup> hospitium A; hospiciolum, B2 B3; hospicium B1.

<sup>11</sup> resedet A; -sid- B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> pernox ubi. This is to be interpreted as *ubi pernox*; although as it stands *pernox* could be construed with *resedet*.

<sup>13</sup> lapidem. See p. 89.

<sup>14</sup> titulus monumenti: i.e. an 'epitaph' that indicated the manner of Columba's life.

<sup>15</sup> resedens A; -sid- B1 B2 B3

<sup>16</sup> motuam A; mu'tuam B1; mutuam B2 B3

<sup>17</sup> habeatis A B1; habehatis B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>18</sup> ipso A B1 B2; ipse B3

divinorum observatoribus [mandatorum] praeparata<sup>1</sup> tribuentur'.

Huc usque extrema venerabilis patroni verba quasi de hac tediāli perigrinatione<sup>2</sup> ad caelestem patriam transmeantis brevi textu narrata deducta sunt. .

130a Post quae<sup>3</sup> felici appropinquante novissima paulisper hora sanctus conticuit. Tum proinde media nocte pulsata personante cloca festinus surgens ad ecclesiam pergīt, citiorque ceteris currens solus introgressus iuxta altare flexis in oratione genibus recumbit. Diormitius<sup>4</sup> minister tardius prosequutus eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam angelica luce erga sanctum repleri videt. Quo ad januam appropinquante eadem lux visa ocius recessit; quam etiam alii de fra|tribus pauci et ipsi eminus adstantes viderant.

Diormitius<sup>5</sup> ergo ecclesiam ingrediens flebili ingeminat voce: 'Ubi es, pater?' Et necdum allatis fratrum lucernis per tenebras palpans sanctum ante altarium recubantem invenit, quem paululum eregens<sup>6</sup> et iuxta sedens sanctum in suo gremio possuit caput. Et inter haec coetus monachorum cum luminaribus adcurrentes patre viso moriente coepit plangere. Et ut ab aliquibus qui praesentes inerant didicimus, sanctus necdum egrediente anima apertis susum<sup>7</sup> oculis ad utrumque latus cum mira vultus hilaritate et laetitia circumspiciebat, sanctos scilicet obvios intuens angelos. Diormitius<sup>8</sup> tum sanctam sublevat ad benedicendum

<sup>1</sup> prae|parata A; mandatorum preparata B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. With the B reading, cf. the Vulgate, John xiii. 34, xiv. 21. It is clear that either *mandatorum* or *praeceptorum* (cf. John xv. 10, 12) must have been what Adomnan wrote, or meant to have written.

<sup>2</sup> perigrinatione A; peregr- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>3</sup> Post quae A; Post que B<sub>1</sub>; Postque B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> Diormitius A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; Diormicius B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>5</sup> Diormitius A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; Diormicius B<sub>1</sub>

bestowed, that are prepared for those who follow the divine commandments'.

We have carried down to this point, briefly told, the last words of the venerable patron, when he was, as it were, crossing over to the heavenly country from this weary pilgrimage.

After them the saint was silent for a little, as the happy latest hour drew near. Then, when the beaten bell resounded at midnight, he rose in haste and went to the church and, running, entered in advance of the others, alone; and bowing his knees in prayer he sank down beside the altar. In that moment Diormit, the attendant, following later, saw from a distance the whole church filled inside with angelic light about the saint. As Diormit approached the doorway, the light that he had seen quickly faded. A few more of the brothers also had seen it, when they too were a little way off.

So Diormit entering the church cried in a tearful voice: 'Where are you, where are you, father?' And groping in the darkness, since the lamps of the brothers had not yet been brought, he found the saint lying before the altar. Raising him a little, and sitting down beside him, he placed the holy head upon his lap. Meanwhile the company of monks ran up with lights; and when they saw that their father was dying they began to lament. And as we have learned from some men who were present there, the saint, whose soul had not yet departed, opened his eyes, and looked around on either side, with wonderful joy and gladness of countenance; for he was gazing upon the holy angels that had come to meet him. Then Diormit raised the holy right hand,

<sup>6</sup> eregens A; -rig- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> susum A; sursum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> Diormitius A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; Diormi'cius B<sub>1</sub>

130b sancti monachorum chorum<sup>1</sup> dexteram manum. Sed |  
et ipse venerabilis pater in quantum poterat simul suam  
movebat manum ; ut videlicet quod voce in egressu non  
valebat animae etiam motu manus fratres videretur  
benedicere. Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter  
significatam continuo spiritum exalavit. .

Quo tabernaculum corporis egresso facies rubens et  
mirum in modum angelica visione exhilarita<sup>2</sup> in tantum  
remansit, ut non quasi mortui sed dormientis videretur  
viventis. Tota interim personabat mestis plangoribus  
eclesia. Sed non praetereundum videtur quod eadem  
hora beatae transitus animae cuidam everniensi<sup>3</sup> sancto  
revelatum est.

131a In illo namque monasterio quod scotica nominatur<sup>4</sup>  
lingua Cloni-|finchoil<sup>5</sup> quidam homo erat<sup>6</sup> sanctus  
senex, Christi miles, qui Lugudius<sup>7</sup> vocitabatur, filius  
Tailchani,<sup>8</sup> justus et sapiens. Hic itaque primo mane  
cuidam eque christiano militi, Fergnovo nomine, suam  
enarravit visionem cum ingenti gemitu dicens : ' Hac  
praeterita nocte media sanctus Columba multarum  
columna ecclesiarum<sup>9</sup> ad dominum transit.<sup>10</sup> Et in hora  
beati exitus ejus<sup>11</sup> Iovam insulam, ad quam corpore  
numquam perveni, totam angelorum claritudine in  
spiritu vidi inradiatam, totaque spatia aeris, usque ad<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> chorum A B2 B3 ; cetum B1

<sup>2</sup> exhilarita A ; -rata B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> everniensi A ; hiber- B1 B3 ; hyber- B2

<sup>4</sup> nominatur A ; nuncupatur B1 B2 B3 (numc- B1)

<sup>5</sup> cloni | finchoil A, with two over-dashes above *cloni* ; clonifinchoil B1 B2 B3 (-coi'1 B1). In Thesaurus 1903, p. 280, it is suggested that *Cloni* should here be read *Clóin*, the nominative singular. But since the B texts agree with A in reading *cloni*, i.e. the nominative plural, the presumption is that that was what Adomnan wrote. In that case, the lenited *f* in A would have to be emended to unlenited *f*. The lenited *f* would have been correct only if the preceding word were *clóin*, and already locally used as a feminine noun : in O.I., it was masculine (see Thurneysen 1946, p. 676, translators' note 50).

to bless the saint's company of monks. And the venerable father himself at the same time moved his hand, as much as he was able, in order that he might be seen to bless the brothers even by the movement of his hand, a thing that in the departure of his soul he could not do by voice. And after the holy benediction thus expressed he presently breathed out his spirit.

When that had left the tabernacle of the body, his face continued to be ruddy, and in a wonderful degree gladdened by the vision of angels, so much that it seemed like the face not of a dead man, but of a living sleeper. Meanwhile the whole church resounded with sorrowful lamentations.

And it appears right that this should not be omitted that was revealed to a certain saint in Ireland, in the very hour of the passing of the blessed soul. For in the monastery that in the Irish tongue is called *Cloni-finchoil*, there was an aged holy man, a soldier of Christ, righteous and wise, who was called Luguid, son of Tailchan. In the early morning he related a vision that he had had, to a man who was likewise a Christian soldier, by name Virgno ; and said, with great lamentation : ' In the middle of this last night Saint Columba, the pillar of many churches, has passed to the Lord. And in the hour of his blessed departure I saw in the Spirit the whole island of Io (where I have never come in the body) lit up with the brightness of angels ; and all the spaces

<sup>6</sup> homo erat A ; erat homo B1 B2 B3

<sup>7</sup> lugudius A B2 B3 ; lugu'dius B1

<sup>8</sup> tailchani A ; talcani B1 B2 B3

<sup>9</sup> ecclesiarum A ; eccles- B1 B2 ; ecclis- B3

<sup>10</sup> transit A ; -iit B1 ; -iit B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>11</sup> beati exitus ejus A ; exitus ejus beati B1 B2 B3

<sup>12</sup> ad A B1. Missing in B2 ; omitted in B3.

ethera caelorum, eorundem angelorum claritate inlustrata, qui ad sanctam ipsius animam praeferendam <sup>1</sup> de caelis misi discenderant <sup>2</sup> innumerari. Altisona quoque  
 131b carminalia et valde | suavia audivi angelicorum coetuum cantica, eodem momento egresionis inter angelicos sanctae ipsius animae ascendentes <sup>3</sup> choros'.

Hanc angelicam manifestationem Virgnous,<sup>4</sup> ut praedictum est, qui ab ore sancti illius senis cui revelata erat indubitanter didicerat, hisdem diebus de Scotia remigans Hinba in insula <sup>5</sup> reliquiis <sup>6</sup> diebus vitae suae permanens sancti Columbae monacis sepius enarrabat. Qui videlicet Virgnous, post multos in subjectione inter fratres inreprehensibiliter expletos annos, alios xii.<sup>7</sup> in loco anchoritarum <sup>8</sup> in Muirbulc-mar <sup>9</sup> vitam ducens anchoriticam <sup>10</sup> Christi victor miles explevit.

Hanc praedictam visionem non solum paginis in-  
 132a scriptam repperimus, sed et <sup>11</sup> [ab] aliquibus | expertis senioribus quibus ipse Virgnous retulerat sine ullo didicimus cunctamine.

Eadem quoque hora aliam visionem aliter revelatam unus ex eis qui viderant, Christi miles, valde senex, cujus nomen <sup>12</sup> etiam potest dici 'ferreolus', scotice vero

<sup>1</sup> praeferendam A ; perf- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> discenderant A ; des- B1 B3. Missing in B2.

<sup>3</sup> ascendentes A ; -entis B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> *Virgnous*. So also below, and in 132a ; but above, in the dative, *Fergnovo* ; cf. under 119b, and p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> hinba in insula A ; in insula himba B1 ; in ins[ B2 ; insula himba B3

<sup>6</sup> reliquiis A ; -quis B1 B2 B3 <sup>7</sup> xii A ; duodecim B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> anchoritarum A ; anachoret- B1 ; anachorit- B3. Illegible in B2.

<sup>9</sup> in muir|bulc mar A, with four over-dashes ; in muir|bule määar B1 ; in muirbulc määar B2 ; in muirbulc B3. The over-dash above *in*, in A, shows that *in* was thought to be an Irish word (the preposition *i n-*), and *bulc*, to be the O.I. dative of *bolc* : 'in the great sea-bay'. It is implied that this place of anchorites was in the island of Hinba. See p. 154.

<sup>10</sup> anchoriticam A ; anachoret- B1 ; anachorit- B2 ; anachoret- B3

<sup>11</sup> et A ; et ab B1 B3 ; ab B2

<sup>12</sup> nomen A ; nomen latine B1 B2 B3

of the air, as far as the ethereal skies, illumined by the shining of those angels, who, sent from heaven, had come down without number, to bear aloft his holy soul. Also I heard, sounding on high, the songs, tuneful and very sweet, of the angelic hosts, at the very moment when his holy soul went forth among the ascending companies of angels'.

In those same days Virgno rowed over from Ireland, and he remained for the rest of his life in the island of Hinba ; and he very often described to the monks of Saint Columba this manifestation of angels of which, as has been said above, he had learned indubitably from the mouth of the holy old man to whom it had been revealed. After completing irreproachably many years in subjection among the brothers, this Virgno completed other twelve years as a victorious soldier of Christ, leading the life of an anchorite, in the place of the anchorites, in Muirbolc-már.

We have not only found the foregoing vision set down in writing, but we have learned it with no uncertainty [from] some elders who knew of it, since Virgno himself had told it to them.

Another vision, differently revealed at the same hour, was told with strong asseveration to me, Adomnan, then a young man, by one of those that had seen it, a

Ernene,<sup>1</sup> gente mocu Fir-roide,<sup>2</sup> qui inter aliorum sancti Columbae monachorum reliquias, et ipse sanctus monachus, in dorso Tómmē<sup>3</sup> sepultus cum sanctis resurrectionem exspectat, mihi Adomnāno<sup>4</sup> illo juveni<sup>5</sup> in tempore cum grandi retulerat testificatione, dicens : ' Illa in nocte qua sanctus Columba de terris ad caelos felici et beato fine transiit, ego et alii mecum viri<sup>6</sup> laborantes in captura piscium<sup>7</sup> in valle piscosi fluminis Fendæ<sup>8</sup> subito totum aerei inlustratum caeli spatium videmus. . Cujus mi|ra-  
132b culi subitatione permoti oculos ad orientem<sup>9</sup> elevatos convertimus, et ecce quasi quaedam pergrandis ignea apparuit columna, quae in illa nocte media susum<sup>10</sup> ascendens ita nobis videbatur mundum inlustrare totum sicuti aesteus<sup>11</sup> et meridianus sol. Et postquam illa penetravit columna caelum, quasi post occasum solis tenebrae succedunt. Hujus itaque claritudinem luminosae<sup>12</sup> et praedicabilis columnae non tantum nos qui simul in eodem loco ineramus cum ingenti ammiratione vidimus, sed et alii multi piscatores qui sparsim per diversas fluminales piscinas ejusdem fluminis piscabantur,

<sup>1</sup> ernene A ; erne'ne B<sub>1</sub> ; aernene B<sub>2</sub> ; arrene B<sub>3</sub>. Adomnan's translation *ferreolus* (grammatically a diminutive of *ferreus*) shows that he thought that *Ernene* was derived from *iarn* 'iron', representing a Goidelic stem \**isarno-*, with short *i*.

<sup>2</sup> mocu fir roide A, with five over-dashes ; mocusfirroide B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> (-ro'ide B<sub>1</sub>) ; mocusfirroive B<sub>3</sub>. The name means 'family of Fer-Roide'; and if that is 'of the husband of Ród', the stress-accent would be on the syllable *rōi*, as in B<sub>1</sub>. After *mocu*, an initial consonant was (sometimes, at least) lenited : A's dotted *f* may be correct. It was overlooked by Reeves, and in Thesaurus 1903, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> tómmē A, with one over-dash above the second syllable ; thome B<sub>1</sub> ; come B<sub>2</sub> ; tome B<sub>3</sub>. *Dorsum tómmē* stood for O.I. *druimm-tómmē*, later *-tuamma*, with nasalized *t* ; it is now Drumhome, a parish in Donegal. See p. 106. Cf. Reeves 1857, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> adomnāno A (with a slight space after *ad*) ; á domnāno B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; a domnāno B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> juveni A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; inveni B<sub>1</sub>

<sup>6</sup> viri A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>7</sup> laborantes in captura piscium. This was on 'the venerable Lord's-

very aged soldier of Christ, of the family mocu Fir-roide, whose name, in Irish *Ernene*, can also be rendered 'man of iron'. He (himself a holy monk) lies buried among the remains of other monks of Saint Columba, and awaits the resurrection with the saints, in the ridge of Tóimm. He said : ' In that night when Saint Columba passed, by a happy and blessed end, from earth to heaven, I and other men with me, at work on the catching of fish in the valley of the river Fendea, which abounds in fish, saw the whole space of airy heaven suddenly lit up. Startled by the suddenness of this miracle, we raised our eyes and turned them to the region of the rising sun ; and behold, there appeared what seemed like a very great pillar of fire which, rising upwards in that midnight, seemed to us to illumine the whole world like the summer sun at midday. And after that pillar pierced the sky, darkness followed, as after the setting of the sun. Not only was the brightness of this luminous and remarkable pillar seen, with great amazement, by us, who were together in the same place, but many other fishers also, who were fishing here and there among the various pools of the same river, were,

night', 127a ; and evidently Adomnan expresses no disapproval of fishing on Sunday. See pp. 25ff.

<sup>8</sup> fendæ A ; fendé B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; fende B<sub>3</sub>. The meaning is 'white goddess' ; see pp. 141-2. The river was apparently the Finn, in Donegal, a tributary of the Foyle. Reeves 1857, p. 239, suggested that the place was Gleann Finne, in the parish of Kiltreevoge.

<sup>9</sup> orientem. Iona was to the north-east of the Finn, the direction of sunrise in June.

<sup>10</sup> susum A ; sursum B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>11</sup> aesteus A ; esti'vus B<sub>1</sub> ; estivus B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>12</sup> luminosae A ; -ose B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ; luminis B<sub>1</sub>

sicut nobis post retulerant, simili apparatione<sup>1</sup> visa  
133a magno pavore sunt | percussi'. .

Harum igitur trium<sup>2</sup> miracula visionum eadem trans-  
itus hora venerandi apparentium patroni aeternos ei a  
deo conlatos protestantur honores. Ad propositum  
revertamur.<sup>3</sup>

Interea post sanctae egressum animae ymnis matuti-  
nalibus<sup>4</sup> terminatis sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hos-  
pitium, unde paulo ante vivens venerat, cum canora  
fratrum reportatur psalmodia. Honestaeque ternis  
diebus et totidem noctibus honorabiles rite explentur  
exequiae; quibus in dei sapidis<sup>5</sup> laudibus terminatis,  
sancti et beati patroni venerabile corpus mundis in-  
volutum sindonibus<sup>6</sup> et praeparata possitum in rata  
133b et aeternali resurrectorum | claritudine. .

De supra memoratis ergo tribus illis exsequiarum  
diebus, more peractis ecclesiastico, quod nobis ab expertis  
traditum est hujus prope finem enarrabitur libri.

Quidam<sup>9</sup> namque aliquando unus de fratribus  
coram venerabili viro simpliciter<sup>10</sup> loquens: 'Ad  
celebrandas' ait ad sanctum, 'tuas post tuum obitum  
exequias, ut putatur, totus harum provinciarum populus

<sup>1</sup> apparatione A; -riti- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; -rici- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> *trium*. The light in the church, 129b-130a, is included in the number.

<sup>3</sup> ad propositum revertamur A; -osi- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. This sentence is written in coloured ink in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> *ymnis matutinalibus*. This means the canonical hour next after the midnight office. See Gougaud 1932, p. 330. At Bangor (in the seventh century) and at Tallaght (in the ninth), there was an interval for sleep between these offices. We do not know whether an interval was normal at Iona. In the middle of summer there would hardly have been time for it.

<sup>5</sup> *sapidis* A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> *sindonibus*. This word was derived from the Vulgate Gospels' account of the burial of Jesus.

<sup>7</sup> in ratabus|ta A; in rata busta B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; ]ta busta B<sub>2</sub>. The words, or word, *rata busta* have not been satisfactorily explained. *Busta* may be the

as they told us afterwards, struck with great terror, through seeing a similar apparition'.

These three miraculous visions, appearing in the very hour of the passing of the venerable patron, testify to the eternal honours conferred on him by God. Let us return to our theme.

In the meanwhile, after the departure of the holy soul, when the matin hymns were ended, the sacred body was carried back from the church, with the brothers' tuneful psalmody, to the lodging from which, alive, he had come a little while before. And for three days and three nights the funeral ceremonies were duly carried out in a worthy and honourable manner. When these had ended in the savoury praises of God, the venerable body of the holy and blessed patron was wrapped in clean fine cloths, and laid in the appointed burial-place that had been made ready, and was interred with fitting veneration, to rise again in bright and eternal light.

What has been handed down to us on good authority concerning those three days of funeral mentioned above, spent according to the custom of the church, shall be related here, almost at the end of this book.

A certain man, one of the brothers, on one occasion in the company of the venerable man spoke unthinkingly, and said to the saint: 'After your death, it is estimated that the entire population of these provinces will row over for the celebration of your funeral, and

accusative plural of *bustum* 'grave' or 'tomb'. The jingle between *rata* and *praeparata* may have been intentional.

<sup>8</sup> *debeta* A; *de'bita* B<sub>1</sub>; *debita* B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> *Quidam* A B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>; *Cuidam* B<sub>1</sub> (a mistake of the decorator).

<sup>10</sup> *simpliciter* A; *sim-* B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

hanc Iovam remigans replebit insulam'. Quod verbum audiens sanctus consequenter ait: 'Ó mí filiole,<sup>1</sup> non ut loqueris sic res probabit. Nam promiscuum populi vulgus nullo modo ad meas poterit exsequias venire. Mei soli familiares monaci mea sepulchralia complebunt  
134a et exsequialia honestabunt | officia'.

Quod verbum ejus<sup>2</sup> profeticum statim post transitum ipsius omnipotentia dei adimpleri fecit. Nam per tris<sup>3</sup> illas exsequiales dies et noctes grandis sine pluvia<sup>4</sup> facta est ventosa tempestas; qua fortiter prohibente nullus hinc et inde navicella<sup>5</sup> vectus transfretare poterat. Et post consummatam beati sepultionem viri continuo tempestate sedata et cessante vento totum tranquillatum est equor.

Perpendat itaque lector quanti et qualis apud deum praedicabilis patronus honoris habeatur, cui aliquando in carne mortali conversanti deo dignante oranti tempestates<sup>6</sup> sedatae sunt et maria tranquillata; et rursus quando necesse habuit, supra memorata occassione, orta flamina ventorum et ventosa cum voluit concita<sup>7</sup> sunt |  
134b equora; quae subsequenter, ut superius dictum est, expletis ejus sepulturae ministeriis in magnam conversa sunt tranquillitatem.

Hic itaque nostro praedicabili patrono vitae terminus fuit; ista meritorum exordia. Qui, secundum sententias<sup>8</sup> scripturarum, aeternis comes triumphis patribus additus,<sup>9</sup> apostolis et profetis consortus, numero aggregatus albarum milium<sup>10</sup> agnino in sanguine suas

<sup>1</sup> filiole A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; filioli B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> ejus A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>. Omitted in B<sub>3</sub> (as the result of erasure and rewriting).

<sup>3</sup> tris A; tres B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>4</sup> pluvia A; pluvia B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> navicella A B<sub>2</sub>; navice'lla B<sub>1</sub>; navi cella B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> tempestates A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub>; tep- B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>7</sup> concita A; concitata B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

fill this island of Io'. Upon hearing this, the saint said: 'My child, the event will not prove to be as you say; for a miscellaneous crowd of people will not be able to come to my funeral. Only my family of monks will fulfil the offices of my burial, and worthily perform my funeral rites'.

The omnipotence of God caused this prophetic saying of his to be fulfilled immediately after his death. For during those three days and nights of the funeral a great storm of wind blew without rain, and forbade any one in a small ship to cross the strait in either direction. And after the burial of the blessed man had been completed, straightway the storm was stilled, the wind ceased, and the whole sea was calmed.

Let the reader consider in how great and high honour with God the memorable patron is held, at whose prayer once while he lived in mortal flesh, God granting it, storms were stilled, and seas were calmed; and again, when he had need, on the occasion mentioned above, at his wish blasts of wind sprang up, and stormy seas were raised; which afterwards, as has been said above, when the services of his burial were complete, were changed into a great calm.

This was the end of our memorable patron's life; these were the beginnings of his rewards. Being, in the language of the scriptures, added to the fathers as a sharer in eternal triumphs, united to apostles and prophets, and joined to the number of the thousands of

<sup>8</sup> sententias A B<sub>2</sub>; -enciam B<sub>1</sub>; -encias B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> *Hic to additus*. This part of the paragraph is based upon passages from Evagrius's Life of Antony; the part from *apostolis to labe*, (with its quotation from the Vulgate, Apocalypse vii. 14) upon a letter of Sulpicius Severus, concerning the death of Martin of Tours (in Halm's edition, p. 143). See Brüning 1917, pp. 246, 248.

<sup>10</sup> milium A B<sub>3</sub>; mi'lium B<sub>1</sub>; militum B<sub>2</sub>



sanctorum qui laverunt stolas, agnum ductorem comitatur ; virgo immaculatus, ab omni intiger<sup>1</sup> labe, ipso domino nostro Jesu Christo dignante, cui est cum patre honor virtus laus gloria et imperium sempeternum,<sup>2</sup> in unitate spiritus sancti, per omnia saecula saeculorum. .<sup>3</sup> |

- 135a Post horum trinalium lectionem libellorum, quisque diligens<sup>4</sup> annotet lector quanti et qualis meriti sanctus sepe supra memoratus praesul venerandus, quantae et qualis apud deum honorificentiae,<sup>5</sup> fuerit estimatus<sup>6</sup> ; quantae et quales angelicae ad ipsum et luminosae frequentationes fuerint ; quanta in eo profetalis gratia ; quanta dialium efficientia virtutum ; quanta et quam frequens eum divini luminis claritudo in carne mortali adhuc commorantem circumfulserit. Quae etiam post egressum animae de tabernaculo corporis almissimae,<sup>7</sup> sicuti quibusdam electis ostensum habetur conpertum, 135b locum in quo ipsius sancta pausant<sup>8</sup> ossa | usque hodie eadem caelestis claritas frequentare non cessat, et sanctorum frequens visitatio angelorum.

Et haec etiam eidem beatae memoriae viro a deo non mediocris est conlata gratia, qua nomen ejus non tantum per totam nostram Scotiam, et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari<sup>9</sup> promeruit in hac parva et extrema ociani<sup>10</sup> brittannici commoratus insula, sed etiam ad trigonam usque

<sup>1</sup> intiger A ; -teg- B1 B2 B3

<sup>2</sup> sempeternum A ; sempit- B1 B2 B3

<sup>3</sup> saeculorum A ; saeculorum amen B1 B2 B3

<sup>4</sup> diligens A ; -lig- B1 B2 B3

<sup>5</sup> honorificentiae A ; -centie B1 B2

<sup>6</sup> *quantae* to *estimatus*. These words are omitted in B3.

<sup>7</sup> almissimae | A (-*mae* written later, with a different pen, by the text hand) ; sanctissime B1 B2 B3

<sup>8</sup> pausant A B1 B3 ; pausent B2      <sup>9</sup> divulgari A ; div- B1 B2 B3

<sup>10</sup> ociani A ; occe'ani B1 ; occeani B2 ; oceani B3

white-robed saints who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb, he attends the Lamb his leader ; a virgin unstained, free from every flaw, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, who has, with the Father, honour, power, praise, glory, and everlasting dominion, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, through all the ages of the ages.

After the reading of these three books, let every attentive reader observe of how great and high merit, how greatly and highly deserving of honour, our venerable holy superior so often named above was esteemed in the sight of God ; how much and in what manner he was visited by shining angels ; how great in him was the grace of prophecy, how great the power of divine miracles ; how great and how frequent was the brightness of divine light that shone about him, while he still lived in mortal flesh. And even after the departure of his most gentle soul from the tabernacle of the body, this same heavenly brightness, as well as the frequent visits of holy angels, does not cease, down to the present day, to appear at the place in which his holy bones repose ; as is established through being revealed to certain elect persons.

And this great favour also was conferred by God on that man of blessed memory, that, although he lived in this small and remote island of the Britannic ocean, he merited that his name should not only be illustriously renowned throughout our Ireland, and throughout Britain, the greatest of all the islands of the whole world ; but that it should reach even as far as three-cornered

Hispaniam, et Gallias, et ultra Alpes<sup>1</sup> pininas<sup>2</sup> Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque romanam civitatem, quae caput<sup>3</sup> est omnium civitatum, tantus et talis honor noscibilis<sup>4</sup> eidem sancto inter cetera divinae donationis munera condonatus scitur a deo, qui sé diligentes amat, et eos qui eum sapidís<sup>5</sup> magnificent | laudibus magis ac magis glorificans immensis sublimat honoribus. Qui est benedictus in saecula. . Amen. .

<sup>6</sup> Obsecro eos quicumque voluerint hos describere<sup>7</sup> libellos, immo potius adjuro per Christum iudicem saeculorum, ut postquam deligenter<sup>8</sup> discriperint<sup>9</sup> conferant et emendent cum omni diligentia ad exemplar unde craxerunt,<sup>10</sup> et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco subscribant. .<sup>11</sup>

Quicumque hós virtutum libellos Columbae legerit pro me Dorbbeneo deum deprecetur, ut vitam post mortem aeternam possedeam.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> alpes A B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> ; alpas B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>2</sup> pininas A ; penninas B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> (-ni'n- B<sub>1</sub>)

<sup>3</sup> caput. This passage is partly modelled upon words, used in a somewhat similar context, in Evagrius's Life of Antony : *ipsi quae urbium caput est Romae*. See Brüning 1917, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> noscibilis A B<sub>1</sub> (-ci'b- B<sub>1</sub>) ; vocibilis B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>5</sup> sapidís A. Omitted in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub> ?B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Before *Obsecro*, a line is left blank in A. B<sub>2</sub> had a title in colour, of which [*Adjuratio sancti adomnani*] is visible in our facsimile. Reeves (1857, p. 458) read in addition : *ad s[criptore]m*.

<sup>7</sup> describere A ; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>8</sup> deligenter A ; dil- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>

<sup>9</sup> discriperint A ; des- B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>10</sup> craxerunt A ; caraxave'runt B<sub>1</sub> ; caraxerunt B<sub>3</sub>. Missing in B<sub>2</sub>. This sentence must have been derived from Adomnan's own colophon, but we should suppose that he would have written *craxaverint*.

<sup>11</sup> *Obsecro to subscribant*. This subscription appears to be modelled upon words translated by Jerome (in his *De viris illustribus*) from the Greek of Irenaeus. See Brüning 1917, p. 253, and cf. Reeves 1857, p. 242. After *subscribant* in B<sub>1</sub> B<sub>2</sub> B<sub>3</sub>, lists of Columba's companions and relatives follow immediately. See the Appendix, below.

Spain, and Gaul, and Italy situated beyond the Pennine Alps ; also the Roman city itself, which is the chief of all cities. So great and high honour of fame is known to have been bestowed upon that saint, among the other gifts of divine granting, by God, who loves those that love him, and, more and more glorifying those that magnify him with savoury praises, elevates them with boundless honours. And He is blessed through the ages. Amen.

I beseech all those that may wish to copy these books, nay more I adjure them through Christ, the judge of the ages, that after carefully copying they compare them with the exemplar from which they have written, and emend them with the utmost care ; and also that they append this adjuration in this place.

Whoever may read these books of the miraculous powers of Columba, let him pray to God for me, Dorbbene, that I may possess after death eternal life.

<sup>12</sup> *Quicumque to possedeam*. This signature of Dorbbene is in A only. It is written in red ink, after a line left blank, and with a wider outer margin, probably at a somewhat later time, by the text hand. The red ink used was too thick for free writing ; for that or some other reason the parchment did not take the ink very well. The last four lines of 136a are blank, and there is no writing in the second column.

Page 137 is not divided into columns. It contains the Lord's Prayer in Greek, derived from a text similar to that of the Greek Testament, Matt. vi. 9-13. The writing is based upon Greek uncials of the seventh century.

The writer was probably the same who wrote the text of A. There is no indication that his Greek version was taken from a version written by Adomnan. But it has some value as evidence of the study of Greek in the Irish church of Adomnan's time.

In the lower part of the same page, a relatively modern hand has written about twelve lines, which were later erased.

A hand-copy of the Greek prayer was given in Reeves 1857, pp. xx-xxii, with a discussion.